



**ENCYCLOPEDIA  
OF  
JAIN RELIGION**

*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 the Arhats, Siddhas, Acharyas, 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

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**Volume 10**

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# 1

## A Short History of Jain Research

○ Walther Schubring

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[In 1934, Walther Schubring, a renowned Professor in the University of Hamburg, published his research study on Jainism entitled "Die Lehre der Jainas, nach den alten Quellen dargestellt." After nearly three decades the English translation of Schubring's book was published, under the caption "Doctrine of Jainas," which was completed by Herr Wolfgang Beurlen. The present write up a "Short History of Jain Research" has been taken from Schubring's learned dissertation.]

### I

#### Jaina Researches

§ 1. It was in the year 1807 that in the Asiatic Researches (Calcutta and London), Vol. IX, there appeared three reports published under the title "Account of the Jains" and collected by Major (later Lieutenant Colonel) Colin Mackenzie supplemented by an abstract from his diary of 1797 and from that of Dr. F. Buchanan<sup>1</sup>, the latter containing some notes of a Jain

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1. Buchanan published "A Journey from Madras through the

gentleman. These publications were immediately followed by H. Th. Colebrooke's "Observations on the Sect of Jains"<sup>2</sup>. They were based upon those researches as well as on Colebrooke's own, and it was in them that, apart from bare descriptive recording, some scholarly spirit first made itself felt by a critical standpoint taken and by facts being combined. Jain research thus dates from somewhat more than 150 years ago.

In H. H. Wilson's "Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus" we find some stray notes about the Jains, but no details are given, though, on the other hand, the author dwells upon Vol. I of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society (1827) which contained an essay by Delamaine and one more by Buchanan (= F. Buchanan Hamilton), both with the title "On the Srawacs or Jains" and followed by a few remarks of the latter and of W. Francklin about some Jain temples, by Colebrooke's account of two inscriptions, and by Wilson's own review of Colebrooke's study "Sect of Jina" in his "Essays on the Philosophy of the Hindus"<sup>3</sup>. In the

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countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar" (Lo. 1807, 2nd ed. Madras 1870, comp. GUÉRINOT JAs. 1909, p. 55). In this work the Jains are often mentioned. "Buchanan's Journal kept during the Survey of the Districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811-12", ed. by V. H. Jackson, Patna 1925, contains a description of his visit to the place where Mahāvira died. Comp. Jacobi SPAW 1930, p. 561.

2. Printed in Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, 2nd, ed. (1872) Vol. II, pp. 191-224.
- Translated from the rev. German edn. by Wolfgang Beurlen.
3. We should not like to pass over in silence the earliest references to the Jains. Comp. Windisch in his Geschichte der indo-arischen Philologie etc., p. 29; Zachariae WZKM 24, 337-344 (reprinted in his Kleine Schriften p. 41-47) and Festschrift Winternitz p. 174-185; Randle JRAS 1933, p. 147.



same year, 1827, Francklin's "Researches on the Tenets of the Jeynes and Boodhists" were published, the first book that had the Jains in its title. Its descriptive portions are readable even now, whereas this cannot be said of its mythological and speculative deductions.

We abstain from cataloguing here which was printed after 1827, since this can be found in GUÉRINOT's Bibliography (s.b.). We must confine ourselves to mention that "Sketch" of Wilson, because it represents the most important treatment of the subject at that time. He gives a report on the numerable Jain manuscripts both privately owned by him and by the Calcutta Sanskrit College. His "Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection"<sup>4</sup> dealt with 44 South Indian Jain manuscripts that had come to the East India Company in London. But even the earliest essays were partly based upon texts as was Colebrooke's first one in that it concerned Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* and the *Kalpasūtra* of the Jain Canon. Still he made use of both in a selective manner only and was far from editing or translating them completely, and twenty years had to pass until the first Jain text was published. Again it was Hemacandra's work that was edited by BÖHTLINGK and Rieu with a German translation in 1847 (St. Petersburg), whereas the *Kalpasūtra*, along

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The Greek glossator Hesychios (5th century A.D.) mentions 'gennoi' as naked philosophers, a word in which M. Schmidt in his 2nd ed. (1867) of Hes. p. 342 surmises the Jains, comp. Gray and Schuyler, *Am. J. of Philol.* 22 (1901), p. 197. Lassen, *Ind. Altertumskunde* 4 (1861) and LÜDERS KZ 38, p. 433 are not against Schmidt's suggestion, whereas Stein in *Megasthenes and Kautilya*, p. 293 f. maintains a cautious attitude.

4. The Mackenzie Collection. A Descriptive Catalogue...By...H.H. Wilson. C. 1828, and ed. Madras 1882.

with the *Navatattvaparakarana*, appeared in 1848 in Stevenson's English rendering<sup>5</sup>. That this was a rather imperfect performance<sup>6</sup> is easily explained by the fact that Stevenson was the first European scholar to be confronted with the canonical Prakrit<sup>7</sup>. The *Abhidhānacinatāmaṇi* in 1858 was followed<sup>8</sup> by Weber's edition of Dhaneśvara's *Śatrumjayamāhātmya*<sup>9</sup> with a detailed preface. So, then, the textual basis was rather narrow for Lassen's sketch of Jainism<sup>10</sup> in his "Indische Altertumskunde" 4, 755-787 (1861).<sup>11</sup>

§ 2. The mentioned edition had been Weber's first attempt in Jain research, but years later it was actually his great study "Über ein Fragment der Bhagavatī etc." that was epochmaking. It appeared in two parts in the *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1865-66 and in a separate edition (1866-67), that is to say again twenty years after the first Jain text (s.a.). Obsolete as it is now, yet it marks in our field the beginning of a philological and

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5. The *Kalpa-Sūtra* and *Nava Tatva*. Two works illustrative of the Jain religion and philosophy. Transl. from the Magadhi by J. Stevenson. Lo. 1848.

6. Comp. Jacobi, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, p. 27 ff.

7. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* in "17 deals with the history of research in the *Ardha-Māgadhi*.

8. Pavie's French analysis of the *Padmāvaticaritra* in *JAs* 5, T. 7 may also be mentioned.

9. Albrecht Weber, *Über das Catrumjaya Māhātmyam*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Jaina. Leipzig 1858.

10. The word Jainism is an English rendering and etymologically not correct. In German works of Leumann, Winternitz, the Author and others the student will read "Jinismus" and "Jinistisch" derived from Jina, as are, in all languages, "Buddhism etc." from Buddha. "Bauddhism" etc. has never and nowhere been said.

11. Translation by Rehatsek *JA* 2, 193-200; 258-265.

creative epoch. As to it, the reader may be referred to Windisch's precise description rendered in the *Grundriss* (Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research). But the fundamentals laid down by Weber in self-sacrificing zeal cannot be passed over here : his treatise "Über die heiligen Schriften der Jaina" in *Indische Studien* Vol. 16 and 17 (1883-85) based upon the Jain manuscripts acquired by the Royal Library of Berlin 1873-78, and his "Verzeichnis" of the same (1888-92), the latter<sup>12</sup> represented by two monumental volumes, being a most accurate description which even extends to literature and history. A work of that scope going beyond the usual limits of a catalogue was not out of place at that stage. The Jain manuscripts purchased in later years have been catalogued by the Author not earlier than in 1944<sup>13</sup>.

Some time about those eighties the first prints of canonical texts (1880 ff.) came to Europe adding to foster Jain research work over there. Their inaugurator was Rāy Dhanpat Simha Bāhādur at Azimganj or Murshidabad in Bengal. Those huge volumes served their purpose until they were replaced by more handy ones some thirty years after (s.b.).

The manuscripts described by Weber had come to Berlin thanks to an agreement between BÜHLER and the Department of Public Instruction at Bombay which had commissioned him and other scholars in their service with the careful examination of private collections and the purchase of manuscripts at

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12. "A good deal of my visual faculty has been buried therein", *Verz.* II, 3. p. XVIII.

13. *Die Jaina-Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek. Neuerwerbungen seit 1891.* Leipzig 1944.

government costs. He was allowed to acquire manuscripts even for foreign libraries, provided they were doubles. The examined and purchased manuscripts were catalogued and listed in the valuable reports of R.S. and S.R. Bhandarkar, BÜHLER, Kielhorn, Peterson, and others. The manuscript acquired by the Government have been deposited in the Deccan College, now Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona. The Jain works among them have been minutely described by H.R. Kapadia in Vol. XVII of the Descriptive Catalogue of the Institute (1935-48). An appendix is devoted to graphic peculiarities (comp. JUB Vol. 5 and 6)<sup>14</sup>.

BÜHLER, through his Reports, has not only become a patron of Jain philology indirectly, but thanks to a number of original works and essays has been a direct promotor in our field, as, in the course of years, Weber, too, had been, and, moreover, they both have inspired younger scholars. Jacobi's critical edition of the "Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu" (AKM 7, 1, 1879) clearly shows traces of BÜHLER'S spirit, while Leumann's "Aupapātika Sūtra" (AKM 8, 2; 1883)—originally a thesis of Leipzig—is influenced by Weber and the Berlin Collection. It may be mentioned here that Weber successfully co-operated with Leumann in his great essay referred to above. The editions of both Jacobi and Leumann are masterpieces of philology, and it was only

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14. Weber already dealt with this topic (Verz. II 3, p. XII ff.). Leumann discussed the influence of the shape of the leaves upon the text (ZDMG 46, 583f.). Miniatures in manuscripts were treated by HÜTTEMANN, Baessler-Archiv 4, 2; Brown, *Jaina Gazette* 28, p. 77-83 (reviewed by Hirananda Sastri *ibid.* 113 f.); Brown, *Kālaka* ("24) with a bibliography. The Bibliography of Indian Archaeology may also be consulted.



a predilection for the old Prakrit grammarians that led Pischel in his famous "Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen" (§ 19, footnote 3) to call Hoernle's "Uvāsagadasāo" (1890) the only "critical" one<sup>15</sup>.

§ 3. Jacobi's introduction to the Kalpasūtra has come to be fundamental for all further research. This research has been described up to the twenties of this century by Windisch and need not be repeated here<sup>16</sup>. Its starting point was, due to Jacobi<sup>17</sup>, the definite removal of any doubt whether the Jains or the Buddhists were of earlier origin<sup>18</sup>, a doubt resulting from some inward and outward similarities between those two world denying religions. Jain creed had sprung into existence long before Gautama Buddha's time, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra was not its founder, but a reformer of what Pārśva had taught, whom tradition credibly maintains to have lived 250 years before him. It may be added here from a later deduction of Jacobi's that Mahāvīra's Nirvāna was in 477 B.C. As we know from Pali sources, he was a contemporary of Gautama and is likely to have survived him by seven years<sup>19</sup>.

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15. A reflex of Pischel's remark can be seen in Antagadadasao ed. Barnett, p. X, comp. Leumann JRAS 1907, p. 1080. As to the Uvās., see Leumann's review WZKM 3, 328-350.
  16. For Jain studies in Italy mostly going back to Jacobi see the indological bibliography up to 1911 in Rivista degli Studi Orientali 5, 219-271.
  17. See his introduction to the Kalpasūtra and to SBE 22 and 45.
  18. Colebrooke found it necessary to investigate the precedence of the Veda and of Brahmanism before the said religions (Observations etc., Misc. Essays II 196 ff.). Francklin had no doubt that the original religion of India was that of the "Boodh" and the "Jeyne" (Researches p. 137).
  19. SPAW 1930, p. 55 ff. ("19). Counter-arguments brought forward by Keith, Bull. School Or. Studies 6, p. 859-866.

Pali texts, moreover, give numerous details about thinkers and their schools in the Buddha's time. F.O. Schrader, a pupil of Leumann, made them the subject of his thesis in 1902<sup>20</sup>.

The most important of those philosophers was Gośāla Maskariputra, the head of the Ājīvika sect, whose interesting career has been repeatedly treated by Hoernle<sup>21</sup>. That Aśoka knew the Jains under the name of *nigaṇṭha* (Topra edict 7, 26) was BÜHLER's statement<sup>22</sup>. Their early history in so far as it is reflected by Hemacandra in his *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* (the *Sthavirāvali*) and in legends pertaining to it, is due to Jacobi no less than is the right interpretation of what is called the schism that led to the separation of the Śvetāmbara and Digambara communities. They did not, as old time would have it, separate by an act of violence but gradually, until, eventually, both partners became aware of their differences.

§ 4. It might have been expected that continued Jain research in Europe should have led to the origin of a Jaina Text Society as a counterpart to the well-known Pali Text Society. Pischel expressed his hope in this direction<sup>23</sup>, but things took a different course. The edition of canonical texts—which, of course, was the most important—did not go on methodically, but as

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20. Über den Stand der indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīras and Buddhas. Strassburg 1902.

21. Uvās. II app.; Encyclop. of Religion and Ethics I, p. 259ff. Later publications see "18.—A full account of Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature by Amulyachandra SEN, C. 1931.

22. ZDMG 46, p. 91; Ep. Ind. 2, 274. Acc. to the former place the discovery is due to Lassen.

23. SPAW 1903, f. II. Pischel lived half a century too early to see the foundation of the Prakrit Text Society on a large scale in 1953. For the first Volume see "56.

circumstances would have it. We are glad to say that the Jains themselves came to help, if, to be true, in their own style. The Āgamodaya-Samiti, founded at Mhesana in 1915, has published most works of the Śvetāmbara Siddhānta and many more non-canonical texts. These handy prints mark a great progress as compared with the monstrous volumes mentioned above. The classical commentary in Sanskrit has been added. It is wanting in the Jain Sūtra Battīsī which was a rather primitive undertaking (Haidarabad 1920), though Rṣi (i.e. Sādhu) Āmolak<sup>24</sup> had contributed a Hindi paraphrase.

The most recent print<sup>25</sup> is without any commentary whatever. Its name, taken from Ardhamāgadhī, is Suttāgame. Both the Battīsī and the Suttāgame are Sthānakvāsī prints and, for that reason, they contain no more than 32 Āgamas out of the traditional 45.

§ 5. The old texts, in many cases, have been handed down to us in a very curious shape which makes them rather unintelligible for the unprepared reader. The copyists of olden time being confronted with innumerable repetitions have recoured, as can be easily understood, to abbreviations which, however, violated the context. Up to this day, the printed books pass over them as through thick and thin. The reader, indeed, is prepared to forbear as traditional and respectable peculiarities of Jain style a certain monotony of question and answer, dry lists, and long complexes (though not altogether void of euphony) of what has turned out to be

24. The same as Amolakh Rṣijī, the author of Mukti Sopān (Haidarābād 1915), born in S. 1933, as is evident from the preface.

25. Shri Sutragama Prakashak Samiti, Gurgaon Cantt., E. P.

metrical passages<sup>26</sup>. But he is longing for a less clumsy wording. This might be easily achieved by a rational method of dissolving those abbreviations and by providing the necessary references, a method which would result in a readable text where the valuable trend of thought now often concealed would eventually appear in a lucid form. It goes without saying that critical examination and comparison of traditions will remain indispensable. Let it be admitted that the want of controllable oldest manuscripts is often a stumbling stone in the way towards that ideal of a critical edition. Hundreds of Jain works are still preserved in partly subterranean *bhaṇḍārs* where they were deposited centuries ago, and those precious libraries remained inaccessible since the conservatism of the owners could not overcome their disinclination towards their treasures being published. When BÜHLER was allowed to have a glance into the *barā bhaṇḍār* of Jaisalmer, he was misled as to the mass of what was preserved there. It was not earlier than a few years ago that a scholarly examination of *bhaṇḍār* manuscripts became feasible, and our thanks and respects are due to Munirāj PUNYAVIJAYA for his working towards that noble aim<sup>27</sup>.

§ 6. The 'classical' Sanskrit commentary to the Śvetāmbara canon represents the climax of a vast scholastic literature. Its predecessors in Prakrit, the Nijjuttis and Cuṇṇis, were, for a long time, neglected by scholars. We might even say that, in a certain sense, this is still true to-day, for the publications of Cuṇṇis issued in the course of the last decades do not contain

26. The Veḍa metre, discovered by Jacobi Ind. Stud. 17, p. 389 ff.; later treatments by the Author, Worte p. 3f.; Alsdorf in Asiatica (Festschrift Weller), p. 16.

27. See Alsdorf in Festschrift Schubring, p. 59f.



even the slightest illustrative or critical addition, though the merits of Muni Jinavijaya Acharya in laying them before the reader are undisputable. It was nearly half a century earlier (1892) that Leumann, on the ground of his own subtle investigations based not upon prints but upon manuscripts, has shown (ZDMG 46, p. 586) the importance of those voluminous products for not only Jain dogmatics but for the history of literature in general. Unfortunately the author did not pursue those researches he had characterized as "indispensable for the exploration of the Jain literature of several centuries", pointing out that the Kathās in the old commentaries often appear in non-Jinistic works. Still we possess his "Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen" (AKM 10, 2; 1897) which after the most subtle examination of the best manuscripts give the pure text of those old moral illustrations. It is a point of regret that no more than but four forms of that work should have been printed and that a continuation, though promised, should never have seen the light of the day. It was younger recensions of Jain stories that were translated and explored as to their motives and their importance for comparative history of literature by Hertel and others. In his essay "On the Literature of the Shvetambaras of Gujarat" (1922) we find the following remarkable passage : "During the middleages down to our own days the Jains and especially the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat, were the principal story-tellers of India. Their literature contains, in huge masses, the materials which the students of folklore, who wish to do true scientific work, should thoroughly study in preference to all the other Indian narrative literature." But Hertel did not leave any doubt that in his opinion not even the preliminary condition, i.e. of critical texts and precise translations was fulfilled.

As to his intrinsic studies of the Kathānakas for which he succeeded to produce parallels even from non-Indian sources, the reader is referred to Winternitz' History of Indian Literature Vol. 2.

Jain Sanskrit in the Stories, according to Hertel, is a common people's language with its usual carelessness and some borrowings from Prakrit or from the author's provincial tongue; it must not be measured by the standard of classical Bhāratī. This definition serves to weaken a severe judgment pronounced by BÜHLER (loc. cit. p. 14). At other places in scholarly literature, too, peculiarities of Jain Sanskrit have been noted down. Bloomfield in the second of four systematical collections<sup>28</sup> has pointed out, (1) the influence of Prakrit and an early stage of New Indian (Gujarati and Marathi) already mentioned, (2) in some cases hyper-sanskritization of words apparently Prakritic, (3) borrowings from dictionaries and grammars, (4) use of words of un-known origin. Apart from Amitagati's Dharmaparīkṣā (ed. Mironow) this judgment was based upon Śvetāmbara works. A description of the origin and progress of linguistic studies in the Prakrits (Ardhamāgadhī, Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī, Jaina Śauraseni) and Apabhraṃśas in Jain literature is beyond the scope of this book.

When stopping further publication of the "Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen" Leumann had consoled the reader with his "Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka-Literature" to come out "in the very next time." Materials from manuscripts

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28. Life and stories of the Jain Saviour Pārśvanātha (Baltimore 1919); p. 220; Some Aspects of Jaina Sanskrit (Antidōron, Festschrift Wackernagel 1923, p. 220 ff.); The Śālibhadra Carita (JAOS 1923, p. 290-316); On Diminutive Pronouns in Jaina Sanskrit (Festschrift Laumann 1929, p. 7 ff.).

and manuscripts only, a long list of which Leumann has given in ZDMG 45 and 46, had been collected for the purpose of laying bare the different layers of an extensive scholastic literature concerning certain indispensable (*āvaśyaka*) formulae of daily devotion. By this great work he was many decades ahead of his time. But, unfortunately, in this case too, printing was stopped when the 14th form (in folio) had been composed. Not until 34 years later this fragment, rich in contents, but difficult to study, was published by the Author who was fortunate enough to find the proofs being preserved<sup>29</sup>.

§ 7. All history of literature, a building, as it were, has for its ground-floor the bio-bibliographical materials. Jain research would have enjoyed the great luck of having them at its disposal, if Klatt's *Onomasticon* had been completed and printed. Eight volumes from his own hand in alphabetical order contain what was within his reach to collect data concerning Jain authors and works. But he fell severely ill and never recovered. The work was estimated so fill some 1, 100 pages in print, but no more than 55 pages have been printed as a specimen thanks to Weber and Leumann<sup>30</sup>. The first to become a bibliographer of Jainism was GUÉRINOT by his "Essai de bibliographie jaina" (1906). A modern standard was not reached until 1944, when Velankar's *Jinaratnakoṣa* appeared, where the Jain works have been catalogued, while a second volume containing their authors is still waiting for being published. A primitive forerunner had

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29. Leumann, Übersicht über die *Āvaśyaka*-Literatur, aus dem Nachlass harsg. v. Walther Schubring, Hamburg 1934. Obituary by the same, ZDMG 87, p. 69-75.

30. Specimen of a literary-biographical *Onomasticon* by Dr. Joh. Klatt Leipzig 1892.—His obituary by Leumann IA p. 23, 169.

been the "Jaina Granthāvali" published by the Jain Svetāmbara Conference in 1908.

Another fundament for Jain history are the inscriptions. GUÉRINOT's "Essai" was followed in 1908 by a "Répertoire d'épigraphie jaina." Though not the work of a specialist, yet Luders' "List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the earliest time till about 400 A.D. with the exception of those of Aśoka" is valuable thanks to innumerable inscribed allusions to the Order of Jain laymen and monks. (EI 10, App. L.C. 1912.)

It seems to be a digression from our subject when we note that BÜHLER in his academical lecture "Über die indische Sekte der Jainas" (1887) was the first to call up the interest of non-scholars for Jainism, legitimated as he was to do so thanks to 17 years of official service in the then Bombay Presidency. Mrs. S. Stevenson, trained in the Christian Mission of Gujarat, wrote her book "The Heart of Jainism" in 1915, thus challenging a strong resentment at least among the Digambaras<sup>31</sup>. It is curious to see that, while this authoress regretted to miss true warmth of heart in the religion she described, Pertold in a public lecture approved of its being excluded from it<sup>32</sup>. Guerinot's book "La religion djaina" (1926) was exposed to criticism as was the book just mentioned<sup>33</sup>. One year

31. Jagmanderlal Jaini : A Review of the H. of J., Ambala 1925. Earlier, Mrs. Stevenson published "Notes on modern Jainism", Oxford, 1910.

32. O. Pertold, The Place and Importance of Jainism in the Comparative Science of Religions (Bh. without year), p. 21 : "I think this sentimental aspect is the least desirable in a modern religion, which must go parallel with the fast development of sciences."

33. Critically reviewed by Charlotte Krause ZDMG 84, p. 192-202; comp.; also Frauwallner WZKM 36, p. 336 ff.



before (1925) H.V. Glasenapp's by far more instructive and comprehensive work "Der Jainismus, eine indische Erlösungsreligion" had come into the hands of many grateful readers.

To the same author we owe his contribution to the Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft representing Jain literature and writing according to the different literary species. Winternitz' History of Indian Literature Vol. II, p. 289-356 (1920) which deals with the same subject is too well known for its merits for being praised here.

§ 8. Thus far we have registered western working for the public knowledge of Mahāvira's religion. As to the countless pamphlets and journals through which the Jains themselves, for the purpose of propaganda, appeal to the general public, we but mention them here in passing. Of the publications useful for scholars we refer to Vijayadharma Sūri's (s.b.) Jainatattvajñāna (in Festschrift Winternitz), Jaini's "Outlines of Jainism", P.C. Nahar's "Epitome of Jainism" and Ch. R. Jain's "Jaina Law." Research further receives great help by *compilations* as are catalogues of private libraries, collections of Paṭṭāvalis and of Praśastis, biographies, etc. They all, however, are overshadowed by the "Abhidhānarājendra", a Sanskrit encyclopedia in 7 volumes, whose Prakrit catchwords are taken from the canonical and scholastical literature of the Śvetāmbaras, a monumental work by VIJAYARĀJENDRA Sūri (1827-1907, Ratlam 1913-25). A glossary of the Canon in three languages is the Illustrated Ardha-Magadhi Dictionary of Muni Ratnacandra in 5 volumes (Indaur 1923-32). Prakrits of all kind including that of the Jains have flown together to mix in the ocean called "Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo, a complete Prakrit-Hindi Dictionary" (1928) by Pandit Hargovind Das Sheth. Precise data of places

as well as large supplements will increase the value of that great work. Among the *periodicals* we should like to mention the *Anekānt*, *Jain Antiquary*, *Jain Hitaiṣi* where literature and history are being discussed by Jain authors, many of whom, of course, have contributed also to non-Jinist journals. Nearest related to the periodicals are the series (*grantha-mālā*). In many cases they represent a very remarkable file including rare and significant works provided with a scholarly introduction. It is a pity that many *Grānthamālās* should have become known in the West only in fragments, if at all.

The Śvetāmbaras can be proud of the volumes, apart from the *Siddhānta*, published by the Āgamodaya-Samiti, by the Devcand Lālbhāi-J.-Pustakoddhāra, the Ātmānanda-Grantharatnamālā (Bhn, 1911 ff.), the Yaśovijaya-J.-Gr., started in 1904 and apparently the oldest Jain series, and many more literary undertakings which cannot be enumerated here. Our thanks are equally due to the Digambaras. a parallel to the *Siddhānta* are the classical Digambara authors. They have been printed and translated in the *Sacred Books of the Jains* (Arrah 1917 ff.; *Sanātana-J. Gr.-M.* (Ben. 1917 ff.); *Śrī Rāyacandra-J. Śāstra-M.* (Bo. 1916 off.) *Māṇikcand-J.-Gr.-M.* (Bo. 1915 off.). The most recent series is the *Jnānapīṭha-Mūrtidevī-J.-Gr.-M.* (Banaras 1948 ff.), a younger counterpart to the *Singhī-J.-Gr.-M.* (Bo. 1933 ff.) of the Śvetāmbaras, edited by Muni Jinavijaya.

§ 9. These intimations are merely meant to demonstrate the respectable activity within the Jain communities as to their almost inexhaustible stock of literature, an activity radiating as far as to the field of Western research. This state of affairs can be dated from the first two decades of this century. It is true that

it was Hoernle who, as early as in 1890, could dedicate the first volume of his *Uvāsagadasāo* to VIJAYĀNANDA Sūri (Ānandavijaya = Ātmārāma, 1837-97) in grateful acknowledgment of various suggestions and corrections, though it is equally true that it was Vijayadharma Sūri (1868-1922), never failing to help when being consulted by European scholars<sup>34</sup>, who proved by far more effective. The renaissance just mentioned with the Śvetāmbaras at least is due to his lasting impulse.

For a long time research in Europe and America was known to the Jains to but a certain degree, that is to say, as far as their knowledge of English allowed. Books and articles in German and other Western languages frequently remained beyond their reach. Hence it follows that quite a number of data produced by them are well-known in Western literature. It is evident, therefore, that of all works of Jacobi's (1850-1937)<sup>35</sup> none have come to their knowledge than those written in English. But even this crop harvested on the Jain field by an allround genial indologist was abundant enough for a Jain Conference in 1914 held on the occasion of Jacobi's second stay in India, to bestow upon him the honorary title of Jaina-darśana-divākara. We are thus justified in this historical sketch in reproducing how to him, in several publications<sup>36</sup>,

34. Western acknowledgments and recollections by Winternitz, GUÉRINOT, Belloni-Filippi and other; A.J. Sunawala, V. Dh. S., His Life and Work. With a prefatory note by F. W. Thomas, Cambridge 1922, the Same, Adarsha Sadhu, an ideal monk, 2nd ed. Cambridge 1934; Vijaya Indra Sūri, Reminiscences of V. Dh. S., Shivpuri 1924.

35. Obituary by H. V. Glasenapp ZDMG 92, p. 1-14; the Author, Jain Gazette 1937.

36. On the Metaphysics and Ethics of the Jainas (Transact. 3rd Congr. for the History of Religion 2, p. 59-66; Die Entwicklung

Jainism presented itself in view of its relation to other creeds and systems.

§ 10. On the foregoing pages it has been said already that research started from the similarity observed between Mahāvīra's and the Buddha's teaching, those two coeval features which both result in a monk's life, touching each other in many respects and agreeing in considering Right Knowledge to be the means of how to get rid of the endless chain of rebirth. There is, however, a difference (among others) between them in that the Buddha does not share the high opinion of ascetic practices which, in Mahāvīra's belief, are essential for reaching the ultimate goal. Further differences will be found in metaphysics. But here the partner of the comparison<sup>37</sup> is not so much Buddhism as is the Sāṃkhya. In the Sāṃkhya the development of the world starts from matter that is imperishable and infinite as to quality going on in a determined sequel defined by means of Brahman terms. The Jains, being far from the Brahman way of thinking, do not acknowledge such a sequel, since, in their eyes, the world is eternal, though they agree with the Sāṃkhya in considering matter as being capable of developing in whatever direction. Moreover, logic compels them, as does the Sāṃkhya, to consider as important the transition (*pariṇāma*) from the one status to the next. And third, both are in harmony

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der Gottesidee bei den Indern (1923) p. 21 ff.; Gött. Gelehrte Anz. 1919, p. 16 ff.; Encyclop. of Rel. and Ethics 7, p. 465 ff.; SPAW 1929, p. 322 ff.; a summary in Forschungen und Fortschritte 6, p. 36.

37. Comp. W. Bohn, Die Religion des Jaina und ihr Verhältnis zum Buddhismus, Zeitschr. f. Buddhismus 3, p. 113-140; Leumann, Buddha und Mahāvīra, ibd. 4 (separate offprint, Munich 1921.)

as to the original conception of the soul. "The Jainas call *jīva* all souls, the Sāṃkhya those that exist in the concrete world. Thus it seems that "soul" has been abstracted from "living being", that is to say, from a popular view." The same idea appears in the conception that the soul is as large as the body, a conception which is apparent with the Jains, while it is at least inferable from the original Sāṃkhya and Yoga. Both Jainism and Sāṃkhya pretend a plurality of bodies. It seems that this conception replaced the primitive idea of a plurality of souls at a time when the doctrine of the One Ātman could not be neglected any longer. This applies to the doctrine of Karman and of reincarnation following from the former and which, by the by, is a primitive idea as well. Both Karman and reincarnation are the fundamentals of the Sāṃkhya system as well as of that of the Jains. The very fact that both these systems, as they now stand, are so very unlike to each other contributes to their common features being extremely significant, and this explains itself by their having embodied elements of common-sense view. (Volksglauben). The time when this happened can be calculated thanks to non-Jinist testimonials of spiritual development as well as to chronology. Both agree in going back as far as the 8th century B.C.

The Jain system, moreover, exhibits archaic traits not found in other systems. Among them we have the theory of the elementary particles (earth, water, fire, wind) possessing souls, and the names of *dharma* and *adharma* for the media of motion and stop. The former can be rubricated as animism, whereas in the latter there appears the conception of "invisible fluids which by contact cause sin and merit"<sup>38</sup>, a conception coming

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38. Jacobi at frequent places.

near to primitive sorcery. In later chapters of this book we are going to point out some more characteristics of such primitive or popular thinking ("Volks Glaube"). It is very well imaginable that, apart from this basis, Mahāvira made use of the conceptions of other systems<sup>39</sup>, though his is not dependent on other systems we know of<sup>40</sup>. On the other hand it is probable that the Jains influenced the Yoga as taught by Patanjali, but in subordinate items only. There is no relation to the Vaiśeṣika system assumed by Jacobi, though it shares its atomistic character with that of the Jains. Since the similarity between both of them cannot possibly be ignored, the Jains maintained that a heretic<sup>41</sup> named Chaluya Rohagutta was the inventor of the Vaiśeṣika system. For scholars<sup>42</sup> take the word Chaluya as an illusion to the six (*cha*) categories in the "owl" (*uluya*)-philosophy. i.e. the teaching of the Kāṇādas or "crow-eaters", i.e. "owls." The doctrine imputed to Rohagutta is that he under-took to add a third category (*rāsi*) called *nojīva*, to the natural and traditional ones, viz. *jīva* and *ajīva*. It seems impossible to prove that the Vaiśeṣika took its origin from that rather funny doctrine. Rohagutta was defeated dialectically by 144 items the detailed list of which, being based on the Vaiśeṣika, turns out to be a secondary addition.

§ 11. It is in this connexion that, last not least, we

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39. "Mahāvira probably borrowed much more from other sects than we shall ever be able to prove", Jacobi SBE 45, p. XXXII.
40. A conjecture that Umāsvāti in T. 7, 5 ff. was influenced by the Yogasūtra was not maintained by Jacobi SPWA 1930, p. 607. Some contact between both of them is stated by him ad T. 2, 52 and 9, 46.
41. This was the 6th heresy of the 7 known in tradition ("17").
42. Jacobi (following Weber) Kalpasūtra p. 119, SBE 45, XXXV ff., ad T. 9. Most important Leumann, Ind. Stud. 17, p. 121 ff.

wish to refer to a subject common to both Jainism and Hinduism, without being entitled to pretend that the latter influenced the former. The belief in the force of magic syllables has its roots in the primitive stage of mankind. In Brahman literature it appears ever since the remotest times of antiquity. No wonder, then, that in later centuries we find it even in Jainism where a great many of Stotras resound with those incantations which even an illiterate might master<sup>43</sup>. But the Jains, moreover, have found a way for educated people to bring forward their praise and desire in writing. A *vijjā* or magic formula appears in the peculiar manner of each consonant having the *virāma* and being followed by the respective vowel *akṣara* (e.g. *t + u* instead of *tu*). In the Canon the *Mahānisiha* is the only representative<sup>44</sup> and thus goes conform with the *Angacūliyā*, *Āyāravihi*, *Vihimaggappavā* and other texts of a decidedly later date. On principle the Stotras are directed to an Arhat, though other persons, among whom there are certain Hindu goddesses, receive veneration all the same. But an Arhat is far beyond the reach of human affairs. Being in the state of pure cognition exclusively and without both sentiment and will, he cannot bestow grace and favour unto those who appeal to him. Hindu influence seems to have been at work in placing at his side two adjutants, one male (*yakṣa*) and one female (*yakṣī*, *yakṣiṇī*), the former presumably being not more than the shadow of the latter<sup>45</sup>, and it is these two that take care of a devout supplicant. That, on a large scale,

43. Comp. Ch : Krause, *Ancient Jaina Hymns*, Ujjain 1952; the Author in *Festschrift Nobel* 1959.

44. The Author, *Mahanis*, p. 73 and 74 ff. *Studien* (I) p. 66, 88, 106.

45. The Author, see footnote 1.

Hindu mythology was adopted by the Jains and brought in accord with their own principles is a fact known too well that it should be treated here in detail. The remarkable process of making out of a Bodhisattva a Roman Catholic Saint<sup>46</sup> finds its not less remarkable counterpart in the Jain ability of transforming epic heroes and other individuals into venerable persons of their own creed. The difference is that the said process in the West, thanks to translating a wandering subject into many languages, was unconscious, while the Jains with conscious energy satisfied their pious requirements at home.

## II

### A Historical Sketch of Jainism

§ 12. Any historical sketch of the Jain religion has to deal not only with the objective results of research but also with the facts maintained by this religion. We shall consider the latter first. They are based on the assumption of the world having neither beginning nor end, i.e. being everlasting. Incessantly, though only within a small part of the universe, the wheel of time revolves with its spokes (*samā*), the gradations ranging from the paradisaical to the catastrophical period (§ 120) and back to the former, ceaselessly passing through the point denoting the present. The descending half-circle, and it is this where we find ourselves, is called *osappiṇī*, the ascending *ussappiṇī*. Either produces a number of prophets of salvation (*titthagara*) as Mahāvira is, and just as his teaching (*tittha*) is

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46. E. Kuhn, Barlaam and Josaphat, comp. Winternitz, History 2, p. 416 f.



destined to last not longer than 21,000 years (Viy. 792a, comp. also § 120), so the teachings of all his precursors were doomed to degenerate and so will be those of all that come after him. But from every degeneration a new prophet will save the teaching, if only but after an immeasurably long intermediate period (*antara*). Since all this occurs periodically, the Jains can afford to be quite easy in stating the inevitable impendency of degeneration.<sup>47</sup>

§ 13. Next to the spiritual supermen, to whom we shall return in due course, we have the temporal heroes. It is in them, in their social standing as well as in their personal names and those connected with them, that we first and most distinctly behold the influence of non-Jain conceptions and, mainly, of such pertaining to the Kṛṣṇa mythology. There are grand sovereigns or world-emperors (*cakkavaṭṭi*) who are the immediate counterparts of the common-Indian *cakravartin*. In the *baladeva* and *vāsudeva*, comprised as *dasāra-maṇḍala* by Samav. 152b, the two homonymous heroic figures have been generalized into types, and Samav. 153a is consequent in calling these half-brothers *duve rāmakesavā* by then adding their names. The *kulagara*, finally, reflect the Brahman *manu* and the law-constituting ancestral fathers. During every half-circle covered by the ever revolving time-wheel<sup>48</sup> there arise 24 probhets, 12 grand sovereigns, 9 *baladeva* and as many *vasudeva*, and either 7, 10 or 15 legislators. It is these latter only that are traced back (Samav. 150 b) over the present half-course to the one immediately preceding, whereas for the one to succeed all different classes are noted (comp. also Ṭhāṇ. 455b, 457b ff.).

47. Comp. Author, OLZ 1926, col. 910 ff.

48. *ega-samae ega-juge* Ṭhāṇ. 76a; Nāyādh. 223a.

And, what is more, from the uniformity regarding the cosmographic structure (§ 119) it follows that the appearance of all these men in our southernmost continent of Bharaha has its counterpart in the northernmost of Eravaya. So that, then, we hear (Ṭhāṇ. 76a; Samav. 72b, 153b) of the corresponding men also in this continent, if only by their names, and, indeed, they make their appearance even in the nearest continents (§ 122), as Ṭhāṇ. 123b, if only by way of indication, shows (see also below). In this respect the continent of Mahāvideha is but rarely mentioned (Viy. 791a and, accordingly, Ṭhāṇ. 201a).

For discussing the individual classes we have to start from the fact that every half-course contains 6 periods (§ 120) within which the condition of the world either deteriorates—as is the case in the *osappiṇī*—or improves—as in the *ussappiṇī*. In the third of these periods, illustrated by the wheel-spoke of ‘good-bad’ (*susama-dūsamā*), that is to say in its last third, the legislators and founders of civilisation (*kulagara*) made their appearance, 15 in number acc. to Jambudd. 132b, and 7 acc. to Ṭhāṇ. 398a; Samav. 150b; Āv. 148. Their names are : Summai, Paḍissui, Sīmaṃkara, Sīmaṃdhara, Khemaṃkara, Khemaṃdhara (thus far in Jambudd. only), Vimalavāhaṇa, Cakkhumam, Jasamam, Abhicanda, Candābha (in Jambudd. only), Pasaṇai, Marudeva, Nābhi, Usabha (in Jambudd. only). The last of these names is due only to unnecessarily adding the 1st Tittthagara. Without it we have 14 names after the example of the 14 Manu<sup>49</sup>, though the 7 first names are for the most part rather poorly invented, and most certainly the second row of 7 is the original

49. This is the number in the Dig., comp. v. Glasenapp, Festgabe für Jacobi p. 337.

one. Now the kulagaras introduced punishments (*daṇḍa-nīi*) which, however, consisted in not more than in admonition, warning and reprimand (*hakkāra*, *ma-kkāra*, *dhikkāra*). Every new kind<sup>50</sup> came to be of common usage with the 6th and 11th kulagara (Āv. 165 f. : 1.3.5.).

The following period "bad-good" (*dūsama-susamā*) contains all *Baladeva* and *Vāsudeva* (Jambudd. 164b) or *dasāra* (Than. 76a; 123a f.; Samav. 72b). The former, dressed in dark, is characterised by the palmtree, the latter, dressed in yellow, by the Garuḍa in the banner; other attributes of the *baladeva* are the ploughshare, the club and the arrow, whereas of the *vāsudeva* they are the shell, the discus, the club, the spear, and the sword, so that the description (Samav. 152b f.)<sup>51</sup> closely follows the epic pattern. They both are masters of half the Bharaha. We come to know (also Tḥāṇ. 447a) their names in their pre-existence, their fathers and mothers, their teachers, the towns where they first came to wish for a certain form of existence (*niyāṇabhūmi*), the cause for this wish (*n.-kāraṇa*), and their 9 opponents, *paḍisattu*, later called *prativāsudeva*. Since these informations are for the most part given in the way of popular verses we may well suggest the general knowledge of certain legends marked with regard to content. In the Canon, however, the individual *baladeva* and *vāsudeva* scarcely appear at all (Samav. 63a). It is

50. Tḥāṇ. 398a renders the *daṇḍa-nīi* as seven-fold : the above mentioned plus *paribhāsa*, *maṇḍala-bandha*, *cāraga*, *chavicccheya*. Acc. to Āv. 166f. the last 4 constitute the *daṇḍa-nīi* coming in with Bharaha.—To the common *nīi* it has to be added that its means are *sāma*, *bheya* and *daṇḍa* (Tḥāṇ. 151a). These three *attha-joṇi* are lacking *dāṇa*.

51. In Vedhas interspersed with prose.

only *Kaṇha Vāsudeva* who in Antag. 5<sup>52</sup> plays an actual part, and in the Jain version of the epic Draupadī legend in the Nāya 16 of the 6th Anga<sup>53</sup>. Here in Kavila (Kapila) we come to know a *vāsudeva* contemporary with *Kaṇha*, though pertaining to a different continent (see above).

As to the world emperors we are informed in a similar way by Samav. 152a, though in Jambudd. 3 we have a detailed description concerning the career of the 1st *cakkavaṭṭī* Bharaha. This career consists in the obtaining of 14 imperial crown-treasures. In the armoury hall of his palace at Viṇiyā the wheel (1) settles first and then shows him the way to the succeeding ventures<sup>54</sup>. Bh. proclaims his sovereignty at three points of the sea-shore, at the Sindhu and at a cave in the Veyadḍha mountains. At the two latter places he gains a magic fleece (*camma-ṛayaṇa*) (2) and the rod (3) and by the former serving him as a ship he crosses the stream. The people of the Avāḍa-Cilāya are assisted by the Nāgakumāra causing a tempest to rage over the headquarters for seven days which Bh., however, is able to resist by means of his magic umbrella (4) and the crown-jewel (5), and the Av.-C. surrender. Further acquisitions made in this district are : the prototype of all measures of capacity (*kāgiṇī*)<sup>55</sup> (6), a spouse (7), and a sword (8). On the Gangā Bh. receives 9 objects of priceless value (*nihi*, Thāṇ. 448b; Jambudd. 256b). Then there follows the ceremonial entry into Viṇiyā.

52. Comp. Kennedy JRAS 1908, 505-521.

53. Comp. Leumann, VIH OC III, 2, p. 541 ff. In addition there is the "Legend of Dvāravati's fall and Krishna's death" provided by Devendra in the comm. on Utt. (Jacobi ZDMG 42, 493-529; Charpentier ibd. 66, 675-678).

54. The Author also GGA 1932, p. 293f. Alsdorf ZDMG 92, 472 f.

55. For a description see Thāṇ. 434a; Jambudd. 225a.

The imperial crown-treasures equally include the general (*seṇāvai*), the chamberlain (*gāhāvai*), the architect (*vaḍḍhai*), the domestic chaplain (*purohiya*), horse and elephant (9 to 14). After a long reign he performs the act of purging called *apuvva-karaṇa* (§ 183), obtains the Kevala-cognition (§ 81) and enters the Nirvāṇa on the Aṭṭhāvaya mountain. This career is typical of all grand-sovereigns, for Ṭhāṇ. 298a says that they all gain the 14 crown-jewels. They are all considered to be animate (§ 101) as we know from Indian dramatic plays a.o. Apart from being distinguished by their names (Samav. 152b) the 12 *cakkavattī* are also distinguished by their bodily size<sup>56</sup>, but this they share with the *baladeva* and *vāsudeva* on the one hand and with the *titthagara* on the other. Their period, too, is the *dūsama-susamā* with the exception of Bharaha who already lived in the *susama-dūsamā* as did the 1st *Titthagara*. But there are still other relations existing between the two species. The 5th to the 7th grand-sovereigns came to be the 16th to the 18th *titthagara*, and of the latter the first was actually an emperor (Samav. 42b), even though he is not listed as such a one.

56. The size most certainly also determined the measures of the three giant figures representing Bharaha's younger brother Bāhubali. Acc. to the legend Bh. himself raised a statue to him with B. measuring 325 dhaṇu. He is often called Kāmadeva among other names, and acc. to M. Govind Pal IHQ 4, 270-286, the Kanarese name of Gommaṭa, by the mediation of the Konkani, stems from the synonymous word Manmatha. The most ancient, largest and most famous of the three statues (57 ft. high) was raised about 980 A.D. by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya—Gommaṭa Rāya near Sravana Belgola in Mysore, a second, dated Śaka 1353, near Karkala, and a third, dated 1525 by Saka, near Yenur (Venur), both places in South-Kanara. Comp. Pal ibd.; Venkatasubbiah IHQ 6, 290-309; early reports by Mackenzie IA 2; 129-133; Burnell ibd. 353-357.

In the following we give the Śvet.-names of the series<sup>57</sup> in Bharata as have been discussed above. The *kulagara* temporally precede the *cakkavaṭṭi*, Bharaha is the son of Usabha. The 5 first members of the series 2 to 4 lie between cakk. 2 and 3, the 6th and 8th fall in the time of cakk. 7 and 9, the 7th and 9th lie between cakk. 8 and 9, and between 11 and 12 resp.<sup>58</sup>

1. *cakkavaṭṭi* : Bharaha, Sagara, Meghavaṃ, Saṃkumāra, Santi<sup>59</sup>, Kunthu<sup>59</sup>, Ara<sup>59</sup>, Subhūma, Mahāpauma Hariseṇa, Jayaṇāma or-seṇa, Bambhadatta.—2. *baladeve* : Ayala, Vijaya, Bhadda, Suppabha, Sudaṃsaṇa, Āṇanda, Nandaṇa, Pauma (= Rāma Dāśarathi), Rāma (= Balarāma).—3. *vāsudeva* : Tivṭṭha (-tṭhū), Duvṭṭha, Sayambhū, Purisuttama, Purisasiha, Purisapuṇḍariya, Datta, Nārāyaṇa, Kaṇha.—4. *paḍisattu* : Assaggiva, Tāraga, Meraga, Mahukedhava, Nisumbha, Bali, Pahāraga, Rāvaṇa, Jarāsaṃdha. By adding the spiritual series of the 24 *titthagara* to these temporal series 2 to 5 later authors come to count 63 men “of mark” (Śvet. : *śālākā-puruṣa*, Dig. : *lakṣaṇa-p.*) leaving the mentioned identities out of consideration. 27 out of these 63 are related to the Kṛṣṇa legend. This has been led back by Jacobi to the spreading of the teaching towards the west<sup>60</sup>. But we have seen already that Kaṇha had been playing a part at all times, and also Aritṭhaṇemi, a brother-in-law of Kṛṣṇa, is included in the system since the time we know it.

57. For the deviations of the Dig. see v. Glasenapp, Festgabe f. Jacobi, p. 337 f.

58. Comp. the tables AV 242a and v. Glasenapp, Jainismus, p. 261.

59. *titth.* 16-18 (s. 7.). Jacobi (SBE 45, 86) thinks it possible that this name developed from Kakutstha, but this derivation asks for a number of hypothetical links.

60. Reports of the VIIth OC (Vienna 1889), p. 75-77; IA 16, 163f.

§ 14. In now turning to the spiritual heroes we have to distinguish between such who *find* and such who *preach* salvation, and as to the former we may denote them as the *patteya-buddha*. Viy. 895a places them next to the latter though fails to give any particulars for doing so, nor do we find any in the two only remaining and, by the way, later passages of Samav. 123a and Nandī 203a. The appertaining persons first appear in the narrative tradition of the *Āvassaya*<sup>61</sup>. The *preachers of salvation* (*titthagara, araham, jina*; Viy. 583a and Ṭhāṇ. 302a : *devādhiveva*) of the current *osappiṇī* are called : 1. Usabha, 2. Ajiya, 3. Saṃbhava, 4. Abhiṇandana, 5. Sumai, 6. Paumappabha, 7. Supāsa, 8. Candappabha, 9. Suvihi Pupphadanta, 10. Siyala, 11. Sejjaṃsa, 12. Vāsupujja, 13. Vimāla, 14. Aṇanta, 15. Dhamma, 16. Santi, 17. Kunthu, 18. Ara, 19. Malli, 20. Muṇisuvvaya, 21. Nami, 22. Ariṭṭhaṇemi, 23. Pāsa, 24. Vaddhamāṇa or Mahāvira. For Paumappabha and Candappabha Viy. 792a has Suppabha and Sasi; in an isolated inscription (§ 25) Ara is called Nāndyāvarta; Ariṭṭhaṇemi is frequently shortened into Nemi. The entire series is closely dealt with by Samav. 150a and Āv. 230 ff. though this is being done in comprising *gāhās* only. They record the names of each in their pre-existence, those of their parents, of their first alms-givers, pupils both male and female, and other items. What else we find in the Samav. and in the Ṭhāṇ. as well rests in correspondence to the purpose of these works, on figures which, faithful to the system, are mostly very large. Thus we learn, though but incompletely and frequently without any recognizable

61. The part they play with the later commentators Devendra and Bhāvavijaya has been dealt with by Charpentier in the light of the *Jātaka* and epic texts (*Paccekabuddhageschichten*. Uppsala 1908; JAS. 1911, 201-255).

principle, at what age a Tīthāgara devoted himself to monastic life, how many groups of disciples and group-leaders he had, how many among his followers owned a certain amount of spiritual knowledge and were endowed with certain kinds of cognition, how old he came to be, how tall he was, etc. Jinac. 184-203 in dealing with those from 2 up to 21 confines himself to giving the distances of the one from the other, from Mahāvīra or from the present of that time. A number of them is attributed certain colours of the body (Tṛhāṇ. 98b)<sup>62</sup>, and, what is more, in pairs : 6 and 12 are *pauma-gora* red, 8 and 9 *candagora*, white, 19 and 23 *piyangu-sāma* dark, and 20 and 22 *nīl'-uppala*, blue. The remaining are golden. For a smaller part these colours are due to the names of their bearers, and this, too, goes back to legends. Such is equally the case with reports stating, for instance (Samav. 42b), that 23 preachers of salvation (2-24) were minor princes (*maṇḍali-rāya*) prior to their monastic life, or, as Tṛhāṇ. 351b gives it, that five (12. 19. 22-24) were *kumāra* when becoming monks. By the earliest plastic image of a Tīthāgara handed down to us (§ 25, comp. also § 24) it is proved that their representation showing merely their typical features was given personal traits by adding a symbol. The Canon does not refer to such symbols. For the most part they consist in animals (for 1-4 : bull, elephant, horse, monkey : for 23 and 24 : snake and lion), but also in the red and blue lotus (6 and 21), in patterns (7, 10, 15, 18), in the water-jug (19) and in the shell (22)<sup>63</sup>. A direct reference to the name of the Tīthāgara is made merely by the bull of the Rṣabha; Mahāvīra's lion may

62. For minor deviations with the Digambaras see Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*.

63. For a specification see v. Glasenapp, *Jainismus* p. 491.



be connected with the words : *sih'ubbhava*<sup>64</sup>-*bhūṇaṃ appāṇaṃ kucchiṃsi gabbhaṃ vakkante Āyār*. II p. 121, line 22 (to supply *gabbhaṃ*).

No more than the Canon refers to the symbols does it refer to the two deities to male and female sex associated with every Tithagara. They are called *yakṣa* and *yakṣiṇī* or *yakṣī* or *sāsaṇa* (śruta) *devatā*. The latter may well have inaugurated the conception in so far as it was the commandment of Jina that first took on human shape, i.e. female shape in correspondence with basic Indian conceptions. Moreover, there was the demand for establishing granting powers for laymen since the preachers of salvation were beyond reach of their supplications<sup>65</sup>. Their names, again, disclose obvious suggestions of the Brahman sphere of ideas<sup>66</sup>. For these as well as for other persons and objects pertaining to the later cult comp. v. Glasenapp, *Jainismus* p. 362ff., 492<sup>67</sup>.

§ 15. At the beginning of her pregnancy the mother of a Tithagara has experienced 14 visions by dreaming as has such of a *cakkavaṭṭi*, whereas the mother of a *vāsudeva* has visioned 7, such of a *baladeva* <sup>68</sup>, and such of a *maṇḍaliya* 1 out of those 14. The germ for

64. So instead of *sihabbhava* (the Author ZDMG 104, p. 262). Comp. the *siṃhāvalokita* and other lion-like behaviour of the new-born Bodhisattva in *Lalitavistara* VII.

65. About the importance of the *yakṣī* cult in South India see Desai, *Jainism in South India*, 1957.

66. For the picture-teaching of the Dig. comp. Burgess IA 32, 459-464; XIII. OC, 74; in *The Indian Sect of the Jainas* ("4); J. L. Jaini IA 33, 330-332. For the Śvet. see Helen M. Johnson, IA 56, 23-28.

67. A movement against the Śruta-d. see "33.

68. A representation in colours was reviewed by HÜTTEMANN, *Baessler-Archiv* IV, H. 2. The Dig. know of 16 dreams.

these figures is in the 14 dreams of Mahāvīra's mother (Jñac. § 32 ff.)<sup>68</sup>. Acc. to Viy. 709a we have (to refer to this here) 42 normal and 30 major dreams (*mahā-suvīṇa*) of the kind of dreams in pregnancy mentioned above. Ten dreams were visioned by Mv. when still a *chaumattha* (§ 81, also Ṭhāṇ. 499a). 14 dreams immediately lead to true cognition and in most cases to salvation within the same existence. The dream belongs to the 8 possible omens (*nimitta*, Ṭhāṇ. 427a) and is considered rather incongruently<sup>69</sup> as a special kind of visionary power (Ṭhāṇ. 430b) together with *sammad-damśaṇa* etc. up to *kevala-d.* (§ 82) to which Sthān. 430b remarks that, properly speaking, the *svapnadarsāna* pertains to the *acakṣur-d.* (§ 82). It comes in during the state of semi-trance (*sutta-jāgara*) and it is either true (*ahātaṇṇa*), of temporal extension (*payāṇa*), goes back to some day-event (*cintā-suvīṇa*) or not (*tavvivariya*), or, finally, it is vague (*avvatta-damśaṇa*). The dream of a *saṃvudda*, i.e. of one who exercises *saṃvara* (§ 169), is necessarily true, however, while this is not positive with the *saṃvudda* and the *saṃvuddāsaṃvudda*. All this is taught by Viy. 16, 6 (709a ff.) perhaps in identity with the *Sumiṇabhavaṇa* referred to by Vav. 10, 28, or with the *Mahāsumiṇabhāvaṇa* quoted at other places.

The schematic structure of the life as lived by a preacher of salvation equally becomes clear by Jambudd. 5 describing the ceremonies conferred by the gods on every new-born *Titthagara*. The *disākumari* perform the preparations. Sakka and his gods, the latter being summoned by Hari Negamesi (§ 17), betake themselves to the birth-place. After the mother has been

69. *nimitta* as well as *uppāya* a.o. pertain to the region of the *pāvasuya-pasanga* (Ṭhāṇ, 45/a).

sunk into deep sleep a copy of the child is being created along with 5 Sakka who themselves take the Titthagara to the sacred place in the Paṇḍaga grove of the Mandara. Here it is Accuya who, with the assistance of the other gods, performs the act of consecration by anointing and adorning. Isāṇa creates 5 of his like who wash the Titthagara, Sakka 4 white bulls whose horns join above in the shape of water streams so that a vast flood pours down upon the head of the consecrated. 5 other Sakka then take him back to his mother's side removing the copy. By order of Sakka and Vesamaṇa the Jambhaga gods finally bring in all sorts of treasures, and in the end they all return to their abodes.

The end of the Titthagara career is discussed by Jambudd. 156b, though the text fails to mention any fixed locality. Acc. to the legends it is invariably the mountain of Sammeta or Pārāsnāth, a name referring to Pārśva (Pāsa). It was only Usabha who found the Nirvāṇa on the Kailāsa, Vāsupujja in Campā, Aritṭhaṇemi on Girnār, and Mahāvira (s.b.) in Pāvā. The cremation of the corpse is performed by all godly princes under Sakka's leadership. As we read in Viy. 502b the relics enjoy adoration in the heavenly sphere. This description holds good in any case even though the author here but refers to *Usabha* whose biography which for the most part coincides closely with Jinac. 204-228 is related in the preceding passages. Ranging first in the sequence and, for that reason, frequently called Ādinātha in later times *Usabha* (*Rṣabha*) enjoys the advantage of a more detailed representation which in Āv. 2 is explicitly proclaimed to be universally accepted; anything the life does not occur until the end of the sequence (s. b.). *Rṣabha* who, acc. to Viṣṇu-Purāṇa 2, 1 was a world emperor to become a naked ascetic and to die the

fasting-death<sup>70</sup> is sure to have come to the Jains most opportunely as ranging first in their sequence.<sup>71</sup> The extended description of the late Bhāgavata-P. (5, 6, 8-11) is connected with a vengeful allusion to Jainism flourishing in "Konka, Venka and Kuṭaka" thanks to Ṛ.'s travels in those regions. As is mentioned ibd. 5, 15, 1, but not in Viṣṇu-P., the same has happened with *Sumati*, Bharata's son. The person of *Malli* is (Ṭhāṇ. 400b) identical with that of the king's daughter referred to by Nāya. 8. There she is called by the name of *Malli arahā* and incidentally so from the moment (Nāyādh. 148a) when, on account of her report in front of her six suitors, she comes to remember earlier adventures. Her naming as *Arhat* always remains masculine, and the gods hail her (Nāyādh. 151a none else than Mahāvīra, Jinac. 111) as *Bhagavaṃ loga-nāha*. Nor does the latter figurative representation distinguish her in any way from the others. All this is a matter of course since sexual qualities are not inherent in a Siddha any longer. The Digambaras do not know of *Malli* having been a girl (Comp. § 30).

§ 16. Jacobi expressed the idea<sup>72</sup> that among the Tithagara such men were admitted who were dear to those communities that had attached themselves to Mahāvīra. This would have its counterpart on a larger scale in the structure of the Hindu pantheon. Provided that Mahāvīra's community really gained in strength by the incorporation of whole bodies of sects, we must,

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70. The first allusion made to the above mentioned passage was by Wilson (Works, Vol. 7, 104). Comp. also Jacobi IA 9, 163.

71. No trace in the Yajurveda of "the Tirthankaras Ṛsabha, Ajitanātha and Ariṣṭanemi", as Radhakrishnan (Indian Philosophy I, 28f.) will have it.

72. SBE 45. XXXII.

however, bear in mind that the *Titthagara* are separated from each other by “astronomical figures”, whereas those persons must have lived more or less distinctly in the memory of the contemporaries. As is the case with so many characters of the Brahman legends we can neither prove nor can we definitely dispute the assertion that the preachers of salvation rely on individual persons. The lowest rungs of the *Titthagara* ladder leading from primeval times up to the present are more or less clearly visible in the light of history.<sup>73</sup> Yet we would be more correct in saying that the ladder reaching from an historically attested experience on dogmatic grounds far up into the past is still hit by this light at a point not far from its foot. The question to be asked is how far up this is the case. We meet *Ariṭṭhaṇemi* in *Nāya* 5; *Antag.* 1-5; *Vaṇhid.*; *Utt.* 22. He is placed within the *Kṛṣṇa* circle as the brother-in-law of *Kaṃsa*; the scene is *Dvāravatī* (*Bāravaī*). In spite of his being more frequently referred to than his precursors, yet *Ariṭṭhaṇemi*—he lived to the age of a thousand years—is by no means historically more tangible than they are. The only thing to be advanced might be that in the year of *Mahāvīra*’s *Nirvāṇa* he had been dead for 84,000 years (*Jinac.* 182f.), because it should be remembered that the figure of 84 or either of its plurals frequently appear with the Jains and elsewhere where they only fail to give precise details for something founded on fact. *Acc. to Jinac.* 184 *Ariṭṭhaṇemi*’s precursor, *Nami*, died half a million years back, and as is the case with all other figures in the lives of the *Jinas*, so these intervals, too, increase into the gigantic by

73. By discussing this problem Chimanlal J. Shah starts his book on Jainism in North India 800 B.C.—526 A.D. Lo. 1932. Review by the Author in *OLZ* 1934, col. 126-128.

retrogradation. Pāsa, however, acc. to Jinac. 168 f. died 250 years before Mv. (1230 minus 980) at an age of one hundred years. Ever since Stevenson came to point out this moderation in quoting figures<sup>74</sup> these two dates have served as an argument for Pāsa's being an historic person, though what else we are told of him in Jinac. 149f. is merely a copy of Mahāvīra's biography with the exception that Pāsa is said to have been born in Benares and to have died on the Sammeya mountain in Bihar. Nor do we learn anything of importance<sup>75</sup> from Pāsa's rôle Nāyādh. II 1 and Pupph. 1, 3. But he is attested as a historic personality by other passages in rendering his teaching and reporting on his followers. Mahāvīra's parents are said to have belonged to Pāsa's lay-followers (*Pāsāvaccijjā samaṇôvasagā*, Āyār. II, 15, 16), and in his lifetime—as is confirmed by the *Sāmaññaphala-Sutta* of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*)<sup>76</sup>—there have been teachers (*P. jjā therā bhagavanto*, Viy. 134b, 247b) and monks (*aṇagāra*, Viy. 99a, 439a) in accordance with Pāsa's intentions. The word *avaccijja* (also *Therāv.* 2) indicates the spiritual filiation<sup>77</sup>. Pāsa was obviously of a winsome nature, for he bears the constant title of *puris'ādāṇīya* which seems to be the oldest precursor of the modern occasional titles of *Lokamānya*, *Deśabandhu*, *Mahātman*, etc. *ādāṇīya* means as much as *ādejjā* which

74. Kalpa Sūtra S. XII. Comp. Jacobi IA 9, 162f. Colebrooke (Misc. Ess. II, 212) does not make any use of this argument when calling P. "perhaps the real founder of the sect".

75. What Isibhās. 31 is given as his utterances has no individual character.

76. Comp. Jacobi, SBE 45, XX.

77. Since *dhamm'antevāsī* is one of the 10 terms for "son" (Thāṇ. 516a).

in the Karman theory stands for "suggestive"<sup>78</sup>. Both sects were on absolutely friendly terms, and for this we are given some valuable proof by the conversation of two of their leading representatives Rāyap.<sup>79</sup> and Utt. 23<sup>80</sup>. We are assured (Viy. 247b, 454a) that already Pāsa had conceived both the shape and the eternity of the world (§ 103) in a way as taught by Mahāvīra, though (in the second passage) the latter insists that he came to discover it independently. Yet we are not able to draw any immediate inferences on Pāsa's system from this conception of his since the idea of a lower, an intermediate, and an upper world is in itself not singular. Mahāvīra's laymen are instructed (Viy. 138a) by Pāsa teachers that self-discipline (*saṃjama*) leads to the suppression of the "influence" (*aṇaṇhaya*, § 168) and asceticism (*tava*) to purification (*vodāṇa*, also 140b), and to this Mahāvīra agrees. And yet, perhaps, he himself went beyond it, provided it was he who placed those two pairs into the causal association known, acc. to Thāṇ. 156b, as : *savaṇa*, *nāṇa*, *vinṇāṇa*, *paccakkhāṇa*, *saṃjama*, a., t., v., *akiriya*, *nivvāṇa*, *siddhi-gai-gamaṇa-pajjivasāṇa*. But it cannot be disputed that in practical ethics we see a development beyond Pāsa's ideas where the four-fold morality, the *cāujjāma dhamma*, is replaced by the *panca-mahavvaiya sapaḍikkamaṇa dh.* Pāsa's postulation (Rāyap. 118a; Thāṇ. 201 a) was : not to damage anything living, not to commit anything untrue, and neither to take what has not been given (*adinn'ādāṇāo veramaṇa*) nor to give away (*bahiddhādāṇāo v.*). The last word by Sthān. 202 a is taken as *bahirdhādāṇa* and commented as "accepting (*ādāṇa*) from outside",

78. *puruṣāṇāṃ madhya ādāṇīya ādeya Vy.* 248b.

79. Comp. Leumann, VI. OC III, 2 (Leiden 1883), p. 509-524.

80. Comp. Jacobi, SBE 45 XXII.

i.e. the accepting of things not belonging to the monk's standard outfit. This prohibition is said to include the "possession" of a female individual. Thus, as Abhayadeva adds, Pāsa's *fourth* commandment would correspond with Mahāvīra's both fourth and fifth (sexual abstention and non-possession (§ 171). The former of these two Leumann sees expressed in *bahiddhā-dāṇa* (sic), "a decent term for copulation<sup>81</sup> (the delivery of sperm)". Thus it is Pāsa's *third* vow that corresponds with both the third and fifth of Mahāvīra's including prohibition of any appropriation other than by gift as well as by acquisition. At any rate, it is a merit of Mahāvīra's that he did away with a certain vagueness in the terms of his predecessor and made his fifth commandment applicable for both sexes. Utt. 23, 26f. and probably also 87 indicate that this act of extension was at the same time a process of revival, and this, to be sure, is the case, since it was in the nature of the two founders. Moreover, this is indicated by the above-mentioned view according to which the teaching experiences a decline until a new preacher of salvation comes to make his appearance. And it was also the difference existing between the teachings of Pāsa and Mahāvīra that had to be perpetuated within this view. This was done in a way (Viy. 791 b; Tṭhāṇ. 201a) that all Tittthagara prior to Pāsa are considered preachers of the *cāujjāma dhamma* with the exception of Usabha<sup>82</sup>, and in the timeless continent of Mahāvīdeha (§ 113) it is even all 24. Likewise there is a difference being construed (Tṭhāṇ. 296a) in that the same preachers of salvation including Pāsa had no difficult career as teachers whereas Usabha and Mahāvīra had (*purima-*

81. Buddha and Mahāvīra p. 33.

82. This proportion of 2 to 22 also applies to the future.



*pacchimāṇaṃ jīṇāṇaṃ duggamaṃ bhavai, taṃ-jahā : duāikkhaṃ duvibhajjaṃ dupassaṃ dutitikkhaṃ duraṇucaraṃ*). It is possible, to be true, that the system handed down to us was complete already with Pāsa, though it fails to be probable, and certainly it cannot be proved. What is said by Āyār. II 15, 16 about the religious life and death of Mahāvīra's parents is out of the question with regard to Pāsa's teaching, particularly since it includes the confession (*āloettā...paḍikkamittā*). For it was by this confession that Mahāvīra's rules differed from those of Pāsa, or else one would not have spoken of the *panca-mahavvaiya sapaḍikkamaṇa dhamma* in contrast with his *cāujjama dh.* Mahāvīra appears as much too original a thinker than that he should have but repeated what had been in existence since long without adding something of his own.<sup>83</sup> Otherwise the system would show junctures. But this is not the case.

§ 17. For our knowledge concerning Mahāvīra's life and personality we have as ancient coherent sources<sup>84</sup> the Uvahāṇasuya Āyār. 19, then Āyār. II 15 (the Bhāvaṇā) and basing upon it Jīṇac. 1-148, finally Āv. 458ff. A number of detailed traits is rendered by Viy.<sup>85</sup> The birthplace of Mahāvīra was the northern borough of Vaiśālī, the Besārh of our days, called Kuṇḍapura (Āyār.) or Kuṇḍagrāma (Jīṇac.), the Basukunḍ of to-day<sup>86</sup>. It

83. The way how he came to gain his ideas is expressed by the word Ṭhāṇ. 173a. acc. to which for him the *dhamma* was *suadhijjiya, sujjhāiya, sutavassiya*.

