



Essays in honour of **Prof. Hampa Nagarajaiah**

SVASTI

Editor: Prof. Nalini Balbir



Muddushree Granthamale - 75

SVASTI

**Essays in Honour of Prof. Hampa Nāgarājaiāh
for his 75th Birthday**

Edited by
Nalini Balbir



K.S. Muddappa Smaraka Trust
Krishnapuradoddi

SVASTI

Essays in Honour of Prof. Hampa Nāgarājaiah for his 75th Birthday
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Foreword

We are all delighted to present this volume of essays to Prof. Hampa Nagarajaiah *alias* “Hampanā”, a star of learning and culture, a bright, lively and enthusiastic personality whose contribution to Karnatak culture and the Jain traditions are so numerous and valuable. Who would not be impressed by his list of publications and the wealth of information they bring to light?

Prof. Nagarajaiah was born on 7th October 1936 in the village of Hampasandra (Cikkaballapur District, Karnataka). After obtaining his M.A. degree in 1959 from Mysore University with specialization in Literature, Poetics, Linguistics, Old Kannada Texts, he got his PhD from Bangalore University for *A Comprehensive study of Vaḍḍārādhane*. He first served as Lecturer in Kannada in Government Colleges (1959-1969). He then joined Bangalore University in 1970, where he was Lecturer, Reader and Professor until retirement in 1997.

Hampanā is a true persona whose manifold activity has extended to all fields. Far from being a scholar living in his ivory tower and content with his own research, he is present in a large number of institutions – too many to be mentioned here. The Kannada Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore, had him as Secretary (1966-1974) then as President (1978-86). He was the Director of the Jaina Research Centre, Bangalore (1977-79), the Director of the Institute of Kannada Studies, Bangalore University (1992-94), the Director of Kannada & Culture, Government of Karnataka (1992) and the Director of the Jaina Research Institute, Shravanabelgola (1999-2002). Hence he plays an official role in the diffusion of Indian culture as a whole. One of the main concerns of Hampanā is to share his love for Indian culture, especially Kannada and Jain, with everybody who is willing to, and, indeed, many of his numerous books in Kannada, then, more recently, in English, reach large audiences. Hampanā is also a writer. One section of his publications consists of books for children. His services in this field, which was rather neglected in India until recently, have been recognized by the “National Award for Extraordinary Service for Children Literature” given to him in 1990 – one award among several that he has received in the course of his long career.

No wonder, then, that scholars from India and abroad responded so enthusiastically to the call of papers for this volume. How could one be reluctant to pay a small tribute of homage and gratitude to a person like Hampanā, whose knowledge, enthusiasm, generosity and hospitality are so helpful and comforting? The papers offered here are devoted to a wide range of subjects, a requirement to honour a scholar whose interests have no boundary. They cover all aspects of Jain culture in matters of space, time and

sects, ignoring none of the four directions and going beyond the seven oceans, forgetting neither the past nor the present, neither the Digambaras nor the Śvetāmbaras nor the Terāpanthins. Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, Kannada, Tamil and Hindi textual sources have been used according to the topics selected. Epigraphy and iconography, two areas where Haṃpanā has published so much, are of course present. Broad perspectives on the impact and relevance of Jainism to modern times are submitted by some of the contributors as thoughts for the future. The increasing interest for the study of “living” Jainism is underlined in the last section of the book. The “trilingual formula” is valid here – as it is India: Kannada and Hindi are the languages of two essays, beside English which is used by most contributors.

Finally, I would like to quote two Sanskrit stanzas which were composed spontaneously by Prof. I. Mahadevan when he received a copy of *Jinendra Stavāna*, one of Haṃpanā’s books. They show how Haṃpanā’s writings are felt as an inexhaustible source of inspiration and a work of *dharma*, for the benefit of all:

*Jinendrastavanam stotram śilāsu likhitam purā /
ācārya-Nāgarājena punar eva prakāśitam //*
*śrāvakādhyayanārtham ca Jinadharmaṃ prabodhitum /
kṛtam puṇyam idaṃ stotram sarvalokahitāya ca //*

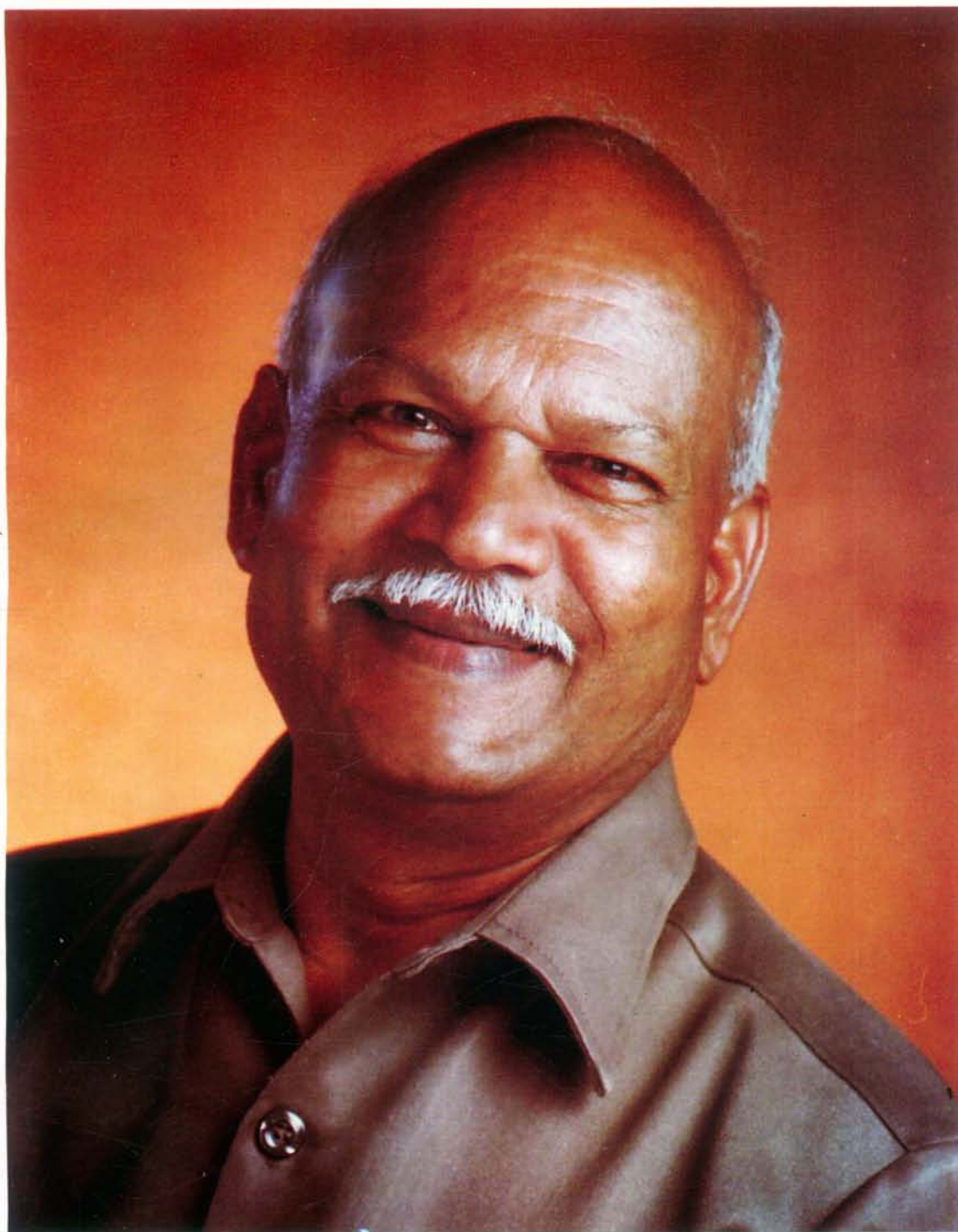
जिनेन्द्रस्तवनं स्तोत्रं शिलासु लिखितं पुरा।
आचार्यनागराजेन पुनरेव प्रकाशितम्॥
श्रावकाध्ययनार्थं च जिनधर्मं प्रबोधितुं।
कृतं पुण्यमिदं स्तोत्रं सर्वलोकहिताय च॥

We wish Haṃpanā, and his wife, who is a major writer too, a long and active life in years to come. May we see this great scholar often standing up for an interesting and witty remark in conferences in India or elsewhere! We also seek his blessings in all our endeavours.

SVASTI ! SIDDHAM ! ŚUBHAM BHAVATU ! KALYĀṆAM ASTU !

स्वस्ति। सिद्धम्। शुभं भवतु। कल्याणम् अस्तु।

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University of Paris-3 Sorbonne Nouvelle,
UMR 7528 “Mondes iranien et indien”
September 2010.



Prof. Hampa Nagarajaiah

Editorial Remarks

The papers have been arranged in five sections, based on their contents. The use of diacritics has been standardized as far as possible. In a few cases, however, where it did not seem so crucial to have them given the nature of the paper, they have not been inserted. Bibliographical references have been standardized as much as they could be given, the circumstances and the varying styles of referencing in use in India and abroad.

Information about the institutional affiliation and official title of each contributor is to be found in the list at the beginning of this volume. In the articles only the name is given, without any prefixed title.

In one case, the illustrations have been included within the article and reproduced in black and white. In all other cases, they are collected together at the end of the volume.

Neither the editor nor the publisher is responsible for the views expressed by the authors of the articles. Every author is ultimately responsible for his contribution.

I am extremely grateful to Mr. Jérôme Petit (Paris), one of the contributors to this volume, whose expertise has been invaluable for the preparation of this manuscript. Indirectly, I also thank Dr. Gerd J.R. Mevissen (Berlin): I have derived a lot of inspiration for the layout of *SVASTI* from *Prajñādhara*, a felicitation volume which he has magnificently edited (with Arundhati Banerji, New Delhi, Kaveri Books, 2009).

We are all thankful to Dr. Byregowda for his kind cooperation in bringing this book out within a very short time.

N.B.

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Bharateśa Vaibhava (Brahmappa, G & Kamala Hampana), Attimabbe Prakasan & Kannada Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore, 1967, 2003, 120 + 765 pages. [Edition of the *Bharateśa Vaibhava mahākāvya*, an epic poem of the poet Ratnākaravarni (1505). It consists of 10,000 verses in *Sāmgatya* metre]

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Sāḷva Bhārata, Prasaramga, Bangalore University, 1976, 746 + XCVI pages. [Full Text of the *Neminātha Carite* alias *Sāḷvabharata* written by poet Sāḷva (1485 CE), written in *ṣaṭpadi* i.e., six-lined metre]

Nāgakumāra Ṣaṭpadi, Prasaramga, Bangalore University, 1977, 1044 pages. [Kannada poem of poet Bommaṇa (1740 CE) consisting of 2988 verses in *ṣaṭpadi* metre. The poem narrates the deeds of Nāgakumāra, a popular hero in Jaina mythology. Nāgakumāra *alias* Phanikumāra is one of the 24 Kāmadevass in the Digambara tradition]

Ratnākarana Hāḍugalu, Rajajinagar, Bangalore, 1979, 200 + xxiii pages. [Unique collection of *Kīrtanas* or devotional songs composed by Mahākavi Ratnākaravarni (1505 CE) who is more known for his epic the *Bharateśa Vaibhava* of 10,000 verses]

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Sāmtipurāṇam (with Prose Translation to each verse), Kannada Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore, 1982, 554 + 199 pages. [Full text of the *Sāmtipurāṇam* of poet Ponna (965 CE), one of the triad in Kannada literature, who was bestowed with the title of *kavī-cakravartī* (poet emperor) by the Rashtrakuta emperor Krishna III (935-65 CE).

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Tattvārtha Sūtrānugata Karṇāṭa Laghuvrutti, Siddhāntakirti Gramthamāle, Hombuja, 1994, 197 + xxx pages. [Earliest extant commentary in Kannada language, on Umāsvāti's Tattvārthasūtra. The Kannada scholiast pontiff Divākaraṇandi (11th century CE) has rendered it into Kannada with a simple *vrutti* in prose. He has also quoted 235 Prakrit *gāthās*]

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Jaina Kathā Kośa (with Kamala Hampana, Padmaprasād, Sarasvati Vijayakumar), Kannada Viśvavidyalaya, Hampi, 1997, 808 + xvi pages. [Matchless treasury of Jaina stories translated into modern Kannada from Ardhamāgadhī, Apabhraṃśa, Śaurasenī, Māhārāṣṭrī, Sanskrit and Old Kannada sources. It contains about 350 stories. Exhaustive and comparative introduction by Prof. Hampana]

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A Tribute

Padmabhushan Rajarshi. Dr. Veerendra Heggade

Hampa Nagarajaiah, popular as Hampana, is known to me for the past 50 years, ever since I was a boy. He used to deliver lectures in the Annual Literary conference at Dharmasthala from the time of my father who was Dharmadhikari then. Later Hampana was my teacher during my College days. He was an inspiring teacher and students had high regard for his fund of knowledge. He is a prolific author, an eminent orator, an excellent organiser and a successful administrator. Having travelled far and wide, he has contacts with prominent personalities in various fields. He has an attractive voice and his running commentaries of the Maha-mastaka-abhisheka of Lord Bahubali at Shravanabelagola, Karkala, Venur and Dharmasthala are unforgettable. His wife Professor Kamala Hampana is also equally learned and a popular writer. As an eloquent speaker, she has delivered lectures in India and abroad. Both of them are made for each other. Kannada people and Karnataka Government respect the literary persons and hold them in high esteem.

“ಹಂಪನಾ” - ನಾ ಕಂಡಂತೆ.

“ಹಂಪನಾ” ಎಂದೇ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧರಾಗಿರುವ ಶ್ರೀ ಹಂಪ ನಾಗರಾಜಯ್ಯನವರನ್ನು ನಾನು ನನ್ನ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿ ದೆಸೆಯಲ್ಲೇ ಬಲ್ಲೆ. ಬೆಂಗಳೂರಿನ ಸರ್ಕಾರಿ ಕಾಲೇಜಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರು ನನ್ನ ವಿದ್ಯಾ ಗುರುಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದರು. ನಾನು ಅವರ ಪ್ರೀತಿಯ ಶಿಷ್ಯನಾಗಿದ್ದೆ. ತರಗತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರು ಬೋಧನೆಗೆ ನಿಂತರೆ, ಅಸ್ವಲಿತವಾಣಿ, ವಿವರಣೆ, ವಿಚಾರಗಳ ಶುಭ್ರತೆ, ಶಕ್ತಿಪೂರ್ಣ ನಿರೂಪಣೆ, ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟತೆ, ಹಾಸ್ಯದ ಹೊನಲು ಇವುಗಳಿಂದ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೊಸ ಜೀವಕಳೆಯನ್ನು ತುಂಬುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಪಂಪ, ರನ್ನ, ರಾಘವಾಂಕ ಮತ್ತಿತರ ಕವಿ ಪುಂಗವರ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯದ ಸನ್ನಿವೇಶಗಳನ್ನು ಅರ್ಥಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ಮನಮುಟ್ಟುವಂತೆ ವಿವರಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಪಾಠದ ಪಾತ್ರಧಾರಿಗಳು ಇವರೇ ಆಗಿರುತ್ತಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳ ಹೃನ್ಮನ ಸೆಳೆದಿದ್ದರು. ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳ ಭಾವುಕ ಹೃದಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಆತ್ಮೀಯ ಸ್ಥಾನವನ್ನು ಪಡೆಯುವಲ್ಲಿ ಯಶಸ್ವಿಯಾದ ಮೇಷ್ಟ್ರು ಶ್ರೀ ಹಂಪನಾರವರು. ಆದರ್ಶ ಪ್ರಾಧ್ಯಾಪಕರಾಗಿ ಬೆಳೆದು ಇಂದು ಜನಪ್ರಿಯ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರೆನಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ವರೆಗೆ ಅವರ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಯನ್ನು ನಾನು ಕಂಡಿದ್ದೇನೆ.

ನನ್ನ ಪೂಜ್ಯ ತಂದೆಯವರ ಕಾಲದಿಂದಲೂ ಶ್ರೀ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ ಧರ್ಮಸ್ಥಳದಲ್ಲಿ ನಡೆಯುವ ಸರ್ವಧರ್ಮ ಸಮ್ಮೇಳನದಲ್ಲಿ ತಮ್ಮ ವಿದ್ವತ್ತೂರ್ಣ ಭಾಷಣಗಳಿಂದ ಗಮನ ಸೆಳೆಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಅವರ ಪಾಂಡಿತ್ಯವನ್ನು ಗಮನಿಸಿದ್ದೇನೆ. ಅವರ ಉಪನ್ಯಾಸದ ಸರಣಿ ಮೃಧು ಮಧುರ. ಅವರ ನಾಲಗೆಯ ಮೇಲೆ ವಾಗ್ಧೇವಿ ನರ್ತಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾಳೆ. ಮಾತಾಡುವಾಗ ಹೊರಡುವ ಸ್ಫುಟವಾದ ವಾಕ್ಯಗಳು, ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥಿತವಾದ ವಿಷಯ ನಿರೂಪಣೆ, ಬರೆದಿಟ್ಟುಕೊಳ್ಳುವಂತೆ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಬೆಲೆಯುಳ್ಳ ನುಡಿಮುತ್ತುಗಳಾಗುತ್ತಿದ್ದುವು. ಇವರ ಭಾಷಣವೆಂದರೆ ಕೇಳುವವರಿಗೆ ಬೇಸರವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಹೃದಯಕ್ಕೆ ತಟ್ಟುವ, ಮನಮುಟ್ಟುವ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ, ಕೇಳುವವರೂ ಧ್ವನಿಗೂಡಿಸುವಂತೆ, ತಲ್ಲಿನತೆ, ತನ್ಮಯತೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮಿಂದು ಮಡಿಯಾಗುವಂತೆ ತಮ್ಮ ವಾಕ್‌ಝರಿಯನ್ನು ಹರಿಸುವ ಮಾತಿನ ಮೋಡಿಗಾರ ನಮ್ಮ ಹಂಪನಾ. ಭಾಷೆಯ ಮೇಲಿನ ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವ, ಭಾಷೆಯ ಬಳಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ತೋರುವ ಎಚ್ಚರ, ವಿಷಯದ ಅಭಿವ್ಯಕ್ತಿ ಕಿವಿಗೆ ಹಿತಕಾರಿ. ಜಾಗತಿಕ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯದ ಆಳವಾದ ಅಭ್ಯಾಸ. ಪಾಂಡಿತ್ಯಗಳೊಂದಿಗೆ ಯಾವ ವಿಷಯದ ಮೇಲಾಗಲೀ ಬಹು ಸ್ವಾರಸ್ಯವಾಗಿ

ಮಾತಾಡಿ ಸಭಿಕರ ಹೃದಯ ಗೆಲ್ಲುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ, ಪ್ರಾಕೃತ, ಇಂಗ್ಲಿಷ್, ಕನ್ನಡ ಭಾಷೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರಿಗಿದ್ದ ಹಿಡಿತ ಈ ಬಗೆಯ ಭಾಷಣಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಚೆನ್ನಾಗಿ ಪ್ರಕಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರೊಬ್ಬ ರಸಿಕ ಕವಿ. "ರಸಿಕನಾಡಿದ ಮಾತು ಶಶಿಯುದಿಸಿ ಬಂದಂತೆ" ಎಂಬ ಸರ್ವಜ್ಞನ ಮಾತು ಇವರಿಗೆ ಒಪ್ಪುತ್ತದೆ. ಉತ್ತಮ ಬರಹಗಾರರೂ ಆದ ಹಂಪನಾರವರು ತನ್ನ ವಿಶಿಷ್ಟತೆಯನ್ನು ಆಳವಾದ ರಸಗ್ರಹಣ ಸಾಮರ್ಥ್ಯವನ್ನು, ಗಾಢವಾದ ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಶೀಲತೆಯನ್ನು, ನಿಶ್ಚಿತವಾದ ವಿಮರ್ಶಾಪ್ರಜ್ಞೆಯನ್ನು ಹಾಗೂ ಆಕರ್ಷಕವಾದ ಮತ್ತು ಸತ್ಯಶೀಲವಾದ ಸೃಜನ ಶಕ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ತಮ್ಮ ಸುಮಾರು 40 ಕ್ಕೂ ಮಿಕ್ಕಿದ ಕೃತಿಗಳ ಮೂಲಕ, ಸಾವಿರಾರು ಉಪನ್ಯಾಸಗಳ ಮೂಲಕ ಸಾದರ ಪಡಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಗ್ರಂಥ ಸಂಪಾದನೆ, ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ, ಕಾದಂಬರಿ, ಪ್ರಬಂಧ ವಿಮರ್ಶೆ, ಜೀವನ ಚರಿತ್ರೆ, ಜಾನಪದ, ಅನುಪಾದ, ಭಾಷಾ ವಿಜ್ಞಾನ- ಈ ಎಲ್ಲ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲೂ ಪರಿಪಕ್ವ ಕೃತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಕೃತ್ಯರಾಗಿರುವ "ನಾಡೋಜ" ಶ್ರೀ ಹಂಪನಾರವರು.

ಕನ್ನಡಿಗರ ಪ್ರಾತಿನಿಧಿಕ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಯಾದ ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಪರಿಷತ್ತಿನ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರಾಗಿದ್ದ ಅವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ (1978-1986) ಮಹತ್ವಪೂರ್ಣ ಕೆಲಸವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿದರು. ನಾಡಿನುದ್ದಗಲಕ್ಕೂ ಸಂಚರಿಸಿ ಕನ್ನಡವನ್ನು ಉಳಿಸಿದರು, ಬೆಳೆಸಿದರು. ಭಾಷಾ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆ, ಗಡಿ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆ, ನೆರೆಯ ರಾಜ್ಯಗಳ ಜನತೆಯಿಂದ ಕನ್ನಡಿಗರಿಗಾಗುವ ಅನ್ಯಾಯಗಳನ್ನು ಕುರಿತಂತೆ ತಮ್ಮ ಭಾಷಣಗಳ ಮೂಲಕ ಜಾಗೃತಿಯ ಗಂಟೆಯನ್ನು ಬಾರಿಸಿ ಕನ್ನಡಿಗರನ್ನು ಎಚ್ಚರಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅಖಿಲ ಭಾರತ ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಸಮ್ಮೇಳನಗಳನ್ನು ಯಶಸ್ವಿಯಾಗಿ ನಡೆಸಿ, ಎಲ್ಲ ಕನ್ನಡಿಗರನ್ನು ಒಂದುಗೂಡಿಸಿ ಜಾಗೃತಿ ಮೂಡಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. 1978 ರಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ ಧರ್ಮಸ್ಥಳದಲ್ಲಿ ನಡೆದ 43 ನೇ ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಸಮ್ಮೇಳನದ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರು, ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧ ಕವಿ-ಚಿಂತಕ ಗೋಪಾಲಕೃಷ್ಣ ಅಡಿಗರು. ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಯಶಸ್ವಿಯಾದ ಈ ಸಮ್ಮೇಳನ ಹಂಪನಾರವರ ಅವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಡೆಯಿತು. ಈ ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀ ಹಂಪನಾರವರ ಕತ್ಯುತ್ಪಶಕ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ನಾನು ಕಂಡಿದ್ದೇನೆ, ಮೆಚ್ಚಿದ್ದೇನೆ. ಸಾಕಷ್ಟು ಕಾಲ ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಪರಿಷತ್ತಿನ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರಾಗಿದ್ದ ಹಂಪನಾ ಅವರು ಅದನ್ನು ಬೆಳೆಸಿದ ರೀತಿ ಅನನ್ಯವಾದುದು. ಅಪೂರ್ವವಾದ ಕೆಲವು ಆಯಾಮಗಳನ್ನು ಅವರು ಪರಿಷತ್ತಿಗೆ ತಂದುಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅದು ನಾಡಿನೆಲ್ಲೆಡೆ ಮನೆಮಾತಾಗುವಂತೆ ಮಾಡಿದರು. ನಾಡು-ನುಡಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಅದರಿಂದ ವಿಶೇಷ ಲಾಭವಾಗುವಂತೆ ನೋಡಿಕೊಂಡರು. ತನ್ನ ಅಧಿಕಾರವನ್ನು ಆ ದಿಶೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರ್ವಹಿಸಿದರು. ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ

ಜನಸಾಮಾನ್ಯರನ್ನು ತಲುಪುವಂತೆ ಮಾಡಿದರು. ಪರಿಷತ್ತಿನ ಒಳಗೂ ಹೊರಗೂ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯಿಕ ಚಟುವಟಿಕೆಗಳು ರಭಸವಾಗಿ ನಡೆಯಲು ಪ್ರೇರಕರಾದರು. ಉಪನ್ಯಾಸ, ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ, ಗ್ರಂಥ ಪ್ರಕಟಣೆ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮಹತ್ವಪೂರ್ಣ ದಾಖಲೆಗಳನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸುವ ಮೂಲಕ ಉನ್ನತ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮಗಳನ್ನು ಹಮ್ಮಿಕೊಂಡು ಯಶಸ್ವಿಗೊಳಿಸಿದರು. ಜೊತೆಗೆ ಅನೇಕ ತರಣ ಬರಹಗಾರರನ್ನು ಬೆಳಕಿಗೆ ತಂದು ಪ್ರೋತ್ಸಾಹಿಸಿದರು. ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಪರಿಷತ್ತಿನ ಇತಿಹಾಸದಲ್ಲಿ ಸುವರ್ಣ ಆಧ್ಯಾಯವನ್ನು ಬರೆದ ಕನ್ನಡದ ಕಟ್ಟಾಳು ಹಂಪನಾರವರು.

“ದೇಶ ತಿರುಗಿ ನೋಡು, ಕೋಶ ಓದಿ ನೋಡು” ಎಂಬ ಮಾತುಗಳು ಹಂಪನಾರಿಗೆ ಹೇಳಿಸಿದಂತಿವೆ. ಕನ್ಯಾಕುಮಾರಿಯಿಂದ ಹಿಮಾಚಲದ ವರೆಗೆ, ಕೆನಡಾ, ಅಮೇರಿಕಾ, ಇಂಗ್ಲೆಂಡ್ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಪಾಶ್ಚಿಮಾತ್ಯ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ, ಕೊಲ್ಲಿ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಚರಿಸಿ ವಿದ್ವತ್ತೂರ್ಣ ಉಪನ್ಯಾಸಗಳನ್ನು ನೀಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ನಾಡಿನ ಮೂಲೆ ಮೂಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸುತ್ತಿ ಉಪನ್ಯಾಸ ನೀಡಿ, ಹಿರಿಯ-ಕಿರಿಯ ಸಾಹಿತಿಗಳ, ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕರ ಪ್ರೀತಿ ವಿಶ್ವಾಸಗಳಿಗೆ ಪಾತ್ರರಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಆರ್ವಾಚೀನ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯವನ್ನು ಆಮೂಲಾಗ್ರವಾಗಿ ವ್ಯಾಸಂಗ ಮಾಡು ಜ್ಞಾನಕೋಶವನ್ನು ಸಮೃದ್ಧಿಗೊಳಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಎಲ್ಲ ಮಠಾಧೀಶರ, ತ್ಯಾಗಿಗಳಂ ಮುನಿಗಳ ಆಶೀರ್ವಾದಕ್ಕೆ ಪಾತ್ರರಾದ ಶ್ರೀಯುತರು ಶ್ರವಣಬೆಳಗೊಳ, ಧರ್ಮಸ್ಥಳ, ಕಾರ್ಕಳ, ವೇಣೂರು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ನಡೆದ ಭಗವಾನ್ ಬಾಹುಬಲಿ ಮಸ್ತಕಾಭಿಷೇಕದ ವೀಕ್ಷಕ ವಿವರಣೆ ನೀಡಿ ಜನಮನ್ನಣೆಗೆ ಪಾತ್ರರಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಡಾ. ಕಮಲಾ ಹಂಪನಾರವರು ಪತಿಗೆ ಸರಿಯಾದ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರು. ಇಬ್ಬರೂ ಉದ್ಭಾವ ಸಾಹಿತಿಗಳು. ಪರಸ್ಪರ ಅರಿವು, ಆತ್ಮೀಯತೆ, ಗೌರವ ಭಾವನೆಗಳು ಇರುವುದರಿಂದಲೇ ಜೀವನದ ವಿವಿಧ ಮಜಲುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಾಮುಂದೆ ತಾಮುಂದೆ ಎಂದು ಆರೋಗ್ಯಕರ ಸ್ಪರ್ಧೆ ನಡೆಸುತ್ತಾ, ಪರಸ್ಪರ ಗೌರವಿಸುತ್ತಾ ಬಂದವರು ಈ ಆದರ್ಶ ದಂಪತಿಗಳು. ಜೀವನದ ನೋವು-ನಲಿವು, ಸೋಲು ಗೆಲುವುಗಳನ್ನು ಸಮನ್ವಯಗೊಳಿಸುವಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರ ಹಾಸ್ಯ ಪ್ರವೃತ್ತಿಯು ಮಹತ್ವದ ಪಾತ್ರವಹಿಸಿದೆ. ನಿಜದ ಅರ್ಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಇವರಿಬ್ಬರೂ ಇಂದಿನ ಮುದ್ದಣ ಮನೋರಮೆಯರು. ಕಮಲಾ ಹಂಪನಾರು ಮೂಡುಬಿದ್ರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಡೆದ ಅಖಿಲಭಾರತ ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಸಮ್ಮೇಳನದ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರಾಗಿದ್ದು ಯಶಸ್ವಿ ಕಾರ್ಯಭಾರವನ್ನು ನಿರ್ವಹಿಸಿದ್ದನ್ನು ಈ ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ ನೆನೆಯಬಹುದು.

ಆದಿಕವಿ ನಾಡೋಜ ಪಂಪನಿಂದ ಹಂಪನಾ ವರೆಗೆ ಬೆಳೆದು ಬಂದ ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಎನ್ನುತ್ತಾರೆ ನಾಡೋಜ ಹಂಪನಾ ಅಭಿಮಾನಿಗಳು. ಹಂಪನಾ ಇದ್ದಕ್ಕಡೆ ಜನ. ಅಬಾಲವೃದ್ಧರಾಗಿ ಬೆಲ್ಲಕ್ಕೆ ಇರುವ ಮುತ್ತುವಂತೆ ಸೇರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ತರುಣರೊಂದಿಗೆ ತರುಣರಾಗಿ, ಮುಪ್ಪಿನವರೊಂದಿಗೆ ಮುದುಕರಾಗಿ, ಹಾಲಲ್ಲಿ ಸಕ್ಕರೆಯಂತೆ ಬೆರೆಯುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಅವರು ಪ್ರಾಧ್ಯಾಪಕರಾಗಿ ಬೆಳೆದು ಇಂದು ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರೆನಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ವರೆಗಿನ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಯನ್ನು ನಾನು ಕಂಡಿದ್ದೇನೆ. ವೃತ್ತಿಯಿಂದ ಪ್ರಾಧ್ಯಾಪಕರಾಗಿ ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಪೂರಕವಾಗಿ ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಆಸಕ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಆವಾಹಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು, ಕನ್ನಡ ಶಕ್ತಿ ಶಾರದೆಯ ಕೈಂಕರ್ಯದ ಫಲವಾಗಿ ಏರಿದ ಎತ್ತರ, ಮುಟ್ಟಿದ ಗುರಿ, ಮಾಡಿದ ಸಾಧನೆ ಅವರ ಹೋರಾಟದ ಬದುಕಿನ ವೀರಗಾಥೆಗಳು. ಸದಾ ತಾರುಣ್ಯದ ಉತ್ಸಾಹ ಲವಲವಿಕೆಗಳನ್ನು ದೈಹಿಕ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿತ್ವವನ್ನು ಒಂದೇ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ರಕ್ಷಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಬಂದು ಎಪ್ಪತ್ತನಾಲ್ಕರ ಪ್ರಾಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತರ ಯುವಕನಂತೆ ಉಲ್ಲಾಸದಿಂದಿರುವ ಹಂಪನಾರವರು ಹೀಗೇನೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ಇನ್ನಷ್ಟುಕಾಲ ಬಾಳಲಿ. ಅವರಿದ ಇನ್ನಷ್ಟು ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯದ ಕೆಲಸಗಳು ಆಗಲಿ - ಎಂದು ಹಾರೈಸೋಣ. ಅವರಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಸರಳತೆ, ಸಜ್ಜನಿಕೆ, ಸತ್ಯಂಗ, ಮೆಲ್ವಾತು, ಸತ್ಯಂಗ ಸಲ್ಲಾಪಗಳು, ಅಸ್ಥಲಿತ ವಾಗ್ಮಿತೆಗಳು ಚಿರಂತನವಾಗಿ ಉಳಿಯಲಿ. ಕ್ರಿಯಾಶೀಲತೆ, ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ನಿರ್ಮಿತಿ ಮತ್ತು ವಾಗ್ಮಿತೆಗಳ ತ್ರಿವೇಣಿ ಸಂಗಮವಾಗಿರುವ ಹಂಪನಾರವರು ಒಂದು ಅಪೂರ್ವ ರಸಾನುಭವ. ಉತ್ಸಾಹದ ಚಿಲುಮೆ. ಬದುಕಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಯಶಸ್ಸಿಗೆ ನೈಪುಣ್ಯವೊಂದೇ ಸಾಲದು, ಪುಣ್ಯವೂ ಬೇಕು. ಅವೆರಡನ್ನೂ ಪಡೆದು ಧನ್ಯರಾದವರು ನಮ್ಮ ಹಂಪನಾರವರು. ಸದಾ ಲವಲವಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ "ಸಫಾರಿಧಾರಿ" ನಾಡೋಜ ಹಂಪನಾರವರು ಪಂಪನಂತೆಯೇ ಕೀರ್ತಿವಂತರಾಗಲಿ ಎಂದು ತುಂಬು ಮನಸ್ಸಿನಿಂದ ಹಾರೈಸುತ್ತೇನೆ.

ಡಿ. ವೀರೇಂದ್ರ ಹೆಗ್ಗಡೆಯವರು.

Hampanā and Karnatakan Jainism

Prof. Dr. Robert Zydenbos

I first met Hampa Nagarajaiah in the early 1980s, at a time when hardly anyone outside India took an interest in Jaina studies, especially not through the medium of Kannada, a language whose significance went practically unrecognized. Now, slowly, Jainism is being rediscovered by the academic community outside India as an alternative voice from India's past, a necessary corrective after roughly two centuries in which *smārta* brahminical Hindu sources dominated international scholarly discourse about Indian history. Unlike Buddhism, which became extinct in India a thousand years ago, Jainism continued as a living tradition till today and has been of considerable philosophical, religious and other cultural influence on the rest of Indian society. Similarly, the importance of Karnataka and Kannada is gradually being realized by growing numbers of scholars, and the Indian government has officially declared Kannada a classical language. At such a juncture, it is befitting that Hampasandra Padmanabhaiah Nagarajaiah and his work are honoured by means of the present Festschrift.

To the Kannada-reading public, 'Hampanā', as Nagarajaiah is popularly known, is one of the best-known scholars of Kannada and Jainism of his generation. Much of his academic activity has gone unnoticed by the academic community outside Karnataka, simply on account of the language barrier: in spite of the immense richness both of modern scholarly secondary as well as of centuries of primary literature in Kannada, all this material has remained a largely unknown treasure. Hampanā has written remarkable monographs on topics in the fields of classical Kannada literature, epigraphy, architecture, linguistics, history and religion. One of his best-known works is *Yakṣa-yakṣiyaru* (1976), on the fascinating subject of gods and goddesses in Jaina mythology and popular worship. Another is his short monograph on the *Yāpanīya saṃgha* (1999), the third major tradition of Jainism besides the Digambara and Śvetāmbara, which many centuries ago merged with the Digambara denomination but has been of great historical importance for the development of Jainism as a whole. Very useful are also his studies of Hombuja, the *kṣētra* in central Karnataka that has not only played a role of immense importance in the history of Karnatakan Jainism but still today is the supra-regionally most important centre for the worship of the *yakṣī* Padmāvatī (*Hombuja śāsanagaḷu* (with M.G. Manjunatha), 1997, about the

inscriptions of Hombuja, and *Sāṃtararu: om̐du adhyayana*, 1997, about the royal dynasty whose capital Hombuja was).

During his long tenure as president of the Kannada Sāhitya Pariṣattu, this venerable organization brought out many valuable editions of Old Kannada texts, Jaina and non-Jaina. Also the Sanskrit *Mahāpurāṇa* of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra was reissued, with its Kannada translation by the late Pt. A. Shanthiraja Sastry, for its seminal importance also for Jaina literature in Kannada, which benefitted many researchers in the field. Later Haṃpanā crossed linguistic boundaries with his edition of the *Tattvārthasūtrānugata karṇāṭa laghuvṛtti* (1994), an Old Kannada commentary on the best-known Jaina philosophical text in Sanskrit.

In recent years Haṃpanā has ventured to present some of his findings to a larger audience through the medium of English. This is a double struggle, firstly with the medium of this foreign language, and secondly because the new target audience is largely unfamiliar with the richness of, and the state of knowledge in Karnatakan scholarly circles about, the materials that form the basis of Haṃpanā's work.

Haṃpanā was not my teacher in a formal sense, but he played a positive role in my own early career in Kannada studies by his encouraging attitude and his gladness to share information. On this occasion of Haṃpanā's 75th birthday, one naturally rejoices at seeing him still intellectually productive; we should hope that he will be among us for many more years to come, and that the younger generations of scholars will continue to have opportunities to benefit from his accumulated knowledge.

Section I

Epigraphy, Iconography, Manuscripts

Jaina Art as Potent Source of Indian History, Culture and Art

(With Special Reference to the Kuṣāṇa Images From Mathurā)

1

Maruti Nandan Pd. TIWARI
& Shanti Swaroop SINHA

Art is the living visual account of our tradition, including the concept in religion and philosophy that prevail during an epoch in society. And yet, while discussing history or religion, philosophy and culture, we tend to take into account only literature as the main narrative along with inscriptions and coins and miss out the artistic creations of temples, *stūpa*, sculptures and paintings, or the other forms of art embodying the spirit of the time.

Jainism is a living religion with innumerable followers in India as well as abroad. It developed as an independent religious and cultural stream contributing greatly to the life and mind of the Indian people. The very fact of the emergence of Jainism under certain socio-religious conditions could be seen in its denial of the *Vedic* socio-religious order. Jainism was older than Buddhism, being historically established at least 250 years before the origin of Buddhism.

In the Jaina context, art has been the main vehicle for the wide and dynamic expression of Jaina spirituality, the absolute renunciation of all possessiveness, and the ideals of non-violence and austerity, besides providing the information about the patronage of ruling dynasties, and traders and mercantile classes. The Jaina sculptures also reveal the forms and features of dress, ornaments, hair style and attributes which are important and direct source for the reconstruction of the cultural history of any period and region.

The poetics of the Jaina concepts, woven into the attitudes, gestures and postures of the images, brought forth multiple layers of meanings in visual language. The subject chosen was depicted in the human form – whether legend, deity or sage. However, the person was revered for the ideal quality epitomized. The inspirational quality of a Jina, highest in Jaina worship, was his invincibility as the soul of perfection. Other qualities and state of being worthy of worship were: the *ṽitarāgī* (free from desire and passion); *nirgrantha* (free from knots of bondage of *Karma*); the posture *kāyotsarga* (standing erect in the attitude of dismissing the body); *dhyāna-mudrā* (seated cross-legged in deep meditation); and finally the *aparigraha* (non-possession) and *tyāga* (renunciation). Of course, the subject most often chosen by the artist to project the

wholeness of his inspiration was one of the 24 Jinas. The other main legendary subjects were – Bāhubali, the personification of endurance, non-violence and non-acquisition (*aparigraha*) and Bharata Muni, the prince who is worshipped not as *Chakravartin* or emperor, but as *Muni* after renouncing the material world and taking the path of absolute renunciation. Besides these, there were also the images and paintings depicting ascetics and holy mendicants – *ācāryas*, *sādhus* and *sādhvīs*. The subject of art always remained close to the popular imagination and art sought to enhance it with the artistic experience, taking great care to acknowledge the perfection of the ideals projected. Through all such renderings ideal social models were provided.

There are inscriptional evidences from Mathurā (Kaṅkālī Tīlā), Osiāñ, Delvādā, Khajurāho, Kumbhāriyā, Jalor, Śravaṇabelgola and several other places which frequently refer to the traders and merchant community who were making significant contributions towards the development of Jainism and thereby Jaina art.

The Jainas never hesitated in borrowing what was suitable for Jainism to make it more accessible for the masses. They established balance between the spiritual and material world for the worshippers through representing the figures of Tīrthaṅkaras and *yakṣas-yakṣīs* together in one icon format (*Harivaṃśa Purāṇa*, 783 A.D.). The Jainas also assimilated several Brahmanical deities and represented them in art with grace and honour. In the process, Neminātha was depicted with Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa in Kuṣāṇa and sculptures of subsequent period. The figures of Rāma, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Kāma, Balarāma, etc., along with their respective *śaktis* were depicted on the exterior wall of the Pārśvanātha Jaina temple at Khajurāho, while those of Gaṇeśa at Mathurā (Archaeological Museum, Mathurā – pedestal of Ambikā image) and Kumbhāriyā (basement of Neminātha temple, 12th cent. A.D.). Notably, the earliest known figure of goddess Sarasvatī in Indian art hails from Mathurā and belongs to the Jaina tradition. The pedestal inscription gives the name of Sarasvatī and is dated to year 54 of Kuṣāṇa rule (=132 A.D.). This image was carved by the donation of *lohikakarukasya-dānam* (ironsmith) Gova for the welfare and happiness of all (*sarvvasatvānām hitasukhā*).

The Jaina images from Mathurā, belonging to Kuṣāṇa period, bear several inscriptions on pedestals which show that all classes of Kuṣāṇa society were contributing to the carving of Jaina images. From the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions from Mathurā¹ it also appears that foreign population including women enthusiastically took part in Jaina art activity. Another peculiarity of Mathurā Jaina inscriptions is that the majority of donors have been female worshippers. Even in subsequent centuries we find that women as queens, wives of traders and merchants and as lay devotees contributed immensely to the development of Jainism and Jaina art. This could be because the principles of Jainism, specially non-violence, were suitable more to the temperament of women. Some of the

¹ G. Bühler, "Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1983 (Rep.), pp. 198-212.

names of women of Indian origin in Kuṣāṇa inscriptions are- *Kṣudrā, Mitrā, Sucilā, Bodhinandi, Dattā Simhadattā, Gulhā, Balahastini, Śivamitrā, Amohini, Dharmaghoṣā, Śivayaśā, Mitaśri, Jitamitra, Acālā*. On the other hand names like *Akka, Oghā, Okharikā, Ujhaṭikā* appear to be of foreign origin. Apparently the liberal Jaina social concept of equality without disparity of cast or class encouraged the business class and foreign people to embrace Jainism and contribute to its development by different means. This remained the socio-economic feature of subsequent period also. The inscriptions inscribed on pedestals of independent and four-fold (*Pratimā-Sarvatobhadrikā*) Tīrthaṅkara images including Sarasvatī image of 132 A.D. of Kuṣāṇa period from Mathurā reveal the universal concept of the Welfare and Happiness for All (Mankind).² The Jainas did have forceful impact on the contemporary ruling class also because they were having hold on the economy because of their active involvement in trade and commerce.

Kuṣāṇa Period: Mathurā

(The Period of Beginning and Standardization)

Jainism thrived vigorously during the Kuṣāṇa period, but without any direct royal patronage of the Kuṣāṇa rulers. This is why we do not find any Jina figure on the Kuṣāṇa coins as well as in the art remains from their nucleus political domain of Gandhāra region. But the variety of iconographic forms in the Kusana Jaina images and their profuseness must have been because of the existing well organised Jaina organisation at Mathurā and also strong support and patronage which in this case was from the masses as is evident from the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions.

The geographical environment and also the situation of Mathurā on the commercial route greatly helped in making the city a great centre of art, including Jaina art. The numerous Kuṣāṇa Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā referring to the donation made by *śreṣṭhin, sārthavāha, gāndhika, suvarṇakāra, vardhakin, lauhakarmak, nartaka, prātārika (nāvika), veśyās*, cotton dealers and different *goṣṭhīs* (traders community) towards the installation of Jaina images, at once suggest that the people following different crafts and occupations actively contributed to the development of Jaina art. Most of the inscriptions have dates, mostly in Śaka era, which are very important from the view point of the reconstruction of Kuṣāṇa history and culture as a whole. These inscriptions also provide the exact identifications and dates in cases of the images of Sarasvatī (*Sarasvato*— Śaka era 54 = 132 A.D.), Rṣabhanātha (*Vṛṣabho* or *Usabho*— Śaka era 46 = 124 A.D.), Śāntinātha (Śaka era 19 = 97 A.D.), Ariṣṭanemi (Śaka era 18 = 96 A.D.), Pārśvanātha (*Pārśva*) and Mahāvira (*Vardhamāna*— Śaka era 5 = 83 A.D., 22 = 100 A.D., 29 = 107 A.D., 42 = 120 A.D., 50 = 128 A.D.) and Jina *Caumukhī*

² G. Bühler, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 202, 208-210.

images (*Pratimāsarvatobhadrikā*, Śaka era 18 = 96 A.D., 32 = 110 A.D.) and *Āyāgapāṭa* (*Āyāgapāṭo*). These inscriptions invariably give the word 'Arhat' for the Jinas, which show that *Arhat* was the earliest adjective used for the Jinas and the words *Jina* and *Tīrthaṅkara* came only subsequently.

The concept and visual forms both of *Jina* and *Buddha* crystallized in Kuṣāṇa images reveal points of commonality. The assimilation of the features of *yogī* (meditative posture and half-shut eyes), *mahāpuruṣa* (long arms, ears and halo) and *cakravartin* (lion throne, fly-whisk bearing attendants) into the iconic forms of both the *Jina* and *Buddha* reveal cultural synthesis and commonality.

Although Mathurā yielded a few examples of Śuṅga period mainly in the form of *āyāgapāṭas*, yet as a prolific and formative centre of Jain art it flourished only during the Kuṣāṇa age³ (1st-2nd cent. A.D.). The excavations at Kaṅkālī Tīlā, Mathurā, yielded a vast amount of Jain vestiges ranging in date from c. 100 B.C. to 1177 A.D. The Kuṣāṇa Jain sculptures from Mathurā are of special iconographic significance since they exhibit a formative stage in the development of Jain images, which served as models for further development throughout the subsequent centuries. The vast amount of Jain images includes, besides the *āyāgapāṭas*, independent *Jina* figures, *Pratimāsarvatobhadrikā* (*Jina Caumukhī*), *Sarasvatī*, *Naigameṣī* and also the narrative scenes from the lives of *Rṣbhanātha* and *Mahāvīra*.

The *Jina* figures of Kuṣāṇa art may be divided into four contexts: the *āyāgapāṭas*, independent figures, *Jina Caumukhī* and the slab with narratives from the lives of the Jinas. The figures on the *āyāgapāṭas* are always seated in the *dhyāna-mudrā*, while those on the *Caumukhī* are invariably standing in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā*. The Jinas, either standing or sitting, do not show any trace of drapery, which, however, fully conform to the *Āgamic* tradition. Some of the scholars, however, hold that the nudity of the Kuṣāṇa *Jina* figures from Mathurā is suggestive of their being the product of the Digambara sect but the presence exclusively of Śvetāmbara theme and feature in two cases: narrative panel showing the transfer of embryo of *Mahāvīra* (State Museum, Lucknow, J. 626) and a slab showing the figure of *Kaṇha Śramaṇa* (State Museum, Lucknow, J. 623) with a piece of cloth hanging from his folded wrist to cover his genitals, poses a puzzling question as to their exact sectarian affiliation.

We would like here to mention that the *Ācāraṅga-sūtra* (c. 2nd century B.C.) frequently refers to both the *acelaka* (sky-clad) and *sacelaka* (draped) ways of living for Jain friars. The *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* (c. 2nd century B.C.) also mentions the *acelaka* and *sacelaka* ways for the Jain *munis* as per need of situation. As we know, the authority of the *Āgama* texts, belonging to the Śvetāmbara and hence of the

³ Maruti Nandan Pd. Tiwari, *Elements of Jain Iconography*, Varanasi, 1983, pp. 1-10; "Prayāg Maṇḍala mein Jain Dharma aur Kalā", *Prayag Kshetriya Itihāsa Visheshāṅk (Bhāratiya Itihāsa Sankalan Samiti Patrikā)*, (Edits.) Dr. S N Roy etc., No. 2, Varanasi, 1984, pp. 210-215; U.P. Shah, 'Beginnings of Jain Iconography', *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, No. 9, June 1972, pp. 3-6.

Yāpanīya sect, has not been accepted by the Digambara sect, according to which the original *Aṅga* texts were lost. Thus the Kuṣāṇa Jina images from Mathurā, showing full concurrence with the *Āgamic* tradition can suggest no sectarian affiliation with the Digambaras. It rather, and up to at least the mid-second century A.D., represents the undifferentiated proto-Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects. The earliest examples showing distinctly the difference of the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara sects in visual representations are known only from the late fifth century A.D. onwards (as exemplified by Akotā Jaina bronze images from Gujarat).

In the gamut of Kuṣāṇa sculptures the rendering of auspicious symbols (*svastika*, *śrīvatsa*, *triratna*, *cakra* or *dharmacakra*, *pūrṇaḥaṭa*, *mīnayugala*) was also very popular. Besides rendering of auspicious symbols either in group of eight (*aṣṭamaṅgala*) or separately as *svastika*, *dharmacakra*, *stūpa* on *āyāgapatas*, these are carved also on the snake hoods covering the head of Pārśvanātha (*svastika*, *dharmacakra*, *triratna*, *śrīvatsa*) and on the soles, palms and finger-tips of different Jina figures (*svastika*, *cakra*, *triratna*). However, as far as these auspicious symbols and their renderings are concerned they should be taken as non-sectarian in character since they were derived from the common ancient Indian heritage mostly of *Vedic* tradition. Such symbols could be identified as Jaina or Buddhist only in reference to their representational context. *Aṣṭamaṅgala-mālā* (garland with eight auspicious marks) and *triratna* (three jewels of Buddhism and Jainism), *cakra* (disc or wheel of religion or disc) and *śrīvatsa* are commonly found in Buddhist (Sāñchī, Bharhut, Takshashila) and Jaina (Mathurā) art and literature (*Aṅgaviṣṭā* - Jaina text) to denote cultural commonality.

Ṛṣabhanātha with lateral strands, name and bull cognizance has semblance with Śiva, while Neminātha joined by the figures of Balarāma and Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa and endowed in Gupta period with conch cognizance reveal bearing of Vaiṣṇava or Bhāgavata cult. Pārśvanātha with a seven-hooded snake canopy overhead has distinct impact of Nāga cult for which Mathurā was so well known⁴. The *Paumacariyam* of Vimalasūri (1st to 4th cent. A.D.) eulogizes Ṛṣabhanātha with appellations such as *Brahmā*, *Trilocana*, *Śaṅkara* and *Ananta Nārāyaṇa* (5.122). Further Ṛṣabhanātha, in the *Ādipurāṇa* of Jināsena (8th century A.D.), has been endowed with 1008 appellations which distinctly show the cordial and interactive approach of Jainism in assimilating Brahmanical and Buddhist deities such as *Svayambhū*, *Śambhū*, *Śaṅkara*, *Sadyojāta*, *Trinetra*, *Jitamanmatha*, *Tripurāri*, *Trilocana*, *Śiva*, *Īśāna*, *Bhūtanātha*, *Mṛtuṅjaya*, *Maheśvara*, *Mahādeva*, *Jagannātha*, *Lakṣmīpati*, *Dhātā*, *Brahmā*, *Hiranyagarbha*, *Viśvamūrti*,

⁴ G. Bühler, 'Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathurā', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol-II, pp. 311-22; U.P. Shah, "Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism", *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, (Eds.) U.P. Shah and M.A. Dhaky, Ahmedabad, 1975, pp. 49-74; V.S. Agrawala, 'Some Brahmanical Deities in Jaina Religious Art', *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. III, No. IV, March 1938, p. 59; V.A. Smith, *The Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, Varanasi (reprint), 1969, pp. 56-57.

Vidhātā, Buddha, Pitāmaha, Caturānana, Indra, Mahendra, Sūrya, Āditya, Kubera, Vāmanadeva, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Buddha (Ādipurāṇa 25.100-217).

An *āyāgapata* (now in State Museum, Lucknow, J.623) bearing an inscription dated 99 (possibly of Śaka era = 177 A.D.) is particularly interesting because it shows at its top a *stūpa* in the centre flanked by two Jina figures on each side⁵. All the Jina figures are seated cross-legged in meditation. Of the four Jinas, one on the left of *stūpa* having a seven-hooded snake canopy overhead is undoubtedly Pārśvanātha. Even in the absence of the cognizances or any other distinctive identifying features, the Jinas may be identified (from left to right) as Ṛṣabhanātha, Neminātha (*stūpa* in the centre) and Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. The identification goes well in order especially in view of the texts namely *Kalpasūtra* (1st to 3rd century A.D.) and also the *Rūpamaṇḍana* (15th century A.D.) wherein the above four Jinas are said to have been the most favoured ones. The *pata* is also suggestive of the worship of the symbol (*stūpa*) and human form (Jina) together. Below this small horizontal panel are carved two other main figures occupying major space on the slab. Of the two standing male and female figures, one is of an ascetic who is shown covering his genital part with a piece of cloth (*ardhaphālaka-sacelaka*, i.e. *Śvetāmbara* ?) in hand. He also holds a broom (*rajoḥaraṇa*) in the right hand. The figure is labelled in the inscription as Kaṇha Śramaṇa identifiable with Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa shown as an ascetic. The early Jaina texts like *Antagaḍadasāo* refer to Kṛṣṇa as Kaṇha Vāsudeva and also mention that he took *dīkṣā* (initiation). Apparently the figure of Kaṇha Śramaṇa is Kṛṣṇa as an ascetic. Close to Kṛṣṇa stands on his left a male figure with folded hands and with seven-hooded snake canopy. He could be identified as Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa. On the right of Kaṇha there appear two-armed female goddesses, whose right hand is in *abhaya-mudrā* and who is labelled in the inscription as *Anaghaśreṣṭhividyā*. The goddess represents Vidyādevī, popular in Jaina worship. The name suggests her popularity in business community.

The figures of Neminātha, also called Ariṣṭanemi in some pedestal inscriptions from Mathurā (birthplace of Bhāgavata cult), are accompanied by the figures of his cousins, Balarāma and Vāsudeva- Kṛṣṇa. The association of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa with Neminātha was in agreement with the Jaina tradition. The prominence of the Bhāgavata cult in Mathurā was also an inspiring force for this association. This assimilation is ratified also by the early Jaina works of 2nd-1st century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. namely *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* (22nd chapter titled Rathanemi), *Nāyādhammakahāo* (68) and *Antagaḍadasāo*. Subsequently works like *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* (of Jinasena, 783 A.D.), *Uttarapurāṇa* (of Guṇabhadra, 9th cent. A.D.) and *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* (of Hemacandra, c. 1150 A.D.) also mention this association at length.

⁵ Debala Mitra, "Mathurā", *Jaina Art and Architecture*, (ed. A. Ghosh), Vol. I, p. 57; M.N.P. Tiwari, *Jaina Pratimāvijñāna*, Varanasi, 1981, p. 47.

The Neminātha figures accompanied by Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa are quite interesting since they suggest syncretic concept and also mutuality in Jaina worship as early as in the Kuṣāṇa period. In one instance of c. 1st century A.D. (State Museum, Lucknow, J. 37), the seated figure of Neminātha is joined by the figures of four-armed Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa on the right and left sides respectively. Balarāma holds a pestle (*mūsala*), a plough (*hala*) and a wine-cup (*pāna-pātra*) in three of his surviving hands while Kṛṣṇa, wearing a *vanamālā*, shows *abhaya-mudrā* and a mace. However, the other two figures of Neminātha, seated as he is in *dhyāna-mudrā*, also contain such figures but here a two-armed Balarāma is shown in *namaskāra-mudrā* with a canopy of a seven-hooded cobra. Another Neminātha image of late Kuṣāṇa period exhibits the figures of four-armed Balarāma with plough and Kṛṣṇa with mace and disc in their surviving hands (Government Museum, Mathurā, Acc. No. 2502). There are five other Jina images wherein two flanking male figures, one with a snake canopy, the other with crown and both shown with folded hands are carved (State Museum, Lucknow, J.4, J.60, J.117; Government Museum, Mathurā, B.15, 34.2488). These flanking figures have rightly been identified by N.P. Joshi as Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa and hence the Jina, on this strength, as Neminātha⁶. Such sculptural examples to some extent are also indicative of the superiority of Jina Neminātha over the Vaiṣṇavite deities. The Vaiṣṇava impact further blossoms during medieval period (9th to 13th century A.D.) and Neminātha images with flanking figures of four-armed Balarāma and Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa are found from Mathurā and Deogarh, besides several Vaiṣṇava themes like *Kāliya-mardana*, Kṛṣṇa playing *Holī* (sprinkling of coloured water on *gopa-gopikās*) and his birth and childhood episodes carved in Jaina temples of Delvādā (Vimala-Vasahī and Lūṇa-Vasahī, 12th- 13th century A.D.).

Another significant form of Kuṣāṇa Jina image was a four-fold image, known as *Pratimā-Sarvatobhadrikā* or Jina *Caumukhī*, about 20 examples of which are found at Mathurā. The terms "*Pratimā-sarvatobhadrikā*" and "*Sarvatobhadra pratimā*" mentioned in pedestal inscriptions denote that the image was auspicious from all the sides.⁷ The carving of Jina *Caumukhī*, showing four Jina figures standing on four sides, started as early as in the first century A.D. and its earliest examples are procured from Kaṅkālī Tīlā, Mathurā. Such images remained popular in all the regions in subsequent centuries and further developed as *Sarvatobhadra-Jinālaya* (temple), the examples of which are at Guna (M.P.), Kharatara-Vasahī (Delvādā) and Rāṇakpur (Rajasthan). The temples were built during 11th – 12th to 15th centuries A.D.. Culturally expressions like *sarvatobhadra* or *sarvajana hitāya sukhāya* in the Jaina images of

⁶ N.P. Joshi, "Early Icon from Mathurā", *The Cultural Heritage*, (Ed.) D.M. Srinivasan, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 335-38.

⁷ *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol-II, pp. 202-03, 210, Inscription Nos. 2, 13, 16; B.C. Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*, Lahore, 1939, p. 48.

Kuṣāṇa period present the mindset of Jainas in particular and the very purpose of Indian art as a whole.

Scholars generally believe that the conception of Jina *Caumukhī* was based on the early conception of Jina *Samavasaraṇa* with advancement upon it.⁸ But this view is not acceptable for the following reasons. The *Samavasaraṇa* is the congregation hall erected by the gods where from every Jina delivers his first sermon after attaining *kevala-jñāna* (omniscience). It consists of three circular ramparts at the top of which sits the Jina (seated), facing east. The three other figures of the selfsame Jina on the remaining three sides were installed by the *Vyantara* gods to facilitate audience worshippers to have the look (*darshan*) of the Jina from all the sides. However, none of the early Jaina works like *Kalpasūtra* and the *Paumacariyam* refer to the installation of Jina images on the remaining three sides. Its first mention occurs only in the works of eighth-ninth century A.D.⁹ Moreover in the Kuṣāṇa *Caumukhī* images four different Jinas, always standing, are carved on four sides, as against the original conception of *Samavasaraṇa* of having a seated Jina on the top (facing east) along with three figures of the selfsame Jina on the remaining three sides.

Thus it would not be appropriate to conclude that the Jina *caumukhī* of the Kuṣāṇa period, showing four different Jinas on four sides, bears any impact of the conception of the *Samavasaraṇa*. It is rather difficult to find any traditional basis for the conception of the Jina *Caumukhī* from the Jaina works. On the other hand, we come across a number of such sculptures in contemporary and even earlier Indian art which might have inspired the Jainas to carve Jina *Caumukhī*. It is not impossible that some such representations as the Sāmāth and Sāñchī lion-capitals and multi-faced *yakṣa*¹⁰ figure and *svastika*¹¹ may have been the source of inspiration.

We are also tempted to call these Jina *Caumukhī* figures, showing four different Jinas, equal in status on four sides, a form of composite (*samghāṭa*) icon, which thus marked the beginning of the rendering of syncretic image in Jaina context.

The above study reveals that Jaina images, besides their art (iconographic and aesthetic) value, could be the potent source of the reconstruction of contemporary political, social and cultural history. And their in-depth study in this context should now be encouraged.

⁸ U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Varanasi, 1955, pp. 94-95; De, Sudhin, 'Caumukha a Symbolic Jaina Art', *Jain Journal*, Vol. VI, No. I, 1971, p. 27.

⁹ *Ādipurāṇa* 22.195, 23.92; *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* 1.3.421-686.

¹⁰ P.K. Agrawala, 'The Triple Yaksha Statue from Rājghāṭ', *Chhavi*, vol. I, Varanasi, 1971, pp. 340-42; Deena Bandu Pandey, *Notes on Indian Iconography*, Varanasi, 1978, pp. 15-21.

¹¹ V.S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, Varanasi, 1956, pp. 49-50, 232.

The decipherment of cave inscriptions in Tamilnadu has produced new evidence proving conclusively the association of Jainism with the caves. There are no vestiges of Buddhist or Ājīvika occupation of the caves. The hitherto unsuspected influence of old Kannada on the language of the cave inscriptions from the earliest period has shown that Jainism reached the Tamil country through Karnataka at a very early date not later than about the third century B.C.. This paper is a brief summary of the new epigraphic evidence which has been presented in detail in my book *Early Tamil Epigraphy* (2003).¹

To the earlier investigators of the Tamil caves, the Brāhmī inscriptions in characters resembling those of the Asokan edicts suggested Buddhist association even before the inscriptions could be properly understood. However, the texts of the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions which have now been fully deciphered, do not reveal any internal evidence for associating the Buddhist faith with the Tamil caves.

Early phase of Jainism in the Tamil country

Bhadrabahu-Chandragupta legend

The advent of Jainism in South India is traditionally traced to the migration of Chandragupta Maurya and his preceptor Bhadrabahu to Sravanabelagola in Karnataka. According to the legend, when foretold of a terrible famine in Magadha which would last twelve years, the Jaina Saṃgha led by Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta migrated to South India and settled down at Sravanabelagola. Viśākha Muni, the disciple of Bhadrabahu, went further south to the Tamil country and preached in the Cōḷa and Pāṇṭiya kingdoms. As the Bhadrabahu-Chandragupta legend is found only in relatively late sources, scholars have been hesitant to accept it as a historical event. The Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions, now known to be the earliest Jaina records in South India, provide indirect corroboration of two key elements of the legend. The palaeography of

¹Iravatham Mahadevan 2003. *Early Tamil Epigraphy : From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.* Cre-A : Chennai, India & the Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Harvard University, USA (Harvard Oriental Series No. 62).

the cave inscriptions is consistent with borrowing from Magadha in ca. 3rd century B.C. during the Mauryan Age. The decipherment of the inscriptions has also revealed early links with Karnataka and Old Kannada indicative of the proximate source of Jainism in the Tamil country. The views of some scholars that Jainism reached the Tamil country from Bengal and Orissa and not from Karnataka can no longer be accepted.

Samprati and Jainism in the Tamil country

Dasaratha and Samprati, grandsons of Asoka, succeeded him and ruled simultaneously from Pataliputra and Ujjain respectively. While Dasaratha seems to have supported the Ājīvika faith, Samprati became an ardent supporter of Jainism under the guidance of his preceptor Suhastin. Samprati despatched Jaina missionaries to various regions in South India including the Damila (Tamil) country. Jaina literary evidence credits the spread of Jainism from Ujjain to the Deccan and other southern countries.

Jaina terminology

Some of the key words in the inscriptions which help us to have a glimpse of the early phase of Jainism in the Tamil country are discussed below.

Titles of monks

kaṇi

The expression *kaṇi* (Pkt. *gaṇi* < Skt. *gaṇin*) 'a senior Jaina monk, the head of a gaṇa' occurs four times at Mangulam (ca. 2nd century B.C.) and twice at Alagarmalai (ca. 1st century B.C.). While many terms like *ācārya*, etc., are common to the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina religions, the expression *gaṇin* is peculiar to Jaina hierarchy. Thus, the occurrence of this term in Early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions is conclusive evidence of the occupation of the caves by monks of the Jaina faith. We learn from the Mangulam inscriptions that Kaṇi Nanta-siri (Gaṇi Nanda-śrī) was the senior Jaina monk who received the endowments of three hermitages from the kinsmen, vassals or officers of Neṭuñceliyaṇ, the reigning Pāṇṭiya king. The inscriptions bear testimony to the support that the Jaina faith received from the Pāṇṭiya king, his court and the local merchant guild (*nikama* < *nigama*) at this early period. The given name or clan name of the senior Jaina monk was Kuvaṇ, revealing his Tamil origin. This is a significant fact. For, if a native Tamil ascetic could have risen in the Jaina monastic hierarchy to occupy the position of a *gaṇi* ('head of a gaṇa') at this time, then Jainism must have taken root in the Tamil country much earlier, that is, not later than the earlier half of the 3rd century B.C..

amaṇaṇ

The expression is derived from Ta. *camaṇa* < Pkt. *samaṇa* < Skt. *śramaṇa* 'an ascetic or monk of non-Vedic religions (Ājīvika, Buddhist or Jaina)'. However, in the Tamil tradition, the term is exclusively applied to the Jaina monks indicating that the Jaina *samaṇa* monks reached the Tamil country earlier and that the Buddhist monks who came later had to be given other appellations like *cākkiyar*, *tērar*, *puttar*, etc., to distinguish them from the Jaina ascetics. The term *amaṇaṇ* occurs first at Mettuppatti (ca. 2nd century B.C.). This inscription records the gift of Uṭayaṇaṇ (Udayana) to Attiraṇ, the Jaina monk from Matirai (Madurai). The occurrence of the word in a Tamil-Brāhmī inscription of the 2nd century B.C. proves that Jainism had spread to the Tamil country before that date. The linguistic testimony furnished by this word goes further. The use of the evolved form *amaṇaṇ* (formed by the loss of the initial *c* in *camaṇaṇ*) shows that the word must have been borrowed into Tamil much earlier to allow sufficient time for the linguistic assimilation and evolution *samaṇa* > *camaṇa* > *amaṇa*. On the basis of this evidence, we may date the spread of Jainism to the Tamil country at least to the 3rd century B.C., if not earlier. The variant form *amaṇṇaṇ* occurs in two later inscriptions from Pugalur (ca. 2nd century A.D.). The inscriptions record the construction of a rock shelter for Ceṅkāyapaṇ, a senior Jaina monk, by King Ātaṇ Cel Irumporaṇ to mark the occasion of the investiture of his grandson as the heir apparent (*iḷaṅkō*). The Pugalur inscriptions (ca. 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.) attest to the support of Jainism by the Cēra king, his court and by the merchant community.

upacaṇ

The expressions *upacaṇ* at Tiruvadavur and its variant form *upaca-aṇ* at Kilavalavu and Kongarpuliyankulam dated to ca. 2nd century B.C. are derived from Skt. *upādhyāya* 'spiritual teacher' through Pkt. *upajhaya*, *uvajha*, etc.; cf. Ka. *uvajjar* and Ta. *uvaccaṇ* 'teacher'. The *upādhyāya* is venerated as one of the Pañcaparamēṣṭhin (along with Arhat, Siddha, Ācārya and Muni) by the Jains. In the Tamil Jaina tradition, the *upādhyāya* is a lay teacher of scriptures. He functions as the priest in the local Jaina temple and also conducts religious ceremonies in Jaina households. In course of time, with the waning of Jaina influence in the Tamil country, the Uvaccar became priests in the shrines of *piṭāri* (< *bhaṭāri*, originally Jaina) and other village goddesses. Still later, they figure as temple-drummers, dance-masters and musicians in medieval inscriptions.

patantaṇ

The expression *patantaṇ* occurs as the title of a Jaina monk at Anaimalai (ca. 2nd century A.D.). It corresponds to Pkt. *bhadanta* 'venerable, reverend'. A variant form *bhadata* occurs as the title of a Jaina monk in an early Prakrit inscription from Mathura. The variant forms *bhadamta* and *bhayamta* are attested in Jaina Prakrit works.

att(a)vāyi

The expression *attuvāyi* in the Anaimalai inscription (ca. 2nd century A.D.) appears to be a title as it is prefixed to a personal name, most probably that of a Jain monk. The word is probably to be read as *attavāyi*; the scribal error appears to be due to stress on the first syllable in the original Prakrit. The first part of the name is from Pkt. *attha* < Skt. *artha* 'meaning', and the second part from Pkt. *vāyi* < Skt. *vācin* / *vādin* 'one who reads / expounds'. The whole expression *attavāyi* may be interpreted as 'one who expounds the meaning (of scriptures)'; cf. AMg. *atthavāya* 'disputation of meaning' (PSM); *vācaka* / *vāyaka* 'preacher' occurring in Prakrit inscriptions.

ācāriyar

The expression *ācāriyar* and the variant form *ācirikaru* < Skt. *ācārya* 'preceptor' occur as the titles of senior Jain monks in the Early Vatteluttu inscriptions at Paraiyanpattu and Tirunatharkunru respectively (ca. 6th century A.D.). In the Jain monastic tradition, especially the Digambara, *ācārya* is a title accorded to very senior monks who are considered to be superior to the *upādhyāya* in the list of the Five Dignitaries (*pañca-paramēṣṭhin*) worshipped daily by the Jains.

māṇākkar

The term literally means 'student' (honorific singular), but occurs at Paraiyanpattu (ca. 6th century A.D.) as a Jain technical term with the specialised meaning of 'acolyte or disciple' of a senior Jain monk. In later Jain inscriptions as at Kalugumalai (Tirunelveli District), the expressions *māṇākkar* (masc.) and *māṇākkiyar* (fem.) occur in this sense.

Titles of nuns*pa(m)mitti*

The expression *pa(m)mitti* occurs at Alagarmalai (ca. 1st century B.C.) as the title of a Jain nun named Sapamitā (from Pkt. *sappamittā* < Skt. *sarpamitrā*). The term *pammiti* appears to be the feminine gender form of *pammaṇ* (masc.) 'Jain novice'. The expressions are ultimately derived from Pkt. *bamma* < Skt. *brahma* / *brāhmī*.

kanti

Cē-k-kant(i)-anni and Cē-k-kanti, mother and daughter, figure in the inscription at Nekanurpatti (ca. 4th century A.D.). Both are Jain nuns as may be seen from the suffixed title *kanti*. The term *kanti* is attested as a personal name or title of Jain nuns in Tamil literary works. The variant form *kavunti* occurs as the personal name of a senior Jain nun. The term *kanti* (variants *khanti*, *ganti*) occurs in Kannada inscriptions as an affix to the personal names of Jain nuns. The expression is probably derived from *gaṇṭhi* (AMg.) 'one who composes a literary work' (PSM) < *grantha* (Skt.) 'book'.

Common religious terms in Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions

Some of the expressions in the Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions are common to Vedic (Brahmanical) Hinduism and non-Vedic faiths (Ājīvika, Buddhist and Jaina). They have been treated in the present study as relating to Jainism taking the overall context into account.

atiṭṭāṇam : 'seat, permanent fixed abode'; refers to stone beds in the cave shelters.

aṛam : 'charity, religious life'.

urāi, uraiyul : 'abode of ascetics'.

tāṇa : 'religious gift'.

namōttu : 'Let there be salutation!'; an invocation.

palli : 'hermitage'; refers to the cave-shelter.

dhammam, dhamam : 'religious gift, charity or endowment'.

Jaina religious terms in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions

Religious terms specific to Jainism or with specialised meanings in the Jaina context occur in the *nicīṭikai* inscriptions in Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu at Paraiyanpattu and Tirunatharkunru (ca. 6th century A.D.). The expressions are listed below in alphabetical order with meanings.

aṇacaṇam : 'abstinence from food'; the Jaina religious penance of fasting unto death.

ārātāṇi : 'worship'; a Jaina technical term for the religious penance of fasting unto death.

nicīṭikai : 'seat of penance' (for fasting unto death).

nōrra, nōrru : 'who observed / having observed penance'. In Jaina terminology, *nōrral* or *nōṇpu* refer to religious fasting.

muṭṭita : 'who completed'; a Jaina technical term for ending one's life through the penance of fasting unto death.

Evolution of Early Jainism in the Tamil country

Based on the distribution, frequency and contents of the Jaina inscriptions in Tamil-Brāhmī and Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu, it is possible to discern three distinct stages in the evolution of early Jainism in the Tamil country.

Early period (ca. 3-1 centuries B.C.)

The earliest Jaina inscriptions in the Tamil country are found in the Pāṇṭiya region with most of them clustered around Madurai. The palaeographic evidence indicates that Jainism must have arrived in the Pāṇṭiya country not later than the 3rd century B.C. The new faith received active support from the Pāṇṭiya dynasty and the local merchant communities as indicated by the inscriptions at Mangulam (ca. 2nd century B.C.) and Alagarmalai (ca. 1st century B.C.). The presence of Old Kannada expressions and personal names in the cave inscriptions, especially at Sittannavasal (ca. 1st century B.C.), points to Karnataka as the route through which Jainism reached

the Tamil country. It is also likely that the Tamil-Brāhmī script was adapted from the Mauryan Brāhmī in the Jaina monasteries (*palli*) of the Madurai region some time before the end of the 3rd century B.C. as the earliest cave inscriptions are dated to about the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. It appears from the absence of reference to sects that the early lithic records in the Tamil caves belong to the period before the schism between the Digambara and Śvētāmbara sects. It is arguable from palaeographic evidence that the Early Tamil-Brāhmī cave inscriptions are the earliest lithic records of the Jaina faith in India, as the Mangulam inscriptions of the time of Neṭuñceliyaṇ (Plate 2.1) appear to be earlier than the Jaina Prakrit inscriptions at Mathura and those of Kharavela of Kalinga.

Middle period (ca. 1-3 centuries A.D.)

There is a sharp fall in the total number of cave inscriptions in this period. The centre of Jainism in the Tamil country appears to have shifted from the Pāṇṭiya to the Cēra region in the early centuries A.D., as indicated by the sharp fall in the number of inscriptions in the Pāṇṭiya country and the equally sharp rise in their number in the Cēra country during this period. As in the Pāṇṭiya country in the earlier period, Jainism was patronised by kings, and local merchant communities in the Cēra country also, as seen from the Pugalur inscriptions of ca. 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. (Plate 2.2). Contacts with the Jaina community in Karnataka continued in this period also, as indicated by what appear to be Kannada personal names in the inscription at Tirupparankunram (ca. 1st century A.D.). The earliest literary evidence of Jainism in the Tamil country belongs to this period; There is also literary evidence from the Caṅkam poems that Jaina monasteries (*palli*) existed in cities like Kāviri-p-pūmpaṭṭiṇam and Madurai even during the early centuries A.D..

Late period (ca. 4th - 6th centuries A.D.)

The era of natural cave shelters came to an end during this period. The Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions at Sittannavasal and Tiruchirapalli (ca. 5th century A.D.) are the last of the Jaina cave shelters in the earlier tradition. A new type of Jaina monuments appears in the Tamil country in the 6th century A.D. in the form of the *nicītikai* inscriptions at Paraiyanpattu and Tirunatharkunru (Plate 2.3). These are epitaphs engraved on the bare summit of boulders commemorating the places where Jaina ascetics fasted unto death. Even though these Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions are earlier in date, they clearly belong to the *sallekhanā* ('religious fasting unto death') tradition of Karnataka which has more numerous examples than the Tamil country. The *nicītikai* inscriptions represent a fresh wave of influence from Karnataka, though contacts between the Tamil and Kannada Jaina communities existed even earlier in this period as indicated by the inscription at Nekanurpatti (ca. 4th century A.D.). During most of this period, the Tamil country was under the rule of the Kalabhras, said to be tribal invaders from Karnataka following the Jaina faith. They displaced the traditional Tamil monarchies and held sway over the Tamil country for nearly three centuries

until they were expelled in the last quarter of the 6th century A.D. by Kaṭuṅkōṇ, the Pāṇṭiya, from the south and Simhavishnu Pallava from the north. It is, however, significant that there is no inscriptional evidence for increased support to Tamil Jainism during the Kalabhra rule; on the contrary, the number of Jaina inscriptions decreased further during this period reflecting the unsettled conditions following the invasion. The earliest epigraphic evidence for the construction of temples and monasteries in brick and mortar is found in the Pulankurichi inscription of King Cēntaṇ Kūrṇaṇ (ca. 500 A.D.). There is now a general consensus that he was a Kalabhra ruler as the name Kūrṇaṇ does not occur in the Pāṇṭiya dynasty, and as there is clear Kannada influence on the language of the inscription (e.g. *avaru*, *ūru*, *arullittār*, etc). The inscription relates to the administrative arrangements made for three places of worship, two of them Hindu (*dēvakulam*) and the other Jaina (*tāpata-p-palli* which was located in Madurai). The inscription provides evidence that the Kalabhras, acting in the tradition of the rulers of the land, did not discriminate between the Hindu and Jaina places of worship.

Re-occupation of the cave shelters by later Jainas

Jainism declined steeply in the Tamil country from about the end of the 6th century A.D. when there was a tremendous upsurge of the Saiva and Vaishnava sects revitalised by the Bhakti movement led by the Nāyaṇmār and Ālvārs. The Tamil Jainas were persecuted during this period. However, the persecution, uncharacteristic of Indian polity, did not last too long and the rulers resumed grants to the Jaina monasteries (*palli*) from about the end of the 8th century A.D. as attested by epigraphical evidence from the Pallava and Pāṇṭiya regions (8th-10th centuries A.D.). It was during this period of revival that many of the earlier cave shelters with stone beds and Tamil-Brāhmī and/or Early Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions were re-occupied by the Jainas who marked their renewed presence with relief sculptures (Plate 2.4) and inscriptions in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script of the period.

Jaina contribution to Tamil Literature

No survey of Jainism in the Tamil country, however brief, can be complete without mentioning the enormous contribution made by the Jainas to the growth of Tamil literature from the earliest times up to about the 16th century A.D. While justice cannot be done to this vast subject within the scope of the present study, mention must be made at least of such outstanding works by Jaina authors like *Tolkāppiyam* and *Nannūḷ* among the grammatical works, *Cilappatikāram*, *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* and *Peruṅkatai* among the epics, the immortal *Kuraḷ* and *Nāḷaṭiyār* among the ethical works and *Tivākaram*, *Piṅkalantai* and *Cūṭāmaṇi* among the lexicons. To this already formidable record may be added what is surely the most basic and fundamental contribution by the Jaina monks to Tamil viz., the development of a script for the language leading to literacy and the later efflorescence of Caṅkam literature in the early centuries A.D.

Influence of Old Kannada on Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions

The present study has brought to light the hitherto unsuspected influence of Old Kannada on the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions from a period (ca. 2nd century B.C.-4th century A.D.) anterior to the earliest known Kannada inscriptions and literature, especially from Sittannavasal (ca. 1st century B.C.), Tirupparankunram (ca. 1st century A.D.), Edakal (ca. 3rd century A.D.) and Nekanurpatti (ca. 4th century A.D.). Some of the more interesting lexical items and grammatical usages showing the influence of Old Kannada are listed below.

Lexical items

Eruminātu is the same as LT *erumainātu*, the Mysore region (*mahisha-maṇḍala*) of Karnataka. The word *erumi* (Ta. *erumai*, Ka., Tu. *erime*, Go. *ermi*) 'buffalo' appears to preserve an ancient dialectal form.

kavuṭi is the personal name of the nun who is described in the inscription as born in a village in *eruminātu*. cf. Ka. *gavuḍi*, *gaudi* 'feminine of *gauda*, wife of a *gāvumḍa*, wife of a village officer'.

pocil 'entrance'. The expression occurs as part of the place name *tenku-ciru-pocil* which appears to be the same as *ten-ciru-vāyil*, mentioned in the later Tamil inscriptions of the region as the name of the *nātu* (territorial division) immediately to the east of the hill at Sittannavasal. *pocil* is not attested in Tamil and appears to be related to Ka. *hosilu* (< **posil*) 'entrance'. cf. also To. *pōs* 'entrance'.

tāyiyaru 'mother' (honorific). This is clearly a loanword from Kannada. The word occurs in New Kannada but is not attested in Old Kannada. However, as this inscription from Nekanurpatti is assigned to ca. 4th century A.D. on palaeographic evidence, we have to regard *tāyiyaru* as an Old Kannada word which existed in the spoken language but was not attested in contemporary records.

Personal names and honorifics

Personal names like *āy(c)ca* and *polāl* (a), and the suffixed honorifics *an̄ni*, *a(p)pa-* and *a(y)yaṇ / aiyaṇ* appear to be more at home in Old Kannada onomastics.

Grammatical usages

-ā, occurring as the genitive suffix in some inscriptions is not attested in Tamil, but occurs in Old Kannada inscriptions where it is regarded as more ancient than -a.

-u, the euphonic suffix to stems ending in liquid consonants (e.g., *ūru* 'village') occurring mostly in the later inscriptions, is not attested in Old Tamil and appears to be due to the influence of Old Kannada, even though the suffix is attested in Kannada inscriptions only from the middle period (ca. 8th century A.D.).

Spread of Jainism from Karnataka

The presence of Old Kannada elements in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions corroborates the traditional account of the spread of Jainism from Karnataka into the Tamil country.

Protect the Jaina Monuments

The Jaina monuments in the Tamil country face very real danger of serious damage by tourist vandalism and breaking up of the rocks for export of granite. I hope that my publication would help in creating greater awareness on the part of the Central and State Departments of Archaeology and the local citizens to take more vigorous steps to protect and preserve the priceless heritage of Jaina monuments of Tamilnadu.

A. EKAMBARANATHAN

In the Jaina pantheon, the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras of the present aeon, commencing from Ādinātha to Mahāvīra, form the pivotal object of veneration. Although all the twenty-four occupy equal position in the pantheon, some of them like Ādinātha, Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra and Neminātha have been popularly worshipped by lay devotees. As a result, their images occur more frequently than others in almost all the parts of peninsular India.

In iconographic parlance, all the Tīrthaṅkaras except Pārśvanātha and Supārśvanātha are represented more or less identical, either seated in *ardhaparyāṅkāśana* or standing in *kāyotsarga* pose. Distinctive personal attributes (weapons, ornaments etc.) as in the case of the Hindu deities, have not been endowed to the Tīrthaṅkaras. However, they are attributed with a cognizance each in order to facilitate their identity. Besides, each Tīrthaṅkara is attended by a pair of *yakṣa* and *yakṣī*, whose presence at the foot level also reveal the identity of their Masters. The practice of carving emblems or attendant deities on the pedestal of the Tīrthaṅkara images is a common feature almost throughout India. But in Tamilnadu, such a practice has not been adopted till about the 18th century A.D., in consequence of which the possibility of identifying earlier images remains uncertain. An attempt has been made, therefore, in this paper to identify some of the Jaina rock-cut images belonging to the 7th-10th centuries with the help of literature, epigraphical records, local traditions and art conventions.

Single Tīrthaṅkaras

Several Jaina caves in Tamilnadu are embellished with beautiful iconic depictions of a single Tīrthaṅkara, but most of their identity remains unsettled. Among them, those figures found in places like Panchapandavamalai, Valutalangunam and Arittapatti can be identified with Ādinātha on the basis of epigraphical corroboration.

The Panchapandavamalai cave temple, near Arcot town, contains a diminutive carving of a seated Tīrthaṅkara, surmounted by a triple umbrella and flanked by chauris. This 8th century icon is referred to in a lithic record as "*Tiruppanmalai Dever*"¹ i.e. the lord of the milky white mountain. In conformity with the Purāṇic tradition of Ādinātha

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV. No. 14 Jaina Rock-Inscriptions at Panchapandavamalai by V. Venkayya: Inscription of Vira-chola, p. 139, line 4.

attaining *nirvāṇa* on the snow-clad Kailāsa mountain, here his images are elegantly styled as “*Tirppanmalai Dever*”, and thereby its identity is made clear.

The excellent portrayal of a seated Tirthankara adorning the overhanging rock of the Valutalangunam cave, 14 km. North-East of Tiruvannamalai, was known as “*Marutupirasuradever*.”² Although this epigraphical name is incongruous, it appears to mean the Deva born of Marudevī which denotes Ādinātha.

Arittapatti near Madurai has a fine carving of a Tirthankara seated on a double-lotus pedestal, flanked by two lamps and canopied by a *trichatra*. This exquisite early Pandya specimen of the 9th century A.D. was commissioned by the revered monk Ajjanandi who was the foremost Jaina revivalist in the Pandya country.³ The clue for its identification lies in the name of the hillock, “*Tirruppunaiyanmalai*”⁴ which means the hillock of that Tirthankara who served as a saviour or as a life-buoy in order to protect human beings when the *bhoga-bhūmi* lost all its charm and wealth. Obviously, Ādinātha is indirectly alluded to in this epithet “*Tiruppunaiyan*”.

It may be added in this context that similar single sculptures commissioned by Ajjanandi, found at Alagarmalai, Kongarpuliyankulam and Karungalakkudi – all within a radius of 20 km. from Madurai may also represent Ādinātha. Their identity with Ādinātha is not improbable even though confirmatory evidence is conspicuously absent.

First and last Tirthankaras

It was an art convention to depict the first and last Tirthankara together instead of all the twenty-four in a single composition. Non-availability of space to carve the entire group at one place could have initially prompted craftsmen to represent only Ādinātha and Mahāvīra together and finally it became an accepted norm symbolizing the *Caturvīṃśatimūrtis*. Examples of these two Tirthankaras shown together are reported from the caves at Karuppankunru, Eruvadi, Alurutimalai, Muttupatti, Uttamapalayam and Vallimalai. Among them, those sculptures from Eruvadi, Muttupatti and Vallimalai deserve special mention.

On the eastern face of the twin hillock (*Irattai pottai*) at Eruvadi in Tirunelveli district, more or less identical reliefs of Ādinātha and Mahāvīra, each crowned by a *trichatra*, find place. The renowned monk Ajjanandi⁵ commissioned these two images in the 9th century A.D. His choice of the twin hillock to sculpt the figures of the “Twin” Tirthankaras is praiseworthy, and it was apparently more prompted by intent and less

² Reading of the inscription given by Pulavar S. Kuppuswamy of Bahur, Pondicherry.

³ See, for instance, *Epigraphia Indica* vol. IV No. 15 Jaina Rock-Inscriptions at Vallimalai by E. Hultzsch, Inscription “B” p. 141 and *South Indian Inscriptions* vol. XIV Nos. 126, 129-130 for evidence of Ajjanandi’s activity in this area during that time.

⁴ M. Chandra Murthi, “Ancient Vestiges of Kalinjmalai” (in Tamil), *Mukkudai*, July 1975, pp. 13-14.

⁵ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XIV The Pandyas. Ed. by Late Shri A.S. Ramanathan Ayyar, Madras, 1962, Nos. 129-130, p. 67.

by chance. Perhaps, Ajjanandi visualized the two hillocks as symbolic forms of Ādinātha and Mahāvīra.

The specimens from Muttupatti near Madurai are remarkable for their elegance and refinement. Ādinātha is accommodated within a curvilinear – topped niche, while Mahāvīra in a rectangular one. Moreover, the image of Mahāvīra is stouter and sturdier than Ādinātha. His shoulders possesses a horizontal contour while that of Ādinātha is sloping. This difference, either in the shape of the niche or in the stature of the body, is also clearly discernible in the image of Mahāvīra from Melapparaipatti, Uttamapalayam, Eruvadi, Kilavalavu and Vallimalai. The Western Ganga sculptures representing Ādinātha and Mahāvīra at Vallimalai in Vellore district are shown seated without the halo behind the head and the triple umbrella above. They are flanked by Sarvāṇha Yakṣa and Ambikā Yakṣī, which is a common feature in Western Ganga art. Here again, Mahāvīra's sturdy physique and horizontality of shoulders differentiate him from Ādinātha.

Jina trios

In the case of triple sculptures of Tirthankaras seated alike, as at Sittannavasal, Chettipodavu and Kalugumalai, Mahāvīra occupies the last place. Besides his physical features are sturdier than the first and second image. Strangely enough, the sculptured group at Kalugumalai in Tuticorin district has Ādinātha, Neminātha and Mahāvīra accommodated in separate niches and the first two images contain depictions of a *dharmacakra* and a flaming conch respectively on their pedestal, revealing their identity. Perhaps the sculptor did not intend to show the lion emblem on the pedestal of Mahāvīra whose identity could be easily understood from his physical features and the last place assigned to him in a group of sculptures. The presence of *lāñchanas* on the above images is believed to be due to the impact of the Western Ganga art idiom in the Pandya Country.⁶

The boulder accommodated in the shrine of Malainatha temple at Chittamur, 16 km., north-west of Tindivanam, has a row of sculptures representing Bāhubali, Pārśvanātha, Ādinātha, Mahāvīra and Ambikā Yakṣī. Although Mahāvīra is portrayed in the fourth place, the convention of depicting him next to Ādinātha is followed here. Besides, his anatomical features differ from that of Ādinātha.

Apart from the above sculptures of Mahāvīra along with others, individual representations of the same Tirthankara are also met with in the caves at Chettipodavu, Kalugumalai, Tirunatharkunru, Tirumalai etc. In these icons, Mahāvīra is shown seated in *ardhaparyāṅkāsa* with a well-built body and broad shoulders. The bold conception of the physique and horizontality of shoulders are true reflections of

⁶ A. Ekambaranathan, *Kalugumalai and Jainism* (in Tamil), p. 36.

Vīrasvāmī's (Mahāvīra) great strength. These features are fully manifest in the hefty sculpture at Chettipodavu near Madurai. In fact, it is because of the presence of this bold image of Mahāvīra who, according to local belief, resembles a 'Chetti' or a stout-wealthy merchant, that the cave is called Chetti-Podavu.

It may not be out of context to state that the single rock-cut images of Mahāvīra at Chettipodavu, Kalugumalai, Anaimalai and Vallimalai are carved facing the southern direction. Whether these sculptures were intentionally commissioned facing south or merely a coincidence cannot be ascertained precisely.

Some scholars have tried to identify certain images with that of Mahāvīra on the basis of the three front-facing lions carved on the pedestal, mistaking them for his cognizance.⁷ These lion figures are suggestive of the *simhāsana* and not of the *lāñchana* of Mahāvīra. In fact, these motifs occur on the pedestals of the other Tīrthaṅkaras (well identified) also, hence, the presence of lions is not a criterion to identify the sculptures of Mahāvīra.

Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, is popularly known as Sikhamaninatha in Tamilnadu. Here, the convention of carving his image between the sculptures of Ādinātha and Mahāvīra has been adopted in places like Sittannavasal, Kalugumalai, Uttamapalayam, Chettipodavu, Kuppalanattam, etc., where they are shown in a group of three Tīrthaṅkaras. At Kalugumalai, the central figure has a depiction of the conch emblem on its pedestal, the presence of which proves the identity of Neminātha. At Uttamapalayam and Anaimalai, the niche containing his image is fashioned like the whorl of a conch, which feature also adds credence to his identification. Sometimes, the presence of Ambikā Yakṣī to the right side of a Jina image is also taken to be an indication of his identity with Neminātha, as at Ananthamangalam.⁸ But this cannot be strictly considered as a rule for his identification. Tirumalai has a unique 16 feet high colossal image of Sikhamaninatha carved on the vertical surface of a huge rock. The very idea of sculpting this imposing figure in the 11th century A.D. is believed to have been inspired by the Bāhubali colossus of Sravanabelgola.⁹

Pārśvanātha, Supārśvanātha

Pārśvanātha is the most popularly worshipped Tīrthaṅkara, who figures prominently in the sculptural art of Tamilnadu. As his image is iconographically different from the stereotyped form of the other Tīrthaṅkaras, it captivated the imagination of the artists more than others. As a result, almost all the cave temples in Tamilnadu possess at least one image representing him. In places like Kalugumalai, Uttamapalayam

⁷ H. Sakar in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, ed. A. Ghosh, New Delhi: Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, 1975, Vol. II.

⁸ P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs*, Sholapur, 1957 (Jīvarāja Jaina Granthamāla No. 6), p. 37.

⁹ A. Ekambaranathan, *Tirumalai and its Jaina temples* (in Tamil), p. 48.

Pechipallam, Kilavalavu, Ananthamangalam and Vallimalai recurrent versions of Pārśvanātha are commissioned, revealing the popularity of his worship.

Pārśvanātha's identity can be easily resolved by the presence of a five-hooded serpent canopy above his head. Besides, the serpent's body is shown descending down in zigzag manner behind the Jina. However, a solitary specimen from Uttamapalayam contains a seven-hooded serpent above his head, similar to the sculptures from Karnataka. In rock-cut panels, due to the availability of sufficient space, Pārśvanātha is accompanied by Padmāvātī to his left and Dharaṇendra or the kneeling Kamaṭha to his right side. The boulder-wielding Kamaṭha is also shown at the top corner. The kneeling figure to the right side of Pārśvanātha is mistakenly identified by scholars with that of Dharaṇendra. But it actually represents Kamaṭha repenting for his sin of causing disturbance to the penance of Pārśva.¹⁰ Although the practice of sculpting Dharaṇendra with folded arms on the right side of Pārśva is common in other parts of India, he is replaced by kneeling Kamaṭha in Tamilnadu. However, it is only at Karuppankunru, near Madurantakam, that Dharaṇendra, having a serpent hood on his crown, is seen with his arm held in *añjali*. Here, the serpent canopy reveals Dharaṇendra's identity.

Supārśvanātha, the seventh Tīrthaṅkara, also resembles Pārśvanātha in form, but his image in Tamilnadu is shown canopied by only a three-hooded serpent above the head. Supārśva is hardly represented in the rock-art of Tamilnadu. Only very few modern bronzes representing Supārśva are reported from the Jaina temples under worship in and around Vandavasi, Ginjee and Tindivanam. Apart from the above identifiable images of the Tīrthaṅkaras, several sculptures of the Jinās, either shown seated or standing are also found in many cave temples. But they cannot be definitely identified for want of any supportive evidence.

Yakṣas and Yakṣīs

Among the twenty-four *yakṣas*, only Sarvāṇha and Dharaṇendra appear in the rock art of Tamilnadu. Similarly, only Ambikā and Padmāvātī, among the *yakṣīs*, figure in the cave temples. The earliest example of Dharaṇendra, dated to the 8th century A.D., is seen in the Chokkampatti unfinished rock-cut temple in Tirunelveli district. Here, he is portrayed like a *Dvārapālaka*, with the right arm raised above (for holding a flower bud or to express *tarjanimudrā*) and the left placed on a mace. A three-headed serpent adorns his crown. This image differs very much from the later standardized figures of Dharaṇendra, hence differently identified as a Nāga king or simply a king by scholars.¹¹ Other sculptures of Dharaṇendra are represented in rock art as a five-hooded serpent sheltering the head of Pārśvanātha. Sometimes, he appears in therio-anthropomorphic form, holding *cāmaras* in his arms, above the head of Pārśva. Such

¹⁰ A. Ekambaranathan, *Jaina Iconography in Tamilnadu*, p. 107.

