

JAINTHOLOGY



जैन भवन

JAIN BHAWAN PUBLICATION



JAINTHOLOGY

An anthology of articles selected from Jain Journal
of last 25 years

Editor

GANESH LALWANI



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JAIN BHAWAN

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Jainism like Buddhism does not believe in a Creator God and for that reason does not believe in *avatāravāda* or decent of God-head as and when necessary for establishing peace on earth. Instead it believes in purification of self which will lead to the perfection of man. That ultimately can ensure peace on earth.

This problem of perfection of man has been tackled by our seers—Arhats or Tīrthaṅkaras as they were called. All the rules and codes of conduct as enjoined by them such as non-violence, non-falsehood, non-theft, non-sex and non-accumulation are intended to be practical aid to the attainment of that perfection. One has to strive for it by human endeavour through patience, forbearance, self-denial, forgiveness, humility, compassion and consideration or in brief, by suffering, sacrifice, love and kindness. In a sense it is ascent of man by conquering his lower or baser self. Story of Jainism is the story of this ascent.

Here in this book we have tried to retell that story through ages as it has found expression in the life of man as well as in its art and literature.

—The Editor

Foreword

The Jainthology, a Silver Jubilee Volume of the Jain Journal, is a collection of twenty-five articles selected from the past issues of the Jain Journal as a mark of the completion of the twenty-fifth year of its existence. Generally, most of the Silver or Golden Jubilee volumes are published on the basis of the fresh and new articles summoned from some present scholars of the subject. But this Silver Jubilee Volume is actually the reprint of some 25 articles which have already been published in the different issues of the Journal for the last 25 years. This is an excellent idea, unique of its kind and singular in its nature, which shows the personality and the originality of the Editor. It is, indeed, true that the articles published here have still some values and are the perennial sources for Jaina religion, philosophy and culture. As the articles published in the Jain Journal are of high standard and indicate a deep understanding of the subject, there is no harm in reprinting those articles which seem to be rare and important on the one hand, and valuable and outstanding in the domain of Jainistic studies and research on the other. It is not the time of the articles that is counted much for determining their worth, but the quality of the contents which has some lasting and permanent values for future generations to judge. A careful look at the contents of the volume will at once reveal the veracity of the statement.

The erudite editor of the Journal, Sri Ganesh Lalwani, has selected some 25 articles from the past issues of his Journal for representing 25 years of its existence. It seems that there is a philosophy behind the selection of these articles. First, the editor has selected only those articles which are vast and varied, and rare and uncommon in Jaina thoughts and ideas. Secondly, the editor thinks that because of the uncommon and varicoloured nature, some of the articles collected here might have passed into the land of oblivion during the progress of the Journal. Lastly, it may be regarded as one of the noblest ideas to celebrate the Silver Jubilee Volume by means of one's own treasures (*gaṅgā-jalenaiva gaṅgā-pūjā*). It is, perhaps, with this idea in the background that the editor has selected only 25 articles to commemorate the 25 years' progress of the Journal. The articles of the volume are manifold. It embraces the themes on the history and prehistory of

mankind in relation to Jaina scriptures, on religion and philosophy, on historical and hagiographical events, and even on thanatology and penology. It describes in a succinct manner the doctrines of *ahimsā* and *karma*, and its special treatments in Jaina Iconography and in the comparative study of Jainism with other systems of Indian philosophy, in Agama literature and linguistics, are attractive and noteworthy. In one word, considering the unique aspect of the volume it can be designated as an excellent Handbook of Jainism which covers most of the basic tenets of Jainistic studies. It is a welcome idea for which the editor is to be thanked and congratulated for imbibing such a project with a new and critical outlook which is obviously praiseworthy. The volume before us shows the worth of the eminence and erudition of the editor.

It is also one of the features to mention that this volume is printed beautifully on good paper at a well-known press of Calcutta, and is nicely bound. It contains many pictures illustrating different facets of Jainism. The printing is practically free from mistakes for which the sole credit will go to the assiduous and indefatigable labour of the editor. This is one of the solemn qualities of the Jain Journal in general and this volume in particular.

It is a well-known fact that since the time of Mahāvīra (6th or 5th cent. B.C.), the study of Jainism has been steady and contributory to the history of mankind. The contributions of P. C. Dasgupta, J. C. Sikdar, and V. G. Nair to the history and prehistory of mankind in relation to Jaina scriptures will pave the way for evaluating the history of Jainism. These articles will help us to frame our ideas about the antiquity of the Jainas. J. P. Jain's paper on the origin and development of Jain religion is still worth reading. He has succinctly delineated the revival of Jainism in the later Vedic age.

K. C. Lalwani's sketch on Bhagavān Mahāvīra along with his doctrine is a refreshing one and admits lots of new material and outlook. While describing the history of India, Lalwani says, "It has been the fancy of Indo-Aryan writers of Indian history to present both Mahāvīra and Buddha as the two most successful and illustrious leaders of the 'reaction' against the rituals and sacrifices of the Brahmanical religion. It is far from true and it is necessary to recognise that Śramaṇa and Brahmana currents of religion were independent and mutually exclusive of, and had nothing to do with, each other." (pp. 37-38).

Two of the papers are completely new digressions from the normal course. One is on Jaina Thanatology (< Greek *thanatos*, 'death') by Arvind Sharma who tries to explain *kevalajñāna* in the light of thanatology. He concludes by saying that "the evidence provided by subjects who have had near-death experiences of prolonged duration lends plausibility to the otherwise seemingly airy-fairy concept of *kevalajñāna* in Jainism." (p. 50). And the other one is on penology (< Greek *poine*, 'penalty' > peno+logy) by R. C. Lalen. "Jain Penology", says Lalen, "is the child of *karma* philosophy. The criminologists know *karma* in its retributory and retaliatory role. Association of karmic atoms forming a karmic-body (*kārmaṇa śarīra*) gloss over conscience of non-liberated souls since eternity." (p. 79). He has nicely illustrated the subject with the 'Five Great Vows' (*maḥāvratas*) and the mini-vows (*anuvratas*) and with other similar topics. But the Doctrine of Karma by Y. Krishnan is written from a different angle of vision. In a short but lucid paper the writer has outlined the basic tenets of *karma* which, in his opinion, is quite different from the Buddhists. It is true, indeed, that the theory of *karma* in Jainism occupies a unique place along with *ahimsā* (non-violence) which, A. C. Sen thinks, is the fundamental issue of Jainism.

Since the time of Albrecht Friedrich Weber (*Indische Studien*, vol. XVI, 1883, vol. XVII, 1885), some scholars have been discussing the problem of *Pūrvas* exhaustively. Weber was the pioneer in this respect. In his essay, *Über die heiligen Schriften der Jainas* ('Sacred Literature of the Jains'), he mooted this question for the first time, and this point was raised again and again by later scholars. Jarl Charpentier, for instance, reiterated this problem afresh in his Introduction to the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* (1914). But none of them arrived at any definite conclusion. But Suzuko Ohira has adumbrated this issue again with a new outlook in her article, *Problems of the Pūrva*. She has cited several instances from the scriptures to prove that "the *Pūrva* forms an independent literature different from 12 *Aṅgas* as evinced, for instance, in the *Nandī Therāvalī* 35 (39 in the *Suttāgame*) that speaks of Nāgārjuna to have been the knower of *Kālika-sūtra* and the *Pūrva*, and in the *Catuḥśaraṇa* 33 that enumerates 14 *Pūrvī*, 10 *Pūrvī* and 9 *Pūrvī* side by side 12 *Angī* and 11 *Angī*." (p. 95). She has further said that "each Tīrthaṅkara is assigned to be the source of the *Pūrva* literature as well as the *Aṅga* literature in his own Tīrtha. In Mahāvīra's Tīrtha Mahāvīra is therefore the source of 14 *Pūrvas* and 12 *Aṅgas*." (p. 96). In a short limited space and time Ohira's discussion is unique and to the point.

The Jain Journal in general, and this Jainthology in particular, is a

source book for the comparative study of Jaina religion and philosophy. There are several articles which deal with the comparative aspect of Jaina philosophy. Besides the texts of *Syādvāda-mañjarī* and *Prameya-kamala-mārtanḍa*, two pioneer works adumbrating the Jaina viewpoints in juxtaposition with the six systems of Indian Philosophy, the *Reals in Jainism* by K. B. Jindal is a nice selection which describes the comparative aspect of all systems of Indian Philosophy with particular reference to Jainism. Along with this, the article on the *Vibhajjavāda* by Sagarmal Jain, the *Refutation of Advaita Vedānta in Major Jaina Works* by Yajneswar S. Shastri, and the *Jaina Influence in the Formation of Dvaita Vedānta* by Robert J. Zydenbos, forming a trio, will give a comprehensive idea about the standpoint of Jaina philosophy in relation to others. But Mohan Lal Mehta has emphasized that the Jainas have contributed a number of original ideas to ontological, epistemological and logical concepts of the philosophical thoughts of India, even though, "the Jaina philosophy has some similarities with the other Indian philosophical schools." (p. 193).

One of the most interesting selections of the anthology is the article which deals with the population of the Jainas in India by Jagadish Prasad Sharma. In his opinion, Sharma asseverates poignantly that statistically the Jainas have always been a minority in Indian society. In his paper *Jainas as a Minority in Indian Society and History*, he has penned the picture from two points of view. For modern times comprising nearly hundred years his argument is based on the Census Report of the Government of India published since 1881. Though, says he, "scholars have long raised questions regarding the accuracy of census figures", but "even allowing for misrepresentations, their population in India would not amount to more than *three million* at the most". (p. 222) Apart from this method, the population of the Jainas from the very inception of their religion has been ransacked from the pages of history. He has nicely analysed the origin, growth and development of the Jaina community in India and has come to the conclusion that though in reality the Jainas have never been the highest in population, in ancient and mediaeval periods they were the strongest exponents of the then India in intellectual and literary activities. In this short paper, Sharma has picturesquely delineated the contributions of the Jainas, even as a minority, to the different branches of human knowledge. He asserts by saying that "the Jains have extended their activities beyond the sphere of their own religious literature to a far greater extent than the Buddhists have done, and they have memorable achievements in the secular sciences to their credit, in philosophy, grammar, lexicography, poetics, mathematics, astronomy and astrology, and even in the science of

politics. Thus we see that they occupy no mean position in the history of Indian literature and Indian thought." (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* vol. II, pp. 594-95). I personally feel that this is a good piece of research work for which the writer will be crowned with panegyrics.

Besides the above, there are other sundry papers. The *Jaina Iconography* by U. P. Shah and the *Thakkura Pheru and the Popularisation of Science in India in the Fourteenth Century* by Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma are not only interesting, but also contributory to the knowledge of Jainism.

The above brief survey of some of the selections by the editor will prove beyond doubt the justification of such a publication after the lapse of twenty-five years. It is quite in the fitness of things that the learned editor has thought it necessary to reprint some of his choicest and interesting articles from his past treasure-house of knowledge. This volume will serve as a sort of thesaurus of Jainism where a collection of selected articles is conglomerated. This volume can be recommended to all lovers of Jainism and a student of Jainism must make it a point to have by his side Jainthology which will act as a source book of Jainistic studies. In conclusion, it can be said that this publication of the editor will reveal an hitherto undisclosed chapter of the cultural history of India. The editor, Sri Ganesh Lalwani, has rendered a considerable service to the cause of Jainism, and I believe that this volume will definitely attract the attention of the scholarly world.

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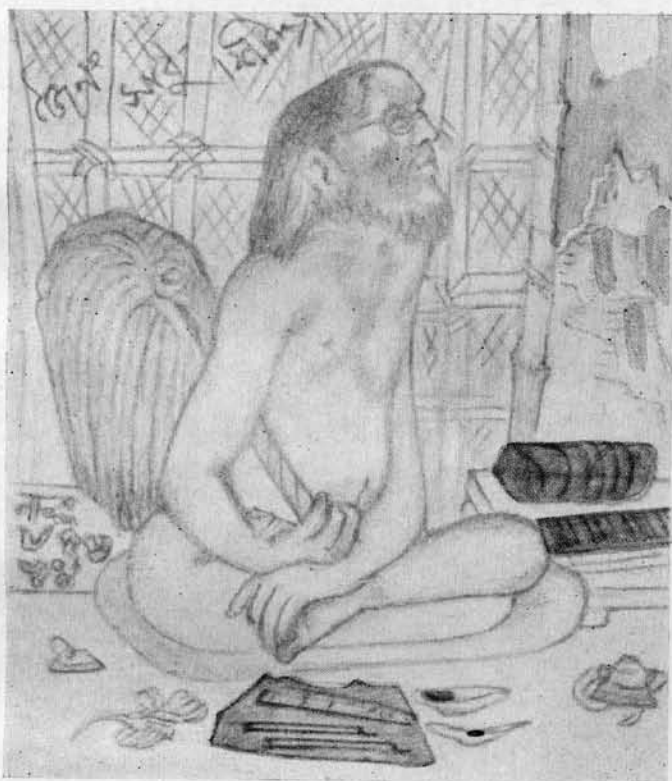
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Jaina Monk-Artist

Nandlal Bose

Courtesy Indra Dugar

Tirthankaras, Pratyeka Buddhas And The Ascent Of Man

P. C. Das Gupta

Since the era of scientific researches initiated in the last century by Charles Darwin, Thomas Henry Huxley and other stalwarts much truth in respect of the evolution of man has been revealed. The gradual discovery of fossil man in Europe, Africa and Asia by explorers and scientists have helped reconstructing some of the most important accounts of the history of the *hominids* who evidently passed through various stages and branched off in situations profoundly enigmatic for convergent, disappearing or parallel features and tendencies in respect of members representing distinctive physical structures and attitude towards subsistence in their peculiar environments. In this field of investigation the views of Darwin could be prophetic at times. As J. S. Weiner has pointed out, "In the *Descent of Man* (published twelve years after the *Origin*) he made 'predictions' about the earlier stages of human evolution. The remarkable accuracy of his reconstructions has not perhaps been fully appreciated. Darwin did in fact depict the main features of two stages which now a days we should see as corresponding to the *Dryopithecus* level (roughly 20 million years ago) and the *Australopithecine* level (roughly 1½ million years ago)."

(Foreword to the *Guide to Fossil Man* by Michael H. Day, Cassel, London, 1965).

By the efforts of anthropologists, palaeontologists and archaeologists upto recent years the gradual progress of *hominids* from their most primitive stage ushered perhaps by apes like the *Ramapithecus* of the Indian Siwalik and their corresponding members of Kenya in Africa and elsewhere in the prehistoric world has been studied with brilliant results. Whether from Taung (Tswana), Sterkfontein or Ternifine in Africa or from Swanscombe (Britain), Fontchevade (France) or Heidelberg (Germany) in Europe or from sites in Java and China among a list of other places, the physical remains of early man appear to be of perpetual interest. The dedications of scholars in the field amidst ancient forma-



Mysterious human foot-prints at Bambuzi in Southern Rhodesia, Africa. These seemingly sacred carvings might be the work of wilton people about 6,000 years ago.

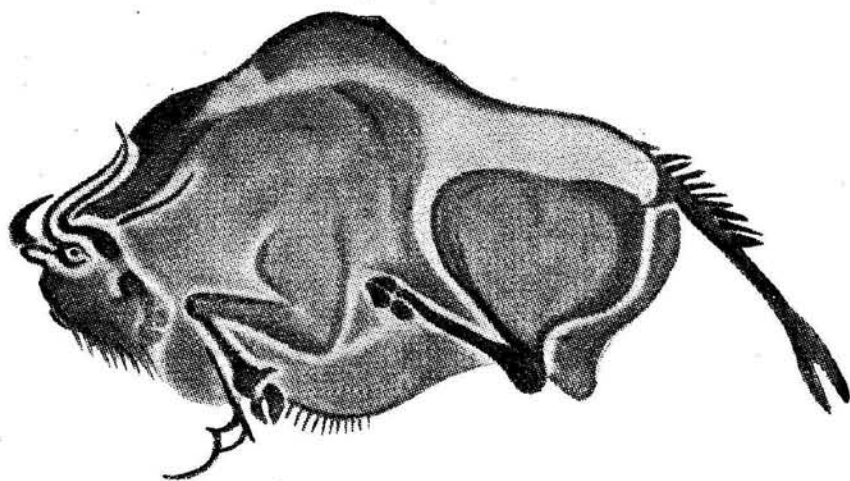
tions, deposits and silts have brought to light different physical structures and cranial features of early man. The current researches have shown that the *Ramapithecus* with its insipient characteristics anticipated the emergence of man as early as about 14 million years before present. Surprising discoveries in the Olduvai Gorge in the Serengeti Plain of Africa as also at Lake Turkana and at Ethiopia in the same continent have indicated that the *hominids* of parallel lines with degrees of physical evolution appeared in the scene about 2 million years ago and in earlier times. In this connection it has been held by prehistorians that the *hominids* in course of their slow and diverse process of development engaged themselves in food-quest and eventually after thousands of years since the recognizable beginning of their career on earth their style of survival changed from food-gathering to food-growing. Originally relying on nuts, fruits, edible roots etc. in an arboreal environment at least at particular regions. An excerpt from an article published in *Time*, Nov. 1977, as given below sums up the trends as best as possible.

“Anthropologists now believe that man’s family tree goes back to a primate called *Dryopithecus*, a true ape that appeared about 20 million years ago. Much later—by 14 million years ago the *Dryopithecus* line had split into three branches. One branch evolved into the ancestors of to-day’s great apes—the gorillas, chimpanzees and orangutans, which are man’s closest living cousins. Another produced a creature called *Gigantopithecus*, a huge ground ape that roamed the valleys of Asia for a few million years before it became extinct. A third branch gave rise to *Ramapithecus*, which most anthropologists believe was a distant ancestor of man.

"The cause of the changes can be traced, at least in part, to plate tectonics, the movement of the great crustal plates that ride on the earth's semi-molten mantle and provide its solid outer shell. Some 45 million to 50 million years ago, the plate that carries the Indian sub-continent was pushing up into the underbelly of Asia, slowly thrusting up the massive mountain range now called the Himalayas. This new barrier to global wind circulation helped change weather patterns, altering average temperatures around the world. By about 14 million years ago, climates that had been tropical had turned largely temperate jungles had thinned out, and fruits and nuts normally available year round began to appear only seasonally.

"The changing food supply offered new opportunities for feeding outside the forest. Some of the forest-dwelling apes began venturing into the savanna, or grasslands, in search of food such as roots, seed and finally the meat of other animals.

The entire episode including the stratigraphic position of fossil man has illuminated a history that is fascinating and enigmatic from diverse points of view. Nevertheless, the general view-point with regards to the life of our ancestors may not appear satisfying if the emphasis is given on food-quest only. One may be eager to learn about their inspiration and evaluation of ethics, justice and what is beautiful. While the upper Palaeolithic art of France, Spain and other places will throw



Painted bison in its moment of inexplicable glory in the palaeolithic cave at Altamira in Spain.



Adoration of a naked saint or a hero. Prehistoric painting in a rock shelter at Cogul near Lerdia, Spain.

light on this subject, the prehistoric cult-figurines as found in Asia and Africa will indicate how traits like involvement in respect of the mystery of life and devotion towards the glory of nature had been enrooted in the culture of man with several thousands of years before the beginning of the Christian era. As famed archaeologist Jacquetta Hawkes had observed,

“The self-consciousness that intensified with the elaboration of the cerebral cortex, making man more and more aware of his actions and his separation from nature, was to take two main and opposing directions. One was towards controlling the environment. This led immediately to tool-making and then on the whole accelerating course of our technical and scientific advance. Here analysis, breaking down of the whole into manageable parts, has been the means, and the ends are wholly practical and material. The other direction is towards reuniting the part with the whole, man with the universe from which his consciousness seemed to divide him. This way led to ritual, art, religious faith, mysticism and some aspects of philosophy.”

(Prehistory and the Beginning of Civilization, UNESCO 196 , by Jacquetta Hawkes and Sir Leonard Woolley, pp. 105-6).

As it seems, the mysterious history of the *hominids* might have sparkled with inspirations and certain realizations in remote antiquity. Such ascent of man appears likely in the perspective of myths and progress of culture. This was perhaps as important as the quest for

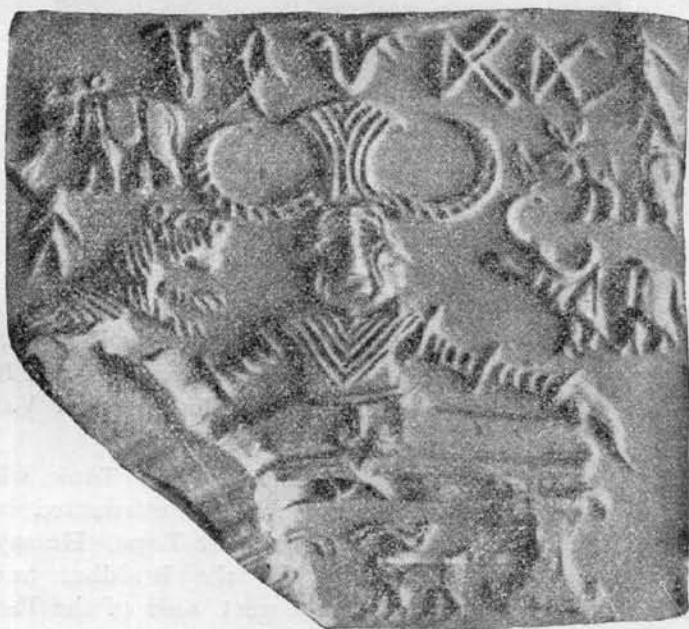
food before Holocene. Here we may recall the glory of Egyptian god Thoth or Tehuti who is sometimes represented as the divine baboon or dog-ape (*cynocephalus*) worshipping the Sun. The deity being both a divine healer and an embodiment of wisdom was addressed by the great god Ra as follows :

“For thee, O Thoth I shall make a resplendent abode in the great deep and the underworld which is Duat. Thou shalt record the sins of men, and the names of those who are mine enemies ;...

“So came into being by his power the ibis, the crane, and the dog-ape, the messengers of Thoth.”

(Donald A. Mackenize : *Egyptian Myths and Legends*, p. 11).

In Indian mythology the monkey has at times an exalted position in respect of purity, faith and devotion. Apart from the role of Hanumāna, the devoted follower of Rāma, the *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, the cosmic deity, the monkey appears as a cognizance of Jaina Tīrthāṅkara Abhi-



A scene envisaging Siva Pasupati or a supreme meditation as that of a Jina or any other saint of distant past. The motif is carved on a seal from Mohenjo-daro, Pakistan.



*A sculpture of alabaster that may represent
a royal philosopher absorbed in meditation
Mohenjo-daro, Pakistan.*

nandanānātha and the Buddhist legends contain the story of the noble Mahākapi who was all intent to save his followers at the cost of his own life. As late as seventh century A. D. the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang refers to monkeys who offered honey to the Buddha near Vaiśālī.

“The pilgrim next tells us about the Monkey Tank, which was to the south of a stone pillar about 50 feet high surmounted by a lion, at an Aśoka tope, to the north-west of the Relic Tope. He says the Tank (or Pond) had been made by monkeys for the Buddha, and that the latter resided at this place. Near the west side of the Tank, he continues, was a tope on the spot at which the monkeys took the Buddha’s bowl up a tree for honey to give him ; near the south bank was a tope at the place where the monkeys presented the honey ; and near the north-east corner of the Tank was a picture (or image) of a monkey.”

(Watters : *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 65).

As Watters has pointed out,

"The story of a monkey or a flock of monkeys (or apes) presenting wild honey to the Buddha is told with variations in several Buddhist scriptures. In some the scene of the story is laid near Vaiśālī (and our pilgrim, it will be seen, tells of a troop of monkeys offering honey to the Buddha at this place), in some at Śrāvastī and in some at the Natika village."

(*Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 301-310).

Another story also recalls how Upagupta "was born as a monkey (or ape)" in one of his previous births and "became the chief of a troop of monkeys living at Urumanda". It is told that "he made offerings and shewed much kindness to 500 Pratyeka Buddhas who were living on another part of Urumanda. The merit of his conduct to these worthies brought the monkey birth as a human being in his next existence, and in it, as the Bhikṣu Upagupta, he rose to be a most successful preacher, a peerless saint, and a Buddha in all but the bodily signs."

(*Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 311).

Though it is difficult to discover human enlightenment in respect of the mystery of eternity in the palaeolithic art of man still the paintings and sculptures of the age convey at times some of the feelings of the artists which are noble and at the same time enigmatic. Thus, the painted bison shown as recumbent in the palaeolithic cave at Altamira in Spain has the sublimity and repose of an icon. The prehistoric 'ritual scene' at Cogul near Lerida in a Spanish rock-shelter visualizes a naked man who stands rigid and aloof being surrounded by women. It is yet to be decided whether the subject depicted here is connected with some unknown phallic worship or it depicts an account of a saintly hero surviving the ordeal of temptation. Here it may be recalled that explorers have noticed carved human foot-prints at Bambuzi, 27 miles of Wankie in Southern Rhodesia. (Neville Jones : *The Prehistory of Southern Rhodesia*, Cambridge 1949, fig. 38, p. 67). After investigation the explorers could form then "no conclusion than that the carvings were the work of Wilton people." The latter represented, as it appears, a microlithic culture of the African Late Stone Age of about 6,000 years ago. In fact, the aspect concerning the quest of beauty in the ancient world by early man and his realizations of the glory of life and eternity could lead to culminating ideals of meditation in Mohenjo-daro as it has been manifestingly proved by the famous motif of what may be recognized as Śiva Paśupati or an apostle absorbed in contemplation and the sculpted image of a royalty seemingly engaged in *dhyāna*.

[July 1980]

Evolution of Mankind as Depicted in the Jaina Āgamas

J. C. Sikdar

Infancy of Human Race

According to the Jaina Āgamas human race had its genesis in Suṣama-Suṣama,¹ the first period in time cycle. In that age, land was cool, colour, taste and touch of things were pleasant, sweetness of soil was infinite times greater than that of sugar of the present day. Things were *snigdha* (bracing—adhesive, i.e., full of calory). For this reason the people of that age used to take a little vegetable after every three days and were satisfied with it. Foodstuff was a natural product and not an artificial one. Artificiality in human life was also non-existent and for that the span of life was very long. They were very tall and lived up to three *palyas* and never met accidental death. The natural atmosphere was so congenial to health that they were gentle and pleasing by nature.²

The second period in time cycle is called Suṣama with a length of three *koṭākoṭī sāgara*. In this age meal was taken by man after every two days. The span of his life was two *palyas* and the height of his

¹ *jambuddive bharahe vase imise ussappnie susamasusamae samae ... bahusama-ramarije bhumibhage hottha ... savvauapupphaphalasamidhha pindimajavopasadiā 4, Jambudvīpa-prajñapti, (Sāntīcandriya vṛtti) 2, 19, pp. 96-97 ff.*

² *te nam manua supaitthiakummacarucalana java ... ujjumauapivarasusahayam-gulio ... jahicchiakamakamino, Ibid., 2.21.*

atthamabhattassa aharatthe samuppajjai, pudhavipupphaphaiahara ... pudhavie ... gulei va khamdei va ... sakkarai va ... asae panatte, Ibid., 2.22.

rukkhagehalaya ... suhasialacchaya pannatta samanauso, Ibid., 2.23.

tise samae bharae vase gehai va ... no inatthe samatthe ... gamai va ... no inatthe samatthe ... asi va masi va kisi va vanietti va panietti va vanijjei va ... no inatthe samatthe ... bharahe rayai va ... no inatthe samatthe ... dasei va pesai va sissei va bhayagei ... no inatthe samatthe ... maya va piyai ... homta atthi, no ceva nam tīve pemniabamdhane, etc., Ibid., 2.24.

manuanam ... jahannenam desunam tinni paliovamam ... sanicari, Ibid., 2.25.

body came down to two *kosas*. The cause of this decrease in stature and span of life was the diminishing state of braciness of foodstuff, of fertility of land and of essence of things.³

This is the history of the lower stage of the infancy of the human race as recorded in the Jaina *Āgamas*. At this primitive stage when man was living in the state of nature social order had not come into being as it is found today. The Yugalic system (the pairing system of man and woman) was in vogue. In consequence, there was no *kula* (family), no *varga* (clan), no *jātt* (caste), nor any organised society or kingdom. The population was very small; one pair of boy and girl was born to each parents before two or three months of their death. There was no marriage system prevailing in this free society nor any cultivation of land. They knew not how to produce cloth or construct houses. *Kalpa-vṛkṣas* (wish-yielding trees) were only source of subsistence, clothes and residence. Nobody knew the names of *śrṅgāra* (dressing and use of cosmetics and decoration), pleasure and enjoyment, arts and sciences. There was no means of conveyance. There were cows and buffaloes but they were free.⁴ There was no master nor servant, no ruler nor the ruled. There was no exploiter nor the exploited. Besides there was no religion. Such mental dispositions as back-biting, blaming, laying blame on others, etc., were absent in the minds of the people, nor there was sense of diminution and advance. They had not developed aptitude for quarrelling and fighting and were ignorant of weapons. Literature was unknown. Non-continenence was limited; there did not take place murder, killing, etc., at that time. There was no accumulation of wealth nor theft nor untruthfulness. The people enjoyed natural joy and peace.⁵

In the third cyclic order of time, called *Suṣama-Duṣama*, food was taken by the people after one day, i.e., at alternate day.⁶ Their span of

3 *tise nam samae cauhim sagarovamakodakodihim kale vikkante anamtehim vannapajjavehim ... samakale ... bahusamaramanije bhuhage hottha, ... chattha-bhattassa aharatthe ... susamana, Ibid., 2.26.*

4 *gavii va mahisii va ... hama atthi, no ceva nam tesim manuanam paribhogattae havvamagacchamti, Ibid., 2.24.*

5 *tise samae bharahe vase gehai va gehavanai va? goyama! no inatthe samatthe ... rayai va ... dasei va pesei va ... maya i va piyai va bhaya-bhagini, bhajja, putta, dhuya, sunha va hamta atthi, no ceva nam tivve pemmabandhane samuppajjai .. no inatthe samatthe, vavagayarogayamka nam te manua pannatta samanauso, Ibid., 2.24.*

6 *tise nam samae tihim sagarovamakodakodihim kale vitkkante anamtehim vanna-pajjavehim ... manuanam causatthi pitthakaramduga cautthabhattassa aharatthe samupajjai ... tisenamsamae pacchime tibhage bharahe vase manuanam ... chavvihe samthane ... savvadukkanamantam karemti, Ibid., 2.27.*

life was one *paīya* and the height of their body came down to one *kosa*. The length of this age was one *koṣākoṭi*. At the last phase of it the calories of things began to decline still more rapidly. The number of *kalpa-vṛkṣas* was gradually becoming less and less. Natural laws began to break down; and artificial order came into existence and consequently the Kulakara or Patriarchal society emerged in this environment.⁷ That is to say, the tribal society came into existence out of the natural society of free men.⁸

The above account of the infancy of the human race as given in the Jaina *Āgamas* is corroborated by the views of F. Engels. To quote him : "Man still lived in his original habitat, tropical or sub-tropical forests, dwelling, at least partially, in trees; this alone explains his continued survival in face of the large beasts of prey. Fruits, nuts and roots served him as food....Although this period may have lasted for many thousands of years, we have no direct evidence of its existence; but once we admit the descent of man from the animal kingdom, the acceptance of this transitional stage is inevitable."⁹

Writing about the origin of family Engels writes : "In the primitive stage of man, brother and sister lived as man and wife originally. Here the marriage groups are ranged according to generations : all the grand-fathers and grandmothers within the limits of the family are all mutual husbands and wives, the same being the case with their children, the fathers and mothers, whose children will again form a third circle of common mates, their children, the great-grand children of the first—in turn, forming a fourth circle. Thus in this form of the family, only ancestors and descendants, parents and children, are excluded from the rights and obligations (as we would say) of marriage with one another. Brothers and sisters, male and female cousins of the first, second and more remote degrees are all mutually brothers and sisters, and precisely because of this are all mutually husbands and wives. At this stage the relation of brother and sister includes the exercise of sexual intercourse with one another as a matter of course."¹⁰

⁷ *tise nam samae pacchime tibhae pollovamarthabitagavasese ettha nam ime pannaraso kulagara samupajjittha*, *Ibid.*, 2.28.

⁸ *Jambudvipaprajñapti*, 2.27; See also *Jain Dharam aur Darsan*, Nathmal Muni, pp. 2-3.

⁹ *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, F. Engels, p. 23-24.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38. "In primeval times the sister was the wife, and that was moral" —Marx (Note by Engels), vide *Ibid.*, p. 38.

The study of Jaina *Āgamas* as given above reveals that man lived in his original habitat, tropical or sub-tropical forests, dwelling, at least partially in trees. Fruits, nuts and wild roots served him as food, although there is no direct evidence of the existence of such a life in modern India. But one should look into the wild forests of India, particularly of Orissa, for having an idea of this transitional stage of the infancy of the human race. As regards the Yugalic system of life of man and woman one can find the trace of it in the system of consanguinity prevailing among the aborigines of India besides the cases of the Dravidian tribes in the Deccan, and the Tamils of South India.

The picture of the infancy of human race as depicted in Jaina *Āgamas* with the background of the Yugalic system shows an older tradition of the lower stage of 'savagery' which is not found in the Vedic and Buddhist works. Only the Buddhist text¹¹ refer to odorous and sweet rice, self-ripening rice and disappearance of that rice, having contained a suggestion to point to the lower stage of 'savagery'. It is noteworthy that the great assembly of the Jaina monks took sufficient care to embody the traditional accounts of the Yugalic system of life handed down to them from the hoary past, when it reduced them to writing at Vallabhi council long before the birth of Karl Marx and F. Engels. This account of the infancy of the human race bears a historical importance for the present and future generations of India to give it a proper place in the history of the development of man and society.

Kulakara System Of Society

After countless years of the infancy of the human race there began a new Age with the emergence of different conditions of life. On the one hand, the means of subsistence decreased, on the other, the growth of population took place and the necessities of human life increased in unequal ratio. In this condition there started mutual strife, looting and anarchy, i.e., there began the struggle for existence among the people. The force of these prevailing circumstances brought about a change in the divine human qualities, such as, forgiveness, peace, equanimity, etc. The seed of criminal disposition started to sprout in the minds of the

¹¹ *padalalaya antarahitaya akatthapako sali paturahosi akano athuso suddha sugandho tandulapphalo, te mayam akatthagapakam sali, etc., Agganna Sutaṇṭa, Dighanikaya (3 Pathikavaggo), pp. 71-72.*

people ; and chaotic condition gave them an impulse to build up a new order of society. As a result of this inner urge and action of the people of that Age the Kulakara system (tribal or gentile system) came into existence. They began to live, being organized into the society of *kula* (*gens*). They chose some one as their leader who was designated as Kulakara (tribal chief). He was vested with the power to award punishment to anyone found guilty. He made all necessary arrangements of the entire *kula* in regard to peaceful living with the requirements of life. He always kept in mind the welfare of his *kula* and made restraint over the criminal acts of looting, etc. This is the nucleus of the first form of primitive administration in India.¹²

The picture of *kula* as depicted in the Jaina texts is in essence indetical with the *genos* of the Greeks and the *gens* of the Romans and the American Indian tribe. "The American was the original form of the *gens* and the Greek and Roman the later, derivative form ; that the entire social organization of the Greeks and Romans of primitive times in *gens*, phratry and tribe finds its faithful parallel in that of the American Indians ; that (as far as our present sources of information go) the *gens* is an institution common to all barbarians up to their entry into civilization."¹³

"The Latin word, *gens* which Morgan, employs as a general designation for this body of consanguinei, is, like its Greek equivalent, *genos* derived from the common Aryan root *gan* (in German, where the Aryan "G" is, according to rule, replaced by "K", it is *kan*), which means to beget. *Gens*, *genos*, the Sanskrit *janas*, the Gothic *kuni* (in accordance with the above mentioned rules), the ancient Nordic and Anglo-Saxon *kyn*, the English *kin*, the Middle High German *kunne*, all equally signify kinship, descent. However, *gens* in the Latin and *genos* in the Greek are specially used for those bodies of consanguinei which boast a common descent (in this case from a common male ancestor) and which through certain social and religious institutions, are linked together into special community, whose origin and nature had hitherto, nevertheless, remained obscure to all our historians."¹⁴

The Prakrit word '*kula*' as employed in the Jaina *Āgamas*, also signi-

12 *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti*, 2.26 ; *aham ca se damdam vatthami, tahe tesim jo koti avarajjhati so tassa uvatthavijjati, tahe so tassa damde vattheti, ko puna damdo, hakkaro, ha tume dutthu kayam, se tena hakkarena janati sisam paditam, Avasyaka-curni*, pp. 128-29.

13 *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, F. Engels. pp, 83-84.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 84.

fies the same meaning of a common descent from a common male ancestor like Greek *genos* and the Roman *gens*, etc.

Fourteen Kulakaras,¹⁵ according to the Digambara Jaina tradition, presided successively over their respective *kulas* in different periods. They are as follows : (1) Pratiśruti, (2) Sanmati, (3) Kṣemaṅkara, (4) Kṣemādhara, (5) Sīmaṅkara, (6) Sīmaṅdhara, (7) Vimalavāhana, (8) Cakṣuṣmān, (9) Yaśasvan, (10) Abhicandra, (11) Candrabha, (12) Marudeva, (13) Prasenajit and (14) Nābhi.¹⁶

- (1) Pratiśruti, the first Kulakara explained to his *kula* the significance of natural phenomena, such as, the rising and setting of the sun and the moon, of day and night, etc.
- (2) Sanmati, the second Kulakara, expounded the system of constellation to his people and became the first astronomer of the Age.
- (3) Kṣemaṅkara, the third Kulakara, taught them the art of taming the wild useful animals to employ them in the service of the human society.
- (4) Kṣemādhara, the fourth Kulakara, invented the science of making weapons out of wood and stone to chase wild animals.

¹⁵ According to the Svetāmbara Jaina *Āgamas*, there are seven or ten or fifteen Kulakaras, while the *Padmacarita* mentions fourteen Kulakaras, viz., 1. Sumai, 2. Padissui, 3. Simankara, 4. Simandhara, 5. Khemankara, 6. Khemādhara, 7. Vimalavāhana, 8. Cakkhuman, 9. Jasaman, 10. Abhicandra, 11. Candrabha, 12. Pasenai, 13. Marudeva and 14. Nabhi. See *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti*, 2.28 for 15 Kulakaras. In the *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti* there are stated to be 15 Kulakaras including Rśabha while the *Sthananga*, the *Samavayanga* and the *Avasyaka Nirvyukti*, etc., mention only seven, viz., 1. Vimalavāhana, 2. Caksusman, 3. Yasasvi, 4. Abhicandra, 5. Prasenai, 6. Marudeva and 7. Nabhi. *jambuddive bharahevasa imise osappinie satta kulagara hota, temjaha—padhamitta bimalavahana 1, cakkhuma 2, yasaman 3, cauttam abhichande 4, tatto pasenai 5, puna marudeve 6, ceva nabhi 7*, vide *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti*, 132; *iha tu sri rsabhadevasamyuktah pancadasa bhanitah, Jambubvīpa-prajñapti*, 2.28. Among them also Candrabha is stated to be placed in between Abhicandra and Prasenajit. If so, how is the mutual agreement among different numbers correct? The answer is that there are two classes of Kulakaras—one appointed in the duties of Kulakaras and the other independent. Vimalavāhana, etc. are *niyuktas* (employees) who are mentioned in the *Sthananga* here having done the duties of Kulakara they have become Kulakaras, *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti*, pp. 2.28, foot note No. 1. p. 132.

¹⁶ *Tiloyapannatti*, Pt. I, vv. 421-504, pp. 195-205, ed. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye and Dr. H. L. Jain, published by Jaina Sanskriti Samrakṣaka Samgha, Sholapur, 1963.

- (5) At the time of Sīmaṅkara, the fifth Kulakara, many of the *kalpavṛkṣas* were destroyed by rain and flood, consequently there arose the disputes and quarrels among the people over the possession of a few remaining *kalpavṛkṣas* for their subsistence. This Kulakara settled their disputes by fixing the propriety-zones for different groups of them, thus indirectly conferring the right to property on them.
- (6) An acute shortage of *kalpavṛkṣas* which supplied the food-stuff to the primitive people led to the quarrel and strife among them during the period of Sīmāṇdhara, the sixth Kulakara. He conferred individual right to property on them by giving his verdict. It indicates the coming of property into existence in some form, having a relation with exploitation in future.
- (7) Vimalavāhana, the seventh Kulakara, taught his people how to utilize the services of domesticated animals and to keep them under control by tying them with the tethering rope, the bridle and the like.
- (8) At the time of Cakṣuṣman, the eighth Kulakara, the natural order of *bhogabhūmi* underwent change and the parents survived after the birth of the Yugala (a single pair of boy and girl), for a long time and saw their faces with affection.
- (9) Yaśasvān, the ninth Kulakara, taught his people to regard children as their own and to bless them.
- (10) During the period of Abhicandra, the tenth Kulakara, the people lived to play with their children; they also began to give them useful instruction for their mental, physical and material development. This Kulakara came to be known as Abhicandra (signifying moon) because of the incident that he was the first to play with his children in moon-light.
- (11) At the time of Candrabha, the eleventh, Kulakara, children were brought up with much care and attention. He was beneficial to his people in many other ways.
- (12) Marudeva, the twelfth Kulakara, brought all the remaining *kalpavṛkṣas* under the social control of the tribal organization.

He made skiffs and boats and taught his people the art of navigation. With the change in Nature and the formation of many small hills, rivulets and lakes men began to move on, having left their original habitat and scaled high hills, etc. There took place some scanty and irregular rainfall for the first time.

- (13) At the time of Prasenajit, the thirteenth Kulakara, children were born with *prasena* (amnion or innermost membrane enclosing foetus before birth). This Kulakara came to be known as Prasenajit because of his teaching the science of embryology to his people.

- (14) Nabhi, the fourteenth Kulakara, was the first man to teach his people how to cut the navel strings of the children after their birth, so he came to be known as such.¹⁷

There took place further change in Nature during the period of Nabhi. The remaining *kalpavrkṣas* were now destroyed by rain and flood, but the earth became pregnant with many varieties of crops, trees, creepers, shrubs, birds, deer, etc. The people were wonder-struck and immediately went to Nābhi for knowing the significance of all these changes.¹⁸ Nābhi explained to them that *bhogabhūmi* was dead and *karmabhūmi* had born and henceforth they were to work hard to earn their livelihood.¹⁹ He pointed out to them that the rise of clouds and rain had made the earth rich with varieties of crops for their consumption so they need not bewail the want of *kalpavrkṣas*.²⁰ He invented also fire, the arts of cooking food and weaving cloths for their benefit.²¹

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *vavagaya bhogabhumi bhavabhuruha siri narvai ramasahi jaya vivihadhannadu-mavel-ligummapasahuna nabhi; datta-tam pekhhivi janavau samcaliu man melleppinu jhatti tahim, Prakrit Mahapurana.*

¹⁹ *kammabhumi bhuruha samjaya, etc., Prakrit Mahapurana, S.II, 14, p. 30.*

²⁰ *kalpavrkṣocitam sthanam, tanyadhyasisata sphutam, Sanskrit Mahapurana, 4.184, p. 62.*

²¹ *datta-kanakamdana sihisamdhukkanaim payanavihanaim bhaviyam kappasasutta-pariyaddanaim padaparimmaim daviyaim 44, Prakrit Mahapurana, S.II, 14, p. 30.*

It is to be noted here that in the *Avasyaka-curni*, Pt. I, pp. 155-6, it is stated that Rsabhadeva, the son of Nabhi, employed fire which was generated by the mutual rubbing of dry woods for cooking food and other purposes; next he invented first pottery, then the art of clothing, etc., during his father's time.

Thus the Kulakaras who brought this Age to progress and development in the primitive tribal society taught their people during their respective periods gradually the ways and means for defence from the attack of Nature and ferocious animals. They fixed up the limitation of individual ownership of land and trees. Having tamed and reared wild animals, such as, elephants, etc. they taught their people to bring those animals to the service of communication. They instructed them how to bring up children and to christen their names. They educated their people how to protect themselves from cold, snow, etc. They trained them also to cross the river with boats, to climb up the hill by making steps, to protect themselves from rain by holding some covering over their heads, and lastly they taught them the art of raising crops, by cultivation of land, after which there came into existence commerce and trade, crafts and industries, all arts and industrial professions. Due to these arts and crafts, etc., this earth came to be called *karma-bhūmi* (land of action).

The study of these events as stated in the Jaina *Āgamas* and *Purāṇas* reveals that the history of mankind is the history of the struggle between animal man and divine man and that of the attack of man on Nature to protect himself from its offensive behaviours in various forms. This history is still continuing in the process of development of man and society, as divine man has been conquering animal man and Nature since the infancy of the human race up to the present day with his mighty force and scientific explorations and achievement.

Besides, the above account of the Kulakara system of society throws a considerable light on the middle and upper stages of savagery, and the lower, middle and upper stages of barbarism as shown by F. Engels and K. Marx. Middle stage of savagery begins with the employment of fire and the art of cooking and the active urge of discovery. Men spread over the greater part of the earth's surface by following the rivers and coasts and scaling hills from his original habitat.

"The crude, unpolished stone implements of the earlier stone Age—the so-called Paleolithic—which belong wholly or predominantly, to this period, and are scattered over all the continents, are evidence of these migrations. The newly occupied territories as well as the unceasingly active urge for discovery, linked with their command of the art of producing fire by friction, made available new food-stuffs, such as farinaceous roots, and tubers, baked in hot ashes or in baking pits (ground ovens), and game, which was occasionally added to the diet.

after the invention of the first weapons the club and the spear. Exclusively hunting peoples, such as, figure in books, that is, peoples subsisting solely by hunting, have never existed, for the fruits of the chase were much too precarious to make that possible. As a consequence of the continued uncertainty with regard to sources of food-stuffs, cannibalism appears to have arisen at this stage, and continued for a long time. The Australians and many Polynesians are to this day in this middle stage of savagery."²²

Upper stage of savagery "begins with the invention of the bow and arrow, whereby wild game became a regular item of food, and hunting one of the normal occupations. Bow-string and arrow constitute a very composite instrument, the invention of which presupposes long accumulated experience and sharpened mental powers, and, consequently, simultaneous acquaintance with a host of other inventions."²³ "We find, even at this early stage, beginnings of settlement in villages, a certain mastery of the production of means of subsistence : wooden vessels and utensils, finger weaving (without looms) with filaments of bast, baskets woven from bast or rushes, and polished (Neolithic) stone-implements. For the most part, also, fire and the stone axe have already provided the dug-out canoe and, in places, timber and planks for house-building. All these advances are to be found, for example, among the Indians of North-Western America, who, although familiar with the bow and arrow, know nothing of pottery. The bow and arrow was for savagery what the iron sword for barbarism and fire arms for civilization, namely, the decisive weapon."²⁴

The next stage of Kulakara system is marked with the domestication and breeding of animals and the cultivation of plants, the introduction of pottery,²⁵ and the smelting of iron ore²⁶ as they are known from the accounts of the performances of the seventh upto the fourteenth or fifteenth Kulakara in their respective Ages. These records of their activities are well-supported by the facts of history. According to F. Engels, the lower stage of barbarism begins with "the introduction of pottery"

²² *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, F. Engels, p. 24.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

²⁵ *tahē samina 'hatthissa kumbhae kauna darisitam, pattayam, evam ta padhamam kumbhakara uppanna, evam ta ahara gato, Avasyaka-curni*, pp. 155-156.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 156. According to K. Marx, after much progress of agriculture, i.e., after the introduction of plough with metal coulter, metal axes, bronze and iron tips for spears, arrows, etc., there came into existence the domestication of animals (See *Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism*, 2nd Edition. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963) ; vide *The Origin of the Family*, etc., p. 25.

which "had its origin, demonstrably in many cases and probably everywhere, in the coating of baskets or wooden vessels with clay in order to render them fire-proof."²⁷ "The characteristic feature of the period of barbarism is the domestication and breeding of animals and the cultivation of plants."²⁸

The middle stage of barbarism "begins, in the East, with domestication of animals ; in the West, with cultivation of edible plants by means of irrigation, and with the use of adobes (bricks dried in the sun) and stone for buildings."²⁹

The upper stage of barbarism "begins with the smelting of iron ore and passes into civilization through the invention of alphabetic writing and its utilization for literary records."³⁰

It is to be noted that Ṛṣabhadeva, the fifteenth Kulakara, according to the *Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti*, was the first tribal leader to make invention of sword³¹ by smelting iron ore and to introduce alphabetic writing and its utilization for literary records.³² The Age of Nābhi and his son Ṛṣabha was the Age of transition from the upper stage of Kulakarism into the dawn of civilization, which can be compared with the upper stage of barbarism passing into civilization "with the invention of alphabetic writing."³³ At this stage...which...was traversed independently only in the eastern hemisphere, more progress was made in production than in all the previous stages put together. To it belong the Greeks of the Heroic Age, the Italian tribes shortly before the foundation of Rome, the Germans of Tacitus and the Normans of the days of the Vikings."³⁴

"Above all, we here encounter for the first time the iron plough-share drawn by cattle, making possible land cultivation on a wide scale—tillage—and, in the conditions then prevailing, a practically unlimited increase in the means of subsistence ; in connection with this

27 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 27.

31 *Skt. Mahapurana*, Parva 16, II. 179. 362 ; *Prakrit Mahapurana*, S.V, 19, p. 87.

32 *Avasyaka-curni*, p. 156, *lehattidaram-bambhiya dahinhatthena leho daita*.

33 *The Origin of the Family*, etc., p. 27,

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

we find also the clearing of forests and their transformation into arable and pasture land— which, again, would have been impossible on a wide scale without the iron axe and spade. But with this there also came a rapid increase of the population and dense populations in small areas.”³⁵

It is to be observed that R̥ṣabhadeva taught his people one hundred³⁶ arts and crafts for solving their economic problems and upholding the social order.

The picture of the evolution of mankind through the infancy of the human race and Kulakarism to the dawn of civilization as depicted in the Jaina *Āgamas* compares well with “the picture of the evolution of mankind through savagery and barbarism to the beginnings of civilization”³⁷ as sketched by F. Engels. Engels generalizes Morgan’s periodization as follows :

“Savagery—the period in which the appropriation of natural products, ready for use, predominated ; the things produced by man were, in the main, instruments that facilitated this appropriation. Barbarism—the period in which knowledge of cattle breeding and land cultivation was acquired, in which methods of increasing the productivity of nature through human activity were learnt. Civilization—the period in which knowledge of the further working up of natural products, of industry proper, and of art was acquired.”³⁸

According to the Jaina tradition as found in the *Āgamas*, the periodization of the evolution of mankind can be made in agreement with the generalization of F. Engels in this manner : (1) Infancy of the human race the period in which there was the predominance of the appropriation of natural products for use, (2) Kulakarism – the period in which the knowledge of domestication of animals and cattle-breeding and cultivation of land was acquired, the men learnt the methods of increasing the productivity of nature through human activity and (3) Civilization—the period in which they acquired knowledge of the further working up of natural products, of industry proper, and of art.

[October 72, January 73]

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁶ *Avasyaka-curni*, Pt. I, p. 156.

³⁷ *The Origin of the Family*, etc., p. 28.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

The Indus Valley Civilisation and Rṣabha

V. G. Nair

The discovery of Indus Valley Civilisation seems to have thrown a new light on the antiquity of Jainism. The time assigned by the scholars to this culture on the archaeological and other grounds is 3000 B.C. It seems that the people of Indus Valley were highly civilised and cultured. Their culture, however, is ascribed to the Dravidians who, according to the Jaina tradition, were the devout followers of Śramaṇa religion as preached by Lord Rṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara and contrary to Vedic beliefs. As they were the followers of Jainism, the Dravidians are styled as Vratyas along with the Licchavis, Jñātr̥s, etc., by Manu. Likewise the Asuras were also the followers of Jainism. The *Brāhmaṇas* say that the Asuras were progeny of Prajāpati (who was no other than Rṣabha) and they were hostile to Vedic Aryans (*R̥g.* 1,174.5). In Brahmanic *Viṣṇu* and *Padma Purāṇa* it has been clearly stated that Jainism was preached by a naked monk called Mahāmoha among the Asuras, who lived on the banks of the Narmadā. This region is regarded as a place of pilgrimage by the Jains even today. Sir John Marshall rightly notes that "a comparison of the Indus Valley and Vedic cultures shows incontestably that they were unrelated. The Vedic religion is normally un-iconic. At Mohenjodāro and Harappā iconism is everywhere apparent. In the houses of Mohenjodāro the firepit is conspicuously lacking."

It is a fact that the Jains are the first Indian people who took to iconism in their religious worship and made the images of their *Tīrthaṅkaras* which resemble those found at Harappā and Mohenjodāro. The Harappā statuette is a male torso in nude form which resembles the torsos found at Lohanipur (Patna). Dr. K. P. Jayaswal assigned the latter to Mauryan and Śuṅga periods respectively and declared that "it is the oldest Jaina image yet found in India, as it must belong at the latest to the Mauryan period." (*JBORS*, March, 1947). In the face of similarities, the nude torso of Harappā seems to

represent an image of a Jina, probably of Jina R̥ṣabha. T. N. Ramchandran, Jt. Director-General of Indian Archaeology after studying this question independently have declared that "we are perhaps recognising in Harappā statuette a fullfledged Jaina Tīrthaṅkara in the characteristic pose of physical abandon (*kāyotsarga*). The statuette under description is therefore a splendid representative specimen of this thought of Jainism at perhaps its very inception."

Figures on the Mohenjodāro seals also depict the yogic pose and idea of physical abandonment of the Jainas. These figures are represented as nude in standing *kāyotsarga* pose with a *trīśūla*-like decoration on their head and the eye-sight fixed on the tip of the nose, which are the characteristics of an image of Jina. Prof. R. P. Chanda discussed it in detail as follows : "Not only the seated deities engraved on some of the Indus seals are in *yoga* posture and bear witness to the prevalence of *yoga* in the Indus Valley in that remote age, the standing deities on the seals also show *kāyotsarga* posture of *yoga*. ... The *kāyotsarga* posture is peculiarly Jaina. It is a posture not of sitting but standing. In the *Ādipurāṇa*, Book xviii, *kāyotsarga* posture is described in connection with the penances of R̥ṣabha or Br̥ṣabha. A standing image of Jina R̥ṣabha in *kāyotsarga* posture on a slab showing four such images, assignable to the 2nd century A.D. is in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathura. Among the Egyptian sculptures of the time of the early dynasties there are standing statues with arms, hanging on two sides. But though these early Egyptian statues and the archaic Greek *kouroi* show nearly the same pose, they lack the feeling of abandon that characterises the standing figures on the Indus seals and images of Jinas in the *kāyotsarga* posture. The name R̥ṣabha means 'bull' and the bull is the emblem of Jina R̥ṣabha."

Therefore it is possible that the figures of the Yogi with bull on the Indus seals represent the Mahayogi R̥ṣabha. The images of R̥ṣabha with *trīśūla*-like decoration on the head in a developed artistic shape are also found at a later period. Thus the figures on the Mohenjodāro seals vouchsafe the prevalence of the religion and worship of Jina R̥ṣabha at the early period on the western coast of the country.

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Revival of Sramana Dharma in the Later Vedic Age

Jyoti Prasad Jain

The Vedic age of Indian history is supposed to have ended with the Mahabhārata War, which is now generally fixed in the fifteenth century before the birth of Christ. According to the Brahmanical Pauranic tradition, the war also marked the end of the Dvāpara age and the beginning of the Kali-yuga. And, historically, the period from *circa* 1400 B. C. to 600 B.C. is designated as the Later Vedic Age, which is synchronised by a great revival of Sramanism and a consequent decline in Brahmanical Vedicism.

The chief features of this age were an unprecedented elaboration and rigidity in Vedic ritualism, a classification and compilation of the Vedic hymns into four *Samhitās* (*Rk*, *Yajuh*, *Sāma* and *Atharva*), the writing of abstruse prose commentaries, called the *Brāhmaṇa* on the *Samhitās*, as also another class of Vedic commentaries, the *Āraṇyakas*, so called because they were composed by forest recluses, and the creation of a series of mystico-philosophical treatises, the *Upaniṣads*. The six *Vedāṅgas*, secondary limbs of the *Vedas*, were evolved. The simple Vedic hymns were burdened with highly intricate, involved and confusing interpretations. The sacrificial cult, at least in theory, reached its climax. In the time of Adhisimakṣṇa, fifth in descent from Parikṣita, the Kuru king of Hastināpura, the *sutas*, it is said, recited before a congregation of Brahmanical ascetics the traditional saga of ancient heroes, said to have been originally composed by the Ṛṣi Vyāsa. It was this collection of traditional lore which later formed the basis of the epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, dating not much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era, and of the principal Brahmanical *Purāṇas*, produced in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods.

On the other hand, this age witnessed a widespread revolt against the Vedic sacrificial cult which involved the killing of different animals (cow, bull, goat, horse and even human beings) and was marked by very elaborate ceremonial, rigid and complex ritualism. The chief reason of this revolt was the growing influence of the non-violent and spiritualistic creed of the Śramaṇas. Even a few centuries before the end of the Vedic Age, a movement to oppose animal sacrifices had started. The controversy that raged between Nārada and Parvata at the court of Vasu Caidyoparicara, king of Magadha, on the interpretation of the texts in favour or against the sacrifice of animals in Vedic *yajñas*, is a glaring proof which happily finds mention in both the Brahmanical and Jaina traditions. In the Mahābhārata age Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, the leaders of Yādavas, under the influence of their cousin, Ariṣṭanemi (Neminātha), the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara of the Jaina tradition, came to be staunch supporters of this ahimsite movement, Ariṣṭanemi raised his voice not only against sacrifice of animals for religious purposes but also denounced killing them for food. In fact, it was as a protest against such slaughter of animals and birds which was going to take place to entertain the members of his marriage party that he made the supreme sacrifice of his life—renounced all worldly pleasures and took to the life of asceticism and severe penance. It was Mount Girnār (Girinagara or Urjayanta in Kathiawad) where he performed austerities, attained *kaivalya* and commenced delivering his sermons for the safety, peace and happiness of all living beings. In the post-Mahābhārata period, thus it came to pass that barring a section of fanatic Brāhmaṇas, the major part of Indian society began to respond to the influence of this ahimsite movement of which the leaders were Kṣatriyas, and not Brāhmaṇas.

Even in the Brahmanic fold, many who did not openly adopt the creed of the Śramaṇas, began to oppose vehemently Vedic ritualism and animal sacrifices on the basis of Vedic tradition itself in which they began to seek the seeds of spiritualism. They gave rise to the mysticism of the *Upaniṣads*. The sacrificial *yajñas* were denounced. Vedic gods like Indra, Varuṇa and Sūrya were substituted by the formless, eternal, supreme sentience, the Brahma. Self-realisation or subjective spiritual experience was the greatest attainable object. Abstaining from vice, control of senses, purity of thought, word and deed, self-discipline, celibacy, meditation, concentration, detachment and staying in spiritual realisation were prescribed as means of attaining perfection or the supreme spiritual status. Videha in Bihar was the chief centre of this movement and again, the Kṣatriyas were its principal leaders.

This Upanisadic movement was a sort of link between the Brahmanic and the Śramaṇa thought currents. As with the Śramaṇa culture, their exponents were mainly Kṣatriyas, their stronghold was the same eastern part of India, now including in the State of Bihar, their ideas were remarkably akin to Jaina (Śramaṇa) spiritualism or *adhyātma*, sometimes the terminology used being the same or very similar and they were opposed to Vedic sacrifices and rigid ritualism of the Brāhmaṇas. But they upheld, unlike the Śramaṇas, the authority of the *Vedas*, tried to or pretended to derive their ideas from them, still looked up to the Brāhmaṇas as custodians of their culture and readily accepted the *varṇāśrama* system imposed by them on society. There is no doubt that it was a very laudable attempt to bring together the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas. We do not know whether it was a deliberate attempt with that specific object in view, or simply a result of the impact and interaction of the two currents.

In this period no Vedic sacrifices, involving slaughter of animals, are known to have been performed even by prominent kings. The common man had developed a dislike for such religious killings. Apart from these, the Vedic religion of the time had become so rigid, complex and elaborate that it lost popular appeal and gradually came to be confined to sections of Brāhmaṇas well-versed in Vedic traditions. The masses either turned to the Śramaṇas or the Brahmvādī Janakas, or to the new popular cult which was gradually emerging as a synthesis of the two and was based on purity of conduct and personal devotion. The *varṇāśrama* institution was a characteristic of this new evolution of this age.

The first exponent and pioneer of the Śramaṇa revival of this age was obviously the Tīrthaṅkara Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha, who was born at Sauripura (near Bāteśvara in Agra district of Uttar Pradesh), an important city in the ancient Surasena Janapada. His mother was Sivādevī, and father, Samudravijaya, was a leader of the Yādava Kṣatriyas. Samudravijaya's younger brother was Vasudeva whose sons were the famous heroes, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. To escape constant harassment at the hands of Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, the Yādavas, under the leadership of Kṛṣṇa, abandoned their cities of Mathurā and Sauripura, and migrated to the west coast where they founded the city of Dvārakā and settled down in it. Kṛṣṇa was the master statesman and politician of his times, and though he had all love and respect for his cousin Ariṣṭanemi, he remained a worldly man, while Ariṣṭanemi adopted the life of supreme renunciation of a Nirgrantha Śramaṇa.



Neminatha with Ambika
From Sulgi, Bankura District. West Bengal

Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, Calcutta

The one was a Karma-yogin, the other a Dharma-yogin or Adhyātma-yogin.

Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva was one of the sixty-three most auspicious personages of the Jaina tradition. Ethnologists believe that he was, if not an outright non-Aryan, at least a semi-Aryan.¹ He was the originator of Kṛṣṇa-ism (form of Bhagavatism) which is similar and nearer to Jainism in its origin and is said to be a clear example of the rise of an anti Brahmanic cult in the non-Brahmanic and clearly non-Aryan environment.² In the *Ṛgveda*, he, it is said, is spoken of as a leader of non-Aryan tribe,³ but a definite reference, and perhaps the earliest, occurs in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (Pr. 3, Kh. 17 dated the second half of the first millennium B. C.), wherein he is said to have developed in his own teachings a number of ideas, adopted by him from his mentor, the wise Ghora Aṅgīrasa.⁴ There are scholars who hold that this Ghora Aṅgīrasa was none else but Neminātha (Ariṣṭanemi), the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara,⁵ who, as stated before, was first cousin of Kṛṣṇa.

Up till a few decades ago, historicity of Ariṣṭanemi had been doubted by modern historians who usually fixed the upper limit of the beginnings of India's history proper about the 6th century B. C. But now, when that limit has been raised to the end of the Mahābhārata War, generally assigned to the 15th century B.C.,⁶ and Kṛṣṇa, the leading figure of that age, has been accepted as historical,⁷ there is no reason why Ariṣṭanemi should not be considered an equally historical personage. Apart from ancient Jaina works like the *Tiloya-paṇṇatti*, *Āgama-sūtras*, *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, *Harivamśa-purāṇa*, *Ariṣṭhanemi-carit* and the different version of the Jaina *Mahāpurāṇa*, many Brahmanical works, right from the *Ṛgveda* down to the *Mahābhārata* and several *Purāṇas*, refer or allude to this Tīrthaṅkara by name, and a number of modern scholars have endorsed to the view that he must have been a real person.⁸

1 Guseva, N. R., *Jainism* (Bombay, 1971), pp. 15-19.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 19.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 15; *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, p. 37.

5 Kausambi, D., *Bharatiya Sanskriti aur Itihas*, pp. 5-57; *Sramana*, May 1971, pp. 13-14.

6 *The Vedic Age*: (HCIP, Vol. I, Bombay, 1957), p. 269 Jain, J. P., *Bharatiya Itihas : Ek Drsti* (2nd ed., Varanasi, 1966) pp. 35-36.

7 *The Vedic Age*, *op. cit.*, Ch. XIV; Guseva, *op. cit.*, p. 15 f.n.; Basu, N. N., *Harivamśa Purana*, Introd.; etc.