84. Present day monographies are : Manak Chand Jain, *Life of Mahavira* (Allahabad 1908) and Bimala Churn Law, *Mv. his Life and teaching*, Lo. 1932).

85. Comp. The Author's *Worte Mv.*'s p. 18ff.

86. Comp. Jacobi, SPAW 1930, p. 564f. See before Hoernle, *Uvās. II*,

was here where the nobleman (*khattiya*) Nāya lived whose name is rendered in Pali by Nātika and in Sanskrit texts rightly by Jnātr. The father belonging to this clan—and consequently also his children—were Kāśyapa acc. to the Gotra, while the mother was a Vāsiṣṭhī. Their names are Siddhattha and Tisālā with two more being added to each, the latter being but sporadically referred to and probably so as to serve merely the uniformity with the three names of the son to be mentioned persently. Tradition gave great importance to Mahāvīra's Kshatriya and not Brahman descent, and with the Śvetāmbaras at least it did so to the degree that it adopted the legend of Baladeva's embryonal transplantation from Rohiṇī into Devakī<sup>87</sup> and represented Mahāvīra as being the physical son of the Brahman couple of Usabhadatta and Devāṇandā in the Brahman borough of Kuṇḍapura. Acc. to Viy. 456a, however, Devāṇandā is acknowledged by Mahāvīra as being his true mother. In Viy. 218a he refers to the role of planter played by Hari Negamesi<sup>88</sup>, but he does so without any relation to himself.

The name of Mahāvīra is an attribute inspired by profound reverence and traced back to the gods. The curtailed form is Vīra. *samaṇa*, as he is said to have called himself, is as far from being a proper name as is, for instance, "the Son of Man." His civil name is Vaddhamāṇa, "the prospering one", which in the texts, however, is interpreted as "the promoter". The verb *vaddhai* does not occur<sup>89</sup>, but only *vaddhai* leading up

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P. 3ff. and Proceedings As. Soc. Beng 1898, 40; Jacobi, SBE 22, XI. F.

87. Comp. Jacobi SBE 22, XXXI; ERE 7, 466b 6.

88. About him see Winternitz Iras 1895, 149ff.

89. Only *vaḍḍhāvei* "to congratulate", comp. Pischel, Gr. 291. F.

to the by far less frequent form of Vaddhamāṇa (Āyār. II, 15, 12; Samav. 151a). As a member of the clan of the Nāya Mahāvira is called Nāya (putta) (Viy. 323b), as a Kāśyapa Kāsava (a. o. Utt. 2; Dasav. 4), after the town of Vaiśālī, in whose sphere of influence he was born<sup>90</sup>, by the name Vesāliya (Sū. 1 2, 3 end; Utt. 6 end)<sup>91</sup>, and Videha-dinna after his native country (Āyār. II 15, 17; Jñac. 110). He is addressed as *bhante*.

Vaddhamāṇa married Jasoyā, a Kauṇḍinyī<sup>92</sup>, with whom he had a daughter bearing the name of Aṇojjā or Piyadaṃsaṇā. She later became the mother of a girl. Her husband is not referred to in the two biographies, but we know<sup>93</sup>, if not from Viy. 461a ff. so from the Āvassaya tradition, that his name was Jamālī. His name was suppressed since it was with his son-in-law (who is said to have been also his nephew from the side of sister) that Mahāvira went through the trying experience of disobedience and heresy which came to be the "first heresy"<sup>94</sup> in the history of the Jain church. Since his grand daughter is called a Kauśikī, the *khattiya-kumāra*

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An historical mon. of Vaiśālī was compiled by Vijayendra sūri (Bo. 1958; Guj.).

90. Jacobi, SBE 22 X f.

91. In this connexion it may be assumed that he was spoken of as Vesāliya sāvaya as was the *niyaṇṭha* Pingalaga of Śrāvastī (Viy. 112b, in the comm. a fantastic explanation).

92. This doubtlessly underlies the *Koḍinna* of the texts. Comp. also Ajjava Koḍinna Samarāicc, with Ārjava Kauṇḍinya Samarādityasaṃkṣepa i, 65.

93. For the following see Leumann Ind. Stud. 17, 97 ff.

94. Out of 7 referred to by Ṭhāṇ. 410a and the Āvassaya tradition, comp. Leumann's essay, Ind. Stud. 17, 91-135. These 7 heresies (*pavayaṇa-niṇhava*) are more interesting in other respects ("38) that as to the history of dogmatics. For Jamālī's heresy see Viy. 461a ff. For the 8th *niṇhava* of the Boḍiya Sivabhūi see "26.

Jamāli must have been a Kauśika as well.

§ 18. Vaddhamāṇa having kept his promise not to leave his parents as long as they lived<sup>95</sup> and having obtained the consent probably to be given by his elder brother Nandivaddhaṇa, left his native country at the age of thirty after having arranged the distribution of his property and his heritage in the course of one year. It speaks for his inclination towards asceticism that he did so at the beginning of the cold season. Thirteen months later, i.e. in winter again, he decided to rid himself of his clothes as well<sup>96</sup>. This was to be the first great step out of Pāsaism which, as is demonstrated by Utt. 23, 19, knew of clothed adherents only. The ballad Āyār. I, 9, describing his early ascetic life and the austerity of his conduct further tells us of the *samaṇa bhagavaṃ* devoting himself to meditation behind a wall of man's height surrounding him on all sides (*porisi tiriya-bhitti*). This caused a great sensation, while, on the other hand, by his solitary and disobliging bearing he annoyed the people who did not fail to vent their anger on him. Festivities, though he took part in them, were indifferent to him. For more than two years he neither drank nor used cool water, and it was during this period that his ideas grew to maturity : it may be mentioned here that he came to cognize the animatedness of all physical substances, plants and animals, the up and down in the forms of existence, the

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95. This interpretation of *samatta-painna* implies that they were not willing to let him go. Gautama the Śākya paid less respect to his father's wish to keep him at home. Another interpretation of *s.-p.* would be that he now was in a position of keeping his vow (?) to become a homeless monk.

96. 'As Shah, *Jainism in Northern India*, p. 25, supposes he did so in a state of trance.

Karman as being its cause, its influx by sensual perception and activity, and the woman as its mediator. The monastic basic laws equally took shape in that time. Perhaps we are correct in interpreting Āyār. I 9, 1, 22 by saying that after those two years and two months Mahāvīra resolved to take up that vagrant life which was to last for more than twelve years<sup>97</sup>. Travelling towards the east he came as far as Lāḍha in West Bengal (Lāḍh, Rāḍh, Rārḥ) containing Vajjabhūmi and Subbbabhūmi, the land of the Suhmas. This period was characterized by utmost privations caused by inhospitable and verminous quarters and many hardships owing to climate, stinging plants and insects, and wicked inhabitants who set dogs at him and ill-treated him. Mahāvīra himself made his life ascetic by the choice of his food, by fasting and by standing back behind animals and humans in need of help, while nothing is being said of self-castigations in bodily positions as incorporated into the system. The Uvahāṇa-sūya closes by rendering that description. The two other texts have merely vague generalities ending up those twelve years by Mahāvīra's entering into omniscognition. In the Bhāvaṇā "both the possession and the acquisition of cognitions...thread the preceding biographical sketch (p. 121 f., 130 f. of the edition)"<sup>98</sup>. Here from the dogmatic view it is traced that even when still an embryo Mahāvīra was in possession of the first three kinds of cognition (*tinnāṇô-vagaya*)<sup>99</sup> and the way how at the

97. Āyār. II, 15, 25; Jīṇac. 120. *pa-telasa* Āyār. I 9, 2, 4 means the same as is clearly stated by the Cuṇṇi.

98. The Author, Worte p. 11.

99. But the words immediately following : *caissāmi tti jāṇai, cue mi tti j.* up to *pannatte* clearly have nothing to do with *mai-, suya-* and *ohināṇa*. The same Jīṇac. 29 and 30.

beginning of his monastic career the fourth (*maṇapajjava-nāṇa*) made its appearance<sup>100</sup>. By the fifth kind, the *kevala-vara-nāṇa-daṃsaṇa*, coming in he started teaching. But, to be true, by all this we are not given the description of an intellectual development in our sense.

In the sources hitherto considered there is not a single word being said concerning the rôle that is acted by Gosāla Maṃkha-liputta in Mahāvīra's life. He was the head of the Ājīvikas<sup>101</sup> and in this position, acc. to Pali reports, he was the successor to Kissa Saṃkicca and Nanda Vacchā. Thus it follows that the sect must have existed for some time yet. Viy. 15 gives a report regarding Mahāvīra's relations to Gosāla<sup>102</sup>. According to them Gosāla came to be Mahāvīra's pupil in the latter's second year as a monk and remained to be so for six years. Then their relations came to a rupture, however, and Gosāla went his own ways. It was not until 16 years later that both met again though for aviolent contest only. Gosāla died nearly immediately after, i.e. 16 years before his antagonist. This report of Viy. has long since been judged as biassed and hateful. Critics went to the length of making Mahāvīra a disciple or adherent of Gosāla to whom they say he was indebted for the biological system proclaimed by himself to be his own. For these and further questions the reader is referred to Basham who has exhaustively treated the matter offered by literature and inscriptions, including

100. The Jīṇac, does not refer to them, but it speaks (112) of the *āhohiya* for which comp. "81.

101. Comp. Hoernle ERE I, 259 ff.

102. Detailed summary by Hoernle, Uvas. II App. See also Leumann WZKM 3, 328-339.

materials from the South<sup>103</sup>. Gosala is said to have introduced a division of humans into six different colours which has its parallel in the Jain *leśyā* theory<sup>104</sup>. This theory appears to be strange in Mahāvīra's system (§ 97), but here, again, it is not certain that it were borrowed from Gosāla's teaching, and it may well be possible that here as well as there the idea reflects primitive conceptions. On the other hand Jacobi had made it to appear probable<sup>105</sup> that some practices of ascetic nutrition as exercised by Jains originate from the Ājīvikas, and if Mahāvīra, as we have seen, put up with clothing thirteen months after having entered into monastic life, then it follows that this fell in the very second year which is reported to have brought about his relation to Gosāla. When, on a summer's night, the cognition of omniscience flashed upon him, Mahāvīra was on the field of the farmer Sāmāga near the town of Jambhiyagāma on the northern bank of the Ujjuvāliya. Not far off that place there stood a Sāl tree which accordingly entered into the hagiology as Mahāvīra's *ceiyarukkha*, thus reminding us of the Buddhists, and which served as an example for that of all preceding Tīthagaras (Samav. 152a). This experience naturally did not put an end to his vagrant life, but with his fame increasing the vicissitudes he had to suffer from the side of humans ceased and changed into respect and reverence. As before (Jinac. 119) Mahāvīra continued to be on the way for two thirds of the year putting up in villages for one night and in towns for up to five; for four months he remained stationary owing to the rainy

103. History and Religion of the Ājīvikas. Lo. 1951 (rev. by the Author ZDMG 104, p. 256-263).

104. Leumann, loc. cit. 330 f.

105. SBE 45, XXX f.

season. Jinac. 122 gives as unverifiable list of the places where he did so, i.e. in the course of the time up to fourteen times. We here but mention as such also known elsewhere those of Campā, Vesālī, Rāyagiha, Nālandā, and Sāvattthī. None of these places is situated on the sea, though in the similes attributed to Mahāvīra (Nāya 8. 11) the sea plays an important part, to say nothing of the Jainist world view (§ 110. 121). Places related to Mahāvīra's activity as a teacher are frequently referred to by the Canon, and those mentioned in the Viy. are to a certain degree trustworthy thanks to its special position (§ 45). Rāyagiha, of all places the most frequently mentioned both in the Viy. and the Jinac.<sup>106</sup>, was the capital of Prince Seniya, the Bimbisāra of the Buddhists. Mahāvīra was a relative of his by Cellaṇā, the daughter of his uncle Ceḍaga, Prince of Vesālī<sup>107</sup>, and Seniya's successor, Kūṇiya (called Ajātasattu in Pali texts)<sup>108</sup>, was also his protector. To the list of the cities mentioned above the Viy. adds further the name of Kosambī<sup>109</sup>. The various other places referred to in either text cannot, however, be mentioned here. Mahāvīra did not stay at these places themselves, nor even during the interval of the long rainy season but—

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106. A monograph on Rāyagiha in ancient Literature was published by B. C. Law (Delhi 1938).

107. Comp. the summary SBE 22, XV.

108. For his militant policy comp. Jacobi Spaw 1930, 557 ff. (review by the Author OLZ 1932, 143 ff.) and the original reports in Niray. and Viy.

109. At one time the believers in Vesālī were cared for by Jayanti who belonged to the laity (*Vesālīya-sāvayāṇaṃ arihantāṇaṃ puṇḍra-sejjāyārī*). She was the sister of Sayāṇiya, Prince of Kosambī, who consequently took Migāvai, another daughter of Ceḍaga, for his wife from Vesālī. Her son was Udāyaṇa (Viy. 556b).



as is shown in Jinac. 122 by the word *nīsāe* attached to the indication of place—following the examples of other preachers he dwelt at a nearby *ceiya* regularly mentioned by its name, while nothing is being reported concerning its outward appearance<sup>110</sup>. As is described in the *Uvav.* at great length in poetical language, the princes, their noble attendants and the crowd used to leave the town in order to listen to his preachings, and *samosaraṇa* is the word designating not only Mahāvīra's going out to preach and the pouring out of those eager to listen, but also his setting up the fundamental teachings and both the place where the Kevalin teaches prepared by other-religious-philosophical sects (*Sūy.* I 12) and later (*Āv.* 5) also by celestials, and the audience assembled around it.

§ 19. Acc. to the Pali texts Mahāvīra was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha, but although for decades they both wandered about one and the same area by no means very extensive preaching and teaching, there is no word being said as to their having met. Buddha is said to have survived Mahāvīra. This information, however, is due to the Buddhists confusing the city of Pāvā, where Mahāvīra died, with the Pāvā, where Buddha stayed shortly before his end, thus concluding that he survived Mahāvīra<sup>111</sup>. The latter's Pāvā is referred to as *majjhima*. This may indicate that for once (perhaps owing to illness) he dwelt in the city proper, and he may well have done so since his quarters

110. Differently with the Buddhists, comp. B. C. Law, *Studia indoiranica* p. 42 ff.

111. Charpentier in the essay to be presently mentioned; Jacobi Spaw 1930, 557ff. where ref. are made to : *Journal of Francis Buchanan* etc. see 1 f.—Comp. also *Puran Chand Nahar*, *Pāvāpurī and its Temple Prashasti* (1698) IHQ 1, 116-119.

were in the residence of a high official in Prince Hatthipāla's service. At any rate he died there in his 72nd year, forty-two years after he had become a monk. Acc. to modern belief Pāvā is the village of Pāvapurī in the district of Patna<sup>112</sup>. Thus Mahāvīra's life passed within a narrow frame of space. All his days he, the aristocrat, had enjoyed the sympathy and the support of the nobles of the country. We have already mentioned his princely relations<sup>113</sup>, and in Viy. 792b we read that the notables and the noble families of his time adhered to him and his teaching which they helped to spread. Now the collegial princes (*gaṇarāyāṇo*) of the Mallaki and Licchavi families gave a lamp-ceremony in commemoration of him. Mahāvīra's death or, rather, in terms of spiritual language, his entry into Nirvāṇa represents to the Jains the point from where their chronology starts. The Śvetāmbaras (§ 26) place it 470 years before the beginning of the Vikrama era (57-56 B.C.), the Digambaras (§ 26) 605 years before the Śaka era (78 A.D.), the latter being also erroneously taken for the Vikrama era<sup>114</sup>. By critically dealing with these statements which both lead back to 527-526 B. C., Jacobi<sup>115</sup> (1879) calculated the year of 467 B.C., and

112. Imp. Gaz. of I. 20, 81.

113. Without himself having shut his eyes to the abusive reigning of major and minor princes (Thāṇ. 125b).—The author of the Angacūliyā considers Mahāvīra's teaching aristocratic to a degree that he refers to the transition of the *dhamma* to the Vaiśyas (*cattāri vaṇṇāṇa majjhe vaissa-hatthe dhammo bhavissai*) as a bad omen.

114. For passages comp. the writings presently mentioned and Satis Chandra Vidyabhushana, Logic, p. 11; PĀTHAK IA 12, 21f.

115. Kalpasūtra p. 8.

Charpentier<sup>116</sup> tried to support this date by a new line of argument. In 1891 Jacobi<sup>117</sup> himself decided in favour of 477 or 476 basing his deductions SPAW 1930, 557 ff. on the year 477.

§ 20. As to Mahāvīra's success as a teacher Jīṇac. 134 provides us with monumental figures which we can leave as they are. The only point worth mentioning is that women are by far in the majority. The nuns were headed by Ajja-Candaṇā also referred to by Viy. 458b where it tells us of Mahāvīra introducing his mother Devāṇandā to her. The monk very rightly mentioned as the first was Indabhūi, better known by his Gotra name as Goyama, though sporadically we hear of a "second" and a "third" Gautama, Aggibhūi and Vāubhūi<sup>118</sup>. Since, acc. to Viy. 153a, they all appear simultaneously it is likely that Therāv. 1 by denoting all three as oldest, second and youngest monk of Mahāvīra was lead by a desire for classification. As one putting questions to his master Goyama as compared with a number of other persons is by far the most important, and as such he appears even where, as is the case in the Viy., there is no longer any real dialogue thinkable or probable, but where question and answer have come to congeal into mere forms of style<sup>119</sup>. In Viy. 755a, however, Goyama appears as a living person where we are told of his having wiped the floor with an antagonist and of his being commended for his ready wit by Mahāvīra who, acc. to Viy. 646b, also informs him that they both had been friends already for a number of existences. These

116. IA 43 (1914), 115 ff.

117. *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* p. 6 : corr. 2nd ed. (1932) p. XX f.

118. *Comp. the 3 Kassapas* (Uruvelā-, Nadi- and Gayā—K.) with 500, 300, and 200 followers, Mahāvagga 1, 15.

119. The Author, *Worte Mv.*'s p. 10.

two passages are probably the only ones in the Canon reflecting something like the note of a personal feeling on Mahāvira's side. For as well as always he remains impersonal, and even where he rejects contradicting—often rather foolish—teachings of other preachers (*annautthiya*), he does so by speaking in naked antithesis. It was probably in his nature to be non-committal and stern<sup>120</sup>. Though it were wrong to judge Mahāvira merely by how he appears to us in the dialogues of the Canon. He would never have been able to succeed without giving his words a touch of originality and power, and his oratorical gift is certain to have excelled the high measure customary in India by far. He is said to have spoken *Ardhamāgadhi*<sup>121</sup>, that is to say Old AMg., an idiom prior to the language of our texts<sup>122</sup>. Traces of the diction characteristic of him can clearly be demonstrated.<sup>123</sup> In this connexion we have to mention the similes. We have a large quantity of them in the *Ṭhāṇ.*, esp. in *Ṭhāṇa*4, and we shall refer to them later in § 116. In them Mahāvira renders proof of his extensive practical experience and of both his profound knowledge of the world and of human nature, and had they been handed down to us in an oratorical form, the Canon of the Jains would certainly not be inferior to that of the Buddhists aesthetically<sup>124</sup>.

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120. Comp. the attractive confrontations by Leumann, *Buddha und Mahāvira*, p. 28 and Maitreya-samiti p. 1-3.

121. Uvav. "56. Each listener heard him in his own language, comp. the Acts of the Apostles 2, 7 ff. This applies to all *buddha* or *arahaṃ* (Samav. 60 b).

122. The discovery was due to LÜDERS (1911). In the Jain Canon he showed up traces of Old AMg. in 1913, comp. *Philologica Indica*, p. 280 f.

123. The Author, *Worte Mr.'s* p. 21 ff.

124. Comp. Leumann WZKM 3, 331 f.

§ 21. Even individual traits borrowed from nature have been incorporated into the total conception by Mahāvīra, the systematizer, as is shown by many passages of the Viy. Thus his explanation for a hot spring the must have visited near Rāyagiha (§ 94), his theory of the wind (§ 110), and the life-community of fire and wind (§ 105). the fact that the movement of a flying object slows down (Viy. 176 b; Jiv. 374b) was probably concluded by Mahāvīra from the effect of gravitation. Nor should we omit the wind *kavvaḍaya* (Viy. 499b) arising between the heart and the liver and causing within a galoping horse the sound of *khu khu*. Above all, however, the most versatile thinker we know of in ancient India had a liking for figures and arithmetic, that characterizes his speeches most extraordinarily, In most cases we are not able to prove which considerations are his own and which are of others, but he calls himself the author of a theory of the 7 possible lines (*evaṃ khalu, Goyama, mae satta sedhio pannattāo*, Viy. 954b). Acc. to Viy. 866b such a line is either straight (*ujjuy'-āyaya*), has 1 break (*egao-vaṃka*), 2 breaks (*duhao-v.*), forms an open rectangle on one side (*egao-khaha*), forms a rectangular Z (*duhao-kh.*)<sup>125</sup>, is circular (*cakkavāla*) or semicircular (*addha-c.*). As a general principle there is neither a beginning nor an end to a line, whereas either is the case within the world since the world is finite. In the infinite non-world (§ 103) this applies to the tangential straight lines that touches a border plane<sup>126</sup> of the world. A line leading

125. Since these determination are intended to describe the movements of atoms, aggregates, and souls we should rather speak of "path" instead of "line". But the following principal reflection, especially since it comprises the non-world, makes it necessary to use the latter word.

126. *kṣullaka-pratara* (Vy. 867a).

from the non-world and meeting with the world border has no beginning, a line leading from the latter into the non-world is without an end, and a line leading all around the world in one way or other has neither beginning nor end (Viy. 866a with comm.). As to geometrical forms (*saṃthāṇa*)<sup>127</sup>—to add them in this connexion—Viy. 860a refers to orbicular (*vaṭṭa*), triangular, rectangular, elongated ones (*āyaya*), and to the ring (*parimaṇḍala*)<sup>128</sup>, and in them the atoms are arranged either two-or three-dimensionally (in *payara* or *ghaṇa*), in the elongated form also one-dimensionally (in *sedhī*). In referring to them the minimum and maximum numbers of the atoms and space units are being discussed, and this leads us up to the calculative reflections. In them a certain family likeness seems to become apparent, and where it goes together with a special liking for applying it we are probably confronted with an original idea of Mahāvīra's. The frequency of their occurrence alone is not decisive, or else it would be he, too, who had come to find the root of 10 and to apply it in the sense of the figure of  $n$ <sup>129</sup>. But this certainly asked for a wider knowledge of mathematics than Mahāvīra had, if we are allowed to judge by the favourite ideas he presumably cherished. Nor is the astronomy of the Jains, as, above all, it is offered to us by the *Sūrapannatti*, a creation of his own, but it rather reflects

127. Opposite to these ideal forms a 6th forms is called "faulty" (*aṇitthaṃtha*). (Than. 389 a).

128. Another sequence contains the first three of the above mentioned between the long and the short one (*dīha* and *rahassa*) on the one hand and between the wide (*pihula*) and the circular one on the other hand (Ṭhāṇ. 389a).

129. Leumann, Aup. p. 165. For a proof among many others see Jambudd. 15a. In discussing the figure of  $n$  with the Hindus JPAsB N. S. p. 22 (1926) 25-42, Bibh. Datta does not mention the Jains.

the thinking of generations. This becomes equally clear by the usage of "we" instead of "I" and by the absence of polemics<sup>130</sup>. As to the aspect of the world, however, it bears Mahāvīra's stamping by his doubling the widths of geographical units, a geometrical line with the quotient 2 (§ 122). This, perhaps, accounts for the contention that there are two suns and moons over Jambuddīva, which then leads up to the doubling of further stars (§ 128). The arithmetical line is applied in Mahāvīra's teaching to the sums. Of a sum (*jumma* or *rāsī* or *rāsī-jumma*)<sup>131</sup> continuously diminished by 4 there remains 4 (or 0), 3, 2 or 1, and it is called accordingly by the terms used at dice-playing *kaḍa-jumma*, *teoya*, *dāvāra* or *kali-oya* (Viy. 744b)<sup>132</sup>, and even *khuddāga* may be paced at the head of these names of *khuāda-jumma* (Viy. 948b). They are called small "sums" as against the "large" ones, *mahā-j.* (Viy. 964b). They are sums expressing by their name not only the final remainder but also the number of the

130. We here give the different kinds of arithmetics as known from Thāṇ. 263a, 496a : *parikamma*, the elements, and *vavahāra*, the application, are followed by *rajjū*, geometry, and *rāsī*, addition, *kalā-savaṇṇa*, fractions, *jāvaṃ-tāvaī*, multiplication, and *vagga*, *ghaṇa*, *vagga-vagga*, involution to the square, the cube and the fourth power. Comp. also Bibhutibhushan Datta, Origin and History of the Hindu Names for Geometry : Quellen u. Studien z. Gesch. d. Math. 1, 113-119. The Same, The Jaina School of Mathematics; Bull. of the Calcutta Mathematical Soc. 21, 115-145; D. M. Roy, The Culture of Mathematics among the Jains of S. India in the Ninth Century : in ABhORI 8.

131. Even the totality of things characterized by either the presence or absence of soul (*jīva*) is called *rāsī* (Samav. 7b. 133a).

132. Thus *jumma* denotes the even and *oya* the odd sums (Viy. 860a; Vy. 745b).

factors, the latter always preceding in the bipartite names of *kaḍa-jumma-kaḍajumma*, *k-teoya*, etc.<sup>133</sup>. These calculations—to be found in the last passages of the *Viy*.—are applied in the most different connexions<sup>134</sup>, though even Abhayadeva fails to know what to do with the latter<sup>135</sup>. Other speculations related to permutations<sup>136</sup> are arrived at by crossing different lines of conceptions. Thus, for instance, it is being examined how many beings occupying one and the same hell exercise one of the 4 main passions, i.e. anger, pride, fraud, and greed (§ 167) (*Viy.* 68b), with the result that each of these four passions occurs with all beings, with all minus 1, with several ones and with a single one. Or, it is being demonstrated in which way 1-10 hell-beings (§ 109) divide among the 7 regions (*Viy.* 439 ff.). In order to give a characteristic example of the calculatory intelligence we here refer to the statements made on the maximum and minimum (*jahanneṇaṃ* and *ukkoseṇaṃ*) of most of the figures of the system, to the qualification of being both the first and not the first, both the last and not the last of one's like (*paḍhama* and *apaḍhama*, *carima* and *acarima*) (*Viy.* 731b), to which the *Carama-paya Pannav.* 10 goes back, to the

133. Examples : 16 is *kaḍa-jumma* (i.e. the lowest possible), since it is divisible by 4 with 0 remaining. The division is done 4 times, and 4 is in itself *kaḍa-j*. Accordingly 16 is called *kaḍajumma-kaḍajumma*. 19 is *teoya* (i.e. the lowest possible), since it is divisible by 4 with 3 remaining. The division is done as above. Hence 19 is called *kaḍajumma-teoya*.—6 is *dāvāra*, since it is divisible by 4 with 2 remaining. The division is done once, and 1 is *kali-oya*. Hence 6 is called *kali-oya-dāvāra*.

134. Comp. also *Thāṇ.* 237 a.

135. *etac c'aivam ājnā-prāmāṇyād avagantavyam Vy.* 745b.

136. Permutations dating from later times are dealt with by Leumann, *Übersicht* p. 41 b.



discrimination made between the beginning and the continuation of a certain condition (a. o. *aṇantara-siddha* and *paramparas.*, Viy. 877a, also-*neraiya* Ṭhāṇ. 513b), and finally to the teaching of the relative number (T. 1, 8 : *alpa-bahutva*). It answers the question of *kayarā kayarehiṃto appā vā bahugā vā tullā vā visesāhiyā vā?* Such statements (in the Viy. first 235b) are comprised in Pannav. 3, the Bahuvattavvaya-paya. An object exists in proportionally a smallest number (*savva-tthovā*), others in either undecidedly, uncountably, or infinitely as many numbers (*saṃkhejja-guṇā*, *asaṃkhejja-guṇā*, *aṇantaguṇā*). The terms mentioned here—and to be represented in this book by the figures of *x*, *i*, —are very frequent. In this connexion *aṇanta* specifically means nothing else but any other high figure. It is applied in a similarly naive way as is the idea of time, which, at least within the cosmography, means a quality among others, and which, as such a one, may be either attributed or denied to a region (§ 128).

§ 22. As to Indabhūi's life nothing authentic is known, and the same applies to the two other Goyamas (s. a.). All three appear with eight more as the eleven "group-leaders" (*gaṇahara*) of Mahāvira's, since, however, two times two of them share in leading a *gaṇa*, we have but nine "groups" (Ṭhāṇ. 451b) each comprising 300, 450 or 500 monks. For these statements as well as for the following the Therāvali annexed to the Jīṇacariya is responsible (§ 1.2). It adds that merely Indabhūi and Suhamma (to whom we shall refer presently) survived Mahāvira. Thus also Jīṇac. 127 says the same of Indabhūi who when his master had passed away cut the bond of attachment towards him, since for love there is no room in true monkhood. There can be scarcely any doubt that the other nine Gaṇaharas are fictitious for

the purpose of dividing the followers of Mahāvira and even the case first occurring in the 6th generation, acc. to which a *gaṇa* had two leaders, is already claimed for the origins<sup>137</sup>. The Maṇḍiyaputta mentioned by Viy. 181a ff. also helped to establish that fiction. Sudharman (Suhamma) was teacher of Jambū and is considered to be the originator of canonical texts as far as they are introduced passage-wise by the question of the latter for their contents. Hence they are supposed to render the wording Suhamma is said to have had from Mahāvira personally. Acc. to Therāv. 2 it was also Indabhūi and Suhamma who, after Mahāvira's death, came to obtain the power of omniscience and acc. to the tradition rendered in Hc. Par. 4 also Jambū<sup>138</sup>. Suhamma is said to have died 20 years, and Jambū 64 years after Mahāvira; they were the last of the Kevalins, and thus the canonic text left by them is considered to be above any objection. All successive teachers up to Sthūlabhadra incl. are called *śrutakevalin*. Jambū's grandson-pupil by the way of *Prabhava* is said to have been *Śayyambhava*<sup>139</sup> (*Sejjambhava*), who is considered to be the author of the Dasaveyāliya.

§ 23. The most easily accessible source for the remotest history of the Jain Church is Hemacandra's *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* laid down between samvat 1216 and 1229<sup>140</sup>. But Hemacandra naturally goes back to older sources comprising not only such in the *Āvassaya*

137. The 11 Gaṇaharas are dealt with by Āv. 591-665.

138. Since *jambū* is fem., as a proper name it will be an abbreviation such as other names may be supposed to be. Hemacandra in the Par. avoids all cases other than the nom.

139. This is considered to be the Sanskrit form, though probably it goes back to Svāyambhuva.

140. BÜHLER, *Leben Hc.*'s p. 43.

literature and in other comments on the Canon, but also in the Vasudevahiṇḍī<sup>141</sup> (6th century A.D. at the latest). Here already we find the sequence of the lords spiritual being linked with that of the lords temporal. Thus it is said to have happened 60 years after Mahāvīra's death that the son of his protector named Kūṇiya or Ajātasatru, King Udāyin of Magadha, was murdered and followed by Nanda becoming the head of a new line (since 9 of this name are known) (Par. 6, 243), We do not come across any date before Nanda's fall (155 after Mv., Par. 8, 339) caused by Cāṇakya in favour of Candragupta. C.'s son, Bindusāra, as well as his grandson, Aśoka, and the latter's son, Kuṇāla, and grandson, Samprati, appear within the frame of the Par., which mixes the anecdotal and the historical in the well-known way. The history of the Jain Church goes as far as to *Vajra Svāmin* to whom Āv. 764-773 refer in all sorts of things, as it does to his successor, *Ārya Rakṣita*.

Śayyambhava, by the way of *Yaśobhadra* and next to *Sambhūtavijaya* (s.b.), is followed by *Bhadrabāhu*. Belonging to the 6th generation since Mv. or Goyama, resp., he lived in the 2nd century after them at the latest, i.e., in the 3rd century B.C. He died 170 (thus Par. 9, 113) or 162 years (thus the Dig. tradition) after Mahāvīra. In the Therāv. we have apart from the "shorter" list of names a more "comprehensive" one<sup>142</sup> which by starting from Bhadrabāhu lists the male and female disciples of every Gaṇahara, the gaṇa founded by them. their *sāhā* (*śākhā*), and (from Suhastin

141. Comp. the proof furnished by Jacobi, Sthav. (2nd. ed.) p. v ff.

142. For their relation to each other and other lists of teachers in the Nandi and the Āvassayanijjuttī see Jacobi. loc. cit. S. XIII ff. One of the results is (XVIII) that only a few of the *thera* that have actually existed have survived by name.

onward) also their *kula*. It may well be assumed that this list, on the whole, can be relied upon, since in locally confined regions it is confirmed by inscriptions, as first was shown by BÜHLER<sup>143</sup>. These inscriptions come from the district of Mathurā, and as far as they<sup>144</sup> are dated they start with the 4th year of the Kanīṣka era = 132-133 A.D.<sup>145</sup>; these oldest Śvetāmbara evidences thus outdate that literary tradition by years and; moreover, improve them<sup>146</sup>. It now speaks for Bh.'s importance that the more comprehensive list starts with him, for thus we are given evidence of the part he acted in spreading the religious belief (as will be mentioned below § 26). He also deserved well of preserving the doctrine. Acc. to Par. 9, 55 ff.<sup>147</sup> a food crisis lasting in the country for twelve years forced the monks to emigrate "to the coast" for some time, and it was due to these circumstances that the exact preservation and encouragement of the Jina teaching was interrupted. Here Bh. proves an expert of the sacred texts to a degree never reached again, for he is said to have been the last to know not only the 11 Anga but also the 12th, the Diṭṭhivāya, containing the remains of 14 so-called Puvva or Pūrva (§ 37). When now a synod collecting the endangered texts met in Pāṭaliputra and

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143. WZKM 1-4.

144. Their investigation is referred to by LÜDERS, List-(4).

145. Comp. Konow Ep. Ind. 19, 1-15. Another calculation comes to 78 A. D.

146. SBE XXII, p. 291 under e. read *Vāraṇa*, p. 292 above read *Pritivarmika* (Pkt. *Piivammiya*), under g.h. *Thaṇiya*.—Corr. to Therāv. p. 80 above *Rakkhiya*, *Rohagutta*, *Bambha* and *Soma* ought to have been mentioned on p. 292 as l. m.

147. It goes back to a *kathānaka* rendered by Āv. 17, 11 after the catch-words in the Āv. *cunṇi* and by *Haribhadra* and translated by Leumann, Übers. p. 25.

sent for Bh. for the Dīṭṭhivāya, since he was on the way to Nepal, the attendants whom he was willing to instruct on the spot were able to comprehend but details of those 14 Pūrvas, with the only exception, of Sthūlabhadra who brought with him 10 of them by memory. For Bh. as the supposed author of comments see § 43. Owing to his long, though not definite absence from the centre of the community it was not Bh. who was its formal head but his fellow-pupil with Yaśobhadra named *Sambhūtavijaya* who was followed by the above mentioned *Sthūlabhadra* as a leader, so that the latter was the pupil of either. His relations to Bh., however, were not undisturbed<sup>148</sup>, and disturbances of this sort recurred even more intensively between Sth.'s two pupils, Mahāgiri and Suhasin, after the latter had taken the lead of the order. As mentioned above, Suhasin is notable in that the Therav., from him onward, lists also *kula* as parts of the *gaṇa*, and, moreover, in that he is said to have won the King Samprati, grandson of and successor to Aśoka, for Jainism (Par. 11, 55 ff.).

§ 24. The oldest region known to have been frequented by itinerant monks and nuns and handed down to us in Kappa 1, 51 comprises Anga-Magadha to the east, Kauśāmbī to the south, Sthūṇā to the west, and Kuṇālā to the north. The sentence succeeding 1, 52 speaks of allowing communication in regions where the teaching had been successful in gaining a footing, and it is therefore considered as a supplementary addendum which is said to go back to Samprati's times<sup>149</sup>. Thus Hemacandra, too, reports that Samprati devoted himself to Jain mission work among the Andhra and

148. Comp. Par. 9, 101 ff. The inner reasons are explained by LEÜMANN, Übersicht p. 26 f.

149. The Author, Kalpasūtra p. 38.

Dramila in South India, i.e. in the Telugu and Tamil countries, which both are said to have been subject to his command (Par. 11, 89 ff.). Since Samprati is said to have resided in Ujjayinī we might see in this city an early western colony of Jainism, and even so if Suhastin had resided there only temporarily as is reported by Par. 11, 23; 66. Acc. to the same passage, provided that we acknowledge the reports in question to contain a grain of historical truth, the Jains played a rôle even in the 1st century B. C. when their ecclesiastic Kālaka took revenge on Gardhabhilla, the prince of that place, for having seduced his sister, and called the sovereign (*sāhāṇusāhi*) of the Śaka to take over the country<sup>150</sup>. We may add that Vikrama, the successor to Gardhabhilla, is said to have been won for Jainism by Siddhasena Divākara<sup>151</sup>. Yet this report contains as little tangible data as do such statements of the same contents that were made with regard to other distinguished personalities and which in this connexion may be omitted as negligible. There are even doubts as to the question whether Vikrama's political importance was as great as the Jains wish it to be<sup>152</sup>.

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150. Comp. the Kālakācārya-kathānaka first published and reviewed in its different versions by Jacobi and Leumann (ZDMG 34 and 37). For a review on the Kālaka problems and for a selection of the K. texts see W.N. Brown, *The Story of K.*, Washington 1933 (reviewed by the Author Olz 1934, col. 449 f. also *Indian Linguistics* 4, p. 165-182. We know of at least 3 K., i. e. apart from the above mentioned the teacher called Śyāma (synonymous with Kālaka) of the system laid down in the Pannavaṇā and him who antedated the *pajjosaṇā-pancamī*.

151. *Vikramacarita*, comp. Vikrama's Adventures, ed. and trans. by Edgerton, Harvard Oriental Ser. 26.

152. Comp. Edgerton loc-cit. O. P. I, LXII.

With Samprati we find ourselves somewhere near the turn of the 3rd to the 2nd century B.C., and somewhere near this time there lived the King Khāravela of Kalinga (Orissa) provided that, on account of his great inscription at Khandagiri (Hāthīgumphā), the years between 182 and 180 B.C. allow of dating his accession to the throne<sup>153</sup>. This much mutilated inscription<sup>154</sup>, it is true, begins with a Jinist formula of veneration, but what tangible deeds in favour of the Jains scholars were inclined to interpret from it have turned out to be untenable or remained inexplicable. We may presuppose that Jain communities flourished within Kh.'s realm. They stand side by side with those that existed in Tāmraliptī (Tamluk, Midnapur Distr., Bengal), Koṭivarṣa (Bāṅgarh, Dinājpur Distr., Bengal) and Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal), and which went back to a pupil of Bhadrabāhu's (Therav. 5)<sup>155</sup>.

§ 25. In contrast to the unconfirmed report of Samprati and Suhastin the spreading to the west becomes evident for the 2nd century B.C. and the following owing to the finds made at the ancient town of Mathurā,<sup>156</sup> which are most revealing also in factual

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153. Thus Konow AO I, 35.

154. Last by Jayaswal in JBORS 3 and 4; Konow AO I, 12-42. For earlier bibliography see LÜDERS, List under No. 1345. Details by different authors in Anekānt I.

155. *agajina and satikatariya coyathiaga*.

D. R. Bhandarkar, ABhORI 12, 104 f. 106 f. is not very convincing in attributing their revival to Mahāvira's wandering in Lāḍha. A fourth colony not yet identified was (ibid.) Dāsikharbaṭa.

156. V. A. Smith, The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of M. (Archaeolog.). Survey of India. New. Imp. Series Vol. 20). Allahabad 1901.

respects<sup>157</sup>. From the inscriptions we learn, as mentioned before in confirming the texts, of *śākhā* and *kula* as subdivisions of the *gaṇa*, though the mutual relation of the two first is not altogether clear,<sup>158</sup> and added to this there is the *saṃbhoga* illustrated by the literary document of Vav. 5, 19f. and 7, 1-3. It goes without saying that there were preachers (*vācaka*), but this does not necessarily involve the existence of an established ritual text<sup>159</sup>. The *Titthagaras* were distinguished from each other by their symbols (§ 14) since we know that for Ara there stands a name formed after his attribute of Nandyāvarta (*arahato Nāndiāvatasa pratimā*). The *stūpa* to which the erect figure of this Arhat belonged, was supposed to have been the work of the gods (or either of one of them) (*deva-nirmita*) suggesting that it had been standing since times immemorial when the inscribed monument was erected in the 49th year of the Kaniṣka era, i.e. in 177-178 A.D. It furthermore suggests that the Jains had erected *stūpas* since long, as also the Canon refers to them (*thūbha*)<sup>160</sup>.

It may be noted here that also the effigies of the Jinas (*jina-paḍimā*) are spoken of in the Canon *Nāyādh.* 210b; *Rāyap.* 87b, 94a, etc. In the course of its most detailed description of a godly residence<sup>161</sup> *Rāyap.* refers to 4 sitting Jina figures (*Usabha*, *Vaddhamāṇa*, *Candāṇaṇa*, *Vāriseṇa*<sup>162</sup>) of natural size surrounding a

157. LÜDERS, List ("4); BÜHLER WZKM 1-5; SAWW 1897 IA 27, 49-54; Hoernle Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal 189, p. 49-53.

158. Jacobi SBE 22, 2881.

159. This is meant by v. Glasenapp, *Jainismus* p. 42.

160. For passages comp. Pischel, Gr. 208.

161. Comp. Leumann VI. OC III, 2, p. 489 ff.

162. The two last ones are the counterparts of the two first ones in the continent of *Erāvaya* ("119).



stūpa towards which they turn their faces, adding that a special building (*siddh' āyayaṇa*) contains 108 *j.-padimā*. Their cult on the part of the god equals that of to-day consisting in the attendance of the figures by uttering devotional formulae. In the large hall (*sabhā*), however, there are spherical boxes (*golavaṭṭa-samugga*) containing the sacred remains (*j.-sakahā*, comp. § 15) and hanging on hooks (*nāgadanta*) by means of cords (*sikkaga*). The whole description most certainly follows earthly examples. The room enclosing the figures mentioned in *Nāyādh.* is called the *jīṇa-ghara*. *Aṇuog.* 158d; *Paṇhāv.* 123a do mention the *deula* 'devakula' next to the *thūbha* and profane establishments (Comp. also *Jambudd.* 207a)<sup>163</sup>.

§ 26. The discoveries made at Mathura seem to prove by the nakedness of the sculptured figures<sup>164</sup> that the schism of the Order into Śvetāmbara and Digambara dates from as early as the 2nd century A.D. Mahāvīra had put up with clothing, and it was generally considered worthy to follow his example. He who in the one or the other formality took his conduct as a model for his own was in the state of *jīṇa-kappa*<sup>165</sup>; ordinary monks followed the *thera-kappa*<sup>166</sup>. The question of clothing was treated liberally, and there is reason to assume that especially those monks adhering to Pāsa's

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163. *Nemi-Pāse subhatta* ( 'subhakta)-*sālāsu vibhāga-kusale* (i.e. the royal architect).

164. BÜHLER WZKM 4, 330 f.

165. Comp. Devendra ZDMG 38, 6.

166. There is a parallel to this in that the texts of the Canon are said to be partly the words of the Jina disciple Sudharman and partly those of the *thera*, either being equally obliging for the community. The translation of *thera-kappa-tthii* K. 6, 14 must be altered corr. to the above.

teaching kept their clothings<sup>167</sup>. Hence it follows that even in the early days of antiquity there was a duplicity existing which we may call the germ of the later schism of the Order into the "Naked" (*digambara*, *āśāmbara*, *dig-vāsas*) and the "Whites" (*śvetāmbara*, *śveta-paṭa*, *sitāmbara*, etc.). The Śvetāmbaras report (Āv. nijj. 418a) on the heresy committed by Bodiya Sivabhūi in the year 609 after Mv., who wanted the *jīṇa-kappa* to be made generally acknowledged and who himself accepted it notwithstanding the warnings of his guru. Originally, however, this has nothing to do with the Digambaras<sup>168</sup> and was related to them only later. The year given by the Dig. is 136 Vikrama = 79 A.D.<sup>169</sup>, and it is at this time that the Śvetāmbaras are said to have developed from the Ārdhapālaka or Ārdhaphālaka who are called "partly clothed partly unclothed" by the Dig. Ratnanandin in the Bhadrabāhucarita (4, 50). This

167. For this and the following comp. Jacobi ZDMG 38, 1 ff. (*jīṇa-kalpa*. p. 7); 40, 92 ff. and SBE 45, XXXI; also Weber, Kup. p. 797 f.

168. Differently Bhandarkar Rep. 1883-84, Notes p. III.

169. The same year is reported (Daṃs. 11ff.) by the Dig. Devasena (S. 909). for the separation of the Sevaḍa Sangha, i.e. the Svetāmbara, from the Dig, owing to the heresy of Jinacandra who in teaching it slew his teacher Śānti, a pupil of Bhadrabāhu (Devasena in the Bhāvasaṃgaha, comp. Daṃs. p. 55 ff.). It is said to have taken place at Valahī where the monks had emigrated from Ujjayinī owing to the 12 years' famine predicted by Bhadrabāhu. Devasena thought of the Synod of Valabhī ('39) in which he was mistaken, the more so since Bhāv. 70 he refers to the then written śāstra. He is equally confusing where he deals with subjects lying beyond the Dig. sphere. Thus Daṃs. 20 Makkhali Gosāla is reflected as Makkaḍi-Pūraṇa, the pupil of a Gaṇin of the Pāsa-saṃgaha, since he had heard something about Pūraṇa Kassapa (the same Srutaśāgara, Chappāhuḍa 5, 89 : Maskari-Pūraṇa).

expression fails to be clear. Both reports on the origin of eigher<sup>170</sup> when viewed under the aspect of Jacobi's critical study make us see that their authors could not remember any actual dissension having taken place and hence invented one instead, in which case, as we observe, the Dig. go so far as to state a gradual alienation. This turns out to be true, and certainly so not only in regard of historical time but of regional space as well. Isolated groups of the Jain Order were eager to be most faithful in living up to the monastic ideal, and the result was that, when again coming into touch with the original community standing in the current of development, they made themselves conspicuous as renegades or, resp., considered themselves orthodox the way the Dig. are known to do.

A self-isolation of this kind found its expression in the accounts of an emigration from Bihar. In the Par. there are two passages (8, 193; 377) that refer to a twelve years, famine falling in the years of Sthūlabhadra and Susthita and forcing the latter to send away his gaṇa, though where it was directed to we are not told. Once before already we heard of an equal crisis in the times of Bhadrabāhu and, to be careful, of its possible effects (§ 23). The tradition of the Śvet. (Ther. 5) does not trace its spiritual descendants beyond his pupils, and it is but from one of them, called Godāsa, that it derives 4 sāhās to locate them in Tāmraliptī, Koṭivarṣa, Puṇḍravardhana and Dāsikharbaṭa, and at least by the first and the third name it becomes clear that they point to the east and south-east. In this the tradition of

170. A counterpart to the former is the statement derived from an anonym. Dig. source rendered in Jineśvara's *Pramālakṣaṇa* with ref. to v. 404, acc. to which the Śvet. made their appearance in 609 after Mahāvīra at Valabhī (comp. *Dāms.* p. 61f.).

the Digambaras differs. Thanks to an inscription at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa dedicated to the memory of an ācārya Prabhācandra and first reported by Rice<sup>171</sup> we know that Bh. had predicted a famine lasting for twelve years and, what is more, to occur in Ujjayinī, where upon the whole saṃgha moved to the south where it reached a flourished country. The Bhadrabāhu-Kathā (about 800) and the Bṛhat-kathākośa (931) report that toward the end of his life Bh. ordered his followers to move away to Punnāṭa (South-Mysore), whereas Ratnanandin's Bh.-carita (2nd half of the 16th cent.) says that he himself took the lead and died on the way.<sup>172</sup> Bh.'s death is being linked with that of the Candragupta or-gupti whom even other inscriptions delivered by Rice report to have been Bh.'s pupil. C. who had resigned the throne to follow Bh. put an end to his life by fasting as is said at the same place as Bh. did, i.e. at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.<sup>173</sup>

171. Rice IA 3, 153-158; the Same, Mysore Inscriptions transl., Bangalore 1879, p. LXXXVI-VIII; the Same Inscr. at Sravana B. ( Epigraphia Cranatica II, 1889, p. 1; new ed. of this vol. by Narasimhachar (1923); Epigr. Indica (ed. Fleet) 4, 27. Improvements by Fleet made as early as in IA 21, 158; also Leumann WZKM 7, 383.

172. For the first and third source see Leumann, Übersicht, p. 24 for the second comp. Rice (on the ground of an information given by Pathak) Ep. Carn. III-IV, P 2, p. 1. Rice loc. cit. (1889) also draws upon the Rājāvalīkathe of the Devacandra (19th cent.). For a synopsis of the tradition see Narasimhachar loc. cit. p. 36ff. If the last named Prabhācandra who was a pupil of the Akalanka living in the 2nd half of the 8th cent., was the same as the one mentioned in the memorial inscription, then in spite of the strong opinion held by Fleet the latter must be later than the 1st of the 8th cent.

173. V. A. Smith, Oxford History of India, p. 75; Narasimhachar Ep. Carn. 2 (rev. ed.).

As to Candragupta the Śvet. report partly more partly less. Acc. to Par. 8, 433; 445 he saw in the monks his gurus and he died the *samādhī-maraṇa*; Cāṇakya, his minister, who himself was the son of a Jain layman, equally sympathized with the monks. This we know from the Āvassaya tradition<sup>174</sup>. The Viyāhacūliyā describes a prophesy made by Bhadrabāhu at Pāḍalipura on account of 16 dreams of the queen<sup>175</sup>. Among other symptoms of decline in religion and morals they mean a twelve years' *dukkāla*, the *dhamma*'s changing over to the Vaiśyas, the sermon<sup>176</sup> of the *jīṇa-magga* in the south, a rise of the middle classes and insurgent activities of princes—altogether gloomy prospects for the future that caused Candragupta to resign in favour of his son. As to the manner of his death nothing is being said. Hence in the times of the Viyāhacūliyā it was also the Śvet. that linked Bhadrabāhu's name with the migration of the south leading to the schism of the Order. Provided we take Candragupta's piety strictly it does not harmonize with an allusion of Vimāla's Paumacariya (89, 42) disclosed by Jacobi<sup>177</sup> which in consequence of political troubles and religious apostasy speaks in retrospective prophesy of a decline of Jainism in the "time succeeding the Nanda." In opposition to the Dig. passages of Bhadrabāhu it was Fleet who contended<sup>178</sup> that it concerned a second bearer of his name who acc.

174. Jacobi, Sthav. (2nd ed.) p. IX following Leumann.

175. The Dig. equally have it, comp. the Rājāvalikathe with Rice IA 3, 155.

176. It is significant of the Śvet. text that it speaks of a sermon (*panna-vissanti*) only and not of a flourishing status.

177. ERE 7, 473 footnote.

178. IA 21, 156-160; EI 4, 26. Reply to the first passage of Rice, Inscr. of the Mysore District ( Ep. Carn. III-IV), PI (1894), p. 5 footnote.

to an ancient list of the Dig.<sup>179</sup> came to be the head of the Order in 492 after Mv., and that instead of Candragupta we have to think of Guptigupta or Arhadbali as being the pupil and later follower of "Bhadrabāhu II.". Leumann, however, points out<sup>180</sup> that in this list already existing in the 8th century, "the second Bh. is but a chronistic repetition" and that "apart from the above Dig. dating nothing of him is known that were not assigned to him from the older." The migration itself seems to be historical, nor does Fleet argue against it. For a religion in process of spreading necessarily flows from the country of its origin over into regions capable of absorption<sup>181</sup>, no matter whether it be by some forced impulse or not.

§ 27. For the inscriptions of Mathura the above mentioned list of LÜDERS (1912) prevails; the bibliography of the later will be found together with a summary of the spiritual and temporal genealogies in GUÉRINOT's *Répertoire d'épigraphie jaina* (1906). Partial collections containing the text are for the Śvet. the *Prācīn Jain Lekh Saṃgrah*, Bh. 1.2 (the latter Kjm 6, 1921) compiled by Jina Vijaya acc. to the places of discovery and the *Jain Lekh Samgrah* (also under the title of *Jaina Inscriptions*) by Puran Chand Nahar, Bh. 1-3, the latter with the inscriptions of Jaisalmer (C. 1918-29), for the Dig. *Hīrālāl Jains Jainaśilālekhāsamgraha*, whose 1st vol. (Mdjgm 28, 1928) offers the inscriptions of Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa already collected by Rice

179. Bhandarkar, Rep. 1883-84, 124; Hoernle IA 20, 341-361; 21, 57-84.

180. Übersicht p. 24. 27.

181. Acc. to a conjecture made by Desai (*Jainism in S. India* p. 2 ff.) there were Jain communities in South Canara even before Bhadrabāhu's arrival, a fact that made it easier for him to choose that country.

(Inscriptions at Sr. B., Bangalore 1889, 2nd. ed. by Narasimhachar 1923). The fact that in the 12 vols. of Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica* (1886-1904) comprising the last-mentioned as vol. 2, chiefly Jain inscriptions are being rendered and evaluated, is explained by the course of history. For it is South India and predominantly Mysore that became the domain of the Digambaras. It was in these parts of the sub-continent, as is proven by the inscriptions, that for centuries they flourished and exercised their influence. Their tradition is based on the migration of Bhadrabāhu's monks to the south<sup>182</sup>, but it is very much later that we find South Indian communities supported by inscriptions, i.e. towards the end of the 5th century by the copper plates of Halsi in Belgaum going back to a Kadamba prince<sup>183</sup> and of Śaka 556-634 in Aihole, Kaledgi Distr. in Bijāpur.<sup>184</sup> The two Ganga documents of Nonamangala placed by Rice at about 370 and 425, resp., are possibly older<sup>185</sup>. The former would be the earliest Jaina inscription existing after Mathurā though separated from it by centuries. Among the genuine documents<sup>186</sup> of nearly the same age we have Udayagiri (South Gwalior) by Gupta 106 = 425<sup>187</sup>; Mathurā by G. 113 = 423-3<sup>188</sup> and Kahāum (in an eastern

182. Mahāvamsa 10, 97-99 goes still much farther beyond this date. Acc. to this Pali work in Anuradhapura under the reign of the second predecessor of Tissa in the 4th cent. B. C. there lived also *nigaṇṭhas* apart from other heretics (*pāsaṇḍika*).

183. Fleet in IA 6 and 7; Rép. No. 96ff.

184. Kielhorn EI 6, No. 1; Rép. No. 108.

185. Ep. Carn. 10, Malur Taluq No. 73 and 72; Rép. No. 90 and 94.

186. That is after having eliminated the older or younger fabrications compiled by Fleet IA, 209 ff.; 18. 309 ff.

187. Fleet CII 3, No. 61; Rép. No. 91.

188. BÜHLER EI 2, No. 39; Rép. No. 92.

tip of the Uttar Pradesh to the north of the Ganges) by G. 141 = 460-1<sup>189</sup>; they, too, belong to the Digambaras. Though any day there may be discoveries being made bridging to a certain degree the historical gaps, yet the inscriptions will always prove the small outward effect of the Jain Order during the early centuries of our Christian era. For the Śvet. Jacobi assumes "a comparative obscurity as an exclusive sect" lasting up to the 7th century and supposes that in Haribhadra's time (8th century) they had not yet come to the south beyond the Tapti<sup>190</sup>. It is, moreover, worth mentioning that in the classical drama there appears no Śvet. Jaina<sup>191</sup>.

§ 28. As a rule the inscriptions contain as a subject the donation of statues, building-ground, building-money or tax-returns to the Jaina community by laymen and princely patrons, in the former case of either sex and (in Mathurā) frequently at the suggestion of a specified member of the Order intimately connected with the donor. It is not so much the facts that are interesting to us as the genealogical and chronistic statements accompanying the reports. They considerably add to our knowledge concerning the history of both the dynasties and the Order. Individually as well as in their subsequent members quite a number of princely houses, a.o. the Ganga, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Cālukya, Hoysala have proved friendly to the Jains. And yet, taking into account the well-known versatility of Indian princes in religious affairs, we must be careful not to overrate the rôle acted

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189. Fleet CII 3, No. 15; Rép. No. 93.

190. Samarāiccakahā p. XIII. VII. That R. G. Bhandarkar Rép. 1883/84, p. 125 considered the Jains "a very unimportant sect" far up in the 2nd century is explained by a different context.

191. Comp. Pischel, Gr. "17 end.



by Jainism in political life, and it is rather bold to speak of "adeptes du jainisme" in this connexion. It may be assumed that more often than not it was for reasons of prudence that it was thought necessary to suit the Order so influential owing to its wealthy laymen, whereas true conviction may be taken for granted wherever the populace was struck hard by serious ahiṃṣā-commandments, in other words, wherever its displeasure was not dreaded, and where, acc. to Jain rites, death through fasting was believed to crown one's life. For these rites some pieces of evidence are given by inscriptions<sup>192</sup>. As in Candragupta and Cāṇakya (s.a.), so the Jains were great supporters of their religion also in Vikrama, Śālivāhana, Munja, Bhoja and others. Up to now, however, their respective reports lack authentication by monumental or non-Jainist literary documents. Recently, Toramāṇa, the prince of the Hūna who invaded India about 500), and different members of the house of Gupta have been added to the above-mentioned list<sup>193</sup>. For, acc. to the introductory verse of the Kuvalayamālākathā composed by Uddyotana, Sūri in Śaka 700 (=778), Torarāya (as here he is called) had as a guru the ācārya Harigupta from the Guptavaṃśa, a pupil of his was the poet (*kai*) Devagupta. If these harmless reports prove true it may be said that the Jains had exercised at least a certain influence upon Toramāṇa, though this influence did not extend to his son Mihiragula or -kula after he had ascended the throne, since it was Mihiragula who by his cruelty testified to him by Brahmans and Buddhists had also been hard on the Jains. We are indebted to Pathak for

192. Rép. No. 152-163. 298.

193. Jina Vijaya Jaina-Sāhitya-Samsodhaka 3, 169 ff. N. C. Mehta JBORS 14, 28 ff.

having offered proof that he is identical with Kalkin (*Kakkī*), the Indian Antichrist<sup>194</sup>.

For the Śvet. the case of the Kumārapāla of Gujarat (s. 1200-1229) represents a show-piece of how a prince was won for their Order. We are informed of this case in all details since BÜHLER has rendered a masterly biographical representation of the originator of the conversion, the scholar Hemacandra, by separating the historical from the legendary<sup>195</sup>. According to that there is no doubt that starting from s. 1216 Kumārapāla "tried to make Gujarat in some manner a Jain model state" and forced his subjects to go far in putting into practice the *ahimsā*, etc., acc. to his example. At the same time Hemacandra by his versatile scientific work established the basis for a typical Jain culture<sup>196</sup>. But even Kumārapāla did not leave off favouring the Śaivas with whom up to them he had been intimately connected, so that after his death they again won the upperhand. Finally there is the belief in being kable to call the Emperor Akbar a Śvetāmbara Jain. He requested them so send him Hiravijaya (1526, 7-1595), an Ācārya from the Tapā-Gaccha (§ 34). He, the so-called *jagad-guru* spent some years at the court of Delhi. After his

194. IA 47, 18 ff.; Festschr. Bhandarkar p. 216. Apart from Uttarapurāṇa 76 comp. also Mahānis. 5 IV (the Author p. 43) and Dhaneśvara. Śatruṃjayamāhātmya 14, 203 f.—Previously (IA 46, 145 ff.) Jayaswal had seen in Kalkin the Yaśodharman, the conqueror of Mihiragula. In a chronological treatise Shamasastri Annual Rep. of the Mysore Archaeol. Dep. 1923 (p. 24) asks for two Toramānas and two Mihiragulas.

195. On the Life of the Jain Monk Hemacandra. (Vienna 1889, transl. by Mani Lal Patel, Singhi Series 11). For the following comp. p. 39. 41 f 51. Rev. by Leumann ZDMG 43, 348-352.

196. Acc. to Jacobi, Par. (2nd ed.) p. XXIII this effort tended to the very details of versification.

departure in 1584 Śānticandra, Bhānucandra and Vijayasena were successively active in the same direction of making Akbar familiar with the Dharma. As is known Akbar was not converted (*prabodhita*), but similarly to Aśoka under Buddhist, so he under Jain influence edited some regionally and temporarily limited prohibitions in accordance with their teaching<sup>197</sup>.

§ 29. The successes previously mentioned mostly go back to the outward reputation of the Jain Order, which again goes back to the number and the importance of its adherents, whereas its publicity explains itself by the substance of the doctrine. Since about 80 A.D.<sup>198</sup> when a pseudo-Bhadrabāhu (§ 43) first came to put the traditional text comment into shape, the Śvet., for centuries, have tried hard for this substance, although, as was said, mostly in the pale of the community. It is true, the investigations into the details of this intellectual accomplishment started by Leumann remained stuck in their first stages in public (§ 4), but yet they allow us to realize the comprehensive character of that scholasticism. The names of those that stand behind it we do not know<sup>199</sup>, and presumably we shall never do; and it is not until we come to the ending stages in Prakrit that we have several names, see Chapter III. A wide circulation of the Śvetāmbara texts had become possible by the redaction of the Canon under the

197. V. A. Smith, Festschr. Bhandarkar, p. 265-276; the Same, Akbar, the Great Mogul, p. 47 ff.

198. Leumann, Übersicht p. 28b.

199. On account of a passage in the Āvaśyaka tradition Leumann gives Siddhasena *khamā-samaṇa* (Divākara) as the author of the oldest interpolations in pseudo-Bhadrabāhu's Nijjuttis', the so-called *mūla-bhāṣya*. For S. Divākara and S. Gaṇin between whom we have Haribhadra comp. Jacobi, Samarāicc. p. III.

direction of Devarddhi (980 or 993 after Mahāvīra). Owing to the schism of the Order the Dig. had since long become estranged from the Canon, and there were only very few passages of some texts which partly in a shape prior to its definite fixation continued to live in their memory<sup>200</sup>. Hence they first appear with the so-called *prakaraṇa*, and, what is more, they represent the first authors of this kind of literature with the Jains<sup>201</sup>. By *prakaraṇas* we understand systematic treatises<sup>202</sup>, i.e. treatises following a fixed plan and leading the subject instead of being led by it as is the case with works that start from something given. With its beginnings the *prakaraṇa* period reaches back as far as the period of comments. Among the Śvet. it opens with Umāsvāti, Siddhasena Divākara and Haribhadra (750 A.D.), among the Dig. with Vaṭṭakera and Kundakunda<sup>203</sup> who both wrote Prakrit and preceded Umāsvāti<sup>204</sup> who wrote his *prakaraṇa* in Sanskrit. With this we do not intend to establish a historical criterion,

200. (The Dig. redaction of the Āvaśyaka) "is...the only remainder of the Canon worth mentioning among the Digambaras, of the Daśavaikālika they have retained in their memory but some Ślokas (I. 1. IV 7 f. VI 54. 56. 65 VIII 17a)!" (Footnote :) "Aparājita still quotes (on Ārādhana 415 and 601) different passages from Ācārāṅga, Sūtrakṛta (II, 1, 58), Nīṣītha, Uttarādhy. (II 6a. 7. 12b. 34. XXIII 12b-14) and Daśavaikālika. Some of these passages run quite differently in the traditional Canon, and some of them it lacks completely", Leumann, Uebersicht p. 3.

201. Somewhat different Jacobi, Samarāicc. p. XII.

202. Jacobi, loc. cit. p. xi.

203. This sequence after Leumann, Übersicht 15b.

204. For K. comp. Peterson, A fourth Report p. XX; Jacobi, Tattv. p. 288; Leumann, Uebersicht p. 3a. The Dig. call him Kuṇḍakunda after his birth place. His spiritual name is Padmanandin. Comp. Desai esp. p. 55 f. 37.

for in the literature of comments the change over to Sanskrit was first started by the above mentioned Haribhadra who was a Brahman by birth and probably also for this reason frequently proved considerably impartial in his treatises<sup>205</sup>, and accomplished by Śīlāṅka (872 A.D.), and Prakrit treatises have long continued to be written. But the use of Sanskrit coming in was significant. By editing his Tattvārthādhigama in the shape of Sūtras (imitated by Haribhadra in his Dharmabindu) Umāsvāti followed Brahman models, and by doing so he led the Śvet. out of the narrow circle and made them become competitive. Umāsvāti also appears in the lists of the Dig.; but there is no doubt that he was a Śvet., since the Dig. do not acknowledge the Bhāṣya he himself wrote for his Sūtras, but use their own comments instead. They have changed the basic text<sup>206</sup>, too, if only inconsiderably. Among the authors following Umāsvāti the above mentioned competitiveness led to arguments and disputes of remarkable dialectic refinement with both Buddhists and Brahmans<sup>207</sup>. On the part of the Śvet. we have to mention Siddhasena Divākara and Haribhadra as contestants to Dharmakīrti

205. Leumann ZDMG 46, 582; For h.'s life and works see Jacobi, Samarāicc, p. 1 ff. The Yogabindu (Bo. 1911) and Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya (DLJP 12, Bo. 1912) ed. by Suali are no Jain works.

206. For a confrontation of the two versions of the Tattv. see edition by Jaini SBJ 2. A critical discussion about them and the author of the Bhāṣya by Ghatage Jub 4 p. 105-III.

207. Hinted at already also by U. himself, comp. compilation by H. R. Kapadia ABhORI 14, 142-144. For polemics of Buddhists and Brahmans against the Jains see v. Glasenapp in Festschrift Schubring p. 74-84.—Schrader assumes (Philos. p. 51) that these disputes had helped to bring the Syādvāda to life.

(about 650)<sup>208</sup>, while among the Dig. we have Samantabhadra (1st half of the 8th century), Akalanka (2nd half of the 8th century), Vidyānanda (Pātrakesarin) and Prabhācandra (1st half of the 9th century) as opponents to Kumārila and Śāntarakṣita. Vidyānanda also stood up against Śaṃkara. After the unanimously testified decline of Buddhism in South India it was in the personality of Kumārila that "the Mīmāṃsā flourished for a short while. It was followed (thanks to the Dog.) by a Jain reaction culminating during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa I. (815-877)"<sup>209</sup>. In the end, however, Hinduism triumphed. By the Canarese literature we are able to trace how Jainism loses ground to the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas. That this did not happen until the 2nd half of the 12th century easily explains itself by the solid tradition flowing from Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. In the region where the Tamil language was spoken the change over in favour of Viṣṇuism and Śivaism was in full swing not until the end of the 10th century after both had come to rise here already some centuries earlier. Soon after the middle of the 12th century the Vīraśaiva who had increased in importance owing to the propaganda of the Basava, joined the enemies of Jainism. The contest between the different religions soon took the form of bloody persecutions<sup>210</sup>, such as the Jains in northern India, i.e. presumably

208. Jacobi Z II 5, 307.

Jacobi, Samarāñc. p. XIII. For chronology and system of either logician see Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic. C. 1909.