¹¹ A. Ekambaranathan, *Jaina Iconography in Tamilnadu*, p. 107.

specimens are reported from Kalugumalai, Anaimalai and Pechchipallam. At Karuppankunru only, he is shown as a five-hooded serpent as well as in complete human form with his arms held in *añjali* to the right side of Pārśvanātha.

Sarvāṇha is rarely represented in the early art of Tamilnadu. It is only at Kalugumalai and Vallimalai that his images are seen accompanying the Tīrthaṅkara. In the former place, he is depicted as a stumpy figure on the pedestal of Ādinātha, while in the latter he is shown seated on the *mastaka* of his elephant mount to the right side of Ādinātha and Mahāvīra group of sculptures. This 9th century Western Ganga specimen from Vallimalai has been mistakenly identified by scholars with Mātāṅga Yakṣa due to the presence of the elephant vehicle.¹² Sarvāṇha and Ambikā enjoy the unique position of accompanying all the Tīrthaṅkaras till about the 11th century A.D. throughout India, and the same is followed at Vallimalai also. Apart from Dharaṇendra and Sarvāṇha other *yakṣas* do not appear in the 7th-10th century art of Tamilnadu.

Among the *yakṣīs*, Ambikā occupies the pivotal position and Padmāvatī comes next in the order of priority. The remaining *yakṣīs* do not appear in rock art at all. Jaina caves at Chitral, Kalugumalai, Anaimalai, Cholpandiapuram, Vallimalai, Tirumalai, Chittamur etc. have lovely images of the goddess datable to the 8th to 10th centuries. She is generally shown seated or standing with her two children and lady attendant in diminutive form at her foot level. The lion vehicle is also carved by her side or on the pedestal. In some places as at Kalugumalai, Tirumalai, Anaimalai and Panchapandavamalai, her husband in the previous birth (Somaśarman) is also portrayed admiring the golden form of the *yakṣī*.

The excellent sculpture of the golden *yakṣī* (*Ponniyakki*) at Panchapandavamalai near Arcot town was caused to be made by the monk Nāganandi in the year 780 A.D.¹³ This image has been mistakenly identified by scholars with Siddhayikā and Jvālamālīnī.¹⁴ But the presence of her two children, a lady attendant and the lion vehicle at her foot level and her husband Somaśarman on the right side proves beyond doubt her identity with Ambikā Yakṣī. Moreover her name "*Ponniyakki*" mentioned in the 8th century lithic record refers to Ambikā only as evidenced by literature as well as local tradition.¹⁵

A rare form of a *yakṣī*, shown as a warrior goddess riding on a lion and fighting with a person on elephant's back is met with in the Chettipodavu cave near Madurai. This 9th

¹² I.K. Sharma, *Temples of the Western Gangas of Karnataka*, p. 191.

¹³ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, No. 14 Inscription of Nandippottarasar, pp. 136-137.

¹⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, pp. 136-137.

¹⁵ Appandainathar Ula, line 78.

century low relief is also mistakenly identified with Siddhayikā by some scholars.¹⁶ Actually, it stands for Ambikā Yakṣī as Simhavāhinī, holding a bow and an arrow in her arms and getting ready to fight with a wicked person mounted on an elephant. The same episode is preserved in the *Tottiratirattu*, a Jain work of the late medieval times.¹⁷ Very likely, it was based on some local tradition, the sculpture had been carved unusually so as to gain popular appeal.

Padmāvatī Yakṣī is accorded a lesser position than Ambikā, even though her iconic form was introduced in art a little earlier than the latter. Generally, she is represented as an accompanying figure of Pārśvanātha and sometimes as an independent cult deity also. Independent images of the goddess are sculpted in a few places like Chokkampatti, Vallimalai, Kalugumalai and Ayirimalai. The unfinished 8th century rock-cut specimen at Chokkampatti depict her like a *dvārapālikā* with her right arm raised in *añjali* and her left one hanging down. The projected part above her crown was intended for a snake-hood. This image had been variously identified by earlier writers as a queen or a lady-donor.¹⁸ But her identity with Padmāvatī is certain as the other side of the entrance contains an image of Dharanendra, her husband, who is also depicted like a *dvārapālaka*. The 9th century Vallimalai sculpture of the *yakṣī*, seated in *sukhāsana*, possessing *aṅkuśa*, *pāśa*, lotus and a fruit in her four arms and adorned with a serpent canopy above her crown, is also wrongly identified with Śrutadevī by scholars like C. Sivaramamurti and I.K. Sharma.¹⁹ The iconic features and attributes of this goddess are in conformity with the textual description of Padmāvatī only. At Kalugumalai, she is more elegantly portrayed than the above specimen and endowed with four arms carrying an *aṅkuśa*, *pāśa*, lotus and fruit. Her head is decorated with a five-hooded serpent canopy, arranged conically to accommodate her tall crown. Besides, she is flanked by two lady *cāmaradaris* having a single serpent hood on their crowns. In the case of Padmāvatī as an accompanying figure of Pārśvanātha, she is generally shown holding a long-handled umbrella extending over the head of the Jina. In some panels, she simply stands to the left side of Pārśva with her right arm raised in *añjali* while the left hangs down. Yakṣīs other than Ambikā and Padmāvatī do not appear in the rock-art of Tamilnadu between the 7th and 10th century A.D.

¹⁶ P.B. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 59. R. Chamapakalakshmi, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

¹⁷ P.B. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 59. R. Chamapakalakshmi, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

¹⁸ C. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁹ C. Sivaramamurti, *Panorama of Jain Art – South India*, New Delhi, 1983, p. 57. I.K. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

Varāṅga is a small village situated in the Karkala taluk of South Kanara District of Karnataka State. It was a flourishing Jaina religious centre in the medieval days. It was considered as one of the most sacred seats of the Jainas along with Dilli, Malayādri, Vijayanagara and Poṭṭa Ponbuchcha (*Śrī-nija-ghaṭikāsthāna-Dillī-Maḷayādri-Vijayanagara-Varāṅga-Poṭṭa-Pombuchcha-chaturvidha-siddha-simhāsana*).¹ Dr. Desai found this list in a *Paṭṭāvali* or the genealogical list of the pontificate of the Jaina *basadi* at Maḷkhēḍ in Karnataka. Incidentally, Dr. Desai also equated Malayadri with Maḷkhēḍ. Interestingly his conjecture is vindicated by an inscription at Varāṅga itself which contains an almost similar statement in relation to a Jaina saint at Varāṅga (*Dhilli-Maḷeyakhēḍa-Vijayanagara-sajjana dharma-simhāsanādhiśvara*).² It may be noted that the latter statement replaces Malayādri with Maḷeyakhēḍa which is the same as Maḷkhēḍ. In a legendary fashion another inscription from Varāṅga seems to indicate that the place name Varāṅga came from a dignitary of that name (*Varāṅganemba mahāpuruṣaṃ dharmavam māḍi*).³

In fact it was not Varāṅga alone but the whole of Karnataka that was a congenial ground for the growth and thriving of Jainism throughout the historical period. Right from the days of the early Kadambas of the 4th-6th cent. A.D., down the end of the rule of Vijayanagara up to 17th cent, Jainism received benevolent patronage not only from the ruling class but also from the trading community and the general public. This is vouchsafed by the vast amount of Jaina literature produced in this period, numerous Jaina monuments in the form of *basadis* and sculptures that dot the whole of Karnataka landscape and the very large number of Jaina inscriptions that are spread over the entire land of Karnataka. Rightly therefore has an inscription averred that Karnataka was the abode of Jainism (*Idu Jaināvāsam-ādattu chāru-Karnāṭa-dēśam*).

The inscription under discussion is found engraved on a slab set up in the outer Varandah of the famous Nēminātha basadi at Varāṅga.⁴ It pertains to the rule of the Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and is dated Śaka 1437, Bhāva, Māgha śu 5, Friday,

¹ P.B.Desai, *Jainism in South India*, Sholapur, 1957, p. 195.

² *South Indian Inscriptions*, (SII) Vol. XXVII, 2001, No. 252, p. 396, line 62.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 242, p.381, line 47.

⁴ For the full text of the inscription see *Ibid.*, No. 164.

corresponding to 1515 A.D., January 19, Friday. The main purpose of the record is to register the renewal of a grant which had lapsed over years. As the record puts it, Dēvēndrakīrti-bhaṭṭāraka, the presiding priest of the Nēminātha basadi brought to the notice of the king Kṛṣṇadēvarāya who possibly visited the *basadi* in Varāṅga in the course of a pilgrimage (*dharmā-prasaṅga*) that, earlier, the then king Dēvarāya II (1422-46 A.D.) had made a grant of certain lands for the worship and offerings to the Jina Nēminātha of Varāṅga and for the feeding of the ascetics there. But due to the ignorance or indifference (*ajñāna dōṣadimda*) of the seniors or the elders i.e., the predecessors of Devendrakirti, the grant-lands had elapsed (*vr̥tti-kṣētragaḷu naṣṭavāda saṁbandha*) since they were infested with wild growth (*kāḍanu beḷesidda kāraṇa*). Obviously the ascetic appealed to the king to revive the grant. Thereupon the king ordered Ratnappa-oḍeya, the governor of Tuḷu-rājya to look into the matter. The latter got the wild growth cleared and entrusted as much land as was specified in the previous grant (*pūrva-śāsana-pramāṇinalli*). It was also stipulated that

1. The government has nothing to do with the trees like jackfruit, mango, coconut and betel-nut grown in the grant-land and that the donees alone should enjoy them.
2. There would be no monetary transactions (*arthārtha-vr̥tti*) between the government and donees, pertaining to the grant-land, i.e., the donees were not obliged to pay any rent or tax to the government.

More interesting part of the story is that a record of the grant said to have been made earlier by Dēvarāya has been found in the form of an inscription in the Nēminātha basadi itself at Varāṅga. It is set up in the inner shrine of the *basadi*.⁵ The record is dated Śaka 1346, Krōdhi, Puṣya su 6, Wednesday, corresponding to 1424 A.D., December 27, Wednesday. This situation positively reflects on the system of keeping official records, which were obviously maintained systematically. There is a gap of 91 years between the two records. Dēvēndrakīrti of the inscription of 1515 A.D., must have come to know about the grant through some document such as a copper-plate grant or a palm leaf record preserved in the pontificate of the Nēminātha basadi. Of course the inscription of 1424 A.D., was very much there in the public gaze, in the *basadi* itself.

The inscription of 1515 A.D., states that the ascetics of the Nēminātha basadi belonged to the Mūla-saṅgha, Balātkāra-gaṇa and Sarasvatī-gachcha which came down from the sage Kundakundāchārya. The spiritual genealogy of the ascetics is given as below:

The first named Vidyānanda belonged to the lineage of Kundakundāchārya. His successor on the religious seat (*tadīya-paṭṭa*) was Vādīndra. His successor was Vidyānanda. The latter's successor was Bhaṭṭāraka and his disciple (*śiṣya*) was Vardhamāna. This Vardhamāna is the same as Vardhamāna, mentioned in the

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 98.

inscription of 1424 A.D., who was the recipient of the grant by the king Dēvarāya. This is clear from the fact that in the latter record also, Vardhamāna is described as the disciple (*tat-śiṣya*) of Bhaṭṭāraka. This Bhaṭṭāraka also belonged to the same *sangha*, *gana* and *gachcha* mentioned above. Dēvēndrakīrti-bhaṭṭāraka who was instrumental in the renewal of the grant is mentioned immediately after Vardhamāna, the recipient of the earlier grant. But he cannot be assumed to be the immediate successor of Vardhamāna, since there is a gap of 91 years between the two. At least three generations must have passed between the two. This is also indicated by the statement of the inscription of 1515 A.D., which states that the seniors (*hiriya*) or the predecessors of Dēvēndrakīrti were responsible for the negligence and the consequent disuse of the grant. This happening also anticipates lapse of considerable time in between.

Yet another inscription also from Varāṅga which is set up in the same *basadi*, and is dated in 1522 A.D.,⁶ mentions the names of Bhaṭṭāraka and Vardhamāna as preceptor and disciple respectively. These names are followed by Dēvēndrakīrti-bhaṭṭāraka, but without specific mention of relationship between the two. This also suggests that there was a gap of time between Vardhamāna and Devendrakīrti.

Devendrakīrti appears to have occupied an honoured position in his period. The inscription of 1522 A.D., mentioned above, describes him as occupying the noble *dharma-siṃhāsana* of Dhīlī (i.e., Delhi), Maḷeyakhēḍa (i.e., Malkhēḍ in Gulburga district) and Vijayanagara. His disciple Immadi Bhairavarasa, the chief of Kaḷasa-Kārkala decorated the Nēminātha basadi with copper sheets and granted a village renaming it Bhairavapura, for the worship and offerings of the deity.

The inscription under study gives yet another interesting information. We have seen above that the inscription gives the spiritual genealogy of the pontificate of the Nēminātha basadi. It states that Vādīndra, the second in the list was given the title *Vādi-vaibhava* (the glory of disputations) by Mahamanda Suritāṇa i.e., Mahamad Sultān (*Mahamanda-suritāṇa dattayā Vādi-vaibhavaḥ*). The text is not grammatically correct but it indicates that Vādīndra was given the title *Vādi-vaibhava* by Mahamanda-Suritrāṇa. The question is as to who this Mahamanda-Suritrāṇa i.e., Muhammad Sultān, was, who honoured the Jaina saint. Vardhamāna was the contemporary of Dēvarāya II while Vādīndra lived 3 generations earlier. Alloting the usual 25 years for each generation, Vādīndra can be placed in around 1350 A.D., i.e., during the period of Bukka I. Which Muhammad Sultan could be the contemporary of Bukka I? Indeed, Muslims had already come to stay on the northern borders of the Vijayanagara empire and the Bahmani kingdom was just then rising. The second ruler viz., Mahammad Shah of this dynasty could be the contemporary of Bukka I. But it is difficult to connect him in any way with South Kanara.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 252.

The inscription of 1522 A.D. mentioned above also gives the genealogical details of these saints. It also mentions Vādīndra's predecessor Vidyānanda and seems to associate him with Ahamanda-suratāṇa of Vēṇāpura. But since the concerned portion of the inscription is damaged, it is difficult to know the exact import of the passage. While Ahamanda can be equated with Mahamanda of the inscription of 1515 A.D., it is difficult to ascertain his relationship with the ruling king. Though it may be surmised that he could be an officer at Vēṇāpura i.e., Vēṇūr (presently a village near Karkala) under Immadi Bhaiavarasa it is difficult to imagine that the Muslims were holding some position under the Vijayanagara rulers in so early a period.

The imprecatory verses in inscriptions generally state that those who transgress a grant would go to hell or something like that. But interestingly, the inscription under study prescribes the payment of heavy penalty for violating the grant: *sāḍhanākke tappidavaru tathā-tithiyimda hinde ayivattu varuṣada hīnāyada honnanu rāya-bhaṇḍārakke teṟuveü* i.e., he would pay to the royal treasury, as penalty, an amount equal to the income of 50 years backwards, from the said date i.e., 19th January 1515 A.D., which is the date of the record. The points of interest are the terms *tathā-tithi* and *hīnāyada honnu*. *Tathā-tithi* figures elsewhere also and its exact English equivalent is 'the said date.' The term *hīnāyada honnu* appears here for the first time and we are inclined to interpret it as money for humiliation i.e., penalty for having committed a crime.

The verses leveling curses on the wrong doers are also interesting and unusual in this inscription. One such verse says that the transgressor is like the one who mixes deadly poison (*singi*) in the plate of food (*harivāṇa*) of the king, he is like the one who destroys with his own hand, his whole family, and he is like the one who breaks the idol of his own favourite deity.

The Kannada inscriptions from Andhra Pradesh throw light on various aspects of political, social, economic and religious conditions that prevailed during the early medieval and medieval period. There are as many as one thousand Kannada inscriptions that have been reported from Andhra Pradesh and we may sure that many would see the light of the day in the coming years. In this sequel, an attempt is made to understand the Kannada inscriptions of Jaina affiliation from Andhra Pradesh. Out of one thousand Kannada records, very few inscriptions provide information pertaining to Jaina religious order and also the socio-economic aspects. The inscriptions belong to Rashtrakuta, Chalukyas of Vemulavada, Chalukyas of Kalyana, Nolambas and the Vijayanagara dynasties, which fact testifies that Jainism was popular and enjoyed better status for over a period of five centuries. Of all these dynasties, it was during the Chalukyas of Kalyana times that Jainism received greater impetus and patronage, as attested to by the large number of their inscriptions. As already pointed out, it is attempted to reconcile and reconstruct the socio-economic aspects from the data as recorded in the Kannada inscriptions found in this region. The Kannada epigraphs of Jaina affiliation are found from the districts of Anantapur, Hyderabad, Kârimnagar, Kurnool, Mahaboobnagar, Medak, Nalgonda Nizamabad and Warangal. And the maximum number of inscriptions is from Anantapur while the least is from Warangal.

The earliest inscription is from Velamjala dated to 907 A.D. and belongs to the reign of the Rashtrakuta king Akalavarsha (Krishna II). It records a gift of 100 *mattars* of land and a garden to a *basadi* by a certain Ravichandrayya, a subordinate of the king¹. Another inscription² from Halaharavi also belongs to the same dynasty and mentions that the feudatory of the king Nityavarsha (Govinda IV) was Kannara who was ruling

❖ This article is a revised and enlarged version of the article published in *Kevalabodhi*. The details are as follows: 'Kannada Inscriptions of Jaina Affiliation from Andhra Pradesh', *Kevala Bodhi (Buddhist and Jaina History of the Deccan)* – The BSL Commemorative Volume, (Ed.) Aloka Parasher-Sen, Vol. II, pp. 291-298.

¹ *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh - Nalgonda* (hereafter *IAP*, Nal.) I, No. 1; Vasudevan C. S., (Ed.), *Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh* (hereafter *KIAP*), No. 860.

² *South Indian Inscriptions* (hereafter *SI*), IX, Pt. I, No. 62; (Also See. No. *SI*, IX, Pt. I, No. 60). *Jainism in Andhra*, No. 19; *KIAP*, No. 508.

over Sindavadi-1000.³ The latter's wife Chandiyabbe is said to have constructed a *basadi* in Nandavara and endowed it with land and 3 gold *gadyanas*. Kannara seems to have been a protector of both the Jainas and the Saivas.

Two more records from Tummalagudem also belong to the same period, viz, 10th century and they state about the gifts given to the *Jinalayas*. The first record⁴ mentions the gift of wet land along with the income from *siddhaya* to the Jayadhira-*Jinalaya* by the Chief Ratta Sankaragandarasa bearing the epithets *Jayadhira*, *Bhuvanaikarama*, *Abhimana-dhavalā*, *Rattarameru*, etc. The second epigraph⁵ registers a gift of *ni[ru]nela* by a certain Sankaragandarasa who had a title *Rattarameru* to the Jayadhira *Jinalaya*.

It is a known fact that the Chalukyas of Vemulavada patronized Jainism. A record⁶ dated 968 A.D. from Repaka refers to the reign of the king Arikesari and introduces a Chief by name Vijaya *Gavunda* and records his gift of lands to a *Jinalaya* built by him. The record is in both Kannada and Sanskrit. The Sanskrit verse gives the genealogy of a family of disciples of the Jaina faith who were ruling Atukuru-70 and Pammi-12. This proves that the strings of administration were in the hands of persons belonging to the Jaina faith.

The oft-quoted Kurkiyala inscription⁷ belongs to the time of Arikesari II of the Chalukyas of Vemulavada. It mentions the installation of the two *adyanta jinas*, Chakresvari, i.e., first and the last Jaina Tirthankaras on the hillcock called Vrishabharigi and the construction of a *basadi* called Tribhuvanatilaka, a tank called Kavitagunarnava and a garden named Madanavilasa by Jinavallabha, son of Bhimapayya and Vabbanabbe and the younger brother of the famous poet Pampa *alias* Kavitagunarnava. The inscription furnishes valuable information regarding the genealogy and origin of Kannada poet Pampa, the author of the *Vikramarajunavijaya*, whose ancestors are stated to have belonged to Vangiparru in Kamma-nadu. The inscription being trilingual is in prose and poetry in the characters of about the 10th century A.D..

During the period of Chalukyas of Kalyana, we notice that *Jinalayas* or *basadis* were built and endowed with gifts. The majority of the records under review belong to the Chalukyas of Kalyana period, unlike the earlier period. An epigraph⁸ of 1012 A.D. now preserved in the Hyderabad Museum refers to the reign of the Chalukya king

³ The numeric suffixes attached to the proper names denote the number of villages or hamlets located within the administrative units.

⁴ *AREp.*, 1973-74, No. B 19; *APAREp.*, 1965, No. 279; *IAP*, Nal. I, No. 15; *Jainism in Andhra*, No. 63; *KIAP*, No. 877.

⁵ *APAREp.*, 1965, No. 279; *KIAP*, No. 878.

⁶ *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh - Karimnagar* (hereafter *IAP*, Kr.), No. 5; *Jainism in Andhra*, No. 36; *KIAP*, No. 433.

⁷ *APAREp.*, 1966, No. 178; *IAP*, Kr. No. 3; *EA*, II, No. 3; *Jainism in Andhra*, No. 65; *AREp.*, 1966-67, No. B 1; *Bharati*, March 1967, pp. 10-23; *KIAP*, Nos. 428-429.

⁸ *EA*, II, No. 7; *Jainism in Andhra*, No. 48 E; *KIAP*, No. 391.

Tribhuvanamalladeva camping on the bank of a streamlet Payani with a view to conquer the North and overthrow Bhijadeva of Malva and registers a grant of lands to the Jina Parshvadeva of Indra *Jinalaya* at Chilkuru.

Another record⁹ from the same Museum dated 1027 A.D. records the gift of 50 *mattars* of black land, 50 *mattars* of *akade*, 1 *ghuna* for the lamp and 1 *mattar* for a flower garden in the *rajadhani* (capital) Periya Mosangi to the Jaina *basadi* constructed by Basavoja under the direction of Soderu Vadeyora Revanayya at the request of Tambipattana Basavoja by the king's daughter Sahaja Vedangi, Somaladevi, while camping at the Appayana-vidu of Pulipodaru with the consent of her ministers. In this record a princess made the donation. Before making the donation, she got the approval of her ministers, a fact which underlines the power she enjoyed in making donations or taking decisions.

An inscription¹⁰ from Saidapur, belonging to the reign of Jagadekammalladeva as ruling from the capital Pottalakere in 1034 A.D. records that the king at the request of Vaidyaratnakara Pranacharya Aggalayya made a gift to a Jaina temple Buddhasena *Jinalaya* at Mucchupalli constructed by Aggalayya himself and Vaidyaratnakara *Jinalaya* at Ikkuriki in Alur-40 which was a Kampana of Kollipake-7000. The Sanskrit portion of the record extols the greatness of the physician Aggalayya, a specialist in surgery and his capacity to cure severe diseases. A certain Jakabbe's *Katte basadi* is also referred to in the record. The importance of the record, like the previous instance, lies in the fact that the king makes the donation on the request of the person who constructed the *Jinalaya*.

A record of 1051 A.D. from Sanigaram is interesting¹¹. It refers to the reign of the king Trailokyamalladeva and his *Mahasamanta* Kakatiya Betarasa. This records that Beta's *Pergade* Vijayaraja's son Naranayya renovated the Duddahmalla *Jinalaya* of Sanagara and endowed it with a *ratana* after obtaining the consent of the local *gamundas* Muppadayya and Punnireddi. Kakatiya Beta mentioned here is obviously Beta I. It is curious to note the *ratana* i.e., pulley is gifted to the temple. It is very rare to gift such items to the temple. We have very few references of making such gifts to the religious institutions.

Besides endowing the temples with land and other gifts, it was also a common practice during the medieval and early medieval period to donate the taxes and levies. Generally, the king or a person authorized by him was empowered to make such donations. An inscription, dated 1056 A.D., from Kolanupaka is interesting.¹² It opens with a Sanskrit verse describing the earth followed by a Kannada verse in the *Kanda* metre in praise of Jagadekamalladeva. It begins with the well-known Chalukyan

⁹ *AREp*, 1960-61, No. B 16; *APAREp*, 1965, No. 169; *HAS*, No. 18, pp. 42-43; *KIAP*, No. 367.

¹⁰ *IAP*, Nal. I, No. 5; *Jainism in Andhra* No. 40; *KIAP*, No. 858.

¹¹ *EA*, IV, No. 9-I; *IAP*, Kr. No. 14; *Bharati* 49-50; pp. 45-57; *Jainism in Andhra*, No. 42; *KIAP*, No. 437.

¹² *APAREp*, 1965, No. 280; *IAP*, Nal II, No. 3; *Jainism in Andhra*, No. 45; *KIAP*, No. 815.

prasasti, *Manavyasa gotram*, etc., and refers to the Chalukya family as the birth place of Samasta-Lokasraya, Vishnuvardhana, Vijayaditya and other famous kings, the subduers of the Nala, the Durjaya, the Prithu-Kadamba, the Maurya, the Rashtrakuta and the Kalachuri dynasties. Then it mentions Trailokyamalladeva ruling from Malikonda-Uppayanavidu. On the said date, S. 978, Durmukhi, Pushya, Punnam (15), Uttarayana Sankramana equivalent to Tuesday, 24th December 1056 A.D., the king made a gift of *tala-vritti*, *bitti*, *pannasa*, *kere*, *nirunela*, *ratanam*, *tomta*, *kereyabu* and *manneya* and *cess* to the ascetics of the Kuruma *matha-sathanas*, the *gurus* of *Jina-basadis* and temples in Jattupura in Kollipaka freeing them thereby from impediments at the request of *Preggada* Chavundayya and *Dandanayaka* Kavanabhata. We have references to the donation of land and other gifts to the basadis.¹³

Another record from the same place viz, Kolanupaka is important as it registers restoration of a grant made earlier. The epigraph¹⁴ records the restoration of some lands in Juvvikunte and Nidungaluru originally granted by Sankragauda of the Rashtrakuta family by a copper plate charter to the *basadis* at Revundi and Nerila built by him and subsequently alienated from the *basadis* unjustly, by the queen at the request of *Mahasandhivigrahi dandanayaka* Kesimayya and on the representation of Rebbi-setti and the Karanas headed by *Perggade* Appanayya on the occasion of a solar eclipse. *Mahasamanta* Melarasa was then governing Kollipake-7000 in 1067 A.D.. This record proves that the queen was also empowered to take decision in the administration, while the princess was not empowered to act on her own.

However, during the time of the Chalukyas of Kalyana, along with land, a flower garden, oil-mill and house-sites were also gifted as a donation package. This is true in respect of both Saiva and Vaishnava temples. A record¹⁵ from Konakondla mentions *Mahamandalesvara* Joyimayyarasa, subordinate of Tribhuvanamalladeva, as ruling over Sindavadi-1000 in 1081 A.D.. It states that, for the service of the Jaina god in the *basadi* called *Chatta-Jinalaya* erected by Nalikabbe in memory of her husband in Kondakundeya-tirtha, Joyimayyarasa made a grant of 30 *mattars* of land, a flower garden, an oil-mill and 8 house sites. A widow Nalikabbe erected a *Jinalaya* in memory of her husband, which is interesting from sociological point of view. During the period under review, the widows also enjoyed some respectable social status and were not looked down by the contemporary society.

An inscription¹⁶ from Alladurg registers a gift of two *martars* of *gadde* (wet land) for feeding the ascetics in the Kirtivilasa *Santi-Jinalaya* by the king's subordinate

¹³ *AREp*, 1961-62, No. B 57; *Bharati*, 40-8, August 1963; *KIAP*, No. 791 (from Kohir); *AREp*, 1962-63, No. 217; *KIAP*, No. 790 (from Chintalaghat); *APAREp*, 1966, No. 306; *Jainism in Andhra*, No. 47; *KIAP*, No. 894 (from Bodhan).

¹⁴ *AREp*, 1961-62, No. B. 93 (Ref. No. 273 of 1965, *APAREp*.); *AREp*, 1961-62, No. B 93; *Jainism in Andhra*, 47; *KIAP*, Nos. 818-819.

¹⁵ *SH*, IX, Pt. I, No. 150; *KIAP*, No. 57.

¹⁶ *APAREp*, 1966, No. 261; *HAS*, No. 3, No. 39; *Jainism in Andhra*, No. 52; *KIAP*, No. 769.

Mahamandalesvara Ahavamalla Permanadi. Kamaladeva Siddhanti received the gift in 1084 A.D.. Kamala Siddhanti was probably the head of the Jaina temple. Kirtivilasa is the title of the king and the temple was probably named after him or got constructed by him.

A record from Pudur dated Chalukya Vikrama year 12, Prabhava, Paushya, Amavasya equivalent to Sunday 26th December 1087 A.D., states that the *Mahamandalesvara* Hallavarasa of Pumduru who is described as Muchukundurp-Puravaresvara, etc., granted betel leaves, betel nuts, lands, shops, house-sites etc., in Punduru and the income from levy of 2 *pana* from every village in Ayije-300, on the occasion of Uttarayana Sankranti to the Pallava *Jinalaya* belonging to the Dravila Samgha after laving the feet of his preceptor Kanakasena bhattaraka.¹⁷ Yet another record¹⁸ from Gobbur, Raichur district of Karnataka, now preserved in the State Museum at Hyderabad records the gift of money at specified rates by the *nakharas*, the officers of the mint (*Kammatada-adhikarigalu*) and the *Kammatakaras* of *agrahara* Hiriya Gobburu, to the Brahma *Jinalaya* for conducting the *Chaitra-pavitra* in 1109 A.D.. The grant of money was a rarity during the Chalukyas of Kalyana period. The donation, in the majority of cases, included land, both wet and dry, flower garden, and house-sites. As an exception, in this record, income from levy, shops, betel leaves and betel nuts were also gifted. The granting of betel leaves and betel nuts to the temple occupied an important place in the religious rites from early medieval period and continued even during the Vijayanagara period.

Another epigraph from Kolanupaka registers the gift of 2 *mattars* of *gadde* (wet land) and flower garden and a *gana* (oil-mill) to the *Jinalaya* built by him by *Mandalika* Gomasasa. The gift was entrusted to Chandrasenacharya, probably the priest of the *Jinalaya*.¹⁹

The Bairanipalli inscription mentions the installation of a Jaina image and the gifts of a mango garden, 20 *mattars* of *karamba* land and other lands for repairs of the temple and feeding of the ascetics by Biramaraddi, the *dandanayaka* of the capital Bhuvanagiri and the 120 *karanams* of Bekkallu²⁰ in 1125-26 A.D.. At the end of the inscription there is a lengthy description of the donor in Kannada verse, wherein he is said to have belonged to *vitti-vamsa* of the Raddi caste. Other gifts to the same *Jinalaya* by Puniraddi of Nanganuru and Reviraddi of Vallampatla are recorded. In this record along with *dandanayaka*, the officials joined hands in making the donation. The gifting of mango garden to the temple is interesting. The mention that the donor belonged to *vitti-vamsa* is very interesting. The term *vitti* is derived from the

¹⁷ APAREp, 1965-66, No. B 28; Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series (hereafter APGAS), III, Mn. No. 58 and No. 33; Jainism in Andhra, No. 53; KIAP, No. 730.

¹⁸ AREp, 1960-61, No. B 21; APAREp, 1965, No. 180; HAS, No. 18 p. 51.

¹⁹ APAREp, 1965, No. 257; IAP, Nal II, No. 10; Jainism in Andhra No. 56; KIAP, No. 832.

²⁰ AREp, 1983-84, No. B 7; APAREp, 1966, No. 314; IAP, Wr, No. 67; Jainism in Andhra, No. 67; KIAP, No. 902; Hampa Nagarajaiah, 'Shasanagalalli bittakula - Parishilane', Chandrakode, pp. 149-151.

Sanskrit word *vista* or *visti* and later got transformed to *vitti* in Prakrit and later got into Kannada. *Vitti* or *Bitti* in Kannada means free labour. Even in the Tamil inscriptions the term *vetti* is found that is equivalent to *vitti* or *bitti*. In course of time, the practice of free labour was dropped but survived as a tax. Kannada inscriptions have numerous such references of *vitti* being used as a tax term. The profession of collection of taxes by the tax-collectors was hereditary and their lineage is referred to in the inscriptions as *vitti-vamsa* or *vitti-kula* (persons belonging to a tax-collector's lineage). It would not be wrong to identify the person mentioned in this record as belonging to such a tax collector's lineage. Hampa, Nagarajaiah has rightly pointed out that such persons belonged to Jaina faith and were subordinates of Chalukyas of Kalyana.

The mercantile community also never lagged behind in making donations to the temple. An inscription from Jadacherla refers to the reign of Yuvaraja Tailapa ruling over Kanudr-*nadu* and Bammiseti of the Virabalanjiga community has caused the construction of a *Chaityalaya*, the deity being Parsvanatha at Ganagapura, after washing the feet of Meghachandra Siddhantadeva in 1125-26 A.D.. It also refers to the grant given by the merchant guild, *Ayyavole 500, Muvattaru bidugalu, Maridamada, samasta ubhaya nanadesiya settis*, for the maintenance of the *Chaityalaya*.²¹ Meghachandra Siddharathadeva belonged to Kanurgana, Meshapashanagachha. In the record the date mentioned is S. 1047 and the local ruler is king Bhulokamalla. However according to other records available, Tribhuvanamalla was still ruling in 1125 A.D.

Another record, of the time of Chalukya king Somesvara IV, from Ujjili registers the gift of the income derived from the tax Vaddaravula and a tank with the adjoining land for the offerings and worship of the god in the Jaina temple, called Baddi *Jinalaya*, situated in the fort of Jivolal, the capital of Kallakelagu Nadu.²² The gift was made after laving the feet of Indrasena Pandita, the priest of the temple, by Bhanudeva, the army officer of the same *nadu* with the concurrence of Kesavayya of the region.

An undated record from Togarakunta records the grant of two flower gardens and house sites by the *Dandanayaka* Kommanayya and others to the *basadi* of Chandraprabhadadeva at Togarikunte in Kudiyape-40 for conducting worship in the *basadi*. The gift was made for the merit of the *Mahamandalesvara* Kumara Tailapadeva.²³ The record refers at the end to Padmanandi. The mention of Prince Kumara Tailapadeva would show that the record belongs to the reign of Vikramaditya VI.

Like the earlier record another inscription from the same place registers gifts of land and flower gardens for worship and offerings in the temple which belonged to *Dravila*

²¹ EA, Vol. IV, No. 7; Jainism in Andhra, No. 23; KIAP, No. 767.

²² APGAS, III, No. 35; KIAP, No. 724.

²³ SIJ. IX, Pt. I, No. 221; KIAP, No. 21.

Sanghasena gana and *Kaurar gachchha*, that was situated in front of Ujjilivolal the capital of the region Kallakelagu-500. The gift was by Panditya, disciple of Vadiraja in the lineage of illustrious Vadiresa. Other gifts by the local mercantile community were also made to the deity.²⁴ There are numerous evidences of making images of *tirthankaras* and their installation in the temple by philanthropic donors. Inscriptions from Hyderabad²⁵ and Peddatumbalam²⁶ mention that the images of Pamchaparameshthi were made by Devanna, son of *Senabova* Achanna of Erambarage a disciple (Chatta) of Madhavachandra-bhattaraka, who belonged to the *Mula-samgha*, *Desiya-gana*, *pustaka-gachchha* and Yimgalesvara-bali Gommata-Parsva-Jina was caused to be made by the *Mahapurusha* Bochikabbe, the wife of Chenchetti, a disciple of Chandrakirti bhattaraka of the *Mula-samgha*, *Desi-gana*, *Postakagachcha* and *Kondakund-anvaya*.

Similarly another record²⁷ from Hyderabad mentions that Bopana, son of Emmeya Prithigauda of Kopana-tirtha and his wife Malauve and the lay disciple of *Rajaguru mandalacharya* Maghanadisiddhanta-chakravarti caused the image of *Chauvisatirthankara* (i.e., the 24th *Tirthankaras*) to be made and presented to the *basadi* built by Madana-danayaka of *Mula-Samgha* and *Desiya-gana*.

The Gangapuram record²⁸ is important from two aspects. First it refers to the construction of a *Jina-griha* and the consecration of the image of Chennaparsvanatha therein by Mahavaddavyavahari Manigara Kalisetti of Tumbala and to a gift of income from levies on commodities such as areca and other items for the worship of and offerings to the same. It contains an eulogy of Nayakirtideva who was perhaps the recipient of the gift. The second aspect is that the mention of the officers *Sunkadhikari* and *Addasunkadadhikari* in the record show that they concurred with the merchants to donate the income from levies on commodities. This suggests that they were empowered to divert the income of the State to temples.

A record from Koratla²⁹ registers a gift of land for the service of Rattamartanda *Jinalaya*, when Padmanandi Siddhantadeva was the *acharya*. At the end a Jain sect of *Koravattu ghosta*, belonging to the *Kornurugana* and *Tintinigachha*, is mentioned. The Chilkuru inscription, now preserved in the Hyderabad Museum is interesting.³⁰ It registers the gift for the repairs and maintenance of the Antara *basadi* of Chikura by Sridharavarmadeva and Kirtivarmadeva the *Pergades* of the king on the occasion of

²⁴ APGAS, III, No. 36; KIAP, No. 725.

²⁵ AREp, 1965-66, No. B 8; HAS, No. 12; *The Kannada Inscription of Koppal*, No. 10; *Jainism in South India*, Sholapur, 1957, pp. 381-83; KIAP, No. 385.

²⁶ AREp, 1956-57, No. B 44; *Jainism in Andhra*, No. 69; KIAP, No. 496.

²⁷ AREp, 1965-66, No. B 9; HAS, No. 12; *The Kannada Inscription of Koppal*, No. 9 *Jainism in South India*, pp. 379-81; KIAP, No. 386.

²⁸ AREp, 1961-62, No. B 39; KIAP, No. 763.

²⁹ IAP, Kr. No. 17; *Jainism in Andhra*, No. 44; KIAP, No. 444.

³⁰ APAREp, 1966, No. 144; *Jainism in Andhra*, No. 49; KIAP, No. 408.

the king's *pattabandha* (coronation). Mention of some of the images of Jaina *Tirthankaras* to whom the gifts are made by the local people is stated in the record.

Another epigraph³¹ from the same Museum registers the gift of 100 *marturs* of land, 3 *marturs* of garden to Parsvanathadeva of Indra-jinalaya of Chilkura by *Dandanayaka* Padmanabha Ailarasa governing the Lombalika-70, on his return journey with the king after *Uttara-digvijaya* (northern conquest) over Malava and defeating Bhojadeva.

The inscription³² from Tadapatri is important from the point of view of Kannada literature. The record is in beautiful Kannada verses and consists of 25 poems. It goes back to the reign of Udayaditya, son of Somideva and Kanchaladevi, ruling from Tatparapura (the present Tadapatri) and registers the genealogy of the *sthanacharyas* of the Chandranatha, Parsvanatha *basadi* at Tatparapura. It records that a grant was given by Udayaditya Maharaja to the *basadi* for repairs after washing the feet of Meghachandradeva, the *acharya* of the *basadi*. The complete inscription can be called a small *Champu Kavya*. The statement that 'Andhra Dharanitala' is to the east of the Kuntala *desa* is noteworthy.

During the time of Nolambas also Jainism continued to flourish. A record³³ from Amarapuram, dated 1277 A.D., registers that Mallisetti, son of Sangayana Bommisetti and Melavve, the favourite disciple of Balendu Maladhari Deva who was the senior pupil of Tribhuvana kirti Ravula of Ingalisvara *Mulasangha*, *Desiya gana*, *Kondakundanvaya* and *Pustakagachcha*, gave at Tammadihalli, the 2000 areca trees which belonged to his share to Prasanna Parsvadeva of the *basadi* at Tailamgere known as Bramhajinalaya. The priest of this temple was Challapillai, a Jaina Brahmana of Bhuvalokanatha Nallur in Bhuvalokanatha-*vishaya*, and a sub-division of Ponnamaravati-*sime*, north of Dakshina Madhure in the southern Pandyan country. Challapillai is also referred to as Sayanagiri and was a dear disciple of Balendu Maladharideva. From the produce of this garden land, the construction of the *basadi* from its *upana* to *stupi*, the *mahamandapa*, *Bhadra*, *Lakshmi mandapa*, *gopura*, *parisutra* (enclosure), *Vandanamale* (festoons), *Manasthamba*, *Sampurna vahana* and *Makara torana* was done. The present inscription proves that the produce from a garden is enough to construct a temple. It is for us to guess the worth of produce from such a garden. Another aspect is that the Jaina temple closely followed the architectural pattern adopted by the Hindu temples.

Another undated record,³⁴ probably belonging to 13th century, from the same place mentions that a *basadi* was caused to be made by a disciple of Balendu Maladharideva belonging to Tribhuvana Kirti Ravula of Ingalisavara belonging to *Mulasangha*,

³¹ APAREp, 1966, No. 152; KIAP, No. 407.

³² SH, IV, No. 798; Jainism in Andhra, No. 61; KIAP, No. 257.

³³ Epigraphia Carnatica (Old), XII, Sira, No. 32; Jainism in Andhra No. 62; Bharati, May, 1979; KIAP, No. 168.

³⁴ Jainism in Andhra, No. 28; KIAP, No. 171.

Desiyagana Konda Kundanvaya and *Pustakagachcha*. The *vritti* here was held by Challapillaideva.

The inscription³⁵ from Haresamudram is quite important. As it is undated and badly damaged the full purport of the nature of the record is not understood completely. It records that Bijaya Mahadevi was ruling Baraguru in Polalinadu granted by Nolambdhiraja (?) Siyavura (Sira) was ruled by Akkabbe and Trailokyavolalu by Dommabbe. It seems that they granted some land to a *basadi*. Penjeru is also mentioned here. The two queens were administering the two *nadus* and they jointly granted some lands to the *basadi*. This would prove that the women also were actively involved in the administration.

Even during the Vijayanagara period, Jainism continued to occupy a considerable position and received due patronage from the royal house of early rulers. An epigraph³⁶ from Rayadurga refers to the reign of the Vijayanagara king Harihara and by the command of the king Bhogaraja set up the god Ananta-Jinesvara in 1355 A.D.. His preceptor was Maghanandi, disciple of Amarakirtti of the *Nandi-sangha*, *Balatkara-gana*, *Sarasvata-gachchha* and *Kundakund-anvaya*.

From the above inscriptions a clear donation pattern could be made out. It is gathered that the males dominated over females in donating to the temple. In as many as 34 instances males have donated in contrast with 5 donations by females. This suggests that the males dominated in the society. If the individual status of the donors is considered, the Chiefs or *Mahamandalesvaras* or immediate subordinates of the king occupy the top slot, followed by individuals. We have evidences to substantiate that queens occupied a prominent position. In as many as 5 instances they have contributed to the *Jinalayas* followed by mercantile community with 4 and kings with 3 instances. This proves that the women folk were involved in making donations and shows the status enjoyed by them. It is curious to note that women from lower rung were not involved in this activity while the women occupying higher social order were actively absorbed in pious activities. Even among the queens, some of them were holding the strings of administration and were empowered to act independently. A few exceptions are also noticed in this regard.

The *Jinalayas* or *basadis* received lands for their maintenance in most instances. Usually *gadde* or *nirunela* i.e., wet lands, were gifted to the temple. Various types of lands like black soil land; *karamba* land, etc. were donated. The purpose of such donation was for conducting worship, feeding ascetics, maintenance, repairs and renovations and for the construction of the *basadis*. *Marturs* or *mattar* or *marttur* are the standard linear land measures that we come across in the inscriptions. And it

³⁵ *SH*, VI, No. 556; *KIAP*, No. 194.

³⁶ *SH*, IX, Pt. II, No. 404; *KIAP*, No. 244.

varied from 2 *mattars* to 100 *mattars*, depending on the economic potentialities of the donors who donated it to the temple. Besides land, flower garden, mango garden and house-sites were donated to the temple as a donation package. Normally, either house-site or flower garden or land, either wet or dry is given. Here, in the majority of cases, especially during the time of Chalukyas of Kalyana we notice that donations are made as a package. There are also instances of giving away only land. In one example we have a reference of 2000 areca trees being donated to the *Jinalaya*. This fact suggests that areca, a cash crop, had economic implications both in society as well as in the religious institutions. There are a very few instances of making money donations to the temple and gold *gadyana* was money received by the *basadis*.

Income from taxes, levies and cess were also diverted to the temple. *Siddhaya*, *tala-vritti*, *bitti*, *pannasa*, and *manneya* are some of the taxes that we come across in the epigraphs. In addition to the above gifts, interestingly *ratana* i.e., pulley is also donated. Tanks, oil-mill and other types of gifts were also donated.

Abbreviations and Bibliography

- APAREp* = *Andhra Pradesh Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.
- APGAS* = *Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series*, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.
- AREp.* = *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.
- Bharati*, *Andhra Patrika*, Madras (Now discontinued).
- EA* = *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.
- EC (Old)* = *Epigraphia Carnatica (Old)*, Govt. of Karnataka, Mysore.
- Hampa Nagarajaiah, *Chandrakode*, (Collection of Research Papers in Kannada), Kannada University, Hampi, Vidyanaranya, 1997.
- HAS* = *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.
- IAP, Kr.* = *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh – Karimnagar*, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.
- IAP, Nal* = *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh – Nalgonda*, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.
- IAP, Wr* = *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh – Warangal*, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.
- KIAP* = *Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, Vasudevan C. S. (Ed.), Kannada University, Hampi, Vidyanaranya, 1999.
- SI* = *South Indian Inscriptions*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.

Table showing various donations made to the *Jinalayas*

Sl. No.	Name of the Donor	Type of Donation	Dynasty	Date (in A.D.)	Remarks
1	Ravichandra	100 <i>mattar</i> of land and garden	Rashtrakuta	907	
2	Chandiyabbe	Land and 3 gold <i>gadyana</i>	Rashtrakuta	10 th century	
3	Ratta Sankaragandarasa	Wet land and <i>Siddhaya</i>	Rashtrakuta	10 th century	
4	Ratta Sankaragandarasa	<i>Nirunela</i>	Rashtrakuta	10 th century	
5	Vijaya gavunda	Land	Chalukyas of Vemulavada	968	
6	Jinavallabha	Garden and tank	Chalukyas of Vemulavada	10 th century	
7	Tribhuvanamalladeva	Lands	Chalukyas of Kalyana	1012	King
8	Somaladevi	50 <i>mattars</i> of black land, 50 <i>mattars</i> of <i>akade</i> , 1 <i>ghuna</i> for lamp, 1 <i>mattar</i> for flower garden	Chalukyas of Kalyana	1027	
9	Jagadekamalla	Gift	Chalukyas of Kalyana	1034	Unspecified
10	Naranayya	Renovation and <i>Ratana</i>	Chalukyas of Kalyana	1051	<i>Ratana</i> (Pulley)
11	Jagadekamalla	<i>Tala vritti</i> , <i>bitti</i> , <i>pannasa</i> , <i>kere</i> , <i>nirunela</i> , <i>ratanam</i> ,	Chalukyas of Kalyana	1056	

		<i>tomta, keyeabu, manneya</i> and cess to ascetics, gurus of Jina-basadi			
12	Queen	Restoration of lands	Chalukyas of Kalyana	1067	
13	Joyimayyarasa	Oil mill, flower garden, 8 house site, 300 <i>mattars</i> of land	Chalukyas of Kalyana	1081	
14	Mahamandalesvara Ahavamalla Permanadi	2 <i>mattars</i> of <i>gadde</i>	Chalukyas of Kalyana	1084	Wet land
15	Mahamandalesvara Muchukundurp Puravaresvara	Betel leaves, betel nuts, lands, shops, house sites and income from levy of <i>pana</i> from every village in Ayije-300	Chalukyas of Kalyana	1087	
16	Kammatada-adhikari and Kammatagaras	Money	Chalukyas of Kalyana	1109	Mint Officer and Mint Masters
17	Mandalika Gomasara	2 <i>mattars</i> of <i>gadde</i> and flower garden, <i>gana</i>	Chalukyas of Kalyana	12 th century	
18	Birmareddi of Vitti Vamsa	20 <i>mattars</i> of <i>karamba</i> land, Mango garden and other lands	Chalukyas of Kalyana	1125-29	
19	Merchant guild – Ayyavole 500,	Gift	Chalukyas of Kalyana	1125	Unspecified

	<i>Muvattaru bidugalu, Maridamada, samasta ubhaya nanadesiya settis</i>				
20	Bhanudeva	Tax of village and land	Chalukyas of Kalyana	12 th century	
21	Dandanayaka Kommanayya and others	2 flower garden and house sites	Chalukyas of Kalyana	12 th century	
22	Panditya	Land and flower garden	Chalukyas of Kalyana	12 th century	
23	Mahavaddavyavahari Manigara Kalisetti	Income of Commodities – areca and other items	Chalukyas of Kalyana	12 th century	
24	Unknown	Land	Chalukyas of Kalyana	12 th century	
25	Sridharavermadeva and Kirtivarmadeva	Gift	Chalukyas of Kalyana	12 th century	Unspecified
26	Dandanayaka Padmanabha	3 <i>marturs</i> of garden	Chalukyas of Kalyana	12 th century	
27	Udayaditya Maharaja	Gift	Chalukyas of Kalyana	12 th century	Unspecified
28	Mallisetti	2000 areca trees	Chalukyas of Kalyana	1277	From the produce of this garden land, the construction of the <i>basadi</i> from its <i>upana</i> to <i>stupi</i> , the <i>mahamandapa</i> , <i>Bhadra</i> , <i>Lakshmi mandapa</i> , <i>gopura</i> , <i>parisutra</i> (enclosure), <i>Vandanamale</i>

					(festoons), <i>Manasthamba</i> , <i>Sampurna</i> <i>vahana</i> and <i>Makara torana</i> was done
29	Akkabbe and Dommabbe	Gift	Chalukyas of Kalyana	13 th century	Unspecified

K.M. SURESH

Karnataka has a rich temple culture and is well known for the erection of many hundreds of temples of various architectural styles belonging to different periods from 5th to 16th centuries. The temples or *basadis* were built at the instances of several kings of every ruling dynasty, their subordinates, merchants, devotees and individuals etc. The Jaina temples are commonly known as the *basadi* or *basti* and Jainas believed that the temple building was also a means to salvation and secured for the builders the delight of heaven in the next life. This accelerated the process of temple construction and gradually gave rise to several temple cities and Sravanabelgola, Halsi, Aihole, Dharward and many other places in Karnataka are fine witnesses to this spirit of Jaina devotion. The people attached great importance to temple worship; they performed almost all sacraments such as birth ceremony, investiture of the sacred thread and marriage before the Jinas in Jaina temples. Jinasena explains clearly the observation of these rites in the Indian temples.

The Jainas have always taken their due share in the development of art, culture and architecture. Both Buddhism and Jainism flourished at an equal state and a distinctive school of art and architecture had grown up. The special architectural characteristics peculiar to monuments dedicated to Jainism are many and are significant. In the Kuntaladesha i.e., Karnataka, the Adi-Gangas and the Adi-Kadambas had initiated an era of Jaina architecture. Aihole in Bagalkot district is an early cradle of Jaina architecture. Along with Aihole Badami Cave No.IV opened a glorious golden chapter in rock-cut architecture. Megudi is one of the early examples of structural shrine, of the flowering of the Chalukyan and Jaina art. The wealth of symbolism and mystical imagery in its vigorous style, wrought in hard stone, leaves an everlasting imprint. The Jains were the foremost patrons of religious architecture. They have profusely patronized craftsmen and artists. Many guilds of *silpins*, sculptors, worked for Jaina foundations. Jainism has produced special architectural and sculptural forms based on its regional tradition and mythological concepts. Through experiments and experience, the carvers had evolved some of the Jaina architectural and sculptural features.

The Jaina building activities not only accelerated considerably but also standardized in the age of Chalukyas of Badami sovereigns. It reached its zenith in the epoch of the Rashtrakutas and Chalukyas of Kalyana and witnessed culmination in the reign of

the Hoysalas. The Chalukyas initially continued the rich tradition of rock architecture. They chose soft rocks of the region for architecture and sculptures like the Jaina Cave temples and the in-situ figural relief sculptures at Badami and Aihole. But they also soon shifted to solicit structural shrines with stones quarried from the soft sand stone rocks of Vatapi or Badami and its neighbourhood, putting the Chalukyas' stamp on the authorship.

The earliest known Jaina temple or *basadi* in Karnataka is the Megudi or Melgudi at Aihole in Bagalkot district, got constructed in Saka 556 i.e., 634 A.D., by Ravikirti, a poet in the court of Pulakesin II and this temple was described as "*jinendralaya*". Although there are references to the constructions of Jaina temples in Halashi and in Banavasi area during the reigns of Kadamba Mrgeshvarama and Ravivarma, the temples have not yet come to light. The inscriptions also attest the practice of temple construction during the 9th and the 10th centuries. Chamundaraya, the minister and general of the Ganga king Marasimha, is said to have constructed a magnificent temple, containing the image of the 22nd Jina Neminatha on the Vindhyagiri hill at Sravanabelgola. The construction of temples and installation of Jina images increased in the 11th-12th centuries and the epigraphical evidence shows that princes and people alike erected numerous Jaina temples and granted lands for various acts of worship in the Jaina temples, which were open for all irrespective of cast and creed. Pocikabbe, the mother of Ganga Raja, is said to have erected numerous Jaina temples at Sravanabelgola and many other holy places. Santaladevi, the queen of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana, built the Savatigandhavarana temple at Belgola and granted willage Mottenavile to her preceptor for providing regular worships in 1123 A.D. In the middle of 12th century, Haryyale, a woman belonging to the middle class, is said to have advised her son to build a Jaina temple for obtaining boundless merit.

Inscriptions refer to the construction of Jaina *besides* in the capital during the times of Harihara II and Devaraya II of Sangama dynasty of Vijayanagara. In 1385 A.D., Irugappa Dandanayaka, a Jaina general of Harihara, built a *basadi* for the consecration of the image of Kunthanatha, the 17th Tirthankara. This is the only instance of a *basadi* erected specially to install this Tirthankara in Karnataka. At present this *basadi* is known as Ganagitti Sivalaya at Hampi. The other *basadi* was erected under the order of Devaraya II, in 1426 AD, in the Pan Supari Bazar, at Hampi, for installing Parsvanatha, the 23rd Tirthankara.

Some of the important and selected Jaina Tri-Kuta basadis are described below :-

01. Chandragupta Basadi, Sravana Belgola, Channarayapatna Tq. Hassan Dist.

The *basadi* or temple¹ is situated south of the hill, facing south, dedicated to Jaina, assignable to 8th century A.D., of Ganga king Siva Mara II, built of granite with a *sikhara* of *Dravida* style above the *garbhagriha*.

¹ K.M. Suresh, *Temples of Karnataka*, Vol. I & II, Delhi, Bharatiya Kala Praskashan, 2003, pp. 212-217.

The temple consists of three *garbhagrihas* in a row and a rectangular *mandapa* with flight of steps.

All the three *garbhagrihas* are rectangular, the central one enshrines Parsvanatha, the right one enshrines Padmavati and the left one enshrines Kushmandini Yakshi.

Above the central *garbhagriha* has *sikhara* of Dravida type with *dvi-talas* and the other *garbhagrihas* have *eka-tala sikhara*. The *mukhamandapa* is rectangular, squarish in appearance with elaborately carved perforated screens of steatite on either side of the shrines. The screens have friezes of narrative panels, revealing the Jaina legends in great details. The entrance doorway side-screens are later additions during the time of Vishnuvardhana of Hoysala period.

The *adhishtana* of the temple consists of *upana*, *jagati*, *tripatta kumuda*, a *kantha* with *kampas* and a *pattika* with *prati* on top. The *bhadra* portion has two pairs of pilasters on each side and the side *mandapa* has two more pilasters. The wall pilasters are *brahmakanta*, the *padmabandha* and *kambha*. The *kapota* is decorated with *kudu* arches with trefoil finials and a *vyalavar* raft on the top. All these courses run right round the two *vimanas*. The *sikhara* is adorned by *karnapattas* with *kodikkurukka* work.

02. Jaina Temple or Basadi, Arasibidi, Hunugunda Tq. Bagalkot Dist.

The temple is situated in the village, facing east, dedicated to Jaina, assignable to the second quarter of 11th, century AD, of Chalukyas of Kalyana, built of red sand stone with a *sikhara* of Dravida style above the *garbhagriha*. An inscription dated 1047 A.D.,² in the reign of Chalukya king Somesvara I, refers to the village name as Vikramapura and to the construction of *tri-kuta Jinalaya* in the name of god Gunada Bedargi *Jinalaya*.

The temple consists of three *garbhagrihas* with three *antaralas* on west, north and south, a common *sabhamandapa* and an open *mahamandapa* with *mukhamandapa* towards east and southern entrances with a flight of steps.

The main western *garbhagriha* facing east is square and enshrines a seated Jaina Tirthankara on a *pitha*, which is partly mutilated. The *garbhagriha dvara* has *chatus-sakhas* decorated with creeper scrolls etc., and the *lalatabimba* is depicted with a Tirthankara. The *antarala* is square and its doorway is very simple. The *antarala* is fitted with *jalandharas*.

The *garbhagrihas* on the north and south are also square and empty at present, but must have enshrined Jaina Tirthankaras. The doorways are similar to that of the western *garbhagriha*. The *antaralas* are square, open, and stand on two pillars at the front.

² SII Vol. IX, Part I, No. 80.

The *sabhamandapa* is square and stands on four central square pillars set on an elevated floor in the centre and twelve corresponding pilasters set against the walls. The entrance of the *sabhamandapa* towards the east and the doorway is similar to that of the main western *garbhagriha* doorway.

The open *mahamandapa* is square, open, stands on four central pillars set on an elevated floor in the centre and twelve corresponding pillars set on the *kakshasana*. The central ceiling of the *sabhamandapa* and *mukhamandapa* are decorated with lotus flower in the centre.

The *mukhamandapa* towards the east is square and stands on two square pillars at the front on *kakshasana* with flight of steps decorated with *balustradala yali*. The *mukhamandapa* has also an entrance towards the south with a flight of steps.

The *adhithana* of the temple consists on an *upana*, *jagati*, *tripatta kumuda*, *gāla*, *vedika*. The outer walls of the temple are plain and the *garbhagrihas* have *sikharas* of *Dravida* style.

03. Anantanatha temple, Lakshmisvara, Ranibennur Tq, Haveri Dist.

The Jaina temple³ is situated in the town, facing north, dedicated to Anantanatha Tirthankara, assignable to circa 1200 AD, of Chalukyas of Kalyana.

The temple consists of three *garbhagrihas*, *antaralas*, *sabhamandapa* and an open *mahamandapa* with *mukhamandapas* on east, and west and entrance on south and west.

The *garbhagrihas* on south, east and west are square. Parsvanatha is enshrined in the eastern *garbhagriha* and a standing Anantanatha is enshrined in the northern and western *garbhagrihas*. The doorways of the three *garbhagrihas* are simple without dedicatory blocks on the *lalatabimbās*. The outer walls are decorated with pillars and pilasters with central projections have *devakosthas* topped by Nagara *sikharas*. The eastern *garbhagriha* has *Dravida* *sikhara*.

The *antaralas* are square with doorways and connect between *garbhagrihas* and *sabhamandapa*. The outer walls are decorated with pillars and pilasters.

The *sabhamandapa* is square and stands on four central pillars in the centre and corresponding pilasters set against the walls.

The open *mahamandapa* is square and stands on four central pillars in the centre and corresponding pillars set all around. Towards the east the *mandapa* is converted into a *garbhagriha*. The main entrance of the *mukhamandapa* is towards the south.

³ Gerard Foekema, *Cālukya Architecture* : medieval temples of northern Kārnāṭaka built during the rule of the Cālukya of Kalyāṇa and thereafter AD 1000-1300, Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 2003, No. 156, Fig. 144, pp. 537-539, Plates 796-798.

04. Neminatha Sankha temple, Lakshmisvara, Ranibennur Tq, Haveri Dist.

The temple⁴ is situated in the town, facing east dedicated to Neminatha Tirthankara, assignable to circa 1200 A.D., Chalukyas of Kalyana.

The temple consists of rectangular *garbhagriha*, square *sabhamandapa* with two *garbhagriha*'s on north and south, square passage and open *mahamandapa* with three entrances on east, north and south.

The main rectangular *garbhagriha* enshrines Neminatha Tirthankara seated in *yogasana* on a *simhapitha*. The rectangular *garbhagriha* is divided into six bays by two pillars. The doorway is simple without *lalatabimba*. The outer walls are decorated with pillars, pilasters, projections, recesses and *devakosthas*. Above the *garbhagriha* is a modern *sikhara* built with brick and mortar with *stupi*.

The *sabhamandapa* is square, stands on four pillars in the centre and corresponding pilaster set against the walls. Towards north and south are two *garbhagrihas* where Jaina images are enshrined. The doorway with *lalatabimba* has a Jina seated in *padmasana* with *dhyanamudra* flanked by male *chauri* bearers topped by *chatras*. The passage between the *sabhamandapa* and the open *mahamandapa* is square and standing on four pillars in the centre and corresponding pillars on all sides.

The large open *mahamandapa* is square, stands on four pillars in the centre and corresponding pillars set on all the four sides. It has got 25 *ankanas* and three entrances on east, north and south with a flight of steps. The southern entrance doorway *lalatabimba* has a Jina seated in *padmasana* with *dhyanamudra* flanked by male *chauri* bearers. All the three entrances have flight of steps. The temple is well preserved and in good condition.

05. Mahaveera Jinalaya, Anegondi, Gangavati Tq. Koppal Dist.

The *Jinalaya*⁵ is situated in the village, facing east, dedicated to Mahavira, constructed in 1346 AD, by Iruguppa *Dandanayaka*, son of Baich *Dandanayaka*, the general of Harihara I of Sangama dynasty of Vijayanagara.

The *jinalaya* consists of a *garbhagriha* with *antarala* towards the west, another *garbhagriha* with *antarala* towards the south and the northern *garbhagriha* (in a ruined condition), a common *sabhamandapa* and a rectangular open *mukhamandapa*.

The main western *garbhagriha* is square and the *pitha* is decorated with a small squatting lion on three sides. The sculpture of Mahavira which was kept on this *pitha* is missing now. The doorway has simple *sakhas* and the *lalatabimba* is depicted with a seated Jaina figure.

The *antarala* is rectangular, the doorway is decorated with *sakhas* and the *lalatabimba* depicted with a Jaina figure. The ceiling is rectangular and plain.

⁴ Gerard Foekema, *Chalukya Architecture*, No. 157, Fig. 145, pp. 540-542, Plates 799-803.

⁵ K.M. Suresh, *Temples of Hampi*, Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 2003, pp. 101-103.

The southern *garbhagriha* is square and empty at present, but it must have enshrined a Jaina Tirthankara. The doorway is plain and the *lalatabimba* depicted with a seated Jaina figure.

The northern *garbhagriha* with *antarala* is completely ruined and the only doorway is available on the site.

The *sabhamandapa* is square and stands on four central pillars set on an elevated floor in the centre and corresponding pillars set against the walls. The *sabhamandapa* has an entrance door towards east, has plain *sakhas*. The elephants depicted on the *lalatabimba* carry a flag in their trunks and stride towards the doorway. The central ceiling is decorated with lotus medallion and other ceilings are flat and plain.

The *mukhamandapa* is rectangular and stands on four pillars at the front in a row. The pillars consist of lower square blocks, octagonal in the middle and sixteen sided above. The lower square blocks are depicted with elephants, geese with foliated tails etc. The octagonal portion is decorated with petal motifs and bands with medallions and capital. The ceiling of the *mukhamandapa* is horizontal and plain. The *mukhamandapa* is provided with low *kakshasana* on three sides and the western wall is decorated with *hamsa*.

Vidyānanda and Māṇikyanandi (the latter of the Parīkṣāmukha fame), the pontiffs of the Southern Church, along with Siddharṣi (active c. AD 890-920)¹ of the Northern Church, belong to the last batch of the great epistemologists within the ambit of the Bṛhad-Nirgrantha tradition. Vidyānanda's known works, some of which are famous, are the *Tattvārtha-śloka-vārttika*,² the *Aṣṭasahasrī*,³ the *Yuktyanuśāsanāṅkāra*,⁴ the *Vidyānanda-mahodaya*,⁵ the *Āpta-parīkṣā*,⁶ the *Pramāṇa-parīkṣā*,⁷ the *Pātra-parīkṣā*,⁸ the *Satyaśāsana-parīkṣā*,⁹ and the *Śrīpura-Pārśvanātha-stotra*.¹⁰

The writers of this century for long had been placing him between the last quarter of the eighth and the first quarter of the ninth century A.D. and thus to the pre-medieval

❖ [Earlier published in the Nirgrantha, Vol.2, Ahmedabad 1996, pp. 25-28 and available on Jain E-Library. See these places for the genealogical table which could not be reprinted here].

¹ Siddharṣi's most famous works are the *Upamitibhavaprapaṇca-kathā* (Sanskrit) (A.D. 905) and a commentary in Sanskrit (c. A.D. 900) on the *Upadeśamālā* of Sanghadāsa gaṇi (c. mid-6th cent. A.D). Recently, I have shown that the *Nyāyāvatāra*, a famous *Dvātrimśikā* in Sanskrit on the *Nirgrantha-pramāṇaśāstra*, is not the work of Siddhasena Divākara (c. A.D. 400-444) as had been held by many but could be of Siddharṣi: (Cf. "The Date and Authorship of Nyāyāvatāra", *Nirgrantha* 1, Ahmedabad 1996). The *Śakrastava* may also be added as Siddharṣi's work, though hitherto steadfastly, insistently, though wrongly attributed to Siddhasena Divākara.

² This is a further commentary on the Southern adoption of the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* of Umāsvāti (c. A.D. 350-373), the latter work is called *Tattvārtha-sūtra* in the fold of the Digambara Jaina sect. The author of the Digambara version is from early 16th century called 'Umāsvāmī'.

³ This is an enlarged commentary incorporating the *Aṣṭaśatī* of Bhaṭṭa Akalaṅkadeva (active c. A.D. 730-780) on the *Āptamīmāṃsā* of Samantabhadra (c. A.D. 550-600).

⁴ The work is a commentary on the *Yuktyanuśāsana* of Samantabhadra.

⁵ Vidyānanda has referred to this work in his *Tattvārtha-śloka-vārttika* and in the *Aṣṭasahasrī*. The work till now is unavailable.

⁶ The work seemingly was inspired by the inaugural verse of the *Sarvārthasiddhi-ṭīkā* on the *Tattvārtha-sūtra* by Pūjyapāda Devanandi (active c. A.D. 635-680).

⁷ Probably inspired by Akalaṅkadeva's *Pramāṇa-Saṅgraha* as well as, plausibly, some other works of a few preceding authors.

⁸ It embodies a critical analysis on the characteristics of 'pātra'.

⁹ The work compares the epistemological stands of other philosophical schools with that of the Nirgrantha. Ed. Gokul Chandra Jain, JMJSNG No. 30, Calcutta-Varanasi-Delhi 1964. The information in annotations 1-9, 11, and 12 in this article has been abstracted from Gokul Chandra's "Introduction" in Hindi of the same work, pp. 32-34.

¹⁰ This is a hymn addressed to Jina Pārśva of Śrīpura. The latter place was a *tīrtha* in that period, situated as it probably was somewhere in Karnataka.

times. While late K.B. Pathak is one of the earliest to situate him in c. A.D. 816, but without producing much supporting evidence, it was Darbarilal Kothiya who collected much of the vital evidence which had bearing on the issue and presented it in his "Introduction" in Hindi to Vidyānanda's *Āpta-parīkṣā* where he almost convincingly fixed his date to c. A.D. 775-840.¹¹ Kothiya's main points (which incidentally include, according to his method of investigation, an observation that Vidyānanda did not anywhere refute Vācaspati Miśra, the famous mid-ninth century scholiast and commentator of the works belonging to various *darśanas*) was summarized by Gokul Chandra Jain in his "Introduction" in Hindi to the *Satyaśāsan[a]-parīkṣā*, pp. 29-31. Nathmal Tatia, in his prefatory paper, "A compendium of Vidyānanda's *Satyaśāsan[a]-parīkṣā*," to the *Satyaśāsan[a]-parīkṣā* edited by Jain, however, had pointed out that in this work Vidyānanda had quoted an inaugural verse from the *Bhāmātī-ṭīkā* on the *Nyāya-Vārttika* of Udyotakara (c. 6th – 7th cent. A.D) as cited by Vācaspati Miśra.¹² Seemingly, based on the indicator in Tatia's preface, Jain, in his afore mentioned "Introduction", cited the relevant verse and phrase from Vidyānanda, which went against Kothiya's assertion that Vidyānanda did not refute Vācaspati Miśra,¹³ Vidyānanda, on this showing, has to be placed some time after A.D. 850. Since the style of writing of Vidyānanda (as of Siddharṣi's) and also the phrasing, choice of words, as well as approach betray the colour and flavor of medievalism, further doubts arise about his so far conceded early date.

In point of fact, the suspicion is well-founded as will now be shown. For determining Vidyānanda's more precise date, a reengraved copy in c. mid-12th century of an earlier inscription of Ś.S. 993/A.D. 1071-1072 from Gāvarvād (medieval Gāvarivāḍa) in Karnataka,¹⁴ is very helpful. In this inscription, the donee is a Digambara Jaina divine Tribhuvanacandra whose hagiological history is given, and therein Vidyānanda finds mention as a confrere of Mānikyanandi.

The inscription gives one information which is crucial in determining Vidyānanda's date. It states that Gaṅga Permāḍi (Satyavākya Permāṇaḍi alias Mārasimha II (who is not the Gaṅga prince Satyavākya Rācamalla II), founded a Jaina temple at Anṇigere

¹¹ Cf. G. C. Jain, "Introduction" to SSP.

¹² Tatia, "A Compendium," p. 13.

¹³ Jain, p. 8. There also, there is evidence inside Vidyānanda's work. For example his citing from Sureśvara Miśra's *Sambandha-vārttika*. Sureśvarācārya was the principle disciple of Śaṅkarācārya whose traditional date is A.D. 780-812. The reference to 'Satyavākyaḍhipa' in some of Vidyānanda's works had been taken by Kothiya (and possibly earlier by Pathak) as Gaṅga Rācamalla Satyavākya, the nephew and successor of Gaṅga Śivamāra I (Jain, "Introduction," p. 31). However, "Satyavākya" was also the title of Gaṅga Permāṇaḍi (Mārasimha II) (c. A.D. 963-974), son of Gaṅga Būtuga II. And it is he who is implied in the context invoked.

¹⁴ Cf. L.D. Barnett, "Two inscriptions from Gawarwad and Annigeri of the Reign of Someśvara II: Saka 993 and 994," *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, 1919-20, pp. 337-348.

(Annigeri) in memory of his father Gaṅga Būtuga II¹⁵ (and he is not Būtuga I as Kothiya had determined or surmised, or may be he had depended on some other earlier scholar's determination) and handed it over to Guṇakīrtti, the disciple of Māṇikyanandi; and Māṇikyanandi is mentioned there as a confrere, possibly senior, of Vidyānanda. The known dates of Gaṅga Permādi, according to the available inscriptions, fall between c. A.D. 962 and 974. The Anṇigere temple, therefore, may have been founded and made over to Guṇakīrtti during those years (or if the temple was built by Būtuga II, it can then be between 940-1060, probably mid-10th century). Assuming that Guṇakīrtti's guru Māṇikyanandi by that date was not alive and Guṇakīrtti himself was fairly advanced in age, the date of Māṇikyanandi, and hence of Vidyānanda, broadly can be bracketed between A.D. 900-950 or about 100-125 years posterior to what had been surmised by Kothiya and the writers before and after him.¹⁶ In this connection, Barnett's remarks are worth noting.

"One is tempted to identify this pair of scholars with the famous Vidyānanda-Pātrakesari and the latter's disciple Māṇikyanandi, who wrote the *Parīkṣā-mukha* and its commentary *Prameya-chandrikā*. But Mr. Pathak has shown reasons for believing that Vidyānanda-Pātrakesari is referred to in the preface of Jinasena's *Ādi-purāṇa*, and that the former was an older contemporary of Māṇikyanandi, the author of *Parīkṣā-mukha*; and Jinasena's latest date is Śaka 820 (*J.B.B.R.S.* 1892, pp. 219 ff.). Now the Māṇikyanandi of our inscription must have been living shortly before Śaka 890, since his disciple Guṇakīrtti was contemporary with the Gaṅga Permādi, hence the gap between the two dates cannot be bridged over."¹⁷

But Jinasena's date, as earlier surmised, is inaccurate. His *Ādipurāṇa* is dateable to c. A.D. 830-839. And its *praśasti* referred to Pātrakesari and not to Vidyānanda : For Vidyānanda and Pātrakesari, though for long confounded, were not the same persons. Pātrakesari is an earlier Digambara epistemologist who flourished some time in the seventh century as was conclusively proven by Jugal Kishor Mukhtar.¹⁸ Also, Māṇikyanandi was not the disciple but the confrere of Vidyānanda as is clear from the Gāvarvād inscription. And the temporal bracket of the concerned Gaṅga Permādi's activities is c. A.D. 962-974. The epithets *mahāvādī* (the great dialectician) for Vidyānanda and *tārikikārka* (the sun among logicians) for Māṇikyanandi, as qualificatories in that inscription, leave no doubt that no other Vidyānanda and

¹⁵ Dr. Hampa Nagarajaiah, however, in a communication, had mentioned to me that the temple was built by Būtuga I and not Būtuga II.

¹⁶ Cf. Mahendrakumar Jain, 2. The Authors, T. Vidyānanda: *Siddhivinishchaya-tika of Shri Anantaviryacharya*, the commentary on *Siddhivinishchaya* and its *Vṛtti* of Bhatta Akalanka Deva, Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā, SG 22, V. S. 2015 (A.D. 1959), pp. 49, 50. Pt. Jugal Kishor Mukhtar also believed Vidyānanda to be of ninth century. (Cf. "Svāmī Pātrakesari aur Vidyānanda." *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa par Viśada Prakāśa* (Hindi). Calcutta 1965, p. 652.

¹⁷ Cf. Barnett, p. 338.

¹⁸ Cf. "Svāmī Pātrakesari" *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, pp. 637-667.

Mānikyanandi but those two illustrious epistemologists are implied in that context. Likewise, this is the only inscription which mentions these two notable figures. Also, the pontiff Tribhuvanacandra's claim of succession from those two illustrious pontiffs does neither seem spurious or a pretence. No attempt at appropriation of these great names by way of establishing a glorious lineage for himself can be discerned in the draft; or else, some other famous names such as Samantabhadra, Devanandi, Pātrakesari, and Akalañkadeva could as well have figured. The hagiology given there has all the appearance of being unambiguous and hence of indubitable genuineness. The temporal bracket of Vidyānanda, on this showing, can now firmly be ascertained to have been between A.D. 900 and 950 as noted earlier in the discussion.¹⁹

¹⁹ Vidyadhara Joharpurkar, in his "Introduction", summarizes the content of the Gāvarvāda inscription but offers no comment on the implications which have a strong, in fact very vital bearing on the date of Vidyānanda as also of Mānikyanandi. (Cf. *Jaina Śilālekha Saṅgraha*, MDJG No. 48, Varanasi V. N. 2491/A.D. 1964, pp. 10, 11).

Arvind Kumar SINGH
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Gwalior is a district and divisional headquarters in the State of Madhya Pradesh in India. Historical fort of Gwalior is famous for its impregnable condition, water management, art, culture, trade and military activities. The references in the early medieval inscriptions for Gwalior as Gopāchala, Giri-durga, Gopāchala-durga, Gopāchala-durgasthāna, Gopa-girīndra-durga, Gopāchala-parvatāgra, Govardhana and Girivara emphasized repeatedly the nature of Gwalior's hill feature and fort. It has witnessed the rise and fall of many kings and their dynasties. Moreover the strategic position of the fort, its religious status as a *tīrtha* is also noteworthy. Remains of numerous temples and sculptures as well as inscriptional and literary references signify the importance of fort as a *tīrtha*. Its character as a Jain centre of pilgrimage received a fillip with the construction of a Jain temple by Āma who finds mention in the *Prabandha Kośa*.¹ Some early Jain sculptures of the fort are reported by Michael W. Meister and others.² There are several Jain caves and sculptures in the fort that are grouped in the Urvahi, South-Western, North-Western, North-Eastern, and South-Eastern. They are built or excavated generally during the Tomara rules, by and large from the time of Vikramadeva to the times of Kīrtisīṃha (A.D. 1403-1480). It is not possible to discuss the details of all these groups here, so the concentration is only on the North-Western group of Jain cave temples and inscriptions.

North-Western group of Jain art occurs on the western cliff of the fort near the Dhondhā gate (26°14'00" north; 78°10'04" east). Due to the nearby famous Śiva temple these Jain caves are also known as Koteśvara Mahādeva group. The group consists of five rock-cut cave temples. Of them, due to much higher position two caves are not easily approachable. They do not retain any sculpture and it seems possible that on any circumstantial reason they were not completed and left unfinished.

¹ Misra, B. D. 1993. *Forts and Fortresses of Gwalior and its Hinterland*, Delhi, pp. 28-29.

² Meister, Michael W. 1975. "Jain Temples in Central India", in *Aspects of Jain Art and Architecture*, eds. U. P. Shah and M. A. Dhaky, Ahmedabad, pp. 223-242; Cunningham, A. 1972 (reprint). *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, Vol. II, Varanasi.

The size of the sanctum of cave temple 1 (from the Koṭeśvara Mahādeva side) is 9'10" x 16'8" x 18'5" and its narrow entrance is of 4' x 2'5" size. The cave is devoted to *tirthankara* Pārśvanātha seated in *padmāsana*. The pedestal of the image bears an inscription dated in Vikrama Saṃvat 1527. There are also twelve *tirthankara* images in *kāyotsarga* that are carved in the side walls of the cave temple. They are of Ṛṣabhanātha, Candraprabha, Padmaprabha, Vāsupūjya, Śāntinātha, Mahāvīra and others. Cave temples 2 and 3 are engraved in a similar pattern, having only *garbhagrha* (sanctum), elevated in double stories. The approach ladder for the second story is carved in the rock. In these cave temples an attempt has been made to show the Nāgar style *Śikhara* by carving it in the upper rock. The size of the sanctum of rock-cut cave no. 2 is 17'2" x 14'11" x 28' with an entrance of 8'3" x 3'10" and of cave no. 3 is 13'7" x 15'9" x 29'6" with the entrance of 7' x 4' size. The sanctum of cave no. 2 consists of the image of Padmaprabha seated in *padmāsana* and cave no. 3 bears an image of Pārśvanātha in *padmāsana*. Apart from the main image, there are four other images of Ṛṣabhanātha, Candraprabha, Neminātha and Pārśvanātha in cave 2. Likewise, cave 3 has two *Jina-paṭṭas* and more than fifteen Jain images. Of them, Candraprabha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha could be easily identified. On the pedestal of the Pārśvanātha image in cave 2 there is an inscription of Vikrama Saṃvat 1527. On the other hand cave no. 3 comprises eight inscriptions. Of them four are dated in Vikrama Saṃvat 1531. Two of them are engraved on the pedestal of the main Padmaprabha image; one is on the left wall and the other on the front wall of the second floor. The ceiling is decorated with full bloomed lotus. On the basis of the inscription, it could be assumed that the caves no. 1 and 2 were completed in Vikrama Saṃvat 1527 (A.D. 1470) and no. 3 in Vikrama Saṃvat 1531 (A.D. 1474). These caves were engraved with the assertion of Bhaṭṭāraka Siṃhakīrti in the reign of Tomara ruler Kīrtisīṃha.

A. Padmaprabha Image Pedestal Inscription: VS 1527

The inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a Jina image of Padmaprabha seated in *padmāsana* in the cave no. 2. It has 7 lines. All the inscriptions of this group are written in Sanskrit language and Nāgarī characters. Some earlier scholars have reported about this inscription.³ The inscription records the ruling king Śrī Kīrtisīṃha and his father Duṃgarendra and has the mention that with the assertion of Śrī Siṃhakīrti the image of Padmaprabha was installed. The inscription also talks about Khena, son of Paṇḍita Thiru, Pāṇī's son Paharāja and Guṇī's sons Padmasīṃha and Narasīṃha. It further mentions the wife of Padmasīṃha namely Padamī and their four sons and their wives.

³ Annual Administrative Report, Archaeological Department, Gwalior State: (GAR), (1984 / 1927-28) no. 40; Dwivedi, Harihar Niwas VS 2004. Gwalior Rājya ke Abhilekha, Banaras: (GRA), no. 307; Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy: (ARE), 1961-62, no. 1526; Willis, Michael D. 1996. Inscriptions of Gopakshetra, London: (IG), p. 36.

TEXT

(Plate 8.1)

1. // Siddham // siddhi // om namaḥ siddhebhyaḥ // trailokye gājiveśāḥ sakala
sukhutāḥ sarvvebhavyavjeha sāhitho doṣāribhūtāḥ paramapada-mitāḥ
śāmtabhāvaikalitāḥ hītāmohenadītā Nayacamdanacanāḥ paṃcakalyāṇa bhāno
bhūyāsca divi sūbhrai vibhavana-gahitās=śrīthadevarpabhādyah //1 jinama-
vadya-manam-va-jīānasvā-prājvalasvarah japadama ubhavatāy=anvaya
..... parama-sukhanita-mana-dharmma-japa-praṇamy=asphuṭa-
padamiḥ=āsvinikhāmi //2// saṃ 1527 varṣe // vvaradvadeṃ-
hitaukāṃkaukitehāyane śubhe / hemalamnitimāghīyosite pattedhi paṃcami /
bhārgaveha sataksatre pratiṣṭhābhūrjji-
2. neśituḥ // 3 // śuddhe-śrī-Mūlasaṃghe-Vimalagaṇa-Valātkāra-nāmni
prasiddho-gaṇo-gacche gariṣṭhe guṇagṇaatilape Kuṃkuṃd=ānvayesmit /
jñātā-śrīpati-saptapramukhapativadhyah padamaṅgeka-bhūryādiśyur= bhavya
prajānāma silavalaya śāmtiemṣṭhitā śrītya-vidhi // 4 // śrī- Ratnakīrtti-rata-
vadyamūrte padyodayādrauśu śubhe-śubhasmi śrī-Prabhasiddha
vidyojan=etābhidaṃsūḥ padyavitīrasva varāḥ prakṣemdraḥ // 5 paṭṭevadiye
munit-Padyanamdī maṃdā saṃghamadātha niyataḥ dharmasā
tasmālimāloryita pāradhasva śrīdyītat-paṭṭehi jitemdriyah paramata
kṣoṇītahīmāseśaḥ / maṃ guṇe
3. digvāsāḥ paramātma-cimtanapaṭuḥ preṃkhatkilā-pūritās=citve dharma-matiṃ-
tatvotuma-gatāṃ śrī-Madhunemḍa guruḥ // 7 mithyāvādatamaḥ tasūdavanna
taptādaryaptisāyuta paṣṭhāvādāmdatadārai dhīryaṇāta-dhīrīnotpanno
saṃpannayatā varateśūptasātilobharahitaḥ padveśu-vaṃdoḥ śubhrājātaḥ śrī-
Jinacandra deva munīnedeḃyāt-satyama-tanaṃ // 8 // tatpaṭṭena ta śāstrajñō
jagadānaṃdakārakah / Siṃhakīrttirvijayate mithyāvāhītatkeśarī // 9
tatkesāitadhītayaptana śrībhāraganaśa-khyāta munijatavratmani
mūlasaṃgha vilasakṣīrādhirga-bhovalat= haṃvola pravimallagīr=vijayate śrī-
Siṃhakīrtti guruḥ // 10
4. śrī-Gopācalamabhiḃge ananūtvīdibhiḥ prabhākaraḥ / paribhramabhyam
varesmitkurvannī rājanāmiva // 11 tatrāsī Dṃṃgareṃdraḥ sakala-ripūkule-
vrātāta ghātapātor dhuro śreṇigarāṇati chā vimala śubho yātoda prabha-dānaḥ /
dānai munipattaihi namamati samatāyena lokaṃ nṛpāṇāṃk= eśām=eśaṃ-
dravitaṃtha bhavadhiti pūṇathvaṇaṃta tajaṇātāṃ// 12 kīrtti śrīrnanu
Kīrttisīṃha nṛpateḥ se vaṃdhanurvabhava / pāmālokāvita varayaṃ
vinitarāmbha krodhdidāḥ sarvvadā/ karpūraiḥ kimapūri kimtriruvana śrīpa
..... śrītaisatālātrayā paṃdita Thiru tatputraḥ Khenā bhāryā Pāṇīṣṭhāḥ
putraḥ Paharājah / bhāryā Guṇī / tayo putrau Padamasīṃha Narasīṃho /
Padamasī bhāryā Padamī tayoḥ putrāscatvārah

5. bhāryā mahā putrau Jinadāsasa Jālāsau Jālī bhāryā Nāo / Viharāja bhā. Dhāgūtiyā putrau Dhosū / Nemidāsā tāsū bhārya Tālībha / om // samghavijā-
6. mapadūjadi-mīśratu pratiṣṭhāpitah // // śrī Kalaramamanīmadyo dvādāmāghanāmtu vara-eṣu-bhṛtibhiś-caturbhiḥ sadyari bhuveḥ śrī Padmaprabhaḥ pratiṣṭhāpitah // // śrī Chatparamamabhīrasyā-dvādāmoghalāṃchane / jīyā trailokyanāthasya śāmaḥ jinaśā-
7. sanam

B. Pārśvanātha Image Pedestal Inscription: VS 1527

The inscription is engraved on the pedestal of Pārśvanātha image in cave no. 1. It bears 18 lines. It is dated in 1527 of Vikrama year that corresponds to A.D. 1470. The inscription mentions *Bhaṭṭāraka* Siṃhakīrti, *Āchārya* Sāmādhari, and some members of the Jaisvāla family. After engraving the upper three lines the engraver continued to carve the letters in the right margin and then moved to the left margin while the last line is written separately in the lower margin. Due to the carelessness in engraving and broken portion of the upper left margin few letters are not readable now.

TEXT

(Plate 8.2)

1. Sidhi samvat 15[2]7 -----śrāvā-----vāśa bhaṭṭā[ra]ka-
2. syam dhoraparagat śrī-Siṃghkīrtideva / Jaisavālānvaye āthāsu-putrai Prītama-
3. stā Ābhū Jara Pāhamo putro Sotamā Jarathā Madano Sātama
4. putrā
5. Vāghagū
6. Panāda
7. Shāuge
8. Rāshī
9. Pāro
10. Śujau-
11. yya pra-
12. tiṣṭhā-
13. pītam
14. karmā-
15. ppa(ksha)yai
16. jine-
17. tām
18. sanagucārya Sāmādhari

C. Pārśvanātha Image Pedestal Inscription: VS 1531

The inscription is engraved in 9 lines on the pedestal of the image of Pārśvanātha in cave no. 3. The inscription is reported by earlier scholars.⁴ It bears the date in Vikrama samvat 1531 that corresponds to A.D. 1474. The purpose of the inscription is to record the installation of Pārśvanātha image by *Samghādhipati* Chāmpā at the assertion of Śrī Simhakīrti in the reign of Tomara ruler Kīrtisimha. It also mentions several members of the Jaisvāla family. Interestingly, here we find mention of three wives of *Samghādhipati* Lālā, namely Rāmatā, Vidho and Dharu.

TEXT**(Plate 8.3 A-B)**

1. // Siddham // om namaḥ siddhebhyaḥ // śremate-paramagaṃbhīrasyā
dvādāmogha-lāṃchanam / jīyātrailokyanāthasya śāsana jinaśāsanam // 1 //
2. yaṃ sarveśvara-vaṃdhuvarggasahitādhyāyam trilokātigālokā vibhāga-
nedagiratārādyam divaṃdhyānataḥ / saurya-muktiramāvilārā-kamalaḥ
kaivalya / Lakṣmīdharah ca pāyathapateprayaccha uśalam śrī-
Pārśvanāthojinaḥ // gacchebhārati samjīake vudhanute śrī-Kuṃdakūṃdānvaye
patha / yā bhagaṇīśvarā-guṇagaṇā-rāmābhirāmām= ānvitāḥ śadvakremi / [3]
mayum-
3. sti nītiniratā-vādīla-kaṃthīravā / ssanamdam-vusulaiḥ sadāsūbhamatesyam-
pasya 4 saurabhyāptayārīsyuḥ padūr=kvacitavvakekvaśedhiyo vādame
paṃcāmanāḥ nānāvṛtta vibhṛdva śiṣyanivadva śrī-Ratnakīrttipade / vikhyātā
vivudhādhipaupacchita padāḥ pūrojaśāhīnu-vāmīthyātvāṃdhyā-nivāraṇai
4. kavvipuṇā śrīmatprabhaṃdvāhvayāḥ // 5 tatpattādri divākaguṇanidhir=
bhavyāvja savvodhaśo lokāṃloka vicārucāra caturo mithyāṃdhakārā-padaḥ /
syādvām varamadr=anaika-nipuṇadyā hīmayugvānviṭaḥ ca-dviprai-
padim=ajitaumalamuni śrī-Padyanamdi gaṇī // 7 śreṣṭhāir-vidhātrira-padagaṇi-
pujai śrī-kīrṣita-mūrttimayam śārīravaloṭha yasyā-
5. khila-karmahartā-bhavyau-siṃdhoh Śubhacāṃdradevaḥ // 8 vratārdhho
saṃvarddhana-pūṇapado-vratāśrī-saṃvarddhana Pūṇnacāṃdra / syāhī
mayukhai bhuvanāvjanamdo mithyām dhamedī Jinacāṃdrasūri // 9
tatpattodaya śailaśekharamaṇinatvo yete jomaṇirmithyāyādi vitvāśaṇhada
maṇisvame dhinvatāmaṇi dhanīśāvāda girīdramedat= maṇīhṭkasīsetye
dhanibhedattayā sahaṇātsala-maṇiḥ śrī-Simhakīrtti gaṇī

⁴ The inscription is edited here possibly for the first time. The other references are GAR, (1984 / 1927-28) no. 41-42; GRA, no. 313-14; ARE, 1961-62, no. 1527-28; JG, p. 38.

6. śrī-bhūpālāti bhāṭakoṭinikarāḥ kimmā retāṃdhri-dvayaḥ śrī-Gopācalar-
bhāṭatona-dhanusaḥ śrī-Kīrttisimho tapaḥ / ttena-Tomara vaṃśa-caṃdrana
maṇīrājādra cūḍāmaṇiḥ vīpāryama ratoniśivara vibhuḥ śrī-
Dūṃgareṃdrotmajāḥ // 11 astihalokesura //
7. śrī-Jaisavālānvayo Sīrapāṃ Sadyau bhāryo Nalhī putrāḥ saṃ. Āsala / Ganā /
Sāraṃga / teṣāṃ madhye saṃ. Āsala bhāryā Manī putrāḥ saṃ. Vīṇa (Vaṇi)
saṃ. Bhāvaḍa saṃ. Lālā / Vaṇi bhāryoḥ Abhāiti / dīṭīya bhārayā Aṇamā putra
jīṇana Dārābhādra bhāryā Māṇihade //
8. saṃ. Lālā bhāryau Rābhatāde dvi Vidho / ṛṭīya bhāryā Dharupatnī / putrasta
Rahasya // teṣāṃ madhye saṃ. Chāmpā / tā karma-kṣayārthaṃ su kuṭumbe
saha śrī-Pārśva-daivasu pratiṣṭhā Tilapādāpitāḥ / saṃvat 1531 varshe Tāla //
70 śrī jīṇatāṃ
9. [pranami]tsa nityo //

D. Inscription of VS 1531

There is an 8 lines inscription engraved on left wall of the upper story of cave no. 3. Due to the damage and carelessness in engraving, it is not easy to read some of the letters. The date of the inscription is mentioned in line 1 as Saṃvat 1531 *varshe* Kārtika *sudi* 5 and Friday. The inscription records Simhakīrtti who was the disciple of Bhaṭṭāraka Jinacāṃdra and mentions the family member of *Sādhu* Subhaga.

TEXT

(Plate 8.4)

1. // Saṃvat 1531 vaṣe kā sudi 5 Su-
2. kro bhāṭaraya śrī-Jinacāṃdra / tatpatṭom
3. śrī-Simhakīrtti sādhu Subhagatsadyā Bhā-
4. ramā putrāya Damalo putra sā. Dhāravī
5. Halī putra Hījāmusī putrāya
6. Kukāma Vinayasu Tāraṇa Mahū
7. putrāya Ajamu Jasyateṇa
8. putra Varijaisyasita

E. Inscription of VS 1531

There is a 9 lines inscription engraved on the upper story left wall of cave no. 3. The date of the inscription is mentioned in line 1 as Saṃvat 1531 *varṣe* Pauṣa *sudi* 1 and Thursday. The inscription records the installation of image by Meghu, wife of Karmacāṃdra on the assertion of Simhakīrtti. Karmacāṃdra was a member of Jaisvāla family whose father was Sādhu Rāja and mother named Jivā. It also mentions that

Bhaṭṭāraka Siṃhakīrtti was the disciple of Jain Āchārya Bhaṭṭāraka Jinacaṃdra who belonged to Mūlasaṃgha and Balātkāragana.

TEXT

(Plate 8.5)

1. Saṃvat 1531 varṣe Posu sudi 1 Gurau śrī-
2. Mūlasaṃgha Vālātkāra-gaṇe śrī-Kuṃ-
3. dakumḍ=ānvaye bha. Jinacaṃdra-devā
4. tata-paṭṭe bhaṭṭāraka śrī-Siṃhakī-
5. rttidevo pai(Jai)savāla-vaṃse sā. Raja bhā-
6. rya Jīvā putra Karmacaṃdu bhārya
7. Meghu kārāpitaṃ nitāṃ praṇama-
8. ti dharme-varḍhatāṃ // śrī // sarveja-
9. nā suṣino bhavaṃtu //

F. Inscription of VS 1531

The inscription is engraved on the front wall of the second story of cave no. 3. It is dated in Vikrama *saṃvat* 1531 Phāguṇa *sudi* 5 Friday which corresponds to 10 February 1474 A.D. It records that Bhaṭṭāraka Siṃhakīrtti was the disciple of Bhaṭṭāraka Jinacaṃdra who belonged to Mūla-saṃgha, Balātkāra-gaṇa and Sarasvatī-gaccha. It also mentions the Sādhu Gāṃgū and his family members of Jaisavāla and Ikshvāku lineage. Plausibly, Kuṭāmba installed an image in this cave with the help of Sādhu Dhamū.