8 Jain, J. P., *Jainism, the Oldest Living Religion* (Varanasi, 1951), pp. 20-24; *Sramana*, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-17.

To quote a few : "Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas, who preceded Lord Pārśvanātha, was a cousin of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa. If we admit the historicity of Lord Kṛṣṇa, there is no reason why we should not regard his contemporary Lord Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara, as a real and historical person."⁹

'Neminātha was the cousin of Kṛṣṇa. When the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas was a contemporary of Lord Kṛṣṇa, the readers may well imagine the antiquity of the remaining 21 Tīrthaṅkaras."¹⁰

Prof. H. S. Bhattacharya goes a step further and establishes the historicity of Kṛṣṇa himself on the basis of that of Neminātha, by observing that "Notwithstanding remarkable difference, the Kṛṣṇa story in the Jaina *Purāṇas* is essentially similar to that of the Vedic *Purāṇas* ... The appearance of the Kṛṣṇa story in the Jaina sacred books shows that Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata* may not be a purely imaginary being but that in all probability he was a historic person, a high-souled powerful monarch."¹¹ And, in the opinion of another scholar, "The Jaina traditions represent the oldest form of the Kṛṣṇa legend."¹² Yet another writer, P. C. Dewan, concludes that the Jaina books contain many historical facts which are not to be found in the Bhāgavata literature, and that simply because there are certain discrepancies between the Hindu and Jaina accounts or because the latter puts too long an interval between Ariṣṭanemi and Pārśva, the account of Ariṣṭanemi's life as given in Jaina books based on ancient Prakrit texts does not deserve to be ignored.¹³ Well-known Vedic scholars like Swami Virupaksha Vadiyar are convinced that the Vedic and Puranic allusions to Ariṣṭanemi refer to none else but the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara of that name.¹⁴ On the same basis, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has observed, "There is no doubt that Jainism prevailed even before Vardhamāna or Pārśvanātha."¹⁵ And, Dr. Fuhrer categorically asserts that, "Lord Neminātha, the 22nd

9 Basu, N. N., *Harivamśa Purāṇa*, Introd., p. 6.

10 Karwa, *Bhagavad-Gītā*, Appendix. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri also describes Ariṣṭanemi as a cousin of Kṛṣṇa in his *Ancient History of Vaiṣṇavism*.

11 'Heroes of Jaina Legends'—*Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. XIV, Part 2. p. 77; *Lord Ariṣṭanemi*, pp. 88-89.

12 Kennedy, Rev. J., 'The Child Kṛṣṇa, Christianity and the Gujars'—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907, pp. 951 ff.

13 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Vol. XXIII, p. 122.

14 Cf. Jain, J. P., *op cit.*, p. 22; *Jain Path Pradarsak*, III, 3, pp. 106-112.

15 *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 287.

Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas has been accepted as a historical person,"¹⁶ which view has been expressed by Prof. L. D. Barnett as well.¹⁷

A very old copper-plate grant, discovered by Prof. Pran Nath Vidyālakara from some place in Kathiawad, and published by him in the *Times of India* (Weekly), dated 19th March, 1935, purported, according to his decipherment, that "The King Nebuchadnazzar, who was also the lord of Rewanagar (in Kathiawad) and belonged to the Su (-mer) tribe, has come to the place (Dvārakā) of the Yadurāja. He has built a temple and paid homage and made the grant perpetual in favour of Lord Nemi, the paramount deity of Mt. Raivata." The donor was identified with the Chaldean King Nebuchadnazzar of Babylonia, who is assigned to *circa* 1140 B.C.¹⁸ This record provides an additional proof in support of the fact that the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara had already become sanctified as a popular worshipful object in the post Mahābhārata period, centuries before the advent of not only Mahāvīra but also of Pārśva, the penultimate Tīrthaṅkara. About a hundred years earlier than Prof. Vidyālakara, Col James Tod had suggested that of the four distinguished wisemen of the ancient world the first was Adinātha (Rṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara) and the second was Neminātha, the 22nd of the Jinas, whom he assigned to 1120 B.C., and whose influence, Tod believed, had extended into China and Scandinavia where he was worshipped under the names Fo and Odin, respectively.¹⁹

There may be any truth in such speculations or not, it is amply evident from the Jaina historical traditions relating to his times that Ariṣṭanemi wielded considerable influence. Kṛṣṇa himself may not have been an avowed adherent of the Jain's creed, his love and esteem for the cousin whom he even looked upon as a *guru* and mentor, were nevertheless undoubted. Vasudeva, his father, Balarāma, his brother, Pradyumna, his son, and several other members of the family, were followers of the Tīrthaṅkara, as were also many other Kṣatriya princes of the time, including the Pāṇḍavas. The Pāṇḍava brothers, it is said, became devotees of Ariṣṭanemi in their later years when they migrated to South India, practised severe austerities as Jaina ascetics there and ultimately attained salvation; the existence of places like Pancha-Pandava-malai and Madurai in south India seem to support the tradition.

¹⁶ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 389; Vol. II, pp. 206-207.

¹⁷ *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, Vol. I, Foreword, p. iv.

¹⁸ Cf. Jain, J. P., *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁹ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, pp. 97-99.

Prior to the Mahābhārata War, the Madhyadeśa of northern India had for a long time been the chief and very powerful stronghold of Vedic religion and culture with the political power also wielded mainly by Vedic Kṣatriyas. This rapid progress and ascendancy of Vedicism had evidently been achieved at the cost of the Sramanism of the Arhataś. The war reversed the scales, giving a severe blow to the temporal power of the Vedic people there, while their religion and culture, based principally on *yajñas* which involved animal sacrifice, visibly lost ground and such sacrifices became rare even in those regions because of the revival of Śramaṇa Dharma under the leadership of the Tīrthaṅkara Ariṣṭanemi and due, in a large measure to the influence of his Kṣatriya followers like Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Pradyumna and the Paṇḍava brothers. It also appears that the western and southern parts of India more particularly came under the influence of this Tīrthaṅkara. The fact that his images have been discovered in these regions in larger numbers than those of any other Tīrthaṅkara is not, perhaps, a mere accident, and points to the greater popularity he has since enjoyed there.

It is also not without meaning that Jainism has often been described as the Kṣatriya religion, especially in the light of frequent allusions in the literary and oral traditions of ancient India to the proverbial Brahmaṇa-Śramaṇa rivalry which was taken to be synonymous with the Brahmaṇa-Kṣātriya antagonism.²⁰ About the earlier half of the first millennium B.C., there existed in eastern India a class of people known as Vratya-Kṣatriyas, *i.e.*, Kṣatriyas-by-vow, not by birth,²¹ which is evident from the many references made to them in early Brahmanical literature. They have been described as being outside the pale of Brahmanism and Brahmanic society, and there is ample reason to believe that they were no other than the Jainas of those times.²²

An important result of the impact of the revival of Śramaṇa Dharma under the leadership of Ariṣṭanemi was the development of the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* within the bounds of Vedicism itself, but accepting many non-Brahmanic, and sometimes anti-Brahmanic ideas. With its proximity to the Kṣatriya ideology, it had much in common with Jainism. At least, the concepts of *ātmavidyā* and *mokṣa-dharma*, on which the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* is based, are not in agreement

20 Cf. Guseva, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 23 ; *Jain Gazette*, XXI, p. 6 ; Jain, J. P., *op. cit.*, p. 53.

with the Vedic or Brahmanical teaching, while they agree in full with the philosophy enunciated by the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras,²³ including Ariṣṭanemi and his successor, Pārśvanātha. It has also been suggested that in those times followers of Jainism were, in the main, representatives of pre-Aryan population of the country, and that the chief components of this non-Vedic religion were engendered by non-Aryan ethnical environments.²⁴

By far the greatest leader of this post Mahābhārata revival of Śramaṇa dharma was Pārśvanātha, the penultimate Tīrthaṅkara, who was born in 877 B.C., at Vārānaśī, the capital of the kingdom of Kāśī, and lived for a hundred years, attaining *nirvāṇa* in 777 B.C.²⁵ His mother was Vāmādevī, and father Aśvasena was the king of the Kāśī country. He was a descendant of the emperor Brahmadatta in whose time Kāśī has been the predominant state.²⁶ According to the *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa*, these kings of Kāśī were antagonistic to Vedic sacrifices.²⁷ The historicity of this Brahmadatta is not doubted, and he is, in all probability, identical with the Brahmadatta who is described in the Jaina tradition as being the last Cakravartin (paramount sovereign) of Bharata-kṣetra and a devotee of the Tīrthaṅkaras.²⁸ The *gotra* or lineage of Pārśvanātha was Kāśyapa and the family Ugra-vaṃśa or Uraga-vaṃśa,²⁹ probably a branch of the Nāgas who were among the prominent Vratya Kṣatriyas of those times.

Prince Pārśva grew to be a very handsome, dark-coloured, brilliant and brave youngman, well-versed in the arts of peace and war. When his maternal uncle, the king of Kuśasthalapura (probably Kannauj), was faced with the invasion of a formidable foreign enemy, Kalayavana, he appealed to Aśvasena for help, and the valiant prince Pārśva promptly rushed to his kinsman's rescue. He worsted the enemy and his terrible hordes in battle and earned the gratitude of the people and the king of that country.³⁰ He was requested to stay at Kuśasthalapura

23 Guseva, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-23; Munni, N., *Philosophy of Soul is the Gift of the Kṣatriyas to Indian Thought*, pp. 180-181.

24 Guseva, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

25 Jain, J. P., *Jainism, the Oldest Living Religion*, p. 14.

26 Raychaudhuri, H. C., *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 47.

27 *Ibid.*; *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa*, xiii, 5, 4, 19.

28 Cf. *Tiloya-pannatti*, *Trisastisalākāpurusa-caritra*, etc.

29 *Ibid.*

30 Padmakirti, *Pasanaha-carīu*, chs. xi-xii.

for sometime and enjoy their grateful hospitality. The king also expressed his wish to give his daughter in marriage to Pārśva. The princess, Prabhavatī, was also naturally enamoured of the hero who was, however, reluctant to accept the offer as he thought he was not made for a life of ease and luxury but to accomplish far more important and notable things.³¹

Once when out on a recreational trip into the nearby forests, Pārśva came across a number of ascetics who were practising various austerities with a view to torture their bodies. Their leader, intending to perform the pentaploid-fire austerity, was on the point of throwing a big log of wood into the fire when he was restrained by Pārśva from doing so. The noble prince enlightened the ascetics of their ignorant ways and the uselessness of the body-torturing austerities they were practising, which might, moreover, involve bodily injury to other creatures. He, indeed, demonstrated to them the truth of his assertion by getting the log broken open which revealed a half-dead pair of snakes. The shocking incident turned the mind of Pārśva himself from the world which he at once resolved to renounce. The appeals and pleadings of his mother, father, maternal uncle and other kinsmen and friends, even of the lovely princess Prabhavatī, failed to deter him from the path of renunciation which he had chosen for the good of all living beings.³²

For several months this prince of ascetics devoted himself to perfect self-purification, roaming about as a homeless and possessionless recluse, always busy in spiritual contemplation and meditation. At last he arrived in the vicinity of what came to be known as the city of Ahicchatrā. The actual spot where he stood in meditation was in the midst of very wild and dense forest. Here his forbearance was put to the severest test by the terrible tortures and persecutions inflicted on him by an Asura chief, Samvara. Somehow, Padmāvatī, a Yakṣa princess, and her spouse, Dharaṇendra, the Nāga king of the neighbourhood, got wise of these heinous doings of the Asura. They rushed to the rescue of Pārśva whom they held in high veneration. They succeeded in warding off the Asura's further onslaughts and finally in annihilating him. Pārśva was quite unaware of these happenings, since he had entirely detached himself from all bodily sensations and absorbed in the most sublime and transcendental spiritual concentration, which

31 *Ibid.*, ch. xiii.

32 *Ibid.*

resulted in his attaining *kaivalya* or the state of Arhat-hood, then and there.³³

For about next seventy years the Tīrthaṅkara travelled continuously far and wide, giving to suffering humanity his message of peace and love. Among the prominent Indian cities he is said to have visited in the course of these preaching tours were Ahicchatrā, Āmalakapura, Gajapura (Hastināpura), Kāmpilya, Kauśambī, Kuśasthalapura, Mathurā, Rājagṛha, Sāketa, Śrāvastī and Vārāṇasī. The mound known as Pārasnāth Tilā near Najibabad in the district of Bijnor is also associated with him where, perhaps, he practised penance for some time. And he attained *nirvāṇa* at Mount Sammedācala, also therefore, known as Parasnath Hill in the Hazaribagh District of Bihar, in 777 B.C. Ahicchatrā (in the district Bareilly of Uttar Pradesh) is so called because the Nāga king of that place spread a protecting canopy over the head of the Jina on the occasion of the Asura's inflictions, *ahi* meaning a serpent or *nāga*. In the iconographic representations of Tīrthaṅkara Pārśva a seven-headed cobra hood³⁴ is usually seen, probably for the same reason. The celebrated Deva (Vodva) Stūpa at Mathurā was built anew in Pārśva's time, some of the bas-reliefs in the Khandagiri-Udayagiri caves of Orissa dated the second century B.C., depict portions of his life story, the Dharāśiva Caves of Terapura in the Deccan are also associated with this Tīrthaṅkara, as are many other places of Jaina worship in different parts of India.³⁵ In fact Pārśva has been one of the most popular Tīrthaṅkaras. Even in his day he had a large following, including members of several royal families. Svayambhū, the king of Gajapura (Hastināpura), renounced the world and became his chief disciple (Gaṇadhara), and his daughter the princess Prabhāvatī, became the head of his female congregation of ascetics.³⁶ The kings Ravikīrti of Kuśasthalapura and Karakaṇḍu of Terapura³⁷ were his chief devotees, prominent among others being Ānandarākṣita, Gāngeya, Kālasavesiyaputta, Kāsava, Mehila, Pārśvā the nun, Puṇḍarika, and Udaya Pedhālaputta.³⁸ It appears that he drew his following largely from the non-Aryan indigenous tribes like the Yakṣas, Nāgas

33 *Ibid.*, ch. xiv. Almost similar accounts are given in all the Jaina works dealing with the life story of the 23rd Tirthankara. The present author's *Rohilakhand-Kumaun aur Jain Dharma* (Lucknow, 1970) may also be seen for a historical interpretation of the Parsva legend.

34 Cf. Heinrich Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, p. 208.

35 K. P. Jain, *The Religion of Tirthankaras*, pp. 85-86.

36 *Pasanaha-cariu*, op. cit., ch. xv.

37 Cf. *Karakandu-cariu*, ed. by H. L. Jain, Intro.

38 *Jain Journal*, Vol. VI No. 4, p. 178.

and Asuras and from the so called Vratya or non-Vedic Kṣatriyas. His message seems to have penetrated even beyond the borders of India, and his religion certainly continued to flourish till the time of Mahāvīra who came two centuries later. Mahāvīra's parents professed the faith of Pārśva, and as many as five hundred of his followers are said to have accepted the five-fold *dharma* of Mahāvīra at one place only, that is Tungiā.³⁹ The head of Pārśva's followers at that time was Keśī who is said to have converted the king Pradeśī⁴⁰ and to have held a conference with Mahāvīra's chief disciple, Indrabhūti Gautama in order to bring about a reconciliation between the teachings of the two Tīrthaṅkaras.

Pārśva's ethical system is usually described as *cāturyāma-dharma* representing the four vows of *ahimsā* (non-injury to life), truthfulness, honesty, and possessionlessness, to which Mahāvīra in his time added celibacy as the fifth vow. The most notable contribution of Pārśva was his emphasis on the ethical note in the practice of religion and he considerably succeeded in infusing a moral spirit in the contemporary world. Moreover, he raised his voice against the meaningless self-torturing practices which had become the fashion with the ascetics of different orders, who indulged in curbing the flesh without paying any heed to self purification and mental and spiritual elevation of the soul. It was a step forward. As we have seen, it was in the time of the 20th Tīrthaṅkara, Munisuvrata, that an opposition to and condemnation of violent Vedic sacrifices involving the killing of various animals were first started; in that of the 21st Tīrthaṅkara, Naminātha, spiritual thinking leading to the Upanisadic philosophy of *ātma-vidyā* had commenced; and the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara, Ariṣṭanemi, had raised his voice against killing animals for food. Pārśva advocated the eradication of *haṭha-yoga* practices among the ascetics, since they involved incidental injuries to life without doing any spiritual good to those who indulged in such practices.

The historicity of this twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara of the Jaina tradition has now been almost unanimously accepted even by modern scholars.⁴¹ Celebrated orientalist like Max Muller, Oldenberg, Bendole, Monier Williams, W. W. Hunter, Harvey, Wheeler, R. G. Bhandarkar,

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Cf. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol I, p. 153; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol VII.



Parsvanatha, Dacca, 19th Century A.D.

Courtesy : The Superintendent of Archaeology, Dacca

K. P. Jayaswal and B. G. Tilak have no doubt as to the antiquity of Jainism over Buddhism.⁴² To quote a few others :

“That Pārśva was a historical person is now admitted by all as very probable.”⁴³—H. Jacobi.

“We ought also to remember both that the Jaina religion is certainly older than Mahāvīra, his reputed predecessor Pārśva having almost certainly existed as a real person, and that consequently the main points of the original doctrine may have been codified longbefore Mahāvīra.”⁴⁴—Jarl Charpentier.

“The first twenty-two of them are, however, unknown to history and reasonable doubts may be entertained regarding the existence of most of them. But the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara Pārśva seems to have had a real existence. His death may be placed in the 8th century B.C.”⁴⁵—R. C. Majumdar.

“They (the Jainas) believe in a great number of prophets of their faith anterior to Nātaputta (Mahāvīra Vardhamāna) and pay special reverence to the last of these, Pārśva or Pārśvanātha. Herein they are correct, in so far as the latter personality is more than mythical. He was indeed the royal founder of Jainism (778 B.C.) while his successor, Mahāvīra, was younger by many generations and can be considered only as a reformer. As early as the time of Gautama, the religious confraternity founded by Pārśva, and known as the Nirgrantha, was firmly established sect.”⁴⁶—Harmsworth.

“It is generally believed that there were Jaina monks before Mahāvīra, belonging to the order founded by Pārśvanātha. They had also their own *caityas*.”⁴⁷—R. P. Chanda.

42 Jain, J. P., *op cit.*, p. 14.

43 *Jaina Sutras, S.B.E.*, Vol XIV, Intro.

44 *Uttaradhyayana Sutra* (Upasala Ed), Intro., p. 21.

45 *Outlines of Ancient Indian History and Civilisation*, p. 216; *An Advanced History of India*, p. 86.

46 *History of the World*, Vol II, p. 1198.

47 ‘Mediaeval Sculpture in Eastern India’, *J.D.L.*, Vol III, 1920, pp. 225-246.

"Before the advent of Mahāvīra, the faith of which he was the last exponent seems to have been prevalent in Vaiśālī and the surrounding country in some earlier form. It appears that the religion as fixed and established by Pārśvanātha was followed by some at least of the Kṣatriya peoples of North-eastern India, specially amongst the residents of Vaiśālī. We learn from the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* that Mahāvīra's parents were worshippers of Pārśva and followers of the *Śramaṇas*."⁴⁸—B. C. Law.

"The Jainas have been an organised community all through the history of India from before the rise of Buddhism."⁴⁹—Rhys Davids.

"The Nirgranthas are never referred to by the Buddhists as being a new sect, nor is their reputed founder Nātaputta spoken of as their founder."⁵⁰—E. W. Hopkins.

"One such great reformer Tīrthaṅkara Pārśva, flourished in the 9th-8th century B. C....The early history of India is as much Jainistic as it is of those who profess the *Vedas*. For the present, the modern critics have accepted the historicity of Tīrthaṅkara Pārśva."⁵¹—J. C. Vidyālakara.

"There can no longer be any doubt that Pārśvanātha was a historical personage."⁵²—A. Guérinot,

"Thus admittedly, Jainism as a system of religious and ethical views and likewise as a community of Jainas was formed long before Mahāvīra Jina became the head of the community...23rd Tīrthaṅkara (Pārśvanātha or Pārśva) was born, lived and preached in Kāśī (Benaras)."⁵³—Mrs. N. R. Guseva.

"Jaina 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."⁵⁴—Walther Schubring.

48 'Vaisali, Mahavira's Birthplace', *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol X, part 1, p. 16.

49 *Buddhist India* (2nd ed., London, 1903), p. 318.

50 *Religion of India*, p. 283.

51 *Bharatiya Itihas-ki Rup-rekha*, Vol I, pp. 343-349.

52 *Essai de Bibliographie Jainica*, Intro.

53 *Jainism* (translated from Russian into English by Y.S. Redkar), pp. 42, 44.

54 *The Doctrine of the Jainas* (translated from German by Wolfgang Beurlen), p. 5.

There are also some indications of the influence of Pārśva's teachings having reached Central Asia and even Greece in those early times. In the eighties of the last century Prof. Beal was reported to have told the Royal Society that there undoubtedly was such a faith in Central Asia long before Buddhism was promulgated by Sākya Muni Gautama, and also that Sir Henry Rawlinson had, in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* (September, 1885) and in his *Central Asia* (p. 246), called attention to the New Vihār (monastery) of Balkh and other monumental remains in brick, as showing the presence of Kāśyapa there.⁵⁵ Now, according to the *Ādipurāṇa*, Kāśyapa alias Maghwa was the founder of the Uraga-vaṁśa in which Pārśva was born.⁵⁶ Pārśva was also, therefore, known as Kāśyapa after his *gotra* name, and the ancient city of Kasita (Caspia) appears to have been named after him. The Greeks of the times of Alexander the Great⁵⁷ and the Chinese pilgrims⁵⁸ about a thousand years later noticed the existence of the Nir-grantha Śramaṇas (Jainas) in that region. "This", says Buhler, "points apparently to the fact that they (the Jainas) had in the north-west at least spread their missionary activity beyond the borders of India"⁵⁹ Hence it has reasonably been inferred that Jainism was once, even before Mahāvīra, prevalent in places like Caspia, Aman, Samarkand and Balkh,⁶⁰ and the credit would certainly seem to go to Pārśva. Herodotus, the Greek historian (5th century B.C.) wrote about an Indian Sect which ate nothing that had life and lived on a grain like millet, and the Greek philosopher Pythagoras talked of metempsychosis, transmigration of souls, and the doctrine of *karma*, even claiming that he possessed power to recollect his past births. He refrained from destruction of life and eating meat, and even tabooed certain vegetables. These early Ionian or Orphic philosophers of Asia Minor depreciated the body in comparison to the soul.⁶¹ In pointing out these facts, Rawlinson himself admits that the ideas seems to refer to the Jainas or the Buddhists, but that they could not possibly refer to Buddhism which originated with Gautama Buddha, even the Buddha himself, never refrained from eating meat, while tabooing even certain vegetables is

55 *Jain Gazette*, Aug. 1906, p. 13 ; Jain, J.P., *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

56 *Ibid.* ; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol I, p. 460 ; Vol II, p. 28 ; *Jaina Siddhanta Bhaskar*, XIV, 2, p. 13.

57 Cf. J.W. MacCrindle's *Ancient India* as described by Megasthenes and Arrian.

58 Beal's *Siyuki*, I, p. 55.

59 *The Indian Sect of the Jainas*.

60 Cf. *Jain Gazette*, Aug. 1906, p. 13.

61 H. G. Rawlinson's 'India in European Literature and Thought', *The Legacy of India* (1937), pp. 3-6.

peculiar only to the Jainas, the same being the case with most of the other ideas mentioned above.⁶² In fact, these beliefs are distinctively peculiar to Jainism and have little in common with the Buddhist or the Brahmanical religions. And, since these ideas were being professed in those far off lands at a time when Mahavīra and the Buddha were only just beginning their careers, in all probability they owed their propagation to Pārśva, if to no earlier Tīrthaṅkara.

One of the foremost exponents and, in his time, the greatest leader of the movement for the revival of Śramaṇa Dharma that marked the later Vedic Age of Indian History, as Pārśva was, he commanded the love, esteem, and veneration of his contemporaries. "He was obviously of a winsome nature", as Dr. Schubring avers, "for he bears the constant title of 'Puriṣādānīya' which seems to be the oldest precursor of the modern occasional titles of Lokamānya, Deśabandhu, Mahātman, etc."⁶³ Even Mahavīra, whenever he alluded to Pārśva, is said to have used the honorific epithet, Puriṣādānīya (meaning the noblest of men) for him.

[October 71, January 72, October 72]

⁶² *Ibid.* ; Jain, J. P., *op. cit.* pp, 19-20.

⁶³ Schubring, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

Bloomfield's *The Life of the Jaina Saviour Parsvanatha* may also be read with interest.

Bhagavan Mahavira : His Life and Doctrines

K. C. Lalwani

In the sixth century B.C., when human society has reached its 'adolescence' and men's minds were astir 'from Athens to the Pacific', a large number of religious reformers and spiritual leaders appeared in different parts of the world. Bhagavān Mahāvīra, the 24th Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas, was one of them.

It will be wrong to suggest that Mahāvīra was the founder of Jainism, since according to tradition, there were 23 more Tīrthaṅkaras before him, each appearing with a time gap of a few centuries from his predecessor, and of these, the 23rd, Arhat Pārśva, has been identified by historians as a prince from Varāṇasī, and the 22nd, Arhat Ariṣṭanemi, happened to be the cousin of Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa. The first Tīrthaṅkara, Ṛṣabha, a prince from Ayodhyā, had been noticed in the early *Vedas* (*Rg Veda* X. 166). He gave the religion of the Jinas with its root deep in antiquity.

Bihar is the cradle of Jainism, though its founder, Ṛṣabha, was born at Ayodhyā, 22 out of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, including Bhagavān Mahāvīra were born in Bihar and achieved *nirvāṇa* in that State, 20 of them passing away on the Parasnāth Hills in Bihar, traditionally called Sammata Śikhara. Strictly speaking, this region was outside the pale of Aryan expansion, the traditional 'Middle Country' and was ruled by the Vratya Kṣatriyas, who were the believers of the *Vratas* or Vows. It is no wonder then that all the early rulers of Rājagṛha, and later at Pataliputra, till the appearance of the Guptas, belonged to one or other form of Śramaṇa religion, which in the post-Mahāvīra period acquired the name of Jainism. Even Buddhism was a form of Śramaṇa religion.

History

It has been the fancy of Indo-Aryan writers of Indian history to present both Mahāvīra and the Buddha as the two most successful and illustrious leaders of the 'reaction' against the rituals and sacrifices of

the Brahmanical religion. It is far from true and it is necessary to recognise that the Śramaṇa and Brāhmaṇa currents of religion were independent and mutually exclusive of, and had nothing to do with, each other. Had they been leaders of 'reaction' their antagonism to the religion of the *Vedas* would have found vent in some form or other and would have been recorded in their literatures. But nowhere in the Jaina *Āgamas* or the Buddhist *Tripiṭakas* does one come across any mention of the Vedic religion, still less any rancorous or malicious expression against it. This should establish that neither Jainism nor Buddhism was a 'reaction', but both emerged and existed in their own rights. Once this fact is recognised, the entire outlook of Indian history gains a new perspective.

Mahāvīra and Buddha

Western scholars identified Jainism from Buddhist sources in which Mahāvīra has been called Nigantha Nātaputta (Nirgrantha Jñātaputra) and his followers Niganthas. Some have gone to the extent of calling Mahāvīra and the Buddha the same persons, and Jainism as an offshoot of Buddhism. "From all credible testimony...it is impossible to avoid the inference that the Jainas are a sect of a comparatively recent institution who came into power and patronage about the 8th and 9th centuries, they probably existed before that as a division of the Bauddhas." (*Works of Wilson*, 1861, Vol I, p. 334). Thanks to the researches of two German scholars Hermann Jacobi and George Buehler, Jainism is no longer considered to be a mere offshoot of Buddhism, but an independent and earlier system. Jacobi wrote : "...As it is inconsistent with our assumption of a contemporaneous origin of both the creeds, we are driven to the conclusion that the Nirgranthas were not a newly founded sect of the Buddha's time. This seems to have been the opinion of the *Piṭakas*, too."

In the sixth century B.C. there were 363 rival schools of Śramaṇa religion in Bihar centering round nine fundamentals (*nava tatva*) which differed from one another in matters of minor details. More important of these were *Kriyāvāda*, *Ajñānavāda*, *Vinayavāda*, and *Cāturyāma* religion of Pārśva. It is a part of the spiritual mission of a Tīrthaṅkara to counteract all rival schools within the fold of his religion and effect a unification of the church, which Mahāvīra did. Of these 363 schools the one that proved the most formidable was the Ajīvaka sect headed by one Gośālaka who was fatalist and believed in human life to be a thing determined rather than itself being the determinant of things.

The Jaina texts have noticed the rivalry of this man at several places. As to the absorption of the remnants of the order of Pārśva into that of Mahāvīra, there are on record many occasions when the monks of the earlier order met those of Mahāvīra's order, discussed their differences, and being convinced that Mahāvīra was the leading light for the new age, joined his order. A new light was indeed emerging at the same time from Gautama Buddha who was a junior contemporary of Mahāvīra, and even though the Buddhists were immensely 'interested' in the followers of Nigantha Nātaputta, the reverse was not the case. To quote, "I have not yet come across a distinct mention of the Bauddhas in any of the old Jaina *Sūtras*." (Jacobi). The most significant fact is that even though Mahāvīra and the Buddha were contemporaries for many years and lived and moved in the same part of India at times residing in the same city, the two never met.

Vaiśālī Confederacy

The line to which Mahāvīra belonged was identified by Western scholars from the Buddhist texts in which he has been called 'Nātaputta'. As Buehler wrote, "The discovery of the real name of the founder of the Jainas belongs to Prof. Jacobi and myself. The form 'Jñātaputra' occurs in Jaina and north Indian Buddhist books, in Pali it is 'Nātaputta' and in Jaina Prakrit 'Nāyaputta'." (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol VII, p. 143). This establishes beyond doubt that Mahāvīra was born in the Jñātr clan of the Vajjis who were the rulers at Vaiśālī and was well connected from his parents side. According to Rhys Davids and Cunningham the Vajjis to whom the Jñātr belonged were a large confederacy which had within its fold at least eight clans (*aṭṭhakulas*), of which the Videhans, Licchavis, the Jñātr and the Vajjis proper were the foremost. The Videhans had their capital in Mithilā, but a section of them might have settled in Vaiśālī, and Mahāvīra's mother, sister of king Ceṭaka of the Haihaya dynasty, and the head of the Confederacy, probably belonged to this section. The Jñātr had their seat at Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma and Kollāga, both suburbs of Vaiśālī which has been identified with Besārh (to the east of Gandak) in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar. This city was also the seat of the entire confederacy. People were called 'inner Vesalian' or 'outer Vesalian' according to their residence in the city proper or in the suburbs, and by this criterion, Mahāvīra was an outer Vesalian.

Kalpa Sūtra by Bhadrabāhu which is the traditional source on the life of Mahāvīra, who is supposed to have been born in 599 B.C. and

initially named Vardhamāna is an event-free record of his life in which his birth is narrated at some length, followed by his exit being not in response to any challenge, as it happened in the case of Guatama Buddha, but in fulfilment of a mission, his attainment of the supreme knowledge at 42 and ultimately his *nirvāṇa* at 72. The only important event noticed in the *Kalpa Sūtra* is that immediately after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*, 18 princes who were present there declared : "The light of intellect is gone ; let us light earthen lamps." The hardships undergone by Mahāvīra as a monk, his differences with other schools of Śramaṇa religion and unification of the remnants of the church of Pārśva with that of Mahāvīra have been described at length in some of the older canonical texts. The myth about his life on which contemporary biographies of Mahāvīra are based must have developed long after his *nirvāṇa* by people who had never seen and known him personally. The Digambara sources on Mahāvīra's life, *Adipurāṇa* and *Uttarapurāṇa*, were produced in the medieval period and were to a large extent based on myth.

Although we do not have details about the first 30 years of his life at the palace, it is certain that for the greater part of it he lived like a prince. This did not prevent his final exit. As a boy, he was endowed with a strong and graceful body, was fearless, courageous and intelligent and was by nature serious and grave. He desired to quit the palace at 28 but deferred it by a couple of years at the request of his elder brother. Thereafter he started his career as a monk with the motto 'all sinful acts become unworthy of my indulgence', and this part of his life lasted 12 years during which he visited different parts of the country, including 'non-Aryan' Rāḍha and Singhabhūmi and Vajrabhūmi in West Bengal and underwent severe hardships. In the 13th year enlightenment came to him. This made him Mahāvīra or the Great Hero. As an omniscient personality, he lived for 30 years fulfilling his spiritual mission and inspiring and setting people on the road to liberation. If we are to believe in the account of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, the Church of Mahāvīra included within its fold several thousand persons outstanding in one field or the other. At the age of 72, Mahāvīra passed away in perfect health while delivering his last sermon, at Madhyamā Pāvā, which it is widely believed to be near Nālandā.

Metaphysics

Metaphysics for which another name is ontology, is devoted to the consideration of real or reals. It has been the unanimous finding



The Cult of Penance
J. S. Bothra

of all religions that God is the only real, God transcendental more than God immanent so that everything else is unreal, a mere illusion or falsehood, or a mere manifestation of the will of the real. The Jainas have not viewed reality in this manner. To them, whatever exists is real or reality is existence. This makes the universe as well as life real, because they are eternal, ever-existent and never to end, though they assume and pass through innumerable modes and categories. This subtle doctrine has been expressed by Mahāvīra in three words ; *utpāda-dhrauṇya-vyaya* or genesis-permanence-destruction. This is as much true of the universe of animate as of that of inanimate beings. At any moment these souls are in bondage, with matter, and to regain their pristine purity, right religious endeavour is necessary. This is the sole object of Jaina metaphysics, or, in other words their analysis of soul and matter is intended to restore liberation of the soul.

In modern terminology a developed personality like Mahāvīra desired to find a way out for himself, not as an escapist, but as an active performer from the artificialities and complexities of human life and to uphold the same for mankind. It is this that is *nirvāṇa* in Jaina terminology. Mahāvīra's exit from his father's palace is therefore symbolic ; in doing so, he lost himself beyond himself, and by dint of severe spiritual exercises over 12 years, he became the heart and centre of his own transcendence, a virtual God-head.

Five Words

The ethics that Mahāvīra gave to purify human life is expressed in five words—non-violence, non-falsehood, non-sex, non-theft and non-accumulation. In rigorous form, they are a must for the monks but in a slightly less rigorous form, to make them consistent with worldly duties and responsibilities, they are must for lay followers too, implying thereby that a Jaina is one not because he is born in a Jaina family, but because by faith and practice, he fulfils the prescribed ethics. As an active performer himself, Mahāvīra prescribed a conscious effort on the part of the human soul to liberate itself from bondage. For this purpose a human being has the necessary equipment, consciousness, intellect, perception, etc. Besides, he has facilities, texts, discussions and discourses so that instead of remaining a tool in the hands of destiny, man may liberate himself totally from it. In other words, the Jainas firmly believe in the English maxim 'man is the architect of his own future'. This not only makes Jaina ethics an ethics of personal as well as social responsibility, but also provides a definite system to the religion.

In doing so, the Jainas have called *ahimsā* as *paramo dharmah*, or the highest religion. When the soul indulges in *himsā*, it deviates, from its right postures and trespasses into triviality. *Ahimsā* in the Jaina view is not compassion, pity or sympathy to one who is lower or inferior in status, position or capacity, but a right to live unmolested. *Ahimsā* thus becomes the great instrument of self-determination to be used and applied, as Gandhiji said, by one who has perfect control over self.

[January 1984]

The Jaina Concept of Kevalajñāna in the Light of Modern Researches in Thanatology

Arvind Sharma

Kevalajñāna

Jainism may briefly be summarized as that religion which accepts the five extensibles (*astikāyas*)¹, the six substances (*dravyas*),² the seven principles (*tattvas*)³ and the nine categories (*padārthas*).⁴ But the goal towards which the religion tends as a whole is ultimately the achievement of *kevalajñāna*, "which refers to the nature of infinite knowledge which the soul attains as the result of complete liberation or *mokṣa*".⁵

What is the nature of this *kevalajñāna*? It seems that until now scholars have tried to answer this question either ontologically⁶ or

1 S. Gopalan, *Outlines of Jainism* (New York : Halsted Press, 1973), p. 122.

2 S. Chatterjee and D. Dutta, *An Introduction to Indian Philosophy* (University of Calcutta, 1968), pp. 90-91.

3 M. Hiriyanna, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* (London : George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1932), p. 161.

4 Kalidas Bhattacharyya, ed., *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. I (Calcutta : The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, 1958), p. 403.

5 Kalidas Bhattacharyya, ed., *op cit.*, pp. 427-428.

6 M. Hiriyanna writes (*op cit.*, pp. 158-159) :

Perfect enlightenment being of the very nature of self, its condition of partial or indistinct knowledge marks a lapse from it. Accordingly the senses and the *manas*, though they are aids to knowing from one standpoint, are from another so many indications of the limitation to which the *jīva* is subject during its earthly pilgrimage. This leads to the recognition of differences in the extent of enlightenment that a self may possess as a result of the removal of less or more of the obstacles to it. But no self without *jñāna* is conceivable, or *jñāna* without a self—a point in the doctrine which well illustrates its distinction from Buddhism The culmination of enlightenment is reached when the obstacles are broken down in their entirety. Then the individual *jīva* while continuing as such, becomes omniscient and knows all objects vividly and precisely as they are. That is called *kevala-jñāna* or absolute apprehension without media or doubt and is what Mahāvira is believed to have attained at the end of the long period of his penance. It is immediate knowledge and is described as *kevala* ('pure') since it arises of itself without the help of any external aid like the senses, etc. It is 'soul-knowledge', if we may so term it—knowledge in its pristine form and is designated *mukhya-pratyakṣa* or perception *par excellence* to contrast it with common perception (*samyavaharika-pratyakṣa*). There are other but lower varieties of this supernormal knowledge recognized in the school, but it is not necessary to describe them here.

epistemologically.⁷ In this paper an attempt will be made to answer the question from the point of view of thanatology.

Thanatology

Until recently scientific investigation in the West seems to have been so steeped in materialism that any evidence of some form of post-mortem existence or experience was not taken seriously. As a result of the efforts of people like Elizabeth Kubler-Ross, the experience of death and near-death experiences are being taken more seriously. Some evidence on this point was collected and presented by Dr. Raymond A. Moody, Jr. in *Life After Life*.⁸ He has now followed this book up with another — *Reflections on Life After Life*.⁹

It will now be argued that this latter work seems to contain material which may throw some light on the Jain concept of *kevalajñāna*. Dr. Moody writes on the basis of "the report of subjects who had near-death encounters of extreme duration" thus :

Several people have told me that during their encounters with "death" they got brief glimpses of an entire separate realm of existence in which all knowledge — whether of past, present or future — seemed to co-exist in a sort of timeless state. Alternately, this has been described as a moment of enlightenment in which the subject seemed to have complete knowledge. In trying to talk about this aspect of their experience, all have commented that this experience was ultimately inexpressible. Also, all agree that this feeling of

7 A. L. Basham explains (R. C. Zaehner, ed., *The Concise Encyclopedia of Living Faiths* (Boston : Beacon Press, 1967), p. 265 :

Jainism is not, however, a fatalistic system. The tendency to fatalism is strongly opposed by Jain philosophers, and the apparent determinism of Jain cosmology is explained by a remarkable and distinctive theory of epistemological relativity known as "the doctrine of many-sidedness" (*anekantavada*). The details of this system are too recondite to discuss here, but its essential kernel is that the truth of any proposition is relative to the point of view from which it is made. The ebb and flow of the cosmic process is from the universal point of view rigidly determined, but from the viewpoint of the individual a man has freedom to work out his own salvation. Free will and determinism are both relatively true, and only the fully emancipated soul, who surveys the whole of time and space in a single act of knowledge from his eternal station at the top of the universe, can know the full and absolute truth.

8 Raymond A. Moody, Jr., *Life After Life* (Atlanta : Mockingbird Books, 1975).

9 Raymond A. Moody, Jr., *Reflections on Life After Life* (New York : Bantam Books, 1977).

complete knowledge did not persist after their return ; that they did not bring back any sort of omniscience.¹⁰

This statement coincides with the constellation of ideas as presented in Jainism—that there is a moment of enlightenment, that it is characterized by “complete” knowledge and that contact with the world of matter involves the loss of this knowledge.

One may now present the account of such experiences recorded by Dr. Moody in fuller detail.

The experience has been compared, in various accounts, to a flash of universal insight, institutions of higher learning, a “school” and a “library”. Everyone emphasizes, however, that the words they are using to describe this experience are at best only dim reflections of the reality they are trying to express. It is my own feeling that there may be one underlying state of consciousness which is to the root of all these different accounts.

One woman who had “died” gave the following report during an extended interview :

You mentioned earlier that you seemed to have a “vision of knowledge” if I could call it that. Could you tell me about it ?

This seems to have taken place after I had seen my life pass before me. It seemed that all of a sudden, all knowledge of all that had started from the very beginning that would go on without end—that for a second I know all the secrets of all ages, all the meaning of the universe, the stars, the moon—of everything. But after I chose to return, this knowledge escaped, and I can’t remember any of it. It seems that when I made the decision (to return) I was told that I would not retain my knowledge. But I kept being called back by my children.....

This all-powerful knowledge opened before me. It seemed that I was being told that I was going to remain sick for quite a while

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10. It is noteworthy that *kevalajnana* has actually been translated as omniscience, see S. N. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I (Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 207.

and that I would have other close calls. And I did have several close calls after that. They said some of it would be to erase this all-knowing knowledge that I had picked up...that I had been granted the universal secrets and that I would have to undergo time to forget that knowledge. But I do have the memory of once knowing everything, that it did happen, but that it was not a gift that I would keep if I returned. But I chose to return to my children...The memory of all these things that happened has remained clear, all except for that fleeting moment of knowledge. And that feeling of all knowledge disappeared when I returned to my body.

It sounds silly ! Well, it does when you say it out loud...or it does to me, because I've never been able to sit and talk to someone else about it.

I don't know how to explain it, but I know...As the Bible says, "To you all things will be revealed". For a minute, there was no question that didn't have an answer. How long I knew it, I couldn't say. It wasn't in earthly time, anyway.

In what form did this knowledge seem to be presented to you ? Was it in words or pictures ?

It was in all forms of communication, sights, sounds, thoughts. It was any-and every-thing. It was as if there was nothing that wasn't known. All knowledge was there, not just of one field, but everything.¹¹

The remark which Dr. Moody makes after presenting this case is of capital importance. He says :

There is one point which I would like to make here about this narrative. This woman plainly had the impression that part of the purpose of her lengthy recuperation was to make her forget almost all of the knowledge which has been revealed to her. This suggests that some mechanism was operative that had the function of blocking

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

the knowledge acquired in this state of existence so that it could not be carried over into the physical state of being.¹²

Kevalajñāna and Thanatology

A closer study of evidence on the "vision of knowledge" provided by subjects who have had near-death experiences suggests at least three major convergences between these accounts and the Jain concept of *kevalajñāna*.

(1) Dr. Moody was told by a young man during an interview :

Now, I was in a school . and it was real. It was not imaginary.

If I were not absolutely sure, I would say, "Well, there is a possibility that I was in this place." But it *was* real. It was like a school, and there was no one there, and yet there were a lot of people there. Because if you looked around, you would see nothing.. but if you paid attention, you would feel, sense, the presence of other beings around... It's as if there were lessons coming at me and they would keep coming at me ..

That's interesting. Another man told me that he went into what he called "libraries" and "institutions of higher learning". Is that anything like what you're trying to tell me ?

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 12. Dr. Moody also compares this account with the story of Er told by Plato "in an admittedly metaphorical and poetic way". Er was a warrior who came back to life on the funeral pyre, after having been believed dead. Er is said to have seen many things in the afterlife, but he was told that he must return to physical life to tell others what death is like. Just before he returned he saw souls which were being prepared to be born into life :

They all journeyed to the Plain of Oblivion, through a terrible and stifling heat for it was bare of trees and all plants, and there they camped at eventide by the River of Forgetfulness, whose waters no vessel can contain. They were all required to drink a measure of the water, and those who were not saved by their good sense drank more than the measure, and each one as he drank forgot all things. And after they had fallen asleep and it was the middle of the night, there was a sound of thunder and a quaking of the earth, and they were suddenly wafted thence, one this way, one that, upward to their birth like shooting stars. Er himself, he said, was not allowed to drink of the water, yet how and in what way he returned to the body he said he did not know, but suddenly recovering his sight he saw himself at dawn lying on the funeral pyre.

The basic theme being presented here, that before returning to life a certain kind of "forgetting" of knowledge one has in the eternal state must take place, is similar in the two cases (*op. cit.*, pp. 12-13).

It seems, however, that the two cases are not on all fours because whereas the first case dealt with timeless knowledge this case seems to deal with events of after-life.

Exactly ! You see, hearing what you say he said about it, it's like I know exactly what he means, that I know he's been through this same thing I have. And, yet...the words I would use are different, because there really are no words I cannot describe it.

You could not compare it to anything here. The terms I'm using to describe it are so far from the thing, but it's the best I can do...Because this is a place where the *place* is knowledge... knowledge and information are readily available— all knowledge... You absorb knowledge. You all of a sudden know the answer... It's like you focus mentally on one place in that school and— zoom—knowledge flows by you from that place, automatically. It's just like you'd had about a dozen speed reading course...

And I know verbatim what this man is talking about, but, you see, I'm just putting the same consciousness into my own words which are different.

I go on seeking knowledge ; 'Seek and ye shall find'. You can get the knowledge for yourself. But I *pray* for wisdom, wisdom more than all...

A middle-aged lady described it in this way :

There was a moment in this thing—well, there isn't any way to describe it—but it was like I knew all things... For a moment, there, it was like communication wasn't necessary. I thought whatever I wanted to know could be known.¹³

These statements by the subject sound like an experiential account of what may have been philosophically described in the following manner :

The *jiva's* relation to matter explains also the somewhat peculiar Jaina view of knowledge. Knowledge is not something that characterizes the *jiva*. It constitutes its very essence. The *jiva* can therefore know unaided everything directly and exactly as

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14

it is ; only there should be no impediment in its way. External conditions, such as the organ of sight and the presence of light, are useful only indirectly and *jñāna* results automatically when the obstacles are removed through their aid. That the knowledge which a *jīva* actually has is fragmentary is due to the obscuration caused by *karma* which interferes with its power of perception. As some schools assume a principle of *avidyā* to explain empirical thought, the Jainas invoke the help of *karma* to do so. This empirical thought is sometimes differentiated from the *jīva*, but its identity with the latter is at the same time emphasized so that the *jīva* and its several *jñānas* in this sense constitute a unity in difference.¹⁴

(2) The fact that these moments of "vision of knowledge" are associated with death experiences enables one to look at the Jain practice of *sallekhanā* or "voluntary self-starvation"¹⁵ in a new light. Could it not be suggested that the Jain practice is an effort to achieve this "vision of knowledge" on a lasting basis through a controlled and regulated dying instead of the haphazard manner in which one usually takes leave of this world. It should be noted that *sallekhanā* is not suicide in the usual sense of the word. Rules for carrying it out are laid down and it is "allowed only to those ascetics who have acquired the highest degree of perfection".¹⁶

(3) According to the view usually met with, the liberated beings in Jainism are said to reside on a *slab* at the top of the universe. The evidence adduced by Dr. Moody suggests that this may be too gross a view of the matter. One is reminded here of the remarks of one of his interviewees : "...this is a place where the *place* is knowledge".¹⁷ If this is so, then the word *siddhasīlā*¹⁸ the abode of the perfect ones must be understood figuratively and not literally.

There are, to be sure, some differences between the "vision of knowledge" as experienced by Dr. Moody's subject and the Jain concept of

¹⁴ M. Hiriyanna, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-159.

¹⁵ R. C. Zaehner, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 261.

¹⁶ Upendra Thakur, *A History of Suicide in India: An Introduction* (Delhi : Munshiram Manoharlal, 1963), pp. 104-106.

¹⁷ Dr. Raymond A. Moody, Jr., *Reflections On Life After Life*, p. 14.

¹⁸ See Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism* (New Delhi : Munshiram Manoharlal 1970 (first published 1915), p. 217.

kevalajñāna. For one "Only liberated souls have such knowledge".¹⁹ For another such knowledge can be attained by the spiritually advanced Arhats even while alive.²⁰ However, these considerations seem to bear on perfected beings while the evidence presented by Dr. Moody relates to the experience of ordinary human beings who have had a glimpse of what that perfect vision of knowledge might be like. There is all the difference between having a glimpse of the view from the peak and living on the peak itself.

Conclusion

The evidence provided by subjects who have had near-death experiences of prolonged duration lends plausibility to the otherwise seemingly airy-fairy concept of *kevalajñāna* in Jainism.

[July 1982]

¹⁹ S. Chatterjee and D. Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

²⁰ M. Hiriyanna, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169 ; R. C. Zaehner, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 264 ;

To achieve salvation the soul must become free from matter of all kinds, when it will rise to the top of the universe through its natural lightness, to dwell there for ever in bliss. The souls of the great sages such as Mahavira achieve virtual salvation while still in the body ; they enjoy the bliss and omniscience of the fully emancipated soul, but enough residual *karma* still clings to them to hold them to the earth ; when this is exhausted by penance and fasting they die, and their naked souls rise immediately to the realm of ineffable peace above the highest of the heavens of the gods.

Did Halley's Comet Appear on the Night of Mahavira's Nirvana ?

P. C. Chopra

"When beggars die there are no comets seen
The Heaven blazes forth on the death of prince."

The poet laureate William Shakespeare used this adage in his famous work *Julius Ceaser*. Such adages or sayings come into vogue as a result of long drawn experience of a particular civilisation or civilisations lasting over hundreds of years. This famous saying proved correct at least in one case as far as my knowledge goes. A comet of unprecedented brilliance did appear in the night in which Lord Mahāvīra achieved salvation or *nirvāṇa*. This happened on the night of Kārtik Kṛṣṇa Amāvaśyā 526 B.C., when the moonless night was brilliantly lit by a comet. This led to the practice of celebrating *Dīpāvalī*—the festival of light—on that particular night. The celebration did continue in one form or other till this day, but the historical event behind the idea was altogether forgotten and no one remembers it any more.

In olden days particularly in India the unsolved mysteries of nature were accepted as acts of gods and the Jaina scripture was no exception to this. This type of mysterious events when they are directly or indirectly connected with some great personalities find very ornamental and exaggerated description in the religious books giving entire credit to the person but not to the event. Ultimately the event is lost in the annals of the history. Exactly this had happened to the comet which appeared on the eventful night of Kārtik Kṛṣṇa Amāvaśyā of 526 B.C.

The only reference we find in this connection is in *Kalpa Sūtra* and *Baṅka Cūliā*, the celebrated Jaina Āgams. The version of *Kalpa Sūtra* is as follows :

On the night Lord Mahāvīra was to achieve *nirvāṇa* a comet Bhaṣma Rāśi Graha would appear on his birth *nakṣatra*. This would prove very ominous for his religion for a period of full two thousand years. At the end of 1990 years after the *nirvāṇa* another comet—*dhūmaketu* would come on his birth *nakṣatra* which would also cast bad effect on his religion for another 333 years. Only after the expiry of this period (combined) i.e. 2323 years, Jainism and its followers would again come into lime light.

The another story referring to this event appeared in the treatise on *Kalpa Sūtra* which is as under :

Indra, the king of Gods, foresighting this event rushed to Lord Mahāvīra on that night and humbly prayed to him that a comet Bhaṣma Rāśi Graha with very ominous effect would be appearing on his birth *nakṣatra* at the time of his *nirvāṇa*. To forestall the bad effect of the comet he prayed to Lord Mahāvīra to delay or to hasten a bit his departure. To this Lord Mahāvīra answered that though the Tīrthaṅkara are all powerful (omnipotent) they have no control over their death.

The version in *Baṅka Cūlī*, composed by Yaśobhadra Svāmī, was more or less the same as we have seen in *Kalpa Sūtra*.

Thereafter in the interval of more than 2000 years we do not find any mention of this historical event in any of the Jaina literature. While the Jaina scholars of mediaeval times (monks and others) had left no subject untouched one wonders how did this important event escaped their notice. And it is equally regrettable to note that none of the modern scholars has yet focussed their attention to this.

The reference in *Kalpa Sūtra* and *Baṅka Cūlī* clearly depicts that a comet called Bhaṣma Rāśi Graha appeared on the night of Lord Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*. What effect did it cast on his religion is purely a subject matter of Astrology. But our main and foremost object in this article is to find whether any comet as depicted earlier appeared on that celebrated night and if it did what was the nature of that comet.

What are the comets :

The comets are also the members of our solar family, like the sun,

planets and their satellites. The planets and their satellites of our solar system are very well known to us and with the advancement of modern science and invention of sophisticated scientific instruments our knowledge about them is far more complete. Their sizes, composition, the orbits they revolve, even their day to day position in the sky are very exactly known to us, yet our knowledge about the other members of the solar family viz. comets is not so complete. The comets travel in very elongated paths (not circular as planets) round the sun. The orbital period of the comets around the sun are, though fixed which ranges from a few years to hundred of years, yet very little is known about most of them. The scientists all over the world with the help of powerful telescopes and other instruments have been able to chart some 700 comets so far. The list mainly includes small comets. Some of them appear to be newly formed, while many old comets had disappeared or ceased to exist. This leads to the hypothesis that new comets are being created even this day in some unknown corner of the solar system. It is supposed that some part of the dust cloud which gave birth to our sun and planets billions of years ago still exists in its original form and revolves round the sun beyond the orbit of the remotest planet of the sun. Sometimes, due to some mysterious and unknown phenomenon, may be due to gravitational pull of the sun and planets, the dust cloud parts with some of its mass, which when comes nearer to the planetary system, takes the form of a comet and begins orbiting round the sun.

The comets generally have nucleus and a tail. The nucleus is made of solidified matter while the tail is purely composed of rarified gases. The tails of some of the comets extend to millions of kilometres. The comet with its nucleus and long tail appears like a brilliant star when it approaches its perihelion (the nearest point to the sun). At this time the tail of the comet is pushed further from the sun due to solar energy.

Halley's comet :

Among the comets we know more intimately, one is the Halley's comet. This comet was first discovered by Sir Edmund Halley in the year 1682 A.D. He took fancy of it and worked on it with zeal and enthusiasm. After prolonged study (during which he had opportunity to consult world famous scientist Sir Isaac Newton) he discovered that this comet was orbiting round the sun in every 76.1 year's period. Accordingly he predicted its next arrival in the year 1758. He also established by calculation that the comet which appeared in the year 1456, 1531, and 1508 was none else, than this very one. As per his

prediction the comet did appear in the year 1758 and his discovery was universally acknowledged after his death. The comet was named after its discoverer as Halley's comet.

This particular comet is orbitting in an elongated orbit. Its remotest point (aphelion) is situated between the orbit of Pluto and Neptune some 496 crore kilometres away from the sun. When it comes near to the sun it passes between the sun and the orbit of the earth. At this time which comes every 76 years, it appears like a very bright star in the western sky after sun set or in the eastern sky before the sun rise when viewed from the earth. The sight is undoubtedly memorable one for those who study it but for the general public it is a foreteller of calamity, war, epidemic and death of prominent persons. This myth is equally shared by east and west even to this date.

The ancient philosopher Pliny described a comet as of a particularly frightful body which could not be easily stoned. The people looked upon these occasional visitors to our sky with awe and wonder. Pope Calixtus III in the 15th century ordered general prayer seeking deliverance from the comet. It was generally regarded as precursor of momentous events like war, invasion, death of prominent persons etc. William Shakespeare rightly referred to this popular superstition in queen Calphurnia's comment. About comets Swift remarked 'old men and comets have been revered for the same reason, their long beards and pretences to forestall event's.'

In the east it is depicted as Bhaṣma Graha—one who brings destruction or disaster or *dhūmaketu*—one with mysterious tail of smoke. The pandits of Astrology are always ready to predict ominous effect of such events. In this context the prediction of *Kalpa Sūtra* undoubtedly testified to the appearance of a comet of unprecedented brilliance which was acclaimed to be evil enough to cast bad effect for two millennium.

Talking about the Halley's comet, it last appeared in January 1910 and according to calculation it is to appear again in the year 1986 when it will come nearest to the sun and will be seen for some two-three hours after the sun set in the western sky or before the sun rise in the eastern sky. The American and Russian scientists have confirmed with the aid of gigantic telescopes that the Halley's comet is on its way and it is approaching the sun as per schedule. It is still thousands of millions of kilometers away from the earth, but its schedule is very

precisely forecast. Very elaborate arrangements are being made for its thorough study all the world over. America, Russia, Japan and France are among the pioneers in this field. They propose to conduct some crucial experiments on it with the help of satellites and rockets. They hope to get the inside story of the origin of the solar system from these experiments.

The Halley's comet appears regularly after every 76.1 years. How many visits it had already completed is not exactly known. To the scientific world it had certainly completed 29 visits and will be appearing for the thirtyfourth time in 1986. Though its existence even before 240 B.C. is quite evident from unconfirmed source, it still requires historical evidence to suport this claim and here in this article we are able to establish with concrete proof its existence upto 526 B.C.

For the known history of the last 2500 years if we prepare a chart of the appearance of Halley's comet (according to calculations) it would be as under :

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Years as per calculation</i>	<i>Sighting confirmed in history</i>
1.	1986 February (to be)	—
2.	1910 January	1910
3.	1833	1833
4.	1757	1758
5.	1681	1682
6.	1605	1607
7.	1529	1531
8.	1453 Pope Calixtus III	1456
9.	1377	—
10.	1301	1301
11.	1225	—
12.	1149	—
13.	1072	—
14.	996	—
15.	920	—
16.	844	—
17.	768	—
18.	692	—
19.	616	—
20.	540	—
21.	464	—

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Years as per calculation</i>	<i>Sighting confirmed in history</i>
22.	388	—
23.	311	—
24.	235	—
25.	149	—
26.	86	—
27.	7	—
28.	69 B C, Julius Ceaser's time	—
29.	145 „	240 B.C. (Plinny's age)
30.	221 „	—
31.	297 „	—
32.	373 „	—
33.	450 „	—
34.	526 „	526 November, The year of Mahāvīra's <i>nirvāṇa</i>

The time of Halley's comet approaching its perihelien (nearest point to the sun) as arrived from calculation and shown in the chart is likely to differ from the time of its sighting from the earth. The reasons for the time lag are as under :

1. The earth itself rotates round the sun ;
2. The earth and the comet do not travel in the same plane ;
3. The direction of the rotation of the comet is opposite to that of the earth ;
4. The gravitational pull of some of the heavier planets would have affected the rotational period of the comet.

Yet the difference or time lag as stated above is not more than a few months only. As such it can be said with sufficient degree of certitude that the comet which appeared in the night of November 526 B.C. was none else than the well-known Halley's comet.

What is Bhaṣma Rāśi Graha ?

This comet has been named as Bhaṣm Rāśi Graha in Jaina literature. Bhaṣma Rāśi Graha is purely a Jaina mythological term and its reference

is no where found even in the contemporary literature. The Jaina mythology enumerates 88 *grahas* or planets and each *graha* is taken as double. The names of 88 *grahas* are found in *Thānāṅga*, *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* and *Sūryapaṇṇatti*. Besides, the familiar names of Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn the other names in the list are quite unfamiliar to the modern age. Moreover, the lists in the above three *Āgamas* do not concur exactly. The names of Bhaṣma Rāśi Graha and Bhaṣma Graha only appear in the list forming part of the *Thānāṅga* while other *Sūtras* give different names in their places. The names of *dhūmaketu* also appear in all the three lists.

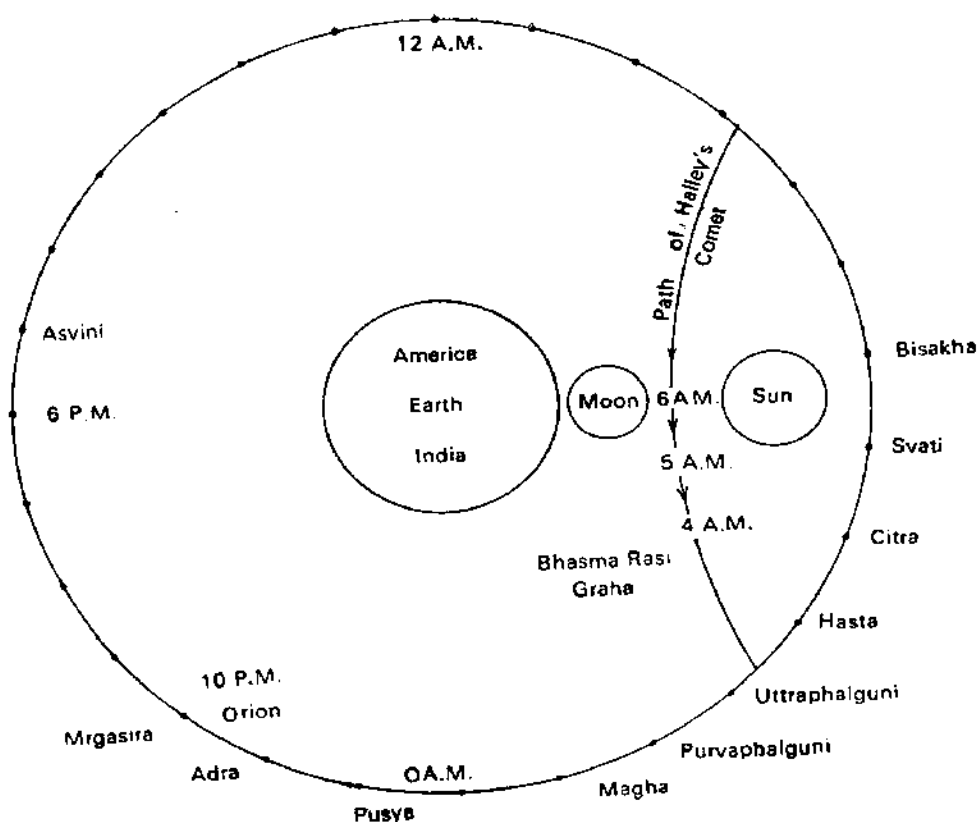
The probable reason for the different names in three Āgamas :

The inquisitiveness in human mind urged him since the inception to look into the night sky and study the stars round him. From his prolonged study and watching he could differentiate the innumerable stars into two categories. Stars which have no relative motion and stars which have relative motions. The first category is termed as *nakṣatras* while the latter was defined as *grahas* of olden times most probably includes planets, satellites and comets. The sun and moon were considered king of stars.

It is very likely that besides the five familiar *grahas* as stated earlier the rest of the list comprised of heavenly bodies belonging to the class of comets. The appearance of comets being rare phenomena (not appearing regularly as other known *grahas* or planets) parallel studies in different places and at different times would have been carried out which resulted in different nomenclature. This is why different lists found their places in three *Āgamas* which were composed at different times. *Thānāṅga* being the oldest of the three and was composed not long after Lord Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*, certainly reflects the contemporary public opinion and therefore the name of Bhaṣma Rāśi Graha rightly found its reference in *Kalpa Sūtra*. Whatever be the name it is a fact that a comet appeared in the night of Lord Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* and it was none other than Halley's comet.