209. The investigator of these polemics and shiftings is Pathak, comp. IX. OC I, 186-214; JBBRAS 18, 214-238; a series of essays in ABhORI 11 and 12.—The Praśnottararatnamālā, however attributed to the A. by some avoids strict partiality.

210. Comp. R. G. Bhandarkar in this Grundriss 3, 6, p. 48 ff., 131 ff., 140 ff.

mainly Śvet., had to endure by the hands of Mohammedan conquerors in the 13th century.

The above remarks allowed of being confined to the densest possible form since the author made use of the historical chapter in v. Glasenapp's "Jainismus" (1926) including various details and references to sources<sup>211</sup>. It was followed by Ch. L. Shah, Jainism in Northern India (1929); the South was treated in Desai's book previously mentioned (1957). His predecessors were M.S. Ramaswami Ayyangar, South Indian Jainism, and B. Seshagiri Rao, Andhra Karnataka Jainism, both combined under the title studies in South Indian Jainism (1922). S. B. Deo gives an historical account in his History of Jaina Monachism (1956) p. 57-130.

§ 30. After having dealt with the exterior adventures of Jainism we now turn to its inward changes. The teaching proper was scarcely affected by any of them. The so-called schisms of the early times (§ 17) concerned quite subordinate points and were overcome in the pale of the Order itself. The new formations which developed to remain are nearly exclusively concerned with formalities. This becomes evident already by the alienation between Śvet. and Dig. which goes back, as we know, to a more uncompromising conception of monkdom on the part of the latter. It crystallizes around the idea of the ideal monk, i.e. the Kevalin. He no longer takes any earthly food but is merely kept alive by a constant influx of material particles, a process the Śvet. would call *lom'āhāra* (§ 96). To think that he ate and digested was most certainly shocking<sup>212</sup>, as much as in

211. For Rajputana comp. also the booklet by Umrao Singh Tank Jaina Historical Studies (Delhi, 1914).

212. With regard to digestion we have the same attitude with the Śvet. *pacchanne āhāra-nīhāre, adisse maṃsa-cakkuṇā* (a śloka line, to read *pacchann'* Samav. 60a), and also in Chapp. 4, 37 we have to understand the word in this way.

the view of Dig. it was against his dignity to decorate his temple figure, and, especially, against that of Mahāvīra to imagine him owing his origin to an operation performed by some divine gynaecology (§ 17), or to think that he was married. If, furthermore, there can be no salvation without nakedness<sup>213</sup> (Chapp. 3, 23.), then it follows that all female persons, since they cannot go without clothes, are excluded from it (and that is why Arhat Malli—§ 15—is said to have been by no means a girl). The extreme conclusion, however, that accordingly there should be no nuns at all, is not yet drawn by Vaṭṭakera in the Mūlācāra, an early work, nor by others (§ 137). But we come across it in the Chappāhuḍa (3, 24f.), which is attributed, though wrongly, to Kundakunda<sup>214</sup>. The Dig. on the whole deny the *stri-mukti* up this day, but yet we find that the attitude of the Śvet., since ever more capable of adaptation, has penetrated into their thinking here and there. Among the Dig. there were so-called *saṃghas* called Kāṣṭhā, Mūla, Māthura, and Gopya or Yāpanīya. Acc. to the Śvet. Guṇaratna<sup>215</sup>, who, it is true, lived, as late as in the 15th century (s. 1466), they are *ācāre gurdu ca deve ca equal* to the Śvet. so the *Gopya* equal them in using as a salutation the word of *dharma-lābha*<sup>216</sup> and in allowing women to find salvation and the Kevalin to live on food. The by far older Devasena, who may perhaps deserve some credit with questions concerning the Dig. (§ 26), traces (Daṃs. 29) the *Yāpanīya* back to a Śvet., i.e. the Sirikalasa at Kalyāṇa

215. For this there are 9 reasons, see Dharmasāgara in the Kuv. ("32) in Weber, Kup. p. 798.

216. The Author ZDMG 10 f. p. 55 f. 5 f. 7.

217. Comp. Haribhadra, Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya ed. Suali p. 111.

218. The other three s. with "*dharma-vṛddhi*".



(s. 705)<sup>219</sup>. Among the different customs of the Kāṣṭhā-s., which is said to have been established s. 753 by Kumārasena jñ Nanditaṭa (Dams. 33 ff.), we may in this connexion mention the *dikṣā* of female persons<sup>220</sup>.

As regards the Mūla-and the Māthura-s., Guṇaratna refers to them merely with respect to their adherents being distinguishable by the whisks (*piccha*) of different kind used by them as hand-brooms (§ 145) which he also mentions in connexion with the aforesaid. Acc. to Devasena (Dams. 40ff.) the Māthuras branched off 200 years after the Kāṣṭhā-s., and they did so thanks to a certain Rāmasena at Mathurā who, among others, believed in Padmanandin (i.e. Kundakunda) less than in Bhūtabali and Puṣpadanta both referred to as pupils of Arhad-bali in the inscriptions (s. b.). The place mentioned concerns Mathurā on the Yamunā, since it is at Dakkhiṇa-Mahurā, i.e. Madurā, where in s. 526 the Drāvida-s. is said to have originated (Dams. 24 ff.). Its founder was Vajranandin, a pupil of Puṣyapāda (Devanandin). He and his like were less scrupulous about the *ahiṃsā* than the traditional teaching wanted it, and so they were liberal in questions concerning nutrition and civil activities.<sup>221</sup> Of the Mūla-s. we learn

219. A second Ms. has 205. The occurrence of Yāp. in Khāravēla's large inscription discussed by Shah, Jainism, p. 180 f. appears to be rather doubtful. For recent investigations see Upadhye Jub 1, p. 224 ff. and Desai p. 163 ff.

220. Further characteristics of this *saṃgha* under the proviso that he coincides with the Gopucchikas (comp. footnote 1 on p. 46) see Śrutasāgara on Chapp. 1.

221. For the sake of completeness we mention the prophesy rendered Dams. 45f. acc. to which after 1800 years hence the monk Viracandra of Puṣkara in the Vindhya mountains in Deccan will destroy the teaching by the Bhillaka-saṃgha.— In Nitisāra 10 Indranandin speaks of the five *jain'ābhāsa* →

nothing from Devasena since this does not mean a branch but the religious centre of the Digambaras. For it was the *Mūla-saṃgha* from which by means of integration (*saṃghaṭṭana*) in earlier times Arhadbali had formed the *saṃghas* called *Siṃha*, *Nandi*, *Sena*<sup>222</sup>, and *Deva*. This we learn from inscriptions dated 1398 and 1432 A.D.<sup>223</sup>, from the *Nītisāra*<sup>224</sup> composed by Indranandin between 1524 and 1565, and from *Paṭṭāvalis* of the last centuries<sup>225</sup>. In the latter works those four names are explained by the special praxis of individuals, and the fact is stressed that these four *saṃghas* harmonized with each other, though the measures taken by Arhadbali were meant to be an act of pacification after controversies had shown up in the course of time (*kāla-svabhāvāt*). Acc. to the latter inscription the classification was made after Akalanka's death (2nd half of the 8th century). In the 12th-13th century, however, there was once more a *Mūla-saṃgha*. At least the *Nandi-s.* was divided into *gaṇa*, *gaccha* and *vali* (*bali*), and its adherents had as a second name of the words of *candra*, *kīrtideva*, *bhūṣaṇa*, and *nandin*<sup>226</sup>.

→ or false Jains by whom he means the Śvet., the Drāviḍa-and Yāpaniya (IA 21, 68; Yāpuliya)—*saṃghas*, the *Nihpiṃchas* (i.e. as shown by Gunaratna the *Māthura-s.*) and the *Gopucchikas* who may stand for the *Kāṣṭhā-s.* (called *camarivālaihpīcchika* by Gunaratna) (but IA 21, 68 instead of *Gop.* : *Kekīpiccha*).

222. IA 20, 350; Vṛṣabha.

223. First (with translation) ed. by Rice, Ep. Carn. 2, 77, 82, improved by Narasimhachar, loc. cit. (rev. ed.) p. 123, 129, comp. also p. 87 f.

224. Hoernle IA 21, 84.

225. Hoernle IA 20, 341 ff; 21, 57 ff.

226. Ep. Carn. 2, 123. In the *Paṭṭāvali* IA 20, 350; 21, 71 fails to have the word of *deva*. The *Sena-s.* has the words : *rāga*, *vīra*, *bhadra*, *sena*; the *Siṃha-s.* *siṃha*, *kumbha*, *āsrava*, →

§ 31. We now turn back to the Śvetāmbaras. If we were certain about the time when the three smaller texts going by the name of *cūliyā* were composed, we should know at what date the declines from the normal level described by them had occurred. The prophesy pointing at 1990 after Mv. rendered in the Vaggacūliyā leads to the 15th century A.D. which cannot be the date of their origin. Here we are told of the disrespect shown towards sacred texts. From the Angacūliyā we learn that partly with the superior's knowledge and consent persons slipped in without being formally accepted. Their exposure then led to quarrels and schisms<sup>227</sup>. The Viyāhacūliyā, finally, by the means of 16 interpretations of dreams designs a picture typical of the time of its origin. In addition to the details already mentioned in §21 we may, in this connection, point to the loss of texts for instruction, the corruption of monastic morals, the flourishing of heresy, the disregard for the Order on the part of outsiders, the deficient training of preachers owing to the absence of *theragas*, and bickering and biting among the monks.

Since detailed reports are missing, it may be assumed that the grievances here referred to were of an importance going far beyond the regional. The custom, however, of using the cultplaces as living quarters as well (*caitya-vāsa*) seems to have been observed at certain times especially in Gujarat. According to ancient prescriptions ('147) the monk is expected to ask for his quarters in ordinary homes

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→ *sāgara*; the Deva-s. : *deva, datta, nāga, tunga* (I.A 21, 69; there *langa* instead of *tunga*). For a biographical list of the Ācāryas of the Arungala-anvaya which was a subsection of the Nandi-s. since Akalanka, see Hultzsch ZDMG 68, 695-700.

227. Comp. the Author, OLZ 1926, col. 910 ff.

(*vasati-nivāsa*). Those who acted differently may have referred to the Canon saying that sermons and instructional talks invariably took place at a *ceiya* ('18) which may have developed into taking one's quarters there. The argument<sup>228</sup> in favour of and against the *ceiy'ālaya* quoted in the *Mahānisiha* is not motivated therein. The early leaders of a *Gaccha* ('34) saw their task in opposing the *caitya-vāsin*, and so energetically was it refuted at Gujarat by Jineśvara in s. 1080 that for this refutation<sup>229</sup> he came to be given the surname of *Kharatara* (after which his *Gaccha*<sup>230</sup> was accordingly called), whereas the *caityavāsin* were called *kuvala*. Jinadatta (12th-13th century s.), the chronicler of this *Gaccha*, is, moreover, very desirous in pointing out, that *Haribhadra* was not a *cīvāsī*, while *Śilānka* is spoken of with respect even though he belonged to them.<sup>231</sup> So, then, even *Haribhadra* had stood up against the abuse of sanctuaries by profane music and other worldly diversions, above all, however, as is equally reported by Jinadatta in his *Caccarī*,<sup>232</sup> Jinavallabha (who died in s. 1167) restored them as *vidhi-caitya-gr̥ha*, i.e. by turning out trespassers and by enforcing a dignified conduct for their dignified use. In his *Uvaesarasāyaṇu* and his *Kālasvarūpakulaka*,<sup>233</sup> Jinadatta renders a sinister report on the state of affairs prevailing among the *Śvet.* in the 12th century.

228. The Author, *Mahānis.* p. 100.

229. Weber, List II, 1038, Also R. G. Bhandarkar Rep. 1882-83 p. 46.

230. Comp. '34.

231. *Gaṇadharasārdhaśataka* 57 and comm. on 60, comp. Weber, Verf. II, 988 f. and GOS 37, p. 94f., ref. by Jacobi, *Samarāicc.* IX f., (for on p. IX read 57).

232. *Caccarī* 12 ff.

233. Both following the *Caccarī* in Gos 37.

"32. The antagonism between dwelling places and such devoted to cultic activities evives many centuries after in the name of the Sthānakvāsī. By this name such Jains are designated that practise their religious duties not in the temple but exclusively at some profane place (*sthānaka*), i.e. in the Upāśraya. Their reason for doing so is that they refuse the cult of the Jina statues, and they refuse it because only the living deserve veneration but not dead matter like the *pratimā* or *bimba* to which particularly the Canon does not refer. The latter argument is wrong, for at least Rāyap. mentions statues of Tittthagaras ('25). The Sthānakvāsī, however, are not the originators of that conception, they merely pursue or either revive it in the beginning of the 18th century. As early as s. 1508 there appeared a sect headed by a certain Lumpāka or Lonkaśa from Ahmedabad and calling itself after him by the name of Lumpāka, Lunka, Lonka or Launka, since when professionally copying manuscripts he had discovered that they contained nothing about the cult of images. The arguments referred to are attributed to Lumpāka in Dharmasāgara's polemic work bearing the title of Kuvakkhakosiyasahassakiraṇa and composed at a time (s. 1629) when the Sthānakvāsī had not yet existed. They did not appear until s. 1710 in Surat under the leadership of Lava (ji), the son of Vira, who reorganized Lonkaśa's Order. The community also passes by the name of Bāvis (or Vis) Tole Panth, and its members are called either Dhunḍhiyā or Dhunḍhak, the latter meaning futile "seekers" in the script<sup>234</sup> and the former owing its name to the fact that the sect goes back to 22

234. For a different explanation comp. Millet IA 25, 147 following Ibbetson, Outlines of Panjāb Ethnography, p. 132. "25 f.

groups (*tolā*) under named leaders.<sup>235</sup> Notwithstanding this fundamental difference various Sthānakvāsīs still to-day call themselves Śvetāmbaras<sup>236</sup> though without acknowledging all of their texts, i.e. repudiating 13 out of its 45, including the Mahānisiha, for their attitude towards the *paḍimās*. Hence the Battīsī mentioned 4. An earlier branch of Lonkaśa's community dating from either s. 1531 or 1533 was represented in Rajputana and in Gujarat by the Veṣadharas who must have stood out by wearing some conspicuous costume.<sup>237</sup> A counterpart to the name of the Bāvis Tolā is that of the Terāpanth, the "path of the thirteen", which appeared in Marwar in s. 1817. The Terāpanthī, within the frame of their strict orthodoxy, equally reject the cult of images since the founder of their sect, Bhikanjī, was a Sthānakvāsī, but they equally counted themselves among the Śvetāmbaras<sup>238</sup>.

§ 33. the afore mentioned publication of Dharmasāgara, known also by the title of

235. Comp. p. 2, 29 of the publication mentioned "56.

236. "Seeker" (i.e. Kesari Chand Bhandari), Notes on the Sthānakwasi or non-idolatrous Shwetambar Jains. (Indore) 1911.—Stevenson, Heart p. 87 f.; the Same Ere 12, 123 f.; Jacobi, Archiv f. Religionswise. 18, 271 f.—Sri Prem Chand, Mithya Khandan, containing origin of Jainism. Ludhiana 1914.

237. R. G. Bhandarkar, Rep. 1883-84, p. 153.

238. For details see Jacobi loc. cit. 272; Kesree Chand Kishory in the Census of India 1921, vol. I, p. I, App. IV; Jayacarya, Bhram Vidhvamsan (C. s. 1980); Kanamalla Svami, Kālu Bhaktāmarastotra (C. s. 1987), p. ga ff.; Terāpanthīkṛt Granth Samgrah (Bo. 1876); A Short History of the Terapanthi Sect of the Jain Swetambar Community (c. 1933).—On the above mentioned sects partly diverging Muni Ātmārāmji Ānandavijaya IA 21, 63, 72 (also on other different branches).

Pravacanaparīkṣā<sup>239</sup>, is up to now the only contemporary source for the Lumpākās and the Veṣadharas, though for its polemic character it has to be valued accordingly. While the aversion to images represents an actually far-reaching disparity of views, Dh., on the other hand, deals with a number of other sects whose principles vary but insignificantly from the standard rules. We therefore content ourselves with rendering but a few statements. The Paurṇamīyakas (s. 1159) derived their name from the confession act on full moon-day (*pūrṇimā*) to which they attached as great an importance as to Jina figures being erected exclusively by laymen without the assistance of monks (*śrāvaka-pratiṣṭhā*). Banished from Gujarat by Kumārapāla (§ 28) they gained ground once more as Sārdha-p. after his death (s. 1236), which possibly expresses itself by their name as “sesqui” P. unless, as some want it, Sādhū-P. is the authentical form. The Āgamikas or Tristutikas<sup>240</sup> (s. 1250) would not hear of any worship of the *śruta-devatā*<sup>241</sup> (§ 14), in other words, they felt it to be an adulteration of the true teaching. They as well as the Lumpākās, though they did not share the latter’s aversion to images (1, 75), resembled those who had appropriated the *mata* of a certain Bīja (s. 1570) who himself was no man of spiritual rank (? *vaṇṇa-vihīṇa*). The followers of Kaṭuka

239. Bhandarkar, Report 1883-84, p. 144-155; Weber, Über den Kupakshakaucikāditya des Dharmasāgara, Streitschrift eines orthodoxen Jaina, vom Jahre 1573. SPAW 1882, 793-814, merely discusses the fragmen of a ms. of which the most important parts are missing.

240. Rājendra Suri (s. 1883-1963) was a great promotor of theirs as is told in the biographical sketch mentioned 8. The Tristutikas are opposed to the Catuḥstutikas.

241. Bhandarkar loc. cit. p. 153 as compared with Kuv. I, 73 probably by mistake : *kṣetra-devatā*.

(s. 1562 or 1564)<sup>242</sup> were equally connected with the Āgamikas though the rendering of this connexion is not altogether clear. On the other hand they were radical enough in rejecting monkdom and insisting as laymen on the right of preaching and converting. This most certainly resulted from observing the Sādhus leading a non-religious life, so that here, too, it may be assumed that their decisive reforms coincided with the preservation of true belief and good conduct.

§ 34. Apart from dealing with the Digambaras, Dharmasāgara in his publication finally refers to a number of branches which for the lack of essential material divergencies would scarcely be designated as *kupakṣa* by any impartial author. He himself belonged to the Tapā-Gaccha. In linguistic usage the *gaccha* follows on the *gaṇa*.<sup>243</sup> In the course of time there are said to have been numerous *gacchas* or Orders which is frequently expressed by the figure of 84 (§ 16)<sup>244</sup>, but only few of them have come to gain any considerable and lasting importance. Thanks to the disposition of the Jains for chronicling we have comprehensive lists of teachers to inform us accordingly.<sup>245</sup> They usually go by the name of *paṭṭ'āvalī* in the sense of *paṭṭadhar'āvalī*

242. s. 1524 after the list laid down by Kalyāṇa s. 1685, Kalyāṇa, who himself was a Kaṭuka, controverts for his part the Tapā to be dealt with presently. Comp. Klatt, in Festgruss an Böhtlingk (1888) p. 58f.

243. The change of the earlier name into the later can be pursued in the Mahānisiha (the Author, Mahānis. p. 78).

244. Comp. the lists given by Muni Jinavijaya in Jaina-Sāhitya-Saṃśodhaka 3, 30-34.

245. Other proofs are the *praśasti* at the end of Jain works and the *viṇṇapti*, annual reports in the shape of letters (partly illustrated). Comp. the exhaustive study by Muni Jinavijaya : Viṇṇapti-triveṇi (Bh. 1916), also K. P. Jayaswal JA 46, 276.



since in this connexion *paṭṭa* means "place of honour, throne". He who occupies it bears the title of *Sūri*, and he personally appoints his successor. Frequently the lists (chronicles) are traced back to Sudharman, or even to Mahāvīra who, however, is not everywhere considered as *paṭṭa-dhara*.<sup>246</sup> The Upakeśa-Gaccha, to refer to this list first, even goes back to Pāsa which follows from an intended relation to Keśin, the disciple of Pārśva known from Uvanga. The fabulous *paṭṭ'āvali* of this Gaccha probably written in the 2nd half of the 17th century,<sup>247</sup> proves as an exception to the rule that these chronicles are mines of reliable dates regarding the history of Jain Orders and writings.<sup>248</sup> Upakeśa is said to be the later Os near Jodhpur from where the commercial Jain caste of the Osvāl derive. A collection of the Śvet. lists in a *Paṭṭavalisamuccaya* has been started by Muni DARŚANA-VIJAYA (Bh. 1, Cāritrasmāraka-GM. 22. Vīramgām 1933).<sup>249</sup> Now it is Dharmasāgara who, in a *Prakrit-Gurvāvali*<sup>250</sup> with an individual Sanskrit comment, notes the history of the Tapā-Gaccha who, so he says, took this name but as the sixth after that of the *nirgrantha*- and those of Koṭika-

246. (*tīrthakṛtām*) *svayam eva tīrtha-pravacanena kasyāpi paṭṭadhara-tvābhāvāt* Dharmasāgara on verse 2 of his *Gurvāvali* as against the Kharataras presently to be mentioned.

247. Transl. by Hoernle IA 19, 233-242; complete text : Jinavijaya in *Jaina-Sāhitya-Samsodhaka* I; *Paṭṭāvalisam*.

248. A second exception is the "apocryphal *Paṭṭāvali*" rendered by Klatt in *Festgruss an Böhtlingk* (1888, p. 54-59).

249. For the names of 17 *Paṭṭ.* s. see Klatt-Leumann IA 23, 170.

250. Klatt, IA 11, 251-256; Weber Verz. II, 651 f. 997-1015; for this and for chronistic predecessors and successors of Dh. see Klatt-Leumann IA 23, 179; compl. text and comm. *Paṭṭavalisam*. 1, 41-77, followed by further Tapā-tradition.

Candra-, Vanavāsṣī and Vaṭa-Gaccha, altogether names which are explained in different ways. Different from two other lists presently to be mentioned, this list by starting from Uddyotana, the 35th Sūri (till s. 994), follows its own way as that of Vaṭa- or Bṛhad-G. and leads up to the 44th Sūri, Jagaccandra, who equally gained fame as a reformer and as a triumphant disputant, but who as a stern fasting ascetic came to be given the surname of Tapā (*Tapā-biruda*) (s. 1285)<sup>251</sup>. Still today the Tapā-G. enjoys a high reputation. This also applies to the Kharatara-G. and others, whom to attack is a special concern of Dharmasāgara's in his work. In their *paṭṭ'āvali*<sup>252</sup> the Kharatara, too, appear beyond the time of Uddyotana just as the formation of the above mentioned 84 gacchas is said to go back to the same number of Uddyotana's pupils who are said to have been blessed by him individually in a ceremony before he died.<sup>253</sup> One of them, and hence the first Kharatara-Sūri proper, was Vardhamāna (till s. 1088)<sup>254</sup>, by origin a *caityavāsin*, who were energetically attacked by his own pupil, Jineśvara (s. 1080), as we have seen in § 31. This report of the Kharatarasa, however, Dharmasāgara<sup>255</sup> declares to be false owing to historic dates,<sup>256</sup> and he refutes the statements it contains also

251. Tapā seems to be the intimate form for a name beginning with *tapas* as Yaśā is said to have been for Yaśovijaya ("36).

252. Klatt IA 11, 245-250; Weber, Verz. II, 1030-1056.

253. Klatt loc. cit. 248a; Weber loc. cit. 1035. By this the Gacchas are legitimated by the Tapā.

254. This will not agree with s. 994 which date is given by the Tapās as the death year of his immediate precursor, Uddyotana. 1088 is the first year referred to in the Kharatara chronicle.

255. Bhandarkar, Report 1883-84, p. 149.

256. This, too, is the object of an assumed dispute bearing the →

elsewhere. Acc. to him it was Jinadatta (s. 1204) who came to be the first Kharatara, and it is said that his activities equally account for his further names<sup>257</sup> : Cāmuṇḍika, because Jinadatta dedicated a prayer to Cāmuṇḍā, and Auṣṭrika, because he fled on a camel. As to the peculiarities of the Kh. we hear of them from Jinadatta himself by an Utsūtrapadāghāṭanakulaka (30 G.), by a Sāmāyārī, and again, most comprehensively, from Dharmasāgara in his Auṣṭrikamatotsūtrodghāṭanakulaka commented by himself (18 G.)<sup>258</sup>. By a change of the sign the last small text implicitly teaches us to know the standpoint of the Tapās. The various points of divergence scarcely concern anything but irrelevant matters of praxis. As being of some slightly greater importance we, therefore, but mention that women may not worship the Jina (*itthi-jina-pūya-nisehaṇa*), that there is no fasting beyond the *cauttha* (§ 156), that laymen will not exercise *paḍimā* (§ 163), that the Cāmuṇḍā and other local deities may be worshipped, and that the ceremony of Mahāvīra's being put into another womb is to be celebrated as his sixth *kallāṇaga*<sup>259</sup>.

§ 35. Among Uddyotana's pupils we have Sarvadeva, the teacher of Padmadeva. With them as the 36th and 37th Sūri there begins the *paṭṭ'āvali* of Ancala-Gaccha<sup>260</sup>

→ title of Kharātmajānām nihnava-sthāpanā-vāda-yuto mūlapuruṣa-vādaḥ.

257. DHARMASĀGARA, Gurv. in Ajitadeva Sūri (No. 41); Weber, Kup. p. 804.

258. All incl. the text referred to in footnote 6 in : Dharmasāgara, Iryāpathikiṣaṭṭrimśikā (Āg. Ś, 49).

259. The traditional 5 festive days in honour of all Jinās are : conception, birth, becoming a monk, the first notion of the Kevala cognition and entering into Nirvāṇa.

260. Klatt-Leumann IA 23, 174-178 after a Gurupaṭṭāvali published in the Śrīmad-Vidhipakṣagacchiya śrāvakaṇā daivas'ādik pāñce Pratikramaṇa Sūtra, Bo. 1889, 2nd print 1905.

who, though under Padmadeva he was still called Śankheśvara-G., was soon after named Nānaka-G. and under Āryarakṣita (No. 47) Vidhipakṣa-G. by which name he is still known to-day. The name of Ancala does not occur here at all. But Dharmasāgara does deal with the Ancala-G. as such<sup>261</sup> where he discusses the Ancaliya (Āncalika) or Pallaviya (Pallavika), once even Stanika (?). The reciprocal notes have one thing in common : that in the *paṭṭ'āvalī* it was an *upādhyāya* Vijayacandra, in the *Gurvāvalī* a certain Narasiṃha, who was one-eyed, as a Sūri was given the name of Āryarakṣita. The origin of the Vidhipakṣa-G. is there said to be the year s. 1169<sup>262</sup>, whereas here the Ancala-G. is said to date from s. 1213. So we have two completely different occurrences, and we certainly cannot charge the Āncalika of to-day with saying that acc. to Dharmasāgara the *ancala* or *pallava*, i.e. the corner of a dress, had stood for the face cloth by way of imitating an individual case, and that later also the hand-broom and even the act of confession had been dismissed. At least the latter does not apply to the praxis of the Vidhipakṣa.

In conclusion we have to add that the Kuv. was also concerned with the Gaccha of the Pāśacandras<sup>263</sup> whose foundation goes back to an *upādhyāya* bearing the same name and being descended from a sidebranch of the Tapā-G. as such frequently developed being called *gaccha* as well or, as was the case already in ancient days, *śākhā* (comp. § 25). In this case it was a *Nāgapuriya*-Tapā-G. which had developed at Nāgaur (Rajputana) in s. 1174 and within which Pāśacandra

261. *Gurv.* in Ajitadeva Sūri (No. 41); for the Kuv. comp. Bhandarkar, Report 1883-84, p. 152 and Weber, Kup. p. 805 f.

262. A list defying any closer determination and ed. by Bhandarkar loc. cit. p. 14 gives s. 1159 for the Ancala-G.

263. Klatt-Leumann IA 23, 181 f.

established his *mata* in s. 1572. He distinguished himself as an independent writer and as a commentator of canonic texts who as such a one also calls himself Pārśvacandra.<sup>264</sup> Since his Bālāvabodha and Vārttika are still being acknowledged he is not likely to have departed very far from the principles of the doctrine. Nor did he ignore the scholastic comments and the Chedagranth as he is blamed for having done by Dharmasāgara. He is said to have had different points of contact with the Lumpākas. Bhandarkar is not fully intelligible in reporting on a system developed by Pāśacandra.<sup>265</sup>

§ 36. Since the forming of a Śvet.-Gaccha<sup>266</sup> of the kind described above lastly always comes as a protest against the traditional state of affairs in order to replace it by a better one, there can be no doubt that in return reformatory efforts were made within its body. This we may conclude from the discrimination still made to-day between monks of a higher and lower class.<sup>267</sup> The former are the Sādhus and the latter the Yatis. Contrary to the linguistic usage in mediaeval times when both words meant the same, the Yatis are the spiritual successors of those monks who had not participated in the reform. The point where this process starts is found with the Tapā-Gaccha. Of this Tapā-G. Yaśovijaya Gaṇin<sup>268</sup> of Gujarat was a member. After having been

264. Comp. the Calcutta ed. of the Āyāra II 280; Weber Verf. II, 542.

265. Bhandarkar loc. cit. p. 155.

266. Or else of a śākhā, comp. the development of the Vijaya-śākhā IA 19, 234.

267. Stevenson, Heart, p. 233; v. Glasenapp, Jainismus p. 72, 341, 352 ff.

268. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana JASB 6 (1911), 463-69; M. D. Desai, Shrimad Yahovijayaji (a Life of a great Jain Scholar). →

trained in Jain learning at home his Guru Nayavijaya of Benares made him become a master of logics who as such proved extremely productive. He died in s. 1745. Without occupying a leading position in the Order<sup>269</sup> he carried out his reforms on the initiative of Vijayasimha whom the Vijayaśākhā calls their first Sūri, although Vijayadeva who had appointed him Sūri in s. 1682 outlived him, who died in s. 1709, by four years.<sup>270</sup> In the way he opposed both the Digambaras and the Dhundhiyas<sup>271</sup> so he was successful first in his own Gaccha. He who followed him came to be called a *saṃvegi* dressed in saffron, whereas he who refused him continued to dress in white, and that is why to-day we hear him being called not only a *yati* but a *gorji* as well. This differentiation obviously spread from the Tapās over to the Kharataras, for in our days here, too, we come across the white Yatis who even have a hierarchy of their own. So, then, in concluding our historical sketch we observe among the Śvetāmbaras the same capacity to which in remote antiquity they owe their origin : to cling faithfully to the values of tradition even though reformed.

### Abbreviations used

Bh.	Bhavnagar.	Bo.	Bombay.
C.	Calcutta.	Lpz.	Leipzig.
T.	Tattvārthādhigamasūtra.		

→ Bo. (after 1910); Saubhagyavijaya in the ed. of Y.'s Nayopadeśa; forewords to editions of other writings of Y.

269. Then his name would be Vijayayaśas.

270. Hoernle IA 19, 234.

271. For his polemics against the former see "195; for those directed against the Dig. and the latter comp. a.o. his so-called Virastutirūp hundinū stavan and his letter to Śā Devrāj, both in PK 3, 569-710.

## Sanskrit Commentaries to Prakrit Texts :

- Ācār. Śīlāṅka Ācāraṭīkā. As to Āyār. I and II, note that I means the Author's edition of 1910, II Jacobi's edition of 1882, pp. 49-137.
- Āvaśy. Malayagiri, Āvaśyakaṭīkā
- Prajñ. Malayagiri, Prajñapanāṭīkā
- Sthān. Abhayadeva, Sthānāṅgavṛtti
- Vy. Abhayadeva, Vyākhyāprajñativṛtti

## Periodicals

- ABhORI Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
- ĀGRM Ātmānanda-Grantha-Ratna-Mālā. Bhavnagar
- Āg. S. Āgamodaya Samiti. Mhesana, Surat, Bombay
- AO Acta Orientalia. Oslo
- ĀSG Āgamodaya-Samiti-Granthoddhāra, Bombay
- BSOS Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies. London
- CII Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
- DLJP Devcand-Lālbhāī-Jaina-Pustakoddhāra. Bombay
- ERE Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. London
- GGA Göttingische Gelehrte Angeihen. Göttingen
- IA Indian Antiquary. Bombay
- IHQ Indian Historical Quarterly. Calcutta
- JAs Journal Asiatique. Paris
- JASB Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta
- JBORS Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Patna.

## 2

### **The Indian Sect of the Jainas.**

○ Dr. Johann Georg Buhler

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*(Dr. Johann Georg Buhler a German Scholar, was Member of the Imperial Academy of Science, Vienna. His profound knowledge of Jaina philosophy was appreciated world wide in the beginning of the 20th century. His famous book 'The Indian Sect of the Jains' was published in 1903 by Luzac & Co., London.)*

The Jaina sect is a religious society of modern India, at variance to Brahmanism, and possesses undoubted claims on the interest of all friends of Indian history. This claim is based partly on the peculiarities of their doctrines and customs, which present several resemblances to those of Buddhism, but, above all, on the fact that it was founded in the same period as the latter.

Larger and smaller communities of Jainas or Arhata,—that is followers of the prophet, who is generally called simply the Jina—'the conqueror of the world',—or the Arhat—'the holy one',—are to be found in almost every important Indian town, particularly among the merchant class. In some provinces of the West and North-west, in Gujarât, Râjputâna, and the Panjâb, as also in the



Dravidian districts in the south,—especially in Kanara,—they are numerous; and, owing to the influence of their wealth, they take a prominent place. They do not, however, present a compact mass, but are divided into two rival branches—the Digambara and Śvetāmbara<sup>1</sup>—each of which is split up into several subdivisions. The Digambara, that is, “those whose robe is the atmosphere,” own their name to the circumstance that they regard absolute nudity as the indispensable sign of holiness<sup>2</sup>,—though the advance of civilization has compelled them to depart from the practice of their theory. The Śvetāmbara, that is, “they who are clothed in white”—do not claim this doctrine, but hold it as possible that the holy ones, who clothe themselves, may also attain the highest goal. They allow, however, that the founder of the Jaina religion and his first disciples

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1. In notes on the Jainas, one often finds the view expressed, that the Digambaras belong only to the south, and the Śvetambaras to the north. This is by no means the case. The former in the Panjāb, in eastern Rājputāna and in the North West Provinces, are just as numerous, if not more so, than the latter, and also appear here and there in western Rājputāna and Gujarāt : see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, p. 28.
  2. The ascetics of lower rank, now called Paṇḍit, now-a-days wear the costume of the country. The Bhaṭṭāraka, the heads of the sect, usually warp themselves in a large cloth (*chadr*). They lay it off during meals. A disciple then rings a bell as a sign that entrance is forbidden (*Ind. Ant. loc. cit.*). When the present custom first arose cannot be ascertained. From the description of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang (St. Julien, *Vie.* p. 224), who calls them Li-hi, it appears that they were still faithful to their principles in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. “The Li-hi (Nirgranthis) distinguish themselves by leaving their bodies naked and pulling out their hair. Their skin is all cracked, their feet are hard and chapped : like rotting trees that one sees near rivers.”

disdained to wear clothes. They are divided, not only by this quarrel, but also by differences about dogmas and by a different literature. The separation must therefore be of old standing. Tradition, too, upholds this—though the dates given do not coincide. From inscriptions it is certain that the split occurred before the first century of our era<sup>3</sup>. Their opposing opinions are manifested in the fact that they do not allow each other the right of intermarriage or of eating at the same table,—the two chief marks of social equality. In spite of the age of the schism, and the enmity that divides the two branches, they are at one as regards the arrangement of their communities, doctrine, discipline, and cult,—at least in the more important points; and, thus, one can always speak of the Jaina religion as a whole.

The characteristic feature of this religion is its claim to universality, which it holds in common with Buddhism, and in opposition to Brahmanism. It also declares its objects to be to lead all men to salvation, and to open its arms—not only to the noble Aryan, but also to the low-born Śûdra and even to the alien, deeply despised in India, the Mlechha<sup>4</sup>. As their doctrine, like Buddha's,

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3. See below p. 44.

4. In the stereotyped introductions to the sermons of Jina it is always pointed out that they are addressed to the Aryan and non-Aryan. Thus in the *Aupapâtika Sûtra* "56. (Leumann) it runs as follows : *tesim savvesim âriyamanâriyânam agilâe dhammam âikkhai* "to all these, Aryans and non-Aryans, he taught the law untiringly". In accordance with this principle, conversions of people of low caste, such as gardeners, dyers, etc., are not uncommon even at the present day. Muhammadans too, regarded as Mlechcha, are still received among the Jaina communities. Some cases of the kind were communicated to me in Aḥmadâbâd in the year 1876, as great triumphs of the Jainas. Tales of the conversion of the →

is originally a philosophical ethical system intended for ascetics, the disciples, like the Buddhists, are, divided into ecclesiastics and laity. At the head stands an order of ascetics, originally Nirgrantha "they, who are freed from all bands," now usually called Yatis—"Ascetics", or S â d h u s—"Holy", which, among the Śvetāmbara also admits women,<sup>5</sup> and under them the general community of the Upāsaka "the Worshippers", or the Śrāvaka, "the hearers".

The ascetics alone are able to penetrate into the truths which Jina teaches, to follow his rules and to attain to the highest reward which he promises. The

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- emperor Akbar, through the patriarch Hīravijaya (*Ind Antiq.* Vol. XI, p. 256), and of the spread of the Digambara sect in an island Jainabhadri, in the Indian Ocean (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII, p. 28) and in Arabia, shew that the Jainas are familiar with the idea of the conversion of non-Indians. Hiuen Tsiang's note on the appearance of the Nirgrantha or Digambara in Kiapishi (Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. I, p. 55), points apparently to the fact that they had, in the North West at least, spread their missionary activity beyond the borders of India.
5. Even the canonical works of the Śvetāmbara, as for example, the *Āchârāṅga* (*Sacred Books of the East*. Vol. XXII, p. 88-186) contain directions for nuns. It seems, however, that they have never played such an important part as in Buddhism. At the present time, the few female orders among the Śvetāmbara consist entirely of virgin widows, whose husbands have died in childhood, before the beginning of their life together. It is not necessary to look upon the admission of nuns among the Śvetāmbara as an imitation of Buddhist teaching, as women were received into some of the old Brahmanical orders; see my note to *Manu*, VIII, 363, (*Sac. Bks. of the East*, Vol. XXV, p. 317). Among the Digambaras, exclusion of women was demanded from causes not far to seek. They give as their reason for it, the doctrine that women are not capable of attaining Nirvāṇa; see Peterson, *Second Report*, in *four. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVII, p. 84.

laity, however, who do not dedicate themselves to the search after truth, and cannot renounce the life of the world, still find a refuge in Jainism. It is allowed to them as hearers to share its principles, and to undertake duties, which are a faint copy of the demands made on the ascetics. Their reward is naturally less. He who remains in the world cannot reach the highest goal, but he can still tread the way which leads to it. Like all religions of the Hindûs founded on philosophical speculation, Jainism sees this highest goal in *Nirvâṇa* or *Moksha*, the setting free of the individual from the *Samsâra*,—the revolution of birth and death. The means of reaching it are to it, as to Buddhism, the three Jewels—the right Faith, the right Knowledge, and the right Walk. By the right Faith it understands the full surrender of himself to the teacher, the Jina, the firm conviction that he alone has found the way of salvation, and only with him is protection and refuge to be found. Ask who Jina is, and the Jaina will give exactly the same answer as the Buddhist with respect to B u d d h a. He is originally an erring man, bound with the bonds of the world, who,—not by the help of a teacher, nor by the revelation of the Vedas—which, he declares, are corrupt—but by his own power, has attained to omniscience and freedom, and out of pity for suffering mankind preaches and declares the way of salvation, which he has found. Because he has conquered the world and the enemies in the human heart, he is called Jina “the Victor”, Mahâvîra, “the great hero”; because he possesses the highest knowledge, he is called Sarvajña or Kevalin, the “omniscient”, Buddha, the “enlightened”; because he has freed himself from the world he receives the names of Mukta “the perfected”, Arhat “the holy one”; and as the proclaimer of the doctrine, he is the Tîrthakara “the finder of the

ford", through the ocean of the *Samsâra*. In these epithets, applied to the founder of their doctrine, the Jainas agree almost entirely with the Buddhists, as the likeness of his character to that of Buddha would lead us to expect. They prefer, however, to use the names Jina and Arhat, while the Buddhists prefer to speak of Buddha as Tathâgata or Sugata. The title Tîrthakara is peculiar to the Jainas. Among the Buddhists it is a designation for false teachers<sup>6</sup>.

The Jaina says further, bowever, that there was more than one Jina. Four and twenty have, at long intervals, appeared and have again and again restored to their original purity the doctrines darkened by evil influences. They all spring from noble, warlike tribes. Only in such, not among the low Brâhman, can a Jina see the light of the world. The first Jina Rîshabha,—more than 100 billion oceans of years ago,—periods of unimaginable length<sup>7</sup>,—

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6. The titles Siddha, Buddha and Mukta are certainly borrowed by both sects from the terminology of the Brâhman, which they used, even in olden times, to describe those saved during their lifetime (*jîvanmukta*). The surnames Vîra or Mahâvîra and Arhat are probably derived from the same source. For Vîra is used in the Śaivite doctrine to describe a consecrated one who is on the way to redemption. An Arhat, among the Brâhman, is a man distinguished for his knowledge and pious life (comp. for example Âpastamba, *Dharmasûtra*. I, 13, 13; II, 10, I.) and this idea is so near that of the Buddhists and the Jainas that it may well be looked upon as the foundation of the latter. The meaning of Tîrthankara "prophet, founder of religion", is derived from the Brahmanic use of *tîrtha* in the sense of "doctrine". Comp. also H. Jacobi's Article on the Title of Buddha and Jina, *Sac. Books of the East*. Vol. XXII, pp. xix, xx.
  7. A Sâgara or Sâgaropamâ of years is 100,000,000,000,000 Palya or Palyopama. A Palya, is a period in which a well, of one or, according to some, a hundred *yojana*, i. e. of one or →

was born as the son of a king of Ayodhyâ and lived eight million four hundred thousand years. The intervals between his successors and the durations of their lives became shorter and shorter. Between the twenty third, Pârśva and the twenty fourth Vardhamâna, were only 250 years, and the age of the latter is given as only seventy-two years. He appeared, according to some, in the last half of the sixth century, according to others in the first half of the fifth century B.C. He is of course the true, historical prophet of the Jainas and it is in his doctrine, that the Jainas should believe. The dating back of the origin of the Jaina religion again, agrees with the pretensions of the Buddhists, who recognise twenty-five Buddhas who taught the same system one after the other. Even with Brahmanism, it seems to be in some distant manner connected, for the latter teaches in its cosmogony, the successive appearance of Demiurges, and wise men—the fourteen Manus, who, at various periods helped to complete the work of creation and proclaimed the Brahmanical law. These Brahmanical ideas may possibly have given rise to the doctrines of the twenty-five Buddhas and twenty-four Jinas,<sup>8</sup> which, certainly, are later additions in both systems.

The undoubted and absolutely correct comprehension of the nine truths which the Jina gives expression to, or of the philosophical system which the Jina taught, represents the second Jewel—the true Knowledge. Its principal features are shortly as follows<sup>9</sup>.

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a hundred geographical square miles, stuffed full of fine hairs, can be emptied, if one hair is pulled out every hundred years : Wilson, *Select Works*, Vol. I, p. 309; Colebrooke, *Essays*, Vol. II, p. 194. ed. Cowell.

8. For the list of these Jinas, see below, pp. 66-71.

9. More complete representation are to be found in Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*. Vol. I, pp. 404, 413, with Cowell's Appendix →

The world (by which we are to understand, not only the visible, but also imaginary continents depicted with the most extravagant fancy, heavens and hells of the Brahmanical Cosmology, extended by new discoveries) is uncreated. It exists, without ruler, only by the power of its elements, and is everlasting. The elements of the world are six substances—souls, *Dharma* or moral merit, *Adharma* or sin, space, time, particles of matter. From the union of the latter spring four elements—earth, fire, water, wind—and further, bodies and all other appearances of the world of sense and of the supernatural worlds. The forms of the appearances are mostly unchangeable. Only the bodies of men and their age increase or decrease in consequence of the greater or less influence of sin or merit, during immeasurably long periods,—the *Avasarpinī* and the *Utsarpinī*. Souls are, each by itself, independent, real existences whose foundation is pure intelligence, and who possess an impulse to action. In the world they are always chained to bodies. The reason of this confinement is that they give themselves up to the stress of activity, to passions, to influences of the senses and objects of the mind, or attach themselves to a false belief. The deeds which they perform in the bodies are *Karman*, merit and sin. This drives them—when one body has passed away, according to the conditions of its existence—into another, whose quality depends on the character of the *Karman*, and will be determined especially by the last thoughts springing from it before death. Virtue leads to the

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→ p. 444-452; Vol. II, pp. 194, 196, 198-201; H. H. Wilson's *Select Works*, Vol. I, pp. 297-302, 305-317; J. Stevenson, *Kalpasûtra*, pp. xix-xxv; A. Barth, *Religions de l'Inde*, pp. 84-91.

heavens of the gods or to birth among men in pure and noble races. Sin consigns the souls to the lower regions, in the bodies of animals, in plants, even into masses of lifeless matter. For—according to the Jaina doctrine—souls exist not only in organic structures, but also in apparently dead masses, in stones, in lumps of earth, in drops of water, in fire and in wind. Through union with bodies the nature of the soul is affected. In the mass of matter the light of its intelligence is completely concealed; it loses consciousness, is immovable, and large or small, according to the dimensions of its abode. In organic structures it is always conscious; it depends however, on the nature of the same, whether it is movable or immovable and possessed of five, four, three, two, or one organ of sense.

The bondage of souls, if they inhabit a human body, can be abolished by the suppression of the causes which lead to their confinement and by the destruction of the *Karman*. The suppression of the causes is accomplished by overcoming the inclination to be active and the passions, by the control of the senses, and by steadfastly holding to the right faith. In this way will be hindered the addition of new *Karman*, new merit or new guilt. The destruction of *Karman* remaining from previous existences can be brought about either spontaneously by the exhaustion of the supply or by asceticism. In the latter case the final state is the attainment to a knowledge which penetrates the universe, to *Kevala*, *Jñâna* and *Nirvâṇa* or *Moksha* : full deliverance from all bonds. These goals may be reached even while the soul is still in its body. If however the body is destroyed then the soul wanders into the “No-World” (*alôka*) as the Jain says, i. e. into the heaven of Jina ‘the delivered’,



lying outside the world<sup>10</sup>. There it continues eternally in its pure intellectual nature. Its condition is that of perfect rest which nothing disturbs. These fundamental ideas are carried out in the particulars with a subtilness and fantasy unexampled, even in subtile and fantastic India, in a scholarly style, and defended by the *syâdvâda*<sup>11</sup>—the doctrine of “It may be so”,—a mode of reasoning which makes it possible to assert and deny the existence of one and the same thing. If this be compared with the other Indian systems, it stands nearer the Brâhmaṇ than the Buddhist, with which it has the acceptance in common of only four, not five elements. Jainism touches all the Brâhmaṇ religions and Buddhism in its cosmology and ideas of periods, and it agrees entirely with regard to the doctrines of *Karman*, of the bondage, and the deliverance of souls. Atheism, the view that the world was not created, is common to it with Buddhism and the Sâṅkhya philosophy. Its psychology approaches that of the latter in that both believe in the existence of innumerable independent souls. But the doctrine of the activity of souls and their distribution into masses of matter is in accordance with the Vedânta, according to which the principle of the soul penetrates every thing existing. In the further development of the soul doctrine, the conceptions ‘individual soul’ and ‘living being’ to

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10. On the Jaina Paradise see below p. 74. Dr. Bühler seems here to have confounded the *Alôka* or Non-world, ‘the space where only things without life are found’, with the heaven of the Siddhas; but these are living beings who have crossed the boundary of the *Samsâra* and attained perfection. Their dwelling place is above that of the highest of the Anuttara gods.—Ed.

11. Weber, *Ueber das ‘Satruṇjaya Mâhâtmyam*, S. 15; or *Indian Antiquary* vol. XXX, p. 240, n. 4.—Ed.’

which the Jaina and the Brâhman give the same name,—*jîva*, seem to become confounded. The Jaina idea of space and time as real substances is also found in the *Vaiśeshika* system. In placing *Dharma* and *Adharma* among substances Jainism stands alone.

The third jewel, the right Walk which the Jaina ethics contains, has its kernel in the five great oaths which the Jaina ascetic takes on his entrance into the order. He promises, just as the Brâhman penitent, and almost in the same words, not to hurt, not to speak untruth, to appropriate nothing to himself without permission, to preserve chastity, and to practice self-sacrifice. The contents of these simple rules become most extraordinarily extended on the part of the Jainas by the insertion of five clauses, in each of which are three separate active instruments of sin, in special relation to thoughts, words, and deeds. Thus, concerning the oath not to hurt, on which the Jaina lays the greatest emphasis : it includes not only the intentional killing or hurting of living beings, plants, or the souls existing in dead matter, it requires also the utmost carefulness in the whole manner of life, in all movements, a watchfulness over all functions of the body by which anything living might be hurt<sup>12</sup>. It demands finally strict watch over the heart and tongue, and the avoidance of all thoughts and words which might lead to dispute and quarrel and thereby to harm. In like manner the rule of sacrifice means not only that the ascetic has no house or possessions, it teaches also that a complete unconcern toward agreeable and disagreeable impressions is necessary,

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12. The Digambara sect, at least in southern India, do not seem to be all quite so punctiliously careful in this as the Śvetâmbara of western India.—Ed.

as also the sacrifice of every attachment to anything living or dead<sup>13</sup>.

Beside the conscientious observance of these rules, Tapas-Asceticism, is most important for the right walk of those, who strive to attain *Nirvâṇa*. Asceticism is inward as well as outward. The former is concerned with self-discipline, the cleansing and purifying of the mind. It embraces repentance of sin, confession of the same to the teacher, and penance done for it, humility before teachers and all virtuous ones, and the service of the same, the study and teaching of the faith or holy writing, pious meditations on the misery of the world, the impurity of the body, ect. and lastly, the stripping off of every thing pertaining to the world. On the other hand, under the head of exterior Asceticism, the Jaina understands, temperance, begging, giving up all savoury food, different kinds of self-mortification such as sitting in unnatural and wearying positions, hindering the action of the organs, especially by fasts, which, under certain circumstances may be continued to starvation. Voluntary death by the withdrawal of nourishment is, according to the strict doctrine of the Digambara, necessary for all ascetics, who have reached the highest step of knowledge. The Kevalin, they say, eats no longer. The milder Svetâmbara do not demand this absolutely, but regard it, as a sure entrance to *Nirvâṇa*. In order, however, that this death may bear its fruits, the ascetic must keep closely to the directions for it, otherwise he

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13. On the five great vows see the *Âchârâṅga Sûtra*, II, 15 : S. B. E. Vol. XXII, pp. 202-210. The Sanskrit terms of the Jains are : 1. *ahimsâ*, 2. *sûnrita*, 3. *asteya*, 4. *brahmâchârya*, 5. *aparigraha*; those of the Brahmanical ascetics : 1. *ahimsa*, 2. *satya*, 3. *asteya*, 4. *brahmâchârya*, 5. *tyâga*.

merely lengthens the number of rebirths<sup>14</sup>.

From these general rules follow numerous special ones, regarding the life of the disciple of Jina. The duty of sacrifice forces him, on entrance into the order, to give up his possessions and wander homeless in strange lands, alms-vessel in hand, and, if no other duty interferes, never to stay longer than one night in the same place. The rule of wounding nothing means that he must carry three articles with him, a straining cloth, for his drinking water, a broom, and a veil before his mouth, in order to avoid killing insects. It also commands him to avoid all cleansing and washing, and to rest in the four months of the rainy season, in which animal and plant life displays itself most abundantly. In order to practice asceticism, it is the rule to make this time of rest a period of strictest fasts, most diligent study of the holy writings, and deepest meditation. This duty also necessitates the ascetic to pluck out in the most painful manner his hair which, according to oriental custom, he must do away with at his consecration—a peculiar custom of the Jinās, which is not found among other penitents of India.

Like the five great vows, most of the special directions for the discipline of the Jain ascetic are copies, and often exaggerated copies, of the Brâhmanic rules for penitents. The outward marks of the order closely resemble those of the Sannyâsin. The life of

14. With reference to asceticism, comp. Leumann, *Aupapâtika Sûtra* "30. The death of the wise ones by starvation is described, Weber, *Bhagavatî Sûtra*, II, 266-267; Hoernle *Upâsakadaśa Sûtra*, pp. 44-62; *Âchârânga Sûtra*, in S. B. E. Vol. XXII, pp. 70-73. Among the Digambara the heads of schools still, as a rule, fall victims to this fate. Even among the Śvetâmbara, cases of this kind occur, see K. Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ*, Vol. II, pp. 331-332, or 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. pp. 610-611.

wandering during eight months and the rest during the rainy season agree exactly; and in many other points, for example in the use of confession, they agree with the Buddhists. They agree with Brâhmanas alone in ascetic self-torture, which Buddhism rejects; and specially characteristic is the fact that ancient Brâhmanism recommends starvation to its penitents as beneficial<sup>15</sup>.

The doctrine of the right way for the Jaina laity differs from that for the ascetics. In place of the five great vows appear mere echoes. He vows to avoid only serious injury to living beings, i. e. men and animals; only the grosser forms of untruth—direct lies; only the most flagrant forms of taking, what is not given, that is, theft and robbery. In place of the oath of chastity there is that of conjugal fidelity. In place of that of self-denial, the promise is not greedily to accumulate possessions and to be contented. To these copies are added seven other vows, the miscellaneous contents of which correspond to the special directions for the discipline of ascetics. Their object is, partly to bring the outward life of the laity into accordance with the Jaina teaching, especially with regard to the protection of living creatures from harm, and partly to point the heart to the highest goal. Some contain prohibitions against certain drinks, such as spirits; or meats, such as flesh,

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15. An example may be found in Jacobi's careful comparison of the customs of the Brâhmanic and Jaina ascetics, in the beginning of his translation of the *Âchârânga Sûtra*, *S. B. E.* Vol. XXII, pp. xxi-xxix. In relation to the death by starvation of Brahmanical hermits and Sannyâsin, see Âpastamba, *Dharmasûtra*, in *S. B. E.* Vol. II, pp. 154, 156, where (II, 22, 4 and II, 23, 2) it, says of the penitents who have reached the highest grade of asceticism : "Next he shall live on water (then) on air, then on ether."

fresh butter, honey, which cannot be enjoyed without breaking the vow of preservation of animal life. Others limit the choice of businesses which the laity may enter; for example, agriculture is forbidden, as it involves the tearing up of the ground and the death of many animals, as Brâhmanism also holds. Others have to do with mercy and charitableness, with the preserving of inward peace, or with the necessity of neither clinging too much to life and its joys nor longing for death as the end of suffering. To the laity, however, voluntary starvation is also recommended as meritorious. These directions (as might be expected from the likeness of the circumstances) resemble in many points the Buddhist directions for the laity, and indeed are often identical with regard to the language used. Much is however specially in accordance with Brâhmanic doctrines<sup>16</sup>. In practical life Jainism makes of its laity earnest men who exhibit a stronger trait of resignation than other Indians and excel in an exceptional willingness to sacrifice anything for their religion. It makes them also fanatics for the protection of animal life. Wherever they

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16. The *Upâsakadaśâ Sûtra* treats of the right life of the laity, Hoernle, pp. 11-37 (Bibl. Ind.), and Hemachandra, *Yogasûtra*, Prakâsa ii and iii; Windisch, *Zeitschrift der Deutsch Morg. Ges.* Bd. XXVIII, pp. 226-246. Both scholars have pointed out in the notes to their translation, the relationship between the precepts and terms of the Jainas and Buddhists. The Jainas have borrowed a large number of rules directly from the law books of the Brâhmanas. The occupations forbidden to the Jaina laity are almost all those forbidden by the Brâhmanic law to the Brâhman, who in time of need lives like a Vaiśya. Hemachandra, *Yogaśâstra*. III, 98-112 and *Upâsakadaśâ Sûtra*, pp. 29-30, may be compared with Manu, X, 83-89, XI, 64 and 65, and the parallel passages quoted in the synopsis to my translation (S. B. E. Vol. XXV).

gain influence, there is an end of bloody sacrifices and of slaughtering and killing the larger animals.

The union of the laity with the order of ascetics has, naturally, exercised a powerful reaction on the former and its development, as well as on its teaching, and is followed by similar results in Jainism and Buddhism. Then, as regards the changes in the teaching, it is no doubt to be ascribed to the influence of the laity that the atheistic Jaina system, as well as the Buddhist, has been endowed with a cult. The ascetic, in his striving for *Nirvâṇa*, endeavours to suppress the natural desire of man to worship higher powers. In the worldly hearer, who does not strive after this goal exclusively, this could not succeed. Since the doctrine gave no other support, the religious feeling of the laity clung to the founder of it : Jina, and with him his mythical predecessors, became gods. Monuments and temples ornamented with their statues were built, especially at those places, where the prophets, according to legends, had reached their goal. To this is added a kind of worship, consisting of offerings of flowers and incense to Jina, of adoration by songs of praise in celebration of their entrance into *Nirvâṇa*, of which the Jaina makes a great festival by solemn processions and pilgrimages to the places where it has been attained<sup>17</sup>. This influence of the laity has become, in course of time, of great importance to Indian art, and India is indebted to it for a number of its most

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17. For the Jaina ritual, see *Indian Antiquary*. Vol. XIII, pp. 191-196. The principal sacred places or Tīrthas are—Sameta Śikhara in Western Bengal, where twenty of the Jinas are said to have attained Nirvâṇa; Śatruñjaya and Gīrnār in Kāthiāwād sacred respectively to Rishabhanātha and Neminātha; Chandrapuri where Vāsupūjya died; and Pāwā in Bengal at which Vardhamāna died.—(Pawa is in U.P.—Ed.)

beautiful architectural monuments, such as the splendid temples of Âbu, Girnâr and Śatruñjaya in Gujarât. It has also brought about a change in the mind of the ascetics. In many of their hymns in honour of Jina, they appeal to him with as much fervour as the Brâhmaṇ to his gods; and there are often expressions in them, contrary, to the original teaching, ascribing to Jina a creative power. Indeed a Jaina description of the six principal systems goes so far as to number Jainism—as also Buddhism—among the theistic religions<sup>18</sup>.

But in other respects also the admission of the laity has produced decisive changes in the life of the clergy. In the education of worldly communities, the ascetic—whose rules of indifference toward all and every thing, make him a being concentrated entirely upon himself and his goal—is united again to humanity and its interests. The duty of educating the layman and watching over his life, must of necessity change the wandering penitents into settled monks—who dedicate themselves to the care of souls, missionary activity, and the acquisition knowledge, and who only now and again fulfil the duty of changing their place of residence. The needs of the lay communities required the continual presence of teachers. Even should these desire to change from time to time, it was yet necessary to provide a shelter for them. Thus the Upâśraya or places of refuge, the

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18. The latter assertion is to be found in the *Shaḍdarśanaśāstra* Vers. 45, 77-78. A creative activity is attributed to the Jinās even in the Kuhâon inscription which is dated 460-461 A.D. (*Ind. Antiq.* Vol. X, p. 126). There they are called *âdikartri* the 'original creators'. The cause of the development of a worship among the Jainas was first rightly recognised by Jacobi, *S. B. E.* Vol. XII, p. xxi. The Jaina worship differs in one important point from that of the Buddhists. It recognised no worship of relics.



Jaina monasteries came into existence, which exactly correspond to the Buddhist Sanghârâma. With the monasteries and the fixed residence in them appeared a fixed membership of the order, which, on account of the Jaina principle of unconditional obedience toward the teacher, proved to be much stricter than in Buddhism. On the development of the order and the leisure of monastic life, there followed further, the commencement of a literary and scientific activity. The oldest attempt, in this respect, limited itself to bringing their doctrine into fixed forms. Their results were, besides other lost works, the so-called *Âṅga*,—the members of the body of the law, which was perhaps originally produced in the third century B.C. Of the *Âṅga* eleven are no doubt preserved among the Śvetâmbaras from a late addition of the fifth or sixth century A.D. These works are not written in Sanskrit, but in a popular Prâkrit dialect : for the Jina, like Buddha, used the language of the people when teaching. They contain partly legends about the prophet and his activity as a teacher, partly fragments of a doctrine or attempts at systematic representations of the same. Though the dialect is different they present, in the form of the tales and in the manner of expression, a wonderful resemblance to the sacred writings of the Buddhists<sup>19</sup>. The Digambaras, on the other hand, have preserved

19. A complete review of the *Âṅga* and the canonical works which were joined to it later, is to be found in A. Weber's fundamental treatise on the sacred writings of the Jainas in the *Indische Studien*, Bd. XVI, SS. 211-479 and Bd. XVIII, SS. 1-90. The *Âchârâṅga* and the *Kalpa-sûtra* are translated by H. Jacobi in the S. B. E. Vol. XXII, and a part of the *Upâsakadaśâ Sûtra* by R. Hoernle in the *Bibl. Ind.* In the estimates of the age of the *Âṅga* I follow H. Jacobi, who has thoroughly discussed the question. S. B. E. Vol. XXII, pp. xxxix-xlvii.

nothing of the *Aṅga* but the names. They put in their place later systematic works, also in Prākṛit, and assert, in vindication of their different teaching, that the canon of their rivals is corrupted. In the further course of history, however, both branches of the Jainas have, like the Buddhists, in their continual battles with the Brāhmaṇs, found it necessary to make themselves acquainted with the ancient language of the culture of the latter. First the Digambara and later the Śvetāmbara began to use Sanskrit. They did not rest content with explaining their own teaching in Sanskrit works : they turned also to the secular sciences of the Brāhmaṇs. They have accomplished so much of importance, in grammar, in astronomy, as well as in some branches of letters, that they have won respect even from their enemies, and some of their works are still of importance to European science. In southern India, where they worked among the Dravidian tribes, they also advanced the development of these languages. The Kanarese literary language and the Tamil and Telugu rest on the foundations laid by the Jaina monks. This activity led them, indeed, far from their proper goal, but it created for them an important position in the history of literature and culture.

The resemblance between the Jainas and the Buddhists, which I have had so often cause to bring forward, suggest the question, whether they are to be regarded as a branch of the latter, or whether they resemble the Buddhists merely because, as their tradition asserts<sup>20</sup>, they sprang from the same period

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20. The later tradition of the Jainas gives for the death of their prophet the dates 545, 527 and 467 B.C. (see Jacobi, *Kalpasūtra*, introd. pp. vii-ix and xxx). None of the sources in which these announcements appear are older than the →

and the same religious movement in opposition to Brâhmanism. This question, was formerly, and is still sometimes, answered in agreement with the first theory, pointing out the undoubted defects in it, to justify the rejection of the Jaina tradition, and even declaring it to be a late and intentional fabrication. In spite of this the second explanation is the right one, because the Buddhists themselves confirm the statements of the Jainas about their prophet. Old historical traditions and inscriptions prove the independent existence of the sect of the Jainas even during the first five centuries after Buddha's death, and among the inscriptions are some which clear the Jaina tradition not only from the suspicion of fraud but bear powerful witness to its honesty<sup>21</sup>.

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- twelfth century A.D. The latest is found in Hemachandra who died in the year 1172 A.D. The last is certainly false if the assertion, accepted by most authorities, that Buddha's death falls between the years 482 and 472 B.C. is correct. For the Buddhist tradition maintains that the last Jaina Tīrthakara died during Buddha's lifetime.
21. Apart from the ill-supported supposition of Colebrooke, Stevenson and Thomas, according to which Buddha was a disloyal disciple of the founder of the Jainas, there is the view held by H. H. Wilson, A. Weber, and Lassen, and generally accepted till twenty-five years ago, that the Jainas are an old sect of the Buddhists. This was based, on the one hand, upon the resemblance of the Jaina doctrines, writings, and traditions to those of the Buddhists, on the other, on the fact that the canonical works of the Jainas shew a more modern dialect than those of the Buddhists, and that authentic historical proofs of their early existence are wanting. I was myself formerly persuaded of the correctness of this view and even thought I recognised the Jainas in the Buddhist school of the Sammatīya. On a more particular examination of Jaina literature, to which I was forced on account of the collection →

The oldest canonical books of the Jaina, apart from some mythological additions and evident exaggerations,

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→ undertaken for the English Government in the seventies, I found that the Jainas had changed their name and were always, in more ancient times, called Nirgrantha or Nigantha. The observation that the Buddhists recognise the Nigantha and relate of their head and founder, that he was a rival of Buddha's and died at Pāvā where the last Tīrthakara is said to have attained *Nirvāṇa*, caused me to accept the view that the Jainas and the Buddhists sprang from the same religious movement. My supposition was confirmed by Jacobi, who reached the like view by another course, independently of mine (see *Zeitschrift der Deutsch Morg. Ges.* Bd. XXXV, S. 669. Note I), pointing out that the last Tīrthakara in the Jaina canon bears the same name as among the Buddhists. Since the publication of our results in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII, p. 143 and in Jacobi's introduction to his edition of the *Kalpasūtra*, which have been further verified by Jacobi with great penetration, views on this question have been divided. Oldenberg, Kern, Hoernle, and others have accepted this new view without hesitation, while A Weber (*Indische Studien* Bd. XVI, S. 240) and Barth (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, tom. III, p. 90) keep to their former standpoint. The latter do not trust the Jaina tradition and believe it probable that the statements in the same are falsified. There are certainly great difficulties in the way of accepting such a position especially the improbability that the Buddhists should have forgotten the fact of the defection of their hated enemy. Meanwhile this is not absolutely impossible as the oldest preserved Jaina canon had its first authentic edition only in the fifth or sixth century of our era, and as yet the proof is wanting that the Jainas, in ancient times, possessed a fixed tradition. The belief that I am able to insert this missing link in the chain of argument and the hope of removing the doubts of my two honoured friends has caused me to attempt a connected statement of the whole question although this necessitates the repetition of much that has already been said, and is in the first part almost entirely a recapitulation of the results of Jacobi's researches.

contain the following important notes on the life of their last prophet<sup>22</sup>. Vardhamâna was the younger son of Siddhârtha a nobleman who belonged to the Kshatriya race, called in Sanskrit Jñâti or Jñâta, in Prakrit Nâya, and according to the old custom of the Indian warrior caste, bore the name of a Brâhmanic family the Kâsyapa. His mother, who was called Triśalâ, belonged to the family of the governors of Videha. Siddhârtha's residence was Kuṇḍapura, the Basukund of to-day, a suburb of the wealthy town of Vaiśâlî, the modern Besarh, in Videha or Tirhut<sup>23</sup>. Siddhârtha was son-in-law to the king of Vaiśâlî. Thirty years, it seems, Vardhamâna led a worldly life in his parents' house. He married, and his wife Yaśodâ bore him a daughter Anojjâ, who was married to a noble of the name of Jamâli, and in her turn had a daughter. In his thirty-first year his parents died. As they were followers of Pârśva the twenty-third Jina, they chose, according to the custom of the Jainas, the death of the wise by starvation. Immediately after this Vardhamâna determined to renounce the world. He got permission to take this step from his elder brother Nandivardhana, and the ruler of his land divided his possessions and became a homeless ascetic. He wandered more than twelve years, only resting during the rainy season, in the lands of the Lâḍha, in Vajjabhûmi and Subbhabhûmi, the Rârh of to-day in Bengal, and learned to bear with equanimity great hardships and cruel ill treatment at the hands of the inhabitants of those districts. Besides these he

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22. The statement that Vardhamâna's father was a mighty king belongs to the manifest exaggerations. This assertion is refuted by other statements of the Jainas themselves. See Jacobi, *S. B. E.* Vol. XXII, pp. xi-xii.