TEXT

(Plate 8.6)

1. // siddham // saṃvat 1531 varṣe Phāguṇa sudi 5 śukre // śrī-Mūlasaṃghe //
2. Vālātkāra-gaṇo Sarasvatī-gacche bhaṭṭāraka śrī-Jinacaṃdra //
3. tatpaṭṭe śrī-Siṃhakīrtti-devāḥ // pratiṣṭhitaṃ // Jaisavālānva-
4. ye / Ikṣavāku / vaṃse // sā. Gāṃgū / bhāryā Vīlā putra sā.
5. Mahirāja bhāryā Susilā / putrāḥ / Dhamū / Caṃdasiri //
6. dvi. sā. Gaṇū bhāryā Jasovai / puṃ. Rāimalu / tṛtī-
7. ya bhrātṛ sā. Diugaṇa bhāryā Abhayasiri //
8. teṣāṃ madhyesu-Kuṭavai saha sā. Dhamū saha //
9. kārāpitaṃ // sā. Devagaṇe sahakāyapitaṃ //

G. Pārśvanātha Image Pedestal Inscription of VS 1531

The inscription under discussion is engraved below the above mentioned inscription C in cave no. 3. It is interesting to note here that the letters after *jīya* and before the numeral 1 is written in blank ink and the engraver left them to carve. It is dated in Vikrama Saṃvat 1531 Phālguna *sudi* 5 Śukra which corresponds to A.D. 1474.

TEXT

1. // Siddham // om namaḥ siddhayebhyaḥ // śrīmat-parama-gaṃbhīrasya=
ādvād=āmogha-lāṃchanāṃ jīya ghasya śāsanam jina-śāsanam // 1 //
saṃvat 1531 varṣe Phālguna sudi 5 Sukre //

H. Other Inscriptions

There are three more inscriptions in the cave no. 3. Of these, one is carved on the wall of upper story. It has 5 lines. Most of the letters of the beginning of each line are now obliterated. Due to that the purport of the inscription is not clear. However, the name of the wife Dharāśrī, Ajaiśrī, Karamasī could be read out in the preserved portion. It ends with the proclamation that the image was adored by the people.

Another inscription of the cave records the name of Kāmadhari who was the son of *Sutradhāra* Senā. There is a possibility that this person was responsible for some or most of the constructional work of this group of Jain art. The third inscription consists only of the name of *Paṇḍita Śrī Chaṇḍa*.

Jina images are the best known medium of meditation and worship, at least for those Jains who recognize the value of an image. But there are other objects of meditation and worship too. Among the most prominent ones are the sacred diagrams (*yantras*) associated with sacred or magic formulas (*mantras*) which have produced interesting and valuable artifacts. One of the first studies of Jaina iconography published outside India which has given them the right place they deserve is that by Jain and Fischer (1978) where a fairly wide range of representations from both Śvetāmbara and Digambara milieus is offered to the reader,¹ aptly described and placed within the religious context where the objects belong and are used. The tradition of large painted diagrams from western India on paper or cloth, mostly from Śvetāmbara origin, which are occasionally seen in museum collections in India and outside, has been discussed by several scholars, and most recently by Cort (2009) who, on the other hand, is concerned with the rituals associated with *yantras* on the basis of what he has seen among Digambaras of Jaipur, thus in a contemporary setting. In this paper my aim is to bring a modest contribution to this vast area of research, which is still in need of exploration, through the examination of a single item from a Digambara surrounding.

Digambara metal *yantras*

Technically, the term *yantra* is normally restricted to designate objects of a size and weight which allow them to be easily carried (and, therefore, unfortunately, stolen too) and is different from a *maṇḍala*.² These objects are mostly discs made of metal, mostly copper, which are incised. The “culture of *yantras*” (Cort 2009: 150) is specially lively among Digambaras. The fundamental form of the Jain *yantra* (also recognized by Śvetāmbaras and well-represented in their literary and iconographic tradition) is the *siddhacakra* connected with the *pañcanamaskāra mantra* where the Five Entities are

❖ The central part of this paper makes use of material collected in the entry No. 1290 of Nalini Balbir, Kanubhai V. Sheth, Kalpana K. Sheth, C.B. Tripathi, *Catalogue of the Jain Manuscripts of the British Library*, London : The British Library, The Institute of Jainology, 2006, 3 volumes + 1 CD, where items belonging to the Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum are also included.

¹ Part II, Plates II to VII.

² See Cort 2009 : 149. This holds true in other contexts, for instance in Nepal : see A. Vergati, “Quelques remarques sur l’usage du *maṇḍala* et du *yantra* dans la vallée de Kathmandu, Népal” in *Mantras et diagrammes rituels dans l’hindouisme*. Editions du CNRS, Paris, 1986, pp. 37-47.

shown in a lotus with four petals attached to a circle.³ Even more common is the form where the spaces between the petals are occupied by the four basic principles: right knowledge, right faith, right conduct and right penance. Among the Digambaras this form is known as *Navadevatā*. One of the most famous instances is the *Navadevatā yantra* from 1858 CE kept at the Jain Matha, Shravanabelgola. The Tamil inscription at the back of the image is in Tamil and Grantha characters:

“On the full-moon day of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, in the year named Kālayukta which comes after the lapse of 51 years from Prabhava, the 1780th year of the Śālivāhana era, for daily worship in the *maṭha* at Belguḷa, this image of the Pañcha-Paramēśhṭhis was presented by Perumāḷ-śrāvaka of Tañja-nagaram. May uninterrupted prosperity increase”.⁴

Such is the basic form, but Digambara *yantras* are of many different types and variants are almost infinite.

For example, a contemporary one (reproduced in Cort 2009: 149 fig. 9.11 and purchased by him in 2008) is basically a Siddhacakra/Navadevatā, with 9 compartments, each having the sacred syllable *hrīm*. The inscribed text has the formula *ṇamo arihantānaṃ* repeated nine times and no other part of the Namaskāra mantra. In the circle around the central *hrīm* it has all the vowels of the modern Nāgarī/Hindi alphabet in succession (*a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, ṝ, ḷ, ḹ, e, ai, o, au, am, aḥ*) while the full alphabet is unfolded in groups of letters on the eight petals of the lotus: 1) vowels again, 2) guttural consonants, 3) palatals, 4) cerebrals, 5) dentals, 6) labials, 7) semi-consonants (*ya, ra, la, va*), 8) sibilants (*śa, ṣa, sa*) and *ha*. It is well-known that *akṣaras* can be considered as containing the essence of teaching. In the Jain context, *om* is interpreted as being made of *a-a-a-u-m*, which is the acronym referring to the Five Entities. One can also refer conveniently to the beginning of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra* which reads: “Between the first letter ‘a’ and the last letter ‘h’ come all the letters. By adding a dot and an ‘ṛ’-sign to the last letter which is ‘sound’ and is like a flame the word ‘arham’ is made”.⁵

Line drawings of 48 Digambara *yantras* are conveniently reproduced in the *Jainendra Siddhānta Kośa*.⁶ They are inscribed in a number of ways, combining magic or sacred

³ See Jain-Fischer, Part II, Plate II b : Metal Siddhacakra from the Digambara temple, Lakkundi, Karnatak.

⁴ *Epigraphia Carnatica* 1973: No. 488 (359) p. 524. See also Doshi 1981, plates 22a and 22b and Nagarajaiah 2007: No. 379 p. 136.

⁵ For convenience sake I quote this from Jain-Fischer 1978 II p. 4, refraining from going into more details at this stage.

⁶ Vol. 3 pp. 347-368. – I have not seen the book by Ācārya Kunthasāgar, *Pratiṣṭhā Vidhi Darpan* (Jaipur : Śrī Digambara Jain Kunthu Vijay Granthamālā Samiti, 1992) mentioned by Cort (2009 : 157 n. 37), a ritual manual for the consecration of icons where the list of required paraphernalia “includes several dozen yantras”. For Śvetāmbara *yantras* see, for instance, Duggar 1985 with drawings, explanations, connected *mantras*, etc.

syllables, such as *hrīm* or others, and homage formulas with fundamental concepts or beings of the Jain doctrine. The Five Entities (*pancaparamēṣṭhins*), the Three Jewels (*ratnatraya*) and the 24 Jinas are among the basic ones. But a lot more sophistication in the conceptual lists is present in several *yantras* which are made of several successive concentric circles and result into a complex picture. Their shape is an obvious reminder of the representation of the Jain universe and its succession of continents and oceans.

Such brass/copper *yantras* are found in large numbers in Digambara temples all over India, from South to North. They are kept in large numbers whether in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh or Rajasthan.⁷ In Tamil Nadu, they are often seen displayed side by side with images of Jinas, of goddesses such as Padmāvātī or of metal *śrutaskandhas*, which symbolize the Scriptures.⁸ All these objects together form a sometimes crowded group placed on a platform on each side of the small corridor leading to the cella (Plate 9.1). Since *yantras* are objects of a size and a weight which make them easy to carry, they can serve various religious purposes. They are used as seats on which a Jina image will be placed, or they are placed erect in front of Jina images or *pādukās*, for instance (Plate 9.2). To some extent, they are inseparable from the Jina images themselves and can be viewed as supplementing them. On the other hand, for being used a *yantra* is consecrated. If it is so, it is worshipped daily by ablution (*abhiṣeka*; Cort 2009: 150). Hence a *yantra* has a status similar to that of an image (Plate 9.3).

In the same way as there are Jina images with inscriptions testifying to the fact that they were commissioned and produced in certain places, at certain times by certain persons, in the same way there is ample evidence showing that *yantras* were commissioned by lay families at the instigation of Digambara religious teachers (*bhaṭṭāraka*). Out of 766 records reproduced by Johrapurkar in his invaluable book

⁷ See, for instance, Hegewald 2009, fig. 281 "Detail of a circular metal plate incised with a sacred yantra diagram from Mandu", and id. p. 417: "Many temples in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra have elongated sanctums, housing multiple Jaina images. Also in central India, it is common to find three main *mūrtis* or *pratimās*, surrounded by smaller sculptures and other religious objects. Amongst the latter one commonly finds cosmological representations and *yantra* discs". – For Rajasthan see Nyāyatiṛth 1990: in the first section, which is a detailed directory of Jaipur Digambara temples, the presence and number of *yantras* is recorded among their specific features. In the second section, 4 out of a total of 70 *yantras* said to be kept in the Lūṇakaraṇjī Pāṇḍyā temple (18th century) are reproduced in black and white photographs (unfortunately of a rather poor quality): one *Arham yantra*, one *Kalikūṇḍa yantra*, one with different types of *yantras*, and one *Siddhacakra yantra* which has exactly the same text as the 20th century *yantra* bought by Cort (see above), laid out in exactly the same way. In the fourth section, M. Bhāratiya (pp. 47–49) gives a brief description (without illustration) of some of the *yantras* kept in this temple. She calls them *maṇḍala* and ends her list with two cosmological paintings on cloth – which, however, represent a different tradition of artifacts.

⁸ Another published instance is Hegewald 2009, fig. 282, with the following comment: "Yantra discs are often placed in front of figural images to shield of evil power, as can be seen in the Neminātha temple at Tirumalai".

Bhaṭṭāraka Sampradāya, 37 relate to various types of *yantras* which were commissioned by laypeople at the instigation of different *bhaṭṭārakas* between the middle of the 15th century and the 19th century in northern and central India:

Daśalakṣaṇa yantra: Nos. 215, 266, 322, 595, 609 (during the reign of Shah Jahan, at Fatehpur), 615
 Śoḍaśakāraṇa yantra: Nos. 71, 128, 216, 273, 320, 531, 537, 539
 Ratnatraya yantra: Nos. 685, 744, 746
 Darśana yantra: Nos. 207, 261, 314, 321
 Jñāna yantra: Nos. 64, 319, 500
 Samyakcāritra yantra: Nos. 210, 310, 352, 540
 Rṣiṃṇaṇḍala yantra: Nos. 183, 611
 Navagraha: No 765
 Jala yantra: No. 24
 Ananta yantra: No. 33
 Kalikuṇḍa yantra: No. 398
 Unspecified: Nos. 209, 532, 563.

Yantras are used for protection, for pacification of evil powers, for attracting or submitting people to one's own will, or for worldly benefits of all kinds. In the Jain context they are also credited with the power to annihilate karmas.⁹ This is one reason why the text incised on these discs is often rather technical and gives an important place to doctrinal terms and categories, as the designations of the *yantras* themselves show. A *Daśalakṣaṇa yantra* refers to a standard list of ten main qualities (see below). A *Śoḍaśakāraṇa yantra* lists the 16 factors or conditions which result into one's rebirth as a future Jina, etc. The Digambara *yantras* are not used alone. They are associated with recitations and *pūjās* having the same names and contents. A handbook such as the *Jñānapīṭha Pūjāñjali* where common Digambara liturgies are conveniently collected shows how verse compositions, by famous poets such as Raīdhū (15th century) or unknown authors, on the 10 characteristics, the 16 factors, the 3 jewels, etc., are to be supplemented by mantras in the ritual performance. These mantras are what we read on the incised discs. The corresponding *yantra* is thus the material form which encapsulates these components.

The British Museum Digambara *yantra*

The object under reference in this paper is a circular copper *yantra* of 39,5 x 39,5 cm., dated Vikrama Samvat 1688 (= 1631 CE). Hence it is comparatively large. It now belongs to the British Museum (shelfmark: OA 1880-4057). "1880" in the shelfmark of the object refers to the year of acquisition. Unfortunately, however, nothing more is

⁹ For general comments on this issue see, for instance, Devot 1990.

known about the provenance and the way the object entered the British Museum, either directly from India or through the India Museum.¹⁰

The *yantra* is available for display to the viewers in Room 33 of the British Museum, case 8 where 8 other *yantras* (non-Jain) are nicely presented. The Digambara object is found among the highlighted objects for India on the Museum website, where an image and a short description are available on line (Plate 9.4).¹¹

The mantras

This *yantra* is heavily inscribed and the text is often crowded. It is incised everywhere, from the centre to the very edge. The script is Devanāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, with some inaccuracies or spelling mistakes: for instance, *-aya* instead of *-āya* in the ending of the dative, single consonant when a double consonant is required (e.g., *paṭa* for *paṭṭa*), etc. Occasional orthographic features reflect the pronunciation of the Hindi (or another North Indian language) spoken by the person who incised the *yantra*, whoever he may be (e.g. *-ja-* for *-ya-* in *Kundakundācārje*).

The text is transcribed here as it is, without any attempt at corrections, most of which are obvious anyway.

Text

1) Centre: inscribed triangle inserted within a circle (Plate 9.5).

- In the middle is the syllable *hrīm* in characters larger than the rest.
- In the first angle: *om hrīm samyag-darśanāya namaḥ*.
- In the second angle: *om hrīm samyag-jnānāya namaḥ*.
- In the third angle: *om hrīm samyag-cāritrāya namaḥ*.

2) Around the central triangle is a circle arranged in three compartments, each of which is divided into two parts.

- a) *om hrīm astitva-dharmāya namaḥ* | *om hrīm vastutva-dharmāya namaḥ*
- b) *om hrīm prameyatva-dharmāya namaḥ* | *om hrīm agarulaghutva-dharmāya namaḥ*
- c) *om hrīm cetanatva-dharmāya namaḥ* | *om hrīm amūrttatva-dharmāya namaḥ*

3) Around this circle is a larger circle in the shape of a flower with ten petals.

On the ten petals we read:

- (i) *om hrīm uttama-kṣamā-dharmāya namaḥ*
- (ii) *om hrīm uttama-mā(r)dava-dharmāya namaḥ*
- (iii) *om hrīm uttamārjava-dharmāya namaḥ*
- (iv) *om hrīm uttama-satya-dharmāya namaḥ*
- (v) *om hrīm uttama-śoca-dharmāya namaḥ*

¹⁰ Such is the information which was kindly communicated by Dr. Michael Willis, Curator for South Asia, Asia Department, British Museum.

¹¹ http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/asia/j/jain_yantra.aspx

- (vi) *om hrīm uttama-saṃjama-dharmāya namaḥ*
- (vii) *om hrīm uttama-tapo-dharmāya namaḥ*
- (viii) *om hrīm uttama-tyāga-dharmāya namaḥ*
- (ix) *om hrīm uttama-kimcana-dharmāya namaḥ*
- (x) *om hrīm uttama-brahmacarya-dharmāya namaḥ*

Between the petals we read:

- (i) *om hrīm samyaktva-dharmāya namaḥ*
- (ii) *om hrīm jñāna-dharmāya namaḥ.*
- (iii) *om hrīm darśana-dharmāya namaḥ.*
- (iv) *om hrīm vāja-dharmāya namaḥ*
- (v) *om hrīm sakṣama-dharmāya namaḥ (for sūkṣma^o)*
- (vi) *om hrīm avagāhana-dharmāya namaḥ.*
- (vii) *om hrīm agurulaghutva-dharmāya namaḥ*
- (viii) *om hrīm avyavādha-guṇāya namaḥ.*
- (ix) *om hrīm suddha-susamvedana-jñānāya namaḥ*
- (x) *om hrīm svaramapratāpane tapase namaḥ.*

4) Around the circle there is a narrow circular strip divided into five compartments which is also inscribed. From right to left:

- (i) *om hrīm ananta-darśanādi-catustayātmaka arhadbhyo namaḥ*
- (ii) *om hrīm samyaktvādi-guṇātmaka seddhebhhyo namaḥ*
- (iii) *om hrīm paṃcācārāya ācārjebhyo namaḥ*
- (iv) *om hrīm ratna-traya-prakāśaka paṭhakebhhyo namaḥ*
- (v) *om hrīm sva-sva(r)ūpa-sādhaka sarvva-sādhubhyo n.*

5) Then come 108 inscribed spokes. The text is written vertically. The *akṣaras* are placed one above the other. In the lower parts of the spokes, which are less narrow, two *akṣaras* are written on the same line. The text is read from top to bottom.

- (i) *om hrīm akṛta-maṇaḥ krodha-sarabha-manogupteya (sic, for °guptaye) namaḥ*
- (ii) *om hrīm akārita-maṇaḥ-krodha-saṃrambha-nirvikalpa-dharmāya namaḥ*
- (iii) *om hrīm nānumodita-maṇaḥ-krodha-saṃrambha-sānanda-dharmāya namaḥ*
- (iv) *om hrīm akṛta-maṇaḥ-krodha-saṃārambha-paramānandāya namaḥ*
- (v) *om hrīm akārita-maṇaḥ-krodha-saṃrambha-saṃtaṣṭa-dharmāya namaḥ*
- (vi) *om hrīm nānumodita-maṇaḥ-krodha-saṃārambha-saṃtoṣa-dharmāya namaḥ*
- (vii) *om hrīm akṛta-maṇaḥ-krodha-arambha-ānandaṣṭhānāya namaḥ*
- (viii) *om hrīm akārita-maṇaḥ-krodha-arambha-ānandaṣṭhānāya namaḥ.*
- (ix) *om hrīm nānumodita-maṇaḥ-krodha-ārambha-svabhāvāya namaḥ*

This is the first part of the litany. The organization is identical throughout. It consists of homages to various qualities characterizing the mental state of perfect beings who do not indulge in any of the four passions (*kaṣāya*) in any of the modes of action (to

do, to cause doing, to let do). There are 12 groups with 9 qualities each, thus amounting to 108:

<i>manah</i>	<i>krodha</i>	9
<i>mano</i>	<i>māna</i>	9
<i>mano</i>	<i>māyā</i>	9
<i>mano</i>	<i>lobha</i>	9
<i>vacana</i>	<i>krodha</i>	9
<i>vacana</i>	<i>māna</i>	9
<i>vacana</i>	<i>māyā</i>	9
<i>vacana</i>	<i>lobha</i>	9
<i>kāya</i>	<i>krodha</i>	9
<i>kāya</i>	<i>māna</i>	9
<i>kāya</i>	<i>māyā</i>	9
<i>kāya</i>	<i>lobha</i>	9

Among the qualities paid homage to in the final group are *udāsīnāya*, *akṣobhāya*, *nityasukhāya*, etc.

6) On the next narrow border, starting above the words 'saṃvat 1688' we read, from right to left:

om hrīm Raṣabhanāthaya namaḥ
 om hrīm Ajitanāthāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Sambhavanāthāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Abhinandanāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Sumatināthāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Padmaprabhāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Supārśvanāthāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Candraprabhāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Puṣpadamtāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Śīṭalanāthāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Śreyāsaya namaḥ
 om hrīm Vāsupūjyāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Vimalanāthāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Anamtanāthāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Dharmmanāthāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Śāntināthāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Kunthunāthāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Aranāthāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Mallināthāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Munisuvratāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Namināthāya namaḥ

om hrīm Nemināthāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Pārśvanāthāya namaḥ
 om hrīm Vīranāthāya namaḥ

Comments

This *yantra* is an excellent representative of the elaborate and maximalist variety of sacred diagrams, resulting into a kind of handlist of key Jain concepts. Homage is paid to auspicious beings, like the Five Entities or the 24 Jinas, and to all types of qualities (°dharma, °guṇa), whether they relate to faith, knowledge or behaviour. In the six sections we have distinguished, this *yantra* combines different varieties of mantras which are generally found separate on specific *yantras*:

Section 1 is a *Triratna yantra*.

Section 2 lists a total of six qualities. It can be compared with the *Bṛhad-Nayacakra* by Devasenācārya quoted in *Jainendra Siddhānta Kośa* 2 p. 243 where the same terms are included in a list of ten qualities: 1) *astitva*, 2) *vastutva*, 3) *dravyatva*, 4) *prameyatva*, 5) *agurulaghutva*, 6) *pradeśatva*, 7) *cetanatva*, 8) *acetanatva*, 9) *mūrttatva*, 10) *amūrttatva*. Eight out of ten apply to all *dravyas*: No. 8 and 9 do not apply to the *jīva*, No. 7 and 10 are absent in the *pudgala*, No. 7 and 9 are absent in *dharma*, *adharmā*, *ākāśa* and *kāla*.

Section 3 first lists the ten components of dharma, the *daśalakṣaṇas*, which are the topic of specific *yantras*: the *Daśalakṣaṇa yantras* are among the most frequently found.¹² Further, these ten components are also the topic of a specific *vrata*.¹³ Some of the terms which come in the second list are shared by the *Karmadahanayantra*.¹⁴

Section 4 is an homage to the Five Supreme Entities and the qualities they represent (*pancaparameṣṭhin*).

Section 5 has been described above. It collects all sorts of qualities which can characterize only those who are totally freed from passions and thus enjoy eternal bliss and perfect knowledge.

Section 6 is an homage to the twenty-four Jinas as can be found on *Caubīsamandala yantras*.

Hence the British Museum *yantra* is much more complex than any of the several examples conveniently provided in JSK vol. 3 pp. 347-368. It provides a further instance of a well-attested process at work in Jaina (and more generally Indian) iconography and literature: a larger ensemble is formed through the addition of single components which can be combined in any manner, almost without limit.

¹² See above for the list of those available in Jorapurkar and No. 18 in JSK vol. 3 p. 354.

¹³ See for instance JSK vol. 2 p. 475 and *Jñānapīṭha Pūjāñjali* p. 539.

¹⁴ JSK vol. 3 p. 350.

Historical context

Finally on the external border running around the disc information about the persons involved in the commissioning of the object is found. It is written on two lines. The script looks slightly different from the rest. This may be due to the lack of space and the difficulty of incising quite close to the edge.

Text

(line 1) *saṃvat 1688 varṣe Jyēṣṭha śudī 4 ravau śrīMūlasanghe Vālātakātkāra* (i.e. *Balātkāra*)-*gaṇe Sarasvatī-gaṇe Kundakūṇḍacārjānvaye* [Svastika] *bhaṭṭāraka-śrīSiṃhakīrtidevās tat-paṭe bha(ṭṭā)raka-śrīDharmakīrtidevās tat-paṭe bhaṭṭā(ra)ka-śrīŚīlabhūṣaṇadevās tat-paṭe bhaṭṭāraka* [auspicious sign: hrīm] *śrīJñānabhūṣa(ṇa)-devās tat-paṭe bhaṭṭā(ā)ka-śrīJagadbhūṣaṇadevās tad-āmnāe Sonī-gotre* {(above the line: *lavakavaka* ??) *Isangha-Rī(?)hamī-vā seni* (read *Sonī*?) *bha° Lalo pu 4 Mehī(?) bha° nānī pu° Mīṭalu saṃbho bha° raṣe Māmāunade pu 5 Sīṭalu bha° Bhāhimatī pu° 5 Sāugara Seni Narasighu agara Malu śimāpati sabhāpati Ativalu bha° Sāhima* (line 2) *pu° 5 suṣamalu catura-bhuju dhanīdhara krapālu Me+u karu sājāra pu bha° Ajavapu sāmghapati bha° Vimohanadāsī kaṃṇī bha° karamotī +tī bha° hīṃsana depa° Ratanamāla jasodhanu jaga Malu bha° mamāunade pu° 5 tilokīu sapati pahalā dī+inadhanupita thī tīthi +enatake I saghaḍī jāra pu} jantra kārāpitam {kāṇīgana jena tīdāsa sunāta}.*

In this part, the text is somewhat difficult to read. The portions where the reading is highly tentative have been inserted within { }

Comments

The final portion of the text is as elaborate as the succession of mantras. It is of historical significance as it supplies precise information about the date of the object and the parties involved in commissioning the *yantra*. In their full form, an inscription or a manuscript colophon unfolds in two stages, corresponding to the two sides of the *saṅgha*: the “mendicants” (*sādhus* or in the Digambara context, the clerics, *bhaṭṭārakas*) and the laypeople. Both have to associate closely in order to achieve their common aim, whether it is the making of an image, the writing of a manuscript, or, like here, the production of a *yantra*.

1. Here the religious lineage comes first. Its authenticity can be crosschecked with reference to inscriptions where the same names appear together.¹⁵ The key person who was the instigator of our *yantra* (*jantra kārāpitam*) is Jagadbhūṣaṇa (Plate 9.6). This *bhaṭṭāraka* belonged to the so-called Aṭer branch of the Balātkāragana which had been initiated by Siṃhakīrti (records available between V.S. 1520 and 1531), followed by Dharmakīrti, Śīlabhūṣaṇa (record available for V.S. 1621) and Jñānabhūṣaṇa.¹⁶ All

¹⁵ For such information Johrapurkar's *Bhaṭṭāraka Sampradāya* remains an unrivalled source to date.

¹⁶ See Johrapurkar pp. 126-135.

these names appear here in succession. The name of the *śākhā*, however, is not explicitly mentioned.

Jagadbhūṣaṇa was active at least between V.S. 1686 and 1695. Here are some records of his activity:

In V.S. 1686 (= 1629 A.D.) a *Samyakcāritra yantra* was made at his instigation.

In V.S. 1688, the same year as our *yantra*, two Jina images were made at his instigation.

In V.S. 1695 (= 1638) he was instrumental in the commissioning of a *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* written in Hindi by Śālivāhana in Agra.¹⁷

His name also appears in an inscription engraved on a stone slab built into the *cchatri* near Mansingh's Palace inside the Gwalior fort, dated V.S. 1661 (= 1604), which refers to Akbar's reign.¹⁸ If this date is correct, it would provide an earlier testimony of Jagadbhūṣaṇa's presence and role in the area. His identity makes no doubt, for the inscription also mentions the same spiritual lineage as the other documents known so far. It is likely that more evidence about him could be collected if one was able to scrutinize all possible Jain inscriptions of the Gwalior region.

Added up this information highlights the manifold activity of a *bhaṭṭāraka*. Engaged in the promotion of Digambara culture he plays a part in the diffusion of learning (manuscripts) as well as in the making of objects for worship or rituals (images, *yantras*).¹⁹ The result of chance or a hard fact: a relatively large number of the inscriptions relating to the Aṭer *śākhā* are found on *yantras*. Could it indicate that the *bhaṭṭārakas* of this branch attached a special attention to this form of worship?

2. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of the laypeople who acted as donors are much less clearer than what relates to the *bhaṭṭāraka*. This part of the *yantra* is extremely difficult to decipher, and it is better to warn the reader that whatever is transcribed above is highly tentative – except the name of the *gotra* “Sonī”, whose association with the *bhaṭṭāraka* lineage of Jagadbhūṣaṇa is expressed by the compound *tad-āmnāe*.²⁰ Given the number of names listed it is clear that a joint family was involved in the investment made for getting this *yantra* produced. Their members are both men and women (for the latter, the names end with the suffix *-de < devī*); mentioned as couples having a number of “sons” (*pu*^o). At least some of these persons are praised for their qualities (if *dhanī* “rich” and *krapālu* “compassionate” are correct readings).

¹⁷ See, respectively, Johrapurkar Nos. 310 to 313.

¹⁸ *Indian Archaeology 1971-72. A review*, No. 13 p. 54. The inscription records the construction of a *suprabhavedī* by various *śrāvakas* who are named, and refers to “an otherwise unknown local chief Rajasimha, son of Karnesa”.

¹⁹ For the issue of *bhaṭṭārakas*'s involvement in rituals, and even tantric rituals, which could become a source of controversy see Cort (2002: 41).

²⁰ *Bhaṭṭārakas* often act as “caste-gurus”, but the evidence collected above for Jagadbhūṣaṇa shows that he was in contact with families of different groups. See also Mukhtar 1954: introduction p. 79 and Praśasti No. 107 p. 159 for his association with the Golāpurva caste.

Certain words ending with °*pati* (such as *saṃghapati*, which is tentatively read once) could suggest that the male members of the family were wealthy and occupied a leading position within their social group. If such is the case, it is likely that this *yantra* was not the only production of their pious activity and that their names would recur in other documents (inscriptions in temples or on images, manuscript-*praśastis*, etc.) as it often happens for elite members of the Jain society who engage themselves in multiple prestigious religious deeds. This hypothesis could not be checked for lack of adequate reference material at hand.

How was the *yantra* used?

This portion of the text does not inform about the use of the *yantra*. The only verbal form we have is *kārāpitaṃ*, but we do not have any reference to the next stage: the consecration or the ritual installation of the *yantra*. Skt. *pratiṣṭhita-*, *pratiṣṭhāpita-*, which we have in other inscriptions found on *yantras* is lacking here.²¹ A correlate piece of information which is missing is the name of the place where this consecration happened (unless it is hidden in the lines which are hardly readable), although one can observe that it is far from being mentioned systematically.²² But it is likely that this object was prepared and inscribed in North India, probably in the region around Gwalior, Agra and Ater. Located to the North-East of Gwalior on the bank of the Chambal, Ater (dist. Bhind) is associated with the monastic lineage of the *bhaṭṭāraka* Jagadbhūṣaṇa. The region is known for its wealth in Jain temples and images of all kinds.²³

We are left in the dark about the precise destination of the *yantra*. Was it originally found in a temple of the Gwalior area? Was it found in South India, perhaps Sravana Belgola where it had been carried by North Indian pilgrims? The year when it was made (VS. 1688 = 1631 CE) does not correspond to a year when the Mahāmastakābhiseka of Bāhubali is known to have been celebrated, if we trust available written records.²⁴ But this hypothesis is not unlikely, given the pan-Jain fame of Sravana Belgola and its surroundings. Among the overwhelming majority of Kannada inscriptions, there is also evidence of Marwari inscriptions left on the site by

²¹ See for instance Johrapurkar No. 261 (... *śrīsaṃyagdarśana yantra karāpitaṃ pratiṣṭhāpitaṃ*); 308 (*śrīkalikuṇḍa yantra kārāpitaṃ / śrīkalyāṇaṃ bhūyāt*); 322 (*yantrapratiṣṭhā kārīta tatra pratiṣṭhitaṃ*); 609 (see next note); 615 (see next note); 685 (*śrībhūṣaṇa-pratiṣṭhitaṃ vīryacāritra-yantraṃ nityaṃ prāṇamaṃti*); 746 (see next note).

²² In fact very few of the *yantra*-inscriptions collected in Johrapurkar do record a place-name: No. 322 (Aṭerapure); No. 609 (*daśalakṣaṇīyantraṃ pratiṣṭhāpitaṃ Phatehapura-madhye*); No. 746 (*śrī Aḍaṇagāra pratiṣṭhitaṃ*).

²³ For a pioneering study of bronzes found in the area and made in large numbers between the 13th and the 15th century see Jain (2007).

²⁴ According to the list given in Sangave 1981: 97. Celebrations in the 17th century took place in 1612, 1659 and 1677.

North Indian (Rajasthani) pilgrims.²⁵ That Digambara devotees bring metal *yantras* which are garlanded with flowers and used in rituals associated with the colossal image of Bāhubali is well known. In the window case of the British Museum our *yantra* is adequately accompanied by a colour photograph of a circular copper *yantra* resting on the toe of Bāhubali's foot. Devotees ascending the sacred hill would be keen on placing it at the feet of the seventeen metres tall monolithic statue of Bāhubali for the daily *pādapūjā* or for any occasional ceremony (Plate 9.7).

The relatively large size of our *yantra* would suggest that it was meant for use in a public ritual, to serve as a seat for Jina images or for display along with other images. But it could also be that it was to be used in a private family ritual for protection or peace and prosperity by the members of the Soni caste mentioned in the colophon. One thing is sure: it does not belong to the type of Jain *yantras* "which were to be carried in the pocket or worn as amulets" (Jain-Fischer 1978: II p. 4)!

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²⁵ *Epigraphia Carnatica* vol. 2, No. 302 (201) p. 455, No. 304, 306, 307-321 (V.S. 1812), No. 384-386, 442.

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The University of Michigan Museum of Art has in its collection 18 folios of an unidentified Jain manuscript assigned to the 18th century and to Sirohi.¹ Two more folios of the same manuscript are in the Los Angeles County Museum and are also unidentified. Photographs of the folios are available on the museum websites, and one of the folios in Los Angeles is published by Pratapadatiya Pal in the *Peaceful Liberators*, where it is identified simply as “Lustration of a Jina” and assigned to the early 19th century Gujarat.² Sirohi seems to be more likely as the place of origin of the manuscript. The Michigan manuscript closely resembles a *Vijñaptipatra* from Sirohi now in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library and dated 1761.³ It also shares many features with a *Vijñaptipatra* in the Delhi Museum, also from Sirohi and dated 1737.⁴

The illustrations have been separated from the text, which has made their identification difficult. In fact, comparison with an intact manuscript belonging to the Oriental Research Institute in Ara, Bihar, and recently digitized and put on the web by the International Digamber Jain Organization makes it clear that the Michigan folios belong to an illustrated *Bhaktāmara Stotra*.⁵ The *Bhaktāmara Stotra* enjoyed and continues to enjoy unusual popularity among all Jains. Scholars have argued that the hymn was composed by a Śvetāmbara monk sometime around the 6th century. Digambaras also count its author as one of their own and depict him in the paintings as a Digambara monk.⁶ The Digambara version of the hymn contains 48 verses as against the 44 of the Śvetāmbara version. Illustrated manuscripts of the hymn are rare, and I

¹ Accession numbers 1975.2. 153-180. The manuscript is 28.9 cm x 18 cm (11 3/8 in 7 1/16 in.). Photographs courtesy of the museum.

² *The Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art from India*, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1994, figure 37, page 50. This is one of the opening folios of the illustrated *Bhaktāmara*, which typically begins with scenes from the life of the first Jina, Ṛṣabhanātha. Accession numbers AC 1975.2.165;178.

³ This is also illustrated in Pal, pp. 85 and 251.

⁴ I thank Elena Preda, University of Bologna, for this information.

⁵ <http://www.idjo.org/Manuscript.asp?id=4&i=0>

⁶ Madhusudan Dhaky and Jitendra Shah, *Mānatuṅga aur unke Stotra*, Ahmedabad: Sharadaben Chimanbhat Educational Research Center, 1997. See also John Cort, “Devotional Culture in Jainism”, *Mānatuṅga and his Bhaktāmara Stotra*, in James, Blumenthal, ed., *Incompatible Visions: South Asian Religion in History and Culture Essays in Honor of David Knipe*, Madison: University of Wisconsin, Center for South Asia, 2006, pp. 93-115.

have seen only Digambara illustrated manuscripts. None predates the 17th century. Considering the large number of manuscripts of the hymn itself, there are surprisingly few illustrated examples that are known to date.⁷ It is also somewhat surprising, given the long history of Jain manuscript paintings, that the known manuscripts are all so late. Much remains to be studied about the tradition of illustrating the *Bhaktāmara*, and this is a small contribution to what must be a much larger endeavor.

The Michigan manuscript is an outstanding example of late Jain manuscript painting. There are two types of illustrated *Bhaktāmara* manuscripts. One deals with magic diagrams and the other with illustrations to the verse themselves. I will only be concerned here with the illustrations to the verses.⁸ In addition to their esoteric associations with magic formulas and diagrams, every verse of the hymn also came to be associated with a story that vividly describes the miraculous results of reciting a particular verse. These stories, many of which are known from other didactic story collections, were told in commentaries to the verses.⁹ Interestingly, the illustrations to the hymn in the manuscripts with which I am familiar do not depict events in the miracle stories, but are intended to illustrate the verses themselves. This is somewhat different from what we see in illustrated manuscripts of other texts, and I should add in recent publications of the hymn that include illustrations. A new Gujarati book, for example, includes a wide range of miracle stories, which it illustrates. Traditionally, among the Śvetāmbaras, illustrated manuscripts, for example of the *Kalpasūtras* or *Uttarādhyayanāsūtras*, also included illustrations of the material in the commentaries in addition to the root text itself, perhaps because of the ease with which such narratives lend themselves to illustrations, in contrast to the more abstract contents of the texts. One of the unique features of the illustrated *Bhaktāmara stotra* manuscripts that I have examined is the skill which the illustrators have found a way to depict the most abstract concepts, often by relying upon small visual clues within the verses themselves, and at other times making use of commonly accepted metaphors.

In their efforts to depict abstractions these painters seem to me to be closer to the sculptors of images of the Jinas than to painters of narrative scenes. The sculptors endeavored to convey the abstract notion of the extraordinary knowledge of the Jina

⁷ A manuscript dated 1773 A.D. has recently been published: Mānatuṅga, *Bhaktāmara Stotra (Sacitra)*. Mahavirji: Jain Vidya Sansthan, 2005. The book has been reviewed by John Cort, ACSAA, 66, Fall/Winter 2006, pp. 15–16. I thank John for a copy of the review and his articles on the *Bhaktāmara*. John notes in the review, p. 16, that Saryu Doshi in her book, *Masterpieces of Jain Painting*, Mumbai: Marg Publications, 1985, p. 77, in passing mentions illustrations to the hymn and published a black and white photo of a manuscript painted in Bikaner in 1694.

⁸ The website of the International Digamber Jain Organization also includes several remarkable *Bhaktāmara* manuscripts with delicately colored yantras.

⁹ The hymn has been edited many times. The edition of Professor Hiralal Rasikdas Kapadia in the Śreṣṭhi Devacandralālbhāi Jain Pustakodhāra Series 79, Bombay: Nirnayasagara Press, 1932, contains a commentary with miracle stories. For information on Jain tantra, see the references I gathered for the catalogue, *The Victorious Ones*, New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2009, p. 297.

through the perfection of his physical body. According to one medieval monk, every Jina image in its perfection was to remind us of the Jina in his preaching assembly. The preaching assembly was itself a reminder of the Omniscience of the Jina. In fact, depicting the preaching assembly or *samavasaraṇa* was the standard way in which manuscripts of the *Kalpasūtra* portrayed the Omniscience of the Jina.¹⁰ We shall see that the artist of the *Bhaktāmara* in a similar fashion relied on accepted images and generally shared understandings to illustrate such an abstract concept like knowledge.

I begin my discussion of the Michigan manuscript of the *Bhaktāmara Stotra* with verse 20 of the hymn, a praise of the Jina's unique knowledge:

“The knowledge that shines within you, reflecting every object in the universe, has no place in the other gods, like Visnu and Siva. Great is the light that glitters from gemstones; glass is worthless, no matter how much it sparkles.”

In plate 10.1, which illustrates this verse, we see the Hindu gods, Viṣṇu and his wife Lakṣmī and Śiva and his wife Pārvatī, in the bottom register. Śiva and Pārvatī appear in the conjoined form as Ardhanariśvara. Above Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī the seated monk Mānatuṅga, author of the hymn, gestures both to the seated Jina and upwards to the sun, with its radiant light. In the Ara manuscript (Plate 10.2), the Hindu gods are off to one side, while the sun is placed very obviously directly above the head of the standing Jina. The monk gestures toward the sun and the Jina. It is the sun here that represents the awesome knowledge that the Jina possesses.

The knowledge of the Jina and the Jina himself were often compared to the radiant sun, removing the darkness of ignorance. Mānatuṅga himself uses the comparison in several verses of the hymn. In verse 7 the poet sings,

“All the sins that living beings have accumulated over countless rebirths vanish without a trace when they praise you, just as the bee-black darkness of night, spread out over the world, vanishes in the rays of the sun.”

And in verse 17 the poet praises the Jina as even greater than the sun, for the knowledge of the Jina makes known or illumines all the worlds at once and is never obstructed, while the sun sets and illuminates only a fraction of the worlds at any given time. The illustrator of the Ara manuscript for this verse depicted the seated Jina inside a giant sun to show the Jina's extraordinary knowledge (Plate 10.3). This illustration is lacking in the Michigan manuscript, but it is clear that the sun as a metaphor for knowledge would have been easily recognized.

¹⁰ Samayasundara, “When one sees the Jina image one recalls the real Jina in the midst of his wondrous preaching assembly. And when one recalls the Jina and thinks upon his virtues, there is a great gain. At once bad future rebirths are prevented and a good rebirth is insured.”, *Sāmācārī Śataka*, verse 40. The text is published in the *Srī Jinadattasūri Prācīna Pustakoddhāra Fund*, 41, Surat 1939. I have discussed the role of memory and art, particularly Jain art, in a forthcoming paper, “Bewitching Beauty: Some Jain Reflections in Art: in a festschrift for Koichi Shinohara edited by James Benn and James Robson, Mosaic Press.

Verse 20 and its illustrations celebrate not only the unique power of the Jina's knowledge, but also the superiority of the Jina over the Hindu gods that results from the fact that only the Jina has such knowledge. The Michigan manuscript places the Hindu gods in the lower register, while we have seen that the Ara manuscript places them off to the side and in a posture that could even be construed as a gesture of worship to the Jina. In medieval poetry, Jain monks stressed that the superiority of the Jina over the Hindu gods could be seen from the Jina image itself, for the Jina is always depicted without weapons and without a wife, indicating his espousal of non-violence and his complete renunciation of sensory pleasures.¹¹ In both figures 1 and 2 the Hindu gods are shown with their wives, though the verse does not mention them, and their weapons are clearly shown, perhaps to emphasize their difference from the Jina, who is alone, without adornment and without any weapons. The desire to emphasize these unique virtues of the Jina may also explain why the artists have chosen the conjoint form of Śiva and Pārvatī, for Hindu legends tell us that their love and longing for each other were so great that they could not bear the slightest bodily separation and fused into one form. The Ardhanariśvara form, then, is the ultimate depiction of lust at its highest most uncontrollable level. There is something else of interest here. If you look closely at the Michigan folio, at the bottom just under the throne of Viṣṇu-Lakṣmī and beyond the yellow border you will see that the artist has practiced drawing faces on the margins of the illustration. He has practiced the double head of the Śiva/Pārvatī, suggesting perhaps that he was not accustomed to drawing these Hindu deities.

Plates 4 and 5 illustrate verse 35 in the Digambara version of the hymn, a verse that is not found in the Śvetāmbara version. The Michigan manuscript (**Plate 10.4**) shows the Jina seated on a throne with a triple parasol above him. The Jina appears to be four-headed. Mānatuṅga worships the Jina, while a small, crowned and adoring figure, no doubt a god, is shown at the bottom of the illustration. The composition is framed by architectural elements at either side, A dark cloud band at the top is echoed by the rocky landscape at the base. The Ara manuscript (**Plate 10.5**) shows the same four-headed Jina with Mānatuṅga at the left. To the right is a tree and water pot. The verse praises the miraculous speech of the Jina at his first preaching, immediately following his Enlightenment. The speech of the Jina is not like ordinary speech. Among its unique qualities are these: every living being hears it in his own language, and it resounds throughout the universe. For medieval Jain monks, it was not only the physical beauty of the Jina's form that gave proof of his Omniscience. His marvelous

¹¹ Thus Hemacandra, "The Jina is called Śamkara, 'The One who Brings Peace', because it is he who is Śiva, 'the Auspicious One'. Whether standing or seated in meditation, he is without weapons and unaccompanied by a wife". This is from the *Mahādevastotra* (verse 15), *Kalikāla-sarvajña-srīhemacandrācāryaracitā Stotratrayī*, Petalādvālā: Sa. Bhailāl Ambālāl, V.S. 2016 (1936), p. 20. For further references see my paper cited above.

speech was also a direct indication of his incomparable knowledge.¹² Here is how Mānatuṅga praised the speech of the Jina in verse 35:

“Your words are savoured by those who desire to find a path to heaven or to Final Release; only your words are capable of revealing the true dharma; miraculous, they transform themselves into many languages so that each living being can understand them.”

Seeking for a way to represent something as abstract as “speech”, the illustrator again resorts to an allusion to something familiar, in this case the setting in which the Jina uttered his miraculous speech. At the first preaching that immediately followed the Jina’s achievement of Omniscience, one of the miracles is that the Jina can be seen from all four directions. The artist has attempted to convey this by means of the multiple heads. He relies here on a series of associations to illustrate the abstract notion of the Jina’s miraculous speech. The Jina who can be seen from all four directions is the Jina in the first preaching assembly. The marvelous speech of the Jina, the subject of the verse, is in turn manifested at that preaching assembly. If the sun was a metaphor for the Omniscience of the Jina in the illustration to verse 20, the Jina looking in all four directions is a metonym for the preaching assembly, the setting for the divine sermon, which in turn calls to mind the first sermon and the miraculous nature of the Jina’s speech.

I would suggest that the illustrators relied again on familiar images in this next illustration (Plates 10.6 and 10.7). We see in lower register Garuḍa, the bird mount of Viṣṇu and next to him, Nandin, the bull of Śiva (Plate 10.6). Garuḍa has his hands folded in reverence. To the right are Śiva and Viṣṇu, in the combined form of Hari-hara. In the top register the Jina is seated on a throne, with Mānatuṅga at his side. This illustrates verse 21, which is another verse about the superiority of the Jina over the Hindu gods. In a playful tone the poet says,

“I would rather see Śiva and Viṣṇu, for whenever I see them my heart filled with devotion to you. But when I see you, o Lord, there is nothing else that can give me pleasure, now and forever more.”

Garuḍa and Nandin are examples of absolute devotion in Hindu mythology, and one suspects that their gesture of reverence is meant for the Jina. Both gaze upward, and Nandin is standing on a platform that even tilts upward towards the Jina. That this is the case is clear from the comparison with the Ara manuscript (Plate 10.7), where the gods and their mounts are all worshipping the Jina. The Ara illustrator has stressed

¹² Siddhasena in his first *Dvātriṃśikā*, verse 14, states that the body of the Jina, which is always unchanging, devoid of ordinary red blood, and his marvelous speech suffice to convince even the most ordinary person of the Jina’s true Omniscience. *Dvātriṃśad-dvātriṃśikāḥ tatra prathamā dvātriṃśikā with commentary of Vijayalāvaṇyasūri*, Śrīvijayanemisūrigranthamālāratna, 38, Saurashtra: Śrīvijayalāvaṇyasūrisvara Jñānamandira, 1951, p. 22. My paper cited above includes other verses from this text.

Mānatuṅga's devotion to the Jina; here Mānatuṅga is depicted standing and raising his arm toward the Jina in a dramatic gesture.

All of these examples, I would argue, rely on the viewer's familiarity with certain ideas or visual clues that are not directly expressed in the illustrated verses themselves, but belonged to generally accepted cultural knowledge. In other cases the verses themselves directly provide a concrete visual clue for the illustrator even when the verse revolves around something abstract. It is standard in devotional poetry for the poet to proclaim his own unworthiness and to say that it is only his deep love for the deity that impels him to commit the rash act of trying to put into words the greatness of God, something that is truly beyond the range of human comprehension or language. In verse 5 Mānatuṅga says,

"O Lord of sages, incompetent though I am, I have begun this hymn of praise to you out of devotion. Doesn't the deer out of love rush towards the lion to protect her fawn, not for a moment thinking of her own weakness?"

Plate 10.8, which illustrates this verse, is one of the finest illustrations in the Michigan manuscript. Typical of all the illustrations in the manuscript the actors are carefully separated from each other by various devices. In the top register we see the Jina seated on a three-tiered throne, framed by an architectural niche. Mānatuṅga is beside him, with a water pot on his seat and a book on a stand. The book has letters in Devanagari on it; other books on other folios will have unreadable writing that looks more like Arabic script than like Devanagari. The space that Mānatuṅga occupies is clearly marked off from the larger niche in which the Jina sits by the presence of what might be columns, two vertical areas with geometric patterns. The lower register is set off by a thicker border with diagonal yellow lines. There we see a deer rushing at a lion, her three fawns protected by her body. Waving trees heighten the drama of the scene. The skill of the illustrator is immediately apparent from a comparison with the less elegant, more folksy Ara manuscript in **Plate 10.9**.

In a similar manner, **Plates 10 and 11**, illustrations to verse 27, latch on to a potential visual clue within the verse itself to illustrate an abstract thought. The verse reads,

"O Lord of Sages! What wonder is it that every conceivable virtue is found in you, leaving no space for anything else. For even in my dreams I never see a hint of any of those flaws that boast of being everywhere in the world."

It is the reclining, dreaming figure that alerts us to the rest of the content of the verse, a celebration of the many virtues of the Jina.

Not all the artistic choices seem equally felicitous. The Michigan manuscript lacks the illustration for verse 24, a verse that praises the Jina in terms often used in Indian philosophical texts. Mānatuṅga tells us that the wise know the Jina as the impersishable one, the lord of Yogins, the one who is beyond thought, immeasurable, the primordial one, all pervasive, both one and many. In the Ara manuscript (**Plate**

10.12), we see the standing Mānatunga offering reverence to a standing Jina, on whose surface an identical smaller Jina figure has been delineated. Perhaps this is meant to show that the Jina is both one and not one. The commentator explains this apparent contradiction in several ways. One explanation he offers is that as a category or a group the Jina is one, but there are also 24 individual Jinās in each world cycle.

Many of the verses of the hymn offered few such problems for the illustrator. They describe either concrete visual features of the Jina or Jina image, or the concrete benefits that accrue from reciting the verses of the hymn. **Plates 13 and 14** illustrate verse 22, which praises the mother of the Jina. Hundreds of mothers have given birth to hundreds of sons; only one mother gave birth to the Jina. The next two figures (**Plates 10.15 and 10.16**), illustrate verse 34, praising the glorious halo that surrounds the the Jina on his Enlightenment. The presence of the halo is one of the eight *prātihārya* or so-called miraculous manifestations that accompany the Jina after his Enlightenment. Here the verse describes how the Jina's halo of light puts to shame all the heavenly bodies. Greater than a multitude of suns, it is also gentler than the moon at night. The poet means to say that the light of the Jina's halo is comforting not burning, something that is said in Sanskrit poetry of the light of the moon. At the same time, the light of the Jina is as brilliant as the light of countless suns. And by this seeming paradox the poet tells us that the light of the Jina's halo is not of this world. The Michigan illustrator (**Plate 10.15**) has chosen to depict the greatness of the halo by making it large, the round circle filling most of the picture space. The Michigan halo with its concentric circles also suggests the miraculous preaching assembly, which in turn alerts us to the marvelous appearance of the halo. Both illustrators show a host of creatures, animal, human and divine worshiping the halo.

Recitation of specific verses of the hymn is said to bring specific benefits. One of the diseases that it cures is *jalodararoga*, or dropsy, in which the belly swells. **Plates 17 and 18** illustrate verse 45. We see the patient lying on a couch, belly visibly swollen. The verse tells us,

“Those who have been utterly wrecked by their burdensome swollen abdomens, who are plagued by the terrible disease of dropsy and have given up all hope, become as handsome as the god of Love himself, their bodies anointed with a life-saving nectar, the dust from your lotus feet.”

Reciting this verse in prayer to the Jina brings relief from this unendurable disease.

The hymn can also protect against snakes and attack by wild beasts or enemy armies. It can even free a person who is tied up in chains and cast into a dungeon. **Plates 19 and 20** illustrate verse 47, which sums up the virtues of reading or reciting the hymn: a person who studies this hymn has nothing to fear from wild elephants, lions, fires, battles, the ocean, dropsy or imprisonment.

The *Bhaktāmara Stotra* continues to be illustrated today. It is depicted in stone on the remarkable temple at Sanganer, for example (Plates 10.21 and 10.22).¹³ The stability of the iconographic tradition was already apparent from a comparison of the two manuscripts discussed in this paper, and now the reliefs on the temple at Sanganer tell us that much of the iconographic program has been maintained over the centuries and despite the change in the medium. Once some unknown artist achieved this remarkably successful language to convey in painting what Mānatuṅga the hymnist had said in words, that visual language would seem to have been remarkably consistent. Indeed, in the case of the Michigan and Ara manuscripts, so similar are the illustrations for any given verse that I was able to identify the subject of the Michigan manuscript immediately on finding the Ara manuscript. Our awareness that these are illustrations to a poem might help us to appreciate the stability of the artistic formula. These paintings use visual images as their words, just as they rely upon widely shared metaphors and other figures of speech. Recognition and familiarity are important; the viewer has to know the language of these illustrations, just as someone who reads the hymn has to know the language in which it is written and its literary conventions. And here I think that literature and literary theory can help us with another question that these manuscripts raise: originality or lack of it. Sanskrit writers take as dim a view as we do of plagiarism, and they had a remarkably subtle understanding of originality. It is not afraid of the works of other poets, but demands of the true poet some creative touch in the use of a traditional image.¹⁴ I do not think that anyone would doubt the creativity of the Michigan artist. Using a language that others also spoke and relying on a shared vocabulary of images, the Michigan artist has nonetheless created a great poem.

¹³ I thank Dominique Sila Khan for these photographs.

¹⁴ I have written on plagiarism in Sanskrit literature, "Putting the Polish on the Poet's Efforts: Reading the *Kaṁasundarī* as a Reflection on Poetic Creativity", in a volume edited by David Shulman and Yigal Bronner, forthcoming.

Klaus BRUHN

Considering the limited number of Jainas through the ages, the amount of Jaina literature is unusual; it defies all attempts at exhaustive investigation. Furthermore, the sheer number of manuscripts is enormous. Finally, many works have given rise to *illuminated* manuscripts, some to a considerable number of such manuscripts. There is much repetition in the field of book illustration, but repetition is combined with variation, and variation has many faces.

Minute differences between miniatures deserve as much attention as obvious differences. Roughly speaking, most miniatures have been identified by now, but at this stage there is a particular need for accurate analysis as the *second step* after identification. It is hoped that the present study will give an idea of this situation.

The material on which the present paper is based is identical with the material of our Uttarādhyayana study (2005).¹ However, the labels on the relevant slides (always "Utt ...") are confusing. The situation is described below:

The thirteen slides from Muni Punyavijaya's collection (BRUHN 2005: 38-39) are, according to the labels, all Uttarādhyayana slides. In the case of the six slides published in BRUHN 2005 this is correct for figs. 3-6 (Bild 3-6), but figs. 1-2 (Bild 1-2) may be Uttarādhyayana Sūtra or Kalpasūtra ("general motifs"). The seven slides of the present article have Plate 7 definitely from Kalpasūtra, Plate 6 definitely from Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, Plates 1-2 and 3-4 from Uttarādhyayana Sūtra or from Kalpasūtra ("general motifs"). Plate 5 is also uncertain. — Refer for Utt in general to BRUHN 2005: 38-39.

The thirteen miniatures with their warm colour and careful delineation of motifs are among the best specimens of 15th century painting. The sharp (and crude) contrast between different colours (cf. MORGENROTH/HICKMANN 1979) is absent. All specialists know that 15th century paintings are of uneven quality.

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¹ A small collection of 13 slides is the basis of BRUHN 2005 (6 slides) and of the present paper (7 slides: Plates 1-7). See BRUHN 2005: 47, Appendix. The slides belong to the collection Mevissen (BRUHN 2005: 37, fn.1).

There arises the question whether our thirteen miniatures “belong together” from the point of view of style. However, nothing can justifiably be said as long as we do not have more material. At this stage the manuscripts and the miniatures seem to form some sort of group.

Out of the ten pictures illustrated in the present paper, three belong to “section” I, four to “section” II, and three to “sections” III to V.

SECTION I

The first two pictures (Plates 11.1 and 11.2) show the seated Jina or Tīrthaṃkara (BRUHN 2004: fig. 3; BRUHN 2005: fig. 1). In Western Indian miniature painting, the Jina is usually seated. Here we have, moreover, the case of 15th century Jina pictures with their stereotyped program and their *horror vacui* (see below). Earlier renderings show greater economy. The Jina NAWAB 1980 (pl. 25 [opp. p. 48]: fig. 96, palm-leaf) has the following formula (from top to bottom):

elephant . . . elephant,
cāmara-bearer . . . cāmara-bearer,
small human figure . . . small human figure,
throne-cushion,
throne (deer/cakra/deer).

Still simpler is BROWN 1933 (pl. 1 [opp. p. 116]: fig. 1, palm-leaf):

cāmara-bearer . . . cāmara-bearer,
cushion,
throne (elephant/lion/cakra/lion/elephant).

This Jina wears no jewellery. We show a third early painting which is dated: 11.fig.1, palm-leaf, 1295 A.D. The *toraṇa* area is crammed with drawings (elephants etc., cf. NAWAB 1956: fig. 60 *et passim*).

Our first colour plate (11.1) shows the throne or plinth formula elephant/ornament/elephant.

A very clear “double-leaf” is presented, a motif or formula which is derived from sculptural originals (BRUHN 1969: figs. 31, 141 etc.). In miniature painting, the motif consists of two stalks and two buds (with occasional deviations). — Plate 2 has the plinth formula:

elephant (fore-pt.)/stylized cakra/elephant (fore-pt.).

There is no “double-leaf”; instead we have two half-views of a *pūrṇakalāśa*, one half-view to the left of the head of the Jina and one to the right. The *dhotī* of Plate 2 has, against Plate 1, apparently no “folds” (see SECTION V).

The lower zone of the picture offers but a limited opportunity for variation. The throne is sometimes clear, sometimes blurred. In the “present genre” (seated Jinās of the 15th century) variation does exist, but it is carried out at random, and it is not linked with substantial changes. The dominant impression is repetition. The present

genre: NAWAB 1956: col.figs. 1, 60, figs. 72, 156, 186, 238, 274, 276, col.figs. 406, 420, 423, 424.

Plates 1-2 follow the tradition in general and in the following details: There is a mark on the forehead (*tilaka*) and an object above the hands of the seated Jina (obviously a fruit). The *cihna* or distinguishing mark is visible directly below the Jina, but often indistinct (Plate 1 quadruped [?]; Plate 2 lion [?]). The Jina is decorated with jewellery, which became standard at an early date.

SECTION II

The following two pictures (Plates 11.3 and 11.4) show possibly Gautama Indrabhūti. But we are in the miniatures strictly speaking not concerned with an individual, but with a type: mainly eleven Gaṇadharas or Fathers-of-the-Church. The Gaṇadhara is in our miniatures a single seated monk shown en face. We occasionally find pictures of the Gaṇadharas (JACOBI 1884: 286-287) with the Gaṇadhara type appearing eleven times (BROWN 1934: figs. 130-132). We also have Gaṇadhara pictures with the names of saints inscribed (SHAH 1978: pl. 6, figs. 17-18), another instance of oscillation between type and individual. *Gautama Indrabhūti* is according to legend one of the eleven Gaṇadharas (JACOBI 1884: 265-266, 267).

The rosary is the main attribute (hand attribute) of the Gaṇadhara, not compulsory, but frequent. The *mudrā* is mostly “forefinger touching the thumb, with and without rosary”. The other attributes:

(a) lotus fully developed and rising as a plant from the ground (below the Gaṇadhara), and

(b) lotus as nimbus (mostly stylized). Plate 3: plant, Plate 4: nimbus.

The two lotus-motifs are fully developed in 11.fig.3 (1411 A.D.).

The Gaṇadhara at times sits in a small niche – the substitute for the dense motif ensemble encircling the Jina (Plates 1-2). On the whole, the Gaṇadhara gives the impression of an idol like the Jina (in particular in his elaborated form: lotus motifs etc.). The Gaṇadhara is always bare-headed, while the contemporary Jinas are shown with a “tiara”. The Gaṇadhara Indrabhūti is in one case indistinguishable from Pārśva's disciple Kesi (BRUHN 2005: Bild 5). However, the figure to the right has his right shoulder covered, and this detail may or may not characterize Kesi.

Refer for an early and primitive Gaṇadhara to 11.fig.2 (palm-leaf, 1295 A.D.). The solid double-leaf is also found in NAWAB 1980: pl. 13, fig. 39: Jina. — Refer for the broader scheme (ordinary monks, superior monks or *ācāryas*, Gaṇadharas, etc.) to our preliminary typology in BRUHN 2005: 38.

The Gaṇadharas have several elements in common with monks: broom, bare shoulder, mouth-cloth. — Broom: The monastic broom (*rajoḥaraṇa*) is used to clean the ground

of small animals (insects etc.) before depositing some object. The material (wool, grass, peacock-feathers) differs from case to case (SCHUBRING 1935/1962: § 145). See BRUHN 1969: fig. 210 etc.; BALBIR 2000: 41, fn. 96 (historical details); JAIN/FISCHER 1978/2: Pl. XVIa; DOSHI 1985: 129. — Shoulder: The right shoulder of the monks is left bare, the nuns have both shoulders covered. — Mouth-cloth: The inconspicuous piece of cloth on the bare shoulder is the mouth-cloth or *mukhavastrikā* (Plates 3-4). It was originally (the canonical Oghaniryukti) meant (a) to wipe insects and dust off the face and (b) to prevent insects etc. from entering the mouth and the nose when cleaning the house. See SCHUBRING 1935/ 1962: § 145. — The representations of *rajoharāṇa* and of *mukhavastrikā* are not absolutely uniform.

The representation of the broom is frequent in the case of monks and Gaṇadharas. Often (sculpture and painting) the broom is “pinned” onto the body (naked body / garment) in low relief or by way of faint drawing: BRUHN 1969: fig. 210, adorning to the proper right of the main figure; Plates 3, 5, 6 (brush of the broom indicated by hatching). See also MORGENROTH/HICKMANN 1979 *passim*. A curious feature is the addition of a round element forming an intermediate link between handle and brush. Compare BRUHN 2005: Bild 4 (both monks). This element forms a non-organic feature (“big blot”) on four miniatures of the present set: Plate 4 (without broom?), Plate 5-6 (with broom) and Plate 7 (without broom?); in the last case the element is not round but it has an oval shape. In the context of the above it is strange that the “blot” occurs also outside the representation of the monk, e.g. Plate 6: blot on the “ceiling decoration”, a hovering cloth apparently knotted in the middle and spread out like a bow (cf. once more BRUHN 2005: Bild 4). In BRUHN 2005: Bild 5, the two monks sitting opposite each other both have the “blot with broom”. — The 4 plus 2 miniatures mentioned above all belong to the manuscript BKB (BRUHN 2005: 47). The “blot” demonstrates how minor motifs can establish uniformity between different miniatures of the same set.

The Gaṇadhara (Plate 11.3) is seated in an elaborate structure (*supra*) crowned by a triple roof and supported by four beams. A lotus-plant is seen in the middle of the lower section between the beams. The construction is crowned by a globular finial with a pair of decorative ribbons. Two adorants (cf. Fig. 2) highlight the importance of the Gaṇadhara. A pair of peacocks (or parrots) in the upper zone is not uncommon in the case of Gaṇadhara pictures. The left arm of the Gaṇadhara presses the broom against the body, while the raised right hand holds the rosary between thumb and forefinger.

In the second picture (Plate 11.4), the Gaṇadhara also has a rosary in his right hand. The left hand rests again on its back. The halo has a zigzag border (stylized lotus petals). “Double-tree” and mountain range are fairly common motifs (Jina, Gaṇadhara), but have no connection with the main figure. Small human figures are seen in the three mountain caves.

The Gaṇadharas are clearly monks, but the iconographic differences suggest a division between monks and Gaṇadharas (see also BRUHN 2005: 38). — Gaṇadhara pictures are found in early and later miniatures: NAWAB 1985: 11 col.pl. 42; 21 col.pl. 68; pl. 5, fig. 17; pl. 29, fig. 149; pl. 31, figs. 158-159; pl. 32, fig. 163; pl. 38, fig. 185; pl. 48, fig. 214; pl. 79, fig. 286; (pl. 80, fig. 289); pl. 96, fig. 331.

SECTION III

Plate 11.5. The illustration shows a dialogue between a monk and a king, but we have no clue as to the meaning of the scene. Monk-and-king scenes of one type or another are not rare: BROWN 1941: Utt Chapter 9, figs. 26: Śakra (royal attire) extolling Nami; BROWN 1941: Utt Chapter 13, figs. 42-44: Citra and Sambhūta; BROWN 1941: Utt Chapter 18, figs. 62-64: Saṃjaya's conversion; SHAH 1978: pl. 6, col.pl. P: *idem*.

Plate 11.5 includes a *sthāpanā* between monk and king, actually before the monk. The *sthāpanā* is a symbolic representation of the absent spiritual teacher of a monk; the monk has to place it before himself when studying and when preaching. Technically speaking, a *sthāpanā* is a “cross stand consisting of four sticks tied together in the middle, on top of which is an installation of five pieces of conch shell representing the five great beings ...” (JAIN/FISCHER 1978: 35 and pl. 16a.b). The five great beings are the following: *arhats*, *siddhas*, *ācāryas*, *upādhyāyas*, *sādhus* (“Jinas, liberated souls, higher spiritual teachers, lower spiritual teachers, monks”, dogmatic pentad). However, the character of the *sthāpanā* installation is not always the same (e.g. in the miniatures fruits-and-rice instead of conch shells). — BRUHN 1969: fig. 233 etc.; BROWN 1934: 39, 40; NAWAB 1956: col.pl. 130, fig. 429.

The *ācārya* (monk in a high position) of Plate 5 is seated on a spired throne, the right hand holding the *mukhavastrikā*, the left hand hanging down, and the broom held by the right upper arm. Cf. MOTI CHANDRA 1949: col.fig. 51 (1288 AD). The king stands and he is shown with beard and “tiara”. He performs an *añjali*. His broad scarf projects out at the upper right and at the lower left (cf. Plate 6, layman at the top). The blue haloes recur in Plates 11.6 and 11.7.

The upper zone of the picture is filled with decorative, architectural and animal motifs, forming what may be called an “elaborate canopy”, a common stylistic feature (BROWN 1934: pl. 2, fig. 5).

SECTION IV

Plate 11.6. Chapter 17 of Utt criticizes the bad monk. See BRUHN 2005: Bild 4, and refer now to Utt 17,11: “He who is deceitful, talkative, arrogant, greedy, who does not control himself, nor share (his food etc. with those who are in want), and is not of an

amiable disposition (?), is called a bad śramaṇa " (JACOBI 1895: 79). The verse Utt 17,11 attacks the "passions" (often *tetrad* of passions); cf. BRUHN 2003: 48-50 et *passim*. BRUHN 2005: 43-44 quotes 17,3 and 17,12 (laziness etc. and argumentativeness).

The miniatures (Utt 17) show *inter alia* a puffed-up *bed* which is the most conspicuous object (Plate 6 etc.). The bed designates the *lazy* monk, the antithetical groups point to the *argumentative* monk, the alms-bowls to the *greedy* monk. The various miniatures are the following: BROWN 1941: pl. 19, figs. 57 (two registers), 58 (three registers), 59 (two registers), 60 (three registers); MORGENROTH/HICKMANN 1979: 43 (two registers); BRUHN 2005: Bild 4 (two registers); Plate 6 (two registers); Uttarādhyayana (***), two registers.

Our Plate 11.6 differs considerably from our previous painting (BRUHN 2005: Bild 4), from the four paintings of BROWN 1941, and from the painting of Uttarādhyayana (***), but it is very similar to MORGENROTH/HICKMANN 1979: 43. The lazy monk, lying on his bed (upper register), follows the usual rendering, but, as in MORGENROTH/HICKMANN, he is here accompanied, not by monks, but by lay-people (Plate 6: a man, a woman, a boy) who are going to massage him. The boy's left arm is misrepresented. The lying monk has no bare right shoulder, but a "neck" in his upper robe (cf. BROWN 1941: figs. 59 [?], 60 [?]; *ibid.* fig. 16). — The lower register of Plate 6 does not show a monk engaged in argument (*supra*), but rather a seated monk receiving two lay-persons (cf. MORGENROTH/HICKMANN 1979). The monk and the first layman are engaged in some sort of mutual gesticulation (cf. MORGENROTH/HICKMANN 1979). Has the layman (Plate 6) delivered some present to the monk? The second layman brings a big bowl with food.

SECTION V

We are here concerned with the story of the "spikes in the ears" (Plate 11.7). This is one out of two related "cow-herd stories" (a.- b.):

- a. ŚC/Prakrit: 297,22-299,11; HTr/Sanskrit: 10,4, 618-649. See BRUHN 1954: 104. In both versions of (a.) the angry cow-herd pushes sticks in Mahāvīra's ears. There are minor differences between the Prakrit and Sanskrit versions.
- b. ŚC: 274,11-20 and HTr: 10,3,17-26. In HTr, the cow-herd takes up a whip or rope, threatening to kill the Lord. In ŚC, he is merely *in a fury*, thereby indicating that he will kill his antagonist. See BRUHN 1954: 99.

Hemacandra's version of a. (HTr) has been analysed by BROWN (1934: 37) and by WUJASTYK (1984: 189-190): A cow-herd had left his bulls with Mahāvīra to go somewhere to melk his cows. When he returned, the bulls had disappeared. He asked Mahāvīra, "where are my bulls?" But Mahāvīra gave no answer. Enraged, the cow-herd drove two spikes in Mahāvīra's ears. Afterwards Mahāvīra met with two pious laymen, a merchant and a doctor, who recognized his problem and removed the spikes

from his ears. The miniatures show Mahāvīra between the two helpers. The cow-herd is nowhere depicted.

The two stories are connected with a story cycle of a monk outdoors in the country who refuses to answer when asked by a cowherd about the whereabouts of his herd. The result is sometimes a cruel practical joke committed by the cowherd against the saint: BRUHN 1954: 105.

Mahāvīra's troubles or trials (*upasargas*) – caused by men and animals – are described in a general manner (no stories) in the relevant sections of the Kalpasūtra (JACOBI 1884: 259-263, esp. 260) and the Ācārāṅgasūtra (JACOBI 1884: 79-87). Independently, a cluster of *upasarga* stories, including the story of Plate 7, originated, not as part of a canonical work but perhaps close to canonical traditions. The stories are best known in the version of Hemacandra. Much later, miniatures, prepared in connection with the *upasarga* stories in HTr, surfaced in Kalpasūtra manuscripts of the 15th century.

For simplicity's sake we treat the famous “Kalpasūtra” (mentioned here, but not directly involved) as a normal, self-contained canonical text. The actual history and structure of the Kalpasūtra is beyond the discussion of the current context.

In his study, W.N. BROWN prepared summaries of *upasarga* stories (BROWN 1934: 35-38), including the two stories quoted above (the “ear-spike story”, Plate 7, and the “story of the whip”). The miniatures belonging to BROWN's pp. 35-38 are figs. 75-78. The ear-spike story is illustrated in fig. 76 (lower register, right) and fig. 78 (upper register). The *dāmanī* (“binding thong”, whip) story is illustrated in fig. 75 (upper register).

In connection with Plate 7, a few words on the garment of the Śvetāmbara Jina should be intercalated. The *standing* Jina, seen mostly in *upasarga* episodes, wears a ‘short *dhotī*’. This also applies to the *seated Jina who plucks out his hair* before renouncing the world (frequent cliché). See NAWAB 1980: pl. 48, figs. 225 (seated, renouncement) and 226 (standing). — In the following cases the Jina is standing. BROWN 1934: figs. 75-78 (*upasargas* including the spike story); MOTI CHANDRA 1949: fig. 159 (spike story); WUJASTYK 1984: figs. 1 and 3 (spike story). Our Plate 7 (spike story) is irregular. Contrary to expectations, the future Jina wears the traditional dress of a monk. The seated Jina in WUJASTYK 1984: fig. 2, wears an ordinary *dhotī*.

In principle, the *seated* Jina (standard) wears the same ‘short *dhotī*’ as the ordinary standing Jina. However, his “pictogrammatic *dhotī*” is almost imperceptible (Plates I-2; much clearer: NAWAB 1956: pl. 123, col.fig. 422). “Folds” as they sometimes appear (infra) form a supplementary *dhotī* pictogram (Plate 1).

There exists a similar convention in Śvetāmbara *sculpture*. Standing Jinās always wear a normal *dhotī*. Seated Jinās occasionally display minute fanlike “folds” positioned

between the legs as a pictorial or symbolic indication of dress (the Śvetāmbara Jina is never naked!). The folds are obviously copied from Buddhist art. The ‘short *dhotī*’ is missing completely, however. See SHAH 1959: 72 (Jina standing) and 61 (Jina seated with folds). — There are never any objects in the hands of the Jina (Digambara and Śvetāmbara).

In the picture, the end of the *dhotī* (Plate 7) is identical with the end of the familiar scarf (Plate 6). The two figures extracting the two spikes are portrayed with royal dress (“tiara” etc.) in reduced form. Three dancing girls appear in the lower register.

D. WUJASTYK (1984) relates Hemacandra's version of the spike incident before describing three pertinent 16th century miniatures from the Wellcome Institute Library, London. In the second part of his paper, WUJASTYK discusses two pictorial testimonia (a Pāla manuscript and a mural in Ajanta Cave 16).

At the beginning of our paper we introduced the motto of “analysis (description) beyond identification”. We have stuck to this principle, and we hope that the reader will accept our course of analysis.

SECTION VI (APPENDIX)

In the last number of the *Indo-Asiatische Zeitschrift* (BRUHN 2005) we published an article on “Jaina Miniaturmalerei im *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*” (see also fn. 1 supra).

In that article we erroneously connected Bild 6 *ibid.* (killing of the ram) with Chapter 7 instead of with Chapter 25. Accordingly, the description of Bild 6 was an abstract of *Chapter 7* and not of *Chapter 25*. The situation is as follows. The killing of the ram as shown in Bild 6, is a motif found on three miniatures of Ch. 25. All the miniatures of Ch. 25 show either the “two priests in the sacrificial enclosure” (a), or the “killing of the ram” (b / three cases). Now, version (b) is reminiscent of the miniatures of Ch. 7, but there a single man kills a ram or leads a fettered ram (b-1). Version (b) as belonging to Ch. 25 shows the full scenario (killing and cooking) or b-2. We call b-1 the simple version and b-2 the extended version. Version b-1 is an individual motif based on an individual story of Ch. 7. In Ch. 25 the relevant version (b-2) does not really fit: It is perhaps only a pictogram for “sacrifice”.

Chapter 25 relates how a Jaina monk (Jayaghoṣa) converts a Brahmanical priest (Vijayaghoṣa) to Jainism. According to the commentary, Jayaghoṣa and Vijayaghoṣa are brothers, but this is not indicated by the text of Utt. Jayaghoṣa approaches Vijayaghoṣa in the town of Vārāṇasī when the latter performs a sacrifice (obviously an *animal* sacrifice). Jayaghoṣa who has performed a month's fast asks Vijayaghoṣa for alms, but the latter refuses, because Jayaghoṣa is not a Brahmanical priest. A short dialogue ensues and is continued by a description (by Jayaghoṣa) of the Jaina monk as the “true Brahmana”. The description convinces Vijayaghoṣa, so that he offers the alms to Jayaghoṣa and enters the Jaina order. The dialogue and the discourse on the

Jaina religion refer *inter alia* to the Brahmanical sacrifice but they do not concentrate on that subject.

One miniature version for Ch. 25 (viz. version a) shows the round or roundish sacrificial enclosure with two priests tête-à-tête inside it and with the sacrificial fire between them. Outside the enclosure stands Jayaghosa, shown as a Jaina monk. There are thus two priests, not one, and the dialogue between priest and monk is not indicated. Only in the lower register (if existing) do we find priest (bestowing alms) and monk tête-à-tête. See BROWN 1941: figs. 98, 99, 101; Utt (***) slide/Ch. 25. The motif concentrates on the denial and bestowal of alms, not on the dialogue.

Version b-2 shows the killing of a ram and a fire. There is no specific story behind it. The first scene (slaughter) appears to the right, the subsequent scene (cooking: fire as pictogram) to the left. We see a man to the right and a man to the left with a ram and a fire in the middle. The man to the right kills the ram, and the fire is the requirement for the meal preparation (the meal for the gods). The man to the left pours *ghee* into the fire on which the meat of the ram is going to be cooked. There is a marked difference between the man to the left and the man to the right. The former is seated; in one case he has a long beard and is bareheaded (MORGENROTH/HICKMAN 1979: 13), obviously a priest; in the two other cases he has a short beard and a “tiara”, the usual attribute of a king. The man to the right (who kills the ram) is a mere youngster and is standing; he is beardless and has but scant dress. — In Bild 6, the neck of the ram is blood-stained (colour dark-red) and a vessel is placed directly below its neck to collect the blood when it drips down. In MORGENROTH/HICKMANN 1979: 13, the act of killing is more realistic; the dark-red blood runs along the back; the vessel is missing. The man to the left places a ladle with a ball of *ghee* on the rim of the hearth. In Utt (°°°), two dark-red streaks of blood are visible on the body of the ram. The man to the left pours *ghee* into the fire. There is again no vessel. — The scenes in the upper and lower registers are not clear, but similar in all three miniatures. See Bild 6 (BRUHN 2005), MORGENROTH/HICKMANN 1979: 13, and Uttarādhyayana (°°°) slide/Ch. 25.

Refer for Utt (°°°) to **Plate 11.8**. The script to the left belongs to the basic text (*mūla*), the script to the right to one of the commentaries. The arrangement of script and miniature is demonstrated by MORGENROTH/HICKMANN 1979: 87 (Ch. 7: full manuscript-leaf, same miniature as p. 31).

The story of Ch. 7 runs as follows. Just as a ram enjoys good food and all sorts of delicacies to be ultimately slaughtered for a guest, so the sinner enjoys life to end ultimately in hell. This is the *mūla* text of Utt. The commentary has a supplementary story. A calf complains to its mother that the ram has a far better life than the calf. The mother tells the above parable so that the calf is satisfied with its poor food when it later sees how the ram is slaughtered. The miniature motif is b-1. Refer to MORGENROTH/HICKMANN 1979: 31 (Ch. 7), to BROWN 1941: figs. 19-21, and

to Uttarādhyayana (***) slide/Ch. 7. We see two cows in MORGENROTH/HICKMANN 1979: 31 and cow and calf in BROWN 1941: fig. 21. The man who leads the ram is shown in MORGENROTH/HICKMANN loc.cit.; in the other cases we see how the animal is slaughtered.

It is not clear why the extended version was not used for Ch. 7 (side by side with the simple version), but for Ch. 25 where it makes *prima facie* little sense. Be that as it may, the extended version has in one case the portrayal of a priest, not of a king (supra). It is thus basically an appropriate indication of or pictogram for a sacrifice. The expressions "simple" (b-1) and "extended" (b-2) express a basic identity which seems correct and which justifies our nomenclature. An intermediate version between b-1 and b-2 is of course missing; b-2 was thus directly inspired by b-1 (?). Further material may throw light on the situation. But even now we can say that an analytic survey of the miniature paintings of all thirty-six chapters of Uttarādhyayana would be useful.

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Section II

Literature

The so-called “Seniors of the Jain canon” are composed mainly in stanzas, and even the prose texts of the first part of *Āyār’aṅga*, the first and oldest of the four contain fragmentary metrical pieces, as Walther Schubring discovered and demonstrated in the text presentation of his critical edition.¹ Besides the predominant meters which were developed from Vedic *anuṣṭubh* and *triṣṭubh/jagatī*, the reader will find *vaitālīya/aupacchandāsaka* as well as the older form of the *āryā* meter and - as secondary insertions in some chapters of the *Uttarajjhāyā* - the new *āryā* meter, too.² Nevertheless the aesthetic pretensions of the metrical and stylistic features mostly do not match the concern with substance which is conveyed by these works. So it is not surprising we get only little information about any artistic claim, let alone rhetorical or poetical training, of the respective authors or redactors.

In later times, however, Jaina Paṇḍits were able to utilize the vehicle of literary style for their task of teaching. Some of their techniques of using poetical devices Colette Caillat has demonstrated in her contribution to a congratulatory volume dedicated to Jan Gonda in 1972 presenting examples from *Candavejjhaya Painna*, a work composed in the modern form of the *āryā* meter and belonging to the latest stratum of the canon.³ In her article, Mme Caillat referred to the important studies of Jan Gonda. Gonda, for his part, had documented and interpreted the occurrences of poetical features in the earliest sources of Indian literature, especially in the R̥gveda, stressing the fact that Vedic texts were composed before rules of *alamkāraśāstra*-s controlled the modes of literary style.⁴ Gonda elucidated that it was not the intention of any Vedic *kavi* to ‘make verses or poetry’, but to give adequate and solemn expression to the

¹ Walther Schubring, *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra. Erster Śrutaskandha – Text, Analyse und Glossar*, Leipzig 1910.

² For these observations see Walther Schubring, *Mahāvīra’s Words*. Translated from the German with much added material by W. Bollée and J. Soni., L.D. Series 139, Ahmedabad 2004, pp. 2-4. [German Original 1926].

³ Colette Caillat, *Stylistic Notes on Candavejjhaya*. In: *India Maior – Congratulatory volume presented to J. Gonda*, ed. J. Ensink and P. Gaeffke, Leiden 1972, pp. 85-90. Mme Caillat closed her article with the following statement: “In such a context, ‘figures of speech’ are certainly not used as a vain and mundane ornament, but because they are felt to lead the listener naturally to the right Goal”.

⁴ Jan Gonda, *Stylistic Repetition in the Veda*, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel LXV, No. 3, Amsterdam 1959. Besides the Vedic instances, Gonda quotes examples from early Greek, Latin and also from South East Asian literary sources. - See also: Jan Gonda, *Remarks on Similes in Sanskrit Literature*, Wageningen 1939.

author's inspiration (*dhīh*) and his knowledge of the divine. Vedic “stanzas owe their existence ... only to ‘religious’ need”, not “to a desire to create something beautiful”.

Regarding the oldest group of Jaina scripture, Gonda's statements *mutatis mutandis* seem to apply to some of the poems delivered in the Śvetāmbara canon also. Examining that concept, let us have look at the sixth chapter of *Sūyagadaṅga* (*Sūy. I, 6*).

In so far as it is an eulogy of Mahāvīra, entitled *Vīrastuti* /-stava by tradition, the chapter is *sui generis* anomalous and to some extent an alien element within the content of the “seniors of the canon”, while in the younger Jainistic literature many examples of this kind (*stotra*), dedicated to single Jinas or to all of them, present rich and manifold varieties of its poetical genre. On the other hand, this special eulogistic feature suggests stylistic comparison of a text like *Sūy. I 6* with Vedic hymns. The *Vīrastuti* is a metrical text, composed of 29 stanzas, *triṣṭubh* throughout.⁵ Also the use of *triṣṭubh* metre, though tending to the specialized norm of *upajāti* in this poem, yet typical as well of the Ṛgvedic praises of god Indra's deeds, prompts comparison of literary style likewise.

The author, a *bhikkhu* (*Sūy. I 6,2c*),⁶ envisioned himself questioned by a great audience (*Sūy. I 6, 1a.b*), highly educated people, versed in refined discussions of religious themes (*samaṇā māhaṇā ya*), lay followers of his own (*agāriṇo ya*) and also of foreign creed, critics possibly (*paratitthiyā ya*). The object of the *stuti*, Mahāvīra, is named at the end of the sixth pāda, not directly, but by paraphrasing his identity, mentioning the qualities of *jñāna*, *darśana*, *śīla* (i.e. *cāritra*) meaning the *mokṣamārga* (cf. *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*, Sūtra 1) of the ‘*Jñātasuta*’. The *bhikkhu* is not questioned to create a poem, but as a person who has knowledge (*jāṇāsi naṃ*) to speak according to truth (*jaḥā-taheṇa*) and to the holy tradition (*ahā-suyam*), in accordance with his own perception (*jaḥā ṇisaṃtaṃ*; *Sūy. I 6, 2c.d*).⁷

pucchiṃsu naṃ samaṇā māhaṇā ya agāriṇo yā paratitthiyā ya /
se ke imaṃ ṇīyam dhammam āhu aṇelisam sāhu-samikkhayāe //1

kham va nāṇam kaha<ṃ> dāsaṇam se sīlam kham ṇāyasuyassa āsi /
jāṇāsi naṃ bhikkhu jaḥā-taheṇam ahā-suyam būhi jaḥā ṇisaṃtaṃ //2

⁵ Quotations of the Prakrit text in this article have been cited from Muni Nathamala's edition, *Angasuttāni*, Vol. 1, Ladnun 1947, 301-304. Occasionally variant readings mentioned in the *apparatus criticus* of that edition have been preferred.

⁶ According to tradition Suhamma (*Sūyagada-Nijjuttī v. 85*), Mahāvīra's disciple and fifth gaṇadhara.

⁷ *Śrutam* is not only that what has been “heard”, but in our context it means the *āgama*, *siddhānta*; and also *ni-SAM* “to perceive” can be used in sense of spiritual activity.

As can be seen by many Indian instances as well as from the Homeric *Iliad* (8th cent. B.C.),⁸ and *Odyssey*, introductory stanzas like these correspond to ancient epic technique. The equivalent of this kind of proemium or prelude in later time's rhetorical and poetical terminology is called *prastāva* or *āmukham*.

The poet begins his depiction of Mahāvīra's excellence with an 'enumeration' of his qualities, setting the weighty adjective *kheyannae* (*kṣetrajña*)⁹ at the beginning of a series of twenty predications (vv. 3a.b; 5a-d; 6a.b).¹⁰ The device of assonance, treated by Gonda in a special chapter (ch. X; and see note 11) is characteristic of this enumeration of qualities as well as of the whole *Vīrastuti*. The series is interrupted by vv. 3c.d and 4a-d, where the statement "*jānāsi nam*" (v. 2c) is answered, inviting the hearer to get knowledge of Mahāvīra's teaching and to look at his constancy: "*jānāhi dhammaṃ ca dhiṃ ca peha*" (v. 3d). By use of alliteration (*anuprāsa*) and chiasmus (*yamaka*) the request is "apt to create a certain tension, to arrest the hearer's attention".¹¹

Resembling a lamp (*dīve va*), Mahāvīra elucidates the *dharma* (v. 4d). This comparison is followed (beginning v. 6c.d) by an accumulation of similes, describing the richness of Mahāvīra's divine nature.

Most intensely, like the sun, Mahāvīra gives out heat - and (as is suggested by the verb *tapati*) practices austerity (*anuttaram tavai sūrie vā*, v. 6c), he illuminates the darkness like Vairocana-Indra, who illuminates the top-most hell, named Ratnaprabhā (v. 6d). - Mahāvīra, the "*muni* Kāśyapa of quick discrimination" (*āsupanne*), who will lead to (or: is a leader concerning)¹² this highest *dharma* of the Jinas, is compared to Indra, the god "of great dignity" (*mahānubhāva*), "who has thousand eyes" (*sahassa-netā*, v. 7d; or: "who is a leader of thousands"),¹³ prominent in heaven. - "As to power of discrimination, he (Mahāvīra) is inexhaustible like the ocean or, let us say, like the sea, the further shore being far, far away" (v. 8a.b: *se paṇṇayā akkhaṇṇe sāgarē vā, mahodahī vā vī anantapāre*). - Without any impurity, without passions, free (*anāle vā akasāṇe mukke*, v. 8c), he shines forth radiating like Sakka, lord of the gods.¹⁴ - As to his

⁸ *Iliad* A, verse 1, where a goddess is invoked by the request to sing, not of Achilles, the famous warrior, but of Achilles' *menis*, (that means) his "wrath" (*krodha*) which gave rise to the horror of the Trojan war.

⁹ *kṣetrajña* (*kheanna*, *khetanna*) in canonical texts found in *Ācārāṅga* and *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* only.

¹⁰ Gonda treated "enumeration" as a „syntactic and stylistic element" in a special chapter (pp. 380-389) of his *Stylistic Repetition*, pointing out that Indian thinkers and poets "always retained a predilection for enumerative expression of thought" and "that a casual occurrence of alliteration, homoioteleuton, assonance, isosyllabism etc. in the rather frequent enumerations in epic texts and other compositions of this kind [G. quoted per instance stanzas from *Bhagavadgītā*] is normal" (381-383).

¹¹ Gonda, *Stylistic Repetition*, p. 110.

¹² *netā*, v. 7b and d, is recorded by Pischel, *Prakrit Grammar*, § 390.

¹³ The author of the *Cūṛṇi* has recognized that a pun was intended by the poet. He explains: "*Sahasram asya netrāṇām = sahassa-nettā* (sic!), *anekāṇām vā sahasrāṇām netā = nāyaka ity arthaḥ*" (Ed. Bombay, 1927, p. 180).

¹⁴ In contrast to v. 7, here the god is not named "Indra", but "Śakra", as usual in the epics.

energy (*vīrienam*), he is full of energy; like Sudassana (i.e. Meru), which is the best of the mountains altogether, or rather (*se*, i.e. the Meru) is the dwelling of the gods, a mine of joy,¹⁵ he gives radiance to all sides, endowed with many virtues (*guna*).

*se vīrienam padipunna-vīrie sudamsane vā naga-savvasetthel/
surālae vā vi mud'āgare se virāyae negaguṇovavee// 9*

The comparison of Mahāvīra to Sudarśana (Meru) is heightened by a charming digression. The poet, seemingly forgetting the theme of his *stuti*, starts a beautiful description of the central mountain, glorifying its splendour in four stanzas (vv. 10-13).

This kind of digression represents a pattern of style, which at first had been observed by interpreters of classical Greek literature and has been called “ring composition”, where the heart of a poem or passage is framed by matching “bookends”. It was discussed in a broader frame with especially instructive examples by Hermann Fraenkel.¹⁶ Gonda remarked, concerning examples of ‘ring composition’ from the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, that “this structure which was doubtless borrowed from colloquial usage is a well-known feature in archaic literary composition.”¹⁷

The passage of vv. 11-13 appears as a climax of the poem. It deserves appreciation and further study as a simile not only in comparison with other descriptions of famous mountains in Indian literature, but also and especially as reflecting the picture, portrayed in the *Aupapātikasūtra*, of Mahāvīra himself, standing in the center of the *saṃvasaraṇa* and proclaiming salvation to the whole world.

In v. 14, a stanza lacking in poetic brilliancy, the author returns to his object:

*Sudamsaṇass' esa jaso girissa pavuccatī mahato pavvatassa/
etovame samaṇe nātaputte jāt-jaso-damsaṇa-nāna-sile// 14*

“Thus is described the glory of mount Sudarśana, the great mountain; similar to it is the Śramaṇa Nāyaputra, who is noble, glorious, full of faith, knowledge and virtue.” (Trs. Hermann Jacobi)¹⁸

¹⁵ Regarding v. 9a.b, the Cūṛṇi (p. 181) sees the *tertium comparationis* in *vīrya*, a term meaning not only Mahāvīra's power of *tapas*, but also the treasures of the mountain (mines, healing plants etc.). The Meru, central point of the earth (*mahie*, v. 13a), is also the abode (*ālaya*) of the gods. The grammatical connection, however, is not clear-cut: If the expression *vā vi* in v. 9c is to be understood as introducing an alternative, then *sur'ālae* meaning “heaven” (*svarga*) and introducing an independent sentence, implies another comparison. The Cūṛṇi, too, offers this possibility, paraphrasing *sur'ālaya* through *svarga* (“heaven”).

¹⁶ “Eine Stileigenschaft der fruehgriechischen Literatur”. In *Nachrichten der Goettinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1924, pp. 63-127; ed. revised in: *Wege und Formen fruehgriechischen Denkens*, Muenchen 1955, repr. 1960, pp. 40-96. See also: Renate Söhnen, „*Untersuchungen zur Komposition von Reden und Gesprächen im Rāmāyaṇa*“. *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, Monographie 6, Reinbeck 1979, pp. 292-307. and cf. further studies mentioned there.

¹⁷ Stylistic Repetition, p. 83.

¹⁸ Jaina Sūtras part II, in: *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol XLV, Oxford 1895.

V. 15 comparing Mahāvīra with Niṣadha and Rucaka, two mountain peaks of immense mass and proportions, both well-known from cosmographical texts and frequently mentioned together, has the appearance of a scholastic interpolation. It rather diminishes the effect of the magnificent simile that precedes it.

Then we come to stanzas 16 and 17, extolling by a threefold anaphora¹⁹ Mahāvīra's teaching of the best dharma (*anuttaram dhammam*), his dwelling in the stage of most profound meditation (*anuttaram jhānam*), which is the whitest of all stages of white (*su-sukka-sukkam*) meditation, and his reaching the condition of perfection (*agg'anuttaram siddhim gaim*). These stanzas may, in my view, be read as the quintessential point of the poem. It also could be assumed that the poet intended to conclude his text here, encircling the poem as a whole with the second 'bookend' of a framing 'ring-composition'. The ring is closed in v. 17c.d, when the poet refocuses on v. 2a.b, answering the audience, who had asked (v. 2a.b, cf. *supra*, p. 4):

"Of which kind was his knowledge, of which kind his faith, of which kind the observances of the Nāyaputra?"

In response to the threefold question the poet responds with a single answer, supported by all three qualities into which the audience inquired (v. 17c.d):

"The condition of perfection, which has a beginning, but does not end, he has reached by knowledge, by observances, by faith".

*kham va nānam kham dmsanam se silam kham nāyasuyassa āsi / v.2a.b
siddhim gaim sāi-m-aṇam patte nānena sileṇa ya dmsanena //17.ce*

But the praise of Mahāvīra goes on – or better to say: it begins anew, guided by another idea and religious feeling. Formally connected to the foregoing by word-responsion (*nānena sileṇa ya*, v. 17d = 18d), the next stanza introduces a series of similes (vv. 18-24), characterized by a different pattern of poetic style.

The seven stanzas, constructed in a way that is more or less homogeneous, but not always clear in respect of grammar, are reproduced here and translated, following Jacobi's rendering (cf. *supra* note 19) as far as possible, but unapologetically laying bare their grammatical deficiency:

*rukkhesu nāe jaha sāmālī vā jamsī raīm veyayantī suvaṇṇā/
vaṇesu yā namdanam āhu setṭham, nānena sileṇa ya bhūipanne//18*

„As among trees is famous (*jñāta*) the Śālmali, in which the Suparna gods take their delight, and among parks Nandana is called the best; by knowledge and observances he (sc. Mahāvīra), full of ascetic power and discrimination (*bhūipanne*).²⁰

¹⁹ The explanation of "the widespread phenomenon of anaphora" forms one of the longest chapters in Gonda's book on "*Stylistic Repetition in the Veda*" (Ch. VI, pp. 128-165).

²⁰ The compound *bhū(t)ipanna* (*bhūtiprajña-*) is used within this poem in vv. 6. 15. 18, but nowhere else within the *aṅgas* of the Śvetāmbara canon.

The second half of this stanza was translated by Jacobi: "As Nandana is among parks, so is the Omniscient most famous through his knowledge and virtue." Probably that is what the poet had wanted to say, and Jacobi might have read the variant *setṭhe* for *setṭham* in his copy of the text and then interpreted *nandana-m* (the -m- being inserted to avoid the hiatus) as a nominative; *āhu* then would have been inserted as a parenthesis "as they say" (the same construction in v. 21a *hatthīsu erāvaṇa-m āhu nāe*). Nevertheless *setṭhe* in v. 18c as the predicate in the first line belongs to *nandana*, there is no Prakrit equivalent of Jacobi's "so" (like *taha*) in v. 18d; and *bhūipanne*, the subject in v. 18d does not mean "omniscient".