Further more, if we probe deep into the subject, we find the short script of *Kalpa Sūtra* not only depicts the date of the appearance of the comet (Bhaṣma Rāśi Graha) it precisely indicates the times of its sighting. The comet as per the original version of the *Kalpa Sūtra* appeared at the birth *nakṣatra* of Lord Mahāvīra. It is well-known

among the followers of Mahāvīra that the birth *nakṣatra* of Mahāvīra was Uttara Phālgunī in the Zodiac Constellation of Virgo (Kanyā Rāśi). From the same sources it is known that on the night of *nirvāṇa* the moon was in Svāti *nakṣatra* in the constellation of Libra (Tulā Rāśi). The day being Amāvaśyā—the moonless night—the sun and the moon were in the same *nakṣatra* i.e., Svāti. From these datas it is easy to calculate that the Uttara Phālghunī *nakṣatra* appeared on the eastern horizon just two hours before the sun rise and simultaneously the comet appeared with it, (this comet travels in opposite direction to the direction of the earth's revolution), and precisely this should have been the time of *nirvāṇa*. It is more so because otherwise the Indra's prayer to Lord Mahāvīra to hasten a bit or to delay his departure (*nirvāṇa*) would lose all significance. While explaining *paccūsa-kāla samyamsi* of *Kalpa Sūtra* its commentary *Subodhikā* states that Mahāvīra entered *nirvāṇa* 4 hours before dawn (*caturghaṭikā va śeṣāyām rātrāyām*). But *Āgama Samavāyāṅga* states that it held at the end of the night (*antimarāyamsi*). This concurs exactly with the time we have arrived at by scientific and mathematical calculation i.e., 1½ hours before the sunrise. A sketch diagram given below will be able to show the position of different *nakṣatras* on that night and the sun, moon and the comet.



Yet there is another interesting feature of this comet. Our earth crosses the orbital plane of the Halley's comet twice in a year. This happens first in the month of May and second in the last week of October. During these crossings the earth experience meteoritical showers. This is believed to be due to left out matter in the orbit by the comet during its previous visits. This matter is attracted or pulled by the earth's gravitation in the form of meteors. The May crossing takes place during day time as such the meteoritical shower is not visible by naked eyes, while the October crossing occurs during night time and the shower is quite visible to the naked eyes. This strange phenomenon which is scientifically called Orionid originate from a particular place in the sky which is called Orion *nakṣatra* in the constellation of Gemini (Mithun Rāṣi). The Orion (Mṛgaśirā *nakṣatra*) appeared on the night of Amāvaśyā just before mid-night.

Now let us again look to the story connected with the Lord Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*. It is said that gods celebrated the occasion by making divine illumination in the sky and displaying divine fire works. The practice has since been followed by the followers of Mahāvīra upto this date by making illumination and using fire works in celebrating the the festival of *Dipāvali*.

The *Dipāvali* or the day of Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* generally falls in the months of November, but once in three years cycle it comes in the last week of October also. Suppose it so happened that Kārtik Kṛṣṇa Amāśyā 526 B.C. fell in the last week of October and there are evidences to support this belief and the Orioniod coincided with it, the meteoritical shower starting from the mid-night and lasting upto the day break played the role of 'heavenly fire works' and the appearance of a bright comet with its millions of kilometres long tail of 'divine light'. It was surely an unique and spectacular event to remember. This spectrum lasted right from mid-night to day-break. Probably this may be the reason of starting the *nirvāṇotsava* from mid-night.

From what we have discussed above the appearance of Halley's comet on the night of Lord Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* was not only a conjecture but a fact accomplished based on scientific and historical datas.

The Halley's comet is supposed to be in its infancy or it might have been its first ever visit in the year 526 B.C. (no earlier sighting was recorded so far) then its brilliance would have been much pronounced. Certainly it would have been a very romantic and awe stricken sight to watch and it was rightly dreaded by the people at large due to superstitions prevailing in the country.

Our readers will be fortunate enough to watch this long awaited sight in very near future just 13 months hence. It will be its 34th visit since its first ever historical sighting in the year 526 B.C., the origin of the Vira Nirvāṇa Samvat.

Had Shakespeare been alive today he would have been much happier to learn about this historical discovery which establishes the truth of his famous 'adage' given in the beginning of this article.

[January 1985]

Ahimsa In Jainism : Viewed in Historical Perspective

Amulyachandra Sen

I

Because I am a non-Jaina who happens to be acquainted to some extent with the scriptural teachings of the Jainas, I have sometimes been asked by Jainas who are well-educated but have no specialized knowledge of their own scriptures, what in my view constituted the special merit of Jaina teachings. This enquiry is very natural as we all desire to know how we appear in others' eyes, or what in us impresses others as singling us out from among our confreres. My considered answer to the query has always been this : "the teachings of *Ahimsā* and the doctrine of *Karma*". Somewhat to my surprise my interrogators have invariably been left cold and unimpressed, perhaps a little disappointed too, by my reply, the reason for which I failed to guess. At last I found an opportunity of acquainting a well-educated Jaina who is also familiar with the scriptural doctrines of his creed, with my problem, viz., why my reply failed to satisfy his co-religionists and what in the opinion of an average educated Jaina today were the special merits of Jainism ? His explanation was very revealing : to the average educated Jaina of today, the special excellence of Jainism consisted in the *Syādvāda* (or *Anekāntavāda* or *Saptabhaṅgī Naya*). Quite true. All who are acquainted with history of Jaina philosophical thought know fully well what enormous labours were devoted by the Jaina thinkers of the past to the development of this system of Logic, so much so that in the eyes of many a schoolman among them *Syādvāda* came to be regarded as a collective name for all the doctrines of Jainism. To the philosopher, the logician and more particularly to the polemicist, the present-day much-elaborated form of *Syādvāda* may be the most out-

standing and distinguishing feature of Jaina thought, but my humble way of approach to the study of any philosophical or religious thought starts with its history, its origin, its predecessors, its place among its contemporaries and compeers. The average Indian mind is probably not always very alive to the time-factor in evaluating the relative importance not only of abstract but also of concrete matters. In my contacts with very senior Indian scholars in different branches of Indian philosophy and religion, I have sometimes asked some of them, all very eminent in their own fields, about the chronology of particular thoughts or the geneology of particular developments, but their replies disappointed me. What to them appeared to be matters of very secondary importance—and they had many jokes about historians' obsession with small matters ! —happen to be the primary link in my humble attempt to comprehend a chain of thoughts or events. I fail to understand things properly unless I see them in a correct historical and chronological perspective.

So also in regard to Jainism, I desire to know first of all not what appears to be the most impressive of its products in the eyes of a later generation but what its oldest roots, its original trunk, its early branches, flowers and fruits had been. We do not fully know yet, historically viewed, how or when Jainism originated—orthodox traditions and claims apart—beyond the faint glimpses we get of its probable precursors, viz., a non-Brahmanical ascetical fraternity which owed its origin to mendicants professing non-Vedic beliefs that in their turn might have had their roots in pre-Aryan times. Coming to semi-historical times (*circa* 8th-9th centuries B. C.) we find one such fraternity in the Kāśi kingdom (Varāṇasī), famous in that epoch as the leading kingdom of eastern India, as a monastic order headed by a non-Brahmin of aristocratic birth, Pārśvanātha by name. Nearer historical times, i.e., in the 6th-5th centuries B C. we see some of these movements spread further towards the east flourishing in eastern U.P. and Bihar led again by non-Brahmins, of whom one was of noble birth viz., Vardhamāna Mahāvīra. In this connection it should be borne in mind that Magadha in that age witnessed the most active intellectual ferment that found expression in the speculations of numerous philosophical schools and in the spiritual quest for emancipation from the miseries of the world as evidenced in the doctrines and practices of a number of religious sects, among whom the Ajīvikas were, in point of time, the immediate seniors and the Buddhists the immediate juniors of Mahāvīra among the leading non-Brahmanical heterodox creeds of the era. The subsequent evolution of Jainism is well known and need not be recounted for my present purposes.

To all ardent religious men, conduct is the essence of religion, the road to moral and spiritual progress. None however would under-rate the value of a correct intellectual and emotional approach as, to quote Umāsvāti, author of the *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra*, the earliest text that codified Jaina teachings in a compressed aphoristic style, "the path to *Mokṣa* (liberation, emancipation from worldly bondage) consists in right belief, right knowledge and right conduct". Similarly in Buddha's teachings the Noble Eightfold Path that led to *Nirvāṇa* constituted a co-ordination of correct thought, feeling and conduct based on a proper understanding of the Four Noble Truths that revealed intellectually the all-pervasiveness of sorrow in the world and the reason for it; but at the same time Buddha never tired of emphasising the importance of conduct—in fact when we analyse his utterances minutely, it would even appear that to him moral conduct ranked above everything else in one's strivings for *Nirvāṇa*.

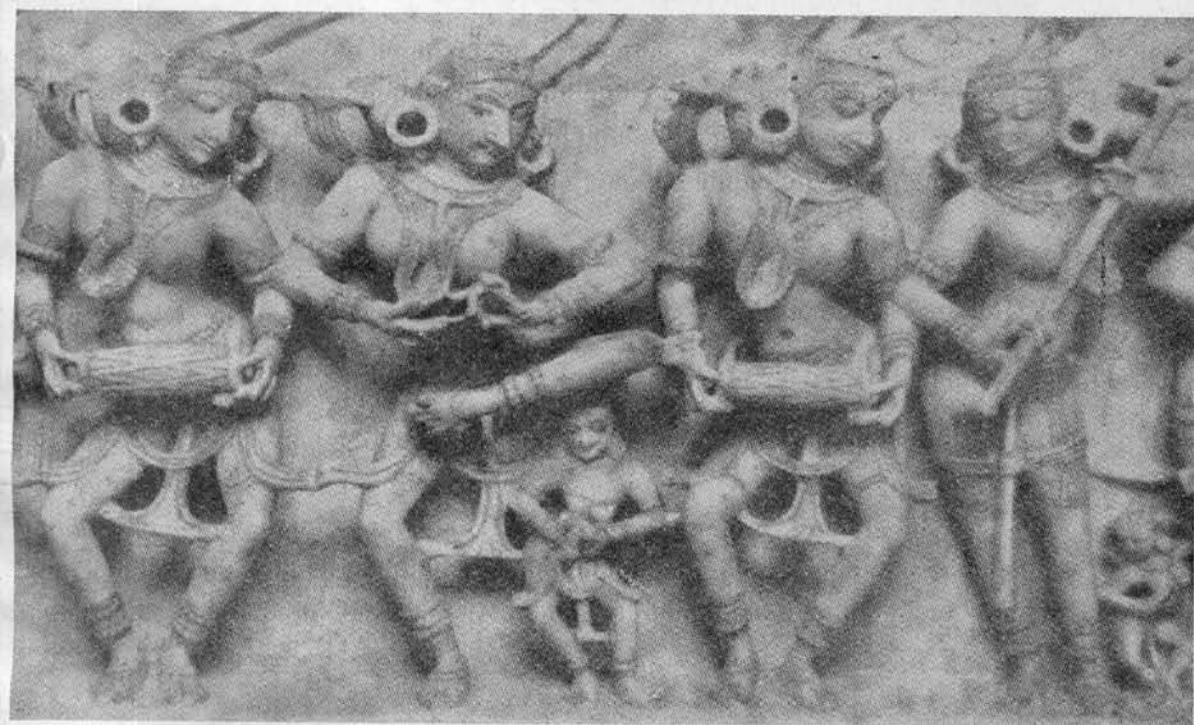
If then, moral conduct is such an essential and primary—some would even say leading and most important—requirement in religious life, let us consider how our great religious teachers have dealt with it. Pārśva, Mahāvīra and Buddha, each of them in his respective system and discipline, summed up the requirements of moral behaviour under the "Vows", variously regarded as being four to six, generally five in number, and remarkably enough, the very first one of this number, as laid down in the teachings of all of them, is Abstention from Destruction of Life or Non-killing of Living Beings, i.e., *Ahimsā*, in deed, word, and thought; its breach is not to be committed by oneself nor caused to be committed by another, nor should its breach by another be a cause of delight to one. So thoroughgoing then is the Vow in both its application and implication; and judged from its first place among the Vows, so cardinal is its importance.

Now let us try to have a view of the Vow for a while in its contemporary setting and against its historical background, or in other words within its environmental atmosphere, i.e., during the era when we meet it for the first time, viz., in Pārśva's teachings.

It is well-known that the Aryan immigrants into India were great

meat-eaters and their religious rites involved an enormous number of animal sacrifices. In their prayers to the gods, they craved destruction of their enemies—a mental attitude which is the very reverse of *Ahimsā*. The blood-curdling accounts of holocausts and hecatombs in Puranic legends are well-known.

About the religious life of the pre-Aryan Indians of the Indus Valley Civilisation (it should be remembered that the term is now used only as a formal nomenclature, for later archaeological excavations have established that this civilisation had spread on all sides very far beyond the Indus Valley), we do not yet know enough beyond that they worshipped figurines of the Mother Goddess and other deities, benign as well as malign, in their homes. Much doubt has recently been cast by historians on the earlier assumption that they were phallus worshipper; what had hitherto been regarded as being phallic symbols, are now supposed to have been architectural pieces, to serve purposes yet unascertained. Whether there was worship of any over-all deity in any central shrine, a temple as in Egypt or a Ziggurat as in Sumer and Babylon, is not yet known. The so-called "Citadel" in Mahenjodāro, yet unexcavated because of the presence of the ruins of an ancient Buddhist *Stūpa* on the topmost stratum, may in fact have been neither a military structure as its present nomenclature presumed nor a royal building of some sort, but some kind of an edifice of great religious significance, perhaps of supreme importance to the population, as may be surmised from the presence of the Buddhist shrine on the site, built in historical times, because in India it is traditional and customary to build nothing but a religious shrine on the ruins of an older shrine (compare the Great *Stūpa* of Nālandā which has seven layers of reconstruction) or in other words, never to build a sacred structure on the ruins of a secular one and never to build a secular structure on the ruins of a sacred one; so the principle was, as it were, sacred on sacred, secular on secular (monastery No. 1 at Nālandā was rebuilt nine times, each on the ruins of the previous structure), and never *vice versa*, from which we infer that the "Citadel" was a religious edifice, the memory whereof lingered on even till early historical times culminating in the building of the Buddhist shrine on its ruins. Comparable in this connection is also the fact that a cremation ground in India always remains as such, *i.e.*, wherever we find a fairly old cremation ground, we may conclude that it was the same ever since the locality came to be inhabited; therefore the cremation ground on the eastern bank of the stream north of Maniyār Maṭh at Rājgir, where dead bodies are brought from all the surrounding countryside today, may be presumed to have been the cremation ground of Rājgir even in the days



A Party of Dancers and Musicians
Panels from Jaina Temple, Mt. Abu

of king Bimbisāra (Seniya, Sreṇika of Jaina literature), from where Buddha collected rags for making his wearing apparel.

But although we do not know much yet about the institutional religion of the Indus Valley people, we know that bathing and washing was a ritual with them as inferred from the Great Bath of Mahenjodāro and the elaborate arrangement of bath-rooms and drainage in the residential buildings. Bathing or washing ceremonially before undertaking any important work, offering prayer and *pūjā*, etc., were probably as assiduously practised as is done in India even now. The tradition is clearly reflected in the formula always repeated in Jaina narrative literature of people going to their daily work or on important errands as : *ṇhāyā kaya-bali-kammā kaya-koua-māṅgala-ppāyacchittā* (in Sanskrit *snātaḥ kṛta-bali-karmā kṛta-kautuka-māṅgala-prāyascittāḥ*). What we have so far considered about the religious practices of these ancient people, yields however no evidence of animal sacrifice in religious rites—*bali-karman* was meant as worshipping a deity with offerings, gifts or presents, of flowers, etc. ; now the word *bali* in Bengali means principally animal sacrifice in Śākta rites. The cutting asunder of a dummy or effigy of an animal or even of some large-sized fruit like a pumpkin for instance, as a symbolical substitute for a living animal was also figuratively meant by the term at one time.

Though it is yet unknown if they killed animals in connection with religious rites, surely in their food habits the Indus Valley people killed animal life in abundance, for, as skeletal remains and pictorial representations on potsherds show, meat and fish were common articles of diet among them.

To revert to Vedic practices. The mode of killing an animal for the sacrificial altar involved the utmost cruelty—the victim was strangled to death, its nostrils and ears were stuffed up in order to kill it by suffocation (to conserve the blood, as representing the life-force within the body ?), a spike was thrust into the anal orifice, and the head was struck with heavy blows, as we learn from the *Baudhāyana Grhya Sūtra*. Even till later times, a calf was slaughtered on the arrival of a welcome guest in order to serve him with tender veal ; serving of meat in *śrāddha* feasts in honour of the dead remained a common practice in many parts of the country as the late Puranic statements show. Puranic literature again refers to many a well-known story of royal personages going out into the forests for hunting and meeting with various adventures and gaining strange experiences. In this connection are mentioned

sages practising penances in forests and ascetical *āśramas* or hermitages where celebrated teachers also taught various subjects to residential students, young as well as grown up,

4

India's population consisted not only of the civilised Indus Valley people and the semi-civilised Vedic Aryan immigrants but also of a large number of others of different racial stocks and cultural levels. The Māgadhans appear to have developed a culture of their own which rivalled that of the Indo-Aryans around 800 B.C. All old lands again are inhabited by primitive aboriginals, among whom the propitiation of deities, mostly malevolent, by offering them slaughtered animals' blood and flesh is as common a religious practice as for instance is the worship of snakes and trees, stocks and stones. The ancient Jews and Arabs, what to speak of the Aryans, and the ancient inhabitants of Greece and Rome, even after attaining a fairly respectable degree of civilisation, were accustomed to kill animals for sacrifice to deities. The Śāktas and Tantriks of India have their own elaborate occult explanation of how the life force, as represented by the living, *i.e.*, gushing blood freshly shed, of animals offered in sacrifice to deities, redounds to the benefit of the sacrificer by the magical influence of the *mantras* uttered by himself or by the priest who acts as an intermediary between him and the deity. Many beliefs and practices of the primitive mind survive among civilised people, though in rationalised or disguised forms, sometimes highly so, say modern psychologists and sociologists. If we examine analytically many of our Hindu religious notions or social practices, we shall not fail to discover the truth of this theory of the scientists.

5

Coming to historical times we find in Buddhist and Jaina scriptures many references to hunters, fowlers, butchers and fishermen, shops where meat, fish and egg preparations were sold, and to the food habits of the people as being largely non-vegetarian. Stories told in the Buddhist *Vinaya Piṭka* report many instances of Buddha and his disciples having been served with meat dishes when invited to meals in the houses of well-to-do people. Buddhists were not averse to eating non-vegetarian food provided the three condition, same as in the Jaina Vow of non-killing, were satisfied, viz., that one himself should not kill, he

should not cause someone else to kill, nor delight in someone else's killing life. The present-day Maniyār Maṭh of Rājgir appears to have been the principal shrine of ancient Rājagṛha in Buddha and Mahāvīra's time. When first excavated, large pits were discovered here full of the skeletal remains of animals, presumably slaughtered in sacrifice. The *Mahābhārata* refers even to human sacrifices offered by Jarāsandha, the legendary king of Rājagṛha in the Epics. The lamb that Buddha is said to have rescued from being slaughtered along with a large number of other animals offered in sacrifice by king Bimbisāra, might have formed part of the bloody ritual performed periodically in the Maniyār Maṭh in those days.

6

Enough has been said above of the extent of killing animal life both for food and as a religious rite in ancient India. Let us conclude this topic with some glimpses of conditions that prevailed in Aśoka's times, *i.e.*, nearly two and a half centuries after Mahāvīra and Buddha. Aśoka says in Rock Edict I that in his palace kitchen "*many hundred thousands of animals were killed everyday for the sake of curry*". Making due allowance for the flowery exaggeration in respect of the number this statement gives us a contemporary picture of the general food habits of men of means. In Rock Edict 4 he says "In times past, for many hundreds of years, ever increased the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings". In Rock Edict 8 is said "In times past, kings used to go out on pleasure-tours. In these, hunting and similar other amusements took place".

We must recall gratefully all the steps Aśoka took for preventing cruelty to animals, for the first time by a historical king in India, not merely because he was a Buddhist. He was deeply interested in the teachings as well as in the welfare of all the other religious sects as well, and he repeatedly declared in his Edicts; among the sects, next to the followers of Vedic Brahmanism, the Jainas (Nirgranthas as he calls them by their older name) were the most prominent and numerically the largest. He made large gifts to all sects and paid honours to all of them; he appointed special Ministers called Dharma Mahāmātras not only for the Buddhists but for looking after the welfare of the Jainas and other sects as well (Rock Edicts 7 and 12; Pillar Edict 7), and as we have already noted, the teaching of *Ahimsā* was preached by the Jainas long before the emergence of Buddhism.

Of the "*Dharma*" as preached by Aśoka, an important item was *Ahimsā*, e.g., "Non-killing of animals is commendable" (Rock Edict 3) ; "Has now been promoted by the *Dharma* instructions of the Beloved of the gods, king Priyadarśin (i.e., Aśoka himself), the non-killing of animals, non-hurting of living beings", etc. (Rock Edict 4) ; "Therein (i.e., in *Dharma* these take place ... non-killing of animals" (Rock Edict 11) ; "These are the *Dharma* regulations as have been ordered by me— 'these various animals are inviolable', etc." (Pillar Edict 7).

In addition to preaching *Ahimsā*, Aśoka took these positive measures to enforce it in actual practice, viz., he forbade the killing of any living being for sacrificial purposes (Rock Edict 1). Let us not overlook the hostile reaction that this order must have produced among the great majority of his subjects viz., the Hindus who followed the Vedic cult and others, such as the aboriginal tribes and the forerunners of the Śāktas who killed animals as a religious rite. Further he forbade the *Samāja* festivals, i.e., periodical gatherings of a large number of people who participated in games, racing, gambling, singing and dancing and other amusements besides indulging in various kinds of revelries with the accompaniment of drinking, meat-eating, etc. (Rock Edict 1). This measure too must have given rise to widespread discontent among the populace. In the same Edict he refers to the killing of animals of the palace kitchen being reduced to only two peacocks and a deer, and that deer again not always, and "even these three animals shall not be killed in future". In Rock Edict 8 is recorded his giving up the royal hunt, a gorgeously brilliant and pompous state function as described by Megasthenes in connection with Candragupta's life. In Pillar Edict 5 he gives a long list of various animals that were declared inviolable by him and of the male animals which were forbidden to be castrated ; again, "husks containing living beings (viz. insects) are not to be burnt ; forests are not to be burnt either needlessly or for killing animals ; one animal is not to be fed with another animal" ; on certain *tithis* or lunar days catching and selling of fish, the killing of certain kinds of animals and the branding of certain others were forbidden.

In India's history, after Aśoka only another powerful Emperor viz., Akbar issued orders for the prevention of cruelty to animals and that was done by the influence of the celebrated Jaina teacher Hira-vijaya whom Akbar had summoned to his court. Another king, though not so powerful as Aśoka or Akbar, viz., Kumārapāla of Gujarat in the 12th century, also did the same under the influence of the great Jaina teacher Hemacandra.

After this rapid survey of conditions generally preceding, contemporaneous with and following the rise of Pārśva-Mahāvīra-Buddha's teachings on non-killing of and non-injury to animal life, I should like to pose this question, viz., how did this *Ahimsā* cult come into being, historically noticeable for the first time in Pārśva's Vow, when there appear to be no earlier roots for it in history or in tradition (I overlook for the moment the claim of the Jainas that their Tīrthaṅkaras had preached all their Doctrines in the hoary past)? Later Vedic literature is aware of the need of practising *Ahimsā*; Upanisadic thought and speculations (to be dated roughly as not being much older in origin than Mahāvīra and Buddha in all probability) and the *Gītā* (compiled not earlier probably than circa 2nd century B.C.) preach it no doubt, but nowhere does the doctrine find such prominence, importance and elaborate development as in Jaina teachings. That Pārśva-Mahāvīra-Buddha and the Vedic *Brāhmaṇa-Āraṇyaka* thoughts (born of the mingling of pre-Aryan priestly theological speculations and Vedic priestly practices) culminating in the *Upaniṣads* shared a common religio-theosophical atmosphere and socio-moral background is not to be disputed, but that does not appear to offer a fully satisfactory explanation of how the doctrine of *Ahimsā* came to play such a major role in Jaina thought as it did not do in that of any other of its Brahmanical contemporaries. In the absence of clearly established data, we have to have recourse to some extent to speculation with regard to probabilities.

Associated closely with Pārśva and Mahāvīra's teaching on *Ahimsā* are to be found the teachings of rigorous asceticism, penances and mortification of the flesh; the all-importance of the individual soul, speculations on its nature and activities; total independence of all thoughts about an all-soul or a supreme deity, or of the need for propitiating it or seeking its favours or grace for the individual soul's spiritual upliftment or emancipation; the individual soul's bondage in mundane existence and its *own* efforts for liberation from it, etc. Consider further the tremendous emphasis Jaina thought placed on ethical conduct as determining everything good in our lives and as leading to the soul's attainment of *Mokṣa*; as also the doctrine of *Karma*—"good or bad as you sow, exactly so do you reap"—as its inseparable counterpart, another item of religious life that finds the most farreaching elaboration in Jainism.

How surprisingly do these features contrast with Vedic Brahmanical

thought and practice of the times in which *Karma* primarily meant performance of Vedic rituals ; ethical conduct waited as it were, in the ante-chamber ; the soul in worldly bondage attained liberation by the grace of the gods ; the chief agent in the world process is the all-pervading *Brahman*, of whom the individual soul, *Ātman*, is, so to speak, a spark or reflection ; and, the merits of renunciation and ascetical practices begin to be recognised. With regard to the last factor, a question arises, viz., is it normally to be expected that a semi-barbarous people of semi-nomadic habits as the Aryan immigrants into India were, whose forerunners had been cruel conquerors (as held by modern historians) who burnt, looted, killed, destroyed, burst embankments to flood human habitations, exulting in the successes they achieved by quick mobility by riding on horseback and by using iron weapons (harder and more effective than other metals)—both unknown to the people who inhabited India at the time, in spite of their higher civilisation and culture—and intoxicated with all the enjoyments they regaled themselves with on the soil of India, is it normally to be expected, one may ask, for such a people to be thinking of renunciation and asceticism after only a few centuries, not more than five or six, of fully settling down in their new homeland ? Very possibly not. We have therefore to look elsewhere for the roots of Jaina and kindred trends of thought. Intermingling of several ways of life and thought gives rise no doubt to exchange of ideas inevitable in co-existence in a common atmosphere, but we are speaking now of probable origins, not of formed or finished results.

The Aryan tribes on emigrating from their native homeland went to and settled down in many other lands to the east and west besides India, but in none of these are found the ancient traces of ascetical, monastic, pessimistic creeds practising *Ahimsā*, vegetarianism, mortification of the flesh, an itinerant life, or speculating on the nature and qualities of the individual soul, *Ātman* or *Jiva*, or on rebirth and *Karma*, on the lines of the Jainas and other similar sects of ancient India. None of the other mighty cultures also that the yet more ancient world saw, viz., the Egyptians, the Sumerians or the Babylonians etc produced any such trends which therefore appear to be wholly Indian in origin. When such trends are at all met with in later days in other lands they can mostly be traced to Indian influences transported abroad by various agencies.

We have thus to infer that these trends arose in pre-Aryan India, probably as an off-shoot of the civilisation of the times. It is here

most probably that the roots lay of the earliest phases of Indian monastic ascetical beliefs and practices, of which the oldest representatives in historical times were the Jainas. Modern scholars have pointed out various shades of views as held in Jainism to be reminiscent of primitivism, such as the soul possessing a size co-extensive with the body it inhabits during worldly bondage; the soul being imparted various *Leśyās* (colours, tastes, smells and feelings) by different kinds of actions, etc. One of the views, no doubt born of considerable reflection and human sympathies, held by these early thinkers was *Ahimsā*, derived from a belief in the existence of an undying entity or *Jīva* inhabiting the body, combined with a belief in the inexorable retributive operation of the law of *Karma*, and its inseparable counterpart, the law of rebirth, all of which being the products of thoughtful and observant minds. Buddha did not believe in the existence of an individual soul, yet he believed in *Karma* and rebirth, and so our assumption holds good in respect of his teachings as well.

As time flowed on, more and more thought was given apparently to broaden the philosophical as well as the ethical basis of *Ahimsā* particularly among the Jainas, one of them being formulated thus: the *Jīva* must run the full gamut of the consequences of its *Karma* before it can attain *Mokṣa*; attainment of *Mokṣa* is every *Jīva's* imperative duty and nothing must be done to impede its fulfilling that duty undisturbed; impediments to the fulfilment of that duty only intensifies and prolongs the *Jīva's* sufferings in worldly bondage; if one *Jīva* disturbs the running of the full span of another *Jīva's* life at any particular stage by killing or hurting it it commits thereby a sin for very obvious reasons, the evil consequences of which will boomerang back on the disturber itself, for it is the moral duty of every *Jīva* to help each other in attaining *Mokṣa*, not to impede it, for the sake of the common good of both.

Another reason for the observance of *Ahimsā*, derived from or as a slight variant of the above, is stated thus, viz., all *Jīvas* desire to live and not to die, therefore destruction of life should be given up. This again emphasises the law of reciprocity, "do unto others as you wish others to do unto you", so essential for living a corporate life in society in the company of one's fellow travellers, as we all must do in this world.

[January, 1971]

Penology and Jaina Scriptures

Ramesh C. Lalen

The dearest and yet probably the ever-escaping ideal of every human society is to become an enlightened and a crimeless¹ society. Sociologists, not apparently satisfied with social reforms, find fault with the social arrangements and seek "fundamental social change".² Ranging right from the archaic Babylonian Code of Hammurabi, the chain of penal codes has obviously failed to capture the genii of mens rea. Religion, the elevator for the human-beings to the divine and the sole champion of moral and ethical values, has witnessed a number of crimes committed in its name. Education, the vehicle of discipline, training and dedicated service to humanity, is in a predicament when confronted with enormous problems of students' indiscipline, vices and malpractices. After all, a serious doubt arises about the progress of centuries whether it is towards enlightenment or towards criminality !

Penology starts with the definition of punishment and ends ironically with a plea for total abolition of punishment, suggesting a substitute therapy of treatment, correction, reformation, rehabilitation and resocialization of the so-called 'criminal', 'delinquent', 'deviant who cannot conform to the social norms' and 'client for the correctional apparatus'. It means "the science of punishment of crime in both its deterrent and its reformatory aspects ; the science of management of prison"³ and "the study of problems of legal punishment".⁴ Definition of penology is conspicuous by its absence in the standard text-books of recent authors.⁵

1 Ian Taylor, Paul Walton and Jack Young, *The New Criminology : for a Social Theory of Deviance*, 1973, London, p. 281.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *The Random House Dictionary of English Language*, College Edn, 1977, Allied Publishing Pvt. Ltd., Bombay-New Delhi-Calcutta-Madras, p. 993.

4 *The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, 2nd Edn, The English Language Book Society and Oxford University Press, p. 719.

5 Howard Jones, *Crime and Penal System*, 1962, London, p. 1 : Robert G. Caldwell, *Criminology*, 1956, New York, p. 1.

In its original structure, penology studies and analyzes the history, theories, purposes and effects of punishment in relation to crime-causation and crime-prevention. In its modern outlines, penology assumes the forms of the correctional apparatus and transforms itself into the theory of social defence. With its inter-disciplinary aspect, its changing concept—values and its transitional phase, penology would require a new definition in its confrontation with the immutable Jaina Scriptures. For this purpose penology is defined here as *Strategy in the Fight against Crime* and Jaina penology as *Strategy in the Fight against Karma*.

Penology, so defined, can safely avoid the conflict and controversy with the sociological theorists who visualize crime not as "an inherent property of an act"⁶ but as mere deviance not conforming to the social norms. If social re-arrangement can immunize individual against crime, the technique of individual re-arrangement, known technically as process of *samvara* (impeding of *karma*), can equally and more efficiently immunize the society from crime.

The original structure of Penology, based upon 'lex-talionis', with the now obsolete, cruel and harsh forms of punishment such as branding, quartering, drowning, burning or boiling to death,⁷ bears an eloquent proof of the forces of retribution and revenge that have prevailed upon human mind since antiquity. Freedom of will forms the basis for transfixing individual responsibility for a criminal act. When the same is coupled with intent, the liability for punishment arises. 'As you sow so shall you reap' and 'He who sins must suffer' are the age-old sayings which not only caution the wrong-doer but have served as jural canons for the dispensation of justice. Other justifications for the infliction of punishment are :⁸ social utility, moral education, atonement, deterrence, prevention, expiation and finally reformation.

The modes and forms of punishment varied according to the age, time, place and finally the culture⁹ of the particular society. The three

6 *The New Criminology : for a Social Theory of Deviance*, p. 145.

7 William Andrews, *Old Times Punishments*, 1971, London, See contents.

8 Lae H. Chang (ed), *Criminology : A Cross Cultural Perspective*, Vol. II, p. 553, also see *Salmond On Jurisprudence*, London, Sweet & Maxwell, 1966, 12th Edn. by Fitzgerald, p. 98 ; and John Lewis Gillin, *Criminology and Penology*, p. 219, 221-223 ff.

9 *Criminology and Penology*, p. 218.

'R's in the handling of criminals are :¹⁰ revenge, restraint and reformation, which in other words epitomize the history of penology indicative of world-civilization and emergence of culture-base readily traced back for two centuries. Revenge swings from motivation to justification manifesting itself in the forms retribution, retaliation, vindictiveness and compensation (wergild). Restraint encompasses the concepts of deterrence, prevention and protection. Reformation incorporates the final aim and object of punishment and at the same time replacement of punishment by correction and treatment ; thus providing a turn-table to the basic concepts of penology and new interpretation and outlook in the attitude towards crime, criminal and punishment, without relinquishing the concept of control.¹¹

The outlines of Modern Penology revolves around the cantroversies that exist between the theories of punishment and the theories of treatment. Punishment for the sake of punishment is considered as "an end in itself to the individual as well as society"¹² and "there has been a slow but discernible trend away from punishment",¹³ even though ambivalence still exists between punishment and treatment. "At each extreme, stand policemen, jurists, psychiatrists and laymen who are engaged in dialectic and actual tug of war. They disagree on what will serve society best, punishment for punishment's sake or treatment with the aim of social readjustment of offenders. Some speak of penal treatment which suggests a penalty to be enacted on the wrong-doer. Others suggest correctional treatment suggestive of more intensive therapy in the interest of helping offenders change."¹⁴ All observation like "the attempt to deter, punish and prevent can actually create deviation itself"¹⁵ sounds like a paradox but makes in an unequivocal term a very strong plea for the abolition of punishment.

The rising sun of treatment which emits manifold peno-correctional rays in the form of exemptions, pardons, commutations, remissions for good behaviour, indeterminate sentences, suspended sentences, probation, conditional release, parole, short sentences etc. is greeted at the horizon

10 Daniel Glaser, *The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System*, with a forward by Robert F. Kennedy, Indianapolis, New York, Kansas City, The Boobs Merrill Co. Inc, 1964, p. 6.

11 John P. Conrad, *Crime and Its Correction*, p. 170.

12 Dressler, *Readings in Criminology and Penology*, p. 470.

13 *Ibid.*

14 *Ibid.*, p. 469.

15 *The New Criminology ; for a Social Theory of Deviance*, p. 140.

with the clouds of uncertainty,¹⁶ inconsistency,¹⁷ and confusion.¹⁸ The New Penology has thus opted for treatment in the place of punishment but is still afflicted with the problem of choosing between penal treatment and correctional treatment with the result that it has not been able to do away with the variety of prisons, jails, reformatories, penitentiaries, colonies, camps, training schools, borstals, centers, etc.

This New Penology which aspires to liberate the human corpus from the shackles of prison walls¹⁹ has yet before itself a tremendous task, namely, to evolve the correctional apparatus for reformation of the offender, to rehabilitate the offender sociologically and psychologically and to train for that purpose selfless and devoted psychiatrists, probation-officers, social-workers and other personnel whose active participation will be indispensable in the process of 'treatment'. The magnitude of the problem is well acknowledged by leading criminologists. Leon Radzinowick poses a query : "According to leading American Criminologists crime is deeply embedded in the very texture of American society. If this is so, how substantial and lasting can the influence of the community programmes be, even if it is acknowledged as it should be, that they may succeed in raising the general standards of life, in strengthening supportive and remedial arrangements ; and in disseminating information about the measures hitherto adopted in dealing with it ?"²⁰ John P. Conrad has been frank enough to admit : "For the clients of correctional apparatus, we cannot yet point out a procedure which can be reliably applied to any group in any typology yet conceptualized."²¹ The warning of Charles Merciers : "With exception of logic, there is no subject on which so much non-sense has been written as this of criminality and the criminal,"²² even though sounded in 1919 still rings true and should put on alert all those penologists and the criminologists who prescribe new remedies fastidiously when "no serious or systematic study has ever been made till now on the effects of punishment on prevention."²³ The admonition of the

¹⁶ Sir Kenneth Younger, 'Sentencing', an article in *Howard Journal*, Vol XVI No 1, p. 18.

¹⁷ Paul Tappan, *Crime, Justice and Correction*, p. 237.

¹⁸ *Crime and its Correction*, p. 2.

¹⁹ Giles Playfair and Derrick Sington, *Crime, Punishment and Cure*, 1965, London, p. 333 : Summary of Proposals : 1.

²⁰ Leon Radzinowick, *In the Search of Criminology*, p. 147.

²¹ *Crime and its Correction*, p. 55.

²² Quoted by Richard R. Korn and Lloyd W. Macoreckle, *Criminology and Penology*, p. 309.

²³ *Criminology : A Cross Cultural Perspective*, Vol. I, p. 330.

great author is to be noted specifically in this age when white-collar crime has pervaded every walk of life, leaving little scope for honesty in any trade, profession or calling and robbing the State Exchequer by millions every year without even detection.

It is true that "the emphasis has now shifted from deterrence to reformation, from punitive vengeance to education and from State's right to punish to its duty to socialize"²⁴ and thus "modern social defence arms at re-educating the criminal with a view to removing his subjective antisociality which is the root cause of his motivation and anti-social behaviour."²⁵ This new trend which visualizes 'social re-arrangement of the society' aspires to rise above the concepts of punishment, treatment, correction and also the reformation of the individual, shifting the blame thereby from the individual to the social environmental factors and social arrangements. But the observations of Hermann Mannheim are more realistic : "Two major difficulties confront today's criminologists : (1) a theory of criminal behaviour is not a theory of crime, it does not explain why the behaviour is criminal or non criminal and (2) there is no theory available which explains all types of criminal behaviour. Psychaitric theories are inadequate because not all criminals are emotionally disturbed persons and few emotionally disturbed person are criminals. Any narrow sociological explanation is inadequate because not all criminals have a history of prior associations with other criminals, and not all individuals who associate with criminals become criminals.....A theory is needed to integrate the legal, sociological and psychological aspects of crime."²⁶

Indian background, with its rich heritage in culture, religions and philosophies remains unexplored in the field of penology and criminology by the western scholars. The concepts of punishment (*danḍa*) and ex-piation (*prāyaścitta*) are discussed at length in the law-books (*dharma-śāstras*) and the treatises on polity (*artha-śāstra*, *nīti śāstra* and *vyavahāra*). In the books on State Administration (*Rāja-nīti*) the topic of punishment (*danḍa*) has developed into full-fledged penology (*danḍa nīti*). Law and religion have the same equivalent word in Sanskrit, 'dharma', which has still a larger connotation.²⁷ In India,

²⁴ R. Deb, *Principles of Criminology, Criminal Law and Investigation*, Vol. 1, 1973, 2nd Edn, p. 5.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Quoted from Hermann Mannheim, *Pioneers in Criminology*, Chicago Quadrangle Books, 1960. pp. 377-378 : *Criminology : A Cross Cultural Perspective*, Vol. 1, pp. 70 & 71, also p. 110.

²⁷ Dr. Sukla Das, *Crime and Punishment in Ancient India*, p. 135.

the law and the religion went hand in hand; the Codes of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Parāśara and others are the source-books at a time both for religion and for law. Even neighbouring countries of Siam, Burma, Java and Bali did adopt the Code of Manu.²⁸ Name of Manu is so much reputed as law-giver that even the 'Kula-kara's who preceded the first Lord Tīrthaṅkara are known as Manus in the tradition of respect among the Jains.

Crime in India is governed by Indian Penal Code, which was drafted by Macaulay and adopted since 1960, and also by a score of minor criminal statutes, enacted from time to time. In a Supreme Court Case,²⁹ it has been observed; "Unfortunately the Indian Penal Code still lingers in somewhat compartmentalized system of punishment viz. imprisonment, simple or rigorous, fine and of course the capital sentence." In fact, the whole judgment is classic from the standpoint of analyzing the inadequacies of the existing penal system and prophesizingly suggesting radical changes therein on the strength of balance between eastern experience and western inquisitiveness. In the same judgment, their Lordships observe: "...Perhaps the time has come for Indian Criminologists to rely more on *Pātañjala Sūtra* as a scientific curative for crimogenic factors than on the blind jail term set out in the penal code and that may be why western researchers are now seeking Indian Yogic ways in normalizing the individual and the group."³⁰ In another Supreme Court case,³¹ note has been taken of the concepts of afterlife and re-birth in connection with penology and criminology.

The trend of judicial mind in India, beyond definition in precise terms, may however, be revealed in connection with the new considerations hovering round the science of penology in the words of Supreme Court Judges themselves:

- (1) "...the winds of criminological change blow over Indian Statutory thought."³²

²⁸ Maurice Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. III part II, p. 557.

²⁹ Mohd. Giasuddin Vs State of Andhra Pradesh, per their Lordships V. R. Krishna Iyer and Jasawant Singh JJ., 1977 *Criminal Law Reporter*, Supreme Court, 285, p. 290, Para 18.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

³¹ Shiv Mohan Singh Vs the State (Delhi Admn) per their Lordships V. Y. Chandrachud (N w CJ) and V.R. Krishna Iyer, JJ, 1977, *Criminal Law Reporter*, Supreme Court. 204.

³² 1974 *Criminal Law Reporter*, SC, 278 Raghuvir Singh Vs State of Haryana per Krishna Iyer J, p. 279.

- (2) "It is not possible for court to explore the murky depths of a warped and twisted mind so as to discover whether an offender is capable of reformation or redemption, and if so, in what way. That is a subject on which only experts...could hazard an opinion with any degree of confidence. Judicial psychotherapy has its obvious and inherent limitations."³³
- (3) "... there are no penological guidelines in the statute for preferring the lesser sentence..."³⁴
- (4) "In a good system of administration of justice, pre-sentence investigation may be of great sociological value. Throughout the world humanitarianism is permeating into penology and the courts are expected to discharge their appropriate roles."³⁵
- (5) "We cannot do better than say that the directive principle contained in Article 42 of the Constitution that 'the State shall make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work' may be benevolently extended to living conditions in jails. There are subtle forms of punishment to which convicts and under-trial prisoners are sometimes subjected but it must be realized that these barbarous relics of bygone era offend against the letter and spirit of our Constitution."³⁶

All penal codes with their innumerable offences and penalties, from the mild admonition to the cruel death-sentence, are but as many social acknowledgements of the proclaimed failure to cure the individual human mind of its gullible (criminal) tendency. Combat at psychic and psychological levels to treat deviance so as to make the human conduct conform to the social norms is still at an experimental and investigational stage. Before the outcome of this treatment method is known, the sociological theorists, denouncing all the efforts at correctionalism, insist upon social rearrangement with fundamental social change where there should be no opportunity for committing crimes.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 270 ; Edigamma Anagamma Vs State of A. P., p. 276.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 500, Francis Alias Parman Vs State of Kerala and also Bhagawanta Vs State of Maharashtra, per M. H. Beg J., p. 504.

35 1976 *Criminal Law Reporter*, SC, 33 Ramashraya Chakravarty Vs State of Madhya Pradesh, per P. K. Goswami & N. L., Untwalia JJ.

36 1974 *Criminal Law Reporter*, SC, 605, D. Bhuvan Mohan Patnaik Vs State of Andhra Pradesh and Others per Mr Chandra Chuda (now CJ) J., p. 610.

Visualizers of this dreamland do, however, admit : "It is failing in Sociological Theory that it has rarely examined concepts such as guilt and conscience."³⁷ This single but solid confession has brought the ship of penology safely to the shores, from the gusty winds seeking fundamental social changes over the turbulent waters of punishment and waves of treatment. Now the ship can easily sail into the deep waters of religious philosophy and in the right direction towards the infinite realms of conscience, veiled and clouded as it is by *karmas*.

Jaina penology is the child of *Karma* philosophy. The criminologists know *karma* in its retributory and retaliatory role. Association of karmic atoms forming a karmic body (*kārmaṇa śarīra*) gloss over conscience of non-liberated souls since eternity. As it obstructs the innate qualities of soul, *karma* is the enemy of conscience, number one. A human-being, with the developed faculties of sense organs and mind is most equipped to fight against this enemy and even annihilate the same, securing for himself liberation, the *Mokṣa*. For having so annihilated the enemy, the Lord Arihanta (the Destroyer of enemy) is revered and saluted first³⁸ among the five, all not by names but for their sheer merits ! Different religions, all seeking self-purification, are the different strategies adopted in the fight against *karma*. *Karma* has a determining effect on the events but the *karma* philosophy is not the philosophy of pre-determinism. There is ample scope, of course, for free-will and for effort (*puruṣārtha*) ; hence the call for fight against *karma*. Investigation at the psychic and psychological strata and the ideas of fundamental social changes by way of social re-arrangement, howsoever laudable, are certainly not the last word for crime-causation and crime-prevention. More subtle than the psychic and more visible through its efforts, the *karma* influences individual souls, subjecting to births and deaths, gains and losses, pains and pleasures, etc so much so that the individuals cannot even indentify their real self.

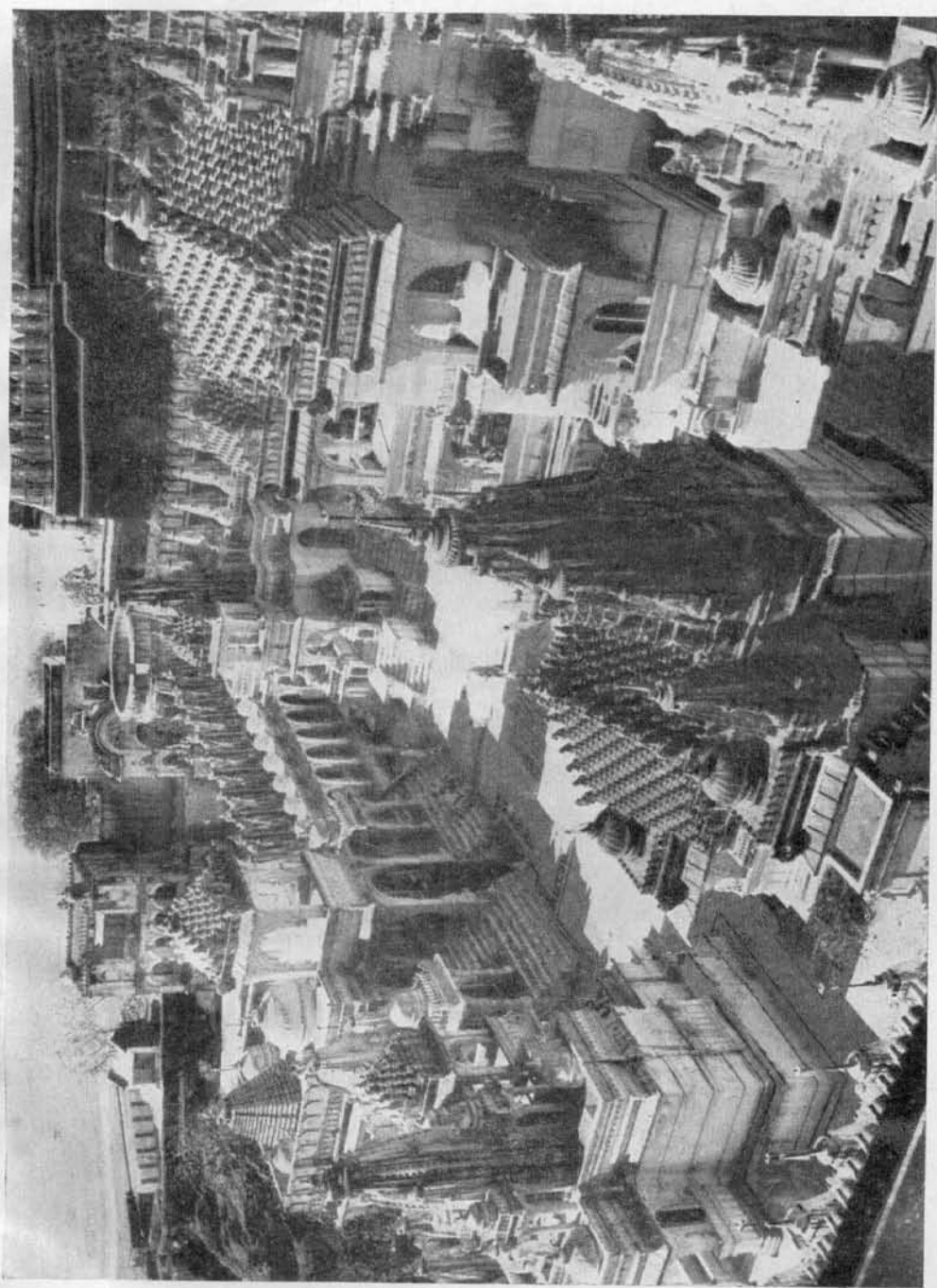
For the sociological theorists, who are deeply engrossed in the dialectics of materialism, distinction between fair and foul means has little meaning for bringing about the fundamental social changes. Social immunity from crime does not necessarily mean in their dictionary an end of individual dishonesty, corruption and fraudulent practices since they emphatically eliminate moral hygiene, ethical standards and reli-

³⁷ *The New Criminology ; for a Social Theory of Deviance*, p. 52.

³⁸ Famous *Namokkara-mantra* of the Jainas is salutation to the five deservings : *Arihanta, Siddha, Acarya, Upadhyaya, Sadhus*.

gious philosophy from each and every social science ! What is most difficult to give up in life is wrong belief (*i.e. mithyātva*). With the application of ignition key of right-fath (*samyak-darśana*), the soul awakens from the slumber, becomes disillusioned and attains a spark of enlightenment never before experienced. With the springing of right faith, the individual is able to rise above the passions and craving for material objects and enjoyments, desires to extricate the self from the *karma*-bondage, develops compassion for all the worldly creatures and becomes steadfast in truth, disowning false beliefs. A definite change in the attitude towards life is expressed by withdrawal from vices. He prepares his mind in all resoluteness, for testing his innate spiritual prowess, for fullfledged 'samvara, by uttering the Five Great Vows, (called '*pañca-mahāvratas*, or in the alternative for fractional *samvara*, by uttering the mini-vows (*anuvrata*) in all seriousness and solemnity for lifelong observance. By adoption of *samvara*, an automatic check is imposed upon the influx (*āsrava*) of *karmas*. The individual soul has then to put up a valient fight with the accumulations of *karma* till they shed off or fall out in entirety. Liberation from the karmic bondage has remained the goal, throughout ages, of human-aspirations (*puruṣārthas*) For a person who knows the strategy in the fight against *karma*, the fight against crime does not in any way remain a problem. He builds up immunity against criminal tendencies and inclinations. Lord Mahāvīra had established a society (*saṃgha*) of persons who adopted either the Five Great Vows or the Mini-vows 2525 years ago and the society still exists although divided into sects and sub-sects of Svetambara and Digambara Jainas. The constitution, the code of conduct and discipline and the ideals of non violence, non-attachment and non-absolutistic approach towards truth are unique and unequalled as disclosed in the Jaina Scriptures and shall continue to provide guideline for ages to come for the suffering humanity.

[October 1980]



Satrunjaya Hills

The Doctrine of Karma in Jainism

Y. Krishan

The Jainas postulated a doctrine of *karma* which is unique in many respects, especially in regard to the genesis. But it is more or less similar to the classical doctrine of *karma* in its operation.

Nature of Karma and its Genesis

According to the Jainas, *karman* is a form of matter, *pudgala*, and atomic in its nature. It has the property of downward gravity, *adhogurutva*. The *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*¹ 33 17-18 states that "the number of atoms of every *karman* is infinite" and is to be found in all the six directions of space. It is this atomic matter which binds all souls. In contradistinction to *karman*, soul has the property of upward movement, *ūrdhagurutva*.²

In the same *Sūtra* 33 1-15, the *karman* are said to be of eight kinds :

- (i) *Jñānāvaraṇīya*, those which act as an obstruction to right knowledge.
- (ii) *Darśanāvaraṇīya*, those which act as an obstruction to right faith.
- (iii) *Mohanīya*, those which cause delusion.
- (iv) *Vedanīya*, those which lead to experience of pain or pleasure.
- (v) *Āyuh karman*, those which determine the *gati* or the form of existence—in hell, as brute creation, as human being or as god.
- (vi) *Nāma*, those which determine the individuality, the specific form of existence, which distinguishes one being from another of the same specie.

1 Hermann Jacobi (tr), *Jaina Sutras*, S.B.E. XLV pt. II, Delhi, 1964.

2 Jacobi, *Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics*, Edinburgh, 1954, Vol. IV, 484 b.

(vii) *Gotra*, those which determine the social status.

(viii) *Antarāya*, those which prevent a person from engaging in a beneficial activity of giving gifts (*dāna*), realising the full benefit (*lābha*) of any activity and obtaining therefrom optimum experience (*upabhoga*), and energy (*vīrya*).

The first three types of *karma*, *jñānāvaraṇiya*, *darśanāvaraṇiya* and *mohaniya*, are called *ghāti* or destructive *karmas*. They are so called because they obstruct knowledge and faith and cause delusion and thereby subvert the true nature of the soul which is illumination and perfect knowledge.

The *karman* produces *leśyās* (*Uttarādhyayana*, 3.1) ; these *leśyās* create colour, taste, smell, sense of touch. *Leśyās* determine a man's character or personality, e.g., black *leśyā* make a person wicked, violent, cruel whereas white *leśyā* makes a man free from passion calm with his senses under control etc.

The role of *leśyās* has been defined in the *Jivakāṇḍa* of *Gommaṭa-sarā*³ 489 :

*limpai appikiral edie ṇiya apuṇṇapuṇṇam ca
jivetti hod lessā lessāgūṇajāṇayakkhādā.*

That whereby the soul is tinted, identified with merit and demerit (*punya* and *pāpa*) is called *leśyā* ; so it is taught by those who know the qualities of *leśyas*.

The *karman* operates through body, speech and mind which are the creations of matter. According to the *Tattvārtha Sūtra*⁴ 5.19 of

³ Quoted in J. L. Jaini's *Outlines of Jainism*, London, 1966, p. 104. See also A. N. Upadhye & K. C. Shastri (ed & tr) *Gommaṭasara*, Bharatiya Jnanapitha, New Delhi, 1978. Madhavacarya's *Sarvādarsanasamgraha* in *Arhatdarsanam*, 15.21 classifies the *karmas* as *subha* and *asubha*.

⁴ J. L. Jaini (ed & tr), *Tattvārtha-sūtra of Umasvami*, Delhi, 1951. See also S. Radhakrishnan & C. A. Moore : *A Source Book in Indian Philosophy*, Princeton, 1967. *Pancastikaya* 82 is very specific about the material character of the mind : *uvabhōjjamīdiehi ya indiyakaya mano ya kammani jam havedi muttamanam tam savvam puggalam jana*. Things enjoyable by the senses, the five senses themselves, the bodies, the mind, the *karmas* and other material objects—all this is known as matter (*pudgala*). Quoted in J. L. Jaini's *Outlines of Jainism*, London, 1966, p. 84. See also A. Chakravarti Nayanar (ed & tr.), *Pancastikayasara*, Bharatiya Jnanapitha, New Delhi, 1975.

Umāsvāmī "The function of matter is to form the basis of bodies, mind and breath."

Yoga or vibrations (*parispanda*) is the activity of body, speech and mind. *Yoga* causes the inflow of karmic matter into the soul (*Tattvārtha-sūtra* 6. 1-2). Thus the activities of the body, speech and mind cause production of *yoga* or (vibrations) in the *jīva* or soul and thereby endows the soul with the capacity to attract matter.⁵

Pari passu, *mohaniya* (delusion causing) *karman* produces *kaṣāyas*, passions, in the soul : anger, pride, deccit and greed (*Tattvārtha*, 8.9). These passions endow the soul with the capacity to absorb the *karman* matter attracted through *yoga* or vibrations (*Tattvārtha*, 9.2. This leads to bondage (*bandha*) of the soul to matter.

Thus the capacity of the soul to attract (*yoga*) matter and to absorb or assimilate it (*kaṣāya*) and of the *karman* to bind (*bandha*) the soul facilitate the inflow, *āśrava* of *karman-pudgala*, karmic matter into the soul as a result of mundane activities.

The volume of the inflow (*āśrava*) of karmic matter depends upon the intensity of desires, intention, the power and position of an individual acting knowingly and of free will or out of compulsion (*Tattvārtha*, 6.6) : *tivra manda-jñāta-ajñāta-bahāva-adhikarāṇa-vīrya viśeṣabhyas*.

The *karman* matter, in conjunction with the soul, forms *karman śarīra*, karmic body which transmigrates at death and is reborn in different forms of life depending upon its *karmas*.

Freedom from bondage of *karmas* (*akarmatā*) is attained by (a) preventing accumulation of *karmas* by *saṁvara*, stopping the inflow (*āśrava*) of *karman* and (b) by *nirjarā* purging or liquidating the existing stock of *karma*.

Samvara or stoppage of the production of new *karmas* is achieved by an individual by following the *dharma* taught by the Tīrthaṅkaras by destroying passions, by following the prescribed discipline (*vinaya*),

5 Kundakunda in his *Pravacanasara* 2.77 states : "The molecules capable of becoming *karmas*, coming into contact with the (impassioned) conditons or transformation of the soul, are developed into *karmas* and not that they are so transformed by the soul." A. N. Upadhye (ed. & tr), *Pravacanasara*, Agas, 1964.

by self-denial, by confessing one's sins, by repentance, by austerities (*Uttarādhyayana* 29). As Mādhavācārya, (*Ibid.*, 15.23) says *āśrava bhava-hetuh syāt saṁvaro mokṣakāraṇam* : *āśravas* are the cause of birth in this world, *saṁvara* is the cause of liberation.

Nirjarā or liquidation of the already accumulated *karmas* is achieved through *prāyaścitta* (expiation) (*Uttarādhyayana* 29.12.16), austerities (*Uttarādhyayana* 29.27 and *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 2.2.15), by turning away from the world (*Uttarādhyayana*, 29.32), by renouncing activity, he obtains inactivity, by ceasing to act he acquires no new *karma* and destroys the *karman* he had acquired before (*Uttarādhyayana* 29.37). Again "... a man destroys by austerities or penance the bad *karman* which he had acquired by love and hatred" (*Uttarādhyayana*, 30.1). Mādhavācārya (*Ibid.*, 15.23) defines *nirjarā* thus : *arjitasya kārmanastapaḥ prabhṛtibhīr-nirjaraṇam nirjarākhyam tatvam* : *nirjarā* is that element which destroys the accumulated *karmas* through austerities. He adds that long accumulated *karmic* matter (*cirakāla pravṛttakāśaya*) is destroyed through experiencing the results (*sukha, dukkha*) and through the body (*deha*) (by subjecting it to mortification). He also classifies *nirjarā* into two categories : *yathākāla* and *aupakramika* : the first type of *nirjarā* is the result of exhaustion of *karmas* through experiencing their results (*karma phala pradatvenābhimatam*) ; the second type of *nirjarā* is achieved through austerities (*tapobala*) practised by one's own volition (*sva-kāmanāya*).

These austerities are of two kinds : external and internal. External austerities are : *anaśana* (fasting), *kāyakeśa* (mortification of the body) such as pulling out the hair of the head (*keśa luñcana*),⁶ abstinence etc. (*Uttarādhyayana*, 30.8).

Internal austerities are : *prāyaścitta* or expiation of sins, *dhyāna* (meditation), *svādhyāya* (study of scriptures) etc. (*Uttarādhyayana*, 30.30).

The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 2.2.15 says *kaṁam khavai tavassi mahān, karma decreases through austerities*. In the preceding *sūtra* 2.2.14 *tapas* is defined as fasting etc.

Since *karmas* can be purged, the Jainas recognise that *karmas* fall off or are got rid of in two ways : (a) *svavipāka* on their maturing

⁶ Madhavacarya (*Ibid.*, 15.23) defines *tapa* as *kesolluncanadhikam tapah*, pulling out of hair from the head etc.

themselves that is after experiencing the consequences of *karmas*, (b) *avipāka*, before maturing in natural course with efflux of time. These are *karmas* which are exhausted or annihilated before their due time, that is prematurely by purificatory practices. As the *Tattvārtha*, 10.2 emphasises, release from *karmas* is obtained through the absence of *bandha* (*bandhahetu abhāva*) and *nirjarā*.

Karma as a Causative Force

The Jaina *Āngas*, sacred texts, treat *karma* as the motive force of the cycle of existence.

The *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* 3.3-4 observes as under :

egayā devaloesu naryesu vi egaya
egayā asuram kāyam ahākammehim gacchāi

The *jīva* or soul sometimes is born in *devaloka* (the world of gods), sometimes in hell. Sometimes it acquires the body of an *asura*, all this happens due to *karmas*.

Again, *egayā*
too kiḍapayango ya tata kunthu pīvīyā

(This *jīva* sometimes takes birth) as a worm, as an insect, as an ant.

Again the *Uttarādhyayana*, 32.7 states “*kammam ca jāīmarañassa mūlam* : *Karma* is the root of birth and death. In *Uttarādhyayana*, 33.1 it is said : *jehi baddho ayam jīvo samsāre parivattae*.

The souls bound by *karman* go round and round in the cycle of existence (see also *Uttarādhyayana*, 10.15)

The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*,⁷ 1.2.3.18 observes :

sarve sayakamma kappiyā avivattena duheṇa pānine
hindati bhavāulā saddhā jai-jārā maraṇehi abhidhutā

All living beings owe their present form of existence to their own *karman* ; timid, wicked, suffering latent misery, they err about (in the circle of births) subject to birth, old age and death.

⁷ Ghasilal (ed & tr), *Sutrakṛtāṅga Sūtram*, Rajkot, 1969, in Hindi & Gujarati ; Jacobi (tr), *Jaina Sūtras*.

*Pāñcāstikāya*⁸ 128 sums up the position in the following verse :

*jo khalu samsarattho jīvo tato du hode pariṇamoe
pariṇāmādo kammam kammado bodi gadisu gādī*

Verily the soul which is in *samsāra* (cycle of existence) has impure evolution. From evolution comes *karma* and from *karma* the state of existence (*gati*).

The *Tattvārtha* 2.25 observes : *vigrahagatau karma yogah* : embodiment (of souls) is caused by vibrations produced by *karmas*. So Pujya-pada in his commentary *Sarvārthasiddhi* on the above *sūtra* observes : *sarva śarīra prarohaṇabija bhūtam kārmaṇam śarīram karma iti ucyate* : the root cause of origination of all bodies is *kārman* body ; *karmaṇa kṛto yogah karma yogo vigrahagatau* : *karma* produces vibrations which in turn lead to embodiment of *jīvas*.

Jinasena in his *Adipurāṇa* IV. 35 observes :

*nirmāṇa karmanirmātṛ kausalapadi todayam
aṅgopāṅgadivaicitryamanginām sangiravahe*

The peculiarities that are to be seen in the limbs (principal and minor) of the creation in this universe, that is the diversity that we see in the creation, is all caused by the efficiency of *karmas*.

In *Adipurāṇa* IV. 36 Jinasena reiterates :

*tadetatkarma vaicitryayad bhavannānātmakam jagati
viśvakarmāṇāmātmānam sādhyetkarma sarītham*

The diversity in this world is the product of the unique nature of *karmas*. It is evident that the world is the product of *karmas* done by an *ātmā* and the *karmas* have an essential associative role. Again *Adipurāṇa* IV. 37 equates *karma* with the creator :

*vidhih sraṣṭā vidhātā ca daivam karma purākṛtam
iśvarsceṭi paryāya vijyayāh karmavedhasaḥ*

⁸ Quoted in J. L. Jaini's *Outlines of Jainism*, p. 103.

Law, Creator, Dispenser, Destiny, previous *karmas* and the Lord are different names of *karma*.

The *Bhagavatī Sūtra* 8.9.9 links specific states of existence to specific *karmas*. Violent deeds, killing of creatures having five sense organs, eating fish etc. lead to birth in hell; deception, fraud, speaking falsehood lead to birth in the animal and vegetable world; kindness, compassion, humble character lead to birth as a human being; austerities, observance of vows etc. lead to birth in heaven.