23. Dr. Bühler by a slip had here "Magadha under Bihâr".—J. B.

imposed upon himself the severest mortifications; after the first year he discarded clothes and devoted himself to the deepest meditation. In the thirteenth year of this wandering life he believed he had attained to the highest knowledge and to the dignity of a holy one. He then appeared as a prophet, taught the Nirgrantha doctrine, a modification of the religion of Pârśva, and organised the order of the Nirgrantha ascetics. From that time he bore the name of the venerable ascetic Mahāvîra. His career as a teacher lasted not quite thirty years, during which he travelled about, as formerly, all over the country, except during the rainy seasons. He won for himself numerous followers, both of the clergy and the lay class, among whom, however, in the fourteenth year of his period of teaching, a split arose—caused by his son-in-law Jamâli.

The extent of his sphere of influence almost corresponds with that of the kingdoms of Srâvastî or Kosala, Videha, Magadha, and Ânga,—the modern Oudh, and the provinces of Tirhut and Bihâr in Western Bengal. Very frequently he spent the rainy season in his native place Vaiśâlî and in Râjagriha. Among his contemporaries were, a rival teacher Gosâla the son of Maṁkhali—whom he defeated in a dispute, the King of Videha-Bhambhasâra or Bibbhisâra called Śreṇika, and his sons Abhayakumâra and the parricide Ajâtaśatru or Kûṇika, who protected him or accepted his doctrine, and also the nobles of the Lichchhavi and Mallaki races. The town of Pâpâ or Pâvâ, the modern Padraona<sup>24</sup> is given as the place of his death, where he dwelt during the rainy season of the last year of his life, in the house of the scribe of king Hastipâla. Immediately after his

24. This is General Cunningham's identification and a probable one.—Ed.

death, a second split took place in his community<sup>25</sup>.

On consideration of this information, it immediately strikes one, that the scene of Vardhamâna's activity is laid in the same part of India as Buddha laboured in, and that several of the personalities which play a part in the history of Buddha also appear in the Jaina legend. It is through the kingdoms of Kosala, Videha and Magadha, that Buddha is said to have wandered preaching, and their capitals Śrāvastî and Rājagṛiha are just the places named, where he founded the largest communities. It is also told of the inhabitants of Vaiśālî that many turned to his doctrine. Many legends are told of his intercourse and friendship with Bimbisâra or Śreṇika, king of Videha, also of the murder of the latter by his son Ajâtaśatru, who, tortured with remorse, afterwards approached Buddha; mention is also made of his brother Abhayakumâra, likewise Makkhali Gosâla is mentioned among Buddha's opponents and rivals. It is thus clear that the oldest Jaina legend makes Vardhamâna a fellow countryman and contemporary of Buddha, and search might be suggested in the writings of the Buddhists for confirmation of these assumptions. Such indeed are to be found in no small number.

Even the oldest works of the Singalese Canon,—which

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25. Notes on Mahâvîra's life are to be found especially in *Âchârâṅga Sûtra*, in S. B. E. Vol. XXII, pp. 84-87, 189-202; *Kalpasûtra*, *ibid.* pp. 217-270. The above may be compared with Jacobi's representation, *ibid.* pp. x-xviii, where most of the identifications of the places named are given, and *Kalpasûtra* introd. p. ii. We have to thank Dr. Hoernle for the important information that Vardhamâna's birthplace Kuṇḍapura is still called Vasukund : *Upâsakadaśâ Sûtra* p. 4. Note 3. The information on the schisms of the Jains is collected by Leumann in the *Indische Studien*, Bd. XVII, S. 95 ff.

date apparently from the beginning of the second century after Buddha's death, or the fourth century B.C., and which at any rate had their final edition in the third,—frequently mention an opposing sect of ascetics, the Nigaṇṭha, which the northern texts, written in Sanskrit, recognise among the opponents of Buddha, under the name Nirgrantha, whom an old *Sûtra*<sup>26</sup> describes as “heads of companies of disciples and students, teachers of students, well known, renowned, founders of schools of doctrine, esteemed as good men by the multitude”. Their leader is also named; he is called in Pâli Nâtaputta, in Sanskrit Jñâtiputra, that is the son of Jñâti or Nâta. The similarity between these words and the names of the family Jñâti, Jñâta or Naya, to which Vardhamâna belonged is apparent. Now since in older Buddhist literature, the title ‘the son of the man of the family N. N.’ is very often used instead of the individual's name, as for example, ‘the son of the Sâkiya’ is put for Buddha-Sâkiyaputta, so that it is difficult not to suppose that Nâtaputta or Jñâtiputra, the leader of the Nigaṇṭha or Nirgrantha sect, is the same person as Vardhamâna, the descendant of the Jñâti family and founder of the Nirgrantha or Jaina sect. If we follow up this idea, and gather together the different remarks of the Buddhists about the opponents of Buddha, then it is apparent that his identity with Vardhamâna is certain. A number of rules of doctrine are ascribed to him, which are also found among the Jinas, and some events in his life, which we have already found in the accounts of the life of Vardhamâna, are related.

In one place in the oldest part of the Singalese canon, the assertion is put into the mouth of Nigaṇṭha

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26. The *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta*, in *S. B. E.* Vol. XI, p. 106.



Nâtaputta, that the *Kiriyâvâda*—the doctrine of activity, separates his system from Buddha's teaching. We shall certainly recognise in this doctrine, the rule of the *Kiriyâ*, the activity of souls, upon which Jainism places so great importance<sup>27</sup>. Two other rules from the doctrine of souls are quoted in a later work, not canonical : there it is stated, in a collection of false doctrines which Buddha's rivals taught, that Nigantha asserts that cold water was living. Little drops of water contained small souls, large drops, large souls. Therefore he forbade his followers, the use of cold water. It is not difficult, in these curious rules to recognise the Jaina dogma, which asserts the existence of souls, even in the mass of lifeless elements of earth, water, fire, and wind. This also proves, that the Nigantha admitted the classification of souls, so often ridiculed by the Brâhmaṇs, which distinguishes between great and small. This work, like others, ascribes to Nigantha the assertion, that the so-called three *daṇḍa*—the three instruments by which man can cause injury to creatures—thought, word, and body, are separate active causes of sin. The Jaina doctrine agrees also in this case, which always specially represents the three and prescribes for each a special control<sup>28</sup>.

Besides these rules, which perfectly agree with one another, there are still two doctrines of the Nigantha to be referred to which seem to, or really do, contradict the Jainas; namely, it is stated that Nâtaputta demanded from his disciples the taking of four, not as in Vardhamâna's case, of five great vows. Although this difficulty may seem very important at first glance, it is, however, set aside by an oft repeated assertion in the

27. Jacobi, *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morg. Ges.* Bd. XXXIV, S. 187; *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. IX, p. 159.

28. Jacobi, *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. IX, p. 159.

Jaina works. They repeatedly say that Pârśva, the twenty-third Jina only recognised four vows, and Vardhamâna added the fifth. The Buddhists have therefore handed down a dogma which Jainism recognises. The question is merely whether they or the Jainas are the more to be trusted. If the latter, and it is accepted that Vardhamâna was merely the reformer of an old religion, then the Buddhists must be taxed with an easily possible confusion between the earlier and later teachers. If, on the other hand, the Jaina accounts of their twenty-third prophet are regarded as mythical, and Vardhamâna is looked upon as the true founder of the sect,—then the doctrine of the four vows must be ascribed to the latter, and we must accept as a fact that he had changed his views on this point. In any case, however, the Buddhist statement speaks for, rather than against, the identity of Nigantha with Jina<sup>29</sup>.

Vardhamâna's system, on the other hand, is quite irreconcilable with Nâtaputta's assertion that virtue as well as sin, happiness as well as unhappiness is unalterably fixed for men by fate, and nothing in their destiny can be altered by the carrying out of the holy law. It is, however, just as irreconcilable with the other Buddhist accounts of the teaching of their opponent; because it is absolutely unimaginable, that the same man, who lays vows upon his followers, the object of which is to avoid sin, could nevertheless make virtue and sin purely dependent upon the disposition of fate, and preach the uselessness of carrying out the law. The

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29. Jacobi, *loc. cit.* p. 160, and Leumann, *Actes du Vlième Congrès Int. des Or. Sect. Ary.* p. 505. As the Jaina accounts of the teaching of Pârśva and the existence of communities of his disciples, sound trustworthy, we may perhaps accept, with Jacobi, that they rest on a historical foundation.

accusation that Nâtaputta embraced fatalism must therefore be regarded as an invention and an outcome of sect hatred as well as of the wish to throw discredit on their opponents<sup>30</sup>.

The Buddhist remarks on the personality and life of Nâtaputta are still more remarkable. They say repeatedly that he laid claim to the dignity of an Arhat and to omniscience which the Jainas also claim for their prophet, whom they prefer simply to call 'the Arhat' and who possesses the universe-embracing 'Kevala' knowledge<sup>31</sup>. A history of conversions, tells us further that Nâtaputta and his disciples disdained to cover their bodies; we are told just the same of Vardhamâna<sup>32</sup>. A story in the oldest part of the Singalese canon gives an interesting and important instance of his activity in teaching. Buddha, so the legend runs, once came to the town Vaiśâlî, the seat of the Kshatriya of the Lichchhavi race. His name, his law, his community were highly praised by the nobles of the Lichchhavi in the senate-house. Sîha, their general, who was a follower of the Niganta, became anxious to know the great teacher. He went to his master Nâtaputta, who happened to be staying in Vaiśâlî just then, and asked permission to pay the visit. Twice Nâtaputta refused him. Then Sîha determined to disobey him. He sought Buddha out, heard his teaching and was converted by him. In order to show his attachment to his new teacher he invited Buddha and his disciples to eat with him. On the acceptance of the invitation, Sîha commanded his servants to provide flesh in honour of the occasion. This

30. Jacobi *loc. cit.* p. 159-160.

31. See for example the account in the *Chullavagga*, in *S. B. E.* Vol. XX. p. 78-79; *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. VIII, p. 313.

32. Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 225.

fact came to the ears of the followers of the Niganṭha. Glad to have found an occasion to damage Buddha, they hurried in great numbers through the town, crying out, that Sîha had caused a great ox to be killed for Buddha's entertainment; that Buddha had eaten of the flesh of the animal although he knew it had been killed on his account, and was, therefore guilty of the death of the animal. The accusation was brought to Sîha's notice and was declared by him to be a calumny. Buddha, however preached a sermon after the meal, in which he forbade his disciples to partake of the flesh of such animals as had been killed on their account. The legend also corroborates the account in the Jaina works, according to which Vardhamâna often resided in Vaiśâlî and had a strong following in that town. It is probably related to show that his sect was stricter, as regards the eating of flesh, than the Buddhists, a point, which again agrees with the statutes of the Jains<sup>33</sup>.

The account of Nâtaputta's death is still more important. "Thus I heard it", says an old book of the Singalese canon, the *Sâmagâma Sutta*, "once the Venerable one lived in Sâmagâma in the land of the Sâkya. At that time, however, certainly the Niganṭha Nâtaputta had died in Pâvâ. After his death the Niganṭha wandered about disunited, separate, quarrelling, fighting, wounding each other with words<sup>34</sup>. Here we

33. S. B. E. Vol. XVII, pp. 108-117.

34. The passage is given in the original by Oldenberg, *Zeitsch. der D. Morg. Ges.* Bd. XXXIV, S. 749. Its significance in connection with the Jaina tradition as to their schisms has been overlooked until now. It has also been unnoticed that the assertion, that Vardhamâna died during Buddha's lifetime, proves that the latest account of this occurrence given by traditions 467 B.C. is false: Later Buddhist legends (Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 266-271) treat of →

have complete confirmation of the statement of the Jaina canon as to the place where Vardhamâna entered *Nirvâṇa*, as well as of the statement that a schism occurred immediately after his death.

The harmony between the Buddhist and Jaina tradition, as to the person of the head of the Nirgrantha is meanwhile imperfect. It is disturbed by the description of Nâtaputta as a member of the Brâhmanic sect of the Âgniveśyâyana, whilst Vardhamâna belonged to the Kâśyapa. The point is however so insignificant, that an error on the part of the Buddhists is easily possible<sup>35</sup>. It is quite to be understood that perfect exactness is not to be expected among the Buddhists or any other sect in describing the person of a hated enemy.

Enmity and scorn, always present, forbid that. The most that one can expect is that the majority and most important of the facts given may agree.

This condition is undoubtedly fulfilled in the case on hand. It cannot, therefore be denied, that, in spite of this difference, in spite also of the absurdity of one

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→ Nâtaputta's death in more detail. In a lengthy account they give as the cause of the same the apostacy of one of his disciples, Upâli who was converted by Buddha. After going over to Buddhism, Upâli treated his former master with scorn, and presumed to relate a parable which should prove the foolishness of those who believed in false doctrines. Thereupon the Nigaṇṭha fell into despair. He declared his alms-vessel was broken, his existence destroyed, went to Pâvâ, and died there. Naturally no importance is to be given to this account and its details. They are apparently the outcome of sect-hatred.

35. According to Jacobi's supposition, *S. B. E.* Vol. XXII, p. xvi, the error was caused, by the only disciple of Vardhamâna, who outlived his master, Sudharman being an Âgniveśyâyana.

article of the creed ascribed to him, Vardhamâna Jñâtiputra, the founder of the Nirgrantha—or Jaina community is none other than Buddha's rival. From Buddhist accounts in their canonical works as well as in other books, it may be seen that this rival was a dangerous and influential one, and that even in Buddha's time his teaching had spread considerably. Their legends about conversions from other sects very often make mention of Nirgrantha sectarians, whom Buddha's teaching or that of his disciples had alienated from their faith. Also they say in their descriptions of other rivals of Buddha, that these, in order to gain esteem, copied the Nirgrantha and went unclothed, or that they were looked upon by the people as Nirgrantha holy ones, because they happened to have lost their clothes. Such expressions would be inexplicable if Vardhamâna's community had not become of great importance<sup>36</sup>.

This agrees with several remarks in the Buddhist chronicles, which assert the existence of the Jainas in different districts of India during the first century after Buddha's death. In the memoirs of the Chinese Buddhist and pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who visited India in the beginning of the seventh century of our era, is to be found an extract from the ancient annals of Magadha, which proves the existence of the Nirgrantha or Jainas in their original home from a very early time<sup>37</sup>. This extract relates to the building of the great monastery at Nâlandâ, the high school of Buddhism in eastern India, which was founded shortly after Buddha's *Nirvâṇa*, and mentions incidentally that a Nirgrantha who was a great

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36. See for the history of Sîha related above, Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 226, 266, and Jacobi, *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. VIII, p. 161.

37. Beal, *Si-yu-ki*. Vol. II, p. 168.

astrologer and prophet had prophesied the future success of the new building. At almost as early a period the *Mahâvaṇsa*, composed in the fifth century A.D., fixes the appearance of the Nirgrantha in the island of Ceylon. It is said that the king Paṇḍukâbhaya, who ruled in the beginning of the second century after Buddha, from 367-307 B.C. built a temple and a monastery for two Nirgranthas. The monastery is again mentioned in the same work in the account of the reign of a later king Vattâgâmini, cir. 38-10 B.C. It is related that Vattâgâmini being offended by the inhabitants, caused it to be destroyed after it had existed during the reigns of twenty one kings, and erected a Buddhist Saṅghârâma in its place. The latter piece of information is found also in the *Dîpavaṇsa* of more than a century earlier<sup>38</sup>.

None of these works can indeed be looked upon as a truly historical source. There are, even in those paragraphs which treat of the oldest history after Buddha's death, proofs enough that they simply hand down a faulty historical tradition. In spite of this, their statements on the Nirgrantha, cannot be denied a certain weight, because they are closely connected on the one side with the Buddhist canon, and on the other they agree with the indisputable sources of history, which relate to a slightly later period.

The first authentic information on Vardhamâna's sect is given by our oldest inscriptions, the religious edicts of the Maurya king Aśoka, who, according to

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38. Turnour, *Mahâvaṇsa*, pp. 66-67 and p. 203, 206 : *Dîpavaṇsa* XIX 14; comp. also Kern, *Buddhismus*, Bd. I. S. 422. In the first passage in the *Mahâvaṇsa*, three Nighaṇṭas are introduced by name, Jotiya, Giri, and Kumbhaṇḍa. The translation incorrectly makes the first a Brâhmaṇ and chief engineer.

tradition was anointed in the year 219 after Buddha's death, and—as the reference to his Grecian contemporaries, Antiochos, Magas, Alexander, Ptolemæus and Antigonas confirms,—ruled, during the second half of the third century B.C. over the whole of India with the exception of the Dekhan, This prince interested himself not only in Buddhism, which he professed in his later years, but he took care, in a fatherly way, as he repeatedly relates, of all other religious sects in his vast kingdom. In the fourteenth year of his reign, he appointed officials, called law-superintendents, whose duty it was to watch over the life of the different communities, to settle their quarrels, to control the distribution of their legacies and pious gifts. He says of them in the second part of the seventh 'pillar' edict, which he issued in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, "My superintendents are occupied with various charitable matters, they are also engaged with all sects of ascetics and householders; I have so arranged that they will also be occupied with the affairs of the *Samgha*; likewise I have arranged that they will be occupied with the *Âjîvika Brâhmaṇs*; I have arranged it that they will also be occupied with the *Nigaṇṭha*"<sup>39</sup>. The word *Samgha* serves here as usual for the Buddhist monks. The *Âjîvikas*, whose name completely disappears later, are often named in the sacred writings of the Buddhists and the Jainas as an influential sect. They enjoyed the special favour of Aśoka, who, as other inscriptions testify, caused several caves at Barâbar to be made into

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39. See Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, tom. II, p. 82. Ed. VIII, 1. 4. My translation differs from Senart's in some points especially in relation to the construction. Conf. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, pp. 272 f.



dwelling for their ascetics<sup>40</sup>. As in the still older writings of the Buddhist canon, the name Nigantha here can refer only to the followers of Vardhamāna. As they are here, along with the other two favourites, counted worthy of special mention, we may certainly conclude that they were of no small importance at the time. Had they been without influence and of small numbers Aśoka would hardly have known of them, or at least would not have singled them out from the other numerous nameless sects of which he often speaks. It may also be supposed that they were specially numerous in their old home, as Aśoka's capital Pāṭaliputra lay in this land. Whether they spread far over these boundaries, cannot be ascertained.

On the other hand we possess two documents from the middle of the next century which prove that they advanced into south-eastern India as far as Kalinga. These are the inscriptions at Khaṇḍagiri in Orissa, of the great King Khâravêla and his first wife, who governed the east coast of India from the year 152 to 165 of the Maurya era that is, in the first half of second century B.C.

The larger inscription, unfortunately very much disfigured, contains an account of the life of Khâravêla from his childhood till the thirteenth year of his reign. It begins with an appeal to the Arhat and Siddha, which corresponds to the beginning of the five-fold form of homage still used among the Jainas, and mentions the building of temples in honour of the Arhat as well as an image of the first Jina, which was taken away by a hostile king. The second and smaller inscription asserts that Khâravêla's wife caused a cave to be prepared for the

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40. See *Ind. Antiquary*. vol. XX, pp. 361 ff.

ascetics of Kalinga, "who believed on the Arhat."<sup>41</sup>

From a somewhat later period, as the characters show, from the first century B.C. comes a dedicatory inscription which has been found far to the west of the original home of the Jainas, in Mathurâ on the Jamnâ. It tells of the erection of a small temple in honour of the Arhat Vardhamâna, also of the dedication of seats for the teachers, a cistern, and a stone table. The little temple, it says, stood beside the temple of the guild of

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41. The meaning of these inscriptions, which were formerly believed to be Buddhist, was first made clear by Dr. Bhagvânâlâl's Indrâji's careful discussion in the *Actes du Viième Congrès Internat. des Orientalistes* Sect. Ary. pp. 135-159. He first recognised the true names of the King Khâavela and his predecessors and shewed that Khâavela and his wife were patrons of the Jainas. We have to thank him for the information that the inscription contains a date in the Maurya Era. I have thoroughly discussed his excellent article in the *Oesterreichischen Monatsschrift*, Bd. X, S. 231 ff. and have there given my reasons for differing from him on an important point, namely, the date of the beginning of the Maurya Era, which, according to his view begins with the conquest of Kalinga by Aśoka about 255 B.C. Even yet I find it impossible to accept that the expression, "in the hundred and sixty fifth year of the era of the Maurya Kings", can mean anything else than that 164 years have passed between the thirteenth year of the rule of Khâavela and the anointing of the first Maurya King Chandragupta. Unfortunately it is impossible to fix the year of the latter occurrence, or to say more than that it took place between the years 322 and 312 B.C. The date given in Khâavela's inscription cannot therefore be more closely fixed than that it lies between 156 and 147 B.C. I now add to my former remarks—that appeals to the Arhat and Siddha appear also in Jaina inscriptions from Mathurâ and may be taken as a certain mark of the sect. Thus it is worthy of note that even in Hiuen Tsiang's time, (Beal, *Si-yu-ki*. Vol. II, p. 205) Kalinga was one of the chief seats of the Jainas.

tradesmen, and this remark proves, that Mathurâ, which, according to the tradition of the Jainas, was one of the chief seats of their religion, possessed a community of Jainas even before the time of this inscription<sup>42</sup>.

A large number of dedicatory inscriptions have come to light, which are dated from the year 5 to 98 of the era of the Indo-Scythian kings, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsudeva (Bazodeo) and therefore belong at latest to the end of the first and to the second century A.D. They are all on the pedestals of statues, which are recognisable partly by the special mention of the names of Vardhamâna and the Arhat Mahâvîra, partly by absolute nudity and other marks. They show, that the Jaina community continued to flourish in Mathurâ and give besides extraordinarily important information, as I found in a renewed research into the ancient history of the sect. In a number of them, the dedicators of the statues give not only their own names, but also those of the religious teachers to whose communities they belonged. Further, they give these teachers their official titles, still used among the Jainas : *vâchaka*, 'teacher', and *gaṇin*, 'head of a school'. Lastly they specify the names of the schools to which the teachers belonged, and those of their subdivisions. The schools are called, *gaṇa*, 'companies'; the subdivisions, *kula*, 'families' and *śâkhâ*, 'branches', Exactly the same division into *gaṇa*, *śâkhâ*, and *kula* is found in a list in one of the canonical works, of the Śvetâmbaras, the *Kalpasûtra*, which gives the number of the patriarchs and of the schools founded by them, and it is of the highest importance, that, in spite of mutilation and faulty reproduction of the inscriptions, nine of the names, which appear in the

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42. This inscription also was first made known by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajî, *loc. cit.* p. 143.

*Kalpasûtra* are recognisable in them, of which part agree exactly, part, through the fault of the stone-mason or wrong reading by the copyist, are somewhat defaced. According to the *Kalpasûtra*, Sushita, the ninth successor to Vardhamâna in the position of patriarch, together with his companion Supratibuddha, founded the 'Koḍiya' or 'Kauṭika gaṇa', which split up into four 'sâkhâ', and four 'kula'. Inscription No. 4. which is dated in the year 9 of the king Kanishka or 87. A.D. (?) gives us a somewhat ancient form of the name of the gaṇa *Koṭiya* and that of one of its branches exactly corresponding to the *Vairi sâkhâ*. Mutilated or wrongly written, the first word occurs also in inscriptions Nos. 2, 6 and 9 as *koto-*, *keṭṭiya*, and *ka...*, the second in No. 6 as *Vorâ*. One of the families of this gaṇa, the *Vâṇiya kula* is mentioned in No. 6, and perhaps in No. 4. The name of a second, the *Praśnavâhaṇaka*, seems to have appeared in No. 19. The last inscription mentions also another branch of the *Koṭiya gaṇa*, the *Majhimâ sâkhâ*, which, according to the *Kalpasûtra*, was founded by Priyagantha the second disciple of Susthita. Two still older schools which, according to tradition, sprang from the fourth disciple of the eighth patriarch, along with some of their divisions appear in inscriptions Nos. 20 and 10. These are the *Aryya-Udehikiya gaṇa*, called the school of the *Ârya-Rohaṇa* in the *Kalpasûtra*, to which belonged the *Parihâsaka kula* and the *Pûrṇapâtrikâ sâkhâ*, as also the *Châraṇa gaṇa* with the *Prîtidharmika kula*. Each of these names is, however, somewhat mutilated by one or more errata in writing<sup>43</sup>.

The statements in the inscriptions about the teachers

43. Dr. Bühler's long note (p. 48) on these inscriptions was afterwards expanded in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* Bd. I, S. 165-180; Bd. II, S. 141-146. →

and their schools are of no small importance in themselves for the history of the Jainas. If, at the end of the first century A.D. (?) many separate schools of Jaina ascetics existed, a great age and lively activity, as well as great care as regards the traditions of the sect, may be inferred. The agreement of the inscriptions with the *Kalpasûtra* leads still further however : it proves on the one side that the Jainas of Mathurâ were Śvetâmbara, and that the schism, which split the sect into two rival branches occurred long before the beginning of our era. On the other hand it proves that the tradition of the Śvetâmbara really contains ancient historic elements, and by no means deserves to be looked upon with distrust. It is quite probable that, like all traditions, it is not altogether free from error. But it can no longer be declared to be the result of a later intentional misrepresentation, made in order to conceal the dependence of Jainism on Buddhism. It is no longer possible to dispute its authenticity with regard to those points which are confirmed by independent statements of other sects, and to assert, for example, that the Jaina account of the life of Vardhamâna, which agrees with the statements of the Buddhists, proves nothing as regards the age of Jainism because in the late fixing of the canon of the Śvetâmbaras in the sixth century after Christ it may have been drawn from Buddhist works. Such an assertion which, under all circumstances, is a bold one, becomes entirely untenable when it is found that the tradition in question states correctly facts which lie not quite three centuries distant from Vardhamâna's time, and that the sect, long before the first century of

our era kept strict account of their internal affairs<sup>44</sup>.

Unfortunately the testimony to the ancient history of the Jainas, so far as made known by means of inscriptions, terminates here. Interesting as it would be to follow the traces of their communities in the later inscriptions, which become so numerous from the fifth century A.D. onwards and in the description of his travels by Hiuen Tsiang, who found them spread through the whole of India and even beyond its boundaries, it would be apart from our purpose. The documents quoted suffice, however, to confirm the assertion that during the first five centuries after Buddha's death both the statements of Buddhist tradition and real historical sources give evidence to the existence of the Jainas as an important religious community independent of Buddhism, and that there are among the historical sources some which entirely clear away the suspicion that the tradition of the Jainas themselves is intentionally falsified.

The advantage gained for Indian history from the conclusion that Jainism and Buddhism are two contemporary sects—having arisen in the same district,—is no small one. First, this conclusion shows that the religious movement of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. in eastern India must have been a profound one. If not only one, but certainly two, and perhaps more reformers, appeared at the same time, preaching teachers, who opposed the existing circumstances in the same manner, and each of whom gained no small number of followers for their doctrines, the desire to overthrow the Brahmanical order of things must have been generally and deeply felt. This conclusion shows then that the

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44. See Weber's and Barth's opinions quoted above in note 1, p. 23.

transformation of the religious life in India was not merely the work of a religious community. Many strove to attain this object although separated from one another. It is now recognisable, though preliminarily, in one point only, that the religious history of India from the fifth century B.C. to the eighth or ninth A.D. was not made up of the fight between Brahmanism and Buddhism alone. This conclusion allows us, lastly, to hope that the thorough investigation of the oldest writings of the Jainas and their relations with Buddhism on the one hand and with Brahmanism on the other will afford many important ways of access to a more exact knowledge concerning the religious ideas which prevailed in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., and to the establishment of the boundaries of originality between the different systems.

# 3

## Jainism : A Monastic Religion

○ Hermann Jacobi

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### I

*Introductory* : Jainism is a monastic religion which like Buddhism denies the authority of the Veda, and is, therefore, regarded by the Brahmans as heretical. The Jain church consists of the monastic order and the lay community. It is divided into two sections, the Svetambaras, or 'White-robcs'. They are so called because the monks of the Svetambaras wear white clothes and those of the Digambaras originally went about stark naked, until the Muhammadans forced them to cover their privities. The dogmatic differences between the two sections are rather trivial; they differ more in conduct, as will be noticed in the course of the article.



The interest of Jainism to the student of religion consists in its fact that it goes back to a very early period, and to primitive currents of religious and metaphysical speculation, which gave rise also to the oldest Indian philosophies—Sankhya and Yoga and to Buddhism. It shares in the theoretical pessimism of these systems, as also in their practical ideal—liberation. Life in the world, perpetuated by the transmigration of the soul, is essentially bad and painful; therefore, it must be our aim to put an end to the Cycle of Births, and this end will be accomplished when we come into possession of right knowledge. In this general principle Jainism agrees with Sankhya, Yoga and Buddhism; but they differ in their methods of realizing it. In metaphysics there is some general likeness between Sankhya and Yoga on the one hand, and Jainism on the other. For in all these systems a dualism of matter and soul is acknowledged; the souls are principally all alike substances (monads) characterized by intelligence, their actual difference being caused by their connexion with matter ; matter is, according to Jains and Sankhyas, of indefinite nature, a something that may become anything. These general metaphysical principles, however, are worked out on different lines by the Sankhyas and Jains, the difference being still more accentuated by the different origins of these systems. For the Sankhyas, owing allegiance to the Brahmins, have adopted Brahmanical ideas and modes of thought, while the Jains, being distinctly non-Brahmanical, have worked upon popular notions of a more primitive and cruder character, e.g. animistic ideas. But the metaphysical principles of Buddhism are of an entirely different character, being moulded by the fundamental principle of Buddhism, viz that there is no

absolute and permanent Being, or in other words, that all things are transitory. Notwithstanding the radical difference in their philosophical notions, Jainism and Buddhism, being originally both orders of monks outside, the pale of Brahmanism, present some resemblance in outward appearance, so that even Indian writers occasionally have confounded them. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that some European scholars who became acquainted with Jainism through inadequate samples of Jain literature easily persuaded themselves that it was an offshoot of Buddhism. But it has since been proved beyond doubt that their theory is wrong and that Jainism is at least as old as Buddhism. For the canonical books of the Buddhists frequently mention the Jains as a rival sect, under their old name Nigantha (skr, *Nirgrantha*, common Prakrit *Niggantha*) and their leader in Buddha's time, Nataputta (Nata or Natiputta being an epithet of the last prophet of the Jains, Vardhamana Mahavira), and they name the place of the latter's death Pava, in agreement with Jain tradition. On the other hand, the canonical books of the Jains mention as contemporaries of Mahavira the same kings as reigned during Buddha's career, and one of the latter's rivals. Thus it is established that Mahavira was a contemporary of Buddha, and probably somewhat older than the latter, who outlived his rival's decease at Pava.

Mahavira, however, unlike Buddha, was most probably not the founder of the sect which reveres him as their prophet, nor the author of their religion. According to the unanimous Buddhist tradition, Buddha had, under the Bodhi-tree, discovered by intuition the fundamental truths of his religion as it appears throughout his personal work; his first sermons are

things ever to be remembered by his followers, as are the doctrines which he then preached. No such traditions are preserved in the canonical books of the Jains about Mahavira. His attainment of omniscience (*kevala*), are of, the course, celebrated events. But tradition is silent about his motives for renouncing the world, and about the particular truths whose discovery led to his exalted position. At any rate, Mahavira is not described by tradition as having first become a disciple of teachers whose doctrines afterwards failed to satisfy him, as we are told of Buddha; he seems to have had no misgivings, and to have known where truth was to be had, and thus he became a Jain monk. And again, when, after many years of austerities such as are practised by other ascetics of the Jains, he reached omniscience, we are not given to understand that he found any new truth, or a new revelation, as Buddha is said to have received; nor is any particular doctrine or philosophical principle mentioned the knowledge and insight of which then occurred to him for the first time. But he is represented as gaining, at his *kevala*, perfect knowledge of what he knew before only in part and imperfectly. Thus Mahavira appears in the tradition of his own sect as one who, from the beginning, had followed a religion established long ago; had he been more, had he been the founder of Jainism, tradition, ever eager to extol a prophet, would not have totally repressed his claims to reverence as such. Nor do Buddhistic traditions indicate that the Niganthas owed their origin to Nataputta; they simply speak of them as of a sect existing at the time of Buddha. We cannot, therefore, without doing violence to tradition, declare Mahavira to have been the founder of Jainism. But he is without doubt the last prophet of the Jains, the last Tirthankara. His predecessor, Parsva,

the last Tirathankara but one, seems to have better claims to the title of founder of Jainism. His death is placed at the reasonable interval of 250 years before that of Mahavira, while Parsva's predecessor Aristanemi is stated to have died 84,000 years before Mahavira's Nirvana. Followers of Parsva are mentioned in the canonical books; and a legend in the *Uttaradhyayana sutra* xxiii relates a meeting between a disciple of Parsva and a disciple of Mahavira which brought about the union of the old branch of the Jain church and the new one. This seems to indicate that Parsva was a historical person; but in the absence of historical documents we cannot venture to go beyond a conjecture.

*Jain View of their Origin* : According to the belief of the Jains themselves, Jain religion is eternal, and it has been revealed again and again, in every one of the endless succeeding periods of the world, by innumerable Tirathankaras. In the present *avasarpini* period the first Tirathankara was Rsabha, and the last, the 24th, was Vardhamana. The names, signs, and colours of the 24 Tirathankaras were as follows :

(1) Rsabha (or Vrsabha), bull, golden; (2) Ajita, elephant, golden; (3) Sambhava, horse, golden; (4) Abhinandana, ape, golden; (5) Sumati, heron, golden; (6) Padmaprabha, Lotus-flower, red; (7) Suprarsva, the *svastika*, golden; (8) Chandraprabha, moon, white; (9) Suvidhi (or Puspadanta), dolphin, white; (10) Sitala, the *srivatsa*, golden; (11) Sreyamsa (or Sreyan), rhinoceros, golden; (12) Vasupujya, buffalo, red; (13) Vimala, hog, golden; (14) Ananta (or Anantajit), falcon, golden; (15) Dharma, thunderbolt, golden; (16) Santi, antelope, golden; (17) Kunthu, goat, golden; (18) Arah, the *nandyavarta*, golden; (19) Malli, jar, blue; (20) Suvrata (or Muni suvrata), golden; (21) Nami, blue lotus,

golden; (22) Nemi (or Aristanemi), conchshell, back; (23) Parsva, snake, blue; (24) Vardhamana, lion, golden. All Tirathankaras were Kshatriyas; Muni Suvrata and Nemi belonged to the Harivamsa, the remaining 22 to the Ikshvaku race. Malli was a woman, according to the Svetambaras; but this the Digambaras deny, as according to them, no female can reach liberation. The interval in years between Mahavira and the two last Tirathankaras has been given above. Nami died 500,000 years before Nemi Munisuvrata 1,100,000 years before Nami; the next intervals are 6,500,000, 10,000,000, or a crore; the following intervals cannot be expressed in definite numbers of years, but are given in *palyopamas* and *sagaropamas*, the last interval being one crore of crores of *sagaropamas*. The length of the life and the height of the Tirathankaras are in proportion to the length of the interval. These particulars are here given according to the Svetambaras.

In connection with these items of the mythological history of the Jains, it may be added that they relate the legends of 12 universal monarchs (*Chakravartins*), of 9 Vasudevas, 9 Baladevas and 9 Prativasudevas who lived within the period from the first to the 22nd Tirathankaras. Together with the 24 Tirathankaras they are the 63 great presonages of Jain history; the legends of their lives form the subject of great epic work by Hemachandra—the *Trisatsalakapurushacharita*—which is based on older sources, probably the *Vasudevahindi* (edited in Bhavanagar, 1906-09, by the Jainadharma Prasarakasabha).

All Tirathankaras have reached nirvana at their death. Though, being released from the world, they neither care for nor have any influence on worldly affairs, they have nevertheless become the object of worship

and are regarded as the 'God' (*deva*) by the Jains, temples are erected to them where their idols are worshipped. The favourite Tirathankaras are the first and the three last ones, but temples of the remaining ones are also met with. The worship of the idols of the Tirathankaras is already mentioned. In some canonical books, but no rules for their worship are given; it was, however, already in full sway in the first centuries of our era, as evidenced by the *Paumachariya*, the oldest, Prakrit *kavya* of the Jains, and by the statues of Tirathankaras found in ancient sites, e.g., in the Kankali Mound at Mathura which belongs to this period. Some sects, especially a rather recent section of the Svetambaras, the Dhundhia or Sthanakavasins, reject this kind of worship altogether.

It goes without saying that the Tirathankaras, except the last two, belong to mythology rather than to history; the 22nd, Aristanemi, is connected with the legend of Krsna as his cousin. But the details of Mahavira's life as related to the canonical books may be regarded on the whole as historical facts.

He was a Kshatriya of the Jnata clan and a native of Kundagrama, a suburb of the town Vaisali (the modern Basarh, some 27 miles north of Patna). He was the second son of the Kshatriya Siddhartha and Trisala, a highly connected lady.

The Svetambaras maintain, and thus it is stated in the *Acharangasutra*, the *Kalpasutra*, etc., that the soul of the Tirathankara first descended into the womb of the Brahmani Devananda, and was, by the order of Indra, removed thence to the womb of Trisala. But the Digambaras reject this story. His parents, who were pious Jains and worshippers of Parsva gave him the name Vardhamana (Vira or Mahavira is an epithet used

as a name; Arihat, Bhagavat, Jina, etc., are titles common to all Tirathankaras). According to the Svetambaras he married Yasoda and by her had a daughter Anojja. His parents died when he was 30 years old, and his elder brother Nandivardhana succeeded his father in whatever position he had held. With the permission of his brother and the other authorities, he carried out a long cherished resolve and became a monk with the usual Jain rites. Then followed 12 years of self-mortification; Mahavira wandered about as a mendicant frair, bearing all kinds of hardships; after the first 13 months he even discarded clothes. At the end of this period dedicated to meditation, he reached the state of omniscience (*kevala*), corresponding to the Bodhi of the Buddhists. He lived for 42 years more, preaching the law and instructing his 11 disciples (*ganadharas*) : Indrabhuti, Agnibhuti, Vayubhuti, Arya Vyakta, Arya Sudharman, Manditaputra, Mauryaputra, Akampita, Achalabhratr, Metarya and Prabhasa. In the 72nd year of his life he died at Pava and attained *nirvana*. This event took place, as stated above, some years before Buddha's death, and may, therefore, be placed about 480 B.C. The Svetambaras, however, place the Nirvana of Mahavira, which is the initial point of their era, 470 years before the beginning of the same event 18 years later.

*Canonical Literature of the Svetambaras* : The canonical books of the Svetambaras (the Digambaras do not admit them to be genuine) are not works by Mahavira himself, but some of them claim to be discourses delivered by him to Indrabhuti, the Gautama, which his disciple, the *ganadhara* Sudharman, related to his own disciple Jambuswamin.

Before entering on details about the existing canon,

it must be stated that, according to the Jains, there were originally, since the claim time of the first Tirathankara, two kinds of sacred books, the 14 *purvas* and the 11 *angas*; the 14 *purvas* were, however, reckoned to make up a 12th *anga* under the name of Drstivada. The knowledge of the 14 *purvas* continued only down to Sthulabhadra, the 8th patriarch after Mahavira; the next 7 patriarchs down to Vajra knew only 10 *purvas*, and after that time the remaining *purvas* were gradually lost, until, at the time when the canon was written down in the books (980 A. D.), all the *purvas* had disappeared, and consequently the 12th *anga* too. Such is the Svetambara tradition regarding the *purvas*; that of the Digambaras is similar as regards the final loss of the *purvas*, differing however, in most details; but they contend that the *angas* also were lost after 9 more generations.

The 11 *angas* are the oldest part of the canon (*siddhanta*), which at present embraces 45 texts. Besides 11 *angas*, there are 12 *upangas*, 10 *painnas* (*prakirnas*), 6 *chhedasutras*, Nandi and *Anuyogadvara*, and 4 *mulasutras*. A list of these texts according to the usual enumeration follows.

(1) 11 *angas* : Achara, Suthrakrta, Sthana, Samavaya, Bhagavati, Jnatadharamakathas, Upasakadasas, Anutakrddasas, Anuttraupapatikadasas, Prasnavyakarna, Vipaka (Drstivads, no longer extant); (2) 12 *upangas* : Aupapatika, Rajaprasniya, Jivabhigama, Prajnapana, Jambudvipaprajnapti, Chandraprajnapati, Suryaprajnapti, Nirayavali (or Kalpikal, Kalpavatamsiks, Puspika, Puspachulika, Vrsnidasas); (3) 10 *painnas* (*prakirnas*) ; Chatuhsarana, Sanstaram, Aturapratyakhanam, Bhaktaparijna, Tandulavaiyali, Chandavija, Devendrastav, Ganijiva, Mahapratyakhyana,



Virastava; (4) 6 *chhedasutras* : Nisitha, Mahapratyakhyana, Vyavahara, Dasasruta, Brhatakalpa, Panchakalpa; (5) 2 *sutras* without a common name : *nandi* and Anuyogadvara; (6) *mula sutras* : Uttaradhyayana, Avasyaka, Dasavaikalika, and Pindaniryukti. Most of the canonical books have been edited in India, some with commentaries. English translations have been published of the Acharanga, Sutrakrtanga, Upasakadasas, Anuttaraupapatikadasas, Uttaradhyayana and two Kalpasutras.

The reduction of the canon took place under Devarddhigani in 980 after the Nirvana (A.D. 454, according to the common reckoning, actually perhaps 60 years later); before that time the sacred texts were handed down without embodying them in written books. In the interval between the composition and the final reduction of the texts, and even afterwards, they have undergone many alterations—transpositions of parts, additions, etc. traces of which can still be pointed out. Along with these alterations there seems to have gone on a gradual change of the language in which the texts were composed. The original language, according to the Jainas, was Ardhamagadhi and they give that name or Magadhi to the Language of the present texts. But it has, most probably, been modernized during the process of oral transmission. The older parts of the canon contain many archaic forms for which in later texts distinct Maharashtri idioms are substituted. It will be best to call the language of the sacred texts simply Jain Prakrit, and that of later works Jain Maharashtri.

As the works belonging to the canon are of different origin and age, they differ greatly in character. Some are chiefly in prose, some in mixed prose and verse. Frequently a work comprises distinctly disparate parts

put together when the reduction of the canon took place. The older prose works are generally very diffuse and contain endless repetitions, some, however, contain succinct rules, some besides length descriptions, systematic expositions of various dogmatic questions; in others, again the systematic tendency prevails throughout. A large literature of glosses and commentaries has grown up round the more important texts. Besides the sacred literature and the commentaries belonging to it, the Jains possess separate works, in close material agreement with the former, which contain systematic expositions of their faith, or parts of it, in Prakrit and Sanskrit. These works, which generally possess the advantages of accuracy and clarity, have in their turn become the object of learned labours of commentators. One of the oldest is Umasvati's *Tattvarthadhigamasutra*, a Svetambara work, which, however, is also claimed by the Digambaras. A sort of encyclopaedia of Jainism is the *Lokaprakasa* by Tejapala's son, Vinay Vijaya (1652). On these and similar works our sketch of the Jain faith is chiefly based.

It may here be mentioned that the Jains also possess a secular literature of their own in poetry and prose, both Sanskrit and Prakrit. Of peculiar interest are the numerous tales in and Prakrit and Sanskrit with which authors used to illustrate dogmatical or moral problems. They have also attempted more extensive narratives, some in a more popular styles, as Haribhadra's *Samaraichchakaha*, and Siddharsi's great allegorical work *Upamitibhavaprapancha katha* (both edited in Bibl. Ind., Calcutta, 1901-14), some in highly artificial Sanskrit, as Somadeva's *Yasatilaka* and Dhanapala's *Tilakamanjari*, (both published in the *Kavyamala*,

Bombay, 1901-03, 1903). Their oldest Prakrit poem (perhaps of the 3rd century A.D.) the *Paumachariya*, is a Jain version of the *Ramayana*. Sanskrit poems, both in *purana* and in *kavya* style, and hymns in Prakrit and Sanskrit, are very numerous with the Svetambaras as well as the Digambaras ; there are likewise some Jain dramas. Jain authors have also contributed many works, original treatises as well as commentaries to the scientific literature of India in its various branches—grammar, lexicography, metrics, poetics, philosophy, etc.

*The Doctrines of Jainism* : Jain doctrines may be broadly divided into (i) philosophical and (ii) practical. Jain philosophy contains ontology, metaphysics, and psychology. The practical doctrines are concerned with ethics and asceticism, monasticism, and the life of the laity.

i. (a) *Philosophy* : The *Aranyakas* and *Upanishads* had maintained, or were believed to maintain, that Being is one, permanent, without beginning, change, or end. In opposition to this view, the Jains declare that Being is not of a presistent and unalterable nature : Being, they say, “is joined to production, continuation and destruction”. This theory they call the theory of the Indefiniteness of Being (*anekantavada*); it comes to this : existing things are permanent only as regards their substance, but their accidents or qualities originate and perish. To explain : any material thing continues for ever to exist as matter; this matter, however, may assume any shape and quality. Thus, clay as substance may be regarded as permanent, but the form of a jar of clay, or its colour, may come into existence and perish. It is clear that the Brahmanical speculations are concerned with transcendental Being, while the Jain view

deals with Being as given in common experience.

The doctrine of the Indefiniteness of Being is upheld by a very strange dialectical method called *Syadvada*, to which the Jains attach so much importance that this name frequently is used as a synonym for the Jain system itself. According to this doctrine of *Syadvada*, there are 7 forms of metaphysical propositions, and all contain the word *syat*, e.g. *Syadasti sarvam Syad nasti sarvam. Syat syad nasti sarvam*. *Syad* means 'may be', and is explained by *kathamchit*, which in this connection may be translated as 'somehow'. The word *syat* here qualifies the word *asti*, and indicates the Indefiniteness of Being (or *astitvam*). For example, we say a jar is somehow, i.e. it exists, if we mean thereby that it exists as a jar; but it does not exist somehow if we mean that it exists as a cloth or the like. The purpose of these seeming truisms is to guard against the assumption of the Vedantins that Being is one without a second, the same in all things. Thus we have the correlative predicates 'is' (*asti*) and 'is not' (*nasti*). A third predicate is inexpressible; for existent and non-existent (*sat* and *asat*) belong to the same thing at the same time and such a co-existence of mutually contradictory attributes cannot be expressed by any word in the language. The three predicates variously combined make up the 7 propositions, or *sapta bhangas*, of the *Syadvada*.

Supplementary to the doctrine of the *Syadvada*, and in a way the logical complement to it, is the doctrine of the *nayas*. The *nayas* are ways of expressing the nature of things. All these ways of Judgment, according to the Jains, are one-sided, and they contain but a part of the truth. There are 7 *nayas*, 4 referring to concepts, and 3 to words. The reason for this variety of statement is that Being is not simple, as the Vedantins contend, but

is of a complicated nature; therefore, every statement and every denotation of a thing is necessarily incomplete and one-sided; and if we follow one way only of expression or of viewing things, we are bound to go astray. Hence it is usual in explaining notions to state what the thing under discussion is with reference to substance, place, time, and state of being.

(b) *Metaphysics* : All things, i.e. substances (*dravya*), are divided into lifeless things (*ajivakaya*) and lives or souls (*jiva*). The former are again divided into (1) space (*akasa*); (2) and (3) two subtle substances called *dharma* and *adharma* and (4) matter (*pudgala*). Space, *dharma*, and *adharma* are the necessary conditions for the subsistence of all other things, viz souls and matter; space affords them room to subsist; *dharma* makes it possible for them to move or to be moved; and *adharma*, to rest. It will be seen that the function of space, as we conceive it, is by the Jains distributed among three different substances; this seems highly speculative, and rather hyperlogical. But the conception of the two cosmical substances *dharma* and *adharma*, which occur already, in the technical meaning just given in canonical books, seems to be developed from a more primitive notion. For, as their names, *dharma* and *adharma* indicate, they seem to have denoted, in primitive speculation, those invisible 'fluids' which by contact cause sin and merit. The Jains, using for the later notions the terms *papa* and *punya*, were later free to use the current names of those 'fluids' in a new sense not known to other Indian thinkers.

Space (*akasa*) is divided into that part of space which is occupied by the world of things (*lokakasa*), and the space beyond it (*alokakasa*), which is absolutely void and empty, an abyss of nothing. *Dharma* and

*adharma* are co-extensive with the world; accordingly no soul nor any particle of matter can get beyond this world for want of the substrates of motion and rest. Time is recognized by some as a quasi-substance besides those.

Matter (*pudgala*) is external and consists of atoms; otherwise it is not determined in its nature, but, as is already implied by the doctrine of the Indefiniteness of Being, it is something that may become anything, as earth, water, fire, wind, etc. Two states of matter are distinguished; gross matter, which is beyond the reach of our senses; subtle matter, for instance, is that matter which is transformed into the different kinds of *karma*. All material things are ultimately produced by the combination of atoms. Two atoms form a compound when the one is viscous and the other dry, or both are of different degree either of viscousness or dryness. Such compounds combine with others, and so on. They are, however, not constant in their nature, but subject to change or development (*parinama*), which consists in the assumption of qualities (*gunas*). In this way originate also the bodies and senses of living beings. The elements—earth, water, fire and wind—are bodies of souls in the lowest stage of development, and are, therefore, spoken of as ‘earth-bodies’, water-bodies, etc. Here we meet with animistic ideas which, in this form, are peculiar to Jainism. They probably go back to a remote period, and must have prevailed in classes of Indian society which were not influenced by the more advanced ideas of the Brahmins.

Different from matter and material things are the souls (*jiva*, lit. ‘lives’). There is an infinite number of souls; the whole world is literally filled with them. The souls are substances, and as such eternal; but they are

not of a definite size, since they contract or expand according to the dimensions of the body in which they are incorporated for the time being. Their characteristic mark is intelligence,, which may be obscured by extrinsic causes, but never destroyed.

Souls are of two kinds : mundane (*samsarin*), and liberated (*mukta*). Mundane souls are the embodied souls of living beings in the world and still subject to the Cycle of Birth; liberated souls will be embodied no more; they have accomplished absolute purity; they dwell in the state of perfection at the top of the universe, and have no more to do with worldly affairs; they have reached *nirvana* (*nirvrti*, or *mukti*). Metaphysically the difference between the mundane and the liberated soul consists in this, that the former is entirely filled by subtle matter, as a bag is filled with sand, while the latter is absolutely pure and free from any material alloy.

The defilement of the soul takes place in the following way. Subtle matter ready to be transformed into *karma* pours into the soul; this is called 'influx' (*asrava*). In the usual state of things a soul harbours passions (*kasaya*) which act like a viscous substance and retain the subtle matter coming into contact with the soul; the subtle matter thus caught by the soul enters, as it were, into a chemical combination with it; this is called the binding (*bandha*) (of *karma*-matter). The subtle matter 'bound or amalgamated by the soul is transformed into 8 kinds of *karma*, and forms a kind of subtle body (*karmanasarira*) which clings to the soul in all its migrations and future births, and determines the individual state and lot of that particular soul. For, as each particular *karma* has been caused by some action, good, bad or indifferent, of the individual being in

question, so this *karma*, in its turn, produces certain painful, or pleasant, so this *karma*, or indifferent conditions and events which the individual in question must undergo. Now, when a particular *karma* has produced its effect in the way described, it (i.e. the particular *karma-matter*) is discharged or purged from the soul. This process of 'purging off' is called *nirjara*. When this process goes on without interruption, all *karma-matter* will, in the end, be discharged from the soul; and the latter, now freed from the weight which had kept it down before the time its liberations (for matter is heavy, and *karma* is material), goes up in a straight line to the top of the universe where the liberated souls dwell. But in the usual course of things the purging and binding processes go on simultaneously, and thereby the soul is forced to continue its mundane existence. After the death of an individual, his soul, together with its *karmanasarira*, goes in a few moments, to the place of its new birth and there assumes a new body, expanding or contracting in accordance with the dimensions of the latter.

Embodied souls are living beings, the classifications of which is a subject not only of theoretical but also of great practical interest to the Jains. As their highest duty (*parama dharma*) is not to kill any living being (*ahimsa*), it becomes incumbent on them to know the various forms which life may assume. The Jains divide living beings according to the number of sense-organs which they possess : the highest (*panchendriya*) possess all the five organs, viz. those of touch, taste, smell, sight, and hearing, while the lowest (*ekendriya*) have only the organ of touch, and the remaining classes each one organ more than the preceding one in the order of organs given above; e.g. worms, etc., possess the organs



of touch and taste; ants, etc., possess, in addition, smell; bees, etc., seeing. The vertebrates possess all five organs of sense; the higher animals, men, denizens of hell, and gods possess an internal organ or mind (*manas*), and are, therefore, called rational (*samjnin*), while the lower animals have no mind (*asamjnin*). The notions of the Jains about beings with only one organ are, in part, peculiar to themselves and call for a more detailed notice.

It has already been stated that the four elements are animated by souls; i.e. particles of earth, etc., are the body of souls, called earth-lives, etc. These we may call elementary lives; they live and die and are born again, in the same or another elementary body. These elementary lives are either gross or subtle; in the latter case they are invisible. The last class of one-organed lives are plants; of some plants each is the body of one soul only, but of other plants each is an aggregation of embodied souls which have all functions of life, as respiration and nutrition, in common. That plants possess souls is an opinion shared by other Indian philosophers. But the Jains have developed this theory in a remarkable way. Plants in which only one soul is embodied are always gross; they exist in the habitable part of the world only. But those plants of which each is a colony of plant-lives may also be subtle. i.e. invisible, and in that case they are distributed all over the world. These subtle plants are called *nigoda*; they are composed of an infinite number of souls forming a very small cluster, have respiration and nutrition in common, and experience the most exquisite pains. Innumerable *nigodas* form a globule, and with them the whole space of the world is closely packed, like a box filled with power. The *nigodas* furnish the supply of souls in place

of those who have reached nirvana. But an infinite small fraction of one single nigoda has sufficed to replace the vacancy caused in the world by the *nirvanas* of all the souls that have been liberated from the beginning-less past down to the present. Thus it is evident that the *samsara* will never be empty of living beings.

From another point of view mundane beings are divided into four grades : denizens of hell, animals, men and gods; these are the four walks of life (*gati*), in which beings are born according to their merits or demerits.

We have seen that the cause of the soul's embodiment is the presence in it of *karma*-matter. The theory of *karma* is the key-stone of the Jain system; it is necessary, therefore, to explain this theory in more detail. The natural qualities of soul are perfect knowledge (*jnana*), intuition or faith (*darsana*), highest bliss, and all sorts of perfections; but these inborn qualities of the soul are weakened or obscured in mundane souls, by the presence of *karma*. From this point of view the division of *karma* will be understood. When *karma*-matter has penetrated the soul, it is transformed into 8 kinds (*prakrti*) of *karma* singly or severally, which form the *karmanasarira*, just as food is, by digestion, transformed into the various fluids necessary for the support and growth of the body. The 8 kinds of *karma* are as follows :

(1) *Jnanavaraniya*, that which obscures the inborn right, knowledge (i.e. omniscience) of the soul and thereby produces different degrees of knowledge and of ignorance; (2) *darsana varaniya*, that which obscures right intuition, e.g. sleep; (3) *vedaniya*, that which obscures the bliss-nature of the soul and thereby

produces pleasure and pain; (4) *mohaniya*, that which disturbs the right attitude of the soul with regard to faith, conduct, passions, and other emotions, and produces doubt, error, right or wrong conduct, passions, and various mental states. The following 4 kinds of *karma* concern more the individual status of a being : (5) *ayuska*, that which determines the length of life of an individual in one birth as hell-being, animal, man, or god; (6) *nama*, that which produces the various circumstances or elements which collectively make up an individual existence, e.g. the peculiar body with its general and special qualities, faculties, etc.; (7) *gotra*, that which determines the nationality, caste, family, social standing, etc., of an individual; (8) *antaraya*, that which obstructs the inborn energy of the soul and thereby prevents the doing of a good action when there is a desire to do it.

Each kind of *karma* has its predestined limits in time within which it must take effect and thereby be purged off. Before we deal with the operation of *karma*, however, we must mention another doctrine which is connected with the *karma*-theory, viz, that of the six *lesyas*. The totality of *karma* amalgamated by a soul induces on it a transcendental colour, a kind of complexion, which cannot be perceived by our eyes; and this is called *lesya*. There are six *lesyas* : black, blue, grey, yellow, red and white. They have also, and prominently, a moral bearing; for the *lesya* indicates the characters of the individual who owns it. The first belong to bad characters, the last three to good characters.

The individual state of the soul is produced by its inborn nature and the *karma* with which it is vitiated; this is the developmental or *parinamika* state. But there

are 4 other states which have reference only to the behaviour of the *karma*. In the common course of things *karma* takes effect and produces its proper results; then the soul is in the *audayika* state. By proper efforts *karma* may be prevented, for some time, from taking effect; it is neutralized (*upasamika*), but it is still present, just like fire covered by ashes; then the soul is in the *aupasamika* state. When *karma* is not only prevented from operating, but is annihilated altogether (*ksapita*), then the soul is in the *ksayika* state, which is necessary for reaching *nirvana*. There is a fourth state of the soul, *ksayopasamika*, which partakes of the nature of the preceding ones; in this state some *karma* is annihilated, some is neutralized and some is active. This is the state of ordinary good men, but the *ksayika* and *aupasamika* states especially the former, belong to holy men. It will be easily understood that these distinctions have an important moral bearing; they are constantly referred to in the practical ethics of the Jains.

We shall now consider the application of the *karma*-theory to ethics. The highest goal is to get rid of all *karma* (*nirjara*) and meanwhile to acquire no new *karma*—technically speaking, to stop the influx (*asrava*) of *karma*, which is called *samvara* or the covering of the channels through which *karma* finds entrance into the soul. All actions produce *karma*, and in the majority of cases entail on the doer continuance of worldly existence (*samparyika*); but, when a man is free from passions and acts in strict compliance with the rules of right conduct, his actions produce *karma* which lasts but for a moment and is then annihilated (*iryapatha*). Therefore, the whole apparatus of monastic conduct is required to prevent the formation of new *karma*; the same purpose is served the austerities (*tapas*), which,

moreover, annihilate the old *karma* more speedily than would happen in the common course of things.

It is evident from the preceding remarks that the ethics and ascetics of the Jains are to be regarded as the logical consequence of the theory of *karma*. But from a historical point of view many of their ethical principles, monastic institutions, and ascetic practices have been inherited from older religious classes of Indian society, since Brahmanical ascetics and Buddhists resemble them in many of their precepts and institutions.

ii. Jain ethics has for its end the realization of *nirvana* or *moksa*. The necessary condition for reaching this end is the possession of right faith, right knowledge, and right conduct. These three excellences are metaphorically named the 'three jewels' (*triratna*), an expression used also by the Buddhists but in a different sense; they are not produced, but they are manifested on the removal of obstructing or obscuring species of *karma*. To effect this, the rules of conduct must be observed and corresponding virtues must be acquired. Of first importance are the five vows, the first four of which are also acknowledged by Brahmans and Buddhists. The five vows (*vratas*) of the Jains are : (1) not to kill; (2) not to lie; (3) not to steal; (4) to abstain from sexual intercourse; (5) to renounce all interest in worldly things, especially to keep no property. These vows are to be strictly observed by monks, who take them on entering the Order, or, as it is commonly expressed, on taking *diksa*. In their case the vows are called the five great vows (*mahavrata*). Lay people, however, should observe these vows so far as their conditions admit; the five vows of the lay people are called the small vows (*anuvrata*). To explain : not to

kill any living being requires the greatest caution in all actions, considering that nearly everything is believed to be endowed with life. Endless rules have been laid down for monks which aim at preventing the destruction of the life of any living beings whatever. But if a layman were to observe these rules he could not go about his business; he is, therefore, obliged to refrain only from intentionally killing living beings, be it for food, pleasure, gain, or any such purpose. And so it is also with the remaining vows; their rigour is somewhat abated in the case of laymen. A layman, however, may, for a limited time, follow, a more rigorous practice by taking one of the following particular vows or regulations of conduct (*silavrata*) : (1) *digvirati*; he may limit the distance up to which he will go in this or that direction; (2) *anarthadandavirati*; he may abstain from engaging in anything that does not strictly concern him; (3) *upabhagaparibhogoparimana*; he may set a measure to his food, drink, and the things he enjoys, avoiding besides gross enjoyments. (It may be mentioned in passing that certain articles of food, etc. are strictly forbidden to all, monks and laymen alike, e.g. roots, honey, and spirits; and likewise no food may be eaten at night). The preceding three vows are called *gunavrata*; the next four are the disciplinary vows (*siksavrata*) : (4) *desavirata*, reducing the area in which one will move; (5) *samayika*; by this vow the layman undertakes to give up, at stated times, all sinful actions by sitting down motionless and meditating on holy things; (6) *pausadhopavasa*, to live as a monk on the 8th, 14th, or 15th day of the lunar fortnight, at least once a month; (7) *atithisamvibhaga*, lit. to give a share to guests but it is understood in a less literal sense, viz. to provide the monks with what they want.

Most of these regulations of conduct for laymen are intended apparently to make them participate, in a measure and for some time, in the merits and benefits of monastic life without obliging them to renounce the world altogether. The rules for a voluntary death have a similar end in view. It is evident that the lay part of the community were not regarded as outsiders, or only as friends and patrons of the Order, as seems to have been the case in early Buddhism; their position was, from the beginning, well defined by religious duties and privileges; the bond which united them to the Order of monks was an effective one. The state of a layman was one preliminary and, in many cases, preparatory to the state of a monk; in the latter respect, however, a change seems to have come about, in so far as now and for some time past the Order of monks is recruited chiefly from novices entering it at an early age, not from laymen in general. It cannot be doubted that this close union between laymen and monks brought about by the similarity of their religious duties, differing not in kind, but in degree, has enabled Jainism to avoid fundamental changes within, and to resist dangers from without for more than two thousand years, while Buddhism, being less exacting as regards the laymen, underwent the most extraordinary evolutions and finally disappeared altogether in the country of its origin.

A monk on entering the Order takes the five great vows stated above; if they are strictly kept, in the spirit of the five times five clauses or *bhavanās*, no new *karma* can form. But, to practise them effectually, more explicit regulations are required, and these constitute the discipline of the monks. This discipline is described under seven heads.

(1) Since through the activity of body, speech, and

mind, which is technically called *yaga* by the Jains, *karma-matter* pours into the soul (*asrava*) and forms new *karma*, as explained above, it is necessary, in order to prevent the *asrava* (or to effect *samvara*), to regulate those activities by keeping body, speech, and mind in strict control : these are the three *guptis* (e.g. the *gupti* or guarding of the minds consists in not thinking or desiring anything bad; having only good thoughts, etc.). (2) Even in those actions which are inseparable from the duties of a monk, he may become guilty of sin by inadvertently transgressing the great vows (e.g., killing living beings). To avoid such sins he must observe the five *samitis*, i. e. he must be cautious in walking, speaking, collecting alms, taking up or putting down things, and voiding the body; e.g., a monk should in walking look before him for about six feet of ground to avoid killing or hurting any living being; he should, for the same reason, inspect and sweep the ground before he puts anything on it, he should be careful not to eat anything considered to possess life, etc. (3) Passion being the cause of the amalgamation of *karma-matter* with the soul, the monk should acquire virtues. The 4 cardinal vices (*kasaya*) are anger, pride, illusion, and greed; their opposite virtues are forbearance, indulgence, straightforwardness, and purity. Adding to them the following 6 virtues, varacity, restraint, austerities, freedom from attachment to anything, property, and chastity, we have what is called the ten-fold highest law of the monks (*uttamadharm*a). (4) Helpful for the realization of the sanctity of which an earnest searcher of the highest good stands in need are the 12 reflexions (*anupreksha* or *bhavana*) on the transitoriness of all things, on the helplessness of men, on the misery of the world, and similar topics, which



form the subject of endless homilies inserted in their works by Jain authors. (5) Furthermore, it is necessary for a monk, in order to keep in the right path to perfection and to annihilate his *karma*, to bear cheerfully with all that may cause him trouble or annoyance. There are 22 such 'troubles' (*parisaha*) which a monk must endure without flinching, as hunger and thirst, cold and heat, all sorts of trying occurrences, illness, ill treatment, emotions, etc. If we consider that the conduct of the monk is regulated with the purpose of denying him every form of comfort and merely keeping him alive, without, however, the risk of hurting any living beings, it may be imagined to what practical consequences the endurance of the *parisahas* must lead. (6) Conduct (*charitra*) consists in control and is of 5 degrees or phases. In the lowest phase all sinful activities are avoided, and the highest leads to the annihilation of all *karma*, preliminary to final liberation. (7) The last item is asceticism or austerities (*tapas*), which not only prevents the forming of new *karma* (*samvara*), but also purges off the old (*nirjara*), provided that it be undertaken in the right way and with the right intention; for there are also the 'austerities of fools' (*balatapas*) practised by other religious sects, through which temporary merits, such as supernatural powers, birth as a god, etc., can be accomplished but the highest good will never be attained. *Tapas* is, therefore, one of the most important institutions of Jainism. It is divided into (a) external and (b) internal *tapas*; the former comprises the austerities practised by the Jains, the latter their spiritual exercises. (a) Among austerities fasting is the most conspicuous; the Jains have developed it to a kind of art, and reach a remarkable proficiency in it. The usual way of fasting is to eat only one meal

every second, third, fourth day and so on down to half a year. Another form of fasting is starving oneself to death (*maranantiki smalekhana*). Other kinds of abstinence are distinguished from fasting properly so called : reduction of the quantity of daily food; restrictions as regards the kind of food selected from what one has obtained by begging (for monks and nuns must, of course, beg their daily meal and must not eat what has been specially prepared for them); rejection of all attractive food. To the category of external austerities belong also sitting in secluded spots to meditate there and the postures taken up during meditation. The latter item Jain ascetics have in common with Brahmanical Yoga. (b) Internal austerities embrace all that belongs to spiritual discipline, including contemplation—e.g., confessing and repenting of sins. Transgressions of the rules of conduct are daily expiated by the ceremony of *pratikramana*; greater sins must be confessed to a superior (*alochana*) and repented of. The usual penance in less serious cases is to stand erect in a certain position for a given time (*kayotsarga*); but for graver transgressions the superior prescribes other penances—in the worst cases a new ordination of the guilty monks. Other kinds of internal austerities consist in modest behaviour, in doing services to other members of the Order or laymen, in the duty of studying, in overcoming all temptations. But the most important of all spiritual is the concentration of the mind on one object; it cannot be persevered in for longer than one *muhurta* (48 minutes), and is permitted only to persons of a sound constitution. According to the object on which the thoughts are concentrated and the purpose for which this is done, contemplation may be bad or good, and will lead to corresponding results. We are here

concerned only with good contemplation, which is either religious (*dharma*), or pure or bright (*sukla*). The former leads to the intuitive cognition of things hidden to common mortals, especially of religious truths. Indeed, it cannot be doubted that the pretended accuracy of information on all sorts of subjects, such as cosmography, astronomy, geography, spiritual processes, etc., which the sacred book and later treatises contain is in great part due to the intuition which the 'religious contemplation' is imagined to produce. Higher than the latter is the 'pure' contemplation, which leads through four stages to final emancipation : first, single objects are meditated upon, then only one object; then there is the stage when the activities of the body, speech, and mind continue, but only in a subtle form without relapse. At this stage, when the worldly existence rapidly draws towards its end, the remaining *karma* may be suddenly consumed by a kind of explosion called *samudghata*. Then, in the last stage of contemplation, all *karma* being annihilated and all activities having ceased, the soul leaves the body and goes up to the top of the universe, where the liberated souls stay for ever. It must, however, be remarked that 'pure contemplation' is not by itself a means of reaching liberation, but that it is the last link of a long chain of preparatory exertions. Even its first two stages can be realized only by those in whom the passions (*kaṣaya*) are either neutralized or annihilated; and only *kevalins*, i.e., those who have already reached omniscience, can enter into the last two stages, which lead directly to liberation. On the other hand, the *nirvana* is necessarily preceded by 12 years of self-mortification of the flesh, which should be the closing act of Jambusvamin, the disciple of Mahavira's disciple

Sudharman, was the last man who reached *kevala*, or omniscience, and was liberated on his death (64 after Mahavira's Nirvana); accordingly during the rest of the present Avasarpini period nobody will be born who reaches *nirvana* in the same existence. Nevertheless these speculations possess a great theoretical interest, because they afford us a deeper insight into the Jain system.