This is not the place for analyzing the grammatical style throughout the whole series of similes, but these brief comments may suffice to show that v. 18 does not appropriately join to v. 17c.d. This hard transition may be further evidence of scholastic interpolation and possible loss of the poet's original words, for which scholastic interpolation may have been substituted. -

*thaṇiyam va saddāṇa aṇuttaram u camde va tārāṇa mahānubhāve/
gandhesu vā candanam āhu setṭham, evaṇ munīnam apaḍiṇṇam āhu // 19*

"As thunder is the loudest of sounds, as the moon is of high dignity among the stars, (as) among perfumes sandal is called the best, so among monks (he) is called incomparable".

*jahā sayambhū udahīna setṭhe nāgesu vā dharaṇindam āhu setṭham /
kho'odae vā rasa-vejyante taho vahāṇe muni vejyante // 20*

"As (the ocean on which sleeps) Svayambhū is the best of seas, or as among the nāgas Dharaṇendra is called the best, or (as) the Kṣododa-Ocean (is) the Indra-flag of juice, so by his practice of asceticism the monk (Mahāvīra) is an Indra-flag."

*hatthīsu erāvaṇa-m āhu nāe sīho migāṇam salilāṇa gaṅgā /
pakkhīsu vā garule veṇudeve nīrvāṇa-vādīṇ' iha nāyaputte // 21*

"Among elephants Airāvaṇa, as they say, is the leader (and: "famous", cf. v. 18a)²¹, the lion (is the leader) of animals, of rivers (it is) the Gaṅgā, of birds (it is) Garuḍa, the Veṇudeva; of them, who teach the Nirvāṇa²² (it is) this here, the Nāyaputra."

²¹ In Prakrit, the word *nāya*, of course, as a homonym has the meaning of *jñāta* and of *nāya(ka)* as well.

²² The compound *nīrvāṇavādīṇ* has, to date, not been verified in dictionaries of Sanskrit or Middle Indian, as far as I know; the Āgama Śābdakoṣa mentions our stanza, Sūy. I, 6,21 only.

The compound “*nirvāṇa-vādin*” until now has not been verified in dictionaries of Sanskrit or Middle-Indian, as far as I know; the Āgama Śabdakoṣa mentions this stanza only.

*johesu ṇāe jaha vīsaseṇe pupphesu vā jaha aravinda-m āhu/
khattiṇa seṭṭhe jaha dantavakke isīṇa seṭṭhe taha Vaddhamāṇe// 22*

“As among warriors Viṣvaksena is the famous leader, or among flowers the lotus, they say, as the best of kṣatriyas is Dantavakra, so Vardhamāna is the best of ṛṣis.”

*dāṇāṇa seṭṭhaṃ abhaya-ppayāṇaṃ saccesu vā aṇavajjaṃ vayanti/
tavesu vā uttamaṃ bambhaceraṃ log'uttame samaṇe Nāyaputte// 23*

“The best of gifts is providing security, or among true speech utterances, that one which does not hurt, they call (the best speech?); among religious austerities the highest is chastity, the highest in the world is the śramaṇa Nāyaputra.”

*ṭhiṇa seṭṭhā lavasattamā vā sabhā suhammā va sabhāṇa seṭṭhā /
nirvāṇaṃ seṭṭhaṃ jaha savvadhammā ṇa nāyaputtā para-m atthi ṇāṇī // 24*

“As the Lavasaptamas are the best of those gods who live very long, as the palace Saudharman is the best of heavenly abodes, as Nirvāṇa is the best in comparison with all principles,²³ so there is no wiser man than Nāyaputra.”

These seven stanzas, which present a plethora of strong poetic imagery, aggregated and serially concatenated, leave no doubt as to Mahāvīra's pre-eminence in the relevant qualities, in each case praised in the fourth pāda of the respective *triṣṭubh* verse. It seems that here the author tried something new, as perhaps he experimented in a poetic structure to which he was until now unaccustomed. At first sight this structure gives the impression it could be the ‘priamel’, a form used in other literature through ages from Homer to baroque poetic art.

The name ‘priamèle’ (from latin *praeambulum*) had been given by F.-G. Bergmann, who was the first to collect occurrences and to define this kind of rhetoric and poetic device theoretically.²⁴ Bergmann discussed examples from didactic literature, including Indian sources, especially Bhartṛhari.

²³ In v. 24 c the editions have *nirvāṇasetṭhā* (without any variant) as a predicate nominative referring to *savvadhammā* as the subject. My conjectura is suggested by Nāgārjuna's ‘*agraprajñapti*’: “parmi tous les dharma, le Nirvāṇa est le premier.” (Trs. from the Chinese version of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra*, k. 27, p. 260a, by Étienne Lamotte, *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, Tome IV, Louvain 1976, p. 1754. See also below with footnote 33.

²⁴ F.-G. Bergmann, *La priamèle dans les différentes littératures anciennes et modernes*. Strasbourg/Colmar 1868 and 1875. [The book was not yet accessible to me].

Since then, attention of philologists was focused on 'priamel', and further examples, also, for instance, from the Old Testament, were discovered and analyzed. In 1982 William H. Race, in his book entitled "The Classical Priamel Homer to Boethius"²⁵ examined 'The Relationship of the Priamel to Other Rhetorical Forms' (pp. 17-30)²⁶ and discussed numerous occurrences of this stylistic figure, commenting on his examples generally in chronological order.²⁷ At the beginning of his work ('Preface', p. 1), Race provides the reader with "a brief description", a generally workable operational definition, of his object of research:

"A priamel is a poetic/rhetorical form which consists, basically, on two parts: 'foil' and 'climax'. The function of the foil is to introduce and highlight the climatic term by enumerating or summarizing a number of 'other' examples, subjects, times, places or instances, which then yield (with varying degrees of contrast or analogy) to the particular point of interest or importance."

Inspecting our stanzas (*Sūy. I, 6, 18-24*) in the light of this description, we might call them a series of priamels, if we dispense with the claim that the meaning of "foil" is 'enhancing a person or a thing by contrasting it against another' in the first line. While it is a distinguishing mark from classical literature that over against the opinion of "others" the speaker of the poem sets his or her own view as a subjective proclamation, the comparisons of vv. 18-24 do not strictly follow this pattern. The poem compares many wonderful things which may be familiar to the audience as a foil to emphasize the great qualities of Mahāvīra.

Jan Gonda was unable to find the priamel structure in the Vedas, and indeed, if we recall that the Vedic hymns and Vedic prose are normative texts, we may well conclude there was no room for individual, subjective statements with a foil leading up to a climax. The same observation may be valid with regard to religious texts of later times, especially *ślotras* or a poem like *Sūy. I 6*, the *Vīrastava*. Here also, the poet needs assurance and by forming his poem as he does, he assures himself of alignment with a view of the world as a system advancing a standard of values and a fixed order of priorities at the highest place of which resides a divine ideal: Mahāvīra (*log'uttame samaṇe Nāyaputte*, v. 23d).

The author of these stanzas did not invent the figure of style that he uses as an ornament here. A model existed already in Buddhist literature that must have been well known in our poet's time.

²⁵ Leiden (Brill) 1982, 171 pp.

²⁶ Mostly the same as the stylistic elements exposed by Gonda in "Stylistic Repetition in the Veda".

²⁷ Indian literature is not mentioned.

Let me cite as a first example a prose text from the *Majjhima Nikāya* in archaizing festive language (the brahman Gaṇakamoggallāna thanks the Buddha for the instruction he has given him):

*Seyyathā pi, bho Gotama,
ye keci mūlagandhā kālānusārikaṃ tesam aggam akkhāyati,
ye keci sārāgandhā lohitaṇḍanaṃ tesam aggam akkhāyati,
ye keci pupphagandhā vassikaṃ tesam aggam akkhāyati,
evam eva kho bho Gotamassa ovādam param ajjadhammesu. MN III, 6-7:
Gaṇakamoggallāna Sutta (107).*

That, Master Gotama, is as -

Whatever root perfumes there are, black orris root is reckoned as the best (*agram* “pinnacle”) of them,
whatever wood perfumes there are, red sandalwood is reckoned as the best of them,
whatever flower perfumes there are, jasmine is reckoned as the best of them.
just so, yours, master Gotama’s speech is supreme among the teachings of today.

An artistically refined *anuṣṭubh* stanza, distinguished by the same stylistic figure is presented, for example, by the fragmentarily preserved *Varṇārḥavarṇastotra* of the famous poet Mātṛceta:

*tvad-rūpam iva rūpāṇāṃ tvac-cittam iva cetasām /
tvad-dharma iva dharmāṇāṃ agryaḥ prāṇabhṛtām asi //v. 3,22²⁸
As your body among bodies, as your intellectual power among intellectual powers, as your teaching among teachings, so you are pinnacle-like (*agryaḥ*) among breathing beings.*

This type of comparison was called “*agraprajñapti*” in Buddhist tradition.²⁹ In western dictionaries it was noted as a term at first from a passage in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*:³⁰

Cattasso imā bhikkhave aggapaññattī. Katamā cattasso?

²⁸ Jens-Uwe Hartmann, *Das Varṇārḥavarṇastotra des Mātṛceta, herausgegeben und uebersetzt*. Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden XII, Goettingen 1987, p. 152. Here I have quoted the stanza omitting the brackets indicating lacunas.

²⁹ Cf. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New haven 1953, p. 5. Many relevant passages as well as the term *agraprajñapti* itself have been found in text sources of the Northern Buddhism, and also fragments from an *Agraprajñaptisūtra* exists in the collection of Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden (SHT 24, unpublished).

³⁰ Cf. *A Critical Pali Dictionary*. Vol. I, 1924-1238, p. 18: „agga-paññatti, f., title of proeminence (as to greatness, etc.)”.

The short sūtra, which may have been composed as a joke, is a priamel also, in so far as the Buddha here is contrasted with the ‘foil’ of Rāhu, Mandhātṛ and Māra.³¹

In the chapter on *Sarvajñatā and Sarvākārajñatā* of the chinese version of Nāgārjuna’s *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra* is contained a list of eleven *agraprajñaptis*, beginning with images similar to those of our poem -

“among all sources of light (*prabhā*) the sun (*āditya*) is the first, among all men the noble king cakravartin is the first, among all lotuses (*padma*) the blue lotus (*nīlotpala*) is the first, among all flowers that grow on earth (*sthalajapuṣpa*) the jasmine (*sumanā*) ..., among all tree fragrances the *gośīrṣa*-sandalwood ...” – and ending with the praise of Nirvāṇa: “among all dharmas, the nirvāṇa is the first.” (see above, stanza 24 with footnote 24).³²

In form of conventionalized statements the *agraprajñapti* always refers to the Buddha himself or to the *triratna* (*Buddha – dharma – saṅgha*), a fact, which may have induced the author of Sūy. I, 6, 18-24, to apply this pattern of literary style for his purpose of praising Mahāvīra by a special feature of poetry.

³¹ The passage culminates in two verses:

Rāh' aggaṃ attabhāvinam Mandhātā kāmabhoginam
Māro ādhīpateyyānam iddhiyā yassā jalam
Uddham tiriyaṃ apācīnam yāvatā jagato gati

Sadevakassa lokassa Buddho aggaṃ pavuccatīti. AN II p. 17, Nr. 15.

³² Étienne Lamotte, *Traité*, tome IV, p.1753.1754 with footnote 1, has added to his French translation, which is quoted here, parallels from the Pali canon known to him: MN III, p. 6-7 (see above); SN III, p. 158; AN III, p. 364.365; V p. 21-22.

 Willem B. BOLLÉE

Jinno 'ham asmi ... savanam na phāsu
(Suttanipāta 1120)

1.0 Hearing is the first active sense in mammals, in humans even two months before birth,¹ and its great significance in Indian literature compared with other senses, especially seeing, is amply shown by a plethora of associations. Since the Ṛgveda one hears either with *kārṇa*, which has no certain etymology, or with various nouns of the root *ŚRU*-,² from which also the word for pupil, *śrāvaka*, and thereby the adherents of the Jain and Buddhist convictions are formed. Later, *śruti* “hearing; ear” (MW) also obtains the meaning of “reading”, for instance in *duḥ-śruti* “faulty reading”.³ With the Jains, only three bodies of five-bodied beings have ears: the earthly (*orāliya*), the metamorphic (*veuvviya*) and the body of transference (*āhāraga*).⁴

1.1 The importance of the ear is manifested by its occurrence as a synecdoche, just as white French in Réunion and the Caribbean are called Zorey (< *les oreilles* “[red] Ears”),⁵ and as in the barbarous bullfight in Spain where infatuated spectators grant a torero an ear of the animal tortured to death as a souvenir of his heroic deed.⁶ Thus, as a *pars pro toto*, in the times of the Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā the earmarking of cows indicates their belonging to a deity or sage: cows with the right ear pierced belong to Tvaṣṭṛ; those marked with a pillar (*sthūnā-kārṇa*) belong to Vasiṣṭha.⁷ Numbers, too, can be branded in the ear of cattle, such as five: *pañca-kārṇa*.⁸ In the hereafter animals with marked ears were expected to come to their possessor and thus would not belong

❖ The author expresses his gratitude to Dr John Weaver for idiomatizing his English diction.

¹ Huebotter 1932: 14 in the ninth week, together with the other seven openings of the body.

² Native lexica give also some rare synonyms such as *kuhara* and *p(a)ñjūṣa*, *peñjūṣa* (MW).

³ Williams 1963: 126 note 8.

⁴ Aṇuogaddāra sū. 405ff.; Sūyagaḍa-Nijjuttī 6; Glasenapp 1999: 195; Schubring 2000: § 62.

⁵ Bollée 1993: 571.

⁶ *Conceder la oreja*. Being Christians, the Spanish do not recognize us humans as just another kind of animals.

⁷ MS 4,2,9 (p. 347,17), but we hear of earmarked cows as early as ṚV 10, 62,7 (*aṣṭa-karṇyyāḥ*; see also Delbrück 1896: 49f. and Paudler 1933).

⁸ See Pāṇini 6,3,115.

to the brahmins who obtained them as *dakṣiṇā*,⁹ the lightning-conductor for the offence of killing the sacrificial victim. When a goat or sheep dies through a valid cause, cowherds have to deliver the earmark to the owner as proof.¹⁰

Once we hear of a dead Tailang brahmin whose ears are stuffed with holy basil (*tulaśī*) leaves.¹¹ In this case, and in the next, where in a fairy tale an ugly man becomes a young prince by twisting his left ear,¹² the ear seems to represent the whole person. A good example of this is also the oblation into (the hand of a brahmin or) the right ear of a he-goat (Agni) when the *yajamāna*'s fire does not spring up.¹³ Normally, of course, one would expect the fluid to be poured into the mouth of the animal.

1.1.1 Indra is supposed to hear well: even from afar his ears are near.¹⁴ When in the R̥gvedic wedding hymn the sun's daughter Sūryā marries (king) Soma, the ears are the wheels of her chariot.¹⁵ As a termitarium can register sounds very well,¹⁶ it is called an "ear of the earth" in the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā.¹⁷ In the later speculative identifications of the Brāhmaṇas one finds out the nature of the ear: Indra is the mind, Sarasvatī speech, and the Aśvins as twin deities are the ears.¹⁸ Elsewhere, the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa says: heaven created the ear, and the seer Viśvamitra is the ear, because therewith one hears in every direction and there is a friend of it on every side¹⁹ Dying, one passes into the quarters by one's ear,²⁰ the association of the ear with the compass directions arising from its indicating from which side a sound emerges.²¹ In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad the gods address the ear as a deity by urging it to chant the *udgītha* for them.²² The Buddha has a divine ear (*dibba sota-dhātu*).²³ In the Kathāsaritsāgara

⁹ MS 4,2,9 (p. 348,1) *na vā etam etā amutrāgacchanti, yā an-akṣitā iti*, translated by Delbrück *loc. cit.* as: "dass das Vieh, welches ungezeichnet ist, im Jenseits (?) nicht zu dem Besitzer kommt, deshalb ist es zu zeichnen", cf. Gonda 1965: 357.

¹⁰ Kangle on Kauṭilya II 29,25 (where Meyer's translation in 1926: 206 is declined).

¹¹ Campbell 1898: 160.

¹² Stokes 1880: 130.

¹³ ŚaṅkṛiṣaBr 4,1,12; considered apocryph in Mbh CE 13,399*.1 post *karṇe vājasya dakṣiṇe* (Hopkins 1915: 103 [§ 51] where the oblation is poured on the ear, but this makes no difference for my argument). See also Dandekar 1958: 182ff.

¹⁴ RV 6,38,2 *dūrāc cid ā vasato asya kārṇā ghōṣād indrasya*

¹⁵ RV 10,85,11 *śrōtram te cakrē āstām*. Soma's ears are called the *ṛtā* AVPaipp 2 < Gonda 1965: 324.

¹⁶ *Śabda-graṇa-sāmarthyāṇiśaṃ* (Bhaṭṭabhāskara on TaittBr 1,1,3,4 [König 1984: 114]).

¹⁷ TaittS 5,1,2,5 *śrōtram hy etat prthivyāḥ yad valmīkaḥ*. See also Oertel 1907; Caland 1909 and Krick 1982: 140ff.

¹⁸ RV 2,39,6 (Hirzel 1890: 47); Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (ŚpBr) XII 9,1,13; see also Gonda 1965: 427, but not in id. 1974. Cf. TaittS 6,4,9,4 "moving all around, that (he does) for the Aśvins; therefore on all sides he hears with the ear" (Keith 1914). The mantra of RV 1,3,1-3 recited for the Aśvins makes perfect the ears of a new-born baby who tries to hear and is attentive (AiBr III 2.7).

¹⁹ ŚpBr VIII 1,2,5f. – The autumn is the ear's daughter, an association Śāyana does not explain, but *śarad eva sarvam* (GopBr 5,15).

²⁰ ŚpBr X 3,3,8; BĀU 3,2,13 *diśaḥ śrōtram apyeti*. In AgniPur 371,3 the soul of a good person leaves the body through its ear (Meyer 1952: 249 note).

²¹ Oldenberg 1919: 81f. note 4; Glasenapp 1940: 19.

²² BĀU 1,3,5 (*devāḥ*) *atha ha śrōtram ūcuḥ*: "Tvam na udgāyēti". See Glasenapp 1940: 18.

Viṣṇu is the god whose ears are the cardinal points,²⁴ though he is depicted with only one head, as against the *aṣṭa-karṇa* Brahmā (MW). Apparently spectacular for their ears are the snake demon Adhikarṇa (MW) and a female ghoulish (*karṇa-piśācikā*).²⁵

1.1.2 The ear is also thought to have been created by the eye,²⁶ as in the human embryo eye and ear separate in the sixth month. Elsewhere eyes and ears appear as a complementary pair; thus the eye and ear of an ox are compared to truth (*satya*) and cosmic norm (*ṛta*).²⁷ On a royal ride, the eye of a curious woman, expanded by the wish to have *darśan* of the king, approached the side of her ear, which did not perceive him, in order to inform it,²⁸ for the ears of a beautiful woman limit her eyes because of the long stroke of black paint.²⁹ In this way the erotic side of the ear, of women, is touched upon, about which more below.

1.1.3 Johann Jacob Meyer points out the ear as a seat of intelligence, too.³⁰ Having ears, *kaṇṇavat*, it says in a Jātaka stanza,³¹ means being wise. This may truly be the case for those who can recollect what they hear only once,³² though the ears are connected by a channel which would cause the learning matter to go in one ear and out the other.³³ In the Vṛṣākapi hymn Indrāṇī angrily snaps at her husband that his boar hound should catch hold of his monkey friend's ear.³⁴ Naravāhanadatta saw on his wandering a cowherd with hardened skin on his ears caused by their constantly being beaten by powerful slaps. Budhasvāmin does not explain the reason for this, though.³⁵ The teacher in the Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya hits with his flat hand on the ear (*karṇa-capeta*) of those novices who cannot learn to show proper respect for him, and may even cause them dangerous wounds.³⁶ Worse still: King Triprsthā, Mahāvīra's pre-birth, had hot

²³ Udāna III 7 (p. 30,10).

²⁴ Kathāsaritsāgara (KSS) 54,33 *dik-śrotro* (Viṣṇu).

²⁵ MW < Tantrasāra without ref.; Nemicandra 26b 5 on Pavac. Sārod. 113.

²⁶ ŚpBr X 5,3,7.

²⁷ AVPaipp 16,139,2 *satyam cakṣur ṛtam śrotre* (Gonda 1965: 324).

²⁸ KSS 18,15 *ekasyāḥ srotasukā dṛṣṭir nṛpālaka-vikasvarā śruteḥ pārśvam a-paśyantyās tad ākhyātum ivāyayau*.

²⁹ Rājasekhara, *Karpūramāñjarī* I 32 *nettāṇā dīhataṇaṁ kaṇṇehiṁ khaliyam*; cf. Sattasāi 323 (Weber) *keṇa kaṇṇa-raiyam lakṣhijai kuvalayam* "who would have noticed the dark lotus in the ear of a woman with dark eyes?" The proximity of the eyes makes the ear a depository of deceit just as a learned man (*śrūtavān*) becomes corrupt by association with the evil-minded (Sternbach I 1974: 1642). See also *Karpūram* II 27 and Daṇḍin, *Kāvyādarśa* 2,339.

³⁰ Meyer 1937: I 195 with reference to *Pañcatantra* (ed D. D. Kosambi. NSP, 1950) 4,2, p. 287,8; 1939: 82.

³¹ Jātaka II 261,18*; *kaṇṇavā ti paññavā* (22').

³² KSS 2,37 *sakṛc-śrutam ayam bālāḥ sarvaṁ vai dhārayed dhṛdi*; 2,66 *eka-śruta-dhara*.

³³ ŚpBr XI 2,6,4 *dakṣiṇaḥ karṇaś caturthaḥ, savyaḥ karṇaḥ pañcamah. Atha yac caturthe prayāje samānayati, tasmād idam śrotam antarataḥ samīrṇam*.

³⁴ RV 10,86,4 *śvā nv āśya* (of Vṛṣākapi) *jambhīśad āpi kārṇe varāhayūr*.

³⁵ Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṁgraha XX 233.

³⁶ BKBh 5107 *vinayassa u gāhaṇayā kaṇṇāmoḍa-khaḍugā-caveḍāhim | sāvekkha hattha-tālaṁ dalāi mammāni pheḍinto* | The second line is explained thus: *yeṣu pradeśeṣv āhataḥ san mriyate, tāni pariharan ācāryaḥ kṣullakasya hastātātalaṁ dadāti*. Cf. comm. on the vss 2654, 3164 and Bollée 2006a note 23

tin and copper poured into the ears of his forgetful housepriest, because liking their performance, he had not stopped singers at night, as ordered by the king.³⁷ Yet boxing and twisting the ear to ward off evil – such as when, among the Dhruva Prabhus of Pune,³⁸ the bride's brother pinches the bridegroom's ear – and even redemption are a weakening of the abscission, about which more under 6.3.4.

1.2.1 The importance of the ear is further emphasized by its properties such as complexion, form, etc. in the names of beings.³⁹ Regarding its colour, the often inauspicious⁴⁰ being black-eared dominates, e.g. in the AtharvaVeda “a white, black-eared (horse) does not make a show”.⁴¹ *Kāla-karṇī* is a name of Lakṣmī,⁴² perhaps because fortune is ambiguous. A person desirous of rain, it says in the MaitrāyaṇīSaṃhitā, should sacrifice a cow with black ears.⁴³ In Pāli literature *kāla-karṇi* is an unlucky figure such as a monk⁴⁴ or even a wicked person,⁴⁵ and serves as a term of abuse, e.g., for a son who is his parents' undoing.⁴⁶ French *rougir jusqu'aux oreilles* and German *rote Ohren bekommen* (lit. to get red ears), “to blush to the tips of one's ears for shame” has no equivalent in Sanskrit and is expressed by *kṛṣṇa-mukho babhūva*⁴⁷ or *śyāmaṃ mukhaṃ pidadhāti*,⁴⁸ but as a sign of mortification the *sādhu* Dhaṇḍe's ears

bottom; further Utt 1,38; Nisītha-Cū 299 (APSSK); Divyāv 13, 125; KSS 66,139 and Latin *aurem vellere*, Sa. *karṇāghāṭayati* (comm. 746,30 on BKBh 2659), Hindi *kān umethnā*. *Ahimsā* does not prevent pedagogy by slaps as was customary; thus King Yaśodhara's mother regretfully says to herself that the time is gone when her son could be compelled to carry out her wishes by a box on the ear (Handiqui 1949: 323).

In Germany, especially at establishing a border, boys as witnesses used to have their ears tweaked to make them remember the important act for a long time. – Blows are powers that avert evil (HdA VI 1217; Meyer 1937: I 194) and in the story of the blind man, the deaf man, and the donkey they caused the deaf man to hear again (Frere 1881: 162).

³⁷ Hemacandra, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (Tri°) IV 1,881 ~ X 4,619.

³⁸ Campbell 1898: 159.

³⁹ In proper names the word *-karṇa* as the last member of a compound can mean “son” (Kosambi 1963: 195f.).

⁴⁰ In Mbh CE IX 45,24 a *kṛṣṇa-karṇī mātā* in Skanda's retinue is mentioned and these *mātaras* are called *yāśasvinayas* in vs 2.

⁴¹ AV 5,17,15 in Whitney's translation. Yet Gālava had to give Viśvamitra one thousand white horses with one black ear as teacher's fee (*śyāma-karṇānām pāṇḍurāṇām tarasvinām // sahasraṃ vājinām ekam śulūkārtham me pradīyatām*, Mbh CE III 115,15). – See also Wackernagel & Debrunner 1954: 376 (§ 246).

⁴² MW < Nṛsiṃha-Upaniṣad.

⁴³ MS 2,5,7 *maitrā-varuṇīm (śāurīm) kṛṣṇa-kārṇīm ālabheta vṛṣṭi-kāmo*.

⁴⁴ E.g. Dh-pa III 31,16 where a hunter seeing a *bhikkhu* on his begging tour thinks he will not catch anything that day and sets his dogs on the monk to have him devoured and thus eliminated. – Meeting ascetics is considered inauspicious also by Jains, e.g. Samarāiccakahā 268,9 *munivaro, avasaṇḍo khu eso*, cf. Hemacandra, Tri° IX 2,191 *mahā-muniḥ a-śakunam*, and Christians (HdA VI 475 and VII 322f. *sacerdotem obvium aliumve religiosum dicunt esse infaustum*), because of the evil eye, etc.

⁴⁵ Dh-pa III 38, 20 where a woman is falsely accusing the Buddha.

⁴⁶ Ja I 239,1.

⁴⁷ Kathākośa /ed Hofmann 353,12; 355,1f.

⁴⁸ Hemavijaya, *Kathāratnākara* 121,11 (see Bollée 2006: 124). For the change of colour cf. Italian *vino nero* for red wine.

were red like the skin of a radish.⁴⁹ The Rāmāyaṇa mentions a demon with bright ears.⁵⁰

1.2.2 As to its form we may list the main tragic figure in the Mahābhārata, Karna “Longear” (?), and his counterpart in a way, Vikarna “With widely extended ears”;⁵¹ Kṣurakarnī “Sharp-eared” (a female companion [mātr] in the retinue of Skanda⁵²); Kṣemakarna “With quiet ears” (?), the composer of the Rāgamālā (1570 AD); Jaratkarna “Old Ear” (the author of RV 10,76)⁵³; citra-karna “with speckled ears”, a camel (MW); Bāhya-karna “With (big ?) outer ears” as the name of a Nāga;⁵⁴ loma-karna “with hairy ears: a hare”; Vasukarna “With good ears” (the author of RV 10,65f.); Śroṇa Kotikarna “the lame Prick-eared”, Buddha’s disciple; etc. The ear form is often used for omens.⁵⁵ Long ears are a positive mark of Mahāvīra (*allīṇa-ppamāṇa-jutta-savaṇe*, Aup § 16);⁵⁶ such people, however, are to be excluded from the sacrifice to the dead.⁵⁷ The monster menacing maritime merchants in the Mallī-jñāta, depicted with long hanging auricles and ear cavities with ugly hairs,⁵⁸ is a paragon of religious phantasy which after all knows of no limits. Ears can be enlarged by magical means.⁵⁹ Misers have short ears;⁶⁰ men with skinny ears die as criminals,⁶¹ those with flat ears become rich in consumer goods.⁶² Women with uneven ears cause misery.⁶³ Hemacandra makes Mahāvīra’s believers drink the nectar of his speech in handfuls in the shape of ears.⁶⁴ It is curious that Somadeva compares a mahout’s ears with old shoes.⁶⁵ Men with pointed ears will become kings,⁶⁶ but in the description of a *cāṇḍāla*

⁴⁹ Aṇuttarovavāīya 3, see further Barnett 1907: 117f.

⁵⁰ Rām (Bombay, 1930) 7,5,40 Bhāsa-karna.

⁵¹ EWAia; Hildebeitel 2001: 248.

⁵² Mbh CE 9,45,24.

⁵³ In old age the tip of the ear becomes white: *munim aikṣata ... jarā-dhavaḷa-karṇāgra-saṁśrayiṇyā virāḍitam* (KSS 25,15).

⁵⁴ Mbh CE 1,31,9.

⁵⁵ AVPar and Varāhamihira; see also Kohlbrugge 1948.

⁵⁶ Depicted e.g., in Granoff 2009:161, and 166 where the ears of a 10th century statue from Madhya Pradesh touch its shoulders. Curiously, among the thirty-two *lakṣaṇas* of the Buddha in Dīghan II 18 or III 144 there is no one on his ears (or nose). Bāṇa mentions the hanging ears of Bhairavācārya (Harṣa NSP 1946: 103,20). – Cf. Plinius, *Nat. historia* XI 251; see further HdA VI: 1204 where intelligence is mostly connected with long life.

⁵⁷ Saurapur 19,8. The ears are also compared to a worthless son in Amitagati 288 when they do not hear salutary speech.

⁵⁸ Roth 1983: 90.

⁵⁹ Garuḍapur 176,16f. < Meyer 1937 I 195; Bollée 1977: 35.

⁶⁰ Garuḍapur I 65,61 *kṛpaṇā hrasva-karṇakāḥ*.

⁶¹ Ibidem *karṇaiḥ syuḥ pāpa-mṛtyavaḥ nirmāṁsaiḥ* which Meyer translates as “die an evil death” (1928: 132 note 1).

⁶² Ibidem (*karṇaiḥ*) *cipitair bhogāḥ*.

⁶³ Brhatsaṁhitā 70,21 *kleśaṁ dadhāte viśamau ca karṇau*.

⁶⁴ Triṣaṣṭi^a X 11,91 *śraddadhānāḥ pibanti ye Bhavad-vacana-pīyūṣaṁ karṇāñjali-putaiḥ*, cf. Venīsaṁhāra I 4 *śraṇāñjali-puta-peyaṁ ... amṛtam*.

⁶⁵ Somadeva, *Yaśastilaka* IV 42,8 *a-navānupadīnā-paṭala-sama-śravasam*.

hunter his pointed ears and big mouth appear as the epitome of ugliness.⁶⁷ Buddhist monastic aspirants with small ears such as those of a mouse or bat may nevertheless be ordained.⁶⁸

The Karna-prāvaraṇa are a fabulous people of coast-dwellers who use their ears for a covering.⁶⁹ In Western India even people with one ear are supposed to live.⁷⁰ Women's ears can be a stereotype of attractiveness. Thus fleshy, well-proportioned and soft ears which fit closely to the head are much appreciated.⁷¹ Śītalā's ears were as large as a winnowing fan.⁷² French sixteenth century poets such as Albert le Grand⁷³ and Maclou de la Haye⁷⁴ extol female ears that are much longer in their *blasons*.⁷⁵

A cow's ear is used as a measure: thus it says in the Mbh that some snakes were a mile in length, others no longer than a cow's ear.⁷⁶ Dogs may of course have pricked ears⁷⁷ and a *pretī* is called "with cropped ears".⁷⁸

2.1 Not only human ears, but also those of other animals provide clear evidence of the weight of the parts of the body under discussion for it shows a close observation of them. Thus, in order to express a grazing proximity, a Ṛgvedic poet urges Indra and Kutsa to steer their chariot horses near the ear of the Sun's horse so as to squeeze off the wheel of the Sun,⁷⁹ and Rājaśekhara makes a woman shoot, across her ear, sharp and shining side-long glances.⁸⁰ We may be somewhat surprised that Bhadrabāhu advises a girl (novice ?) who panicked at the sight of a lion or elephant to look at a girl

⁶⁶ GaruḍaPurāṇa I 65,61 *śaṅku-karṇās ca rājānaḥ* and Meyer 1928: 133 note 1 refers to demons with such ears.

⁶⁷ Mbh CE 12,136,110 *śaṅku-karṇo mahā-vaktraḥ*.

⁶⁸ *Mūsika-kaṇṇo* (text: *mūlika-*) *vā jatuka-kaṇṇo vā khuddakāhi kaṇṇa-sakkhalikāhi samannāgato pabbājetabbo* (Sp 1028,30).

⁶⁹ Mbh CE 2,28,44; Rām (Bombay, 1930) 5,17,5.

⁷⁰ Apadāna 406: 18 (p. 359,9) *Eka-kaṇṇikā*.

⁷¹ GaruḍaPur I 65,103 (Kohlbrugge 1948: 69); Bṛhatsaṃhitā 70,9 *karṇa-yugmam api yukta-māmsalam śasyate mṛdu samāhitam samam*. See further, e.g., Paumacariu II 224. – The opposite is the man named Coḍa-karṇa "with projecting ears".

⁷² Auboyer et Mallmann 1950: 215.

⁷³ "Oreille blanche, clere et nette, oreille un petit rondelette, oreille ne grosse ne grasse, oreille de bien bonne grace, oreille qui n'est point trop grande...."

⁷⁴ "ouye assise au chef de la beauté / dedans le clos d'honneste privauté, / et située en deux fosses petites / sous un silence à costé des Charites"

⁷⁵ Schmidt 1959: 307ff.; A. Saunders, *The sixteenth-century Blason Poétique*. Bern: Lang, 1981: 13.

⁷⁶ Vogel 1926: 69 < Mbh I Poona 1931 52,7 *krośa-yojana-mātrā hi go-karṇasya pramāṇataḥ patanty ajasraṃ ... vahnāv agnimatām* = A.D. I 434*.

⁷⁷ Somadeva, *Yaśastilaka* V 187,4 *sv-alpa-tikṣṇāgra-karṇa*; Bollée 2006 note 812.

⁷⁸ Petavatthu II 12 Kanna-muṇḍā (Pv-a 150,29).

⁷⁹ RV 5,31,9 *Īndrā-Kutsā ! váhamānā ráthenā vām átyā āpi kárṇe vahantu*.

⁸⁰ Karpūramañjarī I 29 *mukkā savan'-antareṇa tikkhā kaḍakkha-cchadā*.

her junior seizing or holding the ear of a lion whelp under the eyes of the guards informed beforehand, and not be afraid.⁸¹

2.2 Furthermore, the individuals in the four classes of beings are often designated with names based on animal ears.

2.2.1 Among the gods, Śiva Gajēndra-karṇa (MW) and Go-karṇa may first be mentioned;⁸² further Mārjāra-karṇī as a name of Cāmuṇḍā (MW).

The second division, that of demons, etc. is represented by Hasti-karṇa as a class of Rākṣasas (MW). Go-karṇī and Khara-karṇī are *mātaras* among Skanda's attendants;⁸³ Gaja-karṇa and Varāha-karṇa as the name of *yakṣas*.⁸⁴

2.2.2 As to humans, we find the author of ṚV 8,9, Śaśa-karṇa "with the ears of a hare". Then we hear of a virtuous man called Dog's Ear (Śūnas-karṇa) who wanted to go to heaven without previous disease, as we all would like, and so died after the final bath of his soma-sacrifice.⁸⁵ A *yoginī* is called "bear-eared".⁸⁶ A Go-karṇa is stated to be king of Kāśmīr;⁸⁷ Jatū-karṇa "Bat-Eared" is the name of a physician,⁸⁸ Śārdūla-karṇa is the son of Triśaṅku.⁸⁹ Camel-ears are a people in the Mahābhārata.⁹⁰

2.2.2.1 Except for the old myth of king Donkey Ear the Greek contribution to Indian culture is mostly faded. William Crooke dedicated one of his many papers to this legend and thus preserved a multitude of facts and ideas which would otherwise certainly have been forgotten.⁹¹ The story⁹² we read in Ovid⁹³ in school probably originated in Anatolia in the eighth century B.C. This is about Midas, king of Phrygia,

⁸¹ BKBh 6206 *kannammi esa siho gahio aha dhārio ya so hatthī | khuddalatarīyā tujjham te vi ya gamiyā purā pālā ||* which Kṣemakīrti explains: *hasti-pālāḥ simha-pālāḥ ... pūrvam pratibodhitāḥ kartavyāḥ yathā: "Asmākam ekā kṣullikā yuṣmadīyaṁ siṁham hastinaṁ vā dṛṣṭvā kṣobham upāgatā. Tataḥ sā yathā muñcati, tathā kartavyaṁ."* *Evam teṣu pratibodhiteṣu sā kṣipta-cittī-bhūtā teṣāṁ antike nīyate nītvā ca tāsāṁ madhye yā tasyā api kṣullikāyā laghutarī, tayā sa siṁhaḥ karṇe dhāryate Tataḥ sā kṣipta-cittā prōcyate: "Tvatto 'pi yā kṣullakatarā, atīṣayena laghus tayā eṣa siṁhaḥ karṇe dhṛtaḥ ..., tvam tu bibheṣi. Kim tvam etasyā api bhīrur jātā ? Dhārṣṭyam avalambyatām"* iti. The word *kṣipta-citta* cannot, with MW, mean "absent-minded" (< PWB *zerstreut*), but is a synonym of *kṣobham upāgata*. PSM correctly gives *pāgal*. – The scarcity of lions in India is responsible for such unrealistic ideas as is also shown by the story of the boy riding on a lion in KSS 6,94.

⁸² See Sörensen 1904, s.v., VāmanaPurāṇa Saromah. 26,66f., KSS 22,218 as a statue.

⁸³ Mbh CE 9,45,25.

⁸⁴ Mbh 2, 10,15f.

⁸⁵ JaimBr II 167; PVB 17,12,6; ĀpŚS 22,7,21; BaudhŚS 21,17 (Caland 1903: 28 [§ 33]).

⁸⁶ Mallmann 1962: 294 and 356.

⁸⁷ Rājatarāṅginī 1,346.

⁸⁸ Meulenbeld 1974 : 406.

⁸⁹ Divyāvadāna 619,27. Another tiger-eared king could be mentioned in KSS 6,88, but the reading is not certain: instead of Dvīpi-karṇin of Tawney & Penzer I 67 the NSP text has Dīpa-karṇin.

⁹⁰ Mbh CE 2,28,48.

⁹¹ Crooke 1911 from which I freely quote. See further Naithāni 2006 Part I, where also Crooke's Indian co-folklorist, collaborator and translator, Pt Ram Gharib Chaube, is rehabilitated.

⁹² *F 511.2.2 in Thompson's *Motif Index*.

⁹³ *Metamorphoses* XI 146-193, cf. Aristophanes, *Plutus* 287.

who was called upon to judge between the lyre of the god Apollo and the pastoral pipe of the Arcadian deity Pan. When Midas pronounced the latter instrument more harmonious Apollo punished him by having ears like those of an ass fixed upon him, which he then tried to conceal with a purple head-dress. His slave discovered the secret, whispered it into a hole in the ground, where reeds grew which, when shaken by the wind, betrayed him.⁹⁴ The tale, which was still popular in Greece in Crooke's time, spread westward over Europe to Ireland and in Asia as far as Mongolia and western India, where the industrious collector found four versions of it: in Gilgit, Mirzapur (U.P.),⁹⁵ Santāl(pur, Gujarat ?) and Mysore. The last version, of a king of the Cengālva dynasty of Bettadpur⁹⁶ in the tenth century, is closest to the original. I won't speculate why this is so but there was, as we know, an old contact with the Near East and Rome in this part of India.⁹⁷ The king's right ear was like that of an ass. A barber⁹⁸ whispers the secret to a sandal-tree under which the Rāja used to sit when being shaved. One day, pleased with the performance of some tumblers, he gives the tree to them. They cut it down and make a drum out of the wood, which then utters the ominous words. Thus everyone learnt the secret.⁹⁹ Professor Hampana writes me an additional detail, viz. that this *Rājan kivi katte kivi*, as he is called in Kanarese, liked to overhear other people's conversation by hiding nearby. At his request a specialist in spells (*mantra-vādin*) prepared an auditory pill which the king took and subsequently developed donkey ears.¹⁰⁰ So much for the oral tradition.

2.2.2.2 The only literary version as far as I have found is, perhaps not accidentally, quoted in Prākṛit, maybe from a *cūrṇi* we no longer have, by the southerner Malayagiri (early 13th century) in a parable of a minister¹⁰¹ illustrating the word *parisrāvin* "leaking" in a figurative sense in common language,¹⁰² in which flow of

⁹⁴ Thompson 1932: D 1316. 5.

⁹⁵ Naithāni 2002: 122 states that Crooke's Mirzapur version in which the king has horns on his head is "the Eastern version of the Greek legend of King Midas"; she did not read Crooke's article apparently.

⁹⁶ A village in Hunsūr taluk, Mysore district, 24 km north of Piriapatna in South Karnataka.

⁹⁷ About 1950 many Roman coins dating to the time of the emperors Augustus and Tiberius were found in Yeshvantpur near Bangalore on the way to the old airport, and various other places; the same pertains to Roman pottery (p.c. Hampana).

⁹⁸ Thompson 1932: N 465.

⁹⁹ Crooke thinks that in the most primitive forms of the story the tree is the transformed or reborn spirit of the executed barber and speaks through its wood when made into a drum or flute. As an explanation of the legend Crooke proposes a half-forgotten or misunderstood form of ritual in which the worshipper dressed in the skin of the victim and so enveloped himself in its sanctity (Crooke 1911: 196ff.).

¹⁰⁰ Quoted from C. Hayavadana Rao (ed), Mysore Gazetteer VII, 644. The story is not found in Chandran 1973. In KSS 70,108 the donkey represents *a-dharma*.

¹⁰¹ Muni Bhadrabāhuvijaya kindly wrote to me (p. c.) that there are many *amātya* parables, but he has not informed me where they can be found and we regrettably have no list of illustrative parables in the commentaries.

¹⁰² BKBh I on vs 760 *laukike bhāvataḥ parisrāviṇi amātya-dṛṣṭāntaḥ* (I, p. 237,23ff.): *Ego rāyā. Tassa kaṇṇa gaddabhassa jārisā. So niccam kholāe a-mukkiyāe acchai. So annayā amacceṇaṃ egante pucchio: "Kiṃ tubbhe, bhaṭṭāraya-pādā, kholāe āviddhiyāe acchaha ? Na kassai sīsam kannā ya dariseha ?" Rannā sabbhāvo kahio bhaṇiyaṃ ca: "Mā rahassa-bheyaṃ kāhisi" tti. Teṇa a-gambhīrayāe taṃ rahassaṃ*

words¹⁰³ leaking can easily pertain to a verbal secret. But for the specification of the ear this version largely agrees with Crooke's story from Mysore. The popularity of the story up to the present day is undiminished, as is shown by a first reading edition for anglophone children.¹⁰⁴

2.2.3 Some human names with animals' ears cause us difficulties, e.g. Mayūra-karṇa "Peacock-eared".¹⁰⁵ The bird may be a pendant with this form.¹⁰⁶ In the name Kharjūra-karṇa (MW) the first member of the compound may be the wild date (Phoenix sylvestris) or a scorpion¹⁰⁷ if the latter is meant for magical protection of the ear against spirits, etc. (see below under 7).

2.2.4 Animals and plants can also be named after animal ears. Thus "ox ear" designates the elk, a large species of deer in Ceylon.¹⁰⁸ As for the plants we have, e.g. *aja-karṇa* for the Terminalia Alata Tomentosa (MW) and *aśva-karṇaka* for the Vatica robusta tree, so called from the shape of its leaves.¹⁰⁹ The leaves of the Butea Frondosa tree look like mongoose ears.¹¹⁰ This kind of compound is frequent, cf. Greek *muosōtis*¹¹¹ and in English mouse-ear hawkweed.

2.2.5 A mixed being is Go-karṇa, the son of a cow produced from a fruit given by an ascetic to the childless Ātmadeva, whose wife passed it on to a cow; the boy had a cow's ear (see below sub 8).¹¹²

3.0 Another category consists of names in which the ear is connected with or defined by an object.

3.1 In it, we find among the deities Śruta-devī as a name of Sarasvatī, the goddess of tradition and science. Further, Ghaṇṭā-karṇa Mahāvīra¹¹³ and the goddess Ghaṇṭā-

aṇ-ahiyāsamāneṇa ādaviṃ gantum rukkha-kottare muhaṃ choḍhūṇaṃ bhaṇiyam: "Gaddabha-karṇo rāyā, gaddabha-karṇo rāyā". Tam rukkhaṃ annena kenai chettum vāditam kṛtam. Bhaviyavvayā-vasena ya taṃ ranno purao vāiyam. Tam vajjantam bhaṇai: "Gaddabha-karṇo rāyā, gaddabha-karṇo rāyā". Rannā amacco pucchio: "Tume paraṃ eyaṃ rahassaṃ nāyam; kassa te kahiyaṃ ?" Amacceṇa jahā-vattaṃ siṭṭhaṃ. Esa lohio parissāvi.

¹⁰³ See, e.g. Bollée 2010 on vs 108. In ŚpBr 6,1,2,28 vāg vā agniḥ speech is associated with fire which fits Indian spoken language better (cf. Glasenapp 1940: 19).

¹⁰⁴ Sims 2009. Hampana (p.c.) also points to the boy in Collodi's Pinocchio who for lying was punished by ass's ears, but Midas' ears were the consequence of divine misuse of power.

¹⁰⁵ Commentary on Pāṇini 4,1,112. Cf. BKBh 5227 *moraga* "little peacock" explained as *kuṇḍala* "earring" (Bollée 2005: 38); thus Mayūra-karṇa could mean "with a peacock ornament in his ear". See also Malayagiri IV,3 10a 3ff. in Bollée 2005: 88.

¹⁰⁶ Sternbach VI 10647.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *vyści-karṇī* "Salvinia Cucullata".

¹⁰⁸ Hertel 2007: 90 note 1.

¹⁰⁹ Suśruta 1,32,15 (< PWB).

¹¹⁰ *Vana-dava-daddhaṃ ... mankusa-karṇa-saricchaṃ disai pattam palāsassa* (Hāla 781).

¹¹¹ De Witte 1948: 144; Liddell & Scott.

¹¹² Vettam Mani 1975: 293 < Bhāgavata Māhātmya.

¹¹³ Kelting 2009: 183 note 20.*

karnī “Bell-Eared”.¹¹⁴ Gaṇeśa’s names Śūrpakarna and Śūrpaśruti “with ears of a winnowing basket”¹¹⁵ are prominent because the largest ear is of course that of an elephant.

3.2 The ears of demons, etc. may not be overlooked; being disfigured is often their main attribute, such as the water-sprite called “sly dog” in the German state of Thüringen.¹¹⁶ Thus we read of the *rākṣasa* Kumbha-karna, “pot-ear”; Kṛdhu-karna “with short ears” is a kind of imp.¹¹⁷ In the northern Mathurā a certain Devila dedicated an inscription in the year 77 at the temple of the Nāga Dadhikarna “Milk-Ear”, a curious name for a snake deity.¹¹⁸

3.3 Men with hairy ears live long.¹¹⁹ Peoples with elephant’s or horse’s ears are not Āryan.¹²⁰

3.4 Pāṇini 8,3,46 calls a cat “with ears (white) like milk, *payas-karnī*”. A horse’s ears with curly hair irritate the wife of its owner.¹²¹ The Gonds in Mangwani tell the story of the man whose penance was in vain and who then cursed Śiva. Annoyed, the god turned the man into a sheep and told him: “If anyone ties a shoe to your ear, you will have to lie down on the ground and sleep”. From that day there have been sheep in the world which will lie down and sleep if someone ties a shoe to their ear.¹²²

4.0 Ears belong to the nine openings of the body. As such they are an entry,¹²³ e.g. for spirits¹²⁴ or Kāma’s arrows,¹²⁵ and can also adopt the function of mouth and *yoni*.

4.1 As to the mouth an expression such as “to put the right (Digambara) Doctrine into someone’s ear”¹²⁶ may have helped the idea; when it is one’s own ear it becomes “to take a mental note”.¹²⁷ Very frequent is drinking a flow of words with the ears, e.g.

¹¹⁴ See Mallmann 1962: 62. Large metallic bell-shaped ear-decorations are worn, e.g. by Kami Mazu tribal women (Postel 1989: 300 and 302).

¹¹⁵ KSS 55,165, cf. 21,1.

¹¹⁶ *Schlitzöhrchen* (HdA VI 1204).

¹¹⁷ AV 11,9,7 and 10,7; see also Wackernagel & Debrunner II,2: 376 and cf. Kuṇḍa-karna (MW).

¹¹⁸ Chatterjee 1978: 63.

¹¹⁹ GaruḍaPur I 65,61 discussed by Meyer 1928: 133.

¹²⁰ Kuvalayamālā 40,26.

¹²¹ Kuvalayamālā 24,5 (Chojnacki 2008:II 96). See further Caland 1911.

¹²² Elwin 1949: 228; Thompson-Balys B 782.

¹²³ Thus Kalingasenā says her mind has been captivated by King Vatsa entering through the gate of her ear : *śruti-mārga-praviṣṭena hṛtaṃ tena yathā manaḥ* (KSS 31,3).

¹²⁴ Crooke 1896: I 242. Among the Dakhan Mhārs at a boy’s initiation the priest performs the ear-cleansing rite (*kān phunkane*) in order to drive out evil spirits (Campbell 1898: 160).

¹²⁵ KSS 51,122 where a Buddhist monk praises the beautiful princess Rūpalatā and his words enter the ears of the smart king Prthivīrūpa with arrows of Love and stick in his heart.

¹²⁶ Amitagati, *Subhās* VII 30 *yathārtha-tattvaṃ ... nidhāya karṇe*.

¹²⁷ *Kaṇṇe thavei* (M IV,2 68b 2 ad VyavahāraBhāṣya 303 (Bollée 2005: 23).

when in Hāla someone is urged to say something: "Make my ears drink nectar!"¹²⁸ The effect thereof can be like a medicine when by hearing the description of the king's dream the queens saw their strength restored.¹²⁹ A feast for the ear, German *Ohrenschmaus*, is expressed by *karna-rasāyana*,¹³⁰ *śravaṇōtsava* (vide infra sub 5.1) and *śruti-sukha*,¹³¹ in Pāli and Prākṛit *kaṇṇa-sukha*.¹³² Finally, from greed (for the sweetness of the beauty of Śrīkrṣṇa) ears can grow tongues in Jñāneśvar's metaphor.¹³³

4.2 The idea of conception through the ear¹³⁴ and aural birth,¹³⁵ the shifting from below to above,¹³⁶ is no Indian invention. For Molière, birth from the ear is the limit of ignorance when he makes Agnès ask this in his *Ecole des femmes*,¹³⁷ but as late as the German poet Rilke († 1926) Orpheus is made to create a tree in the ear for animals emerging from silence.¹³⁸ The ear is a sex object (*tarpana*):¹³⁹ to scratch the ear may conceal a woman's horripilation as an erotic manifestation.¹⁴⁰

4.2.1 Crooke tells us a legend of the Bhangī sweepers following which Śiva put his semen into the ears of Añjanā who then gave birth to Hanumān.¹⁴¹

4.2.2 In the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa *karman* is born from the ear,¹⁴² and earlier Prajāpati thus creates the sheep;¹⁴³ in the Mbh Brahṇā says to the Creator Brahman: "My fourth birth was from your ears."¹⁴⁴ The sage Jahnu swallows the Gaṅgā in the Rāmāyaṇa and lets her out of his ears.¹⁴⁵ Pṛthā-Kuntī whom Sūrya touched at the navel and thus impregnated delivered Karna through the ear.¹⁴⁶ Further, the demons Madhu and

¹²⁸ Sattasāi (Jed Weber) 805 *kiṃ pi jampasu ! pīantu kaṇṇāi me amiam !* Also, e.g. Samantabhadra, *Ratnakaraṇḍaka* 108 (see Bollée 2010); KSS 25,224.

¹²⁹ KSS 19,10 *tat-svapna-varṇanenāiva śrotra-peyena tṛptayoḥ tayoś ca vibhavāyāiva jātah svādv-auṣadha-kramah*.

¹³⁰ Rājatarāṅgiṇī (MW supplement, Schmidt 1928; no dictionary has an exact reference); Saddaniti 313,33*.

¹³¹ Guṇabhadra, Utt. 73 vs 168 (Bollée 2007: 130).

¹³² Buddhaghosa, *Samantapāsādikā* 1061,3; BKBh 854.

¹³³ Skyhawk 1990: 134 note 188.

¹³⁴ Jones 1914: 135ff.; HdA II 808; Jung 1971 III 116f., 369.

¹³⁵ HdA VI 1205.

¹³⁶ See Freud 1968 18 (Index) s.v.

¹³⁷ Vs 164. See also Jones 1928: 43 referring to a Buddhist legend in Mongolia.

¹³⁸ Zinn 1955 I: 731.

¹³⁹ VarāhaGS 12,2; JaimGS 1,4; 5,15.

¹⁴⁰ Kuvalayamālā 159,29.

¹⁴¹ Crooke 1896 I: 269. See also Kapp 1988: 93 and Narula 1991: 16 where Añjanā figures as a theophany of Viṣṇu.

¹⁴² ŚpBr 10,5,3,8, see Glasenapp 1940: 35.

¹⁴³ ŚpBr 7,5,2,6 (*Prajāpatiḥ*) *śrotrād aviṃ (nīramimīta)*.

¹⁴⁴ Mbh CE 12,335,38.

¹⁴⁵ Rām (Bombay, 1930; not in CE) 1,43,38 *śrotrābhyām asṛjat prabhuh tasmāj Jahnu-sutā Gaṅgā procyate Jāhnavī* (see Crooke 1896a I 36; Glasenapp 1922: 143 and Kosambi 1962-3: 195f.). Cf. Bāṇa, *Harṣa* 105,7 and Hemavijaya, *Kath* 75,15. The river is called Jahnu's daughter because she emerged from his ears.

¹⁴⁶ Haribhadra, *Dhūrtākhyāna* 1,83f. The Mbh CE 3,292,4 only speaks of virginal delivery.

Kaiṭabha emerged from wax flowing out of Viṣṇu's ear.¹⁴⁷ In the Buddha's "twin wonder" streams of fire and water issue from his ears and nose.¹⁴⁸

5. The ear often occurs in common sayings and metaphorical use.

5.1 As to the former, Kalhaṇa says of queen Diddā that after the death of her husband Kṣemagupta she was confused in her mind and *lola-karna* "listening to everybody".¹⁴⁹ To this category also Kaṇṇapūraka, Vasantasena's servant in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, may belong: filling > deafening people's ears with talking big.¹⁵⁰ A report spreading from ear to ear is *gataḥ karna-paramparām pravādaḥ*.¹⁵¹ One is easily accessible to calumny (*karna-durbala*) then.¹⁵² A feast for the ear, *śravaṇōtsava*,¹⁵³ is frequent, as when Daṇḍin makes prince Darpaśāra tell king Candavarman: "Do not delay to give my ears a holiday by sending word that the lovesick swain (the prince Rājāvāhana whose wife, Miss Avantī, had turned down the king) has been executed with fancy tortures" (Ryder). As the eye agrees with the ear in Hemacandra,¹⁵⁴ Somadeva lets Naravāhanadatta blame the Creator: "Why did he not make me all eye and ear?"¹⁵⁵ Unpleasant news can burn someone's ears¹⁵⁶ and king Ādityasena, whose ear was riveted on Tejasvatī's musical discourse, could not be attracted by the cries of his distressed subjects.¹⁵⁷

Dakṣa, Pārvatī's father in a former birth, made a remark to his daughter about her husband Śiva, which was like a venomous needle to her ears.¹⁵⁸ A secret can only be kept by four ears because six ears will break it, but if kept by two ears even Brahmā will not be able to fathom it.¹⁵⁹ As apparent proverbs I have noted "what is the use of gold because of which the ear would be cut off"¹⁶⁰ and "something is better than nothing".¹⁶¹ Hindī *kān par jūṃ rēgnā* "to prick up the ears" (lit.: "a louse creeps over the

¹⁴⁷ MārḥPur 81,50; KurmaPur 1,10,2.

¹⁴⁸ Dhṛ-a III 214,5ff.

¹⁴⁹ Rājataranginī VI 193 with Stein's translation.

¹⁵⁰ Van Buitenen 1971: 274 note 19 calls Kaṇṇapūraka in *Mṛcchakaṭika* II a braggart. See also Esposito 2004: 269 note 176.

¹⁵¹ KSS 24, 212.

¹⁵² Bloomfield 1919: 226.

¹⁵³ Daṇḍin, *Daś* 67,4 *tasya kāmōnmattasya citra-vadha-vārtā-preṣaṇena śravaṇōtsavo 'smākaṃ vidheyuh*, cf. Guṇabhadra, *UttP* 73,168 *śruti-sukha* (Bollée 2008: 34).

¹⁵⁴ Hemacandra, *Tri*° IX 3,181 *ḍṛk śrutyāḥ samvadati*.

¹⁵⁵ *Vidhātāraṃ nininda saḥ: śrotra-netraṃ ayaṃ kṛtsnam akarot kiṃ na mām ? iti* (KSS 35,139).

¹⁵⁶ Daṇḍin, *Daś* 141,2 *śrotraṃ adahāva*.

¹⁵⁷ KSS 18,82.

¹⁵⁸ *Uvāca giram so (Dakṣo) 'tha tvat-karna-viṣa-sūcikām* (KSS I 37).

¹⁵⁹ Pañcatantra (NSP. Bombay, 1950) I 1 vs 108 *ṣaṭ-karno bhidyate mantras catus-karṇaḥ sthiro bhavet / tasmāt sarva-prayatnena ṣaṭ-karṇaṃ varjayet sudhīḥ* //; BKBh 2088 *cau-karṇaṃ hojja rahaṃ*, cf. 391. OhaN 791; Ja VI 392,16f. *tvam "catu-karṇo me manto" ti māññasi, idān' eva cha-karṇo jāto, puṇa attha-karṇo bhavitvā an-eka-sata-karṇo bhavissati* ti. See also Sternbach 10784.

¹⁶⁰ Hemacandra, *Tri*° X 3, 228 *suvarṇenāpi kim tena karna-bhedo bhaved yataḥ*.

¹⁶¹ *Badhirān manda-karṇaḥ śreyān* (MW > Apte without reference).

ear"). "To pretend not to hear" is expressed by *a-karṇa-śrutam vidhatte*,¹⁶² in Hindi *kān mē tel dālnā* (lit.: "to pour oil into the ears"). Arjuna puts his hands over his ears to ignore Urvaśī's offer of love: *karṇau hastābhyām pidhāya*.¹⁶³

5.2 The *pravargya* man has milk pails for ears. The *pravargya* sacrifice should provide the *yajamāna* with a head at which the hot milk vessel of the milk oblation to the Aśvins represents, for the *yajamāna*, the sun in order to share its blazing heat.¹⁶⁴ Śrīharṣa compares Damayantī's ears to ceremonial cakes to be offered to Kāma and his consort to serve as one more weapon in his armoury.¹⁶⁵ The same poet, in a far-fetched simile, imagines a special kind of marking in the shape of the Devanāgarī number nine carved with a deep-set outline in Damayantī's ears, indicating the division of the eighteen branches of learning.¹⁶⁶ The lappet of a monk's robe is called *cīvara-karṇa*.¹⁶⁷

6. Rites & magic are equally of interest in the present topic. "At the emergence of the want for causality man explains to himself the act of hearing from the immediate activity of a demon". From this basic conception the great majority of rites and customs have come into being in which the ear plays a role.¹⁶⁸ The main rites pertain to whispering into, touching, cutting the ears, and some minor religious ceremonies. As to this, the right or left ear concern the gender of the person or animal referred to.¹⁶⁹

6.1 In order to produce mental and bodily strength in his son soon after birth, the brahmin father performs the *medhā-janana*, at which he mutters charms through a rolled up middle *palāśa* leaf into the child's ear, the leaf taking the place of the sacrificial spoon.¹⁷⁰ In the same way a mantra for longevity is murmured into his ear,¹⁷¹ as is his secret name.¹⁷² In the course of the long life rites (*āyusmāni*) the ears

¹⁶² Śīlāṅka I 111a 6 on Sūyagaḍa 1,4,1,19.

¹⁶³ Mbh (Poona, 1930) III 3,46,36 and Hariṣeṇa, *Bṛhatkathākośa* 57, 284, cf. Mbh CE 13 App. 10 294 *karṇau pidhāya hastābhyām*. – Tawney-Penzer II 256 mentions the *vr̥ka* or fire in the stomach which can be heard on putting the fingers in one's ears, but this could not be found in the reference given, ŚpBr II 1.

¹⁶⁴ Hillebrandt 1897: 135; Gonda 1978: 153. Is this a reason why one occasionally does not bathe one's head as in Malayagiri IV 10 52a 1 on VavBh 4208 (Bollée 2005: 68f.)?

¹⁶⁵ Handiqui 1956: 97 on Naiṣadhacarita VII 61.

¹⁶⁶ Naiṣadhacarita VII 63.

¹⁶⁷ Dhammapada-a III 106, 12 *cīvara-kannam pattharivā nipajji*, cf. Avadānaśataka II 184.

¹⁶⁸ HdA VI 1205 "Beim Erwachen des Kausalitätsbedürfnisses erklärt sich der Mensch den Vorgang des Hörens aus der unmittelbaren Tätigkeit eines Dämons" (Karutz 1897: 214). Von dieser Grundanschauung sei die große Mehrzahl der Sitten und Gebräuche entstanden, in denen das Ohr eine Rolle spielt.

¹⁶⁹ Negelein I 1931: 286.

¹⁷⁰ MānavaGS 1,7,6 ~ BhāradvājaGS I 23; see Caland 1899: 213 and Krick 1982: 180 on the *parṇa* = *palāśa* tree, *Butea frondosa*.

¹⁷¹ HiranyakeśiGS II 3,9; TaittS 1,3,14 m. Cf. the *adhān* spoken into the ear of a new-born future Muslim.

¹⁷² HdA VI 1207; Auboyer 1961: 215. Abbott 1932: 39 mentions the rite of *kān phunknen*, i.e. the breathing by a guru into the ears of a child after reciting from a sacred book.

of the new-born are also treated.¹⁷³ Further, to give a baby a long life stone balls are struck near his ears.¹⁷⁴ Later, at the *upanayana*, the right ear of the child into which the *gāyatrī* verse is repeated is thought to become holy for life.¹⁷⁵ After the ceremony, the mother marks her son's eye-lashes with lamp-black and makes a smudge of it near his right ear, this being her final chance to safeguard him against evil influences.¹⁷⁶ The Buddha condemns muttering spells on the ears of an opponent to prevent him from hearing something.¹⁷⁷ The *adhvaryu* and the *yajamāna* whisper a mantra into the right ear of a horse¹⁷⁸ and a prince murmurs an incantation into the ear of a lion and teaches him the Śvetāmbara Doctrine.¹⁷⁹ Somadeva makes a foolish brahmin with his hands in the shape of a cow's ear (vide infra sub 8) chant the Sāma Veda with a shrill sound, whereas he had been told to please the woman who should teach him the way of the world, by coaxing (*sāma*).¹⁸⁰ For king Donkey Ear see above sub 2.2.2.1f.

In the *citrā* ceremony the ears of a this year's calf are marked with *liṅga* and *yonī* by a knife as a magic rite to make the cattle do well.¹⁸¹ By lauding with the *vātsa sāman*, Trīśoka brought about the opposite, viz hairless and earless cattle.¹⁸² The *vṛṣōtsarga* has to take place in the middle of the Full-Moon sacrifice, an expansion of the ceremony of KauśS 24,19-23 at which oblations for the rain deity Pūṣan are made and a verse muttered in a bull's ear.¹⁸³ At the founding of the sacrificial fire the *yajamāna* mutters the Tanū mantras in the horse's right ear.¹⁸⁴ When asked the *yakṣa* Ghaṇṭika whispers the answer into the ear.¹⁸⁵

6.2 One touches one's right ear as a protection against impurities or for atonement, and at an asseveration, the former, e.g., when sneezing at a religious ceremony, in order to avoid spirits entering the ear because the Ganges, the Vedas, sun, moon and air live in a brahmin's ear.¹⁸⁶ Touching the right ear is an easier ritual gesture instead of sipping water while uttering mantras,¹⁸⁷ e.g. before receiving *madhu-parka*.¹⁸⁸ A

¹⁷³ Jolly 1977 § 43.

¹⁷⁴ Hemacandra, *Triṣ*° I 2,316; Bhāvadēva, *Pārśvac*. V 76; Nemicandra 289a 11 on Utt 23,1.

¹⁷⁵ Stevenson 1920: 36.

¹⁷⁶ Stevenson 1920: 40.

¹⁷⁷ Dīghanikāya I 11,20 *kaṇṇa-jappana* with Sv 97,6ff.

¹⁷⁸ KātyŚS 20,2,9 *adhvaryu-yajamānau dakṣiṇe aśva-karṇe japato vibhūr mātṛēti*.

¹⁷⁹ Kuvalayamālā 111,32 (*karṇa-jāpa*).

¹⁸⁰ KSS 6,57 *go-karṇa-saḍṣau kṛtvā karāv ābaddha-sāraṇau tāra-svaraṃ tathā Sāma gāyati sma jadāśayaḥ*. KSS 18,108 characterizes Sāmaveda brahmins as the home of timidity, boorishness and ill temper (Tawney-Penzer II 57).

¹⁸¹ KauśS 23,12ff.

¹⁸² Caland 1919 § 203.

¹⁸³ AVPar XVIIIc (Negelein I 1909: 117).

¹⁸⁴ Krick 1982: 323 note 845; 336.

¹⁸⁵ Commentary 404,2 on BKBh 1312 *Ḍombī tasyāḥ kula-daivatam Ghaṇṭika-yakṣo nāma. Sa prṣṭaḥ san karṇe kathayati*, etc. (Jain 1984: 327 note 5 where the reference ĀvCū II 229 could not be found).

¹⁸⁶ Campbell 1898: 160.

¹⁸⁷ Śārngadhara, *Paddhati* 603 < Sternbach VI 10783.

¹⁸⁸ Gonda 1980: 334; Hemādri, *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* II 1,690f. < Meyer 1937 I 195 note 1.

different link of ears and hands is found in Merutuṅga's story of the man who held a she-goat by the ears while his brother killed the animal. The goat was reborn as the killer's wife, who then struck her husband with a sword.¹⁸⁹

As to the asseveration, the cat in the Hitopadeśa first touches the earth and then its ears in order to aver that religions despite all differences agree to abstinence from *ahimsā* as the highest duty.¹⁹⁰ In Kānara (formerly the region south of Goa) in the 19th century a Roman Catholic priest baptized children by touching their ears with spittle¹⁹¹ which may have served to stave off evil from them, the ears thus representing the whole as the children did not yet understand any words.¹⁹² It is unclear to me why a person who with an astrologer touches his ear shows him to have eaten hare's meat.¹⁹³

When relieving oneself it is necessary to put one's *yajñopavīta*, apparently the threadbare rest of the Indo-European toga,¹⁹⁴ over the right ear.¹⁹⁵

6.3 Violence against the ear, apart from slapping, takes the form of piercing, earmarking, incision up to abscission.

6.3.1 The painful piercing (*karna-vedha*) of children's ears¹⁹⁶ with a needle or thorn is done nowadays on the twelfth day after birth, in ancient times in the seventh or eighth month, a thread being kept in the hole till the next day.¹⁹⁷ The father sits facing the east in the morning and speaks the mantra "Oh gods, may we hear bliss with our ears (ṚV I 89,8)" into the boy's right – or the girl's left – ear and vice versa. It is done also for protection against diseases¹⁹⁸ and C.G. Jung takes it to be an apotropaic magic against death, a going into the mother.¹⁹⁹ A stillborn child's ear is bored with a gold ring to prevent the contagion of death from passing on to the next birth.²⁰⁰ Adult's ears are also bored, thus among the Lamāni, a nomadic populace across India, the ears of a groom are bored before marriage as a proof of it, so that he is not buried at death, as are unmarried people, but cremated.²⁰¹ Further, *karna-vedha* is sometimes performed to prevent a woman from dying if the birth of a third son be expected.²⁰² Childless people

¹⁸⁹ Prabandhacintāmaṇi 123,22f.

¹⁹⁰ Hitopadeśa, ed NSP (Bombay, 1950) 18,8 (I 3 on vs 63).

¹⁹¹ Campbell 1898: 159 < Bombay Gazetteer XV 388.

¹⁹² HdA VIII 152.

¹⁹³ Bṛhatsaṃhitā 51,34.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Caland in Witzel 1990: 567f. and 672; Kane II,1 1974: 287ff.

¹⁹⁵ ĀgñiveśyaGS 2,6,8; VaikhānasaDhS 2,9,2; Stevenson 1920: 211; Bollée 2008 note 112.

¹⁹⁶ Sternbach 9168* *kaṣṭhā vedha-vyathā ... śravaṇānām*. See also Bhattacharyya 1975: 83.

¹⁹⁷ Suśruta, *Sūtrasthāna* xvi; Kane 1974: 254; Diehl 1956: 181; Gonda 1980: 354 and 377. – On the auspicious moment see Bṛhatsaṃhitā 100,6.

¹⁹⁸ Auboyer 1961: 215.

¹⁹⁹ Jung 1973: V 449; 452 note 97.

²⁰⁰ Abbott 1932: 208, cf. 221.

²⁰¹ Abbott 1932: 92.

²⁰² Purāṇasarvasva (MW without reference).

in Tirupati, apparently as a cohabitation substitute, perform ear-boring on wooden figures in the hope of issue to be born to them.²⁰³

6.3.2 As earmarking was touched upon above (1.1) in order to present the ear as a synecdoche, we can give here only some more details. Calves are marked in pairs.²⁰⁴ Cows with defective ears are unfit for sacrifice.²⁰⁵ Marking also seems to represent a ritual procedure to increase one's stock of cattle.²⁰⁶

The ears of the earth were dealt with under 1.1.2. Other things can have "ears", too, such as the Vṛātya's sandals,²⁰⁷ a drum²⁰⁸ and a pot.²⁰⁹ Further, in geometry *akṣa-karṇa* is a hypotenuse, *ardha-karṇa* is the radius and *eka-karṇa* is a triangle (MW). The lappet of a monk's robe is called *cīvara-karṇa*,²¹⁰ a *cela-karṇa* is a fan,²¹¹ the tip of a ladle is a *dabbī-karṇa*,²¹² the helm of a ship is *nau-karṇa* (MW), a certain massive battle order is *sthūla-karṇa*.²¹³ Of ears in riddles only one could be found: "it has eight feet and four ears; two-faced it faces two other quarters; it roars at the gate of the king's palace and is neither a god nor a demon" (a four-faced large drum). Here a drumhead is called "ear".²¹⁴

Aśva-karṇa means a particular fraction of the bones²¹⁵ and *hasti-karṇa* is the name of a big shield.²¹⁶

A striking *eār* is often compared to a lotus; thus a sword is called the ear lotus of Death.²¹⁷ Towns are often mentioned as ear-ornaments of the earth, such as Kauśāmbī.²¹⁸

²⁰³ Thurston 1912: 159.

²⁰⁴ Muusses 1920 : 54f.; AV 6,141,2.

²⁰⁵ *Amedhyāḥ karṇāḥ* (MS IV 2,9). In Fischel and Geldner 1889: 138 *karṇā* is translated by "mit gestutzten Ohren" ("with cropped ears"). MW, Muusses 1920 :39 and Mayrhofer, EWAI render *karṇā* by "long-eared" (in EWAI also *defekt-* and *taubohrig* "with defect ears; deaf"), corresponding to *a-karṇa* "with short ears" in VS 24,40 (Schwab 1886: xviii). – Earmarked is considered as defect and unfit for buying soma (ŚpBr 3,3,1,16); such cows may be killed (JaimBr II 370). Caland 1919: 207 note 17 states that the purpose of the marking is unknown and then asks if perhaps thereby beef cattle would be indicated.

²⁰⁶ See Gonda 1965: 357.

²⁰⁷ Lāṭyāyana 8,6,23, see Hauer 1927: 107.

²⁰⁸ Cp 1,9,24 *karṇa-bheri* "a double drum" (Cp-a 85,11 *yugala-mahā-bheri*).

²⁰⁹ Malayagiri 152b 7 on PiṇḍaNijjuttī 549 *piṇḍa-karṇa* "handle of a pot", cf. *bhāṇa-karṇa* in OhaNijjuttī 290.

²¹⁰ Dhammapada-a III 420,2.

²¹¹ ĀyāraṅgaNijjuttī 170; Haribhadra, Samar 549,14 *viāvio cela-karṇehi* "cooled by fans".

²¹² Dh-p-a I 371,6 *dabbī-karṇena thokaṃ piṭṭhaṃ* (thus read for *piṭṭhiṃ*) *gahetvā* "taking a little dough with the tip of a ladle".

²¹³ Kauṭilya 10,6,16 and 42 (marching out with the centre with wings like big ears [Kangle])

²¹⁴ Sternbach 1975: 56 no 56.1 < Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāraṃ 185, 22 (*non vidi*). No dictionary states *karṇa* in the sense of "drumhead".

²¹⁵ Suśruta, Nidāna 15,5 one of twelve kinds of *kāṇḍa-bhagna*.

²¹⁶ Kauṭilya 2,18,16. Kangle: "board used as a cover".

²¹⁷ Bāṇa, Harṣac. 107,20 (*mahāsiḥ*) *karṇōtpalam iva Kālasya*.

²¹⁸ KSS 9,5 Kauśāmbī ... *bhūtatasyeṣa karṇikā*, cf. 11,31 for Ujjayinī.

6.3.3 Ear-splitting takes place with the Kānphaṭ yogins.²¹⁹

6.3.4 Abscission of the ears may originally be a punishment for severe larceny, then also for treason, defamation and adultery, which can be seen as a kind of theft. Thus Merutuṅga has king Pṛthvīrāja cut off the ears of his minister Somēśvara because he suspects him of favouring the enemy.²²⁰ The wicked *yoginī* Sulasā is similarly punished for slander and severe misbehaviour.²²¹ The punishment for adultery varies according to race and caste. A woman's ears may be cut off for adultery, as occurred to Rāvaṇa's sister Śūrpaṇakhā when courting Rāma.²²² Among the Pārdhi in Central India in either sex a piece of the left ear is sliced off with a razor.²²³ Jain recluses should not say of a person that his ears were cut off as it implies an offence.²²⁴ A Buddhist whose ears were cut into at the ear-piercing can be ordained, if they can be healed.²²⁵ Cropping the ears of dogs is pure human sadism in pseudo-aesthetic disguise.²²⁶ A strange rite is the removal of the placenta after birth by means of the right ear of a living male donkey cut off and dipped in a decoction of plants.²²⁷

To dream of one's ear being cut off is interpreted ambiguously: according to AVPar 68,2,10f. one will obtain external embellishment and knowledge, but in Jagaddeva 2,7 it means loss of wealth.²²⁸

6.4 Minor religious rites include a king's rubbing his ears with earth from a termitarium in order to hear of evil deeds planned against him.²²⁹ A case of calculated sadism is to pour hot oil into a dog's ear in order to induce Indra to stop torrential rain out of pity for the poor animal.²³⁰ In order to examine the ears of a doll one puts a thread into them.²³¹ Though not a rite proper the juggler may be mentioned who puts iron balls in his mouth and takes them out through his ear or nose.²³² The ear also

²¹⁹ Briggs 1938.

²²⁰ Prabandhacintāmaṇi 117,22 (*nigṛhīta-karna*). In German: *Ehrverlust macht Ohrverlust* ("loss of honour causes loss of ears").

²²¹ Kathākośa ed. Hofmann 277,24. See also the story of Dhanaśrī in Bollée 2010: [53].

²²² Rāmāyaṇa (NSP, Bombay, 1930) 3,18,21, see also Kane 1973: III 395 (adultery with a lower-caste man who then was sentenced to death). Schubring 1932: 108 wrongly translates Dasaveyāliya 8,55 ("a monk should avoid contact with a man whose ear or nose have undergone a [pathological] change"). It is still practised, e.g. in Afghanistan where the horrible custom is pilloried in *Time* 176 (August 9,2010).

²²³ Russell 1916: IV 364.

²²⁴ Āyāranga 2,4,2,1.

²²⁵ Samantapāsādikā 1026, 19 *yassa pana kaṇṇāviddhe (kaṇṇā) chijjanti sakkā ca hoti samghāñetum, so kaṇṇam samghāñetvā pabbājetabbo*.

²²⁶ E.g. Pāṇinī 6,1,115; Petavatthu 24:10 *kaṇṇa-muṇḍo sunakho*. See further Bollée 2006b: 19 et passim (subject index).

²²⁷ Jolly 1977, § 42. An explanation for the donkey ear is not given.

²²⁸ *Nāsā-śruti-karitanam ca bhavati yasya, ... tasya vasu-nāśah*.

²²⁹ König 1984: 115.

²³⁰ Bollée 2006b: 24 and 100. As against Śiva, we do not hear of a particular relationship of Indra with dogs. He only knows Saramā (RV 10,108,10).

²³¹ Hemavijaya, *Kath*. 245,20.

²³² VavBh I, p. 116 < Jain 1984: 264 note 5 (the place could not be found in my edition).

plays a role in enigmatic sign language as when a princess rubs her ears to an unknown prince whose companion explains to him that the princess gestured to him that she comes from the city of Karnaṇpur.²³³

7. Since the image of the swaying pendent *vibhūḍaka* fruit in the gambler hymn²³⁴ we know of objects in or on the ear as ornaments; they are flowers or pendants, studs, plugs or large bangles (*karnaṇvalaya*),²³⁵ originally meant as a magical protection,²³⁶ tribal identification, personal identity embellishment²³⁷ and such as are put on the ear or inserted into it for medical purposes.²³⁸

7.1 Mostly, however, this involves flowers on the ears of women as an ornament, e.g. white Śirīṣa,²³⁹ red aśoka flowers,²⁴⁰ blue lotus,²⁴¹ Nameru blossoms,²⁴² *Pterospermum acerifolium* flowers²⁴³ or jujube berries,²⁴⁴ but men, too, wear earrings and objects such as a rolled leaf in their ears.²⁴⁵

There are, of course, many other kinds of ear ornaments, e.g. the *tātanka* of Śiva's consort Devī, large flat discoid discs with grooved rims where they were inserted in the earlobe.²⁴⁶ Kālī wears two dangling severed heads for earrings.²⁴⁷ In the early centuries AD pin or stylet type earrings (*karnōṭkīlaka*) were prevalent.²⁴⁸ In Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati *prākāra-vapra-kundalas* can be seen, consisting of a thick double loop attached to a cubical block.²⁴⁹ An ascetic can have a rosary on his ear.²⁵⁰

²³³ Naithāni 2002:164.

²³⁴ RV 10,34,1 *prāvepā*, see Geldner's note 3 and Roth 1896.

²³⁵ Nāṭyaśāstra; see also Postel 1989: 169.

²³⁶ See e.g., Neumann 1955: 39. Therefore there are *makara-kundalas* (Sivaramamurti 1956: 108), *sihamukha-kundalas* (Ja V 438,30 and Bollée 2009: 106), ear ornaments shaped like angry sharks (Tiruttakkatēvar, *Cīvakaśintāmani* vs 168), etc. Perhaps Sītā's *śva-damṣṭrau* earrings which I discussed in 2006b: 24ff. as not having a connection with dogs, yet belong to this category of dangerous animals. Śiva has earrings with snakes (Vettam Mani 1975: 725a line 9 from below).

²³⁷ Karpūramañjarī I 31 *rūveṇa mukhā vi vihiṣayanti. Tāṇam alaṃkāra-vasenā sohā* "even when lacking beauty they put on ornaments. (Then) their charm rests on the ornaments". Also Sternbach II 3973 "by the earring on her ear, all the ornaments have been subjugated".

²³⁸ Campbell 1898: 159f.; Postel 1989: 5f.

²³⁹ Karpūramañjarī IV 7; Śākuntala VI 18; see further Syed 1990: 590 and Chojnacki 2008 II: 20 note 2 (Albizzia lebbek).

²⁴⁰ Bāṇa, *Kādambarī* 547,3. See Syed 1990: 77f.

²⁴¹ Rṭusamhāra 3,19.

²⁴² Kumārasambhava 1, 56 (Elaeocarpus ganitrus, dedicated to Śiva).

²⁴³ Rṭusamhāra 6,5 *karni-kāra*.

²⁴⁴ Hāla 419 (Weber) *kanne kūṇa bora-samghāḍim*.

²⁴⁵ E.g., Jambū leaf in Hāla 180 (Weber).

²⁴⁶ Śaṅkara, *Saundaryalaharī* 28. They are pictured in Sivaramamurti 1956 plate VIII nos 1,2 and 2 Postel 1989: 169f.

²⁴⁷ Kinsley 1975: 81.

²⁴⁸ Nāṭyaśāstra 23,24f. See also Postel 1989: 169 and 172.

²⁴⁹ See Postel 1989: 170.

²⁵⁰ Kālidāsa, *Kum.* 3,46; 5,11 et passim; KSS 25,15 *muniṃ aikṣata akṣa-mālayā jarā-dhavalā-karnāgra-saṃśrayiṇyā virājitam*.

In Tamil Naḍu temple dancers have special ear-pendants (*tōḍu*) which they are no longer allowed to wear when they are too old to dance, and must exchange for the *pampadam*, the antiquated ear-ornament of Śūdra women.²⁵¹ Earrings can also be different (asymmetric);²⁵² thus at the Vetāla-sādhana, a Śaiva black magic, the participants wear a white ivory pendant in the one ear and an earring with pearl in the other.²⁵³

We also hear of a herb for causing change of sex, which the princess R̥ṣidattā put in or on her ear to become a man.²⁵⁴

Animals, too, can wear ear ornaments such as elephants with chowries at their ears in Bāṇa.²⁵⁵

7.2 In order to remove centipedes that entered a king's head when he slept in the forest, a tube is inserted into his ear leading to a pitcher of water into which the centipedes will fall, driven out by the heat of the head.²⁵⁶

8. The ear is often used in similes. Thus, to scoop the correct amount of water for the *smārta ācamana* rite, the worshipper holds the spoon in his right hand in what is known as the cow's ear position, i.e. the first finger is bent over to touch the second knuckle of the thumb.²⁵⁷ Elephants' ears are considered a symbol of impermanence in the Avadāna,²⁵⁸ and Merutuṅga reflects that fortune is as fickle as elephants' ears.²⁵⁹ The large ears of the *vidūṣaka* are an otological metaphor of his "wisdom",²⁶⁰ but they are made of wood.²⁶¹

²⁵¹ Tawney-Penzer I 1924: 262. – In Bāṇa, *Harṣac* 132, I dancing *dāsīs* have chaplets around their ears (*karṇa-pallava*).

²⁵² Bāṇa, *Harṣac* IV, p. 135, 7f. *ekenēndra-nīla-kunḍalāṁśu-syāmalitena sarīrārdenētareṇa ca trikaṇṭaka-muktā-phalālōka-dhavalitena*. See also Bopearachchi 2003: 154 no 146 and plate on p. 168. Kubera in Pabhosa near Allahabad wears a coil in his left ear only (*vāmāika-kunḍala-dhara*), see Postel: 1989: 170.

²⁵³ Agrawala 1969: 83.

²⁵⁴ Kathakośa /ed Hofmann 267, 18 *tām oṣadhīm ānīya karṇe dhṛtvā tasyāḥ prabhāvād akasmāt puruṣatvam prāptam*.

²⁵⁵ *Harṣacarita* 145, 12 and 216, 12.

²⁵⁶ KSS 29, 146f. – The earth-snake (Typhlops braminus) is known as ear-snake, because it is supposed to enter the ear of a sleeper on the earth and cause a certain death (Thurston 1912: 96). See also Dhṛ-a II 8, 1 *mama karṇa-mūle āśvīṣaṁ pi gacchantam na jānāsi*. In KSS 69, 68 a poisonous snake is put into an elephant's ear and kills it.

²⁵⁷ Stevenson 1920: 216 > Diehl 1956: 73; Krick 1982: 143 note 374.

²⁵⁸ Avadāna 1, 144, 9.

²⁵⁹ Prabandhacintāmaṇi 123, 26 *kari-karṇa-tāla-taralāṁ kamalāṁ vimṛśya*, cf. Bilhaṇa (late 11th century A.D.), Vikram 4, 58 *jānāmi kari-karṇānta-cañcalaṁ hata-jīvitam*.

²⁶⁰ Rājasekhara, *Karpūramañjarī* I 21 where a slave-girl is to be dressed like *vidūṣaka*, with a mask with a long beard and large ears (*eṣā vā dutṭha-dāsī lamba-kuccaṁ tappara-karṇam paḍiṣīṣayam daiya*).

²⁶¹ Upadhye 1932: 793 referring to Paumac 1, 19 and 2, 28.

9. Diseases of the ears, *otalgia*, are mentioned since the AV.²⁶² Suśruta distinguishes twenty-eight types.²⁶³ They emerge when the planet Venus is in the asterism Śravaṇa.²⁶⁴ Dumb ears can be opened by the invocation (*dhūtī*) of the Ṛta.²⁶⁵ Scabs at the ear are scratched with a scraper.²⁶⁶ Pimples on the ears indicate metaphysical science.²⁶⁷

Buddhaghosa lists aspirants to the order who may not be ordained because of serious diseases (*pāpa-rogi*)²⁶⁸ among which such as elephants' ears (*hatthi-kanno*), ears of a bat (*jatuka-kanno*), ears with boils (*ganda-kanno*) or ulcerating and festering ones.²⁶⁹ People affected with earache resort to ant-hills, pour out milk, cold rice, fruit, etc., thus pleasing the crows, and carry away part of the earth, which they apply to the troublesome member.²⁷⁰ After a bad dream, too, the ears should be cleaned with earth from a termitarium.²⁷¹

An old dog's ear is thick with ticks.²⁷²

Somadeva makes a woman irrigate ears with nectar when she prattles.²⁷³ Finally, a man purges the ear with the sound of his lyre which, like the Ganges, charms with its swift stream of music.²⁷⁴

Abbreviations²⁷⁵

- APSSK = Anandasāgarasūri 1954
 AVPar = Bolling & Negelein 1909
 BKBh = Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya 1932-42
 CE = Critical Edition of Mahābhārata
 EWAI = Mayrhofer 1991-2001

²⁶² AV 9,8,1-2 *karna-sūlā*. Cf. Honko 1967: 122 and 197. – For auditive errors in reciting the Veda see Minard I 1949, § 588a.

²⁶³ Zysk 1998: 161; Suśruta, Utt 20,3 and 6. See also Jolly 1977, § 84.

²⁶⁴ Varāhamihira, *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* IX 33.

²⁶⁵ RV 4,23,8; see Glaserapp 1940: 12.

²⁶⁶ Jacobi 1886: 55,16 (*kaṇḍūyaṇaga*).

²⁶⁷ *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 52,3 *piṭakāḥ ... śrotre tad-bhūṣaṇa-gaṇam api jñānam ātma-rūpam*, cf. the ear seeking after the *āman* in ŚpBr 10,5,3,7.

²⁶⁸ *Samantapāsādikā* 1027,30ff.

²⁶⁹ *Samantapāsādikā* 1029, 2f. *sa-bhāvo yeva hi so tassa kaṇṇa-bhagandariko vā nicca-pūtinā kaṇṇena samannāgato*.

²⁷⁰ Thurston 1912: 134. In our classical antiquity formic acid was known as a medicine (König 1984: 136).

²⁷¹ BhavPur 1,23,17 > König 1984: 153 note 96.

²⁷² Sternbach I 8816*.

²⁷³ KSS 47,112 *ālapanty amṛtenēva kācid āsiñcati śrutim*, cf. KSS 44, 21 *uccacāra gaganāt ... vacaḥ śudhā-varṣam śravaṇayoś ... mahī-bhṛtaḥ*.

²⁷⁴ KSS 49,23 *sa vādītavān gāthān ... Gaṅgām ivāugha-subhagām karna-pāvana-niḥsvanām*.

²⁷⁵ Abbreviations follow the system of Monier Williams for Sanskrit, Schubring for Jain texts and the Critical Pali Dictionary for Pāli literature.

HdA	= Bächtold-Stäubli 1937-42
MW	= Monier-Williams 1899
PWB	= Petersburg Dictionary 1855-75
Tri ^o	= Hemacandra, <i>Triṣaṣṭiśālākāpuruṣacaritra</i>

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Eva DE CLERCQ

The character of Jātāyus (also: Jātāyu), the vulture-king who joins Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa's on their travels to Pañcavaṭī in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (3.13ff), is well-known for having made the ultimate sacrifice, while trying to save Sītā from her abductor Rāvaṇa. In a passage considered to be a later interpolation to the main narrative, it is described how, though Rāma initially fears him to be a Rākṣasa, the aged bird soon wins his trust by introducing himself as a friend of Daśaratha, and son of Aruṇa and Śyenī in the line of Kaśyapa.¹ He offers to protect Sītā, which Rāma accepts on account of Jātāyus' friendship with his father, Daśaratha.

The vulture also occurs in some of the Jaina versions of the Rāma story. This paper explores the ways in which Jaina authors, in this case Vimalasūri's (*Paṇḍarīyaṃ* 41), Raviṣeṇa, (*Padmapurāṇa* 41) and Svayambhūdeva (*Paṇḍarīyaṃ* 34-35), reworked and transformed epic material, exploiting the possibilities which a character such as Jātāyus has to offer to a far greater extent, and adapting it to a specific Jaina setting of greater coherence.²

Setting: two munis

In the Jaina texts, Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa arrive in the Daṇḍaka forest, near the river Kaṇṇaravā, where they decide to take rest.³ One day two *munis* approach, whom Rāma and Sītā duly honour. Sītā provides them with a meal.⁴ As a consequence of the

¹ The main reason for considering this passage an interpolation, is the fact that in the *Rāmopākhyāna*, Jātāyus is only introduced on the occasion of Sītā's abduction (*Mahābhārata* 3.263.1); cf. Pollock's notes on his translation in Goldman (ed.) 1984-1996: vol. 3, 321 and Brockington 1984: 336.

The earlier introduction of Jātāyus in the Rāma narrative appears to have been fixed by the time of Vimalasūri's composition.

² The character of vulture is absent from the second Jaina current of the Rāma story, found in Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa* and Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇa*. Hemacandra's account of Jātāyus' previous birth as Daṇḍaka in his *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* differs from Vimalasūri; cf. Chandra 1970: 174-5. For a comparison of Jaina Rāma tellings, cf. Kulkarni 1990.

In this summary of the narrative, I follow the account of Vimalasūri, and list notable variants with regard to names, details, etc. in the stories of Raviṣeṇa and Svayambhūdeva in footnotes.

³ Note that Vālmīki's version does not mention a river named Kaṇṇaravā, but refers to the Godāvarī being near the place where the threesome live (3.12.18).

⁴ Raviṣeṇa mentions their names as Sugupti and Gupta (41.16), Svayambhūdeva as Gupta and Sugupta (*gutta-sugutta* 34.11.7). Vimalasūri only mentions the name Sugupti later (*sugutti* 41.18). Raviṣeṇa

noble deed of giving food to ascetics, divine phenomena take place.⁵ Simultaneously, a sick vulture notices the *munis* and remembers his previous existence.⁶ In a mournful state, he decides to take refuge with the *munis*, falls into the water of their footbath and throws himself at their feet. Thereupon, the colour of the bird changes to the color of gems.⁷ Seeing this, Rāma asks why this bird has suddenly become so beautiful.⁸ One of the *munis*, Sugupti, then starts to narrate his previous birth.

This passage highlights some important differences between the epic and Jaina setting. In the *Rāmāyana*, the vulture is a noble king, who has the ability to speak and is moreover a friend of Daśaratha.⁹ Jainas, however, considered the vulture (*giddha*, *grdhra*) to be an animal of a lower order, particularly for its scavenging habits, as is illustrated by the words of Rāma, "of ugly hue, impure and foul-smelling" and "the vulture, impure, eating all kinds of flesh and evilminded".¹⁰ The introduction of the Jaina *munis* triggers the bird to remember his previous existence, and generates the opportunity of his previous birth to be revealed. He mourns his current state, since being born a vulture can only be the result of past evil actions. Another striking difference with Vālmīki's text is that here, Jaṭāyus does not come in aid and protection of Sītā, but seeks refuge. As exemplary Jaina lay people, Rāma and Sītā feel nothing but compassion for him and his pitiful state, as is emphasized in Raviṣeṇa's account, where Sītā helps the fallen bird and gives him some of the water from the *munis* footbath (41.41-43), and in Svayambhūdeva's account, where Rāma brings the unconscious bird back to consciousness with the water and Sītā declares she will care for him as for a son (35.2.2-7).

Daṇḍaka

On Rāma's request, Sugupti reveals the vulture's previous life. In the area where they were residing, there once was a city, Karmakundala, ruled by a king Daṇḍaka.¹¹ One day, as the king went out of the city, he saw a *muni* in meditation. He grabbed a dead

(41.12) and Svayambhūdeva (34.11.1-6) also explicitly describe how the food was prepared before the arrival of the *munis*.

⁵ Svayambhūdeva's account mentions how the Suras praise Rāma for this deed (35.1).

⁶ Svayambhūdeva mentions the name Jaṭāyīn (*jaḍāi*, 35.2.1). Later in the *Paṇḍarīkā*, in 81.13.4, the vulture is named Jaṭāyus (*jaḍāu*).

⁷ In Svayambhūdeva's (35.3.1) and Raviṣeṇa's (41.46-53) stories he dances around the *munis*.

⁸ According to Svayambhūdeva the *muni* explains that the beauty of the bird is due to him falling into the water and that everything becomes better in the presence of noble persons. Rāma then inquires why the bird had fainted (35.3.5-9).

⁹ Brockington (1984: 121) suggests that the term *grdhra*, "vulture", to refer to Jaṭāyus and his brother Sampātī, may be a tribal name or totemic device, indicating they originally may have been tribal rulers. The Jaina texts appear to have no recollection of this.