Karma as a Law of Retributive Justice and Personal Responsibility

Sūtrakṛtāṅga I, 1.1.5 observes :

*vittam soyariyā ceva savvamevam na tānai
sankhāe jiviyam ceva kammunā u tiuṭṭai*

Wealth, and brothers and sisters, all these are unable to protect a person. Knowing that there is no protection (against *karma*) in life, one gets rid of *karma*. The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 2.1.41 emphasises that "the bonds of relationship are not able to help..." Again the same *Sūtra* 1.1.10.2 avers—

ege kicca sayam payam, tivam dukkham niyacchai

One who himself does an evil deed, suffers therefor quickly.

The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 1.2.2 attacks the teaching of the Niyativādins that one's suffering is not due to one's actions (*na te syam kaḍam dukkham*) but due to fate.

The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 1.12.1.4 says :

sayameva kadehim ghāhanti no tassa muccejja aputthayam

(Persons) go round (in the cycle of existence) for the acts done by themselves ; without experiencing their results, there is no release.

Again *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 1.2.3.17 states :

egassa gai ya āgai biṃmantā saraṇam na mannai

A being alone is born and reborn, as according to enlightened persons there is no refuge (or escape from *karma*) for such a person.

The *Sūtranga* 2.1.39 makes it clear that even the most intimate relations mother, father, brother, sister, wife and children, cannot share the suffering that may befall a person and adds in *Sūtra* 1.2.1.40.

...One man cannot take upon himself the pains of another ; one man cannot experience what another has done (re : his *karman*).

The *Uttarādhyayana* maintains the same position. In the *Uttarādhyayana*, 4.3 it is said : *evam payā pecca iham ca loe, kaḍāṇa kaman na mokkha athi* : "...people in this life and the next cannot escape the effect of their own actions."

The *Uttarādhyayana*, 4.4 reiterates that *kammasa te tassa u veyakale na bandhava bandhavayam uventi* : one's relations cannot share the fruits of a person's actions when they mature. In the same *Sūtra* 13.29 it is emphasised :

*na tassa dukkham vibhayanti naio
na mittavagga no suva na bandhava
ikko sayam paccami hoi dukkaam
kartāramevam anujai kammam*

Neither his kinsmen, nor his sons, nor his relations will share his suffering ; he has alone to bear it ; for the *karman* follows the doer.

The *Uttarādhyayana* 8.20 states that...all beings will reap the fruit of their actions.

In the same *Sūtra* 13.10 it is asserted : *kaḍāṇa kamman mokkho na athi* : There is no escape from the effect of one's *karmas*.

Haribhadra Suri sums up pithily in the *Saḍḍarsana-samuccaya*⁹ 48 : *śubhāśubha karmakartā bhoktā karma phalasya ca*, the doer of good and evil deeds is also the enjoyer of the fruits of those deeds.

⁹ M. K. Jain (ed & tr). *Saddarsana-samuccaya*, Bharatiya Jnanapitha, New Delhi, 1970.

We conclude this topic with a verse from *Kārttikeyānuprekṣā*¹⁰ 76.

*ikko sancadi puṇam ikko bhunjede vivihāsura sokkam
ikko kavedi kammam ikko vi ya pavae mokkham.*

Alone he (a person) accumulates merit ; alone he enjoys happiness in heaven ; alone he destroys *karma* ; alone he attains *mokṣa* (liberation).

Karma and Human Inequalities

Jainism explains the phenomenon of inequality among human beings as a product of good and evil *karma*. The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 2.1.13 states :

Here in the east, west, north and south many men have been born according to their merits, as inhabitants of this world, viz. some as Āryas, some as non-Āryas, some in noble families, some in low families, some as big men, some as small men, some of good complexion, some as handsome, some as ugly men. And of these men, one man is king...''.

In fact the caste system in Indian society is specifically explained on the basis of *karma*.

The *Uttarādhyayana* 3.4 avers :

egacā khatti hoi, tao caṇḍāla bukkaso

The *jīva* sometimes is born as a *kṣatriya*, as a *caṇḍāla*, or in a mixed caste.

The *Uttarādhyayana* 13.19 points out that a person of the lowest caste, *svapāka* in his earlier life, had improved his caste position in the present incarnation by accumulating good *karmas*, *parekaḍai kamāi*.

Role of Volition or Intention in Jaina Doctrine of Karma

In Jainism intent is not an essential pre-condition of sin or wrong conduct. Evil intent forms only one of the modes of committing sin.

¹⁰ Quoted by J. L. Jaini ; *Outlines of Jainism*, p. 80. Mallisena in *Syadvadamanjari* tr. by F. W. Thomas in his commentary on stanza XVIII states : *ityekanavate kalpe saktya me puruso hatah tena karma vipakena pade viddhosmi bhiksavah* : In the ninety first aeon from this a person was slain by my power. Through that maturation of *karma* I have been wounded in the foot, O *bhiksus*.

The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 1.1.2.29 says : *manasā je paussanti puttam tesī na vijjai* : a man who bears ill-will, his mind is not pure. In the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 1.1.1.3 it is said "If a man kills living beings or causes other men to kill them, or consents to their killing them his iniquity will go on increasing." The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 2.2.4-23 specifies thirteen kinds of sinful actions ; of these, sins committed for one's selfish interests, lying, stealing, deception, greediness, taking revenge are all acts rooted in the mind and lead to *karman*. But sins done through accident and error of sight (leading to error of fact) and not involving the mind actively, also attract bad *karman*. The text cited above states : "We now treat of the fourth kind of committing sins, called accidental". Intending to kill a deer, a person actually kills another bird or animal. Here instead of one (being) he hurts another, (therefore he is called) an accidental killer. Or while cutting weed grasses, a man cuts rice plant. "Here instead of one (plant) he hurts another, (therefore he is called) an accidental killer. Thereby the bad *karman* accrues to him".

In the fifth kind of sins, a person mistaking a friend for an enemy through error of sight, kills the friend by mistake. Likewise, a person kills someone mistaking him for a robber. The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 1.1.2.26-29 attacks the belief of other schools that he who commits violence without knowledge (*abuho jam hisai*) suffers from that *karma* only nominally and that such an evil deed does not manifest itself or ripen ; it calls such action (done in ignorance) as one of the three evil fetters (*āyānā*). Again in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 2.4.1 it is said that "though a fool does not consider (that even if he is not conscious of) the operations of his mind, speech and body...still he commits sins". This is asserted in the face of the contrary view said to have been held by an opponent of Mahāvīra viz. that "there can be no sin, if (the perpetrator of an action) does not possess sinful thoughts, speech and functions of the body...if he does not consider the operations of mind, speech and body..." (*Ibid.*, 2.4.2). Mahāvīra repeats to his opponent "...there is sin, though (the perpetrator of the action) does not possess sinful thoughts"...(*Ibid.*, 2.4.3).

The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*¹¹ 2.6.26-27 sets out with disapproval the Buddhist view that a person cannot be guilty of murder if he has committed it as a result of mistake of fact. The *Sūtra* says : "If (a savage) thrusts a spit through the side of a granary, mistaking it for a man ; or through a gourd, mistaking it for a baby, and roasts it, he will be guilty of

11 Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*.

murder" according to the view of the Buddhists. Again according to the Buddhists "If a savage puts a man on a spit and roasts him for a gourd, he will not be guilty of murder.....". Ardraka, the Jaina sage comments "well-controlled men cannot accept (your denial of) guilt incurred by (unintentionally) doing harm to living beings".

The absence of evil intent, however, does not absolve a person of guilt ; only its presence is an aggravating factor. Intent is a function of *rāga* (attachment) and *dveṣa* (hatred) and is quality of mental action (*mānasika karma*) as distinct from actions of body (*kāya*) and speech (*vāk*). Intent increases the *yoga* or vibrations of body (*kāyā*) and speech (*vāk*). Intent increases the *yoga* or vibrations of the soul and therefore the latter attracts and absorbs more *karma*. Thus intent is only one factor and not the only factor in performance of *karmas*.

This is in conformity with the Jaina cosmological concepts. The one sensed (*ekendriya*), two sensed (*dvīndriya*) and three sensed (*trīndriya*) beings or *jīvas* have only the sense of touch, touch and smell, touch, smell and taste. They are, therefore, *bhogis*, experiencers only. The four sensed (*caturendriya*) and five sensed (*pañcendriya*) beings are both *bhogis* and *kāmis* (actuated by desire) as they possess, in addition to the three senses, either the faculty of hearing or and of seeing.¹² Again some of the five sensed *jīvas* or beings are endowed with mind *samañśkaḥ* and hence are rational *sañjñin*, that is, possess reasoning faculty ; others do not have the capacity for reasoning (*asañjñin*).¹³ The generation and accumulation (*upacaya*) of *karmas* takes place through functioning of body, speech and mind (*kāya prayoga*, *vacana prayoga* and *manah prayoga*).¹⁴ Thus accumulation (*upacaya*) of *karmas* takes place as a result of instinctive and autonomic activities and volitional actions of all beings or *jīvas* — from *ekendriyas* (one sensed) upwards ; their ethical¹⁵ quality and duration, that is the period in which they would manifest their potential, depend on the intent. Thus purely *bhoga karmas* are of severely limited duration and amoral ; the mental *karmas* may have a long duration and may be classified as good or evil depending upon the intent of the *sañjñin*.

¹² *Bhagavati Sutra*, 3.7.7.

¹³ *Tattvartha Sutra*, 1.24 & 2.11 and Puṣṭyapada's commentary *Sarvarthasiddhi* (ed & tr) by Phool Chandra Jain, Bharatiya Jnanapitha, Kasi, 1955.

¹⁴ *Bhagavati Sutra*, 2.6.3 : *kayavan manah karma yogah*, *Sarvarthasiddhi*, 6.2.1.

¹⁵ Jainism considers all *karmas* as evil, a defiling category. Therefore the distinction between good and evil is only empirical.

Kundakunda in *Samayasāra*¹⁶ 175-77 stresses that it is the *bhāvas* (mental states like *rāga*, attachment, *deṣa*, hatred etc.) that make the latent *karma bandhas* active or operative (175) ; the *karmas* cannot bind in the absence of mental inflows : *āśrava bhāva abhāve na pratyayā bandhakā bhanitah* (176) and *āśrava bhāvena vinā hetavo na pratyayā bhavanti* (177).

More positively he asserts in *Samayasāra* 262, 263 that the will to kill, to steal, to be unchaste, and to acquire property, whether these offences are actually committed or not, lead to bondage of evil *karmas*.

Thus, though the Jaina doctrine of *karma* is substantially different from that of the Buddhists, yet it would appear that, in the matter of ethics, *punya* or *sukṛta* (good actions) and *pāpa* or *duṣkṛta* (evil actions), there is essential similarity.

It would be seen that Jainas propounded a doctrine of *karma* which is unique in many respects :

(i) *Karman* is extremely fine subtle matter. *Karmas* are born of matter *puṭṭhā*, *karman's* association with the *jīva* or soul.

(ii) Mind is material entity, a product of *karman*. Mind is a material attribute only of certain forms of creation. *Tattvārtha* 2.11. points out, "Worldly selves are (of two kinds) with mind and without mind".

(iii) The psychic states, as we usually understand them, such as anger, greed, pride etc., however intangible and subtle, are material in origin, born of matter. Hence the *kārmanā puṭṭhā* has the property of movement (inflow) and accumulation ; it is equally liable to be drained out or discharged (*nirjarā*).

(iv) The discharge or accumulated *karman* is brought about, through *prāyaścitta* (expiation) and *tapas* (austerities), *dhyāna* (meditation) and *svādhyāya* (study of sacred scriptures). It is the concept of *nirjarā* which justifies external penance in the form of *sallekhanā*, religious suicide.

¹⁶ The *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda with commentary of Amritcandra (ed. & tr) by A. Chakravarti, Bharatiya Jnanapitha, Kasi, 1950.

(v) It is a consequence of the material character of the *karmas* that intent is not the only ingredient in committing a lapse or offence ; the Jainas recognise unintentional lapses. This also made the law of *karma* comparatively inflexible and partially mechanical.

(vi) Again the belief of the Jainas that *karmas* can be exhausted through physical austerities explains the severely ascetic practices of the Jainas and accounts for the survival of *tapasyā* as an important element in Indian culture.¹⁷

(vii) The doctrine that *tapa* could exhaust one's evil deeds became the source of *prāyaścitta* in Hinduism and Hindu law. *Prāyaścitta* in the life of laymen came to be the counterpart of *tapas* in the life of Yatis or Jaina ascetics.

(viii) The belief that *tapa* could expiate evil *karma* ensured that the doctrine of *karma* did not promote fatalism amongst its believers.

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¹⁷ Y. Krishan : "The Unique Jaina Doctrine of *Karma* & Its Contribution", *Studies in Indian Philosophy, Shuklalji Commemoration Volume*, Ahmedabad, 1981.

Problems of the Purva

Suzuko Ohira

What is the *Pūrva*? Did it ever exist, or is it a mere fictitious literature? These are the old problems that have been argued till today,¹ however they have remained yet as the new problems to be tackled. The important position of the *Pūrva* in the Jaina canonical literature is beyond doubt, for it is held in tradition as the source of the *Aṅga* literature. The term *pūrva*, meaning "old" or "early", and its derivatives such as *Pūrvadhara* and *Pūrvavid* make their appearance in the canonical texts belonging to the later Agamic stages.² Also the contents of the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda* including the *Pūrvagata* enumerated in the present canonical texts evince that these are the important topics currently discussed in the later canonical stages. All these suggest that the *Pūrva* came into being involving itself with some serious problems arisen in the later canonical period. We would therefore like to know what were the problems directly involving the *Pūrva* and how these problems came into existence in the later canonical age, with a view to finding out what was meant by the *Pūrva* literature when it came into existence.

Major peculiar features involving the *Pūrva* known from its studies made until the present day are as follows :

- (1) The *Samavāya* 211-226 and the *Nandī* 45-57 enumerate the contents of 12 *Aṅgas* including the *Pūrvagata* which is placed in the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda*.

The references to the canonical texts are based on the *Suttagama* in two volumes unless specified.

1 For instance, H. Jacobi : *Sacred Books of the East Series XXII*, Introduction ; W. Schubring : *The Doctrine of the Jainas*, 37-40 ; D. D. Malvania : *Pannavanasuttam*, Pt.2, English Introduction.

2 'Puvvavi' appearing in the *Acara*, 1.4.4.261, 5.4.307, 5.6.328 and 6.5.384 in the *Suttagama* is respectively expressed as 'veyavi' in the Agamodaya Samiti edition.

- (2) The *Bhagavati* XX.8 says that each Tīrthaṅkara teaches the *Pūrva kālika-śruta* (11 *Āngas*) and *Drṣṭivāda* in his own Tīrtha, and the period of their duration are also mentioned in the context of 24 Tīrthankaras' roles played in Bharata in Jambudvīpa in the present cycle of *Avasarpinī*. Mahāvīra's *Pūrva* is said to last for 1,000 years.
- (3) The *Pūrva* forms an independent literature different from 12 *Āngas* as evinced, for instance, in the *Nandī Therāvalī* 35 (39 in the *Suttāgame*) that speaks of Nāgārjuna to have been the knower of *Kālika-śruta* and the *Pūrva*, and in the *Catuḥśaraṇa* 33 that enumerates 14 *Pūrvī*, 10 *Pūrvī* and 9 *Pūrvī* side by side 12 *Āngī* and 11 *Āngī*.³ Likewise, the *Kalpasūtra Therāvalī* speaks about Mahāvīra's 11 Gaṇadharas (in 9 *gaṇas*) to have been 12 *Āngis* as well as 14 *Pūrvīs*. All these necessarily mean that the *Pūrva* is a literature different from the *Drṣṭivāda*. Also the *Tattvārthasūtra* X,7 *Bhāṣya* refers to a *ṛddhi* called *pada-prakarāṇa-uddeśa-adhyāya-prābhṛta-vastu pūrva-āṅga-anusāritva* and its 1.20 *Bhāṣya* lists all the names of 19 *Āngas* up to the *Drṣṭipāta* (but not the *Drṣṭivāda*). We should also note in this connection that in the Angic story texts beginning with the *Jñātādharma*, *Sāmāyikādi* 14 *Pūrvas* and 11 *Āngas* make their frequent appearance as the setphrases, but 'sāmāyikādi 12 *Āngas*' or 'sāmāyikādi *Drṣṭivāda*' never occur.
- (4) In the post-canonical tradition, the *Pūrva* is believed as the source of 12 *Āngas*, for instance, in the *Nandī Cūrṇī* (PTS, p.25) and *Samavāya Tikā* (pp. 130-31),⁴ as well as the source of certain *Āṅgabāhyas*.⁵ Also in the post-canonical age, it is generally stated that all the *Āṅgabāhya* works that are devoted to the doctrinal or philosophical discussions have the *Drṣṭivāda* as their source, and the *Pūrva* is also recognized as the source of *Karmaprakṛti*, *Pañcasaṅgraha* and other works on the doctrine of *karma* in both Śvetāmbara and Digāmbara traditions.⁶
- (5) The *Bhagavati* V.4.199 mentions that the 14 *Pūrvī* is possessed of a supernatural capacity called '*utkārikā bheda labdhi*'. The *Tattvār-*

3 D. D. Malvania : *Ibid.*, pp. 205-206.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.

5 W. Schubring : *Ibid.*, § 38.

6 D. D. Malvania : *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208.

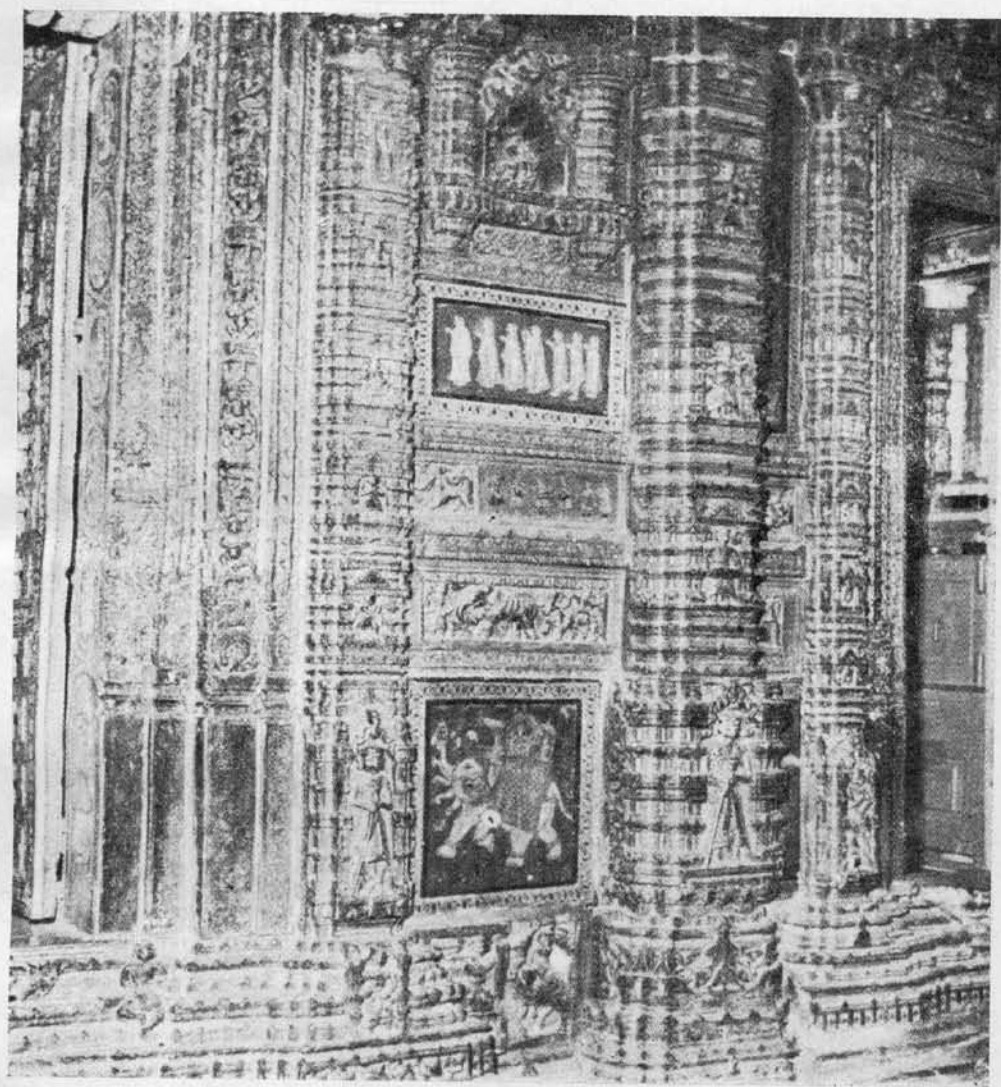
thasūtra X.7 *Bhāṣya* lists 14 *Pūrvadhara*tva as one of the *rddhis* possessed by the performers of *prthakatva* and *ekatva dhyānas* which also include *pada...vastu-pūrva-aṅga anusāritva*. Likewise, the *Āvaśyaka Nirukti* 69 includes *Pūrvadharas* in the list of the possessors of supernatural powers.⁷

- (6) The *Tattvārthasūtra* IX.39 mentions that the first two stages of *śukla dhyāna* are performed by the knowers of the *Pūrva* (i.e. *Śruta-kevalis*, that is, 14 *Pūrvadharas* according to the *Sarvārthasiddhi* IX.37) in the 11th and the 12th *guṇasthānas*, and the last two stages of *śukla dhyāna* directly leading to *mokṣa* are said in its IX.40 to be performed by *Kevalis*. This means that the achievement of *kevala-jñāna-darśana* is the sole condition for attaining liberation, for which the attainment for the knowledge of 14 *Pūrvas* is the prerequisite. The story texts in the Jaina canon, as a rule, follow this rule that the heroes achieve salvation upon fulfilling *kevali*-hood. And many heroes who are described to have mastered 14 *Pūrvas* in these story texts are said to take birth in some *deva lokas*, obviously because they have not attained omniscience. *Bhadrabāhu* is believed to have been the last 14 *Pūrvadharas* in both traditions, and *Jambū* is believed to have been the last *Kevalī* in the *Śvetāmbara* tradition.
- (7) The *Avāśyaka Cūrṇi* (Ratlam, 1928), Pt. 2, p. 187 mentions that *Sthūlabhadra* learnt 10 *Pūrvas* completely from *Bhadrabāhu*, who taught the last 4 *Pūrvas* to the former without delivering their meanings on the condition that these should not be taught to the others, and the last 4 *Pūrvas* were thus lost with the death of *Sthūlabhadra*.

The following points can be drawn out from the major peculiar features mentioned above :

- (A) Each *Tīrthaṅkara* is assigned to be the source of the *Pūrva* literature as well as the *Aṅga* literature in his own *Tīrtha*. In *Mahāvīra's* *Tīrtha*, *Mahāvīra* is therefore the source of 14 *Pūrvas* and 12 *Aṅgas*.
- (B) The *Pūrva* involves itself with the *karma* doctrine, *rddhis*, *kevala-jñāna-darśana* and *śukla dhyāna* to be performed for achieving

⁷ D. D. Malvania : *Ibid.*, p. 207.



Woodwork, Cintamani Parsvanatha Temple, Surat

liberation. This suggests that the *Pārva* came into being entrusted with a certain role played in the context of the *karma* theory and the mechanism of liberation.

- (C) The *Pārva* is understood to form an independent literature that is a class different from that of 12 *Āṅgas*.
- (D) The *Pārva* thus gained an authoritative position and came to be regarded as the source of 12 *Āṅgas* and *Āṅgabāhyas* as well as the source of *karma* texts in the canonical age. This thought pattern does not occur in the canonical period, for Umāsvāti who stands at the end of the Agamic age states that the Gaṇadharas compile 12 *Āṅgas* on the basis of a Tīrthaṅkara's teachings, and their later disciples compose *Āṅgabāhyas* in due course.
- (E) Since the duration of Mahāvīra's *Pārva* was stipulated to last for 1,000 years, the post-canonical Jainas began to justify why 14 *Pārvās* came to be lost gradually.

It is evident from this that the key to solve the *Pārva* problem lies in (B) above relevant to the *karma* theory and the mechanism of liberation, which are indeed bristled with all sorts of difficulties. Let us approach these problems one by one, being prepared for the unavoidable involvement with this and that of theoretical subject matters that require lengthy discussions.

What is the method of liberation is needless to say the fundamental thesis that any religious system in India proposes excluding the Cārvakas, and it is necessarily based on the understanding why and how *samsāra* takes place. Mahāvīra received Pārśva's doctrine that violence committed to all the living beings packed in the world causes *samsāra* which must have been developed from the widely spread belief in animism and *vaira* in the remote past, and founded an independent school by reforming the old doctrine in terms of the philosophy and language of the days. And one of his great contributions was that he adopted the *karma* theory in the place of the primitive theory of *vaira*, which enabled him to explain and propagate the doctrine of non-violence in more theoretical fashion in terms of the then prevalent philosophy and language of the day.

The Jaina doctrine of *karma* took a most delatory course of development in the canonical period for it could have never been advanced until the scheme of *puṅgava* began to be developed which took place after the adoption of the atomic theory. The *Tattvārthasūtra* demonstrates the *karma* theory developed at the end of the canonical age, which is yet elementary in comparison with the *karma* doctrine accomplished in the middle of the medieval age. As the *karma* theory developed, the Jainas in the later Agamic stages came to propose logically the eradication of total *karma* matters established in eightfold main types alone leads one to attain liberation. This is as a matter of fact a logical conclusion of the *karma* theory. However it gave a revolutionary change to the old concept of liberation of the Jainas, for the action of violence that was proposed by Mahāvīra to be the sole cause in hindering one from achieving salvation came to be reduced to a partial cause in attracting eightfold types of *karma* in the then developed doctrine of *karma*.

And this *karma* doctrine of the Jainas came to demand a sage to be endowed with *kevala-jñāna-darśana* in order to be freed from *samsāra*. It is perfectly understandable if it is said that all the particulars in the system of *jīva-ajīva* so far developed should be known to a sage who is entitled to attain salvation. However, the *karma* theory developed in the later canonical stages attributed to *kevala-jñāna-darśana* a capacity that can perceive at any moment all the phenomena occurring in the universe in the three tenses of time. This is an absolute impossibility in reality. Liberation therefore came to be admitted impossible to be achieved by anyone any more. Even then, the Jaina authorities had to defend the reason d'être of the Jaina school, and advocate that the Jainas are ever able to be released from *samsāra* by being born in Mahāvīdeha, a utopain land in the Jaina universe. In this background arose an idea that 14 Pūrvadhara alone are entitled to accomplish *kevali*-hood and Kevalis alone can attain liberation. The *Pūrva* problems thus involve with the *karma* theory and the mechanism of liberation developed in the later canonical age. Let us now take up the individual problems relevant to the *Pūrva*.

The *ṛddhi* which is also called *siddhi* or *aśvarya* in the other schools is commonly regarded as the supernatural capacity attainable by the performance of *tapas*, *dhyāna* or *yoga*. *Ṛddhis* play important roles in the Jaina school also in the process of achieving *mokṣa* through performing *śukla dhyāna*. Among the fivefold knowledges of the Jainas, *avadhi*, *manahparyāya* and *kevala-jñāna* that perceive objects without relying on sense organs are regarded as *ṛddhis*. *Darśana* occurs in

immediate precedence to *jñāna*, therefore excluding *manahparyāya* which is devoid of *darśana*, *avadhi darśana* and *kevala darśana* are necessarily *ṛddhis*. *Labdhi* means the attainment of a capacity as such.

Umāsvāti who systematized the Jaina account of *dhyāna* for the first time at the end of the canonical period explains in his *Bhāṣya* to the *Tattvārthasūtra* X.7 that the performers of the 1st and the 2nd stages of *śukla dhyāna* obtain various types of *ṛddhis* such as *aṇimā*, *laghimā*, *mahimā*, *prākāmya*, and so on. These *ṛddhis* include *viśuddhi-mati*, *avadhi*, *manahparyāya* (said as *para-citta-jñāna*), *pada-prakarana-uddeśa-adhyāya-prābhṛta-vastu-pūrva-aṅga-anusāritva*, *bhinna-akṣaratva*, *abhinna-akṣaratva* and 14 *pūrvadharatva*. Umāsvāti continues to explain that he who has attained the capacities of such *ṛddhis* but has no desire of attachment to them destroys *mohanīya karma* totally. He is now the sage in the 12th *guṇasthāna*. Then within *antarmukharta*, he eradicates the rest of these *ghātika karma* (i.e., *jñānāvaraṇa*, *darśanāvaraṇa* and *antarāya*) and becomes a *sayoga-Kevalī*. Finally, upon expelling four *aghātika karmas* (i.e., *vedanīya*, *āyus*, *nāma* and *gotra*), he becomes an *ayoga-Kevalī* and gets liberated.

Śukla dhyāna which is the immediate cause of liberation consists of four stages, i.e., *prthaktva*, *ekatva*, *sūkṣma-kriyā* and *samucchinnakriyā*. The *Tattvārthasūtra* IX.39 says that the first two stages of *śukla dhyāna* are performed by *Pūrvavids* or 14 *Pūrvadharas*. For Umāsvāti's *Bhāṣya* to X.7 above however, it is obvious that the *ṛddhi* called 14 *pūrvadharatva* necessarily arises to the performers of the 1st and the 2nd stages of *śukla dhyāna*. Umāsvāti must have thus laid down a rule that 14 *Pūrvadharas* perform these first two stages of *śukla dhyāna*, which does not mean that the performers of these *dhyānas* are the knowers of 14 *Pūrvas* from the beginning.

Various *ṛddhis* as such derived by performing these first two stages of *śukla dhyāna* are obviously used as a touchstone to find out whether the sages are with or without *kaṣāyas* by way of testing if they are attached to the worldly useful supernatural powers as such. And he who is trapped by them is destined to fall to the 1st stage of *guṇasthāna* in order to make a fresh start therefrom. And only the sage whose spiritual purity is proved in this test is assured to proceed to the direct path for liberation. The then *karma* specialists stipulated here that *mohanīya karma* is eradicated without residue upon testifying the non-existence of worldly attachment to *ṛddhis* as such.

Among these *ṛddhis* mentioned above, *mahimā* comes to be actually

employed by a *sāyoga*-Kevalī when he performs *kevali samudghāta* by way of expanding his body as large as the universe in order to equalize the length of his *vedanīya*, *nāma* and *gotra karmas* with that of his *āyus karma*. And upon completing this *samudghāta*, the Kevalī performs the 3rd stage of *śukla dhyāna*, and he achieves salvation upon entering the 4th stage of *śukla dhyāna*.

Therefore, the possession of such *ṛddhis* is indispensable for a sage who is promised to achieve salvation. All these may demonstrate how important a role these *ṛddhis* play in the mechanism of *śukla dhyāna* performed for the sake of rooting out the total *karma* matters in order to be freed from *samsāra*. Then, why does the *ṛddhi* called 14 *pūrvadharatva* that has obviously something to do with the *Pūrva* have to make its appearance in this very context? Before we proceed to this problem, let us examine what kind of capacity is meant by this 14 *pūrvadharatva*.

Among the *ṛddhis* enumerated in the *Tattvārthasūtra* X.7 *Bhāṣya* included are those relevant to the four types of knowledge excluding *kevala jñāna*, i.e., *visuddhi-mati*, *avadhi*, *manaḥparyāya*, *pada-prakarana-uddeśa-adhyāya-prābhṛta-vastu-pūrva-aṅga-anusāritva*, *bhinna-akṣaratva*, *abhinna-akṣaratva* and 14 *pūrvadharatva*. *Avadhi* is understood to occur to *samyatas* and *asamyatas* (i.e., in the 4th-7th *guṇasthānas* in the case of human beings),⁸ and *manaḥparyāya* to *apramatta-samyatas* who have attained *ṛddhis* (i.e., in the 7th *guṇasthāna*),⁹ therefore the mention of their possession by the sages in the 11th and 12th *guṇasthānas* who perform the first two stages of *śukla dhyāna* is not surprising. The ordinary capacities of *mati* and *śruta*, which are produced by relying on sense organs and therefore not included in the category of *ṛddhis*, are of course present in all the human beings. Here a *ṛddhi* called *visuddhi-mati* that enables one to perceive the objects of 5 senses from a distance is said to be possessed by the sages in the 11th and 12th *guṇasthānas*. The rest of *ṛddhis* listed above are obviously related to *śruta*.

Among the *ṛddhis* involving *śruta*, *bhinna-akṣaratva* and *abhinna-akṣaratva* are said in the *Jainendra Siddhānta Kośa* (v.1, p.477) as the two divisions of 10 *pūrvitva*. (However the chart of *ṛddhis* therein does not include 9 *pūrvitva*, and it is suspected if these two types of *akṣaratva* respectively mean 9 *pūrvitva* and 10 *pūrvitva*). Then, how

⁸ *Tattvārthasūtra*, I. 26, *Bhāṣya*.

⁹ *Nandī*, 17.

should we understand the *ṛddhi* called *pada-prakarana-uddeśa-adhyāya-prābhṛta-vastu-pūrva-aṅga-anusāritva* ? 'Anu-sr' means to go after, and 'anusārin' means following, according to, penetrating, scrutinizing, investigating and so on according to Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. 'Pada' through 'vastu' is used particularly for the chapters in the *pūrvagata* consisting of 14 books. 'Uddeśa' and 'adhyāya' are commonly used for the sections and chapters in the canonical texts, and the practice of using 'pada' is found in the *Drṣṭivāda*. Also the usage of 'pada' and 'prābhṛta' are found in the texts such as *Prajñāpanā* and *Sūryaprajñapti*. 'Pūrva' and 'aṅga' respectively mean 14 *Pūrvas* and 12 *Aṅgas*. The *vastu*-titles of 14 books in the *pūrvagata* are not offered in the *Samavāya* 223 and *Nandi* 57. It seems from this that this *ṛddhi* called *pada-pūrva-aṅga-anusāritva* means a supernatural power which can penetrate into the original text of 14 *Pūrvas* and 12 *Aṅgas* by merely having its chapter-title or by merely knowing the sequence of its chapter (like the 3rd chapter of a text). In another word, this *ṛddhi* includes two capacities, i.e., *vastu-pūrva-anusāritva* and *pada...prābhṛta-aṅga-anusāritva*. And these two capacities must have been assumed to exert their power in reconstructing the lost texts, i.e., the *Drṣṭivāda* and the *Pūrva*.

Now, the *Bhagavatī* V.4.199 says that 14 *Pūrvadhara* has a *ṛddhi* called *utkarikā bheda*. According to this text, he can show a thousand jars out of a single jar, a thousand chariots out of a single chariot and the like. The *Prajñāpanā* XI.399 (also its XIII.418) enumerates five-fold divisions of *bheda* or breaking of matters, i.e., *khaṇḍa*, *pratara*, *curnikā*, *anutaṭikā* and *utkarikā*. *Utkarikā bheda* is meant here breaking one thing into many like the case when many castor oil seeds burst open out of a single seed pot. Then, this is precisely the capacity said as to *pada...pūrva-aṅga-anusāritva*. That is, by knowing a chapter-title or the sequence of a chapter in a text, the sage endowed with this *ṛddhi* can demonstrate its original text just as many seeds encased in a seed pot show themselves when it is burst open. It is thus beyond the shadow of doubt that 14 *pūrvadharatva* is the same as *utkarikā bheda* and *vastu-pūrva-anusāritva*. *Bhinna-akṣaratva*, *abhinna-akṣaratva* and 14 *pūrvadharatva* constitute the divisions of *vastu-pūrva-anusāritva*. *Utkarikā bheda labdhi* is not said as to 12 *Aṅgis*, possibly because *utkarikā bheda* is effective on the same *Drṣṭivāda* alone but not on the rest of 11 existent *Aṅgas*. However, the same capacity should be theoretically expected in *pada...aṅga-anusāritva* also.

Then, why this 14 *pūrvadharatva* had to arise in this specific context ?

This requires a bit of probe into the mechanism of the 1st and the 2nd stages of *śukla dhyāna*. As we know, a sage on the *upaśama śreṇī* performs *prthaktva dhyāna* and acquires *ṛddhis*. However, his suppressed *mohaniya karmas* get activated upon obtaining *ṛddhis*, and he is destined to fall to the 1st stage of *mithyātva*. A sage who takes the *kṣapaka śreṇī* likewise performs *prthaktva dhyāna*, acquires *ṛddhis*, and upon proving that he has no worldly desire for the acquired *ṛddhis*, he roots out his *mohaniya karmas*. Now he crossed the 11th *guṇasthāna* and entered the 12th *guṇasthāna*. Here he performs *ekatva dhyāna* and destroys all the rest of the three *ghātika karmas* that obstruct the attainment of omniscience and attain *kevala jñāna-darśana*. In brief, *prthaktva dhyāna* is capable to produce *ṛddhis* for a sage on the *upaśama śreṇī*, and it is capable to produce *ṛddhis* and eradicate *mohaniya karma* for a sage on the *kṣapaka śreṇī*. *Ekatva dhyāna* that is performed by a sage on the *kṣapaka śreṇī* is capable to destroy *jñānāvaraṇa*, *darśanāvaraṇa* and *antarāya karmas* and produce omniscience. *Antarāya karma* has to be eradicated here, for otherwise the attainment of *kevala jñāna-darśana* is hindered by the presence of this *karma*. Many 14 *Pūrvadhara*s are described in the canonical texts not having attained salvation, because they could not destroy *antarāya karma*.

The proper designation of *prthaktva dhyāna* is *prthaktva vitarka savicāra dhyāna* and that of *ekatva dhyāna* is *ekatva vitarka, avicāra dhyāna*. *Vitarka* is defined as *śrūta* in the *Tattvārthasūtra* IX.45. The *Yogasūtra* 1.42 explains that *savitarka samādhi* is a mental state accompanied by the discriminative knowledge, objects and meanings. *Vicāra* is explained in the *Tattvārthasūtra* IX.46 as shifting objects, words and *yogas*. According to the *Yogasūtra* 1.44, *vicāra* has a subtler object than *vitarka* does. And in the case of *vicāra samādhi*, the subtler object is understood in the commentary to the *Yogasūtra* 1.44 to appear as a phenomenal *dharma* conditioned by time, space, causation, etc. of the empirical categories, but in the case of *avicāra samādhi*, the subtler object is understood to manifest itself in the state of *dharmin* or thing-in-itself, not confined by time, space, causation, etc. of the empirical categories. Then, *ekatva vitarka avicāra dhyāna* which is the mental concentration accompanied by the discriminative capacity on the subtler object should manifest the object in the form of *dharmin* unlimited by the empirical conditions such as time, space, causation, etc. And this is precisely the state of having *kevala-darśana* in reality.

This evinces that a sage comes to potentially own the capacity of omniscience as soon as he destroys *jñānāvaraṇa* and *darśanāvaraṇa*

karma, which as a matter of course dawns to him as soon as his *antarāya karma*, is removed. The eradication of *jñānāvaraṇa* and *darśanāvaraṇa* *karmas* thus takes an important role in producing omniscience. Now, *jñānāvaraṇa karma* and *darśanāvaraṇa karma* necessarily operate on *śruta* that consists of 12 *Āṅgas* and *Āṅgabāhyas* (*Tattvārthasūtra* 1.20), and both the 1st and the 2nd stages of *śukla dhyāna* have *śruta* as their object. And the *ṛddhi* called 14 *pūrvadharatva* enters the 2nd stage of *śukla dhyāna* involving *śruta*. Then, 14 *pūrvadharatva* must have appeared here entrusted with a task of eradicating *jñānāvaraṇa* and *darśanāvaraṇa karmas*, if *mohanīya karma* can be totally destroyed by testifying that a sage has no attachment to the acquired *ṛddhis*, and if *kevali-samudghāta* can be accomplished by utilizing *mahimā ṛddhi*.

Let us justify the above position. The 2nd stage of *śukla dhyāna* has *śruta* as its object of concentration. *Ṛddhis* relevant to *śruta* listed in the *Tattvārthasūtra* X. 7 *Bhāṣya* are of two types, i.e., *pada...prābhṛta-āṅga-anusāritva* and *vastu-pūrva-anusāritva*. The latter is called 14 *pūrvadharatva* and *utkarikā bheda* also. We have already discussed that the capacity of *Āṅga-anusāritva* is less competent than 14 *pūrvadharatva*, for 11 *Āṅgas* out of 12 are existent. If, therefore, *pada...prābhṛta-āṅga-anusāritva* is assigned to have the capacity of destroying *jñānāvaraṇa* and *darśanāvaraṇa karmas*, it may become rather easy for many sages to attain omniscience. But omniscience is the capacity that is believed to be attainable for no one after Jambū. Then, *pada...prābhṛta-āṅga-anusāritva* is not fit for playing a role of eradicating *jñānāvaraṇa* and *darśanāvaraṇa karmas*. This task must have been thus assigned to 14 *pūrvadharatva* and it thus came to make its appearance in the process of the 2nd stage of *śukla dhyāna*.

The *Tattvārthasūtra* X.7 *Bhāṣya* lists a *ṛddhi* called *prākāmya* which is said to be the capacity that enables a sage to go through the water as smoothly as he goes on the earth, or enables him to go through the underground as smoothly as he goes through the underwater. Beside the capacity as such, *prākāmya* is explained in the commentary to the *Yogasūtra* III.45 that it is the *ṛddhi* that enables a sage to materialize any of his desires without hindrance. It is most likely that the then *karma* specialists attributed to this *ṛddhi* called *prākāmya* a capacity of eradicating *antarāya karma*. Upon destroying *antarāya karma*, the sage achieves *kevala jñāna-darśana* as a matter of course, and he is assured to be liberated.

We have so far been able to hit upon the point that the *ṛddhi*

called 14 *pūrvadharaṭva* came into existence with an assignment of destroying *jñānāvaraṇa karma* in the process of *ekatva dhyāna*, thanks to the list of *ṛddhis* offered in the *Tattvārthasūtra* X. 7 *Bhāṣya*. 14 *pūrvadharaṭva* has necessarily 14 *Pūrvas* as its object. Then, what is the *Pūrvā* literature? 14 *pūrvadharaṭva* is also called *vastu-pūrvā-anusāritva* which is obviously derived from the *pūrvagata* consisting of 14 books in the *Drṣṭivāda*. It is not therefore that the *Pūrvā* in 14 books had been existent somewhere first and then came to be placed in the *Drṣṭivāda*, but 14 *Pūrvas* as well as *pūrvadharaṭva* came into being on the basis of the *pūrvagata* in the *Drṣṭivāda*. Does it mean that the *Pūrvā* literature is said to form one class and the *Aṅga* literature forms another class. And it is difficult to get convinced that the two different classes of literature can be placed in one class. And strange is the fact that the Jaina church authorized 12 *Aṅgas* which consist of 11 existent *Aṅgas* plus 1 non-existent *Aṅga*. Also curious in this connection is the fact that *pada...prābhṛta-aṅga-anusāritva* came into being because of the *Drṣṭivāda*, for otherwise it doesn't make sense. And this *ṛddhi* was obviously replaced by 14 *pūrvadharaṭva* or *vastu-pūrvā-anusāritva* in getting entrusted with a task of destroying *jñānāvaraṇa* and *darśanāvaraṇa karmas*. It means that *pada prābhṛta-aṅga-anusāritva* existed prior to 14 *pūrvadharaṭva*. Then, how did this *pada-prābhṛta-aṅga-anusāritva* come to be postulated in relation with the *Drṣṭivāda*? All these seem to involve the problem when and how 12 *Aṅgas* consisting of 11 existent *Aṅgas* and 1 non-existent *Aṅga* came to be authorized. In another word, it involves a problem why the *Drṣṭivāda* had to be authorized in the class of *Aṅga* literature of the Janias.

It is as clear as the Sun that 12 *Aṅgas* officially called '*duvāṭasamgam gaṇipidagam*' had existed when 14 *pūrvadharaṭva* came into being. Exactly when 12 *Aṅga-gaṇipīṭakas* were authorized by the Jaina church involves many difficult problems that cannot be handled lightly, however, we can roughly say for sure that their authorization took place in the considerably later time in the canonical period for the following reasons.

Firstly, from the official designation of 12 *Aṅga-gaṇipīṭakas*, it is evident that the Jaina church adopted the Buddhist practice of classifying the sacred literature into 12 *Aṅgas* and 3 *Pīṭakas*. It is understood, however, that the classification of 9 *Aṅgas* and 12 *Aṅgas* of the Buddhists did not mean the division of real texts, but they were rather the names of the literary genres.¹⁰ It is generally held that the classi-

¹⁰ E. Maeda: *A History of the Formation of Original Texts*, English summary, p. 41.

fication of 9 *Āṅgas* historically preceeded to that of 12 *Āṅgas*, which were succeeded by that of 3 *Piṭakas*. And from the existent evidences, the mention of 3 *Piṭakas* can be traced back to the 1st century B.C., and the mention of 2 *Piṭakas* (i.e., *Vinaya* and *Sūtra*) can be traced back to the 2nd century B.C.¹¹ Since 12 *Āṅga-gaṇipīṭakas* must have been authorized when the Buddhist classification of 3 *Piṭakas* came to be well established, 12 *Āṅgas* of the Jainas could not have existed before the 1st century B.C.

Secondly, a mention of 12 *Āṅgas* is made in the texts belonging to the later canonical age (for instance, *Sūtrakṛta* II, *Sthāna*, *Samavāya*, *Bhagavatī* XVI.6, XX.8, *Upāsaka*, *Aupapātika*, *Nandī*, *Anuyoga* and *Kalpa*), inasmuch as 11 *Āṅgas* and 14 *Pūrvas* make their appearance in the texts belonging to the later canonical age (for instance, 11 *Āṅgas* in the *Bhagavatī* II.1, IX.33, XVI.5, XX.8. *Jñātādharmā*, *Antakṛt*, *Anuttara*, and *Vipāka* : 14 *Pūrvas* in *Bhagavatī* XI.11, XVIII.2, *Jñātādharmā* and *Antakṛt* : and *Pūrvadhara* in *Bhagavatī* V.4 *Jñātādharmā*, *Antakṛt* *Praśna*, *Anuttara*, *Vipāka*, *Nandī* and *Kalpa*). The *Dṛṣṭivāda* is independently referred to in the list of the *Vyavahāra* X, however this list is known to belong to the later canonical stage.

Finally, there is no mention of any list of 12 *Āṅgas* other than the present one in the canonical texts as well as in the Svetāmbara and Digambara traditions. This means that the Jaina church authorized 12 *Āṅgas* that are enumerated in the present list and named them 12 *Āṅga-gaṇipīṭakas*. Out of 11 existent *Āṅgas*, the *Praśnavyākaraṇa* obviously replaced the original text which must have been lost. The concepts and the contents occurring in the *Sthāna*, *Samavāya* and *Bhagavatī* belong to all the stages in the Agamic period. Except these three texts and excluding the *Ācāra* 1 and the *Sūtrakṛta* I which belong to the earliest canonical stage, all the rest of the present existent *Āṅga* texts belong to the later canonical stages. And the contents of the *Dṛṣṭivāda* reveal the important topics in the system of *jīva-ajīva* discussed at the later canonical stages.

All these testify that 12 *Āṅgas* must have been authorized in the considerably later canonical period, but surely before the time of Umāsvāti. And the church authorities named them 12 *Āṅga-gaṇipīṭakas* by attributing the compilership of 11 existent *Āṅgas* to Mahāvīra's 11 Gaṇadharas. But why didn't they select 12 existent texts and name

¹¹ E. Maeda : *Ibid.*, Japanese text, pp. 614-616.

them 12 *Aṅgas* instead of 12-*Aṅga gaṇipīṭakas* ? Or there was no harm to have 12 existent texts and name them 12 *Aṅga-gaṇipīṭakas* by attributing their compilership to Mahāvīra's 11 Gaṇadharas. But they did not do this. This indicates that they intentionally included a non-existent *Aṅga* at the time when they authorized these 12 *Aṅga gaṇipīṭakas*. From the historical standpoint, it is justifiable to include a lost *Aṅga* in the basic class of the sacred literature of the Jains, for many important texts must have been lost in the course of time. However, no other authorities would ever think of approving a non-existent *Aṅga* to be included in the *Aṅga* literature. There must have been a specific reason for including the *Dṛṣṭivāda* in the *Aṅga* Class.

And this specific reason must have been that they needed to have the *Dṛṣṭivāda* or the *Aṅga* consisting of the lost views for the sake of establishing the *ṛddhi* called *pada...prābhṛta-aṅga-anusāritva* in order to assign it a task of eradicating *jñānāvaraṇa karma* and *darśanāvaraṇa karma* in the process of *ekatva dhyāna*. They did not seem to have created a *ṛddhi* called *pada-dṛṣṭivāda-anusāritva*, probably because the *Dṛṣṭivāda* which occupies a part of 12 *Aṅgas* cannot represent the *Aṅga* class. At any rate, the *Dṛṣṭivāda* consists of the then current theoretical problem discussed in the later canonical stages, and many texts as such must have been really lost. And since these texts must have been lost not in the very remote past, it is not quite fit to render to this *pada...prābhṛta-aṅga-anusāritva* a great task of destroying *jñānāvaraṇa karma* and *darśanāvaraṇa karma*. For otherwise, it makes easy for many sages to attain omniscience, and this is absolutely not wanted. Thus the then Jaina theoreticians had to struggle to find a wayout in order to establish a more powerful *ṛddhi* that has more authoritative literature as its object than the *Aṅga* class. They made it successfully in the following way.

The *Dṛṣṭivāda* consists of 5 sections, i.e., *Parikrama*, *Sūtra*, *Pūrvagata*, *Anuyoga* and *Culikā*. The arrangement of these 5 sections clearly reveal the course of debate, of which *pūrvagata* must mean *pūrvapakṣa*.¹² The Jaina theoreticians caught sight of this 3rd section called *pūrvagata*, for it contains the word '*pūrvā*' meaning "old" or "early", and established a literature called *Pūrvā* which was postulated to form a more authoritative class than the *Aṅga* class. The *pūrvagata* in the *Dṛṣṭivāda* consists of 14 books, thus the church authorities established the *Pūrvā* literature in 14 books likewise. They created the *ṛddhi* called 14 *pūrvā*-

12 W. Schubring : *Ibid.*, § 38 ; H. Jacobi : *Ibid.*, p. xlv.

dharatva out of this *Pūrva* literature, and entrusted with it a task of eradicating *jñānāvaraṇa karma* and *darśanāvaraṇa karma*.

The *Pūrva* literature that is the object of 14 *pūrvadharatva* thus came into being as a more authoritative class of literature than the *Aṅga* class, even though it was directly born in analogy of the *pūrvagata* in the 12th *Aṅga*. In another word, the *Pūrva* had nothing to do with the *pūrvagata* when it was established as an independent literature. In that case, how did the then Jaina authorities assume the nature and content of the *Pūrva* ?

The *Bhagavatī* XX.8 mentions that each Tīrthāṅkara preaches the *Pūrva*, 11 *Aṅgas* and *Drṣṭivāda*. Mahāvīra is therefore regarded as the source of 14 *Pūrvas* and 12 *Aṅgas* in his Tīrtha. Then, the *Pūrva* must have been understood as consisting of Mahāvīra's personal knowledge and views expressed in his life time which were not compiled or systematized into the form of texts in the sacred literature of the Jains. 14 *Pūrvas* in complete form are possessed by 14 *Pūrvadharas*. Mahāvīra's 11 Gaṇadharas and several sages up to Bhadrabāhu are upheld as 14 *Pūrvadharas* and 12 *Aṅgis* in both traditions. Also the *Kalpasūtra* 138, for instance, counts that there were 300 *Pūrvadharas* in Mahāvīra's disciples.

Since Mahāvīra reformed Pārśva's doctrine, founded his independent sect and devoted his life to the propagation of his tenet by way of fighting against his rivals, there must have been lots of theoretical views expressed by Mahāvīra inside and outside the church but did not get recorded in the canonical literature. But from the fact that many of Mahāvīra's disciples and his 11 Gaṇadharas are said to be 14 *Pūrvadharas*, and from the fact that Bhadrabāhu, the last 14 *Pūrvadhara*, is known as the author of the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, *Bṛhatkalpa* and *Vyavahāra* which now form the class of *Chedasūtras*, it seems that the *Pūrva* literature must have been understood as Mahāvīra's personal views and instructions expressed in day to day life in organizing his Gaṇas, handling his students' disciplinary problems including Jamali's *nihṇava* case, handling delicate problems occurring between the Jaina monks and the lay society, between the Jaina monks and the followers of the rival schools, and so on. These problems relevant to monastic disciplinary rules and jurisprudence must have been occurring constantly in his life time as well as after his death. Mahāvīra's case instructions and views on such problems expressed in his life time must have been known to those who worked closely with him including his Gaṇadharas and his

intimate disciples. And Mahāvīra's instructions and opinions involving these disciplinary problems must have been the authoritative source in dealing with the similar problems for the leaders of the Jaina church after Mahāvīra's demise until Bhadrabāhu finally compiled some *Chedasūtras*. And once the *Chedasūtras* were authorized by the church, these naturally came to supersede the old sayings of Mahāvīra. Bhadrabāhu was thus placed as the final 14 Pūrvadhara in Mahāvīra's Tīrtha.

Other sayings of Mahāvīra in the other fields of knowledge which were not expressed in the Jaina canon might have been also assumed to be included in the content of the *Pūrva* literature. But the church authorities at the later canonical period must have primarily understood the *Pūrva* in terms of the old sayings of Mahāvīra which became the source of *Chedasūtras* compiled by Bhadrabāhu. In that sense, it is quite logical to maintain that the *Pūrva* had existed once but came to be lost in due course. The *Pūrva* was established in relation to 14 and *pūrvadharatva*, a *ṛddhi* entrusted with a task of eradicating *jñānāvaraṇa* and *darśanāvaraṇa karmas*. But once the processes of *śukla dhyāna* came to be systematized and formalized, its precise mechanism involving *ṛddhis* came to be neglected, for these *ṛddhis* had been necessary for the *karma* specialists in logically establishing the minute processes of destroying all the types of *karmas* in the four stages of *śukla dhyāna*. The *ṛddhi* called 14 *pūrvadharatva* came to be forgotten sooner or later along with the other *ṛddhis* (for no one but Umāsvāti refers to the *ṛddhis* as such), and the content of the *Pūrva* assumed by the then church authorities in the later canonical period sunk into oblivion in the post-canonical age. Thus, the *Pūrva* came to be regarded by the post-canonical authors as the source of 12 *Āṅgas*.

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Beginnings of Jaina Iconography

U. P. Shah

Prehistoric sites in India have not yielded as yet any definite clue to the existence of Jainism. A few seals from Mohenjo-Dāro showing human figures standing in a posture closely analogous to the free standing meditative pose (*kāyotsarga mudrā*) of the Tīrthaṅkara or the seal representing Śiva as Yogī (in the meditative attitude) cannot in the present state of uncertainty of the meaning of the script and or symbols on Indus-Valley seals, be definitely used to attest to the antiquity of Jaina art or ritual.

Jaina traditions ascribe the first twenty-two Tīrthaṅkaras of this age to a period covering millions of years before Christ, but modern criticism accepts only the last two Pārśvanātha and Vardhamāna (Mahāvīra)—as real historical personages.

The mutilated red-stone statuette from Harappā though surprisingly analogous in style to the Mauryan polished stone torso of a Jina—obtained from Lohānipur, near Patna, in Bihar has, in addition, two circular depressions on shoulder-fronts, unlike any other Jina-icon known hitherto and should better be regarded as representing an ancient Yakṣa. Being a surface find, it is difficult to assign it with confidence to the age of Harappan culture.

The origin of image-worship in Jainism, may on the basis of available archaeological evidence be assigned at least to the Mauryan age, c. 3rd century B. C., the age of Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka, who is reputed in Jaina tradition to have been converted to Jainism and who is said to have given much royal support to the monks of this faith. The evidence of Lohānipur statue does lend support to this tradition.

So far as literary evidence is concerned, we have to weigh it with

great caution since the available texts of the Jaina canonical works are said to have been following the text of the second Council (*vācanā*) at Valabhī which met in the latter half of the fifth century A. D. There are a few references to worship of images and relics and shrines of the Arhats (Tīrthaṅkaras) by gods and men, and these may be at least as old as the Mathurā Council (which met in the beginning of the fourth century A.D.) and even older.

But there are reasons to believe that attempts were made to worship an image (verily a portrait statue) of Mahāvīra, even during his life-time. This portrait statue of sandalwood was supposed to have been prepared, when Mahāvīra was standing in meditation in his own palace, about a year prior to the final renunciation. So this statue showed a crown, some ornaments and a lower garment on the person of Mahāvīra. Being a life-time portrait statue, it was known as *Jīvantasvāmī-pratimā*, that is, the 'image fashioned during the life-time of the Lord'. All later images of this iconographic type then came to be known as *Jīvantasvāmī-pratimā*.

The original portrait statue was worshipped by the queen of Uddayana, king of Moruka, (in Sindhu-Sauvīra land) and later by Pradyota of Ujjain. The image used to be taken out on a chariot (*ratha-yātrā*) on a certain day at Vidiśā, and during this *ratha-yātrā*, Samprati,, the grandson of Aśoka, was converted to Jaina faith by Ārya Suhasti. References to this image and the *ratha-yātrā* are found in texts like the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*, etc. Two old bronzes of Jīvantasvāmī, one inscribed and datable to c. 550 A.D., were discovered in the Akotā hoard. The tradition of Jīvantasvāmī images is therefore, fairly old and it is not impossible that one or more portraits of Mahāvīra were made during his life-time. But regular worship of images and shrines of Tīrthaṅkaras may be somewhat later, though not later than the age of the Lohānipur torso.

Nowhere is it said that Mahāvīra visited a Jaina shrine or worshipped images of (earlier) Tīrthaṅkaras, like Parśvanātha or Ṛṣabhanātha. Mahāvīra is always reported to have stayed in Yakṣa-*āyatanas*, Yakṣa-*caityas* like the Pūrṇabhadra Caitya and so on.

The Jaina image, has for its model or prototype, the ancient Yakṣa statues. It was also suggested that the mode of worship of the ancient Yakṣa-Nāga cult has largely influenced the worship in Jainism. The close similarity of the Jina (Tīrthaṅkara) and the Buddha image, and

the fact that both Jainism and Buddhism are heterodox cults, which protested against the Vedic Brahmanical priestly cult, shows that Buddhism could easily have been influenced by the worship of the Yakṣa and the Tīrthaṅkara images.

That the earliest known Buddha-image hails from Gandhāra is a mere accident as suggested by Stella Kramrisch and does not preclude the possibility of another earlier image being discovered in the land of Buddha's birth, as a product of the native Indian School of Art. Jayaswal's discovery of a Mauryan torso of a standing Jina figure from Lohānipur proves, on the one hand, the authenticity of Jaina traditions of image worship, and, on the other hand, the existence in Magadha of an earlier model for Jina and Buddha images of early Christian centuries. The Jina image is a cult-object.

Lohānipur is a continuation of the Mauryan sites at Kumarāhar and Bulandibāg near Patna. There, highly polished torsos were revealed, from the foundations of a square temple (8 ft. 10 in. × 8 ft. 10 in.), a large quantity of Mauryan bricks, a worn silver punch-marked coin and another but unpolished later torso of a Jina in the *kāyotsarga* pose.

Lives of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras of this age (according to Jaina conception of time) are the subject matter of the *Kalpa-sūtra*. The *Samavāyāṅga-sūtra*, a Jaina canonical *Aṅga*-text gives list of Tīrthaṅkaras of the Bharata and Airāvata-*kṣetras* of the Jambūdvīpa.

The Airāvata-*kṣetra* list of the *Samavāyāṅga* is not clear. The *Pravacana-sāroddhāra*, vv. 296-303, gives a slightly different list.

The *Kalpa-sūtra* tradition of twenty-four Jinas is certainly older than c.330 A. D. when Agastyasimha Sūri commented on it in his *Daśa-curnī*. The *Caturvīṃśati-stava* or the *Logassa-sutta*, attributed to Bhadrabāhu, (160 years after Mahāvīra) pays homage to twenty-four Jinas. The *Nāyādhamma-kahāo* refers to the life of Mallinātha, the nineteenth Jina. The *Sthānaṅga-sūtra* refers to various Jinas and in *sūtra* 108 notes their complexions.

The *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* (vv. 949-51) refers to a Jaina *stūpa* of Muni-suvrata at a place called Visala. Even though the extant text of the *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* does not seem to be earlier than the second century,

stūpa referred to must be placed in a period, about one or two centuries A. D., the earlier, at least in the beginning of the Christian era.

Belief in the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras is also known to the *Bhagavati-sūtra* (*śataka* 16, *uddeśaka* 5). This *sūtra* further refers to Munisuvrata, in other contexts while the *Sthānāṅga* refers to Mallī, Pārśva and Ariṣṭanemi (in *sūtras* 229, 381). It may therefore be concluded that belief in twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras existed in the beginning of the Christian era and probably dates from a century or two earlier.

Jina Worship (at Mathura) in Kuṣāna Period

Evidence of Jaina sculptures from the Kankālī Tīlā (Mathurā) and adjoining sites, show the prevalence of the *stūpa*-worship in Jainism, from at least the second century B.C. The Jaina *stūpa*, which once existed on the site of Kankālī Tīlā, is regarded as a *stūpa* of Supārśva-nātha, the seventh Tīrthaṅkara, but it was very probably the *stūpa* of Parśvanatha who flourished 250 years before Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*, in 527 B.C. according to Jaina traditions. The antiquities from the site, discovered so far, mainly dating from about second or first century B.C. and upto about the end of the Kuṣāna period, suggest that the *stūpa* was enlarged, repaired and adorned with sculptures in the beginning of the Christian era.

These antiquities from Mathurā attest to the existence, amongst the Jainas, of the worship of the *stūpa*, the *caitya-tree*, the *dharma-cakra*, the *āyāgaṇas* (tablets of homage), the eight auspicious symbols (*aṣṭamaṅgala*) like *svastika*, the wheel of law (*dharma-cakra*), the *nandiyāvarta* (diagram), the powder-box (*varddhamānaka*), the *śrīvatsa*-mark, pair of fishes (*mīna-yugala*), the full-blown lotus (*padma*) the mirror (*darpaṇa*) and so on. Images of Tīrthaṅkaras represented both in the standing and the sitting attitude, show no trace of drapery which clearly establishes that even though the Digambara and Svetāmbara schism had come into being in the first or second century A. D. the final crisis, in the differentiation of Tīrthaṅkara icons, had not yet taken place. Hence the evidence of art from Mathurā refers to Jaina worship prevalent in both the sects (in the first three centuries of the Christian era) and not the Digambara or Svetāmbara sect alone.

From Mathurā are found a special type of sculptures, called *pratimā sarvatobhadrikā* with inscriptions on pedestals, which show a Tīrthaṅkara image on each of its four sides, facing each different



A Page from Kalakacaryakatha c. 1400 A. D.
 B. S. Nahar Collection

direction. These fourfold images, later on known as *caumukha-pratimā* on account of their facing four directions, have remained popular in Jaina worship of both the sects. The *sarvatobhadrikā (pratimā)* images from Kankali Tilā, Mathurā, date from the Kuṣāna period.

An image of Sarasvatī of this period, is also found from Mathurā. Incidents from lives of Tīrthaṅkaras and reliefs depicting scenes from Jaina mythology seem to have been existing in Jaina art at Mathurā, as is evident from a figure (assignable to c. second or early first century B.C.) depicting the dance of Nīlānjana (wife of Rṣbhantāha) or another figure illustrating Hariṇegamesin, (commander of Indra's infantry) associated with child-birth and transfer of embryo, etc.

The full *parikara* obtained on Tīrthaṅkara images of early mediaeval age is not yet evolved, and only the halo, and the *caitya*-tree and flying Vidyādharas or garland-bearers, heavenly musicians, etc. are depicted in relief. There is no cognizance, nor the Yakṣa pair associated with any Jina image from Mathurā of the Kuṣāna period. Instead of the attendant standing Cāmaradhara Yakṣa on each side of the Jina, we obtain in the early stages of Tīrthaṅkara iconography, a donor and his wife or more generally a monk on each side, or a monk and a nun on the two sides of the Jina. The Jina sits on a *simhāsana*, with lions on two ends and the *dharma-cakra* in the centre flanked by *sādhus*, *sādhvīs*, *śrāvakas* and *śrāvikās*.

The Twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras

During this period, the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras had no recognizing symbols (cognizances—*lāñchanas*), seen on later sculptures. Jina was identified only with the help of his name given in the motive inscription on the pedestal of his image. During the Kuṣāna period at Mathurā, we find evidence of the worship of only a few Tīrthaṅkaras, namely, Rṣabhanātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. The famous pedestal of an image of Arhat Nandyāvarta dated in the years 299 (year 199 according to Dr. Lohouzen-de-Leeuw) according to an inscription on it. This inscription, recently correctly read by K. D. Bajpai refers to the worship of Munisuvrata (the twentieth Jina). Smith has published an image which, according to the inscription on it, is of Sambhavanātha, the third Jina, installed in the year 190. Thus the list of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras was already evolved or was in the process of being enlarged, in the age of these sculptures, in the second or third century A. D.

It is interesting to note that, in the Jaina *Kalpa-sūtra*, lives of only four Jinas — Ṛṣabhanātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra are described in detail and probably formed the theme of the original text. A glance at the stylised summary treatment of the remaining Tīrthaṅkaras lends doubt to their antiquity and would suggest later additions, especially because the view seems to obtain support from the absence of images of twenty (out of twenty-four) Tīrthaṅkaras at the Kankālī Tīlā, Mathurā, at least in the early Kuṣāna period. It would seem that details regarding the other Tīrthaṅkaras were added towards the close of the Kuṣāna period, before the Māthurī-vācanā (Council at Mathurā to re-edit and preserve the Jaina canons) took place under the chairmanship of Ārya Skandila (c. 300-320 A. D.).

The *Kalpa-sūtra* mentions no cognizance for any of the Tīrthaṅkaras. The *Āśvāyaka-niryukti* at one place refers to mark of the bull (which is the cognizance of Ṛṣabhanātha) on the body of the first Tīrthaṅkara (Ṛṣabhanātha), in a context which explains the names of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras.

Cognizances are not mentioned in the ancient lists of *atīśayas* or supernatural attributes of a Jina. Of the thirty-four *atīśayas*, eight are regarded as the *mahā-pratīhāryas* (chief attendant attributes) which are figured on a sculpture or a painting of a Tīrthaṅkara. These eight are : the Aśoka tree, scattering of flowers by gods, heavenly music, fly-whisks, lion-seat, *prabhāmaṇḍala* (halo), heavenly drum-beating, and divine umbrella. A critical study of all the texts giving lists of *atīśayas* and a comparison with all available early sculptures suggest that the list of the eight *mahā-pratīhāryas* took its final shape probably towards the close of the Gupta period. Later sculptures or paintings of the Tīrthaṅkaras show further elaboration in the details of the *parikara* or paraphernalia attendant upon a Jina, which seems to date from the early mediaeval period.

The *lāñchanas* or cognizances of Jinas are not found in known Digambara or Svetāmbara texts upto c 7th-8th centuries A.D. But in art, their first appearance is known from a sculpture of Neminātha, on the Vaibharagiri, Rajgir, having an inscription in Gupta characters referring to Candragupta (Candragupta II according to R. P. Chanda). Here a conch is placed on each side of the *cakra-puruṣa* in the centre of the pedestal. The recently discovered images installed by Mahārājādhirāja Ramagupta, identified as elder brother of Candragupta, show no cognizance.

But the lists were not finalised in the Gupta age as is evident from a post-Gupta sculpture, from the same site, representing Pārśvanātha or Supārśvanātha (with snake-hoods overhead) showing an elephant on each side of the *dharma-cakra* in the centre of the pedestal. Elephant is the cognizance of Ajitanātha but never of Pārśva or Supārśva in either the Svetāmbara or the Digambara tradition. A comparison of the Svetāmbara and Digambara lists of the *lāñchanas* shows a few differences and the origin of the *lāñchanas* may therefore be placed in the age of the final crisis between the two sects (Digambara and Svetāmbara) which seems to have occurred at the time of the last Valabhī-vācanā in 473 A.D.

Tīrthaṅkaras are said to be of different complexions, namely, white, golden, red, black or dark-blue. The complexions and the *lāñchanas* help us to identify the various Jinas in images or paintings. Ṛṣabhanātha (Ādinātha the first Tīrthaṅkara) is further identified on account of the hair-locks falling on his shoulders, for while the other Jinas plucked out all the hair, the first Jina, at the special request of Indra, allowed the back-hair (falling on shoulders) to remain, as they looked very beautiful.

Iconography of Ṛṣabhanātha is especially noteworthy. He is called Ādinātha and Ṛṣabhanātha, having, as his cognizance, the bull or the Nandī and also the bull-faced Gomukha as his attendant Yakṣa, resembling the conception of Nandikeśavara or the *vr̥ṣabha* (bull, *vāhana* of Śiva). Like Śiva, Ṛṣabhanātha is sometimes represented with a big *jatā* overhead.

Tīrthaṅkaras obtained *kevala-jñāna* (supreme knowledge) while meditating under a tree. Such a tree, called *caitya-vṛkṣa*, associated with the *kevala-jñāna* of each Tīrthaṅkara, is mentioned in texts of both the Jaina sects, and in representations, each Tīrthaṅkara is shown sitting under a *caitya-vṛkṣa*. In iconography, one would therefore, expect each Tīrthaṅkara sitting under the particular tree associated with his *kevala-jñāna*. But it seems that when the *aṣṭa-mahā-pratihārys* common to Tīrthaṅkaras were fixed it was the Aśoka-tree which came to represent as a *caitya-vṛkṣa* over the head of all the Jinas.

Tree-worship, popular in ancient times, noticed in the Vedas, formed an important part of the religious beliefs and practices of the masses with whom Buddha or Mahāvīra was mainly concerned in his opposition to the Vedic, priestly class and its rituals. The spirits dwell-

ing in the trees were Nagas, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, etc., easily approachable without the help of complex sacrificial details. It is the *caityas*, with *udyānas* (parks) having *caitya*-trees in them, that Mahāvīra is generally reported to have stayed in during his wanderings. People used to sit in worship under such trees and in such moments Buddha and Mahāvīra obtained enlightenment.

Since the Buddha was not represented in human form in early Buddhist worship, the *bodhi*-tree attained greater importance in Buddhist art, while the Jainas were more or less satisfied with recording of the *caitya*-trees of different Jinās and giving them only a secondary importance in art. Possibly on account of its age-long existence as an object of worship (not only in India but even amongst other people—cf., for example the tradition of the Christmas-tree), the *caitya*-tree had to be introduced as a relief sculpture of a Jina, by showing its foliage over his head. The Jainas as well as the Buddhists gave a new meaning to tree-worship. Trees were worshipped, not only because they were haunted by spirits, but also especially because the patriarchs of these faiths obtained enlightenment while meditating under their shades.

That the *caitya*-tree was given importance due to the ancient and primitive tree-cult of the masses is best illustrated by a type of Tīrthaṅkara images from the South where the Jina is shown sitting under a big tree, his figures seated on a platform (*pīṭha*) with all other *prati-hāryas* (attendant extraordinary and supernatural objects) either eliminated or very much subdued (cf., figure from Surat and figure from Kalugumalai, Tinnevely district).

With the evolution of the *lāñchanas* of the different Jinās, the *caitya*-trees have lost much of their value in identifying images of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

Pañca-parameṣṭhins and Śalākā-puruṣas

The Tīrthaṅkaras (makers or founders of the *tīrtha*) are the supreme objects of veneration, classified as the Devādhidevas by Ācārya Hemacandra in his *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*. Enjoying the same high reverence are the *Pañcā-parameṣṭhins* or the Five Supreme Ones, namely, the Arhat, the Siddha, the Ācārya, the Upādhyāya and the Sādhu. The first two are liberated souls, but the Arhats are placed first as they are embodied souls, some of whom even found the *tīrtha* (ford) constituted

of the *sādhu*, *sādhvī*, *śrāvaka* and *śrāvikā*. The Siddhas are liberated souls who, in a disembodied state, reside on the Siddha-śilā on top of the whole universe. Representations in paintings of Jinas after attainment of *nirvāṇa* show them as seated on the Siddha-śilā of crescent shape. Worship of the *Pañca-parameṣṭhins* is very old and a later elaboration of the concept is obtained in the popular worship of the *Siddha cakra* or the *Nava-devatā* in the Svetāmbara and Digambara rituals respectively. Earlier texts refer to *Pañca-parameṣṭhins* only and the inclusion of the four more *padas* or dignitaries probably does not antedate c. 9th century A.D. The earliest reference to *Siddha-cakra* diagram, so far known, is from Hemacandra's own commentary (called *Bṛhat-nyāsa*) on his grammar *Śabdānuśāsana*.

The four more *padas* (dignitaries, worthy of respect) added by the Svetāmbaras were *jñāna* (*samyak-jñāna* or right knowledge), *darśana* (*samyak-darśana* or right faith), *cāritra* (*samyak-cāritra* or right-conduct) and *tapa* (penance). The Digambaras added, instead of the above four, the following—*caitya* (or Jina image), *caityālaya* (or Jaina shrine), *dharma-cakra*, and *śruta* (speech of the Tīrthaṅkaras—scriptures).

The worship of the Five Supreme Ones is impersonal. It is the aggregate of qualities of these souls that is remembered and venerated rather than the embodied individuals. By adoring the *Parameṣṭhins*, a worshipper suggests to his mind the qualities of the Arhat, Siddha, Ācārya, Upādhyāya or Sadhu which the mind gradually begins to follow and ultimately achieves the stage attained by the Siddhas.

But the Devādhidevas are not creators of the Universe and the other *Parameṣṭhins* are not their associates in the act of creation or dissolution. The Jaina Divinity, the Perfect Being, the Siddha or the Arhat, as a type is an ideal to all the aspirants on the spiritual path. A pious Jaina does not worship his supreme deity in the hope of obtaining some worldly gains as gifts from the Devādhideva. For, the Arhat is freed from all attachments and consequent bondages of *karma*, whether good or bad. The worshipper simply meditates on the virtues of the Divinity so that they may manifest in the worshipper himself. The perfect souls and souls striving towards perfection, are great souls, the *śalākā-puruṣas* as the Jainas call them.

This in essence is hero-worship or apostle-worship and as such, great souls, both ascetic and non-ascetic, came to be especially revered.

Lives of great souls became favourite themes of Jaina *Purāṇas*. List of such *śalākā-puruṣas* or *mahāpuruṣas* include the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras + 12 Cakravartins + 9 Baladevas + 9 Vāsudevas = 54 *mahāpuruṣas*. Later texts speak of 63 *śalākā-puruṣas* by adding nine Prati-vāsudevas (enemies of Vāsudevas) amongst the great souls.

Representations of these great men, except the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, are very rare. Only in a few cases, representating incidents from the lives of Tīrthaṅkaras, we find some of these figures. Separate images of Bharata are likely to be discovered and the present writer remembers to have seen one such at Śatrunjaya more than two decades ago. However two painted wooden covers of some palm-leaf manuscript at Jaisalmer are specially devoted to coloured representations of these great men in a serial order.

The *Sthānaṅga-sūtra* and other Jaina canons classify gods into four main groups, namely, the Bhavanavāsis, the Vyantaras or the Vānamantaras, the Jyotiṣkas and the Vimānavāsis. These are again sub-divided into several groups with Indras, Lokapālas, Queens of these and so on.

The classification, acknowledged by both the sects is a very old tradition, but these are after all deities of a secondary nature in the Jaina pantheon.

But there were other great souls. The Jainas also evolved a conception of Kulakaras like the Manus of Hindu mythology. They were 14 according to the Digambaras and 7 according to the Svetāmbaras.

Every sect draws its pantheon from the ancient deities worshipped by the masses and adopts them in a manner suitable to the new environment and doctrines. Such for example was the worship of the deities whose shrines existed in the days of Mahāvīra and whose images and festivals are referred to in the *Āgama* literature. They include Indra, Rudra, Skanda, Mukunda, Vāsudeva, Vaiśramaṇa (or Kuvera), Yakṣa, Bhūta, Nāga, Piśāca, etc., Lokapālas and so on.

Indra, the great Vedic deity was assigned the role of a principal attendant of the Jina or the Buddha by the Jainas and the Buddhists. The other deities of the list were mostly deities worshipped by the populace and did not belong to the pantheon of the Vedic priests.

Skanda, the commander of gods in Hindu mythology, is the commander of the infantry of the Jaina Indra. But the goat-faced Naigamesin, who was associated with procreation of children as Nejamasa in ancient times, was also worshipped by the *adhyayana* of *Antagaḍadasāo*.

Amongst other ancient Jaina deities may be mentioned Śrutadevatā or Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning and Śrī-Lakṣmī, the Goddess of Wealth. An early image of the former is obtained from the Kankali Tilā, Mathurā and shows her seated with upright legs and carrying the lotus and the book. The peculiar posture of the goddess is not without any significance. For, according to the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, Mahāvīra himself obtained knowledge while he was sitting with knees held up in the *godohika-āsana*, i.e., the posture adopted while milching a cow. Sarasvatī is, therefore, seated in an *āsana* associated with the attainment of *kevala-jñāna* by Mahāvīra.

Later images of Sarasvatī show her as having two, four and eight, even twenty-four arms. The four-armed variety is the most common and the goddess generally carries the *vīṇā* and the book in two hands and showing the *amṛta ghaṭa* and the lotus or the *varada mudrā* in two others. The swan is generally shown as her *vāhana*.

Yakṣas and Yakṣinis

The Yakṣa cult is very ancient in India. References to *ceiyas* (*caityas*) like the Guṇaśīla-Ce ; Pūrṇabhadra-Ce ; Bahuputrika-Ce, etc. in the Jaina canonical texts are significant. The commentators rightly interpret them as shrines of Yakṣas (*Yakṣa-āyatana*) and the word *Jakkhāyatana* is not unknown to the canons. Pūrṇabhadra and Mañibhadra are well-known as ancient Yakṣas.

Mahāvīra stayed in such shrines. The *Aupapātika-sūtra* gives a detailed description of the Pūrṇabhadra-*caitya*, calling it ancient (*porāṇa*) and visited by many persons. Mahāvīra obviously selected for his stay shrines of cults which were not following the Vedic rituals and were, therefore, non-Vedic or heterodox and possibly not Aryan in origin. The description of the Pūrṇabhadra-*caitya* refers to a *prthivī-śīlā-paṭṭa*, soft to touch and shining like mirror which the author regards as referring to a highly polished N.B.P. terracotta plaque. Excavations at Kosam and Vaiśālī have demonstrated the existence of the N.B.P. in

the sixth century B.C.. Thus the description of the Pūrṇabhadra shrine visited by Mahāvīra is authentic and preserves genuine old tradition.

We should, therefore, have no hesitation in regarding these *prthvī-śilā-paṭṭas* (of the Pūrṇabhadra-*caitya* description) as precursors of the Jaina *Āyāgapāṭas* from Mathurā dating from c. 1st Cent. B.C. to 1st Cent. A.D.

It is but natural that when the pantheon began growing the Jainas thought of introducing a Yakṣa and a Yakṣī, as attendants of a Jina, as *Śāsana-devatās*, who protect the *saṃgha* of a particular Jina. The attendants obtained a place on the pedestal of a Jina image itself.

Firstly a pair common to all the twenty four Tīrthaṅkaras was introduced. The Yakṣa carried a citron and a money-bag and resembled Kuvera or Jambhāla. The Yakṣī, two-armed, carrying a mango bunch and a child, and having the lion as her *vāhana*, resembled Nānā (of the Kuṣāna coins), Durgā and Hārīti.

The earliest reference to Ambikā is obtained in the unpublished commentary of Jinabhadraṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa on his own *Viśeṣa-vaśyaka-bhāṣya* (c. 500-600 A.D.). Archaeological evidence also supports the above view as the earliest known sculptures of Ambikā do not date prior to c. 550 A.D. The earliest known images of this pair are available on a bronze sculpture of Rṣabhanātha set up by Jinabhadra himself and obtained in the Ākotā hoard. An early image of the goddess Ambikā, preserved in the Meguti temple at Āihole, dates from c. 634 A.D.

Worship of this pair, which resembled Jambhāla and Hārīti of the Buddhists, became very widespread all over India and the Jaina caves of Ellorā, contain some beautiful specimens. About the beginning of the 11th century, four-armed figures of Ambikā came into vogue, the *āmralumbi* being repeated in her two extra hands. At a later stage in the mediaeval period of Indian history, symbols like the noose, the goad, the *varada*, etc. replaced the extra mango-bunches.

The evolution of the iconography of Padmāvatī is equally interesting. Firstly, in all early representations of Pārśvanātha, before c. 900 A.D., she hardly figures as the Yakṣī of this Jina. Alongwith Dharaṇendra, she is known as a snake-deity standing and adoring Pārśvanātha or holding an umbrella over the head of Pārśvanātha. Scenes of



The Yaksi Padmavati
Bronze, Karnataka, c 17th Century A.D.

Courtesy: Hamburgisches Museum Fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg

attack (*upasarga*) of Kamaṭha on Paśvanātha during his meditation, are very popular in the Deccan in the Jaina caves at Ellorā, Dharaśiva, etc., and even further south at Chitharal, Vallimalai, Kalugumalai and so on. In all these representations, Dharaṇendra is shown as protecting Paśvanātha with his snake-hoods and adoring him, along with his queen Padmāvatī. It is indeed surprising to find that in the canonical lists of chief queens of Dharaṇendra Padmāvatī is not mentioned at all. It is, therefore, difficult to label this attendant queen of Dharaṇendra as Padmāvatī in the representations at Ellorā, etc. (She may be Vairoṭyā).

Vairoṭyā, the thirteenth Jaina *Mahāvīdyā* is an earlier Jaina snake goddess. Lists of *Mahāvīdyās* are definitely earlier than the hitherto known list of the 24 Jaina Yakṣas and Yakṣinis and Arya Nandila is associated with the worship of Vairoṭyā in Jaina traditions. Very probably, the snake-goddess in the Ellorā relief was known as Vairoṭyā.

Padmāvatī gradually replaced Vairoṭyā in popular worship during the mediaeval period from c. 1000 A.D. Next to Ambikā, she is the most popular Yakṣi and a snake-diety, but her role in the Jaina *tantra* is greater than that of the Ambikā. Works like the *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa*, *Adbhūta-Padmāvatī-kalpa*, etc. were composed. Four-armed, she usually carries, the lotus, the goad, the noose, etc. and rides on the composite mythical Kukkūṭa-sarpa.

Cakreśvarī, the Yakṣini of the first Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha is also a later goddess, for in all earlier representations, antedating c.900 A.D., it is Ambikā who figures as the Yakṣini of Ṛṣabhanātha and all other Tīrthaṅkaras (cf., the image installed by Jinabhadra Vācanācārya, Ākotā hoard). Her iconography shows close similarity with that of the Hindu Vaiṣṇavī. Cakreśvarī Yakṣi invariably carries the *cakra* and shows in the other arms, the conch, the *varada mudrā*, the disc, etc. Like Vaiṣṇavī she rides on the eagle.

It is often difficult to differentiate between images of Cakreśvarī, the Yakṣi and the *Vidyādevī*, if the goddess is not accompanied by the figure of a Jina (either on her crown or above the pedestal). Aprati-cakrā, the *Vidyādevī*, is earlier in origin than the Yakṣi of the same type.

Siddhayikā replaced Ambikā as the Yakṣi of Mahāvīra, during the process in which separate Yakṣas and Yakṣinis were evolved for each Jina. Though she is regarded as one of the four principal Yakṣinis, she could not become so popular as the other three Yakṣinis, namely Cakreśvarī, Padmāvatī and Ambikā.

[January 1975]

Reals in Jainism

K. B. Jindal

One of the Sacred Books of the Jainas—the *Dravya Saṅgraha*—deals in its first part with six *dravyas*. The very first verse mentions that *dravya* consists of *jīva* and *ajīva*. From verse 15, the author (Nemichandra) proceeds to describe *ajīva* as consisting of *pudgala*, *dharma*, *adharma*, *ākāśa* and *kāla*. The five classes of *ajīva* with *jīva* make up the six *dravyas*, existing in the universe. Sri Sarat Chandra Ghoshal translated *Dravya Saṅgraha* in English in 1917, giving exhaustive commentaries on each verse. He translated the word “*dravya*” as “substance”.

What Mr. Ghoshal chose to describe as “substances”, Sri Harisatya Bhattacharya has chosen to describe as “reals”. He has deliberately used the expression “real” to distinguish the cardinal principles of Jaina philosophy and metaphysics, from its superficial ethics and ritual. To put it in the words of Sri Bhattacharya : “To many the Jainas appear to be a queer sort of people who are remarkable for their fastidious and ostentatious practice of non-violence. About 25 years ago, I came to be acquainted with the fact of the existence of a vast Jaina literature, covering almost all the branches of human knowledge. For the first time, then, I came to know that the Jainas had a theory of the universe, a philosophy of theirs. A little introduction into the study of the Jaina philosophy convinced me that it has a glorious place in the systems of Indian philosophy. Later and a bit deeper study, has confirmed my view.”

In the following pages, I shall proceed to deal with the six “reals”—motion and rest, space and time, matter and soul. In so dealing with the “reals”, I shall place the Jaina view point in juxtaposition with the six known systems of Indian philosophy—*Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga*, *Mīmāṃsā* and *Vedānta*—and also with Buddhism. I

shall go a step further and draw comparisons between Indian and Western thought—ancient, mediaeval and modern. My broad conclusions are :

(1) The conceptions of *dharma* and *adharma*, as non-psychical principles of motion and rest, are peculiar to Jaina philosophy.

(2) Matter is called *pudgala* by the Jaina philosophers. *Pudgala* has a peculiar sense in Jaina metaphysics. As an unconscious substance, it is an *ajīva* and is different from the psychical principle and similar to the principles of motion and rest, space and time. On the other hand, matter is similar to soul in this important respect that both are conceived by the Jainas to be active principles and to have forms, while the other four substances are *niṣkriya* or inactive and *amūrta* or incorporeal reals. In a sense, matter is the most important of all the non-psychical principles, so far as the soul is concerned. The bondage of the psychical substance is caused by its contact with matter and its dissociation from the latter is its emancipation. The other four unconscious substances are absolutely passive principles, and as such have no hand either in the matter of its bondage or its emancipation. The unemancipated soul has its being in space, is helped by *dharma* and *adharma* in its motion and rest and by *kāla* in its various modifications. But it is *pudgala* which determines whether the soul is in bondage or emancipated.

(3) The *karma*, with the Jainas, is not merely an ethical act as with the philosophers of other Indian schools but it stands, on the one hand, for the psychical feelings (*bhāva karmas*) which are springs of our action and on the other, for the actual corpuscles which, as the result of the *bhāva karmas* or psychical feelings get themselves attached to the soul constituting its corporeal frame. *Karma* can have four possible states or conditions viz. : *skandha*, *skandha-pradeśa*, *skandha-deśa* and *paramāṇu*. The first is matter in its gross form, material body having all the physical qualities without exception, while the last is the primary atom. *Skandha-deśa* is described as a part of *skandha* and *skandha-pradeśa* as an unseparated minute part of *skandha-deśa*. Thus while *skandha* is a complete molecular constitution, *skandha-deśa* and *skandha-pradeśa* are incomplete masses although both of them are aggregates of *paramāṇus*. The *paramāṇu* is the ultimately separated minutest part of *pudgala*. The Jaina theory of atoms is essentially different from the Greek and is nearer to the modern scientific conception. The atom is spatial as well as non-spatial. It is spatial be-

cause it has its existence and activities in points of space. Lest this should mean that the atom is therefore a substance having extensions in length, breadth and depth in space, care is taken in the next breath in describing it as non-spatial. The atom of the Jainas is thus more like a mathematical point than an extended minute particle of the Greeks.

(4) The Jainas repudiate the theory of God as the first cause or the architect of the universe. They contend that the things of the universe, e.g., the earth, the mountain, etc., are certainly uncreated and eternal, so that we cannot talk of any causes bringing them into existence. Although the Jainas do not admit an *Īśvara* who is world-creator, they do admit a perfect human-being who is the best of teachers. This perfect Being is called the Tīrthaṅkara and the Jainas call him *Īśvara*, i.e., God. There is essential difference between the *Īśvara* of the Jainas and the *Īśvara* of Vedic School. The God of the Jainas is not the creator of the world; he was originally a mortal human being who through self-culture and self-development attained the god-head, consisting in teachership; the Tīrthaṅkara Gods are also more than one in number. Besides the disembodied perfect Beings who are completely free and are omniscient according to the Jainas, a highly developed Being while in body may attain omniscience also. The Tīrthaṅkaras were such Beings who attained omniscience, while they lived, moved and had their Being still in this world.

(5) In the six-fold classification of souls according to their sense-organs, the Jainas developed the theory of evolution several thousand years before Darwin wrote his '*Origin of Species*'. The one-sensed soul has the organ of touch only, the two-sensed animal can touch and taste, the three-sensed creature is possessed of the powers of touching, tasting and smelling; a four-sensed soul's organs are those of touch, taste, smell and vision; the mindless five-sensed animal has the organ of hearing in addition to the above four-sensed-organs; the minded five-sensed soul is possessed of the five sense-organs and the mind. Flora has only one-sense and cannot move. Animals, having more than one sense, can move. Shells and oysters have two senses. Ants and leeches have three-senses. Bugs, worms and gnats have four-senses. Snakes and quadrupeds are five-sensed animals. Man is a five-sensed animal, with *manas* (power of thinking) in addition. This Jaina classification tallies with the modern account of the evolution of life. The fact is now scientifically established that it is the unicellular organisms that gave out the first and the crudest indications of life. Coming next to

the Jaina description of the two sensed and other higher animals, we find that the principle is recognised that the human organism is the most developed, that there are animals which are less and less developed and that an order is traceable in the scale of animal evolution.

(6) By attributing to them a consciousness of their own purposive activity, the Jaina theory, certainly rejects the notorious Cartesian doctrine that the sub-human animals are unconscious automata. It does more than that, in as much as it foreshadows the celebrated theory of Sir J. C. Bose, which is rapidly gaining ground, that the operations of life-consciousness are traceable even in plants. It has been now definitely established that sponges are animals in which the power of sensation is developed, but in the faintest degree. Yet there is so little difference between the vital operation in the sponge and that in a plant that the former was long taken to be a plant. The mimosa closes its leaves and lets down its stalk on touch or on being shaken. This shows that the power of sensation in the mimosa is keener and its transmission of a stimulus is more rapid than that in the sponge. As soon as its prey touches it, the dionaea imprisons the fly by immediately pressing its leaves together. This also indicates that in some of the plants, the sensation is acuter and reflex actions more energetic and instantaneous than in sponges and polyps. Purely mechanical laws clearly fail to explain healthy manner of climbing as done by trees and creepers. If such shapeless, stationary and apparently insensitive organisms as sponges and polyps are to be classed as animals, there seems to be no reason why plants are to be considered as outside the class.

(7) From the standpoint of the ordinary mortals, every earthly creature is bound to have and to carry, until the final liberation is attained, three bodies, viz. : the *audārika*, the *taijaṣa* and the *kārmaṇa*. The *kārmaṇa* body is so called because it is constituted of the *karma pudgala*. In a sense, of course, all bodies are *kārmaṇa*, inasmuch as all of them are made up of *karma*-molecules. The *kārmaṇa śarīra* is, however, the subtlest of all bodies, subtler than even the *taijaṣa* and like the latter, it is a constant companion of the soul in its beginningless migrations, until it is finally emancipated. It is, as it were, the basis or ground upon which the structures of the other bodies are built. When a soul attains the final liberation, the *kārmaṇa* body drops down once for all and for all times to come. The Vedic *taijaṣa śarīra*, the *liṅga*, the *atīyāhika*, the *sūkṣma śarīra*, as it is variously called,—is

more akin to the *kārmaṇa śarīra* of the Jainas than to their *taijāṣa śarīra*. The *taijāṣa* body of the Jainas is neither a necessary link between the *kārmaṇa* and the *audārika* nor is in any way functionally instrumental in evolving the latter from the former. The *taijāṣa śarīra* is a unique conception among the Jainas and has not its parallel in the system of the Vedic thought.

The ultimate material basis for the body of an animal is to be traced in the "cytula" or the "stem-cell", which again is the result of the combination of two separate cells viz ; the male spermatozoon and the female ovum. The question arises how the two parent cells which consist in protoplasmic matter give rise to a body with its varied limbs and sub-limbs. This is the fundamental and the most baffling problem in biology.

To say that the germ plasma has capacities and the complexities to develop the parts of an organism is almost similar to the doctrine of *kārmaṇa śarīra* which is no more than a collection of potential forces working out the gross body of an animal. The Jaina doctrine may be presented as not only not to contradict any of the scientific standpoints but to throw light on many of the dark and as yet unexplained problems of Biology. Take for instance, the germ-plasm itself. Observation and experiment have shown that it is not an absolutely inert dead matter. Biology has been forced to admit that the germ-plasm has rudiments of life in it. But definite manners of operation and operation towards a definite end require more than life for their guidance. The millions of male ciliated cells, for instance, pressing round the ovum are all living substances; how is it that only one out of these millions penetrates to the nucleus of the ovum in order that the two sexual cells of both parents may coalesce into the formation of the impregnated egg-cell, i.e., the individual stem-cell or the "cytula", as it has been called? Attempts have been made to account for this coalescence of the nuclei of the spermatozoon and the ovum by saying that they are drawn together by "a mysterious force", by attributing to them "a chemical sense activity", by supposing that the two parent cell nuclei approach each other guided by an instinct of sensitive perception akin to 'smell', by ascribing to the nuclei, a sort of mutual amorous attraction "a kind of erotic chemiotrophism". These are at best figurative expressions concealing the admission that the fact of coalescence of the parent cells is inexplicable even on the hypothesis of life. Jaina philosophers on the contrary say that the joining of the parental nuclei is not a fortuitous event; the coalescence is effected by the

kārmaṇa śarīra with the self immanent in it, in order that a new gross body may be made for its re-incarnation.

The Jaina doctrine is that a *kārmaṇa śarīra* does not work upon any and every germ-plasm at random. It chooses rather is drawn towards that germ-plasm which is most suitable for developing of its general and individual features. The *kārmaṇa śarīra* that has the capacity of evolving a lion's body would thus be drawn towards the germ-plasm of a lion. And in the same manner, the *kārmaṇa śarīra* which on account of its acts done in its previous lives is to incarnate itself in a body having certain uncommon and peculiar features would be naturally drawn towards the germ plasm of the people of the family in which those features are conspicuous.

The Jaina theory attempts to offer an explanation where explanation is not practically forthcoming. With Weisman it admits that the germ-plasm is not modified by the modifications in the body-cells. With the other school again, it acknowledges the instrumentality of the germ-plasm in the geneses in the offspring of the so-called inherited characters.

(8) I must now revert to the most important substance - *jīva* or the souls. While dealing with souls, let me touch upon the five cardinal principles (*tattvas*) of Jainism :

(i) *āsrava* —the flow of *karma* into the soul ;

(ii) *bandha* —the bondage of soul by *karma* ;

(iii) *saṁvara* —stoppage of the inflow of *karma* ;

(iv) *nirjarā* —annihilation of the already introduced *karma* ;

and (v) *mokṣa* —complete subsidence of all the *karmas*.

The Jainas believe in two more principles of *puṇya* and *pāpa* — virtue and sin. I do not regard them as separate categories. I consider them as ancillary to *āsrava* - *puṇya* leading to the inflow of good *karmas*, and *pāpa* leading to the inflow of bad *karmas*.

Finally, under the heading of "Seven kinds of Soul", I may mention the Jaina philosophy of non-absolutism or *syādvāda*. *Syāt* in the word *syādvāda* means "may be". The real sense of the compound word *syādvāda* can, therefore, be said to be objective realism—viewing things under their diverse aspects by a multiple or many-sided vision. The Jaina philosophers maintain that to show the relation of a substance to its attribute, no less than seven statements are necessary. What some authors describe as the "Seven kinds of Soul", is nothing but the septuple formulation from which the *jīva* may be viewed.

[October 1972]

The Concept of Vibhajjavada and Its Impact on Philosophical and Religious Tolerance in Buddhism and Jainism

Sagarmal Jain

Buddhism and Jainism both belong to the same Sramanic tradition of Indian Culture. Gautama, the Buddha and Vardhamāna, the Mahāvīra were contemporaries. The philosophical awakening was the main feature of their age. The various religio-philosophical problems and questions were put before the religious leaders and thinkers, and they were expected to answer these questions and to solve the philosophical problems. The various answers were given to the same problem by different thinkers, and due to this difference of opinions on the philosophical problems the various philosophical schools emerged in that age. According to the Pali *Tripitaka* there were sixty two schools or sixty two different views held by different teachers on the nature of man and world, and according to Prakrit *Āgamas* there were three hundred and sixty schools. Each one of them was claiming that his view was the only right view (*samyak-dṛṣṭi*) and others' views were false-views (*mithyā-dṛṣṭi*). But according to Buddha and Mahāvīra all of them have one sided picture of the reality or the phenomena, which is a complicated one. Both of them found that these various philosophical and religious schools and sects were conflicting with each other without understanding the problem itself and cling to onesidedness. This onesidedness, is due to the absence of analytic approach towards the problems and improper method of answering the questions. If philosophical questions are answered categorically or absolutely they present

only one sided picture of the fact or phenomena and thus create a false notion. According to the Jaina thinkers the onesidedness (*ekānta*) and the claim that my view is the only right view (*āgraha*) are considered as false notions (*mithyātva*).

For Buddha and Mahāvīra both, the true method of answering the philosophical questions is the method of analysis. Only an analytic approach towards the philosophical problems can give us a right vision. Both of them suggested that the philosophical questions should be answered after analysing them. This method of analysis was called as *vibhajjavāda* in both the canons. Buddha and Mahāvīra both claimed themselves as Vibhajjavādins. In Buddhist order at the time of Aśoka only the Vibhajjavādins were considered as the true followers of Buddha. In *Anguttarnikāya* it is mentioned that there are four methods of answering a question—(i) answer to a question *en-toto*, i.e., absolutely (*ekāṃśavāda*), (ii) answer to a question after analysing it into various parts (*vibhajjavāda*), (iii) answer to a question by raising a new question and (iv) to keep silence.¹ Buddha and Mahāvīra both preferred the second method, i.e., *vibhajjavāda*, though Buddha sometimes used the first, third and fourth methods also. It is mentioned in the texts that Buddha himself claimed as Vibhajjavadin. Prof. S. Dutt in his book '*The Buddha and Five After Centuries*' says "perhaps the word Vibhajjavadin originally meant one whose method was to divide a matter posited into its component parts and deal with each part separately in his answer and not with the whole matter in *en-toto* fashion." This method of *vibhajjavāda* i.e. the method of analysis is well illustrated in *Subha-sutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya*. Subha asked Lord Buddha, 'whether a busy life of a man of the world is to be preferred or a monk's reposeful life?' Buddha answered—'the busy life may be a failure or success and so too the life of repose.' Similarly in the Jaina text *Bagavati-sūtra*, Jayanti asked Mahāvīra whether sleeping is good or awakening is good? Lord answered that for a sinner sleeping is good and for a saint awakening is good. This analytic approach towards the problems shows that the relative answer is the proper method to deal with the problems, whether they are philosophical, religious, ethical or the problems of everyday life. Absolute or categorical answer explains only one aspect or the part of the problem and other aspects of the problem remain unexplained.

Thus we can say that analytic approach towards the problems gives

¹ *Anguttara Nikaya*, Vol. II, page 47.

us broader outlook to understand them and we are more near to the truth.

It is due to *vibhajjavāda*, an analytic approach, the theory of *anekāntavāda*, in Jainism and *śūnyavāda* in Buddhism came into existence. The positive analytic approach of Lord Mahāvīra gave birth to *anekāntavāda* and *syādvāda* and the negative analytic approach of Lord Buddha later on gave birth to *śūnyavāda*. Both are in fact the child of *vibhajjavāda*, or analytic method. Here I am not going into the details that how the theories of *anekāntavāda* and *śūnyavāda* emerged from *vibhajjavāda*. It is a matter of an independent paper. Here my submission is that this method of analytic approach towards the philosophical, ethical and other problems, has given a broader perspective to understand the things. Buddha and Mahāvīra both condemned onesided narrow outlook. For both, it is the main cause of religious as well as philosophical quarrels leading to intolerance. It is said that "one, who sees only one aspect of the reality is ignorant, a real scholar sees hundreds of aspects of it."² "The persons who possess only onesided view quarrels with each other."³ In *Suttanipāta* Lord Buddha says "He, who does not acknowledge an opponent's doctrine (*dhamma*), is a fool, a beast, a person of poor understanding. All those who abide by their own views, are fools with a very poor understanding".⁴ "One who is firm in his own view and holds that his opponent is a fool; thus he himself brings on strife calling his opponent a fool and impure"⁵ Further, Buddha says "There are two results of a dispute, first it is incomplete (picture of the truth) and secondly it is not enough to bring about tranquility. Having seen this, let no one dispute understanding *khemā* (i.e., peace). It is the place where there is no dispute."⁶ "Those who maintain their own *dhamma* as perfect and other's *dhamma* as wretched, say that their own views (opinions) are the truth and so having disagreed they dispute. One becomes low by the condemnation

² *Theragatha*, 1/106.

³ *Udana*, 6/4.

⁴ *parassa ve dhammamananujanam balo mago hoti nihina panno sabbe bala sunilina panna sabbevime ditthi parivvasana*
—*Suttanipata*, 50/3 (880)

⁵ *sakayane capi datthaham vadano kamettha balo ti para daheyya sayameva so methagamavaheyya param vadam balamasuddha dhammam*
—*Suttanipata* 50/96 (893)

⁶ *appam hi elam na alam samaya dube vivadassa phalani brumi evam pi disva na vivadiyetea khemami passam abibada bhumim*
—*Suttanipata*, 51/2 (896)

of the others. There will be no one distinguished amongst the *dharmas* if they condemn other's views"⁷ Here I have mentioned only a few passages of Lord Buddha in support of religious tolerance. Those who want further details in this regard, I would suggest them to read the *Culla-viyūha* and *Mahā-viyūhasuttaṣ* (i.e., chapter 50 and 51) of *Sutta-nipāta*, where these points are further elaborated.

Jainism believes in the theory of *anekāntavāda* which means that the views, the ideologies and the faiths of others should be respected. Mahāvīra like Buddha mentions in *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* "Those who praise their own faiths and ideologies and blame that of their opponents and thus distort the truth, will remain confined to the cycle of births and death."⁸ It is further maintained that "all the *nayas* (view-points) are true in respect of what they have themselves to say, but they are false in so far as they refute totally other *nayas* (i.e., the view-points of the opponents). Those, who take different view-points (*nayas*) together and thus grasp all the aspects of a thing (fact or phenomena) have a right understanding, just as those who with eyes, are able to grasp an elephant as a whole and not like the blindmen, who take one particular part of an elephant as a whole elephant."⁹ It is this broader outlook which can establish harmony among the apparently conflicting views of various religions.

This broader outlook for religious tolerance is maintained in Buddhism till the period of Aśoka, because we find so many evidences about religious tolerance and religious co-existence from the inscriptions of Aśoka. But I do not know, whether this outlook of religious tolerance and harmony was further maintained or not by Buddhism in India. I request the scholars of Buddhism to enlighten us in this regard. Though it is true that Buddhism have shown this broader outlook every where outside India and remained there co-existing with the earlier religions of those countries.

7 *sakam hi dhammam paripunna mahu annassa dhammassa panahinamahu
evam pi viggataha vivadiyanti sakam sakam sammuti mahu saccam
parassa ce vambhayitena hino na koci dhammesu vivesi assa
puthu hi annassa vadanti dhammam nihinato samhi davvham badana*
—*Suttanipata*, 51/10-11(904-905)

8 *sayam sayam pasamsamta garahamta param vayam
je u tattha viusamti samsare te viussiya*
—*Sutrakṛtāṅga*, 1/1/2/23

9 See *Samanasuttam*, 728, 730 and 731.

So far as Jainism is concerned this religious tolerance and harmony is maintained by the latter Jain Ācāryas also. In one famous Jaina text of 3rd century B.C. namely *Isibhāsiyāim* the views of different teachers of Sramanic and Brahmanic trends like Nārada, Bharadvāja, Gautama Buddha, Mañkhali Gośāla and many others, have been presented with regards. They are called as Arhat Ṛṣis and their preachings are regarded as Āgamas. I would like to conclude my paper by quoting these two beautiful verses of religious tolerance of Haribhadra (8th century A.D.) and Hemacandra (12th century A.D.) respectively. Haribhadra says—

*na me pakṣapāto vīre na dveṣa kapilādiṣu
yuktimadvacanam yasya tasya kārya parigraha*

I have no bias towards Lord Mahāvīra and no disregard to Kapila and other saints and thinkers. Whatsoever is rational and logical ought to be accepted.

Hemacandra says —

*bhava bijānkuraṇanā rāgadyakṣayamupāgatā yasya
brahmā vā viṣṇurvā haro vā jīno vā namastasmaih*

I bow all those who have overcome the attachment and hatred which are the cause of worldly existence, be they Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva or Jina.

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Refutation of Advaita Vedanta in Major Jaina Works

Yajneshwar S. Shastri

History of Indian philosophy tells us that all the systems of Indian philosophy developed in the atmosphere of freedom of thought. There was a tradition in Indian philosophical platform to present opponent's view first known as the *pūrvapakṣa* (prior view) and then establishment of one's own view by refuting opponent's stand-point known as the *uttarapakṣa* or *siddhānta* (conclusion). This kind of method inspired the Indian thinkers to study thoroughly views of all others prior to the establishment of their own system of philosophy and gave thoroughness, perfection and catholic spirit to their system. Jaina philosophers also following the same broad-minded tradition, presented views of all the systems of Indian thought with considerable care and established their own principles refuting opponent's view with logical rigour. But it is very interesting to note that just as great thinkers of other schools of thought such as Bhartṛhari,¹ Kumārilabhatta,² Prabhākara,³ Jayantabhatta⁴ and Udayana⁵ who treated only Advaita as real Vedānta system, similarly eminent philosophical personalities

¹ *yatra drasta ca drsyam ca darsanam ca vikalpanam tasyaivarthasya satyatva-mahustrayanta vedinath—Vakyapadiya*, III-II, 200, pub. L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1984.

² *dvaitapaksat paramudya budhyasaddhisamasrayat paramatmanamevaikam tattvam tattavavido vidhuh—Brhattika*, quoted in *Vedantadarsanam* (R.P.), Pt. S. Subrahmanya Shastri, pub. Varanasiya Sanskrit Visvavidyalaya, 1967.

³ *yastu brahmavadinamesa niscayo yadupalabhyate na tat tathyam yannopalabhyate tattatthyamiti namastebhyo—Brhati*, part-I, p. 239, pub. University of Madras, 1934.

⁴ *atra tavat vedantina ahuh . . . nityasukhamatmano mahatvavadastityagapramanyadabhyupagamyatam tucca samsaradasasayam avidyavarana vasena nanubhuyate—Nyayamanjari*, II, *Apavarga Pariksa*, pp. 431-2, pub. Oriental Institute, Mysore, 1983.

⁵ *suddhabuddhasvabhava ityaupanisadah—Nyaya Kusumanjali*, I, pp. 4-5, pub. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1912.

of Jainism presented and refuted only Advaita system of Vedānta in their writings. Even later writers who flourished after Rāmānuja and Mādhva mentioned neither Viśiṣṭādvaita nor Dvaita system of Vedānta.

Criticism of Upanisadic *ātmādvaita* or *brahmādvaita* is found in early Jain *Āgamas* such as *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*,⁶ and *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*.⁷ The line of presentation and refutation of Advaita is more or less similar in all the major works of Jainism. Certain common features are found in both Jainism and Advaita Vedānta such as liberation as the highest goal of life, ignorance of Reality as the cause of our bondage, law of *karma*, *jīvanmukti* etc. Still in certain other matters both the systems are diametrically opposed to each other. Absolutism of Advaita Vedānta claims that, Reality is one without a second, this world is mere appearance and ultimately there is no difference between supreme Reality and individual soul.⁸ Jainism is a system of realism, dualism and pluralism. It is a realism because it recognises the reality of the external world, it is a kind of dualism, because it advocates two fundamental realities the *jīva* (soul) and the *ajīva*⁹ (matter) which are obviously contradictorily related to each other, and a pluralism on account of belief in plurality of substance.¹⁰ Advaita Vedānta believes in absolute non-dualism while Jainism advocates non-absolutism or many-sided theory of Reality (*anekāntavāda*). It rejects both the extreme view of absolute eternality as well as absolute non-existence. It is a system of unity in difference, of one-in-many and of identity-in-change.¹¹ According to Jainism Advaita Vedānta is one-sided theory which rejects particularities and emphasises only oneness of Reality.

⁶ *evamegeti jappanti manya arambhanissia ege kicca sayam pavam tiyyam dukkham niyacchai—Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, 1-10, and See 8, 9, 11, pp. 31-35 ed. Ambikadatta Oza, pub. Jaina Jnanodaya Society, Rajkot, V. S. 1993.

⁷ *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* (V.A.B.), II, *gāthā* 2036-2045, pub. L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1968.

⁸ (a) *brahmasatyam jagannmithya jivobrahmai va napurah—Brahmajñanavalimala*, verse 20. *Works of Sri Sankaracarya*, Vol. 16, p. 224, Vanivilas Press, Srirangam.

(b) *Bhamati-mangala*, verse 1, *Brahmasutra Sankarabhāṣya* with *Ratnaprabha*; *Bhamati* and *Anandagiri Vyākhyā*, ed. Mahadev Shastri Bakre, pub. Nirṇaya sagara Press, Bombay, 1909.

⁹ *Tattvarthadhigamasutra* (T.S.) with Siddhasenagani *Tika*, 1-4, ed. H. R. Kapadia, pub. J.S. Javeri, Bombay, 1926.

¹⁰ (a) T.S., I. v. 2.

(b) *Pramāṇanayatatvalokālankara* (P.N.T.), VII, 56, p. 560, ed. H. S. Bhattacharya,

¹¹ pub. Jaina Sahitya Vikas Mandal, Bombay, 1967.

Saddarsana Samuccaya with Gunaratnasuri *Tika*, pp. 3-4, ed. Mahendra Kumar Jain, pub. Bharatiya Jnanapīṭha, Kasi, 1969.

It gives only partial knowledge of Reality and falls under the *samgrahana*.¹²

Great logicians of Jaina school such as Samantabhadra,¹³ Akalanka,¹⁴ Vidyānandī,¹⁵ Prabhacandra,¹⁶ Hemacandra,¹⁷ Vāḍi-devasūri,¹⁸ Mallisena¹⁹ and others have severely criticised the Advaitic theory of non-dual Brahman, doctrine of *māyā* and oneness of individual souls (*ekajīva*). Criticism of Advaitic conceptions are scattered in different Jaina works. An humble attempt has been made here to size them into unity in a very condensed form.

Jaina thinkers argue that Advaitic doctrine of non-duality of Brahman and theory of *māyā* (i.e., illusory nature of the world) cannot be proved by any accredited means of knowledge. If it is provable by any means of knowledge then there is duality of *pramāṇa* and *prameya*.²⁰ First of all, existence of non-dual Brahman is contradicted by our perceptual experience. Perception reveals only the world of plurality. Daily experiences of duality or plurality of phenomena cannot be repudiated as false appearance or illusory, because this difference is clearly seen and felt. There is no proof against this duality or plurality which is cognised in our normal experience. Where is contradiction in saying that potter fashions a pot with his sticks and eats his food with his own hand. The difference (such as potter and his actions) between agent and action is even known by the ordinary people.²¹ If

¹² (a) Akalanka, *Siddhiviniscaya* (S.V.) with *Tika*, p-II, pp. 677-78, ed. Mahendra Kumar Jain, pub. Bharatiya Jnanapitha, Kasi, 1959.

(b) *P.N.T.*, VII-13, 15, 16, pp. 518-520.

¹³ *Aptamīmamsa* (A.M.), 24-27, ed. Pt. Gajadharlal Jain, pub. Bharatiya Jaina Siddhanta Prakashini Sanstha, Benares, 1914.

¹⁴ *S.V.*, II, p. 463-468, 494, 677-678.

¹⁵ (a) *Astasaṅgī* (A.S.), pp. 157-163, ed. Vansidhar, pub. Nirnayāsagara Press, Bombay, 1915.

(b) *Tattvartha Ślokaṭīkā*, pp. 25-26, ed. Manoharlal Shastri, pub. Nirnayāsagara Press, Bombay, 1918.

(c) *Satyasaṅgaparīkṣa* (S.S.P.), pp. 1-9, pub. Bharatiya Jnanapitha, Kasi, 1964.

¹⁶ *Nyayakumudacandra* (N.K.), part-I, pp. 63-64, 147-155, part-II, pp. 808-812, 830-838, ed. Mahendra Kumar Shastri, pub. Manikchand Jaina Granthamala, Bombay, 1938 & 1941.

¹⁷ *Anyayogavyavacchedikā* with *Syādvadamanjari*, 13. ed. Jagadish Chandra Jain, pub. Ravajibhai Chaganbhai Desai, Srimad Rajachandrasrama, Agas, 1970.

¹⁸ *P.N.T.*, 1-15, VII, 13-17 and 56.

¹⁹ *Syādvadamanjari* (S.M.), pp. 77-83, ed. A.B. Dhruva, pub. Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, 1933.

²⁰ *S.S.P.*, p. 7.

²¹ *A.S.P.*, 158.

Advaitic view of non-dual Brahman is accepted, then, the difference observed between the agent and the action will not be possible.²² The standpoint of the Advaitins that one Absolute transforms into many such as agent and action, etc., also indicates duality. This is because one Absolute never transforms into many without the assistance of others, which means acceptance of duality between the assistant and assistee.²³ The well-known example of shell and silver given by the Advaita Vedantins to prove the ultimate falsity of the phenomenal world and oneness of Brahman, itself proves the existence of the shell and the silver as two different entities. In the same way, the statement of Advaitins that Brahman is one without a second and the world is just appearance²⁴ proves the duality of Brahman and the phenomenal world which is different from Brahman.²⁵ It is also not tenable to argue that one unitary self-identical Brahman appears as the plurality of phenomena just as in dream a plurality of facts is experienced though it is one Consciousness that only exists and is felt and thus existence of one Absolute Brahman is not contradicted by perceptual experience. This is because even in dream as in wakeful experience, the consciousness of action is different from that of the agent because dream-contents are produced by different memory impressions.²⁶

The view-point that the indeterminate (*nirvikalpa*) cognition which cognises existence of Brahman cannot be accepted as source of our experience, because we never perceive what is not determined by space, time and what is not other than the knowing Self. On opening our eyes we perceive specific existence determined by space, time and otherness and the like.²⁷ Granting that indeterminate cognition is a kind of valid source of knowledge, it must be accepted that, it will not only take note of what Brahman is, but, will also take note of what Brahman is not and thus, it leads to dualism of Brahman and non-Brahman.²⁸

22 (a) *Tattvartharajavartika*, p. 21, pub. Bharatiya Jnanapitha, Kasi, 1953.

(b) *A.M.*, 24.

(c) *A.S.*, p. 158.

23 *S.S.P.*, pp. 6-7.

24 *anirvacayavidhyadvitaya sacivasya prabhavato vivarta-*
yasyaite viyadamilatejo avanayah
yatascabhudvisvam caramacaramuccavacamidam
namamastadbrahmaparimitasukhjnanaamamrtam

—*Bhamati*, *Mangala* Verse 1, quoted in *S.S.P.*, p. 2.

25 *A.S.*, p. 2.

26 *A.S.*, p. 158.

27 *S.S.P.*, p. 4.

28 *S.M.*, p. 82.

Even the argument that perception has no power to deny the Reality, it only affirms, is baseless because affirmation always implies negation, a thing cannot be affirmed to be yellow without denying that it is black. Thus affirmation and negation which are presented together are the positive and negative aspects of a single Reality. Our perceptual experience instead of proving one Brahman, proves difference to be as integral to Reality as identity.²⁹ If perception only affirms Reality—i.e., Brahman, then why not to state that it affirms this plurality of phenomenal world also? If it affirms both, then there is a dualism of Brahman and the world. Thus argument of the Vedantins that perception only affirms positive Reality, is not justified by our experience. If Brahman is only real and this world is false, then Brahman could have been known in the first case of our normal experience and not this pluralistic phenomenal world.³⁰

Even the non-duality of Brahman cannot be proved on the basis of pure logic also. When Vedantins argue that *ātman* is un-born, un-bound and always free and thus, in reality there is neither bondage nor liberation, etc.,³¹ this is purely fabrication of mind and to prove such kind of *ātman* by inference will be completely imaginary. The consequence of this is attainment of an imaginary liberation.³² Bondage and liberation are facts and both cannot be regarded as illusory. Denial of distinctions between them in defiance of experience is nothing but embarrassing the scepticism or universal nihilism.³³

If non-duality of Brahman is proved with the help of valid inference—which involves the proban (*hetu*) and the probandum (*sādhya*), then there is clear admission of duality between the proban and probandum.³⁴ The fact is that both cannot be identical because, inference will be invalid unless both are admitted as two distinct facts. Again it will not be possible to construct a syllogism which demands different members. In inference, one proves the probandum by means of proban, proceeding from 'the known to the un-known' which means

²⁹ S.M., p. 79.

³⁰ S.S.P., p. 8.

³¹ *Mandukyopaniṣad* with *Gaudapadakarika* and *Sankarabhasya*, *Vaiyathyaparakarana*, verse 12, p. 108, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, V. S. 1993.

³² T.S., V. pp. 25-26.

³³ (a) A.S., p. 159.

(b) S.S.P., p. 7.

³⁴ (a) A.M., 26.

(b) A.S., pp. 160-161.

inevitable dualism of 'the known and the un-known'. It is also illogical to argue that so far as the opponents' refutation is concerned, the conditions of inference, such as the proban, the probandum and example, are accepted as true by the opponents and hence they are valid, because it will again lead to dualism of one's own acceptance and the acceptance of the opponent.³⁵ If the conditions of inference (the proban, the probandum and the example) are false and thus cognition of difference be considered as false, then that inference will be declared to be invalid, because no valid conclusion can be drawn from false premises. If Advaitins prove their theory of non-duality on the basis of false premises, then we may obtain real fire from the dream smoke.³⁶

In addition to all these difficulties, the word 'duality' which occurs in the word Advaita itself indicates acceptance of duality. 'Advaita' means rejection of 'dvaita'. Without acceptance of 'dvaita', its denial is also not possible. Nothing is contradicted unless it exists and thus, non-duality which contradicts duality, from this very fact accepts the existence of duality.³⁷ Again, it is not plausible to argue that Brahman is supporting ground of all and is that principle of existence which runs through all things and unites them in one Reality, because it clearly involves the dualism, of a principle that runs through the things (*anvetṛ*) and the things through which it runs (*anvīyamāna*).³⁸ If the doctrine of Advaita is based on scriptural testimony and not on pure logic, then, dualism or pluralism may also be said to be based on scriptures on the same ground.

Even acceptance of scriptural testimony implies dualism of *āgama* (revelation) and Brahman *i.e.*, dualism of *vācya-vācaka-bhāva*, without which these scriptures declare nothing.³⁹ Ontologically, scriptures cannot be identical with Brahman because the means of proof (*āgama*) and the object of proof must be different. Otherwise they can establish nothing. In fact, scriptural statements such as "All that exists is Brahman", "Everything is that one Reality", etc. which Advaitin's quote in their support, prove dualism between all existing things of

35 (a) *A.M.*, 24.

(b) *A.S.*, pp. 158-9.

36 *S.S.P.*, p. 7.

37 (a) *A.M.*, 27.

(b) *A.S.*, p. 162.

38 *S.M.*, p. 83.

39 *vacyavacakabhavalaksanasya dvaityasyaiva tatrapī darsanat*, *S.M.*, p. 83.

the world and Brahman.⁴⁰ Even scriptures cannot be regarded as the essence of the Absolute, because, essence and possessor of essence must be numerically different.⁴¹ Another important thing is that, as far as these Vedantic texts are concerned, Advaitin's interpretations are not to be accepted as final word. This is because there are other possible interpretations which are in harmony with dualism or pluralism as interpreted in *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*.⁴²

If Absolute Brahman is self-proved, then there is no harm in accepting duality or plurality or voidity as self-proved truth. Self intuition cannot be considered as proof for the existence of non-dual Brahman, because, there is again an inevitable dualism between the proof (*i.e.*, self-intuition) and the object of proof (*i.e.*, Brahman). If self-intuition is identified with the Absolute, then it cannot be considered as a proof for the existence of Brahman.⁴³ It is self-contradictory to say that self-evident pure consciousness is the contradictor of our normal cognition of plurality, because, it means, again admission of duality of the contradicted and the contradictor.⁴⁴

Even on the religious ground, the doctrine of non-dual Brahman cannot be accepted, because it means denial of distinctions between good and bad deeds, pain and pleasure, this world and the world hereafter, knowledge and ignorance, bondage and liberation. Thus, if this doctrine is accepted then the consequence is destruction of the moral fabric of human life.⁴⁵

If it is said that, Brahman is the only Reality and on account of *māyā* or *avidyā*, this apparent world exists, then again it is impossible to prove, either the existence on *māyā* or *mithyātva* (illusory nature) of the world by any means of valid knowledge.⁴⁶ The fundamental objection against Advaitin's is, whether the doctrine of *māyā* (cosmic illusion) adopted to explain the multiplicity of the phenomenal world

40 (a) *S.M.*, p. 83.

(b) *S.S.P.*, p. 5.

41 *S.S.P.*, p. 6.

42 *V.A.B., gāthā* 2036-2045.

43 *A.S.*, 161.

44 *A.S.*, p. 158.

45 (a) *A.M.*, 25.

(b) *A.S.*, p. 159.

46 *A.S.*, pp. 161-163.

is real or unreal. If it is real, then it destroys the non-dual nature of Brahman and leads to an inevitable dualism. If it is unreal, then, this world which is caused by *māyā* will not be possible. To say that *māyā* is unreal and still it creates this world is as absurd as to say that a woman is barren and that she is a mother.⁴⁷ And the Vedantins themselves accept the theory that the real thing (the world) cannot be produced from unreal thing.⁴⁸ Again, the very statement that *māyā* is indescribable, i.e., neither existent nor non-existent on account of being existent in the state of mundane life and no more at the state of realisation, indicates that it is describable in terms of either existent on the phenomeal level or non-existent in the state of liberation.⁴⁹ To say that *māyā* is indescribable is self contradictory like saying that 'I am dumb throughout the life and my father is bachelor.'⁵⁰

If we grant that *māyā* exists, then where does it exist? Neither Brahman nor *jīva* can be locus of *māyā*. It cannot exist in the supreme Brahman which is pure-consciousness by nature. If it exists in Brahman then Brahman cannot be called pure-consciousness on account of being associated with *māyā*. Even individual self is pure consciousness by nature and in essence, not different from Brahman and thus free from all taint of *māyā*. If *māyā* is an independent reality like Brahman and co-eval with it from the beginningless time, then it will be an impossible task to annihilate it by any means of liberation and the consequence of this indestructibility of *māyā* is an eternal bondage of the Soul.⁵¹ It is argued that *māyā* exists (*bhāvarūpa*) but it cannot be eternal like Brahman nor can it be an independent entity. Though it is not capable of being determined by logic, still the denial of its existence would be contradiction of a felt fact and without adopting this doctrine of *māyā* it is not possible to solve the problem of relation between the Absolute and phenomena, individual self and the Brahman, and Real and the unreal.⁵² Here, again, one may argue why should such kind of illogical and irrational concept be accepted at all? Instead of postulating this kind of unreal principle as the cause of the world, it is better to accept the view that the world is both different as well

47 *Anyayogavyavacchedika* with *Syadvadamanjari*, verse 13.

48 *Mandukyopaniṣad* with *Goudapadakarika* and *Sankarabhasya*, *Advaita prakaraṇa*, verse, 28, pp. 164-65.

49 (a) *N.K.*, part I, p. 63.

(b) *S.S.P.*, p. 8.

50 *S.S.P.*, p. 8.

51 *S.S.P.*, p. 9.

52 Suresvara, *Sambaddhavarṭika*, 175-181, pp. 55-57, ed. Kashinath Shastri, Agas pub. Anandasrama Press, 1892.

as non-different from the Brahman. The relation between the Absolute and the world is to be identity-cum-difference. An advantage of accepting this view is that there is no necessity of denying any one of the felt facts, the world and its cause the Absolute.⁵³

Again, the unreality of the world cannot be proved. Argument of the Vedantins is that, real is real always, remains constant at all the times and is free from origin and destruction, increase and decrease. But things of the world are subject to constant change, decay and death. Thus they are unreal. This Vedantic position can be put in the following syllogistic form : "World is unreal, because it is an apparent reality, that which is apparent is unreal, (as for instance) silver in a shell, therefore, this world is unreal, because of its apparent nature."⁵⁴ This word "unreality" of the Vedantins can be understood in three alternative ways : absolute non-existence, mistake for one thing appearing as another and indescribable. The first two meanings are denied by the Vedantins because, the former view leads to *asatkhyāti*, which is accepted by some Buddhists and latter view is *viparītakhyāti*, which involves two reals : the thing which is mistaken and the thing as it is mistaken. The third alternative that it means 'indescribability' is also not plausible because everything has corresponding expression for it in language, for instance, 'this is a table', 'this is a Sarala tree' etc. and what gives birth to an expression in language is either an object or a piece of knowledge. Again, an object must be either real or unreal, to deny both the alternatives to a thing is meaningless, only one of them can be denied. If indescribability of thing means '*niḥsvabhāvatva*' (i.e. un-substantial) i.e., it is not what it appears to be then it leads to *viparītakhyāti*. If it is understood in the sense of un-knowability, then the very argument that a thing is un-substantial because it is un-knowable indicates that the thing is not absolutely un-knowable. And again, this apparent world cannot be talked about due to unknowability and it cannot be made the subject of the syllogism such as the 'world is unreal, because it is an apparent', etc. If the world is un-knowledge, then it could not be predicated of the world. Thus, unknowability is inconsistent with the *hetu* i.e., *pratīyamānatva*. If un-knowability means that a thing is not really as it appears to us, then it cannot be said as un-knowable, because, here, a thing is known differently from what it is, which is again principle of *viparītakhyāti* un-acceptable to Vedantins.

⁵³ A.S., p. 163.

⁵⁴ (a) S.M., p. 78.

(b) *Ratnakaravatarika* (R.K.), p. 34, ed. Hargovindas, pub. Dharmabhyudaya Press, Benares, Vira Samvt. 2437.

Even direct perception of plurality of thing of the world such as 'table', 'chair', 'Sarala tree' etc. disapproves the doctrine of indescribability of the world.⁵⁵

This doctrine of unreality of the world of Advaitins can be refuted by providing counter arguments such as "world is not false, because it is different from non-existing things, that which is different from non-existing thing is not false, as for instance, the Soul, this world is so, hence, it is not false."⁵⁶ This counter argument makes it very clear that, it is irrational to accept the Vedantins view that the soul which appears as a reality in our apprehension is only real and things are unreal which also appear as real in our apprehension. If it is said that inference proves the unreality of the world then, it can be argued that—Is syllogism, which is supposed to prove the unreality of the world, a part of the world or is it separate from it? If it is separate, then is it true or untrue? It cannot be true, otherwise the whole world will become true. It cannot be untrue, because, it proves nothing. If it is a part of the world then, it is unreal like the rest of the world and cannot accomplish its task of proving unreality of the world.⁵⁷ If it is said that an argument has a practical validity and serves well as a working theory, then we have to accept that an argument is real, and it will destroy the fundamental position of the Advaitins, that nothing besides Brahman is real.⁵⁸

Even scriptural texts such as '*sarvam khalu idam brahma*' etc. instead of proving unreality of the world prove reality of the world and Brahman *i.e.*, all existing things of the world are Brahman.⁵⁹

Even Advaitic one-soul theory is not tenable because this view is again contradicted by perceptual experience of plurality of individual selves. Like Sāṅkhyas,⁶⁰ Jainas argue that, if *ātman* is only one then birth and death, bondage and liberation, pain and pleasure etc. should

55 (a) *R.K.*, pp. 34-35.