In this connection we must notice a doctrine to which the Jains attach much importance, viz., the doctrine of the 14 *gunasthanas*, i.e. the 14 steps which, by a gradual increase of good qualities and decrease of *karma*, lead from total ignorance and wrong belief to absolute purity of the soul and final liberation.

In the first stage (*mithyadrsti*) are all beings from the *nigodas* upwards to those men who do not know or do not believe in the truths revealed by the Tirthankaras; they are swayed by the two cardinal passion, love and hate (*raga* and *dvesa*), and are completely tied down by *karma*. In the following stages, as one advances by degrees in true knowledge, in firmness of belief, and in the control and repression of passions, different kinds of *karma* are got rid of and their effects cease, so that the being in question becomes purer and purer in each following stages of *karma* are got rid of and their effects cease, so that the being in question becomes purer and purer in each following stage. In all stages up to the 11th (that of a *upasantakasaya vitaragachchhadmastha*) a relapse may take place and a man may fall even down to the first stage. But as soon as he has reached the 12th stage, in which the first four kinds of *karma* are annihilated (that of a *ksinakasayavitaragachchhadmastha*), he cannot but pass through the last two stages, in which omniscience is reached; in the

13th stage (that of a *sayogikevalin*) the man still belongs to the world and may continue in it for a long period; he retains some activities of body, speech, and mind; but, when all his activities cease, he enters on the last stage (that of an *ayogikevalin*), which leads immediately to liberation, when the last remnant of *karma* has been annihilated.

A question must now be answered which will present itself to every critical reader, viz. Is the *karma*-theory as explained above an original and integral part of the Jain system? It seems so abstruse and highly artificial that one would readily believe it a later developed metaphysical doctrine which was grafted on an originally religious system based on animistic notions and intent on sparing all living beings. But such a hypothesis would be in conflict with the fact that this *karma*-theory, if not in all details, certainly in the main outlines, is acknowledged in the oldest parts of the canon and presupposed by many expressions and technical terms occurring in them. Nor can we assume that in this regard the canonical books represent a latter dogmatic development for the following reason : the terms *asrava*, *samvara*, *nirjara*, etc., can be understood only on the supposition that *karma* is a kind of subtle matter flowing or pouring into the soul (*asrava*), that this influx can be stopped or its inlets covered (*samvara*), and that the *karma*-matter received into the soul is consumed or digested, as it were, by it (*nirjara*). The Jains understand these terms in their literal meaning, and use them in explaining the way of salvation (the *samvara* of the *asravas* and the *nirjara* lead to *moksa*). Now these terms are as old as Jainism. For the Buddhist have borrowed from it the most significant term *asrava*; they use it in very much the same sense as the Jains, but not in its

literal meaning, since they do not regard the *karma* as subtle matter, and deny the existence of a soul into which the *karma* could have an 'influx'. Instead of *samvara* they say *asavakkhaya* (*asravaksaya*), 'destruction of the *asravas*', and identify it with *magga* (*marga*, 'path'). It is obvious that with them *asrava* has lost its literal meaning, and that, therefore, they must have borrowed this term from a sect where it had retained its original significance, or in other words, from the Jains. The Buddhists also use the term *samvara*, e.g., *silasamvara*, 'restraint under the moral law', and the participle *samyuta*, 'controlled,' words which are not used in this sense by Brahmanical writers, and therefore, are most probably adopted from Jainism, where in their literal sense they adequately express the idea that they denote. Thus the same argument serves to prove at the same time that the *karma*-theory of the Jains is an original and integral part of their system, and that Jainism is considerably older than the origin of Buddhism.

*Present State of Jainism* : The Jains, both Digambaras and Svetambaras number, even to the less than ½ per cent of the whole population of India. On account of their wealth and education the Jains are of great importance, however, than might be expected from their number. There are communities of Jains in most towns all over India. The Digambaras are found chiefly in southern India, in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, but also in the North-Western Provinces, U.P. eastern Rajputana, and the Punjab. The headquarters of the Svetambaras are in Gujarat (whence Gujarati has become the common language of the Svetambaras, rather than Hindi) and western Rajputana, but they are

to be found also in small numbers all over Northern and Central India. Very much the same distribution of the Jains as at present seems, from the evidence of the inscriptions, to have prevailed every since the 4th century. Splendid temples bear testimony to the wealth and zeal of the sect, some of which rank among the architectural wonders of India, as those on the hills of Girnar and Satrunjaya, on Mount Abu, In Ellora, and elsewhere.

The outfit of a monk is restricted to bare necessities, and these he must beg; clothes, a blanket, an alms bowl, a stick, a broom to sweep the ground, a piece of cloth to cover his mouth when speaking lest insects should enter it. The nun's outfit is the same except that they have additional clothes. The Digambaras have a similar outfit but keep no clothes and use peacock's feathers instead of the broom. The monks shave the head, or remove the hair by plucking is to be preferred and is necessary at particular times; it is peculiar to the Jains and is regarded by them as an essential rite.

Originally the monks had to lead a wandering life except during the monsoon, when they stayed in one place; compare at to the *vassa* of the Buddhist monks. Thus Mahavira in his wandering stayed for one day only in a village and five days in a town. But this habit has been somewhat changed by the introduction of convents (*upasraya*), corresponding to the *viharas* of the Buddhists.

The *upasrayas* are separate buildings erected by each sect for their monks or nuns. An *upasraya* is a large bare hall without bath-rooms and cooking places, furnished only with wooden beds.

The Svetambaras, as a rule, go only to those places

where there are such *upasrayas* ; and now they stay as long as a week in a village, in a town as long as a month. It is in the *upasraya* that the monk preach or explain sacred texts of laymen who come to visit them. The daily duties of a monk are rather arduous if performed conscientiously; e.g., he should sleep only three hours of the night. His duties consist in repenting of and expiating sins, meditating, studying, begging alms (in the afternoon), careful inspection of his clothes and other things for the removal of insects, for cleaning them, etc. There are various monastic degrees. First there is the novice (*saiksa*), who is not yet ordained. When he or any other man takes the vows (*vrata dana*), he renounces the world (*pravrajya*) and is initiated to take *diksa*. The most important ceremony at that time is the shaving or pulling out of the hair under a tree. From a common monk he may rise to the rank of a teacher and superior called *upadhyaya*, *acharya*, *vichaka*, *ganin*, etc., according to degrees and occupations. In Digambaras *Brahmchari*, *Kshullak*, *Ailak* and *Muni* are the degrees.

The religious duties of the laity have, to some extent, been treated, above. The ideal of conduct is that of the monk, which a layman, of course, cannot realize, but which he tries to approach by taking upon himself particular vows. But the practical life also, apart from asceticism, the Jains possess a body of rules composed by monks which lay out a rational course of life for laymen and tend to improve their welfare and moral standard. The monks have also to provide for the religious wants of the laity by explaining sacred texts or religious treatises and delivering sermons; this is done in the *upasarvayas* where the laymen visit them;



similarly the nuns are visited by, or visit, the lay women. But the most conspicuous habit of the laity is attendance in temples, and worship of the Tirathankaras and the deities associated with them.

We must now advert to a peculiarity of the Jains which has struck all observers more than any other, viz., their extreme carefulness not to destroy any living being, a principle which is carried out to its very last consequences in monastic life, and has shaped the conduct of the laity in a great measure. No layman will intentionally kill any living being, not even any insect, however troublesome; he will remove it carefully without hurting it. It goes without saying that the Jains are strict vegetarians. This principle of not hurting any living being bears them from some professions, e.g., agriculture, and "has thrust them into commerce, and especially into its least elevating branch of money-lending. Most of the money-lending in Western India is in the hands of the Jains, and this accounts in a great measure, both for their unpopularity and for their wealth". A remarkable institution of the Jains, due to their tender regard for animal life, is their asylums for old and diseased animals, the *panjarapolas*, where they are kept and fed till they die a natural death.

*History of Jainism* : The History of the Jain church, in both the Svetambara and the Digambara sections, is chiefly contained in their lists of patriarchs and teachers and in legends concerning them. The oldest list of patriarchs of the Svetambaras is the *Sthaviravali* in the *Kalpasutra*, which begins with Mahavir's disciple Sudharman and ends with the 33rd patriarch Sandilya or Skandila. Of most patriarchs only the names and the *gotra* are given; but there is also an expanded list from the 6th Bhadrabahu, down to the 14th, Vajrasena, which

adds more details, viz., the names of the disciples of each patriarch and of the schools and branches (*gana*, *kula* and *sakha*) founded by or originating with, them. As some of these details are also mentioned in Old Jain inscriptions of the 2nd century. A.D. found at Mathura, this part at least of the Jain tradition is proved to be based on historical facts. Further, more detailed list of patriarchs shows that after the 6th patriarch a great expansion of Jainism took place in the north and north-west of India.

Records which allude to contemporaneous secular history are scant; such as we have in inscriptions and legends refer to kings who had favoured the Jains or were believed to have embraced Jainism. The first patron king of the Jains is said to have been Samprati, grandson of the great emperor Asoka; but this is very doubtful history. A historical fact of the greatest importance for the history of Jainism was the conversion of Kumarapala, king of Gujarat, by Hemachandra.

The sources for the history of the Digambaras are of a similar kind to those of the Svetambaras. The Digambara line of patriarchs is quite distinct from that of their rivals, except that they agree in the names of the first patriarch, Jambu, and the 6th Bhadrabahu, who, according to the Digambaras, emigrated at the head of the true monks towards the South. From Bhadrabahu dates the gradual loss of their sacred literature, as stated above. The inscriptions furnish ample materials for a necessary incomplete history of their ancient schools (*ganas*); but they do not quite agree in all details with the more modern tradition of the *pattavalis*. According to the latter, the main church (*mula-sangha*) was divided into four *ganas*, Nandi, Sena, Simha and Deva, about the end of the 1st century A.D.

## II

<sup>1</sup>The origin and development of the Jaina sect is a subject on which some scholars still think it safe to speak with a sceptical caution though this seems little warranted by the present state of the whole question; for a large and ancient literature has been made accessible and furnishes ample materials for the early history of the sect to all who are willing to collect them. Nor is the nature of these materials such as to make us distrust them.

We know that the Sacred Books of the Jainas are old, avowedly older than the Sanskrit literature which we are accustomed to call classical. Regarding their antiquity, many of those books can view with the oldest books of the Northern Buddhists. As the latter works have been successfully used as materials for the history of Buddha and Buddhism, we can find no reason why we should distrust the Sacred Books of the Jainas as an authentic source of their history. If they were full of contradictory statements or the dates contained in them would lead to contradictory conclusions, we should be justified in viewing all theories based on such materials with suspicion. But the character of the Jain literature differs little in this respect also from the Buddhistic at least from that of the Northern Buddhists. How is it, then, that so many writers are inclined to accord a different age and origin to the Jain sect from what can be deduced from their own literature? The obvious reason is the similarity, real, or apparent which European scholars have discovered between Jainism and

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1. From Jacobi's Introduction to Jaina Sutras. *Acāraṅga Sūtra & Kalpa Sūtra*-Sacred Books of the East Vol. XXII Oxford. 1884.

Buddhism. Two sects, which have so much in common, could not, it was thought, have been independent from each other, but one sect must needs have grown out of or branched off from the other. This a priori opinion has prejudiced the discernment of many critics and still does so. In the following pages I shall try to destroy this prejudice and to vindicate that authority and credit of the Sacred Books of the Jainas to which they are entitled. We begin our discussion with an inquiry about Mahāvira the founder or at least the Last Prophet of the Jaina Church. It will be seen that enough is known of him to invalidate the suspicion that he is a sort of mystical person invented or set up by a younger sect some centuries after the pretended age of their assumed founder.

### **Opinion of Prof. Weber**

Though most scholars do not go the length of denying that Mahāvira and Buddha were different persons, yet some will not admit that this decides the question at issue. Professor Weber in his learned treatise on the Literature of the Jainas<sup>2</sup> says that he still regards "the Jainas merely as one of the oldest sects of Buddhism. 'According to my opinion' he writes 'this is not precluded by the tradition about the origin of its founder having partly made use of another person than Buddha Sākyamuni; nay even of one whose name is frequently mentioned in Buddhist legends as one of Buddha's contemporary opponents. This rather suggests to me that the Jainas intentionally disowned Buddha, being driven to this extremity by the animosity of the sect. The number and importance of coincidences in the

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2. Indische Studien XVI 210.

tradition of either sect regarding their founders is one the whole over-whelming."

Professor Weber's last argument the very one on which he seems to base his history, has, according to my opinion, been fully refuted by our preceding inquiry. this theory, in itself, would require the strongest proof before we could admit it as even probable. Generally, heterodox sects claim to be the most authentic and correct interpreters of the words and tenets of their founders. If a sect begins to recognise another authority than that of the original founder of the main church, it either adopts another faith already in existence or starts a new one. In the first case, the previous existence of the Jaina Faith in some form or other has to be admitted; in the second, we must suppose that the malcontent Buddhists searched in their scriptures for an opponent of Buddha, on whom they might foist their heretical theories—a course in which they were not followed by any other of the many sects of Buddhism. Now, granted for argument's sake, that they really did what they are charged with, they must have proceeded with the utmost dexterity, making use of and slightly altering all occasional hints about the Niganthas and Nātiputta which they were able to hunt up in their ancient scriptures, inventing new facts and fabricating documents of their own, which, to all, not in the secret, would seem just as trust-worthy as those of their opponents. Indeed, the Buddhistical and Jaina traditions about Mahāvīra, the circumstances in, and the people with whom he lived, so very well tally with, complete, and correct each other, that the most natural and plausible way to account for this fact, which our preceding inquiry has established, seems to be that both traditions, are in the main, independent of each other, and record what, at the time

of their attaining a fixed form, was regarded as historical truth.

### **Views of Prof. Lassen.**

We shall now consider the resemblance between Buddhism and Jainism which has struck so many writers on this topic and greatly influenced their opinion regarding their mutual relation.

Professor Lassen adduces four points of coincidence which, according to his opinion, prove that the Jainas have branched off from the Buddhas. We shall discuss them one after the other.

Both sects give the same titles or epithets to their prophets : Jina, Arhat, Mahāvīra, Sarvajña, Sugata, Tathagata, Siddha, Buddha, Sambuddha, Parinivrita, Mukta etc. All these words occur more or less frequently in the writings of both sects, but there is this difference, that with the exception of Jina and perhaps Śramaṇa, the preference is given to some set of titles by one sect, and to another set by the rival sect. e.g. Buddha, Tathāgata, Sugata and Sambuddha are common titles of Sākya Muni, and are only occasionally used as epithets of Mahāvīra. The case is exactly reverse with regard to Vira and Mahāvīra, the usual titles of Vardhamāna. More marked still is the difference with regard to Tirtha-kara-meaning prophet with the Jainas—but founder of an heretical sect with the Bauddhas. What then may be safely inferred from the peculiar choice which either sect made from these epithets and titles? That the Jainas borrowed them from the older Buddhists? I think not. For, if these words had once been fixed as titles or gained some special meaning beyond the one warranted by etymology, they could have been adopted or rejected. But it was not possible that a

word which had acquired some special meaning should have been adopted but used in the original sense by those who borrowed it from the Buddhists. The most natural construction we can put on the facts is, that there was and is, at all times, a number of honorific adjectives and substantives applicable to persons of exalted virtue. These words were used as epithets in their original meaning by all sects; but some were selected as titles for their prophets—a choice in which they were directed either by the fitness of the word itself or by the fact that such or such a word was already appropriated by heterodox sects as a title for their highest authority. Thus, the etymological meaning of Tirtha-kara is founder of a religion-prophet and according this title was adopted by the Jainas and other sects, whereas the Buddhists did not adopt it in this sense but in that of an heterodox or heretical teacher, showing thereby their enmity towards those who used Tirtha-kara as an honorific title. Again, Buddha is commonly used in about the same sense as Mukta—that is a liberated soul—and in this meaning it is still employed in Jaina writings, whilst with the Buddhists, the word has become a title of their prophet. The only conclusion which might be forced from these facts, is that the Buddhists at the time when they formed their terminology were opponents of the Jainas, but not vice versa.

Lassen, as a second argument in favour of the priority of Buddhism adduces the fact that both sects worship mortal men—their prophets—like gods and erect statues of them in their temples. As Buddhism and Jainism excepted none of the many sects, the founders of which pretended, like Buddha or Mahāvira, to Omniscience and Absolute Perfection, have continued

long enough to come within the reach of our knowledge- and all or many of them may, for aught we know, have given the same divine honours to their saints as the Buddhists and Jainas did to their own prophets-it cannot be alleged that the practice of the Buddhists rather than of any other sect was imitated by the Jainas or vice versa. On the contrary, there is nothing in the notion of Buddha that could have favoured the erecting of statues and temples for his followers to worship them, but rather, much that is inconsistent with this kind of adoration; while the Jainas commit no inconsistency in worshipping Mahāvīra in his apotheosis. But I believe that, this worship had nothing to do with original Buddhism or Jainism, that it did not originate with the monks but with lay community when the people in general felt the want of a higher cult than that of their rude deities and demons, and when the religious development of India found in the Bhakti the supreme means of Salvation. Therefore, instead of seeing in Buddhism the originals and in the Jainas the imitators, with regard to the erection of temples and worship of statues, we assume that both sects were, independently from each other, brought to adopt this practice by the perpetual and irresistible influence of the religious development of the people in India.

The *third* point of resemblance between both sects, the stress which is laid on the Ahimsā or not killing of living beings, will be treated more fully in the sequel.

For this reason, I quickly pass over to Professor Lassen's fourth argument viz that the Buddhists and Jainas measure the history of the world by those enormous periods of time which bewilder and awe even the most imaginative fancy. It is true that regarding this, the Jainas out-do the Buddhists, but they have the idea of such periods in common not only with the latter



but also with the Brāhmins. The main features of the chronolonical system of the Jainas equally differ from those of the Buddhists as from those of the Brāhmins. For, it is impossible to derive the Utsarpiṇi and Avasarpiṇi eras with their six aras from the Buddhistic four great and eighty smaller Kalpas, which are as it were the acts and seenes in the drama of the successive creations and dissolutions of the Universe, nor from the Yugas and Kalpas of the Brāhmas. I am of opinion that the Buddhists have improved on the Brāhmanic system of the Yugas, while the Jainas invented their Utsarpiṇi and Avasarpiṇi eras after the model of the day and night of Brahmā.

After having made a careful inquiry about the resemblances Jainism Buddhism and Brāhmanism, relating to the argments of Dr. Colebrooke, Prof. Bühler, Professor Weber, Professor Lassen, and Mr. Barth<sup>3</sup> with regard to the nature of intrinsic principles, the Vows, Rules of Conduct for Ascetics and lay-men, Dvādaśaṅgī, Composition of Sacred Books, Redaction of Canons and a number of other minor subjects the learned Professor Dr. Hermann Jacobi concludes :—"Our discussion which we here close; has not been at any time, violently interrupted by some very extraordinary events; that we can follow this development from its true beginning through its different stages and that Jainism is as much independent from other sects especially from Buddhism, as can be expected from any sect. We must leave to future researches to work out the details, but I hope to have removed the doubts entertained by some scholars, about the independence of the Jaina religion and the value of its sacred books as trustworthy documents for the elucidation of its early history."

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3. *Revue del' Historie des Religions*. Vol. III pp. 90.

# 4

## **Jainism : A Study**

○ Dr. Heinrich Zimmer

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(Dr. Heinrich Zimmer is another German Scholar of Indian classical literature, religious and philosophical works. He stimulated research in Indology and made contributions in mythology, philosophies, symbols and legends connected with Religion, Indian Art and Culture.)

The foundation of Jainism has been attributed by Occidental historians to Vardhmann Mahavira, a contemporary of the Buddha, who died c. 526 B.C. The Jains themselves, however, regard Mahavira not as the first but as the last of their long series of Tirathankaras. The traditional number of these is twenty-four, and their line is supposed to have descended through the centuries from prehistoric times. The earlier of them undoubtedly are mythological, and mythology has been poured abundantly into the biographies of the rest; nevertheless, it is becoming increasingly evident that there must be some truth in the Jain tradition of the great antiquity of their religion. At least with respect to Parsva, the Tirathankara just preceding Mahavira, we have grounds

to believe that he actually lived and taught and was a Jain.

Parsvanatha, 'The Lord Parsva', is supposed to have attained liberation about two hundred and forty-six years before Vardhamana Mahavira, the historic 'founder' of the Jain religion. If 526 B.C. be taken as the year of the Lord Mahavira's gaining of *nirvana*, 772 B.C. may then be said to be that of Parsvanatha's. According to legend, he dwelt in the world for exactly one hundred years, having left home at the age of thirty to become an ascetic; from which it may be concluded that he was born about 872 B.C. and left his palace around 842. Parsvanatha is reckoned as the twenty-third in the legendary series of the Tirathankaras, having entered the world eighty-four thousand years after the *nirvana* of Bhagavan Aristanemi, the twenty-second of this long spiritual line. .... He discovered Kamatha standing—as had been his custom day and night—holding on his upstretched hands a great slab of stone, overcoming by that painful exercise the normal states of human weakness. But when the future Tirathankara bowed in obeisance at his feet, the terrible hermit, beholding this gesture of conciliation, was so filled with rage that he flung down the great stone on Marubhuti's head, killing him as he bowed. The ascetics of the penance-grove, from whom the monster had learned his techniques of self-affliction, expelled him immediately from their company, and he sought refuge among a wild tribe of Bhils. He became a highwayman and murderer and in due course died, following a life of crime.

The grotesque story sets the stage for a long and complicated series of encounters, illustrating the moral theory of rebirth. The wicked Kamatha passes through a number of forms paralleling those of his virtuous,

gradually maturing brother, re-appearing time and again to repeat his sin of aggression, while Marubhuti, the future Tirathankara, becoming more and more harmonious within, gains the power to accept his recurrent death with equanimity. Thus the dark brother of this Jain legend actually serves the light—even as Judas, in the Christian, serves the cause of Jesus. And just as Judas' legendary suicide by hanging parallels the crucifixion of his Lord, so the descents of Kamatha into one or another of the many subterranean Indian hells parallel the complementary ascents of his future saviour into the storeys of the heavens. It must be noted, however, that in India the concepts of hell and heaven differ from those of Christianity; for the individual's residence in them is not eternal. They are, rather, purgatorial stations, representing degrees of realization experienced on the way to the ultimate transcendence of all qualitative existence whatsoever. Hence the dark brother is not, like Judas, eternally damned for his service to the Lord, but in the end is redeemed from his bondage in the spheres of ignorance and pain.

According to our serial of tales, then, though both Kamatha and Marubhuti have died, this death is not to be the end of their adventure. The good king Aravinda, whom Marubhuti had served as minister, was moved, following the death of his officer, to abandon the world and take up the life of a hermit; the cause of his decision being a comparatively insignificant incident. Always pious, he was planning to build a Jain sanctuary, when one day he beheld floating in the sky a cloud that looked like a majestic, slowly moving temple. Watching this with rapt attention, he became inspired with the idea of constructing his place of worship in just that form. So he sent in haste for brushes and paints with which to

set it down; but as he turned again, the form had already changed. A weird thought then occurred to him. "Is the world," he mused, "but a series of such passing states? Why then should I call anything my own? What is the good of continuing in this career of King?" He summoned his son, installed him on the throne, and departed from the kingdom, became an aimless mendicant, and wandered from one wilderness to the next.

And so he chanced, one day, upon a great assemblage of saints in the depths of a certain forest, engaged in various forms of meditation. He joined their company, and had not been among them long when a mighty elephant, running mad, entered the grove—a dangerous event that sent most of the hermits to the four directions. Aravinda, however, remained standing rigidly, in a profound state of contemplation. The elephant, rushing about, presently came directly before the meditating king, but instead of trampling him, became suddenly calm when it perceived his absolute immobility. Lowering its trunk it went down on its great front knees in obeisance. "Why are you continuing in acts of injury?" the voice of Aravinda then was heard to ask. There is no greater sin than that of injuring other beings. Your incarnation in this form is the result of demerits acquired at the moment of your violent death. Give up these sinful acts: begin to practise vows; a happy state will then stand in store for you."

The clarified vision of the contemplative had perceived that the elephant was his former minister, Marubhuti. Owing to the violence of the death and the distressing thoughts that had been harboured in the instant of pain, the formerly pious man was now in his inferior and rabid incarnation. His name was Vajraghosa, "Thundering Voice of the Lightning", and

his mate was the former wife of his adulterous brother. Hearing the voice of the king whom he had served, he recalled his recent human life, took the vows of a hermit, received religious instruction at the feet of Aravinda, and determined to commit no further acts of nuisance. Thenceforward the mighty beast ate but a modicum of grass—only enough to keep its body and soul together; and this saintly diet, together with a programme of austerities, brought it down so much in weight that it became very quite and emaciated. Nevertheless, it never relaxed, even for a moment, from its devout contemplation of the Tirathankaras, those 'Exalted Ones' (*paramesthins*) now serene at the zenith of the universe.

Vajraghosa, from time to time would go to the bank of a nearby river to quench his thirst, and on one of these occasions was killed by an immense serpent. This was his former brother, the perennial antagonist of his career, who having expired in deep iniquity, had been reincarnated in this malignant form. The very sight of the saintly pachyderm proceeding piously to the river stirred the old spirit of revenge, and the serpent struck. Its deadly poison ran like fire through the loose and heavy skin. But in spite of terrific pain, Vajraghosa did not forget his hermit vows. He died the death called, "the peaceful death of absolute renunciation", and was born immediately in the twelfth heaven as the god Sasi-prabha, 'Splendor of the Moon'.

This completes a little cycle of three saintly lives (human, animal and heavenly), matched by three of the antagonist (human, animal and infernal), everything about the brothers having been in contrast, even their asceticism. For the rigorous practices of the revengeful Kamatha had been undertaken not to transcend, but to

guarantee, the projects of ego, whereas those of the pious Vajraghosa represented a spirit of absolute self-abnegation. Vajraghosa, it should be observed, was here the model of the pious devotee in the earlier stages of religious experience; he was what in Christianity would be termed one of God's sheep. The ideal in India, however, is to begin but not to remain in this simple devotional plane; and so the lives of the future Tirathankara roll on.

"Splendor of the Moon", the happy deity, dwelt amidst the abundant pleasures of his heaven for sixteen oceans (*sagaras*) of time, yet did not relapse even there from the regular practice of pious acts. He was reborn, therefore, as a fortunate prince named Agnivega ('Strength of Fire'), who, on the death of his father, ascended the throne of his domain.

One day a homeless sage appeared, asking to converse with the young king, and he discoursed on the way to liberation. Immediately Agnivega experienced an awakening of the religious sense, and the world abruptly lost its charm for him. He joined his teacher's monastic following and through the regular practice of graduated penances diminished within himself both his attachment and his aversion to worldly things, untill at last all was supplanted by a sublime indifference. Then he retired to a cave in the high Himalayas and there, stepped in the profoundest contemplation, lost all consciousness of the external world—but while in this state was again sharply bitten by a snake. The poison burned; but he did not lose his peaceful equilibrium. He welcomed death and expired in a spiritual attitude of sublime submission.

The serpent, of course, was again the usual enemy, who, following his murder of the elephant, had

descended to the fifth hell where the sufferings for a period of sixteen oceans of time had been indescribable. Then he had returned to the earth, still in the form of a snake and at the sight of Agnivega again committed his characteristic sin. The hermit-king, at the very moment of his death, was elevated to the status of a god, this time for a period of twenty-two oceans of years; but the serpent descended to the sixth hell, where its torments were even greater than in the fifth.

Once again a cycle has been completed; this time comprising one earthly life and one heavenly-and-infernal interlude. The pattern of three in the early cycle gave stress to the earthly transformation of an individual whose centre of spiritual gravity had just been shifted from material to spiritual things. For Marubhuti, the virtuous brother and the trusted minister of the king, was a man of noble disposition in the service of the state, whereas Vajraghosa stood at the beginning of a career specifically saintly. Though apparently on a lower plane than the king's minister, the elephant was actually on the first step of a higher series : the sudden death of the man of affairs and the birth, then, of the childlike, wild but tractable lamb-elephant of God symbolizing precisely the crisis of one who has undergone a religious conversion. This crisis begins the series of the soul's mighty strides to the height, the first step being that of spiritual realization—as in the life, just reported, of the kingly hermit, Agnivega; the second that of the *Chakravartin*, bringer of peace on earth; the third a lifetime of miraculous holiness; and the last the step of the Tirathankara, breaking of the way to the transcendental ceiling of the world.

And so this tale of transformations goes on now to recount, with another sudden shift of circumstance, how



Queen Laksmivati, the pure and lovely consort of a certain king named Vajravirya ("having the Hero-Power of the Thunderbolt") dreamt in one night five auspicious dreams, from which her husband deduced that some god was about to descend to become his son. Within the year she gave birth to a boy, and on his beautiful little body were found the sixty-four auspicious signs of the *Chakravartin*. He was named Vajranabha ("Diamond Navel"), became proficient in every branch of learning, and in due time began to rule the realm. The world wheel (*chakra*) lay among the weapons in his royal treasury in the form of a discus of irresistible force; and he conquered the four quarters of the earth with this weapon, compelling all other kings to bow their heads before his throne. He also acquired the fourteen supernatural jewels that are the marks of the glory of the *Chakravartin*. And yet, surrounded though he was by supreme splendour, he did not forget for so much as a day the precepts of morality, but continued in his worship of the Tirathankaras and of the living Jain preceptors—fasting, praying, practising vows, and performing numerous acts of mercy. A hermit whose name was Ksemankara, therefore, came to court; and the *Chakravartin*, hearing the holy man's delectable words, was released from his last attachment to the world. He renounced his throne and wealth, and departed to practise holy penances in the wilderness, absolutely fearless, of the howls of the elephants, jackals and forest goblins.

But his old enemy had returned to the world, this time as a Bhil, a wild tribesman of the jungle. And in due course the savage hunter chanced upon the place of the meditating former *Chakravartin*. The sight of the saintly being in meditation aroused again the ancient

hatred. The Bhil remembered his last human incarnation, became fired with a passion for revenge, notched his keenest arrow to the bowstring, aimed and let fly. Vajranabha died peacefully, absolutely unperturbed. And so he ascended to one of the very highest celestial spheres—he so-called *Madhyagraiveyaka* heaven, which is situated in the middle (*madhya*) of the neck (*griva*) of the human-shaped world-organism—and there he became an *Aham-Indra* ("I am Indra"); whereas the Bhil, when he died, since he was full of vile and sinful thoughts, descended to the seventh hell-again for a period of indescribable pain.

The next appearance of the future *Chakravartin* was in the person of a prince of the Ikshvaku family (the ruling house of Ayodhya), and his name was Anandakumara. Remaining always a perfect Jain and fervent worshipper of the Tirthankaras, he became the King of Kings over an extensive empire. Years passed. Then while standing one day before his looking glass, he perceived that one of his hairs had turned gray. Immediately, he completed arrangements to have his son assume the throne and himself initiated into the order of the Jain ascetics and so he quit the world. His preceptor, this time, was a great sage named Sagaradatta, under whom (and thanks to an unflinching practice of all the prescribed austerities) he became possessed of superhuman powers. Wherever he went, the trees bent with the weight of fruits, there was no grief or sorrow, the tanks were filled with blooming lotuses and clearest water and the lions frolicked harmlessly with the fawns. Anandakumara passed his time in meditation, the atmosphere for miles around him being full of peace. The birds and animals flocked about him

without fear. But then one day the royal saint was set upon by an unquelled lion (the old enemy) who tore him to pieces and ate him up completely. The death was met, however, with perfect calm. He was reborn in the thirteenth heaven as its Indra, the supreme king of gods.

The future saviour remained up there for twenty oceans of years, far aloft among the heavenly mansions, yet always restrained himself like a true Jain, practising moral acts with uninterrupted concentration. His detachment from the senses and their pleasures had matured to such a degree that he could withstand even the temptation of the most subtle heavenly delights. He worshipped the Tirathankaras, who were still far above him and gave example to the gods of the light of the true faith. He was, indeed, more like their spiritual teacher and saviour than their king. And so it was evident that he was now prepared to enact the supreme role of a saviour of gods and men. Only once again should he ever descend to earth; this time for that final incarnation which was to mark the culmination of his progress through the round of birth and death.

It is recorded that the Indra of the Hall *Sudharma* (the celestial storey nearest the earth) addressed Kubera, the lord of goblins, who controls all the treasures of jewels and precious stones hidden in the mountains : "The Indra of the thirteenth heaven, high above me, soon will descend to earth and become incarnate as the son of the king of Benares. He will be the twenty-third Tirathankara of India. Be pleased, therefore, to rain down the Five Wonders on the kingdom of Benares and on the pious monarch and the faithful queen who are to become the parents of the Tirathankara."

Thus was announced the beginning of that incarnation (in the main perhaps historical) which we

considered briefly at the opening of our chapter. Kubera, the goblin king, prepared to execute the command and as a result of his activities there came down from the sky every day, during the six months preceding the descent of the saviour Parsvanatha to the womb of the queen, on less than thirty-five million of diamond-pieces, flowers from the wish-fulfilling trees in the celestial gardens of the gods, showers of clear water of the sweetest fragrance, divine sounds from the great drums of the most auspicious rainclouds and the sweet music of the singing of the deities of the sky. The splendour of Benares increased a thousand-fold and the joy of the people knew no bounds. For such are the portents that always signal the beginning of the cosmic sacred ceremonies that celebrate the appearance on earth of a Tirathankara. The entire world rejoices and participates, with the gods, as chorus, glorifying each sublime event in this great culmination of the life-monad's career to perfection, omniscience and release.

On a supremely auspicious night, the lovely Queen Vama dreamt fourteen auspicious dreams and the moment King Asvasena was informed of them he understood that his son would be a saviour—either a *Chakravartin* or a Tirathankara. The pure monad came down to the royal womb of its last earthly mother in the auspicious spring month known as *Vaisakha*, descending amidst celestial celebrations and the moment it imparted life to the embryo, which had already been three months in the womb (this being the moment of its reception of its own life), the thrones of all the Indras trembled in the heavens and the expectant mother experienced the first motion of her child. The deities came down in palatial aerial cars and entering the royal city, celebrated the First *Kalyana*, "the salutary event of

the enlivening of the embryo through the descent of the life-monad into its material body" (*garbha-kalyana*). Seating the king and queen on thrones, they joyfully poured sacred water on them from a golden pitcher, offering prayers to the great being within the womb; and Benares resounded with divine music. The foremost goddesses of heaven were delegated to care for the pregnant lady; and to please her they would converse with her on various entertaining themes. For example, they would playfully propose difficult questions for her to answer, but the queen could always reply immediately; for she had within her no less a personage than the conqueror of omniscience. Moreover, throughout the period of her blessed pregnancy, she was undisturbed by pain.

When the son was born the thrones of all the Indras trembled and the gods understood that the Lord had seen the light of day. With pomp they descended for the celebration of the Second *Kalyana*, "the salutary event of the Saviour's birth" (*jamma-kalyan*). The child was of a beautiful blue-black complexion, grew rapidly in beauty and young strength and as a boy, enjoyed travelling from place to place on horse-back and on the great royal elephants. He frequently sported in the water with the water-gods and in the forest with the gods of the trees and hills. But in all this childlike play—though indulged in it with the greatest spirit—there was manifest the pure moral sweetness of his extraordinary nature. He assumed and began to practise the twelve basic vows of the adult Jain householder when he reached the age of the eight.

Now Parsva's maternal grandfather was a king named Mahipala, who when his wife died, became so disconsolate that he renounced his throne and retired

to the wilderness to practice the severest disciplines known to the penitential groves. There was, however, no real spirit of renunciation in his passionate man. He was an example of that archaic type of cruel asceticism—self-centred though directed to lofty ends—which the Jain ideal of compassion and self-renunciation was intended to supersede. With matted locks and a deerskin loin cloth, full of passion and the darkness of ignorance, storing tremendous energies through self-inflicted sufferings, Mahipala moved from forest to forest, until one day he was in the neighbourhood of Benares, practising a particularly arduous spiritual exercise known as the penance of the 'Five Fires'. It was here that he was accidentally encountered by his grandson, the beautiful child of his lovely daughter Vama.

The boy came riding on an elephant, surrounded by the play-mates with whom he had entered the jungle and when the lively company broke upon the grim solitude of the passion-ridden old hermit among the fires, Mahipala was beside himself. He cried out to the prince, whom he immediately recognized : "Am I not your mother's father? Was I not born of an illustrious family and have I not given up all to betake myself to the wilderness? Am I not an anchorite, practising here the severest possible penances? What a proud little fellow you are, not to greet me with a proper salutation."

Parsva and the company halted in amazement.

The old man then got up and seized an axe, which he prepared to bring down on a huge piece of timber—no doubt to work off something of his temper, but ostensibly to cut fuel for his great system of fires. But the boy shouted to make him stop; then explained : "There are dwelling in that log a serpent and his mate; do not murder them for nothing."

Mahipala's state of mind was not improved by this peremptory advice. He turned and demanded with searing scorn : "And who are you? Brahma? Vishnu? Siva? I perceive that you can see everything, no matter where." He raised his axe and deliberately brought it down. The log was split. And there were the two serpents, cut in half.

The boy's heart bled when he beheld the writhing, dying creatures. "Do you not feel compassion?" he demanded of the old man. "Grandfather, you are without knowledge. These austerities of yours are absolutely worthless."

Mahipala, at that, lost all control. "I see, I see, I see !" he cried, "You are a sage, a very great sage. But I am your grandfather. Besides, I am a hermit, I practise the penance of the Five Fires. I stand for days on one leg with lifted arms. I suffer hunger, thirst; break my fast only with dry leaves. Surely it is proper that a youngster, such as you, should call the austerities of his grandfather fruitless and unwise."

The little prince answered firmly, but in a sweet and wonderfully gentle tone, "The spirit of envy," he said, "infects all of your practices; and you are killing animals here every day with your fires. To injure others, even if only a little, is to be guilty of a great sin; but great suffering is the consequence even of a little sin. Such practices as yours, divorced as they are from right knowledge, are as barren as chaff separated from grain. Give up this meaningless self-torture; follow the way of the Tirathankara and perform right acts, in right faith and right knowledge : for that is the only road to emancipation."

The Lord Parsva then chanted a hymn to the dying serpents and they expired in his presence calmly. He

returned to his palace and they—following such a meritorious death—were—immediately reborn in the underworld : the male was now Dharamendra, “Lord of the Earth” (the cosmic snake, Sesa, who supports the earth on his head), and the female, Padmavati (the goddess Lakshmi). They enjoyed unbounded delight.

Crotchety old Mahipala, it must now be told, was none other than the wicked brother. As a lion, he had slain and eaten the saviour at the end of his previous incarnation and in consequence had been hurled to the sufferings of the fifth hell, where he had remained for a period of seventeen oceans of time. After that, for a period of three oceans of time, he had passed through a number of incarnations in the forms of quadrupeds, during the last of which he performed certain meritorious acts and in reward he was reborn as this old ruffian. But the words of the grandson bore no fruit. The hermit continued in his unproductive practices and at last expired.

The prince grew to young manhood and when he arrived at the age of sixteen his father wished to procure for him a bride, but the youth rejected the idea. ‘My life’, he said, “is not to be as long as that of the first Tirathankara, the Lord Risabha; for I am to live to be only one hundred. Sixteen of my short years have already been whiled away in boyish play, whereas in my thirtieth I am to enter the Order. Should I marry for a period so brief, in the hope of knowing a few pleasures, which, after all, are but imperfect?”

The king understood. His son was preparing for the Great Renunciation; all efforts to restrain him would be in vain.

The young man thought within his heart, which now was filled with the spirit of renunciation: “For many



long years I enjoyed the status of an Indra; yet the lust for pleasure was not abated. Of what use will a few drops of earthly water be to one whose thirst was not quenched by an ambrosial ocean? The desire for pleasure is only heightened by enjoyment, as the virulence of fire by the addition of fuel. Pleasures at the moment are undoubtedly pleasurable, but their consequences are bad; for to satisfy the cravings of the senses, one is forced to range in the realms of pain, paying no heed to moral injunctions and indulging in the worst vices. Hence the soul is compelled to migrate from birth to birth, entering even into the kingdom of the beasts and passing through the spheres of the sufferings of hell. Therefore, I shall waste no more of my years in the vain pursuits of pleasure."

The future Tirathankara thereupon entered the 'Twelve Meditations' and perceived that the chain of existences is without beginning, as well as painful and impure and that the self is its own only friend. The thrones of all the Indras trembled in the heavens and the gods descended to celebrate the Third *Kalyana*, "the salutary event of the Renunciation" (*sannyasa kalyana*). They addressed themselves to the young saviour. "The world," they said, "sleeps heavily, enveloped in a cloud of illusion. This is the sleep that will not be dispelled except by the clarion-call of your teaching. You, the Enlightened, the waker of the infatuated soul, are the Saviour, the great sun before whom the lamplike words of mere gods, such as ourselves, are insignificant. You are to do now what you have come to do, namely, assume the vows, annihilate the *karma*-foe, dispel the darkness of unknowing and open the road to bliss." The scattered heavenly flowers at his feet.

Four Indras descended, together with their retinues; celestial trumpets blew; the nymphs of heaven began to sing the dance; deities cried out, "Victory to the Lord" and the Indra of the *Sudharma*-heaven conducted Parsva to a throne, which had miraculously appeared. Just as a king, at the culminating moment of the ceremonial of the "King's Quickening" (*rajasuya*) is consecrated by an aspersion of water, so was Parsva by an elixir from the divine Milky Ocean, which was poured from a pitcher of gold. His body then being adorned with celestial ornaments, he returned to his parents to take his leave of them and he consoled them with gentle words. The gods thereafter conducted him in a heavenly palanquin to the forest.

The company halted beneath a certain tree and Parsva, descending from the palanquin, took his stand upon a stone slab. The tumult of the multitude subsided as, with his own hands, he began to remove his ornaments and garments, one by one. When he was completely naked, renunciation filled his heart. He faced the north and with folded hands bowed in honour of the Emancipated Ones, having divested himself of desire. Plucking from his head five hairs, he bestowed them on Indra. The god accepted these and returning to his heaven, reverently tossed them to the Milky Ocean. Thus during the first quarter of the eleventh bright day of the moon of the months of *Pausa* (December-January), the saviour assumed his final vows. Standing in a rigid posture, fasting with absolute endurance and observing with perfect care the twenty-eight primary and the ninety-four secondary rules of the Order, Parsva became possessed of what is termed the *manahparyaya* knowledge: the knowledge of others, thoughts. Lions and fawns played about him, together while in every part of the forest was a reign of peace.

The great goal, however, was not to be attained without further event; for the antagonist had yet to deal his final stroke. One day, while the saviour was standing perfectly still, erect, absorbed in meditation, the car of a god of luminary order, Samvara by name, was stopped abruptly in its airy course—for not even a god can cut through the radiance of a saint of Parsva's magnitude, absorbed in meditation. Samvara, since he had clairvoyant knowledge, realized what had occurred; but then, suddenly, he knew that the saint was Parsvanatha.

Now the personage in the chariot antagonist again—was the this time in the form of a minor deity, in consequence of powers gained by the penances of old Mahipala. The annoyed god determined, therefore, to resume his ancient battle, making use this time of the supernatural forces that he commanded. And so he brought down a dense and terrible darkness and conjured up a howling cyclone. Tress splintered and hurtled through the air. The earth was rent, opening with a roar and the high peaks fell, shattering to dust; a torrential rain descended. Yet the saint remained unmoved, serene, absolutely lost in his meditation. The god, exceedingly wrathful, became as hideous as he could: face black, mouth vomiting fire and he was like the god of death, garlanded with a necklace of human heads. When he rushed at Parsva, gleaming in the night, he shouted fiercely: 'Kill, Kill' but the saint never stirred.

The whole subterranean domain of the serpent supporting the earth began to tremble and the great Dharanendra, "King of Earth", said to his consort, the goddess Padmavati: "That compassionate Lord to whose sweet teachings at the time of our death we owe our present splendour is in danger," The two came up, made obeisance to the Lord, who remained unaware of the

arrival and stationing themselves at either side of him, lifting their prodigious forms, spread out their hoods, so that not a drop of the torrent touched his body. The apparitions were so large and terrifying that the god Samvara turned in his chariot and fled.

Parsva then broke the fetters of his *karma* one by one and became absorbed in the White Contemplation, by which even the last and slightest traces of human desire for advantage are dissolved. During the auspicious fourteenth day of the waning moon in the month of *Chaitra* (March-April), the last of the sixty-three ties associated with the four modes of destructive *karma*, broke and the universal saviour gained pure omniscience. He had entered the thirteenth stage of psychical development; he was "emancipated though embodied". From that instant, every particle of the universe was within the purview of his mind.

His chief apostle, Svayambhu, prayed respectfully that the Tirathankara should teach the world and the gods prepared an assembly hall of twelve parts, which was named the "Flocking Together" (*samavasarana*, in which there was an allotted place for every species of being. The multitudes that came were tremendous. And to all without distinction—quite in contrast to the way of the Brahmans—the compassionate Lord Parsva gave his purifying instruction. His voice was a mysteriously divine sound. The highest Indra desired him to preach the true religion even to the most distant parts of India and he consented to do so. Wherever he went a "Flocking Together" was erected and it was immediately filled.)

Samvara thought : "Is the Lord then truly such an unfailing source of happiness and peace?" He came to one of the vast halls and listened. Parsva was teaching. And all at once the spirit of hostility that had persisted

through the incarnations was appeased. Overwhelmed with remorse, Samvara flung himself at the feet of Parsvanatha with a cry. And the Tirathankara, inexhaustible in his kindness, gave consolation to the one who from birth to birth had been his foe. Samvara's mind, by his brother's grace, opened to right vision; he was placed on the way to liberation. Along with him, seven hundred and fifty ascetics who had been stiff-necked in their devotion to cruel penances—which, according to the Jain view, are useless—gave up their futile practices and adopted the faith of the Tirathankara.

Parsvanatha taught for sixty-nine years and eleven months and finally, having preached throughout the lands of India, came to the Sammeda hill. He had been in the second stage of contemplation up to this time. He now passed on to the third stage. A month elapsed and he remained absorbed.

The period of the human life of the Tirathankara was about to end. When no more of it remained than would have sufficed for the utterance of the five vowels, Parsvanatha passed into the fourth stage of contemplation. Seventy years before, his destructive *karmas* had been destroyed; now the eighty-five ties associated with the four modes of non-destructive *karma* were annihilated. This took place on the seventh day of the waxing moon of *Sravana* (July-August) and the Lord Parsva passed immediately to his final liberation. His life-moṇad rose to Siddha-sita, the peaceful region of eternal bliss at the summit of the universe, while his corpse reposed on the summit of the sacred hill.

With their various *Indras* in the lead, the gods came down to celebrate the Fifth and Last *Kalyana*, "the salutary event of the Liberation" (*moksa-kalyana*). They

took up the mortal remains on a diamond palanquin, worshipping them reverently, poured sweet-scented substances on the sacred body and bowed in obeisance. Then from the head of the god Agni-Kumara ("The Youthful Prince Fire") a blaze of heavenly flame shot forth and the body was consumed. The gods, following this cremation, rubbed the sacred ashes on their heads and breasts and marched to their celestial places with triumphant songs and dances.

To this day Mount Sammeda is known as the Hill of Parsvanatha, reminding the people thus of the twenty-third Jain Tirathankara, who attained his liberation there and thence departed to Siddha-sita never to return.

There are a number of close correspondences between this legend of the last life of Parsvanatha and the biography of the Lord Buddha. Moreover, certain images of the Buddha, showing him protected by a serpent, can hardly be distinguished from those of the Jain, Tirathankara. Unquestionably the two religions share a common tradition. The births of the two saviours are much the same; so too are the anecdotes of the marvellous knowledge they displayed as children. Soothsayers foretold for each the career of a *Chakravartin* or of a World Redeemer. Both grew up as princes, but departed from their fathers' palaces to the forest to engage in similar enterprises of ascetic self-realization. And in the culminating episodes of the biographies—the attainment of fulfilment—Samvara's attack on Parsvanatha corresponds to that of Mara, the god of desire and death, on the meditating Gautama Sakyamuni.

For, as we are told, when the Future Buddha had taken his place beneath the Bodhi Tree, on the Immovable Spot, the god whose name is both Mara

(‘Death’) and Kama (‘Desire’) challenged him, seeking to move him from his state of concentration. In the character of Kama, he deployed the world’s supreme distraction before the meditating saviour, in the form of three tempting goddesses together with their retinues and when these failed to produce the usual effect, restored to his terrible form of Mara. With a mighty host he attempted to terrify and even slay the Buddha—causing mighty storms of wind, showers of rain, flaming rocks, weapons, live coals, host ashes, sand, boiling mud and finally a great darkness to assail him. But the Future Buddha was not moved. The missiles became flowers as they entered the field of his concentration. Mara hurled a keen discus, but it changed into a canopy of blossoms. Then the god challenged the right of the Blessed One to be sitting there, beneath the Bodhi Tree, on the Immovable Spot; whereupon the Future Buddha only touched the earth with the tips of the fingers of his right hand and the earth thundered, testifying : “I bear you witness” with a hundred, a thousand, a hundred thousand roars. Mara’s army dispersed and all the gods of the heavens descended with garlands, perfumes and other offerings in their hands.

That night, while the Bodhi Tree beneath which he sat rained down red blossoms, the saviour acquired in the first watch the knowledge of his previous existences, in the middle watch the divine eye and in the last the understanding of dependent origination. He was now the Buddha. The ten thousand worlds quaked twelve times, as far as to the ocean shores. Flags and banners broke from every quarter. Lotuses bloomed on every tree. And the system of the ten thousand worlds was like a bouquet of flowers sent whirling through the air.

Obviously this final victory closely resembles that of Parsvanatha, except that the serpent, “Lord of the

Earth", has not yet appeared. Instead, the Earth herself defends the hero. However, the Buddha legend goes on to relate that the Blessed one sat cross-legged seven days at the foot of the Bodhi tree following this achievement' enjoying the bliss of emancipation, then moved to the Banyan Tree of the Goatherd, where he sat another seven days and next moved to the so-called Mucalinda Tree. Now Mucalinda was the name of a great serpent and his abode was among the roots of this very tree. While the Buddha was experiencing there the beatitude of enlightenment, there appeared a mighty thunderhead out of season, a cold wind blew and rain began to pour. "Then issued Mucalinda, the serpent-king, from his abode and enveloping the body of the Blessed One seven times with his folds, spread his great hood above his head, saying : 'Let neither cold nor heat, nor gnats, flies, wind, sunshine, nor creeping creatures come near the Blessed One!' Then, when seven days had elapsed and Mucalinda, the serpent-king, knew that the storm had broken up and that the clouds had gone, he unwound his coils from the body of the Blessed One. And changing his natural appearance into that of a young man, he stood before the Blessed One and with his hands joined to his forehead did reverence to the Blessed One."

The precise relationship of the Jain and the Buddhist versions cannot be reconstructed. Both may have originated from the simple circumstance that when the wealthy lay folk of the two denominations began employing craftsmen to fashion images of their saviours, the principal models for the new works of art had to be supplied by older Indian prototypes, chief among which were the *yaksa* and the *naga*—patterns of the wise superhuman being endowed with miraculous insight and power that had figured prominently in the household cult of



India from time immemorial. These were popularly regarded as protecting genii and bringers of prosperity. Their forms appear on every doorpost and on most local shrines. Yaksas (the earth and fertility spirits) are represented as robust standing genii, though generally depicted in human shape also, frequently have the head protected by a giant serpent hood. When the artist-craftsmen who for centuries had been supplying images for the general needs of Indian household worship added to their catalogue the figures of the sectarian saviours, Parsva and the Buddha, they based their conceptions on the older forms and sometimes suppressed, but sometimes also retained, the superhuman serpent attributes. These characteristic signs of the supernatural being seem to have supplied the model for the later Buddhist halo; and it is by no means improbable that the special legends of Dharanendra and Mucalinda came into existence simply as later explanations of the combination of the figures of the serpent and the saviour in Jain and Buddhist images.

The Jain version of the legend is more dramatic than the Buddhist and gives the serpent a more important role. Still more striking are those Jain images of Parsvanatha that represent him with two serpents sprouting from his shoulder; these point to a connection of some kind with ancient Mesopotamian art and suggest something of the great antiquity of the symbols incorporated in the Jain cult. In the Near East, following the period of the teaching of Zoroaster (first part of the first millennium B.C.), when the Persian pantheon was systematized in terms of good (heavenly) versus evil (earthly) powers, the serpent became classified among the latter. As such, we find him not only in the Hebrew Bible in the role of Satan, but also in late Persian art

and legend as the Dahhak—the great tyrant villain of Firdausi's medieval Persian epic, *Shahnamah* (1010 A.D.). In the latter role, the figure is represented in human form with serpents springing from his shoulders, looking much like an evil or frightful brother of Parsvanatha.

The first of the twenty-four Jain Tirathankaras, Rsabhanatha, who is supposed to have lived and taught in the remotest prehistoric past was a perfect saint, completely detached from worldly bondage because he was absolutely purified of the elements of *karma* that colour and deform our normal human lives. By means of prolonged penances and abstentions the Jain saint systematically purges himself not only of his egotistical reactions but also of his biological physicality. And so it is said of him that his body is "of a miraculous beauty and of a miraculously pure fragrance. It is not subject to disease and is devoid of perspiration as well as of all the uncleanness originating from the processes of digestion". It is a body akin to those of the gods, who do not feed on gross food, do not perspire and never know fatigue. "The breath of the Tirathankaras is like the fragrance of water lilies; their blood is white, like milk fresh from the cow." Hence they are of the hue of alabaster—not hellow, rosy or darkish, like people whose veins are filled with blood that is red. "And their flesh is devoid of the smell of flesh."

This is what is expressed through both the material and the posture of the Jain statue of the first saviour. The stone is milk-white, shining as with a milky glow of divine light, while the rigid symmetry and utter immobility of the stance render a statement of spiritual aloofness. A Tirathankara is represented preferably, if not seated in *yoga* posture, then standing in this attitude

of 'dismissing the body' (*kayotsarga*)—rigid, erect and immobile, with arms held stiffly down, knees straight and the toes directly forward. The ideal physique of such a superman is compared to the body of a lion : powerful chest and shoulders, not hips, slim feling buttocks, a tall pillar-like abdomen and strong toes and fingers, elongated and well formed. The chest broad and smooth from shoulder to shoulder, fully expanded and without the least hollowness, shows the effect of prolonged breathing exercises, practised according to the rules of *yoga*. Such an ascetic is termed a 'hero' (*vira*), for he has achieved the supreme human victory; this is the sense of the title Mahavira, "the great (*mahan*) hero (*vira*)," which was bestowed on the Buddha's contemporary, Vardhamana, the twenty-fourth Tirathankara. The saint is also termed Jina, the 'victor', and his disciples, therefore, Jainas, the "followers or sons of the victor".

In ancient times the Jain monks went about completely naked, having put away all those caste marks and particularizing tokens that are of the essence of India costume and symbolize the wearer's involvement in the web of human bondage. Later on, in Mahavira's period, many assumed a white garment as a concession to decency and termed themselves Svetambara, "those whose garment (*ambara*) is white (*sveta*)". This raiment denoted their ideal of alabaster-like purity and so was not too great a departure from the heroic mode of the conservatives, who continued to style themselves Digambars, "those whose garment (*ambara*) is the element that fills the four quarters of space (*dig*)". The Tirathankaras are, therefore sometimes depicted naked and sometimes clad in white. Rsabhanatha in the alabaster monument wears a thin silken robe, covering his hips and legs.

But there is a special problem that arises in Jain iconography as a result of the drastic purity of the ideal of the Tirathankara. The sculptor cannot be allowed to damage the sense of his representation by modifying in any way of the perfect isolation—monads are to be represented without fault. How, then, is the worshipper to distinguish one of these 'victors' from another, since all—having transcended the sphere of time, change and specification—are as alike as so many certified eggs? The solution to the difficulty was the simple one of providing every image with an emblem that should refer either to the name or to some distinctive detail of the legend of the Tirathankara intended. This is why the statue of Rsabhanatha—literally "Lord (*natha*) Bull rsabha" shows a little zebu-bull beneath the saviour's feet. The effect of such a juxtaposition is that in dramatic contrast to these accompanying figures, which are in reminiscence of the world and life from which the Tirathankara has withdrawn, the majestic aloofness of the perfected, balanced, absolutely self-contained figures of the saint becomes emphasized in its triumphant isolation. The image of the released one seems to be neither animate nor inanimate, but pervaded by a strange and timeless calm. It is human in shape and feature, yet as inhuman as an icicle; and thus expresses perfectly the ideas of successful withdrawal from the round of life and death, personal cares, individual destiny, desires, sufferings and events. Like a pillar of some supraterrrestrial, unearthly substance, the Tirathankara, the "Crossing-Maker", the breaker of the path across the stream of time to the final release and bliss of the other shore, stands supernally motionless, absolutely unconcerned about the worshipping, jubilant crowds that throng around his feet.

At Sravana Belgola, Hasan District, Mysore, is a colossal figure of this king that was erected about 983 A.D. by Chamundaraya, the minister of King Rajamalla of the Ganga dynasty. It is hewn from a vertical rock needle, a prodigious monolith, on a hilltop four hundred feet above the town. The image measures fifty-six and one-half feet in height and thirteen feet around the hips and is thus one of the largest free-standing figures in the world; the feet are placed on a low platform. The saviour represented is indicated by vines clambering up his body, which refer to an episode in the biography of Gommata (also called Bahubali. "strong of arms") the son of the first Tirathankara, Rsabhanatha. He is supposed to have stood unflinchingly for a year in his yoga posture. The vines crept up to his arms and shoulders; anthills arose about his feet; he was like a tree or rock of the wilderness. To this day the entire surface of this statue is anointed every twenty-five years with melted butter, as a result of which it still looks fresh and clean.

There is a legend to the effect that the image goes back to a date much earlier than 983 A.D., and that for ages it was forgotten, the memory of its location being completely lost. Bharata, the first of India's mythical *Chakravartins*, is supposed, according to this account, to have erected it; Ravana, the fabulous chieftain of the demons of Ceylon, paid it worship; and when it passed thereafter, from the memory of man, it became covered with earth. The old legend tells us that Chamundarya was informed of its existence by a travelling merchant and so made a pilgrimage to the sacred place with his mother and a few companions. When the party arrived, a female earth-divinity, the *yaksini* Kusmandi, who had been an attendant of the Tirathankara Aristanemi

manifested herself and pointed out the hidden site. Then, with a golden arrow. Chamundarya split the hill and the colossal figure could be seen. The earth was cleared away and craftsmen were brought to cleanse the image and restore it.

The emblems of the Tirathankara are as follows :

1. Rsabha, bull. 2. Ajita, elephant. 3. Sambhava, horse.
4. Abhinandana, ape. 5. Sumati, heron. 6. Padmaprabha, red lotus. 7. Suparsva, swastika, 8. Chandraprabha, moon. 9. Suvidhi, dolphin. 10. Sitala, srivastsa (a sign on the breast). 11. Sreyamsa, rhinoceros. 12. Vasupujya, buffalo. 13. Vimala, hog. 14. Ananta, hawk. 15. Dharma, thunderbolt. 16. Santi, antelope. 17. Kunthu, goat. 18. Ara, nandyavarta (a diagram). 19. Malli, jar. 20. Suvrata, tortoise. 21. Nami, blue lotus. 22. Aristanemi, conch shell. 23. Parsva, serpent. 24. Mahavira, lion.

The standing attitude in which they are commonly shown exhibits a characteristic puppet-like rigidity that comes of—and denotes—inner absorption. The posture is called “dismissing the body” (*kayotsarga*). The modeling avoids details and yet is not flat or incorporeal; for the saviour is without weight, without throbbing life or any promise of delight, yet is a body—an ethereal reality with milk in its veins instead of blood. The empty spaces left between the arms and the trunk and between the legs are consciously intended to emphasise the splendid isolation of the unearthly apparition. There is no striking contour, no interesting trait of individuality, no cutting profile breaking into space, but a mystic calm, an anonymous serenity, which we are not even invited to share. And the nakedness is as far removed as the stars, or as bare rock, from sensuality; for in Indian art nakedness is not intended to suggest either sensuous charms (as it is in the Greek images of the nymphs

and Aphrodites) or an ideal of perfect bodily and spiritual manhood, developed through competitive sport (as in the Greek statues of the Olympia and elsewhere). The nakedness of Indian goddesses is that of the fertile indifferent mother earth, while that of the stark Tirathankaras is ethereal. Composed of some substance that does not derive from, or link one to, the circuit of life, the truly 'sky-clad' (Digambara) Jain statue expresses the perfect isolation of the one who had stripped off every bond. His is an absolute "abiding in itself", a strange but perfect aloofness, a nudity of chilling majesty, in its stony simplicity, rigid contours and abstraction.

The form of the image of the Tirathankara is like a bubble : at first sight seemingly a bit primitive in its inexpressive attitude—simply standing on its two legs—but actually highly conscious and rather sophisticated in its avoidance of all the dynamic, glamorous and triumphant achievements of the contemporary Hindu art—the wonderful, vital sculpture of Elura, Badami and elsewhere. By the Jaina saint—and artist—the restless vitality both of the Hindu gods and of their mythical cosmic display is ignored deliberately, as though in protest. Through a translucent alabaster silence the great passage-breaking doctrine is revealed of the Jain way of escape from that universal manifold of enticement and delusion.

For it is important to bear in mind that the Tirathankaras and their images belong to a totally different sphere from that of the orthodox Hindu devotions. The Hindu gods, dwelling in the heavens that Parsvanatha transcended still are accessible to human prayer, whereas the supreme release attained by the Tirathankaras places them beyond all earthly solicitude.

They can never be moved from their eternal isolation. Superficially, their cult may resemble that of the Hindu deities, who not only graciously heed the prayers of man but even condescend to come down into the lifeless temple images—as to a throne or seat (*pitha*)—in response to consecrating rituals of conjuration and invitation; for the Jains pay profound respect to the status of their Tirathankaras and recount legends of their miraculous origin. Nevertheless the attitude is not precisely that of worship. The following story, told of the Lord Parsva in his next to last earthly life, gives the clue to the special character of the Jain attitude.

The saviour's name then, it will be remembered, was King Anandakumara. When he had defeated the rulers of the surrounding nations and became a *Chakravartin*, his minister suggested that he should hold a religious celebration in honour of the Tirathankara Aristanemi; but when the king entered the temple to worship he was disturbed by a doubt. "What is the use," he thought, "of bowing before an image, for an image is unconscious?" There was a saint in the temple at the time, however, named Vipulamati and he removed this doubt. "An image," he told the king, "affects the mind. If one holds a red flower before a glass the glass will be red; if one holds up a dark blue flower the glass will be dark blue. Just so, the mind is changed by the presence of an image. Contemplating the form of the passionless Lord in a Jain temple, the mind becomes filled automatically with a sentiment of renunciation; whereas at the sight of a courtesan it becomes restless. No one can regard the peaceful, absolute form of the Lord without recalling the noble qualities of the Lord; and this influence is the more forceful if one worships. The mind straight away becomes purified. But given



purity of mind, one is already on the way to final bliss."

The sage Vipulamati then illustrated his lesson for the king with a metaphor that has many counterparts in the various traditions of India, non-Jain as well as Jain. "In a certain town," he said, "there was a beautiful public woman who died, and her body was brought to the cremation ground. A certain licentious man who chanced to be there looked upon her beauty and thought how fortunate he would deem himself could he, but once in his lifetime, have had the opportunity of enjoying her. Simultaneously a dog that was there, seeing the corpse going into the fire, thought what dainty meals it would have made for him had they not determined to waste it in the flames. But a saint, also present, thought how regrettable that anyone endowed with such a body should have neglected to make use of it in difficult yoga exercises."

"There was but one corpse in that place," said Vipulamati, "and yet it produced three sorts of feeling in three different witnesses. An external thing will thus have its effect according to the nature and purity of the mind. The mind," he concluded, "is purified by the contemplation and worship of the Tirathankaras. Images of the Tirathankaras make one fit, therefore, to enjoy the pleasure of heaven after death—and can even prepare one's mind to experience *nirvana*."

## The Makers of the Crossing

Jainism denies the authority of the Vedas and the orthodox traditions of Hinduism. Therefore, it is reckoned as a heterodox Indian religion. It does not derive from Brahman-Aryan sources, but reflects the cosmology and anthropology of a much older, pre-Aryan upper class of north-eastern India—being rooted in the

same subsoil of archaic metaphysical speculation as Yoga, Sankhya, and Buddhism, the other non-Vedic Indian systems. The Aryan invasion, which overwhelmed the north-western and north-central provinces of the sub-continent in the second millennium B.C., did not extend the full weight of its impact beyond the middle of the Ganges valley; the pre-Aryan nobility of the north-eastern states, therefore, were not all swept off their thrones. Many of the families survived and when the dynasties of the invading race began to show symptoms of exhaustion, the scions of these earlier native lines were able to assert themselves again.

Chandragupta Maurya, for example, stemmed from a family of this kind. So did the Buddha, Ikshvaku, the mythical ancestor of the legendary Solar Dynasty to which Rama, hero of the *Ramayana*, belonged has a name that points rather to the tropical plant-world of India than to the steppes from which the conquerors descended; ikshvaku means 'sugar cane' and suggests a background of aboriginal plant-totemism. Even Kṛṣṇa, the divine incarnation celebrated in the *Mahabharata*, whose synthesis of Aryan and pre-Aryan teachings is epitomized in the *Bhagavad Gita*, was born not of a Brahman but of a Kshatriya line—the Hari clan—the associations of which are far from orthodox. Kṛṣṇa's religion comprises many elements that were not originally constituents of the Vedic system of thought; and in the celebrated legend of his lifting Mount Govardhan he is actually represented as challenging Indra, the Vedic-Aryan king of the gods, and even putting him to shame. Moreover, Kṛṣṇa's father, Vasudeva, was the brother of the father of the twenty-second of the Jain Tīrthankaras, the Lord Aristanemi and so must have been a recent convert to the orthodox community.