¹⁰ ...*duvvanṇo asuio dugandho ca* (*Paṇḍarīkā* 41.17); *aśuciḥ sarvamāūsādo grḍdhro 'yaṃ duṣṭamānasah* (*Padmapurāṇa* 41.55)

¹¹ Svayambhūdeva names the city Daṇḍāpura (35.4.2).

snake and tied it around the neck of the *muni*.¹² The *muni* did not remove the snake, in order not to disturb his *yoga*. The king later returned and saw that the *muni* had not shifted. He removed the snake, fell to his feet and from then on became a protector of *munis*. When a mean begging mendicant (*parivvāo*, *parivrāja*) came to know of this, he entered the queen's chambers and made advances to the queen. Hearing this, Daṇḍaka angrily ordered all *munis* to be captured and crushed to death. One *muni*, who had left the city, upon his return saw the crushed bodies of his colleagues. He became so enraged that he burnt the entire city, including all its citizens, to ashes.¹³ The forest is named after Daṇḍaka, but is now inhabited by trees and animals. After a long time, king Daṇḍaka was reborn as a vulture.¹⁴

Svayambhūdeva's account is more elaborate and contains some interesting deviations from Raviṣeṇa and Vimalasūri, the most significant being that Daṇḍaka is a Buddhist. While out on a hunting expedition, he became frightened of the sight of the *muni*, which he considered a bad omen. Therefore he killed a snake and tied it around the *muni*'s neck, thinking it would disturb his meditation. When he returned some days later, the *muni* was still there, the dead snake still around his neck. At this point Svayambhūdeva inserts a discussion, in which the Buddhist king and the Jaina *muni* reciprocate some well-known criticisms of each other's beliefs. Daṇḍaka starts by ridiculing the *muni*'s severe ascetic practice (*tapas*), which, according to him, is useless since everything is "momentary" (*khaṇiu*, *kṣaṇika*) (35.5.2-4). The *muni* refutes his statement "according to the Doctrine of Standpoints" (*ṇayavāeü*, *ṇayavāda*) as follows:

If one were to utter this exact argument again, then one would not be able to pronounce the word "moment" (*khaṇa*, *kṣaṇa*), because the syllables *kha* and *ṇa* would also be momentary, and pronouncing the word *khaṇa* would be impossible. The Buddhist teaching says thus: because of the momentary, there is nothing that has been produced, that is being produced or that produces [something]. [All] is momentary and only lasts for a moment. Because of Emptiness (*śūnya*), words are empty and spaces are empty. Everything is in vain.¹⁵

¹² Neither Vimalasūri, nor Raviṣeṇa are explicit about the motivation of the king.

¹³ Svayambhūdeva mentions two surviving seers (35.10.9), and that, upon seeing what had happened, one of them selfcombusted in anger and burnt the entire city with him (35.10.9-11.7).

¹⁴ Svayambhūdeva also includes an account of how the king, his wife and son spend centuries in different hells (35.12-14.9).

¹⁵ *jaṭṭhaṃ so jīṇṇaṃ pakkhu vollevaṃ
khaṇiu khayāru ṇayāru vi hosāṃ
aghaḍiṃ aghaḍamāṇu aghaḍantaṃ
sunṇeṃ sunṇa-vayaṇu sunṇāsāṇu*

*tā khaṇa-saddu ṇa uccārevaṃ
khaṇa-saddahā uccāru ṇa dīsaṃ
khaṇeṃ khaṇiu khaṇantara-mettaṃ
savvu nīratthi vaṃddhakū sāsaṇu* (*Paṭimacariu* 35.5.6-8)

These words silence Daṇḍaka for a moment. Then he retorts from a different angle, again attacking the *muni*'s ascetic practice: "What one sees is all that exists. Then why would one practice asceticism?"¹⁶ The *muni* replies:

We do not say that, for which the Naiyāyikas ridicule us, king. We accept both, the existence (*asti*) and non-existence (*nāsti*). We are not contested because of the Doctrine of Momentariness, like you.¹⁷

These words convince Daṇḍaka and he takes on the Jaina faith, becoming a protector of five hundred ascetics.

Another deviation in Svayambhūdeva's account, is an elaboration in the intrigue leading to Daṇḍaka killing all the *munis* in his city. Here, Daṇḍaka's evil queen Durnayasvāminī ("mistress of bad conduct") with her son, Madavardhana ("he who promotes lust") concocts a plan to accuse the *munis* of stealing from the treasury. The king does not believe the *munis* would ever steal, whereupon the queen sets up a scene in front of the king, in which a man disguised as a *muni* makes advances to her, after which the story evolves more or less parallel to the accounts of Vimalasūri and Raviṣeṇa (35.7.5-9.6).

The story of Daṇḍaka is further interesting, as it echoes another famous episode from the epics, namely that of king Parikṣit, son of Abhimanyu, grandson of Arjuna and father of Janamejaya, in the *Mahābhārata* (1.36-40). One day Parikṣit went out hunting and followed a deer deep into the forest. Tired and thirsty he came to a place where the *muni* Śāmīka (here a Brahmin) was sitting and asked him if he had seen the deer running by. As Śāmīka, who had taken a vow of silence, did not answer, Parikṣit, like Daṇḍaka, angrily picked up a dead snake with the end of his bow and draped it around the *muni*'s neck. Śāmīka did not react and the king went back to his city. When Śāmīka's son heard of this insult, he cursed Parikṣit to be killed by the great snake Takṣaka in seven days time. Hearing of his son's anger and the curse he had put on Parikṣit, Śāmīka reprimanded him and urged him to give up his anger, since an ascetic's anger destroys all the merit that he has so painstakingly gathered. The reaction of Śāmīka, the Brahmin *muni*, and of the Jaina *muni* in Daṇḍaka's story is almost identical. Both remain undisturbed in their ascetic practice and, devoid of any anger, forgive the king for his insult. The behavior of Śāmīka's son, who is also described as very austere, and that of the *muni* who reduced Daṇḍaka's city to ashes, are both illustrations of the destructive powers that are released by enraged ascetics, a popular theme in Indian narrative literature. Despite sending a messenger to Parikṣit to warn him of the curse, after seven days, the king is killed by Takṣaka. The motif of the

¹⁶ *to ghaṭṭi savvu athhi jāi dīsaī*

puṇu tavacaramu kāsu kijjesaī (Paṭimacariu 35.6.2)

¹⁷ *amhaī rāya na vollahū evaṃ
athhi ṇatthi donṇi vi padivajjahū*

neāiēhī hasijjahū jevam

tuhū jiha ṇaū khaṇavāem bhajjahū (Paṭimacariu 35.6.4-5)

king putting a snake around the neck of a *muni* is crucial to the narrative frame of the *Mahābhārata*. Parikṣit's son and heir, Janamejaya, bore a grudge against all snakes after hearing how his father died. In order to wipe out all snakes, he arranged for a grand snake-sacrifice (*sarpa-sattra*) to be held, and it is on the occasion of this very snake-sacrifice that the story of the *Mahābhārata* is told to Janamejaya by the sage Vaiśampāyana, as he himself had heard it from his teacher Vyāsa.

The authors of the Jaina Rāma story utilize the arrival of Jaṭāyus to narrate the origin of the Daṇḍaka forest. In the *Aranyakāṇḍa* of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* no information is provided about why the forest was named Daṇḍaka. It is only much later, in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* (70-72), when Rāma after his return from Laṅkā visits the sage Agastya, that he hears from him the origin of the name. There once was a king, Daṇḍa, the youngest of Ikṣvāku's one hundred sons. His father gave him an area between the Vindhya and Śaivalā mountains to rule. Daṇḍa lusted after Arajā, the daughter of his family priest (*purohita*), and raped her. Her father cursed the king and his kingdom, that within seven days, the entire area including all its creatures be reduced to ashes, and later became a forest named Daṇḍaka, after king Daṇḍa. Some parallels between the Daṇḍaka story of the Jaina Rāma tellings and that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are evident: king Daṇḍa(ka) infuriates a man who, through his austere practices, possesses superhuman destructive powers, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* the *purohita*, in the Jaina story a *muni*, as a result of which he and his kingdom are burned to ashes. The *Rāmāyaṇa* story of Daṇḍa is considered to be a later addition, possibly dating from between the first and third century AD.¹⁸ This means that, depending on the date one accepts for Vimalasūri's *Paūmacariyaṃ*, either the first, third or fifth century, the *Rāmāyaṇa* account may postdate that of the Jaina tellings. However, the narratives are too distinct to suggest any borrowing of the Jaina version, on the part of the later interpolators of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

After the narration of the vulture's previous birth, the *munis* give an account of how they themselves came to renounce the material world, instruct the bird on how to live a good life and ask Sītā to protect him.¹⁹ Then they leave. Lakṣmaṇa soon returns to the place where Rāma and Sītā had been and he is informed of what has happened. The bird is named Jaṭāyina (*jaḍāī*) and stays with them, in Sītā's care.²⁰

Jaṭāyus' death

According to Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāvaṇa, lusting after Sītā, asks his uncle Mārīca to take on the form of a golden deer (3.40). As the deer passes by the threesome's forest-

¹⁸ Brockington 1984: 59, 329.

¹⁹ In Svayambhūdeva's account (35.16.1-2), the previous birth story of the *munis* has been left out, and Rāma additionally asks the seers if they can confirm their vows and instruct the bird.

²⁰ Raviṣeṇa gives the variant Jaṭāyu (41.164). Vimalasūri further uses variants *jaḍāi*, *jaḍāgi* or *jaḍāgi*, and *jaḍāu* > *jaṭāyus* (f.i. 44.40).

home, Rāma, though wary of possible trickery, goes after it to fetch it for Sītā, instructing Lakṣmaṇa to stay and protect Sītā (3.41). At a distance, Mārīca imitates Rāma's voice calling Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa for help and Lakṣmaṇa reluctantly heads into the forest to help Rāma, leaving Sītā alone and vulnerable to her kidnapper (3.42-43). Disguised as a mendicant, Rāvaṇa wins Sītā's trust, but when he reveals his true identity and offers Sītā to come away with him, she rejects him and Rāvaṇa grabs her (3.44-47). While Rāvaṇa tries to carry her off, Sītā calls for Jaṭāyus, who was asleep nearby. Jaṭāyus immediately rushes towards them and rebukes Rāvaṇa for his base intentions (3.48). Enraged, Rāvaṇa attacks him and after a struggle, cuts off his wings, feet and flanks and proceeds with Sītā to Laṅkā (3.49-50). When Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa return to their home, they find Jaṭāyus barely alive and in his last breath he reveals that Rāvaṇa abducted Sītā (3.63). The brothers perform funeral rites for Jaṭāyus as if he were a relative (3.64).

In the parallel Jaina accounts (*Paūmacariyam* 44.29-55, *Padmapurāṇa* 44.59-111, *Paūmacariu* 38.1-39.2) Rāvaṇa arrives at the Daṇḍaka forest to reinforce the Rākṣasas, who are struggling in battle with Lakṣmaṇa. As he hovers nearby, he notices Rāma and Sītā and becomes infatuated with Sītā. With the help of his *vidyā*, he imitates Lakṣmaṇa's voice, calling for Rāma. After reassuring Sītā and explicitly instructing Jaṭāyīn to protect her, Rāma heads towards the battle-field and Rāvaṇa takes his chance to abduct her, striking down Jaṭāyīn. When Rāma returns, he finds Sītā missing and Jaṭāyīn dying and recites the *namaskāra-mantra* for the bird.

To counter the awkward situation of Vālmīki's account, where Lakṣmaṇa remains with Sītā, while Rāma hunts the deer, in the Jaina texts Rāma stays alone with Sītā, thus completely avoiding Sītā's harsh, insulting speech towards her brother-in-law in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where she accuses him of plotting against Rāma and lusting after her (3.44). The motif of the golden deer has been abandoned, since Rāma killing a deer for the pleasure of his wife, would not conform to his so often stressed characterization as an ideal Jaina layman. Like in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Jaṭāyīn sacrifices his life attempting to protect Sītā, but since in the Jaina texts he is a simple bird, he cannot reveal to Rāma the identity of her abductor.²¹

Later events

Unique to the Jaina tellings, the character of Jaṭāyus returns at the very end of the narrative (*Paūmacariyam* 113.1-67; *Padmapurāṇa* 118.1-122; *Paūmacariu* 88.1-9). After Lakṣmaṇa has died, Rāma, in denial, takes his corpse on his shoulder and treats him as if he were alive, washing and feeding him. Hearing of Lakṣmaṇa's death and Rāma's unstable condition, some enemies prepare to attack Ayodhyā. Jaṭāyus, who had

²¹ Rāvaṇa is identified later by a Vidyādhara, who happened to see Rāvaṇa flying by with Sītā and unsuccessfully attempted to free her (*Paūmacariyam* 48.41-44; *Padmapurāṇa* 48.86-95; *Paūmacariu* 44.7.9-10.2).

been reborn as a god in the Māhendra heaven, together with another god comes to Ayodhyā to defeat the enemies and bring Rāma back to his senses. The two gods make Rāma realize that Lakṣmaṇa is dead and his actions are pointless, and Rāma returns firmly to the teachings of the Jinas. Rāma asks the two gods of their identity and their motivation for their noble efforts. Jaṭāyus reveals himself and describes his deed as an act of gratitude for the fact that through Rāma's intervention, by accepting him in his home and reciting the *namaskāra-mantra* while he was dying, he attained Māhendra heaven.

Concluding remarks

In their appropriation of the popular story of Rāma, Jaina authors could have transformed, or rather, underlined the identity of Jaṭāyus as a tribal ruler of a "Vulture" tribe, already hinted at in Vālmīki's story.²² After all, they chose to depict the Vānaras, whom Vālmīki also portrays ambiguously both as humans and as simple monkeys, indicating that they were originally a tribal people, as a clan of humans belonging to the Vidyādhara dynasty, thereby, and perhaps unwittingly, doing justice to a pre-Vālmīkian telling of the story.²³ Instead the Jainas resolved the ambivalence surrounding the characterization of Jaṭāyus by portraying him unequivocally as a repulsive and pitiable vulture, devoid of human traits, thereby sacrificing his primary function in Vālmīki's narrative, as the one who identifies Sītā's abductor. The Jaina poets chose to add to the coherence of the narrative by linking the bird to the place where they were at that time residing, the Daṇḍaka forest, thereby providing a didactically coloured interlude at a critical point in the main narrative, just prior to their encounter with Śūrpaṇakhā (here named Candranakhā), leading up to Sītā's abduction. Like all previous birth stories in the Jaina Rāma tellings, Jaṭāyus' past is revealed by a *muni*. Apart from illustrating the *munis'* supernatural powers, such as the clairvoyance obtained through their ascetic practice, the episode glorifies the benefits of being in their presence and duly honouring them, especially by offering food (*āhāra-dāna*). The stories of their own current and previous lives in Vimalasūri's and Raviṣeṇa's texts, describing their path to becoming ascetics, are meant to inspire their audience, especially Jaṭāyus, to live an austere life according to the Jaina precepts, even envisioning the possibility of world renunciation in the future. The story is moreover a tale of compassion. Instead of eschewing the sickly, vile scavenging creature, Rāma and Sītā take pity on Jaṭāyus and accept him into their home. In accordance with *karmic* logic, the souls of Jaṭāyus and Rāma remain connected, as Jaṭāyus later returns to rescue Rāma from his deplorable mental state and to reaffirm his faith in the Jaina path. Immediately after Jaṭāyus' intervention, Rāma renounces his kingdom and possessions, to live an ascetic life and ultimately attain omniscience (*kevala*).

²² Brockington 1984: 121.

²³ Brockington 1984: 120-3.

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Karnataka is fortunate to have writers of great merit and their detailed narration helps us to reconstruct Karnataka history and culture. Careful study of their literary works may bring out the techniques in the field of art and may help to differentiate the styles of those days from the present times in the art forms in particular dance and music. From early Chalukya to Vijayanagar times in every field of fine arts a number of literary works have been produced. The Jaina poets have contributed for the enrichment of Kannada literature. To embellish their narrative content they have amply used music, dance and other visual and performing art forms sensibly. By studying Kannada literature we draw authentic references to dance and music traditions which prevailed in respective centuries. The Kannada poets of repute are Pampa, Ranna, Ponna, Janna, Nāgavarma I, Nēmicandra, Nāgacandra II, Pārśvanātha, and Ratnākaravarṇi who contributed from 8th century to 17th century towards the development of Karnataka literature and arts.

The works of Pampa, top the list of literary references of all art forms. Arikesari II was the patron of Pampa. Pampa, the eight century Kannada poet is known as Ādikavi or the first poet of Kannada literature. He has written two major works namely, *Ādipurāṇa* and *Vikramārjuna Vijaya*. He had a thorough knowledge both in Sanskrit *Kāvya* and *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He studied all the earlier works such as *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, and the works of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Bāṇa, Māgha, Bhavabhūti, Harṣa and others. He was well versed in scriptures and art forms such as dance, music, painting and sculpture. It is a rare combination of all knowledge in a single person.¹ Pampa's style of writing is delightful. Wherever the dance situation comes, with great enthusiasm and effect he narrates the dance sequence with all the technical terms used in *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

❖ With deep respect and gratitude I offer this research article to SVASTI: Festschrift to Prof. Nagarajayya Hampa, the distinguished scholar in Jaina studies. It is an honour for me to contribute in this prestigious volume dedicated to him. It is our sincere wishes that his service to Kannada literature in general and to Jaina literature and culture in particular is going to be cherished through this publication.

¹ D.L. Narasimhachar, *Karnāṭaka Darśana*. Mysore, 1904, p. 59.

In his *Ādipurāṇa* there are situations where dance and music are described in detail, especially in two instances. The birth of Vṛṣabhadēva created great joy among the people on earth and gods in heaven. Indra shared the joy in organising the dance of *Dēvāṅgas*, the celestial nymphs. The celebration started from the dances of *Dēvāṅgas*.² They began the dance movements and picked up the rhythm by using 32 kinds of flowers. 32 dancers formed a design of flowers and petals in a circle and performed the movements which were a real feast to the eyes. Here the word 'Citrapatra' is used. There is a technique of dance known as 'Citranāṭya'³ which is now popular in the Kūṭhipudi classical dance style.

In the *Dēvāṅga* dance number 32 types of flowers are spread on the ground. The colourful flowers form a beautiful colour picture. When the sequence of group dance reached its climax, Indra entered the platform and participated in the dance of the eternal bliss. Indra stood for the commencement of the dance in *Viśākha Sthāna*,⁴ the position indicating horse riding or the use of weapons in the combat. He danced with *Karaṇa* (the unit of dance specified in *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata) and *Aṅgahāras* (specific number of *karaṇas* form an *aṅgahāra*). The term 'Nāṭyarasam' indicates the *rasas* or sentiments. The dance of joy of Indra synchronised with the *Dēvāṅga*, the celestial music, *navarasas*, the nine sentiments and *pādacāris*, the intricate foot work. The *Dēvāṅgas* (celestial nymphs) joined Indra and formed a group sequence following the sentiments; emotions and rhythmic patterns, which were almost similar to the eternal dance of Indra, the principal deity of all gods.

The Eternal Dance of Nīlāñjana

Pampa takes up an opportunity in describing the dance style that existed in his times, by portraying the dance sequence of Nīlāñjana, a celestial dancer of Indra's court.⁵ This dance sequence is created purposely to divert the mind of Vṛṣabhadēva from worldly life. The dance of Nīlāñjana is the last such situation, which turns Vṛṣabhadēva into an ascetic who later becomes a Tīrthaṅkara and attains salvation. This is the turning point in the life of Vṛṣabhadēva. Pampa narrated very effectively this situation of realisation. This chapter is unique and gained greater importance because of his detailed narration on the dance of Nīlāñjana. Vṛṣabhadēva was fully absorbed and desired that Nīlāñjana's dance should never end. She danced for such a long time that finally she was exhausted and dropped herself dead. Indra did not want

² *Ādipurāṇa* of Pampa, Ch. 7, Janmābhiṣeka.

³ Kūṭhipudi is the dance style of Andhra Pradesh. One of the dance techniques is known as 'Citra Nāṭya' giving popularity among present dancers. The colour powder is spread on the ground; a white cloth is spread on the colour, the dancer with her feet according to rhythm and timings moves on the cloth. After the completion of rhythmic note when the cloth rose from the ground a design is printed on it. Usually they draw seated Vinayaka, peacock, lion (Simha vahini).

⁴ Viśākha sthāna - 3 types of position prescribed for men keeping 3-½ *tala* distance between feet and keeping the thighs at the same distance and sitting half on the feet.

⁵ *Ādipurāṇa* of Pampa, Ch. 9, Pariskramana Kalyana Varnane (Nīlāñjaneya Nṛtya), 17 verses.

Vṛṣabhadēva to experience *rasabhaṅga*, so he created another Nīlāñjana with his power and replaced her without anybody's knowledge. Other spectators never realized the difference. But Vṛṣabhadēva, an expert in the art of dance and music, suddenly felt the difference, developed a great dejection towards life and left the place immediately. Nīlāñjana has shown all human emotions in her dance. The divine dance of Nīlāñjana is not only a glorious part of *Ādipurāṇa* but it is a unique and eternally memorable situation and the most charming episode in Kannada literature.⁶

The kings and gods assembled to witness the great dance organised by Indra. When he asked the assembly to select a subject, the assembly left the choice to the fancy of Indra. Here perhaps Pampa made his own choice and took up the dance pattern of his interest and pleasure. In the beginning he describes the physical form of Nīlāñjana and calls her as '*Gaṇikātilakam*' (the central attraction of courtesans). Then he narrates the entrance of Nīlāñjana on the '*Raṅga*' (Platform for dance). As the stage illumined slowly, she came out of the curtain, showing her face, as if a lightning emerged. Then she appeared before the audience performing "*Puṣpāñjali*", scattering the flowers all around the stage and the court with rhythmic foot steps and lithesome movements.⁷ The divine music followed with *Tata* (stringed instruments). Then came the *Avanaddha* (the instruments for rhythm such as *Mṛdaṅga*) instruments in first, second and third rhythm (*Vilambita*, *Madhyama* and *Dhṛta laya*) followed by the dancer's foot steps. Then the melodious voice of a lady singer supported the divine dance of Nīlāñjana. Now the music and dance synchronised harmoniously to create an atmosphere of eternal bliss.

Nilanjana is a learned dancer and well versed in *Bharataśāstra*. Pampa used the word '*Nātyagama*' to describe her. She employed all the 4 *vṛttis*: (the 4 styles of dancing) *Bharati*, *Sātviki*, *Kaisiki* and *Ārabhaṭi*. Only an efficient dancer can perform all the 4 *vṛttis*. She performed *navarasas*, all the nine sentiments depicting the various stages in life with *bhāva*, *vibhāva* and *anubhāva*. She employed aptly the *Sañcāri* or the transitory status in dancing *Abhinaya* (the emotive form of dance). All the four folds of *Abhinaya*, *Āṅgika* (physical), *Vācika* (verbal), *Āhārya* (ornamental) and *Sātvika* (involuntary states of expression) were involved in her dance. The 32 *Āṅgahāras* and 108 *Karaṇas* were performed by her as in *Bharatāgama* (Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*). She kept a smiling face throughout her performance which is the pre-requisite for a dancer while performing before the audience.

The art, lyric, instrumental music, the dance, *Nṛtya* served as ornaments for her. All sentiments and emotions flowed deeply in her stature and posture. She was immersed in the melody and rhythm from head to toe, and every part of her body moved to the *rasa* she was depicting. Following rhythm, she expressed thousands of movements of

⁶ V. Seetaramayya, *Mahakavi Pampa*, Poorvokta, p. 88.

⁷ *Puṣpāñjali* - Even today the Bharatanatyam dancers enter the stage with flowers in their hands and scatter them on the stage and bow to the God and musicians and then start their dance.

pure dance. She reached such a height of climax in rhythm that the spectators became one with the dance of Nīlāñjana.

It appears as though Pampa must have experienced such a divine art. Perhaps royal courts of the Chalukya and Rastrakuta periods had such courtesans who were experts and deeply engrossed in their art. The history of Kannada literature reveals the remarkable influence of Pampa on later poets of Karnataka. Indeed the period of Kannada literature from Pampa to Basava that is 950-1116- A.D. has been justly named 'The age of Pampa'.⁸

Ponna is another noted Kannada writer. His works also reflect the contemporary style in the field of fine arts. If Pampa is credited to be the first to introduce dance and music with great effect in literary works, Ponna is the promoter and successful narrator of the episodes where he, with great ease used dance and music sequences to embellish his literary power in his works. In *Śāntipurāṇa* (950 A.D.) Ponna has vividly described the dance of Apsaras⁹ and Devendra.

The Apsaras exhibited the *Sukumāra Nāṭya* (*lāsya*) by using suitable *Karaṇas* and *Aṅgaḥāras*. In the tenth chapter Ponna describes the dance sequence of 32 dancers who under the direction of Indra formed a semicircle in the shape of a pearl necklace. They also designed by their feet various colour pictures with the help of flowers as described earlier by Pampa, the dance of 32 Apsaras i.e., *Citrapatra Nāṭya*. It appears that a dance pattern, performed by 32 members standing in different designs, drawing the colourful pictures stamping lightly on the flowers was very popular in the courts of Chalukyas and Rastrakutas. The same tradition in later periods came to be called as 'Citra Nāṭya'. There are references to *Citra Nāṭya* in the Mysore School of dance. *Bṛṇḍāvana Nāṭya* and *Padmāvali Nāṭya* are the other names used in this tradition.

As in Pampa's *Ādipurāṇa*, Ponna also describes the *Ānanda Nṛṭya* of Indra, the dance of ecstasy. Along with *Puṣpāñjali*, Indra took up the position of *Vaiśākha Sthāna* with great ease and started his dance in *Āraḍhaḷī* style (the virile expressions) with great devotion. Opposite to the *Tāṇḍava* the virile style of Indra, the *Sura-gaṇikas* or the divine courtesans danced with great joy, the *lāsya*, the delicate form of dance. Ponna had also greater experience of the pleasure of dance and musical art and he made use of this situation to express his love for art. His *Śāntipurāṇa* was so popular that queen Attimabbe got a thousand copies of Ponna's *Śāntipurāṇa* copied and distributed.¹⁰

The patronage of art and literature continued in the times of Kalyana Chalukyans who ruled Karnataka from late 10th century to mid-13th century. The works in the field of art and literature received highest attention of the royals and commoners in this period. The rulers themselves were scholars of high caliber and wrote texts on music

⁸ KTA., *Kannada in Chalukya and Rastrakuta period*, p. 165.

⁹ *Śāntipurāṇa*, Ch. 7, Amariyara Nartana.

¹⁰ KTA., *Literature in the times of Kalyana Chalukyas*.

and dance. Nāgavarma I, Ranna, Udayāditya, Bilhana, Vādirāja, Vijñaneśvara, Someśvara III, Pārśvadeva, Jagadekamalla II were great poets and also contributed greatly to the field of fine arts by adding passages of descriptions depicting the dual arts, dance and music.

Nāgavarma I (990 A.D.) was the court poet in the earlier days of Kaiyana Chalukyas. His masterpiece *Karnāṭaka Kādambari* is the translation of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*. In the very beginning of the work, Nāgavarma writes about *Mahasvete*, an exponent in playing Vina. The divine melody of Vina echoed in the characterisation of *Mahasvete* and the presence of music felt in the narrative of the text.

Next to Nāgavarma I, Ranna (993 A.D.), the ornate poet of the royal court of Taila II followed the style of writing of Pampa. His patron bestowed him with the title Kāvī Chakravartī, the emperor among poets. His work *Paraśurāmacarita* and *Ajītapurāṇa* have been highly placed in Kannada literature. An entire portion in the *Ajītapurāṇa*¹¹ written in 993 A.D. is dedicated to dance and music. Ranna has described in great detail the techniques and styles of dance practiced in his times. There are references of the terms and usages of the physical gesticulations, given by Bharata and also Nandikeśvara, the later writer who wrote *Abhinaya Darpaṇa*. It appears that by this time along with *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Nandikesvara's *Bharatārṇava* and *Abhinayadarpaṇa* had gained importance and were considered equally popular on par with the *Nāṭyaśāstra* tradition. In this work (Chapter 5) Ranna has dedicated 37 verses purely for describing the dance of Indra. Indra dances *Ānanda Tāṇḍava* with 108 *Karaṇas*, 32 *Āṅgaḥāras*, suitable *Recakas* (hand and bodily movements) and *Cāris* (the specific limb movements). His dance was based on the fourfold *Abhinayas* or expression. The orchestra included Vina *Vamśivādana* or flute, *talapranada*, an instrument for rhythm (*Tatāvanaddha ghana Suśira Vādya bhēda taraṅga*).

Ranna has also mentioned about *Vicitra Nartana*, variegated dances of *Vilāsinis* (the courtesans). Indra and the beautiful maidens were completely absorbed in the dance from head to toe. In verse 21, *Citra Nartana*, the dance of drawing pictures is described in a vivid manner.

The description of the fascinating dance sequence in the words of Ranna unfolds in this manner: after completing the preliminary offerings, the actual dance numbers were introduced by Indra along with his associate dancers. The list of dance techniques as mentioned in *Nāṭyaśāstra* and other later texts are quoted authentically. The dance had *Śṛṅgāra* and *navarasas*, 8 *Sthāyibhāvas* (Permanent emotional states), 33 *Saṁcāri Bhāvas* (emotions), four types of *Abhinayas*, *Lokadharmi* and

¹¹ *Ajitanāthapurāṇa* of Ranna, Ch. 5.

Line 19: *Virājisitu hastapāda vinyāsaṁ kulisiya tōlaṅgaṇaṁ sam |*

Samsthalaḍol karatāḷaḍoleseva maṇibandhadalaṅguliyaṁ nakhadol nartana vilāsamam meredārindra saundariahaḥ ||

Nāṭyadharmis (realistic school of expression according to the ways of the world). *Nāṭyadharmi* refers to theatrical expressions depending entirely on histrionic expressions adopted in four *vr̥ttis*: *Bharatī*, *Ārabhaṭī*, *Sātvakī* and *Kaiśikī*. The four *pravṛttis* are *Mānavatī*, *Dākṣiṇāṭya*, *Pāñcālī* and *Mādra-Māgadhi*.¹² *Daiva Siddhi* and *Mānuṣa Siddhi* are the two *siddhis*, the celestial and mortal achievements. The *saptasvaras* are *Ṣaḍja*, *Riṣabha*, *Gāndhāra*, *Madhyama*, *Pancama* *Daivata* and *Niṣāda*. The *Daśarūpakas* mentioned are *Nāṭakamam*, *Prakraṇamam*, *Benamum*, *Samavataramum*, *Dimamum*, *Ihāmṛgamam*, *Vyāyogaṃ*, *Prahasanamum*, and *Ankamam* *Vithiyamemba Daśarūpa Lakṣanamam*. Thus the dance of Indra presented the entire plethora of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* relating to dance and music.

Ranna gives further details: some dancers danced with complicated rhythmic patterns, others danced as though they were the rhythm themselves (*Kelaruṭīgalē Tālamāgē kuṇidar kelabar*). Ranna takes the opportunity to mention the different modes of *laya*, the times set to limited space such as *Akṣasama*, *aṅgasama*, *tālasama*, *yatisama*, *lāsyasama*, *cānyasama*, *pādasama* and *pañśama*. Then he gives a list of physical gesticulations such as 36 glances, the eye movements, 13 gestures of head, 7 gestures of eyebrows, 3 gestures of nose, 3 movements of lips, 3 movements of chin, 9 types of neck movements, 64 types of head movements (*mastaka kriye*), 5 gestures of sides, 3 gestures of belly, 5 gestures of *kaṭi*. He also mentions *Mārga*, the classical and *Deśī*, the regional, *Tāṇḍava* and *Lāśya*. Applying all the said techniques, Indra danced in ecstasy amidst the beautiful maidens, the celestial associate dancers.

The above description given by Ranna shows the depth of his knowledge in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* tradition of classical dance. Perhaps the contemporary dancers in the court of Kalyana Chalukyas performed the dance with utmost perfection. The artists of the period with dignity and maturity might have provided enough material for Ranna to give a detailed narration of art forms of that age.

Nemicandra, another Jaina poet, flourished in the court of Hoysala Ballala II. *Nemiāthapurāṇa* and *Lilāvati* are his important works. He has described the dance of Magadha Sundarī in his *Nemināthapurāṇa* (around 1190 A.D.). Magadha Sundarī performed exquisitely the dance of *Sama* and *Viṣama* as expressed by Nemicandra.¹³ The poet describes the dance techniques relating them to the various parts of the body of Sarasvatī, the Goddess of learning. The glances expressing emotions are attributed to the eyes of the goddess, the 108 *Karanas* to the ears, the 32 *Aṅgahāras* are like the pearl pendant, the *Cāris* are inevitable for the systematic dance, the *Maṇḍalas* are like

¹² *Pravṛthi*: This is the regional identity recognised through costumes, dialects, habit, tradition, custom and occupation. They vary from one region to another. Bharata has classified four identities such as *Mānavatī* or Western, *Dākṣiṇāṭya* or Southern, *Pāñcālī* or Eastern, and *Māgadha Māgadhi* or Northern regions of India.

¹³ *Nemināthapurāṇa* by Nemicandra, Ch. III Dance of Magadha sundarī.

Antu sama viṣamavembaradum tereda nāṭyamatyanta manōharam kauṭika karamumāge |

the headdress for the goddess of learning, the various stances and gaits are suitably compared to the delicate form of Sarasvatī.

Nāgacandra II (1190 A.D.), a contemporary to Nemicandra, was also the court poet of Ballala II and was known as Abhinava Pampa. In his *Mallināthapurāṇa* he has codified the existing dance traditions in Karnataka. His descriptions when compared to the Hoysala sculptures reveal a new realm in the art forms of the Hoysala period. Nagachandra prescribes a *tribhaṅga* posture for Puṣpāñjali.¹⁴ Nāgacandra uses the term *aḍavus* (various steps) while describing the dancer's balance in her movements. In his lucid words he describes the way in which the dance movements, the rhythmic patterns on the drum and the melody of the song synchronised harmoniously. He mentions the regional dance traditions such as *Gondala* and *Vekkana*. *Gondala* was a dance tradition which was very popular in Karnataka. It is described at length in *Saṅgīta Ratnākara*.¹⁵

There is one more depiction of Indra's dance associated with the celebration of the birth of the Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha. The poet Pārśvanātha during 1222 A.D. wrote the *Pārśvanāthapurāṇa*. In the 14th chapter of this work there is a detailed description of the dance of Indra. Pārśvanātha, like his predecessors made use of the situation to give an account of his knowledge in the field of dance and music.

Pārśvanātha also gives the entire list of dance techniques, as prescribed by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and as practiced in the 13th century. The fourfold classification of *Abhinaya*, and the emotive sentiments (*Rasābhinaya*) were performed with great ease. The *Daśarūpakas* were presented along with the gesticulation of *Aṅgas* and *Pratyāṅgas* (major and minor limbs) respectively.

The feet movements of the female dancers were so light and their graceful gait appeared like the gait of Swan. (*Dēviyar pāda Vinyāsamam Haṁsī pāda Vinyāsamane pōltu*).¹⁶ This description gives an idea that the dancers adopted the tradition of *Abhinayadarpaṇa* also. These gaits are accessories to depict the *bhāva*, the sentiments in their movements and gesticulations.

Ratnākara Varṇi, an eminent Jaina poet belonging to Vijayanagar court has described the dance traditions that existed in Karnataka during the 16th century in the two chapters of *Bharatēśa Vaibhava*.¹⁷ Ratnākara has elaborately described the dance techniques, which were very popular in the region of Karnataka. Ratnākara Varṇi

¹⁴ R. Satyanarayana, *Dance traditions of Karnataka, Studies in Indian Dance*, p. 25.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Gundala dance.

¹⁶ Nandikeśvara has given a list of gaits - 10 types Haṁsī, Mayūri, Māgi, Gajagali, Turaṅgiṇi, Siṃhī, Bhujāṅgi, Maṇḍuki, Vīra and Mānavi.

¹⁷ *Bharatēśa Vaibhava* by Ratnākara Varṇi, Ch. *Bhōga Vijaya - Pūrva Nāṭaka Sandhi and Uttara Nāṭaka Sandhi*.

captures our mind in lucid passages which are as remarkable for their graphic descriptions as for the accuracy of technical information.¹⁸

In the *Pūrvanātaka Sandhi*, Ratnākara Varṇi describes the dance of a courtesan who is a harlot (*Belevenṇu*) but highly efficient in the exposition of art. Ratnākara describes her physical charm and the erotic gestures she exhibited in the court of the king. Her eyes followed with emotions in the directions, whereas her hands moved in tremendous movements. She depicted with utmost ease the techniques of *Bharataśāstra*, such as 108 *Karaṇas* and 108 *Sthānas* (the finale position), 13 head movements, 64 varieties of hand gestures, 32 *Cāris*, 32 *aṅgahāras*, 36 *rasadr̥ṣṭis* with *bhāva*, and *anubhāva* expressions. Her movements were full of life. She appeared like a young snake moving in the sun with shimmering movements.

Her movements resounded in the *Mardala* (drum). While coming forward she resembled a wild wave with virile rhythm, while moving backward she was just like a delicate wave descending and becoming one with the great ocean. Her spinning movement reminded of the top when she took circular movements. In the middle of the stage (*Raṅga*) she danced with the gait of an intoxicated elephant (*maddāne*) and reached the high tempo and ended her recital in *Ārabhaṭi* (virile) *natya*. It appears the chief drummer was the chief vocalist for such a virile exposition.

Then Ratnakara narrates and gives a list of the group dances of his times in *Uttaranātaka Sandhi*. In the solo recital more attention was paid to the techniques, whereas in the group dances it is the arrangement of stage, symmetrical patterns and synchronisation of the movements of the dancers. The choreographic representation of dance is very well evidenced in the work of Ratnakara. In the first instance, the *Haṃsamaṇḍalīnāṭya* is an elaborate description of techniques, number of artists, and formation of patterns resembling a flower with sixteen petals, as if in a pond. There were 16 girls participating in this dance number, forming a single line in the gait of *haṃsi* (swan). Their tender movements of the feet bound by anklets resembled the voices of swans with their beaks, holding their hand gestures in *mukulahasta*.¹⁹ Suddenly a dancer pretending anger on a male swan moves away from the group. But she returns to the pond and sits in the middle deeply engrossed in the thoughts of the male partner.

The other dancers, who had strong control over their limbs and feet, took leaps, not touching the ground and moved as if they were in the air, and slowly came down and with slight jump entered the pond with hand movements resembling a bird closing down the feathers. In the same delicate movements the dancers offered the flowers to the idol of Jina. The poet calls them as *Kulavaniteyaru* i.e. ladies coming from

¹⁸ R. Satyanarayana, *Dance Traditions of Karnataka. Studies in Indian Dance*, p. 39.

¹⁹ *Mukulahasta* - Here the use of this gesture representing the beak of a bird is exactly as in *Sārasaṅgraha*. But this use is not mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

respectable families. While concluding the narration the poet imagines the spectators' curiosity in witnessing other types of group dances such as *Dikkannikānāṭya*, *Jalakannikānāṭya*, *Amarakāntanāṭya*, *Nāgakanyanṛtya*, *Bāṣpa-vidyullatānṛtya*, *Dyumaṇī Tāṇḍava*, *Candra Tāṇḍava Puspakanṛtya*, *Daśapadma-lāṣya*, *Tārāṅgaṇṛtya*, *Kalpalatānṛtya*, *Vimśatipadmālāṣya* etc. It appears that all these are group compositions consisting of different numbers of dancers, depending on the type of composition they ought to present. Every piece had its own technique, unique postures and movements, woven around a theme. No doubt all these patterns were based on *Pinḍibandhas* (group dance) of *Bharatagulma*, *Śṛīkhala* and *Latābandha* formations. This shows the diversity in the group presentation of those days.

Further, Ratnākara Varṇi describes the folk and tribal dancers of his days namely *Koravañjī*, *Jogināṭya* and *Koramanāṭya*.²⁰ When the female dancers disguised as male tribes and danced it created a roar of laughter in the auditorium. Thus Ratnākara presented in his work the dance consisting of classical, regional and folk styles.

Aggala in his *Candraprabha Purāṇam* describes the preliminaries as prescribed by Bharata. He also points out the balance and rhythm to be maintained by the drummer and the dancer. The synchronising effect of the drum and foot work creates the climax in the art of dance. Aggala also depicts the *Tāṇḍava* aspect of dance as "the surrounding trees swayed in ecstasy at the *recaka* movements of his feet, the quarter elephants supporting the earth and the heaven were struck dumb with the *Parigha* (iron bludgeon) of his arms, the earth trembled at the stamp of his feet and the ocean overflowed due to his swirling revolution."²¹

Kamalabhava²² (13th century) is another writer whose reference to the dance styles is worth mentioning. The preliminaries are also described by him by giving the details of the orchestra set to play on the instruments with the dance director who was to perform the rite of *Puṣpāñjali*. The *Kutapa* (orchestra) included the drone keepers, singers, four different flutists, the players of Vinas and the cymbal players. He calls them as *vividha vicitra vādana viśāradaru*.

Kamalabhava while describing dance sequences gives a detailed list of dance techniques performed by the dancers in the *marga* tradition (classical) such as 13 types of head movements, 24 single handed, 13 combined handed gestures, 108 *Karaṇas*, 32 *cāris*, 32 *aṅgaḥāras*, 8 *rasa dṛṣṭis*, 8 *bhāva dṛṣṭis*, 20 *sancāri dṛṣṭis*, 9 eyeball movements, 8 looks, including 9 of sides, 7 of eyebrows, 6 of the nose, 6 of the lips, 7 of the jaw, 9 of the neck, 5 of the thighs, 5 of the hips, 9 standing postures, 12 gaits, 6 graceful postures, 4 facial moods etc.

²⁰ *Bharateśa Vaibhava* by Ratnākara Varṇi, *Tāṇḍava vinaya sandhi*.

²¹ R. Satyanarayana, *Studies in Indian Dance*, p. 38.

²² Kamalabhava, *Śāntīśvarapurāṇa*, VI, V. 160.

Bāhubali (1690 A.D.) is another very important contributor as far as the references of dance sequences are concerned. In his *Nāgakumāracaritam* he depicts vividly the dress and ornamentation of a dancer and the musical band. He gives a pure Karnataka tradition of the sequence. After *Puspāñjali* the dance was continued to songs in the *Sulādi tālas*, followed by *nāganāṭya*, *Varalakṣmi* and *bhoga nāṭya*.²³ At the time of Bāhubali it appears that *Sulādi tāla*²⁴ a musical composition was very well adopted in the dance recitals also. The singing and dancing of this composition demands great skill in the manipulation of time measures. Bahubali gives the information that the dance recital concluded by *Kaivāda Prabandha*, which more or less corresponds to the modern *tillāna* of Karnataka music. Govinda Vaidya (1684 A.D.) in *Kaṇṭhīrava Narasarāja Vijayaṃ* describes other dances such as *kola*, *birudina nāṭya*, *prabandha*, *jati*, *jakkini*, *rājaka*,

The literary works in Kannada ranging from the time of Pampa (940 A.D.) to the times of Bāhubali (1690 A.D.) provide a rich source for studying the dance and music traditions that prevailed in Karnataka. If the *Mārga* style (classical) was deep rooted in the dance systems, it has also given a wide scope for regional developments in the field of dance. One should be grateful to the writers for mentioning and describing the *deśi* (regional) traditions practiced in Karnataka. The present dance system in Karnataka is very much different from the past, as it has received impact from the styles of Tamilnadu and Andhra. The resurrection and reconstruction of the dance tradition of Karnataka can be justly done by a careful study of all the techniques that these Kannada authors have described in great detail.

So far we have examined the various Kannada works which have a bearing on dance and music in Karnataka. There are some Sanskrit works written in Karnataka which also describe in detail dance and music as practised in their times. However, it has to be noted that most of them are essentially based upon Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

The survey of literary works from early times to the Vijayanagar period has provided a theoretical background of dance form that existed in Karnataka. The texts on music and dance were compiled and even today they are regarded as the source for reconstructing the traditions of dance and music in Karnataka. The detailed study of these texts and adoption of forms discussed therein would bring a new life to the existing system of Bharatanatyam. These Jaina literary works in Kannada have nourished the tradition of music and dance and therein set the chronology in the evolution and development of Karnataka dance and music. They also show that the tradition was not static but dynamic and absorbed influences and new elements that

²³ R. Satyanarayana, *Studies in Indian dance*, p. 38.

²⁴ Sripadaraya in 1500 A.D. composed many *Sulādis* and Purandaradasa followed the technique of the *Sulādi tāla* of Sripadaraya. Five or seven of the *Sulādi tālas* are used in the *pallavi* and *carāṇas* and at the end of the composition there are two lines called *Jale* (couplets) which have to be sung in all the five or seven *tālas* used for *pallavi* and *carāṇa*.

arose at various periods because of a variety of reasons. Thus these literary works have an important place in the study of Indian music and dance.

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In order to keep the original Hindi text, the paper of Prof. Dr. Raja Ram Jain has been printed in its original composition.

The Editor

सिरिवालचरित : एक दुर्लभ पाण्डुलिपि

उत्तर-मध्यकालीन अपभ्रंश अथवा सन्धिकालीन अपभ्रंश की महाकवि रङ्ग कृत प्रस्तुत कथात्मक पाण्डुलिपि समकालीन सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक, साहित्यिक, सांस्कृतिक, भौगोलिक, समुद्री-यात्रा तथा वैदेशिक व्यापार (Foreign Trade) से सम्बन्धित होने के कारण महत्त्वपूर्ण तो है ही, परवर्ती भाषाओं के उद्भव एवं विकास तथा उनके भाषा-वैज्ञानिक विश्लेषण की दृष्टि से भी वह विशिष्ट-कोटि की रचना है।

उक्त दुर्लभ पाण्डुलिपि **पेरिस (फ्रांस)** के प्राच्य-शास्त्र-भण्डार में सुरक्षित है। वहाँ की **प्रो० डॉ० नलिनी बलवीर जी** के सौजन्य से उसकी फोटोकापी मुझे उपलब्ध हुई थी, अतः इसके अध्ययन एवं मूल्यांकन का सारा श्रेय उनकी सवेदनशीलता, सदाशयता एवं सौमनस्यता की ओर जाता है। तदर्थ मैं उनका आभारी हूँ।

लेखक

प्रो० डॉ० राजाराम जैन

सिरिवालचरित उत्तरमध्यकालीन अपभ्रंश अथवा सन्धियुगीन अपभ्रंश की एक महत्त्वपूर्ण रचना है, जो अद्यावधि अप्रकाशित है। उसका मूल उद्देश्य है **सिद्धचक्रवर्त-विधि-विधान** तथा उसके मन्त्र-जाप के चमत्कार का प्रदर्शन। इसीलिए इसका अपरनाम है **सिद्धचक्रमाहप्प** (सिद्धचक्र-माहात्म्य)।

यह रचना इसलिए भी महत्त्वपूर्ण है क्योंकि उसके रोचक कथानक में वैदेशिक व्यापार (Foreign Trade), तथा उसके उपकरण, पथ-पद्धति (Road System) मध्यकालीन महासार्थवाह तथा उनके कार्य, समुद्री पोतों के उपकरण, समुद्री डाकुओं के आतंक, जल तारिणी-विद्या-सिद्धि तथा वैर-निवारिणी-विद्या-सिद्धि के तात्कालिक प्रभाव, क्रय-विक्रय की वस्तुएँ, समुद्र के मध्यवर्ती विभिन्न द्वीप-समूहों की समृद्धि तथा उनके निवासियों का सामाजिक जीवन, समकालीन आर्थिक जीवन, विभिन्न जातियों के नाम, बहुविवाह-प्रथा, समाज में नारियों की स्थिति, नारियों के लिए प्रदान की जाने वाली विभिन्न शिक्षाएँ, समस्या-पूर्ति द्वारा नारी का बौद्धिक परीक्षण आदि के वर्णन-प्रसंगों के माध्यम से मध्यकालीन भारतीय आर्थिक (Economic) सामाजिक (Social), धार्मिक (Religious), राजनीतिक (Political) एवं भौगोलिक (Geographical) इतिहास-लेखन के लिए भी उसमें प्रचुर मात्रा में सन्दर्भ सामग्री उपलब्ध होती है।

जैन विद्या के विषयगत साहित्यिक वर्गीकरण की दृष्टि से यह उसके **प्रथमानुयोग-साहित्य** (अर्थात् कथात्मक-साहित्य) का एक रोचक विस्तृत ग्रन्थ है, जिसमें प्राचीन **अंगदेश** की **चम्पापुरी** (वर्तमान भागलपुर, बिहार) के **राजा श्रीपाल** का बहुआयामी संघर्षशील कथानक वर्णित है। इस कथानक को प्रभावक, रोचक एवं सर्वांगीण बनाने की दृष्टि से उसमें कुछ अवांतर-कथाओं का भी संयोजन किया गया है।

राजा श्रीपाल का उक्त कथानक इतना लोकप्रिय था कि इसे लेकर संस्कृत, प्राकृत, अपभ्रंश, गुजराती एवं हिन्दी में चरित, काव्य, रासाशैली-काव्य एवं नाटक-शैली में दर्जनों ग्रन्थ लिखे गए।

यह कथानक दिगम्बर एवं श्वेताम्बर दोनों ही जैन-परंपराओं में लोकप्रिय रहा, यद्यपि कि उनके कथानकों में कुछ अन्तर है। जिसकी चर्चा आगे की जाएगी।

कथा-स्रोत

प्रस्तुत पाण्डुलिपि-रचना¹ के मूल नायक राजा **श्रीपाल** तथा उसकी पटरानी **मैनासुन्दरी** का आख्यान एक लोक-प्रचलित आख्यान रहा है। हमारा अनुमान है कि संस्कृत, प्राकृत एवं अपभ्रंश के जैन आचार्य लेखकों ने उनके (श्रीपाल एवं मैनासुन्दरी के) पृथक्-पृथक् प्रचलित लोकाख्यानों को मिश्रित कर उन्हें एक नया रूप प्रदान किया होगा। आचार्य **जिनसेन** (नौवीं सदी) के महापुराण² में श्रीपाल नामक एक चक्रवर्ती का आख्यान मिलता है, जिससे निम्न तथ्यों को प्रस्तुत सिरिवालचरित के लिए ग्रहण किए गए प्रतीत होते हैं

(1) श्रीपाल चक्रवर्ती का एक विद्याधर द्वारा वृद्ध किया जाना। प्रतीत होता है कि यह वृद्धत्व ही परवर्ती-काल में कुष्ठत्व के रूप में परिवर्तित हो गया।

(2) उक्त श्रीपाल ने अपने साहस और बल-पौरुष के द्वारा अगम्य स्थानों की यात्राएँ कर अनेक कन्याओं का वरण किया और उनमें से सुखदेवी को अपनी पटरानी बनाया। यह सुखदेवी ही सम्भवतः श्रीपाल चरितों की परवर्ती मैनासुन्दरी है। क्योंकि दोनों का चरित, साहस, बुद्धि और धैर्य लगभग एक समान है।

आचार्य **हरिषेण** (दसवीं सदी) के बृहत्कथाकोष में भी एक श्रीपाल नामक पात्र की

1. पेरिस (फ्रांस) प्रति के आधार पर इसका अध्ययन प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है। इसका प्रतिलिपिकाल वि०सं० 1688 (वर्षे भा०शु० 10) तथा इसकी पृ०सं० 109 x 2 है।

2. जिनसेन कृत महापुराण (बनारस, 1951), भाग 2, 47वाँ पर्व

कथा आती है' जो दक्षिणापथ के पुन्नाट-देश के तलाटवी नामक नगर में निवास करता था। शैशव-काल में ही उसने **श्रीपंचमी** का व्रत ग्रहण किया और दृढ़तापूर्वक उस व्रत का पालन कर उसने सद्गति प्राप्त की।

उपर्युक्त महापुराण और बृहत्कथाकोष की कथाओं के मिश्रण से एक नवीन कथा परवर्ती जैन मनीषियों द्वारा कल्पित की गई है। इस कथा का यह उपलब्ध रूप 15वीं सदी के पूर्व का देखने में नहीं आया। श्वेताम्बर-परम्परा में अष्टान्हिका-व्रत का महत्त्व अत्यधिक प्रचलित है। पर्युषण-पर्व को भी उसमें अष्टान्हिका ही कहा जाता है। अतः यह कल्पना कोई क्लिष्ट-कल्पना भी नहीं है कि श्वेताम्बर-परम्परा में अष्टान्हिका-व्रत में सम्पन्न होने वाले सिद्धचक्रविधान के महत्त्व को प्रदर्शित करने के लिए सर्वप्रथम इस कथा के उपलब्ध रूप को इस परम्परा के आचार्यों ने भी गठित किया हो?

15वीं सदी के 'श्रीपाल-कथा' नामक दो ग्रन्थ उपलब्ध होते हैं एक प्राकृत में और दूसरा संस्कृत में। प्राकृत-ग्रन्थ के रचयिता बृहद्गच्छीय **बज्रसेन-सूरि** के प्रशिष्य और हेमतिलक-सूरि के शिष्य श्री **रत्नशेखर-सूरि** हैं। इस ग्रन्थ का संकलन वि०सं० 1428 में हुआ है। संकलकों ने स्वयं ही लिखा है²

सिरिवज्जसेण गणहर पट्टपहु हेमतिलयसूरीणं ।

सीसेहिं रयणसेहरसूरिहिं इमाहु संकलिया ।।

चउदस अट्टारवीसे लिहिया ।

इससे स्पष्ट है कि रत्नशेखर-सूरि ने आगम और लोक में प्रचलित श्रीपाल सम्बन्धी कथाओं के विविध रूपों का अध्ययन कर इस कथा को नवीन रूपाकृति प्रदान की है।

संस्कृत श्रीपाल चरित के रचयिता 15वीं सदी के विद्वान् **सकलकीर्ति भट्टारक** हैं। इन्होंने संस्कृत-भाषा में श्रीपाल-चरित नामका एक ग्रन्थ लिखा है। इस चरित-ग्रन्थ के अवलोकन से प्रतीत होता है कि श्रीपाल के मूल कथानक के सम्बन्ध में कई मान्यताएँ प्रचलित थीं।

महाकवि रङ्गधू के पूर्ववर्ती कवि **नरसेन** ने भी अपभ्रंश-भाषा में दो सन्धि-प्रमाण '**सिरिवालचरित**' नामक एक काव्य लिखा है। यों तो महाकवि रङ्गधू के समकालीन

1. दे० बृहत्कथाकोष (सिन्धी जैन सीरीज, मुंबई द्वारा प्रकाशित तथा डॉ० ए०एन० उपाध्ये द्वारा सम्पादित), कथा-संख्या 145

2. Siri-Siri Valkaha, Pt. I Ed. V.J. Chokshi (Ahmedabad, 1932)] Introduction, Page 13.

सत्यराजगणि ने वि०सं० 1514 में संस्कृत में एक श्रीपाल-चरित तथा सिद्धसूरि ने वि०सं० 1531 में श्रीपाल-नाटक एवं वि०सं० 1557 में लब्धिसागर-सूरि ने श्रीपाल-कथा की रचना की है। महाकवि रङ्गधू के परिवर्तीकाल में भी श्रीपाल चरितों की रचनाएँ हुई हैं। ब्रह्मनेमिदत्त ने 16वीं सदी में संस्कृत में श्रीपाल-चरित और ज्ञानविमलसूरि ने वि०सं० 1638 में श्रीपाल-चरित की रचना की है।

इस समस्त श्रीपाल-चरितों के आलोडन से अवगत होता है कि श्रीपाल की कथा के दो रूप प्रचलित रहे हैं। प्रथम रूप की मान्यता श्वेताम्बर-परम्परा में पाई जाती है और द्वितीय रूप की मान्यता दिगम्बर-परम्परा में। महाकवि रङ्गधू ने अपनी प्रस्तुत रचनासिरिवालचरित में दिगम्बर-मान्यता का अनुसरण किया है। प्रस्तुत सन्दर्भ में हम यहाँ दोनों मान्यताओं का संक्षेप में उल्लेख करने के पूर्व रङ्गधू कृत रचना की कथा संक्षेप में देना आवश्यक समझते हैं, जो सन्धि-क्रमानुसार निम्न प्रकार है

कथावस्तु

मगध-देश की राजगृही नगरी में राजा श्रेणिक राज्य करते थे। उनकी दो रानियाँ थीं। जयामती एवं चेलना। जयामती से अभयकुमार नामक पुत्र उत्पन्न हुआ तथा चेलना से वारिषेण। किसी एक समय राजा श्रेणिक अपने राजदरबार में बैठे थे कि उसी समय वनपाल ने आकर छहों ऋतुओं के फल-फूल लाकर राजा को भेंट किए तथा विपुलाचल पर भगवान्

1. दिगंबर परम्परानुमोदित 'श्रीपाल चरित' सम्बन्धी निम्न सामग्री ज्ञात हो सकी है

संस्कृत	(1) भट्टारक सकलकीर्ति (15वीं सदी) श्रीपालचरित्र (2) ब्रह्मनेमिदत्त (वि०सं० 1528) श्रीपालचरित
अपभ्रंश	(3) रङ्गधू 15-16वीं सदी सिरिवालचरित(अपरनाम सिद्धचक्रकहा) (4) पं० नरसेन (14वीं सदी) सिद्धचक्रकहा (5) दामोदर(16वीं सदी) श्रीपालचरित
हिंदी	(6) ब्रह्मरायमल्ल(वि०सं० 1630) श्रीपालरास (7) परिमल्ल(वि०सं० 1651) श्रीपाल चरित्र
	(यह ग्रन्थ रङ्गधूकृत सिरिवालकहा का प्रायः हिन्दी अनुवाद है)
	(8) न्यामतसिंह(20वीं सदी)मैनासुन्दरी नाटक (9) भगवत(20वीं सदी)भाग्य
गुजराती	(10) वादिचन्द्र(वि०सं० 1661) श्रीपालाख्यान-कथा (11) अज्ञात-श्रीपालरास

(5)

महावीर के समवशरण में पधारने की सूचना दी। यह समाचार सुनकर राजा अत्यन्त प्रसन्न हुआ। उसने वनपाल को वस्त्राभूषण दान कर वीर-प्रभु को परोक्ष नमस्कार किया तथा चेलना के साथ समवशरण में पहुँचा। वहाँ स्तुति-वन्दन के बाद मानव-सभा में बैठ गया और वीर प्रभु से **सिद्धचक्र** की विधि एवं उसके फल का माहात्म्य पूछा। उत्तरस्वरूप **गौतम गणधर** ने श्रीपाल का कथानक निम्न प्रकार सुनाना प्रारम्भ किया।

मालव-देश की **उज्जयिनी नगरी** में राजा **पहुपाल** (पृथिवीपाल) अपनी विजयश्री नामकी रानी के साथ राज्य करता था। कालान्तर में उसकी दो पुत्रियाँ हुई, **सुरसुन्दरी** एवं **मैनासुन्दरी**। जब वे दोनों कन्याएँ बड़ी हुई, तब पहुपाल ने सुरसुन्दरी को **शैव-गुरु** के पास तथा मैनासुन्दरी के लिए **जैनगुरु** के पास विद्याध्ययनार्थ भेजा। दोनों पुत्रियों ने अपने-अपने गुरुओं के पास सर्वांगीण अध्ययन किया। सुरसुन्दरी वेद, पुराण, वैद्यक, कोकशास्त्र आदि पढ़कर वापिस अपने घर लौटी।

मैनासुन्दरी ने 'णमोसिद्धं' से अपना अध्ययन प्रारम्भ किया तथा अल्पकाल में ही बारह-भावना, अणुव्रत, महाव्रत, चरित, पुराण, गुणस्थान, मार्गणाएँ, काव्य, व्याकरण, अलंकार, विधिशास्त्र, ज्योतिष, नय, प्रमाण, भव्य-संगीत, नाट्यशास्त्र, तर्कशास्त्र, षड्दर्शन, रत्नपरीक्षा, अद्धारह-लिपियाँ, सोलह-कारण-भावना, दशलक्षणधर्म, कर्मविपाक-सूत्र, रोगनिदान, औषधिशास्त्र, सामुद्रिक-शास्त्र, आदि का ज्ञान प्राप्त किया तथा अपने पिता के घर लौट आई। अपनी पुत्रियों को विदुषी के रूप में देखकर राजा अत्यन्त प्रसन्न हुआ। (कड़वक 1-14, प्रथम-सन्धि)

एक दिन राजा पहुपाल सुखासन पर बैठा हुआ था कि अचानक ही दोनों पुत्रियाँ वहाँ आईं। राजा ने उनकी परीक्षा हेतु निम्न समस्या को सम्मुख रखकर सर्वप्रथम सुरसुन्दरी को उसकी पूर्ति हेतु आदेश दिया

समस्या

..... पुण्णें लब्भइ एहु ॥

.....अर्थात् पुण्य से ही प्राप्त होता है।

सुरसुन्दरी ने पिता के आदेश से उसकी पूर्ति निम्न प्रकार की

समस्यापूर्ति

विज्जा-जोव्वण-रूव-धणु घरु-परियणु-कयणेहु।

बल्लहजणमेल्लावउ पुण्णें लब्भइ एहु ॥ (2/1)

अर्थात् इस संसार में विद्या, यौवन, सौन्दर्य, धन, भवन, परिजनों का स्नेह एवं प्रियजनों का संयोग पुण्य से ही प्राप्त होता है।

उक्त समस्यापूर्ति से राजा अत्यन्त प्रसन्न हुआ। उसने प्रसन्न होकर **सुरसुन्दरी** से इच्छानुसार वरदान माँगने को कहा। सुरसुन्दरी ने भी अवसर देख वरदान माँग लिया और कौशाम्बी-नरेश के पुत्र **राजा हरिवाहन** से अपना विवाह कर देने की प्रार्थना की। राजा ने वैसा ही कर दिया।

अब मैनासुन्दरी की बारी थी। राजा ने उसे भी उक्त समस्या की पूर्ति हेतु आदेश दिया। उसने निम्न प्रकार उस समस्या की पूर्ति की

जिण-सासण-णिग्गंथ-गुरु वय-तउ-णिम्मलु देहु।

अप्पा-परहँ विचार-गुणु पुण्णें लब्भइ एहु।। (2/3)

अर्थात् इस संसार में जिनशासन, निर्ग्रन्थ-गुरु, व्रत एवं तप करने की क्षमता, निर्मल देह तथा अपने-पराए का विवेक-गुण ये सब पुण्य से ही प्राप्त होते हैं।

मैनासुन्दरी की समस्या-पूर्ति से राजा ने प्रसन्न होकर उसे भी इच्छानुसार अपना वर चुनने का आदेश दिया किन्तु इसे सुनकर वह चुपचाप रह गई। राजा के बार-बार पूछने पर उसने बड़ी ही लज्जा के साथ निवेदन किया कि **कुलवती कुमारियाँ** कभी भी अपने मुँह से वर नहीं माँगती। माता-पिता, स्वजन एवं गुरुजन जिनके साथ उसका विवाह कर देते हैं, उनके लिए वही वर कामदेव के तुल्य हो जाता है। चाहे वह अंधा, लूला, लँगड़ा, काना, बहरा, कोढ़ी, रोगी, राव, रंक, बाल, वृद्ध, सुन्दर, कुरूप, मूर्ख, पण्डित, निर्दयी, निर्लज्ज अथवा सर्वगुण-सम्पन्न, कैसा ही क्यों न हो, वही उन कुमारियों के लिए सर्वस्व बन जाता है। कन्याओं का भला-बुरा उनके कर्मों के फल के अनुसार ही होता है। राजा मैनासुन्दरी के इस कथन से बड़ा क्रुद्ध हो जाता है। (कड़वक 1-14 द्वितीय-सन्धि)

चम्पापुर में राजा **अरिदमन** राज्य करता था। उसकी रानी कुन्दप्रभा से **श्रीपाल** नामक एक होनहार पुत्ररत्न की प्राप्ति हुई। बड़ा होने पर उसे विद्यार्जन-हेतु गुरु के पास भेजा गया, जहाँ उसने अक्षर, मात्रा, पुराण, तर्क, अलंकार, ग्रह, प्रमाण, छत्तीस-गुण, गृहकार्य, जल-संतरण, राजनीति-शिक्षा, छंद, व्याकरण, बहत्तर-कलाएँ, विज्ञान, नाटक-भेद, गान्धर्व-विद्या एवं सवारी आदि की शिक्षाएँ अल्पकाल में ही प्राप्त कर लीं। शिक्षा-प्राप्ति के बाद ही श्रीपाल पर घोर संकट उपस्थित हो गया। उसके पिता की अचानक ही मृत्यु हो गई। अतः राज्यभार उसे सँभालना पड़ा किन्तु दुर्भाग्य से उसे भी अकस्मात् **कुष्ठ-व्याधि** हो गई।

उसका सारा शरीर गलने लगा। अतः अपने चाचा वीरदमन को राज्य सौंपकर वह अपने पाँच सौ कोढ़ी साथियों के साथ राज्य के बाहर निकल गया और चलते-चलते उज्जयिनी पहुँचा।

उधर राजा पृथुपाल, जो कि अपनी पुत्री मैनासुन्दरी के कर्मफल की बात सुनकर क्रुद्ध होकर बैठा था, उसने उस कोढ़ी राजा श्रीपाल के उज्जयिनी आगमन की बात सुनी। वह तुरन्त जाकर उससे मिला तथा बातचीत कर उसी के साथ मैनासुन्दरी का विवाह कर दिया। रानी, मंत्री आदि सभी ने राजा को धिक्कारा लेकिन उसने एक भी नहीं सुनी तथा दान-दहेज के साथ मैनासुन्दरी को विदा कर दिया। मैनासुन्दरी अपने माता-पिता, गुरुजनों एवं परिचितों से क्षमायाचना कर अपने पतिगृह चली गई। इस विवाह से श्रीपाल अत्यन्त प्रसन्न था। उसने अपनी पत्नी मैनासुन्दरी को अपना सारा वृत्तान्त यथार्थ रूप में बता दिया।

(कड़वक 1-20, तृतीय-सन्धि)

मैनासुन्दरी के मन में इस विवाह से किसी भी प्रकार का दुःख उत्पन्न न हुआ। वह तन-मन-धन से ग्लानि-रहित होकर पतिसेवा में लीन हो गई। प्रतिदिन जिनदेव की पूजा-भक्ति करती तथा पति को गन्धोदक का सेवन कराती। फलस्वरूप श्रीपाल का कोढ़ धीरे-धीरे दूर होने लगा।

एक दिन पति-पत्नी दोनों जिन-मन्दिर गए। वहाँ एक मुनिराज के दर्शन हुए। मुनिराज ने उन्हें सिद्धचक्र-विधि एवं उसके माहात्म्य पर उपदेश किया। मैनासुन्दरी एवं श्रीपाल दोनों ही उससे प्रभावित होकर वापिस आए और तदनुसार सिद्धचक्र का विधि-विधान करने लगे। फलस्वरूप श्रीपाल का शरीर पुनः कुन्दन के समान बन गया।

इधर, (राजा) पृथुपाल ने क्रोधवश मैनासुन्दरी का विवाह कोढ़ी के साथ कर तो अवश्य दिया था, किन्तु बाद में वह रोने-कलपने लगा तथा बार-बार अपने को धिक्कारने लगा। एक दिन उसकी रानी जिन-मन्दिर गई। वहाँ वह अपनी पुत्री मैनासुन्दरी को एक सर्वांगसुन्दर एवं स्वस्थ युवक के साथ देखकर स्तम्भित रह गई। उसे विश्वास हो गया कि मेरी पुत्री पथभ्रष्ट हो गई है। मैनासुन्दरी ने अपनी माँ के हृदय की बात जान ली। अतः तुरन्त ही सिद्धचक्र के माहात्म्य से श्रीपाल के पूर्ण स्वस्थ हो जाने का सारा वृत्तान्त उसे कह सुनाया, जिससे माँ फूली न समाई। वह दौड़ी-दौड़ी घर गई। जब राजा को यह समाचार मिला तो वह श्रीपाल के पास आया। उसे गले लगाया तथा अपने घर ले आया और वहीं रहने का आग्रह किया, जिसे श्रीपाल ने स्वीकार कर लिया।

(कड़वक 1-16, चतुर्थ-सन्धि)

आगे का कथानक अतिविस्तृत है। उसमें श्रीपाल का भृगुकच्छ (भड़ौंच) में 10 सहस्र

सुभदों तथा 500 मालवाही-पोतों के स्वामी महासार्थवाह धवल सेठ से परिचय, अपनी जलतारिणी एवं विघ्न-निवारिणी विद्याओं के प्रयोग से प्रभावित कर धवल सेठ का विश्वस्त मित्र बनकर उसके साथ समुद्री-मार्ग से विदेश-यात्रा, **हंसद्वीप** में प्रवेश, समुद्री-लुटेरों के आक्रमण का सामना कर तथा उन पर विजय प्राप्त करते हुए उनका **हंसद्वीप** पहुँचना (पाँचवीं सन्धि)

हंसद्वीप की राजकुमारी **रयणमंजूषा** के साथ श्रीपाल का विवाह, रयणमंजूषा के सौन्दर्य से धवल सेठ की मोहासक्ति, धवल सेठ श्रीपाल को उफनते समुद्र में फेंककर रयणमंजूषा को आकर्षित करने का प्रयास करता है, किन्तु असफल रहता है।

रयणमंजूषा पति-विछोह में करुण-क्रन्दन करती रहती है। उसके शील-व्रत के चमत्कार से अनेक दैवियाँ धूर्त धवल सेठ को कठोर सजा देती है अतः वह उससे क्षमायाचना करता है। (छठवीं सन्धि)

श्रीपाल समुद्र में तैरकर **कुंकुमद्वीप** पहुँचता है। वहाँ की राजकुमारी **गुणमाला** के साथ उसका विवाह और इधर वह धवल सेठ भी सदल-बल कुंकुमद्वीप में पहुँचता है और श्रीपाल को वहाँ जीवित देखकर दुखी हो जाता है। अपना अपराध छिपाने के लिए वह श्रीपाल को वहाँ के राजा के सम्मुख एक **मातंगपुत्र** घोषित करता है और एक धूर्त राज्य-मन्त्री को एक लाख **दीनारों** (मुद्राएँ) की **रिश्वत** देकर उसके बनावटी माता-पिता एवं परिवार वालों को एकत्र कर देता है, किन्तु गुणमाला वास्तविकता का पता लगाकर धवल सेठ को राजा से कठोर दण्ड दिलाती है।

वहाँ से आगे चलकर वह श्रीपाल मार्ग में **चित्ररेखा** एवं **कंचनमाला** के साथ विवाह करता हुआ, **कोंकणपट्टन** पहुँचता है। वहाँ के राजा **यशराशि** की 1600 पुत्रियाँ थीं, जिनमें से 8 पुत्रियाँ बड़ी विदुषी किन्तु अहंकारिणी थीं। उन्होंने प्रतिज्ञा की थी कि जो युवक उनके द्वारा प्रस्तुत समस्याओं की पूर्तियाँ करेगा, वे उसी के साथ अपना विवाह करेंगी। श्रीपाल ने बड़ी कुशलतापूर्वक उनकी समस्यापूर्ति की। अतः राजा यशराशि ने प्रमुदित होकर अपनी समस्त 1600 कन्याओं का विवाह श्रीपाल के साथ कर दिया।

तत्पश्चात् **कांचनपुर** नरेश की 500, **मुंडवादि** देश के राजा की 700 कन्याओं, **तिलंग** देश के नरेश की 1000, **सोरठ** देश के राजा की 500 कन्याओं, **गुजरात** नरेश की 400 कन्याओं तथा **मेवाड़** नरेश की 200 कन्याओं के साथ विवाह कर वह पल्लिराज खश, बब्बर तथा मालवा के शत्रुओं को पराजित करता हुआ **उज्जयिनी** पहुँचा। वहाँ अपनी माँ तथा पत्नी मैनासुन्दरी से भेंट की।

अपने पिता से क्रुद्ध मैनासुन्दरी की प्रेरणा से उसका पिता राजा पट्टपाल कन्धे पर कुल्हाड़ी रखकर कम्बल ओढ़कर तथा लंगोटी बाँधकर एक लकड़हारे के वेश में आकर जब श्रीपाल से क्षमादान करने का सन्देश भेजता है, तो श्रीपाल उसे लकड़हारे के वेश में न आने की सूचना देता है। अतः वह (राजा) प्रसन्न होकर अपने उस जामाता श्रीपाल को सादर अपने घर ले आता है। (आठवीं सन्धि)

श्रीपाल के जीवन का संघर्ष यहीं समाप्त नहीं हुआ। वह अपने खोए हुए साम्राज्य को अपने चाचा वीरदमन से युद्ध कर उसे बुरी तरह पराजित कर अंगदेशस्थ चम्पापुरी का अपना साम्राज्य पुनः प्राप्त कर लेता है।

साम्राज्य प्राप्ति के बाद वह राजा धरणिपाल के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हुआ और सुचारु रूप से प्रजा-पालन करने लगा। कालान्तर में उसके 12800 पुत्र उत्पन्न हुए।

अन्त में एक मुनिराज से धर्म-श्रवण कर उसने राज्य-पाट त्यागकर दीक्षा ग्रहण कर ली और निर्वाण-पद प्राप्त किया। (नौवीं-दसवीं सन्धि)

श्वेताम्बर-परम्परा में श्रीपाल-चरित का मूल कथानक लगभग उपर्युक्त जैसा ही है। उन दोनों परम्पराओं में जो कुछ अन्तर है, वह निम्न प्रकार है

1. माता-पिता के नामों में अन्तर
2. श्रीपाल की राज्यगद्दी एवं रोग सम्बन्धी अन्तर
3. माँ के साथ रहने तथा वैद्य सम्बन्धी घटना में अन्तर
4. मैनासुन्दरी आदि के विवाह सम्बन्धी अन्तर
5. परिणीता राजकुमारियों की माता तथा राजकुमारियों के नामों में अन्तर
6. विवाहोपरान्त श्रीपाल की भ्रमण यात्राओं के वर्णन में अन्तर तथा
7. श्रीपाल की माता एवं पत्नी के मिलन-वर्णन में अन्तर

ग्रन्थकार

प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ के लेखक महकवि रङ्गधू हैं। विपुल साहित्य रचनाओं की दृष्टि से इस कवि की तुलना में ठहरने वाले अन्य प्रतिस्पर्धी कवि के अस्तित्व की सम्भावना अपभ्रंश-साहित्य में नहीं की जा सकती। मेरी दृष्टि में यह ऐसा प्रथम कवि है, जिसमें एक साथ प्रबन्धकार, दार्शनिक, आचार-शास्त्र-प्रणेता एवं क्रांतिदृष्टा का समन्वय हुआ है। इसके प्रबन्धात्मक आख्यानो में सौन्दर्य को पवित्रता एवं मादकता, प्रेम की निश्छलता, माता-पिता का वात्सल्य, पाप एवं दुराचारों का निर्मम दण्ड, वासना की मांसलता का प्रक्षालन, आत्मा का सुशान्त

निर्मलीकरण, रोमांस का आसव एवं संस्कृति के पीयूष का मंगलमय सम्मिलन, प्रेयस् और श्रेयस् का ग्रन्थिबन्ध और इन सबसे ऊपर त्याग एवं कषाय-निग्रह का निदर्शन समाहित है। इन सबके लिए उसका प्रस्तुत सिरिवालचरित् सर्वश्रेष्ठ उदाहरण है।

महाकवि रङ्गू का जन्म-स्थल अज्ञात है किन्तु उसकी ग्रन्थ-प्रशस्तियों से यही विदित होता है कि गोपाचल दुर्ग (वर्तमान ग्वालियर, म०प्र०) उसकी साहित्य-साधना का स्थल रहा था। वहाँ तोमरवंशी राजा डूंगरसिंह एवं उसके पुत्र राजा कीर्तिसिंह उसका बहुत ही आदर-सम्मान करते थे तथा उन्हीं के अनुरोध से गोपाचल-दुर्ग में रहकर ही रङ्गू ने लगभग 30 ग्रन्थों की रचना की। उनमें प्रयुक्त भाषाओं को देखकर यह स्पष्ट विदित होता है कि अपभ्रंश के साथ-साथ संस्कृत, प्राकृत एवं हिन्दी पर भी उसका पूर्ण अधिकार था।

उसकी उपलब्ध रचनाएँ निम्न प्रकार हैं

1. तिसट्टि-महापुराणपुरिसायारगुणालंकारु (अपरनाम महापुराण) 50 सन्धियाँ तथा 1531 कड़वक
2. पासणाहचरित् (10 सन्धियाँ, 138 कड़वक)प्रकाशित
3. नेमिणाहचरित् (अपरनाम हरिवंशपुराण, 14 सन्धियाँ, 302 कड़वक)
4. सम्मङ्गिणचरित् (10 सन्धियाँ, 245 कड़वक)प्रकाशित
5. मेहेसरचरित् (13 सन्धियाँ, 304 कड़वक)
6. सिरिवालकहा (10 सन्धियाँ, 192 कड़वक)
7. बलहृदचरित् (अपरनाम पउमचरित्, 12 सन्धियाँ, 254 कड़वक)
8. सुक्कोसलचरित् (4 सन्धियाँ, 74 कड़वक)प्रकाशित
9. धण्णकुमारचरित् (4 सन्धियाँ 74 कड़वक)प्रकाशित
10. जिमंधरचरित् (अपरनाम सोलहकारणव्रत-विधान-काव्य, 13 सन्धियाँ, 301 कड़वक)
11. सम्मत्तगुणणिहाणकव्य (4 सन्धियाँ, 102 कड़वक)
12. वित्तसारो (प्राकृत-प्रकाशित) (7 अंक, 893 कथाएँ)
13. सिद्धंतत्थसारो (प्राकृत) (13 अंक, 1933 गाथाएँ)
14. जसहरचरित् (सचित्र, त्रुटित, 4 सन्धियाँ, 104 कड़वक)
15. संतिणाहचरित् (सचित्र, त्रुटित)
16. पुण्णासवकहा (14 सन्धियाँ 250 कड़वक)प्रकाशित
17. अणथमिउकहा (17 पद्य)प्रकाशित
18. सोलहकारण भावणा (प्राकृत) 16 पद्य)प्रकाशित

(11)

19. दसलक्षण-जयमाला (प्राकृत) (10 पद्य) प्रकाशित

20. बारह-भावना (हिन्दी) (14 पद्य)

महाकवि रङ्गधू की अद्यावधि अनुपलब्ध रचनाओं में (1) सुदंसणचरिउ, (2) पज्जुण्णचरिउ, (3) भविस्सयत्तचरिउ, (4) करकंडचरिउ, (5) रत्नत्रयी एवं (6) उवएसरयणमाल हैं।

सिरिवालचरिउ की पाण्डुलिपि पेरिस (फ्रांस) में सुरक्षित है।

समुद्री-वायु के प्रकार

सिरिवालचरिउ में समुद्र-यात्रा का बड़ा लोमहर्षक वर्णन किया गया है। उसमें एक प्रसंग में बतलाया गया है कि एक बार समुद्र में वायु प्रकुपित हो उठी, भयानक तरंगें उठने लगीं और उसने रौद्ररूप धारण कर लिया। अतः महासार्थवाह के समुद्री-जल-पोतों का आगे बढ़ना कठिन हो गया। वस्तुतः समुद्र-यात्रा की निर्विघ्न-समाप्ति का सारा श्रेय अनुकूल वायु पर ही निर्भर करता है और अनुभवी कुशल निर्यामकों का होना समुद्री-वायु के रुखों का सुज्ञान समुद्री-यानों के सुरक्षित संचालन के लिए अत्यावश्यक माना गया है।

सूत्रकृतांग-टीका (1/17) के अनुसार हवाएँ सोलह प्रकार की होती हैं (1) पूर्वी-वात, (2) उदीचीन-वात (उत्तराहट), (3) दक्षिणात्य-वात (दखिनाहट), (4) उत्तरपौरस्त्य (सम्मुख से आती हुई उत्तराहट), (5) सरवासुक, (6) दक्षिण-पूर्वतुंगार (दक्षिण-पूर्व से चलती हुई जोरदार हवा), (7) अपर दक्षिण-वीजाप (दक्षिण-पश्चिम से चलने वाली हवा), (8) अपर वीजाप (पछुवा हवा), (9) अपरोत्तर-गर्जम (पश्चिमोत्तरी तूफान), (10) उत्तर-सत्त्वासुक, (11) दक्षिण सत्त्वासुक, (12) पूर्व-तुंगार, (13) दक्षिण-वीजाप, (14) पश्चिम-वीजाप, (15) पश्चिमी-गर्जम तथा (16) उत्तरी गर्जम। इन हवाओं के रुख को ध्यान में रखते हुए ही कुशल निर्यामक (पोत-संचालक) पोतों (समुद्री यानों) का संचालन किया करते थे।

विदेशों में क्रय-विक्रय की वस्तुएँ

भारतीय महासार्थवाह विदेशों में विक्रय के लिए गणिम (गिनने योग्य फलादि), धरिम (तौलकर बेचने योग्य जैसे काली मिर्च, कृष्णकली अथवा लौंग), परिच्छेय (फाड़कर बेचने योग्य जैसे चंदन की लकड़ी वस्त्रादि) और मेय (मापकर बेचने योग्य तैलादि) वस्तुएँ ले जाया करते थे और बदले में वहाँ के उत्पादनों यथा हीरा, मोती, माणिक्य स्वर्णादि वस्तुएँ लाया करते थे।

ग्रन्थ मूल्यांकन

प्रस्तुत सिरिवालचरित एक पौराणिक चरित काव्य है। ग्रन्थकार महाकवि ने श्रीपाल और मैनासुन्दरी के आख्यान को लेकर सिद्धचक्रविधान के महत्त्व को प्रदर्शित किया है। सिद्धचक्र वह मांत्रिक अनुष्ठान है जो विधिपूर्वक आषाढ़, कार्तिक और फाल्गुन मास के शुक्लपक्ष की अष्टमी से पूर्णिमा तक विशेष विधि से सम्पन्न किया जाता है। इस अनुष्ठान का महत्त्व जैन-शास्त्रों में बहुत वर्णित है। मैनासुन्दरी ने सिद्धचक्रयंत्र का अभिषेक किया और उसी अभिषेक के जल से सिंचन करने पर श्रीपाल के कुष्ठ-रोग को दूर कर उसे उसने पूर्ण स्वस्थ बनाया।

रङ्ग ने अपने इस काव्य में चरित-काव्य के गुणों का समावेश करने के हेतु वर्धमान महावीर की समवशरण-सभा का एक सुन्दर चित्र प्रस्तुत किया है। उसमें बताया है सम्राट श्रेणिक भगवान् महावीर से सिद्धचक्र विधान के महत्त्व एवं उसके फल-भोक्ता व्यक्ति के आख्यान के कथन की प्रार्थना करता है।

गौतम गणधर श्रेणिक के प्रश्नों का उत्तर देते हुए श्रीपाल की कथा का वर्णन करते हैं। कवि रङ्ग ने आरम्भ में ही चरित-काव्य की नायिका मैनासुन्दरी की सत्यनिष्ठा, विवेकशीलता एवं सम्यक्-श्रद्धा का सुन्दर चित्रण किया है। कवि ने नायक श्रीपाल के गुणों का विकास तो पाँचवीं सन्धि से दिखलाया है, किन्तु आरम्भ की 4 सन्धियों में नायिका के चरित के गुणों पर बहुत ही सुन्दर प्रकाश डाला है। कवि ने नायिका की शिक्षा-दीक्षा का विवेचन करते हुए लिखा है

गुण-मत्ताभेयइँ कव्वअणेयइँ वायरणइ-लंकार-विहि।

सुरकोसुपसिद्धउ जोइसु सिद्धउ नय-पमाण संजणिय दिहि।।

1/13 यत्ता

पुणु रोय अणेयइँ उसह जोयइँ सामुद्धु जि तणु-लक्खणइँ।

मुणि पासि पढेप्पिणु पय-पणवेप्पिणु जिण अच्चेप्पिणु सुहमणइँ।।

1/14 यत्ता

प्रसंगवश कवि रङ्ग ने भारतीय नारी के आदर्श का बहुत ही सुन्दर विवेचन किया है। जब पहुपाल (पृथिवीपाल) नृपति मैनासुन्दरी को सुरसुन्दरी के समान ही जीवन-साथी के

(13)

चुनाव का आदेश देता है तो मैनासुन्दरी अपने पिता के विषय में विचार करती है

कुलमग्गु ण याणइ अलिय भासि । नियगेहे आणइ अवजसुहरासि ।। 2/4/8

अर्थात् मेरे पिता कुल-परम्पराओं को जानते नहीं, असत्य भाषी हैं, और अब अपने घर में अपयश ला रहे हैं।

जिह मइमत्तु गइंदु णिरंकुसु । जं भावइ तं बोलइ जिह सिसु ।
जायंधु वि जह मग्गु ण जाणइ । चउदिसु धावमाणु दुहु माणइ ।
तिहि राणउ लज्जा मेल्लिवि । जं रुच्चइ तं चवइ उवेल्लिवि ।।

2/5/8-11

अर्थात् जिस प्रकार मदोन्मत्त हाथी निरंकुश हो जाता है, उसी प्रकार हमारे पिताजी भी निरंकुश हो गए हैं। अज्ञानी बच्चों के समान ही जो मन में आता है सो बोलते हैं। जिस प्रकार जन्मान्ध व्यक्ति मार्ग नहीं जानता और चारों दिशाओं में दौड़ता-दौड़ता दुःखभाजन बनता है ठीक उसी प्रकार ये भी मान-मर्यादा छोड़कर जो मन में आता है वही कर और बोल रहे हैं।

इसके बाद वह अपने पिता को बड़ी ही निर्भीकता के साथ उत्तर देती है

भो ताय-ताय पई णिरु अजुत्तु । जंपियउ ण मुणियउ जिणहु सुत्तु ।।
वरकुलि उवण्ण जा कण्ण होइ । सा लज्ज ण मेल्लइ एच्छ लोय ।।
वादाववाउ नउ जुत्तु ताय । तहँ पुणु तुअ अक्खमि णिसुणि राय ।।
बिहु लोयविरुद्धउ एहु कम्म । जं सुव सइवरु गिण्हइ सुछम्मु ।।
जइ मण इच्छइ किज्जइ विवाहु । तो लोयसुहिल्लउ इहु पवाहु ।।

2/6/5

अर्थात् हे पिताजी, आपने जिनागम-सूत्रों के विरुद्ध ही मुझे अपने आप अपने पति के चुनाव कर लेने का आदेश दिया है। किन्तु जो कन्याएँ कुलीन होती हैं वे कभी भी ऐसी निर्लज्जता का कार्य नहीं कर सकतीं। हे पिताजी, इस विषय में मैं वाद-विवाद भी नहीं करना चाहती, इसीलिए आप मेरी प्रार्थना ध्यानपूर्वक सुनें। आपका यह कार्य लोकविरुद्ध होगा कि आपकी कन्या स्वयम्बर करके अपने पति का निर्वाचन करे। अतः मुझसे कहे बिना ही आपकी इच्छा जहाँ भी हो, वहीं पर मेरा विवाह कर दें...

जा वुच्चइ कुल उप्पण्ण णारि । परियण जणमण णिरु सुक्खयारि ।।
 जोव्वणीरूढी पिच्छेवि ताउ । मणिं चिंत व्हइ पुणु-पुणु सुभाउ ।।
 णिब्भरु होमि किं देमि कासु । को जोगु अच्छि कहु कुल-पयासु ।।
 इय चिंतिवि पुणु परियणु महंतु । हक्कारिवि कीरइ सा रमतु ।।
 कुल जाय विसुद्धउ वसणचत्तु । करु रोप्पहि निय कुलमग्गरत्तु ।।
 जण पंच मिलिवि मंगलसरेहि । किज्जइ विवाहु चलचामरेहि ।।
 पुणु जणणु समप्पइ वरहु हच्छि । परियणु विसमइइ तासु सच्छि ।।
 कुलमग्गु तियहँ णिव एम होइ । तुव वयणें तासु विणासइ लोइ ।।

2/7/1-8

अर्थात् जब किसी उच्च कुल में नारी जन्म लेती है तब वह निश्चय ही परिजनों के मानस को सुखकर होती है। उसे युवावस्था को प्राप्त देखकर पिता के मन में इस प्रकार की चिन्ता उत्पन्न होना स्वाभाविक है कि “मैं किस प्रकार निश्चिन्त होऊँ, योग्य वर के हाथ में कैसे दूँ? कौन इस कन्या के योग्य वर है, कौन वर कुल-प्रकाशक है।” इस प्रकार परिवार के बड़े जन स्वयं ही विचार करके वर की खोज करते हैं और कुलीन, आचरण से पवित्र, व्यसन-त्यागी अपनी पुरातन परम्पराओं के प्रेमी वर को खोजकर पंच लोग मिलकर मंगल-स्वरो से कन्या का पाणिग्रहण करा देते हैं। पुनः पिता जब कन्यादान कर देता है, तब सभी परिजन प्रसन्न होते हैं। हे राजन्, यही कुलमार्ग है। किन्तु आपने जैसा कहा है, वह तो निश्चय ही इस लोक एवं परलोक का नाशक है।

इतना ही नहीं, मैनासुन्दरी अपनी बात आगे भी सुनाती ही गई। वह अपनी बड़ी बहन सुरसुन्दरी द्वारा स्वयं निर्वाचित पति संबंधी कार्य को कुल-कलंक कहती है तथा भवितव्यता को सर्वोपरि मानती हुई पुनः कहती है

...भवियव्वु ण फेडइ कोवि कासु । परिणवइ सुहासुहकम्मपासु ।।

णउ कोवि कासु सुहु विच्छरेइ । दुक्खु ण परमच्छें कुवि करेइ ।।

2/9/9-10

अर्थात् हे पिताजी, भवितव्यता को कोई नहीं में सकता। कर्मों के शुभाशुभ फल को कोई भी नहीं बदल सकता। न कोई किसी का सुख छीन सकता है और न कोई किसी के दुःख को बदल ही सकता है।

सामिउ जि भिच्चु पुणु सो णरेसु । पुणु सो संभवइ जि किमि विसेसु ।।
 अरि होइ मित्तु-मित्तु जि महारि । तिय मरिवि पुत्ति पुणु सा जि णारि ।।
 मह रूववंतु पुणु रूवहीणु । धण धण पुण दालिद्वरीणु ।।
 कम्मायत्तउ जगु सयलु राउ । परिणवइ एच्छु भवि विविह भाउ ।।
 कम्मेण राउ कम्मेण रंकु । कम्मेण जीउ पयडिय कलंकु ।।

2/11/2-6

अर्थात् स्वामी भृत्य बन जाता है और पुनः वही नरेश भी हो जाता है। भवितव्यता से क्या संभव नहीं है? शत्रु मित्र बन जाता है और मित्र महान् शत्रु। पत्नी मरकर पुत्री बन जाती है और पुत्री ही नारी। महान् सौन्दर्यावान् कुरूपता को प्राप्त हो जाता है तथा अत्यन्त धनाढ्य व्यक्ति दरिद्र हो जाता है। हे राजन्, इस संसार में सभी लोग कर्माधीन हैं। वही लोगों को नए-नए नाच नचाता रहता है। कर्म से ही व्यक्ति राजा बनता है और कर्म से ही रंक। कर्म-फल से ही यह जीवन कलंकित अथवा निर्मल बनता है...