(b) *S.M.*, pp. 78-79.

56 (a) *R.K.*, pp. 34-35.

(b) *S.M.*, pp. 80.

57 *S.M.*, p. 80.

58 *S.M.*, p. 80.

59 (a) *A.S.*, p. 161.

(b) *S.M.*, p. 83.

60 *Sāṅkhyakarika*, verse 18, pub. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1963.

be one for the whole universe, if one person is blind or deaf, all should be blind or deaf, if one acts, all should act in the same way, if one suffers or enjoys, all should similarly suffer or enjoy. If selves were one, bondage of one should have meant bondage of all, liberation of one should have meant liberation of all. But what we find in the world is of a nature which is quite the opposite.⁶¹ If *ātman* is one then births of different kinds of beings such as hellish, human, divine, etc. are not possible. If *ātman* is one and all pervading, then why is not consciousness seen in inert things such as pot, stone etc. ? Again, there will be no difference between liberated and bound Soul, preceptor and pupil, child and wise and so on.⁶² *Jīva* is different in each body (*pratikṣetram bhinnah*)⁶³ and thus, individuals are born and die at different times, their actions and experiences are diverse in nature and so on.

There cannot be absolute identity between *jīva* and Brahman because, in that case mundane world of different individual selves will be impossible to conceive on account of inseparability of *jīva* from ever liberated supreme Brahman. It also cannot be said that *ātman* seems to be different on account of bodily adjuncts but essentially one, because, in that case, just as after destruction of a pot its space is also freed, similarly, when body is destroyed every one will be liberated and no need of means of liberation, consequently no one will try to achieve this goal and whole science of liberation will become purposeless⁶⁴ and theory of *karma*, rebirth, etc. collapse to the ground.

If it is said that, on account of *samskāras* (impressions) every *jīva* is not freed immediately after destruction of the body and becomes object of transmigration then the question is whether these *samskāras* of individual *jīva* are specio-temporal or all-pervading like ether. If they are limited by space and time, then the man died at particular place, to say at Citrakūṭa must born in the same place, because *samskāras* cannot travel from one place to another being inactive and unconscious (because of product of un-conscious *avidyā*). *Samskāras* cannot also be all-pervading because in that case, no place and no

61 *Syadvadaratnakara*, V. p. 1094, pub Motilal Ladhaji, 27 Bhavanipeth, Pune, Vira Samvat 2457.

62 Silanka, *Sutrakṛtāṅgika*, pp. 30-35. ed. . Ambikadatta Oza, pub. Mahavira Jaina Jnanodaya Society, Rajkot, V.S. 1993.

63 *P.N.T.*, VII, 56.

64 *S.M.*, p. 1095.



Tirthankara
Vijaynagar, 14th-15th Century A.D.

soul, even liberated, will be free from clutches of all-pervading *samskāras* and these *samskāras* might bring liberated man back to this mundane world. So, it is not possible to prove the oneness of souls and it is more wise and practical to accept the view of plurality of selves.⁶⁵

To sum up, Jainas point out that Advaitin's arguments that reality is one without a second, on account of *māyā* this world appears as many (*vivarta*) and this apparant world disappears after destruction of *māyā* and realisation of Brahman, and *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana* are the means of liberation, are meaningless like description of the barren woman's son, because the existence of non-dual Brahman or *ātman* cannot be proved by any available means of knowledge.⁶⁶

Now, all these objections raised by Jainas are generally found in the writings of Rāmānuja⁶⁷ and Madhva.⁶⁸ Possible answers are found in the works of stalwarts of Advaita Vedānta such as Śāṅkara⁶⁹ and his followers which certainly need separate treatment. It is also very important to note that, though Jainas criticise some of the doctrines of Advaita, still some Advaitic trends are crept into Jainism.⁷⁰ And there was trend to reconcile Jainism with Advaita and other systems of Indian philosophy. For instance, Yaśovijaya⁷¹ a 17th century Jaina stalwart proclaims that Jainism has no quarrel with any other system of Indian thought.

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65 S.M., pp. 1095-6.

66 S.S.P., p. 7.

67 *Sribhāṣya*, part I, p. 77-135, ed. Vasudev Shastri Abhyankar, Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay, 1914.

68 Anandatīrtha (Madhva), *Mayavāda-khaṇḍana*, p. -25, pub. T.K. Venkatasāyana, Srividya Printing Press, Kumbhākanam, 1929.

69 (a) *Works of Śāṅkarācārya*.

(b) *Sambandha Vartika*.

(c) *Advaita-siddhi*, ed. Anantakrishna Shastri, Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay, 1917.

(d) *Madhvatāntramukha-mardana*, ed. Pt. Ramanatha Dikṣit, Hanumanghat, Benares, 1941.

70 (a) *saṃalāma nirmalāma cedamitidvāitāma yadā gatāma dvāitāma nirmalāma brahma tadāikāma-vastisyate*

—Yaśovijaya, *Adhyātma-mopaniṣat Prakaraṇa*, II-40, p. 152. *Adhyātma-sāra*, *Adhyātma-mopaniṣad*, *Jñāna-sāra Prakaraṇa-traya*, pub. Sanghavi Nagindas Karma-chandra, Jamnagar, V. S. 1994.

(b) 'Advaitic Trends in Jainism', *The Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 6-7, 1965.

71 *abaddhaṃ paramārthāna baddhaṃ ca vyavaharataḥ*

bruvanobrahma-vedanti nanekāntāma pratikṣipet

—*Adhyātma-mopaniṣat Prakaraṇa*, I-50, and 45-49 and 51.

Thakkura Pheru and the Popularisation of Science in India in the Fourteenth Century

Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma

0.1 Until the introduction of English in India, scientific texts as well as other scholarly works were written mainly in Sanskrit and that too in metrical form. Though Sanskrit had the advantage of being the pan-Indian medium of communication, its accessibility within any region of India was limited, and the writings in Sanskrit were naturally elitist in character, being written chiefly by Brahmins for Brahmins. Moreover, the enormous respect for tradition and the urge to preserve it in all its purity resulted in a faithful following of the traditional framework in all intellectual endeavours, so much so that the chapter titles of almost all texts in a particular branch of science sound alike. If any innovations were made it was always within this framework. The lack of discrimination in the selection of ideas and the reluctance to discard outmoded concepts, coupled with a language of limited accessibility, resulted in the stagnation of Indian science in the middle ages. There is one more factor which contributed to this decline. This is the absence of communication and therefore absence of any interaction, between science and technology. While the writers on scientific subjects were upper caste Brahmins, the practitioners of technology were artisans of low social standing. The techniques employed by the latter in their professions were rarely recorded in writing; these were transmitted orally from father to son or from master craftsman to apprentice and remained in many cases guild or trade secrets.

0.2 The literature of the Jainas offers some sort of an exception to this general state of affairs. Though the Jainas respected Sanskrit as a vehicle of scholarly exposition, Prakrit also enjoyed religious sanction

among them. Even while writing in Sanskrit, there was often a conscious attempt to simplify the language for the sake of wider understanding.¹ The Jaina monks played an active role in the affairs of the community and seem to have been responsible for the spread of learning to all strata of society, notably to the more numerous mercantile class of Vaiśyas. In Gujarat where Jainism was influential, the Jainas of the merchant class played a prominent role in the middle ages. A Jaina called Vīra was the superintendent and minister of four successive rulers Mūlarāja, Cāmuṇḍarāya, Vallabharāya and Durlabharāya at the close of the tenth century and beginning of the eleventh.² His son Vimala was the commander-in-chief of Bhīma I and built in 1031 the famous Vimalavasahi temple with its exquisite marble carvings on Mt. Abu. In the thirteenth century Vastupāla served the Vāghelā rulers as their chief-minister, and was a great patron of learning.³

0.3 Aside from these instances of political power, commerce was the exclusive forte of the Jainas, and much of the economic activity in the Gujarat-Rajasthan-Delhi region was controlled by them. The members of the Śrīmāla caste, in particular, specialised in minting and money-exchange. Even after the political domination of northern India by Muslims from the thirteenth century onwards, the expertise represented by this banker's caste was utilised by the Muslim rulers of Delhi in their minting operations,⁴ just as Hindu and Jaina masons and stone-carvers were employed in the construction of the Islamic monuments. The Kharatara chronicle mentions a number of wealthy Jainas from Delhi who enjoyed good relations with the rulers.

1.0 Notable among these members of the Śrīmāla caste in the employment of the Sultāns of Delhi is Thakkura Pheru who stands out as a writer on a wide range of scientific subjects in popular speech. He wrote six scientific works : *Vāstusāra* on architecture and iconography, *Jyotiṣasāra* on astrology and astronomy, *Ratnaparikṣā* on gemmology,

¹ For instance, Jinapala, writing at Delhi in 1248, explains at the end of his *Kharataragacchalāmkaṛa-Yugapradhanacarya-Gurvavali*, a chronicle of the pontiffs of the Kharatara sect, how he simplified Sanskrit in this work in order that even children can understand it. Henceforth this chronicle will be referred to as the Kharatara chronicle. It was published in the *Kharataragaccha-Bṛhadgurvavali*, ed. Muni Jinavijaya, Bombay 1966. Jinapala's statement occurs on p. 50.

² Cf. U. P. Shah, "Coinage of Early Calukyas of Anhillavada-Patna", *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XVI. 2 (1954), pp. 239-42.

³ Cf. B. J. Sandesera, *Literary Circle of Mahamatya Vastupala*, Bombay 1953.

⁴ Cf. John Scott Deyell, *Living Without Silver : The Monetary History of Early Medieval India* (The University of Wisconsin-Madison Ph. D. Thesis, 1982. Xerography in 1983 by the University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor), Vol. I, p. 339.

Gaṇitasāra on arithmetic, *Dhātutpatti* on metallurgy and perfumery trade, and *Dravyaparīkṣā* on assay and money-exchange.⁶

1.1 Pheru's biography can be pieced together from the personal references in his works. His first known work was written in 1291,⁵ hence his birth may have taken place around 1270. His native place was Kannana situated in the modern state of Haryana, and this place was not far from the then imperial capital Delhi. It was then a centre of pilgrimage for the Jains. Pheru was born in a prosperous banker's family belonging to the Kharatara sect of the Svetāmbara Jains. Pheru's grandfather, Kaliya or Kalasa, was a prominent banker of Kannana. It is not stated where Pheru's father Canda resided, but unlike his father, Canda had the title Thakkura. The Kharatara chronicle lists a number of prominent Jains by their names, castes and titles. A cursory survey of those enjoying the title of Thakkura shows that they are all from Delhi. This would suggest that Thakkura was a court title and that Canda may have been associated with the Sultān's treasury at Delhi.

1.2 Nothing is known about Pheru's early life and education, but it is likely that he was brought up and educated at his native town Kannana. There in 1291, presumably at the conclusion of his formal education, he composed an eulogy of the pontiffs of his sect. Sometime later, but much before 1315, he joined the treasury of Alauddin Muhammad Khalji at Delhi and was apparently in charge of the jewellery. This job inspired him to write the *Ratnaparīkṣā*, a manual on gemmology, for the instruction of his son Hemapāla in 1315. In the same year he wrote two more works : the *Jyotiṣasāra* on astrology and the *Vāstusāra* on architecture. In 1318 he must have been the assay-master in the mint of Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah and produced his invaluable *Dravyaparīkṣā* on assay and money-exchange. According to the Kharatara chronicle, he participated in that year in a pilgrimage to the holy places around Delhi. The chronicle reports further that in 1323 he joined the pilgrim congregation to Śātrunjaya in Gujarat.⁷ It is not known if he was still employed at the court, but the very mention of his name among the Jaina prominence of Delhi suggests that he may have continued his

5 All Pheru's works are published in the *Thakkura-Pheru-Viracita-Ratnaparīksadi-Saptagranthasamgraha*, ed. Muni Jinavijaya, Jodhpur 1961. For other editions of the individual texts, see my *Thakkura Pheru's Ratnaparīkṣā : A Medieval Prakrit Text on Gemmology*, Aligarh 1984.

6 This is the *Kharataragaccha-Yugapradhana-Catuhpadika*, an eulogy of the pontiffs of his sect, written in Apabhramsa.

7 See *Kharataragaccha-Bṛhadgurvavali*, pp. 66-68, 72-77.

services under Ghiyasuddin Tughluq as well. Thus, like Vira of Gujarat, Pheru also served four successive Sultans, Alauddin Muhammad Khalji (1296-1316), Shihabuddin Umar (1316), Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah (1316-1320) and Ghiyasuddin Tughluq (1320-1325).

1.3 It is noteworthy that Pheru's literary activity was not limited to his caste or professional interests only but extended beyond these to encompass astrology, architecture, metallurgy etc. Though well-read in Sanskrit, Pheru did not choose that language for his scientific writings nor did he choose the literary Prakrit of the Jaina clergy but wrote instead in a mixture of Prakrit and Apabhramsa. Perhaps he was reluctant to abandon Prakrit altogether but at the same time wished to be understood by a wide strata of professionals like bankers, jewellers, traders, architects and masons. This way his language probably came very close to the spoken language of his day. Though he broke with the tradition of writing in Sanskrit, he still adopted the metrical form which is more suitable for memorising. However, in order to enhance the practical utility of the works, he included a large number of tables and occasional diagrams. With this background, we shall now discuss his scientific works individually in a chronological sequence as far as possible.

2.1 The *Vāstusāra*, completed on the auspicious festival of the Vijayadaśamī (ca. 19 September 1315) at Kannana, is divided into three chapters. The first deals with astrological matters related to the selection of the site for house-building, auspicious moments for beginning the construction, for occupying the house etc. Normally these topics are dealt with in astrological works and not in those on architecture. But Pheru quite pragmatically includes them in his work on architecture and merely touches upon them in his book on astrology. The second chapter discusses the iconography of Jaina images and the third the architecture of various types of temples. V. S. Agrawala was of the opinion that this text "must have served as a practical handbook for architects of Jaina temples in the early Sultanate period."⁸ The Kharatara chronicle describes many instances of the construction of Jaina temples, installation of idols etc. in the Rajasthan-Delhi region in this period. It will be interesting to make a comparison of the theory expounded in this work with the extant examples of this period.

⁸ "A Note on Medieval Temple Architecture", *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, XVI. 1 (1943), p. 112.

2.2 The *Jyotiṣasāra*, also written in 1315, deals with the usual topics of astrology and the related areas of astronomy. This work contains many tables of computation and a detailed list of contents in Sanskrit at the end. The work is apparently meant for the use of the Jainas in the territory of Delhi, for at one place computations are given for Delhi and Hansi; the latter was the first military outpost beyond Delhi.

At the beginning of the work, Pheru mentions the authorities consulted by him. I list them here to indicate his vast learning. These are Haribhadra, Naracandra, Padmaprabha, Jauna, Varāhamihira, Lalla, Parāsara and Garga. The first three are Jainas. The Jainas held *jyotiṣa* (i.e. astronomy, astrology and mathematics) in high esteem and wrote a large number of works on this subject. The influence of these Jaina writers on Pheru is considerable. Haribhadra (9th century) wrote an astrological work called *Lagnakuṇḍalikā*.⁹ Pheru apparently followed him in naming the chapters of his work *dvāras* (doorways). Padmaprabha Suri's *Bhuvanadīpikā* or *Grahabhāvaprakāśa*, written in 1164, was an immensely popular text. There are several commentaries on it, and about three hundred manuscripts of this work are extant today.¹⁰ Naracandra Suri (d. ca. 24 August 1230) was a teacher of the famous Vastupāla and the author of the *Jyotiṣasāra*, also known as *Nāracandra* or *Nāracandrapaddhati*. This was also a very popular work, for there are some two hundred old manuscripts available today.¹¹ Pheru's aim seems to be to present the teachings of these Sanskrit works in simple Prakrit

2.3 The *Ratnaparīkṣā* on gemmology was also written in 1315. At the beginning of this work, Pheru states that (i) he has studied the earlier Sanskrit texts on gemmology, (ii) seen the ocean-like vast collection of gems in Alauddin's treasury and (iii) observed the gem-testing by other experts. To put it differently, Pheru (i) acquired theoretical knowledge from the existing literature, (ii) had the practical experience of handling gems in the royal treasury, and (iii) underwent a period of apprenticeship under experts. One would call this a truly modern approach. Pheru was indeed well placed to fulfil all the three conditions. His wide learning and good command of Sanskrit enabled him to read

9 Cf. Ambalal P. Shah, *Jaina Sahitya-ka Brhad Itihas*. Vol. V, Varanasi 1969, p. 168.

10 Cf. David Pingree, *Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit*, Series A, Vol. 4, Philadelphia 1981, pp. 173-179.

11 *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, Philadelphia 1976, pp. 132-36.

Sanskrit manuals on gemmology by Buddhahatṭa, Agastya, Bṛhaspati and others. Secondly, Alauddin amassed enormous quantities of gems and precious metals during his campaigns, and his treasury must indeed have resembled an ocean full of gems. There can be no doubt that many of the gems were of a rare quality. An exquisite diamond said to have been acquired by Alauddin reached the hands of the Mughal emperor Babur in 1526. Babur states that "it is so valuable that a judge of diamonds valued it at half the daily expense of the whole world."¹² Thirdly, Alauddin's court boasted of Muslim experts also who were well versed in Islamic gemmology. The quartermaster-general was such an expert, so was the court poet Amir Khusrau. Under these circumstances, one would expect that Pheru's treatise would (i) present Indian theories of gemmology, (ii) describe some of the rarest gems in the royal treasury, and (iii) display some acquaintance with Islamic gemmology, in particular with the Arab discoveries about the specific gravity of gems.

But Pheru's aim was modest, namely to provide his son with a practical handbook containing the contemporary tariff of prices along with some amount of the traditional theory and lore of gems. Therefore, he paraphrases the earlier writings—sometimes indiscriminately—on the mythology, properties and sources of gems. About the sources, he is most careless, repeating often the same lists of places enumerated by the earlier writers, sometimes even misunderstanding them. But unlike the earlier writers who mention the price of each gem separately along with its description, Pheru has an entire section where he quotes the prices very systematically, first in verses and then in tables for easy reference. Though the royal treasury might be overflowing with gems of large size, the prices quoted are only for gems weighing up to 18.35 metric carats. Perhaps gems beyond this weight were not offered for sale in the market but were surrendered to the royal treasury.¹³

Besides this innovation of a separate section on the price tariff, there is another aspect where the *Ratnaparikṣā* distinguishes itself. It is the description of the gems imported from Persia (spinel, cornelian and turquoise). Pheru was the first Indian gemmologist to describe these

¹² *Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammad Babur*, tr. John Leyden and William Erskine, London 1921, Vol. II, pp. 191-92. Many historians and gemmologists thought this diamond to be identical with the famous Koh-i-Nur, but this view is no more favoured.

¹³ Fernao Nuniz reports in the sixteenth century that in the kingdom of Vijayanagara all diamonds exceeding 25 ct. were to be given to the king's treasury. See Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire : Vijayanagara* (reprint), Delhi 1962, p. 369.

gems, and his information is quite precise and accurate as can be seen from the contemporary Arabic works on gemmology.¹⁴

Though the *Ratnaparikṣā* cannot be counted among Pheru's best works, it exemplifies certain characteristics of Pheru as a writer. These characteristics are as follows; (i) Where there exists a corpus of traditional literature on a subject, he is content to follow the traditional framework and to present the material in Prakrit (as in the description of gems). (ii) However, he makes innovations in the traditional framework if practical considerations demand them (e.g. the price tariff; see also 2.4 below). (iii) But where there is no traditional literature to lean on, he writes from his practical knowledge, and is most original and precise (e.g. on the gems imported from Persia). The *Dhātutpatti* (see 2.5) and more particularly the *Dravyaparikṣā* (see 2.6) belong to this category of original works.

2.4 The *Gaṇitasāra* on arithmetic is not dated but must have been written before 1318. Compared to the previous text, this one is more innovative, not so much in the theoretical portions but in the application of arithmetical rules to a wide range of areas. It is commonplace to say that arithmetic is one of the most practical of sciences, its rules being employed by traders, masons, carpenters, tax-collectors and the like for the calculations connected with their professions. The units of measurement and the examples to illustrate arithmetical rules given by Pheru throw a flood of light on the economic and social conditions of this period. Here a few examples will suffice.

In the section on solid geometry, Pheru gives the rules for the volumes of domes (*gonamṭa*), square and circular towers with spiral stairways in the middle (*pāyaseva*), towers with fluted columns (*munāraya*), niches (*tāka*), staircases (*sopāna*), bridges (*pulabandha*) and so on (III. 74-86). It should be noted that some of these are new architectural features being introduced by the Muslim rulers in India in this period. The purpose of such rules is to enable the chief mason to calculate the number of bricks or stones needed for these constructions. To do this calculation more exactly, Pheru informs us, one should first calculate the total volume of the wall-space, subtract from this the volume of the space occupied by the doors and windows and reduce the remainder by threetwentieths, the latter being the volume of the

¹⁴ Cf. Eilhard Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, hrsg. Wolf Dietrich Fischer, Hildesheim, New York, Vol. I, pp. 835-53.

mortar (III. 70-71). The result when divided by the volume of a single brick yields the number of bricks.

Historically more significant is the following statement : "The *munāraya* is like a circular tower with a spiral stairway in the middle, as far as the inside is concerned. But the difference is this : the wall contains half triangles and half circles" (III. 80). The meaning of the cryptic last sentence is that in a horizontal cross-section of the *munāraya*, the outer circumference consists of alternate triangles and semicircles. It should be remembered that about a hundred years before this time, Qutbuddin Aibak built the Qutb Minar in Delhi and that Alauddin himself started constructing another tower twice as high. Now, the lower story of the Qutb Minar consists of alternately angular and circular columns, and it is clear that Pheru is referring here to such a tower with fluted columns.

In another section, dealing with cloth (IV.i.18-37), Pheru mentions different kinds of silk, woollen and cotton materials, the rate of shrinkage or loss in washing, cutting and sewing, and the area of cloth needed to make various types of tents. There is a last section (IV.iii.1-17) listing the average yields of grains, pulses, etc. per *bighā*, the average yield of molasses and brown sugar per maund of sugarcane, the amount of clarified butter that can be obtained from cow's and buffalo's milk and so on. Mention must also be made of Pheru's rule for converting Vikrama dates into Hijri dates and vice versa (IV.i.17) which is probably the first such rule to be formulated in India. It must be emphasised that all this is not germane to arithmetic as such, but Pheru is adapting arithmetic here to suit the needs of a variety of professions.

2.5 The *Dhātutpatti*, also not dated, deals with a heterogeneous mixture of topics, namely origin of metals, extraction of metals and perfumery articles. In the shape it has come down, the text does not seem to be complete or even continuous. Perhaps here are separate extracts from the lost *Bhūgarbhaprakāśa* said to have been written by Pheru. Even so, the present text offers valuable material. The section on the perfumery articles describes the properties, varieties, provenance and prices of camphor, aloe-wood, sandal-wood, musk, saffron etc. But more important is the section which discusses the techniques of extracting or preparing brass, copper, lead, tin, bronze, mercury, vermilion, red lead etc. This and the first part of the *Dravyaparīkṣā* (to be discussed below) show Pheru's familiarity with metal technology, and are unique contributions to the history of metallurgy in medieval India.

2.6 The *Dravyaparikṣā* was written in 1318 during the reign of Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah. Pheru states that he wrote this work on the basis of his direct experience of various types of coins while he was employed in the Delhi mint. The expression *dravyaparikṣā* denotes the examination of the metal content in coins or the assay. Since there was no official rate of exchange at that time for different currencies, the official or private money exchangers priced a coin on the basis of its metal content. For this purpose the coins had to be assayed either by melting some samples or, if the coins were few and of gold or silver, by rubbing them on the touchstone.¹⁵ Pheru states that he wrote this work for the sake of his son and brother who may have been embarking on the profession of money exchangers.

The *Dravyaparikṣā* can be divided into two parts. The first part (vv. 1-50) deals mainly with the techniques of refining gold and silver and of determining their fineness, and thus provides the necessary technical background for money exchange. The second part (vv. 51-149) can be termed a coin catalogue and is numismatically most valuable. Here are described the *mulhu tullu davvo nāmam thāmam*, the name, provenance, weight, average metal content and the exchange rate in terms of the Khalji currency. This data is given both in verses and in tables for some 260 types of coins belonging to the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries issued by various kingdoms of northern India. Some of the coins described here are no more extant and the *Dravyaparikṣā* remains the only testimony we have for the monetary history of several kingdoms.

Of the names listed by Pheru, some are based on the denomination, some on the king who issued them, some on the shape and some on the ornaments. The different kingdoms that issued these coins include Khurāsān, Multān, Jalandhar, Banāras, Tahangarh, Mālwa, Canderī, Devagiri, Gujarāt, Nārwar and, of course, Delhi. It is worth noting that where a number of coins from a single kingdom are listed, these are arranged in the correct chronological sequence.

Now we turn to the most valuable data, the metal content. In the case of gold and silver coins, Pheru gives their degree of fineness. For coins made of alloy, the weight of each metal per 100 specimens is listed. Such information must have been obtained by Pheru, in most

¹⁵ See my paper, "Varnamalika System of Determining the Fineness of Gold in Ancient and Medieval India" *Aruna-Bharati: Professor A. N. Jani Felicitation Volume*, Baroda 1983, pp. 369-389.

cases, by his own assay. Some of his assays, done through what would be considered primitive methods today, have been compared with modern assays and found to be quite accurate.¹⁶

The most interesting and comprehensive list is naturally of the coinage issued by the Sultāns of Delhi, especially Alauddin and his successor Qutbuddin Mubarak. Pheru lists 12 types of coins issued by the former and 63 types by the latter. It should be noted that Mubarak issued 63 types during the brief span of his reign from 1316 to 1318. Apart from the large number of types, the quality of his coinage was far superior to that of his predecessors. Nelson Weight observes: "The coinage of Qutbuddin Mubarak stands out for its boldness of design and the variety of its inscriptions... There is perhaps no finer coin in the whole pre-Mughal series than the broad square gold *tankah* of high relief struck at Qutbabad Fort."¹⁷

Occupying a high position at the mint, Pheru must have had an active role in issuing these diverse types of coins and in the improvements in minting technology. It is indeed fortunate that he shared his master's enthusiasm for coins and, drawing upon his own experience and that of his caste, left us an excellent guide to the coinage of northern India.

3.0 It is now pertinent to ask whether Pheru's attempt at popularisation of science has had any impact or emulation. Perhaps a thorough survey of the Jaina Mss collections in Gujarat and Rajasthan may one day bring to light some scientific texts written in popular speech, but on the whole the tradition of writing in Sanskrit metres was so strong that Pheru's example was rarely followed. On gemmology, however, there are some texts written in old Hindi and old Rajasthani by jewellers and even by Jaina monks. But these are faithful renderings of the Sanskrit originals and do not exhibit any innovations.¹⁸ An old Gujarati text of the fifteenth or sixteenth century called *Vividha-varṇaka* enumerates *tankaparikṣā* (i.e., examination of coins) as one of the

¹⁶ Cf. John Scott Deyell, *op. cit.*, I. p. 344.

¹⁷ H. Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi* (reprint), New Delhi 1974, pp. 107-8.

¹⁸ Cf. Agarchand Nahata and Bhanwarlal Nahata, *Ratnapariksa*, Calcutta n.d.

sciences,¹⁹ but except the *Āṛyaparikṣā* no other text on this subject has been discovered so far.

Just as English is used today in India for the sake of pan-Indian or even worldwide communication, the Hindu and Jaina scientists wrote in the pan Indian medium of Sanskrit until it was replaced by English. Thakkura Pheru, therefore, remains the only versatile scholar to have attempted to popularise science.

[January 1987]

¹⁹ See *Varnaka-Samuccaya*, ed. B. J. Sandesera, Pt. 1, Baroda 1956, p. 48.

Holy Abodes of the Sramanas

A. Ekambaranathan

M. Satyabhama

The earliest extant religious monuments in Tamilnadu are the natural caverns, which once served as the resorts of Jaina monks, found in some of the hills in Tirunelveli, Ramanad, Madurai, Pudukkottai, Trichy, South Arcot and North Arcot Districts. More than hundred such abodes of the Śramaṇas, commonly known as *pallis*, have been brought to light so far. These caverns which are located at inaccessible heights and amidst picturesque surroundings contain stone beds with one side raised a little to serve as pillows. They also bear epigraphic records in Brahmi characters palaeographically assigned to a period from about the 2nd century B.C. to 3rd or 4th century A.D. Interestingly, the lithic records contain names of resident monks and the laity who caused to be made such 'holy residences'. The early resorts of the Jaina recluses found in Tamilnadu and their significance are described hereunder.

Madurai District

1. *Anaimalai* : Anaimalai is a village about five miles from Madurai and is considered to be one amongst the eight sacred Jaina hills in Tamilnadu by the Digambara sect. Not far from the top of the rock at Anaimalai is a cavern so naturally formed to afford shelter from sun and rain. It measures roughly 22' in length and 18' in breadth, while at the entrance its height is 3', but this diminishes as one goes interior. The cavern contains 3 double beds and one single bed which is slightly lower than the other and four other contiguous beds covered with earth. Eight other beds are found outside the cavern. The dimensions of the beds roughly vary from about 6' to 7' in length and 1½' to 2' in breadth. All are chiselled smooth with pillow lofts. Above the cave entrance, the overhanging rock is cut to a depth of 2' 3" in breadth and 15' in length. Below this drip-line cutting is a solitary Brahmi

inscription datable to the first two centuries of the Christian era. It records that the stone beds found in the *palli* were the gift of one Nathan of Kunrattur and these were made for the merit of the monks Eri Aritan, Attuvay and Arattakayipan.¹

Though early Jaina vestiges in the form of stone beds and Brahmi inscription are found here, Anaimalai attained its height of glory mainly in the 9th century A.D. A number of stone sculptures representing Tīrthaṅkaras, Yakṣas and Yakṣis were carved on the vertical surface of a rock nearby the cavern in the 9th century A.D. Some of them were made by lay devotees like Enadinadi, Saradan Ariyan of Venpurainadu, Koyyan of the village Mallattirukai and Eviyampudi of Vettanjeri. These images were to be protected by the *karanattar* (accountants) of the village Porkodu and the revenue officials of Venbaikudi.²

Yet another sacred image was caused to be cut by the reputed preceptor Ajjanandī and the *saḥā* (village assembly) of Narasinghamangalam agreed to maintain and protect the image.³

An exquisite sculpture of a Yakṣa next to the Tīrthaṅkara was made by a certain Cheduliyapandi of the village Peruvemarrur.⁴ Thus, pious devotees from several villages had contributed their mite in different ways to the Jaina establishments at Anaimalai particularly in the 9th century A.D.

2. *Arittapatti* : A village five miles from Melur on the way to Alagarkoil from Madurai, it is situated amongst bald rocky hills. Half a mile to the north-west of the village is a hillock called Kalinjamalai. On the eastern face of the hill is a cavern with a drip ledge cut into the outer face of the rock. On the brow of the cave is found a Brahmi inscription dated to 2nd-1st centuries B.C. It records that the cave was caused to be given by Chalivan Attananvoliyan of Nelveli.⁵ The place Nelveli of this record may be identified with Tirunelveli, a small town on the northern bank of the river Tamraparani.

1 *Annual Report on Epigraphy (ARE)*, 457/1906.

2 *ARE*, 67-74/1905.

3 *South Indian Inscriptions (SII)*, Vol. XIV, No. 102.

4 *SII*, Vol. XIV, No. 103.

5 K. V. Raman and Y. Subbarayalu, "A new Tamil-Brahmi Inscription in Arittapatti" *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLIX, 1971, pp. 229-232.

Arittapatti continued to be a flourishing Jaina centre even in the 9th century A.D. as is attested to by an image of a seated Tīrthaṅkara, canopied by a triple umbrella over his head, carved on a boulder. The image was sculptured at the instance of the renowned preceptor Ajjanandī on behalf of the accountants of Nerkodu. The people of a village known as Vaniyakkudi agreed to protect the image. The hill at Arittapatti was by then called Tiruppinaianmalai.⁶

3. *Mangulam* : A village near Arittapatti, Mangulam is adjacent to a range of hills locally known as Kalugumalai. Atop the steep ascent of rocky slopes are five caverns with rock-cut beds and Brahmi inscriptions. Four of these caverns are inscribed upon, while three of them have smoothly chiselled beds cut on the bottom rocks. The beds are generally found to run in different directions and are slightly bigger than those at Anaimalai. The overhanging boulder inaccessible due to its height, bears the inscription in bold characters while in one instance (the lowermost cavern) the inscription is on another boulder, which incidentally forms the backwall of the northern portion. Unlike other caverns, this possesses an unsheltered, sandy courtyard, hence no beds are found here. The southern part of the cavern extends to a depth of 49' 5" between two boulders serving as walls. The curvaceous cavern is 58' in length and its height is roughly 11½' at the opening. On a platform are nearly thirtyone beds inside and outside. In the last cavern is a centrally cut out bed on a higher level measuring 7' 8" by 5', which was probably meant for the chief among the Śramaṇas.

The cluster of caverns which formed the monastic establishment at Mangulam was presided over by a reputed monk called Kaninanta. Several stone beds were caused to be made in these caves by Kadalanvaluti, an officer of the Pandya king Nedunjeliyan, Chatikan and Ilanchatikan, brother-in-law and nephew of the same king. Besides, the members of the merchant guild of Tiruvellarai also had evinced keen interest in this monastery and a lattice work to the abode of Kaninanta was provided by them.⁷ It is to be noted that the Mangulam inscriptions are the earliest epigraphs mentioning the name of the Pandyan king Nedunjeligan, who figures prominently in some of the Sangam classics.

4. *Muttupatti* : Muttupatti is a hamlet of Vadapalangy in Madurai taluk. About two furlongs east of it is a huge overhanging boulder

⁶ *Mukkudai*, July, 1975, pp. 13-14.

⁷ I. Mahadevan, *Corpus of Tamil-Brahmi Inscription*, Mangulam, Nos. 1-6.

sheltering about 30 beds. The cavern measures 43' east to west, 26' deep on the eastern side and about 5' high. On the pillow side of 3 of the beds is a damaged Brahmi inscription and on the rounded margin of the sheltering rock are two others, better preserved. A detached boulder in this spacious cavern also contains a bed and a Brahmi inscription cut into it, but on a rather rude surface. There is a groove in the boulder to drain off rain water.

The Brahmi records found in the caverns at Muttupatti are somewhat later than the other epigraphs from Mangulam, Ariitapatti, Kongarpuliyankulam and Kilavalavu and are assigned to the first two centuries of the Christian era. One of them refers to a resident monk who was the son of Cattan Antai of Nagaperur. Another epigraph mentions that the cavern was inhabited by Caiyalan of Vintaiyur. The name Caiyalan, according to I. Mahadevan, denotes a person from Ceylon.⁸ If his view is acceptable, it would also bring to light the contact that existed between the Jainas of Ceylon and Tamilnadu in early historical times.

Around the 9th century A.D. two Tīrthaṅkara images were sculptured on a boulder nearby the caverns. The first image was consecrated in the name of the inhabitants of the village Kuyirkudi by the ascetic Kanakavira-Periyadigal who was the disciple of Guṇasenadeva.⁹ The second image was caused to be cut by another recluse Maganandi who was the disciple of the great Ācārya Kurahdi Ashtopavasi.¹⁰ Thus it is obvious that Muttupatti continued to be an important centre of Jainism from the early centuries of the Christian era down to the 9th century A.D.

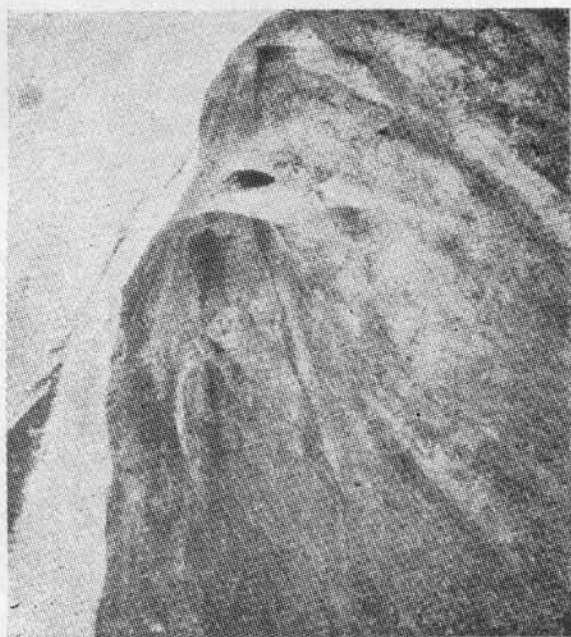
5. *Kongarpuliyankulam* : Near Kongarpuliyankulam which is nine miles south-west of Madurai is a bald rock with a narrow cleft in which are found six caverns. On the rounded edge of the roof in one of these caverns are found three Brahmi inscriptions in bold characters of 2nd century B.C. The inscriptions mention that Uparuvan, a lay devotee provided a canopy to the monastery, while Ceruatan plaited the fronds of the canopy. The same canopy was caused to be thatched by Peratan Pitan who was a native of Pakanur.¹¹ Thus the natural

⁸ *Ibid.*, Muttupatti, Nos. 1-3.

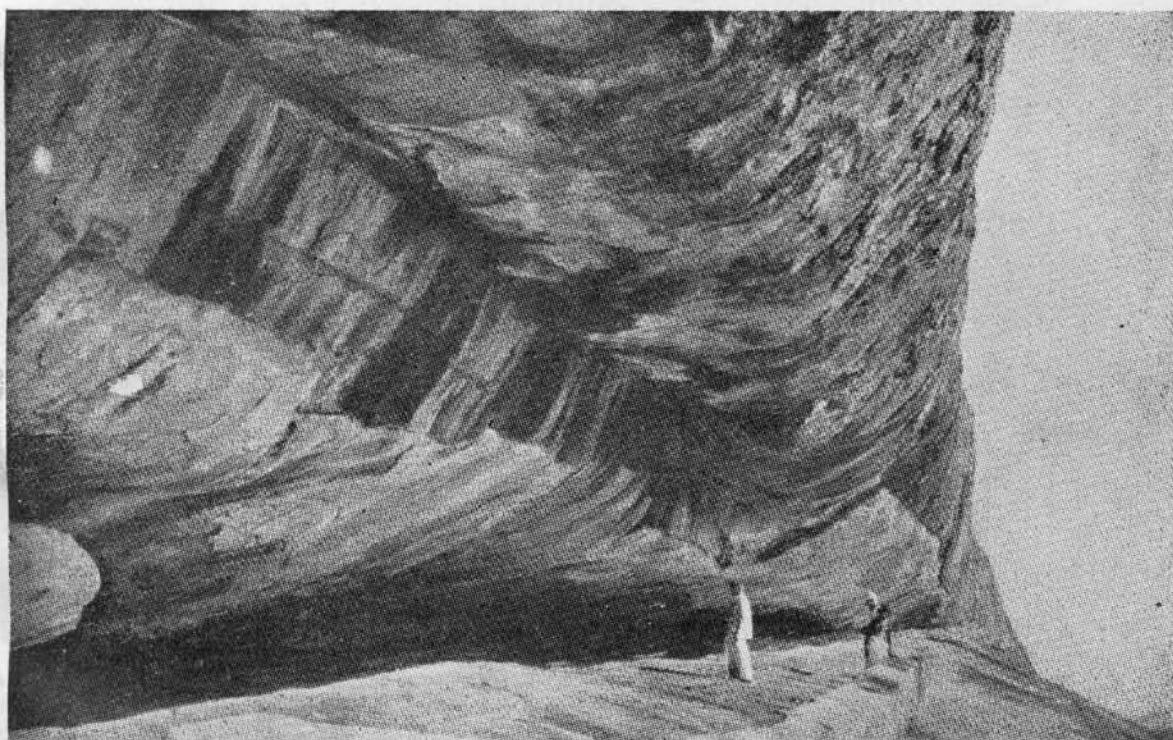
⁹ *ARE*, 61/1910.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 62/1910.

¹¹ I. Mahadevan, *Op. cit.*, Kongarpuliyankulam, Nos. 1-3.



General View of the Cavern Containing Inscriptions in Brahmi
Archchalur, Coimbatore



Cavern Inhabited by Jaina Monks, Sittannavasal

cavern had been provided with structural additions by the laity even in the 2nd century B.C. The next three caverns below this have six sets of beds generally without pillow lofts stretching north to south. However, only four are in good state of preservation. One of the caverns consist of ten beds, another of six, the third of eight, the fourth of four the fifth of three and in the sixth the beds are badly damaged. The average size of the beds vary from $8' \times 1' 6''$ in the longest to $5' 7'' \times 1' 6''$ in the shortest.

A nearby rock has a bold relief sculpture of a Tīrthaṅkara shown seated on *padmāsana*. The figure bears stylistic features of the 9th century A. D. Besides, an inscription incised below the image, palaeographically assigned to the same century, records that it was caused to be made at the instance of the revered monk Ajjanandi.¹²

6. *Tirupparankunram* : Rock cut beds are chiselled out on the western slope of a cavern on the Tirupparankunram hill near Madurai. There are six beds. Of these, four are small ones roughly equal in size and two slightly bigger. The latter lie spreading east to west and are mutilated on their pillow sides. The four smaller ones are cut one by the side of the other and are separated only by a very thin band of stone. They are too narrow even for a medium sized human to stretch freely. On the pillow side of the small beds are engraved four Brahmi inscriptions. A spacious vault measuring 56' in length north to south, 20' in depth and 5' 10'' in height encompasses the remaining part of the cavern. One or two cell like holes in the overhanging rock may be intended to prevent exposure to wind and a few inches higher up the border of the sheltering rock and across its full breadth, the margin is chiselled off and cut into a narrow drain to carry off the water from the roof. A similar groove cut into the floor at the broad entrance may have likewise served to drain the water from the sloping rock on the southern side of the cavern. The existence of footholds leading to the cavern, the holes (at times square or round) cut deep into the rock by their sides were meant perhaps to receive poles which once supported a wooden railing. The perennial spring which is reached by a flight of crude steps only a few yards down the northern side of the cavern and the beds with smoothly dressed pillow lofts highlight their special use. A peculiar feature of this cavern is the presence of two low benches—one measuring 5' by $1' 9\frac{1}{2}''$ and the other 6' by 3'. On the

¹² ARE, 54/1910.

northern side of the hill is a smaller cave with two beds, but without inscriptions.

There are four Brahmi inscriptions engraved on the pillow side of the stone beds. The first three records are much obliterated, however, in one of them the name of a person, Antuvan, finds place. Obviously, he could have been responsible for the cutting of the stone beds.¹³

The fourth inscription which is better preserved and ascribed to the 1st or 2nd century A.D. is important as it reveals the contact between Tamilnadu and the island of Lanka. It is stated that Polalaiyan of Erukkattur, a house holder from Ceylon (*Ilakkuḍumbikan*), was instrumental in creating rock cut beds in the cavern. The beds were caused to be cut at his instigation by Ay, Cayan and Naducatan who were probably stone masons.¹⁴ The cordial relations between the Jaina adherents of Ilam and Tamilnadu in the early centuries of the Christian era is thus apparent.

7. *Varicciyur* : Eight miles east of Madurai, is Vilattur to whose east is Varicciyur. Near this village is a hill consisting of three big rocks, which is said to belong to the village Kunnattur. The easternmost rock is Udayagiri and it contains a huge spacious cavern formed by the projection of the two sides of the rock. A number of beds have been cut into it, but are highly mutilated. An overhanging boulder at a height of 30' from the cavern is engraved with two Brahmi inscriptions. The inscriptions are very much obliterated, however, they appear to mention the cutting of stone beds in the cavern.¹⁵

8. *Alagarmalai* : Situated about twelve miles north-west of Madurai, it is adjacent to a range of hills of the same name. On this range between Alagarmalai and Kidaripatti is a huge cavern with beds. The way to the cavern appears to have been up a precipitous rock with narrow steps cut into at distances longer than in the case of the Tirupparankunram cavern. The cavern is a spacious hall fifty yards broad (thrice as big as Tirupparankunram) with an excellent spring in its right corner. Facing the south, it spreads east to west. The stone beds are many and of varying sizes scattered single and in groups over

¹³ *Ibid.*, 140-142/1951-52.

¹⁴ T. V. Mahalingam, *Early South Indian Palaeography*, pp. 251-255.

¹⁵ *ARE*, 38-A, B, C/1908.

the whole surface of the cavern. The biggest measures 8' 7" by 3' 1" while the smallest is 6' 4" by 2' $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Neither are they cut deep into the rock nor are the pillow lofts appreciably raised. Stone beds are also reported to exist even below the surface of the spring. Holes for wooden posts by the side of the narrow steps are similar to the Tirupparankunram cavern. Bigger pits in the rock are believed to have been mortars used by resident mendicants for pounding their food grains. There are eight inscriptions, one of which is on the pillow side of a small bed. The rest are inscribed on the lower surface of the high overhanging rock (35' above) a little below the cutting on its margin which as in Tirupparankunram might have served to drain off water from the roof to the sides.

As in other places, here also the Brahmi records bring to light names of persons who carved stone beds for the comfortable stay of the monks. Kaninakan and Kaninantan who were the sons of one Ravi, Atan a gold merchant of Madurai, Viyakankanatikan a salt merchant, Nedumallan—a sugar merchant, Elacantan—an iron monger, Elavan Atan—a cloth merchant of Venpalli, Kalumaran and Tiycantan were important among them. Besides, the names of a nun, Sapamita, and a monk, Kasyapan, also find place in the scriptal vestiges of the cave.¹⁶ The unflinching patronage extended by the merchant community to the Jaina institution at Alagarmalai is apparent from these label inscriptions.

A little below the cavern containing the stone beds is a huge boulder with a beautiful image of a seated Tīrthaṅkara. A Vatteluttu inscription of the 9th century A.D. inscribed by its side records that the work of having carved this sacred image was that of Sri Ajjanandi.¹⁷ This preceptor seems to have played a dominant role in the propagation of Jaina principles and during his sojourn to hill resorts, he had been instrumental in consecrating images of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

9. *Karungalakkudi* : Lying about eight miles to the north of Melur, Karungalakkudi boasts of natural caverns on the hillock locally known as Panca Pandavarkuttu. One of the caverns is formed by a boulder resting on and overhanging another. While the cavern containing the Brahmi inscription measures 33' east to west as well as north to south opening both on the southern and northern sides; the other caverns have mutilated beds cut into the rocky floor. Higher up the hill are three more natural caverns with rows of beds cut into the floor.

16 I. Mahadevan, *Op. cit.*, Alagannalai, Nos. 1-13.

17 *ARE* 396/1954-55.

The biggest cavern containing a short Brahmi inscription datable to the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. was the monastery presided over by a Muni Ariti who was a native of Elaiyur.¹⁸ The occurrence of a series of stone beds at Karungalakkudi would reveal that large number of monks inhabited the caverns even before the advent of the Christian era. Since the same place continued to enjoy religious importance in later times, the great Ācārya Ajjanandi caused to be made an image of a Tīrthaṅkara on a boulder in the 9th century A.D.¹⁹ In fact, most of the early monasteries around Madurai had been provided with sculptural embellishments in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D.

10. *Kilavalavu* : Kilavalavu is about six miles from Melur. About a mile south west of it is a hill with huge boulders with narrow bases gradually spreading as they rise into spacious tops. The boulder all round is chiselled wherever the slopes run into the concave portions of the rock and shelters below it a number of beds, the pillow lofts of which converge to the base of the boulder and thereby give to the latter the appearance of petals spreading evenly from the stem of a lotus flower. A Brahmi inscription is engraved directly below a chiselled portion of the rock. Similar boulders with numerous beds arranged in a circle round their narrow bases also exist in an adjoining hill and the openings all round are protected by pieces of piled up stone. The concentration of beds may probably indicate a heavy congregation of ascetics within a small radius.

A pious devotee Ilavan by name who was a native of Tondi was responsible for the cutting of stone beds in this monastery.²⁰

Subsequently in the 9th century, one Sankaran-Srivallavan caused an image of a Tīrthaṅkara to be cut on a nearby boulder and gave thirty sheep for a perpetual lamp to be lit in front of the image and also made an endowment for daily offerings. Two more images of Tīrthaṅkaras had been sculpted on the same rock by a monk Sriloka-bhanubhatara and a lay devotee Srikatti.²¹

11. *Vikkiramangalam* : Vikkiramangalam is a village near Sola-

¹⁸ T. V. Mahalingam, *Op. cit.*, pp. 212-213.

¹⁹ *ARE*, 562/1911.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 135/1903.

²¹ *SHI*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 419, 420.

vandan. Nearby (about a mile away) is the Nagamalai range of hills wherein is a natural cavern facing south. The height of this cavern is not much except its entrance. The floor is rugged and sloping inwards. Narrow stone beds had been cut into the rock on the floor with low depression in two rows of four and eight respectively close to the uneven rocky walls on either side. In some cases a few beds have been partitioned off from each other by their ridges running the whole length of the beds. No pillow lofts are present, but on the pillow side are three Brahmi inscriptions. They contain names of persons such as Antaipikan, Kuviran and Cenkuviran who in all probability were instrumental in carving out the stone beds in the cavern. Of the three, Kuviran was a native of the village Petalai which remains unidentified.²² Cenkuviran appears to be a member of the family of Kuviran. The stone beds found at Vikkiramangalam are locally known as *undankal*, the exact meaning of which cannot be ascertained at the present state of our knowledge.

12. *Mettupatti* (Siddharmalai) : About a mile north of Mettupatti which is about six miles south of Nelakottai is a hill commonly called Siddharmalai. On the southern slope of the hill about half way down is a huge cavern measuring 297' in length and 6' 8'' in height and has two rows of five beds, cut on the sloping rock each with a pillow loft. Brahmi inscriptions datable to the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. are engraved at the head side of the beds. Most of these label inscriptions refer to personal names such as Antai Ariti, Antai Iravatan, Antai Visuvan, Antai Sentan, Kavira Antai etc. As these names are prefixed with the epithet 'Antai' which means 'Holy Father', they may be taken to mean the names of resident monks of the monastery at Mettupatti. In one of the records, it is stated that the stone bed was the gift of the people of a place called Tidiyil. Very likely, it is the modern Tidiyan, a hamlet near Dindigul in Maduari district.²³

Ramanathapuram District

13. *Kunrakkudi* : Kunrakkudi, commonly known as Kunnakkudi, is a small village in Tiruppattur taluk of Ramanathapuram district and lies at a distance of about five miles from Karaikkudi town. The place derives its name from the small hillock found amidst the village. Three rock-cut shrines dedicated to Lord Śiva are found at different levels of

²² *ARE*, 621-623/1926.

²³ T. V. Mahalingam, *Op. cit.*, pp. 258-266.

the hill, while on the top is a structural edifice enshrining Muruga. On the western side of the Muruga temple is a natural cavern with stone beds used by the Jaina mendicants in olden days. A little away from the cavern is a rock-cut well which must have supplied water to the resident monks.

Two fragmentary early inscriptions are engraved on the inner side of the overhanging rock of the cavern. The first inscription is written not only upside down, but also in the reverse form. One may find that the top portion of the alphabets is at the bottom while their base is at the top. Further, the letters are incised reverse as found in the matrix of seal.²⁴ It reads, 'Atancattan of Piyur' and possibly it may be taken to mean that Atanchattan was the resident monk of the cavern, who hailed from the village Upiyur. The second inscription is also very much mutilated, however, it informs that the stone bed was caused to be made by a person whose name is lost.²⁵

The cavern with stone beds and Brahmi inscription would bear testimony to the fact that in the 3rd-4th centuries A.D. the hillock was resorted to by Jaina recluses. Subsequently, Jainism lost its hold in this area, and in all probability, around the 8th century A.D. the Śaiva rock-cut temples came into being. Thereafter, it became a stronghold of the Saivites, particularly famous for the worship of Lord Muruga.

Tirunelveli District

14. *Marugaltalai* : Situated about ten miles from Palayamkottai, Marugaltalai possesses a natural cavern on a low hill locally referred to as Puviludaiyarmalai. This small cavern is formed by two huge boulders one overhanging the other and about 4' or 5' below the top. The over-hanging rock is chiselled to a length of about ten yards with seven beds at convenient places in different sections. At the right side of these is a Brahmi inscription. The cavern is 52' in length north to south and 8' deep. A drip ledge is cut on the overhanging rock so as to drain off rain water. The rock cut beds were here caused to be cut by Kasipan a member of the Velir clan. These beds, being rock-cut, are referred to as *kalkañchanam* in the inscription.²⁶

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

²⁵ *ARE.* 44/1909.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 407/1906.

Pudukkottai District

15. *Sittanavasal* : It is the most celebrated Jaina centre in Pudukkottai district. About nine and a half miles from Pudukkottai town is a small hamlet Sittanavasal. On the hill near the village at an inaccessible height is a natural cavern formed of a cleft which divides the overhanging top portion from the rocky floor below. The cavern is locally known as *eldipāttam* on account of seven square holes used as 'steps' for reaching the cavern. Seventeen beds are chiselled in the cavern some of which are damaged, but all have pillow lofts. Round the top and left side of the largest bed is a Brahmi inscription.

According to the inscription, the stone bed was caused to be made by Ilayar of the village Cirupavil for the monk Kavuti Iten who was born at Kumulur in Eruminadu.²⁷ The villages such as Cirupavil and Kumulur have not been identified. Eruminadu may be identical with Mahiṣamaṇḍala (Mysore region). If the identification is acceptable, it would reveal that some ascetics of the Jaina persuasion migrated to the extreme south from Karnataka to propagate the gospel of the Jina.

Sittanavasal continued to flourish as a stronghold of the Jaina sect from the 7th to the 9th century A.D. A rock cut temple dedicated to three Tīrthaṅkaras had been hewn out of the nearby hillock in the 7th century A.D. Subsequently, in the middle of the 9th century A.D., it was renovated and repaired by Ilangautaman, a well known Jaina teacher of Madurai during the reign of the Pandya king Srivallabha. Exquisite paintings depicting *samavasaraṇa*, lotus tank, dancers etc., were executed on the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* and the corbels of the pillars.²⁸

Jaina ascetics like Sri Pirutivinachan, Tirunilan, Tiruppuranan, Tittaicharanan, Tiruchattan, Purnacandran etc., were associated with this religious institution when Jainism was on its ascendancy at Sittanavasal.²⁹

Trichirappalli District

16. *Pugalur* : Pugalur is a small village in Karur taluk where a low hill called Arunattarmalai contains caverns with rock-cut beds and pillow

²⁷ T. V. Mahalingam, *Op. cit.*, pp. 245-250.

²⁸ *SII*, Vol. XIV, No. 45.

²⁹ *ARE*, 325, 329, 330/1960-61.

lofts Engraved on these pillow lofts are Brahmi inscriptions. The first cavern was dedicated to the revered saint Senkasyapan of Yarrur and the beds therein were caused to be cut by the Prince Ilankatunko, the son of Perunkatunkon who was the son of the king Atancellirumporai, on becoming heir apparent.³⁰

It is of great interest to note that the inscription found on the first cave mentions the names of three members of the Irumporai family of the early Cera dynasty, referred to in *Patirruppattu* (Ten Idylls), one of the Sangam classics. It deserves special mention that though the Irumporai kings were not followers of the Jaina faith, the young prince Ilankatunko when anointed as the *yuvarāja*, dedicated the *palli* to the Jaina monk Senkasyapan.

The other caves founded at Pugalur also bear lithic records in Brahmi characters and they mention names of Jaina adherents who endowed stone beds. Kiran, Korran and Ori who were the sons of Pitantai of Nalliyur, Veniatan, Korrantai Ilavan, Ilankiran and Atti, a gold merchant from Karur find place in these records as donors of stone beds.³¹ The scriptal vestiges found in Pugalur are of a much developed variety and hence palaeographically ascribed to the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.

About seven miles from Arunattar hill is the village of Ardhanari-palaiyam wherein are found five beds chiselled out of rock on a boulder. However, no Brahmi inscriptions are available.

Coimbatore District

17. *Araccalur* : Lying on the Erode-Kangayam road, Araccalur is adjacent to a low lying hill called Nagamalai which possesses a natural cavern at a height of about 60' from the surrounding area. In this cavern are found stone beds with inscriptions.

One of the inscriptions reveal that these seven beds were caused to be cut by Tevan Cattan, a lapidarist. The remaining two inscriptions seem to have some connection with musical notes. One is a symmetrical *bandha* of five letters in each line, made up of three *akṣaras* *ta, ti, te*.

³⁰ I. Mahadevan, *Op. cit.*, Pugalur, Nos. 1 and 2.

³¹ *ARE*, 346/1927-28.

The other is also a symmetrical *bandha* of five letters in each line, made up of three *akṣaras ki, ta, ti*.³² Perhaps, these two records may be considered the earliest musical inscriptions of Tamilnadu, while later ones are found in places like Kudumiyāmalai and Tirumayyā in Pudukkottai district.

North Arcot District

18. *Mamandur* : Seven miles from Conjeevaram is Mamandur. About a furlong to the north of the Hindu rock-cut caves, half way up the hillock is a natural cavern formed by one boulder reclining over another, thus providing shelter beneath. A thin and shallow dripline cut into the overhanging rock provides shelter for habitation. A Brahmi inscription is found engraved on the brow of the boulder.

Curiously enough, the inscription brings to light a hitherto unknown minor chieftain who ruled over the area around Mamandur in the 3rd-4th century A.D. He was Kaniman the chieftain who captured Tenur, and at whose instigation Ciru van, the stone mason modelled the cavern.³³ The name of the mason is also read as Calavan. Such a name appears to have been borne commonly by the Jainas. Evidently, the architect was a member of the Jaina community.³⁴

The early Jaina caverns in Tamilnadu are important for several reasons. They represent the earliest religious monuments in this region, they contain the earliest epigraphic records in Brahmi characters assignable to a period from 2nd century B.C. to 3rd or 4th century A.D. and above all, the caverns provide authentic evidence of the spread of Jainism in Tamilnadu. The natural caves were made suitable for habitation by cutting stone beds in them. The beds were chiselled smooth with one side raised a little to serve as pillows. The overhanging rock was cut in the form of a drip ledge so as to prevent rain water flowing into the cave shelters.

The presence of a large number of stone beds in the caverns all over Tamilnadu would indicate an equal number of Jaina monks occu-

³² *Ibid.*, 281, 282/1961-62.

³³ I. Mahadevan, *Op. cit.*, No. 1.

³⁴ T. V. Mahalingam, *Op. cit.*, pp. 289.

pying these resorts. Inscriptions engraved therein provide the names of resident monks and some of the *śrāvakas* who gifted the stone beds.

When Jainism gained popular support in Tamilnadu, some of the kings belonging to the Cera and Pandya dynasties and a few minor chieftains started extending their patronage to this sect. Lay devotees also began to endow Jaina monastic organisation. Moreover, the members of mercantile groups had also played a dominant role in the development of such institutions.

With the rapid spread of Jainism, there arose several settlements of the Jaina community in different parts of Tamilnadu. Though all those ancient centres are not known to us, Madurai, Tiruvellarai, Tondi, Petalai, Tidiyil, Elaiyur, Venpalli, Nagaperur, Patinur, Nelveli, Nalliyur, Karur, Yarrur, Pakanur and Kunrattur had been important settlements with a sizable Jaina population, which lent its support to the various monastic organisations.

[July 1689]

Power and Tranquility— a Profile of Jaina Martial Class of Karnataka

Vasanth Kumari

The hillock of Kaṭavapra region, which became a renowned Jaina Centre, is most popularly known to the Jaina Community as Śravaṇa-belagolā. It was the nucleus of Jaina ascetic activities as early as 3rd Century B.C. The highly moderate climate and the favourable physical feature of South India, and particularly of Karnataka was indeed found suitable for the ascetic activities, to lead the most useful life of their austerities. An atmosphere of harmony which prevailed in this part of India, encouraged them to undertake Jainising Campaign more actively. The local population living on varied tribal cults, were influenced in considerable numbers, under more progressive and humanistic frame-work of *ahimsā* cult. These events caused more significant political effects, and consequently two kingdoms emerged under Jaina auspices; one was the Gaṅgas of Talakad and the second, the Hoysālas of Dwarasamudra. Together, their rule lasted for nearly one thousand years from 3rd Century A.D. to 14th Century A.D. More strikingly it was during this period that the military concept received great encouragement and was effectively put to action by the Jaina rulers without any inhibition. As such many excelled in their abilities as great military commanders, generals and warriors.

These two kingdoms which emerged in the southern region of Karnataka, were the master creations of the efforts and shrewd acts of eminent Jaina Ācāryas of the period. Simhanandī Ācārya while placing the crown of Gangavadi-96,000 on Didiga and Mahādeva, also introduced *sine-qua-non* changes as to add more vigour and strength to the newly established kingdom. This kingdom emerged, having victory as their motto in the battlefield, Jinendra as their god, and Jina Maṭha as their faith.

Simhanandī Ācārya having successfully played the role of king-maker, issued 'the moral-ethical code' and 'the charter of patriotism and prowess', and told his proteges—"If you flee from the battle-field, then your race will go to ruin." This neo-military concept with all its spiritual sanction, provided moral strength to the followers of *ahimsā* cult to establish their high reputation as professional warriors in great numbers. Apparently, rulers with all their imperialistic policies still followed Jainism as their personal faith. The most important aspect of the history of this period lies in the fact that the followers of *ahimsā* cult established their organised leadership in the political, economic and cultural life in the southern region of Karnataka for nearly one thousand years.

'The charter of patriotism and prowess'—the significance of this lies in the fact that it was only a change introduced with regard to *ahimsā* in practice and not in theory. Without this change, Jainism would have remained merely as an impuissant or as an act of myth like a king without 'might' or a religion without 'many followers'. The political sovereignty of the Jaina rulers was thus made possible and military services and warrior profession received spiritual sanction. These changes helped the Jaina rulers to raise themselves to the trend of the period.

The Ācāryas also were successful in diverting the spiritual motivation of the people to Jaina faith in great numbers through royal support. When the rulers set an example by embracing Jainism as their personal faith, the wider application was undertaken without much efforts. The officials of the royal court and the subjects expressed their dedication to the crown in great numbers by voluntarily embracing Jainism as their personal faith.

In the early period of monarchical system, the law of righteousness was strictly adhered both by the rulers and the ruled. The military services of the people were supported by the imperialistic policies of their rulers. Thus the spiritual concept of *ahimsā*, the military concept of imperialism were amalgamated and the impossible was possibly achieved, which in fact led to the political and cultural matrix of Jainism in Karnataka.

• • Hundreds of lithical records, found in Karnataka, reveal how the Jaina rulers, and their generals pursued their military obligation in an excellent manner. The state religion during the period of the Gaṅgas

of Talakad was Jainism. Karnataka, is an exception, for Jainism enjoyed the reputed status of official religion for hundreds of years.

The list of genealogy of the Gaṅgas of Talakad contains the name of twentyfive rulers, among them many professed Jainism as their personal faith, a few non-Jaina rulers too became patrons of Jainism. Avanīta (466-495 A.D.), Durvinīta (495-535 A.D.), Muskara (535-585 A.D.), Sivamara (679-725 A.D.), Nītimārga (853-869 A.D.), Racamalla (870-907 A.D.), Nītimārga II (907-919 A.D.), Narasimhadeva (919-925 A.D.), Racamalla III (925-935 A.D.), Bhutuga II (935-960 A.D.), Marasimha III (963-974 A.D.), Racamallā IV (974-985 A.D.), Rakkasa Gaṅga (985-1025 A.D.) etc., were some of the renowned rulers who were known for their excellent military activities. They are glorified with the epitome of prowessness as Raṇa Raṅga, Gaṅga Simha, Gaṅga Vajra, Nolambantaka etc. The Kuge, Brahmadeva pillar, set in memory of Marasimha III contains the details of his military achievements. Cāmuṇḍarāya, the Minister, and Commander-in-chief, under three successive rulers Marasimha III, Racamalla IV and Rakkasa Gaṅga was also bestowed with many military laurels like Samara-Dhurandhara, Raṇa-Raṅga-Simha, Vairikula-Kāladanḍa, Bhoja-Vikrama Cola Daṇḍa, Samara-Paraśurāma, etc. These titles happened to be the tributes attributed for having fought many victorious battles incessantly to protect the Gaṅga supremacy against the opponent aggressions.