The history of Indian philosophy has been characterised largely by a series of interaction between the invasive *Vedic-Aryan* and the non-Aryan, earlier *Dravidian* styles of thought and spiritual experience. The Brahmans were the principal representatives of the former, while the latter was preserved and finally reasserted, by the surviving princely houses of the native Indian, dark-skinned pre-Aryan population. Since Jainism retains the *Dravidian* structure more purely than the other major Indian traditions, it is consequently a relatively simple, unsophisticated, clear-cut and direct manifestation of the pessimistic dualism that underlies not only *Sankhya*, *Yoga*, and early Buddhist thought but also much of the reasoning of the *Upanishads*, and even the so-called 'nondualism' of the *Vedanta*.

The Tirathankaras, as already stated, represent, in the most vivid manner possible, the life-searing victory of the transcendent principle over the forces of the flesh. Parsva and those other colossi whose towering forms, carved in alabaster, point like arrows to the heavens, broke free from the spheres of human fear and desire to pass to a realm remote from the conditions, the victories and the vicissitudes of time. Standing in their posture of "dismissing the body", or seated in the inturned "lotus posture" of the concentrated *yogi*, they represent an ideal very different indeed from that of the roaring world-affirmative, *Vedic* "Dying round the Holy Power".

Twenty-two of these life-negating Jain Tirathankaras belong to the ancient, semi-mythical Solar Dynasty, from which the Hindu saviour Rama is supposed to have descended and which is far from Aryan in its backgrounds, while the other two belong to the Hari clan, the family of the blue-black popular hero Krsna.

All of these figures, Kṛṣṇa and Rama as well as the Tirathankaras, represent the resurgence of a world view totally different from that of the triumphant cattle-herders and warlike horsemen who had entered India from the trans-Himalayan plains and whose way of life had swept all before it for nearly a thousand years. The *Vedaṣ* like the hymns of Homeric Greeks, were the products of a consciousness dedicated to the spheres of action, whereas the figures of the Tirathankaras stand as the most vivid expression in all art of the ideal of the world-negating, absolute refusal of life's lure. Here is no bending of the cosmic forces to the will of man, but on the contrary, a relentless shelling off of cosmic forces, whether those of the external universe or those that pulse in the running of the blood.

Parsva, the twenty-third Tirathankaras, is the first of the long series whom we can fairly visualize in a historical setting; Aristanemi, the one just before him, whose brother, Vasudeva, was the father of the popular Hindu saviour Kṛṣṇa, is only very dimly perceptible. And yet, even in the biography of Parsva the element of legend is so strong that one can scarcely sense an actually living, breathing human being. The situation is different, however, in the case of the last Tirathankara, Vardhamana Mahavira; for he lived and taught in the comparatively well-documented period of the Buddha. We can readily visualize him moving among the numerous monks and teachers of that age of intellectual ferment. Reflections of his presence and influence can be caught from the Buddhists as well as from the Jain texts.

. Like all the earlier Tirathankaras and like his contemporary, the Buddha, Mahavira was of non-Aryan stock, not related even remotely to those semi-divine

seers, sages, singers and wizards who were the ancestors of the Brahman families and the sources of the wisdom of the orthodox Vedic tradition. He was a *Kshatriya* of the *Jnata* clan (hence called *Jnata Putra*, "a son of *Janta*") born in Kundagrama (Kunda, "a hole in the ground for keeping water", grama, "a village"), which was a suburb of the flourishing city of Vaisali modern Basarh, some twenty-seven miles north of Patna, in the north-eastern province of Bihar and his parents, Siddhartha and Trisala, were pious Jains before him, worshippers of the Lord Parsva. Mahavira was their second son; and they named him Vardhamana, "Growing, Increasing". He married, in due time, a young woman of their choice, Yasoda and had by her a daughter, Anojja. When his parents died in his thirtieth year and his elder brother, Nandivardhana, succeeded in the direction of the household, Vardhamana asked and received the permission of his brother to carry out his long-cherished resolved to become a Jain monk. The monastic authorities also favoured his request and he joined the Order with the usual Jain rites. Then followed twelve years of severe self-mortification. After the first thirteen months he discarded his clothes and at the end of a long ordeal achieved the state of "isolation-integration" (*kevala*), which implies omniscience and release from earthly bondage—corresponding to the 'enlightenment' (*bodhi*) of the Buddhas. And he lived on earth forty-two years more, preaching the doctrine generally and instructing his eleven principal followers." When he died at Pava, attaining thus the final release (*nirvana*), he was in the seventy-second year of his age. The date is placed by the Svetambara sect (as the beginning of their era) in 527 B.C., by the Digambaras in 509 and by the modern

Western scholars (since Mahavira passed away only a few years before the Buddha) about 480.

A dialogue recorded in the sacred writings of the Svetambara sect states that in essence the teachings of Parsva and Mahavira are the same. Kesi, an adherent of Parsva, is shown asking questions of Sudharma-Gautama, one of the followers of the new teacher, Mahavira; and to all his questions he receives what seem to him to be the wrong answers. He, therefore, presses his argument. "According to Parsvanatha the Great Vows are but four in number; why then," he demands, "did Vardhamana speak of them as five?" To which Gautama replies : "Parsvanatha understood the spirit of the time and realized that the enumeration of the Great Vows as four would suit the people of his age; Mahavira gave the same four vows as five in order to make the Jain doctrine more acceptable to the people of his time. There is no essential difference in the teachings of the two Tirathankaras".

The fifth vow, which Kesi, the adherent of the teaching of Parsva, was calling into question, was the one about the clothes and is what led to the schism; for it involved a number of revisions of attitude and conduct. The conservatives not only insisted on remaining sky-clad, but also rejected all the other reforms of Mahavira. Women, for example, were permitted by Mahavira to take ascetic vows, whereas by the sky-clad sect they were debarred from doing so, having to wait for a latter, masculine in carnation. Nevertheless, it is certain that Mahavira preached nothing absolutely new; he only modified and developed what had already been taught by Parsvanatha—and no doubt by numerous even earlier saints and sages.

The writings of the Jains mention as contemporaries

of Mahavira the same kings of north-eastern India as those who according to Buddhist sources reigned during the Buddha's career. The canonical texts of the Buddhists, dating from the first century B.C., mention the Jain frequently under their old name of Nirgarantha, "without knot tie, or string," i.e., "the unfettered ones"; and refer to them as a rival sect, but nowhere as one newly founded. Their leader is called Jnataputra Vardhamana ("Vardhamana, son of the Jnata clan"), Mahavira (the "Great Hero"), and Jina (the 'Victor'), and a contrast to the Buddha, is never described as having first become a disciple of teachers whose doctrines failed to satisfy him. Mahavira remained faithful to the tradition into which he had been born and which he embraced fully when he became a Jain monk. By attaining to the highest goal envisioned in this tradition—a very rare achievement—he did not refute it, but only gained new fame for the ancient way.

Again in contrast to the Buddha, Mahavira is never declared to have received through his enlightenment the understanding of any new philosophical principle or any special insight not already familiar to his period. He was not the founder of a new ascetic community but the reformer of an old one. He was not the teacher of a new doctrine, but is represented as having gained at the time of his illumination the perfect knowledge of something which both he and his community had known before only imperfectly and in part. He simply entered an existing time-honoured order and some twelve years later attained fulfilment. Thus he realized to the full extent what had been promised—what his tradition had always indicated as the ultimate reference of its sacred, complex and most detailed system of representing the nature of man and the universe.

The Buddhist historical records, then would seem to support the traditional Jain representaton of Mahavira as the last—not the first, as Western scholars until recently have insisted—of the Jain “Crossing-Makers through the torrent of rebirth to the younder shore”. And there is good reason, as we have seen, to concede that the Crossing-Maker just preceding him, Parsvanatha, may also have been an actual historical personage. But before Parsvanatha stands Aristanemi (or Neminatha), the twenty-second Tirathankara of the present so-called ‘descending’ (*avasarpini*) phase of the universal cycle of cosmic time, whose distinguishing emblem is the Hindu battle-trumpet, the conch-shell and whose iconographic colour is black. His existence is not substantiated through historical records, but only reflected through legendary accounts, which link him with the heroes of that feudal period of Indo-Aryan chivalry depicted in the *Mahabharata* and the Krsna legend. He is described as a first cousin of Krsna; his father, Samudravijaya (“Conqueror of the Whole Earth, as far as to the Shores of the Oceans”), having been the brother of Krsna’s father, Vasudeva. Since he is heterodox, he is ignored by the Hindu Krsna cycle, which, in spite of its own heterodox traits, has become incorporated in the great body of orthodox legend; but the Jains claim that Neminatha was far superior to Krsna both in physical prowess and in intellectual attainments. His unostentatious, mild disposition as well as his rejecton of luxury and adoption of the ascetic life, are depicted in such a way as to show him to have been exactly the reverse of Krsna. His full name, Aristanemi, is an epithet of the sun-wheel or the sun-chariot, “the felly of whose wheel (*nemi*) is undamaged (*arista*), i.e., indestructible”, and thus suggests that he belonged to the ancient Solar Dynasty.



With this Tirathankara, Jain tradition breaks beyond the bounds of recorded history into reaches of the mythological past. And yet it does not follow that the historian would be justified in saying that some great renewer and teacher of the Jain faith—perhaps named Aristanemi—did not precede Parsvanatha. We are simply not in a position to know how far back the imagination should be permitted to go in following the line of the Tirathankaras. Obviously, however, the dates assigned by Jain tradition have to be rejected once we pass beyond Parsvanatha; for Aristanemi is said to have lived eighty-four thousand years before Parsvanatha, which would place us back somewhere in the Lower Paleolithic, while the preceding Tirathankara, Nami (whose emblem is the blue lotus and whose colour is golden), is supposed to have died fifty thousand years before Aristanemi—back, that is to say, in the Eolithic; Survrata, the twentieth (whose animal is the tortoise and whose colour is black), is dated eleven hundred thousand years before that. With Malli, the nineteenth (whose emblem is the jar and whose colour is blue) we pass well into the pre-human geologic ages, while Ara, Kunthu, Santi, Dharma, Ananta, Vimala, etc., transport us beyond the reaches even of geological calculation.

The long series of these semi-mythological saviours, stretching back, period beyond period, each illuminating the world according to the requirements of the age yet in strict adherence to the one doctrine, points to the belief that the Jain religion is eternal. Again and again it has been revealed and refreshed, in each of the endlessly successive ages, not merely by the twentyfour Tirathankaras of the present 'descending' series, but an endless number, world without end. The length of the life and the stature of the Tirathankaras themselves

in the most favourable phase of the ever-revolving cycles (the first periods of the descending and the last of the ascending series) are fabulously great; for in the good old days the bodily size and strength as well as the virtue of mankind far exceeded anything that we know today. That is why the images of the Tirathankaras are colossal. The dwarfish proportions of the men and heroes of the inferior ages are the result and reflex of a diminution of moral stamina. Today we are no longer giants; indeed, we are so small, both physically and spiritually, that the religion of Jains has become too difficult and there will be no more Tirathankaras in the present cycle.

This is a philosophy of the profoundest pessimism. The round of rebirths in the world is endless, full of suffering and of no avail. Of and in itself it can yield no release, no divine redeeming grace; and the very gods are subject to its deluding spell. Therefore, ascent to heaven is no less a mere phase or stage of delusion than descent to the purgatorial hells. As a result of meritorious conduct, one is reborn a god among the gods; as a result of evil conduct, a being among the beings of hell or an animal among the beasts; but there is no escape, either way, from this perennial circulation. One will continue to revolve forever through the various spheres of inconsequential pleasures and unbearable pains unless one can manage somehow to release oneself. But this can be accomplished only by heroic effort—a long, really dreadful ordeal of austerities and progressive self-abnegation.

## **The Qualities of Matter**

According to Jain cosmology, the universe is a living organism, made animate throughout by life-monads

which circulate through its limbs and spheres; and this organism will never die. We ourselves, furthermore, i.e., the life-monads constrained within and constituting the very substance of the imperishable great body, are imperishable too. We ascend and descend through various states of being, now human; now divine, now animal; the bodies seem to die and to be born, but the chain is continuous, the transformations endless and all we do is pass from one state to the next. The manner in which the indestructible life-monads circulate is disclosed to the inward eye of the enlightened Jain saint and seer.

The life-monads enjoying the highest states of being, i.e., those temporarily human or divine, are possessed of five sense faculties, as well as of a thinking faculty (*manas*) and span of life (*ayas*), physical strength (*kaya-bala*), power of speech (*vachan-bala*), and the power of respiration (*svasocchvasa-bala*). In the classic Indian philosophies of *Sankhya*, *Yoga* and *Vedanta*, the same five sense faculties appear as in the Jain for *mula* (namely, touch, smell, taste, hearing and sight); however, there have been added the so-called "five faculties of action". These begin with speech (*vach*, corresponding to the Jain *vachana-bala*) but then go on to grasping (*pani*, the hand), locomotion (*pada*, the feet), evacuation (*payu*, the anus), and reproduction (*upastha*, the organ of generation). *Manas* (the thinking faculty) is retained, but is linked to further functions of the psyche, namely, *buddhi* (intuitive intelligence) and *ahankara* (ego-consciousness). Also added are the five *pranas*, or 'life-breaths'. Apparently the Jain categories represent a comparatively primitive, archaic analysis and description of human nature, many of the details of which underlie and remain incorporated in the later, classic Indian view.

Frogs, fish and other animals not born from the womb are without a thinking faculty (*manas*)—they are called, therefore, *asanjin* ('insensible'); whereas elephants, lions, tigers, goats, cows and the rest of the mammals, since they have a thinking faculty, are *sanjin*. The various beings in the hells and the lower gods, as well as human beings, also are *sanjin*.

In contrast to those views that represent the soul as being minute, like an atom (*anu*), or of the size of a thumb and dwelling in the heart, Jainism regards the life-monad (*jiva*) as pervading the whole organism; the body constitutes, as it were, its garb; the life-monad is the body's animating principle. And the subtle substance of this life-monad is mingled with particles of *karma*, like water with milk or like fire with iron in a red-hot, glowing iron ball. Moreover, the *karmic* matter communicates colours (*lesya*) to the life-monad; and these colours are six in number. Hence there are said to be six types of life-monads, in ascending series, each with its colour, smell, taste and quality of tangibility, as follows :

1. black (*krsna*).
2. dark blue (*nila*)
3. dove-grey (*kapota*)
4. flaming red (*tejas*)
5. yellow or rose (*padma*, like a lotus)
6. white (*sukla*)

These six types fall into three groups of two, each pair corresponding precisely to one of the three *gunas*, or "natural qualities", of the classic *Sankhya* and *Vedantic* writings. The Jain *lesyas* 1 and 2 are dark; they correspond to the *guna tamas*, 'darkness'. *Lesya* 3 is smoky grey, while 4 is of the red of flame; both pertain to fire and thus correspond to the *guna rajas* (fire-*rajas*,

'red colour', cf, *ranj*, "to tinge red"; *rakta*, 'red'). *Lesyas* 5 and 6, finally, are clear and luminous, being states of comparative purity and thus are the Jain counterparts of the classic *guna sattya* : "virtue, goodness, excellence, clarity, ideal being, the supreme state of matter". In sum, the six Jain *lesyas* seem to represent some system of archaic prototypes from which the basic elements of the vastly influential later theory of the *gunas* was evolved.

Black is the characteristic colour of merciless, cruel, raw people who harm and torture other beings. Dark-blue characters are roguish and venal, covetous, greedy, sensual and fickle. Dove grey typifies the reckless, thoughtless, uncontrolled and irascible; whereas the prudent, honest, magnanimous and devout are fiery red. Yellow shows compassion, consideration, unselfishness, non-violence and self-control; while the white souls are dispassionate, absolutely distinterested and impatual.

As water flows into a pond through channels, so *karmic* matter of the six colours flows into the monad through the physical organs. Sinful acts cause an "influx of evil *karma*" (*papa-asrava*), and this increases the dark matter in the monad; virtuous acts, on the other hand, bring an "influx of good or holy *karma*" (*punya-asrava*), which tends to make the monad white. But even this holy *karma* keeps the life-monad linked to the world. By increasing the yellow and white *karmic* matter, virtuous acts produce the gentle, more savory ties—but these are ties, even so; they do not suffice to consummate release. 'Influx' (*asrava*) of every type has to be blocked if *nirvana* is to be attained and this arrestment of life can be affected only by abstention from action—all action whatsoever, whether good or bad.

A basic fact generally disregarded by those who 'go in' for Indian wisdom is the one of the total rejection of every last value of humanity by the Indian teachers and winners of redemption from the bondages of the world. "Humanity (the phenomenon of the human being, the ideal of its perfection and the ideal of the perfected human society) was the paramount concern of Greek idealism, as it is today of Western Christianity in its modern form; but for the Indian sages and ascetics, the Mahatmas and enlightened saviours, 'humanity' was no more than the shell, to be pierced, shattered and dismissed. For perfect non-activity, in thought, speech and deed is possible only when one has become dead to every concern of life; dead to pain and enjoyment of intellectual pursuit, dead to all social and political affairs—deeply, absolutely and immovably uninterested in one's character as a human being. The sublime and gentle final fetter, virtue, is thus itself, something to be revered. It cannot be regarded as the goal, but only as the beginning of the great spiritual adventure of the 'Crossing-Maker', a stepping place to the superhuman sphere. That sphere, moreover, is not only superhuman but even superdivine—beyond the gods, their heavens, their delights and their cosmic powers. 'Humanity', consequently, whether in the individual or in the collective aspect, can no longer be of concern to anyone seriously striving for perfection along the way of the ultimate Indian wisdom. Humanity and its problems belong to the philosophies of life that we discussed above : the philosophies of success (*artha*), pleasure (*kama*) and duty (*dharma*); these can be of no interest to one who has literally died to time—for that whom life is death. "Let the dead bury their dead" : that is the thought. This is something that makes it very difficult

for us of the modern Christian West to appreciate and assimilate the traditional message of India.

The sentimental or heroic divinization of man along the lines of the classic and modern humanitarian ideals is something totally foreign to the Indian mind. From the Indian point of view, the special dignity of the human being consists solely in the fact that he is capable of becoming enlightened, free from bondage and therewith competent, ultimately, for the role of the supreme teacher and saviour of all beings, including the beasts and the gods. The life-monad mature enough for this super-godly task descends to earth from the high realm of heavenly beatitude, as did the monad of the Jain saviour, Parsvanatha, the temporary delights and powers of the gods having become meaningless for his ripened insight. And then in a final existence among men, the saviour himself achieves perfect enlightenment and therewith release and by his teaching renews the timeless doctrine of the way to reach this goal.

This amazing ideal, expressed in the legendary biographies of the Buddhas and Tirathankaras, was taken seriously and literally as an ideal for all. It was actually regarded as open to man and steps were taken to realize it. Apparently, it was a non-Brahman, pre-Aryan vision of man's role in the cosmos native to the Indian sub-continent. The way of perfectibility taught was that of yogic asceticism and self-abnegation, while the image constantly held before the mind's eye was that of the human saviour as the redeemer even of the gods.

In the West such thinking has been suppressed systematically as heresy—a heresy of titanism. Already for the Greeks, it was the classic fault of the suffering hero, the upoios of the anti-gods or titans, while in the

Christian Church such presumption has been mocked as simply incredible. Nevertheless, in our modern Western Christian poetry there can be pointed out at least one great instance of the idea of the coming of a human being to the rescue of God. For when Parsifal, in the third act of Wagner's opera, brings back the holy spear, cures Amfortas, the sick guardian of the holy grail and restores the grail itself to its beneficent function, the voices of the angels sing out from high : "Redemption to the Redeemer". The sacred blood of Christ, that is to say, has been redeemed from the curse of spell that was nullifying its operation. And Again, in Wagner's cycle of the Ring of the Nibelung, a pagan parallel to this motif is developed in almost identical terms. Brunnhilde quiets Wotan's sufferings, putting to rest the All-Father of the universe, when she returns the ring to the primeval waters and sings to Wotan : "*Ruhe nun, ruhe, du Gott!*"—"Rest now, rest, thou God!" The enlightened individual, perfected through suffering, all-knowing through compassion, self-detached through having conquered ego, redeems the divine principle, which is incapable, alone of disengaging itself from its own fascination with the cosmic play.

### **The Mask of the Personality**

Ulysses, in the Homeric epic, descended to the netherworld to seek counsel of the departed and there found, in the murky twilight land of Pluto and Persephone, the shades of his former companions and friends who had been killed at the siege of Troy or had passed away during the years following the conquest of the town. They were but shadows in that dim realm; yet each could be recognized immediately, for all preserved the features that had been theirs on earth. Achilles



declared that he would perfect the hard and joyless life of an obscure peasant in the broad daylight of the living to the melancholy monotony of his present half-existence as the greatest of the heroes among the dead; nevertheless, he was still perfectly himself. The physiognomy, the mask of the personality, had survived the separation from the body and the long exile from the human sphere on the surface of the land.

Nowhere in the Greek epic do we find the idea of the dead hero being. The possibility of losing one's personality through death, the slow dissolution, melting away and finally fading out of the historic individuality, was something not considered by the Greeks of Homer's time. Nor did it dawn on the medieval Christian mind. Dante, like Ulysses, was a wayfarer in the world beyond the grave; conducted by Virgil through the circles of hell and purgatory, he ascended to the spheres; and everywhere, throughout the length of his journey, he beheld and conversed with personal friends and enemies, mythical heroes and the great figures of history. All were recognizable immediately and all satisfied his insatiable curiosity by recounting their biographies, dwelling at great length, in spun-out tales and arguments, upon the minute details of their trifling, short-lived individual existences. Their personalities of yore seem to have been only too well preserved through the long wandering in the vastness of eternity. Though definitely and forever severed from the brief moments of their lifetimes on earth, they were still preoccupied with the problems and vexations of their biographies and haunted by their guilty, which clung to them in the symbolic forms of their peculiar punishments. Personality held all in its clutches—the glorified saints in heaven as well as the tortured, suffering inmates of

hell; for personality, according to the medieval Christians, was not to be lost in death or purged away by the after-death experiences. Rather, life beyond the grave was to be but a second manifestation and experience of the very essence of the personality, only realized on a broader scale and in a freer style and with a more striking display of the nature and implications of the virtues and the vices.

For the Western mind, the personality is eternal. It is indestructible, not to be dissolved. This is the basic idea in the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body, the resurrection being our regaining of our cherished personality in a purified form, worthy to fare before the majesty of the Almighty. That personality is thought to go on forever, even thought, by a curious inconsistency, it is not believed to have existed anywhere, in any state or form, previous to the carnal birth of the mortal individual. The personality did not exist in extra-human spheres, from all eternity before its temporal earthly manifestation. It is declared to have come into being with the mortal act of procreation and yet is supposed to go on after the demise of the procreated mortal frame: temporal in its beginning, immortal in its end.

The term 'personality' is derived from the Latin *persona*. *Persona* literally means the mask that is worn over the face by the actor on the Greek or Roman stage; the mask 'through (*per*)' which he "sounds" (*sonat*) his part. The mask is what bears the features or make-up of the role, the traits of the hero or heroine, servant or messenger, while the actor himself behind it remains anonymous, an unknown being intrinsically aloof from the play, constitutionally unconcerned with the enacted sufferings and passions. Originally, the term *persona* in

the sense of 'personality' most have implied that people are only impersonating what they seem to be. The word connotes that the personality is but the mask of one's part in the comedy or tragedy of life and not to be identified with the actor. It is not a manifestation of his true nature but a veil. And yet the Western outlook—which originated with the Greeks themselves and was then developed in Christian philosophy—has annulled the distinction implied in the term, between the mask and the actor whose face it hides. The two have become, as it were, indetical. When the play is over the *persona* cannot be taken off; it clings through death and into the life beyond. The Occidental actor, having wholly identified himself with the enacted personality during his moment on the stage of the world, is unable to take it off when the time comes for departure and so keeps it on indefinitely, for millenniums—even eternities—after the play is over. To lose his *persona* would mean for him to lose every hope for a future beyond death. The mask has become for him fused and confused, with his essence.

Indian philosophy, on the other hand, insists upon the difference, stressing the distinction between the actor and the role. It continually emphasizes the contrast between the displayed existence of the individual and the real being of the anonymous actor, concealed, shrouded and veiled in the costumes of the play. Indeed, one of the dominant endeavours of Indian thought throughout the ages has been to develop a dependable technique for keeping the line clear between the two. A meticulous defining of their interrelationships and their modes of collaboration, as well as a practical, systematic and courageously enforced effort to break from the confines of the one into the unfathomed reaches

of the other, has been carried on for ages—primarily through the numerous introspective processes of *yoga*. Piercing and dissolving all the layers of the manifest personality, the relentlessly introverted consciousness cuts through the mask and at last discarding it in all of its stratifications, arrives at the anonymous and strangely unconcerned actor of our life.

Although in the Hindu and Buddhist texts vivid descriptions of the traditional hells or purgatories are to be found, where appalling details are dwelt upon minutely, never is the situation quite the same as that of the afterworlds of Dante and Ulysses, filled with celebrities long dead who still retain all of the characteristics of their personal masks. For in the Oriental hells, though multitudes of suffering beings are depicted in their agonies, none retain the traits of their earthly individualities. Some can remember having once been elsewhere and know what the deed was through which the present punishment was incurred, nevertheless, in general, all are steeped and lost in their present misery. Just as any dog is absorbed in the state of being precisely whatever dog it happens to be, fascinated by the details of its present life—and as we ourselves are in general spell-bound by our present personal existences—so are the beings in the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist hells. They are unable to remember any former state, any costume worn in a previous existence, but identify themselves exclusively with that which they now are. And this, of course, is why they are in hell.

Once this Indian idea has struck the mind, then the question immediately presents itself : Why am I bound to be what I am? Why have I to wear the mask of this personality, which I think and feel myself to be? Why

must I endure its destiny, the limitations, delusions and ambitions of this peculiar part that I am being driven to enact? Or why, if I have left one mask behind me, am I now back again in the limelight in another, enacting another role and in a different setting? What is compelling me to go on this way, being always something particular—an individual, with all of these particular short-comings and experiences? Where and how am I ever to attain to another state—that of not being something particular, beset by limitations and qualities that obstruct my pure, unbounded being?

Can one grow into something devoid of any specificity of shade and colour, undefined by shape, unlimited by qualities, something unspecific and therefore not liable to any specific life?

These are the questions that lead to the experiment of asceticism and yoga practice. They arise out of a melancholy weariness of the will to live—the will grown tired, as were, of the prospect of this endless before and after, as thought an actor should become suddenly bored with his career. The doom of this timeless course of transmigration—forgotten past and aimless future? Why do I bother being what I am—man, woman, peasant, artist, rich or poor? Since I have impersonated, without remembering, all of the possible attitudes and roles—time and again, in the lost past, in the worlds that have dissolved—why do I keep going on?

One might very well come to loathe the hackneyed comedy of life if one were no longer blinded, fascinated and deluded by the details of one's own specific part. If one were no longer spell-bound by the plot of the play in which one happened to be caught for the present, one might very well decide to resign—give up the mask, the costume, the lines and the whole affair. It is not difficult

to imagine why, for some, it might become simply a bore to go on with this permanent engagement, enacting character after character in this interminable stock company of life. When the felling comes of being bored with it or nauseated (as it has come, time and time again, in the long history of India) then life revolts, rebels against its own most elementary task or duty of automatically carrying on. Growing from an individual to a collective urge, this leads to the founding of ascetic orders, such as those of the Jain and the Buddhist communities of homeless monks—troops of renegade actors, heroic deserters, foot-loose and self-exiled from the universal farce of the force of life.

The argument—if the renegades would bother to justify themselves—would run like this :

“Why should we care what we are? What real concern have we with all those parts that are continually forced to play? Not to know that one has already enacted every sort of role, time and time again—beggar, king, animal, god—and that the actor’s career is no better in one than in another, is truly a pitiable state of mind; for the most obvious fact about the timeless engagement is that all the objects and situations of the plot have been offered and endured in endless repetition through the millenniums. People must be completely blind to go on submitting to the spell of the same old allurements; enthralled by the deluding enticements that have seduced every being that ever lived; hailing with expectation, as a new and thrilling adventure, the same trite deceptions of desire as have been experienced endlessly; clinging now to this, now to that illusion—all resulting only in the fact that the actor goes on acting roles, each seemingly new yet already rendered many times, though in slightly differing costumes and with other casts. Obviously, this is ridiculous impasse. The

mind has been bewitched, trapped by the pressures of a blind life-force that whirls creatures along in a cycling, never-ending stream. And why? Who or what is doing this? Who is the fool that keeps this dimwitted entertainment on the boards?"

The answer that would have to be given to you should you be unable to find it for yourself would be simply—Man : Man himself : each individual. And the answer is obvious. For each goes on doing what has always been done, continually imaging himself to be doing something different. His brain, his tongue, his organs of action, are incorrigibly possessed by a drive to be doing something—and he does it. That is how he builds up new tasks for himself, contaminating himself every minute with new particles of *karmic* matter, which enter into his nature, flow into his life-monad, sully its essence and bedim its light. These involvements fetter him to an existence murky with desire and ignorance; and here he treasures his transitory personality as though it were something substantial—clings to the short spell of confused life which is the only thing of which he is aware, cherishes the brief passage of individual existence between birth and the funeral pyre—and thus unconsciously prolongs the period of his own bondage indefinitely into the future. By being active in the pursuit of what he conceives to be his own or someone else's welfare and happiness, he only makes his own bonds, as well as everyone else's, the tighter.

## The Cosmic Man

That God has a human form was a prevailing tenet of the pre-Christian Near East. The Hebrews, for example, though forbidden to produce graven images of their deity, nevertheless conceived of him as

anthropomorphic. Jehovah made the first man after his own likeness and we are all in human form, as descendants of Adam because Jehovah has that form. Jehovah is the First Man, divine and eternal, whereas Adam is only the *first man*—made in the image of Jehovah, but of earth and consequently perishable. Jesus, finally, is the *second man*, or the Man's son, who came down to restore the perfection of the created image.

In contrast to these Eastern conceptions, which are of Sumero-Semitic origin, the aboriginal, pre-Aryan Indian tradition—which is what is represented in the religion of the Jains—regards as the First Man not God (God distinct from matter, creating the universe out of matter as out of a second principle different from his own essence) but the organism of the universe itself. The entire cosmos, according to this belief, has a human form, never had a beginning and will never end. Not 'spirit' distinct from 'matter', but 'spiritual matter', 'materialized spirit', is the First Man. The philosophy of Jainism, in this respect, is monistic.

In its analysis of the psychology and destiny of man, on the other hand, Jainism is dualistic. The life-monad (*jiva*) is regarded as absolutely different from the 'karmic matter' (*a-jiva*, 'non-*jiva*') of the six colourings, by which it is bound down and with-held from liberation. This is a view that Jainism shares with the *Sankhya* philosophy, which is likewise non-Aryan, non-Vedic and rooted in the world view of aboriginal India; for in the *Sankhya*, the life-monads (there called *purusas*) are strictly distinguished from lifeless matter (there called *prakṛti*) and the goal of man's spiritual effort is conceived of as the realization of the separation of the two.

This radical dualism of the early Jain and *Sankhya*



views is in striking contrast to the well-known 'non-dualism' of classic Brahmanism, as developed in the *Upanisads* and *Bhagavad Gita* and supremely stated in the *Vedanta*; for according to the *Vedantic* teaching, matter (*prakrit*) is materialized energy (*prana*, *sakti*), which in turn, is the temporal manifestation of that incorporeal, supra-spiritual, eternal essence which is the innermost Self (*atman*) of all things. The Self (*atman*) both evolves the phenomenal realm of matter (*prakrti*) and simultaneously enters into it under the form of the life-monads or individual selves (*jivas*, *purusas*). In other words, all things, in all their aspects, are but reflexes of that one eternal Self—*Atman-Brahman*—which is in essence beyond all definition, name and form.

"The non-existent, verily, was here in the beginning," we read, for example, in one of the basic *Brahmanic* texts. That 'non-existent' is not to be regarded simply as a nothing; for then one would not have declared that it 'was'. Hence the text goes on to ask : "What was this non-existent?" To which it gives the answer : "Life energy (*prana*)".

Now the seven life energies (*pranas*) spoke together : "Truly, in the state in which we now find ourselves," they said, "we shall never be able to bring forth. Let us make, therefore, out of these seven men (i.e., themselves), one man. They made those even men (themselves) into one man...He it was who became the Lord of Progeny.

"And this Man, the Lord of Progeny, felt the desire within himself : "I would be more! I would bring forth!" He travailed and created heat within. When he had travailed and created heat, he brought forth from himself, as his first creation, Holy Power, that is, the

'threefold wisdom' (the *Vedas*). This threefold wisdom became a solid 'standing place' on which he was able to stand firm...

"On this solid place he then firmly stood and glowed within. He brought forth the waters, out of himself, out of speech (*vac*), to be the world. Speech indeed was his; it was brought forth from him. It filled everything here, whatever is here it filled."

This is an example of a mythological rendition of the classical *Brahmanic* view of the procession of all creation, in all its aspects, from the One. Speech (*vac*) and the waters are here the self-duplication of the one unqualified Reality—its self-manifestation as the multifariously qualified. The world of names and forms (*namarupa*) and of the subject-object polarity, has been produced; the state of the pairs-of-opposites (viz. 'spirit' and 'matter') has been created as an emanation, or self-splitting of the non-dual First Man. All partakes of, and participates in, his being. What would seem to the eye to be a sphere of dual principles has proceeded from that unique Reality and is that one Reality. The *Brahmans* in their meditation, therefore, seek to resolve all back again to that "one without a second"—whereas the Jains, in theirs, separate (within the confines of that one First Man) the element of spirit (the life-monad, *jiva*) from that of matter (*karma*, *ajiva*). Nevertheless in both cases—both according to the non-Aryan Jains and according to the Indo-Aryan *Brahmans*—the Universal God (who is at the same time the universe) is himself both 'matter' and 'spirit'. This cosmic monism sets these beliefs far apart from the orthodox Judeo-Christian view.

The Christian notion of God as a giant human form is rendered by the Swedenborgians, however, in a figure

that somewhat suggests the cosmic Man of the Jains. Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) experienced in his visions the whole of heaven in this anthropomorphic way. His work, *Heaven and its Wonders, the World of Spirits and Hell : from Things Heard and seen*, states : "That heaven as one whole represents one man, is an arcanum not yet known in the world, but very well known in the heavens." "The angels," Swedenborg continues, "do not, indeed, see all heaven, collectively, in such a form, for the whole of heaven is too vast to be grasped by the sight of any angel; but they occasionally see distant societies, consisting of many thousands of angels, as one object in such a form and from a society, as a part, they form their conclusion respecting the whole, which is heaven." "Such being the form of heaven, it is also governed by the Lord as one and thus as one whole."

In the same great visionary's *Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Love and the Divine Wisdom* (1763), where the heavens are again described as a human organism, we read : "The heavens are divided into two kingdoms, one called celestial, the other spiritual; in the celestial kingdom love to the Lord reigns, in the spiritual kingdom wisdom from that love. The kingdom where love reigns is called heaven's cardiac kingdom, the one where wisdom reigns is called its pulmonic kingdom. Be it known, that the whole angelic heaven in its aggregate represents a man and before the Lord appears as a man; consequently its heart makes one kingdom and its lungs another. For there is a general cardiac and pulmonic therefrom in each angel. The general cardiac and pulmonic movement is from the Lord alone, because love and wisdom are from Him alone"; i.e., heaven has the form of a giant man and this

form is enlivened through the cardiac movement which is divine love, incessantly proceeding from God, as well as by the pulmonic, or respiratory. Which is divine reason. God is not identical with the giant anthropomorphic organism formed of all the stratifications of heaven, yet pervades it with his love and wisdom and these, in turn, pervade the organism, as the blood from the heart and the air from the lungs pervade the human frame.

The most significant difference between this Western and the Indian Cosmic Man is that whereas in Swedenborg's vision only heaven is shaped according to the divine human image (which is a likeness of the archetypal form of God himself), in Jainism the whole universe, including even its infrahuman stratifications, is comprised in the divine anthropomorphic organism—beasts and plants, which are devoid of man's higher faculties of love, wisdom and spirituality and also inorganic matter and the mute elements. This accords with the universal scope of India's doctrines of perfection, transformation and redemption; not only human beings, but all existences are included. Though steeped in darkness, the beasts and even the atoms are looking for salvation. They are meant to be taught and guided by the universal saviours, enlightened and redeemed; for they are members of the all-comprehending brotherhood of life-mondas. Their destiny is to ascend, at last, beyond the bondages of the *karma* of six colourings.

"Because God is a Man," we read again in Swedenborg's *Divine Love and Wisdom* (and here it becomes clear that the human shape of the heavens can be identified with God himself), "the whole angelic heaven in the aggregate resembles a single man and is

divided into regions and provinces according to the members, viscera and organs of man. Thus there are societies of heaven which constitute the province of all things of the brain, of all things of the facial organs and of all things of the viscera of the body and these provinces are separated from each other, just as those organs are separated in man; moreover, the angels know in what province of man they are. The whole heaven has this resemblance to man because *God is a Man. God is also heaven*, because the angels, who constitute heaven are recipients of love and wisdom from the Lord, recipients are images." The corollary, of course, is that the human organism is a reflection of heavens : "The multitude of these little glands (which constitute the human brain) may also be compared to the multitude of angelic societies in the heavens, which also are countless and I have been told, *are in the same order as the glands.*"

"It has not been granted me to see of what form hell is in the whole : it has only been told to me, that as the universal heaven, viewed collectively, is as one man, so the universal hell, viewed collectively, is as one devil and may also be exhibited to view in the shape of one devil." "It has hitherto been supposed in the world, that there is a certain individual devil who rules over the hells; and that he was created an angel of light, but afterwards became a rebel and was cast with his crew, into hell. The reason that such a belief has prevailed is, because mention occurs in the World of the devil and Satan and also of Lucifer, and the World has been understood in those passages, according to the literal sense : Whereas the truth is, that by the devil and Satan is there signified hell; by the devil being meant that hell which is at the back and which is inhabited by the

worst sort of spirits, which are called evil genii; and by Satan, the hell which is in front, the inhabitants of which are not so malignant and who are called evil spirits: whilst by Lucifer are signified such as belong to Babel or Babylon, who are those who pretend to extend their authority over heaven itself."

"In the Grand Man, who is heaven, they that are stationed in the head, are in the enjoyment of every good above all others: for they are in the enjoyment of love, peace, innocence, wisdom and intelligence; and thence of joy and happiness. These have in influx into the head and into whatever appertains to the head, with man and corresponds thereto. In the Grand Man, who is heaven, they that are stationed in the breast, are in the enjoyment of the good of charity and faith...In the Grand Man or heaven, they that are stationed in the loins and in the organs belonging to generation therewith connected, are they who are eminently grounded in conjugal love. They who are stationed in the feet, are grounded in the lowest good of heaven, which is called spiritual-natural good. They who are in the arms and hands, are in the power of truth derived from good. They who are in the eyes, are those eminent for understanding. They who are in the ears, are in attention and obedience. They in the nostrils, are those distinguished for perception. They in the mouth and tongue, are such as excel in discoursing from understanding and perception. They in the kidneys are such as are grounded in truth of a searching, distinguishing and castigatory character. They in the liver, pancreas and spleen, are grounded in the purification of good and truth by various methods. So with those in the other members and organs. All have an influx into the similar parts of man and correspond

to them. The influx of heaven takes place into the functions and uses of the members; and their uses, being from the spiritual world, invest themselves with forms by means of such materials as are found in the natural world and so present themselves in effects, Hence there is a correspondence between them." "In general, the supreme or third heaven composes the head, as far as the neck; the middle or second heaven composes the breast or body, to the loins and knees; the lowest or first heaven composes the legs and feet down to the soles; as also, the arms down to the fingers; for the arms and hands are parts belonging to the lowest organs of man, although at the sides."

The astonishingly close relationship of this anthropomorphic image to the Cosmic Man of Jain belief will appear in the course of the following exposition of the Jain way of ascending to the topmost cranial vacancy of that Grand Man which is their universe.

## **The Jain Doctrine of Bondage**

Every thought and act, according to the pessimistic philosophy of the Jains, entails an accumulation of fresh *karmic* substance. To go on living means to go on being active—in speech, in body or in mind; it means to go on doing something every day. And this results in the storing up involuntarily of the 'seeds' of future action, which grow and ripen into the 'fruits' of our coming sufferings, joys, situations and existences. Such 'seeds' are represented as entering and lodging in the life-monad, where in due time, they become transformed into the circumstances of life, producing success and calamity and weaving the mask—the physiognomy and character—of a developing individual. The process of life itself consumes the *karmic* substance, burning it up

like fuel, but at the same time attracts fresh material to the burning centre of vital operations. Thus the life-monad is reinfected by *karma*. New seeds of future fruits pour in. Two contradictory yet exactly complementary processes are kept, in this way, in operation. The seeds, the *karmic* materials are being exhausted rapidly all the time through the unconscious as well as conscious actions of the psychosomatic system and yet through those identical actions the *karmic* storage binds are being continually re-stocked. Hence the conflagration that is one's life goes crackling on.

This self-supporting, continuous, dual process (the *karmic* seed-substance of the six colourings burning itself out into events that themselves replenish it) is regarded as taking place—in a very literal, physical sense—in the subtle sphere or body of the life-monad (*jiva*). The continuous influx (*asrava*) of subtle matter into the life-monad is pictured as a kind of pouring in of liquid colourings, which then tinge it; for the life-monad is a subtle crystal, which in its pristine state, untinged by *karmic* matter, is stainless, devoid of colour and perfectly transparent; the flow entering the clear body darkens it, infecting it with the colour (*lesya*) corresponding to the moral character of the committed act. Virtuous acts and the lighter, venial offenses impart comparatively light, less obscuring *lesyas* (mild whitish shades, through yellow and violent red, down to smoky tones—as we have already seen), whereas major sins bring in much darker stains (dark blue and black). The worst offense possible, according to the Jain view, is the killing or injuring of a living being : *himsa*, “the intent to kill”, correspondingly (i.e., the infliction of no harm on any creature), is the primary Jain rule of virtue.



This clean-cut principle is based on the belief that all life-monads are fundamentally fellow creatures—and by 'all' is meant not only human beings, but also animals and plants, and even the indwelling molecules or atoms of matter. The killing even accidentally of such a fellow being darkens the crystal of the life-monad with a dye of deepest hue. That is why animals of prey, which feed on creatures that they have killed, are always infected with *lesyas* very dark in shade. So also men who engage in killing professionally—butchers, hunters, warriors, etc; their life-monads are completely without light.

The colour of the monad-crystal indicates the realm of the universe, whether high or low, which the individual is to inhabit. Gods and celestial beings are of the brighter hues; animals and the tortured inmates of hell are dark. And during the course of a lifetime the colour of the crystal continually changes according to the moral conduct of the living being. In merciful, unselfish people, inclined toward purity, self-abnegation, enlightenment and release, the crystal continually brightens, the lighter colourings coming finally to prevail, whereas in the selfish, heedless and reckless—those doomed to sink in their following birth either to the tortures of hell or to the lower realms of the animal world where they will feed upon each other—the darkness of the crystal thickens into black. And according to its colour, the life-monad ascends or falls (quite literally) in the body of the Universal Being.

This literal-minded, gentle doctrine of universal vice and virtue was evolved by an ascetic, self-denying, saintly group of renegades from the struggle for life and accepted by a peaceful, vegetarian bourgeoisie—merchants, money-dealers and artisans. Apparently, it goes back to the deepest Indian past. The theory of the

*karmic* colours (*lesyas*) is not peculiar to the Jains, but seems to have been part of the general pre-Aryan inheritance that was preserved in Magadha (north-eastern India), and there restated in the fifth century B.C. by a number of non-*Brahman* teachers. It is an archaic bit of naively materialistic psychology diametrically opposed to the main tenets of the *Vedic* tradition. And yet, the vivid metaphor of the tainted crystal has been carried on the composite stream of classical Indian teaching, which developed when the ancient *Brahman* orthodox and the no less ancient non-Aryan traditions at last became synthesized. In the *Sankhya* system it figures conspicuously, where it is used to illustrate the relationship between the life-monad and the context of bondage in which the monad is held until discriminating knowledge finally dawns and the bonds are dissolved. From the *Sankhya* it then passed into Buddhist and *Brahman* thought.

As represented by the Jains, the advance of the individual towards perfection and emancipation is the result of an actual physical process of cleansing taking place in the sphere of subtle matter—literally, a cleansing of the crystal-like life-monad. When the latter is freed completely of all colouring *karmic* contamination it literally shines with a transparent lucidity; for the crystal of the life-monad, in itself, is absolutely diaphanous. Moreover, when made clean it is immediately capable of mirroring the highest truth of man and the universe, reflecting reality as it really is. The instant the *karmic* darkening substance of the six colourings is removed, therefore, non-knowing too is gone. Omniscience, that is to say, is co-existent with the supreme state of the absolute clarity of the life-monad, and this, precisely is release. No longer is the

monad dimmed with beclouding passions, but open—free unlimited by the particularizing qualities that constitute individuality. No longer is there felt the otherwise universal compulsion to keep on wearing the mask of some bewildered personality, the mask of man, beast, tortured soul or god.

## The Jain Doctrine of Release

The transcendental wisdom that confers and is identical with, release from the round of rebirths is regarded as a secret doctrine in the *Brahmanic* tradition, into which it was introduced as a new disclosure in the comparatively late period of the *Upanisads*. The *Aryan* sages of the *Vedic* Age knew nothing of transmigration; nor was the doctrine alluded to in the complete course of orthodox *Vedic* studies that was communicated centuries later by the *Brahman* sage Aruni to his son Svetaketu. The idea of the sorrowful round really belongs to the non-Aryan, aboriginal inheritance of those noble clans that in Mahavira's and the Buddha's time were challenging the somewhat narrow views of *Brahman* orthodoxy; and it was imparted freely to spiritually qualified *Brahmans* when those haughty conquerors finally condescended to ask for it. For the wisdom of the non-Aryan sages had never been exclusive in quite the same way as that of the *Vedic Brahmans*. The Jain, Buddhist and other related heterodox Indian teachings are not kept secret like the powerful formulae of the *Brahman* families. They are regarded as belonging to all—the only prerequisite to their communication being that the candidate should have adopted as ascetic way of life after fulfilling the preliminary disciplines of his normal secular duties, that is to say, they are exclusive only in

a spiritual, not in a genealogical way.

In *Vedic Brahmanism* the domestic cult serves the departed Fathers sent ahead to the Father-world, who require ancestral offerings lest destruction in the form of absolute dissolution (*nivrtti*) should overtake them. The cult, in other words, seves the end of continued life, defending the dead against the terrible 'dying again' (*punar-mrtyu*) through which their existence would be brought to its final term. This is in diametrical contrast to the chief concern of aboriginal, pre-Aryan India, which was, as we have seen, lest life in its painful round should not end. The rituals of the secular cult here were practised not for the continuance, but for the amelioration, of existence—the averting of ill-fortune and sufferings during the present life, as well as the avoidance of descent to the painful purgatories or rebirth in the kingdom of the beasts. Celestial bliss was desired as infinitely preferable to the agonies of the lower realms, but beyond that, there was the still higher good known to the one who would never again be involved in any form at all.

*Omnis determinatio est negatio* : all determination of the life-monad through the *karmic* influx that makes for individualization detracts from its infinite power and negates its highest possibilities. Hence the proper goal is *restitutio in integrum*, restitution of the life-monad to its innate ideal state. This is what is known in Sanskrit as *kaivalya*, 'integration', the restoration of the faculties that have been temporarily lost through being obscured. All entities as we see them in the world are in varying degrees imperfect, yet capable of perfection through proper effort and the consequent insight. All beings are intended to be omniscient, omnipotent, unlimited and unfettered; that is what constitutes their secret veiled

dignity. Potentially they partake of the plenitude of life, which is divine; essentially they are constituents of the abundance and fullness of blissful energy. And yet they dwell in sorrow. The aim of men must be to make manifest the power that is latent within them by removing whatever hindrances may be standing in the way.

Although this conception was certainly not native to the Aryan religion of the Vedic gods and was in fact diametrically opposed to its conception of the nature and destiny of man, it became fused with it during the first millennium. B.C., and since that time has stood as one of the basic doctrines of classical Indian philosophy. It pervades the whole texture of *Brahmanic* thought throughout the period of the *Upanisads*, where the realization of the divine Self within is proclaimed as the sole pursuit worthy of one endowed with human birth. And yet it is important to note that between the Jain view and that of the *Brahmanic* development of the first millennium (as represented, typically, in the *Upanisads*) there is no less difference than resemblance : also the Buddhist doctrine is very different; for whereas the Jain philosophy is characterized by a strictly mechanical materialism with respect to the subtle substantiality of the life-monad and the *karmic* influx, as well as respect to the state of the released, both in the *Upanisads* and in the Buddhist writings an immaterial, psychological outlook on the same questions is presented. And this fundamental difference touches every detail, not only of the cosmologies and metaphysics in question, but also of the related moral codes.

For example, if a Jain monk swallows a morsel of meat in advertently while eating the food that has collected in his alms-bowl during his daily begging-tour

(at the doors of whatever town or village he may happen to be traversing in the course of his aimless, homeless pilgrimage), the crystal of his life-monad becomes automatically stained by a dark influx, in mechanical consequence of the fact that he has shared in the flesh of some slaughtered being. And wherever the Jain ascetic walks, he has to sweep the way before his feet with a little broom, so that no minute living thing may be crushed by his heel. The Buddhist monk, on the contrary, goes without a broom. He is taught to be constantly watchful not so much of where he steps as of his feelings and intentions. He is to be "fully conscious and full of self-control" (*smrtimant samprajanan*), mindful, attentive, and with his sense of responsibility constantly alert. With respect to meat, he is guilty only if he longs for it or if the animal has been killed expressly for him and he knows it. Should he merely happen to receive some scraps along with the rice that he is offered, he can swallow those with the rest of the dish without becoming polluted.

The Buddhist idea of the progress to purity, self-detachment and final enlightenment is based on a principle of basically moral watchfulness over one's feelings and propensities. Not the fact but the attitude toward it is the thing that counts. The Buddhist way, in other words, is a discipline of psychological control; and so there will be found no theories about either the subtle *karmic* influx or the subtle imperishable crystal of the life-monad in the Buddhist doctrine. Both of these ideas are discarded as materialistic errors, caused by primitive ignorance and not verified by inner experience. They are regarded as belonging to that vast morass of abstract metaphysical and biological lore which serves only to involve and trap the human mind—notions that

rather fetter one to, than release one from, the spheres of pain and birth. For the outlook on psychic reality of the practising Buddhist is based on the actual experiences of his own *yoga*-practice (the techniques of dismissing or doing away with every kind of fixed notion and attitude of mind), and these lead inevitably to a complete spiritualization not only of the idea of release but also of that of bondage. The accomplished Buddhist clings, in the end, to no notion whatsoever, not even that of the Buddha, that of the path of the doctrine or that of the goal to be attained.

Jainism, on the other hand, is naively materialistic in its direct and simple view of the universe, the hosts of monads that fill matter as its elementary living molecules and the problem of gaining release. The crystal of the life-monad, according to this system of archaic postivism, is actually (i.e., physically) stained and darkened by the various colours of the *karmic* influx; and this, moreover, has been its condition since immemorial times. To bring the monad to its proper state, every door through which new *karmic* substance might enter into must be tightly closed and kept that way, so that the process of the automatic "influx of the six colourings" (*asrava*) will be blocked. To close the gates means to abstain from action, action of every sort. The beclouding matter already present within will then slowly dwindle, transforming itself automatically into the natural events of the biological life-process. The present *karmic* seeds will grow and yield their inevitable fruits in the form of sufferings and physical experiences and so the discolouration will gradually disappear. Then at last, if no fresh particles are permitted to enter, the transcendent purity of the life-monad will be automatically attained.

The Jain monk does not permit himself to respond in any manner whatsoever to the events that afflict his person or take place within his ken. He subjects his physique and psyche to a terrific training in ascetic aloofness and actually becomes unassailably indifferent to pleasure and pain, and to all objects, whether desirable, repugnant or even dangerous. An incessant cleansing process is kept in operation, a severe and difficult physical and mental discipline of interior seeds already present. Thus the life-monad gradually clears and attains its intrinsic crystal clarity, while the actor obdurately refuses to participate any longer in the play on the stage of life. His goal is to achieve a state of intentional psychic paralysis. Rejecting every kind of mask and holding with a sublime stubbornness to his invincible state of non-co-operation, finally he wins. The busy host of players who fill the universe, still enchanted by their roles and eager to go on contending with each other for the limelight, changing masks and lines from life to life, enacting all the sufferings, achievements and surprises of their biographies, simply turn from him and let him go. He has escaped. So far as the world is concerned, he is a useless fool.

The final state to which the Jain monk thus wins is termed, as we have said, *kaivayla*, 'isolation', "completeness through integration"—which means absolute release; for when every particle of *karmic* substance has been burnt out, on influx of new seeds having been permitted, there remains no longer any possibility of maturing a new experience. Even the danger of becoming a celestical being has been overcome—a king of gods, an Indra, wielding the thunderbolt and enjoying in domains of heavenly bliss, for periods of numerous oceans of time, the delectable



fruits of virtuous conduct in former lives. All the ties that ever fettered the life-monad, whether to higher or to lower realms of being, have been dissolved away. No colouring remains as a hue of kinship to prompt one to assume the garb of some element, plant, animal, human or superhuman being; no hue of ignorance to make one move. And though the body may remain intact for a few more days, until its metabolism has completely ceased, the centre of attraction of the lifemonad has already lifted far beyond this mortal coil.

For *karmic* matter, subtle, though it is, is a weight that pulls the monad down, retaining it in one or another of the spheres of ignorant action, the precise placement of the monad in these spheres being dependent upon its density or specific gravity, which is indicated by its hue. The darker *lesyas*—deep blue or black—hold the monad in the lower storeys of the universe, the subterranean chambers of hell or the worlds of mineral and plant existence, whereas when the hue brightens the monad is relieved somewhat of weight and mounts to one or another of the more elevated spheres, ascending perhaps to the human kingdom—which is situated on the surface of the earth, the middle plane of the numerously stratified universe—or even to the higher, supernal abodes of the goldy beings. When, however, the supreme state of isolation (*kaivalya*) has been attained and the monad has been purged absolutely, relieved of every ounce of *karmic* ballast, then it lifts itself with unresisted buoyance beyond all the strata of the six colours to the zenith, like a bubble of air, destitute of weight. There it abides above the cycling flow of the currents of life that agitate, one way or another, all the realms below. It has left permanently behind the active theatre of the continually changing masks.

The metaphor of the bubble is one that is used frequently in the Jain texts. The life-monad rises, passing through the celestial regions of the gods where radiant beings still burdened by the weight of virtuous *karma* enjoy the fruits of former lives of benignant thought and action. Self-luminous, transparent, the balloon ascends to the dome of the world—that highest sphere, called “slightly inclined” (*isat-pragbhara*, which is whiter than milk and pearls, more resplendent than gold and crystal and has the shape of a divine umbrella). Another metaphor compares the life-monad to a ground that has been made into a flask or bottle; its marrow has been removed and its surface covered with layers of clay to render it the more solid. Such an empty vessel if placed in the water will sink to the bottom because of the weight of the clay; but as the covering slowly dissolves, the ground regains its natural lightness and since it is filled with air it becomes lighter than the water, rising automatically from the bottom to the surface of the pond. With just such an automatic movement, the life-monad, once rid of *karmic* substance, rises from the depths of its imprisonment—this submarine world of the coating layers and masks of individual existence. Divested of the characteristic features of this or that particular existence—from—the nature of this or that man, woman, animal or divine being—it becomes anonymous, absolutely buoyant and absolutely free.

The universe through which the bubble or gourd ascends is pictured in the form of a colossal human being : a prodigious male or female, whose macrocosmic organism comprises the celestial, earthly and infernal regions, all of which are peopled by innumerable beings. The male colossus appeals to the many asceticism of

the Jain monks and saints, while the female reflects an old pre-Aryan concept of the Universal Mother. The cult of the Mother Goddess goes back to the Neolithic Age, when it was distributed throughout western Asia and the lands surrounding the Mediterranean. Images of this goddess have been found even from the Paleolithic period. And to this day her worship survives in popular Hinduism. The Jain conception is of a prodigious human form, male or female, the bounds of which constitute the limits of the universe. The surface of the earth, the playground of the human race, is regarded as situated at the level of the waist. The regions of the hells are beneath this plane, in the pelvic cavity, thighs, legs and feet, while those of celestial beatitude, stratified one above the other, fill the chest, shoulders, neck and head. The region of supreme isolation (*kaivalya*) is at the crown of the dome inside the hollow of the skull.

After its pilgrimage of innumerable existences in the various inferior stratifications, the life-monad rises to the carnial zone of the macrocosmic being, purged of the weight of the subtle *karmic* particles that formerly held it down. Nothing can happen to it any more; for it has put aside the traits of ignorance, those heavy veils of individuality that are the precipitating causes of biographical event. Decisively, once and for all, it has broken free from the vortex. It is now deathless, birthless, suspended beyond the cyclic law of *karmic* causation, like a distilled drop of water clinging to a ceiling or to the underside of the lid of a boiling pot. There, among all the other released life-monads clinging to the interior of the dome of the divine World Being, it remains forever—and the monads in that state, of course, are all as alike as so many drops. For they are

pure particles, serene existences, purged of those imperfections that make for individuality. The masks, the former personal features, were distilled away, together with the seed-stuff that would have ripened into future experiences. Sterilized of colouring, flavour and weight, the sublime crystals now are absolutely pure—like the drops of rain that descend from a clear sky, tasteless and immaculate.

Furthermore, since they have been relieved of the faculties of sensation that are inherent in all organisms (those that render sound, sight, smell, taste and touch), the released life-monads are beyond the bounds of conditioned understanding which determine the modes of being of the various human, animal, plant and even inorganic species. They neither perceive nor think, but are aware of everything directly. They know Truth precisely as it is. They are omniscient, as the sheer life-force itself would be if it could be relieved of the modifying darknesses of specific organisms, each with its limited range of sense and thinking faculties. For the moment the limitations that make particular experiences possible are eliminated, the perfect intuition of everything knowable is immediately attained. The need of experience is dissolved in infinite knowledge. This is the positive meaning of the term and state of *kaivalya*.

One is reminded of the protest of the modern French poet and philosopher, Paul Valéry, in his novel, *Monsieur Teste*. "There are people," he writes, "who feel that their organs of sense are cutting them off from reality and essence. This feeling then poisons all their sense perceptions. What I see blinds me. What I hear makes me deaf. What I know makes me unknowing. Insofar and inasmuch as I know, I am ignorant. This

light before me is no more than king of blindfold and conceals either a darkness or a light that is more...More what? Here the circle closes with a strange reversal : knowledge, a cloud obscuring the essence of being; the shining moon, like darkness or a cataract on the eye! Take it all away, so that I may see!" This outcry, together with the modern theory of knowledge from which it arises, is remarkable close to the old idea to which Jainism holds : That of the limiting force of our various faculties of human understanding.

But the Tirathankaras have lost even the faculty of feeling; for this too belongs but to the texture of the flesh, the suffering garment of blood and nerves. Hence they are completely indifferent to what goes on in the stratified worlds that they have left beneath them. They are not touched by any prayer nor moved by any act of worship. Neither do they ever descend to intervene in the course of the Universal Round as does, for example, the supreme divinity of the Hindus, Visnu, when he sends down periodically a particle of his transcendent essence as an incarnation to restore the divine order of the universe upset by reckless tyrants and selfish demons. The Jain Tirathankaras are absolutely cut off. Nevertheless, the Jain devotee pays them unceasing worship, concentrating his pious attention upon their images, as a means to his own progress in inner purification. And they are sometimes even celebrated side by side with the popular Hindu household and village gods; but never in the same spirit. For what the gods provide is temporal well-being, warding away the demons of disease and disaster, whereas the worship of the Tirathankaras—the 'Victors', the 'Heroes', the "Makers of the Crossing"—moves the mind to its highest good, which is eternal peace beyond the joys as well as

the sorrows of the universal round.

## The Doctrine of Maskarin Gosala

The Indian ascetic carries a staff : *maskara*, *danda*. Vedantic monks are sometimes called, therefore, *ekadandin*, "those bearing one staff"; but also *hamsa*, "wild goose or swan"—because they are wanderers, like the great birds that migrate from the jungles of the south to the lakes of the Himalayas, at home in the lofty sky as well as on the water-surfaces of the earthly plane. *Dandin*, "bearing a staff", denotes, in general, the pilgrim ascetic (*sannyasin*), whether of the *Brahman* or of the Jain order. Buddhist monks also carry a staff, but theirs is named *khakkhara*; for it is provided with a set of rings that produce a monotonous clattering (*khak*), which announces the approach of the otherwise silent mendicant as he walks along the street or comes with his begging bowl for his daily meal. The Buddhist monk never asks for alms but halts in silence on the threshold, waiting to know whether he is to be given something and when the bowl is filled he departs, again without a word. Only the sound of his *khakkhara* is heard. And this is the same as the sound of the staff of the Bodhisattva named *Ksiti-garbha*, "He whose womb was the earth" or "Born from the earth". *Ksitigarbha*, with his *ahakkhara*, wanders eternally through the spheres of hell, comforting the tortured beings and rescuing them from darkness by his very presence, indeed by the very sound of his staff.

Maskarin Gosala ("Gosala of the pilgrim staff") was a contemporary of Mahavira and the Buddha. His encyclopaedic systematization of the universe was akin to the tradition of the Jains. Apparently the two doctrines were related, being derived from some main tradition

to pre-Aryan natural science and psychology. Judging from the evidence available, this must have been a most elaborate, highly classificatory survey of all the divisions of the natural world. Gosala's interpretation of the teaching can be reconstructed in its main outlines and in some of its details, from the reports and criticism contained in the early Buddhist and Jain texts.

The followers of this much-abused and freely slandered teacher were the so-called *ajivika*—those professing the doctrine termed *a-jiva*. *Jiva* is the life-monad. The prefix 'a' here signifies "as long as". The reference seems to be to Gosala's striking doctrine that "as long as the life-monad" (*a-jiva*) has not completed the normal course of its evolution (running through a fixed number of inevitable births) there can be no realization. The natural biological advance cannot be hurried by means of virtue and asceticism or delayed because of vice; for the process takes place in its own good time. Apparently Gosala at first collaborated with Mahavira. They were the joint leaders of a single community for many years. But they presently disagreed over certain major points of discipline and doctrine, quarrelled and separated, Gosala leading a movement of secession. His following seems to have been numerous and to have represented a considerable force in the religious life of India for many years. Their existence and importance as late as the third century B.C. is rendered certain by a royal dedicatory inscription on the walls of three rock-cut caves of a monastery on the Nagarjuna Hill. They were regarded as very dangerous by both the Buddhists and the Jains.

Even while he was alive Maskarin Gosala's enemies spared no words in their attacks upon him. The Buddha himself is quoted as having declared this imposing

antagonist's teaching to be the very worst of all the contemporary erroneous doctrines. The Buddhas compares it to a hempen garment, which not only is disagreeable to the skin but yields no protection against either the cold of winter or the heat of summer. That is to say, the garment (the doctrine) is simply useless. The Buddha's reference, specifically, is to the determinism of Gosala's principal tenet, which allowed no place for voluntary human effort.

For the *Ajivika* doctrine that no amount of moral or ascetic exertion would shorten the series of rebirths offered no hope for a speedy release from the fields of ignorance through saintly exercises. On the contrary, a vast and comprehensive review of all the kingdoms and departments of nature let it appear that each life-monad was to pass, in a series of precisely eighty-four thousand births, through the whole gamut of the varieties of being, starting among the elemental atoms of ether, air, fire, water and earth, progressing through the graduated spheres of the various geological, botanical and zoological forms of existence and coming finally into the kingdom of man, each birth being linked to the others in conformity to a precise and minutely graduated order of evolution. All the life-monads in the universe were passing laboriously along this one inevitable way.

The living body of the atom, according to this system, is the most primitive organism in the cosmos, being provided with but one sense-faculty, that of touch, i.e., the sensation of weight and pressure. This is the state in which each life-monad (*jiva*) takes its start. As it then progresses, bodies come to it endowed with more sense-faculties and with higher powers of intellect and feeling. Rising naturally and of itself, it passes through the long slow course of transmigrations into the various



conditions of the vegetables, the lower and then the higher stages of animal life and the numerous levels of the human sphere. When the time at last arrives and the final term of the series of eighty-four thousand existences has been attained, release simply happens, just as everything else has happened—of itself.

The destiny of man is framed by a rigid law, that of the evolution of the life-monad. Gosala compares the long automatic ascent to the course of a ball of thread thrown through the air which runs out to its very last bit : the curve ends only when the thread is entirely unwound. No divine grace or human zeal can interrupt or interfere with this unalterable principle of bondage, evolution and release. It is a law that knits all life, links apparently lifeless elemental matter to the kingdoms of the insects and of man, runs through all things, puts on and lays aside the whole wardrobe of the marks or garbs of incarnation and will not be forced, hurried, cheated or denied.

This is a vision of an all-embracing, gloomy grandeur, a cool scientific outlook on the universe and its creatures, impressive through its utter self-consistency. The melancholy of the realm of nature is tempered by no ray of redeeming light. On the contrary, this stupendous cosmic view depresses the spirit through the merciless coherence of its complete disregard for the hopes intrinsic to the human soul. Absolutely no concession is made to man's wishful thinking, absolutely no adjustment to our inborn awareness of a possible freedom.

Jainism and Buddhism, on the other hand, the successful contemporary rivals, agree in stressing the possibility of an accelerated release from the cycle as a consequence of effort. Both protest equally against

the mechanistic inflexibility of Gosala's law of evolution, in so far as it touches the sphere of human will. The Buddha, for example, is most emphatic. "There exists," says he, "a 'heroic effort' (*viryam*) in man; there exists the possibility of a 'successful exertion' (*utsaha*) aimed at the disengaging of a man from the vortex of rebirths—provided he strives wholeheartedly for this end." Gosala's solemn scientific panorama, excluding as it does all freedom of the will, converts the whole universe into a vast purgatory of numerous long-lasting stages. Creation becomes a kind of cosmic laboratory in which innumerable monads, by a long, slow, alchemical process of transformation, become gradually refined, enriched and cleansed; passing from darker, lower modes of being to higher; passing through sufferings ever renewed—until at last they stand endowed with moral discrimination and spiritual insight, in human form, at the threshold of release.

One can understand why such a philosophy vanished from the historical scene after a few centuries. It proved to be unbearable. Teaching a fatalistic patience in a virtually endless bondage, demanding resignation without compensation, conceding nothing to moral and spiritual will-power, it simply offered no answer to the burning questions of the seeking, empty human soul. It left no place for the practice of virtue with the normal human aim of winning some reward, offered no field for the exercise of will-power and no reason for making life-plans, gave no hope for compensation, the only source of purification being the natural process of evolution and that simply took time—eons of time—proceeding slowly and automatically, regardless of man's inward effort, like a biochemical process.