तीसरी सन्धि में कवि ने कई मार्मिक स्थल उपस्थित किए हैं। मैनासुन्दरी का पिता क्रोधावेश में आकर मैनासुन्दरी का विवाह कुष्ठी श्रीपाल से कर देता है¹। विवाह हो जाने के अनन्तर जब दामाद का विकृत रूप देखता है तो उसका हृदय विदीर्ण होने लगता है। उसका मन उसे धिक्कारता है कि क्रोध के कारण मैंने अपनी रति के समान सुन्दरी पुत्री को इस प्रकार के कुष्ठरोगी के हाथ सौंपकर बहुत ही अनुचित कार्य किया है। उसका मानसिक द्वन्द्व चरम सीमा पर पहुँच जाता है और बरसाती बाँध के समान जब भावावलि उसके हृदय को तोड़कर आगे बढ़ने लगती है तो वह मैनासुन्दरी से क्षमायाचना करता हुआ कहता है

हा-हा हउँ णठ्ठमइ अप्पाणु । एहउ आयरइ ण डोमु पाणु ।।
 हा-हा मइ हा रिउ णिवह मग्गु । णिय मणुवज्जमु सग्गापवग्गु ।।
 हउँ अवजसु भायणु एच्छु लोउ । महु णामें पाव महंतु होउ ।।
 दंसावमि लोयहु वयण केमु । सुव अंकि णिहिच्चिउ रुव्वइ एमु ।।
 हा-हा पुत्ति जिणामय पवीण । मय पावें पविहिय खणि ण दीण ।।
 ।..... ।।

णउ कोइ वि लक्खइ मुइजणपक्खइ हउँ सठु धिट्ठु वि पावमइ ।। 3/18/1-5, 10

मैनासुन्दरी की दृढ़ता यहाँ पर भी प्रशंसनीय है। उसे कर्म-सिद्धान्त पर दृढ़ विश्वास है। “लिखितमपि ललाटे प्रोज्झितुं को समर्थः” पर उसकी पूर्ण आस्था है। अतः वह पिता को मधुर-वाणी में उत्तर देती हुई कहती है “पूज्य तात, आपका कोई भी दोष या अपराध नहीं, आप व्यर्थ ही चिंतित होते हैं। यह सब मेरे किए हुए पूर्वजन्मों के कर्मों का फल है। यह जीव जैसा शुभाशुभ आचरण करता है, उसका फल उसे अवश्य भोगना पड़ता है। मन, वचन और काय द्वारा स्पन्दित-क्रिया को योग कहा जाता है और यह योग ही आश्रव है। शुभ-योग पुण्याश्रव का कारण होता है और अशुभ-योग पापाश्रव का। मैंने किसी जन्म-जन्मान्तर में अशुभ कर्म का अर्जन अवश्य किया है और उसी का फल मुझे अब प्राप्त हो रहा है। कवि रङ्गधू ने लिखा है

अवगण्हहु सोउ किं दोसु तुम्हु । भुंजिवउ चिरुकिउ कम्मु अम्हु ।।

णउँ तुम्हि करहु महु अहिउ जम्मि । इहु आणि घडायउ दइउ कम्मि ।।

3/18/7-8

मनस्वी श्रीपाल स्वस्थ होकर जब कुछ दिन ससुराल में रह चुका तब एक दिन मध्यरात्रि के समय उसकी नींद टूट गई और वह सोचने लगा कि यहाँ पर राज-जामाता होकर रहना अपने कुल को अपमानित करना है। यहाँ सभी लोग मुझे राजा-जमाई कहते हैं। मेरे कुल का कोई नाम भी नहीं लेता। यह परिस्थिति मुझे असह्य है। इस प्रकार उसके मन में नाना प्रकार के संकल्प-विकल्प उत्पन्न होने लगे।

पति को जगते हुए देखकर मैनासुन्दरी ने पूछा कि आज आपकी नींद मध्यरात्रि में ही क्यों टूट गई? चिन्ता के कारण आपका मुखपद्म मुरझा गया है, सौन्दर्य की आभा अस्त होती हुई चन्द्रिका के समान मलिन मालूम पड़ रही है। क्या किसी ने आपका अपमान किया है या किसी ने दुर्वचन कहे हैं? आपकी यह व्याकुलतापूर्ण स्थिति मुझे सह्य नहीं है। प्राणनाथ! अपने मन की समस्त वेदना मुझे बता देने की कृपा करें। कवि रङ्गधू ने इस प्रसंग का बहुत ही मार्मिक चित्रण किया है। वह कहता है

..... । किं का वि चिंतं णियमणि वहहो ।।

किं राय किं पि दुब्बोलियाउ । किं णिययदेसु पुणु सल्लियाउ ।।

किं केणवि आणापसरुहउ। किं अणतियहिं पुणु मणु खुहिउ।।

.....
किं सिद्धजंतुपुणु वीसरिउ। किं रोयदुक्खु पुणु वि फुरिउ।।

तं कारणु वल्लह महु भणहु।.....सिरिवाल० 5/1/4-7

जब श्रीपाल विदेश यात्रा के समय अपनी माँ के समक्ष उससे विदा लेने हेतु पहुँचता है तब माँ के हृदय की ममता फूट पड़ती है और उसके हृदय-तल में छिपा हुआ स्नेह-जल चूने लगता है। कवि रङ्ग ने इस दृश्य का भी सुन्दर चित्रण किया है। माँ उपदेश देती हुई कहती है

तुहु पेच्छिवि णयणइँ संत्तुइँ। तुव पेच्छिवि मणि दुक्खइँ णइँ।

तुव दंसण-विणु महु सुअ वासरु। कहव ण खुइँ णं संवच्छरु।।

पुणु वि जाहि जिणणाहु तिव्कालेण जि दुरियहरो।

चउविहसंघहु दाणु दिजहि णिरुवहु सुक्खयरु।।

सिरिवाल० 5/6/7-15

छठवीं सन्धि में कवि ने धवल सेठ की काम-विह्वल अवस्था का सुन्दर चित्रण किया है। अलंकार-शास्त्र में कामियों की 10 अवस्थाएँ वर्णित हैं¹। प्रथमावस्था में चिन्ता उत्पन्न होती है। द्वितीय अवस्था में प्रिय के संगम की आकांक्षा जागृत होती है। तृतीयावस्था में प्रिय के मिलने के कारण दीर्घ निश्वासें चलती हैं। चौथी अवस्था में काम-ज्वर उत्पन्न होता है। पाँचवीं अवस्था में शारीरिक अंग जलने लगते हैं। छठवीं अवस्था में भोजन भी अच्छा नहीं लगता है। सातवीं अवस्था में मूर्च्छा उत्पन्न होती है। आठवीं अवस्था में उन्माद होता है। नवीं अवस्था में प्राणों में भी सन्देह उत्पन्न हो जाता है और दसवीं अवस्था में कामी जीव प्राणों से वंचित हो जाता है।

महाकवि रङ्ग ने इन दसों अवस्थाओं में से धवल सेठ की निम्न अवस्थाओं का सुन्दर चित्रण किया है

उण्हसासु वयणाउ पवइँ। किं इहु रोउ केणउ हइँ।

मरणावच्छ एहु णिरु वइँ। जिम सर सुकइ मीणु पलोइँ।

जलु तंबोलु ण गिन्हहि किपि वि। गीउविणोउ ण रुच्चइ तं जिवि।

सिरिवाल० 6/17/3-5

विश्वासघाती धवल सेठ जब अपने कपट-जाल द्वारा श्रीपाल को समुद्र में गिरा देता है और रयणमंजूषा के सतीत्व का अपहरण करना चाहता है तब उस समय रयणमंजूषा ने जो विलाप किया है, उसमें हृदय को द्रवित करने की पर्याप्त क्षमता है¹।

इस प्रकार महाकवि रङ्गधू ने इस चरित-काव्य में काव्यत्व का समावेश करने हेतु मर्म-स्थलों की पूर्ण योजना की है। इसमें पौराणिकता तो केवल सृष्टि-निर्माण एवं प्रथम-सन्धि में भगवान महावीर की समोशरण-सभा तक ही सीमित रह जाती है। कवि ने जिस सन्धि से कथा का आरम्भ किया है, उस सन्धि से काव्य-शैली का पूर्ण प्रयोग किया है। वैदर्भी-शैली का स्वच्छ रूप और समासहीन सरल-पदावलि का प्रयोग इस काव्य की अपनी विशेषता है।

शैली की दृष्टि से एक बात और स्मरणीय है कि कवि ने पर्यायवाची शब्दों का प्रयोग कर अर्थबोध में क्लिष्टता उत्पन्न कर दी है। यथा अमरकोश के स्थान पर सुरकोश², आदि का प्रयोग।

सूक्तियों, कहावतों एवं विविध सद्गुणों की महिमा तथा दुर्गुणों की निन्दा आदि के वर्णनों की दृष्टि से भी यह रचना उत्कृष्ट है। कवि ने प्रसंग-प्राप्त अवसरों पर उनका समुचित प्रयोग किया है। ऐसे वर्णनों में सिद्धचक्रमाहात्म्य, नवकारमाहात्म्य³, पुण्य-माहात्म्य, सम्यक्त्व-माहात्म्य⁴, उपकार-महिमा, गन्धोदक-महिमा⁵, व्यापार-निन्दा⁶, लोभ-लालच निन्दा⁷, पर-स्त्री लम्पटी की निन्दा, कामीजनों की निन्दा⁸, आदि दृष्टव्य हैं। 'उपकार' को कवि ने मानव-शरीर का शृंगार कहा है। यथा

.....। उवयारेँ सोहइ णरसरीरु॥

जिह रयणें सोहइ कणयभव्वु। वेरागें सोहइ जेम भव्वु॥

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1. सिरिवाल० 6/21-23
 2. सिरिवाल० 1/13/16
 3. सिरिवाल० 6/11; 7/1
 4. सिरिवाल० 10/1
 5. सिरिवाल० 4/9
 6. सिरिवाल० 5/20
 7. सिरिवाल० 5/17
 8. सिरिवाल० 6/25

(19)

जिम दाणें सोहइ पउरदव्यु । जिम सीलें सोहइ लोउ सव्यु ॥
खमभावेँ जिम सोहइ मुणिंदु । सपयावेँ जिम सोहइ दिणिंदु ॥
जिम सोहइ सावउ वसन चत्तु । जिम सिस्सु जि सोहइ सगुरु भत्तु ॥
जिम सोहइ तीय सलज्ज चित्त । जिम विहुरकालि सोहंति मित्त ॥

मत्ता विउसु विवेयं जेम सोहइ लब्ध पमाणउ ।

तिम उवयारें एच्छु सोहइ महियति माणउ ॥ 5/10/5-12

‘पुण्य-महिमा’ कवि की दृष्टि से ‘मानव’ जीवन की समस्त ऋद्धियों-सिद्धियों का मूल कारण है। उसके बिना ऐहिक सुख-प्राप्ति सम्भव नहीं। कवि कहता है

पुण्णेण पवित्त जि पुत्त-मित्त । पुण्णें तिय लब्भहि कमलवत्त ॥
पुण्णें णवणिहि संभवहि गोहि । पुण्णेण रोय णउ होति देहि ॥
पुण्णें हय-गय-बाहण हवंति । पुण्णें जसु हिंडइ पुणु णहंति ॥
पुण्णें पाविज्जहि सयल भोय । पुण्णेण ण सुहयहं पुणु विओय ॥
पुण्णें धण धणइ णिरु मणिड्ड । पुण्णेण पुहमि पुणु जणगरिड्ड ॥
पुण्णें विज्जावलु पउरु होइ । पुण्णेण इच्छु वयरिय ण कोई ॥
पुण्णें जणवल्लहरूववंतु । पुण्णेण मुणइ जिण भणिउ संतु ॥

6/15/1-7

‘सिद्धचक्र’ का माहात्म्य एवं उसके फल के विषय में कवि की विचारधारा निम्न प्रकार है

एयमि वारि जो सुद्धचित्तु । धिरजोयं आराहय विचित्तु ॥
तहु दुड्ड कुड्ड-खय-जर-अणेय । णउ रोय होति खयकालतेय ॥
धण्ण-धण-कलत्त-सुपुत्त-मित्त । कुल-बल-जसेहि ण होति चित्त ॥
णारिहु दोहग्ग ण कहव्व होइ । ण वंझरूव ण गुत्त होई ॥
किं बहुणा जीवहु विगय विग्घु । मणवंछिवच्छु अपय अणग्घु ॥

4/5/1-5

पर-स्त्री लम्पटी पुरुष कवि की दृष्टि में कुल कलंकी हैं तथा संयम एवं शील रूपी सरोवर को सुखा डालने वाले हैं

वरकुललंछणु जण उवहसणउ । संजमसीलुसरोवरु सुसणउं ।। 6/18/3

मध्यकाल में विदेशों के साथ भारत के अच्छे सम्बन्ध थे। कई व्यापारिक वस्तुओं का आयात-निर्यात (Import-Export) होता था। विदेश-यात्रा का प्रमुख साधन समुद्री-पोत थे। महाकवि रङ्ग ने श्रीपाल की विदेश-यात्रा के बहाने यात्री के लिए अत्यावश्यक सामग्री, विदेशों में ध्यान देने योग्य बातों एवं समुद्री-यात्रा की कठिनाइयों आदि का सुन्दर वर्णन किया है।

धवल सेठ जब समुद्री यात्रा प्रारम्भ करता है तब उसके पूर्व वह अपने साथ चलने के लिए दस सहस्र सुभटों को निमन्त्रित करता है तथा ध्वजा, छत्र, लम्बे-लम्बे बाँस, बड़े-बड़े बर्तन, ईंधन, पानी, बारह-वर्ष तक के लिए सभी साथियों के लिए अनाज, विविध वाद्य, तिल-तेल, चन्दन, प्रभृति सामग्रियाँ तैयार करता है। यथा

..... । दह सहस्सई सुहड विणिरुड्डाणिया ।।
वाहण-धय-छत्तई णिरु सोहिया । उज्झियवंसहि सठपुणुरोहिया ।।
पंचसत्तखण मणसुह दायण । तेच्छु णिहिय पुणु णाणा भायण ।।
इंधणु पाणिउ पउरु जि सिंचिउ । बारहवरिसहु संवलु खंचिउ ।।
बज्जमाण णाणाबिह तूरहिं । जलजंतइ पुज्जिय दहि-कूरिहं ।।
चंदण वंदणेहि तिल-तेलहिं । जलदेविहु अच्चिवि सुहवेलेहिं ।।

5/13/1-6

इसी प्रकार जहाज में बैठते समय यात्री अपने शरीर को सम्भवतः भैरुंड-पक्षी के चर्म से आच्छादित करते थे, सिर पर लोहे की टोपी धारण करते थे तथा मुग्दर, बाँस के डंडे आदि हाथ में धारण करते थे। यथा

इय जंपिवि मोग्गर पुणु पयंड । उच्चाइय उब्भिय वंस डंड ।।
मरजीयारुहिय खणेण सीस । ढारिय आयस दुप्परियसीस ।।
भैरुंड विहंगम मयण तेवि । णउ सुवहि रयण णिद्दापरेवि ।।

5/20/2-4

मध्यकालीन समुद्र-यात्रा में कई कठिनाइयाँ उपस्थित होती थीं। किन्तु सबसे अधिक कठिनाई समुद्री डाकुओं के आक्रमण से होती थी। समुद्री डाकू सामूहिक रूप में बड़ी भयंकरता के साथ आयुधास्त्रों से आक्रमण कर दिया करते थे। धवल सेठ अपने साथियों

के साथ गाता, नाचता एवं विविध मनोरंजन करता हुआ जब चला जा रहा था, उसका जहाज अनुकूल वायु के झकोरों से चला जा रहा था, तभी पीछे से भयंकर शब्द सुनाई दिए। लोग निर्णय नहीं कर सके कि जहाज पर किसी समुद्री जानवर ने आक्रमण किया है अथवा डाकुओं ने? कवि ने उसका वर्णन इस प्रकार किया है

कइवय दिणेहिं पुणु हूव धीर। सुहु विलसहिं तहिं णिब्भयसरीर॥
गावन्ति णडन्ति णियन्ति तोउ। पेच्छन्ति णिय जलयर विणोउ॥
णउ रयणि ण वासरु रहहि पोय। णं कम्मं पेरिय पाव लोय॥
पवणें चालिय वाहण चलन्ति। परसप्पर धयवड णंहिं मिलन्ति॥
जा सुहिणो लंघहि ते समुदुदु। मरजीवउ ता जंपइ रउदुदु॥
सजहु-सजहु तक्करहु बिंदु। तुम्हहँ सम्मुहु आवइ सणिंदु॥
तं णिसुणिवि भयपूरिय वणीस। केहिमि धारिय णिय करिणसीस॥
केहिमि जंपिउ सव्वस्सु जाउ। णउ सहि सक्कमि हउँ समरिघाउ॥
केहिमि जंपिउ जलयर रउदि। भेजिज्जइ केच्छ महासमुदि॥
परसप्पर इय जंपन्ति जाम। लुंटययणु णियडें पत्तु ताम॥

5/21/1-10

अन्य वर्णन-प्रसंगों में महाकवि रङ्ग ने नायिका मैनासुन्दरी के सौन्दर्य का बड़ा ही सुन्दर चित्रण किया है। उपमा, उत्प्रेक्षा एवं रूपकालंकारों के माध्यम से कवि का यह वर्णन सजीव हो उठा है। यथा

पुण्णिमासी अद्धउ भालवट्टु। णं काम-णरेसहु विजयपट्टु॥
वंकत्तणु भू-जुयलहु अखंडु। णिग्गुणु विधणुहु णं कज्जचंडु॥
सोहन्ति सवणजुव कुंडलेहि। रविससिणिद्धाडिय णियकरेहि॥
अग्गपएसि पुणु तिक्खणास। णउ लक्खिज्जइ णिग्गंत सास॥
कणन्ति सहन्ति कडक्खवाण। णं कामहु ते मेलन्ति साण॥
भुय जुयलु सुकोमलु पियपयासु। णं पयडु सुमहियलि कामपासु॥
उररुहउ णय ससिपह णिसुंभ। णं मयणहु थिय अहिसेय कुंभ॥
हरिलंकसमाणी मज्झि खीण। तिवली-तरंग पुणु तच्छलीणु॥
अइ पिहुलणियंवु जि तहि अलीदु। णं रइसुहिकारणि णिहिउ पीदु॥
उरु जुयलउ णयणाहिरामु। णं जणमणबंघण थंभ जुम्मु॥

दिठ संधिबंध जाणुखण्ण । जंघाजुव पुणु विच्छर सछण्ण ।।

रत्तुप्पल दल सारिच्छ पाय । णिम्मल णह पह जियइउमणि छाय ।।

2/13/4-15

श्रीपाल जब समुद्र पार कर कुंकुमद्वीप पहुँचता है और वहाँ के राजा को अपने सद्गुणों से प्रभावित करता है, तब वह प्रसन्न होकर उसके साथ अपनी कन्या गुणमाला का विवाह कर उसे अपने दरबार में सम्मान देता है। संयोगवश पापी धवल सेठ भी धूमते-धामते उसी दरबार में आता है और जब श्रीपाल को देखता है तो स्तब्ध रह जाता है। वह सोचने लगता है कि यदि श्रीपाल उसे समुद्र में ढकेलने सम्बन्धी शिकायत राजा से कर देगा तो निश्चय ही उसे मृत्यु-दंड मिलेगा। अतः अपने मंत्री की सलाह से मातंग नामक एक भाँड़ का मुँहमाँगा पारितोषिक देकर उसे राज-दरबार में ही श्रीपाल को अपना सजातीय बंधु घोषित कराने का षड्यंत्र रचता है। भाँड़-मण्डली भी षड्यंत्र के अनुसार ही दरबार में पहुँचती है तथा गीत-नृत्य वंसारोहण आदि के द्वारा राजा का मनोरंजन करके तथा उपहार आदि लेने के बाद श्रीपाल को वे गले लगाकर रोने लगते हैं। दरबार में एक विचित्र वातावरण उत्पन्न हो जाता है। कवि ने उसका चित्रण निम्न प्रकार किया है

कोउहलु बहुविह दंसियउ । वंसारोहणु पुणु ववसियउ ।।
 कंसाल-ताल बहु बज्जियाइँ । सुर-नर-खेयर-मण रंजियाइँ ।।
 तं पेक्खिवि राणउ बिंभियाउ । पेरण करणइँ जि पउंजियाइँ ।।
 राएण पसायं अंकियाइँ । वरवच्छाहरणइँ लंकियाइँ ।।
 णिउ तुइउ पेक्खिवि वीरु पुणु । तंबोलु समप्पइ जासु मणु ।।
 तक्खणिणा सयल णाडउ मुएवि । धाविय ते हा-हा-सरु मुएवि ।।
 सिरिपालु तेहिं अंकिउ धरिउ । कंठालिंगणु केणवि भरिउ ।।
 किवि चरण धरहिं किवि करि गहहिं । किवि मोहे खणु मुछिवि रहहिं ।।
 किवि पुछहिं पेछहिं गंतु तुहुँ । किवि धाह पमेत्तिहिं गरुयलहु ।।
 किवि रायहु संसहि पुणु वि पुणु । तब वंसु पवइउ लद्धु गुणु ।।

वत्ता कुवि तिय सिरु चुंबिवि मोहु वि मुंजवि जंपइ बहु दिण विच्छुलिउ ।
 इहु वासरु धण्णउ सुहसयपुण्णउ जेम मज्झु सुउ महु मिलउ ।।

7/10/1-12

राजनीति के क्षेत्र में दूत का कार्य अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण माना जाता है। 'नीतिवाक्यामृत' में आचार्य सोमदेव ने निसृष्टार्थ, परिमितार्थ एवं शासनहर नामक तीन दूतों की चर्चा की है। कवि रङ्ग ने उनमें से परिमितार्थ एवं शासनहर नामक दूतों के कार्योंल्लेख प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ में किए हैं। मध्यकाल में निसृष्टार्थ-दूत की कल्पना करना कठिन था, क्योंकि जिसके द्वारा निश्चित किए हुए सन्धि-विग्रह को उसका स्वामी प्रमाण मानता है वही निसृष्टार्थ कहलाता था, जैसे पाण्डवों के श्रीकृष्ण। उसकी संभावना इस समय नहीं रही थी। हाँ, राजा द्वारा भेजे गए सन्देश एवं शासन-लेख को जैसे का तैसा शत्रु के पास कहने या देने वाले परिमितार्थ व शासनहर नामक राजदूतों की चर्चाएँ प्रचुर रूप में अवश्य मिलती हैं।

श्रीपाल जब अंगदेश पहुँचकर वहाँ के राजा को अपने वश में करने के लिए आक्रमण करने का विचार करता है तब उसका मंत्री उसे सलाह देता है कि एकाएक आक्रमण करना उपयुक्त नहीं होता। सर्वप्रथम दूत के हाथ सन्देश भेजना चाहिए और जब वह असफल हो जाय तभी विग्रह करना चाहिए। यथा

पहिलउ पेसहि दूउ निरुत्तउ। ताय सरिसु सो तुम्ह पउत्तउ।।
जइ सो तुम्हहँ आयरें माणाइ। णेहु करिवि णियरज्जहो ठाणइ।।
ता णरेस णउ विग्गहु किज्जइ। णं तो संगामेण दलिज्जइ।।

9/3/7-9

मनोरंजन के साधनों में कवि ने वाद्य, गीत आदि के उल्लेख किए हैं किन्तु प्रसंगवश जिन नवीन बातों की चर्चा कवि ने की है; वे हैं चित्रलेख-नृत्य एवं चंचुपुट-ताल। कुंडलपुर का राजा श्रीपाल के गुणों पर आकर्षित होकर उसे अपनी कन्या देना चाहता है। श्रीपाल के राजदरबार में पहुँचते ही राजकुमारी उसे चंचुपुट-ताल पर चित्रलेख-नृत्य प्रदर्शित करती है। यथा

सिरिपालें ता पडहु विवज्जिउ। चित्तलेहणच्चु जि समप्पिउ।
चंचुपुटतालु जि तेणोद्धरिउ। ताहि मणु खणमत्तें हरियउ।।

8/3/12-13

सामाजिक रीति-रिवाजों की की चर्चाएँ भी कवि ने प्रचुर रूप से की हैं। पुत्रजन्म, विवाह,

1. स त्रिविधो निसृष्टार्थः परिमितार्थः शासनहरश्चेति।

नीतिवाक्यामृत 13/3 (दिल्ली, 1950)।।

बेटी की विदा आदि के वर्णन-प्रसंग प्रस्तुत रचना में प्रस्तुत हैं। दहेज की प्रथा मध्यकाल में विशेष रूप से रही है। कवि के उल्लेख से विदित होता है कि पिता अपनी पुत्री के विवाह में दहेज स्वरूप हाथी, घोड़े, दासी, दास, सोना, चाँदी आदि श्रेष्ठ वस्तुएँ प्रदान किया करते थे¹।

आभूषणों में कवि ने मणिजटित शेखर, कुंडल, कंकण, मुद्रिका आदि का उल्लेख किया है। श्रीपाल ने दीक्षा लेते समय अपने महार्घ्य वस्त्रों के साथ निम्न आभूषणों को उतार फेंका था

पुणु सेहरु मणिबद्धुत्तारिउ । णं कामहु अहिमाणु णिवारिउ ।।

कुंडल-कंकणाइ पुणु मुक्कइ । णं णखत्त सहहि णह चुक्कइ ।।

मुदयाइँ उत्तारिवि इच्छहु । आसिय मुद्दा तेण णिगंथहु ।।

10/16/6-8

विषय वर्णन के प्रसंगों में कवि ने सूक्तियों, कहावतों एवं बहुमूल्य उपदेशों का अंकन भी किया है, जो बड़े मार्मिक हैं। उदाहरणार्थ कुछ अंश यहाँ प्रस्तुत किए जाते हैं

सहसा अविचारउ किंपि कम्मु । किज्जइ ण कहिज्जइ कासु मम्मु ।। 3/10/1

अर्थात् सहसा ही अविचारित कोई कार्य न करना चाहिए और न किसी को उसका मर्म कहना चाहिए।

किं अमयवेलि घल्लहि हुयासि । तुसमोलें विक्किय रयणरासि ।। 3/10/1

अर्थात् अमृतलता को अग्नि ज्वाला में क्यों झोंक रहा है? भूसे के मोल रत्नराशियाँ क्यों बेच रहा है?

निष्कर्षतः यह कहा जा सकता है कि ज्ञान, विज्ञान एवं मनोविज्ञान के विश्वकोश के समान उक्त अतिमहत्त्वपूर्ण दुर्लभ पाण्डुलिपि अद्यावधि अप्रकाशित है और उसके लिए प्रकाशक की व्यग्र प्रतीक्षा है।

1. सिरिवाल० 6/12, 7/5

Section III

Kundakunda and his legacy

Johannes BRONKHORST

There have been several conceptions of the soul in the history of Jainism. The probably oldest text of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon, the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* / *Āyāraṃga Sutta*, has some passages that reveal an idea about the soul that is very different from what came to be the classical Jaina conception. Dalsukh D. Malvania (1981) and others have drawn attention to *Āyāraṃga* 176, which describes the soul in the following terms:

“It is not long nor small nor round nor triangular nor quadrangular nor circular; it is not black nor blue nor red nor green nor white; neither of good nor bad smell; not bitter nor pungent nor astringent nor sweet; neither rough nor soft; neither heavy nor light; neither cold nor hot; neither harsh nor smooth. It does not have a body, is not born again, has no attachment and is without sexual gender. While having knowledge and sentience, there is nonetheless nothing with which it can be compared. Its being is without form, there is no condition of the unconditioned. It is not sound nor form nor smell nor flavour nor touch or anything like that.” (tr. Jacobi, 1884: 52, emended as in Dundas, 2002: 43).

Āyāraṃga 171, moreover, states:

“That which is the soul is that which knows, that which is the knower is the soul, that by which one knows is the soul.” (tr. Dundas, 2002: 44).

The classical Jaina concept of the soul finds already expression in other texts of the Śvetāmbara canon. A verse of *Uttarajjhayaṇa* chapter 36 states:

“The dimension of perfected [souls] is two-thirds of the height which the individual had in his last existence” (tr. Jacobi, 1895: 212, modified).

The *Viyāhapannatti* (7.8) compares the soul, which may cover the volume of an elephant or of a louse, with a lamp that lights up the space in which it is placed, sometimes a hut, sometimes the space determined by a cover (Deleu, 1970: 139). A short reference to the body-like size of the soul is also found in one of the concluding

stanzas of the *Uvavāiyya* (171). This classical concept — as I have been able to show in another publication (2000) — appears to have been formed under the influence of Abhidharma Buddhism.

It seems likely that the classical Jaina concept of the soul, whether under the influence of Buddhism or otherwise, was developed along with the special ideas of karma that came to occupy Jaina thinkers. But whatever its historical justification, it represents a somewhat idiosyncratic development which remained, as far as we can see, the exclusive property of Jainism. And even here it appears to have little to connect it with the origins of this religion. One reason for thinking so is constituted by the early canonical passages which I mentioned. Another one is that this classical concept barely fits in the surroundings out of which Jainism arose, and to which it originally belonged. Let us have a closer look at these surroundings.

I have studied and analysed the cultural background of Jainism, Buddhism and other movements that were originally situated in the region east of the confluence of the two rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā in a book called *Greater Magadha* (2007). Jainism shared with some of the other religious movements a preoccupation with karmic retribution, which in their case meant the belief that all acts inevitably will have an effect, often in a future life. Many of these religious movements were concerned to avoid the new lives that would come about as a result of acts carried out in the present and preceding lives. Early Jainism emphasized the need to abstain from all physical and mental activity. In other words, the advanced practitioner should abstain from all acts, with the result that he would not create new bases for karmic retribution. Acts that had been carried out before, whether in this or a preceding life, could be immunized, i.e. forced to fructify in this life, through the pain produced by ascetic practices. Since the ascetic practices that were believed to bring this about consisted themselves largely in the abstention from all activity, the physical and mental immobilization pursued by the advanced Jaina ascetic served a double purpose: no new bases were laid for further karmic retribution, and the traces of acts carried out earlier were destroyed.

This specific method to attain liberation from rebirth and karmic retribution did not crucially depend on any specific vision as to the true nature of the soul. Such a specific vision may have accompanied early Jainism, but we have already seen that the oldest canonical texts provide us with precious little information to go by. There were however other religious movements at the same time and in the same region of northern India in which the concept of the soul did play a crucial role. These were the movements that believed that the soul, i.e. the real self of the human being (and of all other living beings for that matter), does not and cannot act by its very nature. Activity belongs to the body and the mind, both of which are essentially different from the inactive self. Karmic retribution, too, belongs for this reason to the realm of body and mind, without affecting the real self of a person. Knowledge of one's real self frees

from rebirth and karmic retribution, because knowledge of the self amounts to the realization that in deepest reality one does not act and has never acted.

This notion of a real self that never acts lies at the heart of most philosophical thought that came to be associated with Brahmanism. It is very visible in Sāṃkhya, which divides all that exists in two totally distinct categories: on the one hand the selves, essentially and fundamentally inactive, and on the other hand all that which is active, whether physical or mental. The fundamental idea finds expression in a verse of the *Bhagavadgītā*, which states:¹

“Actions are, all of them, undertaken by the *guṇas* of Prakṛti. He who is deluded by egoism thinks ‘I am the doer’.”

The *guṇas* of Prakṛti are, in Sāṃkhya and therefore in texts like the *Bhagavadgītā* which accept the fundamental ideas of Sāṃkhya, that which makes up all that is active, i.e., all that is different from the inactive self. The self, for its part, is not involved in any acts, and indeed, if a person thinks that he is thus involved, he is deluded by egoism. It is Prakṛti that acts, and the self remains inactive throughout. The *Bhagavadgītā* adds some practical teachings of its own. It does not teach that one should abstain from all activity. No, one should rather act in accordance with one’s own nature. The terms used to designate the nature of a person are *prakṛti* and *svabhāva*; these coincide, according to the *Gītā*, with a person’s own duty (*svadharma*), i.e., the duties associated with one’s position in life. The warrior Arjuna, for example, is told to carry out his duties as a warrior in a war that opposes him to members of his own family. The way to carry out such a task is by not being attached to the fruits, i.e. the results, of one’s acts.

This short excursion into the teaching of the *Bhagavadgītā* is useful as an introduction to the thought of Kundakunda as it expresses itself primarily in his *Samayasāra*, a work which “has greatly influenced Digambara thinking for centuries, and has been acclaimed by them as the most profound exposition of the Jaina doctrine” (Jaini, 1976: 30/92).² Before turning to him, let me summarize what has been said so far. We are very poorly informed about the ideas on the self that were current in early Jainism. We do know that Jainism abandoned these early ideas, whatever they were, and turned to the idiosyncratic concept of the soul that accompanied it henceforth. We do not know for sure why the idea of an essentially inactive soul, which became so fertile in other currents of thought, was not incorporated in the classical beliefs of Jainism; I have

¹ *Bhagavadgītā* 3.27: *prakṛteḥ kriyamāṇāni guṇaiḥ karmāṇi sarvaśaḥ / ahaṅkāravimūḍhātmā kartāham iti manyate //*.

² I have not had access to the “bewildering number of editions, reprints and commentaries” that exist of Kundakunda’s main works. They have been conveniently enumerated and presented by Royce Wiles (2001). The editions used by me in this study are specified in the “References” at the end of this article.

already made the suggestion that the way in which Jainas elaborated their ideas about karma had a role to play in this.

These ideas about an inactive soul were not completely abandoned, however. Kundakunda's ideas of the true nature of the self, I propose, have to be understood as attempts to introduce, perhaps reintroduce, them into Jainism, not, of course, in their original and primitive form, but adjusted to Jaina doctrine as it had taken shape in the meantime.

Recall, at this point, that the notion of a totally inactive soul or self, where it is accepted, is inseparable from the belief in rebirth and karmic retribution. More precisely, knowledge of the true, inactive, nature of the self is always presented as an essential step toward the ultimate goal of liberation. The implication of this fact is that the way in which karmic retribution is conceived is closely connected with the way the self is thought of. Briefly put, the self is free from all those features that are responsible for rebirth and karmic retribution. For most currents of thought in ancient India, these features cover all acts carried out by a person. It goes without saying that, if others were to believe that only certain acts, not all of them, lead to karmic retribution, they are free to postulate the existence of a self that is only free from those specific acts, not necessarily free from all of them. In other words, they may believe in a self whose activity is limited to such acts as do not bring about karmic retribution.

This, I submit, is the position of Kundakunda in his *Samayasāra*. His main point is similar to the one that finds clearest expression in Sāṃkhya and related texts, viz., that an essential step on the road to liberation is the realization that one's self is different from activity that leads to karmic retribution. The ripening of the fruit arising from karma does not belong to the self, we read in verse 208, for the self is different from it. The Jinās, verse 210 adds, have pointed out that there are many such ripenings, but these are not my own natures: I am only a knower by nature. However, he who still has if ever so little attachment or other faults left, does not know his self, however learned he may be (211).

The similarity between Sāṃkhya and the thought propounded by Kundakunda is undeniable. The similarity is however only superficial, and there are important differences. As a matter of fact, Sāṃkhya is mentioned and criticized in the *Samayasāra*. What is more, the teaching of the *Bhagavadgītā* is criticized, too, be it implicitly. Let us begin with the latter.

Verse 335 states that one becomes liberated when one gives up the fruit of one's deeds. This is close to the main teaching of the *Bhagavadgītā*. However, the then following verse 336 adds an important specification. The ignorant person, it states, since he resides in the own nature (*svabhāva*) of Prakṛti, experiences the fruit of his deeds; he who possesses knowledge, on the other hand, knows the fruit of his deeds

but does not experience it as arisen.³ The use of the words *svabhāva* and *prakṛti*, so typical for the *Bhagavadgītā*, confirms our suspicion that Kundakunda here criticizes this text in particular. Unlike the *Bhagavadgītā*, he is of the opinion that only an ignorant person will follow his own prakṛtic nature. Only the person incapable of liberation (*abhavya*)⁴ will not give up Prakṛti, verse 338 adds. The knowing person neither carries out nor experiences the various kinds of acts; however, he knows their result, as he knows bondage, merit and demerit (340).

However, Kundakunda does not only voice criticism of the practical path taught by the *Bhagavadgītā*. He is of the opinion that the underlying Sāṃkhya philosophy is not up to the mark, either. Indeed, if all that is active is, for that reason, part of Prakṛti, the conclusion must be that Prakṛti is the only agent around. Prakṛti, however, is unconscious. Unconscious Prakṛti would in this way turn the self into one that has a correct or incorrect understanding of the world (vv. 353, 354). And all selves would be inactive (366). Kundakunda does not accept this. For him the soul is subject to change. Indeed, he points out in an earlier verse (127; cp. 124) that if the soul did not undergo modifications, there would be no cycle of rebirths (*samsāra*) and the Sāṃkhya philosophy would be correct.⁵

According to Kundakunda, then, the soul is active, at least to some extent. Verse 127, just considered, states that the soul is modified by *bhāvas* such as anger (*krodha*). Kundakunda makes a point of regularly using the verb “to do, to make” (Skt. *kr*) in connection with words denoting the soul. What, then, is it that the soul makes or does? The word often used as object in such situations is *bhāva*.⁶ Recall that anger was called a *bhāva* in the verse just considered. We may assume that *bhāvas* are states of the soul, which the latter “makes” or “produces”, presumably by a process of modification. The soul, we learn in another verse (28), can be connected with many *bhāvas*.⁷

An important verse states that the self makes a *bhāva* and is its agent from the highest point of view, while from a practical, and therefore lower, point of view, it is the agent of material karma.⁸ This is to be understood in the light of the fact that karma in Jainism is thought of as a material substance which clings to the soul and is responsible for the cycle of rebirths it undergoes. Freedom from this substance

³ *Samayasāra* 336: *aññānī kammaphalaṃ payaḍisahāvaṭṭhido du vededi / nānī puṇa kammaphalaṃ jāṇādi udidaṃ na vededi //* (Sanskrit: *aññānī karmaphalaṃ prakṛtiśvabhāvasthitas tu vedayate / jñānī puṇaḥ karmaphalaṃ jānāti uditaṃ na vedayate //*).

⁴ Cp. Jaini, 1977.

⁵ *Samayasāra* 127/3.54: *aparīṇamante hi sayam jīve kohādiehi bhāvehiṃ / samsārassa abhāvo pasajjade saṃkhasamao vā //* (Sanskrit: *aparīṇamamāne hi svayam jīve krodhādibhiḥ bhāvaiḥ / samsārasyābhāvah prasajyate sāmkyasamayo vā //*).

⁶ E.g. *Samayasāra* 190.

⁷ *bahubhāvasamjutto*; Skt. -*saṃyuktaḥ*.

⁸ *Samayasāra* 24: *jaṃ kuṇādi bhāvaṃ ādā kattā so hodi tassa bhāvassa / nicchayado vavahārā poggalakammāṇa kattāraṃ //* (Sanskrit: *yaṃ karoti bhāvaṃ ātmā kartā sa bhavati tasya bhāvasya / niścayataḥ vyavahārāt pudgalakarmanāṃ kartā //*).

signifies freedom from rebirth. Total inactivity on the part of the soul is not required. The soul, in Kundakunda's opinion, *is* active: some of this activity has as consequence that material karma attaches itself to the soul, with the results we know. Activities of the soul that do not cause material karma to cling to it do not have this effect; they do not involve the soul in the endless cycle of rebirths. It follows that the soul must act in the right manner in order to be freed from *samsāra*. In Sāṃkhya the soul could not do a thing to bring about its liberation; it depended on the activity of Prakṛti. Kundakunda's soul *can* do something, and is indeed ultimately responsible for its own liberation.

The self, verse 88 points out, is an agent by its own *bhāva*, but it is not the agent of all the *bhāvas* produced by material karma.⁹ The following verse explains this further: From the highest standpoint the self makes nothing but itself and experiences itself.¹⁰ How does the self produce and experience itself, or rather its own *bhāva*? Verse 93 appears to present the answer:

“Just as the self makes its own *bhāva* because of material karma, so it experiences its own *bhāva* because of material karma.”¹¹

It is clear from what precedes that Kundakunda distinguishes between *bhāvas* that belong to the soul and are in a certain way identical with it, and such that are not. This is confirmed by verse 94, which states that error and *bhāvas* such as anger are of two kinds: they are either the soul (*jīva*) or not the soul (*ajīva*).¹² It follows from verse 95 that the difference lies in what is called *upayoga*, which is often translated *application of consciousness*.¹³ Ignorance, intemperance and error are *jīva*, on condition that they are *upayoga*.¹⁴ Indeed, they are modifications of *upayoga* connected with confusion; these modifications fall into three main categories: error, ignorance and

⁹ *Samayasāra* 88/3.14: ... kattā ādā saena bhāveṇa / puggalakammakadāṇaṃ na du kattā savvabhāvāṇaṃ // (Sanskrit: ... kartā ātmā svakena bhāvena / pudgalakarmakṛtāṇāṃ na tu sarvabhāvāṇāṃ //).

¹⁰ *Samayasāra* 89/3.15: nicchayanayassa evaṃ ādā appāṇaṃ eva hi karedi / vedayadi puṇo taṃ ceva jāṇa attā du attāṇaṃ // (Sanskrit: niscayanayasyaivaṃ ātmāimāṇaṃ eva hi karoti / vedayate punas taṃ caiva jānāthi ātmā tv ātmāṇaṃ //).

¹¹ *Samayasāra* 93: poggalakammaṇimittam jaha ādā kuṇadi appaṇo bhāvaṃ / poggalakammaṇimittam taha vedadi appaṇo bhāvaṃ // (Sanskrit: pudgalakarmanimittam yathātmā karoti ātmanah bhāvam / pudgalakarmanimittam tathā vedayati ātmano bhāvam //).

¹² *Samayasāra* 94/3.19: micchattaṃ puṇa duvīhaṃ jīvaṃ ajīvaṃ taheva añṇāṇaṃ / aviradi yogo moho kodhādīyā ime bhāvā // (Sanskrit: mithyātvaṃ punar dvividhaṃ jīvo 'jīvas tathaivājñāṇaṃ / avīratir yogo mohah krodhādīyā ime bhāvāh //).

¹³ On this term, see Johnson, 1995: 97 ff.; Soni, 2007.

¹⁴ *Samayasāra* 95/3.20: poggalakammaṃ micchaṃ jogo aviradi añṇāṇaṃ ajjīvaṃ / uvaogo añṇāṇaṃ aviradi micchatta jīvo du // (Sanskrit: pudgalakarma mithyātvaṃ yogo 'viratir ajñāṇaṃ ajjīvaḥ / upayogo 'jñāṇaṃ avīratir mithyātvaṃ ca jīvas tu //).

intemperance.¹⁵ *Upayoga* is in this way of three kinds, and itself a *bhāva* that is pure and unsullied; whatever further *bhāva* it creates, it is its agent.¹⁶

So far the discussion deals with activities that take place within the self and which for this reason have themselves no karmic consequences. However, material substance modifies itself in accordance with what happens in the self:

“Whatever *bhāva* the self produces, it is its agent; [however,] material substance modifies itself in relationship to that, and turns itself into karma.”¹⁷

At this point confusion is likely to enter:

“The soul consisting of ignorance makes something else into itself, and itself into something else. It becomes in this way the agent of the karmas.”¹⁸

The soul thinks it becomes the agent of the karmas, but this is due to ignorance. In reality it is not. The soul possessed of correct knowledge knows better:

“The soul consisting of correct knowledge does not make something else into itself, and itself into something else. It is not the agent of the karmas.”¹⁹ “He who knows that the self does not make the modifications of material substance [such as] the obstructions of knowledge, he possesses correct knowledge.”²⁰

The picture which develops out of these and other verses is the following. There are two fundamentally different realms: that of karma, which is a material substance, and that of the soul. The soul, though not without activity, is not the agent of anything that takes place in the karma which belongs to the material realm. However, it can have a causal effect on karma, through its activity within its own realm. One can therefore say that the soul produces karma, but only metaphorically:

¹⁵ *Samayasāra* 96/3.21: *uvaogassa añāt pariṇāmā tiṇṇi mohajuttassa / micchattam aññānam aviradibhāvo ya nādavvo //* (Sanskrit: *upayogasyānādayaḥ pariṇāmās trayo mohayuktasya / mithyātvam ajñānam aviratibhāvaś ceti jñātavyaḥ //*).

¹⁶ *Samayasāra* 97/3.22: *edesu ya uvaogo tivoḥ suddho niraṇjano bhāvo / jaṃ so kareḍi bhāvaṃ uvaogo tassa so kattā //* (Sanskrit: *eteṣu copayogas trividhaḥ suddho niraṇjano bhāvaḥ / yaṃ sa karoti bhāvaṃ upayogas tasya sa kartā //*).

¹⁷ *Samayasāra* 98/3.23: *jaṃ kuṇaḍi bhāvaṃ ādā kattā so hodi tassa bhāvassa / kammattam pariṇamade tamhi sayam poggalaṃ davvaṃ //* (Sanskrit: *yaṃ karoti bhāvaṃ ātmā kartā sa bhavati tasya bhāvasya / karmatvaṃ pariṇamate tasmin svayaṃ pudgaladravyam //*).

¹⁸ *Samayasāra* 99/3.24: *param appānam kuvvadi appānam pi ya param karamto so / aññānamao jīvo kammānam kārago hodi //* (Sanskrit: *param ātmānam karoti ātmānam api ca param kurvan saḥ / ajñānamayo jīvaḥ karmaṇām kārako bhavati //*).

¹⁹ *Samayasāra* 100/3.25: *param appānam akuvvī appānam pi ya param akuvvaṃto / so nānamayo jīvo kammānam akārago hodi //* (Sanskrit: *param ātmānam akurvann ātmānam api ca param akurvan / sa jñānamayo jīvaḥ karmaṇām akārako bhavati //*).

²⁰ *Samayasāra* 108/3.33: *je puggaladvvānam pariṇāmā homti nāṇa āvaraṇā / na kareḍi tāni ādā jo jāṇādi so havadi nānī //* (Sanskrit: *ye pudgaladravyāṇām pariṇāmā bhavanti jñānāvaraṇāni / na karoti tāny ātmā yo jñānī sa bhavati jñānī //*).

“Having seen the modification of bondage, the soul being its cause, it is said that karma has been produced by the soul, but only metaphorically.”²¹ “Even though a battle is carried out by soldiers, people say that it is carried out by the king. In the same way, the obstruction of knowledge and other such things are produced by the soul [only] from a practical point of view.”²²

The distinction, in this discussion, between a higher point of view and a practical point of view is unavoidable.²³ Indeed, it is the confusion between these two which is responsible for the fact that most people do not see the road to liberation. This is not only true of Kundakunda’s thought. It applies with equal force to the Sāṃkhya system of thought which Kundakunda criticizes. There, too, the failure to see the distinction between the realm of the soul and the realm of Prakṛti keeps people tied up in the world of eternal transmigration. This is not to say that Kundakunda’s thought is identical with Sāṃkhya. Unlike Sāṃkhya, the soul as conceived of by Kundakunda is capable of certain activities, which are however limited to its own domain. All this we have seen.

The verses of the *Samayasāra* present, sometimes in quick succession, the two different points of view just mentioned. This can easily lead to confusion. Since all verses do not explicitly state whether they present the highest or the practical point of view, the impression is often created that they contradict each other. The contradictions, it seems to me, can almost always be resolved by keeping the two points of view in mind, and assigning, of two contradictory verses, one to the highest point of view, the other to the practical point of view. Kundakunda’s main point, unsurprisingly, is to emphasize that the soul is not, and cannot be, the agent of what happens in the material world of karma. This is essential, because it is this knowledge that allows of a dissociation of the self from all that which leads to karmic retribution. Kundakunda’s ideas about the realm of the self in which the self *can* be an agent constitute a theoretical elaboration meant to distinguish his thought from Sāṃkhya — which he obviously looks upon as a close competitor — and no doubt to allow place for certain traditional Jaina notions as to the possibility of the soul to be an agent after all. Indeed, verse 127 points out that if the soul did not transform itself into states such as anger, this would signify the end of the cycle of rebirths, *or the acceptance of Sāṃkhya*.²⁴

²¹ *Samayasāra* 112/3.37: *jīvamhi hedubhūde baṃdhassa ya passidūṇa pariṇāmaṃ / jīveṇa kadaṃ kammaṃ bhaṇṇadi uvayāramattena //* (Sanskrit: *jīve hetubhūte baṃdhasya ca dr̥ṣṭvā pariṇāmam / jīvena kṛtaṃ karma bhaṇyate upacāramātreṇa //*).

²² *Samayasāra* 113/3.38: *yodhehiṃ kade juddhe rāeṇa kadaṃ ti jampade logo / taha vavahāreṇa kadaṃ nāṇāvaraṇādi jīveṇa //* (Sanskrit: *yodhaiḥ kṛte yuddhe rājñā kṛtam iti jalpate lokah / tathā vyavahāreṇa kṛtaṃ jñānāvaraṇādi jīvena //*).

²³ See on this distinction Bhatt, 1974.

²⁴ See above, note 3.

The preceding analysis of the thought of the *Samayasāra* reveals a vision of the place of the soul in the world and of its place on the path to liberation that is coherent and credible. This depiction of the self does *not* “very much resemble that of the Upaniṣadic and Advaitic Brahman or Ātman”, as it has been claimed.²⁵ It resembles the self of Sāṃkhya in some respects, but differs from it in certain others, voluntarily so, as we have seen. Nor do I see any reason to look upon the *Samayasāra* as a “heterogeneous repository of accumulated Digambara teaching, [...] rather than the imperfectly preserved work of an individual heterodox philosopher”.²⁶ This is not to deny that its author used traditional material, nor do I wish to claim that he was necessarily a complete innovator. But in reading the *Samayasāra*, I do have the impression of being confronted with the work of someone who wished to incorporate into Jainism a notion that had become very fruitful and useful in other currents, primarily Sāṃkhya, but also elsewhere. The author of the *Samayasāra* is explicit about his concern to take over the central idea of Sāṃkhya, at the same time improving upon it. In order to do so, he had to think out a competing system, an attempt in which he succeeded to at least some extent. The fact that the *Samayasāra* can, by and large, be read as a text expressive of a coherent thesis is the best argument there could be to maintain that it had one single author, whether he was called Kundakunda or otherwise.²⁷

Some other works ascribed to Kundakunda represent by and large the same thesis as the one propounded in the *Samayasāra*. The *Pravacanasāra*, in particular, has some verses that state in so many words that the soul *can* be active, but only in its own domain. According to *Pravacanasāra* II.92,

“The self, making its own nature, becomes the agent of its own *bhāva*, but not the agent of all the *bhāvas* that consist of material substance.”²⁸

Two verses further, the same text states:

“The [self], now being the agent of its own modification born from its [own] substance, is sometimes taken [and sometimes] freed by the dust of karma.”²⁹

²⁵ Singh, 1974: 85, as cited by Johnson (1995: 238). Nor do Kundakunda’s teachings resemble early Advaita Vedānta, as claimed by Dhaky (1991), referred to in Dundas, 2002: 291 n. 52.

²⁶ Johnson, 1995: 265.

²⁷ Johnson (1995: 111) does not seem to think otherwise: “as far as I know, the *upayoga* doctrine does not appear in this form in any recorded source prior to Kundakunda. Indeed, commentators frequently remark upon the peculiarity, or uniqueness of Kundakunda in this respect. For all hermeneutic purposes, therefore, he must be taken as the originator of this particular form of the *upayoga* doctrine.”

²⁸ *Pravacanasāra* II.92: *kuvvaṃ sabhāvaṃ ādā havadi hi kattā sagassa bhāvassa / poggaladvvamayānaṃ na du kattā savvabhāvānaṃ* // (Sanskrit: *kurvaṃ svabhāvaṃ ātmā bhavati hi kartā svakasya bhāvasya / pudgaladravyamayānāṃ na tu kartā sarvabhāvānām* //).

Pravacanasāra I.9 attributes to the soul (*jīva*) itself three states:

“While the soul, whose nature is modification, modifies into something auspicious by means of an auspicious [state], into something inauspicious by means of an inauspicious [state], it becomes pure by means of a pure [state].”³⁰
 “If the self itself is not auspicious or inauspicious by nature, there will be no cycle of rebirths for embodied beings.”³¹

The *Pañcāstikāyasāra* contains similar statements, among them the following:

“Since it makes its own *bhāva*, the self is the agent of its own *bhāva*, not of the material karmas; this is how the words of the Jina must be understood.”³²

It is on account of a modification in the soul that karma attaches itself to it (v. 128). We can contrast this with the *Paramātmaprakāśa* of Yogīndu, which is sometimes claimed to continue the thought of Kundakunda; this text does not contain any statement supportive of Kundakunda’s vision of the soul’s nature. Quite on the contrary, it states in no uncertain terms that the highest point of view is that the self does nothing whatsoever.³³

²⁹ *Pravacanasāra* II.94: *sa idāṇiṃ kattā saṃ sagapariṇāmassa dāvvaṃjādassa / ādīyade kadāi vimuccade kammadhūlihiṃ //* (Sanskrit: *sa idāṇiṃ kartā saṃ svakapariṇāmasya dravyajātasya / ādīyate kadācid vimucyate karmadhūlibhiḥ //*).

³⁰ *Pravacanasāra* I.9: *jīvo pariṇamadi jadā suheṇa asuheṇa vā suho asuho / suddhena tadā suddho havadi hi pariṇāmasabbhāvo //* (Sanskrit: *jīvaḥ pariṇamati yadā śubhenāśubhena vā śubho ‘śubhaḥ / śuddhena tadā śuddho bhavati hi pariṇāmasvabhāvaḥ //*). On the difference between *śuddha* “pure” and *śubha* “auspicious”, see *Pravacanasāra* III.45: “Śramaṇas have pure consciousness and auspicious consciousness ...; among them those who have pure consciousness are without *āsravas* and the others are with *āsravas*” (*samaṇā suddhuvajuttā suhovajuttā ya hoṃti samayamhi / tesu vi suddhuvajuttā aṇāsavā sāsavā sesā //*; Sanskrit: *śramaṇāḥ śuddhopayuktāḥ śubhopayuktāś ca bhavanti samaye / teṣv api śuddhopayuktā aṇāsravāḥ sāsravāḥ śeṣāḥ //*); further Johnson, 1995: 112 f.

³¹ *Pravacanasāra* I.46: *jadi so suho va asuho na havadi ādā sayam sahāveṇa / saṃsāro vi na vijjadi savveṣiṃ jīvakāyaṇam //* (Sanskrit: *yadi sa śubho vā aśubho na bhavati ātmā svayam svabhāvena / saṃsāro ‘pi na vidyate sarveṣāṃ jīvakāyānām //*).

³² *Pañcāstikāyasāra* 61: *kuvvaṃ sagaṃ sahāvaṃ attā kattā sagassa bhāvassa / na hi poggalakammāṇam idi jīṇavayaṇaṃ muṇeyavvaṃ //* (Sanskrit: *kurvaṃ svakaṃ svabhāvam ātmā kartā svakasya bhāvasya / na hi pudgalakarmaṇāṃ iti jīṇavacanam jñātavyam //*).

³³ *Paramātmaprakāśa* I.65cd: *appā kiṃpi vi kuṇai navi nicchau eṃ bhāṇei* (Sanskrit: *ātmā kimapi karoti naiva niscaya evaṃ bhaṇati*). Cp. Balbir, 1998: 300; Balbir & Caillat, 1999: 113.

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Manish MODI

I bow to that supreme soul
Who is indestructible and embodies knowledge.
He is free from and tied to (respectively)
Karmas and consciousness. 1

The soul embodies consciousness, bearing cause and effect in an orderly manner.
It may or may not be perceived, is without beginning or end,
And constantly undergoes creation and destruction,
Without losing its essence. 2

The soul has attributes such as provability,
And is non-sentient or sentient,
Depending on the context. 3

Knowledge is an attribute of the soul,
Distinct from as well as one with the soul,
Depending on the context. 4

The soul takes the size of the body it occupies,
So it does not touch all substances.
It is not purely the nature of knowledge,
Nor is it always omnipresent. 5

The soul is one as well as many.
Many, because it has several attributes like knowledge.
One, because it has consciousness. 6

The true nature of the soul is neither
Completely describable nor completely indescribable.
It may be described by its own attributes.
But cannot be described by others' attributes. 7

The soul is doer as well as non-doer,
 Of its own dispositions and others' dispositions respectively.
 It is both perceptible and imperceptible.
 It embodies knowledge (hence perceptible) and has no form (hence imperceptible). 8

The soul has several attributes and knows,
 Bondage, liberation, et cetera and their causes.
 Hence, the soul is the doer of its actions
 And bearer of the consequences. 9

The soul that is the doer of its actions,
 And bears their fruits,
 Is also capable of attaining liberation
 Through internal and external means. 10

The internal means of attaining one's pure nature are
 Rational perception, rational knowledge, rational conduct,
 And realisation of the true nature of the soul. 11

Understanding things as they are is true knowledge.
 Like a lamp, it sheds light upon the truth.
 But the right notion may differ,
 Depending on the context. 12

With increasing purity of rational perception and rational knowledge,
 Remaining tranquil and unperturbed, retaining equanimity,
 In happiness or unhappiness and contemplating the fact that
 "I am one, Alone, I have no other, I am the knower and seer"
 Is rational conduct. 13-14

Penance and asceticism,
 In accordance with place and time,
 Are the external means
 To attain the all important internal means. 15

In this manner, contemplating on all aspects,
 Irrespective of favourable or adverse circumstances,
 Always meditate upon your pure soul
 Which is free from all attachment and aversion. 16

Consciousness tainted with passion can never grasp reality,
Just as cloth dyed dark blue cannot be dyed red. 17

Hence, to be free from all faults,
One should become detached in all situations
And indifferent to the body and the senses.
One should remain keen to contemplate the soul and the substances. 18

Knowing that which should be got rid of,
And that which should be followed,
Know one's true nature.
Give up the unworthy
And adopt worthy qualities with the help of your soul. 19

Contemplate your soul and the substances,
In accordance with their true nature.
In this manner, when you become completely detached,
From all substances other than your soul,
You will attain liberation. 20

O mendicant, despite dwelling in your soul,
Do not get passionately attached to it,
Because till the time you have desire,
You will not attain liberation. 21

Only one who does not desire liberation shall attain it.
For it is said that one should not have any desire,
If one wishes to attain liberation. 22

Since you realise that even equanimity may only be attained,
By him who is focused on his own soul,
Will you not make efforts to attain lasting bliss
That is the fruit of liberation? 23

Know that only your soul is your own,
And the body, et cetera are not yours.
Upon achieving this (realisation), get rid of this mineness.
Stay only in your true self,
Which is beyond anxiety and may be known only by oneself. 24

Attain the elixir of eternal bliss
Which arises from the soul
By meditating upon your soul and its true nature
By yourself, for yourself, by remaining in yourself. 25

Epilogue

He who reads this scripture and understands the soul,
Contemplates upon it, either by reading or listening respectfully,
These twenty-five verses can earn him the wealth of the pure soul.

Introduction

The well-known merchant of Jaunpur, Banārasīdās (1586-1643), who gave to the world the first Indian autobiography,¹ wrote in Braj in Agra, where he was considered as the leader of an Adhyātma group,² a series of philosophical poems gathered after his death by his friend Jagjīvan under the title *Banārasīvilāsa*. The text presented here, written between 1623 and 1635, belongs to this collection.

The title “*Karmachattīsī*”³ announces a reflection on Jaina karma theory, but the text, *prima facie*, looks like a mixture of different elements of a more general Jaina doctrine. Banārasīdās informs the reader that he will “expound some conclusions (*nirṇaya*) on soul and on karma” (verse 2). He begins by making the essential difference between sentient entities (*jīva*), which are divided in two main categories (*samsārī* and *siddha*), and non-sentient entities (*ajīva*, *dravya*), which are matter (*pudgala*), space (*akāśa*, named here *gagana*), time (*kāla*), motion (*dharma*) and rest (*adharma*). A large part of this short text emphasizes in fact the substance “matter” because it is of course the heart of karma theory. Each properties (*guṇa*) and modes of representation (*paryāya*) of matter are mentioned, with some arrangements and novelties in the lists given by our author, according to his habits.⁴ The end of the text is somewhat surprising by the medical vocabulary used by Banārasīdās who evokes the difference between two types of diseases, one caused by “bad” karma and the other caused by “good” karma. This distinction is made by Kundakunda who devotes an entire chapter (fourth *adhyāya*) of his *Samayasāra* to the good (*puṇya*) and the bad (*pāpa*) karmic bondage, telling at the beginning that “a shackle made of gold is as

¹ After the first English translation of the *Ardhakathānaka* (henceforth AK) by Mukund Lath (1981), Rohini Chowdhury gave another one (2009) and a modern Hindi adaptation (2007). Allow me to mention the French translation I gave, to be published shortly in Paris. The composition of *Karmachattīsī* is mentioned in AK 627. Banārasīdās says (AK 623) that the writing took place between samvat 1680 and samvat 1692.

² See J. E. CORT 2002.

³ As usual, *chattīsī* is to be heard as a literary genre, the *Karmachattīsī* is in fact long of thirty-seven stanzas. For example, the *Dhyānabattīsī* “Thirty-two stanzas on Meditation”, which is also part of the same collection, contains thirty-four stanzas. See BANĀRASĪDĀS 2010.

⁴ See for example verses 9, 13, 20, 29, 30.

good as one made of iron for the purpose of chaining a man. Similarly karma whether good or bad equally binds the *jīva*".⁵ This text, as we know after his autobiography, has caused him a real philosophical jerk, and we can find many elements described by Kundakunda in Banārasīdās's poetry. Following the Digambara philosopher, Banārasīdās considers as fundamentally different the soul (*jīva*) and the non-soul (*a-jīva*), a distinction that transmigratory souls cannot make, missing the way towards achieving their pure nature, taken by the diseases of karmic bondage.

As we can see, *Karmachattīsī* is far from a precise description of all the categories of karma that we could expect. It is only at the end of the text that we find finally expressed two categories of karma (verse 35). The fact is that Banārasīdās wrote another text on the subject, the *Karmaprakṛtividhāna* in which he describes all the subcategories of karma over its 175 stanzas, using the correct denomination. We give here the beginning of this text, as an illustration.

नमों केवली के वचन, नमों आत्मराम ।

कहाँ कर्म की प्रकृति, सब भिन्न भिन्न पद नाम ॥२॥

2. *namō kevalī ke vacana, namō ātamā-rāma*
kahaū karma kī prakṛti saba, bhinna bhinna pada nāma.

Homage to the speech of Omniscient, homage to the beauty of the soul. I will tell all the categories of karma, giving their name in separate verses.

एक हि करम आठविधि दीस। प्रकृति एक सौ अड़तालीस।

तिन के नाम भेद विस्तार। वरणहुं जिनवाणी अनुसार॥३॥

3. *eka hi karam āṭha-vidhi dīsa, prakṛti eka sau aṛatālīsa*
tina ke nāma bheda vistāra, varanahū Jina-vānī anusāra.

One single karma shows eight species. Categories are one hundred forty-eight in number. I will describe their name, subspecies and extent, following the words of the Jina.

प्रथमकर्म ज्ञानावरणीय। जिन सब जीव अज्ञानी कीय।

द्वितीय दर्शनावरण पहार। जाकी ओट अलख करतार॥४॥

4. *prathama-karma Jñānāvaraṇīya, Jina saba jīva ajñānī kīya*
dvitiya Darśanāvaraṇa pahāra, jā kī oṭa alakha karatāra.

The first karma is "Jñānāvaraṇa", Obscuring knowledge. The Jina said that it makes all the souls ignorant. The second is "Darśanāvaraṇa", Obscuring faith, a rock-obstacle, whose obstruction is acting invisibly.

etc.

⁵ *sovaṇṇīyam pi ṇīyalam bandhadi kālāyasam ca jaha purisam | bandhadi evam jīvam suham asuham vā kadam kammaṃ* (Samayasāra 146/4.2). English translation by A. CHAKRAVARTI 1971.

The *Karmaprakṛtividhāna* is as well structured as the *Karmachattīsī* is not. Mixture of Jaina doctrine, medical evidences, Digambara philosophy, the *Karmachattīsī* is a kind of reminder probably written by Banārasīdās to etch in his memory readings and oral learning provided by pandits⁶ he listened to. In order to compare with a more 'official' doctrine, we used the *Tattvārthasūtra* and the *Tattvārthavṛtti*,⁷ a Digambara commentary by Śrutasāgarasūri (16th c.), disciple of Vidyānandī, a *bhaṭṭāraka* from Gujarat.

Karmachattīsī

परम निरंजन परम गुरु, परम पुरुष परधान।

वन्दहुं परमसमाधिगत, भयभंजन भगवान् ॥ १ ॥

1. *parama-nirañjana parama-guru, parama-puruṣa paradhāna.*
vandahū parama-samādhi-gata, bhaya-bhañjana bhagavāna.

I bow to the Lord, supremely pure, supreme master, the best among the supreme men, who has reached supreme contemplation, who destroys fear.

जिनवाणी परमाण कर, सुगुरु शीख मन आन।

कछुक जीव अरु कर्म को, निर्णय कहों वखान ॥ २ ॥

2. *Jina-vāṇī paramāṇa kara, suguru śikha mana āna.*
kachuka jīva aru karma ko, niṛṇaya kahō vakhāna.

Having taken the Jina's speech as the authority, which is a very important teaching brought to mind, I expound some conclusions on soul and on karma.

अगम अनन्त अलोकनभ, तामें लोक अकाश।

सदाकाल ताके उदर, जीव अजीव निवास ॥ ३ ॥

3. *agama ananta aloka-nabha, tā mē loka akāśa.*
sadā-kāla tā ke udara, jīva ajīva nivāsa.

Empty space is motionless and infinite. It contains the world and the sky. Its womb is the place where sentient and non-sentient entities live eternally.

जीव द्रव्य की द्वै दशा, संसारी अरु सिद्ध।

पंच विकल्प अजीव के, अखय अनादि असिद्ध ॥ ४ ॥

4. *jīva dravya kī dvai daśā, samsārī aru siddha.*
pañca vikalpa ajīva ke, akhaya anādi asiddha.

The substance of the soul has two states: transmigratory and liberated. There are five varieties of non-sentient entities, which are imperishable, eternal, unrealised.

⁶ In his autobiography (AK 630-1), Banārasīdās evokes the figure of Rūpchand Paṇḍe who gave lectures on philosophical works such as Nemicaṇḍra's *Gommaṭasāra*.

⁷ M. K. JAIN 1949.

गगन काल पुद्गल धरम, अरु अधर्म अभिधान।

अब कछु पुद्गल द्रव्य को, कहों विशेष विधान ॥५॥

5. *gagana, kāla, pudgala, dharama, aru adharmā abhidhāna.*
aba kachu pudgala dravya ko, kahō viśeṣa vidhāna.

Space,⁸ Time, Matter, Motion and Rest are their names. I now expound some characteristics of the substance "Matter".

चरमदृष्टी सों प्रगट है, पुद्गल द्रव्य अनन्त।

जड़ लक्षण निर्जीव दल, रूपी मूरतिवन्त ॥६॥

6. *carama drṣṭi sō pragaṭa hai, pudgala dravya ananta.*
jaṛa lakṣaṇa nirjīva dala, rūpī mūrativanta.

Through the ultimate vision, it is clear that substance Matter is infinite; fitted with senseless attributes, non-sentient groups, it has a form and a shape.

जो त्रिभुवन थिति देखिये, थिर जंगम आकार।

सो पुद्गल परवान को, है अनादि विस्तार ॥७॥

7. *jo tri-bhuvana thiti dekhiye, thira jaṅgama ākāra.*
so pudgala paravāna ko, hai anādi vistāra.

This Matter, which is seen in the three worlds under immovable and movable aspects, has infinite and expanded measures.⁹

अब पुद्गल के वीसगुण, कहों प्रगट समुझाय।

गर्भित और अनन्तगुण, अरु अनन्त परजाय ॥८॥

8. *aba pudgala ke vīsa-guṇa, kahō pragaṭa samujhāya.*
garbhita aura ananta-guṇa, aru parajāya.

Now I make clearly understood the twenty attributes of the Matter¹⁰ – which contain other infinite attributes – as well as its infinite modes of representation.

श्याम पीत उज्ज्वल अरुण, हरित मिश्र बहुभांति।

विविधवर्ण जो देखिये, सो पुद्गल की कांति ॥९॥

9. *śyāma pīta ujḡvala aruṇa, harita miśra bahu bhānti.*
vividha-varṇa jo dekhiye, so pudgala kī kānti.

⁸ Space is named *gagana*, not *ākāśa* as expected. Space has also been the subject of a commentary in verse 3.

⁹ The smallest unit of matter is the atom (*anu*). Combined in aggregates (*skandha*), it is used to create animals or stones, which are the examples taken to illustrate movable and immovable aspects of Matter.

¹⁰ *Banārasīdās* gives the correct number: there are eight kinds of touch (hard, soft, heavy, light, cold, hot, viscous and dry), five kinds of taste (bitter, sour, astringent, acidic and sweet), two kinds of smell (pleasant and unpleasant) and five kinds of colour (black, blue, red, yellow and white). See *Tattvārthasūtra* (henceforth TS) *sparsa-rasa-gandha-varṇavantaḥ pudgalāḥ* (5.23). Each kind is described below, but not in the order followed by *Umāsvāmi* and with some peculiarities.

Black, yellow, white, red, green, mixed in many ways:¹¹ the diversity of the colours which you see is the beauty of Matter.

आमल तिक्त कषाय कटु, क्षार मधुर रसभोग।

ए पुद्गल के पांच गुण, षट मानहिं सब लोग ॥ १० ॥

10. *āmala tikta kaṣāya kaṭu, kṣāra madhura rasa-bhoga.*
e pudgala ke pāñca-guṇa, ṣaṭ mānahī saba loga.

Sour, bitter, astringent, pungent, salty and sweet are the enjoyments of taste. Although there are five attributes of Matter, everybody considers them as six.¹²

तातो सीरो चकिनो, रुखो नरम कठोर।

हलको अरु भारीसहज, आठ फरस गुणजोर ॥ ११ ॥

11. *tāto sīro cakino, rukho narama kaṭhōra.*
halako aru bhārī-sahaja, āṭha pharasa guṇa-jora.

Hot, cold, viscous, rough, soft, hard, light and heavy are the eight strong attributes of touch.¹³

जो सुगन्ध दुर्गन्धगुण, सो पुद्गल को रूप।

अब पुद्गल परजाय की, महिमा कहों अनूप ॥ १२ ॥

12. *jo sugandha-durgandha-guṇa, so pudgala ko rūpa.*
aba pudgala parajāya kī, mahimā kahō anūpa.

The nature of Matter has the attributes of good smell and bad smell.¹⁴ Now, I expound the incomparable greatness of the modes of Matter.¹⁵

¹¹ The *Tattvārthavṛtti* of Śrutasāgarasūri (henceforth ŠTV) gives: *varṇaḥ pañca-prakāraḥ kṛṣṇa-nīla-pīta-śukla-lohita-bhedāt* (5.23). The mixture of colours seems a novelty added by the author.

¹² ŠTV 5.23 gives the following list of tastes: *rasaḥ pañca-prakāraḥ tikta-āmla-kaṭu-madhura-kaṣāya-bhedāt* (M. K. JAIN 1949). Salty taste (*kṣāra*) is missing. N. TATIA gives the following commentary: "There are five kinds of taste: bitter, sour, astringent, acidic and sweet" (TS 5.23), pungent (*kaṭu*) is now missing.

¹³ *tātā* < Skt. *tāpta*; *sīra* < Skt. *śītala*; *cakino* is not traced in the dictionaries consulted; *rukho* < Skt. *rūkṣa*; *narama* is a Persian word; *kaṭhōra* Skt.; to define *halakā* MCGREGOR gives only an evasive "cf. *laghu*-" as etymological explanation; *bhārī* is the Hindi word. ŠTV 5.23 gives the following list to compare: *sparśo 'ṣṭaprakāraḥ mṛdu-karkaṣa-guru-laghu-śīta-uṣṇa-snigdha-rūkṣa-bhedāt*.

¹⁴ ŠTV 5.23: *gandho dviprakāraḥ surabhi-durabhi-bhedāt*. Here stops the enumeration of the twenty attributes (*guṇa*) of Matter.

¹⁵ *pariyāya* is traced by Monier-Williams in its Jaina context: "(with Jainas) the regular development of a thing and the end of this development" (MONIER-WILLIAMS p. 605b). It is in fact an important element connected with the substance (*dravya*) and its qualities (*guṇa*). "The Jainas hold that each and every entity is related to all entities other than itself in the universe in some relation or other. These relations are called *pariyāyas* (modes) of the entity" (TATIA 1951: 70). "The ordinary person distinguishes between good and bad, pleasant and unpleasant, and so forth, because he has not yet perceived the true relation between substance (*dravya*) and modes (*pariyāya*); thus he retains a deep attachment for things which please the senses and an aversion for those which do not" (JAINI 1979: 152).

शब्द गन्ध सूक्ष्म सरल, लम्ब वक्र लघु थूल।

विच्छुरन भिदन उदोत, तम इनको पुद्गल मूल ॥ १३ ॥

13. *śabda, gandha, sūkṣma, sarala, lamba, vakra, laghu thūla.*
vichurana, bhidana, udota, tama, ina ko pudgala mūla.

Sound, smell, subtlety, straightness, length, bendness, lightness, grossness, covering, desintegration, light and darkness are the roots of Matter.¹⁶

छाया आकृति तेज दुति, इत्यादिक बहु भेद।

ए पुद्गलपरजाय सब, प्रगटहिं होय उच्छेद ॥ १४ ॥

14. *chāyā, ākṛti, teja, duti, ityādika bahu bheda.*
e pudgala-parajāya saba, pragatahī hoya ucheda.

Shadow, shape, heat, light and the many categories described are all modes of development of Matter. This is clear. Let's cut it short.

केई शुभ केई अशुभ, रुचिर भयानक भेष।

सहज स्वभाव विभाव गति, अरु सामान्य विशेष ॥ १५ ॥

15. *keī śubha keī aśubha, rucira, bhayānaka bheṣa.*
sahaja svabhāva vibhāva gati, aru sāmānya viśeṣa.

Some are good, some are bad, of pleasant or frightening kind; innate nature, creation,¹⁷ destiny and general characteristics are present.

गर्भित पुद्गलपिंड में, अलख अमूरति देव।

फिरै सहज भवचक्र में, यह अनादि की टेव ॥ १६ ॥

16. *garbhita pudgala-piṇḍa mē, alakha amūrati deva.*
phirai sahaja bhava-cakra mē, yaha anādi kī ṭeva.

"Invisible, formless god is contained in the ball of Matter."¹⁸ He circulates easily in the wheel of rebirths. This is the state of things¹⁹ from eternity!

पुद्गल की संगति करै, पुद्गलही सों प्रीति।

पुद्गल को आपा गणै, यहै भरम की रीति ॥ १७ ॥

¹⁶ TS 5.24: *śabda-bandha-saukṣmya-sthaulya-samsthāna-bheda-tamas-chāyā-tapo-uddiyotavantaś ca.* "The clusters of matter possess the following modes: sound, integration, subtlety, grossness, shape, disintegration, darkness, shadow, heat and light" (TATIA 1994: 132). Banārasīdās gives twelve modes against ten in TS. *gandha* can be a mistake for *bandha*; *chāyā* is missing but replaced by *vichurana* (shadow is caused by "covering" light); *samsthāna* and *tapas* are missing but come in the next verse; *sarala, lamba, vakra* and *laghu* are added by Banārasīdās.

¹⁷ *vibhāva* is not easy to understand: "any condition which excites or develops a particular state of mind or body, any cause of emotion" (MONIER-WILLIAMS 2002: 978c), "any cause of particular emotion" (MCGREGOR 1993: 925). This term is rhetorical, used normally in the drama context.

¹⁸ Refers to the atom. Banārasīdās gives *piṇḍa* for the usual *anu*.

¹⁹ Turner gives the etymology *ṭeva* Skt. "habit" (TURNER 1966: 304).

17. *puḍgala kī saṃgati karai, puḍgala hī sō prīti.*
puḍgala ko āpā gaṇai, yaihai bharama kī rīti.

He creates the meeting of Matter[’s atoms]. He has affection for Matter. He adds up the soul to the Matter”. This is a way of confusion.²⁰

जे जे पुद्गल की दशा, ते निज मानै हंस।
 याही भरम विभाव सों, बढै करम को वंश ॥ १८ ॥

18. *je je puḍgala kī daśā, te nija mānai haṃsa.*
yāhī bharama vibhāva sō, baḍhai karama ko vaṃśa.

The migrating soul considers as its own all the states of the Matter. This confusion, caused by imagination, increases the succession of karma.

ज्यों ज्यों कर्म विपाकवश, ठानै भ्रम की मौज।
 त्यों त्यों निज संपति दुरै, जुरै परिग्रह फौज ॥ १९ ॥

19. *jiyō jiyō karma vipāka-vaśa, thānai bhrama kī mauja.*
tyō tyō nija sampati durai, jurai parigraha phauja.

As long as karma, which has the power to mature, keeps the wave of confusion, one’s own success disappears, one is attached to his army²¹ of possessions.

ज्यों वानर मदिरा पिये, विच्छू डंकित गात।
 भूत लगै कौतुक करै, त्यों भ्रम को उत्पात ॥ २० ॥

20. *jiyō vānara madirā piye, vicchū ḍaṅkita gāta.*
bhūta lagai kautuka karai, tyō bhrama ko utpāta.

The turmoil caused by confusion is comparable to a monkey who has drunk alcohol or whose body has been bitten by a scorpion, looking like possessed, showing a strange spectacle.

भ्रम संशय की भूल सों, लहै न सहज स्वकीय।
 करम रोग समुझै नहीं, यह संसारी जीय ॥ २१ ॥

21. *bhrama saṃśaya kī bhūla sō, lahai na sahaja svakīya.*
karama-roga samujhai nahī, yaha saṃsārī jīya.

By overlooking the anxiety of confusion, it cannot find its own Nature: here is the transmigrating soul, it does not understand the disease of karma.

²⁰ Banārasīdās seems to evoke a bigot attitude towards matter. Indeed, there is no god creator in Jainism. TS 5.25-27 explains: *aṇavaḥ skandhāś ca | saṃghāta-bhedebya utpadyante | bhedād aṇuḥ* | “Matter has two varieties, atoms and clusters. Clusters of matter are produced in three ways: by integration, disintegration and by a combination of integration and disintegration. An atom is produced by disintegration.” (TATIA 1994: 133-134).

²¹ Banārasīdās uses two words of Arabic etymology, *mauj* “wave” and *fauj* “army” (MCGREGOR 1993: 838, 690).

कर्म रोग के द्वै चरण, विषम दुहं की चाल।

एक कंप प्रकृती लिये, एक ऐंठि असराल ॥ २२ ॥

22. *karma-roga ke dvai caraṇa, viṣama duhū kī cāla.*
eka kampa prakṛtī liye, eka aiṇṭhi asarāla.

The diseases of karma are of two types. The progression of both is troublesome. One's nature is trembling, the other's is continuous spasms.²²

कंपरोग है पाप पद, अकर रोग है पुण्य।

ज्ञान रूप है आतमा, दुहं रोग सों शून्य ॥ २३ ॥

23. *kampa-roga hai pāpa pada, akara-roga hai puṇya.*
jñāna-rūpa hai ātamā, duhū roga sō śūnya.

The trembling disease is because of harmful karmic bondage. Inactive disease is because of beneficial ones. The soul, whose nature is knowledge, is free from both diseases.²³

मूरख मिथ्यादृष्टि सों, निरखै जग की रोंस।

डरहिं जीव सब पाप सों, करहिं पुण्य की होंस ॥ २४ ॥

24. *mūrakha mithyā-drṣṭi sō, nirakhai jaga kī roṃsa.*
ḍarahī jīva saba pāpa sō, karahī puṇya kī hoṃsa.

Through deluded view, the idiot sees the anger of the world. Sentient entities are afraid of all harmful karmic bondage and desire beneficial ones.

उपजै पापविकार सों, भय तापादिक रोग।

चिन्ता खेद विथा बढै, दुख मानै सब लोग ॥ २५ ॥

25. *upajai pāpa-vikāra sō, bhaya tāpādika roga.*
cintā kheda vithā vadhai, dukha mānai saba loga.

Fear, fever and all other diseases appear because of a transformation of harmful karmic bondage. Anxiety, depression and pain increase. Everybody considers it as misfortune.

उपजै पुण्यविकार सों, विषयरोग विस्तार।

आरत रुद्र विथा बढै, सुख मानै संसार ॥ २६ ॥

²² The word *asarāla* is not traced in the dictionaries consulted (Gupta, McGregor, Monier-Williams, Turner). It appears in the glossary of the AK established by Nāthūrām Premī (PREMĪ 1957) with the equivalent '*asarāra*' and the synonym '*lagātāra, bahuta*'. The word *aiṇṭhi* is well defined: *aiṇṭhana* "spasm", *aiṇṭhanā* "to be twisted, to be cramped, or contorted" (MCGREGOR 1993: 144). The first disease has trembling (*kampa*) for symptom, the second one is 'inactive' (*akara*).

²³ There are two main kinds of karmic bondage: beneficial and harmful. *sadvedya-samyaktva-hāsyā-rati-puruṣaveda-śubhāyur-nāma-gotrāṇi puṇyam. ato 'nyat pāpam* (TS 8.25-26). "Pleasure, [near-perfected] enlightened world-view, laughter, relish, male disposition, auspicious birth, auspicious body, and auspicious status are beneficial karmic bondage. Other bondages are harmful." (TATIA 1994: 203-4).

26. *upajai punya-vikāra sō, viṣaya-roga vistāra.*
ārata rudra viṭhā baḍhai, sukha mānai saṃsāra.

Development of diseases linked with sensual enjoyment appears because of a transformation of beneficial karmic bondage. Distress, fear and pain increase. The world considers it as pleasure.

दोऊं रोग समान है, मूढ न जानै रीति।
 कम्परोग सों भय करै, अकररोग सों प्रीति ॥ २७ ॥

27. *doṭṭ roga samāna hai, mūḍha na jānai rīti.*
kampa-roga sō bhaya karai, akara-roga sō prīti.

Both diseases are the same. The idiot does not understand this way. He is afraid of the trembling disease, he favours the inactive disease.

भिन्न-२ लक्षण लखे, प्रगट दुहं की भांति।
 एक लिये उद्वेगता, एक लिये उपशान्ति ॥ २८ ॥

28. *bhinna bhinna lakṣaṇa lakhe, pragata duḥṅ kī bhānti.*
eka liye udvegatā, eka liye upaśānti.

We can clearly observe the different signs for both categories. For one there is agitation, for the other one there is tranquillity.

कच्छप की सी सकुच है, बक्र तुरग की चाल।
 अंधकार को सो समय, कंपरोग के भाल ॥ २९ ॥

29. *kacchapa kī-sī sakuca hai, bakra turaga kī cāla*
andhakāra ko so samaya, kampa-roga ke bhāla.

There is contraction like a tortoise. Progression is like the winding course of a horse. There is an instant of darkness. Light is shed on trembling disease.

बकरकूंद-सी उमंग है, जकरबन्द की चाल।
 मकरचांदनी-सी दिपै, अकररोग के भाल ॥ ३० ॥

30. *bakara-kūnda-sī umāṅga hai, jakara-banda kī cāla.*
makara-cāndanī-sī dipai, akara-roga ke bhāla.

There is jubilation like the jump of a goat. Progression is of oppressive clutch. It shines like the moonlight of Capricorn. Light is shed on inactive disease.

तम उदोत दोऊं प्रकृति, पुद्गल की परजाय।
 भेदज्ञान बिन मूढ मन, भटक भटक भरमाय ॥ ३१ ॥

31. *tama-udota doṭṭ prakṛti, pudgala kī parajāya.*
bheda-jñāna bina mūḍha mana, bhaṭaka bhaṭaka bharamāya.

Darkness and light are two species of the modes of Matter. Without discernment, the idiot's mind is doomed to any kind of confusion.

दुहं रोग को एक पद, दुहं सों मोक्ष न होय।
बिनाशीक दुहं की दशा, बिरला बूझै कोय ॥ ३२ ॥

32. *duhū roga ko eka pada, duhū sō mokṣa na hoyā.*
bināśika duhū kī daśā, biralā būjhai koya.

There is just one way for both diseases. From none of them is there Liberation. Few are those who can understand the state leading to the destruction of both.

कोऊ गिरै पहाड़ चढ़, कोऊ बूढ़ै कूप।
मरण दुहू को एक सो, कहिवे को द्वै रूप ॥ ३३ ॥

33. *kōū girai pahāra carha, kōū būḍhai kūpa.*
maraṇa duhū ko eka so, kahive ko dvai rūpa.

Some fall from a mountain on which they climbed. Some sink in a well. Both find death. It is said to be one in two forms.

भववासी दुविधा धरै, तातैं लखै न एक।
रूप न जानै जलधि को, कूप कोष को भेक ॥ ३४ ॥

34. *bhavavāsi du-vidhā dharai, tātaiṁ lakhai na eka.*
rūpa na jānai jaladhi ko, kūpa koṣa ko bheka.

It is established that there are two kinds of inhabitants in the world.²⁴ That's why we do not see them as one. The frog knows the treasure of the well, not the aspect of the ocean.

माता दुहं की वेदनी, पिता दुहं को मोह।
दुहू बेड़ीं सो बंधि रहे, कहवत कंचन लोह ॥ ३५ ॥

35. *mātā duhū kī vedanī, pitā duhū ko moha.*
duhu berīṁ so bandhi rahe, kahavata kañcana loha.

Sensation-producing karma is the mother of both. Deluding karma is the father of both. Both are fettered with a shackle known to be made of golden metal.²⁵

जाति दुहं की एक है, दोय कहै जो कोय।
गहै आचरै सरदहै, सुरवल्लभ है सोय ॥ ३६ ॥

36. *jāti duhū kī eka hai, doya kahai jo koya.*
gahai ācarai saradahai, sura-vallabha hai soya.

Birth is one for both, even some say that it is two. One who seizes, acts, and believes²⁶ is really the beloved of gods.

²⁴ i.e. men and women. India makes also a distinction between *ārya* and *mleccha* (GUÉRINOT 1926: 194-7).

²⁵ See in the Introduction the reference to *Samayasāra* 146.

²⁶ Not traced in the dictionaries consulted, the root *saradah-* appears again in Premī's glossary: "*saradahan: śraddhān, viśvās*" (PREMĪ 1957: 150).

जाके चित जैसी दशा, ताकी तैसी दृष्टि।
पंडित भव खंडित करै, मूढ़ बढ़ावै सृष्टि ॥ ३७॥

37. *jā ke cita jaisī daśā, tā kī taisī dr̥ṣṭi.*
paṇḍita bhava khaṇḍita karai, mūḍha badhāvai sṛṣṭi.

The world-view depends on the condition of the mind. The wise breaks the existence into pieces, the idiot increases the creation.

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Section IV

General Issues

Dayanand BHARGAVA

The points of similarity between the Buddhistic and the Jaina views of life are so glaringly evident that one is likely to miss the distinction between the two which is perhaps equally important, if not more, to understand them in their proper perspective. The attitude of Lord Buddha for the Jaina sādhus is reflected in the Upālisutta, where he asks Upāli, a convert from Jainism to show the same respect for Jaina sādhus as before conversion. Lord Buddha himself, is said to have once led a life in which he remained naked, took his food in the cavity of his hand and plucked out his hair with his hands.¹ Obviously, this resembles the Jaina mode of living of a monk. In fact, Devasena, a Jaina author, has said in his book *Darśanasāra* that Lord Buddha was once a disciple of Jaina monk, Pihitasarva.

In any case, what brought Jainism and Buddhism together was not only the similarity between the two but also their common attitude towards Brahmanism. They differed from the orthodox Vedic religion inasmuch as they divorced spiritualism from a social philosophy, with which the former has intermingled it. This central difference led to many other differences. The enthusiasm of the Jainas and the Buddhists for spiritual emancipation of the individual made them indifferent to the secular problems of society. They rejected the life of worldly activity in favour of a life of peaceful contemplation, stressed on asceticism and held the overall supremacy of a monk over a householder.² Being indifferent to social problems, they remained indifferent to the caste system as a social institution and opposed it as a ban on entering the spiritual life. In the *Aśokāvadāna*, it is said that the caste is to be taken into consideration in the context of marriage and not in the context of spiritualism.

*āvāhakāle 'tha vivāhakāle jāteḥ parikṣā na tu dharmakāle/
dharmakriyāyām hi guṇā nimittā guṇāś ca jātiṃ na vicārayanti//*

Somadeva has summarised the whole position by saying that those general customs of the society which are not contrary to the spiritual code of morality should be followed by the Jainas :

¹ Majjhimanikāya, 1.2.2.

² Lalitavistara, 12.1-4.

*sarva eva hi Jainānām pramāṇam laukiko vidhiḥ |
yatra samyaktvāhānir na yatra na vratadūṣaṇam ||*³

It was on this basis that violence in the sacrifices was condemned.⁴ It would be interesting to note that the Jainas today perform sacrifices on special occasions like that of installation of the image. Even the authority of the Vedas was challenged by both of them because they teach violence.⁵

This emphasis on individualism led to the emphasis on the dignity of an individual. An individual need not bow before any God, who, in fact, does not exist at all. The gods, however, even though existing, bow before the power of a spiritual personality.⁶ We need not seek any help from outside. "Thou art thy own friend and you yourself make an effort," said Lord Mahāvīra.⁷ "Lead a life, being a lamp to yourselves", said Lord Buddha.⁸ We are the architects of our fate, no supra-human power interferes. It is through intense human exertion that one has to seek emancipation from the sufferings and miseries of life. It is this belief in the efficacy of human exertion, from which, both the Jainas and the Buddhists derive their common name, *śramaṇa*, which comes from the root *śram-*, to exert.

Lord Buddha gave the central theme of his ethics in the first sermon at Samath, in which he dwelt upon the untold miseries and sufferings of the world. He declared : "Birth is misery; old age, decay, sickness, death, sorrow, grief, woe, lamentation and despair are miseries, not to get what one desires is also misery."⁹ The *Uttarādhayayana* speaks in rather a poetic tone. "All singing is but prattle, all dancing is but mocking, all ornaments are but a burden, all pleasures produce but pain." In fact the pressure of the problem of misery was already felt acutely in the Upaniṣads. In the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, Nārada is said to have approached Sanatkumāra with the request, "O Lord; I am in grief; lead me to the shore that lies beyond grief."

This attitude gave an ascetic tinge to Śramaṇism as well as to post-Buddhist Brahmanism. Here Buddha took care to ask his followers to avoid extremes and follow the middle path, which balances self-indulgence, and self-mortification. There are indications that Buddha was criticised for allowing many enjoyments, which the public opinion at that time did not consider proper for monks.¹⁰ The ancient commentators explain that the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* also criticises the Buddhist mode of life as

³ Yaśastilakacampū, 8.34.

⁴ Dīghanikāya, 1.5.

⁵ Majjhimanikāya, 2. 5. 5.

⁶ Daśavaikālika, 1.1.

⁷ Acārāṅgasūtra, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII, p. 276.

⁸ Dīghanikāya, 3.3.

⁹ Aṅguttara Nikāya 3.62.10.

¹⁰ Mahāvagga, 1.39 and 1.49.

being too comfortable.¹¹ The Jainas, however, distinguish themselves in the severest austerities. In the beginning of his career Lord Buddha also performed such austerities; but gave them up later on realising that they were not useful for enlightenment. Even then, some of his followers continued to practise such austerities under the name of *dhūtāṅgas*.¹² In fact, we find traces of distinction between those Bhikkhus who were hermits and loved solitary lives in the woods and those who moved about in bands, frequenting rest houses.¹³ This distinction, later on, led to the schism in the form of Hinayāna, which laid more emphasis on the love of solitude, and Mahāyāna which laid more emphasis on the universal compassion towards the suffering creatures.

In the history of Jainism, however, the penance has held throughout an essential position in the scheme of ethics. The *Uttarādhyayana* says: "As a large tank, when its supply of water has been stopped gradually, dries up by the consumption of water and by evaporation, so the Karman of a monk, which he has acquired in crores of births, is annihilated by austerities."¹⁴

Non-violence is the most important characteristic of asceticism. If suffering is an evil, it is also an evil to inflict suffering on others. So far, both the traditions of Śramaṇism agree. But keeping with the general trend, the Jainas went to the extreme in this case also. Buddha allowed pure meat which is not seen, nor heard, nor supposed to be prepared,¹⁵ even though Devadatta, who was an advocate of *dhūtāṅgas* requested him to restrict admission to his order only to vegetarians. Though a controversy whether Mahāvīra allowed meat or not is carried on by some scholars like Paṇḍita Sukhalāla Samghavi, yet by and large the creed of non-violence in Jainism seems to be irreconcilable with flesh eating.¹⁶

But this seems to be rather a minor difference because Lord Buddha also prohibited moving about of the monks¹⁷ in the rainy season and cutting of even trees and grass¹⁸ out of regard for life, which shows that he was no less particular about non-violence. We should avoid inflicting of misery on others but are we under any obligation to alleviate the miseries of others also? Sāntideva says that the world is just like a body, the constituents of which are like its limbs and the happiness of the one part belongs to the whole :

¹¹ Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLV, p. 269.

¹² Saṃyuttanikāya, Vol. II, pp. 132-133.

¹³ Elliott, Sir Charles, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. I, p. 242.

¹⁴ Uttarādhyayana, 30.5.

¹⁵ Cullavagga, 1.5.

¹⁶ Sukhalāla, *Darśana aur Cintana, Jain Dharma aur darśana*, pp. 70-71.

¹⁷ Mahāvagga, 3.2.2.

¹⁸ Dīghanikāya, 1.5.

*hastādibhedena bahuprakāraḥ kāyo yathaikaḥ paripālaniyāḥ
tathā jagadbhinnam abhinnaduḥkhasukhātmakam sarvam idam tathaiva
(Bodhicaryāvatāra 8.91)*

Of what use is the dry liberation, which dwindles into insignificance before the oceans of the ecstasies of the creatures being freed?

*mucyamāneṣu sattveṣu ye te prāmodyasāgarāḥ |
tair eva nanu paryāptam mokṣenārasikena kim || (8.108)*

Obviously this trend became more prominent in the Mahāyāna school. The Bodhisattva's only wish is to do good to others.¹⁹ The Jainas however, emphasized more the negative precepts of non-injury. On a minute observation, they realised that the idea of helping the helpless is neither compatible with the high standards of detachment and asceticism nor with the concept of absolute non-violence itself. Any worldly help to a man would imply attachment on the side of one who gives it and the propagation of mundane activities on the side of one who receives it.²⁰ It seems somewhat strange why the Buddhists should not have criticized the Jainas for holding such a restricted and negative view of non-violence and why the Jainas should have spared the Buddhists for allowing flesh eating, even though holding themselves to be the votaries of non-violence.

The Jaina view of non-violence led to an idea of supra-moral plan of ethics. The moral plan of life, which is *vyavahāra dharma*, admits of a distinction between the good and the bad. But this is not the ultimate aim of ethics. The *nīścaya dharma* consists of transcending the duality of good and bad. The good and the bad, says Kundakundācārya, are both like the shackles of gold and iron respectively, and as such, both of them bind us to the physical world.²¹ No doubt that the intermediate path of morality is to be preferred to the path of immoral practices, because as Pūjyapāda says, is it not better to wait in the cool shade rather than in the hot sun?²²

Lord Buddha must have also thought only *śīla* or conduct is insufficient as he has recommended *saṃādhi* also. In Buddhism also, all acts, whether good or bad are considered impure from the point of view of meditation.²³ Buddhism, however, could never have gone to the extreme of considering even the virtuous activities as a hindrance to liberation. The Jainas argued that the virtuous action leads to wealth, wealth to pride, pride to infatuation and infatuation to sin and, therefore, let there be

¹⁹ Jātakamālā, 5.3.

²⁰ Cf. Muni Nāgarāja *Ahimsā-paryavekṣaṇa*, pp. 29-32.

²¹ Samayasāra, 146.

²² Iṣṭopadeśa, 3.

²³ Radhakrishnan, S., *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I. p. 162.

no actions for us.²⁴ It is to be noted that this condemnation of virtue is connected with the condemnation of vice. The Jainas have included the vow of non-possession in their moral vows, which the Buddhists have not, even though they also prescribed a very limited number of possessions for a monk — three robes, a girdle, an alms-bowl, razor, a needle and a water strainer.

In Buddhism, the concept of supra-moral plan of life seems to have degenerated in the form of Tantric Buddhism. It is true that 'we do not always understand the symbolical language in which they were writers'²⁵ yet any doctrine which says that *nirvāṇa* can be found in the blissful embrace of a young girl,²⁶ there can be no liberation without a female partner²⁷ and lust is crushed by lust²⁸ is bound to be abused by the common man. Thus the abstract idea of *nirvāṇa* was replaced by the idea of *mahāsukha*²⁹ which led to a code of morality which is sometimes diametrically opposed to what Lord Buddha himself taught.

We find a period of moral decadence in the history of Jaina ethics also. In the commentary on *Nisītha* (the name, meaning 'night' symbolically indicates its secret nature), we find some striking examples of moral degeneration. A monk, for example, is allowed to use 'oil of swan' as a medicine, which is prepared by the cruel method of piercing the body of the swan, filling its body with medicines and then boiling it on oil.³⁰ A monk is declared as pure even after he has killed lions to safeguard the *saṃgha* in a forest.³¹ A monk is asked by the *ācārya* to kill the Brāhmaṇas by magic, because the king compelled the Jaina monks to touch the feet of those Brāhmaṇas.³² We have, on the other hand, the attitude of equanimity of Pārśva to Dharaṇendra and Kamaṭha when the former tried to save him from the latter who tried to kill him. In the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*, we also find that a senior monk tells lie to a junior monk about the water, which though impure, is declared by him to be pure, because he wants to take it.³³

But the distinction between the attitude of the Jainas and the Buddhists should not be overlooked. The Jainas allowed these practices only as an allowance for human weakness but did not consider them as helpful for liberation whereas the later

²⁴ *Punṇena hoi vihavo vihavena mao maena moho mohena ya pāvaṃ tā punnaṃ amhā mā hou.*

²⁵ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, XXVI, 1930, p. 128.

²⁶ Hevajra Tantra pt. I. pp. 90, 96.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

²⁸ Guhyasamāja Tantra, pp. 26-27.

²⁹ Cf. Cittaviśuddhi Prakaraṇa, 6, 19, 33.

³⁰ Cūrṇi on the *Nisītha*, gāthā 348.

³¹ *Ibid.*, gāthā 289.

³² *Ibid.*, gāthā 287.

³³ Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya, Vol III, 882.

Buddhists recommended such practices on the ground of the theory that lust is crushed by lust and considered them to be a means to liberation.