For a ruler to exercise his political authority the military abilities and the imperialistic policies were no doubt the qualifications of necessity in practical life. But their real motto was to seek peace and tranquility in the existing and also the above base life. Hence the rulers and the generals, and the elites alike were more actively involved in the religious activities as promoters of the faith. They adhered in thought, word and deed to the right faith, the right knowledge, the right conduct, *i.e.*, the realisation of purity of soul, perfect understanding of the *Āgamas* and perfect equanimity in conduct. As a matter of fact, most of the Jaina rulers, with all their military achievements, were tributed with religious appellations, Dharma Mahārājādhirāja, Satya-vākya, Gaṅga Cūdāmaṇi, etc implying their belief in the doctrines of Mahāvīra. The ruler Nītimārga opted for the most pious death. He invited death and died of *sallekhanā*. Marasimha is described in the lithic as 'one who was a very jewelled pitcher, where with to perpetually besprinkle Jinendra'. He died of *sallekhanā* in 974 A.D. at the feet of his preceptor Ajitasenācārya.

The most capable general of the period, Cāmuṇḍarāya also attained

his immortal fame, due to his meritorious religious activities. He was bestowed with the highest Jaina epithets like Samyaktva Ratnakara, Satya Yudhiṣṭhira, Sacca Bhavana etc., qualifying his virtue, liberalism and truthfulness. His greatest legacy is the erection of statue of Gommateśvara, which is a unique masterpiece of sculpture. It is indeed a monumental evidence to the contemporary Jaina world that the religion of *ahimsā* had successfully, claimed the good-will of the people. The vibration of Cāmuṇḍarāya's benevolent ideals have spread far and wide.

With the decline of the Gaṅga regime by the end of 10th Century A.D., the power of the Jaina rulers was rejuvenated and it was undertaken by Ācārya Sudatta. Sudattācārya who had established his reputation in the Malnad region of south Mysore forests around Chikamangalore area helped the local energetic youth leader Sāla, to organise the military strength and to establish his political leadership. The most popular traditional story tells that, the ruling family established by Sāla with the help of Sudattācārya was called Hoysāla ; the name signifies the event of Sāla killing the tiger at the instruction of Sudattācārya. This particular event became the crest of this ruling power.

Many forest tribes of this area seems to have been brought under the religious structure of Jainism earlier to Sudattācārya. A lithical record of 10th Century A.D., reveals that one Vimalacandra Paṇḍitadeva, disciple of Mouni Bhaṭṭāraka and the preceptor of Iriva Bedenga (Calukyan ruler) died of *sallekhanā* rites, and attained *mukti* in the area of Soseuru, the home place of Sāla, the founder of the Hoysāla kingdom. Many records reveal in a fascinating style their political policy of '*duṣṭanigraha, śiṣṭa paripālanam*' and the deadly military actions undertaken to enforce the same in practice. They immortalised themselves by effective military actions. The utter defeat and humility suffered by Cola king Rajendra at the hands of Viṣṇuvardhana has been portrayed in the following way : (1108-1142 A.D.)

"The water of the river Cauvery became so polluted by the dead bodies of the Cola soldiers, that Rajendra Cola could not use the water." The significant feature of this period is that, many families of Jaina elites produced hereditary soldiers and statesmen. Gaṅgarāja, the general of Viṣṇuvardhana, belonged to a family of hereditary soldiers and statesmen. His father Eca, was patronised by Nirupama Hoysāla. Gaṅgarāja's noble character and unrivalled skill in war was

devoted to the services of Viṣṇuvardhana, and this brought him great fame. By the strength of his arms he shook the prowess of many contemporary powers such as Cola, Calukyas and he was "a milestone to traitors of his lord." Indeed he was a general of outstanding abilities.

Gaṅgarāja was the most prominent among the nine Jaina generals of Viṣṇuvardhana. The others were Boppa, Punisa, Baladeva, Mariyam, Bharata, Eca, Viṣṇu, and Hulla. Marching rapidly, taunting and making the enemies to lose courage, a last deluge to hostile enemies, bold in war, they attained peace and tranquility by punishing the wicked and by encouraging the good. Series of brilliant campaigns, no doubt, placed Karnataka army as the premier power of south India. They were the raiser up of the kingdom of Viṣṇuvardhana (1108-1155 A.D.)

Under Narasimha, Jaina general Devarāja, Hulla and Santiyanna, Iśvara, Camapati excelled as eminent commanders of the Hoysāla force. The most prominent Hulla was a general and the chief treasurer.

Under Ballala-II (1173-1220 A.D.) the military prestige of the Hoysālas rested to a very great extent on the prowess of the Jaina generals and ministers, Racimayya, Nāgadeva, Amrita, Ecana and Bucirāja. Under Ballala-III (1291-1343 A.D.) Keteya Daṇḍanāyaka was the prominent Jaina.

Thus, the most practical aspect of Jainism lies in the fact that, the apostles of *ahimsā* have been the rulers of vast territories, have fought battles, have vanquished armies and have founded empires. They have resisted invasions in which many have been killed, many have been wounded and destroyed.

But, at the same time they have cherished their feelings of deep faith for religion, and this gave them the feelings of real happiness. Thus the loyal soldiers were devout Jainas. They set the standard of morality. The standard of morality set by Gaṅgarāja is explained in this way :

To be false in speech,
To show fear in battle,
To be addicted to others' wives,
To give up refugees,
To leave suppliants unsatisfied,
Foresake those to whom he is bound
Live in treachery to his lord.

These are the seven hells according to Gaṅgarāja. He was the crest jewel of perfect faith in Jainism. Many Jaina temples were renovated, new ones were built, unbounded gifts were made. Enclosure was built around Gommaṭa statue at Śravaṇabelagolā

Hulla, was another general who gained distinction of having served three successive Hoysāla rulers, Viṣṇuvardhana, Narasimha and Ballala-II. He took delight in restoring Jaina temples, holding assemblies for Jaina worship, making gifts and listening to the reading of the sacred *purāṇas*. He was bestowed with the title Samyaktva-Caḍamaṇi.

Similar religious policies were followed by the other generals. However it should be noted that, more than the rulers, the generals and the elite class of the Jaina society in Karnataka during this period were more actively involved in the religious movements and they proved themselves to be the true believers and followers of Jaina faith.

Throughout the history of religious thought, in India and so much so in Karnataka, Jaina school has always upheld the doctrines of *ahimsā* predominantly. It is Jainism that had upheld unbounded compassion for the struggling humanity as a means to attain peace and tranquility.

The Jaina monuments in Karnataka which have survived the ravages of time are very few in number. But still, the monolithic statue of Gommaṭeśvara, group of temples at Śravaṇabelagolā, and other places, abundant literature and innumerable epigraphs are the proud records to cherish the great memory of Jaina heritage in Karnataka. It was in this part of India that 'Pichadvaja' enjoyed the highest reputation of political honour for many centuries. No wonder Karnataka is rightly considered the second-birth place of Jainism.

[April 1991]

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A Colossus, Sravana Belgola

Reared his mighty stature ;
On Earth stood his feet,
His naked limbs glittering
Upon the dark blue Sky
Where the Eagles cry and
Vultures laugh.

—W. BLAKE

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Jaina Influence in the Formation of Dvaita Vedānta

Robert J. Zydenbos

Jainism is still a relatively neglected subject in Western Indology, and perhaps the fact that Hindu and Buddhist literature as a rule mentions the Jainas only disparagingly and satirically has strengthened the impression with foreign researchers that the role of the Jainas in Indian cultural history was probably of little importance. The cultural and socio-political autonomy of the Jainas, who had no use for the Vedas as authoritative scriptures and hence also not for the Brahmins as a privileged social group, was no doubt in part the reason for this. However, the late Prof. Ludwig Alsdorf and Prof. Louis Dumont have established that the position of *ahimsā* in Indian thought as a whole and also the vegetarianism of the higher Hindu castes is mainly a Jaina achievement. In modern times the influence of Jainism in the thought of Mahatma Gandhi is very clear.

To illustrate more of the extent of Jaina influence in the development of Hindu thought, I wish to call your attention to the youngest of the three major schools of Vedānta, viz. the Dvaita-Vedānta of Madhva. Dvaita too has received little attention from modern scholars, which is hardly commensurate with its philosophical and theological sophistication and its importance in Indian intellectual history and contemporary Hinduism. In spite of excellent studies of Dvaita written by Von Glasenapp¹ and Siauue,² hardly any modern scholars have touched the subject; this may be due to socio-political reasons in Indian academic life, which discouraged the study of Dvaita, and to the fact that there are hardly any good translations of major Dvaitī texts in European

¹ H. von Glasenapp, *Madhvas Philosophie des Viṣṇu-Glaubens*, Bonn/Leipzig, 1923.

² S. Siauue, *La doctrine de Madhva*, Pondichery : Institut français d'indologie, 1968.

languages. This makes a good knowledge of Sanskrit still more indispensable here than it is for the study of those schools of Indian thought that have been more 'popular' in the West, such as Advaita.

Dvaita is the one school of Hindu realistic thought ('realistic' in contradistinction to 'illusionistic') that has remained vigorously alive up to the present. Throughout the history of their school, Dvaitī authors have tried to demonstrate the fallaciousness of particularly the *māyāvāda* of Advaita, by employing a powerful logic to bring forward arguments which till today have never been successfully met by the Advaitis. The school originated in south-western India in the 13th century, in the south-western part of what is now the state of Karnataka, where Madhva was born in a village only a few miles from the capital of a missionarily inclined Jaina king. From there, Dvaita spread all over India, with followers concentrated in Karnataka and also in north-eastern India, where Madhva is recognized as one of the *gurus* in the *paramparā* of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism. In south-western India, 'Vaiṣṇavism' is popularly considered synonymous with the teachings of Madhva.

The Dvaitis themselves, as we could expect, claim that their teachings stem from Brahminical tradition. (Here we may note that the first author to point out the Buddhist influence in Śāṅkara argumentatively was Madhva,³ and the well-known term '*pracchanna-bauddha*' to designate the Advaitis seems to have originated in Dvaitī circles.) A comparative study of early Dvaitī writings and Jaina texts from the same period and region shows, however, that there was a fundamental Jaina philosophical influence in the formation of Dvaita, and I will give a few examples, drawn from the writings of Madhva, his main commentator Jayatīrtha, and the Jaina author Bhāvasena.

Although Dvaita shows some similarities with earlier schools of Hindu realistic thought and elements of Śāṅkhya, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā can be found in it, it cannot be said to be a direct continuation of any of these older schools. Dvaita differs from Śāṅkhya in accepting that the soul is a real agent and not a mere passive experiencer; it differs from Nyāya in declaring that consciousness is a permanent and essential characteristic of the soul and that truth has *svataḥ-prāmāṇya*, i.e., it is self-evident. This particular combination of epistemological ideas is unique in Hindu philosophy; but Jainism

³ According to B. N. K. Sharma, Madhva did so in his work *Tattvodyota*. Cf. B. N. K. Sharma, *A History of the Dvaita School of Vedānta and its Literature*, 2 vols., Bombay, 1960: vol. I, p. 190.

accepted this at least eight centuries before Madhva, as is clear from the *Tattvārthasūtra*. Also, Dvaita accepted the concept of *tāratamya* or the hierarchy of souls, meaning that souls are inherently different from each other not only numerically but also qualitatively and that *mokṣa* or ultimate liberation does not mean the same for all souls and is experienced differently by them. Here again, we see an obvious similarity with the Jaina notion of *bhavyābhavyatva* of souls,

In epistemological discussions, the Jains were apparently the only older school of Indian philosophy willing to acknowledge that memory-experience constituted a *pramā* or valid piece of knowledge.⁴ The reason probably lies in the Jaina conception of the *pramāṇa-s* or means of knowledge. Bhāvasena distinguishes between *karāṇapramāṇa* and *bhāvapramāṇa*, which we may translate provisionally as 'pramāṇa as instrument' and 'pramāṇa as realization'. About the latter he states : "Correct knowledge is a means of knowledge, for by the qualification 'bhāva' correct knowledge itself is a *pramāṇa*. By the qualification 'karāṇa' *pramāṇa* signifies the instrument for attaining correct knowledge, by which the truth of a thing is concluded or determined [...]"⁵ If there is no absolute distinction between *pramā* and *pramāṇa*, and if knowledge which is offered by memory is a *pramā* then there should be no reason why memory should not be considered a valid *pramāṇa*. Though these ideas are already found in the *Tattvārthasūtra*, Bhāvasena's work proves that these ideas were known in southwestern Karnataka in Madhva's time.⁶ The same distinction between *pramāṇa* as instrument and *pramāṇa* as knowledge itself is found in Madhva's short work on *pramāṇa-s*, the *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa*, where he distinguishes between *kevala* and *aṇupramāṇa*. Here *kevala* is defined as *yathārthajñāna*,⁷ "knowledge that is true to its object", and *aṇupramāṇa* is the means by which this is attained (*tatsādhanam aṇupramāṇam*).⁸ In his commentary, Jayatīrtha explicitly adds that *kevala* is to be equated with *pramā*, valid knowledge.⁹ In other words, *kevala*, which was first defined as one of

4 B. K. Matilal, *Logic, Language & Reality*, Delhi : Motilal Banarsidas, 1985, p. 262.

5 V. Jhripurkar (ed.), *Sribhavasenaviracita Pramaprāmēya*, Sholapur : Jaina Samskriti Samrakshaka Sangha, 1966, pp. 1-2. (Hereafter : 'Pramaprāmēya'.)

6 *Ibid.*, editor's Hindi introduction, p. 1.

7 *yatharthajñanam kevalam*, P. P. Lakshminarayanopadhyaya (ed.), *Srimadananda-tīrthabhaṅgavatpadaviracitanī-dasa-prakaranāni...prathamō bhāgaḥ*, Bangalore : Srimanmadhvaraddhanta Samvardhaka Sabha, 1969, p. 11. This includes the commentary (*tika*) by Jayatīrtha. (Hereafter : 'PL').

8 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

9 *Ibid.*

the two categories of *pramāṇa*, turns out to be *pramā* as well, as has traditionally been the case in Jainism.

Dvaita classifies the *pramāṇa*-s in a more customary Hindu manner, but here too the deviations from the Hindu model are striking. Since the composition of the *Tattvārthasūtra* (probably 5th century CE)¹⁰ the Jains had accepted five varieties of knowledge : *mati*, *śruta*, *avadhi*, *manahparyāya* and *kevala*, of which the first two were considered *parokṣa* or 'indirect' and the latter three *pratyakṣa* or 'direct'.¹¹ By the time of Bhāvasena, however, we see that a different view had arisen, more in agreement with other Indian schools of thought, and sense perception (previously *matijñāna*) has been included in the category *pratyakṣa* as *indriyapratyakṣa*.¹² Yet this must have been an innovation at that time, or at least it was a point of controversy, since we find that at the same time and in a nearby region Bhāṣkaranandī writes his commentary *Sukhabodha* on the *Tattvārthasūtra* and unquestioningly accepts the categorization which we find in the *sūtra*.¹³ In Madhva's *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa* we find that *kevala* (-*pramāṇa*) has been subdivided into four categories, which are distinguished from each other by a qualitative gradation in clarity,¹⁴ which we also find among the varieties of *pratyakṣa* in the *Tattvārthasūtra*. The use of the word *kevala* in Dvaita and Jainism deserves closer attention. What distinguishes *kevala* from *anupramāṇa* in Dvaita is that *kevala* is knowledge, a manifestation of the soul, which is independent of any further *sādhana* or instrument. The three kinds of knowledge which in Jainism were called *pratyakṣa* (of which *kevala* is one) are characterized by exactly that same independence. Thus we see that what is called *pratyakṣa* in older Jaina texts corresponds to what is called *kevala* in Dvaita, while the Dvaitī use of the term *pratyakṣa* is more similar to its use in other Hindu schools of philosophy.

All this suggests that Madhva was familiar with Jaina texts, with Jaina epistemology and with the manner in which the terms *kevala* and *pratyakṣa* were used. Madhva distinguishes seven kinds of *pratyakṣa*

10 I have discussed the dating of the *Tattvārthasūtra* in my *Mokṣa in Jainism, according to Umasvati*, Wiesbaden : Fr. Steiner 1983 (Beiträge zur Sudasien-Forschung, Sudasien-Institut, Heidelberg, Bd. 83), sec. 3. 2, p. 12.

11 *Tattvārthasūtra*, 1, 11-12.

12 *Pramaprāmēya* 4, pp. 2-3.

13 A. Shantiraja Shastri (ed.), *The Tattvārtha Sūtra of Sri Umasvami with the Sukhabodha of Sri Bhāṣkaranandī*, Mysore : University of Mysore Oriental Library Publications (Sanskrit Series No. 84), 1944. The editor adduces evidence that Bhāṣkaranandī lived in CE 1250 (editor's Sanskrit introduction, pp. xlvii-xlviii).

14 *PL*, pp. 19-27.

(i.e., sense perception).¹⁵ But when his main commentator Jayatīrtha comments on this passage in the *Pramāṇalukṣaṇa*, he suddenly contradicts Madhva and declares that *pratyakṣa* is of four kinds : exactly the same fourfold division which Madhva has given for *kevala*,¹⁶ and from what he tells us, there seems to be no difference between *kevala* and *pratyakṣa*. Later commentators have not commented on Jayatīrtha's contradiction ; but it becomes understandable if we realize that Dvaitī *kevala* corresponds to Jaina *pratyakṣa*. Jayatīrtha must have been aware of this and at this point failed to keep Jaina and Dvaitī terminology apart.

There are more indications of Jayatīrtha's familiarity with Jaina thought, e.g., when he defines *mokṣa* twice, once in his view (*bhagavat-prasādād aśeṣaṇiṣṭānivr̥ttiviśiṣṭānandādisvarūpāvīrbhāvalakṣaṇā muktīrbhāvaitī*)¹⁷ and once as the Jainas view it (*svābhāvīkātmavarūpavīrbhāvah*),¹⁸ i.e., using remarkably similar wordings ; and when he discusses the various kinds of souls as accepted by Jaina thinkers, it seems that another contamination of Dvaitī and Jaina thought takes place. For details, I would like to refer to my article on the subject, which is to appear soon in the *Journal of Indian Philosophy*.¹⁹

Ever since Śaṅkara set the example in his *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*, all Vedāntī commentators on the *Brahmasūtra* criticized Jainism in a similar fashion in their commentaries in the *naikasmindadhikaraṇa* of the *Samayapāda* in the 2nd chapter of the *sūtra*. The criticism is aimed at two ideas : firstly, the Jaina notion of the size of the soul (considered to be as large as the body which it occupies ; but this is actually an oversimplification of the actual Jaina view), and secondly, and more importantly, the Jaina doctrine of *anekāntavāda* as expressed in *syādvāda*, one of the Jaina ideas which has been most misunderstood, distorted and satirized throughout Indian philosophical history. Śaṅkara conveniently overlooked that the Jainas did not say that opposing predications may be made about the same object from the same point of view in the selfsame temporal and spatial circumstances, and his

¹⁵ *pratyakṣam saptavidham*, *PL*, p. 123.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ R. S. Panchamukhi (ed.), *Pramanapaddhati* by Sri Sri Jayatīrtha, Dharwad : Sri Raghavendra Pratishthana, 1982, 13, p. 165.

¹⁸ *Srīmatīkārtpadavīracita Srīman-nyayasūtra*, 3 vols. Mulabagalu : Srīmat-prasannaraghavendra Matha, 1985-6, p. 1225.

¹⁹ Robert J. Zydenbos, "On the Jaina Background of Dvaitavedānta", in the *Journal of Indian Philosophy* (forthcoming).

criticism does not go far beyond saying that the Jainas contradict themselves. All later Vedāntis have followed this model refutation of Jainism, and so we find the same recur with Madhva and Jayatīrtha. But *syādvāda* is the natural outcome of the realistic ontology of Jainism, which recognizes the unsublatable existence of the external material world and at the same time refuses to reduce mental and spiritual phenomena to the level of the material. Thus in the case of, e.g., universals, the Jainas accept the existence of many qualities simultaneously in a given object, which are different from the object in question and at the same time identical with it.

In Dvaita, the problem of the universals was solved by means of the concept of *viśeṣa* or 'distinction'. This concept first appears in a theological discussion concerning the *viśvarūpa* of Viṣṇu, viz. whether he is identical with the *viśvarūpa* or different from it.²⁰ Madhva quotes an earlier text, ascribed to Vyāsa, which says that through *viśeṣa* Viṣṇu can have one and many forms at the same time. *Viśeṣa* is described as *vastusvarūpa*, the essence of a thing, and is self-supporting. In his commentary, Jayatīrtha points out how the Nyāya solution leads to infinite regress,²¹ as the Jainas have said earlier. There is nothing without *viśeṣa* and it is only due to *viśeṣa* that any thing can exist at all. There is no fallacy involved here, says the text, "because we experience oneness and also experience *viśeṣa*": we know it through our direct experience of the oneness of the distinction and what is distinguished by it. Jayatīrtha calls *viśeṣa* the *padārtha-śakti*,²² the 'power of the object' which acts as the representative or substitute of difference. In this arguing in favour of the notion of the one which is at the same time many, of the substance which is one with its qualities and yet different, of differences which exist only in a certain, qualified sense, we see something which is basically the same as *syādvāda*, although the Dvaitīs have further elaborated the doctrine with additional terminology.

As I have mentioned earlier, Dvaita accepts the *svataḥ-prāmāṇya* of knowledge, meaning that any piece of knowledge is to be considered truthful until and unless proven untrue. Truthfulness is known through the *sākṣin* or witness, the ultimate *pramāṇa*. This is an aspect of the

20 D. Prahladachar (ed.), *Srīmadanandatīrthagavatpadavīracitah Gitatātparyanīrṇayah*, Bangalore : Purnaprajna Vidyapīṭha, 1987, p. 208.

21 Jayatīrtha's *Nyayadīpikā* on the *Gītātātparyanīrṇaya*, p. 210.

22 P. Nagaraja Rao (ed., tr.), *Vadavali* by Jayatīrtha, Adyar : The Adyar Library, 1943, 471, p. 134.

soul, is therefore also called the *svarūpendriya* and is described as *jñānarūpa*, *pramāṭṛsvarūpa* and *ātmiasvarūpa* or 'of the nature of the self'.²³ This last description is most interesting, since here again we see how a Dvaitī concept corresponds to a concept which the Jainas have held for many centuries prior to Madhva : the soul is knowledge and is the knower. The Dvaitī concept of the *sākṣin* thus appears to be one aspect of the Jaina theory of the soul, which has been made more explicit through the use of a new term. For further details on this subject I would like to refer again to my forthcoming article.

From what I have told until now I believe it is evident that Madhva's philosophy was influenced by Jainism in its epistemology, ontology, logic and theory of the soul from the beginning. In what we may call a typically Vedāntic manner, this has never been admitted by any author in the tradition. This may seem odd to students of the western philosophical tradition, where, e.g., Thomas Aquinas, the official philosopher of the Roman Catholic Church, openly admits his admiration for and indebtedness to the heathen Aristotle. This lack of fairness on the part of the Hindus towards the non-Hindus is probably due to socio-political reasons.

If we consider that Dvaita spread across India and became the philosophical base of popular religious movements in various parts of the country (one of which also spread abroad spectacularly), then it is clear that the impact of Jainism on Hinduism has been far from superficial. Therefore, it is also clear that we must reassess the view commonly held in academic circles that Jainism played a rather marginal role in Indian cultural history.

Jainism and Dvaita Vedānta are the two schools of realistic philosophy of Indian origin which have remained living traditions in India till today, and from the evidence which I have given earlier we see that the basic framework of this joint living realistic tradition has been provided by Jaina thinkers. Jaina and Dvaitī thought are both worth studying in their own right, but also as a necessary corrective to the popular false view that Indian thought is generally illusionistic and that Advaita represents the acme of Indian philosophy. Both of these schools of Indian realism are yet to receive proper recognition from modern scholarship.

[January 1991]

²³ *PL*, p. 123.

Procession
from Vijnaptipatra
sent by
the Jaina devotees
of Merta
to Acarya
Sri Vijayjinendra Suri
at Virampur



Social Life in Gujarat and Rajasthan in the 19th Century

as revealed in a scroll of invitation

Surendra Gopal

Vijñaptipatras or *vinatipatras* were the invitations sent by the Jaina devotees to their religious leaders to come and preach, and participate with them in festivals enjoined by their religion. As a source of social history, the importance of these invitations is immense, as these were not mere matter-of-fact letters but contained elaborate descriptions of persons, places and goods. We learn from these about food that was popular, textiles that were in use, the market that served local needs and the people who provided leadership in both secular and religious affairs. Besides, these invitations were decorated with paintings which portrayed both religious and secular motives.

The *vijñaptipatra* under review¹ was sent by the Jaina devotees of Merta near Ajmer in Rajasthan to Acarya Vijayjinendra Suri of Tapagaccha sect at Virampur near Ahmedabad in Gujarat in Samvat 1867 (1810 A.D.). The scroll is 32 ft. long of which paintings occupy 17 ft. The rest contains description of Merta and Virampur, of people and personalities at these two places and the personal qualities of the Acarya. It is written partly in Sanskrit and partly in vernacular and is a mixture of prose and verse.

The paintings, while showing some religious scenes, also depict a mosque, a bazar and a dancing girl. The types of illustrations also indicate the religious tolerance and liberal attitude of the Jains who did not mind portrayal of a mosque and a dancing girl in such a document.

¹ The original document, which lies in the possession of Gujrati Tapagaccha Sangh Library, Calcutta, has been published in *Shri Mahavir Jain Vidyalyaya Golden Jubilee Volume* by Shri B. L. Nahata. Illustrations by courtesy of Gujrati Tapagaccha Sangh Library, Calcutta and Shri Mahavir Jain Vidyalyaya, Bombay.

As already said, the language used in the document is a mixture of vernacular and Sanskrit. Evidently the tradition of the study of Sanskrit among the Jains continued, side by side with their patronage of the local dialects. They were particularly appreciative of local poets, as can be seen from the fact that the verses included in the scroll are by one Gulvijay of Merta. These verses can be sung in definite *rāgas* and these have also been mentioned. The verses contain useful material for social history. For instance verse 5 in the scroll describes the important buildings of Virampur. Verses 6-11 depict the market place, the traders, vegetables and fruits that were bought and sold, silk fabrics marketed and sweetmeats that were available. A few lines in original are quoted below :

cahuṭā maṇḍap rājai ho virājai mārāg copḍa
śreṇī haṭāul ot
phirtā chatrise paṇḍā ho nahī ūṇā dhaṇ dhaṇ sundarā
vyāpārī bahu moṭ
capul turangam sohai ho man mohai gayavar gājatā
rath su pālkhīyānī jor
rāj mārāg me taruṇī ho gat varāṇī gayavarānī sadā
cālti mācasmā cor
miltī hiltī nārī ho sur nārī parai sobhatī
phirtī cohātā māh
lejo bahu che bhājī ho man rājī dekhī nai huvai
vaigan sāg vikāha
khārik pistā khijurā ho man jūrā kistā huvai sadā
pungiphal bahu mol
ambā rāyaṇ kelā ho bahu melā mevā sāmṭhā
levai lok amol
jariyā resmi ganṭhā ho bhari baithā thirmā sābṭu
paṭṭu nīlā lāl
pancrang paṭ pāmdiyā ho bhaljadyā vintī nag bhalā
bhārī molā māl
sāḍī chintā suhāvai ho man bhāvai oḍhaṇ kāmblī
dev kusam vali dākh
jātī taj cīṇī ho vali phīṇī khurmā jalebiyā
lāḍu ghevar sākḥ

As we have it from the above lines, the market place of a small town of Gujarat was throbbing with life and activity. Even the narrow lanes and bye-lanes had a vast crowd. We further know that the ladies often visited the market place which shows that the ladies were free to

move outside their household. Among the fruits and vegetables we have the following names : brinjal, *sāk*, mangoes, and plantains. People are stated to take them in plenty which shows that they must have been fairly cheap. Particularly costly was betel-nut (*pungiphal*). The market sold costly fabric to suit the pocket of the rich along with ordinary blankets for the common people. The names of the sweets mentioned in the verse are an additional attraction.

Verses 12-13 describe the Jaina temples of Virampur of which one is that of Śāntinātha and another that of Pārśvanātha. Verse 16 refers to the Hindu gods and goddesses worshipped in the city :

*mātā īśvar gaṇapati ho phaṇapati bhairū dehrā
sahasling talāva
jogaṇ coṣaṭh maṇḍi ho grahaṇḍi bāvan vīrnā
pūjai śivamatī bhāva*

Dohā 1-2 describe the local ruler of Virampur, Rao Fateh Singh who was a follower of Śiva. He has been praised for his just and benevolent rule. Verse 19 speaks of Tokar Seth who was the leader of the Jaina community at Merta, the sender of the present invitation on behalf of the Merta Jains.

We have also a description of Merta from the poet's pen. Man Singh was the ruler of this city who was assisted in running the administration by one Pancoli Gopaldas. Mansingh was a Hindu. The town was inhabited by a large number of traders, many of whom were millionaires but thieves were conspicuous by their absence. As the poet sang :

*bahu vyāpārī tihā vasai re lakṣpati adhikāi mān
cor caraḍ navi sancarai re gorī gāvai gān re*

Besides, there were skilled goldsmiths, tailors, shoe-makers and beautiful and adept dancers in the city. As we have it again from the same poet :

*darjī patvā suṇdarū re tambolī sonār
gaṇikā mocī turakḍā re ityādik suvicār re*

This picture of small towns of Rajasthan and Gujarat in the early 19th century reveals that the mediaeval feudal tradition had not yet known a breach.

[January 1972]

Antiquity of Bharata War as Revealed from Jaina Astronomy

Sajjan Singh Lishk and S. D. Sharma

The sage Vyāsa is said to have compiled the great epic *Mahābhārata* and Vaiṣampāyana recited it to king Janmejaya. Some schools are biased against the historical authenticity of Bhārata war.¹ But such views are more or less based on qualitative survey of language, popular myths, and geneology etc and coupled with more of subjectivity. Qualitative analysis is more or less only a means to quantitative analysis based on astronomical method for the determination of historicity of an event. Besides it is worth reproducing words of V. C. Pandey.²

“In a country like India which abhorred fanaticism and monolithic approach and which did not persecute the Kautsas and the Cārvākas who denounced the *Vedas* and God respectively, the historicity of the Mahābhārata war could not have gone uncontested, if it were myth.”

The factual memory of this war was not only preserved in Brahmanical literature but also in Buddhist and Jaina canonical literature abundant in many astronomical observations which are quite dependable and many results are also supported by archaeological evidences. Here the antiquity of Bhārata war has been quantitatively analytically examined in the context of its relevance to the Jaina astronomical data of post-Vedāṅga pre-Siddhāntic period popularly known as the dark period in the history of ancient Indian astronomy.³

Kaye has opined that *Mahābhārata* was written about 400 B.C. to 400 A.D.⁴ This assignment seems to be worth pondering in the light of the fact that *Mahābhārata* contains some astronomical references⁴ to bigger cycles like *mahāyuga*, *kalpa*, etc., specific order of planet, i.e., Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Saturn, Rahu and the other planets,

(ii. 11.37) notion of solar months with reference to eight auspicious *saṃkrāntis* also; 13 days halfmonth, which according to Dixit implies true computations of planets and the notion that the large stars look so small in consequence of their distances (iii. 42-24).⁵ Such references are not found in Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa⁶ but they are dealt with part and parcel in Siddhāntic astronomy ascribed to 3rd/4th century A.D., but as a matter of fact the antiquity of *Sūrya Siddhānta* (200 B.C.), the earliest milestone in Siddhāntic astronomy, is still controversial. Such views were naturally held in esteem in the absence of any link between Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa and Siddhāntic astronomy. However our investigations into *Gaṇitāmūyoga*, a class of Jaina works⁷ chiefly dealing with Jaina astronomical and geographical data, reveal out that Jainas had not merely acquainted themselves with Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, but also advanced the cause of astronomy to a greater extent and had ranked it as an essential part of education of a Jaina priest.⁸ Jainas had explicitly developed notions of declination,⁸ celestial latitude,⁹ and obliquity of ecliptic.¹⁰ *Yoga* and *Karaṇa* were added to the incomplete *pañcāṅga* of Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa.¹¹ The zodiacal stretches of *nakṣatras* were first measured by Jainas who later evolved the system of graduating the zodiacal circle into modern degrees.¹² The probable course of conversion of 30-fold system of time units (trigesimal system as we have called it) extant in Atharva Veda Jyotiṣa into the sexagesimal system¹³ was made during Jaina astronomical period and the system was later commonly used in Siddhāntic astronomy. Such notions have not been unearthed in *Mahābhārata* so far. It may therefore be strongly emphasized that *Mahābhārata* dates earlier than the Jaina school of astronomy was profoundly established. Evidences are still wanting to prove this view :

- a. *Mahābhārata* contains time-units like *kalā*, *kāṣṭhā* etc. resembling with Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa units of time, but Jaina texts present an advanced system of time-units like *muhūrta*, *truṭi*, *kalā*, *lava*, and *nimeṣa* etc.¹⁴
- b. *Mahābhārata* does not contain any reference to week days,¹ and we do not find it in Jaina texts also.⁷
- c. Tilak's interpretation of the 13 days' half month implying the knowledge of very accurate astronomical computations has been refuted by K. L. Daftari¹⁴ arguing that the 14th *tithi* coming on a day on which at the sunrise there was the 13th *tithi*, was made the 15th *tithi* by the Rāhu i.e., by the eclipse. This view is more authenti-

cated by the fact that the calculated *tithi* was longer than the actual one and hence the error was rectified through the direct observation of the phenomenon of eclipse formation.

- d. Some western scholars¹ agree that astronomical references found in *Mahābhārata* could not have entered in before Hipparchus (C. 150 B.C.) and therefore they ascribe *Mahābhārata* to a period near the advent of the Christian era, but such references are related to Jaina astronomical development of the post-Vedānga pre-Siddhāntic period. For example, the Vedānga Jyotiṣa Dhaniṣṭhādi⁶ system of *nakṣatras* was changed into Śravaṇādi system as found in *Mahābhārata* before the Jaina's Abhijitādi system⁷ was held in esteem.

In the context of these arguments, suffice it to say that *Mahābhārata* contains much that belongs to the intermediate period when the Jaina astronomical system was gaining over Vedānga Jyotiṣa. There has been a tradition¹⁵ in ancient India that astronomical computations were based on the sidereal system over many centuries before any rectification was made for the error into the calculated and observed phenomena. On the basis of Dhaniṣṭhādi system of *nakṣatras*, Vedānga Jyotiṣa is generally ascribed to about 14th century B.C.¹ Whereas Jaina texts contain much that belongs to about 5th/6th century B.C.¹⁶ when the Jaina School of astronomy has gained a vigorous momentum under the celebrity of Lord Mahāvīra. Therefore the notion of Śravaṇādi system may be assigned an intermediate period of about first millenium B.C. The date of the painted greyware as also of the discovery of Iron, both associated with the Aryans, have been put around 1000 B.C. by archaeologists.² K. L. Daftary on analysing the astronomical data as found in *Mahābhārata* has given its date to be about 1200 B.C.¹⁴ Of course, there is always a possibility of difference of 200 or 300 years in such astronomical calculations,² whereas the general precession takes about a thousand years to cross over the zodiacal stretch of a *nakṣatra*. However astronomical evidences are quite dependable as they are confirmable in the mathematical texture in relation to one another. However a similar difference of a few hundred years also creeps into the method of carbon dating of an event.²

Besides, the fact that *nakṣatras* are chiefly given to be 27 in number in *Mahābhārata*, except a passing reference to the 28th *nakṣatra*¹ whereas Jainas astronomical computations are solely dependable on the system of 28 *nakṣatras*.⁷ Obviously *Mahābhārata* should be assigned a period in between Vedānga Jyotiṣa and Jaina astronomy, but attention may be

called upon the fact that there is a legend (*Maitreyīya Brāhmaṇa* iii, 230.11) that the 28th *nakṣatra*, Abhijit, dropped out but *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (I.5.2.3) marks it as a new comer.⁴ Abhijit is mentioned as a fallen star in *Mahābhārata* (iii, 232.2) also.¹ It therefore suggests that *Mahābhārata* belongs to the Brahmanic period as also Jaina system of 28 *nakṣatras* does. However it cannot be ascertained as to how far the Jaina school of astronomy had been independently flourishing parallel to Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa till it gained over the latter in the post-Vedāṅga pre-Siddhāntic period. The possibility of such a tradition is, of course, evident from the preservation of Jaina continuity of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras (ford-makers) with Lord Mahāvīra as the last one of the second round,¹⁷ and from the diversity of three different schools of ancient Indian astronomy i.e. Lagadha, Videha and Gandharva.¹⁸

Consequently it may be inferred that *Mahābhārata* belongs to a period earlier than first millenium B.C. and some later interpolations in the text should not be confused with which however, on the other hand, might be related to a different school of astronomy of this period which can be ascertained only when the different schools viz. Lagadha, Videha, and Gandharva etc. are properly unearthed. Several important results have been obtained from our investigations into the field of Jaina Astronomy²⁰ belonging to post-Vedāṅga pre-Siddhāntic period and compared with Jaina astronomy an analytical study of *Mahābhārata* is still in progress.

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Sheer elegance and purity of a Jain nun as captured in a painting of a European artist of the past era of the Company

Courtesy M. K. Singhi

Contribution of Jaina Philosophy to Indian Thought

Mohan Lal Mehta

Jainism is a non-Vedic or non-Brahmanic religion. But it should not be regarded as a *nāstika* faith, because it firmly believes in the existence of spiritual realities like soul, *karma*, reincarnation, liberation etc. The Jaina philosophy, no doubt, has some similarities with the other Indian philosophical schools, it has its own peculiarities as well.

The Jaina philosopher uses the terms *sat*, *tattva*, *dravya*, *artha*, *padārtha*, *tattvārtha* etc. generally as synonyms for Reality. He does not make any strict distinction among them. The other Indian philosophers do not agree with him. The Vaiśeṣika uses the term *padārtha* for *dravya*, *guṇa*, *karma*, *sāmānya*, *viśeṣa*, and *samavāya*, but the term *artha* is reserved only for the first three¹ which are called *sat* owing to the connection of *sattā* by the *samavāya* relation.² The Sāṅkhya regards *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* as *tattva*. The Naiyāyika calls the sixteen principles as *sat*.³

The Jaina defines Reality as possessing origination, decay and permanence or as having qualities and modes.⁴ Origination and decay are nothing but the changing modes or forms. Permanence is the same as the essential qualities or attributes. Thus, Reality is possessed of both change and permanence. Here arises a question : How can change and permanence, which are contradictory, live in one and the same thing ? The Jaina philosopher says that permanence is not to be understood as absolute changelessness. Similarly, change is not to be

¹ *Vaisesika-sutra*, 1.1.4, 8.2.3.

² *Ibid.*, 1.8.

³ *Nyaya-bhasya*, 1,11

⁴ *Tattvartha-sutra*, 5.29-30; 5.38.

taken as absolute difference. Permanence means indestructibility of the essential nature (quality) of a substance.⁵ Change means origination and destruction of different modes. Reality is transitory as well as permanent, different as well as identical. No object can be absolutely destroyed, nothing can be absolutely permanent. The modes (*pariyāyas*) change, whereas the essential characteristics (*guṇas*) remain the same.

Our experience tells us that no object is absolutely identical. We experience this also that the differences are not absolutely scattered. Jainism accepts this commonsense view and maintains that the identity or permanence exists in the midst of all the varying modes or differences. There is no reason to call in question the reality of the changes or of the identity, as both are perceived facts. Every entity is subject to change and maintains its identity throughout its career. Thus, Reality is a synthesis of opposites—identity and difference permanence and change.

The Vedantist starts with the premise that Reality is one permanent universal conscious existence. The Vaibhāṣika and the Sautāntika believe in atomic particulars and momentary ideas, each being absolutely different from the rest and having nothing underlying them to bind them together. The Naiyāyika and the Vaiśeṣika hold particularity and universality to be combined in an individual, though they maintain that the two characters are different and distinct. A Real, according to them, is an aggregate of the universal, *i.e.*, identity and the particular, *i.e.*, difference, and not a real synthesis. The Jaina differs from all these Indian philosophers and holds that the universal and the particular are only distinguishable traits in an object which is at once identical with and different from both. A Real, according to him, is neither a particularity nor a universality exclusively but a synthesis which is different from both severally and jointly though embracing them in its fold.⁶

There are six ultimate substances or eternal Reals in the Jaina metaphysics : 1. Soul (*jīva*), 2. Matter (*puḍgala*), 3. Medium of Motion (*dharma*), 4. Medium of Rest (*adharma*), 5. Space (*ākāśa*), 6. Time (*kāla*). The souls are infinite (*ananta*) in number and each soul has innumerable (*asaṅkhyeya*) indivisible parts (*pradeśas*).⁷ By contraction and expansion of these parts the soul is capable of occupying different

⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.31.

⁶ *Astasahasri*, pp. 147-8.

⁷ *Tattvartha-sutra*, 5.8.

bodies like the light of a lamp that occupies a small room as well as a big hall.⁸ It can occupy the smallest possible body of a bacterium or the largest possible body of a whale. No other school of Indian philosophy regards the soul as equal in extent to the body it occupies. Jainism maintains that even the emancipated souls, which have no physical forms, since they are not possessed of bodies, have the psychical forms of their last bodies. Though the liberated souls possess their own form and maintain their individuality, there is perfect equality among them. They do not obstruct one another. Jainism does not believe in personal God. Every soul, which is capable of salvation is possessed of the innate nature of Godliness. It can attain the state of Godhead through right belief, right knowledge and right conduct. This state is nothing more than final liberation. All the liberated souls are essentially equal. None of them enjoys any privilege. Every emancipated soul perfectly shines with infinite knowledge, infinite intuition, infinite bliss and infinite power.

Matter consists of two forms : atoms (*aṇus* or *paramāṇus*) and molecules (*skandhas*). The indivisible material particle is called atom. It is the smallest possible form of matter.⁹ Each and every atom possesses touch, taste, smell and colour and is potentially capable of forming earth, water, fire and air. There are no distinct and different kinds of atoms of earth etc., i.e., the atoms are ultimately not different. Airy atoms can be converted into water, watery atoms can be converted into fire and so on. Ultimately, all the atoms belong to one and the same class, viz, the class of matter. Sometimes they form earth, sometimes they form water and so on. All this depends upon certain conditions and combinations. Air can be converted into a bluish liquid by continuous cooling, just as steam can be converted into water. Thus, according to Jainism, earth, water, fire and air are not ultimately separate and independent entities but only different forms of matter. There are no ultimate qualitative differences among them. The school of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika does not agree to this view of Jainism. It regards earth, water, fire and air as absolutely different and independent substances, and hence, their atoms are also ultimately distinct and different.

A combination of atoms is known as molecule. It possesses a gross form and undergoes the processes of union and division. The manifestations of molecules are found in the form of different kinds of body,

⁸ *Ibid.* 5.16.

⁹ *Sarvarthasiddhi*, 5.25.

organs of speech, sound, heat, light, darkness, shade etc.¹⁰ Some Indian philosophers like the Vaiśeṣika etc. associate sound with ether. The Jaina does not accept this view. He explains the creation of sound as due to the violent contact of one material object with another. A single molecule cannot produce sound. Darkness is a positive entity. The Naiyāyika and the Vaiśeṣika maintain that the existence of darkness is nothing more than the non-existence of light. Darkness is not a positive reality but the mere negation of light. The Jaina holds that darkness enjoys an independent existence. It is as real as light.

No other Indian philosophical school than Jainism admits that *karma* is also material. According to the Jaina conception, *karma* is an aggregate of very fine material particles imperceptible to our senses. The entire cosmos is full of that kind of matter which can take the form of *karma*. Through the actions of body and mind the karmic matter gets into the soul and is tied to it according to the modifications of consciousness consisting of passions. In the state of bondage the soul and *karma* are more intimate than milk and water.

The medium of Motion is helpful in the movement of the souls and matter. Though the souls and matter are possessed of the capacity of movement, they cannot move unless the medium of motion is present in the universe. As water helps fish in swimming, the medium of motion assists the souls and matter in their movement. This substance is formless¹¹ and exists everywhere in the universe. The auxiliary cause of rest to the souls and matter is known as the medium of Rest. It is also formless and pervades the whole of the universe. The conception of the media of motion and rest as two separate substances is a unique contribution of Jainism to the Indian philosophy.

That which provides accommodation to the souls matter, the media of motion and rest and time is called Space. It is also formless and all pervasive. It consists of two divisions ; universe-space (*lokākāśa*) and non-universe-space (*alokākāśa*). That space in which all the other five substances exist is known as universe-space. That which is beyond this universe-space and has nothing in it is called non-universe-space.¹² It is empty space or pure space. No other Indian philosophical system believes in such an empty space.

10 *Tattvartha-sutra*. 5.19-20, 24.

11 Without touch, taste, smell and colour.

12 *Dravyasangraha*, 19.

Time is the auxiliary cause of change. The souls etc., which are by their own nature in the process of constant change accompanied by continuity, are helped by time or as the media of motion and rest are helpful in the movement and stoppage of the souls and matter, time is helpful in the origination and destruction, *i.e.*, modifications of the souls etc. In other words, the function of time is to assist the other substances in their continuity of being through gradual changes or modifications. Unlike the medium of motion etc. time is not a single continuous substance. The particles of time exist throughout the universe-space, each time particle being located in each space-point. The innumerable substances (particles) existing one by one in every point of the universe-space, like heaps of jewels, are the units of time.¹³ They are formless. Thus, according to Jainism, time is not one substance but comprises innumerable substances. It consists of innumerable minute (indivisible) particles which never mix up with one another. This conception is a unique one in the history of Indian philosophy.

The Jaina holds that knowledge is like light. It is self-illuminating as well as other-illuminating.¹⁴ This refutes the position of the Bhatta Mīmāṃsakas etc. who hold the non-perceptibility of knowledge and the conception of the Yogācāra Buddhists etc. who do not accept the reality of the external world.

Knowledge is of two kinds. Is this two-fold classification to be understood in the terms of the two kinds recognised by the Buddhists, viz, perceptual and inferential, or in a different way? The Jaina classification is certainly different. It is in the terms of perceptual (*pratyakṣa*) and non-perceptual (*parokṣa*). The perceptual knowledge is direct or immediate, whereas the non-perceptual cognition is indirect or mediate.¹⁵ That which knows is the soul and that which manifests itself in the soul without the operation of the senses and mind is direct or immediate knowledge, whereas that which arises with the functioning of the senses and mind is indirect or mediate knowledge.¹⁶ Here the Jaina differs from those who contend that knowledge resulting from the operation of the senses is direct and that arising without the functioning of the senses is indirect.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁴ *Parikṣa-mukham*, 1.1 ; *Pramāṇa-naya-tattva-loka*, 1.2.

¹⁵ *Pramāṇa-mīmāṃsa*, 1.1.9-10, 16 ; 1.2.1.

¹⁶ *Sarvarthasiddhi*, 1.12.

The Vaiśeṣika as well as the Śāṅkhya maintains that there are three means of knowledge, viz., perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*) and word (*āgama*). The Naiyāyika accepts analogy (*upamāna*) in addition to the three. The Prabhākara Mimāṃsaka adds implication (*arthāpatti*) as the fifth. The Bhatta Mimāṃsaka accepts negation (*abhāva*) as an additional means. All these means of valid knowledge except negation, are included in the perceptual and non-perceptual cognitions recognised by the Jaina. As regards negation, it is not accepted to be different from perception. Since Reality partakes of the nature of both being and non-being, negation cannot have an object of its own. A Real, as a matter of fact, is made up of both being and non-being as its constitutive elements, since it has being in respect of its own nature and non-being in respect of the nature of others. A perceptual cognition determines its objects by way of affirmation and negation. When we say that the Jar is not on the ground, we simply mean by it the perception of a surface of the ground and not a perception of the Jar. The surface of the ground itself is the negation of the Jar.

The Jaina logicians divide perceptual knowledge into two categories. That perception which is directly derived from the soul is known as extra-sensory perception or real perception (*pāramārthika pratyakṣa*). The perception conditioned by the senses and mind is termed as sensory perception or pragmatic perception (*sāmvyavahārika pratyakṣa*).¹⁷ Omniscience (*kevala*), telepathy (*manahparyāya*) and clairvoyance (*avadhi*) come under the first category. The second category consists of sensation (*avagraha*), speculation (*ihā*), determination (*avāya*) and retention (*dhāraṇā*).

The perfect manifestation of the innate cognitive nature of the soul, emerging on the complete annihilation of all the obstructive karmic veils, is called omniscience.¹⁸ It is the highest type of perception. Omniscience is not the only instance of extra-sensory perception. There are other varieties also. Owing to the variation of the degrees of the destruction of obstructive veils, the extra-sensory perception admits of two varieties : limited knowledge, i.e., *avadhijñāna* and knowledge of the modes of mind, i.e., *manahparyāya-jñāna*.¹⁹ That extra-sensory perception which is confined to the objects having form, i.e., material objects, is called limited knowledge, i.e., clairvoyance. The mind,

¹⁷ *Pramāṇa-naya-tattvaloka*, 2.4.

¹⁸ *Pramāṇa-mīmāṃsa*, 1.1.15.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.1.18.

according to the Jaina, is a particular material substance. Its modes are the different changes of state emerging into acts of thought. The direct knowledge of these modes is called *manahparyāya-jñāna*, i.e., telepathy.

The non-perceptual knowledge is of five kinds; recollection (*smaraṇa*), recognition (*pratyabhijñāna*), induction (*tarka*), deduction (*anumāna*) and verbal knowledge (*āgama*).²⁰

Recollection is a cognition which has for its condition the stimulation of a memory-impression and which refers to its content by a form of the pronoun 'that'. It is Jainism alone that regards recollection as an independent organ of valid knowledge. As a consequence, it has to face a number of objections from the side of opponents. How can recollection be an organ of cognition when it is not cognisant of a datum perceived at present, and thus is found to lack an objective basis? The answer is: It is certainly based on an object that has been experienced in the past. The reality of the object, and not its actually felt presence, is the condition of validity of a cognition. If the opponent thinks that the revelation of the relevant object is the criterion of validity, it is found to be equally present in recollection also. How can a dead object be the generating condition of a cognition like recollection? The Jaina answers: The object is not the generating condition of knowledge. As light, which comes into being on the operation of its own conditions, reveals the objects Jar and the like, though not generated by them so also a cognition, which comes into existence by its own conditions, viz., the sense-organ or the mind accompanied by the destruction cum-subsidence of the obscuring veil, reveals its object, though it is not produced by the object. Moreover, if recollection is regarded invalid, one must be prepared to repudiate the validity of inference, since there is no possibility of inference being realised unless recollection has already taken note of the necessary concomitance. Hence, recollection has to be accepted as a valid and independent organ of knowledge.

Recognition is the synthetic cognition born of observation and recollection as typified by such forms as 'it is the same' (judgment of identity), 'it is like that' (judgment of similarity), 'this is different from that' (judgment of difference) and the like. Observation is the perceptual cognition and recollection is an act of memory. These two are the conditions of recognition which is a kind of synthetic knowledge. This

²⁰ *Pramana-naya tattvaloka*, 3.2.

refutes the view of the Buddhist who holds that there is no one knowledge as recognition, because it consists of two varieties in the form of this and that which are obvious and obscure respectively.

Induction or inductive reasoning is the knowledge of universal concomitance conditioned by observation and non-observation.²¹ Observation in this context stands for the knowledge of existence of the major term (*sādhya*) on the existence of the middle term (*sādhana*) and non-observation for the knowledge of non-existence of the middle term on the non-existence of the major term. It cannot be maintained that such knowledge is derived exclusively from perception, since it is beyond the capacity of our ordinary perception to derive the knowledge of universal concomitance, for our sensory perception is limited, whereas the knowledge of universal concomitance is unlimited. Nor can it be maintained that such knowledge is obtained by inference, since inference itself is not possible in the absence of universal concomitance. It follows, therefore, that induction or inductive reasoning is a separate organ of knowledge. It is known as *tarka* or *uhā* in the Jaina logic.

Deduction or inference is the knowledge of the probandum (*sādhya*) on the strength of the probans (*sādhana*). It was of two kinds ; for one's own self, *i.e.*, subjective and for others, *i.e.*, syllogistic. The subjective inference consists in the cognition of the probandum from the probans ascertained by one's own self as having the sole and solitary characteristic of standing in necessary concomitance with the probandum. Necessary or universal concomitance with the probandum means the impossibility of the probans apart from the probandum. In other words, the probans has inseparable relation with the probandum. Inseparable relationship (*avinābhāva* or *anyathānupatti*) consists in the universal necessity of simultaneous and successive occurrence of simultaneous and successive events. The triple characteristic of the probans maintained by the Buddhist, *viz.*, its subsistence in the subject (*pakṣa-dharmatva*), its subsistence in the homologue (*sapakṣa-sattva*) and the absence of the same in a heterologue (*vipakṣavyāvṛtti*), as well as the five-fold characteristic maintained by the Naiyāyika, *viz.*, the absence of contradiction of the probandum (*abādhitā-viśayatva*) and the absence of a countervailing probans (*asat-pratīpakṣatva*) in addition to the above three, is nothing but an elaboration of this inseparable relationship, *i.e.*, *avinābhāva* or *anyathānupatti*, recognised by the Jaina.

21 *Pramana-mimamsa*, 1.2.5.

The syllogistic inference is the knowledge of the probandum derived from the statement of the probans having the characteristic of necessary concomitance. Philosophers of different schools hold different views as regards the constitution of syllogism. The Sāṅkhya maintains that a syllogism consists of three parts: thesis (*pakṣa*), reason (*hetu*) and example (*dṛṣṭānta*). The Mīmāṃsaka asserts four parts with the addition of application (*upanaya*). The Naiyāyika asserts five parts with the addition of conclusion (*nigamana*). The Jaina holds that the thesis and reason constitute a syllogism adequate for an intelligent person.²² For others it may have more propositions also.

The cognition produced by the statement of a reliable person is called verbal knowledge. One, who knows the object as it is and states it as he knows it, is termed as reliable or authentic (*āpta*).²³ Such a person can never tell a lie. The omniscient, who is totally free from passions, is regarded by the Jaina as the real or extraordinary authentic person. From the pragmatic point of view, father etc. are considered to be ordinary reliable persons. Verbal knowledge is also known as scriptural knowledge. The Jaina scriptures are neither eternal, i.e., *apauruṣeya* in the sense of the Mīmāṃsaka nor God-Created, i.e., *īśvara-kṛta* as conceived by the Naiyāyika. They are human creations based on the preachings of the passionless omniscient *Tirthaṅkara*. Hence, they are valid means of knowledge.

Thus, Jainism has contributed a number of original ontological, epistemological and logical concepts and enriched the philosophical thought of India.

[July, 1978]

²² *Jaina-tarka-bhasa*, 1.50.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1.61.

Prakrit Textual Criticism

Satyaranjan Banerjee

1. *Introduction : Statement of the Problem :*

The Prakrit language, or more properly, the Middle Indo-Aryan, belongs to the middle period of the Indo-Aryan language which is the Indic branch of the Indo-Iranian sub-branch of the Indo-European family of languages. So it is a connecting link between old Indo-Aryan (*i.e.*, Vedic and Classical Sanskrit) on the one hand and the New Indo-Aryan languages (such as, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, Oriya, Bihari, Assamese etc.) on the other.

Prakrit is a vast subject. It covers literatures for over 1500 years beginning from the time of Mahāvīra and Buddha (7th or 6th Century B. C.) down to the time of the emergence of New Indo-Aryan (*i.e.*, 1000 A.D.) or even later than that. It includes literature written in Inscriptional Prakrits, nearly about 1500 in number and distributed geographically in almost all parts of India—South, North-west, West, North and East ; it includes literature in Pali, both canonical and non-canonical, and also literature written by the Jainas in Ardha-Magadhi, Sauraseni, Maharashtri and Apabhramsa. There are some non-Jaina poets, such as, Śātavāhana, Pravarasena, Vākpatirāja, Rājasekhara, Abdul Rahaman and several others. Sanskrit dramas offer us a great variety of Prakrit dialects beginning from the time of 2nd or 1st Century B. C. down to the time of 10th Century A. D. or even later than that. Prakrit being a common speech and its dialects being representatives of different parts of India, the variety of Prakrit dialects makes it more difficult to handle any Prakrit texts easily. It also includes some other Prakrits, such as, Kharosthi, Niya and Gandhari or Prakrit Dhammapada, outside India.

Apart from the Inscriptional Prakrits, our knowledge on Prakrit language and its dialects and sub-dialects, commonly known as 'Literary

Prakrits', is mainly based on the works of Prakrit grammarians and the dramatic and rhetorical works of Sanskrit writers. The Sanskrit dramaturgists, such as, Bharata, Dhanañjaya, Viśvanātha, Singha-bhūpāla, Sāgaranandī and others, have given in their respective treatises only the names of Prakrit dialects which should be or is to be spoken by persons belonging to different strata of the society. The distribution of Prakrit dialects in Sanskrit dramas is therefore, based on a sort of socio-linguistic pattern, no matter whether the author of a particular drama belongs to any particular region of India and speaking a particular dialect of Prakrit. While distributing the Prakrit dialects in a Sanskrit drama, not a single author has shown any lack of knowledge by which the prescriptions of the dramaturgists are generally violated. But at the same time, it should be borne in mind that not a single dramaturgist has ever given any characteristic features of the dialect that they are prescribing for the dramatists. Bharata, of course, has given some general features of Prakrit, but nothing about dialects. So where do the Sanskrit authors get the characteristics from? Did the dramatists know the characteristic features of Prakrit dialects from their own personal experience, or from books current at their times?

Our knowledge about Prakrit and its dialects is mainly based on the grammarians beginning from Vararuci (4th or 5th Cent. A. D.) down to Mārkaṇḍeya (16th or 17th Cent. A. D.)—Vararuci and Hemacandra being the oldest and the best representatives of Prakrit grammarians. Although most of the Prakrit grammarians are later than the Prakrit literature, the features of Prakrit including dialects as prescribed by the grammarians are in major, if not in all cases, preserved in the works of the Prakrit writers and Sanskrit dramatists as we find them printed to-day.

But to a scholar, it seems, there are works where features of dialects as described by the grammarians are not fully preserved, not even in essential forms. Herein lies the main difficulty in handling a Prakrit passage in a text. When a scholar opens up a Prakrit book and peruses a few passages, he can easily detect that such book is written mainly in X dialect, but it is also interspersed with other Y and Z forms. As a result what happens is this that we assume a different dialect for the justification of variety of forms. This assumption may be partly true at times, but sometimes it seems too much adherence to the manuscripts forgetting that some forms might be scribal errors or wrong representation of spelling, unless they can be justified historically. Therefore, in editing a Prakrit text, the problems which a linguist faces are mainly—

- (i) dialectal,
- (ii) orthographic and
- (iii) selection of readings.

2. *Problems in editing a Prakrit text :*

(i) *Dialectal*

As we have said above, it is a very difficult task to determine the dialect of a Prakrit passage. While editing some Prakrit texts, even scholars like Jacobi, Pischel were puzzled in determining the question of language of the text.

Hermann Jacobi has assumed a Jaina Maharastrī dialect of those texts which are non-canonical on the one hand but written by the Jainas on the other. In a similar way Richard Pischel has postulated a Jaina Sauraseni of those Jaina texts which are written in Sauraseni. At the time of Pischel, of course, no Digambara canonical literature was published and so he had no comment on them. A few books by Kuncakunda and Umāsvāmī were available, and on the basis of those books he had established the Jaina Sauraseni. But recently the earliest canonical literature of the Digambara Jainas were published first in 1939 and then completed the whole lot in subsequent years by 1960 after which most of the earlier editions were being reprinted. The first of the series is *Śaṅkhaṇḍāgama* which is written in Sauraseni dialect, but again influenced by the older Ardha-Magadhi and the Maharastrī as well, giving it a name which is called by Pischel as Jaina Sauraseni. The assumption of these two dialects—Jaina Maharastrī and Sauraseni is based on a notion that probably these two dialects are different from the normal features of the language as embalmed and treasured up by Prakrit grammarians. But how far they differ from Maharastrī and Sauraseni is a moot question and how far these differences are systematic to form a separate dialect is another problem. These are the questions which normally puzzle the readers of Prakrit. With regard to the Inscriptional Prakrits and Pali, the question is not severe, but with the Prakrit and Apabhramsa and partly with the early literary specimens of some modern Indo-Aryan languages, the problem of readings is acute.

Although inscriptions are written documents and we have more

reliability in inscriptions than in the manuscripts, the earlier writers do not offer the features of Prakrit that can go on at par with the inscriptions. Take, for example, the drama of Aśvaghoṣa. We are all grateful to Luders (*Bruchstruck Buddhistischen Dramen*, 1911) who has presented the fragments of some Buddhist dramas discovered in Turkestan and dated by him in the first or second cent. A. D. In his opinion, there are three types of Prakrit dialect employed by Aśvaghoṣa in his plays. To use his terminology, they are old Suarāseni, old Magadhi and old Ardha-Magadhi. The Dūsta's speech in three important points is similar to the Magadhi of the Prakrit grammarians, it substitutes *l* for *r*, reduces all three sibilants to *ś* ; and has *e* in the nominative singular of masculine nouns in *a*. But it ignores the rules of the grammarians in certain respects ; hard letters are not softened (e. g., *bhoṭṭ*), nor soft consonants elided (e. g., *kumuda-gandha*), when inter-vocalic. There is no tendency to cerebralize *n* and in *kālanā* the dental replaces the cerebral. Fuller forms of consonants remain in *hangho* (*hamho*) and *bambhaṇa* (*bamhaṇa*). Certain consonantal changes are irregular : *ry* > *jj* and not *yy* ; e.g., *ajja*, *śc* > *cch*, *kṣ* > *kkh*, not *sk* or *cch*, *ṣṭ* > *ṭṭh* not *ṣṭ*, *kiśsa* > *kiśa*, *ahakam* than *ahake*, *hake*, *haje*, (Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 86).

But it is a point worth noting here that not a single grammarian has even described any old features of Saurāseni, Magadhi or Ardha-Magadhi. How should we justify these forms then ? Should we reconsider the judgment of the manuscripts ?

(ii) Orthographic

The orthography of manuscripts is sometimes responsible for the selection of a reading particularly of a Jaina manuscript. The peculiar way of writing *na* and *ñā*, *y* and *th*, *ś* and *ph*, *jh* and *bh* and many other conjuncts makes us responsible for a wrong selection. Unless one is thoroughly conversant with the calligraphy of Mss, one cannot do any justice to the reading of a Prakrit passage. I need not dwell upon this point here in detail.

(iii) Selection of readings

Leaving aside the orthographic representation of Prakrit, we shall now pass on to the next problem, i.e., selection of readings. It is a fact worth noting here that sometimes some editions are responsible for

the peculiar, forceful and incongruous reading of a text. In this respect, we shall divide our examples into two groups. In group A, some of the grammatical texts are discussed, where the selection of a particular reading, instead of another, has caused us trouble in determining the linguistic features of a particular language. In group B, the reading of some Prakrit texts are analysed.