And yet, according to this 'hempen shirt' doctrine

of Gosala, man's moral conduct is not without significance; for every living being, through its characteristic pattern of reactions to the environment, betrays its entire multibiographical history, together with all that it has yet to learn. Its acts are not the cause of the influx (*asrava*) of fresh *karmic* substance, as in the Jain view, but only reveal its position or classification in the general hierarchy, showing how deeply entangled or close to release it happens to be. Our words and deeds, that is to say, announce to ourselves—and to the world—every minute, just what milestone we have come to. Thus perfect asceticism, though it has no causative, has yet a symptomatic value : it is the characteristic mode of life of a being who is on the point of reaching the goal of isolation (*kaivalya*); and conversely, those who are not readily drawn to it are comparatively low in the human scale. Any pronounced inability to conform to the most advanced ascetic standards simply proclaims how woefully far one stands from the summit of the cosmic social climb.

Pious acts, then, are not the causes, but the effects; they do not bring, but they foretell release. The perfect ascetic shows through the detached austerity of his conduct that he is the being nearest to the exit. He shows that he has all but completed the long course and is now absolutely unwavering in his exalted unconcern both for himself and for the world—indifferent alike to what the world thinks of him, to what he is, and to what he is about to be.

It is not difficult to imagine what a state of impotent self-annoyance this philosophy would cause in those human beings somewhat below the supreme condition, still ambitious for the world's supreme regard.

## Man Against Nature

Jainism agrees completely with Gosala as to the masklike character of the personality. Whether in the shape of element, plant, animal, man, celestial being or tormented inmate of hell, the visible form is but the temporary garb of an inhabiting life, which is working its way through the stages of existence toward a goal of release from the whole affair. Apparently this depiction of the transient forms of life as so many masks taken on and laid aside by an innumerable host of individual life-monads—the monads themselves constituting the very matter of the universe—was one of the major tenets of the pre-Aryan philosophy of India. It is basic to the *Sankhya* psychology as well as to Patanjali's *Yoga*, and was the starting point of the Buddhist teachings. Absorbed into the *Brahman* tradition, it became blended with other ideas; so that even today in India it remains as one of the fundamental figures of all philosophical, religious and metaphysical thought. Jainism and the doctrine of Gosala thus may be regarded as specimens of the way in which the Indian mind, outside the pale of *Brahman* orthodoxy and according to the patterns of an archaic mode of thought rooted in the Indian soil, has from time immemorial experienced the phenomenon of personality. In contrast to the Occidental idea of the everlasting individual, as conceived by the Greeks and passed on to Christianity and modern man, in the land of the Buddha the personality has always been regarded as a transitory mask.

But Jainism, like Buddhism, disagrees with Gosala's fatalistic interpretation of the graduated roles of the play, asserting that each human individual is free to make his own escape. By a sustained act of self-renunciation one can elude this melancholy bondage—

which is equivalent practically to an eternal punishment and is out of all proportion to whatever guilt can possibly appertain to the mere fact of being alive. Gosala's strictly evolutionary interpretation is rejected on the grounds of the repeated experience of actual release by perfected holy men throughout the ages. Those masterly teachers began, like Mahavira, by joining the saintly order of the Jain monks and ended as the models of salvation. They offer us in their own lives our prime guarantee of the possibility of release, as well as an example of how the narrow exit is to be passed. Instead of Gosala's mechanistic biological order, slowly but automatically working through the eighty-four thousand incarnations, Jainism thus asserts the power and value of the morale of the individual : the force of thoughts, words and deeds, which if virtuous, stainless, and unselfish, lead the life-monad to enlightenment, but if bad, egocentric, and unconsidered, fling it back into the darker, more primitive conditions, dooming it to an existence in the animal kingdom or to live among the tortured inmates of the hells.

Nevertheless, Jainism, too, represents a scientific, practically atheistic, interpretation of existence. For the gods are nothing but life-monads wearing temporarily favourable masks in supremely fortunate surroundings, whereas the material universe is uncreated and everlasting. The universe is composed of six constituents, as follows :

1. *Jiva* : the aggregate of the countless life-monads. Each is uncreated and imperishable, by nature omniscient, endowed with infinite energy and full of bliss. Intrinsically the life-monads are all absolutely alike, but they have been modified, diminished and tainted in their

perfection, through the perpetual influx of the second and opposite constituent of the universe, namely :

2. *Ajiva* : "all that is not (a-) the life-monad (*jiva*)."  
*Ajiva* is, firstly, space (*akasa*). This is regarded as an all-comprehending container, enclosing not only the universe (*loka*), but also the non-universe (*aloka*). The latter is what lies beyond the contours of the colossal macrocosmic Man or Woman. *Ajiva* comprises, moreover, countless space-units (*pradesa*), and is indestructible. Besides being space, however, *ajiva* is also manifest as all four of the following constituents of the world, which are distinguished as the several aspects of this single antagonist to the *jiva*:
3. *Dharma* : the medium through which movement is possible. *Dharma* is compared to water, through and by which fish are able to move.
4. *Adharma* : the medium that makes rest and immobility possible. *Adharma* is compared to earth, on which creatures lie and stand.
5. *Kala* : time, that which makes changes possible.
6. *Pudgala* : matter, composed of minute atoms (*paramanu*). *Pudgala* is endued with odour, colour, taste and tangibility.

Matter exists, according to the Jains, in six degrees of density : (a) "subtle-subtle" (*sukhma-sukhma*), which is the invisible substance of the atoms; (b) "subtle" (*sukhma*), invisible also and the substance of the ingredient of karma; (c) "subtle-gross" (*sukhma-sthula*), invisible and yet experienced, constituting the material of sounds, smells, touch (e.g., of the wind), and flavours; (d) "gross-subtle" (*sthula-sukhma*), which is visible yet

impossible to grasp, e.g., sunshine, darkness, shadow; (e) "gross" (*sthula*), which is both visible and tangible but liquid, as water, oil and melted butter; and (f) "gross-gross" (*sthula-sthula*) : the material objects that have distinct and separate existences, such as metal, wood and stone.

*Karmic* matter clings to the *jiva*. As dust to a body anointed with oil. Or it pervades and tinges the *jiva*, as heat a red-hot iron ball. It is described as of eight kinds, according to its effects : (a) The *karma* that enwraps or screens true knowledge (*jnana-avarana-karma*). Like a veil or cloth over the image of a divinity this *karma* comes between the mind and the truth, taking away, as it were, inborn omniscience. (b) The *karma* that enwraps or screens true perception (*darsana-avarana-karma*). Like a doorkeeper warding people from the presence of the king in his audience-hall, this *karma* interferes with the perception of the processes of the universe, making it difficult or impossible to see what is going on; thus it veils its own operation on the *jiva*. (c) The *karma* that creates pleasant and unpleasant feelings (*vedaniya-karma*). This is compared to the edge of a keen sword-blade smeared with honey and put into the mouth. Because of this *karma* all our experiences of life are compounded of pleasure and pain. (d) The *karma* that causes delusion and confusion (*mohaniya-karma*). Like liquor, this *karma* dulls and dazzles the faculties of discrimination between good and evil. (The *kevalin*, the "isolated one", cannot be intoxicated. Perfect enlightenment is a state of supreme and sublime sobriety. (e) The *karma* that determines the length of the individual life (*ayus-karma*). Like a rope that prevents an animal from going on indefinitely beyond the peg to which it is tied, this *karma* fixes the number of one's days. It determines the life-

capital, the life-strenght, to be spent during the present incarnation. (f) The *karma* that establishes individuality (*nama-karma*). This is the determinant of the "name" (*naman*), which—denotes, in the "subtle-gross" form of sound, the mental-spiritual principle or essential idea, of the thing. The name is the mental counterpart of the visible, tangible form (*rupa*)—that is why magic can be worked with names and verbal spells. This is the *karma* that determines to the last detail both the outward appearance and the inward character of the object, animal or person. It is the fashioner of the present perishable mask. Its work is so comprehensive that the present Jains have analyzed it into ninety-three subdivisions. Whether one's next incarnation is to be in the heavens, among men or animals or in the purgatories; whether one is to be endowed with five or with fewer receptive senses; whether one is to belong to some class of beings with charming, dignified gait and carriage (such as bulls elephants and geese) or with ugly (such as camels and asses), with movable ears and eyes or with immovable; whether one is to be beautiful or ugly of one's kind, commanding sympathy or inspiring disgust, winning honour and fame or suffering ill repute : all of these details are determined by this "karma of the proper name". *Nama-karma* is like the painter filling in with his brush the distinguishing features of a portrait, making the figure recognizable and quite particular. (g) the *karma* that establishes the family into which the individual is to be born (*gotra-karma*). This properly, should be a subdivision of the above, but owing to the enormous importance of the circumstance of caste in India it has been given the weight of a special category. Destiny and all the prospects of life are limited greatly by the house into



which are is born. (h) The *karma* that produces obstacles (*antaraya-karma*). Within this category a number of subdivisions are described. (i) *Dana-antaraya-karma* : this prevents us from being as self-detached and munificent in the bestowal of alms on holy people and the poor as we should like to be. (ii) *Labha-antaraya-karma* : this keeps us from receiveing alms—a particularly nasty *karma*, since holy men depend on gifts, as do all religious institutions. (In the West, for example, a university afflicted with this bad influence would be forced to close for lack of funds). (iii) *Bhoga-antaraya-karma* : this keeps us from enjoying events. We arrive late for the party. Or while we are eating the cake we keep wishing that we could keep it too. (iv) *Upabhoga-antaraya-karma* : as a result of this frustration we are unable to enjoy the pleasurable objects that are continually around—our houses, gardens, fine clothes and women. (v) *Virya-antaraya-karma* : as a result of which we cannot bring ourselves to act : there is a paralysis of the will.

In all, exactly on hundred and forty-eight varieties and effects of *karma* are described and these work, in sum, in two directions. (1) *Ghati-karma* ("striking, wounding, killing *karma*") subtracts from the infinite powers of the life-monad and (2) *aghati-karma* ("non-striking *karma*") adds limiting qualities which do not properly belong to it. All of these *karmic* difficulties have been afflicting *jiva* from eternity. The Jain system requires no explanation of the beginning of it all, since there is no notion of a time when time was not : the world has always existed. The concern, furthermore, is not the beginning of the muddle, but the determination of its nature and the application of a technique to clear it up.

Bondage consists in the union of *jiva* with *ajiva*, salvation in the dissolution of the combination. This problem of conjunction and disjunction is expressed by the Jains in a statement of seven *tattvas* or 'principles'.

1. *Jiva* and (2) *Ajiva* : these have already been discussed, *Ajiva* includes categories 2-6 of the six constituents that we have just reviewed.
3. *Asrava* : 'influx', the pouring of *karmic* matter into the life-monad. This takes place through forty-two channels, among which are the five recipient sense-faculties, the three activities of mind, speech, physical action, the four passions of wrath, pride, guile and greed, and the six "non-passions" known as mirth, pleasure, distress, grief, fear and disgust.
4. *Bandha* : 'bondage', the fettering and smothering of *jiva* by *karmic* matter.
5. *Samvara* : 'stoppage', the checking of the influx.
6. *Nirjara* : 'shedding', the elimination of *karmic* matter by means of cleansing austerities, burning it out with the internal heat of ascetic practices (*tapas*), as by a sweating cure.
7. *Moska* : 'release'.

"*Jiva* and *non-jiva* together constitute the universe," we read in a Jain text. "If they are separate, nothing more is needed. If they are united, as they are found to be in the world, the stoppage and the gradual and then final destruction of the union are the only possible ways of considering them."

The Jain universe itself is indestructible, not subject to periodical dissolutions like that of the Hindu cosmology. Furthermore, there is no hint of that primal, world, generative sacred marriage of Father Heaven and Mother Earth which constitutes a major theme in

the tradition of the *Vedas*. In the great Horse Sacrifice (*asvamedha*) of the ancient Indo-Aryans, when the chief queen as representative of Mother-Earth, the spouse of the world-monarch (*chakravartin*), lay down in the sacrificial pit beside the slaughtered animal that was symbolic of heaven's solar force (the horse having just ended its triumphant solar year of untrammelled wandering; that act of the queen was the mystical reconstitution of the sacred cosmic marriage. But in Jainism the primal male (or the primal female) is the universe. There is no history of a gestatory coming into existence, no "golden germ" (*hiranyagarbha*), no cosmic egg which divides into the upper and lower half-shells of heaven and earth, no sacrificed and dismembered primeval being (*purusa*), whose limbs, blood, hair, etc., become transformed into the constituents of the world; in short, no myth of creation, for the universe has always been. The Jain universe is sterile, patterned on an ascetic doctrine. It is an all-containing world-mother without a mate or a lonely man giant without female consort; and this primeval person is forever whole and alive. The so-called "up-going" and "down-going" world-cycles are the tides of this being's life-process, continuous and everlasting. We are all the particles of that gigantic body and for each the task is to keep from being carried down to the infernal regions of the lower body, but, on the contrary, to ascend as speedily as possible to the supreme bliss of the peaceful dome of the prodigious skull.

This is an idea obviously contrary of the cosmic vision of the *Brahman* seers and yet it came to play a great role in later Hinduism, specifically, in the myths of Visnu Anantasayin, the giant divine dreamer of the world, who bears the universe in his belly, lets it flower

as a lotus from his navel, and takes it back again into his everlasting substance. Equally prominent is the Hindu female counterpart, the all-containing Goddess Mother, who brings all beings forth from the universal womb, nourishes them and devouring them again, takes everything back. These figures have been adapted in Hindusim to the Vedic myth of the Cosmic Marriage, but the incompatibility of the two sets of symbols still is evident; for though the world of creatures is described as being born, it is also described as constituting the body of the divine being, whereas in the Jain vision there is no such incongruity since the *jivas* are the atoms of life that circulate through the cosmic organism. An omniscient all-seeing seer and saint (*kevalin*) can actually watch the process of unending metabolism taking place throughout the frame, observing the cells in their continual transmutations; for his individual consciousness has been broadened to such a degree that it corresponds to the infinite consciousness of the giant universal being. With his inward spiritual eye he beholds the life-atoms, infinite in number, circulating continually, each endowed with its own life-duration, bodily strength and breathing power, as it goes about perpetually inhaling and exhaling.

The life-monads on the elemental level of existence (in the states of ether, air, fire, water and earth) are provided with the faculty of touch. (*sparsa-indriya*). All feel and respond to pressure, being themselves provided with minute extension and they are known therefore as *ekendriya*, "provided with one (*eka*) sense-faculty (*indraya*)". The atoms of the vegetables also are endowed with one sense-faculty (the sense of touch), though with four life-breaths (they lack speech-power). Such mute, one-sense existences are no less the masks

or garbs of *jivas* than the more complex forms of the animal, human and celestial kingdoms. This the *kevalin* knows and sees by virtue of his universal consciousness. He also knows and sees that the faculties of the higher beings are ten : (1) Life-force or duration (*ayus*), (2) bodily strength, substance, weight, tension, and resilience (*kaya-bala*), (3) speech-power, the power to make a sound (*vacana-bala*), (4) reasoning power (*manobala*), (5) breathing power (*anapana-prana*, *svasocchvasa-prana*), and (6-10) the five receptive senses of touch (*sparsendriya*), taste (*rasendriya*), smell (*ghranendriya*), sight (*chakurindriya*), and hearing (*sravanendriya*). Some vegetables, such as trees are provided with a collectivity of *jivas*. They impart separate *jivas* to their branches, twigs and fruits, for you can plant a fruit or slip a cutting and it will grow into an individual being. Others, such as onions, have a single *jiva* common to a number of separate stems. Minute animals, worms, insects and crustacea, which represent the next level of developed living organization, have besides life-duration, bodily strength, breathing power and the sense of touch, speech-power or the power to make a sound (*vacana-bala*), and the sense of taste (*rasendriya*). Their life-duration falls within the span of twelve years, whereas that of the preceding classes greatly varies. That of the fire-atom, for example, may be a moment (*samaya*) or seventy-two hours; that of a water-atom, a couple of moments (one to forty-eight) or seven thousand years; that of an air-atom, one moment or three thousand years.

This elaborate systematization of the forms of life, which the Jains share with Gosala, is based on the distribution of the ten faculties among the various beings, from the living elemental atoms to the organisms

of men and gods. The systematization is anything but primitive. It is quaint and archaic indeed, yet pedantic and extremely subtle and represents a fundamentally scientific conception of the world, in fact one is awed by the glimpse that it gives of the long history of human thought—a view much longer and more imposing than the one that is cherished by our Western humanists and academic historians with their little story about the Greeks, and the Renaissance. The twenty-fourth Jain Tirathankara, Mahavira, was roughly a contemporary of Thales and Anaxagoras, the earliest of the standard line of Greek philosophers; and yet the subtle, complex, thorough going analysis and classification of the features of nature which Mahavira's teaching took for granted and upon which it played was already centuries (perhaps even millenniums) old. It was a systematization that had long done away with the hosts of powerful gods and the wizard-magic of the still earlier priestly tradition—which itself had been as far above the really primitive level of human culture as are the arts of agriculture, herding and dairying above those of hunting and fishing, root and berry gathering. The world was already old, very wise and very learned, when the speculations of the Greeks produced the texts that are studied in our universities as the first chapters of philosophy.

According to the archaic the whole cosmos was alive and basic laws of its life were constant throughout, One should therefore practice "non-violence" (*ahimsa*) even upon the smallest, mutest, least conscious living being. The Jain monk, for example, avoids as far as possible the squeezing or touching of the atoms of the elements. He cannot cease breathing, but to avoid giving possible harms he should wear a veil before his mouth : this softens the impact of the air against the inside of the throat. And he must not snap his fingers or fan the

wind; for that disturbs and causes damage. If wicked people on a ferryboat should for some reason throw a Jain monk overboard, he must not try to make for the shore with violent, flailing strokes, like a valiant swimmer, but should gently drift, like a long and permit the currents to bring him gradually to land : he must not upset and injure the water-atoms. And he should then permit the moisture to drip or evaporate from his skin, never wipe it off or shake it away with a violent commotion of his limbs.

Non-violence (*ahimsa*) is true carried to an extreme. The Jain sect survives as a sort of extremely fundamentalist vestige in a civilization that has gone through many changes since the remote age when this universal piety and universal science of the world of nature and of escape from it came into existence. Even Jain lay folk must be watchful lest they cause unnecessary inconvenience to their fellow beings. They must, for example, not drink water after dark, for some small insect may be swallowed. They must not eat meat of any kind or kill bugs that fly about and annoy; credit may be gained, indeed, by allowing the bugs to settle and have their fill. All of which has led to the following most bizarre popular custom, which may be observed even today in the metropolitan streets of Bombay.

Two men came along carrying between them a light cot or bed alive with bedbugs. They stop before the door of a Jain household and cry : "Who will feed the bugs? Who will feed the bugs?" If some devout lady tosses a coin from a window, one of the criers places himself carefully in the bed and offers himself as a living grazing ground to his fellow beings. Whereby the lady of the house gains the credit and the hero of the cot the coin.

## 5

### The Teaching of Jainism

○ Max Weber

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(Max Weber is a reputed scholar of Indian Religions. In his famous book "The Religion of India" he has dealt with the Sociology of Jainism.)

Like numerous other holy teachers of classical times, according to tradition the author of Jain asceticism Jnatriputra (Nataputta) named Mahavira (died around 600 B.C.) was a Kshatriya noble. The origin of the sect within the sphere of the ancient distinguished intelligentsia is still expressed in the assurance of the transmitted biography, that *arhats* (holy men) always stem from the royal family of pure lineage and never from lower families. This is already expressive of a sharp opposition to Vedic-Brahmanical education on the part of the *sramana*, who originated in lay circles. The ritualistic commandments and teachings of the *Vedas* as well as the holy language are emphatically rejected. They have not the slightest significance for salvation which depends solely on the asceticism of the individual. The teaching rests solidly on the general pre-supposition that salvation consists of freedom from the wheel of imperfection, attainable only by detachment from this



world of imperfection, from inner-worldly action and from *karma* attached to action.

In contrast of Buddhism, Jainism accepted the essentials of the classical *atman* doctrine. Like *Samkhya*, however, it bypassed the Brahman doctrine, the concept of the divine soul of the universe. It was heterodox particularly because of its rejection of *Veda* education, of rituals and of the Brahmins. The absolute atheism of the doctrine, the rejection of any supreme deity and of the total Hindu pantheon would have been no absolutely compelling reason for the charge of heterodoxy, since other ancient philosophies of the intellectuals, particularly the *Samkhya* doctrine, were of the same bent.

Certainly Jainism rejected all orthodox philosophies, not only the *Vedantic* but also the *Samkhya* doctrine. Yet it was close to the last in certain metaphysical presuppositions. This holds especially for its view of the nature of the soul. All souls, i.e., the actual, ultimate I-substances of the Ego, are alleged to be equal and eternal essences. These and only these, not an absolute divine soul, are *jiva*, the carriers of life, And indeed they are (in sharpest contrast to Buddhistic teaching) a kind of soul-monad which is capable of infinite wisdom (gnosis). The soul is no mere passive, receptive spirits as in the case of orthodox accentuated interrelation with the ancient active asceticism and self-deification; the soul represents an active principle of life to which the inertia of matter is opposed as a contrast (*ajiva*).

The body of such is evil. Within Jainism the interrelation with mortificatory magic remains close within the qualitative limits established through its intellectualistic anti-orgiastic origin. The tie was closer than in any other salvation religion of India. An

expression of this is the fact that Jainism in place of the world of completely dethroned deities gives divine honors to great virtuous of asceticism : the *arhat*, the *jina*, and as supreme, the Tirathankara. They are worshipped during their lifetimes as magicians and after death as exemplary helpers in virtue. From a total of twenty-five Tirathankaras, Parsvanatha (allegedly in the ninth century B.C.) was, according to the legend, the next to the last. Mahavira, however, was the last. With them the "prophetic age" came to a close. After them no one has attained the stage of omniscience or the penultimate stage (*manahparyaya*).

As the quality of Brahmanical gnosis increases by steps, so Jain charisma is graded, according to the *Kalpa Sutra*, into seven statuses according to the stages of knowledge : from knowledge of the writings and holy traditions to the stage of enlightenment concerning the things of this world (*avadhi*), the first stage of supernatural knowledge; then the ability to have visions (hell-sehens); then to the possession of magical powers and the ability of self-transformation; then (fifth step) to knowledge of the thoughts of all living beings (*manahparyaya*, the second stage of supernatural wisdom); and freedom from all suffering (sixth step) and, therewith, finally, (seventh step) to certainly of the "last birth". Therefore, says the *Charanga Sutra*, the soul of the perfectly redeemed is qualityless, bodyless, soundless, colourless, tasteless, without feeling, without resurrection, without contact with matter, knowing and perceiving "without analogy", hence directly and without imagery thus leading an 'unconditional' existence.

Whoever in life has attained the proper intuitive knowledge sins no more. He sees, like Mahavira, all deities at his feet and is all-knowing. Mahavira's is the

(earthly) final stage which the perfect ascetic enters and is also called *nirvana* (in this case identical with the later *jivan mukti*). This stage of Jainistic *nirvana* means, however—as Hopkins has correctly seen—in contrast to Buddhist *nirvana*, not salvation from ‘existence’ in general, but, “salvation from the body”, the source of all sin and lust and of all limitation of spiritual power. One may clearly discern in this the historical relation to miraculous magic. For the Jains, too, knowledge is the supreme, in fact magical means of salvation, as with all classical soteriologies. However, the path to this, in addition to study and meditation, is asceticism to a higher degree than was the case with other sects of literati.

Indeed with the Jains asceticism has been pushed to an extreme point. He achieves supreme holiness who starves himself to death. On the whole, however, this asceticism, as compared to the primitive asceticism of magicians, is spiritualized in the direction of “world renunciation”. ‘Homelessness’ is the basic holy concept. It signifies the break of all worldly relations, thus above all, indifference to all sense perceptions and avoidance of all action based on worldly motives. It aims at seeking to cease to ‘act’, to hope and to wish. A man who only feels and thinks “I am I” is ‘homeless’ in this sense. He yearns neither for life nor for death. Both desires would be lust capable of awakening *karma*. He has no friends and declines the aid of others toward himself (for example, the usual foot-washing which the pious perform for the holy man). He acts according to the principle that one should not resist evil and that the individual’s state of grace in life requires proof through the endurance of hardship and pain. Therefore, the Jains were from endurance of hardship the outset not a community

of individual wise men who, as old men or temporary students, devoted themselves to ascetic life. Nor were they individual virtuosi of life-long asceticism; nor did they represent a plurality of schools and monasteries. Rather they were a special order of "professional monks". Perhaps they were the first, certainly they were among the older confessions of cultured intellectuals who were the most successful in carrying out the typical dualistic organization of the Hindu sects : the community of monks as the nucleus, the laity (*upasaka*, adorers) as a community under religious rule of the monks.

The reception of the novitiate into the community of monks in classical times took place under a tree, after the laying aside of all jewels and clothes as a sign of the renunciation of all possessions and it consisted of tearing of the hair and smearing the head, and ended with the communication of the *mantra* (the magical and soteriological formula) by the teacher into the ear of the novitiate. The severity of the flight from the world appears to have varied. According to the tradition, it must have increased; originally it entailed neither absolute lack of possessions nor unconditional chastity. It is controversial which of the two forms was introduced at a late time as an absolute commandment. As this supplementary introduction is ascribed to the Mahavira, in contrast to the milder commandments of the penultimate Tirathankara, it is identical with the formation of the order of monks itself.

A lasting schism of the order occurred through innovation in the first century A.D. when one part of the monks followed the commandment of absolute nakedness, at least for holy teachers and another part, indeed the majority, declined. As the gymnosophists in many points of their ritual followed more archaic

practice and were also mentioned by Hellenic writers—they disputed with the Hellenic philosophers—and as their later name was originally known only to Indian sources, whereas the name 'Jaina' would seem to be of later origin, the case probably represents an accommodation of the majority of the monastic community to the world in the interest of easier propaganda, which in the following centuries had great external successes. The gymnosophists seceded with the claim that only they were the true *nigrantha* (unfettered ones). As Digambara (those clothed with the width of the world) they separated themselves from the rest—the Svetambara (white-clothed)—and ended by excluding women completely from the possibility of salvation.

A further split occurred when Islam, here as once before in Byzantium, carried on the struggle against idols into the community and led to the emergence of an anti-idolatrous sect. Naturally, the Svetambara sect composed the bulk of the Jains. During the nineteenth century the Digambaras were driven from public life by the British police.

Lest he be entangled in personal or local relationships, the classical rules of Jainism laid upon the monk the duty of restless wandering from place to place. A painstaking casuistry regulated the manner of his mendicancy such that the voluntary nature of giving and the avoidance of all *karma*-engendering action of the giver (for which the monk could become answerable) seems to have been secured. To avoid all 'action' the monk should live as far as practicable from what nature freely and abundantly offers or from what the household (laity) without any intention has as a surplus on hand, hence, to that extent, resembles nature's gift. The

commandment of wandering homelessness quite naturally gave the order a strong missionary power. In fact, propaganda was expressly recommended.

In complete reversal of the duty to wander for the monks was the rule for the laity against travel, for travel puts them in danger uncontrolled and, ignorant as they are, of falling into sin. The familiar Hindu suspicion of change of place, at least any change of place without the accompaniment of the controlling religious man, was pushed to extremes among the Jains. For many trip the *guru* had to give permission and instructions, to determine in advance the route of travel, maximum duration of travel as well as the permissible maximum of travel expenses. These prescriptions are characteristic of the position of the Jain laity in general. They were treated as incompetent minors and held under disciplinary control by means of inspection trips of the clergy and the guardians of morality.

In addition to "correct knowledge", the second 'gem' of the Jain was "correct insight", which meant blind submission of the laity to the insight of the teacher. In contrast to the rather far-reaching 'organic' relativism of orthodox Hinduism, in classical Jain soteriology there was only the one absolutely holy goal of perfection over and against which all other things represent but way stations, provisional arrangements, immaturity and inferiority. The holy was achieved through a series of steps—according to the most widely diffused Jain doctrine, after eight rebirths reckoned from the time one set out upon the proper path.

The laity also was required to meditate for a definite time (forty-eight minutes) daily. On definite days (usually four times a month) it was required to lead a full monkish existence. The lay individual was also

compelled to take upon himself special austerity on definite days, not to leave the village and to eat only one meal a day. Lay *dharma* could only mean a possible approach to the *dharma* of monks. Hence, above all, the laity by special vows should take up obligatory duties. Thus, the Jain confession acquired the typical character of a 'sect' into which one was especially received.

The discipline of the monks was severe. The *acharya* (superior) of the monastery was ordinarily designated by age. Originally, however, he was chosen because of his charisma, by the predecessor or by the community. he accepted confessions of the monks and imposed penance. The competent monastic superior controlled the life of the laity, which for this purpose was divided into *samghas* (dioceses), these further into *ganas* (subdioceses) and these, finally, into *gachchas* (parishes). Any laxity on the part of an *acharya* was revenged through magical evil, loss of charisma particularly, impotence against demons.

In substance, the commandments of Jain asceticism, the 'gem', 'right practice' placed supreme importance on *ahimsa* the absolute prohibition of the killing (*himsa*) of living beings. Without question the Jain principle of *ahimsa* originated in the rejection of the meat sacrifice which the Brahmans had illogically preserved out of ancient Vedic sacrificial ritual. As well as the sharp polemic against this Vedic practice is the proof that the Jains carried through this commandment of non-killing with unheard-of vehemence. The Jain was allowed to take his own life and in the opinion of some, should do so when either he could not control his worldly lust or, in reverse, had reached the holy. But he must not touch another's life, not even indirectly nor unwittingly.

Perhaps, this prohibition was first transposed in

meaning from the anti-orgiastic origin of vegetarianism to the meaningful unity of all life. When Jainism became the official state religion in some kingdoms an accommodation had to occur. Even today correct Jains refuse to sit in criminal courts while they are quite useful in the administration of civil law. However, some safety value had to be provided with respect to military service, in this case similar to ancient Christianity. Thus, according to the revised doctrine conduct of the king and the warriors was just in "wars of defense." The ancient prescription was now reinterpreted to mean that for the laity it precluded only the killing of 'weaker' beings, that is, unarmed enemies. In this form the *ahimsa* of the Jains has been pushed to the extreme. During the dark season the correct Jain will burn no lights as it might burn moths. He kindles no fire, because it would kill insects. Water is strained before boiling. The Jain goes about with his mouth and nose covered with a cloth to prevent the inhalation of insects. Only after carefully sweeping every bit of earth with a soft broom does he step on it. Lest he kills lice with the scissors he does not cut the hair on his head or body (instead, he plucks the hair out by the roots). He never goes through water lest he steps on insects.

The practice of *ahimsa* led to the exclusion of the Jain from all industrial trades endangering life, hence from all trades which made use of fire, involved work with sharp instruments (wood or stone work); from masonry; and in general, from the majority of industrial callings. Agriculture was, of course, completely excluded : ploughing, especially, always endangers the lives of worms and insects.

The second most important commandment for the laity was the limitation of possessions. One should have



no more than the 'necessary'. Personal effects in some Jain catechisms are restricted to twenty-six definite articles. Moreover, the possession of riches in general beyond those necessary for existence is dangerous to the holy. One should give his surplus to the temple or the veterinary in order to gain service merit. This occurred in Jain communities famous for their institutions. It may be noted that the acquisition of considerable wealth was in no way forbidden, only the striving after wealth and attachment to riches; this was rather similar to the ascetic Protestantism of the Occident. As with Protestantism, "Joy in possessions" (*parigraha*) was the objectional thing, but not possession or grain in itself. The similarity extends further : a Jain commandment forbids saying anything false or exaggerated : the Jains believed in absolute honesty in business life, all deception (*maya*) was prohibited, including especially all dishonest gain through smuggling, bribery and any sort of disreputable financial practice (*adattu dama*).

All this excluded the sect, on the one side, from typical Oriental participation in 'political capitalism' (accumulation of wealth by officials, tax farmers, state purveyors) and on the other it worked among them and among the Parsees, just as for the Quakers in the Occident, in terms of the dictum (of early capitalism) "honesty is the best policy." The honesty of the Jain trader was famous. Their wealth was also famous : formerly it has been maintained that more than half the trade of India passed through their hands.

That the Jainas, at least the Svetambara Jains, nearly all became traders was due to purely ritualistic reasons, a case similar to the Jews ! Only the trader could truly practise *ahimsa*. Their special manner of trading, too,

determined by ritual, with its particularly strong aversion against travelling and their way of making travel difficult restricted them to resident trade, again as with the Jews to banking and money-lending. The compulsory 'saving' of asceticism familiar from the economic history of Puritanism worked also among them toward the use of accumulated possessions, as investment capital rather than as funds for consumption or rent. That they remained confined to commercial capitalism and failed to create an industrial organization was again due to their ritualistically determined exclusion from industry and as with the Jews their ritualistic isolation in general. This must have been added to by the now familiar barriers which their Hindu surroundings with its traditionalism put in their way besides the patrimonial character of kingship.

The commandment to retain no more than is 'necessary' (*parigraha viramana vrata*) provided but a very elastic restriction to their extensive accumulation of wealth. As with the Puritans the strict methodical nature of their prescribed way of life was favourable to such accumulation. Abstinence from intoxicants and from the enjoyment of meat and honey, absolute avoidance of any sort of unchastity and strict loyalty in marriage, avoidance of status pride, of anger, all passions are, among all cultured Hindus, self-evident commandments. Possibly the principle that any emotion leads to hell is even more strongly applied. And even more strongly enjoined than for the Hindu laity is the warning against native surrender to 'the world.' One can avoid entanglement in *karma* only through rigid, methodical self-control and composure, through holding one's tongue and studious caution in all life situations.

Among merits their social ethic counts the feeding of the hungry and thirsty, the clothing of the poor, the

forbearance of and care for animals, care for the monks (of their own confession), saving another's life and kindness toward others. One should think only good of others, not hurt their feelings and seek to win them through high morality and politeness. However, one should not bind oneself to others.

The five great vows of the monks contain, in addition to *ahimsa*, *asatya*, *tyaga* (prohibition of dishonesty), *ashaya vrata* (prohibition against taking anything which is not freely offered), *brahmacharya* (chastity), and *aparigraha vrata* (the renunciation of love for anyone or anything). Love must be eliminated for it awakens a desire and the processes of *karma*.

In spite of the strict disciplinary subordination of the laity (*sravaka*) under the monk-clergy, the former have always exerted strong influence in Jainism. Just like Buddhistic classical writing, their literature is addressed in their own language to circles ignorant of Sanskrit. It was the laity—here as in Buddhism—which for want of cult objects introduced hagiolatry and idolatry and through comprehensive constructions and foundations contributed to an extraordinary flowering of hieratic architecture and handicraft. The laity could do so because it represented the possessing, pre-eminently bourgeois classes. Guild chiefs were mentioned even in the older literature as lay representatives. To the present day the Jains are most strongly represented in the West Indian guilds. Nowadays, lay influence is mounting again and finds expression especially in the attempt to organize hitherto isolated parishes scattered throughout India into a single community. The strong organization and ties between the lay parish and the monks, however, has always existed and formed for Jainism—in contrast to

Buddhism—the means of enduring the competition of the Brahmanical restoration of the Middle Ages and the Islamic persecution.

The origin of the sect was closely contemporaneous with the rise of the Indian city. Anti-urban Bengal, on the other hand, was least receptive to the Jains. One must, however, guard against the notion that it was 'product' of the 'bourgeoise'. It stemmed from Kshatriya speculation and lay asceticism. Its doctrine, especially the demands addressed to the laity and its ritualistic prescription, formed a workable routine of the everyday life only for a stratum of merchants. But it imposed also on such a stratum as we saw, quite burdensome restrictions, which it could neither have developed or tolerated because of economic interests.

Doubtless, the rise of Jainism like all orthodox and heterodox Hindu communities was due to the favour of princes. Also it is extremely suggestive and rightly assumed that the wish by these princes to be free of Brahman power was one of the most important (political) motives for supporting the Jains. The great flowering of Jain religion does not occur in the time of the rising bourgeoisie but coincides precisely with the decline of city politics and guild power, somewhere between the third and thirteenth centuries B.C.—a time also of the flowering of Jainist literature, which gained especially at the expense of Buddhism.

The sect appears to have been founded in the region East of Benares, hence it expanded to the west and to the south while remaining weak in Bengal and in Hindustan. In some southern Indian areas and in the realm of the Western Chalukya kings it was, at times, accepted as the state religion. In the west the main sects of practising Jains have continued to exist right down to the present.

After the Hindu restoration Jainism to a large extent submitted to the fate of Hinduization. At the beginning it had ignored the castes. The castes had no relation, even indirectly to Jainist soteriology. This changed even as, under the influence of the laity temple and idol assumed even greater dimensions.

The genuine Jain monk could not possibly take care of temples and idols since the practice produced *karma*. Preoccupied with his own salvation, he could assume appropriately only the position of *guru* and teacher. The task of taking care of temple idols thus fell into the hands of the laity. We find the peculiar phenomenon that the temple cult was preferentially placed into the hands of Brahmans, for they were trained for such tasks.

The caste order now overpowered the Jains. In South India the Jain sects are completely organized into castes, while in the North Hinduistic theory is inclined—according to the familiar type—to treat them as sect castes, which they have always expressly denied. In the cities of north-west India, however, they have maintained intermarriage with peer groups from the times of guiled power. Hence they are above all trader strata. The modern representatives of Hinduism are inclined to claim them for their own. The Jains themselves have given up propaganda proper. Their service comprises a sermon in which no ‘God’ appears and the exegesis of sacred scriptures. The belief of their laity seems inclined to the view that there is indeed a god but that he goes not trouble himself with the world and has contented himself with revealing how to redeem oneself from this world. The number of believers, as has been said, is relatively declining.

This peculiarly shifting situation of the sect rests in part in the Hindu conditions we have recognized, in

part, however, in the original and intrinsic peculiarities of Jainism itself. Its ritualistic attitude was not completely clear and could not be in the absence of a supra-mundane God and an ethic anchored to his will. While the sect is constituted on the principle of strict separation and while the laity is bound to the monks, it has not been provided with a fixed ritual of its own.

There were uncertain elements in its whole teaching; it was contradictory so far as its teaching consisted in an initial state available only through contemplation, whereas its specific holy path was asceticism. At least, radical ascetic means had equal standing with meditation and contemplation. Magic was never entirely given up and the anxious control of ritualistic and ascetic rectitude took the place of perfect and consistently unified method be it contemplative mysticism or active asceticism.

The Jains themselves have always viewed themselves as a specifically ascetic sect and especially in opposition to those who were from this standpoint scorned as 'worldly' adherents to Buddhism.

## 6

### The Origin of Religion

○ Miss Elizabeth Frazer

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Almost all the world's religions accept the theory in one way or another; that is either openly or secretly. If they are properly studied it will be seen that they believe also in a Nirvāṇa—again either openly or secretly. But in all the mythological religions, the conceptions of Karma and Nirvāṇa are vague and obscure and improperly understood. Even in Buddhism, it is denied that the karmic bondage is material in its nature, while Nirvāṇa actually stands for annihilation. No doubt Buddha believed in and speak, at times, of the permanence—the Eternity of Nirvāṇa but he did not believe in the existence of a Soul and not once did he affirm it. His idea of permanency or eternity, therefore, fixed itself on the condition of Nirvāṇa and not on the Soul which for him did not exist. In other words, Buddha maintained the belief that once release from Karma was obtained by or through annihilation, it could not be formed afresh. On this account alone, then—the display of so much ignorance of the soul and its nature and

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From Scientific Interpretation of Christianity by Miss Elizabeth Frazer, 1940.

apart from anything else, Buddhism can quite easily be left out of consideration as a possible source of Religion. The fact that it is also no more than two thousand five hundred years old, further excludes any other claim it might have; for Religion is surely much older.

On the same ground of recency we may also exclude from consideration the Semetic group of religions. viz. Judism, Christianity and Mohmmadanism. This leaves us with Jainism, Hinduism, Zorastrianism, Taoism and the ancient religions of Egypt and Greece. They are all united in teaching the same thing-the Doctrine of Nirvāṇa. They must therefore have had a common source. The question that confronts us is—"Where is this source?" It cannot be outside of them, for there is nothing to suggest the existence of any other religion, that might be deemed to have taught the doctrine of Nirvāṇa.

When we study Jainism, we find a complete explanation of the theory of Karma, a detailed description of soul-nature and likewise of the state of Nirvāṇa. In addition, the biographies of a very large number of men who have actually attained the Summum Bonum are also given. But this is not so with any other of the religions we have just named. In no other religion do we find these three features. In other creeds, the description of soul-nature is hazy and vague, either misunderstood or only half-comprehended. In the same way, any account they give of Karma is unscientific and inadequate. Furthermore, there are no biographies of men who attained Nirvāṇa, as are possessed by Jainism. In fact, no other religion can lay claim that any of its adherents have ever attained that Blessed State.

What however, is most significant and to be carefully borne in mind, when we study Jainism as a possible



source of Religion is the fact that it is the only non-allegorical religion—the only creed that is a purely scientific system of religion which insists upon and displays a thorough understanding of the problem of life or soul. No other religion can lay claim to this distinction. All others are unscientific dressed up in the garments of allegory and myth and metaphor, yet daring to masquerade as Truth. Certainly those artistic dabblers in Truth—the people who composed the allegories—must have been acquainted with the principles which they personified as gods and goddesses. For fact must always precede allegory. But clearly they were not omniscient men. Had they been, they would have foreseen the disastrous outcome of their pastime of allegorising—the shedding of blood, the bitter feuds that have arisen from the concealment of Truth, in a misconceived, misleading garb that hides effectively its real nature.

The conclusion to be reached from a study of Comparative Religion is that the only thoroughly practical creed is Jainism. And for the simple reason that it was founded by omniscient men who did not resort to allegory in their loving labour of spreading Truth. Being omniscient they would foresee the consequence of such folly.

The Jains believe that Religion is a science. For them, Religion is either a set of natural laws based on fact or fiction. Either the one or the other; there being no intermediate place for it. They hold that, that which cannot be conceived clearly and definitely, which in short, is unreliable, is not a fact. Only that which is certain, definite and reliable can be termed fact. And fact is ever amenable to rational explanation and scientific treatment. Arguing thus, Jainism is the only

religious system that recognises clearly, the truth that religion is a science, as it must be, if it is to be of any use at all. It is for this reason tht Jainism is the only *man-made* religion—the only one that reduces everything to the iron laws of nature and with modern science, refuses and has always refused to acknowledge the existence of God who is at once can be neither created nor managed. Putting Religion thus on a scientific basis it is worth while to investigate the Jaina claim that full penetrating all—elucidating light is to be found only in Jainism. As a matter of fact, it is only Jainism which realises that the question of the origin of Religion in a world that is external and uncreated does not arise. It is perfectly true when the Jains say that Religion originated with man and that the first deified man of every cycle of time is the founder of Religion. Whenever a Tirthaṅkara arises he re-establishes the scientific truths concerning the nature of Life and these truths are collectively termed Religion.

Since Jainism is the only religion that lays claim to having produced omniscient men, it does seem plain that Religion does originate from the Jains, that Rīṣabha Dēva—the first perfect man of the current cycle of time—was the Founder of Religion as taught by the Jains, for even the Hindus admit the Jaina claim that he is the founder of Jainism; that it was founded very very far back in time, countless untold millenniums ago, shortly after the first clouds began to form in the sky and the first water to descend on earth. We can only conjecture as to what really happened but it would seem that after a long time and at a period when there were no omniscient men to give warning, certain of the followers of Jainism who happened to be endowed with a fanciful imagination allied to poetical genius had the idea of originatting a new and pleasant pastime for

whiling away the many idle moments they seem to have had. They to toy with the Word of Truth and gradually to personify some aspects of the Doctrine as gods and goddesses building elegant imaginative myths round them. Their work seems to have been much appreciated and their hidden charm to have proved so attractive that men of all classes and all lands took up the cult with enthusiasm. With the result that all lands took up the cult with enthusiasm. With the result that every body tried to outvie his neighbour in the new art of clever disguise and the Word of Law was literally smothered under the prolific productions of poetic fame and came finally to be lost of view.

After a time, temples and pagodas were built to house representatives of those mythological conceptions of the mind and the uninitiated masses were invited and encouraged by the new priestly class that arose, to worship these man-made deities.

Then later still, the rabble turned the tables and then sprang up a sharp division between the esoterics and the exoterics—the priests who held the secret and the vulgar laity who fed them. Men are not born with an understanding of the secret significance of allegorical myths and it came to pass that the masses became firmly fixed in their belief in the exoteric faith which alone was known to them. Intolerance of any other view began to was strong in them. As it grew stronger, it led invariably to religious persecution. The number of esoterics dwindled. Matters eventually came to such a pass that no esoteric dared preach the truth openly. It was at this time, that the wisdom of secret initiation was recognised and the first institutions and mystery—lodges were established for the purpose. They went by different names in different countries but the fundamental aim was the same—the resurrection of

Life—the Son or the Son of God from the dead.

The estrangement between those who followed the word of Tirthankara in its unadorned, undisguised form and the esoterics themselves, fostered as it was by the latter who had to keep up appearances before the rabble, became more and more pronounced. Finally the branch set itself up in opposition to the Tree and up to the present time, is still engaged in vociferously denying its relationship with the Source, calling it now atheistic, now devoid of sense, now the destroyer of Religion.

The last-comers in the Religions—the mushroom growths of modern times are those which have sprung up either as reformers of existing creeds or who have tried to strike out into paths had run paralld but little to the ancient tracks. They have had no Revelation—Their knowledge is derived mostly from the misunderstood word of some ancient scripture on to which they have fastened themselves. It is possible to come across gleams of real insight here and there in some of their works; but this is only because a reformer stopped to ponder at some particular spot in the course of his rush through the corridor of myth and mythology.

It is not possible at this late date to determine the exact times of the appearance of the various Religions. But to a great extent, the order of their appearance can be deduced. As we have already established, Religion started with the Jains in India as a Science of Salvation. Outside India, no one else has ever claimed to have obtained Salvation and certainly Religion has never worm elsewhere the scientific aspect that it does in Jainism. Then, came the first allegorists—Jains of course—and their method came to be copied far and wide. The descendents of these Aryan allegorists of India, are known to-day as Hindus and the Rìgvèda is probably the oldest allegorical Scripture in the world.

Next arose the sect which popularised sanguinary sacrifice. They misinterpreted the allegorical text and began to offer up animals on the sacrificial altar, until after a very-long time, a wave of reaction against it set in.

After the Nirvāṇa of the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, scientific Religion seems to have suffered an eclipse and almost to have dis-appeared for a time-until in fact, the appearance of the twenty-third World Teacher in the ninth century B.C. In his time, there seems to have been some upheaval in Indian metaphysical thought. It is probable that at least five out of the six schools of Hindu Philosophy originated during his life-time, becoming fixed in their present form a few hundred years later. It is also very probable that the religions of the Parsees, the Jews and of the Chinese Lao Tse, were founded round about this time.

It was in the sixth century B.C. that the seed of Christianity was taken from India; although the Gospels were written some centuries later.

Buddhism was born during the life-time of the last Tīrthaṅkara as a compromise between the exclusiveness of the Hindus and the rigid disciplinary asceticism of the Jains. Certainly Buddha was not born in the religion he founded. He was the disciple of various teachers including the Jainas, until he struck out for himself a new path.

The various systems of Mysticism that arose in different countries are all naturally posterior to the main creeds.

Having thus traced the History of Religions, it would certainly seem that we may take Jainism to be its source.

To refer again to Christianity. It has already been said that it was taken from India in the sixth century B.C. Its doctrines agree in every particular with Jainism

and as C.R. Jain has shown in his Interpretation of St John's Revelation, the twenty-four Elders of that book, are the Tīrthaṅkaras of Jainism. The countless number of Siddhas (Perfect Soul) in Jainism are also to be found in the Book of Revelation. The same conceptions of Karma, of the inflow and stoppage and riddance of matter in relation to karmic activity, are common to both the religions. The description of the condition of the Soul in Nirvāṇa is identically the same and the same is the case with the natural attributes of soul substance. This is a hundred percent. This is sufficient to show that Christianity was taken from Jainism. When was it taken?

In Mahāvīra's time. For two reasons. Firstly, because it is not likely that the teaching about the Four and Twenty Elders could have been adopted from a distance or from heresay, so that somebody must have actually seen the glory of Tīrthaṅkara-hood in the person of Mahāvīra and accepted the teaching about the earlier twenty-three Tīrthaṅkaras also. Secondly, there are some texts in the Gospels which show that they were pronounced at a time when Nirvāṇa was still attainable by humanity on our globe—that is beyond two thousand four hundred years ago—during which period it has ceased to be attained. One of these texts says :—"There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom." Its real import is the attainment of Nirvāṇa and since Nirvāṇa ceased to be attainable over two thousand four hundred years ago, it must therefore have been uttered in the sixth century B.C. or earlier. European scholarship has also shown that the seeds of Christianity were sown centuries before the supposed date of Jesus. Bearing all these facts in mind, there can be no doubt that Christianity originated in the time of Mahāvīra himself.

# 7

## Jaina Doctrine

○ M. Guerinot

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### I

#### Teaching of Jainism

When the Master's light went out at Pāvā in 527 B.C. the date most commonly accepted, one only of his eleven principal disciples was left surviving. It was Sudharman.<sup>1</sup>

But the work had been accomplished. Jainism had been provided with such a discipline and organisation, that it had nothing to fear in the centuries to come. In fact, it had been developing in an unbroken link and to-day it is the only religion on Indian soil which preserves those monastic orders that, in the sixth century B.C. were so many heresies, from the point of view of the orthodox religion—Brāhmanism.

What then, was the significance of these religious communities, most of which had only a very brief existence?

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1. M. Guerinot is wrong in making this statement as Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra left two surviving principal disciples viz. Indrabhuti Gautāma and Sudharman.

The philosophical speculations which prevailed in India in the days of Mahāvīra and whose origin could be traced back far far into even the hoary Vedic age, showed an antithesis of a peculiar strength.

On the one hand there was Being, one and universal—whether it was called Ātman or Brahma, according to the opinion of the moment, it possessed the plentitude of attributes and perfections. It was the Being one and simple, eternal and infinite, universal and immutable ineffable and incomprehensible cause of every change. In a word, the Being impersonal, supreme, and happy.

On the other hand was the world many-sided and changing in a ceaseless round of change, domain of sorrows and misery.

It was in such a miserable world that the human soul—the individual Ātman is imprisoned. By Karma or deeds. It is subjected to an interminable transmigration, a hotch-potch of existence—Saṃsāra—right upto the day when, freeing itself at last, it assimilates or identifies itself with the Soul Superme, with Brahma. Then, it reaches Deliverance.

Deliverance! This is the word which brings to a head the antithesis between Brahma and the Universe.

Under the influence of these ideas, people naturally exerted themselves to sever themselves from every tie, from every bond. The means to bring about such a disengagement from worldly things, were various; some of them were very fantastic. But the one most simple and most realizable consisted in being like a mendicant monk.

According to the teachings of Brahmanic religion, the state of an anchorite was counted among the four—Ashramas—i.e. the successive stages of human



existence. In the early days, these wandering ascetics—the sannyasins as they were called, were recruited from the most cultivated caste—the Brahmans.

Whatever, however, may have been the superiority which this social class arrogated itself, it could not claim as its sole monopoly, the Search after Deliverance. In virtue of the same rights as the Brahmans, members of other castes had the right to become anchorites, ascetics or mendicants. One by one appeared on the scene, the great masters who were not Brāhmans bringing the good news and showing the way to salvation or Deliverance. Thus were constituted the orders like those of the Jains or of the Buddhists which recommended themselves preferably to the Kṣatriyas and which were recruited from this warlike and princely caste. And what was more, they show no signs of any exclusiveness whatever and willingly received among them representatives of lower (other) castes.

It is easy to imagine that these non-Brāhmanic communities were regarded with disdain and held at arm's length by the sects belonging to the proud caste of the Brahmans. It was not long, before these schisms became emphasized and non-Brāhmanic communities posed as independent sects side by side with the Brahmanic orders. This is why, according to the keen and judicious remark of Dr. Jacobi, that Jainism and Buddhism must not be regarded as the manifestations of sudden revolution, but rather as the result of a religious movement slow and continuous.

To tell the truth, it was actually by reaction, not against Brāhmanism, but against the exclusiveness of the Brāhmans that these new monastic orders came into existence. To emanate itself completely from the Brāhmanic religion was to expose itself to a positive

failure. During this period of intense activity religious activity in Central and Eastern India, during the sixth century before the christian era, many communities came into existence. Buddhist records, in particular, make out their lists sometimes very considerable. Most of them succumbed Buddhism itself was obliged to leave India and to plant itself in the adjoining countries. Jainism alone succeeded in assuring to itself a solid destiny, prosperous, more and more every day. It was because Jainism alone was clever enough to take into account precisely the conditions of existence, that offered to it.

India has always had but one religion-Brahmanism. The truth of this proposition is obvious as regards the period we are now considering, more so than in any other period. Jainism makes no mistakes about it.

From the prevailing philosophical speculations it borrowed its two fundamental dogmas those of Transmigration and of Salvation. Thus it offered to the crowd the doctrines already familiar to it since so many centuries. But it rendered this doctrine more acceptable by cleaning it of all narrowness and formalism that Brāhmans had introduced there-in. In essence, nothing else characterised the reaction of Jainism against Brāhmanism except the absence of the slightest regard for the authority of the Vēda and the flat denial as to distinctions of caste. And, even in the matter of caste, its rejection by Jainism was much more a question of 'theory' than of actual practice. The Jain Monks reserved to themselves doctrinal instruction; they played the role of spiritual directors; but they left it to the Brahmanic priests the duty to carry out the customary ceremonies as to birth, marriage or death. And even in their temples by the side of the Tīrthaṅkaras—their prophets—the

most venerated—they accorded a place large and large every day to Brahmanic divinities.

By such methods, they procured for themselves a two-fold advantage. On the one hand, they lived almost always in peace with the Brāhmanas. The latter except in a few critical questions did not make up their minds relentlessly to persecute the Jains as they did in the case of the Buddhists. For in the Jaina temples they found their own gods, as well as, their customary functions. On the other hand they conciliated and attracted the masses.

## II

### **Historical Importance**

These reasons explain the success of Mahāvîra and the progress of his doctrines. Let us now estimate the historical importance of his own personal share.

In more than one place, the Buddhist writings speak of the Nirgrantha sect as one of the most important at the time when that religion was struggling into existence. From many points of view, the creed of the Nirgranthas presents the most complete analogy with that of the Buddhists. Both these schools accord to (1) asceticism the highest place in the list of means to destroy Karmas and to attain to Salvation, (2) The theory of Kriyavad according to which the soul is affected directly by the actions and the passions is also common to both, (3) Just like the doctrine of sin and its Punishment, (4) Lastly, some practices like fasting for instance or the respect to the life of any living being, however low in the scale of existence are found in an identical form in both these sects. As a rule, therefore, whenever mention is made of these beliefs, in Buddhistic works, they are

attributed to the Nirgrantha Nātaputta i.e. to Mahāvīra. But it stands to Dr. Jacobi's credit to have shown that the sect of the Nirgranthas existed before Mahāvīra. In all probability it must have been founded by Pārśva, the twenty-third and one of the most venerated among the prophets of Jainism. There can no longer be any doubt that Pārśva was a historical personage. According to the Jain tradition he must have lived a hundred years and died 250 years before Mahāvīra. His period of activity corresponds thus to the VIII century B.C. His school could not be insignificant at the time when Mahāvīra commenced his preaching in the sixth century B.C. The parents of the latter, were followers of the religion of Pārśva and it is thus not surprising that he retained a great portion of the dogmas of Pārśva.

Does this mean that he contents himself with appropriating to himself the teaching of Pārśva? Not at all, for the two schools however similar to each other by their numerous agreement, still display some capital differences. We shall refer in this connection the Uttarādhyayana Sutra, so curious and so instructive.

One day Kesin, a disciple of Pārśva and Gautama, a disciple of Mahāvīra come across each other in a para near Śrāvastī. Their followers asked each to his side. Is our law the right one or that of these others? Are our doctrines and conduct, the right one or those of these others? Dividing the doubts which troubled their followers both Kesin and Gautama proposed to put an end to it by a free and frank, explanation. They approached each other, and Kesin thus interrogated Gautama. "The Law laid down by the Great Sage Pārśva admits only four great vows, while that of Vardhamāna prescribe five (23). "The law taught by Vardhamāna forbids clothing, while that of Great Sage Pārśva permits

an upper as well as a lower garment" (29). Both doctrine being meant for the same goal, why this difference?

The reply of Gautama is perhaps not so clear as might be desired but it does, not the less, satisfy Kesin and dissipate his uncertainties. In itself the reply is of little importance. The questions put by the disciples of Pārśva evidence the two leading differences which separated these doctrines; Pārśva permitted clothing, Mahāvīra added a fifth that of chastity.

The part of Mahāvīra is thus clearly marked. It was that of a Reformer. Initiated from his youth in the Doctrines of Pārśva, the observances of this order soon appeared to him insufficient. Imbued with the idea of a rigorous penance, he preached nudity and chastity and it was no doubt on these two heads that the Jains—his followers differentiated themselves from the older school of the Nirgranthas.

Besides the Nirgranthas, there is still another sect which presents more than, one point of resemblance with the Jains. It is that of the Ajivikas, whose chief was Gośāla. This one according to Dr. Jacobi, had exercised the most considerable influence upon Mahāvīra. But the problem does not cases to be obscure. According to the Bhagavati Sūtra, Gośāla seems to have lived at first six years in the company of Mahāvīra, nudity, and the other observances common to both the schools.

This hypotheses is quite a legitimate one and Mr. Hoernle accepts it. On the other hand, Dr. Jacobi considers Mahāvīra and Gośāla to have been chiefs of two sects originally independent of each other. After living together for six years, with the intention to combine their orders, they might have fallen out very likely on the question as to who should lead the community thus combined. According to the second theory, the Ājivikas

would be at least as ancient as the followers of Mahāvira. According to Buddhist-records on which Dr. Jacobi bases his argument, they could trace themselves back to very ancient time and would be identical with the Acélakas and Gośāla would be the successor of Nandi Vackha, and of Kisa Sāṅkicca.

It is easy to see how these two hypotheses are naturally antagonistic. It is possible that the Jain tradition has flattered Mahāvira in making of Gośāla a disciple of Mahāvira. But may it not be that the Buddhist tradition is erroneous when it confounds the Ajivikas with the Acelakas? It is difficult to pronounce definitely. The contemporary sects of Buddha and Mahāvira were, as numerous as they were, as their names were different. Or, may it not be that they are all one and the same, under these varying designations? The reasearch which would solve this question, has hardly yet commenced.

### III

#### **Long Tradition**

The Jaina doctrine like that of the Buddhists, comprises three Gems—the Tri-ratnas—1. the True Faith, 2. the True Knowledge and 3. the True Conduct.

*Faith*—Jainism is an atheistic religion. A Jain does not believe in a personal and supreme God. He accords his faith to a Jina. The Jina alone has discovered and realized the way to Salvation and so it is in him that one must seek one's refuge and one's safety.

Who, then, in a Jina? Originally, he was a man, exposed like others to the miseries and sorrows of this world. But through his personal exertions and by dint of a steady fast volition, he emancipates himself from

the bonds of Karma. He thus discovers and can afterwards explain the way to Salvation.

Such was Mahāvîra, But he was not the sole Jina. Each region of the world has 72 of which 24 belonged to the age that is over, 24 to the age to come.

In the regions, we inhabit—the Bharata Varsha—in the age we live in, there have appeared twenty-four prophets of Jainism. They are ordinarily called Tirthankaras. They have their legends which the Jains recite piously every year at the period of their long fasting.

The first was Vraṣabha (deva) or Ādinath as he was also named. He was born in the country of Śrāvasti and lived 81,00000 million years. He attained Perfect Knowledge i.e. Bodhi or Enlightenment under a Banyan tree. His distinctive mark is Bull. Next after him came Ajitanātha. Sambhavanātha, Abhinandana and Sumatinātha, all except Sambhavanātha, born at Ayodha. Their term of existence diminishes gradually till Sumatinātha lived only 4 million years. The sixth Tirthankaras was Padma-prabha with a Lotus-button as his distinctive mark, followed by Su-pārśva who hailed from Benares with a svastika as his distinctive mark and attaining to Omniscience and Perfection under an Acacia, Candra-prabha the next has the Moon as his distinctive mark, whose name he bears. His successors Suvidhi nātha or Puspadanta, Sitala natha, Shreyāṇsa nātha, Vasupujya Swāmî, Vimala nāth, Ananta nāth and Dharma nātha are all of a secondary importance. The existence of the last mentioned did not pass one million years.

Shanti nātha, the 16th lived for 100000 years, bearing the distinctive mark of an antelope. It is a figure, the most venerated among the Jains. The three next ones

Kunthu nātha, Ara nātha and Malli nātha need only be mentioned. The animal charactrising the twentieth Tīrthaṅkara—Muni Suvrata—is a tortoise. The blue lotus is the symbol of Nami Natha, born, they say, at Mathurā. While Nēmi-nātha almost his homonym was born at Dwārakā-(Kathiawar). All these Tīrthaṅkaras belong to the region of myth. With the twenty-third Pārśva natha we enter into the region of history and of reality. Still the greater part of the data are also legendary. He was born either at Benares or Shravasti?<sup>2</sup> He is represented as having a blue colour with a serpent for his symbol. Mahāvīra has yellow colour and the Lion is his distinctive mark. It would seem to have been under a Teak tree that he attained to Illumination.

### **The True knowledge.**

The True Knowledge—To give one's faith to the Jina is one of the conditions for Salvation. But to strive for this Soul's emancipation one must know with a fault, the truths taught; in other words, to have the True Knowledge.

There are five degrees of True Knowledge.

1. <sup>3</sup>The direct perception or Mati—It is the knowledge that we obtain through the sad of our

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- Translator's Note. If any discrepancy should suggest itself to a Jain reader in this proposition, the translator begs him to remember that he is only reproducing M. Guerinot's statements. It would seem as if there was some confusion in M. Guerinot's mind when he penned this passange. The ideas in the sentence are also mutally conflicting as Region suggests space, while 'age' shows time.
  - 2. He was born at Benares.
  - 3. Translator's Note—The elaborate technical terminology to describe properly these ideas in English has het to be formed. It is a misfortune inseparable from scholarly exposition, →



senses and it tells us the property of things, colours, odours, sounds.

2. From the data of the senses, we can obtain the other elements of knowledge. It is the Clear knowledge or Shruti-(Or better called Education).
3. The Avadhi or the knowledge determinative is the next. Superior Senses have no share in it. Soul alone, through its own powers and without any intermediary, knows the objects which occupy a given space with reference to Time and Space. Thanks to the Avadhi for example, that the adepts know what takes place in distant regions or in the future.
4. The next is of an analogous character. Manah paryaya, aids the knower in knowing the thoughts of others. (Or Spiritual Clairvoyance).
5. Lastly, the supreme degrees of Knowledge is

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→ that technical terms of one language would be rendered into another by expositions, outrivalling the original terms as regards in comprehensibility by ordinary minds and yet missing that definiteness which the original terms have acquired through centuries of use, and association, M. Guerinot appears to the translator, exposed to this criticism in the present instances by in the absence of a recognized terminology, it is difficult to improve upon him. Though he does not use quite incomprehensible terms still he seems to have missed the meaning of these various kinds of knowledge as they appear to a born-Jain. It seems more appropriate for instance, to describe what he calls Direct Perception as Intelligence which is to be found even among the lowest animal whether it has one sense or more. The second kind, again, will receive a fitter description if it be termed Education. Its traditional basis does not entitle it to be called, 'Clear Knowledge', but still it is superior to the last preceding or Intelligence. Simple. The third might be styled with justice Logical Inference—and the fourth as Spiritual Clairvoyance.

Omniscience-Kévala. It is Knowledge Absolute and Perfect and Unlimited to which neither the present nor the past nor the future is hidden.

This is the Knowledge of the Jinas.

As regards the metaphysical aspect of knowledge, the Jains have elaborated a most original system, which far surpasses the more celebrated or better known method of the sceptics. It is the doctrine of 'May Be' Syādvāda, which is opposed to the dogmatic assertion of the Brāhmans—the Astivāda—just like theory of the Void and Emptiness—the Shunyavāda of the Buddhas.

According to this system, every predication is nothing more than an expression of a simple possibility. It is possible, then, at one and the same time to affirm, as well as, deny the predicate by reference to the subject. Hence, there are seven legitimate modes—the Saptabhāṅgi Naya.

### **In fact we can.**

- (1) Affirm the existence of a thing from one point of view
- (2) Deny that thing from another point of view
- (3) Affirm and deny simultaneously, the existence of a thing with reference to different period.
- (4) If it was a question of affirming at the same time the existence of a thing under the same conditions at the same moment one would be able to say nothing about this thing.

In the same way, one can predicate nothing about a thing under certain circumstances.

- (5) That it exists, or,
- (6) That it does not exist, or,
- (7) That it exists or does not exist at the same moment.

What now is the teaching of the Jinas? What truths must one have to know the Road to Salvation?

The Universe i.e. the totality of the worlds and what they contain is uncreated and eternal. It is constituted by two sorts, of substances—On the one hand, Jīva or the Living Being or the Soul; on the other, the Ajīva which is subdivided into five substances viz. (A) Dharma or Religions law or Righteousness. (B) A-dharma the antagonist of the preceding one, call it sin or unrighteous conduct. (C) Kāla or time which operates in two ways! The Utsarpini or the period of continuous progressive development and the Avasarpini or the period of progressive decadence. (D) Ākāsha or Space, and (E) Matter or Pudgala. The material atoms by their combination form the four elements earth, fire, air and water.

From the combination of these elements result the beings and bodies which are classed as follows :—  
 (1) The elementary particles of earth, fire, air and water.  
 (2) Plants or the Vegetable world. (3) The inhabitants of the Nether Regions. (4) Lower animals. (5) Higher animals (6) Men and gods.

The differentiating attribute of a living being is Knowledge or Jñāna which pervades the whole universe. Each being each object, each particle, however low, it might be—has a soul. These souls are mutually independent. In the lowest beings they are without intelligence, with knowledge. Their distinctive mark is as though veiled. It has only a potential existence. With the superior beings, it rises, on the contrary, to the level of consciousness.

As a consequence of its union with matter, Being is subjected to Karma i.e. to acts and their consequence. In a manner of speaking, Karma regulates the

transmigration of souls. The cycle of existences (Samsāra) is worked in accordance with the Karma. If its acts were meritorious and in accordance with the religious Law, the soul after death passes into the body of a superior class; it animates a god or a man of a high family. If its acts were bad, in opposition to Dharma, the soul falls in the hierarchy of beings. It becomes the soul of an animal or of an inhabitant of hells or attaches itself to a plant or to an elemental particle.

Karma, then is for the soul a cause of its enslavement. It tightens the links which attaches the souls to matter and then gives rise, in an infinite series, to new acts. This is a condition of sorrow. Hence, the sage who has comprehended the causes of sorrow, must apply himself incessantly to the diminution of actions and to combat their ill-effects. He must master his senses and destroy his passions. In a word, he must suppress activity. In proportion as he prevents the Karma being renewed, he annihilates its consequences.