Another point to be noted is the attitude of the Jainas towards the relation of the metaphysics and ethics. Buddha kept silence over so many metaphysical problems, which have a close bearing on ethics. The nature of *ātman* and *nirvāṇa* are the two main problems of this type. Such metaphysical queries are rejected by Lord Buddha as they do not promote the moral well-being of the aspirant. A wounded man should not waste his time and energy in making worthless enquiries about the caste and family etc., of the man who wounded him and about the shape etc., of the arrow.³⁴ The question about the nature of the liberated soul is a wilderness, a desert, a puppet show and it does not encourage distaste for the world, absence of passion, distance for the world, absence of passion, cessation of evil, knowledge, perfect enlightenment or *nirvāṇa*.³⁵ When Lord Buddha was compelled to explain his silence over the question whether *ātman* existed or not, he replied that he wanted neither to side with those who held *ātman* to be eternal (*śāśvatavāda*) nor with those who believed in nihilism (*ucchedavāda*).³⁶ Similarly, though *nirvāṇa* is mostly described in negative terms,³⁷ yet it is described sometimes as a state of happiness also.³⁸

Jainism adopted the attitude of non-absolutism in such matters by which the apparent contradiction of statements would be logically explained. In fact, Samantabhadra's criticism of the doctrine holding the world and the self as absolutely transitory is based on ethical grounds. He says that all moral distinction between the antithesis of bondage and liberation, *punya* and *pāpa*, heaven and hell, pleasure and pain will be blurred if we were not to accept that things are partly temporary and partly permanent.³⁹ This silence of Lord Buddha led to a greater schism in Buddhism, whereas a definiteness of the Jaina attitude did not allow an evolution of the metaphysical ideas to any appreciable degree. It is important to note that Aśoka, who showed great interest in the propagation of Buddhist ethics, did not speak of *nirvāṇa* at all, though he refers to the other world.

In any case, it is the unanimity on the ethical implications of the doctrine of Karman which binds all the three great Aryan religions of India viz., Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism, in a common link. If it is true that as you sow so shall you reap, the reverse of it is equally true. It was on account of this similarity that older Brahmanism showed a great receptivity to the new religion of the Jainas and the Buddhists. A life of

³⁴ Majjhimanikāya, 2.2.3.

³⁵ Majjhimanikāya, 2.3.2.

³⁶ Saṃyuttanikāya, Ānandasutta, 45.10.

³⁷ Majjhimanikāya, 1.4.6.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.4.9.

³⁹ Āptamīmāṃsā, 40-41. Also Syādvādamāñjarī, 35 and Yuktyanuśāsana, 15 and 16.

introversion and contemplation becomes as important for Hinduism as it was for Śramanism. In the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, Rāma says, "I am not Rāma, my mind is not attached to anything. I want to remain self-absorbed and calm as Jina":

*nāham rāmo na me vāñchā vibhave na ca me manaḥ/
śānta āsitum icchāmi svātmanīva jino yathā//*

Thus the birth of Jainism and Buddhism led to a synthetic culture.

The basic difference, however, as already indicated, between Brahmanism and Jainism is that the latter divorced spiritualism from social philosophy. As regards the Jainas and the Buddhists, the former represent the extremists whereas the latter were moderate in ethical principles.

In this discussion, it would not be out of place to mention a strange phenomena. All the Tirthaṅkaras, who preached non-violence, came from the Kṣatriya class, who were warriors. But today, their followers come only from the business community, who are not only peace-loving but also of compromising nature.

The utility of the theory of passions, which the ascetic religions teach, will have also to be reconsidered in the light of modern psychology which teaches their sublimation rather than their suppression. Similarly, when science and socialism are engaged in making the whole of the society rich and prosperous, the glorification of self-mortification and poverty in the form of non-possessiveness will have also to be reinterpreted. It seems that Buddhist ethics may prove to be more helpful than Jaina ethics in this effort. But non-absolutism may suit more for modern times when we like to be rational and not dogmatic in our thinking.

Jaina scriptures often adopt a question-answer method for exposition of a subject. They treat speech (*bhāṣā*) in the same way. In the 11th chapter of the *Paṇṇavanāsutta*, questions about origin and transmission of speech (*bhāṣā*) are put by Gautama Gaṇadhara, to the Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra who answers them.

The questions are :

- i) *Bhāṣā ṇaṃ bhante kimādīyā ?*

Where does the speech originate ?

- ii) *Kim pavahā ?*

From where is it produced ?

- iii) *Kim saṇṭhiyā ?*

What is it shaped like ?

- iv) *Kim pajjavasiyā ?*

Where does it come to an end ?

The answers are :

- i) *Bhāṣā ṇaṃ jīvādīyā.*

Speech originates from *jīva* (soul)

- ii) *Sarīrappabhavā.*

It is produced from the body.

- iii) *Vajjasanṭhiyā.*

It is shaped as *vajra*, narrow in the middle and spread out at both the ends.

In Jaina metaphysics cosmos is supposed to be of this shape, roughly like that of a man standing akimbo with the legs wide apart.

- IV) *Loganta-pajjavasiyā.*

It ends at the extremities of the cosmos, because there is no motion in the trans-cosmic space. *Jīva*, though the ultimate source of speech, can produce it when united with a body. The latter is acquired according to the *Karman* accompanying the *jīva* in its transmigratory course.

There are eight main types of *karman*, viz.

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| i) <i>Jñānāvaraṇa</i> , | knowledge-obscuring, |
| ii) <i>Darśanāvaraṇa</i> , | intuition-obscuring, |
| iii) <i>Vedanīya</i> , | gender-determining, |
| iv) <i>Mohanīya</i> , | deluding, |
| v) <i>Āyuska</i> , | lifespan-determining, |
| vi) <i>Nāma</i> , | body-determining, |
| vii) <i>Gotra</i> , | family-determining, |
| viii) <i>Antarāya</i> , | obstruction-producing, |

Ādyo jñāna-darśanāvaraṇa-vedanīya-mohanīya-āyuska-nāma-gotrāntarāyāḥ
(Tattvārthasūtra 8.5).

The body-determining (*nāma*-) *karman* consists of forty-two subtypes including *gati*: determining the course of a *jīva* through numerous forms of life as *sura* (divine), *nara* (human), *nāraka* (infernal) and *tiryāṇca* (sub-human);

jāti: determining the species;

śarīra: determining the shape and size of the body; *Varṇa*, *gandha*, *rasa*, *phāsa*, *āropa*, *uddiyota* etc., determining respectively colour, smell, taste, touch, heat and lustre etc. of the body;

svara: determining the type and quality of voice.

Of the earthly *jīvas* there are six categories, *ṣaḍ-jīva-nikāya*. These may be grouped as *trasa* (mobile) and *sthāvara* (immobile).

The latter consists of,

- i) *Prithvī-kāya*, earth-bodied,
- ii) *Apkāya*, water-bodied,
- iii) *Tejas-kāya*, fire-bodied,
- iv) *Vāyu-kāya*, wind-bodied, and
- v) *Vanaspati-kāya*, plant-bodied,

All these are *ekendriya* (mono-sensed), having the sense of touch (*sparsa*) only.

vi) The *trasas* which constitute the sixth category, are:

- *Dvīndriya*, bi-sensed, having taste in addition, as earthworm;
- *Trīndriya*, tri-sensed, having smell in addition, as the ants;
- *Caturindriya*, tetra-sensed, having sight in addition, as the black bee; and,
- *Pañcendriya*, penta-sensed, having hearing in addition, as birds, animals and humans.

There are ten components of vitality (*prāṇa*), viz.

i) touch, ii) body, iii) respiration, iv) lifespan, v) taste, vi) speech, vii) smell, viii) sight, ix) hearing and x) ratiocination.

One-sensed beings have the first four components of vitality, viz. touch, body, respiration and lifespan; two-sensed have the fifth, taste, and the sixth, speech, in addition; three-sensed have the seventh, smell, in addition; the four-sensed have the eighth, sight, in addition; and the five-sensed beings have the ninth, hearing, in addition. But among these ratiocination remains the exclusive preserve of the five-sensed rational beings, namely, the humans.

In Jaina metaphysics *bhāṣā* or *vāc* has been postulated as *paudgalika* (non-sentient matter and energy). Only an embodied *jīva* can produce it by vibrating its appropriate *paudgalika* content to express its agreeable or disagreeable feeling (*sātāsātā-vedanā*). Since the *sthāvaras* (immobile) cannot vibrate their *paudgalika* content, these have no speech, though they are *jīva* and have a body also. Only the *trasas*, two-sensed onwards, can do that. But in their case too *bhāṣā* or *vāc* need not be invariably vocal. Any physical movement of a *jīva*, under the impact of a sensation, gross or subtle, is expressive of its response, and, is, therefore, speech, oral or extra-oral, audible or inaudible.

In physical observation, two-sensed like worms etc., three-sensed like ants etc. do not seem to be producing any sound. But on minute observation, it has been found that insects produce sound by friction, the ants and the like by vibrating their proboscis. The snakes produce hissing sound by short quick breath, the crickets by vibrating their external membrane and the black bees by vibrating their wings. Fishes produce sound by vibrating the inner muscles of their body. Animals and birds produce vocal sound. All these sounds are inarticulate. Articulation begins with the humans who, besides the five senses, have a ratiocinative mind by virtue of which they can conceptualize their percepts and find out ways to express the concepts by producing appropriate sounds.

Speech when emitted, instantly assumes a *vajra*- shape, i.e. the shape of the cosmos, at the extremities of which it terminates, because motion is not possible in *trans-cosmic* space. Speech, as sound waves, is mechanical energy which is transmitted by compression waves, at different speed in different media like air, water, metal etc. This speed is much less than that of light (roughly three lakh kilometer per second). So

speed consisting of sound waves, instantly touching the extremities of the cosmos is an impossibility. Since speech has its origin in the *jīva*, it basically consists of spiritual vibrations which can traverse and pervade the cosmos instantly [cf. *nāda-brahma*, omnipervasive voice]. Though the *jīva*, rid of karmic hindrances, as it is in case of an omniscient, can know and see the transcosmic space (*aloka*) also, its spiritual vibrations have to be limited within the cosmos, beyond which motion is not possible.

From the spiritual state speech comes to the physical level. It is here that its objects are perceived and conceptualized in terms of language and uttered. The spiritual and different physical stages are comparable with *parā*, *paśyantī*, *madhyamā* and *vaikharī* stages of *vāṇī*. At the spiritual stage it is *parā*; while perceiving the object to be expressed, it is *paśyantī*, while transforming the object (*artha*) into speech-sounds it is *madhyamā*, at the utterance stage it is *vaikharī*.

Now, the question arises: how long does it take for a concept to be encased in word and delivered, '*katihī va samayehi bhāsati bhāsam*', how many *samayas*, instants, (the smallest unit of time), does the *jīva* take in conceiving and delivering speech? The answer is, 'two *samayas*, instants'. Since, there can't be delivery without conception, so in the first instant the *jīva* conceives and in the second it delivers. In continuous speech, in the second instant, the *jīva* while delivering the first particle of speech, conceives the next, till the last instant in which there is delivery and no further conception. Practically, the processes are simultaneous, but then conception has to precede delivery in order. The speaker may go on conceiving the speech-matter and retain it in memory for delivery at some later time, with a gap of two to innumerable *samayas*, instants.

This process of conceiving and delivering is called *grahana-nissarana*. In the process of *grahana*, the entire self of the speaker—mind, body and senses, are in action. In the *nissarana*, however, it is only the vocal organ which is in action, of course along with the mind.

This apparently two-phased action of *grahana* and *nissarana*, is actually three-phased. The initial phase is identification of the matter to be expressed through speech, *bhāṣā-dravya*. It is to be followed by its conversion into speech-language, *bhāṣātvena parīṇamana*. This is the inner linguistic expression of the matter which is of necessity interwoven with the process of identification of the matter to be expressed by means of speech-language. It is a link between the *grahana*, the initial stage, and *nissarana* the final utterance.

Any object of knowledge may constitute the content of speech (*bhāṣā-dravya*) provided that

- i) it is present (*sthita*) before the senses and mind of the speaker;
- ii) it is in full contact of the speaker *jīva*; in other words the speaker *jīva* is pre-occupied with it;

iii) the speaker *jīva* is competent to express it.

Five types of exposition of a subject matter have been identified—

- i) *khaṇḍābheda*, piece by piece, specifying and elucidating all the details;
- ii) *prataraḥbheda*, layer after layer, *i.e.* generic, not specific, exposition of subject matter;
- iii) *cūrṇikābheda*, pounding or mixing up and confusing the subject-matter;
- iv) *anutaṭikābheda*, exposition along the periphery, *i. e.* marginal and superficial;
- v) *utkarikābheda*, scattered or incoherent exposition of the subject-matter.

Conclusion :

- i) Speech (*bhāṣā*) originates in the soul.
- ii) It is expressed through the body.
- iii) At the spiritual level its transmission is instantaneous.
- iv) It terminates at the end of the cosmos because in the trans-cosmic space there is no motion.
- v) Its physical expression varies with the number of the senses of the *jīvas*.
- vi) It remains mute in the mono-sensed *jīva*— Earth, Water, Air, Fire and Plant.
- vii) It is expressed in two-, three-, four-, and five-sensed *Jīvas*.
- viii) In sub-humans it is inarticulate.
- ix) Humans, because of their having a rational mind, can raise it to articulate level.
- x) Articulation varies from person to person according to the individual's capacity to conceive and deliver the speech-matter (*bhāṣā-dravya*).

Jainism, like the other religions of Indian origin attaches supreme importance to Yoga and *dhyāna* (meditation) as a means to spiritual advancement and emancipation. According to the *Uttarādhyāyanasūtra*, one can know the real nature of self through right knowledge, one can have faith on it through right vision or right attitude. Similarly one can have control over it through right conduct, but the purification of the self can only be achieved through right *tapas*.¹ As per Jainism *tapas* (penance) has two supreme wings, which are known as *dhyāna* (meditation or concentration) and *kāyotsarga* i.e. non-attachment towards one's own body as well as all worldly belongings. Jains believe that emancipation, which is the ultimate goal of our life, can only be achieved by *śukla-dhyāna*, which is the state of pure self-awareness or knowership. Thus according to Jainism emancipation can only be achieved by *dhyāna*, which is also the seventh step of Patañjali's Yoga system. Thus we can say that *dhyāna* and Yoga are the essential factors of Jaina religious practices. All the images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras are only in meditative posture and not any other posture.

Sofar as the development of Jaina Yoga studies in our times in India and abroad is concerned, Nathamal Tatia and Pandit Sukhalalji have devoted a full chapter on Jaina Yoga and meditation, in their works *Samadarśī Haribhadra* and *Studies in Jaina philosophy*, respectively. R. Williams has written a book entitled *Jaina Yoga*, but in this book he mainly discussed the Jaina ethics and moral code and little about Jaina Yoga. For him Jaina Yoga means the Jaina path of emancipation. In present days some works in Hindi on Jaina Yoga have also been written, among which the first and foremost are *Jaina Yoga* and *Prekṣa meditation* of Muni Nathamal, the late Ācārya Mahāprajña. Dr. A.B. Dige's Ph.D. thesis on Jaina Yoga also has been published by the P.V. Research Institute, Varanasi. In recent days two Ph.D. thesis, *Meditation and Yoga in Jaina sadhana* and *Historical development of Jaina Meditation from Mahavira to Mahaprajna* written by two Jaina nuns under my guidance have also been published. I have also written a work on *Jaina Tantrika-Sadhana* in Hindi in which I have shown the historical development and impact of other Yoga systems on Jaina

¹ Uttarādhyāyanasūtra 28/35.

Yoga, meditation and Jaina rituals. Some works on Haribhadrasūri and his Yoga system are also written and published in these days.

If we want to know the brief historical account of the development of Jaina Yoga, its meditational methods, and the impacts of other Indian Yoga systems on it, we should divide the development of the Jaina Yoga system into the following five stages:

1. Pre-canonical age (before 6th century B.C)
2. Canonical age (5th century B.C. to 5th century A.D)
3. Post-canonical age (6th century A.D. to 12th century A.D)
4. Age of Tantra and Rituals (13th to 19th century A.D)
5. Modern age (20th century)

1. Pre-canonical age

The concepts of Yoga and meditation are as early as Indian culture itself. From the earliest period, we find two types of evidences regarding Yoga and meditation: 1) sculptural evidences and 2) literary evidences. For the first phase of Yoga and meditation, both types of evidences are available. But it is very difficult to say that these evidences support the Jaina method of Yoga and meditation. We can only say that this earliest phase of Yoga and meditation belongs to Sramanic culture of which Jainism, Buddhism, Ājīvikas, Sāṃkhya, Yoga as well as some other minor Sramanic trends are the offspring. For this reason every Indian system of *dhyāna* and Yoga has the right to claim it, as its own. Due to this some Jaina scholars also made the claims that these evidences belong to their own tradition. The earliest sculptural traces regarding Yoga and meditation are found from the Mohenjodaro and Harappa. In the excavation of Mohenjodaro and Harappa some seals are found, in which Yogis have been shown as sitting or standing in the meditational posture.²

It proves that in that period meditative and yogic practices prevailed. The culture of Mohenjodaro and Harappa may be called the earliest state of the Sramanic culture of India. It is clear that while the Vedic tradition was engaged in performing the *yajñas* or sacrifices, the Sramanic tradition was taking interest in yogic and meditative practices. I am of the opinion that this early Sramanic tradition, in due course of time had been divided into various branches such as Jainism, Buddhism, Sāṃkhya – Yoga and Ājīvika along with some other minor sects. Though the Upanishadic trend of that period had tried to make a synthesis between the Sramanic and Vedic traditions, yet it was mostly dominated by the Sramanic tradition. The Sāṃkhya and Yoga systems may also be the result of this synthesis. But we must be aware of the fact that in them Sramanic features are dominating.

² A.K. Majumdar, *History and Culture of Indian people* vol. 1, plate VII.

Impact of other systems on Jaina Yoga in this period

In the first phase i.e. in the pre-canonical age it is very difficult to trace the impact of other systems of Yoga on Jaina Yoga, because in this period we do not find any information about any of the organized schools of yogic and meditational practices, except that of Rāmaputta, from whom Lord Buddha had learned some methods of meditation. It is interesting to know that he was also mentioned in some Jaina canonical texts, such as *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, *Antakṛddasāṅga* and *Ṛṣibhāṣita*.³ I believe that Vipassana and Preksha meditations of that period may basically belong to Rāmaputta in their original forms.

2. Canonical age

Traditionally it is believed that Jaina Yoga and meditative practices originated from Ṛṣabhadeva, the first Tīrthaṃkara. But so far as the historical evidences are concerned, the earliest mention of yogic practices and meditation was found in early Jaina canonical works such as *Ācārāṅga*, *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* and *Ṛṣibhāṣita*. In *Upadhānaśruta* (Āc., chap. 9), we have the records of those yogic and meditative practices, which were followed by Lord Mahāvīra himself, in which we find a specific method of meditation.⁴ In *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (chap. 6) Preksha meditation was also mentioned. There Lord Mahāvīra was presented as the best meditator or seer, who knew the real nature of religious practices, steadiness of mind and *prekṣā* (self-awareness).⁵ In *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (chap. 8) it is also mentioned that for the emancipation the ultimate means are *dhyāna*, *yoga* and *titikṣā* (tolerance).⁶ The Yoga and meditational practices at their end can be completed by giving up the attachment towards one's own body (8/26), which is known in Jainism as *kāyotsarga*.

In this second phase, which is known as canonical age, some common features can be seen between Patañjali's eightfold Yoga system and the Jaina Yoga system. Patañjali's system has the following steps of Yogic practices:

1. *Yama* (vows)
2. *Niyama* (supporting vows)
3. *Āsana* (bodily postures)
4. *Prāṇāyāma* (controlling of respiration)
5. *Pratyāhāra* (controlling of sense organs)

³ (a) *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 3/62.

(b) *Sthānāṅga* 10/113.

(c) *Ṛṣibhāṣita*, chap. 23.

⁴ *Ācārāṅga* 9/5.

⁵ *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 6/13, 6/17.

⁶ *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 8/27.

6. *Dhāraṇā* (controlling of mental activities)
7. *Dhyāna* (concentration of mind) and
8. *Samādhi* (equanimity of mind or cessation of mind).

In Jaina canonical works we also find these eight limbs of Yōgic Sādhana, but with different names. The Sthānakavāsī Ācārya Ātmarām has made a comparative study of these eight limbs of with the Jaina system in his book *Jaina āgamom mem aṣṭāṅga yoga*.

1. According to him, the five *yamas* are also acceptable to Jainas in the name of the five *mahāvratas*: 1. *Ahimsā* (Non-violence), 2. *Satya* (Truthfulness), 3. *Asteya* (Non-stealing) 4. *Brahmacarya* (Celibacy) and 5. *Aparigraha* (Non-possession).

2. *Niyama*. In Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* the five *niyamas* are: 1. *Śauca* (piousness), 2. *Santoṣa* (Satisfaction), 3. *Tapas* (penance), 4. *Svādhyāya* (Study of scriptures), and 5. *Īśvara praṇidhāna* (meditation of the nature of god or pure self). In Jaina scriptures they can be recognized under some different names. In the *Bhagavatīsūtra*, Lord Mahāvīra explains to Somila that his life style is of six types i.e. 1. *Tapas*, 2. *Niyama*, 3. *Samyama*, 4. *Svādhyāya*, 5. *Dhyāna*, 6. *Āvaśyaka* (Observance of essential duties with self –awareness).⁷ *Samyama* corresponds to *santoṣa* and *īśvarapraṇidhāna* to *dhyāna*, whereas the names are the same in other cases. In *Isibhāsiyāim* (chap. 1) we find the mention of *śauca*, though by *śauca* Jainas do not mean bodily purity, but give stress on mental purity i.e. the piousness of the heart. Jainism as well as the *Yogasūtra* both accept that these *niyamas* are the supporter of the *yamas* or *mahāvratas*. We can also say that the twenty-five *bhāvanās* of the five *mahāvratas* or the thirty-two *yogasamgrahas* of Jainism can also be considered as similar to the *niyamas*.

3. *Āsana*. Many of the *āsanas* (bodily postures) are accepted in Jainism in the name of *kāyakleśatapa*, the sixth kind of external *tapas*. In Jaina scriptures (*Bhagavatī*, *Aupapātika* and *Daśāśrutaskandha*) we also find the names of various types of bodily postures.⁸ It is also said that Lord Mahāvīra attained *kevalajñāna* in *goduhāsana*.⁹

4. *Prāṇāyāma*. Regarding this limb we do not find any clear instructions in Jaina canonical works. Only in the commentary of the *Āvaśyakasūtra* it is mentioned that one should observe the meditation (*kāyotsarga*) of one thousand respirations at the occasion of yearly penitential retreat (*pratikramaṇa*), in the same way five hundred respirations meditation at fourth monthly penitential retreat, two hundred and fifty respirations meditation at the time of fortnightly, one hundred at daily and fifty at the time of nightly *pratikramaṇa*.¹⁰ In my opinion this is the same as *ānāpāna-sati* of

⁷ Bhagavatīsūtra 18/10/207.

⁸ Daśāśrutaskandha 6/3.

⁹ Pajjosavaṇākappo (Ladnun) 81.

¹⁰ Āvaśyakacūṇi.

Vipassana meditation of Buddhism and *śvāsaprekṣā* meditation of Ācārya Mahāprajña. I do not find any reference of *kumbhaka*, *pūraka* and *recaka prāṇāyāma* in early Jaina canonical texts, though in the later period Śubhacandra and Hemacandra have mentioned the various types of *prāṇāyāmas* in the *Jñānārṇava* and in the *Yogaśāstra* respectively.¹¹

5. Pratyāhāra means to have the control over one's sense organs. This limb has been widely discussed in the Jaina canon in the name of *pratisamṛtātā* as a sixth kind of external austerity. In various Jaina scriptures this fifth limb of Yoga has been described in the name of *indriya-samyama*. *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra* (chap. 30) discusses it in detail,¹² and there are many references in various Jaina canonical works.

6. Dhāraṇā. Though in the works of Jaina logic, the fourth kind of *matijñāna* is known as *dhāraṇā*, the concept of "retention" in Jaina logic is somehow different from Patañjali's Yoga system, where it means concentration of mind, while in Jainism it means retention of the experience. Patañjali's conception of *dhāraṇā* is somehow similar to the Jaina concept of *dhyāna*.

7. Dhyāna. In the Jaina tradition *dhyāna* generally means the concentration of mind on some object or mental image. According to it our thought and its instrument, the mind, are restless. The regulation and concentration of these is called *dhyāna*. Though Jainism accepts four kinds of *dhyāna*: (1) *Ārta-dhyāna*, concentration of the mind on the fulfillment of worldly desires, (2) *Raudra-dhyāna*, concentration of thought on violent activities, (3) *Dharma-dhyāna*, concentration of mind on auspicious thoughts or for the well being of one's own self as well as of others, (4) *Śukla-dhyāna* where the mind gradually shortens its field of concentration and at last becomes steady and motionless or *nirvikalpa*.¹³

8. Samādhi. According to Patañjali *samādhi* is the motionless state of mind, body and speech. In other words it is the state of trance in which the connection of self with the outer world is broken.

In Jainism Patañjali's three internal limbs of Yoga, such as *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* and *samādhi* are attached to the Jaina concept of meditation. *Dhāraṇā* and *dhyāna* may be summed up in various stage of *dharma-dhyāna* and *samādhi* in *śukla-dhyāna*. In another way, we can also find Patañjali's *dhāraṇā* and *dhyāna* in the Jaina concept of *dhyāna* and *samādhi* into the Jain concept of *kāyotsarga*. In Patañjali's Yoga system, *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* and *samādhi* are considered as internal limbs of yogic Sādhana and being internal limbs, they are not independent from each other. But they have some connective link: without *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* is not possible and without *dhyāna*, *samādhi* is not possible.

¹¹ (a) *Jñānārṇava*, sarga 37-40

(b) *Yogaśāstra* 7/8-9.

¹² *Uttarādhyayana* 32/21-106.

¹³ *Yogaśāstra* 12/5.

In the canonical age Jaina Sādhana centered around the threefold or fourfold path of emancipation i.e. right faith, right knowledge, right conduct and right austerity. Because they considered right conduct and right austerity as one, Umāsvāti and some other Jaina teachers prescribed the threefold path of emancipation. This threefold path of emancipation is generally acceptable in Hinduism and Buddhism. In Hinduism it is also acceptable as *bhakti-yoga*, *jñāna-yoga* and *karma-yoga*, and in Buddhism as *śīla*, *samādhi* and *prajñā*. We can compare right knowledge with *jñāna-yoga* of the *Gītā* and *prajñā* of Buddhism, similarly right faith with *bhakti-yoga* of the *Gītā* and *samyak-samādhi* of Buddhism and right conduct with *karma-yoga* of *Gītā* and *śīla* of Buddhism.¹⁴

But here we must be aware of the fact that whereas some Hindu thinkers hold that the cultivation of any one of these three constituents is sufficient to attain emancipation, Jaina thinkers do not agree with them. They hold that the absence of any one of these makes emancipation impossible. Thus Jainism believes in the synthesis of these three Yogas.

Here it is to be noted that this threefold path of Jainism can be summed up in the practice of *Sāmāyika* or *Samatva Yoga*. For Jainas, *Samatva Yoga* is the excellent blend of right faith, right knowledge and right conduct. The *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra* says:

nādaṃsaṇiṣṣa nāṇaṃ, nāṇeṇa vinā na honti caranaguṇā
aguṇiṣṣa natthi mokkha, natthi amukkassa nivvāṇaṃ (28.30)

Knowledge is impossible without a right view-point or faith and without right knowledge, right conduct is not possible, without right conduct, liberation remains unattainable. Thus all the three are needed for the attainment of emancipation.

Samatva Yoga the fundamental Yoga of Jainism

Sāmāyika or *Samatva Yoga* is the principal concept of Jainism. It is the first and foremost among the six essential duties of a monk as well as of a house-holder. Pkt. *sāmāyika* is translated into English in various ways such as observance of equanimity, viewing all the living beings as one's own self, conception of equality, harmonious state of one's behavior, integration of personality as well as righteousness of the activities of mind, body and speech. Āc. Kundakunda also used the term *samāhi*, in the sense of *sāmāyika* where it means a tensionless state of consciousness or state of self-absorption. In general sense the word *sāmāyika* means a particular religious practice through which one can attain equanimity of mind. It is an end as well as a means in itself. As a means it is a practice for attaining equanimity while as end it is the state in which the self is completely free from the flickering of alternative desires and wishes, excitements and emotional disorders. It is the state of self-absorption or resting in one's own self. In the *Āvaśyakaniryukti* it is said that *sāmāyika* is nothing but one's

¹⁴ Sagarmal Jain, *Jaina, Bauddha, Aura Gītā ke ācāradarśanam kā tulanātmaka adhyayan*, Vol. II page 1.

own self in its pure form. Thus, from the transcendental point of view, *sāmāyika* means realisation of own self in its real nature.¹⁵ It is the state in which one is completely free from attachment and aversion. In the same work various synonyms of *sāmāyika* are also mentioned: equanimity, equality, righteousness, state of self-absorption, purity, peace, welfare and happiness.¹⁶ In the *Anuyogadvārasūtra*, *Āvaśyakaniryukti* and Kundakunda's *Niyamasāra*, *sāmāyika* is explained in various ways. It is said that one who, by giving up the movement of uttering words, realized himself with non-attachment, is said to have supreme equanimity. He, who is detached from all injurious or inauspicious actions, observes threefold control of body, mind and speech and restrains his sense, is said to have attained equanimity. One who behaves equally as one's own self towards all living beings mobile and immobile, is said to have equanimity. Further, it is said that one who observes self-control, vows and austerities, one in whom attachment and aversion do not cause any disturbance or tension and one who always refrains from indulgence, sorrow and ennuī, is said to have attained equanimity or *sāmāyika*.¹⁷

This practice of equanimity is equated with religion itself. In the *Ācārāṅga*, it is said that all the worthy people preach religion as equanimity. Thus, for the Jainas, the observance of religious life is nothing but the practices for the attainment of equanimity. According to them, it is the essence of all types of religious activities and they all are prescribed only to attain it. Not only in Jainism but in Hinduism also, we find various references in support of equanimity. The *Gītā* defines Yoga as equanimity.¹⁸ Similarly, in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* it is said that the observance of equanimity is the worship of the Lord.

The whole framework of Jaina Sādhana has been built on the foundation of *sāmāyika*, i.e. the practice for equanimity. All the religious tenets are made for it. Haribhadrāsūri maintains that one who observes equanimity or *samabhava* will surely attain emancipation, whether he is a Buddha or the follower of any other religion.¹⁹ It is said in Jaina religious texts that one who observes hard penances and austerities such as eating once in a month or two as well as one who makes donations of crores of golden coins every day, cannot attain emancipation or liberation unless he attains equanimity.²⁰ It is only through the attainment of equanimity of mind that one can attain emancipation. Āc. Kundakunda says: "What is the use of residing in forest, mortification of body, observance of various fasts, study of scriptures and keeping silence etc. to a saint, who is devoid of equanimity?" (*Niyamasāra* 124).

¹⁵ *Āvaśyakaniryukti* 1048.

¹⁶ *Āvaśyakaniryukti* 1046.

¹⁷ (a) *Niyamasāra*-122, 155, 133; (b) *Anuyogadvāragāthā* 127-128; (c) *Āvaśyakaniryukti* 797-800.

¹⁸ *Bhagavadgītā* 2/48.

¹⁹ Haribhadra, *Lokatattvanirnaya* 1-2.

²⁰ Pt Sukhalalji's Hindi introduction to *Tattvārthasūtra* p. 55.

Now we come to the next question: how can one attain this equanimity of mind? Mere verbal saying that I shall observe the equanimity of mind and refrain from all types of injurious activities does not have any meaning unless we seriously practice it in our life.

For this, first of all, one should know what are the causes which disturb our equanimity of mind and then make an endeavor to eradicate them.

It is very easy to say that one should observe the equanimity of mind. But in practice it is very difficult to attain it. As our mental faculty is always in grip of attachment and aversion, whatever we think or do is always motivated by either attachment or aversion. Because the vectors of attachment and aversion are solely responsible for the disturbance of mental equanimity, so the practice to attain equanimity depends on the eradication of attachment and aversion. So long as we do not eradicate the attachment and aversion, we are unable to attain equanimity or Samatva Yoga.

Impacts of other Yoga systems on Jaina Yoga in this period.

So far as the impact of other Yoga systems on Jaina Yoga is concerned, in the second phase, the canonical period, different schools of thought have taken a definite shape with their particular names. In this period we do find in the Jaina Yoga system various similarities with that of Buddhism and Patañjali. Pandit Sukhalalji in his introduction of *Tattvārthasūtra* has discussed these common features in detail. But according to these similarities or common features it is very difficult to prove one's impact on the another, though it can be generally accepted that these systems have a common source, from which they are developed and this common source was the Indian Sramanic tradition. In the later times, particularly in the Sūtra-age we do find some common features in Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* and Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthasūtra*, but being named and explained differently, they cannot be used to prove an impact of one on the other. Though Pt. Sukhalalji has given 21 common points of conceptual similarity between TS and Yoga *darśana*,²¹ yet these common features conceptually denote only the same meaning, but their names are totally different, except for some of them. Due to this difference we cannot say that one system has borrowed these from the other. It shows only the common source of them. In this canonical age Jainism has its own method of meditation and it is fully accepted as that by which the ultimate end of emancipation can be achieved. In Jaina canonical works as well as in the *Dhyānasataka* of Jinabhadra the meditation was considered of four kinds. In these four types of meditations the first two (*ārta* and *raudra*) were considered as the cause of bondage and the last two (*dharma* and *śukla*) were considered as the cause of emancipation. So far as I know this classification in four types is only the contribution

²¹ Ibidem.

of Jaina ācāryas. We do not find it in any other Indian Yoga system and so we can conclude that it is very difficult to show one's impact on the other.

Similarly Samatva Yoga, which is a key concept of Jaina Yoga, is also a common feature of Buddhism and Hinduism in general and of the *Gītā* in particular. But we cannot say that Jainism has borrowed it from Hinduism, because it was propounded in *Ācārāṅga* which is earlier than the *Gītā*.

3. Post-canonical age.

This period is very important for the development of Jaina Yoga for two reasons: 1) in this period many Yoga works are written in the Jaina tradition, 2) this is the period in which the impact of other Yoga systems on Jaina Yoga can be clearly seen. Despite scattered references, Jaina canonical works cannot solely be considered as works of Jaina Yoga literature. The first work on the Jaina system of meditation is Jinabhadra's *Dhyānaśataka* (6th century A.D.). This work is fully devoted to the Jaina way of meditation and totally based on Jaina canonical works such as *Sthānāṅga* and some others. The *Sthānāṅga* deals with four kinds of *dhyānas* and their sub-classes along with (i) their objects (ii) their signs (*lakṣaṇa*), (iii) their conditions (*ālambana*), (iv) their reflexions (*bhāvanā*). But this description of *dhyānas* is fully at par with canonical works, except some details such as the sub-kinds of meditation, time of meditation, examples of meditation, qualities of a meditator, results of the meditation etc.²² In this work Jinabhadra deals with first two inauspicious *dhyānas* in short, and the last two auspicious ones in detail, because according to him the first two *dhyānas* are the causes of bondage, while the last two are the means of emancipation so that only they can be accepted as limbs of Yoga Sādhana. After Jinabhadra, Haribhadra was the first Jaina ācārya who made a very valuable contribution for the reconstruction of Jaina Yoga system and the comparative study of Jaina Yoga system with that of other Yoga systems. He has composed four important works on the subject: *Yogaviṃśikā*, *Yogaśataka*, *Yogabindu* and *Yogaśṛṅṣamuccaya*. It is Haribhadra'sūri who has for the first time changed the definition of the word Yoga in Jaina traditions: in the canonical period the word Yoga is considered as a cause of bondage.²³ But Haribhadra changed this definition and said that that which joins to the emancipation is Yoga. According to him all spiritual and religious activities that lead to final emancipation are Yoga.²⁴ Haribhadra in all his Yoga works commonly opines that all religious and spiritual activities that lead to emancipation are to be considered as Yoga. It is to be noted that in his Yoga works he explained the Yoga in different ways.

First in his *Yogaviṃśikā*, he explained the five kinds of Yoga (i) practice of proper posture (*sthāna-yoga*); (ii) correct utterance of sound (*ūṛṇa-yoga*); (iii) proper

²² *Dhyānaśataka* 1-5 and 100-105.

²³ *Tattvārthasūtra* 6/1-3.

²⁴ (a) *Yogaśataka* 2; (b) *Yogaviṃśikā* 1.

understanding of the meaning of canonical works (*artha*); and (iv) concentration of mind on a particular object such as Jina image etc. (*ālambana*) and (v) concentration of thoughts on abstract qualities of Jina or Self (*anālambana*). This fifth stage may also be considered as the thoughtless state of the self (*nirvikalpa-daśā*).²⁵ Among these five kinds of Yoga, the first two constitute the external aspect of Yoga Sādhana and the last three the internal aspect of Yoga Sādhana. In other words the first two are Karma-Yoga and the last three are Jñāna-Yoga.

In the *Yogabindu* Haribhadra describes another five kinds of Yoga: (i) spiritual-vision (*adhyātma-yoga*); (ii) contemplation (*bhāvanā-yoga*); (iii) meditation (*dhyāna-yoga*); (iv) mental equanimity (*śamatā-yoga*) and (v) cessation of all activities of mind, speech and body (*vr̥tti-samkṣaya*).²⁶ In his *Yogaḍṛṣṭisamuccaya* Haribhadra explains only three types of Yoga: (i) willingness for the self realization or yogic Sādhana (*icchā-yoga*), (ii) the follow up of scriptural orders (*śāstra-yoga*) and (iii) development of one's spiritual powers and annihilation of spiritual inertia (*sāmarthyā-yoga*).²⁷ These three facets of Yoga propounded in the *Yogaḍṛṣṭisamuccaya* may be compared with the three jewels of Jainism, i.e. right vision, right knowledge and right conduct, because these three jewels are considered in Jainism as a *mokṣamārga*, "path of emancipation" and so they are Yoga. Here one thing is to be noted: though Haribhadra differs regarding the various kinds or stages of Yoga in his different works, he unanimously accepts that Yoga is that which unites to emancipation.

In this period after Haribhadra there are two other Jaina ācāryas, namely Śubhacandra (11th century), a Digambara who wrote the *Jñānārṇava*, and Hemacandra (12th century), a Śvetāmbara who wrote the *Yogaśāstra*. Their contribution in the field of Jaina Yoga is remarkable. For yogic Sādhana Śubhacandra prescribes the fourfold virtues of *maitrī* (friendship with all beings), *pramoda* (appreciation of the merits of others), *karuṇā* (sympathy towards the needy persons) and *madhyastha* (equanimity or indifference towards unruly), as the prerequisite of the auspicious meditation.²⁸ Here, it is to be noted that these four reflexions are also accepted in Buddhism and in Patañjali's *Yogasūtra*. Secondly while discussing *dharmadhyāna* he mentions four types of it: *pinḍastha*, *padastha*, *rūpastha*, *rūpātīta*, along with five types of *dhāraṇās* i.e., *pārthivī*, *āgneyī*, *vāyavī* (*śvasanā*), *vāruṇī* and *tattvarūpavatī*.²⁹ Here it to be noted these four types of *dhyānas* and five types of *dhāraṇās* are only available in Buddhist and Hindu tantric literature and not in early Jaina literature.

Though Hemacandra in his *Yogaśāstra* generally deals with three jewels of Jainism i.e. right knowledge, right vision and right conduct, he has given more stress on right conduct. While dealing with meditational methods he also elaborately discusses the *pinḍastha*, *padastha*, *rūpastha*, *rūpātīta-dhyāna* along with above

²⁵ *Yogavimśikā* 2.

²⁶ *Yogabindu* 31.

²⁷ *Yogaḍṛṣṭisamuccaya* 2.

²⁸ *Jñānārṇava* 27/4-15.

²⁹ *Jñānārṇava*, sarga 37-40.

mentioned *dharma*s.³⁰ But in this regards scholars are of the opinion that he borrowed these ideas from Śubhacandra's work which is earlier than the *Yogaśāstra*.³¹

In short: first Śubhacandra borrowed these types of *dhyāna* and *dharma* from Hindu Tantra and then Hemacandra followed Śubhacandra. Thus we can say that in this period the impact of other systems of Yoga Sādhana on Jaina Yoga can be seen easily.

The impact of other Yoga systems on Jainism in this period –

The *Dhyānaśataka* is the first Yoga work of this period in which we do not find any impact of other Yoga systems on it, because this work only deals with the four types of meditation according to the Jaina canonical works. In this period the impacts of other Yoga systems on Jaina Yoga appears in the works of Haribhadra, Śubhacandra and Hemacandra.

The impact of the Brahmanic tradition is seen in Haribhadra's Yoga works. But one thing is crystal-clear that he remained completely faithful to the Jaina tradition, while dealing with Jaina Yoga in his different Yoga works. In the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* we find the three stages of Yoga Sādhana: (i) total devotion (ii) mental peace and (iii) total cessation of the activities of mind and body. In the *Yogaśṛṣṭisamuccaya* Haribhadra also mentions three Yogas (see above) on the basis of three jewels of Jainism. *Ichā-yoga* is similar to total devotion and *sāmarthyā-yoga* to the other two states of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. Among the five types of Yoga mentioned in the *Yogabindu* (see above), *adhyātma-yoga* was accepted in other Yoga systems as *mahā-yoga*. The concepts of *bhāvanā* (contemplation) and *dhyāna* are also present in the Hindu Yoga system, The *śamatā-yoga* (equanimity) and *ṛttisamkṣaya-yoga* (cessation of the activities) are presented in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* as well as in *laya-yoga*. The four types of Yogas mentioned in Haribhadra's *Yogavimśikā* (see above) also have correspondences in other Yoga systems, as we have seen for *āsana*. Similarly *ūrṇa* is accepted in Hindu Yoga system as *mantra-yoga* or *japa-yoga*, *ālambana* as *bhakti-yoga* and *anālambana* as *laya-yoga*. In the same way Haribhadra's eight *yogaśṛṣṭis* are also arranged on the basis of the eight Yoga limbs of Patañjali. Though Haribhadra accepted these various concepts from Buddhist and Hindu tantric systems, yet his peculiarity is that he arranged them according to the Jaina tradition. The concepts of *piṇḍastha* etc. (see above) came in Jaina works such as the *Jñānārṇava* and the *Yogaśāstra* are due to the impact of Hindu Tantrism. Both Śubhacandra and Hemacandra also deal with the eight limbs of Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* in detail. And so we must accept that these two *ācāryas* are mostly influenced by Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* and other Hindu tantric works.

³⁰ *Yogaśāstra* 7/8-9.

³¹ N. Tatia, *Studies in Jaina Philosophy* p. 290.

Age of Rituals and Tantra Impact (13th Century – 19th century)

The four centuries after Hemacandra and before Yašovijaya, i.e. from 13th to 16th century, can be considered as a dark age of Jaina Yoga. In this period Jaina Yoga, which was originally spiritual in nature, was completely shoved into the background and Tantra along with its rituals became prime. The ultimate goal of yogic realization became the worldly achievements instead of being emancipation. Thus the spiritual goal was completely forgotten and material welfare took its place. Though in these centuries some commentaries of Jaina canonical and other works have been written, the dominating feature of this age was the works on Tantra, mantra and rituals which were written in large numbers by the Jaina ācāryas.

The spiritual nature of Jaina Yoga was revived by Yašovijaya (17th century). He wrote commentaries on the Yoga works of Haribhadra along with some original Yoga works such as *Adhyātmasāra*, *Jñānasāra*, *Adhyātmopaniṣad*, and also a commentary on Patañjali's *Yogasūtra*. Another spiritual Jaina thinker of this age was Anandaghana, who also revived the Jaina spirituality and Yoga Sādhana through his Padas and songs written in praise of the 24 Tīrthaṃkaras. The works of Yašovijaya and Anandaghana are fully influenced by Haribhadra. Yet some impact of Patañjali, Rāja-Yoga and Haṭha-Yoga can also be seen on them.

Modern age (20th century)

So far as modern age is concerned we have tremendous changes and developments in the practice of Jaina Yoga. In this age the attraction of common men towards Yoga and meditation is much developed as a way for tension-relaxation. It was a chance that Shri S.N. Goyanka returned to India from Burma and revived the old Vipassana meditation of Buddhism in India, which was in early times also practiced in Jainism. Ācārya Mahāprajña for the first time learned it from Goyankaji and on the basis of his own knowledge of Jaina scriptures and Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* rearranged this method of meditation in the name of Preksha-dhyana. Preksha meditation is the dominating feature of Jaina Yoga of our age. Though some other ācāryas of different Jaina sects tried to evolve their own method of meditation and Yoga, in them nothing is new, except a blend of Preksha and Vipassana. Here it is to be noted that Preksha meditation of our age is also a blend of Vipassana of Buddhism and Patañjali's Aṣṭāṅga Yoga and HaṭhaYoga with some modern psychological concepts.

To summarize the present essay we can say that in the first phase, i.e. before Mahavira, Jaina Yoga and meditational methods were in vogue. But we could not differentiate it from the early Sramanic trends, due to the absence of literary and other evidences. In the second phase, i.e. the Jaina canonical period, except *prāṇāyāma*, the

other seven limbs of Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* were also be practiced in Jainism by Jaina monks and nuns, but we have no evidence to conclude about the direction of the possible borrowing. In my opinion both have borrowed from the common Indian Sramanic tradition, of which they are the branches. In the third and fourth periods Jainas borrowed various ritualistic methods of Jaina Yoga and meditation from Hindu and Buddhist Tantric practices. In these two periods the impacts of other traditions on Jaina Yoga and meditation can easily be seen. At present Jaina Yoga and meditative practices have been revived and the common Jainas have an awareness towards it, but it is clear that the present systems of Jaina Yoga and meditation are fully evolved on the basis of Vipassana meditation and B Patañjali's Aṣṭāṅga Yoga along with some modern psychological and physiological studies.

At last, I would like to conclude my paper by quoting a beautiful verse of the *Sāmāyika-pāṭha* of Ācārya Amitagati:

sattveṣu maitrīm guṇiṣu pramodam
kliṣṭeṣu jīveṣu kṛpāparatvam
madhyasthabhavam viparītavṛttau
sadā mamātmā vidadhātu deva.

Oh Lord! I should be friendly to all the creatures of the world and feel delight in meeting the various people. I should always be helpful to those who are in miserable conditions and tolerant to my opponents.

There are two modes of religious observance. (i) Devotional ii) Renunciatory. The devotional aspect involves acceptance of the Jina as the ultimate divinity. This taking refuge in the Jina and his path is formalized by initiation into the holy litany called *pancanamaskara*, reverent salutation to the five holy beings.

The *Pancanamaskar Mantra*, *Namokar Mantra* or *Namaskar Mantra* incorporates the five supreme beings who are saluted. The religious tradition of the Jainas is unique in many respects. In the Jaina tradition, it is customary to begin any work with the recitation of the Namaskara Mantra - the popular chant. It is the daily prayer of the Jainas. Recitation of *Pancanamaskara* comes to be synonymous with the acceptance of the Jaina Creed.

The *Pancanamaskara* is a Mantra, a litany (sacred formula) in which salutations are offered to the five Panca Parameshthis. Jainas adore the virtues of these five supreme beings. They are worshipped so that one can realize their virtues and become like them. Devotion to divine beings is the first step in spiritual progress. It contains salutations to the Arihantas, the Siddhas, the Acaryas, the Upadhyayas and the Sadhus. It is expressed in a prayer formula as follows:

1. *Namo Arihantanam* (obeisance to the Arhats)- I bow down to Arihantas, the spiritual victors- the Jinas
2. *Namo Siddhanam* (obeisance to Siddhas)- I bow down to the Siddhas (Disembodied liberated Souls). the accomplished ones who have attained Moksha.
3. *Namo Ayariyanam* (obeisance to Acaryas)- I bow down to the mendicant leaders of the Jaina order.
4. *Namo Uvajjhayanam* (Obeisance to Upadhyayas)- I bow down to the preceptors (mendicants)
5. *Namo Loe Savva Sahunam* (Obeisance to all the Sadhus in the world)- I bow down to all the mendicants, the saints and sages everywhere in the world.
6. *Eso Panca Namokkaro*- These five Salutations,
7. *Savva Pavappanasano*- Erase all sin.
8. *Mangalanam ca Savvesim*- Among all that is auspicious,

9. *Padhamam Havai Mangalam*- It is the foremost (most auspicious).

Jaina devotionalism is directed towards five supreme beings or Panca Parameshthis who have attained the highest state and therefore are worthy of worship.

The early history of the Pancanamaskara Mantra is controversial. This litany occurs in the Kalpasutra - an extracanonical sacred book of the Jains. According to the scholars, this formula occurs in the Mahanisihasutta. It also occurs in the Vasudevahindi and in the Satkhandagama. This sacred Jaina mantra is frequently found in Jaina ritual texts of later times. The European scholar W. Schubring is of the opinion that the only canonical reference to the formula was to be found in Mahanisihasutta. It is observed that originally, there existed the formula consisting of only two members, viz. Siddha and Jina who are invoked in the first verse of Pannavanasutta and also in the Bhagavai Sutta. Then the formula seems to be extended and we find the enlarged formula of five invocations.

Qualities of the five Supreme Beings celebrated in the mantra

1. 12 Virtues of Arihantas
2. 8 virtues of Siddhas
3. 36 virtues of Acaryas
4. 25 virtues of Upadhyayas
5. 27 virtues of Sadhus-----Total- 108.

Nature of the Panca Parameshthis

A) Arihantas (The Conquerors)

The first salutation is to Arihanta. The term 'Arihanta' is of great philosophical significance in Jainism. Arihanta is the one who has conquered inner enemies like pride, anger, deceit and greed. He is also the one who has destroyed four destructive karmas, viz. Knowledge-obscuring (Jnanavaraniya), Vision-(obscuring) (Darshanavaraniya), Deluding (Mohaniya), and obstructive (Antaraya) karmas. Freedom from these four kinds of karmas is the greatest achievement of an Arihanta. Acarya Kundakunda has said that one who knows the Arihanta in all its aspects knows himself.

The synonyms of Arihanta are:

- Jina- The conqueror
- Vitaraga- One who is free from passions i.e. who is dispassionate.
- Sarvjna- Omniscient
- Arhat- worthy of being worshipped.

The Arihantas possess twelve great virtues and they are devoid of eighteen vices such as hunger, thirst, anxiety, sleep, sorrow etc. An Arihanta deserves and commands respect and adoration because he is a worthy and holy being because of his virtues. It is said that one should meditate on the Arhat - the purified soul - who is endowed with vision, bliss, wisdom and energy. The Jina is praised by Pujyapada as a propounder of

the way to ultimate release, as the destroyer of the mountains of karma and as the knower of the elements of universe. According to Acarya Haribhadra, an Arhat deserves respect and is honoured because he is the one whose Asravas, or defiling influxes, have been destroyed, one whose affliction, karmas and birth have been eradicated. He deserves salutation because of excellence in good qualities. Arihantas are free from ignorance, false belief, attachment, hatred, vowlessness, lust, fun, sorrow, delight. Hemacandra salutes the Arihanta by saying that he is a saviour who has constructed out of mercy the bridge to righteousness. According to Haribhadra, Arhatship includes perfection in yoga i.e. unity of true knowledge, faith and conduct. This kind of yoga results in union with ultimate release. Arihantas are devoid of passions that defile the soul. The Arihantas who are Jinas have in their lives personally lived the religion and showed the world the path of attainment of liberation.

12 Virtues of Arihanta:

4 main Atishayas (there are many of which 4 are important ones)

1. jnanatishaya- specialty relating to supreme knowledge.
2. Vacanatishaya- Arihantas deliver speeches/ sermons having 35 lofty ideal virtues such as specialties relating to speech (e.g. his speech is soft, clear etc.).
3. Pujatishaya- specialty relating to worship- worthiness. Even Indras bow down to him.
4. Apayagam- That which dispels 18 derogations e.g. sleep, ignorance, attachment, hatred etc.

8 Pratiharyas.

1. Asoka Vrksa - 2. Puspa Vrsti - 3. Divya Dhvani - 4. Camar - 5. Sublime Seat - 6. Halo - 7. Divine Trumpet - 8. Chhatra.

These Pratiharyas are created naturally wherever a Jina goes.

Functions of Arihanta (who is Tirhtankara):

1. The Arihanta expounds and establishes Dharma Sasana tirtha.
2. The Arihanta preaches to the world what is Truth.
3. The Arihanta shows to people the way to Salvation/ Moksa.
4. He establishes the fourfold sangha. He ultimately becomes Siddha at the time of his Nirvana because at that time, he destroys the four remaining Aghati Karmas (Ayusya, Nama, Gotra, Vedaniya).

The fact that the first salutation goes not to the perfected siddhas but rather to the Jinas- arhats is significant.

B) Siddhas (The Accomplished ones)

They are the second group of the Panca Parameshthis. Siddha means one who has accomplished everything. He has been completely liberated from 8 Karmas, from the

cycle of Birth and Death. Siddhas are beyond the world/ Samsara. They symbolize the supreme ideal of holiness and beatitude called Moksa. In the Jaina canon, Siddhas are indescribable. They are in disembodied state i.e. they have no body. They are without any shape, size, colour, smell and taste. They have accomplished everything and have nothing left to be realized. So Siddhas are Pure/ Perfect Souls. Jainism says that Siddhas are infinite. Their abode is at the top of the universe (Loka) in the Siddha Ksetra and they remain there forever. They are in Nirvana - in super bliss - release and awakened, liberated from all sufferings, having burnt the impurities of Karma. Such souls are super souls or siddha Parmatmas (liberated Super souls) as they theoretically possess the highest state of pure existence. Because of the destruction of all 8 Karmas, they possess 8 very important qualities as follows:

1. Ananta jnana- infinite knowledge (Destruction of jnanavaraniya Karma)
2. Ananta Darshana- Sublime Vision (Destruction of Darshanavaraniya Karma)
3. Ananta Sukha- Infinite bliss (Destruction of Vedaniya Karma)
4. Ananta Virya- Boundless Power (Destruction of Nama Karma)
5. Suksmatva or Amurtaka- Formlessness (Destruction of gotra Karma)
6. Aguru Laghutva- Neither Heavy, not light (Destruction of Nama Karma)
7. Avyabadhatva- Imperishability i.e. no birth and rebirth cycle (Destruction of Ayusya Karma)
8. Avagahanatva- Boundless felicity (Destruction of Mohaniya Karma)

Every Siddha was once an ordinary human; hence, by meditating upon Siddhas, the Jaina aspirant is encouraged to pursue the path of purification.

C) Acaryas (The Leaders of Jaina Order):

They are the third group of Panca Parameshthis. They are spiritual leaders of the Jaina order. The master *par excellence* who guides the faithful in the practice of Jaina doctrine is called Acarya. Acarya is defined as the one who practices five Acaras- the five kinds of conduct and advises his disciples to do the same. These five kinds of practices are:

1. Jnanacara- observance relating to knowledge i.e. turning oneself to the attainment of knowledge regarding natural qualities of soul.
2. Darshanacara- observance relating to faith, i.e. turning oneself to the faith that the soul is nothing but consciousness, is separate from body and everything else etc.
3. Caritracara- observance relating to character, i.e. making the soul tranquil after freeing it from all kinds of disturbances arising from passions, attachments etc. so that it may enjoy bliss.
4. Tapacara- observance relating to penance, i.e. practice of various kinds of penance by which one can control oneself and attain the true nature of the soul.

5. Viryacara- observance relating to energy, i.e. giving full scope to one's inherent power so that the first four Acaras may be practised.

Acaryas are the ones who have disconnected bondage with family and the world and have become Munis. They pursue the path of liberation which has been expounded by Arihantas. They guide the laymen in organizing their conduct in such a way that it can lead to liberation. After mastering Agamas and attaining certain merits, they attain the status of Acarya through their teacher. After becoming Acarya they preach to the world.

Acaryas possess virtues:

- 5 controls, i.e. control over the 5 senses.
- 9 restraints related to celibacy (Brahmacarya).
- 4 Discarding of 4 passions, viz. pride, anger, attachment, greed
- 5 Mahavratas (great vows): non-violence, truth, celibacy, non-possession, non-stealing.
- 5 Acaraṣ- Jnana darshana, caritra, tapa and virya
- 5 Samitis (Limits or Carefulness): 1. walking; 2. speaking; 3. collecting alms; 4. lifting up things; 5. careful disposal of body dirt like urine, cough etc.
- 3 Guptis- restraint or control over 3 types of activities i.e. of body, mind and speech. This results in suppression of inflow of new Karmas.

D) Upadhyayas- (the Preceptors)

They form the fourth group of Panca Parameshthis. They are the instructors who are experts in teaching scriptures. They study Jaina scriptures with the guidance of spiritual heads (Acarya) and they attain the stage of Upadhyayas after becoming capable of teaching the doctrine of Jainism. These preceptors represent spiritual knowledge. They possess perfect knowledge, faith and conduct. From their teachings, a person can know his duties and regulate himself by practicing what is desirable. Their place is high among Jain sages as they directly encourage practice of religion by continually preaching the principles of religion.

Upadhyayas posses 25 Virtues:

Knowledge of 11 Angas and knowledge of 14 Purvas (important Purvas are lost). Upadhyayas represent spiritual knowledge and they enlighten the people wandering in this world in the cycle of Birth and Death. The difference between Acarya and Upadhyaya is that Upadhyaya is expert in scriptural doctrines which he teaches and gives instructions about Dharma while the Acarya can issue a commandment of Dharma.

E) Sadhus- (Sages-Monks)

A Sadhu is a good, righteous ascetic -a saint or a monk. Sadhus are the Parameshthis of the fifth group in descending order. Sadhus include Acaryas and Upadhyayas. They have discarded worldly life, which is full of infatuation and deception and they

practice Tyaga. A Sadhu is the sage who practices good conduct which is pure and which leads to the path of liberation. He takes vow to observe great vows strictly throughout his life. Monks strictly practice the Acaras viz. Jnana, Darsana, Caritra, Tapa and Virya. In order to carry out these vows, they keep themselves fit. They renounce the world and obtain food through bhiksha. They are supposed to accept vegetarian pure food which is not prepared for them and which is not sold. They obtain food from devotees/ householders in such a way that they do not come in contact with water, fire. They accept food strictly following the prescribed rules. They do not have the responsibility of taking care of the household. They have totally renounced wealth, women and worldly pleasures. They are prohibited from even touching the opposite sex so that they can observe total non- attachment and celibacy. Monks are not supposed to use any vehicle for traveling. They travel only on foot and wherever they stay, they spend time in acquiring knowledge and in doing meditation. They preach to the people, the high ideals such as non-violence, truth, noble conduct, charity, austerity, purity, benevolence, necessity of noble contemplation, and penance etc.

Qualities of Monks:

Sadhus possess 27 qualities as follows:

6 related to observance of 5 Mahavratas (Ahimsa, Satya, Acaurya, Aparigraha and Brahmacharya) and 1 vow to renounce and discard all sinful activities.

6 related to protecting 6 types of Kayas of all living beings (Prithvi, Vayu, Agni, Jala, Vanaspati and Trasa).

5 Samitis (carefulness)

3 Guptis (restraints)

Special qualities: 1. Forgiveness, 2. Discarding hatred, 3. Emotional Purity, 4. Acting according to the principles of Sadhu-padilehana, 5. Absorption in austerity, 6. Bearing with impediments, 7. Bearing with Calamities.

Duties of Sadhus:

1. Forbearance, 2. Humility, 3. Purity, 4. Truthfulness, 5. Self- control, 6. Renouncing Egoism, 7. Asceticism, 8. Bearing with calamities.

Salutations are offered not only to Dravya sadhus but also to bhava Sadhus.

Though reverence to Panca Parameshthis is prescribed, it is really reverence to the soul of Parameshthis, which is to be meditated upon. Through this, the soul turns upon itself and meditates on its own nature, which is excellent meditation.

The total qualities of the Panca Parameshthis are 108. The Navkara Mantra is chanted 108 times. It has 9 Padas and 68 letters.

Other elements of the Pancanamaskara Mantra

“Om”.

This litany plays a great role in the mysticism of all Indian schools. This sacred syllable is present in the Yogashastra of Hemacandra. At the root of these words Om, Arham, there is the Navkara Mantra. Om (AAAum) contains the first letter of each Panca Parameshthi. These are concentrated forms of the Navkara Mantra. Repetition of Om thus becomes a legitimate practice for the Jinas.

Meaning of *Namo*

The world *Namo* gives control over mind and victory over nature and it gives one energy to become a supreme soul different from an ordinary soul. It gives true knowledge about ones' own soul.

Namo implies that friendliness is established. By namaskara, good acts become possible but it should be Bhava namaskara.

Scriptures give us knowledge of our own nature but a Mantra gives us the experience of our own soul. By uttering the Navakara Mantra, one can destroy sins.

Special features of the Navakara Mantra

1. No sectarian bias: A person of any religion can recite it as it is the prayer of virtues and not the persons or God.
2. No salutations are offered to an individual person but they are offered to his virtues. Also, no Jaina terms are used. No particular being, not even Mahavira, receives mention as the object of veneration. Jaina emotionalism is oriented towards an ideal. Hence reverence is given to all beings that have been in pursuit of that ideal. Jainism believes in adoration of virtues rather than in adoration of a person.

Advantages of chanting the Navakara Mantra

1. Religious:
 - i) It is most auspicious amongst all the auspicious mantras. It is a Mantra in which salutations are offered to 5 supreme beings who are auspicious.
 - ii) It destroys Karmas, thereby leading to spiritual progress.
 - iii) It destroys all impediments.
 - iv) It dispels obstacles.
 - v) It exemplifies 14 Purvas (Scriptures).
 - vi) It is as good as getting the punyas of more than one Upavasa Vrata.
2. Miraculous:

Many stories are told that underline the miraculous power of this Mantra. Two bullocks attained celestial existence by listening to this Mantra, a snake became a garland, fire became water, poison became nectar etc.
3. Scientific:

From the scientific point of view, the power of this Mantra is extreme. Vibrations produced are such that peace of mind and equanimity are achieved. It heals physical and mental ailments.

4. Comparison:

It is more powerful than the Kalpavrksha, the Cintamani or the Parasmani.

5. Riddhi- Siddhi:

It gives worldly prosperities in addition to spiritual gains. The Navakara Mantra is the essence of Jina Sasana and is regarded as Maha Mantra (Greatest of all Mantras.)

It is significant to emphasize in conclusion the Jain conception of divinity. Jainism does not believe in personal God as a creator. Prayer is in the form of hymn – mantra – the simplest form of devotion used in the religion. But in Jainism prayer for asking something has no place. It is for becoming supreme soul - God. The soul becomes God by getting rid of passions. By praising the virtues of enlightened beings the self realizes its divine potentiality by his own efforts. Liberation is through self-efforts and not by grace of God. Incidentally, the term 'Jainism' is significant. It is derived from the term 'Jina' which means conqueror of inner enemies- (passions) The followers of 'Jina' are called Jainas. And the religion preached by Jina is Jainism. Jainas worship five supreme souls to attain their qualities. Hence it is said by Acarya Pujoyapada:

"I Worship the leader of the road to salvation, Destroyer of mountains of karmas, knower of all the substance in the universe - to attain these qualities".

Kamal Chand SOGANI

In the cultural history of mankind, Mahāvīra is one of those few towering personalities who fought for individual liberty and revolted against the economic exploitation and social oppression of man and introduced vigorous innovations in the then existing social law and order. Mahāvīra regarded the individual and his social responsibility as the key to the progress of both individual and society. Mahāvīra did not confine himself to individual upliftment, but he dedicated himself to the development of a new creative social order for the healthiest orientation of the individual. Thus in the philosophy of Mahāvīra, both individual and society, 'I' and 'Thou' are properly reconciled.

1. Metaphysical Method

For the reflective person Mahāvīra propounded that our conduct and behaviour are conditioned by our metaphysical speculation. The incentive to social change emerges from a deep and sound metaphysical theory which requires proper application of logic to experience. Samantabhadra (2nd A.D.) an ardent follower of Mahāvīra argues that the conceptions of bondage and liberation, Punya and Pāpa, heaven and hell, pleasure and pain and the like lose all their relevance and significance, if we exclusively recognize either permanence or momentariness as constituting the nature of substance.¹ The affirmation that the momentary disintegration of all things renders impossible the financial transactions, the fact of memory, and the commonplace relations of the husband and the wife, the teacher and the pupil and the like also indicate the subservience of ethical problems to the nature of being.²

Mahāvīra differs from all absolutists in their approach to the unfoldment of the inner nature of reality. He weaves the fabric and structure of reality on the authority of indubitable experience and is not swayed in the least by the fascinations of a priori logic. Owing to this deep-rooted abhorrence of the abstract way of philosophising, Mahāvīra evaluates what is given in experience, and consequently advocates change to be as much ontologically real as permanence. Both are separable but only in logical thought. Being implies becoming and vice versa. Inconsistent as it may appear at the

¹ Āpta-mīmāṃsā of Samantabhadra, 40-41 (Ganesh Varṇī D. Jaina Saṁsthāna, Vārāṇasī).
Yuktyanuśāsana, of Samantabhadra, 8-15 (Vīra Sevā Mandira, Delhi).

² Yuktyanuśāsana of Samantabhadra, 16-17 (Vīra Sevā Mandira, Delhi).

inception, there is no doubt that experience enforces it and logic confirms it. This conception of reality reminds us of the Greek philosopher Parmenides who regarded 'Being' as the sole reality wholly excludent of all becoming, as also of Heraclitus, for whom, permanence being an illusion, 'Becoming' or perpetual change constitutes the very life of the universe. It also makes us reminiscent of the Buddhistic philosophy of universal flux and of the unchanging, static, permanent absolute of Vedānta. But all these point of the one sided evaluation of experience. It may be said that "if the Upaniṣadic thinkers found the immutable reality behind the world of phenomena and plurality, and the Buddha denounced everything as fleeting and sorrowful and pointed to the futility of all speculation, Mahāvīra adhered to the common experience, found no contradiction between permanence and change, and was free from all absolutism."³

In consonance with the perspective adopted by Mahāvīra in the metaphysical speculation, subsistence is that which is characterized by simultaneous origination, destruction and persistence.⁴ Permanence signifies persistence of substance along with attributes, and change refers to fluctuating modes along with the emergence of the new modes and the disappearance of the old ones at one and the same time. To illustrate, gold as a substance exists with its modifications and qualities. Now after making an ornament, gold as a substance is existent along with its attributes and what changes is the mode.

Thus nature of substance may now oblige us to think that things both material and mental are everlastingly existent. Such a view of things cannot even pretend to conceive without falling into inconsistency the intervention of any eternal and self-subsistent maker, either personal or impersonal, for bringing into existence the diverse things of the world.

It may be noted here that origination and destruction are applicable to Paryāyas (modifications) and persistence to qualities along with substance. Hence permanence is not the denial of change, but includes it as its necessary aspect. The notion of Paryāya is the contribution of Mahāvīra to metaphysical thinking.

2. Socio-Ethical Method

Effective social changes were made by Mahāvīra through the promulgation of the socio-ethical values of Ahimsā, Aparigraha and Anekānta. These three are the consequences of Mahāvīra's devotedness to the cause of social reconstruction.

(a). Ahimsā

In an unprecedented way Mahāvīra clarified Ahimsā. In the Ācārāṅga he says: "None of the living beings ought to be killed or deprived of life, ought to be ordered or ruled,

³ N. Tatia, *Studies in Jaina Philosophy*, p. 18 (Pārśvanātha Vidyāśrama, Varanasi).

⁴ Pañcāstikāya of Kundakunda, 10, (Rājacandra Āśrama Āgās).

ought to be enslaved or possessed, ought to be distressed or afflicted and ought to be put to unrest or disquiet.”⁵ The sociopolitical organisations and the capitalistic set up can easily derive inspiration from this ethico-social statement. Thus the *Ācārāṅga* (Ācārāṅga) conclusively pronounces that after understanding the importance of kindness to beings, the enlightened person should preach, disseminate and applaud it at all places in East-West and North-South directions.⁶ The *Praśnavyākaraṇa Sūtra* designates Social *Ahimsā* as kindness, security, salutariness, fearlessness, non-killer, and so on.⁷

The *Ācārāṅga* gives us certain arguments to renounce *Himsā*.

(1) Socio-political argument against *Himsā*: The *Ācārāṅga* condemns *Himsā* by saying that its operation is without any stop, cessation and discontinuance and it goes on increasing to the extent possible with the political consequence that the race of armaments becomes unarrestable and continues to grow without any check. In contradistinction to this it eulogizes *Ahimsā* by saying that its observance is total and not piecemeal, with the result that the armament race discontinues and comes to a stop.⁸

(2) Psychological Argument against *Himsā*: After comprehending and beholding the significance of peacefulness of beings, one should renounce *Himsā*, inasmuch as *Himsā* causes suffering to beings and human suffering caused by theft, hoarding, falsehood, slavery, economic exploitation, social operation, curtailment of legitimate freedoms and the like is a great mental disturbance, is dreadful and is associated with unbearable pain and affliction. Since life is dear to all beings, pleasures are desirable, pain is undesirable for them, beings ought not to be killed, ruled, possessed, distressed and so on.⁹

It cannot be again said that human beings are engaged in actions and these actions are directed to different ends and some purposes. The *Ācārāṅga* expresses unpleasant surprise when it finds that there are human beings who are prone to realise ends and purposes through *Himsā*, such as killing, ruling, possessing, distressing and disquieting beings. They not only commit *Himsā*, but also they provoke others to commit *Himsā* and appreciate those who commit *Himsā*. The *Ācārāṅga* further tells us that these types of perverted actions defile human personality and thwart its proper development.¹⁰ We may thus conclude that the criterion of perverted action is *Himsā*, whereas the criterion of right action or ethico-social action is *Ahimsā*. It is of capital

⁵ *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, 132, (Āgama Prakaśana Samiti, Beawer).

⁶ *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, 196, (Āgama Prakaśana Samiti, Beawer).

⁷ *Praśnavyākaraṇa Sūtra*, 6.1.3, Pages 683-684, (Jaina Vishva Bhārati, Ladnun under the title *Aṃgasuttāni* (3)).

⁸ *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, 129, (Āgama Prakaśana Samiti, Beawer).

⁹ *Ibid.* 49, 78.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 13, 24, 35, 43, 51, 38.

importance to note that when our energies are directed to *Himsaka* (destructive) ends social development is obstructed and when our energies are directed to *Ahimsaka* (constructive) ends social development sets in.

It will not be possible to talk of *Ahimsā* without a world of living beings. Social *Ahimsā* begins with the awareness of the 'other'. Like one's own existence, it recognises the existence of other beings. In fact, to negate the existence of other beings is tantamount to negating one's own existence. Since one's own existence cannot be negated, the existence of other beings also cannot be negated. Thus there exists the universe of beings in general and that of human beings in particular.

The Jaina Āgama classifies living beings (Jīvas) into five kinds, namely, one-sensed to five-sensed beings.¹¹ The minimum number of Prāṇas possessed by the empirical self is four (one sense, one Bala, life-limit and breathing), and the maximum number is ten (five senses, three Balas, life-limit, and breathing). The lowest in the grade of existence are the one-sensed Jīvas which possess only the sense of touch and they have only the Bala of body, and besides they hold life-limit and breathing. These one-sensed Jīvas admit of five-fold classification, namely, the earth-bodied (Pṛthivīkāyika), water-bodied (Jalakāyika), fire-bodied (Agnikāyika) air-bodied (Vāyukāyika) and lastly, vegetable-bodied (Vanaspatikāyika) souls. The two-sensed Jīvas possess six Prāṇas, i.e., in addition to the four Prāṇas of one-sensed souls, they have two Prāṇas more; namely, the sense of taste, and the Bala of speech; the three-sensed souls have the sense of smell additionally; the four-sensed souls have the sense of colour besides the above; and lastly, the five-sensed souls which are mindless are endowed with the sense of hearing in addition; and those with mind possess all the ten Prāṇas.¹² Thus the number of Prāṇas possessed by the one-sensed to five-sensed souls is four, six, seven, eight, nine and ten respectively. This classification of Jīvas into five kinds is used for the measurement of the degree of *Ahimsā*. The more the senses, the more the evolved consciousness. As for example, two-sensed beings are more evolved than one-sensed beings, five sensed beings are more evolved than one, two, three and four-sensed beings. Thus *Ahimsā* will be directly proportionate to the *Ahimsā* of the beings (Jīvas) classified.

Now for the progress and development of these beings, *Ahimsā* ought to be the basic value guiding the behaviour of human beings. For a healthy living, it represents and includes all the values directed to the 'other' without over-emphasizing the values directed to one's own self. Thus it is the pervasive principle of all the values. Posit *Ahimsā*, all the values are posited. Negate *Ahimsā*, all the values are negated. *Ahimsā* purifies our action in relation to the self and other beings. This purification consists in our refraining from certain actions and also in our performing certain actions by keeping in view the existence of human and sub-human beings.

¹¹ Pañcāstikāya, 112 to 117 (Rājacandra Āśram Āgas).

¹² Sarvārthasiddhi of Pūjyapāda, II-14/288, (Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, New Delhi).

It may be asked what is in us on account of which we consciously lead a life of values based on *Ahimsā*? The answer is : it is *Karuṇā* which makes one move in the direction of adopting *Ahimsā*-values. It may be noted that the degree of *Karuṇā* in a person is directly proportionate to the development of sensibility in him. The greatness of a person lies in the expression of sensibility beyond ordinary limits. This should be borne in mind that the emotional life of a person plays a decisive role in the development of healthy personality and *Karuṇā* is at the core of healthy personality and *Karuṇā* is at the core of healthy emotions. Attachment and aversion bind the human personality to mundane existence, but *Karuṇā* liberates the individual from Karmic enslavement. The *Dhavalā*, the celebrated commentary on the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, remarkably pronounces that *Karuṇā* is the nature of soul.¹³ To make it clear, just as infinite knowledge is the nature of soul, so also is *Karuṇā*. This implies that *Karuṇā* is potentially present in every being although its full manifestation takes place in the life of the *Arhat*, the perfect being. Infinite *Karuṇā* goes with infinite knowledge. Finite *Karuṇā* goes with finite knowledge.

Thus if *Karuṇā* which is operative on the perception of the sufferings of the human and sub-human beings plunges into action in order to remove the sufferings of these beings, we regard that action as *Sevā*. Truly speaking, all *Ahimsā*-values are meant for the removal of varied sufferings in which the human and sub-human beings are involved. Sufferings may be physical and mental, individual and social, moral and spiritual. To alleviate, nay, to uproot these diverse sufferings is *Sevā*. In fact, the performance of *Sevā* is the verification of our holding *Ahimsā*-values. It is understandable that physical, mental and economic sufferings block all types of progress of the individual and make his life miserable. There are individuals who are deeply moved by these sufferings and consequently they dedicate themselves to putting an end to these sufferings. Thus their *Karuṇā* results in *Sevā*. Thus *Ahimsā*, *Karuṇā* and *Sevā* are interrelated and are conducive both to individual and social progress.

It is significant to point out that Mahāvīra's social mind exhorted that *Ahimsā* consists in recognising the dignity of man irrespective of caste, colour and creed. Man is man and should be recognised as such without any hesitation. The dignity of man is sacred and it is our duty to honour this dignity. Every individual, whether man or woman, should enjoy religious freedom without any distinction. A non-violent society cannot subscribe to class exploitation and social oppression of man. Mahāvīra bestowed social prestige upon the down-trodden individuals. This led to the development of self-respect in them. Thus he showed that no man or woman should be deprived of availing himself of the opportunities of advancement. This "Ahimsite" spirit of Mahāvīra extended itself even to the lowest scale of life and he promulgated that life as such is basically identical. Hence no living being should be hurt, enslaved and excited.

¹³ Dhavalā, Book 13, P. 361, 362 (Jīvarāja Granthamāla, Sholapur).

(b) Aparigraha

Mahāvīra was well aware of the fact that economic inequality and the hoarding of essential commodities very much disturb social life and living. These acts lead to the exploitation and enslavement of man. Owing to this, life in society is endangered. Consequently, Mahāvīra pronounced that the remedy for the ill of economic inequality is *Aparigraha*. All the means of illegitimate *Parigraha* bring about social hatred, bitterness, and exploitation. The method of *Aparigraha* tells us that one should keep with one self that which is necessary for one's living and the rest should be returned to society for its well-being. Limits of wealth, essential commodities, —all these are indispensable for the development of healthy social life. In a way wealth is the basis of our social structure and if its flow is obstructed because of its accumulation in few hands, large segments of society will remain undeveloped. The hoarding of essential commodities creates a situation of social scarcity which perils social life. In order to resist such inhuman tendency, Mahāvīra incessantly endeavoured to establish the social value of *Aparigraha*.

(c) Anekānta

It should be borne in mind that along with human and economic inequality, differences in outlook create a situation of conflict in society. The result is that constructive tendencies in man suffer a great deal. If we take things in the right perspective we shall find that differences in outlook appear as a result of the use of creative faculties inherent in man. If this fact is not adhered to, these differences become the cause of conflict between man and man, the consequence of which is that social unity is disrupted. Mahāvīra by his deep insight could see the waste of social energy on account of the wrong understanding of the nature of things. Consequently, he preached that differences in outlook are in fact differences in the nature of things. These different aspects of things are to be understood as the different aspects of truth. In fact, difference in outlook should be treated as difference in standpoints. By this, dissension disappears and social solidarity sets in. Mahāvīra's doctrine of standpoints can be called *Nayavāda* which is a corollary of *Anekāntavāda*, the doctrine of multiple aspects of truth. By virtue of the promulgation of this social value, man started thinking that along with his own standpoint, the standpoint of the other is also significant. This gave rise to social tolerance and broad-mindedness, which is a key to social adjustment and progress. This led to the conclusion that truth cannot be monopolised and every man in society, can subscribe to the discovery of a new aspect of truth. Thus *Anekānta* is the dynamic principle of social life, by virtue of which life is saved from being stagnant.

3. Method of According Religious Freedom to Women and Down-Trodden People

Mahāvīra gave complete religious freedom to women. They were allowed to accept the life of asceticism like men. Mahāvīra himself initiated Candanā into the ascetic

order. In the Saṃgha of Mahāvīra 36000 Sādhvīs were following religious observances. The followers of Jaina religion have been divided into four categories, viz., Sādhus, Sādhvīs, Śrāvakas and Śrāvikās. Sādhvīs are female ascetics who follow the five great vows in a very strict manner. This shows that complete freedom was given to women to enter the ascetic order. Female sex was no bar to the practice of asceticism. The Jaina Ācāryas were extremely sympathetic in their attitude to women and admitted them freely into their order, no matter whether the candidates for admission were royal consorts, members of the aristocracy, and women belonging to the common run of society.¹⁴

Religious freedom given to women enhanced their prestige in society. They were imparted education like men. As the full religious freedom was allowed to females, widows could devote their time for their spiritual upliftment and thus carve a respectable position for them in their family and in the minds of people in general.

Mahāvīra based the fourfold division of society on activities and not on birth. He accorded full freedom to one and all including women and down-trodden people to perform religious practices and admitted them into the order of ascetics.¹⁵ Thus "the doors of Jainism were thrown open to all and equal opportunity was given to everybody to practice religion according to his capacity. Those who followed religion as house-holders were known as Śrāvakas and Śrāvikās and those who observed it fully by leaving their houses were called as Sādhus and Sādhvīs".¹⁶ The Uttarādhyayana says that Harikeśa who was born in a family of untouchables attained saintly character owing to the performance of austerities.¹⁷ Good conduct and not caste is the object of reverence. Merit is the basis of caste and the pride of caste destroys right living.

It is significant to point out that Mahāvīra's social mind exhorted that Ahimsā consists in recognizing the dignity of man irrespective of caste, colour and creed. Man is man and should be recognized as such without any hesitation. The dignity of man is sacred and it is our duty to honour this dignity. Every individual, whether man or woman, should enjoy religious freedom without any distinction. A non-violent society cannot subscribe to class exploitation and social oppression of man. Mahāvīra bestowed social prestige upon the down-trodden individuals. This led to the development of self-respect in them. Thus he showed that no man or woman should be deprived of availing himself of the opportunities of socio-spiritual advancement.¹⁸

¹⁴ V. A. Sangave, *Jain Community - A Social Survey* pp. 169-170 (Popular Prakashan, Bombay).

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 65.

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 66.

¹⁷ K.C. Sogani, *Ethical Doctrines in Jainism*, p. 273.

¹⁸ K.C. Sogani, *Indian Culture and Jainism*, pp. 23-24.

4. *Method of Propounding the philosophy of fighting defensive wars and philosophy of Vegetarianism*

The term *Himsā* may be defined as the committing of injury to the *Dravya-Prāṇas* and the *Bhāva-Prāṇas* through the operation of intense-passion-infected *Yoga* (activity of mind, body, and speech).¹⁹ Suicide, homicide and killing of any other life whatsoever aptly sum up the nature of *Himsā*, inasmuch as these villainous actions are rendered conceivable only when the *Dravya-Prāṇas* and the *Bhāva-Prāṇas* pertaining to oneself and to others are injured. The minimum number of *Dravya-Prāṇas* has been considered to be four and the maximum has been known to be ten; and the *Bhāva-prāṇas* are the very attributes of *Jīva*. The amount of injury will thus be commensurate with the number of *Prāṇas* injured at a particular time and occasion.

Himsā is of two kinds, namely, intentional and non-intentional.²⁰ The intentional perpetrator of *Himsā* engages himself in the commitment of the acts of *Himsā* by his own mind, speech and action, provokes others to commit them, and endorses such acts of others. Besides, *Himsā* which is unavoidably committed by defending oneself from one's foes is denominated as non-intentional defensive *Himsā*. This leads us to the philosophy of fighting defensive wars.²¹

Now the householder is incapable of turning away completely from *Himsā*; hence he should keep himself away from the deliberate commission of *Himsā* of the two-sensed to five-sensed beings.²² The commitment of *Himsā* in adopting defensive contrivances cannot be counteracted by him. Thus he has to commit intentional injury to one-sensed *Jīvas*, namely, the vegetable-bodied, the fire-bodied etc; and non-intentional injury in fighting defensive wars. Even in the realm of one-sensed *Jīvas* and in the realm of fighting defensive wars he is required to confine his operations in such a way as may affect the life and existence of a very limited number of *Jīvas*.²³ In these two provinces the point to be noted is that of alleviating the amount of injury that is apt to be caused and not that of total relinquishment which is not possible without jeopardizing the survival of man. The hard fact to be noted is that man is subject to *Himsā* by the very condition of his existence. Yet instead of aggravating the natural weight of *Himsā* by falling foul upon one another and by our cruel treatment of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, we should endeavour to alleviate this general curse, to the extent to which we are capable of doing, by conforming ourselves to the sacred injunctions enjoined by Jaina spiritual teachers. Vegetarianism is therefore prescribed. It limits us to the unavoidable injury caused to only one-sensed-*Jīvas*. This is the philosophy of vegetarianism propounded by Jainism.

¹⁹ *Puruṣārthasiddhi-upāya* of Amṛtacandra, 43, (Rājacandra Āśrama, Agas).

²⁰ *Jainadarśanasāra* by Pt. Chainsukhadasa, page 63, (Sadbodha Granthamālā, Jaipur).

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 63.

²² *Puruṣārthasiddhi-upāya* of Amṛtacandra, 75 (Rājacandra Āśrama, Agas).

²³ *Ibid.* 77.

5. Method of propagating the Doctrine of Karma

Mahāvīra ascribed responsibility to an individual for the actions that he does in society. For establishing this he propagated the doctrine of Karma. Individuals differ from one another in respect of cognition, conation and affection etc. What is the cause of this difference? How to account for these perceptible distinctions among individuals? The answer of Mahāvīra is that it is the beginningless material subtle principle known as Karma that is responsible for the cause of differences in individuals. This Karma has been exercising its limiting and crippling influence on individuals from the beginningless past. This material subtle principle is known as Dravya-karma, and its psychical counterpart in terms of Rāga (Attachment) and Dveṣa (Aversion) is called Bhāva-Karma.

It is no doubt true that Karmas bind the self to mundane existence. Now the question that arises is this : How the self is bound by Karmas? What are the causes that create Karmic bondage in individuals. The answer of Mahāvīra is that it is action (mental, bodily and vocal) polluted by passion that causes empirical bondage to individuals.²⁴ The passion-free actions do not bring about any mundane bondage whatsoever. When there are no passions, there is no bondage (Bandha). It is passion that mars the socio-spiritual career of an individual.

6. Method of Emphasizing Individual Liberty Along with Social Responsibility

Mahāvīra fought for individual liberty in the context of social life. He revolted against the economic exploitation and social oppression of man and introduced vigorous innovations in the then existing social law and order. In a way, he was a social anarchist. In this way, Mahāvīra regarded individual and his social responsibility as the key to the progress of both the individual and society. He seems to be aware of the fact that the emphasis on merely individual progress without taking note of social responsibilities is derogatory both to the individual and society. Mahāvīra was neither merely individualistic nor merely socialistic. In his attitude both individual and society are properly reconciled. If individual liberty is to be sought, social responsibilities cannot be dispensed with.

The history of social thought reveals that with the advancement of knowledge social beliefs of a particular age are replaced by new beliefs. Many religious superstitions, social paths of life and other forms of follies and falsities are derogatory to individual progress, therefore they are condemned in every age of history. But the change is met with great resistance. The reason for this is that change is looked by individuals with doubt and uncertainty. Besides love for conventionality and vested interests run counter to the acceptance of novelties in thought. All these obstacles mar individual dynamism. The individual who is a slave to customary beliefs, however false they have been declared to be, cannot develop his own personality and his actions are just

²⁴ Rājavārttika of Akalaṅka, VI. 2/4, 5, (Bhāratiya Jñāna Pīṭha, New Delhi).

like machines. Mahāvīra, therefore, preaches that an individual should be free from follies (*Amūḍhatās*).²⁵ It is only through such individuals that society progresses and a scientific outlook gains ground. Such individuals are forward looking, and are free from the pressures of narrow traditionalism. They are always open-minded and are ever eager to learn from history and experience.

It is no doubt true that cognitive and conative clarities are essential to individual progress. If man's mind is prejudiced and his actions are stereotyped and wrongly directed, nothing worthwhile can be achieved. In order that an individual becomes an embodiment of noble thought and actions, virtuous dispositions are to be cultivated. This prepares the individual to do certain kinds of actions in certain kinds of situations. This is not just to think or feel in certain ways. There may be individuals who can think clearly and express good emotions whenever the situation calls for, but they may not act virtuously when required to do so. Consequently, Mahāvīra preached that an individual should develop virtuous dispositions of honesty, gratitude, *Ahimsā*, forgiveness, modesty, straightforwardness etc. This individual characteristic is known as *upabṛmhaṇa*.²⁶ It cannot be gainsaid that noble thoughts can be translated into action through the medium of character. Mere thought is important to bring about any individual transformation. It is only virtues in addition to thought that can effect transformation in the life of an individual and transmute existing state of affairs.

Mahāvīra, no doubt, greatly emphasised the development of the individuals, inasmuch as he was convinced of the fact that there is nothing over and above the good of the individual men, women and children who compose the world. But he did not lose sight of the fact that the individual develops not in isolation but among other individuals. The proper adjustment of 'I' and 'thou' leads to the healthiest development of both 'I' and 'thou'. 'Thou' may represent social and political institutions. Social and political institutions must exist for the good of the individuals. All individuals should live together in such a way that each individual may be able to acquire as much good as possible. Thus every individual, therefore, shall have certain responsibilities towards one another. This is the same as saying that an individual has certain social responsibilities. Therefore, social and individual morality are equally necessary to a good world.

Mahāvīra unequivocally says that the other is like our own. This does not mean that there are no individual differences. Rather it means that the individual should be allowed freedom to develop his own individualities. There should not be any distinction between man and man on the basis of religion, race, nationality. To create differences between one individual and the other on these factors is derogatory,

²⁵ Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvakācāra of Samantabhadra, 122 (Vīra Sevā Mandira, Delhi) ; Kārttikeyānuprekṣā, 417 (Rājacandra Āśrama, Agas) ; Puruṣārthasiddhi-upāya of Amṛtacandra 26.

²⁶ Puruṣārthasiddhi-upāya of Amṛtacandra, 27.

therefore, it should be condemned ruthlessly. Consequently, Mahāvīra exhorted us not to hate individuals on these accounts (*Nirvicikitsā*).²⁷ These are irrelevant inequalities.

These negative conditions of not hating others is not sufficient, but the positive condition of loving them (*Vātsalya*) is very much necessary.²⁸ To love is to see that equal opportunities of education, earning and the like are received by every individual without any distinction, of race, religion, sex and nationality. In his own times Mahāvīra fought for the equality of all men, and he revered individual dignity. Where there is love there is no exploitation. To treat other individuals as mere means is decried and denied. Where there is *Vātsalya*, all our dealings with others will be inspired by reverence; the role of force and domination will be minimised.

It is likely that individuals may deviate from the path of righteousness. In dealing with persons they may become so selfish as not to allow others their due share of liberty, they may become very possessive. Pride of power, use of force, and exploitation of the weak may look to them normal ways of life. Creative impulses in man may suffer owing to their destructive attitude. When individuals behave fanatically with one another, the real good will be served if they are (convinced) to deal with others rationally. To establish them in the good life is '*Sthitikaṛaṇa*'.²⁹ This is very much necessary in a society where the rule of creative impulses is to be established.

Lastly, the good ways of life, of thinking and doing things should be made widely known to people at large, so that they may feel obliged to mould their lives in that pattern. For this psychological methods of transmitting knowledge are required to be followed in all earnestness. The scientific techniques of radio, television and the like are to be utilised for propagating good ways of life. If the researches in the laboratories are not taken to and utilised in the fields, they will serve no significant purpose. They will be like doing things in seclusion. Similarly, if the findings in the human laboratory in the realm of values are not taken to human beings in general, things will deteriorate and conditions will not change. Mahāvīra, therefore, says to propagate values of life (*Prabhāvanā*).³⁰

7. Method of Using Common man's Language

It is incontrovertible that the 6th Century B.C. witnessed the rise of the 24th Tīrthaṃkara, Mahāvīra who played a dominant role in shaping the cultural history of India. He revolted against the socio-religious exploitation and oppression of man and introduced vigorous innovations in the then existing social law and order. In fact, he serves as an illustration both of spiritual realization and social reconstruction.

²⁷ Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvakaṇḍa of Samantabhadra 13.

²⁸ Puruṣārthasiddhi-upāya of Amṛtacandra, 29.

²⁹ Puruṣārthasiddhi-upāya of Amṛtacandra, 28.

³⁰ Puruṣārthasiddhi-upāya of Amṛtacandra, 30, Kārttikeyānupreksā 421-422.

After the attainment of omniscience (Kevalajñāna), Mahāvīra remained silent and did not deliver, according to Digambara tradition, any sermon for sixty-six days. At the advent of a renowned Vedic scholar, named Indrabhūti Gautama in the Samavasaraṇa (religious assembly) Mahāvīra delivered his first sermon at the Vipulācala mountain outside the city of Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha, on Saturday the 1st July 557 B.C. This day is celebrated as the Vīraśāsana day and Indrabhūti Gautama was designated as the first Gaṇadhara (chief disciple) by Mahāvīra. Along with Indrabhūti Gautama his five hundred pupils joined the order of Mahāvīra. Gradually Mahāvīra initiated more Vedic scholars into the ascetic order. It is of capital importance to note that Mahāvīra made use of Prākṛta for his discourses, as a result of which the whole canonical literature in Prākṛta was prepared by the Gaṇadharas.

Now the question is why did Mahāvīra deliver his first sermon only at the advent of a Vedic scholar? My interpretation of the event is : Vedic scholar is a Prākṛta scholar, since the Vedas have been composed in loka Bhāṣā (language of the masses) of that period. Pt. Kisoridasa Vajapaye tells us that the language of the Vedas is the first form of Prākṛta, though this underwent change in form in course of time and became the second stage of Prākṛta at the time of Mahāvīra. This second stage was prevalent in a very large area and Mahāvīra's discourses were meant for all without any distinction of caste and creed, classes and masses, so he chose Prākṛta for his deliverances.

It will not be out of place to mention that Mahāvīra was desirous of making the values of life accessible to the masses of the people, so he adopted Prākṛta for the propagation of ethico-spiritual ways of life and living. Now it is intelligible that Mahāvīra's Sojourn in the Arhat state of life inspired him to preach in the universal language used by the masses of people, though Vedic language and the classical Saṃskṛta preceded him. This may be styled language renaissance which supported the upliftment of the masses. The neglect of the common man ended with this attitude of Mahāvīra.

From what has been said above it may be rightly inferred that the Second Stage of Prākṛta originating from the First Stage of Prākṛta of the pre-Vedic times was used by Mahāvīra for his deliverances and Gaṇadharas prepared the Āgamic literature from it. This means that the Prākṛta language which is the representative of the common man's aspirations is denied the respectful position in society at large. Its revival is very much important for making intelligible the cultural history of India. Without it India will be misunderstood and the increasing significance of the common man in the present day democracy will not find its basis in ancient history of India.

Nalini JOSHI

Instead of using the word "Jainism", the title of the paper favours the phrase "Jain Tradition" which is very significant. If we try to search the models of Conflict-resolution and Peace in Jain environment, we see that these models are pervaded in the Jain way of conduct, in Jain society, in their pattern of observing religious practices, festivals and celebrations, in their history, in their socio-political reactions, in Jain art and sculpture and in Jain literature. All these aspects put together suggest that Jainism is not a mere philosophical system but a full-fledged tradition which flourished in India, long back before the advent of Buddhism.

Three Inherited Models in Representing Jainism

In the first model, Jainism is re-presented as a negligible sister system of Buddhism, as an essentially marginal unimportant heterodox group. This model is best seen in the countless references to the Jainas in the compound, "Buddhists and Jainas" and so on. The assumption is that by understanding something of the Buddhists, one knows all one needs to know about their "darker reflection" - the phrase used by Louis Renou.¹

In the second model, Jainism is represented as a minority ascetic tradition; it is incapable of influencing political institutions or developing a mass popular following. The Jain tradition is characterized as boringly ascetic, austere, unimaginative and so forth.

In the third model, "pure" Jainism is defined as conservative and unchanging and all innovations are portrayed as degenerations. Original Jainism is the essence and historical Jainism consists in falling away from that essence. In this model, all innovation is ascribed to Hinduism, which is a dynamic and changing tradition. According to this model, influence moves in only one direction, from active Hinduism to passive Jainas.

Thorough study of "Pure Jainism" and "Historical Jainism" reveals a different picture. Jainism is one of the most ancient of India's indigenous traditions and the oldest of the surviving non-Vedic schools. It is quite evident that though Jainas are in minority from the ancient period till today, still they have not lost their identity. They stick to

❖ A research paper originally presented in the National Seminar jointly organised by Centre for Studies in Buddhism and Dept. of Buddhist Studies, University of Pune, February 2009.

¹ Quoted in J.E. Cort (ed.), *Open Boundaries*, Introduction, p. 3.

their fundamental tenets, doctrines and ethics but they are not “fundamentalists” in the modern sense of this word.

In this paper, an attempt is made to enumerate the models of conflict-resolution and peace which have helped the Jainas in surviving without losing their identity.

The Comprehensive Model of Anekāntavāda

When we start thinking in the direction of model creation in Jain Tradition, we easily come to know that Jainas never exerted or strive for creating these models externally or superficially because the theory of non-absolutism is the very base, essence or crux in Jain thought. The chief, guiding model is already present which is gradually developed in the course of time. Whatever remains is the method of application of this comprehensive model in the various fields of human endeavor. The various models which we are going to discuss have sprung from the very core of crux of Jainism. Anekāntavāda, the Jain theory of multiple facets of reality and truth is so fundamental and central to Jain Metaphysics, Epistemology and Logic that the entire Jain system is known as Anekānta-darśana.