A. Grammatical texts

Let us first take Senart's edition of Kāccāyana's Pali Grammar. Under the *sūtra-jāyāya tudam-jāni patimhi* (11. 7. 24. No. 34)—*jāyā iccetāya tudamjāni iccete ādesā honti patimhi pare, jāyāya pati tudam pati jāyāya pati jānipati*. Senart has read the sentence as *tu-dampati* meaning 'husband and wife', and after that the word is included in all the Pali Dictionaries. But most of the scholars including Senart himself were not happy with the reading. The *tu* prefixed to *dampati* is difficult to solve. T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede's *Pali-English Dictionary*, The Pali Text Society, London, (1972) has explained the formation of the word thus :

"*tudampati* (dual) husband and wife. [*tu* = *dlal*, for *du*, Skt *dve*. *dampati* from *dama* = *domus*, Skt. *daypati* = Gk. *despotes* ; cf. also Kern Toev-II, 93. who compares *tuvantuva* for *divanduva*]."

In reality, the word is not *tudampati*, but simply *dampati* as in Sanskrit, meaning husband and wife *tu* is in fact, an emphatic particle meaning 'but', and the passage means, 'but (= *tu*) when *jāyā* is compounded with *pati*, we get the compound as *dampati*, *jānipati* and *jāyāpati*.

Coming to the field of Prakrit, the situation seems to be worse. For one word, we could have several forms in Prakrit and at times it is difficult to think which one is correct. Take, for example, the reading *isi* in Cowell's edition of Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa*. Cowell has accepted the reading *isi* with a short initial *i* under the *vṛtti* of a *sūtra* *iḍ-īṣat-pakva-svapna-vetasa-vyajana-mṛdangāṅgāreṣu*, 1.3 i.e., (in a group of words beginning with *īṣat* etc. *i* is substituted for the first *a*), whereas he has given the variant reading with long *ī* in the foot-note as *īsi*. In fact, the reading with long *ī* is the correct one, as in all the editions of all Prakrit grammarians so far known to us, the word *īsi* with long *ī* at the initial is given, which is also Cowell's reading in the foot-note.

Moreover, there is no reason why the Sanskrit long *i* in *iṣat* should be short in Prakrit. The use of this word is also found with long *i* (cf. *isīsi cumbiālm* etc. in *Śāṅkuntalā*, Act I, prologue). As Cowell has given the alternative reading in the foot-note, this should not be taken as printing mistake. The question of dialect will not also help us in solving this reading.

Hultzsch's edition of Simharāja's *Prākṛta-rūpāvatāra* offers us another difficulty. Simharāja has based his grammar on Hemacandra and Trivikrama, as far as examples are concerned. But with regard to *l*, Hultzsch has edited his text with cerebral *l* in cases where others will have simple or dental *l*. In fact, cerebral *l* is a rare occurrence in Prakrit. The reason that Hultzsch's edition contains cerebral *l* is due to the fact that he has edited his text from a South Indian manuscript preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society of London, where Sanskrit *l* is written as *l*°, which Hultzsch thinks a variety of Prakrit. That is why in Bhāsa's dramas this cerebral *l* is preserved. On the basis of this feature L. D. Barnett once thought that there was a southern school of Prakrit grammarians as well. (*JRAS*, 1921).

While giving the characteristic features of Sakari, Puruṣottama in his *Prākṛtānuśāsana* has given two *sūtras* as

ṣṭah ṣṭah XIII. 3

viṣṭarasya XIV.4

Some have suggested '*na viṣṭarasy*' i.e., but not in *viṣṭara*. Even then some scholars think that the *sūtras* are not clear. Actually I feel that the reading should be *ṣṭah ṣṭo viṣṭarasya* as one *sūtra*. From the method of framing the *sūtras*, it is seen that the preceeding *sūtra* is *duṣprekṣa-saḍṛkṣayoh kṣasya kkho vā* (XIII. 2) where words are particularly mentioned for the Sakari dialect, it is quite possible also that the next *sūtra* should contain a word as well, and the subsequent *sūtras* are also framed with regard to some words. There is no reason to think *ṣṭah ṣṭah* as a general rule.

B. Prakrit texts

Let us now consider some of the textual readings of Prakrit.

Sten Konow's edition of *Karpuramañjarī* (KM) is a great problem.

Here the problem is not only of reading but also of language. According to general belief the *KM* is written in a Sauraseni dialect. But Konow has never mentioned it in so many words. In his opinion Rajasekhara's *KM* is written in a sort of mixed Prakrit—between Maharastri and Sauraseni. In his edition what we find is that the verses are in Maharastri and the proses are in Sauraseni following the dictum as laid down in the works of dramaturgy. After 35 years, M. Ghosh edited that text again. In his edition all the passages are in Sauraseni. Konow has consulted several Mss, and some of the best Mss do contain the readings in Sauraseni even in verses which he has either corrected for the sake of dramaturgy or neglected as improper readings. Ghosh has done just the opposite. For example :

Sten Konow : *hou* (Ms. *bhodu*), Ghosh : *bhhdu phurau* (Ms. *phuradu*), *phuradu* etc.

With regard to some of the readings of *Deśināmamālā*, Pischel remarks :

“Another great difficulty was raised by the examples which Hemacandra adds at the end of the commentary on each stanza of the *ekārtha śabdās*. These examples are either void of all sense, or of an incredible stupidity .. It was a most disgusting task to make out the sense, or rather non-sense, of these examples, some of which have remained rather obscure to me.” (Pischel's edition of *Deśināmamālā* Poona, 1938, pp. 29-30.

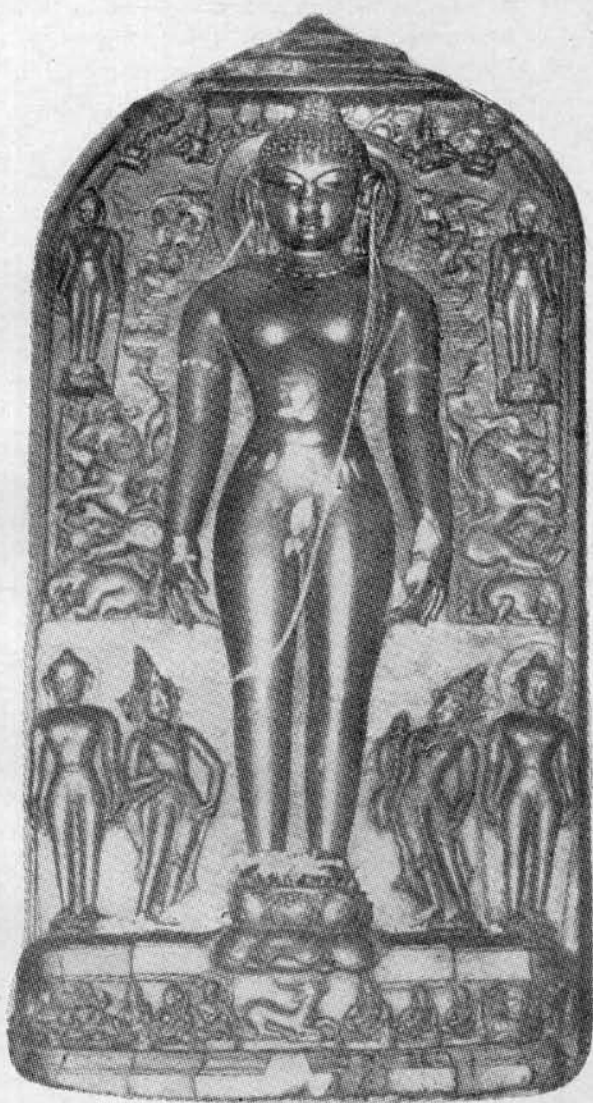
This remark of Pischel depends upon the selection of readings which, at times, seems to be ineffective poetically. Let us take one example to demonstrate this truth.

Pischel's reading :

*aḍae suṇāhi ayade aṇāḍa aḍayaṇa-pie sarasi kāle-
amdhamdhumaviṇaya-varāha-vvāṭhaṇam-tamittha aṇaḍo kin*

(Hc. I. 18. verse 15)

The English translation on the basis of this reading will be as follows :



Santinatha, Sankarpur, Burdwan

“O you the courtesan, hear (me), oh well, are you remembering the time favourable to a paramour and a courtesan ? Well is the (meeting) place of a paramour and an unchaste lady, is there any paramour ?”

The assumption of the reading *sunāhi* meaning *śṛṇu* (‘hear me’) and *ayaḍe* as independent words in Pischel’s edition followed by other editions, gives us a sense that does not appear to be happy and consistent. But these two words when combined *sunāhi + ayaḍe* = Skt. *sunābhi-kūpa* acting as a *bahuvrīhi* compound representing vocative singular form of a feminine base ending in *a* and referring to *aḍaye* as an attributive adjunct, will present us a good sense, because the comparison *nābhikūpa*, *nābhigarta* etc. is rather usual in Indian literature, and even Hemacandra uses this comparison more than once in the same book.

The next difficulty is with the root *sarasi*. The use of the Prakrit root *sara* as an equivalent to Sanskrit root *smṛ* ‘to remember’ is far less common than the Sanskrit root *śṛ* ‘to go’. And it may be added here that of the root *smṛ*, the form *sumara* very often puts in appearance in Prakrit literature, and the form *sara* is extremely rare. Hence I suggest *sarasi* meaning ‘go’. It is also suggested that *aṇāḍa-aḍayaṇa-pi* should be taken in a locative form qualifying the word *kāle*, i.e., ‘the time pleasing to the paramours and courtesans’ which no doubt yields a good sense, happy and consistent and *sarasi* in the sense of ‘going’, its object ; being *amdhamaḍhuma*, when *aviṇaya-varāha-vvāṭṭhāṇam* will stand in opposition to it, i.e., the going of an unchaste lady to the well which is the meeting place of the paramours and courtesans.

The Prakrit word *tam* should stand for *tad*, meaning ‘therefore’ ; so *tam ittha aṇāḍo kim* should be translated as ‘is there any paramour (waiting for you) ?’ So the translation of the improved reading should be as follows :

“Oh, you the courtesan whose naval cavity is like a well, are you going at this time pleasing to the paramour and the courtesan to (that) well which is the meeting place of the paramour and the courtesan. Why, is there any paramour (waiting for you) ?”

It is very difficult to get a very good edition of Prakrit texts. Take, for example, the editions of Kalidasa’s *Śakuntalā* by two eminent scholars—Monier-Williams and Richard Pischel. Both have claimed

that they have paid much attention to the readings of the text and have carefully preserved the Mss. Pischel has an advantage over Monier-Williams with regard to Prakrit passages, which, Pischel believes, have been presented correctly. These two editions differ so much that they represent two different recensions. But with regard to the treatment of labial *b* and semivowel *v*, these two scholars vary too much. About the retention of *v*, Pischel is in favour of the grammarians, while Monier-Williams has a strong predilection for the historical development of the sound and prefers *b*. The common reader is at a loss to decide which course to adopt. This problem is summed up in my book *The Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians*, p.99 which is quoted below :

“He (*i.e.*, Pischel) says that the grammarians are not to be corrected with the help of the manuscripts; but the manuscripts are to be improved upon with the help of the grammarians. But it can be added here that the peculiar characteristics of an eastern Prakrit, supported by the eastern grammarians should not be rectified with the evidence of the western grammar. So the Prakrit readings, in regard to labial *b*, cannot be summarily rejected. It should also be noted that the readings given by Monier-Williams seem to be based on an outlook of the historical background answering to the reliability of one or two other readings of the different manuscripts, while it will appear as almost certain that the readings given by Pischel reveal a strong predilection for grammar.”

In the Jaina canonical texts the problem is different. We are all aware of mistakes that a scribe makes while copying the Mss from another one, or writing from the dictation of a person. The copyist may or may not be educated in the subject. As a result the Mss may contain some mistakes which obviously defy the genuineness of the language. These mistakes are at times regarded as ‘archaic’ or earlier features of a language. Take, for an example, the one reading of the *Uttarādhyāna sūtra* (1.5)

*kaṇakunḍagam caittāṇam viṭṭham bhumjai sūyare
evam sīlam caittāṇam dussīle ramai mie*

Here the reading with long *i* in *ramai* is difficult to accept, but for ‘archaic’. Similar types of readings of long *i* of verbs, such as *vuccai* (1.2), *nikkanjajai* (1.4) are abundant. The readings with short *i* are also available in the foot-notes.

Besides these are orthographic problems in Jaina texts. The use of *ya-śruti*, dental and cerebral *n*, the sporadic cases of voiceless changing into voiced, and so on. These problems will remain as long as the principles of editing Prakrit texts are not followed.

3. *Manuscripts vs Grammarians :*

Having discussed some difficulties and anomalies of Prakrit texts, what remains now is a great task for the scholars to determine the principles we follow in editing a Prakrit text. The basic problem is whether the grammarians or the manuscripts are to be followed. It is not easy to answer the question, particularly when most of the scholars think that any kind of linguistic phenomenon is possible in Prakrit. Perhaps under the tacit influence of this so-called ideas, some of the Prakrit forms have been incorporated in some editions which sometimes baffle and betray some of the basic notions of Prakrit language including dialects as enunciated by Prakrit grammarians. It is true that Prakrit grammarians are not very old, and most of the authors belong at a time when the language was almost stereotyped like Sanskrit. As a result the Prakrit features as embalmed and treasured up by the grammarians vary from author to author, except a few general forms which are common to all. The texts of Prakrit manuscripts are not always uniformly common; the variations are such that it is difficult to follow any particular reading from the Mss. The copyists are not always learned, more so, they may not have any knowledge or a very limited knowledge of the language and hence every possibility of making mistakes. The phonetics of the language is not always regular. Sometimes the copyists add something to the Mss. to improve upon the text. It is, therefore, not an easy task to edit a Prakrit text, as is normally the case with Sanskrit or with Pali.

4. *Emendation :*

It is my personal feeling that some sorts of emendations are necessary to edit a Prakrit text—if the Mss. of a particular text do not help us much—recording, of course, the variants at the foot-note. (Cf. my edition of Kramādiśvara's *Prakrit Grammar*, § 26. pp. 19-22).

5. *Conclusion :*

The above are some of the specimens taken at random to show the linguistic problems of Prakrit and Prakrit textual criticism. It is

indeed very difficult to form direct cut-and-dry principles for this purpose, unless we base our arguments on some principles by which grammarians are involved in the matter. In conclusion, I can just say that I have endeavoured to present a picture of editing Prakrit texts, and leave with the readers to judge its value or revalue of some Prakrit passages presented in this dissertation.

[January 1988]

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Pakbirra—A Lost Jaina Centre of Purulia

Subhas Chandra Mukhopadhyay

Pakbirra, about thirty miles south-east of Purulia Sadar and twenty miles north-east of Bara Bazar, a mofussil town of Purulia, West Bengal was probably the biggest Jaina centre of the area. To reach at the ancient site one may start either from Dhadki, Lolara or Puncha—all situated on the Purulia-Puncha bus route. Pakbirra is one to one and half miles from these three points. However, the road, if it is so called, from Puncha to Pakbirra is not at all convenient for a new comer.

Although the ancient site is generally referred to as Pakbirra there is not a village by that name. Pakbirra is comprised of seven surrounding villages, i.e., Thakurthan (attached with the temple site and Mahato dominated), Raidih (Mahato-dominated with a few Brahman families), Muditara (Mahato-dominated), Gorardih (Manjih-dominated), Puratandih (Mahato-dominated), Baurirdih (Manjih-dominated) and Ragdardih (Manjih-dominated). The temple-site is also famous as 'Bhairava Than'.

Mr. J. D. Beglar¹ who visited the place in 1872-73 and examined the remains in site informs us that there were altogether 21 temples of which 13 were built of stone and 8 of brick,—most of them being in ruins. Beglar saw five of those temples, including one of brick, standing at his time. At present there are three temples standing; of course, all of them are badly ruined. Those two that are standing on the south facing north are in somewhat perceptible shape up to the *bāḍa* portion, while the third one standing on the west and facing east is nothing more than a confused pile of stones. However, from the two southern temples a rough idea can be formed about the appearance and basic structure of the temples of Pakbirra. Though the *pābhāga* portions of the temples are buried underground, they are basically *tri-ratha* with a

¹ *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, Vol. VIII, pp. 193-194.

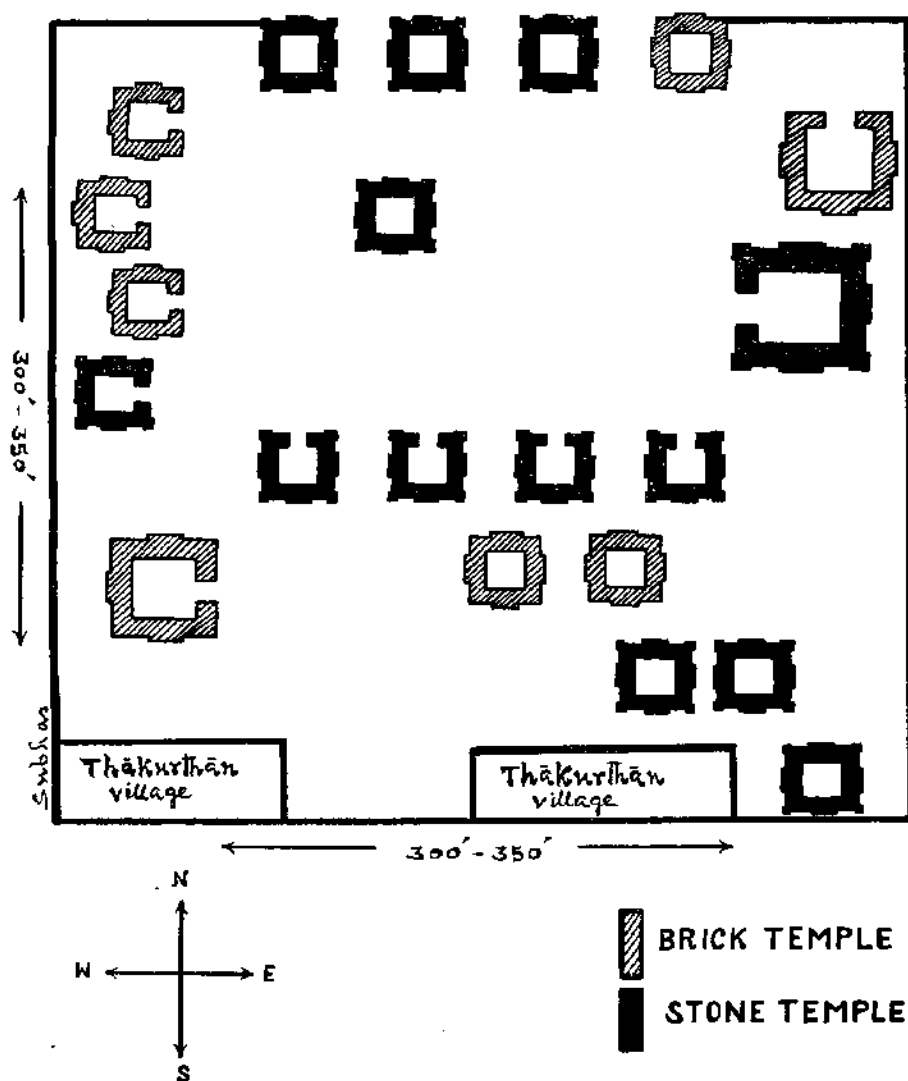
niche at the base of the central *rāhā* of the *bāḍa*. Above the niche there are a few layers of projected stones in *rekha* order over which there might have been small pilasters. In the lowly constructed *anu-rāhā* there is a *rekha* miniature in the form of a pilaster with *khura*-shaped mouldings and *āmalaka* overhead. The *koṇika* in the form of a pillar built of cut-stone and holding the slightly projected *baraṇḍa* is as if bearing the whole weight of the *vimāna*. These mouldings in the *bāḍa* portion have close similarity with the *bāḍa* of the now-ruined stone temple of Budhpur, a few miles south of Pakbirra, and are basically not far away from the temples at Telkupi (Raghunathpur, P.S. Purulia on the bank of Damodar). The triangular entrances (5' high) built of overlapping stones are like those in Deulghat (Jaipur, P.S. Purulia) but while the doorways of Deulghat temples are wide and lofty, these are much too narrow. One is just to crawl to enter into the sanctum. The *gaṇḍi* portions which start after a small recess above the *baraṇḍa* are now nothing more than a heap of disarranged stones. No clear-cut idea can be formed about them.

The *garbhagṛha* is 5' square. Internal walls after a certain height are corbelled upto the ceiling. Above the ceiling the pyramidal tower is hollow like the stone temple at Chharra (6 miles north-east of Purulia). These single-cell temples of Pakbirra might have at some later period *maṇḍapas* (*jagamohana* or *mukha-mandira*) added to them, but are all destroyed leaving only traces of one or two pillars here and there.

The fragments of large *āmalakas* and heavy stone *kalaśas* ornamented with lotus petals and hanging mango leaves on the fringe of the neck indicate that the temples belonged to the usual *Nāgara* style. In setting up stones no mortar was used; they were set together by iron hooks. All the temples of Pakbirra originally stood on a pavement either of brick or stone which may be presumed from the high level of the temple site and the arranging of bricks and stones on the ground; the pavement might have been 300' to 350' square as approximated by Mr. Beglar.

A large number of images found in the remains have been collected and dumped in a roofless shed which occupies as stated by Mr. Beglar the site of the largest temple containing the full complement of preliminary chambers and hall in front of the sanctum. The principal object of attention in the shed is a colossal naked figure 7½' high, evidently representing a Jaina Tirthaṅkara. The figure (Pic. No. 2) carved in black stone stands in *kāyotsarga* posture and has a crack

A tentative sketch showing the position and ground-plan of the lost temples at Pākbiṛrā, prepared by the author from the description left by J.D. Beglar.



diagonally across the thighs and feet. The full-bloom lotus on which the image stands is too small in comparison to the large size of the deity, and this looks somewhat odd. However, the pointed nose, closely-tight lips expressing a negative attitude to mundane affairs, long large closed eyes, bow-like eyebrows, long ears, curling hair with a knot at the centre, broad shoulders, and above all the transcendental calmness in the face at once draw the attention of the spectator. The surface of the figure was richly polished and this gave the sculpture a supple grace and plasticity which aptly commensurate with the living emblem of *ahimsā*.

Mr. J. D. Beglar identified this Jaina image with Tīrthaṅkara Padmaprabha taking into consideration the lotus on which the image stands as its cognizance. Mr. David J. McCutcheon² also shared this view. But Mr. A. C. Banerjee (*Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXVIII*, p. 43) identified this image with Śreyāsanātha, the eleventh Tīrthaṅkara whose *lāñchana* is rhinoceros. The emblem of the Jina is actually carved just below the lotus, in the centre of the lower pedestal which does not, of course, look like a rhino. Again, the image cannot be of Padmaprabha as the *lāñchana* of Padmaprabha is a lotus-bud, *padma* or *kamala*, and not a full-bloom lotus which is a common attribute to all Jaina images. The symbol in the lower pedestal which, though looks like a design cannot be a mere decorative motif because a forlorn little design in such a position does not add to the overall beauty of the sculpture. This must have some symbolical implication. Hence, the final identification of the image may be shelved till the identification of the symbol itself. It is necessary to mention here that at the right hand corner of the lower pedestal there was an inscription two last letters of which are still discernible.



On two sides of the principal image or *mulā-nāyaka* two attendant Yakṣas bedecked in rich jewellery are standing in *tribhṅga* pose with fly-whisks in their hands and dressed in the lower portion.

This Jaina Tīrthaṅkara is famous as 'Kāl Bhairava' among the villagers of the area, and is regularly worshipped by the brāhmaṇas of

² 'Notes on the Temples of Purulia', David J. McCutcheon, *District Census Handbook*, 1961, Purulia, W. Bengal.

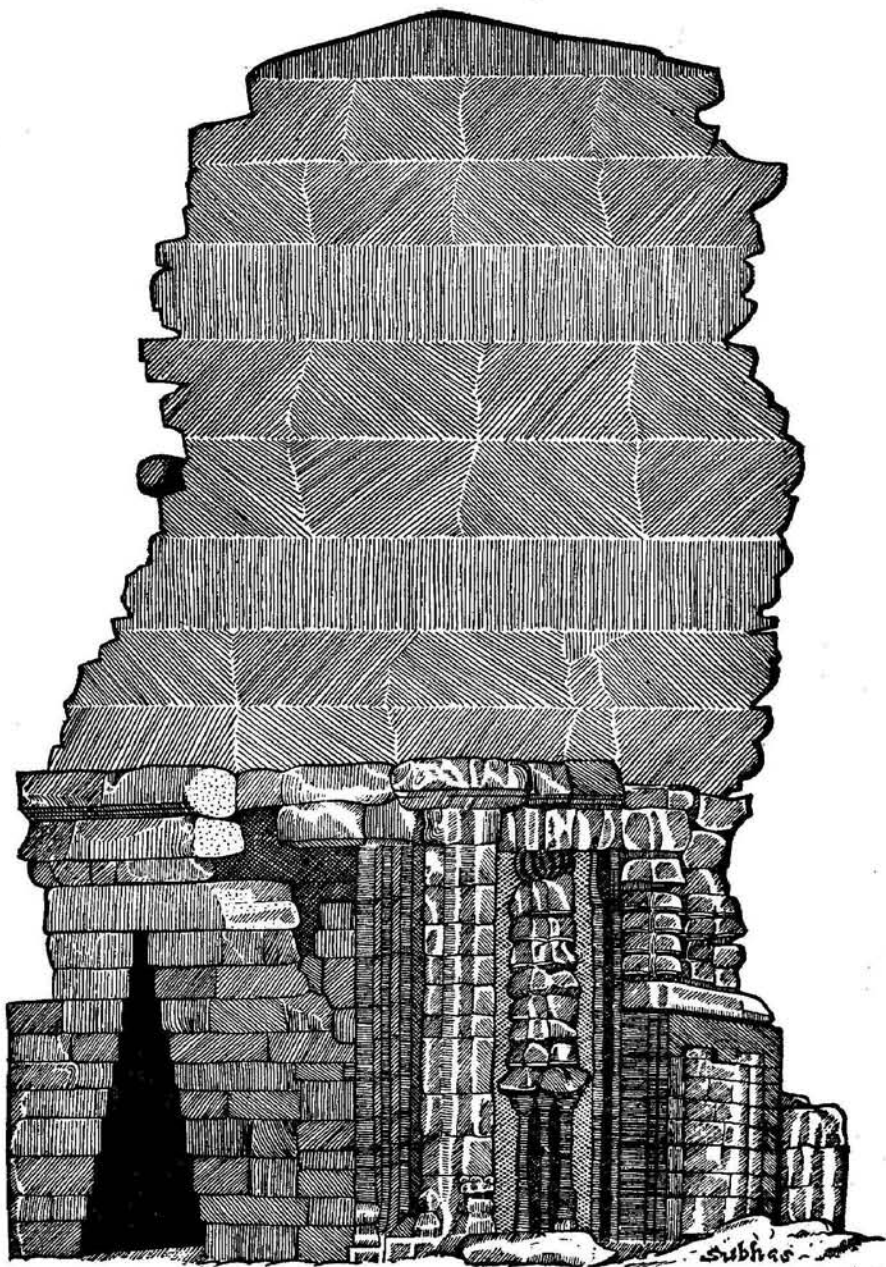
Raidih village, whose family title is 'Ray'. They are most probably Rajputs or Kṣatri brāhmaṇas. It is said that Sri Jyotiprasad Singh, king of Kosipur brought this brāhmaṇa family from outside and donated the Pakbirra *moujā* to them for conducting regular *pūjā* of the 'Bhairava'. However, the whole episode of donating land and employing brāhmaṇa priest by the Hindu King for the worship of a Jaina deity is interesting. Again, in the name of this Hinduised deity two regular fairs are held — one on the 12th Baisākha and the other on the 13th Jaiṣṭha of the Bengali year. Even then, this object of veneration, a masterpiece of craftsmanship, an object of historical importance has been left at the mercy of nature. It is rapidly eroding, the supple grace of the sculpture being gradually washed away by the regular attack of sun, rain and storm. Neither the villagers nor the State Government have taken any measure to preserve this priceless relic of bygone days. The Sarāk Jain Samiti (Kharkhari, Dhanbad) once attempted with proposals for the preservation and maintenance of the antiquities, but failed due to rigidity of conditions on their part, and obstinacy of the villagers not to accept those conditions.

Immediately beside the 'Kāl Bhairava' are other Jaina deities. They may be dealt with separately.

Fig. No. 1. This sculptured stone (35½" in height; 17" in width) is of a divine couple seated on a small two pillared cushion or *āsana*; both of them wearing usual jewellery and are dressed in the lower portion. Their right hands are broken; in their left hands both of them hold a child. Their faces are gleaming with joy. In the centre of the couple there is a tree whose divided bunches of leaves hang over both of them. Just on the division of the tree there is a small male figure. Above it is a Tīrthāṅkara seated in *lalitāsana* posture deeply in meditation. On two sides of this figure are two heavenly drums. At the topmost corners of the sculptured slab there are two flying Gandharvas or Vidyādharas.

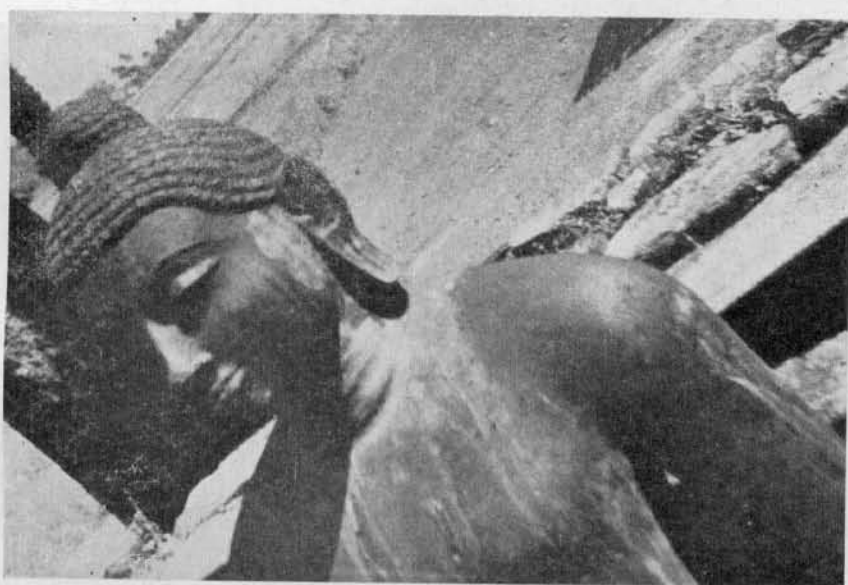
Just below the hanging right legs of the couple are two *kalaśas* with lids. Under the *kalaśas*, in the first phase of the pedestal are four female figures among whom those two who are in the middle are seated in two cans with child in their hands. Other two are standing with child in their hands.

In the second phase of the pedestal two figures, a male and a female are seated; their heads lowered in veneration. Besides the female figure was a child seated on a lion.



Stone Temple of Pakbirra—a Sketch
[gaṇḍi portion—a heap of disarranged stones ; remnant of the
architecture in the bāḍa still discernible]

1
General view
of the ruined
temples of Pakbirra



2 Kalbhairav [Padmaprabha ?]



3
Divine Couple



4 Divine Couple



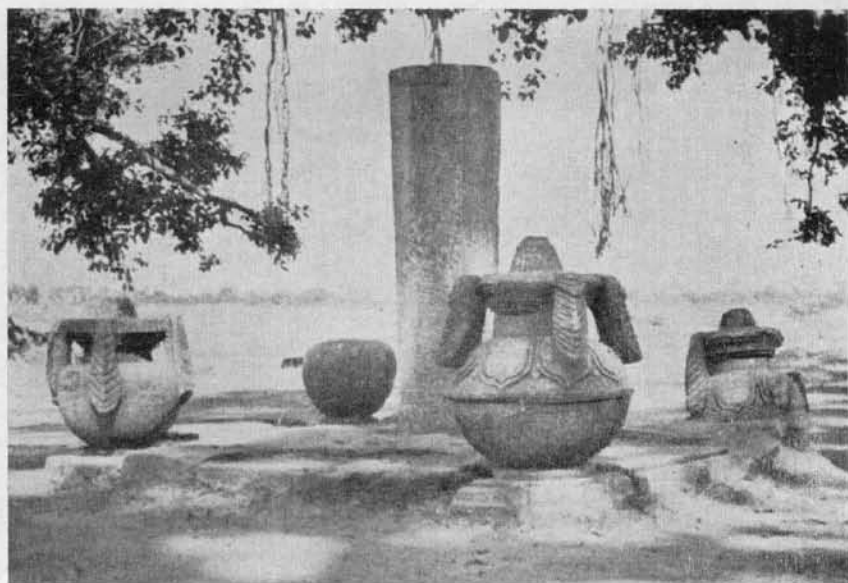
5 & 6 Votive Caitya : Caumukh or Pratima Sarvatovadrika



7 Parsvanatha & Santinatha



8
Rsabhanatha



9 Pillar and displaced kalasas

Fig. No. 2. This piece of sculpture (26'' in height ; 15½'' in width) except with a few minor alterations is same as Fig. No. 1. Here, only the female figure holds a child in her left arm, who is standing on her lap. At the junction where the tree divides a Tīrthaṅkara is seated in *dyānamudrā* with a divine umbrella overhead. In the lowest part of the otherwise plain pedestal seven male figures are seated with closed eyes and their hands in *barābhaya mudrā*.

Fig. No. 3. Though basically same in presentation as Fig. No. 1 and Fig. No. 2, this sculpture is not only larger in size, but in artistic craftsmanship it is far more superior to them. Finely and deeply chiselled out figures with minute details and the richly ornamented fringes testify to the artistic genius of the time. A row of seated male and female figures (one male figure standing in the centre) in the lower pedestal, some with their arms folded in *namaskāra-mudrā* are wonderfully living even to the present day. It is a matter of great regret that this superb sculpture is broken up to the knee.

Mr. Beglar mistook these sculptures (Fig. Nos. 1, 2 and 3) as Buddhist deities. But actually they all belong to the Jaina hierarchy. These sculptural representations of divine couple with a child are a pair like the Buddhist Jambāla and Hārīti or the parents of the Tīrthaṅkaras. Similar images are found at Deopara, Rajshahi district in Bangladesh, Deograh and Khajuraho in M.P.³

Fig. No. 4. This sculptured stone (36½'' in height ; 17½'' in width) is that of Ambikā, a Śāsanadevī of Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. Dressed in the lower portion and with rich jewellery all over her body she is standing on a full-bloom lotus pedestal in *ābhaṅga* posture with her right hand broken and the left hand stretched forward. Pressed under the lotus pedestal is a lion whose wide-open jaw is turned towards the deity. She is flanked by an attendant male figure who is standing at her right side. On her left side once there was a figure which no longer exists.

A meditating Tīrthaṅkara in *lalitāsana* posture is seated just above the deity with a divine umbrella overhead. From two sides of the Tīrthaṅkara emerge two bunches of leaves with beads or fruits which with two half round curves hang over the deity. On two top corners are two hovering Gandharvas or Vidyādharas.

³ Jain Journal, Vol. X, No. 4, p. 154.

In the lower part of the pedestal at the tail-end of the lion are three figures of which two are small ; the middle one is comparatively bigger and is that of a female. Their arms are folded in *namaskāra-mudrā*.

In the same shed along with the sculptures already discussed there are a few full and mutilated Tīrthaṅkara figures. David McCutcheon furnished a list of eight standing Tīrthaṅkaras —three with the bull symbol (*i.e.*, of Ṛṣabhanātha) ; two with lion symbol (of Māhāvīra) ; one with horse (of Sambhavanātha) ; one with the lotus (of Padmaprabha ; now non-existent) and one with half-moon symbol (of Candraprabha). Besides, there are two votive *caityas*, *pratimā-sarvatobhadrikā* or *caumukha pratimā*, one cut in black stone with usual *rekha śikhara* may be the replica of the temples now-lost or disfigured. This miniature temple has in its four sides four standing Tīrthaṅkaras along with their *lāñchanas* on the pedestal.⁴ The other votive *caitya* smaller in size represents a *piḍha deula*, sculptured on its four sides Tīrthaṅkaras each with its own symbol. Over each Tīrthaṅkara there is a duck or goose holding a garland. This particular votive *caitya* deserves special attention as we have not yet come across a votive *caitya* or a temple of this pattern anywhere else in the district of Purulia. May be that once this type of temples has flourished in this area, but were subsequently lost. David McCutcheon in his note also refers to a curious small image of a four-armed deity, apparently holding a goad and noose, seated on a dog, which has since disappeared. This was evidently Padmāvatī, a snake-deity and the most popular Yakṣi next to Ambikā. In front of the southern stone temple No. 1, there is an image (broken up to the knee) seated cross-legged *i.e.*, in *lalitāsana* or *dhyāna-mudrā* posture on a two-foiled lotus. As the pedestal is buried underground the image could not be identified.

In the south-eastern corner of the 'Kāl Bhairava' and on the outskirts of Thakurthan village, in an open-roof wall enclosure there are five images of standing Tīrthaṅkaras— one of Pārśvanātha, three of Ṛṣabhanātha and one of Śāntinātha. The image of Pārśvanātha is broken off at the waist with entwined *nāga* and *nāginī* between two lions at the base, and two bejewelled attendants in *ābhāṅga* posture with fly-whisks in their hands. The image of Śāntinātha has among other usual Jaina iconographic motifs, eight female figures, four in each vertical row, all seated and having weapons and other instruments in their hands. They are most probably images of Vidyādevīs or goddesses of knowledge.

⁴ One more such votive *caitya* was noticed by David McCutcheon in the shed which is no longer found out.

Some fifty yards south of this enclosure, at the entrance of the village and under the foot of a Pippal tree there is a votive *caitya* among numerous sculptural fragments. This votive *caitya* with seated Tīrthaṅkaras on all its four sides is also in the form of a *piḍha deula*; it has two *piḍhas* whereas its counterpart as discussed above has three; over each Tīrthaṅkara is represented two ducks holding a garland. David McCutchion noticed here another image of Ṛṣabhanātha which is no longer found out; and a tiny image of the Yakṣa Kuvera, as informed by McCutchion, has been removed to the Museum of the Archaeological Directorate.

The remains of Pakbirra as assigned by the Bengal list⁵ date back to the 9th or 10th century A.D. From the nature of the ruins and number of images found out it may safely be assumed that some thousand years ago it was a very large centre of the Jainas. Villagers of the area speak vociferously about the ruins. According to their statements every corner of the area when dug produced images in numbers. It was an enormous ruins of images, cut stones and bricks. Day after day images have been shifted away, cut stones have been employed by the villagers in household works, have been utilised for arranging benches of the attached school. Pakbirra where once twenty one temples stood with their lofty towers, being denuded of its past glory is now almost an open field, a quiet and forlorn island amidst murmuring villages.

Photographs by Sri Shib Sundar Dan : Sketches by the Author

[July 1977]

⁵ List of Monuments of Bengal, P.W.D., Govt. of Bengal, 1896.

Jainas as a Minority in Indian Society and History

Jagadish Prasad Sharma

Jainas are the sixth most numerous religious group today after the Hindus (82.72%), Muslims (11.21%), Christians (2.60%), Sikhs (1.89%), and the Buddhists (0.70%). The Jainas (0.47%) along with the Buddhists, Parsis and Jews, each account for less than 1% of India's total population separately. (*India 1974* : 13) In terms of numbers alone, therefore, the Jainas constitute a very small minority. (*Census of India 1961*, Vol. XV, Uttar Pradesh, Pt. I-A(ii) : 115 ; *India 1974* : 12)

Scholars have long raised questions regarding the accuracy of census figures but it is generally accepted that more than any other group the Jainas have been very much at fault in misrepresenting their religious affiliation (for whatever reason) to census takers. This was noticed even in 1915 (Stevenson : 20) and continued until recently (Sangave 1959 : 1). Many thousands of Jainas still register themselves as Hindus. Thus, it would seem that the actual number of Jainas is somewhat larger than the census figures would indicate ; still it would not substantially alter their status as an extremely small minority. The 1971 census reports that there were only 2,604,646 (*i.e.*, 0.47%) Jainas out of India's total population of 547,949,809. Even allowing for misrepresentations, their population in India would not amount to more than *three million* at the most.

If we consider the Jaina population figures in the record of the last ten censuses, we notice that the Jainas constituted only 0.49% of the total population in 1891 (the highest ever since census figures began to be collected in 1881) and merely 0.36% (the lowest ever) in 1931.¹

¹ Percentage of Jainas in India's total population :

1881.....	0.48 per cent
1891.....	0.49 per cent
1901.....	0.45 per cent
1911.....	0.40 per cent
1921.....	0.37 per cent
1931.....	0.36 per cent
1941.....	0.37 per cent
1951.....	0.45 per cent (Sangave, 1959:434)
1961.....	0.46 per cent
1971.....	0.47 per cent (<i>India 1974</i> :13)

Throughout the entire past century Jains officially accounted for *less than onehalf per cent* of the total population. Their growth rate has greatly varied, from the lowest decrease of — 6.4% in 1901-1911, to the highest rate of growth of 28.48% during the last decade, and their population has more than doubled between 1881 to 1971 (1,221,896 to 2,604,646). Yet their overall strength in the total population has, in fact, declined. (cf. Sangave 1959 : 1-46 ; *India 1974* : 12-13)²

Jains are found all over India and are mainly concentrated in the western and central regions. The largest concentration of Jains at present is to be found in Maharashtra (703,664), Rajasthan (513,548), Gujarat (451,578), Madhya Pradesh (345,211) and Karnataka (former Mysore ; 218,862) while there are 124,728 Jains in U.P. (and 50,513 in Delhi). Only in these six States do the Jains account for more than 100,000 each, along with a sizeable population in the capital. But the Jains are found even in the remotest corners of India, e.g., three are noted in Mizoram between Bangladesh and Burma, fourteen in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and thirty-nine are in the former North-East Frontier, now called Arunachal Pradesh. Only in the Union Territory of Lakshadweep, west of Kerala in the Indian Ocean, were no Jains recorded for the 1971 census. (cf. Table 1.10 in *India 1974* : 12)

Jains live mostly in big cities and towns and it can be said that “the Jaina community is essentially urban in character”.³ (Sangave 1959 : 5)

2 Percentage of increase in the Jaina population :

1881-91...	+15.9 per cent
1891-1901.....	— 5.8 per cent
1901-11.....	— 6.4 per cent
1911-21.....	— 5.6 per cent
1921-31.....	+ 6.2 per cent
1931-41.....	+15.8 per cent
1941-51.....	+11.7 per cent (Sangave 1959:433-34)
1951-61.....	+25.17 per cent (<i>Census of India 1961</i> , Vol. XIX Pt. I:245)
1961-71.....	+28.48 per cent (<i>India 1974</i> :13)

- 3 Taking India as a whole we find that in 1941, 41.4% of the Jaina population lived in towns, and in Provinces the urban Jaina population was 48.9% and in States and Agencies it was 36.5%. The corresponding figures for all religions were 12.9%, 12.7% and 13.4%. There is a continuous increase in the Jaina urban population in almost all Provinces and States. It would also seem that the Jains are “more urban in localities, where they are less in number and more rural in areas where they are numerous”. It seems generally to be the case that minorities find their way and flourish in cities and towns and that is why “the Jaina community is essentially urban in character”. (Sangave 1959:4-5)

Yet another significant fact about their distribution pattern that can be drawn from pre-Independent India Census figures is that the Jainas preferred to live in Princely States and Agencies as opposed to the Provinces of British India. In 1901, 64% of the Jainas lived in Indian India, while only 36% settled in the British ruled Provinces; while the figures for 1941 show 60% and 40% respectively. (Sangave 1959 : 3-4)

A third significant point about Jaina population distribution is that they have been heavily concentrated in the Hindu dominated areas and only sparsely spread in the regions dominated by the Muslims. In Sangave's opinion, as Jainism is closer to Hinduism than to any other religion in India this might have resulted in the Jainas choosing the Hindus as their neighbours. Lastly and surprisingly, the land where Mahāvīra wandered and preached during his lifetime is scarcest in Jaina population. (Sangave 1959 : 3-4). It seems evident, in the light of sources available, that in the post-Mahāvīra days (*i.e.*, after c. 500 B.C.), a section of the Jaina community moved to western and central India via Mathura, while another section went directly to the Karnataka region sometime during the 4th century B.C. (cf. Shah 1932; K. C. Jain 1963; Desai 1957; Deo 1952)

It seems that Jaina influence and concentration shifted in the course of time, but it is difficult to imagine their numerical strength ever being more than one per cent of India's total population at any given point in history. It was noticed above that despite there being no change in their percentage in the population there was a noticeable decline within Jaina population as a whole. According to Sangave the factors like the deficiency of females, practice of early marriage, low fertility of women, high rate of female mortality, large numbers of unmarried males and great proportion of young widowed females effectively barred from remarriage, have all combined together to lower the growth of Jaina population (159 : 414). To this he adds the lack of proselytizing activities of the Jainas (at least since medieval times) as well as thousands of Jainas leaving the faith every year. (*Ibid.* : 414-15) But in my view Jaina ethics and discipline are too demanding, the community pressure and conservatism so great that it does not appeal to the non-Jainas, while many Jainas are driven to other creeds.

Jarl Charpentier says much the same thing about Jainism though he choose to emphasize other aspects. According to him "the Jain church has never had a very great number of adherents; it has never attempted — at least not on any grand scale—to preach its doctrines through 'missio-

naries outside India. Never rising to an overpowering height but at the same time never sharing the fate of its rival, Buddhism, that of complete extinction in its native land, it has led a quiet existence through the centuries and has kept its place amongst the religious systems of India till the present day". (Charpentier 1935 : 169-70)

Jainas in History and Society

The Jainas are strictly an Indian phenomenon. They are not found elsewhere. Some Jainas might well have migrated to and settled down for a while with neighbouring countries of Nepal and Sri Lanka, but they have not accounted for more than temporary residents in historical terms. Therefore, when we speak of their role in history and society, we mean, their role in *Indian* history and society. The Jainas claim to be the oldest living religious community in India. While contemporary historians would basically agree with this view, they also would assign a similar antiquity to the Hindus. It is now generally accepted that Jainism is at least two centuries older than Buddhism and some of its elements might well be traced to the Indus Valley civilization of the third millenium B.C. (cf. Williams 1966 : 2-6 ; Zimmer 1956 : 181-204) Jaina doctrines, mythologies and practices reveal that, having lived a long and continuous existence within the vastly dominant Hindu population, they have been immensely influenced by the latter. Yet they have managed to retain identity and continuity of a separate community. Moreover, the Jainas felt a particular sense of competition and rivalry with the Ajivikas and Buddhists. The rigorous commitment of the Jainas to the ascetic ideal, persistent adherence to the principle of non-injury (*ahimsā*) and closeknit community organization served them in good stead and they not only outlived, but also outdid their rivals.

I believe that it is primarily because of these three characteristics that Jainas have held their own and occupied an important position in Indian society, despite a minuteness of numbers. They seem to have wielded a greater political, cultural, economic, artistic and moral influence in India than expected. In fact, Jaina contributions in these areas are not only much larger in terms of time (or duration) but also greater in proportion to those of the larger minorities of Sikhs and Christians. Their overall impact on Indian society and history is also much greater than those of the Parsis and the Jews and in this they vie for comparison with much larger Muslim minority and more widely discussed one of the Buddhist.

Jainism is a religion of great antiquity which first flourished in eastern India in the region of Banaras and Bihar. It has a recognized series of 24 Jinas or teachers, their own canons and a well-organized body of monks and lay community that has existed through the centuries. (cf. J. L. Jaini 1916; Stevenson 1915) Two of the last great Jinas, Pārśva and Mahāvīra, lived and preached in the 8th and 6th centuries B.C., respectively. Mahāvīra's family already professed Pārśva's doctrines; he himself renounced his worldly ties when he was about thirty years old, after meeting his family obligations and taking due permission of his elder brother. He did not run away like Gautama Buddha at dead of night leaving his wife and child uncared for. He searched for the truth for about twelve years, meditated and practised severe austerities through which he came to understand and fully control his feelings and passions. He became fully aware and fearless like a lion, he became the perfected one. He became the Jina, "conqueror" of feelings and passions (equivalent to the Buddha as "the enlightened one") and could now go and preach his path, a path which unlike that of the Buddha, was not a new one. This was the same path that Pārśva had preached about 250 years earlier and 22 Jinas before Pārśva. Mahāvīra claims no originality for his doctrines. He reformulated the system which already existed and there were other followers of Pārśva even before Mahāvīra became a Jina and main spokesman for the Niganthas as the Jainas were known in the 6th century B.C. Mahāvīra, however, more heavily emphasized the ascetic rules for the monks than had Pārśva. Mahāvīra may have noted the moral laxities found in contemporary monks whether Jaina, Ajivika or Buddhist. He set an unusually high standard of ascetic morality which has led many an earlier student of Indian philosophy and religion to regard him as an originator of a new system.

Jainas enjoyed the support and patronage of contemporary kings like Cēṭaka of Vaiśālī, Śreṇika (Bimbisāra) and Kuṇika (Ajātaśatru). Later on the Mauryan emperors Candragupta and Aśoka also patronized them as did the "Jaina King" Kharavela of Kalinga. It is also certain that a number of prominent merchants and aristocrats and nobles also showed their appreciation for Jainism during the pre-Christian era. It was apparently in the days of Candragupta Maurya (4th century B.C.) that a section of the Jaina community moved south under the leadership of Bhadrabāhu. The emperor Candragupta Maurya himself is said to have renounced his throne under the impact of this great Jaina ascetic and accompanied his followers to Karnataka (Mysore). This migration is said to have been caused by a twelve-year

famine. While still in the south Candragupta is said to have fasted to death in the true Jaina manner.

Western India though an important Jaina stronghold from the days of Kumārapāla and his Jaina counsellor Hemacandra in the 12th century A.D., it has had a Jaina community for several centuries. The last great council to settle canonical differences was held in this region (at Vallabhī) in the 5th century. There is even the tradition of Nemi (the 22nd Jina and contemporary of Kṛṣṇa) having attained *kaivalya* on Mt. Girnār in Gujarat. Historically, at any rate, Jainism can be traced back to around 2nd century B.C. in the western region. (K. C. Jain 1963 ; Sheth 1953) Sufficient evidence has also come to light that shows that even earlier in the 3rd century Jainism had an important place in Mathurā, the famous city on river Yamunā associated with the boyhood of Kṛṣṇa. Thus, it is easy to conclude that Jainism has had a long history in the western states of Gujarat, Rajasthan and Maharashtra, apart from Mathurā in western U.P. (cf. Shah 1932) In later times, Jainism found a great patron in the Mughal emperor Akbar in the north as well as numerous ruling dynasties in the south. (see, Sangave 1959 ; 374-86 ; Charpentier 1935 ; Desai 1957 ; Shastri 1967)

The Jainas built monumental structures, and created great works of art and architecture. No language—old or new, no subject—humanistic or scientific, no philosophical system—orthodox or heterodox, escaped their attention. Jainism initially appealed to the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas in particular, but in course of time only the merchants continued to be their faithful adherents. Through trade and commerce Jainas made a rich and enviable contribution to India's economic growth and well-being and continue to do so to this day. It would not be an exaggeration to state that Jainas have continuously made a rich and varied contribution to India. (cf. H. L. Jain 1962 ; Nevaskar 1971) Their role in Indian society and history has always been that of a great moral force (from their uncompromising asceticism to Gandhi's non-violence), that of upholders of diversity of thought, cultivators of work and liberation ethic. Moreover, they have been significant contributors to learning and philanthropy, wide-spread and successful trading and money-lending. They have been quietly committed and loyal to the law and authority with a completely clean criminal record. Few minorities can match such a record !

Jaina Attitude towards Other Communities and Ruling Authorities

The very cornerstone of Jaina metaphysics stands on the doctrine

of *syādvāda*, "may-beism", according to which "there is no judgment which is absolutely true, and no judgment which is absolutely false. All judgments are true in some sense and false in another". (Das Gupta 1957 : 179) The Jainas are committed to a philosophical position encompassing manifold viewpoints (*anekāntavāda*), which encourages the cultivation of many schools of thought and expects people to look at any reality or concept from differing viewpoints. (cf. Gopalan 1973:145-56) With this commitment to the existence of diverse viewpoints and communities, Jainas seem naturally to accept the existence of various minorities in India.

Still, a number of beliefs and practices of the Jainas, betrays the basically conservative character of the Jaina community.⁴ This conservatism and the acute sense of the need to survive is more evident from their attitude towards government and authority in general, no matter what its character. The Jainas have had a reputation of being the ideal subjects and citizens throughout their historical existence in India. They have always been a people who took law and order seriously. Whether the power was wielded by a Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim or Christian king or ruler, the Jainas were always ready and willing to accept its legitimacy and authority.⁵ They always came forward with whatever help, mainly financial and intellectual, they could offer.⁶ This enabled them to establish a quick rapport and smooth working relationship with all manner of government and authority in India. There are many records of Hindu kings extending patronage to the Jainas (e.g. Gupta

4 Sangave regards "inflexible conservatism" the very strength of the Jaina community. He writes :

"...Another important reason for the survival of the Jaina community is its *inflexible conservatism* in holding fast to its original institutions and doctrines for the last so many centuries...an absolute refusal to admit changes has been considered the strongest safeguard of the Jainas". (1959:399)

5 A possible explanation of why the Jainas were ready and willing to accede to new authority and its measures is given in a case reported by J. L. Jaini : "The Indian Penal Code, originally drafted by Lord Macaulay, takes account of almost all offences known to and suppressed by our modern civilization. Mr. A. B. Lathe... has shown by a table how the five minor rules of conduct (the five *anu-vratas* of Jainism) cover the same ground as the twenty-three chapters and 511 sections of the code". (1916:72)

6 Cf. "The royal patronage which Jainism had received during the ancient and medieval periods in different parts of the country has undoubtedly helped the struggle of the Jaina community for its survival... Apart from Jaina rulers many non-Jaina rulers also showed sympathetic attitude towards the Jaina religion." (Sangave 1959:399)

kings, etc.) as there are of Buddhist kings such as Aśoka, even of some Muslim rulers (like Akbar) and the British government. This loyalty towards ruling authority as such has enabled the Jainas to ply their rich trade and attain immense prosperity throughout their history. It was essentially this loyalty, prosperity and piety that had misled a British missionary to write of them as ideal converts so optimistically and temptingly :

“There is a strange mystery in Jainism ; for though it acknowledges no personal God, knowing Him neither as Creator, Father, or Friend, yet it will never allow itself to be called an atheistic system. Indeed there is no more deadly insult that one could level at a Jaina than to call him a *nāstika* or atheist. It is as if, though their king were yet unknown to them, they were nevertheless all unconsciously awaiting his advent amongst them, and proudly called themselves *royalists*. The marks which they will ask to see in one who claims to be their king will be the proofs of Incarnation (*avatāra*), of Suffering (*tapa*) and of the Majesty of a Conqueror (*Jina*). But when once, they recognize Him, they will pour out at His feet all the wealth of their trained powers of self-denial and renunciation. Then shall He, the Desire of all Nations, whose right it is to reign, take His seat on the empty throne of their hearts, and He shall reign King of Kings and Lord of Lords for ever and ever.” (concluding words of Stevenson, 1915 : 298)

Jaina Ethics and Occupations

The ultimate goal of the *Jainas* is the attainment of *kaivalya*. This is seen as “integration, the restoration of the faculties that have been temporarily lost through being obscured. . . All beings are intended to be omniscient, omnipotent, unlimited and unfettered. . . 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”. (Zimmer 1956 : 254-55) These hindrances involve the stoppage of influx of the bad karmic matter that stains the *jīva* ‘life-monad’ (known as *saṃvara*), and the cleansing of already existing stains on the *jīva* by producing good karmic matter (known as *nirjarā*). Under Jainism this goal can only be attained after renunciation and the practice of ascetic life. Thus, the system gives primacy to the monks and only a secondary position to the laity. The monks are expected to live by the five cardinal vows of non-injury, truth, not taking what is not given, chastity, and non-possession. (cf. Stevenson 1915 : 234-38)

The monks were also expected to guide and advise the layfolk towards an ethical and spiritual path. Twelve minor vows were prescribed for the laity which are only a watered down version of the five great vows.⁷ Yet the main emphasis was laid on encouraging the layfolk to take up ascetic life as soon as possible. It will be noticed that the principle of non-injury or non-violence occupies a central position both in the life of an ascetic and that of the householder. This has serious implications for the activities and occupations that the Jainas could take up.

Since the Jaina lay adherents were forbidden to injure any living beings, "they might never till the soil, nor engage in butchering, fishing, brewing, or any other occupation involving the taking of life". (Nevaskar 1971 : 159) This injunction is regarded by Noss as by far the most important in its social effect. He asserts :

"It constituted a limitation that must have seemed serious to the early followers of Mahāvīra ; but at long last it actually proved to have economic as well as religious worth, for the Jains found they could make higher profits when they turned from occupations involving direct harm to living creatures to careers in business as bankers, lawyers, merchants, and proprietors of land. The other moral restrictions of their creed, which prohibited gambling, eating meat, drinking wine, adultery, hunting, thieving, and debauchery, earned them social respect..." (Noss 1954 152 in Nevaskar 1971 : 159-60 ; also see Nakamura 1973 : 87)

A Jaina Community survey taken by Sociologist Sangave also showed that though the Jainas follow different kinds of occupations, "they are mainly money-lenders, bankers, jewellers, cloth-merchants, grocers and recently industrialists..." And in professions "they are mainly found in legal, medical and teaching professions as well as nowadays many Jainas

- 7 Twelve minor vows for the layfolk prescribed that he : (1) must not destroy life, (2) must not tell a lie, (3) must not make unpermitted use of another man's property, (4) must be chaste, (5) must limit his possessions, (6) must make a perpetual and daily vow to go only in certain directions and certain distances, (7) must avoid useless talk and action, (8) must avoid thought of sinful things, (9) must limit the articles of his diet and enjoyment for the day, (10) must worship at fixed times, morning, noon and evening, (11) must fast on certain days, and (12) must give charity in the way of knowledge, money, etc., everyday. (based on *Tattvarthadhigama Sutra* II:142-43 in Zimmer, 1956:196n 14)

are holding important responsible positions" in various departments of the Union and State governments. (1959 : 279)

The Jains are a rich and influential minority primarily in commercial activities. J. L. Jaini writing half a century ago said that "Colonel Tod in his *Rājasthān*, and Lord Reay and Lord Curzon after him, have estimated that half the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jaina laity. Commercial prosperity implies shrewd business capacity and also steady, reliable character and credit". (1916 : 73 ; cp. Weber 1958 : 200 ; Nakamura 1973 : 87) Weber also noticed Jaina honesty, wealth, commercial success and their belief in non-violence and found telling comparisons with Parsis, Jews and Quakers.⁸

The above discussion shows that Jaina ethics and their commitment to the principles of non-violence⁹ have forced them to follow certain occupations and professions which have led them to unusual success in business enterprises. It is basically their unique ethic that the Jains, though a small minority community, "developed most of the essentials of the spirit of modern capitalism centuries ago. Now with capitalism entering India from the West, the Jains are unusually well-equipped to play a dynamic role in the social order" of a new India. (Navaskar 1971 : 235)

Summary and Conclusions

The Jains have always constituted a small *religious* minority of Indian society throughout their historical existence. The two other

⁸ Weber finds striking similarities between the Jains and the Jews - and calls the former "Jews of the Far East". (1958:11) He also notices similarities in "honesty is the best policy" among the Parsis, Quakers and Jains. Their honesty and wealth were both proverbial. He further adds "that the Jains, 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*. This 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". (*Ibid*: 200)

⁹ Apart from the vows the Jaina layfolk were also encouraged to develop the following twenty-one qualities : serious demeanor, cleanliness, good temper, striving after popularity, fear of sinning, mercy, straightforwardness, wisdom, modesty, kindness, moderation, gentleness, care of speech, socialibility, caution, studiousness, reverence for old age and old customs, humility, gratitude, benevolence and attention to business. (Cf. Nevaskar, 1971:159)

criteria of language and ethnic background that define a minority do not apply to them for they speak practically every language of India and cannot be isolated ethnically from other Indian people.

An analysis of Jaina population distribution shows their concentration in western India including central India. The Jainas show their preference for urban as opposed to rural areas. They occupy a pre-eminent position in trade and commerce and much of India's wealth passes through their hands who compose barely 1/2% of India's population. Their honesty, reliability, loyalty, integrity and religiosity has won them immense wealth and influence in India. They compare favourably with the peace-loving and pious Quakers and successful and conservative Jews in the West. Their ethic is largely given the credit for this success and sense of loyalty.

Jainism, though preached and propagated by warrior princes (Kṣatriyas), has come to have an entirely merchant (Vaiśya) following. Most scholars have taken this to mean a downward social mobility of the Jainas, *i.e.*, they became nearer to the Śūdras and farther away from the Brāhmaṇas. Yet in the Indian past birth (*jāti*) alone was never the sole criterion of social status. Wealth, education, life-style, humility and social concern also contributed to social status apart from the criterion of birth. The Jainas, the second most educated people in India after the Parsis, were good and loyal subjects to all governments, largely urban in character and given to many social concerns and philanthropic works. They were proverbially famous for their honesty, humility, wealth and piety. An historical analysis of the ideal qualities and characteristics of each of the four social classes (*varṇas*) would indicate a close relationship of the Jaina Vaiśyas with the Brāhmaṇas.¹⁰

When scholars assign a lower status to the Jainas than the Kṣatriyas they seem to be repeating what traditional writers had written millenniums ago. They have neglected to consider the changing reality of Indian society and have ignored the multiplicity of factors that contributed towards social mobility. If interpreted in this light, Indian records furnish sufficient evidence to show that the Vaiśya Jainas have achieved an upward social mobility by most closely paralleling the

¹⁰ I am not thinking here of M. N. Srinivasa's concept of "Sanskritization" but stating an observation gathered in the study of Indian history during the past fifteen years and following the social movements of classes, especially the Vaiśyas, in historical perspective.

culture and personality of the Brāhmaṇas. Thus, it can be argued that the Jainas, despite the change in their ascended class (from Kṣatriya to Vaiśya) have by adopting the dominant culture traits of the Brāhmaṇas, raised their social status during the course of Indian history.

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a few comments about Jain Journal

Art Journal, my first impression, yet Jain philosophy all the way, very rare accomplishment.

—Leona Smith Kremser
Honolulu, Hawaii, U. S. A.

I find the journal not only beautiful and attractive in get up but valuable in its contents also.

—Dr. Chintaharan Chakravarty
Retired Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta

I offer my compliments and greetings to the fine magazine *Jain Journal*.

—Dr. Narendra K. Sethi
St. John's University, Jamaica, New York, U. S. A.

Extremely illuminating and refreshing an ideal reference publication.

— S. Raut Roy, Founder Director
Diganta Museum & Research Centre, Cuttack, Orissa

Jain Community is rich but journals published by it are very poor from the standpoint of language and material. *Jain Journal* is the only exception.

—Muni Nagraj

I believe, I am not exaggerating if I say that the publication of this Journal is an event in the history of Jain Publication.

—S. N. Mital, New Delhi.

All upper, western, north-central India was then—say 500 to 800 B. C. and indeed from unknown times ruled by Turanians, conveniently called Dravidas, and given to tree, serpent and phallic worship but there also then existed throughout upper India an ancient and highly organised religion, philosophical, ethical and severely ascetical, viz., Jainism, out of which clearly developed the early ascetical features of Brahmanism and Buddhism. Long before Aryans reached the Ganges or even the Saraswati, Jainas had been taught by some 22 prominent Bodhas, saints or Tīrthaṅkaras prior to the 23rd Bodha Pārśva of the 8th or 9th century B. C., and he knew of all his predecessors—pious Ṛṣis living at long intervals of time and of several scriptures even then known as *Pūrvas* or *Purāṇas*, that is ancient, which had been handed down for ages in the memory of recognised anchorites, Vānaprasthis or forest recluses. This was more especially a Jaina order, severely enforced by all their Bodhas and particularly in the 6th century B. C. by the 24th and last, Mahāvīra of 598-526 B. C. This ascetic order continued in Brahmanism and Buddhism throughout distant Bactria and Dacia instead of Jainism being, as was formerly supposed, an offshoot of Buddhism it is shown to extend as far back as 3000 B. C. It is found flourishing alongside the nature worship of rude tribes in northern India.

—J. G. R. Forlong, F.R.S.E., F.R.S., M.A.I., etc.