### **Asceticism.**

Asceticism—that is the way to Salvation. Then break finally the chains that link the soul to matter. The living being *jīva*—realizes entirety and completely, its differentiating attribute—Knowledge. The soul becomes emancipated and goes to inhabit the region beyond universe. It is the *Nirvāṇa*-Life, absolute, and perfect without troubles and without sorrow, where Soul is Pure Intelligence. 'It is' says the *Uttaradhyāna Sūtra* in poetic terms in the Chapter XXIII already cited." a place, sure yet difficult to attain, where there is neither old age nor death, neither pain nor sorrow. That is what is called *Nirvāṇa*—or the freedom from Pain or Perfection.

It is what is a sure place, peaceful and happy, that the great sages have obtained. It is an eternal place but difficult to arrive at. The sages who have reached there, are freed from griefs. They have put an end to the course of their existences."

## **True Conduct.**

The True Conduct—While the True Knowledge shows you the way to Deliverance, the True Conduct enables you to realize that state. The Jain Morality or Ethics may be summarised in the five following vows :—

1. Never to kill a Living Being—the famous principle of Ahimsā. (Non-injury).
2. Not to tell a lie.
3. Not to take what has not been given.
4. To abstain from sexual relations.
5. To renounce everything and consider nothing as one's own property.

The practice of these five great vows is easy; apparently out as a matter of fact, it corresponds to an asceticism so severe that you will search in vain for its equivalent in any other religion.

The Jain monk swears as he is required by a solemn formula to observe these five vows. He then becomes a member of the community. A new condition of existence dawns for him from that day. He becomes indifferent to weal or woe to life or death. He renounces his wealth. He abandons his home, his family, his country, covered with a miserable cloth with the beggar's bowl in his hand. He wanders in strange, unfamiliar places to beg his daily bread. He must never pass more than a single night in the same place, except in cases of great necessity. A cloth covering his mouth guards him from killing invisible beings in the air he breathes. For this

reason, he must filter the water he drinks and sweep the place he reposes in. He must abstain from bath or the toilet. He must give the minutest attention to his least movement. He must measure his speech and master his sentiments in order to prevent murderous acts in himself or in those that approach him. Sweet and gentle to the animal world, he respects the life in the plants and in matter—for they contain souls—sacred for him.

But above all, it is during the rainy season that the Jain monk devotes himself to practices both internal and external which are exacted from him by a most rigorous asceticism. He undergoes a constant discipline. He purifies his body and soul. Humble and devoted before the master of his choice, he studies the holy works and meditates upon the words of the Prophet. He reads the lives of the Tirthankaras. He ponders over the grief and misery prevailing in the world. He submits his conscience to a most searching examination. If he has committed a fault, he freely confesses it and manifests a most sincere repentance. He imposes upon himself a long fast, inflicts upon himself the most cruel pains, even mutilates himself at times and subjects himself to the most violent and painful exercises. The sage who has the True Knowledge, knows that he has the right to hasten his Emancipation by permitting his end through want of food. Suicide by simple inanition is the death par excellence, of saints.

Such an asceticism demands a force of will very rare amongst men. Such a System of Ethics can be applied only to a very small circle. Hence these five great vows are not expected from the Jain laity. The latter are under regulations more humane and more easy to accomplish. Like theft and false-hood,

intentional, and wilful murder, they are forbidden. They must show charity to their fellow-beings and be gentle towards animals; for them the vow of chastity assumes the more modest dimensions of conjugal fidelity. By a strict honesty and probity, they must not seek to augment their fortune immeasurably. They must be sober and must abstain from strong liquors and such and such food—for example meat—as it would necessitate the death of an animal. For the same reason, the profession of agriculture is forbidden to them, for the point of the harrow in breaking up the ground, kills a multitude of insects. In a word, for the laity, Jaina ethics descends to the level of normal life the life of all, and of every day. However, it is not, therefore, the less grandly austere in demanding of the individual, everything that renders the soul strong, compassionate and resigned.

#### IV

### Is Jainism a Branch of Buddhism?

For too long a time, Jainism used to be considered as one of the branches—perhaps the most ancient—of Buddhism—and as a result it was reproached for want of originality. This opinion had been maintained by scholars of the very highest eminence amongst others like Lassen and Weber. It must be admitted that the arguments of Lassen and others appear to-day puerile and Dr. Herman Jacobi has done them full justice.

#### Lassen.

1. "Jains, like the Buddhists", Lassen<sup>4</sup> urged first of all, "give to, their prophets, the same title and the same honorific epithets e.g. Siddha,

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4. See page 172-174 also

Buddha, Jina. Arhat, Tathāgata, Sarvajña, Sugata etc.” But these names are peculiar neither to Jainism nor to Buddhism. They are a part of the general terminology of India to describe a being who has achieved the Final Emancipation. Besides, in this series of synonymous terms, the Jains, like the Buddhists, have made a sort of choice and the choice is not identical.

The Buddha, besides this adjective which has become almost his personal attribute is called in addition Tathāgat or Sugata. On the contrary, the twentyfourth prophet of Jainism, Vardhamāna has received in general the name of Mahāvîra or of Vîra. Like the other prophets—his predecessors—he is also a Tîrthaṅkara and this latter designation, honorific with the Jains is described among the Buddhists—the founder of a heretical sect an opposition which shows distinctly how much the two religions, even in their terminology are far from similar.

2. “The Jains and the Buddhists, worship their prophets in the same way as gods, erect their idols and make a cult of them.”

This cult is a result of the historical development of the two religions. At first, the followers of the former as well as the latter religion contented themselves with a homage to Buddha, to Mahāvîra and to several of their predecessors. Later on, the laity began to preponderate over the Monks accustomed to Brahmanical gods, as well as, to the feasts and ceremonies observed in their honour and when these changed their religion to Jainism, they did not



abandon the usages to which they were habituated and thus was introduced in Jainism and Buddhism, that species of idolatry which we observe today.

3. The Jaina Ethics is rendered similar to the Buddhist system by the famous doctrine of 'A-himsā' which emphasises the respect to be observed for every living being.

On this point, the Jains have shown themselves more rigorous than the Buddhists. And moreover, both the former, as well as, the latter have formed the moral precept from the Brahmanical religion.<sup>5</sup>

4. Lastly—the computation of Time, among the Jains as well as among the Buddhists, is by enormous periods. "Is not this," says Lassen, "a positive proof that the former have copied the latter?"

Here again both have followed the example furnished by the Brahmanas. And, as regards the details, the two doctrines are entirely different. We know that the Jains divide Time in two (recurring) cycles of *Utsarapiṇi* and the *Avasarpiṇi*. This is quite different from the four great Kalpas—or ages of this Universe and the eight smaller Kalpas of the Buddhists.

## Weber

Weber, on his side, accords priority to Buddhism over Jainism, basing his conclusions on the numerical resemblances which he declared he had observed between the two religions. Are these analogies really so

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5. The only comment a Jaina scholar can make in this connection is that, Analogy is not Identity.

numerous? They are principally either in reference to the times of Mahāvīra and of Buddha or with regard to the doctrines.

As regards the first of these, the list of similarities is easy to make out (a) Mahāvīra, like Buddha was of the ksatriya caste. (b) Both of them abandoned the honorific stage to which they were entitled by birth in order to lead the severe life of the ascetic.

But how many from amongst their contemporaries became mendicant Monks? And also, we know that most of these monastic orders appealed strongly to the kṣatriyas by a reaction against the exclusiveness of the Brahmanas. On the other hand, the differences between the life of Mahāvīra and that of Buddha are much more numerous. Here are a few of the most important ones :—

<b>Mahāvīra</b>	<b>Buddha</b>
1. Born at Vaiśālī in 599 B.C.	Born at Kapilvastu about 557 B.C.
2. His parents lived to a good age.	His mother died soon after giving him birth.
3. Assumes ascetic life with the consent of relatives.	Makes himself a Monk against the wishes of his father.
4. His preparation in the ascetic life lasts for twelve years.	Obtains illumination at the end of five years only.
5. Dies at Pāvā in 527 B.C.	Dies at Kusinagara about 488 B.C.

Thus it seems scarcely possible to relegate Mahāvīra to the domain of myths, if you consider the Buddha to be a historical personage. They both, no doubt, existed and their careers differed as much as it was possible

for two contemporaries of the same origin, living under similar conditions and pursuing an analogous aim.

As regards doctrinal differences, they are not less characteristic. They are to be found in the fundamental dogmas and bring out in distinct relief, the originality of Jainism as compared to Buddhism.

Of course on either side, the question is as to religious atheists who have banished from their systems all idea of a *Personal* Creative God. A Jain gives his faith to the Jainas and the Buddhist to the Buddhas. The Jinas and the Buddhas resemble each other and appear at determined periods. This means that both the former and the latter recall the ancient Hindu conception of the Avatāras. But while the Buddhists recognize 25 Buddhas, the Jains recognize only 24 Jinas. What does this mean if not that the Buddhists must have come little later than the Jains—and that they have enriched their system as compared with their rivals.

And even if we admit, from the point of view of mythology, the most complete analogy between the two religions, we will be obliged to differentiate them from the philosophical and doctrinal points. The Buddhist theory, for instance has nothing to correspond to the Jaina conception of Knowledge and the five degrees thereof. Besides, we know how different is the system of metaphysics based on the doctrine of 'may be' the Syādvāda as opposed to the negative doctrine of the Sunyavāda. Lastly if the universe is uncreated and eternal both for the Buddhists and for the Jains, its conception as formulated by the former is totally different from that described by the latter. Here we shall consider how the Jains while rebelling against the Brāhmaṇa exclusiveness, have still retained the secularising notion of the Hindus.

We have noticed already that, it was for India, and ancient principle—universal and supreme as regards the *ātman* or *soul* and the *Brāhmaṇa*. Every Indian System of Philosophy is pervaded by it. Jainism also agreeing with them on this point admits the *Atman*—the *Soul*. Buddhism on the other hand criticises and rejects it.

The substance of the world for the Jains is the *Jīva* or the Living Being or the *Soul*. This is *Atman* described by another term and thereby we get the closest similarities between the Jain system and the *Védānta* or the *Sāṅkhya* system. For these systems, however, the *Ātman* is co-extensive, with the universe; while for the Jains, the *Jīva* is limited and the *Soul* is in every being, in every object; it penetrates and animates the lowest particle of dull matter.

In another instance also, Jainism displays an affinity with the other orthodox religions. In the later system, as well as, in the earlier ones the notion of Quality disappears in some measure absorbed by the notion of substance.

According to the Jains, not only the *Jīva* and the Matter are substances but also Time and Space as well as Dharma and Adharma. In vain will you search elsewhere than in Jainism for the theory which thus considers as substances Dharma (or Righteousness?) and its opposite.<sup>6</sup>

The doctrine in which Buddhism and Jainism resemble each other, to the point of confusion is that of

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6. These two substances—Dharma and Adharma—are all throughout by the Western scholars of eminence like Dr. Jacobi and others, and by the Indian scholars like Prof. Manilāl Nabhoobhāi, interpreted incorrectly as here and hence they betray their ignorance.

Karma and the Metempsychosis (or the changes of existences?) This analogy however, will not permit us to draw any conclusion in favour of or against the one or the other. On this point, both had a common model—Brāhmanism. They could not afford to refuse it without risking too great an alienation from the Hindu Thought—To act, to suffer, to die, to be reborn and to reach to the Final Emancipation—this was as we know, the usual mode of philosophical speculation at the time.

However, to be freed from the Karman, the means are various; and here too Jainism and Buddhism though quite agreed as to the goal to attain, follow different ways to arrive there. The moral precepts inculcated by the Buddhists, are ten, the last six of which are of a secondary nature and concern points of detail. The first

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*Dharma*, though in a popular sense means, merit and *Adharma*, demerit—they are here taken as substances. "Dharma is a material force in the universe by which alone, the act of movement is possible. From the swiftest movement of electricity to the slowest movement imaginable, it is through 'Dharma' that it is possible. Nothing in nature has in itself the power of movement, which only comes through the aid of Dharma—being one of the elements of Nature.

*Adharma* is a fine Matter or Non—soul, which is a force opposite to Dharma; i.e. a force through which everything in the universe stops. Had this element been absent from nature, all things would have been in perpetual motion. Thus these substances may be readily described, but it is very difficult to translate them into proper words on account of there being no proper terminology. However they may be, though roughly and insufficiently translated by words like 'Substratum of Motion' and 'Substratum of Rest' respectively.

It may be noted, to the credit of Dr. Jacobi that he has now seen his mistake as appears from the correspondence and lectures during his recent stay in India—August-September 1914.

four, on the other hand, form the essence of Buddhist Ethics. Not to kill, not to lie, not to steal and to remain chaste. These were imposed upon the Brāhmaṇa anchorites and it is from these last that the Jaina and Buddhist Monks have borrowed them. But for the Jains there is a fifth precept viz To renounce everything. This last is not found in the Buddhist Ethics and it gives the Jaina system that character of severity which we have already noticed. It is, in fact, the principle of that asceticism which the Jains practise and which they push very often to the extreme limit—the suicide by Inanition. The Buddhists are more indulgent to themselves. Without falling into that laxity, with which their rivals sometimes reproach them, they keep themselves from the opposite extremity and exert themselves to observe the reasonable mean in conformity with human nature. For them, as for Aristotle, virtue consists in the just mean.

There is one last point to which we should : draw attention. It is about the definition of 'Nirvāṇa' As regards Buddhism it is generally admitted with Oldenberg that "the orthodox doctrine of the ancient community expressly demanded from its followers, the complete renunciation of the attempt to know the existence or the non-existence of the Being perfectly emancipated."

The Jains are, in truth, less reserved and less discreet. It was the apostle Sudharman? (rather Indrabhūti Gautama) who according to the Uttaradhyayana Sūtra, made to Késin-a disciple of Pārśva, this beautiful reply : "The Nirvāṇa is the surest happiest, peace fullest place which the Great Sages attain to."

Buddhism and Jainism may, then resemble. Their analogies are explained by the circumstances and conditions in which they have become rooted. But they differed on too many points—and these are the most important—to allow any one to consider the latter as derived from the former.

“Jainism has that much only in common to Buddhism which they both owe to Brāhmaṇism; and except these, it has a right to claim for itself independence and originality.”

(From an Essay on Jaina Bibliography by M. Guerinot, Paris 1906.)

## 8

### Jainism in the Comparative Science of Religions\*

○ Dr. O. Pertold

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Let us have a look at Jainism from the European scholarly point of view, which may seem perhaps dry and without much enthusiasm to somebody, but which is I assure you, strictly scientific and without prejudice.

Jainism is generally dealt with as an offspring of religious currents started in India in the 8th century B.C. as an opposition against the Brāhmanic formalism, which at those times, led often to forms not always worthy to be called religion at all. This opinion is, as I said, almost general among the European scholars and with some reservations it is accepted even by the Jainas themselves. And just these reservations of which the roots can be traced very far in the tradition, have brought me to the idea, that our European opinion of Jainism is a *wrong* one.

To be better understood, I must set all the opinions together, one after another. The older European opinion

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\* In a monograph named "The Place and Importance of Jainism in the Comparative Science of Religions"



is that Mahāvîra is the founder of the Jaina religion being himself an older contemporary of Buddha. Some of the scholars even consider Mahāvîra's religion to be a sect of Buddhism. This opinion, already a long time ago, proved to be wrong.

The current opinion of the present European scholars is that the Jaina religion had been already started by Pārśvanātha, § Mahāvîra being only its reformer. But the Jaina tradition teaches us something quite different. According to it, the Jaina religion is eternal and there were several reformers of this religion who are identical with the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras.

This Jaina tradition is a striking one; and has certainly a concrete fact behind itself; for I have been satisfied already several times that no Indian tradition is without a background of reality. What is the background of this striking tradition. is very difficult to say now, for it is only now that I have started the investigations on this matter.

But one remark in the article of Prof. H. Jacobi (in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* by Hastings, 1908) seems to show me the right direction, if not even the solution of the problem itself. Jacobi mentions in this topic that perhaps Jainism took some views from older animistic religions. And this opinion of Jacobi is not unimportant, as far as it relates to the Jaina belief that, not only animals, but also plants and even the minerals, have an animated substratum of life 'Jiva'.

Therefore, I am now inclined to believe and I shall try presently to prove it scientifically that Jainism is a very very old religion for a scholar can hardly suppose eternity of any religion, the roots of which reach back to very remote times of the pre-Āryan races in India, which

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§ The twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas.

took from the Āryan religion everything that was the best or at least better than its own ideas, and which had developed itself parallelly along side of the Brāhmanic forms of the Āryan religion. This supposition does not alter anything in my final conclusions which will be same whether we adhere to the second mentioned opinion or to this my own opinion about Jainism, which I mention only for the purpose of showing my personal point of view in this matter.

Jainism as a religion of the masses can be dealt with only in its final form viz after the reform of Mahāvîra or better in the present form as it is taught by both the most important schools of Jainas viz the Śvetambaras and the Digambaras. And only this form can be considered from the point of view of the comparative science of religions, as being the only sure and undisputed aspect of it.

In this form, it represents the highest form of the Āryan religion, as the original non-Āryan element was reduced only to faint vestiges. The most important feature of Jainism is that it has overcome the Brāhmanic scepticism, which was threatening the very roots of religion as well as the pure formalism to which the Brāhmanical rites sank at the time just before the reform of Mahāvîra. And by means of Mahāvîra's reforms, Jainism, although it did not spread as much as Buddhism, was of much greater importance for India than the latter, protecting the Āryan religions in India against the influences from the West, if not directly, yet at least indirectly, calling for a reaction in the different sects.

But the real value of Jainism lies in its inner perfection which appears in the proportionate representations of the religious elements so that none

over-runs the other. This is the feature in which all the Indian religions in general, but Jainism in particular, differ from the other religions, specially from the Sēmitic religions among them from the Christian Religion in particular. To be better understood, I feel obliged to explain it in plain words :

Every religion consists manily of three elements :— viz. 1. The Sentimental element. 2. the Intellectual element and 3. The Practical element. In most of the religions, the practical element which appears in the shape of rites and ceremonies, overgrows the whole religion in such a way, that the other elements become an only subordinate addition, the sentimental element being still a favorite. The cultivation of the intellectual element is the special feature of the Āryan religions. But only in Jainism, all these elements are well-balanced; whilst in the old Brāhmanism and in Buddhism, the clutivation of the intellectual element is often exaggerated.

In order to fix the position of Jainism in relation to the other religions, we must look now a little into the inside of Jainism us it is not possible to explain in a short lecture, the whole system of Jainism, and I think it would be useless to do it, as I hope that every one of you knows it perfectly well—I want to call special attention only to such facts in it as are really prominent for the fixing of its position in the rank of religions and which are giving to Jainism a particular importance in the Comparative Science of Religions.

In the first place of importance, there is its dogmatical view of God. In this respect Jainism is an anthropocentric religion. It is true that already the Vēdic and Brāhmanic religions have been anthropocentric but quite in a different way. The anthropocentrism of these

religions has been only formal, as they recognised gods as beings, of a superhuman origin and only subjected to their rites by the own speculation and cunning.<sup>1</sup> But the real anthropocentrism we find only in Jainism and Buddhism although the latter deviated too much from its original ideas about this dogmatic problem.<sup>2</sup> And besides the original Buddhism went rather further on this point, and we are not yet quite sure, whether it did not deny God originally at all.<sup>3</sup>

The Jaina view of God is a very natural one for a thinking being. The God according to the Jainas is Paramātman, but not Ishvara, i.e. the God is not a creator and ruler but he is a perfect Being who cannot be set back to the imperfect condition of this world, as such is worshipful. I can compare the Jaina idea of God only with the conception of the 'Ueberschmensch' i.e. Super-being of the great German philosopher Nietzsche whom—I do not deny it—I consider in many respects, as my spiritual leader.

And this is the very point where I see the greatest sublimity of the Jaina religion and am strongly opposed

1. It was specially due to the Brāhmanic doctrine that the prayer must be obeyed by gods, if it is only done perfectly well, without any mistakes as prescribed by the Holy Books.
2. It was due specially to the fact that Buddhism did not recognise the householders as the real followers of Buddha, but only as friends and helpers of the movement who may gain some merit by supporting the real followers of the Buddha—the bhikkhus. They have been really left at their discretion, in the lap of other religions, the influence of which worked badly on the developing of the original Buddhist ideas, specially the idea of God.
3. This is connected with the Buddhist conception of Soul or rather of the Buddhist denying of the Soul at all as a substance, and therefrom the resulting materialistic conception of the world, life, thought etc.

to those who may call Jainism an atheism and thereby deny its being a religion at all. My opinion is that the Jaina religion went only up to the highest aim to do everything for the intellectual claims but to remain still a religion with its typical features of which the idea of God is the indispensable one. Therefore, the Jaina religion can be called, with full authority, the limit—form not only of the Āryan religions, but of all religions altogether.

And in this character of a limit—religion lies the great importance of the Jaina Religion for the comparative science of religions. For, it is the required upper limit, according to which we are able to judge of the other human phenomena, whether still religious or not. But this is not the only importance of Jainism for the study of comparative science of religions. Equally important for the scientific study of religions are the Jaina Ethics, not to speak about its Logic.

I have no time to go in details on this subject, but I must mention only a few characteristic manifestations of this superiority of Jainism. I mention only the theory of the Infinite Numbers, as it dealt with the *Loka-prakāśa* and which corresponds with the most modern mathematical theories. And the Theory of Identity of Time and Space, is one of the problems, which are now most discussed by the scientists owing to Einstein's theory, and which are already solved or prepared for solution in Jaina metaphysics.

From the Jaina Ethics, I will mention only two great problems which are solved in Jainism with the utmost perfection. The first of them is the problem of a Happy Co-existence of all Beings in the world—a problem on which many ethical problems had wrecked, or at least, got a heavy leakage. Its solution in Jainism is a very

simple one but the only perfect one viz in the commandment of Ahimsā or Non-injury which is not only in theory, but, moreover in practice stricter and more resolute than e.g. the similar commandment in the Christian Religion.

And the other which is dealt with an equal simplicity and perfection is the problem of Sexual chastity. This is not only an ethical, but moreover a biological and social problem of very wide bearing. I mention only the efforts of the great worker in the field of national economy, Malthus<sup>4</sup> to solve this problem after he had discovered the dangers of overcrowding the world by increasing population, whilst he proved by statistics that the human race is increasing in geometrical progression, the resources, however, only in arithmetical progression. I do not say that he was right in every respect, but I rather point to the fact that the problem really exists in Europe too and that its solution has been already attempted not only by religious reformers but moreover by the scientists too. The Jaina solution of the problem is quite plain, removing the very root of the evil. It is that—what you call Brāhmacharya.—I cannot go in details on this subject, but I advise every one who has any interest on this subject, to read or moreover to study the respective part of some standard works on Jaina Ethics<sup>5</sup> I must emphasize only that the problem is in Jainism solved from quite a different point of view than

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4. Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834) the great political economist of England, who promulgated the above mentioned ideas in his most important book—viz. "An Eassay on the Principles of Population" (1798).

5. 1. Śrī Acārāṅga Sūtram.  
 2. Śrī Uttarādhyayana Sūtram.  
 3. Śrī Daśavaikālika Sūtram.

e.g. in the Christian Religion where we may search for the biological substratum in vain.

I think there is no need to go into further details; the subject being now quite clear. But still the conclusion must be drawn from this exposition of facts.

I told you already that the Jaina religion is the limit of religion in general, and at the same time the limit of Āryan religion in particular. It follows from the fact that the Jaina religion is well-balanced in respect of the particular religious elements; that the intellectual element is not pushed aside in it, but rather developed as far as possible without injuring the essential of a religion.

This is specially great advantage over the Christian Religion which being founded on the Bible—which does not occupy itself with many intellectual problems, being rather intended to work on human sentiments—accepted later on the Aristotelic philosophy to which it adheres upto now—specially in the Roman-Catholic form—although this philosophy cannot be kept along with the modern progress of science and other intellectual disciplines.

Of course from the sentimental aspect, I dare say the Christian Religion made a further progress than any other religion at all, but I think this sentimental aspect is *the least desirable in a modern religion*, which must go parallel along with the fast development of sciences.

To make a final conclusion, I venture to say, that the Jaina religion is for the comparative science of religions, one of the most important developed religions, because of its advanced view of religious matters as well as of the methods—I mention only the method of a very

modern type, how to consider matters viz Syād-vāda.<sup>6</sup> Further, the Jaina religion is undoubtedly the upper limit of the religious view in general, and as such must be considered with special care not only for the purpose of classifying the religions, but specially for the purpose of fixing the religious categories and in this way for the theory of religion in general.

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6. Syād-vāda is often translated into English by 'probablism' which I think to be wrong as far as probablism is considered to be able to prove everything that is wanted. Syād-vāda, moreover, is the consideration of any subject from different points of view in order to get the right knowledge of the matter and not to prove any wrong supposition.



## 9

### Revolt Against Brāhmanism

○ E. Osborn Martin

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(Rev. E. Osborn Martin is co-author of 'The Jain Deities' : Gods of India. He has studied and thrown much light on Jainism.)

The Jains, like the Buddhists, represent a revolt against *Brāhmanism* which they regarded as a departure from the true primitive religion of India. But when *Buddhism* declined and finally died out, the Jains, though depleted by persecution, survived. They form a small but wealthy community of merchants and bankers. They have much in their religion that resembles Buddhism. Both reject the authority of the *Vedas*. both disregard caste rules and profess to believe in the religious and social equality of man. The Jains are considered as heretics by orthodox Hindus, although they have so far departed from the tenets of Buddhism as to acknowledge in a general way the more common and modern Hindu deities, and their worship is very similar to that which prevails amongst the Hindus.

The origin of the sect is said to be accounted for in the following way : The innovations of the *Brahmans*, who introduced gradually into India such practices as

*lingam*-worship, the worship of the cow and other sacred animals, the wondrous stories of the *avatars* of Vishnu and certain sacrificial rites of *Puranic* times, were deeply resented for a long time by a number of influential Hindus of many castes. These men were unwilling to come to an open rupture, but their opposition to what they regarded as dangerous innovations and changes in the true primitive faith, handed down from remote times, never ceased.

A crisis, however, became unavoidable when the *Brahmans* introduced the sacrifice of *yajna*, in which a living offering, generally a ram, was sacrificed. This violated the most sacred principle and the hitherto inviolable practice of the Hindus, and 'the Jains' withdrew from association with the priestly castes, whom they regarded as corrupters of their primitive faith. The secession included men of all the four main castes, for, to some of the faithful *Brahmans*, were joined those from the warrior, merchant, and *Sudra* castes, who desired to maintain the purity of their ancient faith. The *Brahmans*, however, succeeded in imposing their will upon the body politic, and their innovations were adopted by the majority of the people. Consequently persecution arose and in many parts of the country. the places and objects of Jain worship were demolished, the Jains were deprived of their civil and religious liberty and were reduced to such absolute subjection that in many provinces not a vestige of them remains.

There are two principal sects among the Jains, the *Jaina-Barsu* and the *Kashta-Sanghi-Svetambara* (white-robed Jains). The term Jain comes from *jina*, "he who has conquered" (i.e. human passions or infirmities). A *jina* is the deified saint, also called a *Tirathankara*, who is the object of Jain worship. Both Jains and

Buddhists now worship a succession of deified saints in place of the many gods adored by the Hindus. The Jains divide time into three successive eras and assign twenty-four Jains to each era. They are now in the second era and the twenty-four saints of the first and second eras are the deities of modern Jainism.

"These twenty-four are represented in the temples as seated in an attitude of contemplation, In features they so resemble each other that in order to distinguish them they are painted in different colours and have their respective names engraved on their pedestals, or some distinguishing sign, commonly an animal, by their side. In the stories of their lives there is little of a distinctive character, but there is this noticeable fact that in height of stature and length of life there has been a steady decline." An example or two in support of the last remark may not be out of place. The first of the second series of twenty-four saints was Vrishabha. His stature was 500 poles in height, and he lived 8,400,000 great years. He was crowned king when 2,000,000 years old and reigned 6,300,000 years and afterwards spent 100,000 years in the practice of austerities, by which he became qualified for sainthood. The last of the twenty-four saints, called, 'The saint', because he is the best known of all, was Mahavira.. He lost his father when twenty-eight years of age and became king, but resigned after two years reign and entered upon a life of austerity. After forty-two years of preparation he became exempt from pain for ever. In other words he died at the age of seventy-two, obtaining 'absorption'. This according to tradition, occurred twenty-five centuries ago!

The Jains, according to Abbe Dubois, have a lofty doctrine of God. They acknowledge but one Supreme

Being. He is one, indivisible and invisible, a pure Spirit. He has four main attributes : wisdom, infinite knowledge, power and happiness. This omnipotent Being is wholly absorbed in the contemplation of his own perfections and in the enjoyment of his own blessedness. Virtue and vice, good and evil, are equally indifferent to him.

"The adoration and worship which the Jains offer to their deified saints, the Tirathankaras, and to other objects of worship held sacred among them, does not detract from the worship of the Supreme Being, for these holy personages, in taking possession after death of the *moksha* or *mukti*, the supreme felicity, have become intimately united and inseparably incorporated with the Divine."

The Jains are firm believers in the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul from one body into another after death and hold that the offender may suffer transmigration into the body of an insect, reptile or bird or quadruped, according to the degree of his offences. Naturally, therefore, they hold all life in honour and their distinctive precept is '*ahimsa parama dharma*'—i.e. "non-killing is the supreme religion". They abhor the taking of life in any form, they show the greatest tenderness to animals, and are the best supporters of hospitals and asylums for sick or worn-out beasts.

Edmund Backley says :

"Jainism is one of the many religions of India followed by people mostly in the north-west region. It closely resembles Buddhism, being a reaction contemporary with it in the 6th century B.C., from the precedent *Brahmanism*. These revolts arose from several causes. First, the *Kshatriya* (warrior caste) sought release from the religious domination of the *Brahman* (priest caste);

Secondly, *Kshatriya* philosophy rejected the *Vedic* deities; thirdly the doctrine of non-injury. This last item gave to Jainism its outstanding trait. Softened by a tropical climate, humanised by a settled life in place of the old nomadic one and driven by economy to abandon animal food, Indians had become increasingly reluctant to kill animals, except that the *Brahmans* naturally still demanded them for sacrifice.

The practice was condemned by the Jains, who then proceeded with that extravagance characteristic of every Indian activity to spare all animal life whatsoever, even when noxious. To that end, the Jain monk is equipped with a broom to sweep insects from his path, and a veil to sift them from his mouth, besides the inevitable alms bowl. Nor may he kill or disturb insects feeding upon his body. Moreover, Jains support beast-hospitals in many cities of western India, where old or lame buffaloes, cows, goats, sheep, fowl and hordes of vermin are housed and fed.”\*

Jainism was founded in the 6th century B.C., by Nataputta, entitled by his followers Mahavira (Great Hero) and *Jina* (Conqueror). The son of a chieftain, he led a worldly life until at 30, upon the death of his beloved parents, he was so agitated by the seriousness of life that he left his wife and relatives and wandered naked as a homeless ascetic. For twelve years he practised the severest austerities with deep meditation, and was never moved to anger, though beaten by sinful men. Thus did he become the *jina* (conqueror) and *kevalin* (perfect sage).

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\* Buckley : Edmund : The Perfect Sage and His Followers.  
Edmund Buckley is an eminent American Scholar. He wrote several papers on Jainism.

The Jain monk attains deliverance for his spirit from the bonds of his flesh by following the *tri-ratna* (three jewels) : knowledge, faith and virtue.

Knowledge teaches that the world consists of eternal atoms, without any Supreme Being. Eight re-births, after becoming a Jain monk, will secure the spirit's release from matter; not for absorption into the absolute—as *Brahmanism* taught—nor for annihilation in *nirvana*—as *Buddhism* taught—bad for something beyond human speculation; so that the Jain was termed “the may be philosopher”. Such agnosticism has never flourished among the credulous, imaginative Indians, who moreover, lack the mental discipline afforded by science.

The second jewel is faith, which reposes in the word of their master, Mahavira and the declaration of their scriptures, the *Agamas*.

Virtue, the third jewel, consists of the five-fold conduct that results from such knowledge and such faith, namely; (1) to kill nothing whatever; (2) not to lie; (3) not to steal; (4) to abstain from sexual pleasures; (5) to renounce all the attachments of the senses. “What is dislament and what is pleasure? One should live subject to neither. Giving up all gaiety, circumspect, restrained, one should lead a religious life. Man Thou art thine own friend; why lookest thou for a friend beyond thyself?”

Seven sects are classed as *Svetambara* (white-attired) in contrast with the *Digambara* (sky-attired) who migrated to the South where a more equable climate allowed them to make compulsory that nakedness which had been only recommended in the eariler texts. These may be the *gymnosophists* mentioned by Greek historians, but now-a-days they merely doff their upper garments during meals. There are other Indian ascetics,

however, who still discard clothing and are generally countenanced.

This monk-regiment was much tempered for the Jain laity who, in fact, were mostly prosperous tradespeople, farming being prohibited by the non-injury doctrine. But, furthermore, this extension of Jainism to include the laity introduced two important changes in the religion. First, to meet the religious needs of common folk, a worship of the founder, *Jina* was instituted with temples, idols, festivals and offerings of Hairs and incense. Second, the monks were compelled to abandon their homeless wanderings, in order to take care of the souls of their resident laity. This, in turn, led to the erection of temples, the most costly and delicately beautiful in all India, as at Mount Abu, and the erection of cloisters where the leisured monks produced a varied literature.

Thus does Nature, though expelled with a pitch fork, return in the end. Unlike Buddhists, the Jains maintain caste, some of them being even *Brahmans*.

## Jainism More Steadfast to Life

○ Mrs. N.R. Guseva

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(Mrs. Guseva is a Russian scholar. Her study of Jainism as a dynamic doctrine has been appreciated in India.)

“The community which was founded by the 23rd Tirathankara, Parsva (or Parsvanatha) was called ‘Nirgrantha’ (or Niggantha), which means ‘free from fetters’ (from attachments). Both men and women could be members of the community.

Parsva preached four truisms, adherence to which can, according to his teachings, secure cognition. Those are : not to kill, not to steal, no attachment to earthly things, and complete truthfulness. For securing salvation, he prescribed strict asceticism.

All the members of the community were divided in ‘laymen’ (Shravaka-men and Shravika-women) and ‘ascetics’ (yati, muni or *sadhu*—males and *arjika* or *sadhvi*—females). These four groups had their leaders, who observed the conduct of their members and this means that the community had a clear-cut organisation. Thus admittedly, Jainism as a system of religious and



ethical views and likewise as a community of Jains was formed long before Mahavira Jina became the head of the community.

According to Jain legends, Mahavira was born in the begining of the 6th century B.C. on the territory of Bihar. As regards Mahavira's father, it is said that he belonged to a kinship which was equal among the equal ruling *Kshatriya* kinships, in Kumdagamma, near to Veshali (capital of the Vaishali republic). Mahavira's mother belonged to the Lichchavi tribe.

Mahavira added one more precept to the four precepts of his predecessor Parsva. This precept was expectation of complete chastity. In the course of 12 years he performed ascetic feats, living without clothes and almost without food. At the age of 42, he secured 'enlightenment' and until his death was the spiritual head of the community.

He was very active in propagating Jainism and noticeable extended the borders of the community. During his life and after his death, this religion was widely known in the territory of modern Varanasi (Kashi or Banaras), Bihar and West Bengal. The rulers of many eastern Gangetic states supported Jainism and encouraged the spread of Jainism.

The Jain monks were not tied to monasteries, as the Buddhist monks. Nude ascetics lived in forests. In mountains and in caves (the monks compulsorily separated from the nuns); but usually near towns and settlements, so that the laymen-Jains paid respect to their ascetic feats and learnt from them.

Strict conjugal loyalty, observance of the five basic precepts (they were required to live one day in a month, as monks), restrictions regarding worldly enjoyments

and support, to the community—those were the claims made on the laymen.

One of the reasons why Jainism is more steadfast to life in comparison to Buddhism is the close contact of monks with laymen.

Mahavira had 11 pupils, but only two of them—Sudharman and Indrabhuti—survived their teacher. Sudharman continued to preach the faith. From him the canon was adopted by his pupil, Jambuswami, who is considered the last of the teachers of Jainism. He secured the state of enlightenment and became 'keval'. From Jambuswami canon was transferred (it was transformed by word of mouth) in turn to the four heads of the Jain temples. The last amongst them, Bhadrabahu, started for south of India during the rule of Chandragupta Maurya and it seems reached Ceylon (Lanka). In the Buddhist 'Mahavamsa', it is said that when the son and daughter of Ashok Maurya went to Ceylon to preach Buddhism, they saw Jain ascetics there.

Soon after Mahavira's death, a split started in the community. With the spread of the religion in new regions, its preachers started to incorporate their own in the unwritten Jain canon and serious differences arose amongst them. Out of several sects, which arose, two sects played great role in the whole of the history of Jainism and continue to do so even at present. These sects are Digambara and Svetambara.

The Digambara sect is closer to initial Jainism. First of all, it stands for the ritualistic nudity (the very word 'digambara' means 'clothed in space' or 'clothed in cardinal points') and demands that the images of Tirathankaras should not be even adorned. The Svetambaras i.e., 'clothed in white' protest against full nudity and do not insist on the images of Tirathankaras without ornaments.

The Digambaras are more orthodox also in regard to austerity of the ascetics. They consider that a human being, having reached the 'path of salvation', 'the condition of enlightenment' or 'keval-jnana' does no longer need food and drink and must completely forget all about his body. The Svetambaras do not agree with this.

In the 3rd century B.C. in Pataliputra an all-Jain synod was held and the first version of the written canon was prepared.

The Digambaras do not accept this canon, affirming that the real ancient canon, created according to the legend by Rishabha is lost. The Svetambaras adhere to the canon which was accepted in Pataliputra and consider it the right one.

Digambaras do not agree that Mahavira was married and elevate chastity to the level of a dogma of his whole life. Svetambaras consider that he was married but assume that he became a real ascetic only after he left his family at the age of 30.

As distinct from Svetambaras, Digambaras consider that a woman cannot secure full freedom on way to salvation (as regards this notion, the Svetambaras are nearer to the teaching of Mahavira than Digambaras).

Amongst both the Digambaras and the Svetambaras, there are castes but the former do not observe caste-restrictions. When marriages are effected, they regard their sect as one common sect. Svetambaras adopt rather more caste prohibitions and observe caste endogamy.

The friendship of Mahavira with Makhali Gosala, the head of anti-brahmin sect of Ajivikas, who came from slave origin, speaks of the great liberalism of ancient Jainism and possibly of active counteraction to it.

Mahavira travelled with him for six years, preaching the truth about the futility of reliance on the posthumous life of the soul, about uselessness of sacrificial offerings and about the necessity for the ascetic to expose his body. The preaching was similar to the teaching of Ajivikas.

Many a scholar considered that Mahavira and Buddha were one and the same person and Buddhism and Jainism were two branches of the same teaching, out of which Buddhism originated earlier.

Hermann Jacobi, a profound scholar of Jain and Buddhist literature, thoroughly compared all legends connected with Mahavira and Buddha and also the basic tenets of their teachings and showed that they preached independently of each other (although in the historically close period).

According to Jacobi, similarity in names of the parents of Mahavira and Buddha testifies to the fact that such names were very much widespread amongst *Kshatriyas*.

The facts of lives of both, as described in the works of ancient Indian literature are completely different. Thus, Jacobi writes that Buddha and Mahavira were born in different geographical spots (let us add : and also at different periods). Buddha's mother died soon after his birth. Mahavira's parents lived for 30 years after his birth. Buddha became an ascetic against the will of his father and when she was alive, Mahavira became an ascetic after his father's death and with the consent of *Kshatriyas*. Buddha was a devotee for six years, Mahavira, twelve years, Buddha did not appreciate the ascetic feats (neither his own nor of others). Mahavira considered that these were necessary (to his day the Jain ascetics spend 12 years as devotees

for 'securing perfection'). In the early Buddhism, worship of statues and other portrayals of preachers of religion was censured. In Jainism, such worship was always taken for granted. The names of Buddha's pupils do not coincide with those of Mahāvira. The two died at different times and at different places.

Moreover, the word 'Tirthankara' (boatman across the ocean of existence), used by the Jains as the most venerable epithet for their ancient preachers of religion, signifies in Buddhism founders of heretics. The fact that amongst both Buddhists and Jains such epithets as *buddha*, *sarvajña* (all-knowing), *mukta* (liberated), *jaina* (conqueror) etc. were prevalent, only shows that these attributes, applied to religious preachers, were widespread. Besides, Jacobi observes that Buddhists used one group of such attributes, while Jains preferred other ones.

Many scholars (Colebrooke, Radhakrishnan, etc.) attempt to show that Jainism existed before Buddhism. Colebrooke justifies his viewpoint by saying that the teaching of Jains about the existence of soul in each living being is traced back to primitive animism.

Jacobi considers that although the Buddhist and Jain communities arose and developed independently of each other, they borrowed much from *Brahman* ascetics, not only from philosophy and moral prescriptions, but also from the custom of using the same obligatory things. It is true, he makes a reservation there viz., that the author of the Sanskrit treatise *Baudhayana* in which all the prescriptions to the ascetics are collected, lived after Buddha (and this also means after Mahavira).

In order to express her disagreement with the viewpoint that the Brahmanic ascetics served as an example for the creation of Jain monastic community

and to express her own reflections in this context, the writer of the present book had already cited all the proofs which were accessible to her.

Many rulers of ancient Bihar rendered patronage to the Jain community, which possibly testifies to the long acquaintance of its population with Jainism. Chetaka, the most famous ruler of Lichchavi gave his sister Trisala to Jain Siddhartha in marriage and from this marriage Mahavira was born. Representatives of the dynasty of Shishunaga (6th century B.C.)—Bimbisara and Ajatshatru—were, according to legend, related to Mahavira and professed Jainism. The members of the Nanda dynasty (fifth-sixth centuries B.C.) were Jains. According to Jain legends Chandragupta Maurya was also a Jain and lived as an ascetic for 12 years and died in Sharvan Belgola in Mysore. Some other consider that Ashoka Maurya also professed Jainism in youth and introduced this religion in Kashmir (confirmation of this is found in the Kashmirian chronicle *Rajatarangini*). Samprati, grandson of Ashoka greatly contributed to the spread of Jainism.

Kharavela, the illustrious ruler of the Kalinga state (whose people knew Jainism from the times of Parsva, i.e. from the 8th century B.C.), living in the 2nd century B.C. was one of the warmest patrons of Jainism. In Kalinga, Jainism was known as far back as the 8th century B.C. and evidently, it penetrated in southern India through Kalinga.

This religion had spread also in Bengal before the 7th century A.D. Suan Tsyau writes that there were many nude ascetics, called 'nirgrantha' (even at present worshipper's of in several places in Bengal statues of Tirathankaras are worshipped but they are called not Jina but Bhairav i.e. Shiva).

Thus we see that this religious faith had spread widely in the first millennium B.C., precisely in the eastern regions of India, populated mainly by non-Aryan peoples. But the establishment of Aryan domination, the spread of the institution of *varna* and caste-structure and also the institution of *Brahmanism*, led to the departure of Jains and their religious teachers from Bihar.

According to Mrs. Guseva the teaching of Mahavira amongst the Digambaras of South India, Svetambaras of Northern India became more known.

She further observes, according to Suan Tsyau that in the 7th century A.D. Jainism was more powerful in the homeland of Mahavira, i.e. in Vaishali (Bihar) but in the succeeding centuries Brahmanism forced it out from there also and this religion was practically forgotten in the eastern regions of India.

But there are references in the history that Buddhism besides Jainism flourished in the homeland of Mahavira and adjacent regions.

## A Separate Religious Sect

○ A.C. Bouquet

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(Bouquet served as Professor of History and Comparative Religions, University of Cambridge. In his opinion since Mahavira's times the Jainism gained momentum as a separate religious sect and exercised influence over Hindusim.)

“Vardhamana (c. 599 to 529 B.C.), a *Kshatriya*, hardly seems to have been the founder of Jainism but rather the author of a successful revival of a movement which had begun some 250 years earlier. Of the real founder, Parsva, almost nothing is known, but he may well have been an extreme ascetic, since the parents of Vardhamana are said to have been disciples of his sect, and they, when their son was thirty-one years of age, decided to engage in a ‘fast unto death’, a practice which has been characteristic of Jain zealots.

After the voluntary decease of his father and mother, Vardhamana renounced the world and the wearing of clothes and wandered about in Bengal, like Solomon Eagle in the City of London in the reign of Charles II, performing austerities and enduring persecutions.

Thirteen years later, he declared that he had gained



enlightenment or *samadhi* and became the head of a group of devotees, calling himself *jina* or *Jaina* (i.e., one who has attained freedom from bondage—‘the victorious one’).

His followers referred to him not by his personal name but as Mahavira, which means ‘the great hero’ (rather as Italians would have spoken of ‘the Duce’). ”

“Jains are keen educationalists and are also successful in business. The standard of literacy among them is high and insects, and even wearing respirators so as to avoid breathing in micro-organisms. They observe great kindness to animals, sacrifice of animals and their slaughter for food, and even collect and rear young ones which their owners have discarded as superfluous (thus they would say that instead of drowning surplus kittens we ought to send them without exception to a cast home).

“Five vows have to be taken by a fully professed Jain: (1) not to kill; (2) not to speak untruths; (3) to take nothing that is not given; (4) to observe chastity; (5) to renounce all pleasures in external objects. Rule (1) includes all speech or thought which might bring about a quarrel and so provoke a crime of violence and self-discipline is not merely external, but includes mental exercises, acts of humiliation, and so on. The fast unto death is still in theory observable, provided one has first undergone twelve years’s penance. Jain temples are clean and brightly coloured and are visited daily by the laity, chiefly for the purpose of venerating the Tirathankaras, whose images are to be seen all around in their respective chapels. It used to be an act of great merit to increase the number of temples and shrines. The worship consists chiefly in the offering of flowers,

incense and lights, accompanied by the singing of hymns in praise of the Jain saints.

Three points may be stressed in conclusion :

- (1) The moral precept of *ahimsa* or harmlessness has developed in modern Hinduism into one of positive kindness or rather perhaps the daily practice of what has been called the silver rule (the negative form of the golden rule).
- (2) Jainism is probably the antecedent, if not the parent, of Buddhism. The founder of the latter movement may have been for a time a visitor to a Jain community.
- (3) Jainism in the past fifty years has produced a noted saint, Vijaya Dharma Suri, who in a sermon preached before their moral code elevated. They tend to amass fortunes which they spent until recently on elegant temples, but now employ more on building and maintaining schools and also hospitals for sick animals.

From the time Mahavira onwards, Jains have displayed certain specific features and have developed doctrines of a rather peculiar and distinctive character, which may well go back to the days of the founder, and which have exercised an influence on the mainstream of Hinduism. It seems fairly clear that Vardhamana's intellectual background was that of the *Samkhya* philosophy in its atheistic form. Thus Jains usually deny the existence of a Supreme Being and treat the Absolute as consisting of a plurality of souls. The world is eternal and self-existent and is made up of six constituent elements, units of matter, space, time, certain forces called *dharma* and *adharma*, and souls."

"They venerate a number of saintly leaders called

Tirthankara, all of whom are declared to have belonged to the *Kshatriya* caste (another hit at the *Brahmans*). The aim of individual souls is by strict self-discipline to attain to the condition called *Jiva* or bliss and so to become oneself a *Jina* or conqueror. There is a distinction between monks and nuns on the one hand and laity on the other. Monks and nuns have to follow a stringent rule of life. The laity are bound by minor vows, and committed to the revering and maintenance of the ascetics. Very extreme mortification is practised and one division of the Jain community eschews entirely the wearing of clothes. Others who wear garments must not kill vermin which may lodge in them nor if they are meditating, must they move in order to scratch themselves.

Great reverence for all forms of organic life is taught, under the name of *ahimsa* (literally harmlessness), and Hindus like Gandhi have developed this idea so as to include pacifism and non-violent passive resistance. Jains themselves carry *ahimsa* to its logical conclusion in such practices as sweeping the ground before them as they walk, in order to avoid treading on living creatures, staining their drinks, screening their lamps. Maharaja of Benares taught that it was an error to call the Jains atheists, since they accepted the belief in *Paramatman*, the Self-Existent Being. It does not appear that his point of view represents that of the majority of Jains.

# 12

## A Powerful Religion\*

○ Paul Tauxen

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(Another Western Scholar Paul Tauxen has studied the Jaina doctrine which in his opinion was an important ancient system)

“Besides other systems of religious philosophy, which with the exception of materialism, were recognized as orthodox, even how much they might deviate from the tradition contained in the holy literature, there grew up two powerful religious branches, which were destined to obtain great importance in the future. One of them, Jainism has—in contrast to Buddhism—had to be satisfied with setting the minds in motion in India only. When we think of the interest which the *Upanishads*, Buddhism and Hinduism have raised and still raise in the West, one might indeed believe that Jainism was more pronounced Indian than the other religions, since it has not had a similar international influence. That is, however, scarcely the case; the thing is that the others have only acquired their position outside of India through

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\* Tauxen, Paul : The Victor and His ideals. He is co-author of ‘Religions of India’. He studied Jainism and said that it was a powerful religion in India.

becoming the object of an often almost unnoticeable assimilation of thoughts, which has made it acceptable to non-Indians. To such an adaptation Jainism has never tempted, not because it is more truly Indian, but because it is remarkably devoid of emotional sides that are capable of captivating receptive minds.

Jainism probably goes back to the 8th century B.C., but the historical renewer of the religion, Mahavira, lived in the 6th century B.C. The name Jainism is derived from *jina*, 'victor', a designation of anybody who has obtained deliverance. the prophets of the doctrine themselves are called Tirathankaras; an adherent of *jina* is called *jaina*, just as an adherent of Buddha is called *Bauddha*. The last in the series of prophets was Vardhaman (Mahavira, 'the great hero'), according to the legend a son of king Siddhartha and his consort Tricala.

At the age of 28 years he lost his parents and thereby felt himself freed from living in the home. After having, for two years, requested and at last received his brother's permission to become a wandering beggar monk, he left his wife and daughter, donned a monk's dress and gave himself up to meditation near his birthplace Vaicali.

After 13 months of ascetic exercises he started on his way, naked, endured all kinds of derision, subjected himself to morifications and self-concentration and after the lapse of 12 years reached the delivering knowledge. Until his death (ca. 470 B.C.) he lived as a wandering teacher, venerated by numerous disciples.

His monks, who are still numerous in India are divided into two sects, Svetambara 'white-dressed' and Digambara 'air-dressed', i.e. naked. It is especially to the former branch does not go back to Mahavira's time,

but was put together in the 6th century A.D. It is written in Prakrit and it was only later on that one changed over to the use of Sanskrit like most other systems that aimed at influencing the spiritual life of the learned world.

However, Jainism does not only address itself to a world of monks; it numbers still many adherents among lay people, who do not have to subject themselves to the demands of poverty and sexual abstinence, but who in other respects hold the same views as the monks. These people have, as is always the case in India, the task of supporting the order of monks and thus they acquire merit favourable for a future transmigration, at the same time as they form the social foundation of the holy men's existence.

The conception of the *karma* doctrine in Jainism is peculiar; *karma* (the result left by the acts of the individual) is a matter which penetrates the soul as particles of dust adhere to a body smeared with oil. This connection between *karmic* matter and the soul has no beginning and only ends at the salvation. This matter, which enters the soul is or becomes, *karma* (it is perhaps better to put it thus), as it with regard to nature and duration is determined through the acts which are responsible for the matter's entering the soul.

All acts involve *karmic* matter which conditions the coming form of existence. Gradually, as the *karmic* matter is exhausted, new matter arises. And thus the soul wanders from existence to existence. Some *karmic* matters obstruct the soul's insight and faculties, others produce desire, other again decide the nature and duration of the coming existence etc.

These matters belong to or constitute, the fifth of those substances Jainism reckons, with : the material

side (*pudgala*) of existence consists of an endless number of atoms, which are characterized by touch, smell, taste, and colour and which can combine and thus shape themselves into all the appearances of the material world of matter as the bodies belonging to the soul in the worlds of hells, animals, men or heavens.

The four other material substances are : space wherein everything is contained; substrata for movement and rest; and finally time.

Nos. 2 and 3 are difficult to connect with any conceptions; they are in themselves neither movement nor rest, but only the condition for the possibility that anything can move or come to rest, as the water is the condition for the swimming of the fishes or the earth for the tired wanderer's ability to lie down to rest, they are called *dharma* and *adharma*, respectively, without any traceable connection with the usual meanings of these words.

Besides these five material substances (*ajiva*) stands the spiritual, viz. the souls (*jiva*): these are innumerable; in reality they are provided with many qualities, such as omniscience, bliss, etc., but these make themselves only feebly noticeable, as long as the souls are under the influence (*asrava*, in its verbal sense) of the world of matter. The souls are neither of endless extent nor of the size of atoms, as in other systems, but take their size from the body which is their abode in the different existence. Not only gods, men and animals have a soul, but also plants, fire, air, water and earth.

Salvation from transmigration the souls win, so far as they do not belong to the *abhavya*, who never escape from *samsara*, through energetic work for freeing themselves from the influence of matter; new entry of *karmic* matter must be avoided (through *samavara*,

stopping the access), and what has already been acquired, must be destroyed (through *nirjara*, cleaning out). For this it is useful to obey the five commandments, which forbid killing, theft, lying, unchastity and possession of property, and further self-control, perseverance, fasting (which is sometimes continued until death), self-torture, study and meditation. All these phenomena are indeed well known to us, but the goal they lead to is not similar to that of the systems of religious philosophy or of the *Upanishads*; the saved (*nirgrantha*, free from fetters) live in eternal bliss on the highest summit of the world, safeguarded against being ever more dragged along into the whirl of transmigration.

What is required of the adherent of Jainism is, as we have seen, not very different from what other Indian religions exact. But the fulfilment is often carried through in a rigoristic manner, which gives them a separate stamp. The command not to take the life of any living being leads to unconditioned abstinence from eating meat and from taking spirituous drinks (which are thought to be filled with life). Many monks wear a veil before their mouth, in order not accidentally to swallow insects. Also the Jain hospitals for animals are worthy of notice and have led to many mistaken witticisms in Europe.

Though the emancipated prophets do not interfere with the course of the world and cannot help the believers, they are nevertheless worshipped in magnificent temples, such exercises in devotion being supposed to have a purifying influence with the souls, but it is forbidden to address prayers to them.

One aspect of this thinking has had importance in India. *Syadvada* is one of its denominations : the



doctrine of *syat* (the potential mood of the verb as 'to be'). It is consistent relativism, which here takes the lead. One may say, e.g., about a pitcher that 'it is'. But from another view-point one may also say that 'it is not'. A great number of the most contradictory characteristics can be stated about a thing, so that every affirmation is ineffable, is both right and wrong, is both right and ineffable; is both true and wrong as well as ineffable. Thus every assertion is only true in a limited sense.

# 13

## The Rise and Growth of Jainism

○ J.N.Farquhar

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(Farquhar, a German Scholar of repute wrote several books on the Indian religious thought. He served in India as Professor and Literary Secretary; National Council of Young Men's Christian Association for India and Ceylon. His prominent books are Modern Religious Movements in India, A Primer of Hinduism, and the Crown of Hinduism etc.)

There are several studies available on the Jaina doctrine, specially by the Western Scholars. Generally they believe that the "The Jain system arose within Hinduism in the 6th century B.C., a little before Buddhism and like Buddhism, broke away from the parent faith at an early date and became a distinct religion. It is, like Buddhism, an atheistic system. The supreme religious aim of the system is to free the soul from matter. Its chief doctrine is that there are souls in every particle of earth, air, water and fire, as well as in men, animals and plants; and its first ethical precept is, Do not Destroy Life. In consequence, the Jain has to obey many rules in order to avoid taking life in any of its forms. Another of the original beliefs is that the

endurance of austerities is a great help towards salvation. From the very beginning, the community was divided into monks and laymen, the former alone subjecting themselves to the severest discipline. In Jainism the Tirathankaras hold the place which the Buddhas hold in Buddhism. By the Christian era the Jains, like the Buddhists, had begun to use idols. Images of the Tirathankaras are worshipped in their temples.

The above brief account of the rise of Jainism is drawn from the writings of Western scholars who have studied the original authorities. But there is a group of scholars who do not accept these statements. Their account of the history runs as follows :

1. The Jain system was founded in Ayodhya untold ages ago by Rishabha, the first of the twenty-four Tirthankaras. It was reformed by Parsvanatha in the 8th century. The last reformer, Mahavira, rose in the 6th century. Jainism has been a rival of Hinduism from the beginning.

At an early date the Jain community broke into two sects. What divided them was the question whether Jain monks should wear clothes or not and the names of the sects still indicate this difference. One sect is called Svetambara, that is, clothed-in-white; the other, Digambara, that is, clothed-in-atmosphere, because their monks wear no clothes.

After the Christian era the Jain community seems to have grown rapidly in numbers and influence. They were prosperous and wealthy business people. In various parts of India they obtained royal patronage and abundance of resources. In both the North and the South there are remains of architecture from the early centuries which show that the sect was very prominent. They had numerous scholars who created a great literature on

the original sacred books of the sect and also cultivated with success all the sciences which were current in India in mediaeval times.

But their power was broken in the South by the rise of the Sivaite and Vishnuite sects; and at a later date the same cause steadily weakened and depressed them in the North. It seems clear that for many centuries there has been a continuous drift of the Jain population into Hinduism; while Hindu thought and practice have as continuously found their way into Jain temples and homes. In Svetambara temples today the ministrants are usually Hindus and nearly all Jain families call in Brahmans to assist them in their domestic ceremonies.

In 1473 A.D. a movement arose amongst Svetambara Jains in Ahmedabad against idolatry, with the result that a group broke away and formed a non-idolatrous sect. They are called Sthanakavasis. The three sects, Digambaras, Svetambaras and Sthankavasis divide the Jain community fairly evenly between them, each numbering about 400,000 souls.

Colebrooke published a certain amount of information about the Jain sect early in the nineteenth century, but their early history was not understood until the Pali literature of Ceylonese Buddhism became available towards the end of the century. A number of the Jain texts have been translated into English in recent years and many Jain inscriptions have been deciphered; but much still remains to be done to make the history and the teaching of the sect fully intelligible.

2. Jains began to take advantage of Western education both in Bengal and in Bombay almost as early as any other community; and they have prospered exceedingly in business under British rule. They are a very wealthy community. The pearl trade of the East is

almost altogether in their own hands. Hence Jains are scattered in many parts of the world, notably in Britain, France and South Africa. One Jain has received the honour of knighthood, Sir Vasonji Tricumji of Bombay.

Yet the men of the community are deeply conscious that the Jains are in a very perilous position. The following quotations will show what some of the leaders think :

Are we on our way to attain that level of life? I think we are not. Firstly, because we are dwindling down year after year. Secondly, our little community is a house divided against itself. Thirdly, we have reduced our power to the lowest limit by cutting the community into numberless castes.

Alas! the body of Jainism is in a very bad way. It is not only ill, but perhaps it is already lifeless...Knowledge of Jainism is almost extinct. Very few original texts are extant; they are unknown to the Jain masses, even to their learned leaders and are very rarely read even in private, not to speak of public meetings. The spiritual or rather anit-spiritual picture of the masses is derived partly from crude half Jaina, half non-Jaina truths and partly superstition upon which their lives are based in our towns and villages...The Jaina community is dying; perhaps it is already dead; at any rate its condition is very serious.

In consequence, a keen desire for organisation and reform began to manifest itself about 1980 and rather valuable results have followed. There has been no movement created comparable with the Brahma Samaj or the Arya Samaj; nor have the Jains had noteworthy leaders like Rammohun Roy or Dayananda Sarasvati. Yet for the last twenty years there have been groups of

young men who have earnestly worked for the uplift of the community.

As a result of English education and the influence of advanced men, there is a common leaven working throughout the Jain community, specially in educated people. This new spirit manifests itself in various ways, first of all, in sectarian conferences.

3. The Digambara sect were first in the field. They held their first annual Conference about 1883. A year or eighteen months later, as a result of the work of the Conference, a group of the younger men belonging to all the three sects organized themselves as the Jain Young Men's Association. Then in 1903 the Svetambara sect began to hold a Conference; and the Sthanakavasis followed in 1906. These sectarian conferences have proved on the whole the most successful of all the efforts made during this period; but a good deal has also been done by local groups unconnected with any conference; and it is probable that in the future still greater things will be accomplished by those who are seeking to unite the three sects in one.

The aims which these organizations have in view are, in the main, to unite, strengthen and build up the community, so that individuals may not drift away from it, and to introduce such education and fresh life as will adapt the Jains to modern conditions. All parties seem to recognize that these great ends cannot be achieved unless their religious teachers, whether *sadhus* (celibate ascetics) or priests, receive a good modern education, so as to enable them to lead the community in the difficult circumstances of today and to meet, on the one hand, the assaults of materialism, and on the other, the criticism of the Arya Samaj and of Christianity. Jains want their *sadhus* to become educated, capable,

modern men like missionaries. All realize also that it is of the utmost importance that the boys and girls of the community should receive not only a modern education, but such religious and moral training as shall make them good Jains. There is also a clear realization that the old religion must be uplifted; but as to how this is to be done there is no unanimity. The policy advocated by the educated young men is a good deal different from that favoured by conservatives, whether *sadhus*, priests or laymen.

The chief methods employed by the various organizations are (1) institutions for giving a religious education to the *sadhus* and priests, (b) hostels for students, in which each student is required to study Jain books and live a Jain life, (c) newspapers in the vernaculars and in English, (d) the publication of literature, both the ancient sacred texts and modern books and (e) the introduction of religious and social reforms. We had better now look at the leading organizations in turn.

4. The All-India Digambara Jain Parishad, Bharatvarshiya Digambara Jain Mahasabha was founded about 1893. It has proved a very useful organization; yet it has had its difficulties. It has succeeded in creating several valuable institutions, notably the Syadvada Mahavidyalaya at Benares, in which the priests of the sect receive something of a modern training, an orphanage in Delhi, a number of hostels in various parts of the country and a Widow's Home in Bombay. The Digambaras support a number of newspapers, the *Digambara Jain*, a monthly magazine, published in Surat and containing articles in several languages, the *Hindi Jain Gazette*, the *Jain Mitra* and a woman's paper called the *Jain Nari Hitkari*.

5. The Svetambaras met for the first time in Conference at Marwar in 1903 and they have met many times since then. The Conference has an office in Bombay and issues a paper, *the Conference Herald*. Books for the moral and religious training of Jains in schools and colleges are being produced in five grades. Hostels for students have been organized in several places and a training college for *sadhus* at Benares, the Yasovijaya Jain Pathshala, in which they receive an English education and a training in the sacred books. The Conference has also undertaken to index the books in the treasure-houses, i.e., libraries, at Cambay, Jessalmair, Patan and elsewhere. This work is attended with considerable difficulty, owing to the Jain habit of concealing their sacred books.

One of the chief points of Jain devotion is the building of temples. These are not erected to meet the needs of the population, but as works of piety. Consequently, there are vast numbers of Jain temples, quite out of proportion to the number of Jains. The Conference sees to the restoration and repair of the most important of these.

Like Hindus, the Svetambara Jains have discovered that a large amount of the income of their temples is misused and various plans are being tried by the Conference to rectify the matter. At Palitana and Junagadh committees have been formed to supervise the disbursement of these monies.

There is a desire among certain laymen to lessen the prominence given to idol-worship. Two well-known men ventured to publish something on this subject, but the result was storm of opposition.

Laymen are also rather eager to lessen the power of the *sadhus* in the Conference.

Svetambara laymen are doing a good deal of useful



work apart from the Conference. They issue four or five monthly papers and one vernacular fortnightly, the *Jain Sasana*, published at Benares. They are also doing what they can in the way of bringing our versions of their scriptures and revising and correcting them. Rich merchants provide the necessary funds. They depend a good deal on English and German scholars for the work of editing and translating these texts.

6. The Sthanakavasis met first in Conference in 1906. The office of the Conference is at Ajmer and their paper is called *Conference Prakash*. The subjects discussed at the Conferences fall under the following heads : education (boarding in schools, religious education for boys and girls, orphanages, a training college for teachers), libraries, publication of sacred texts and a proposed union of all Jains. Though idolatry is the subject on which this sect feels most keenly, it is never mentioned in Conference, because there are always members of the other sects present whom they do not wish to offend. Many also feel the need of dealing with caste, but they do not venture to raise the question. Certain other aspects of social reform are, however, eagerly pressed. A Jain history from the Sthanakavasi point of view is being prepared. The Conference sends out itinerant preachers to acquaint the people with the decision of the Conference and to collect four pence from every house towards the expenses of the annual gathering and the preaching scheme.

Outside the Conference, small groups of Sthanakavasis are doing useful work. In many towns and large villages libraries are being founded. They are meant specially for Jain books, but secular works are also admitted. Local Jain societies establish hostels for Jain boys and arrange for religious teaching to be given

an hour before the ordinary schools meet. A monthly paper, the *Jain Hiteshi*, is supported and another is being started. The objects sought by these papers are, to remove the superstitions and increase the knowledge of the people and to insist on a higher standard of training for *sadhus*.

7. But the more advanced men are by no means satisfied with what is being done in the Conferences belonging to the three sects. They feel that the three groups must become united, if the community is to survive and that there is far greater need for reform and modernization than the average Jain realizes. The following quotations will show what these leaders think :

“Obviously our orthodox people are very anxious about our religion and could they grasp the situation, we should not be far from a satisfactory solution of the crucial problem of Jain progress. The failure of the orthodox is due to one cause. They are attempting the hopeless task to transforming the twentieth century into the days of Shri Mahavira. They would forget the history of twenty-six centuries. By founding *Pathashalas* of the primeval type, they would think of producing our *Akalankas* and *Nikalanks*. What is the result? They hardly attract any intelligent boys to these antiquated seminaries and after years of arduous toiling they find themselves as far from their ideal as ever before. The experience is discouraging not only to the orthodox but to everyone who cherishes the sublime hope of vivifying Jain ideals.

“What is the remedy? To my mind it consists in modernizing the institution where we have to train typical Jain spirituality through the ages to come. That is not done by the absurd insertion of a few readers or book-keeping in the curriculum of our *pathashalas*. The aim

of these nurseries of Jain lives ought to be to associate the best in the discoveries of the West with the highest in the lore of the past. There should be colleges in which the Jain boys would imbibe Jainism in its best form and yet would become able to hold their own against the literary and scientific savants of the West. Such should be the place from which Jain types would be evolved—types that shall not be at a disadvantage in any walk of life and shall yet live up to Jain ideals.

Like certain Muhammadan leaders, these men think it necessary to lay stress on the spirit of Jainism, rather than on the literal observance of all the old rules. Here is an attempt to state what the spirit of Jainism is :

Well, then, what is the Light left in our custody by Lord Mahavira?...Briefly characterised the Light teaches us, (1) Spiritual independence which connotes individual freedom and unlimited responsibility. The soul depends upon none else for its progress and none else is responsible for the degradation and distress which the soul may be affected with...(2) It teaches us the essential universality of the Brotherhood of not only all men but of all that lives. The current of life in the lowest living organism is as sacred, subtle, sensitive, mighty and eternal as in Juliet, Cleopatra, Ceasar, Alexander, Christ, Mohommad, Lord Buddha and Lord Mahavira himself. This is the undying basis of our fraternity for all.

Jainism, in all totality is a great religion—a religion of humanity.

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