Though we find the particular name “Anekāntavāda” from 6th or 7th century A.D. and onwards, we can trace back the starting points from *Bhagavatīsūtra*,² a canonical text in Ardhamāgadhī. The gradual progress of Nayavāda, Syādvāda and Anekāntavāda is seen chronologically with the help of the treatises written by Kundakunda, Umāsvātī, Mallavādin, Siddhasena Divākara, Samantabhadra, Akalaṅka, Haribhadra, Hemacandra, Vālideva and so on up to Yaśovijaya, of 18th century.

The ontological, epistemological, logical, ethical and spiritual implications of Anekāntavāda are elaborately explored by many eminent scholars of Jainism. Jain thinkers assert that reality is many-sided; it has manifold aspects and infinite characters. It is both existent and non-existent, permanent and transient, one and many etc. The conflict among the contradictory characters is resolved by creating the model of fourfold Nyāsa or Nīkṣepa.³ A thing is existent from the standpoint of its own substance (*dravya*), place (*kṣetra*), time (*kāla*) and quality, state or form (*bhāva*). The thing is non-existing from the fourfold standpoints of another thing.

Thus we can conclude that the non-violent, peace-loving attitude in Jain Tradition containing reconciliation, adjustment and adoption is the natural outcome of the doctrine of non-absolution. When we go through the long history of Jain Tradition, with its religio-social ups and downs, we come to know that earnest attempts are made to reconcile by changing the outer expressions (viz. modes) and protecting the soul of non-violence and peace intact in spite of the charges of cowardice and surrender. The canonical literature of the Jainas is almost free from the sarcastic, satirical and hostile

² *Bhagavatī Sūtra* 7.58-60, 93, 94 ; 9-231.

³ *Dravya, kṣetra, kāla, bhāva* : *Jñātadharma-kathā* 1.5.36 ; *Sthānāṅga* 5.170-174.

remarks against their opponents. On the other hand Lord Buddha uses these weapons freely towards Niggaṇṭha Nātaputta. In one of the *Jātaka* tales Buddha depicts himself as a peacock and Mahāvīra as a crow.⁴

Now, we will discuss the further sub-models which are in congruence with the chief model of non-absolutism.

A: The Model of Suitable Languages

The capacity of the Jainas to adopt various languages is unparalleled. This multilingual attitude is handed down to them by Lord Mahāvīra and further prominent Jain Ācāryas.

Mahāvīra delivered his preaching in Ardhamāgadhī.⁵ Further Jain Ācāryas used Śaurasenī and Māhārāṣṭrī. Nearly ten centuries after Mahāvīra, Jain Ācāryas stuck to the regional languages viz. Prakrits. From the fifth century A.D. and onwards we see that Jain authors were interacting with others as intellectuals in terms of pan-Indian scholarly genre of Śāstra. Jainas transformed their tradition into a school of learning by presenting their writings in the pan-Indian scholarly language of Sanskrit.⁶ But Jain authors re-defined Sanskrit treating it not as a sacred institution but a natural phenomenon. Jainas, such as Hemacandra wrote their own Sanskrit grammars to replace the Brahmanical system canonized by Pāṇini and Patañjali. Side by side, the Jain authors continued their writings in Māhārāṣṭrī and various Apabhraṃśas, up till the 15th and 16th cent. A.D. Even today, the Sādhus and Sādhvīs can address people in three four languages very comfortably. This inherited model of acquiring suitable languages is proved to be beneficial even to the laity, which mostly owe to merchant class.

B: The Model of Choosing Less Harmful

Though Jainism gives utmost importance to non-violence, Jain thinkers are aware of the fact that for a normal person, it is impossible to avoid violence completely in his daily routine activities. The whole animate world is divided into five groups according to the possession of sense organs.⁷ When Jainas choose vegetarian diet and avoid meat, the model of accepting less harmful is exercised. Vegetable-bodied and waterbodied beings possess only one sense-organ. All other animates like shells, worms, insect, fish, serpents and four-legged animals possess two to five sense-organs. Among vegetables also the roots like potato, sweet potato etc. having *sādhārana śarīra*⁸ are avoided. It is advised that as far as possible the fruits containing many

⁴ Durga Bhāgavata, *Jātaka-kathā*, vol. 3 p. 105.

⁵ *Samavāyāṅga* 34.

⁶ The first Jaina Sūtragrantha is Umāsvātī's *Tattvārthasūtra* (4th-5th cent. A.D.).

⁷ *Tattvārtha* 2.23-24.

⁸ Varieties of vegetables : *sādhārana* and *pratyeke* : see *Jīvābhigama* 1.68, 69, 72, 73 ; *Pañṇaṇaṇā* 23.38, 121.

seeds like custard apple should be avoided. Vigilance in selecting the food inculcates them to accept food that causes the least possible violence.

While choosing clothes, cotton-clothes are preferable than silk. Leather-articles are avoided. A guideline is provided to a businessman by giving a list of fifteen prohibited businesses (*Karmādānas*) so that one can choose a business which incurs less harm.

In Jain mythologies, it is depicted that when Bharata and Bāhubali, the sons of the first Tirthaṅkara, entered into a war, they decided to engage a duel (*dvandva-yuddha*) in order to avoid a huge warfare causing death of thousands of warriors.⁹ For kings, *virodhī himsā* is somehow permitted but *saṃkalpī himsā* is highly condemned. Lord Mahāvīra preached the kings who were his lay disciples that they should avoid aggressive wars and showing off their military strength. While defending oneself, one's neighbour, one's country and one's belongings, violence is inevitable.¹⁰ These sinful acts create Karmic bondage and one has to observe penance for lessening the bad effects. The proclamation of Lord Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā*, i.e. *aham tvā sarvapāpebhyo mokṣayiṣyāmi mā śucaḥ* has no scope in Jain ideology of *himsā* and *ahimsā*.

In the freedom movement of India against the British rule, the Jain freedom fighters naturally preferred the non-violent way of Gāndhījī rather than the way of Krāntikārins. In fact, it is evident from Gāndhījī's biography that he was actually influenced by the Jain way of life.

C: The Model of Peaceful Interaction with Rulers

When we examine Jain history from this point of view, we come to know that in the ancient, medieval and modern period, Jains are successful in keeping peaceful and creative interaction with the rulers. There are few kings who themselves belong to Jain faith. It is mentioned in the Prakrit inscriptions of Hāthīgumphā (Kalinga, Mod. Orissa) that the Jain king Kharavela (200 B.C.) belongs to the Cedi dynasty. Though Vanarāja Cāvaḍā was a Śaiva king of Gujrat in the 8th century, it is evident that he was a Jainized king. He was assisted by important Jain laymen in ruling the kingdom. He was a devotee of a Jain mendicant and received spiritual guidance to rule his kingdom. Kumārapāla (12th cent. A.D.) was one king in the Cālukya dynasty who personally became a Jain. Hemacandra, the most renowned Jain Ācārya, was his Guru. Animal slaughter, meat, liquor, hunting and dice were strictly prohibited in his kingdom. The dynasties like Kadamba, Gaṅga, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Cālukya and Hoyasala were quite co-operative towards Jain monks and laymen. It is of course the outcome of keeping good relations with the rulers.

On the advent of Mughal kings, mendicants of both the Tapā and Kharatara Gaccha attempted successfully to establish peaceful relations with them. Muni Jinaprabhasūri

⁹ Bharata-Bāhubali Dvandvayuddha : *Ādipurāṇa* vol. 2, p.200-220.

¹⁰ *Upāsakadaśā* p. 488, 491 ; *Kālakācāryakathā* ed. W. Norman Brown, p. 34, 35.

was a contemporary of Mohammad Tughlak (14th cent.). He influenced the Mughal Emperor with his occult yogic powers. Due to this relationship, Jinaprabha became successful in keeping the Jaina Saṅgha and Jaina temples intact. With the royal support, Jinaprabha produced remarkable literary works.¹¹ In the 16th cent., Ācārya Hīravijayasūri was honored in the court of Emperor Akbar. As a result it is said that the Emperor enforced non-harm in his kingdom on certain holy days and had taken a vow to forego hunting. Jaina narratives portray Jahāngīr in a similar fashion.

The early twentieth century Tapāgaccha Ācārya Buddhisāgarasūri had influenced Sayājirao Gaikwad of Baroda.

The interaction between the Jainas and Europeans is very complex and even less studied than between the Jainas and Muslims.¹² This has been an interaction at the socio-economic level, as Jainas were among the Indian merchants with whom Europeans had their earliest dealings. The British were the colonial overlords, the relationship in which the social position of Jainas as bankers, traders, merchants etc. brought them into close association with the economic side of the British Rāj.

A later wave of Jaina migration begins in the second half of the 19th century. With economic opportunities becoming available in British colonial territories, many Jaina families moved abroad, mainly in Africa. In the 20th century Jainas migrated to the “West”. Jainas are seeking to widen their activities through the creation of “Inter-faith-links” such as Jaina-Christian Association, the Jaina-Jewish Association and the Leicestershire Ahimsā Society for the care of Nature. In U.S.A. and Canada Jainas have established many Jaina Societies and Jaina Centers. Some include temples, religio-social activities involving lectures and discussions for the spread of vegetarianism, non-violence and peace.¹³

This brief account of Jaina history suggests that Jainas are very adaptive in the changing circumstances “The Model of peaceful interactions with non-Jainas” is observed for the last two millenniums by Jainas but one cannot overlook the fact that the divide between Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras and the number of lawsuits and public quarrels in recent years shows that this is a powerful generator of a sense of otherness between Jaina Communities. During the last two hundred years, there are many further divisions created, sometimes sharp and sometimes soft.

D: The Model of Categorization

When the Jaina thinkers select any aspect or important point for further elaboration, they divide it into various kinds, varieties and sub-varieties until they reach the logical end of the thought. They adjust and accommodate the non-Jaina views; objects or personalities among these categories. For instance,

¹¹ Introduction of *Vividhatīrthakalpa*.

¹² J.E. Cort, Introduction to *Open Boundaries* p. 7.

¹³ Natubhai Shah, *Jainism* p. 82.

- (i) Jainas present the ladder of spiritual progress with the help of 14 *Guṇasthānas*. They place persons having wrong world view (*Mithyātvals*) on the first step of the ladder and name it as *Mithyātvagūṇasthāna*.
- (ii) While explaining Siddhahood, the *Uttarādhyayana* mentions, *strīlingasiddha ... svalingasiddha ... anyalingasiddhā*.¹⁴ The gender and sectarian bias is thus overcome by this categorization.
- (iii) In the early centuries of Christian era, Jainas develop a format or model of 54 Mahāpuruṣas or 63 Śālākāpuruṣas. They categorized the influential or illustrious personalities into Tīrthaṅkaras, Vāsudevas, Baladevas, Cakravartins etc.¹⁵ The famous Hindu Purāṇic personalities like Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Jarāsaṃdha, Bharata Cakravarti etc. got their "space" in Jain environment. This all-inclusive tendency must have created a harmony with the Hindu brethren.

E: The Model to Remove Social Injustice

This model emerges rightly from the philosophical concept of *Jīva* in Jainism. *Jīvas* or individual souls are infinite,¹⁶ each separate from the other. The transmigratory souls go through the cycle of births and deaths according to their own Karmans. The Jainas do not believe in any creator God, so the classes and castes are created by human beings and not by God. Basically all *Jīvas* possess the same status and are equally eligible for one's spiritual progress. On this philosophical ground Jainas tried to remove the class-barriers and caste-conflicts. The views on *āśramas* and *jātis* are reflected in many texts like the *Uttarādhyayana*.¹⁷ In the Jain tradition, Śvetāmbaras have conferred the same religious and spiritual status to woman folk. In Jain Saṅgha, right from Rṣabhanātha, Sādhus, Sādhvīs, Śrāvakas and Śrāvikās are enjoying equal rights.¹⁸ Jainas give equal status to women but in practice, even today, Sādhvīs enjoy inferior status than Sādhus. A reform is taking place, but the pace of the reform is very slow.

One more observation is very noteworthy under this model that the literacy rate among Jain women is comparatively very high.

F: The Model of *Gupṭi* (Guarding or Protective actions)

In Jain History, there is a very little scope for rebels, reforms, attacks or eccentric actions. The attitude of guarding and protective actions is directly connected to the

¹⁴ *Uttarādhyayanasūtra* 36.50.

¹⁵ For the division of Śālākāpuruṣas into Tīrthaṅkaras and other groups see, for example, *Kummāputtacariya*, verse 49.

¹⁶ *Jīvas* are infinite and separate : *āluṃ mūlāḥ ... jāva aṇamajīvā vivihassatā*, *Bhagavati* 7.66.

¹⁷ For criticism on class and caste see *Uttarādhyayana* chapters 9, 14, 15.

¹⁸ For the fourfold Saṅgha of Rṣabhadeva see *Ādipurāṇa* vol. 1, p. 591-592.

ethical tenets of *āśrava* and *saṃvara*.¹⁹ *Gupti* and *Samiti* mean guarding and careful movements. Due to this mild attitude, Buddhism has oppressed Jainism for some time quite strongly to such an extent that it had to beat the retreat before Buddhism in many areas. Around the 10th cent. the might of Buddhism in India declined completely. It could not resist the Jaina faith in the west and in the south. The activities of Kumārila and Śaṅkara, the revival of Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivaite sects proved to be the dangerous opponents and they did severe damage to Jainism particularly in the Deccan and South. The Śaivite sect of Lingāyatas proceeded against Jainas extremely fanatically. It is said that the Hoysala King Bittiadeva ordered that Jainas, compatriots in his early religion be thrown in an oil-mill and crushed, if they did not want to get converted.²⁰ The Jaina responses to all these kinds of oppressions was surprisingly humble and retreating. The growing might of Hinduism was not revealed to Jainism only in its loosing followers. Instead of adopting some revengeful and fanatic steps against Bhakti cults, as far as possible Jainas adopted their language, deities and Pūjā rituals. This attitude of adoption is clearly reflected in Jain art and sculpture. Jainas have enriched the country's art-treasure with numerous and diverse specimens of art and architecture. In the representation of the many lesser deities of the Jaina pantheon, such as Indra and Indrāṇī, Yakṣa and Yakṣī as attendants of the Tīrthaṅkaras, the goddess Sarasvatī, the Kṣetrapālas in the depiction of scenes from the life-stories of the Tīrthaṅkaras, it seems that the artist was not restrained by any rigidly prescribed formulae and had greater freedom. He could also give play to his genius in carving and painting natural objects and secular scenes from contemporary life. In their temple-architecture, the Jainas while adopting the styles prevalent in the places and times where and when they built their temples also introduced certain characteristic features in keeping with their own culture and ideology. Thus the model of Golden Middle is found in Jaina expression of art and sculpture.

Concluding Remarks

The Jainas possess a distinct religion, a separate philosophy, a different ethical code, a set of particular beliefs, practices, customs and manners and a vast literature of their own. The Jainas form a small minority at present and also in the past. Due to this fact, Jainas struggled a lot for identity crisis. Fortunately their sound monitory position and inclination towards charity and donation helped them a lot. They have adopted and still adopt various models of conflict-resolution and peace.

As we have seen above, the chief model of non-absolutism was already available for them as a central doctrine. The above mentioned six models are just some examples of the application of the theory of non-absolutism and Ahimsā. There is a vast scope for formulating more models on the same line. Due to various reasons the attention is not

¹⁹ *Tattvārthasūtra* 9.1-2.

²⁰ Von Glasenapp, *Jainism* p. 65.

attracted towards the Jaina theories in spite of its tremendous capacity to give solutions on many problems in future.

Aidan Rankin quotes Albert Einstein in his book entitled *The Jain Path: Ancient Wisdom for an Age of Anxiety*. The father of the theory of relativity says, "I do not know if there is rebirth or not or life after death. But if it is true, then I would like to be born in India as a Jain".²¹

It is very noteworthy that a scientist like Einstein has reflected a lot on the Jaina theory of multiples facets of Reality and Truth.

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²¹ Aidan Rankin, *The Jain Path* p. 1.

Geeta MEHTA

The origin of humanism

Humanism as a philosophical and literary movement originated in Italy in the second half of the 14th century and diffused all over Europe. As an atheistic theory it was conceived in 17th century by French philosophers but as a theistic, pragmatic theory it was conceived indirectly around 2000 B.C. at the time of Vedas, Sramana Tradition and Upanishads in India. The Prayer – *sarve atra sukhinah santu sarve santu niramāyāḥ* “Let all be happy here and let all enjoy full health” of Vedic Sages echoed the Universal welfare.

The philosophy of Humanism has had many incarnations during the long history of mankind. In India, the humanistic tradition also started with Jain Acharyas who gave the tenet, *śivam astu sarvajagataḥ* “Let there be welfare of the whole world”.

The western tenet, given by Protagoras is “Man is the measure of all things” (The truth above all things is man; there is nothing above him). “Humanism is any philosophy, which recognizes the value or dignity of man and takes human nature, its limits, or its interests as its theme.”

Various interpretations of humanism

Humanism is not an established school of philosophy, but is a definite philosophical outlook. It emphasized the worth and dignity of man by rejecting other worldliness and transcendentalism. It is this worldly, man-centered secular philosophical outlook. It claims that the man is self-sufficient and is able to comprehend the world phenomena and work out a certain social order without the help of God. It is an attitude towards and an approach to man's worldly life and values. It is characterized by interest in man, concern for man, and faith in man's reason and conscience for discriminating perception of truth and goodness. It also has to take note of man's cultural history, where values and standards have been discovered and set up by men, for men.

Mahāvīra's humanism

Mahāvīra's great contribution to Humanism consists in conceiving a religion that centers almost wholly around man and his life here in this world. Religion, according to him, should pervade all our activities; it cannot and ought not to be

pursued in seclusion from one's fellow-beings and in separation from life's other activities. The equivalent for Religion is *Dharma* in Sanskrit, which means moral obligation and connotes individual's integrity as well as social solidarity. The universe as envisaged in Jain teaching and the motto is *parasparopagraho jīvānām*¹ "There should be mutual support between living creatures".

Religious tolerance

Jaina thinkers have consistently shown deference to other ideologies and faiths. In the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (2nd Century B.C), it is stated that those who praise their own faith and view and disparage those of their opponents, possess malice against them and hence will remain confined to the cycle of birth and death.

*sayam sayam pasamsantā garahantā param vayaṃ
je u tattha viussanti saṃsāraṃ te viussiyā.*²

In another famous Jaina work of the same period the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ*, the teaching of the 45 renowned saints of Sramanical and Brahmanical schools of thinking such as Narada, Bharadvaja, Gautama Buddha and many others have been presented with regard:

*Devanāradeṇa arahatā isiṇā buiyaṃ.*³

Haribhadra's crusade against sectarianism is unique and admirable in history of world religions. Jainism has a sound philosophical foundation for religious tolerance and throughout the ages, it practically had remained tolerant and regardful to other faiths and ideologies.

Ācārya Amitagati writes a beautiful verse for tolerance –

*sattveṣu maitriṃ guṇiṣu pramodaṃ
kliṣṭeṣu jīveṣu kṛpāparatvam
madhyasthabhavaṃ viparītavṛttau
sadā mamātmā vidadhātu deva.*⁴

Jainism attaches great importance to universal tolerance, an active ingredient of the principle of Ahimsā.

¹ *Tattvārthasūtra* 5.21.

² *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 1/1/2/23.

³ *Isibhāsiyāiṃ* 1/1.

⁴ *Sāmāyika Pāṭha* I (*Sāmāyika Pāṭha* I by Amitagati. Published in *Sāmāyikasūtra*, Sanmati Jnanapitha, Agra).

Free will in Jain thought

The problem of free will is discussed by almost all renaissance humanists, 'Man the measure' is the earliest declaration of humanistic outlook. Humanists confirm that man is the maker of his own destiny.

Free will did not mean slavery to desires of our mind but freedom of 'rational self'. Once you condition yourself with 'rational self', you are free to move within those restraints. In the words of Emerson, "A man is free to speak the truth not to lie, free to serve, not to exploit, free to sacrifice himself but not free to kill or injure"⁵.

Morality for Mahāvīra was not a matter of outward conformity but of inward fulfillment, of deep conviction, accomplished by right action. Hence Jainism teaches *Triratna* "Three Jewels" (Right knowledge, Right faith and Right conduct). The soul has all power to implement the quality of life.

Right conduct

Karma Theory is supreme in Jainism. It is the activity of human beings. There is no concept of grace and God in Jainism. Right knowledge is the knowledge of reality without doubt or error. To acquire this knowledge one should study the teaching of the Tirthankaras who have attained liberation and are therefore fit to lead others. Right faith is an essential preliminary for right knowledge. It consists in an insight into the truths. Right knowledge in itself is not enough, if it is not followed by right conduct. Right faith, right knowledge and right conduct cannot exist exclusively of each other. Though right conduct is the direct means of liberation: *cāritram ante gṛhyate mokṣaprāpteh sāṁsār kāranaṁ iti jñāpanārtham*.⁶ Right conduct consists in controlling the passions, the senses, the thoughts, the speech and the action so as to cultivate an attitude of "neutrality without desire or aversion towards the objectives of the external world."

The right conduct is based on the fivefold moral code which Jains call *panca mahāvratā* which are tenets of Ahimsā. This fivefold moral code names killing as the biggest sin. Killing includes harming or hurting not only humans or animals but also insects and plants, because Jains believe that plants are in possession of souls. The Jain Munis even breathe through a piece of cloth tied over their mouth, lest they inhale and destroy the life of an organism floating in the air. It is this morbid fear of injuring life that governs the life of orthodox Jains. Thus Jainism prescribes asceticism for the sake of asceticism.

The other rules of the moral code are actually contributory regulations to the main rule of Ahimsā. The second code stresses truthfulness (*satya*) in one's dealings with others. *Asteya* or abstinence from stealing is the third rule. The fourth is *brahmacharya* or

⁵ Quoted in the Foreword by Mahadev Desai, Gandhi M.K. *My Early Life*. Bombay: Oxford University Press. 1938, p. VIII.

⁶ Pūjyapāda on *Tattvārthasūtra* 9.18.

celibacy and the fifth is *aparigraha* or renunciation of worldly objects. All these *vratas* are to be observed by individuals but they have social connotation.

Human concern, so non violence

For the Jainas, a true religion consists in the practice of equanimity:

*samiyāe dhamme āriehiṃ paveie.*⁷

And its foundation is the observance of non-violence:

*se bemi: je aiyā, je ya paḍuppannā, je ya āgamiṣṣā arahantā bhagavanto te savve evaṃ āikkhanti ... savve pāṇā, save bhūyā, save jīvā, save sattā na haṃtavvā ... esa dhamme suddhe, ñiie sāṣae...*⁸

In the *Ācārāṅgasūtra* we come across these two definitions of religion. Equanimity is the essence of religion, while the observance of non-violence is its eternal exposition or a social aspect of religion. The *Ācārāṅga* mentions that practice of non-violence is the true and eternal religion.

It was agriculture which allowed man to settle down and think about himself as well as think about others. When he started thinking about himself, he expected non-injury, non-violence from others and if he expects non-injury, non-violence from others he also has to behave with others in the same manner.

Jainas speak of violence as unnatural and of non-violence as natural because if you throw somebody into the river, you expect a cause for it but if you save a man from drowning into river, we do not require an explanation for it. It means that love or non-violence is inherent in the nature of things. Non-violence is as natural as fragrance to a flower. Flower emitting fragrance is not conditional. It is, therefore, not conditional. It is unconditional and unmindful of its surroundings. Non-violence is the intrinsic nature of man. It is unconditional and unmindful of its surroundings. It is, therefore, not dependent even on the existence of the other, not to speak of the action of the others. The flower emits fragrance equally not only for its friends and foe but also when it is all alone and there is none to receive its fragrance.

In the literature of world religions, non-violence as a way of life has a very ancient history. Jainism is the 'Ahiṃsā' religion par excellence among others. Jainism placed strong emphasis on the ethical principle of Ahiṃsā and also discussed it in epistemology and metaphysics. Ahiṃsā is the central core of Jain philosophy and religion. Ṛṣabha is said to have been the first to preach Ahiṃsā before achieving his own Kaivalya. The preaching of Ahiṃsā is the most important task of Mahāvīra's life. Feeling of immense respect and responsibility for life inspires his activities. The Jaina

⁷ *Ācārāṅgasūtra* 1/5/3 Edited by Atmaramji, Jain sthanaka, Ludhiyana, 1963.

⁸ *Ācārāṅga* 1/4/1.

doctrine of non-injury is based on rational consciousness, not emotional compassion, on individual responsibility. Though the emphasis is on personal liberation, the Jain ethic makes that goal attainable only through consideration for others. According to Umāsvāti, the author of *Tattvārthasūtra*, “Nonviolence is unlimited, tolerance unconditional and reverence for life supreme. There is no question of ‘just war’”.⁹

Padmanabh Jaini has observed that there is a “preoccupation with Ahimsā” within Jainism for no other religious tradition “has carried it to the extreme of the Jainas. For them it is not simply the first among virtues but *the* virtue”.¹⁰ The Doctrine of Ahimsā is narrated and analyzed in the Āgamas as follows:

- a) All violence deserves to be discarded because it leads to sorrow and fear. This is the basic argument of the doctrine of non-violence.
- b) Violence means ending somebody’s life or torturing others. Still the blemishes born on violence depend only on infatuation or attachment and jealousy etc. If there is no infatuation or attachment, mere ending of life can not come under the category of violence.
- c) The purport of the blemish of violence does not depend upon the relative importance of the size, number and senses of the living beings that are killed. It depends upon the result of the violating person or the intensity or otherwise, his knowing or unknowing action or the use of force. This constitutes the purport of non-violence.

The three matters mentioned above became fruitful in the thought and conduct of Mahāvīra and are woven in the Āgamas. Mahāvīra proclaimed: “There are no quality of soul more subtle than non-violence and no virtue of spirit greater than reverence for life”.

All religions are at one in upholding the primacy of nonviolence. However, Jainism tends to give it a more comprehensive interpretation than anyone of them. The basic principle of nonviolence follows from Jaina metaphysical view that all souls are equal. No one likes pain. One should not do unto others, what one does not want other to do unto one. Hence hurting whether by thoughts, words or deed is looked upon as the basic evil to be overcome.

Non-violence and environment

Jainism is not an abstract philosophy, but a complete life-style, a way of life. It offers physical, moral and spiritual rules of healthy living. The latest technology and best of Science can be incorporated in the Jaina model while reviving the old tradition. It establishes harmony between religious and scientific, spiritual and physical aspects, between personal independence and ecological interdependence. It is the path of

⁹ Translator’s Introduction to *Tattvārthasūtra* in Nathmal Tatia (ed.) *That which Is*, San Francisco and London: Harper Collins 1994, p. XXI.

¹⁰ Padmanabh S. Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979, p. 167.

purification the basis of which is the principle of non-violence which is the principle pertaining to environment.

According to Jainism, true religion is that which sustains all species of life and helps to maintain harmonious relationship among them. In the *Ācārāṅgasūtra* it is said "Ahimsā is pure and eternal Dharma".¹¹ Non-violence is not restricted to human beings but it embraces the whole Universe. Non-violence is observed by Jaina seers as a rule of nature. It is the first principle of higher life. "All miseries arise from violence."¹² and also "non-violence is the crux of wisdom".¹³ Not to kill or destroy is the good deed par excellence.

It is said in the *Ācārāṅgasūtra* that non-violence comes first because it is the chief of all the *vratas*. Just as fence is meant for the protection of a field, so also are the remaining *vratas* meant for the protection of non-violence.

Equanimity

Equanimity is the essence of religion, while the observance of non-violence is its extensional exposition or a social aspect of religion.

One who is unbiased and impartial can perceive the truth of his opponent's ideologies and faiths, and thus can possess deference to them. Intense attachment unfailingly generates blind faith in religious leaders, dogmas, doctrine and rituals and consequently religious intolerance and fanaticism. Right knowledge, Right faith, and Right conduct (the *triratna*) of Jainism maintains that Right faith should be maintained and not blind faith. Jainism maintains that Right faith should be followed by right knowledge.

Anekāntavāda

The doctrine of Anekāntavāda or non-absolutism of the Jainas is that on which the concept of religious tolerance is based. Non-violence is the essence of religion from which the concept of non-absolutism emanates. Absolutism represents "Violence of thought" for it negates the truth-value of one's opponent's view and thus hurts the feeling of others. A non-violent search for truth finds non-absolutism.

The necessary corollary of Anekāntavāda is non-violence in speech and thought. One must respect others' point of view. If we insist on truth we must understand the beauty of compromise. This is the philosophy of relativism.

What is required is to be flexible – intellectual fanaticism is dangerous. Therefore, liberalism in thought is advocated. We have to develop a non-absolutistic standpoint attitude on almost all problems. It helps us to understand the viewpoints of others and to reconcile ourselves with the thoughts of others. It helps also to cultivate the spirit of tolerance and understanding. This will increase goodwill and harmony. One has to

¹¹ *Ācārāṅga* 1/4/1 quoted above.

¹² *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 1/10/21.

¹³ *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 1/14/10.

practise generosity of spirit and avoid fundamentalism. Thus antagonism can be resolved not by quarrels but by communication and understanding. It is the principle of cooperation and co-existence. The result is the establishment of a liberal attitude in our dealings. Anekāntavāda leads to relativity, which states that since truth is relative to different standpoints, one has to consider different aspects of it. It is an ideal for successfully managing conflicts – personal or interpersonal, national or international. It brings about importance of tolerance. Intolerance arises because of unwillingness to accept difference. But according to this doctrine – “he is right, but I am also right”.

The basis of this theory is not merely that reality can be viewed from many angles but also that all views of reality must be equally honored. All views have equal significance.

The basic tenets of Jainism can be summarized in two words – Ahimsā and Anekānta. Non-violence and “Standpointism”. These two tenets are principles of peaceful co-existence, which are based on the concept of respect for life. Standpointism signifies open-mindedness. It has been rightly observed that if we accept non-violence as the regulative principle of conduct and standpointism or manifoldness as the basis of our outlook, barbarism and exploitation, war in any form can come to an end.

Jaina thinkers are of the view that reality is a complex one: *ananta-dharmakam eva tattvam*. It has many facets, various attributes, and various modes. It can be viewed and understood from different angles and thus various judgments may be made about it. Even two contradictory statements about an object may hold true. Since we are finite beings, we can know or experience only a few facts of reality at one time. We cannot grasp the reality in its completeness. Thus Jainism admits human right to hold a different viewpoint. According to Jaina thinkers the truth-value of opponents must be accepted and respected. Non-absolutism pleads for a broader outlook and an open mindedness, which alone can resolve the conflicts that emerge from differences in ideologies and faiths. Equipped with Anekānta, the Jaina appreciates reality in all its aspects. She or he is equipped to understand other people’s viewpoints. This makes her or him a better listener, more sympathetic and more receptive to others and their viewpoints.

He or she is willing to consider any phenomena in its entirety. She or he is diligent enough to examine all precedents, willing to approach any issue with an open mind and unwilling to jump to an instantaneous conclusion.

Such a rational and ethical approach is bound to lead to less violence, less anger and consequently, less anguish.

A true believer of Syādvāda (Non-absolutism) is that who pays equal regards to all the faiths. To remain impartial to the various faiths is the essence of being religious. A little knowledge that induces a person to be impartial is more worthwhile than the unilateral vast knowledge of scriptures.

While in principle Anekāntavāda may appear as a system recognizing multiple worldviews in reality it severed, according to Paul Dundas, as a way which could establish the superiority of the Jain worldview over other models of reality. Based on the critical examination of medieval Jain texts and their authors, Dundas demonstrates the tensions and divisions that existed.

Non-personalism

For the Jains, the object of veneration and worship is not a person but perfectness. The Jains worship quality or merit, not the person. In the sacred *navakāra* mantra, Veneration is offered to the spiritual-posts such as Arhat, Siddha and not the individuals like Mahāvīra, Ṛṣabha. Veneration is paid to all the saints of the world: *namo loe savvasāhūṇaṃ*. Jain prayer is addressed to Tīrthaṅkaras only to inspire one for one's own better self which may be called the conscience, the true self.

The Door of Liberation open to all

Jainism holds that the followers of other sects can also achieve emancipation or perfection, if they are able to destroy attachment and aversion. They do not believe in the narrow outlook that "only the followers of Jainism can achieve emancipation, others will not". Haribhadrāsūri writes: "One who can attain equanimity of mind will for certain get emancipation whether he may be a Śvetāmbara or a Digambara or a Buddhist or any one else".¹⁴

Conclusion

Thus, Jainism as an atheist school can be considered as a humanist school of thought. It accepts Non-violence, Non-absolutism, Non-possession, Non-personalism, Equality and Equanimity from human point of view and not for any transcendental reason.

¹⁴ Haribhadra quoted in *Jaina, Buddha aur Gītā kā ācāradaśan* by Dr. Sagarmal Jain p. 5 vol. II, 1st ed. 1982.

Introduction

One question – what is the solution to the problems and miseries of mankind – is bothering all of us alike. Is the answer political, philosophical, mathematical, social, religious or divine? The answer cannot be political alone, because of vested interests. It cannot be philosophical only, as it has to deal with ground realities. It cannot be social, religious or divine – all riddled with controversies. It is neither capitalism – as it creates divide between haves and have-nots, nor could it be philanthropic or communistic – as such experiments have already failed. Science and mathematics cannot answer as the human behavior does not follow any formula. What if there is a ray of hope which is all inclusive?

Most of the religions and philosophies in this world have made efforts and taken interest in the creation of peace and happiness needed by all of us. India has a long, rich and diverse tradition of philosophical thought spanning some two and a half millennia through which an attempt was made to understand the true nature of Reality. It is believed that once the truth is understood, the chaos and conflict between man and man will stop.

Fortunately, Jain philosophy has enriched the freedom of human thought by its doctrine of Anekānta. We are very well familiar with the Jain philosophical terms Anekāntavada, Syādvāda, Nayavāda, Nikṣepa, Tribhaṅgi, Caturbhaṅgi, Saptabhaṅgi and four Anuyogas. All of these methodologies are interrelated and have contributed in explaining the Reality or Truth with a strong tradition of rationality. Further they promote a multi-faceted approach to the problem of the knowledge of Reality. It is of special interest that out of these methodologies, Anekānta became popular to an extent of doctrine and the rest of the methodologies gradually fell into oblivion.

Anekānta, as a doctrine, has the reasoning of science – logic of mathematics, compassion of religion and equality of humans – at its centre. The hallmark of this thought process is the understanding of wholeness along with multidimensionality of Truth.

Hermann Jacobi¹ the German Indologist has pointed out that Anekānta opens the floodgates to the comprehension of Reality not only in toto but also in its different aspects.

Another German Indologist Professor Alsdorf² has said “there is no exaggeration if it is said that most of the original Jain contribution to Indian scholarship was made in the field of methodology”.

The Indian Jainologist Dr. A.N. Upadhye³ said: “The approach to Reality adopted by Anekāntavāda strikes an original note in the history of Indian logic.”

Anekāntavāda

Unique to Jain philosophy is its concept of Anekānta. Anekānta simply means viewing the Reality or Truth in its diverse aspects. Anekānta describes that each object of knowledge is found with infinite attributes, modes or *paryayas* so the knowledge of the true nature of every object should be viewed from different angles, i.e., the truth can be known through numerous paths like all the radii of a circle confluence at its center. Truth is one, singular and unique but there can be more than one way to reach it. An observation of an object at a particular spatial-temporal instant is just one facet of the truth. Thinkers having a singular view in mind can see only one facet of Reality and cannot realize Reality in full. A famous anecdote in which ten blind men touching different parts of an elephant come up with different observations explains Anekānta in right perspective. Only a person with vision can tell the Truth – a whole elephant.

An example is *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, where the *jīva* (soul) is defined in several alternative ways elaborates this:

1. It is singular to each animated being.
2. It could have two types: bonded with karmas or liberated.
3. It has three properties: origination, transformation and perpetuity.

Likewise, there could be ten different ways to look at it. So the attitude of Anekānta can mitigate several confrontations among different sects, societies, states and nations. Therefore, it exhibits tolerance to other faiths to the extent that whosoever follows the path of Anekānta finds peace and happiness and in doing so contributes to the well-being of all life in the world.

Anekānta is not simply a multisided perception theory but it is remarkable to find that some of the attributes appear to be mutually contradictory or opposite and they do co-exist in the same object. The leading Jain Ācārya Mahāprajñā has successfully

¹ M.R. Gelra, *Science in Jainism*. Published by Jain Vishva Bharati Institute, Ladnun, 2002, p. 13.

² M.R. Gelra, “Anekānta – A Jain contribution to scholastic methodology”, in *Science in Jainism*, pp. 11-22.

³ Ibidem.

professed this view-point of Anekānta and discussed its applications in day-to-day life. Swami Vivekananda is a good example of the 'Gitian soul'. Likewise Mahāprajña's contributions in the field of Anekānta are tremendous and we will discuss only his viewpoints here in the context of the Principle of Coexistence of Opposites.

Principle of Coexistence of opposites

Mahāprajña has successfully professed the Anekānta viewpoint of Jainism. He pronounces that the whole is the sum total of two opposites. This is an amazing statement on the part of Mahāprajña, as he explains that opposites do not cancel each other, on the contrary they are complementary and add up to make a whole. A student of science knows thoroughly well that if there is matter, anti-matter is equally abundant. Opposites are actually two faces of the same coin, whose true and clear picture is complete only when both faces coexist together at the same place and the sea point of time. For ease of understanding such pairs the author prefers to term them as "Copposites".

Definition of "Copposites"

Mahāprajña has stipulated a few postulates in order to expand this 'theory of opposites':

1. Copposites represent two mutually different directions.
2. Existence of copposites is a self-proven Axiom. It is the very nature of every object to possess the copposites simultaneously.
3. Copposites do not cancel each other but reinforce each other.
4. There exists a definite coordination even in obvious conflict. Conversely, there exists conflict in apparent cases of harmony. This is the vary basis of coexistent evolution.

Examples from Jain Literature

The term "*pudgala*" is extensively used in Jain literature to describe the constitution of matter. Today, scientists use similar terminology for quarks and other micro-particles. They have assigned various basic properties to these particles like frequency, spin, etc. Identical references are available in Jain literature regarding the basic tenets of a '*pudgala*', which are *varṇa* (colour), *gandha* (smell), *rasa* (taste) and *sparsā* (touch).⁴ The last quality of *pudgalas*, namely *sparsā* has a further classification consisting of four opposite pairs: *snigdha-rūkṣa* (Degrees of smoothness, *laghu-guru*; Light-Heavy (measurement of weight), *śīta-uṣṇa* (Degrees of temperature) and *mṛdu-karkaṣa*

⁴ See Gaṇādhīpati Tulsī, *Jaina-Siddhānta-Dīpikā*, chapter I. English translation by Late Dr. Satkari Mookerjee, Anekānta Śodha-Piṭha, Jain Vishva Bharati, Ladnun, 1995.

(readiness to interact). In any composition of matter, presence of these opposite pairs is essential. The entire universe is based on the co-existence of opposites.

The law of opposites as propounded by Mahāprajñā has its roots in the Jain Āgamas: *Sthānāṅga*, *Nandi*, and *Daśavaikālika* have the description of opposite couplets aplenty. Some of them are mentioned forthwith:

- (1) Mentions of pairing opposites are abundant in the first and second sections of the *Sthānāṅga Sūtras*. Sixteen axioms are stated in the opening paragraph of the first chapter. Out of these fifth to fourteenth are of special interest in the context of present discussions. These self sufficient truths are tabulated as follows:

5th There is one *Loka* (Universe) – 6th There is one *Aloka* (Void)

7th There is one *Dharmāstikāya* (Dynon) – 8th There is one *Adharmāstikāya*

9th There is one *Bandha* (Bondage) – 10th There is one *Mokṣa* (Emancipation)

11th There is one *Puṇya* (Chastity) – 12th There is one *Pāpa* (Sin)

13th There is one *Āsrava* (Attraction) – 14th There is one *Samvara* (Repulsion)⁵

Mahāprajñā comments that these axioms actually form pairs. The universe is fully filled with opposing pairs, or we may say that it is because of opposing pairs that the universe exists.

2. The heading of the first paragraph of the second chapter of the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* is 'Dvipadāvatāra' – meaning duo.⁶ It says that everything under the sun appears in pair. A few such examples are: *jīva-ajīva*, *trasa-sthāvara*, *dharma-adharma*, *vedanā-nirjarā* etc.
3. Similar pairs are mentioned in the *Nandi-Sūtra*. Seven pairs of *śruta* are described therein.
4. In the *Daśavaikālika Sūtra*, four key human emotions – Anger, Ego, Affection and Greed are prominently discussed. The *Sūtra* states that these emotions coexist with the contrasting feelings. Anger can be diluted by forgiveness and Ego with humility. Affection too is a kind of bondage and can be countered by equanimity. Greed can be overcome by the feeling of contentment. The entire gist of these discussions is that the opposites coexist.

Mahāprajñā says that the Jains do not see things in black and white only. Their vision is not restricted to true-false but the third dimension of relative-truth is added to it. All thoughts and alternatives are just the diagonals of circle – all equal and identical.

⁵ *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, Chapter I, p. 489 in *Aṅgasuttāni*, vol. I, Ladnun, Jain Vishva Bharati Institute, 1992 (2nd ed.).

⁶ *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, Chapter II, p. 500 in *Aṅgasuttāni*, vol. I.

Duality

Understanding of Anekānta is incomplete until we discuss the duality of all the 'reals'. Mahāprajña has observed the duality of apparently contrary attributes in a substance and found that they enjoy mutual concomitance. Some of them are as follows.

1. Universal and Particular
2. Permanent and Impermanent
3. Existence and Non-existence
4. Speakable and Unspeakable

According to this principle no substance in this world is forever permanent or impermanent. Every substance has an intrinsic harmony between the permanence and transience. The existence of 'reality' is eternal, so it is permanent. But, 'reality' undergoes transformations shape, association, time, etc. – so it is impermanent also. Transition means the creation of 'new', cessation of 'old' and continuation of 'pure'. It is, therefore, evident that every substance is the integration of three characteristics, namely, origination, destruction and the eternity.

Applications

Mahāprajña has established the practical utility of the above principle which can be put to good use in resolving our every day conflicts of life. We shall present his thoughts concisely.

Democracy

Opposition is the backbone of any democratic setup. Leftists keep rightists under reign. Now-a-days, however, the opposition is more to pull down the ruling party, rather than for strengthening it. A supporting and balancing role of opposition will create a healthy environment for the entire country. The basis of democracy is very much similar to that of Jain spiritualism, which stresses on the simultaneous presence of *dharmāsti*- and *adharmaṣṭi-kāya*. It is also similar to the practical life where accumulation and renunciation of wealth, both are equally important and necessary. It is why, of all forms of governance, democracy is considered the most effective and stable way, because it is based on the complementing structure of two opposites.

Destiny and Decisions

Modern society by and large follows two diagonally opposite doctrines. One section believes "Decisions and actions make destiny", while the other section believes "Whatever happens is predestined." Here, Mahāprajña urges us to apply the law of opposites. The moment we accept the coexistence of positive-negative pair, the whole conflict collapses. It is a matter of common experience that howsoever hard one works, the results may not be commensurate with the efforts. Contrarily, if one sits

idle and waits for destiny to act, void is what results! Decisions carve destiny and destiny moulds decisions.

Individual Society

It is aptly said that a man is a social animal. At times, the interests and preferences of an individual may conflict with those of the society, yet can the two be separated? Can the droplet survive beyond the ocean? Isn't the ocean made of droplets? But ships cannot float on droplets and the ocean cannot be carried in a container. An individual is as good as the society he lives in and vice-versa. An individual cannot take and sustain his growth in isolation. We have a case of reservations as example.

In India, a section of society grew allegedly at the cost of another. This called for the concept of reservation, as the decision makers were aware of the fact that the whole family of Indians must grow and become strong in order to survive globally. This resulted in conflict and friction. What if we see the whole situation differently from the view point of the theory of opposites? We find a very simple answer to this vexed issue: if an individual, who receives the benefits of reservation, is ready to pay back to the society in the form of a simple promise – that his dependents and all the future generations will not further burden the society with perpetual benefits of reservation. This way, both the short-term and the long-term interests of an individual and the society can be met.

Mahāprajñā says that the cooperation and coordination is obvious in all the activities of the universe. Creation-destruction, life-death, ephemeral-immortal, light-dark; they all coexist, yet our minds have created the concept of conflict, which must be transformed to the theory of harmonizing and complementing the opposites.

Science and Spiritualism

Science is objective – always looking for cause and effect relationship. Philosophy is subjective – based on intangible experiences. As a pair, they become a fit case for applying the 'theory of complementing opposites.' Surprisingly. Most scientific discoveries have philosophical origins. Similarly, science is giving new dimensions to the spiritual awakening. They need to be mutually reinforced further, rather than one discarding another. Today, science has concluded that if there is matter, there exists anti-matter too. They extrapolated the concept from atom/anti-atom, practical/anti-practical to universe/anti-universe. How similar it sounds to the concept of *Dharmāstikāya-Adharmāstikāya* and *Loka-Aloka* described in Jain literature!

Examples from Rishabhayana

Rishabhayana is one of the many verses penned down by Mahāprajñā. Sādhvī Śrutayaśā has searched several instances, which sound paradoxical at first, but contain the deep-rooted message of coexistence of opposites. A few such mentions are:

1. 'Waves in calm water'
2. 'Marudeva's death made her immortal'
3. 'As I approach nearer to the Almighty, He maintains the same distance and illusion'
4. 'Sun removed the darkness/but, it could not be seen in extreme brightness'

All these are imaginations of a poet, yet are very close to the truth. Mahāprajña has extended his imagination up to the horizon where the practical reality meets the scientific theory. His logic is very simple: meet. According to him, the principle of Anekānta gives us a tool with which the seemingly opposite ends can be bent to encircle the complete picture, which depicts the complete truth.

Examples from Medical Science

Einstein has stated that the music cannot be truthfully described in scientific terms of frequencies and amplitudes only. It has an intrinsic value, above and beyond science, entering into the arena of higher consciousness. Human body is just like a symphony. It can be quantified in terms of medical parameters of blood, bones and muscles, yet it has an intangible and impenetrable spirit. A complete picture emerges only when 'the obvious' meets 'the occult'. Mahāprajña has cited several examples from human anatomy where the two diagonally opposite forces exist and act in a coordinated manner.

- (1) According to the medical science two main centres of activities cohabitate in the body. One is – "Jñāna Center" acted upon by Hypothalamus and another is 'Kāma Center' actuated by the Gonads. Pineal and Pituitary Glands when acts on Gonads stimulate the acts of pleasure, while they act on hypothalamus to initiate the journey of super-conscious knowledge. Ironically, both these activities are indispensable part of the human anatomy. Jñāna is essential to protect the life while Kāma is inevitable to perpetuate the life. Both are interrelated and interdependent – reinforcing each other. It is difficult to establish the superiority of one over the other.
- (2) Our body is abode to billions of cells. Every second, tens of millions of them die and an equal number of them are born, thereby maintaining a perfect balance. The body is alive only when both activities run simultaneously. An uncontrolled growth of cells results in cancer while the continuous decay of cells invites death.
- (3) Psychologically too, the human behavior is a mix of male-female qualities. Aggression and affection both coexist in all humans, albeit in different proportions. From Jain Karmavāda viewpoint, happiness-sorrow, auspicious-inauspicious, superior-inferior, longevity-fragility all types of conflicting karmas

coexist. Their proportions vary from person to person, but their simultaneous presence is an undeniable fact.

Examples from physics

Scientific investigations of the micro-world have so far revealed that the basic building blocks of the matter are quarks. Interestingly, these quarks are found in pairs of opposite spins. Even before this discovery, the coexistence of electron and proton, positivity and negatively charged particles is a well-established scientific fact. When Einstein described the properties of light, a startling fact was discovered that the light has the dual nature of behaving as a particle and as a wave. Science could progress this far only after accepting the dualism of light. Properties of light have become central to the entire physics.

We very well know properties of a magnet. Both north and south poles constitute a magnet. Even when broken into pieces, each piece keeps on exhibiting both poles in its magnetic force. Whatever we do, the two poles cannot be separated just as we cannot separate Siamese twins. If by some means, we are able to demagnetize a magnet, both poles disappear together. A magnet with single pole is impossibility.

Another excellent example from the field of physics is that of friction. One might think of an easy motion in the absence of friction, but the matter of fact is that the motion would not have been possible had there been no friction.

Conclusion

Life and universe are nothing but a delicate balance of opposing forces, conflicting particles, contrasting energies and divergent view points. No adjective, no verb exists in this entire world, which does not have an antonym. Without the pairing opposite the word will lose its meaning. Light will be rendered redundant in the absence of darkness.

It is in our hands to convert conflict into complement. This is the main teaching of Jainism. Freedom should be responsibly controlled. Mankind must realize that male-female, hot-cold, light-dark, ephemeral-immortal, etc. All are inevitable reality. When they form the basis of our existence, we too, must live in harmony and compromise rather than conflict.

Further reading

Acharya Mahaprajna, *The Quest for Truth*, Jain Vishva Bharati University, 2003.

M. R. Gelra, *Science in Jainism*, Jain Vishva Bharati University, Ladnun, 2002.

Section V

Facets of contemporary Jainism

“*Tirthayatra* brings an end to a number of beginnings, success in money, devotion of *sangha*, fortune for good people, renovation of old *chaityas*, development of *tirthas*. It helps in following the sayings of *tirthankaras* in correct way, bringing *moksha* closer and gaining higher status of human and god” (Jnanavijayaji, *Upadeshtarangini* 1938: 25)¹

Introduction

This quotation succinctly expresses the purpose of pilgrimage for devout Jainas but it also simultaneously suggests that this would bring them closer to *moksha* or spiritual liberation. It befittingly encapsulates for us the purpose of this paper, namely, to reconcile the two main pillars on which Jainism as a religion grew in India and entrenched itself in particular localities. Contrary to contemporary perceptions that Jainism seems confined largely to Western India during the early years of its spread and prosperity, Jainism also had a considerable following in the Deccan and South India. There are several views put forth on how Jainism spread into these parts. The origin of Jainism in the Deccan according to one opinion goes back to the days of the lifetime of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra himself.² Generally it is accepted that Jainism began to flourish during early historic times. Textual evidence in the form of legends and the recording of oral memory inform us that this began around the 3rd century B.C. when Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta (the Mauryan emperor who had abdicated his throne to become a Jaina) traveled to Sravana Belgola along with several thousand Jaina followers.³ Though details of this early period are still shrouded in uncertainties what

❖ This is a slightly revised version of a paper entitled: ‘Renunciation And Pilgrimage In The Jaina Tradition – Continuity And Change In The Deccan’ *Journal of Deccan Studies*, Special Issue on Jainism, vol. V, No. 1, January-June 2007, pp. 157-176. I am grateful to the Chairman of the Editorial Board and the Editors of the Journal for granting me permission to reprint this article in its present form.

¹ Quoted in Viraj Shah, ‘Medieval Jaina Pilgrimage Centres In Maharashtra’, *Journal of Deccan Studies*, Special Issue on Jainism, (Guest Editor: Aloka Parasher-Sen) vol. V, No. 1, January-June 2007, p. 140.

² T.V.G. Sastry, ‘Early History of Jainism’, *Arhat Vacana*, vol. 1, no. 3-4, June-September, 1989, pp. 38-39.

³ R.C. Majumdar, (ed.) *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1968 4th edition, p. 16; 408; 419.

is generally agreed upon is that despite the tough competition from Buddhism, it stayed on with intensity for a longer period of time. Sastry has put forth archaeological evidence from early historic sites in the Deccan especially Vaddamanu to shed light on the fact that it co-existed with Buddhism and that both the religions had royal patronage.⁴

Its development during the early medieval period is significant to emphasize upon in the present context for understanding the spread of the concept of *tīrtha*.⁵ It is during this period that certain transformations in the faith took place providing it a new form that enabled it to meet several challenges from both the spiritual leadership as well as the laity. New methods were adopted to make the followers understand the value of renunciation that involved a rigor that was awesome for most of the lay followers. The duration of its survival is important because only then we can appreciate how important centres of Jaina learning and congregation led to the furtherance of their faith. It may be noted that it is during the same period that the collective Jaina tradition, assignable to between the sixth and fifteenth century A.D., in the form of its great literature was systematized and put down to writing. Most of this literature was in an oral form from the days that Lord Mahāvīra preached and even after his attainment of ultimate bliss. Through it the important message of renunciation was conveyed to people in a variety of ways. Prominent among these was a recounting of stories and tales explaining the life achievements of great renouncers through pilgrimage, texts, epics, spiritual autobiographies, and folktales in general.

It is our submission that the study of *tīrthas* or pilgrimage enhances our study of both *local* and *religious* history.⁶ We would like to emphasize at the outset that our attempt is not a mere description of the temples, buildings, and images located in centres of Jaina pilgrimage. In this paper we intend to elaborate, with the help of a couple of examples of Jaina pilgrimage centres in the Deccan, the broad socio-economic and changing historical framework in which these centres flourished without damaging the essential principle of the Jaina faith in renunciation as a desirable goal. Our chronological focus will be limited to the early historic and early medieval times. For understanding the continuity of such practices we have to first take a close look at the ideological impetus that motivated people to set up institutions of worship and learning. All these factors can be put down in terms of generalities but our attempt

⁴ T.V.G. Sastry, *op. cit.*, 1989, p. 41 and 'An Earliest Jaina Site in the Krishna Valley', *op. cit.*, 1989, pp. 23-37.

⁵ B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, *Religion in Andhra*, (a Survey of Religious Developments in Andhra from early times up to A.D. 1325) Archaeological Series No. 69, Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1973, 2nd edition 1993, pp. 171-190 discusses its rapid development in Andhra during this period.

⁶ It has been pointed out by K. M. Shrimali that one of the best ways to research into the history of *tīrthas* and sacred complexes is to undertake micro-studies of specific sites and temples. This would enable an in depth study of their material setting and their role in society and economy. For details: 'Religion, Ideology and Society', Presidential Address, Ancient India Section, *Indian History Congress*, 49th Session, Karnataka University, Dharwad, 1988, [Reprint] pp. 26-27.

shall be to put them in the context of a local or micro-level situation. This has to be closely analyzed since it poignantly reveals how such local *tīrthas* received financial and material support from the larger group of the Jaina laity. Without periods and regions of prosperity, the sanctity of such centres is short lived. Thus, in our ultimate analysis we wish to highlight that faith and economic support go together.

Renunciation -- Jaina beliefs and practices

The core of Jaina doctrine was centered on the idea that the blissful, bright and all-knowing soul is present in every *jīva* and *ajīva* entity. These entities enveloped not only human, animal, and plant life but stones, rocks and running water as well. However, the existence of this soul is understood to get clouded and dull by *karmic* action and matter which is born as a result of an unending cycle of transmigration. The main focus of attention in Jaina belief is therefore, the annihilation of this *karma*. It was believed that this could be done through penance. This, in turn, required a long course of fasting, self-mortification, study and meditation that was ideally to be done by the most rigorous means so that fresh *karma* could not enter the soul. In simple words, by a carefully disciplined conduct the dangerous qualities of *karma* could be prevented from entering the soul so that it could be set free. This simple and clear Jaina teaching remained unaltered even though Jaina philosophers developed with great subtlety many other aspects of their doctrines and epistemology in general at a later period.

The early Jainas recognized however, that full salvation for the layman was not possible. To attain *kevala* and *mukti* one had to necessarily abandon all aspects of luxurious life including the clothes one was wearing. The rigorous penance could therefore, not be followed by the lay folk. Further, it was also recognized that monastic life was essential for salvation but since the Universe was fast declining very few souls could indeed achieve spiritual liberation in the foreseeable future. Nonetheless, some popular Jaina stories⁷ on how members of families, wives and children in particular, were effected by the resolutions of renunciation undertaken by those who wished to go in search of truth, were popularized as an ideal for all to respect. Though the stories revealed from time to time that social ties, friendships, emotional bonds between man and wife, mother and child, father and son and so on, were painful and often generated anger and helplessness, these narratives were so written that they went beyond the single life of an individual to show the ultimate efficacy of the decision of renunciation being the only goal. In other respects of the Jaina teaching too a lay follower of Jainism found it difficult to even take up the profession of agriculture since it involved the destruction of plant life and many other

⁷ Several of these stories have been put together as an anthology in Phyllis Granoff (Selected, Translated and with an Introduction) *The Forest of Thieves and the Magic Garden, An Anthology of Medieval Jain Stories*, Penguin Classics, 1998.

living beings in the earth. The Jainas most ardently followed this insistence on *ahimsā* when compared with any other Indian religion.⁸

The close association of the Jaina order of monks and nuns with the laity has to be emphasized. Herein, lay the difference between them and the Buddhists. The layman in Jainism was encouraged to live the life of a monk for specific periods. In his ordinary life he was encouraged to inculcate commercial virtues of honesty and frugality. The Jaina Sangha therefore consisted of Bhikṣus or monks, Āryikās/Sādhvīs or women ascetics and Śrāvakas-Śrāvīkās or lay worshipers so that the promotion and interests of the Sangha was made a pious duty of everyone.⁹ The admission of the laity into the Sangha was acclaimed as the genius of Mahāvīra for organization because this enabled the Jainas to have a root in India, which the Buddhists never obtained.¹⁰ In other aspects there were similarities with the other faiths that were prevalent on the subcontinent. For instance, very early on Mahāvīra and the other Tīrthaṅkaras began to be worshiped in the same way as the Buddhist and Hindu gods.¹¹ Further, it has been pointed out that the notion of austerity that was so central to the Jain faith got reflected in the images of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras that were marked by a lifeless and rigid monotony absent in other contemporary sculptures.¹² Soon the donation of the laity to the Jaina Order, along with support by kings and nobles, led to the building of splendid Jaina temples --- two extant outstanding examples are Mt. Abu and Sravana Belgola. Though the core of Jaina belief did not falter the tradition of explaining the importance of pilgrimage or *tīrtha* gradually began to evolve with the emergence of these institutional bases of the religion.

Tīrtha – Changes and continuity in Jaina beliefs

In a country like India the concept of *tīrtha* was already popular and it is likely therefore, that to compete with others, the Jainas had to adopt it as well. In Puranic Hinduism the idea of *tīrtha* was well entrenched by the early centuries of the Christian era and had effected the psyche of the Indian mind as a valuable social and religious mode of worship.¹³ The concept of *tīrtha* emerges out of the notion of a sacred place and *tīrthayātrā* or pilgrimage is a popular form of piety and devotion to these places of significance in a particular religion's ecology of sacred places. Over time, around these *tīrthas* or sacred places there emerges a mythology that further sanctifies the place, while at the same time, publicizing its importance. Usually, at these places *dāna* or gift

⁸ A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, London, 1954, pp. 287-293.

⁹ J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canon*, Bombay, 1947, p. 22.

¹⁰ B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, *op. cit.*, 1993, p. 124. See also S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 67.

¹¹ J.E. Cort, 'Bhakti in the Early Jain Tradition: Understanding Devotional Religion in South Asia', *History of Religions*, Vol. 42, 2000, pp. 59-86 has a different view on this subject.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 146.

¹³ It is well known that brahmanical literature mentions more than 400 *tīrthas* in early medieval times and that the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* contain 40,000 verses on *tīrthas* and legends connected with them. For details see: P.V.Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, vol. IV, Poona 1973, pp. 581-82; pp. 730-825.

and charity rituals are performed and the proclamation of such rituals at important *tīrthas* gives that place a special importance for the devotee who is supposed to get unparalleled religious merit by such acts. Thus myth, belief and ritual get intertwined in a complex way to how the concept of *tīrtha* develops in different religions particularly on the Indian subcontinent. In the case of Jainism, we argue, that it also got entwined with the concept of renunciation since many of the places of Jaina pilgrimage were immortalized in the name of the brave and sincere *ācāryas* and *munis* who had given up ordinary life to achieve *sallekhanā* or ritual death.

At the same time it would not be an exaggeration to suggest that in other aspects there was a considerable influence of Hindu rites and rituals that affected the overall texture of the Jaina concept of worship. For instance, between the tenth and the fifteenth century, detailed rules regarding the ritual of almsgiving (*dāna*) appear in almost all the texts that deal with the duty of the Jaina laity. This, it is argued was essential to formulate as it would assure the monastic fraternity of adequate and permanent support.¹⁴ Along with this the details of formal worship of the Jaina images or *pūjā*, taking these images in procession or *yātrā* etc. also become central to Jaina belief. However, it is important to emphasize that the idea of pilgrimage in Jainism originally began to be associated with the activities of the great Jaina *ācāryas*. Visit to such places came to be considered a sacred duty and a purifying and meritorious act. The idea is put forth that the Tīrthaṅkaras themselves made some *tīrthas* but the choice that they could be made by others was also given in the later Jaina texts. Primarily, they were understood to have come up in places that were identified as the *kalyāṇa-kṣetras* or those areas associated with the birth and other noteworthy events in the life of the Tīrthaṅkaras. Next in importance were the *siddha-kṣetras* that were those areas where the Tīrthaṅkaras and other saints had attained spiritual liberation. This was followed by the *atiśaya-kṣetras* that were associated with the miracles or myths important for the Jaina believers and finally, the most common were the *kalā-kṣetras* reputed for their artistic monuments, temples and images.¹⁵ By early medieval times the idea of *tīrtha* had become rampant in Jainism and an integral part of its religious practice. It was the *siddha-kṣetras* that acquired a special significance for propagating the ideal of renunciation and were highlighted in a big way in the literature of the times. In fact, Cort is of the view that Jaina images were not necessarily made for devotional *bhakti* but rather, for “singing the glory of asceticism” and thus making the heroic asceticism of the few accessible to the people at large.¹⁶

¹⁴ R.N. Nandi, *The Social Roots of Religion in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1986, pp. 117-118.

¹⁵ Details of various aspects of pilgrimage in Jainism discussed in J.P. Jain, *Religion and Culture of the Jains*, South Asian Books, 1976, Chapter VIII, pp. 127-128.

¹⁶ J. E. Cort, ‘Singing the Glory of Asceticism: Devotion of Asceticism in Jainism’, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 20, 2002, p. 738.

Monastic organizations and rituals

Scholars of Jainism are of the view that it was in the Jaina literature of the early medieval and medieval times that fundamental changes began to take place in its doctrines, rituals, and monastic organization. By this time there had also emerged different Jaina sects. The proliferation of these sects particularly in the southern region is important to emphasize upon. Scholars like R.N. Nandi suggest that the changes and deviation in this regard can be explained in terms of their relationship to the changing social and economic milieu of what he calls 'the early middle ages'. This was marked by the decline of the market economy of towns and the rise of small-scale subsistence economy of agriculture.¹⁷ We discuss below some of these changes as reflected in medieval Jaina literature that has relevance for the development of the idea and practice of *tīrtha*.

The *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*¹⁸ has been generally dated to 'the early middle ages'. Its main thrust is best articulated by in the words: "Monastic rules can be either reinforced or modified to avoid actions that could be seen as contrary to worldly conventions (*logaviruddha*), or to permit actions that are conducive to "the increase of the religion" (*tittha-vivaddhī*)"¹⁹. It vividly illustrates the growing popularity of the practice of *maṭhavāsa*, i.e. permanent residence of monks. This necessitated a change of the old canonical rules restraining monks from taking a permanent residence. This text refutes the earlier view that monks must stay away from the society and live in the forest in order to avoid contact with people in general and women in particular.²⁰ Another writer Hemacandra, a Śvetāmbara author of the twelfth century A.D. also commends the settled life of monks in monasteries and refers to the provision for lodging (*upāśraya*) like food, drink, clothing, beds etc., which is said to be most beneficial to the ascetics.²¹ Devendra, another Śvetāmbara author of the 13th century states that the best form of *dāna* or charity is the gift of a dwelling place (*vasati*) since this gives the monks and ascetics an opportunity for study, meditation and development of religious life. Many inscriptions published in the *Epigraphica Carnatica, Bombay Karnataka Inscriptions* cited by Nandi give evidence to the above fact and we find kings, nobles and other wealthy clients undertaking to build residential houses for the monks and to furnish them as best as possible.²²

From the above, as gleaned from both literary and inscriptional sources, we can deduce that the changing life style of the monks began to necessitate a change in

¹⁷ R.N. Nandi, *op. cit.*, 1986, p. 160 ff.

¹⁸ Authored by Saṅghadāsa (6th century A.D.), this is one of the most important Jaina commentaries on monastic rules and the contexts in which they can be changed without losing sight of the original.

¹⁹ Mari Jyvasjarvi, 'Retrieving the Hidden Meaning: Jain Commentarial Techniques and the Art of Memory', *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 38, 2010, p. 137.

²⁰ S.B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, Poona, 1956, p. 397.

²¹ Nandi, *op. cit.*, 1986, p. 107.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 107.

monastic laws. Permanent residence greatly affected the monastic ideal of non-possession or non-attachment (*aparigraha*). Thus changing conditions from the early medieval period led to possession and attachment to worldly things. In fact, literature of the period, especially on *dāna* or charity, tried to justify *parigraha* (possession) by the monks. Hemacandra goes to the extent of questioning those who suggest that there was no canonical authority for *dāna* in any form other than food and drink and goes on to quote texts permitting the offering of clothes, blankets etc. These items were almost like the amenities of life that the householders enjoyed with the only difference that the monks had a code of conduct to abide by.

Puritans however, continued to emphasize that living in forests or taking to the life of a wandering monk was an ideal. They resented upon the increasing popularity of the *mathavasati* monks. Thus, texts continued to mention transgressions that monks should not commit as listed by Haribhadra in the 8th century A.D.. These included the making use of water, flowers or other substances containing live matter, bathing in cold water, applying oil to the body, decorating the body, making use of perfumes and the erection of post-mortem memorials at burial places. The puritans also objected to and criticized the settled monks who derived income from agriculture and admitted women as disciples.²³ The literary perceptions and restrictions were based on what was happening in reality. Information from inscriptions show that the monks had started encouraging the construction of temples and did indeed derive subsistence from land donated to them as free holdings. From epigraphs it also becomes clear that in the temples they used water, flowers, milk, curd, clarified butter, grass etc. for different services. That, women were allowed to become nuns, and as senior nuns, had monks as disciples as well as the fact that there were lady disciples under male monks is also clearly visible in the data from the epigraphs, which give frequent references to these aspects. Similarly, it was for all to see that numerous *niṣidhis* or memorial stones came up as post-mortem memorials and all these substantiate Haribhadra's allegations that all those who indulged in the above were to be treated as "false ascetics".²⁴

The above ideas on the change in the concept of the monastic ideal and particularly the gradual but certain process of the building of *mathas*, temples and other permanent structures have a considerable bearing on our present concern on the simultaneous growth of the *tīrthas*. The tension between these changes and the ideal of renunciation also gets reflected in the literature of the times and great efforts were made to emphasize on the latter in the form of stories so that the message did not get diluted in any way. We shall dwell on some of these stories below. The above changes also led to the rise of a large number of monastic units in different parts of the country who vied with each other in attracting the layman to their particular ideas, beliefs and

²³ N.R. Premi, *Jaina Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa*, Bombay, 1956, p. 352.

²⁴ R.N. Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan (c. A.D. 600-1000)*, Delhi, 1973, pp. 33-38; 65-66; 72-75.

practices. Going on pilgrimage was one of the most visible and material means of expressing support to these various monastic orders. Indeed, their success very much depended on where they could receive a regular hospitality of their clients in order to further build temples and institute cults of more Jaina deities.

Shravana Belgola – The making of an ideal pilgrimage

We now turn to take a close look at one of the most well known Jaina *tīrthas* that not only has a long recorded history but is also one site from where a great abundance of inscriptional data had been collected especially on the number of nuns and monks who offered *sallekhanā* or self-mortification at this place and thereby, upheld the important Jaina doctrine of renunciation. This is the site of Shravana Belgola near Mysore, in the present-day State of Karnataka. This example enables us to see how the idea of pilgrimage developed in Jainism given the changing socio-economic context in which the religion was also transforming. However, most importantly, at the same time, its main tenets of belief and the ultimate aim of how salvation should be attained were constantly interrogated and re-formulated by preachers, teachers, and seekers of salvation who flocked to this site from very early times. This also gives us a valuable insight into how, over a period of time, the followers of Jainism sanctified the earlier memory of the ascetics and monks who had visited this site but had preferred to remain anonymous. Thus, gradually at this site we are able to study the initiation of certain practices into Jainism that involved both collective and individual ritual and this, in turn, fostered the growth of pilgrimage as a mode of being a devout follower. That this *tīrtha* was a Digambara centre also makes this a unique case study because usually the settling down of monks and *ācāryas* is emphasized upon in the Śvetāmbara sects.

Shravana Belgola is located in the Hassan District of Karnataka State and covers a topographical area of about 5 square kilometers. It has a continuous history of about 1500 years and is the foremost Digambara Jaina centre in India, revealing for the historian and the scholar the largest number of Jaina records at one place. Besides having the tallest colossus in the country of Gommatēśvara it is also a place that has the largest number of Jaina Digambara temples concentrated at one place. Last but not least, it has the highest number of *niṣidhis* or commemorative monuments located here which is how the recorded history of the place first began. Settar whose study *Inviting Death*²⁵ provides us with the above details has further analyzed that the Hill at Shravana Belgola at first, simply “invited the devout to death”. Only later, he informs us, did it begin to attract pious pilgrims to this place who were initially awe struck by the severe austerities being done by the monks. It was still later that the place began to attract prosperous patrons who began to shower resources for the construction of temples and pavilions. The natural barren rock formations thus gradually began to be

²⁵ *Historical Experiments on Sepulchral Hill*, Institute of Indian Art History, Karnatak University, Dharwad, 1986.

surrounded by man-made structures that then became the focal point of pilgrims over the ages.

Based on the data provided by Settar some examples of the above can be given. Shravana Belgola is in fact a place that was known for its two hills called Candragiri (small hill) and Vindhyagiri (Big Hill). The historical name that occurs in the inscriptions frequently to describe this place is Katavapra or Kalvappu. This occurs with several suffixes in the inscriptions of the period between the 7th to the 12th century A.D. like *giri* (hillock), *saila* (rock-bed), *tīrtha* (holy centre), *durgā*, (fort), *parvata* (mountain), *ṛṣigiri* (hillock of monks), and *tīrthagiri* (hillock of pilgrimage). After the excavation of the colossus in the 10th century A.D. the entire complex came to be called Gommatatīrtha or Gommatapura. In fact, it has been pointed out that it was only after the 12th century that Belgola is mentioned as a *tīrtha* in several inscriptions from there.²⁶ Settar informs us that "...the *tīrtha* seems to have attracted visitors to settle down around the pond" and therefore, the connotation of it being a *nagara* or town only occurs in the records of the 14th century and after²⁷ when the composite term Belgolanagara occurs. Thus, Belgola, literally meaning the white pond, was first hailed as a *tīrtha* in the early 12th century when it gradually began to grow as a township between the 12th and the 14th century A.D. to finally, become the headquarters of the *nādu* in the 15th century. In some records of the 19th century Shravana Belgola is hailed as the Kashi of the South because of the substantial increase of its spiritual importance.²⁸ The general impression is that it is only because of the presence of the Gommateśvara colossus, carved in the 10th century that pilgrims thronged to this place through the ages. However, contrary to this, Settar writes: "Though the colossus is the most important object which attracts millions of visitors today, its importance is subordinated to the sepulchral hill and the holy pond throughout the history of Shravana Belgola."²⁹

The sanctity of this place to the Jaina laity must now be explained. During the 3rd century B.C. and even as late as the 7th century A.D. the environs of Shravana Belgola were anything but hospitable to the householders. It was surrounded by high peaked mountains and situated amidst lowlands and a valley that was still inaccessible. Legend informs us that the first migrations here were due to the fact that there was a famine in the north. The monks who wanted to perform austerities were of course drawn to the place because of the secluded environment that was most suitable for them if they desired to mortify their body and invite death. This can be contrasted with the urges of a pilgrim who comes to a place to show reverence and then wants to record his or her gift or *dāna* to the place. In this way the laity left an inedible mark of their visit that becomes the reference point for later generations of pilgrims to follow.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

The pattern of how Shravana Belgola grew in sanctity is clearly explained by Settar. These explanations and the statistical data that accompanies them help us to argue that pilgrimage as a concept has to be located in the broad historical context of the times, which enable its underlying growth and prosperity. The role of the individual aspirations and spiritual urges of the followers are not the sole factors that determine the form and the structure of the pilgrimage centre. At Shravana Belgola by the 7th century A.D. about seven hundred pious men had invited death voluntarily on the rocks at Katavapra. The anonymity of these early saints is important to note and none of them had their memorials made. About 100 commemorative records have survived to this day.³⁰ The history of these hills at Shravana Belgola during the early years was therefore, not made by outstanding events or, the achievements of great monarchs and rulers in the furtherance of the faith. On the other hand, the obscure monks and nuns waged a war against worldly desire through the weapon of self-mortification. *This of course was fundamental to their original teaching and belief.* [Emphasis added] It is further interesting to note that in the few details known about these individuals none of them were attached to any *sangha*, society, or association. They also did not inform posterity about their high spiritual pedigree or their list of disciples.

Gradually over these hills there emerge records when young monks begin to tend to the dying monks during their last stages towards death. From the records we gather that they seem to have taken pride in honoring the dead by engraving brief inscriptions at Katavapra. Among these monks commemorated about 30 did not name their *sangha* at all nor, did they name their teachers. Statistics analyzed by Settar show that only 6 monks took pride in referring to their *sangha*, which are mentioned by name like those located at Kittur, Kalattur, Sandviga etc. This perhaps indicates that these *sanghas* must have approved of the ritual termination of life of their members. A few records are also available that mention the names of the teachers only and not of the Orders or *gurvādis* that these monks belonged to. In contrast to the monks, the nuns who mortified themselves between the 7th and 11th century A.D., it is noted, always mentioned the names of, either their *sangha* or, their teachers. It is further noted that almost of all the nuns came from the Navilur Sangha. During this early period, except for an isolated record that mentions that the false doctrine was destroyed by a king, there are hardly any references to royal patronage of any kind.

It is between 900-1100 A.D. that records begin to mark a significant change that clearly is an erosion of the simplicity that was the hallmark of the earlier period. The 10th century is marked by the rise of institutions and by the 12th century we definitely see at Shravana Belgola the fall of the individual and the rampant rise of the institutional life with all its frills of ritual. Ironically, this is marked by the considerable entry of the laity into the religious life of the Digambara Jaina establishment both as seekers of spirituality as well as rich donors for the construction

³⁰ *Ibid.*, See Appendix I.

of temples and *mathas*. Initially of course, the laity had been drawn to the hills to witness the awesome mortification rituals of the early monks. As a next step they started erecting *niṣidhi* memorials for them. Among the significant commemorators were engravers, sculptors, scribes, and members of the order and sometimes lay disciples. During the 6th to the 10th century the patronage of the ruling kings and people of affluence is largely unsolicited.

The evidence from both the hills at Shravana Belgola indicates that the number of pilgrims increased between the 10th and the 11th century A.D. Several of them left behind their names on the rock bed. The names of pilgrims had been known from the 8th century onwards but they were just a trickle then. From the 10th century onwards they mention clearly that some of them had come to pay obeisance to the *tīrtha* and some others to "bow before the god". For instance, an interesting example of the 10th century tells us that one Andamarayya came with Sankayya desiring to see the monk Aggaladeva but being enchanted by the holy place both of them stayed on at Belgola till the end.³¹ Though the total number of pilgrims who came to the place must have been many, only a few of them inscribed their name. From the names engraved on the rocks like Ranadhira, Sri Ratta, Sri Bamma, Isarayya, Sridhara we presume that most of them were ordinary laypersons. In fact, for the period before the 11th century A.D., Settara has analyzed to write: "It is interesting to note that this sizable number of pious visitors never made an attempt at enriching the holy centre either by cash or land grants."³² It is also deduced that during this early period the majority of the pilgrims were local people including some who were non-Jainas.

From the above discussion it can be clearly seen how Shravana Belgola emerged an important centre of pilgrimage for the Jaina community. The increase in the number of pilgrims brought the laity closer to the monks. Whereas, during the first four hundred years, i.e., between 600-1000 A.D. we do not find any examples of lay disciples terminating their lives, the evidence for the period after the 10th century increases in this regard. It is noticed that in the early days the pilgrims came to meet the monks by whom they were inspired. However, later after the 9th century, on the engravings left by them they mention that they had come to pay respects to god. This further leads us to argue that after this period temple building had become an important activity and so now the pilgrim's aim was to pay respects to the gods housed in the temples.

The emergence of temple building activity and the land grants as well as cash grants that began to be given to them totally changed the character of this pilgrimage centre after the 12th century A.D. The increase in the number of monuments at the place went hand in hand with the activities of the Sangha and in this case it was the Mūlasangha that began to enrich the religious life of this region as a whole. From the open hill where the early monks had mortified themselves, there gradually emerged caverns,

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

rock-shelters etc. which gained sanctity. The earliest such cave was the one associated with Bhadrabāhu that emerged into prominence only between the 9th to 10th centuries A.D. However, proper temple worship became popular between the 10th to 13th centuries A.D. The Sangha's new role emerged in the context of controlling the resources that were being generated by the laity for this worship and organizing this worship in a proper manner. Thus, we find that by the end of this period the individual monks who had earlier committed self-mortification and to whom the laity had come to see, more or less, disappear from the hill. The clergy now became engaged in temple building and temple management. The spiritual and religious activity now engulfs the entire valley around Shravana Belgola and not merely the hills because lands began to be given in the surrounding villages for the management of these temples. It would seem from the *modus operandi* of the Mūlasangha that the influential and affluent laity played a significant role in what kind of religious activities were to be followed. An important aspect of their interference in the Sangha was to appoint clergymen to manage the religious establishments. Image worship became the central feature of these religious institutions. Settar has discussed that in order to survive and compete with the other religions of the time, the language of the discussion and debates became increasingly militant.³³

The micro-level study of Shravana Belgola is interesting from various angles. Its history reveals clearly the changes in the inter-connections between the spiritual values of the Jaina faith which were held high by the monks or clergy and the religious life and practices of the Jaina laity that changed over time in the given social context. The important role of the temples and monasteries in bringing about a change in religious practice has much to do with the generous donations that were received from the wealthy laity. It is thus our submission that the *tīrtha* here developed as a religious practice to enable laity to participate in the perpetuation of the spiritual values of their faith for which Shravana Belgola had already become very famous.

Uphodling renunciation as an ideal

Keeping in mind the changing religious practices that were affecting Jainism and also the fact that there were different points of view emerging in the organization of the different Jaina Sanghas, the large corpus of the Jaina literary tradition during the early medieval and medieval times began to preach on the values of upholding the principle of renunciation. Keeping in line with the earlier Jaina teaching it encouraged young men and women to renounce life and become nuns and monks as the most important way to achieve salvation and this was considered to be the more direct path. On the other hand, those who were unable to take this path had the option of living as a

³³ The post-12th century A.D. period had been discussed by S. Settar, *op. cit.*, 1986 in a section entitled "Emergence of Monuments - Shift in Spiritual Outlook", pp. 23-30 and in a separate chapter entitled: "Age of Great Material and Religious Prosperity", pp. 31 - 71. The ideas in the above paragraph have been summarized from these writings.

householder in accordance with the basic principles of Jaina ethics. In case a layperson could lead an ideal life properly he too would ultimately lead to a life of renunciation. This was surely a more circuitous path and often full of temptations and hurdles. We will now briefly reflect on some of these stories to emphasize the point that the tension between complete renunciation and the householders life was sought to be solved by glorifying the former at an ideational level so that in the larger interests of the Jaina faith the growing ritual did not undermine and erode the essential ethos of this philosophy. By taking some select examples from these stories, it will be our endeavor to look at the multidimensional responses of society towards this major essential concept of Jainism. In other words, we will detail how the resolute ideas of renunciation affected society and, in turn, how individuals in society responded to it.

An interesting story is that of the monk Ādrakumāra³⁴ who faced several difficulties during the course of his pledge to take to renunciation and in the process also caused pain to his loved ones whom he ultimately abandoned. He got activated to take this decision after seeing an image of the Jina. As a young man he had renounced the world but had to break his vows to marry. He, however, could not forget that he had once been a monk and when a son was born to him he decided again to take to renunciation. The story goes on to inform us that since he and his wife had been married even in their previous birth, it was very difficult for him to take this decision but he did so nonetheless rationalizing that now his wife had their son to keep her company. The story thus explores the complexities of pain and sorrow in taking the decision to renounce as well as the difficulties of keeping the family intact. In this story all concerned, including the monk, go through a period of pain and sorrow at the decision taken to renounce the world.

Several stories of this sort narrating the difficulties faced by individuals in taking to renunciation occur in the Jaina anthologies but they vary in terms of how each of the members are afflicted by it. In another story of renunciation, that of the monk Vajrasvāmin,³⁵ we are informed how right from the beginning as a young man he was inclined towards becoming a monk. Despite this, he, however, reluctantly marries and then abandons his pregnant wife and renounces the world. The interesting aspect of this story is that the son born to this monk also wishes to follow in the footsteps of his father and become a monk. He then convinces his mother to let him go but she suffers a lot of pain in the process. The story emphasizes on this pain but equally informs its readers that the young lad had taken the right decision to renounce the world. In this narrative the father and son fulfill their ambitions to become monks but the wife/mother is full of sorrow but is generally benign in her attitude. This is not the case in all the stories where the women are affected in this way.

³⁴ Granoff, 1998, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-37.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-48.

The story of the monk Sukośala³⁶ ends with the anger of the women that is rather graphically depicted. In this story a king renounces the world to become a monk. Like the others, in this case too, his wife originally suffers from grief at this decision of his but this gradually turns to anger and hostility. We are informed in the story that she desperately tries to keep her son from becoming a monk but he too follows in the footsteps of his father. Unable to stop her son, full of grief and anger the mother dies. This story then moves on to the next life of the wife/ mother when she becomes a tigress. As such her anger continues in this life and she uses her present form as tigress to devour the monk who had once been her son. Here, there is the emotion of anger that is being amplified since in her earlier plight as a wife and mother she was helpless when her husband and child left her to become monks. The tension in this case is not based on moral ambiguities but simply on pure human emotions that are difficult to explain. In another story of anger and abandonment, that of Celanā,³⁷ we continue to explore the tenacious and unpredictable nature of human relations in terms of the feelings of the hurt person continuing to yield fruit in the next life. In this case the wife left behind when her husband became a monk, dies and becomes a demi-goddess tormenting her former husband who is now a monk. In this story, however, there is another aspect, namely, the image of a female devotee who emerges in the story to help the monk. Thus, complex emotions and, at the same time, exemplary piety both come to the forefront in this narrative.

These stories were used as a medium to convey to people the difficulties faced by families when men and, particularly male children, resorted to renunciation as the most desired goal of the Jaina faith. The ultimate aim of course was that however difficult the situation and however, painful the separation and still further, however difficult the ability to control anger, the end result was success of the ideal of renunciation. In this context it is important to point out that there were other stories which tell us about monks who had renounced the world but yet, continued to interact with it. These set of stories do not totally deny the world but try to explain it in positive light but within the context of the ideal of renunciation. In this context the story of Amarasīha is most fascinating. He lives and works in society but technically he is withdrawn from it or rather, detached from it in a form of renunciation.³⁸ Basically, in this story the monk lives an exemplary life, doing good deeds like putting an end to blood sacrifice, bringing about an end of the plague – all to show the greatness of the Jaina faith. The practice of non-violence in the world is particularly stressed upon as a virtue that both the laity and the monks must possess. This is even stressed for the kings to adopt in the story of Abhayasīha that is a dialogue between King Kumārapāla of Gujarat and the monk Hemacandra.³⁹

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-56.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-61.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-83.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-94.

Conclusion

The necessity of narrating some of the stories located in the real world of on going life and its happenings was that the monks had to preach the pristine teachings to the laity in an atmosphere which was continuously expanding and changing. The ideal of renunciation had to be particularly stressed among a Jaina laity that was, from the early medieval times, increasingly being drawn to image and temple worship. The aim of this paper has thus been on highlighting the changes that took place at Shravana Belgola during the early medieval times wherein we had concluded that the spiritual life got merged and intrinsically entwined with religious practice. The idea of pilgrimage as it had emerged had been closely connected with the spiritual beliefs of the Jainas to perform austere penance so that the liberation of the soul could take place. Its later practice, on the other hand, dwelt more on the worship of images of god and the rituals that accompanied them. The latter cannot also be understood unless we give due emphasis to the role of the influential laity who worked hand in hand with the spiritual orders for the expansion of these places of pilgrimage. The literary endeavors, on the other hand, which we focused on in the latter half of the paper were necessary reminders for both the laity and monks that the ultimate goal of renunciation could not be sidelined in any way. Stories were the best means on communicating that the pristine ideals of Jainism lay in renunciation.

In the end we reiterate that there are a variety of reasons that enable pilgrimage centres to develop. Some have to do with the larger cultural idiom in which Jainism developed. Others can be related to the social functions that the idea of pilgrimage performs. The most significant however, has to do with the symbolism of ritual attached to it in the given ideology. In the case of Jainism this particularly evolved in it during the early medieval times. This is also the period during which most of the stories discussed above were systematized and popularized. Thus, in an overall sense both pilgrimage and literature mirror society in religious tradition. Therefore, we have argued that since there is socio-economic and cultural change from time to time, the idea and practice of pilgrimage continually got reinforced. Further, so that the essence of Jainism in its ideal of renunciation did not get diluted, the literary traditions were kept alive to propagate these ideals to the people at large. Studies on pilgrimage help us to see how they originate and thrive in given local situations during specific periods while the literary traditions keep alive the sub-continental linkages within the religion – each reinforcing the other to keep the seminal message of the founder intact and further fortify the old memory of their sanctity.

Eva-Maria GLASBRENNER

"Religionsästhetik" or "Religionsaisthetik" is the German term for a new development within the study of religion. It has slowly been evolving during the last decade in German discourses of studies of religion. This *aisthetics of religion* has already gained some popularity and is now reaching out to neighbouring disciplines such as Indology or Anthropology – but so far it seems to be a more or less purely German phenomenon.

In this essay I wish to share some results of my field work in South India using this new approach. Thereby I hope to show how the new research discipline of *aisthetics of religion* can have a new impact on Indian ritual studies by means of its focussing on perceptive categories (such as visual and acoustic perception, olfactory components and haptic components).

As an example for applying this approach on India studies, I chose the analysis of a famous Jaina temple ritual, the Mahāmastakābhīṣeka, for two reasons:

- (1) ritual generally is a rather neglected aspect within Jaina studies, but a highly interesting one, combining pan-Indian elements with such that are particular to Jainism.
- (2) Secondly, the Digambara Mahāmastakābhīṣeka, a large-scale anointing ritual, is particularly suited for showing the advantages of a religiously aisthetic research perspective.

Shravana Belagola

Shravana Belagola is a small village in southern Karnataka (Hassan District) with a population of about 5000 people, and is the location of the largest Digambara Jaina monastery. It is the most important pilgrimage centre of south Indian Jainism, and it is an important destination also for north Indian Jainas, next to the larger places of pilgrimage (*kṣetra*) like Shatrunjaya (in Saurashtra) or Mount Abu (in Rajasthan). Even among non-Jainas, the place is a favourite tourist destination on account of the monolithic statue of Bāhubali with its impressive height of 58 feet and 8 inches (17 m 88 cm), standing majestically on a high hill in an otherwise flat landscape.

Shravana Belagola looks back on a long history as a holy place of pilgrimage (*kṣetra*) and bathing place (*tīrtha*). The first historical evidence is a Jaina monk (*muni*) named Bhadrabāhu.¹ Bhadrabāhu is thought to have lived eight generations after Mahāvīra, that is to say, in the third century BC, and to have migrated with followers (a mythical number of 12,000 Jaina *munis*), from Magadha in northeastern Bihar to Shravana Belagola. He is supposed to have founded Shravana Belagola, which later was to develop into the most important centre of Jainism in southern India.² None other than the king Candragupta Maurya (died 297 BC) is said to have spent his final days in Shravana Belagola as a monk.

Shravana Belagola owes its striking landmark, the monolith of Bāhubali, to a minister of the Ganga king Rācamalla IV, Cāmuṇḍa-Rāya or Cāvuṇḍa-Rāya. Historically it is not certain what finally inspired the minister to have Bāhubali sculpted in stone, rather than one of the Tīrthaṅkaras;³ but according to legend, the great Bāhubali statue owes its origination to the eager wish of Cāmuṇḍa-Rāya's mother, Kālālādevī, to see the first image of Bāhubali, made by his brother Bharata, in the town of Paudanapura. But Paudanapura, according to Cāmuṇḍa-Rāya's teacher Nemicandra Siddhāntadeva, was extremely difficult to reach, physically practically unreachable for humans, also when they set out for it with a deeply pious attitude. Cāmuṇḍa-Rāya's mother Kālālādevī had vowed not to touch any food until she had seen this image of Bāhubali, and therefore he undertook all possible efforts to purify his mind by attaining the *ratnatraya* (*samyagjñāna*, *samyagdarśana*, *samyakcāritra*), by keeping to the *anuvratas* (*brahmacarya*, *asteya*, *aparigraha*, *ahiṃsā*, *satya*) and by repeating the *namokāraṃ*. He read all the versified accounts of the Tīrthaṅkaras to refresh his memory and to complete his religious knowledge. To be sure that he had understood everything correctly, he wrote down what he had read in Old Kannada prose, which he showed his guru, Ajitasena Bhaṭṭāraka, who titled the work the Cāvuṇḍapurāṇa. Thus prepared, Cāmuṇḍa-Rāya set out together with his mother and his teacher, the *muni* Nemicandra, from his capital city of Talakāḍu (45 km from Mysore) in the direction of Paudanapura. They struggled through the forest and, when night fell, they reached a valley with two hills and a crystal-clear pond: Shravana Belagola. In the shelter of a large boulder Cāmuṇḍa-Rāya lay down to rest and dreamed intensively about the life story of Bāhubali and his brother Bharata. The first image of Bāhubali appeared to him in full splendour, reaching high into the sky, and around it were only wilderness and dangerous snake-birds. The *yakṣī* Padmāvatīdevī shows herself to him and points out that in this *kaliyuga*, this unfavourable age of decline, it is granted to nobody to

¹ This and the following information is found in: Vilas Adinath Sangave, *The Sacred Śravana-Belagoḷa. A Socio-Religious Study* (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1981), p. 2.

² However, the earliest inscriptions that refer to Bhadrabāhu and his migration are not older than the 7th century CE (S. Settar, *Śravana-Belagoḷa*. Dharwad: Ruvāri, 1981, p. 10). This could indicate that it was not Candragupta Maurya, but another Candragupta, king of Ujjayini. The oldest inscription on the small hill is from the 6th century CE (Settar, p. 5), the oldest temple is from the 9th century (Settar, p. 13).

³ Settar, p. 18, also for the legend that is reproduced in the following.

reach Paudanapura. Instead, he should shoot an arrow at the largest boulder on the top of the larger hill. Cāmuṇḍa-Rāya does this the next day. Small rocks and rubble fall down with much noise, and Cāmuṇḍa-Rāya recognizes the contours of Bāhubali. He calls his stonemasons and has them complete the granite structure.⁴ On Sunday, March the thirteenth, 981,⁵ the image is festively installed.

Shravana Belagola thus probably had the first temple with an image of Bāhubali, as previously only depictions of the Tirthankaras had been usual.⁶ This and the founding of a monastery (*maṭha*) made the remote and inhospitable, beautiful yet wild place, which had all the qualities that are conducive for a monk to renounce his material existence, to a small town for the first time, which at first was called "Gommaṭapura".⁷ The attractiveness of Shravana Belagola as a holy place grew further, and the heads of the monastery (*bhaṭṭārakas*) gained in influence in the religious and social life of the Jainas in Karnataka and in adjacent regions.⁸

Also in the middle ages Shravana Belagola remained in the focus of reigning kings; the rulers of the Ganga, Rashtrakuta and Hoysala dynasties⁹ expanded the temple sites of Shravana Belagola, added many further images and temples, increased the wealth of the sacred place through gifts of land, and lended patronage to poets and scholars. Especially the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore gave great importance to having the largest and most important ritual of Shravana Belagola, the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka, performed with their patronage. Since India became independent, Shravana Belagola, like all prominent Indian holy places of archeological significance, is under the supervision of the Archeological Survey of India. The government for the state of Karnataka financially supports the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka, which nowadays, also due to reasons of prestige and touristic economy, is among the main rituals of a site that by itself already is of great importance. The immense treasure of ancient stone inscriptions¹⁰ and of manuscripts that have been preserved for centuries, now kept in the library of the National Institute of Prakrit Studies and Research, at Shravana Belagola, are among the most important sources for the study of south Indian cultural history. The present head of the monastery (*maṭhādhipati*) is Jagadguru Karmayogi Charukeerthi Bhaṭṭāraka Swāmiji, who has occupied this position since 1970.

⁴ Cf. Settar, p. 18f.

⁵ Sangave, p. 81.

⁶ Settar, p. 2.

⁷ The *maṭha* was probably founded by Cāmuṇḍarāya already in the 10th century. The first historical evidence of a Cārukīrti-Bhaṭṭāraka (head of a *maṭha*) dates from 1131. Settar, p. 59.

⁸ Settar, p. 2.

⁹ Sangave, p. 3.

¹⁰ Published in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Volume Two. Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore: Mysore 1973². According to Settar, 523 inscriptions have been published. 271 of them are found on the small hill, 172 on the large hill, and the oldest can be dated to roughly 600 CE. The oldest bit of writing in the Marathi language is found on a sculpted termite hill at the foot of the Bāhubali image. Settar, inner cover, chapter "Inscriptions".

The name "Shravana Belagola" of the present town has been known in this form since the beginning of the nineteenth century. A *śravaṇa* or *śramaṇa* is a wandering ascetic Jaina monk. The word "Belagola" has been attested continuously for the period between 650 and 1889¹¹ and means "white pond". The earlier name of the holy place, "Gommaṭapura", after the installation of the Bāhubali image¹² refers to the same: "Gommaṭa"¹³ is Bāhubali, "pura" is the town. The myth of Bāhubali will be summarized below.

The term "Religionsästhetik"

"Religionsästhetik" or "Religionsästhetik"? These terms concerning the proper nomenclature of this rather new discipline are one of the points being discussed within the group of scholars who try a new perspective within the study of religion regarding that matter. As there is no differentiation in the English language between "Ästhetik" and "Asthetik", the English term "esthetics" would cover both. To understand the question we have to go back to the old Greek term *aisthesis* (αἴσθησις), meaning sensory perception, which is especially interesting for the religious perspective, as we see in: αἴσθησις τῶν θεῶν, the usage as the sensory perception of the gods, and the verb being *aisthanesthai* (αἰσθάνεσθαι), to perceive. The German term "Ästhetik" reaches back to Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten (1741-1762) who in his "Aesthetica" (1750/1758) uses this term to designate the science of sensory perception, the memory, the concept of beauty and the fine arts.¹⁴ Nowadays the term "Ästhetik" will generally mean the perspective regarding the beauty or harmony of an object, most often directly connected to a subject that will be traditionally treated by art historians. The disciplines of philosophy and literature will also have "esthetics" as one of their major fields of research. So we basically have to differentiate esthetics of "beauty" (however "beauty" may be defined), esthetics of (material) art, and esthetics of sensory perception. Esthetics of religion applies the question or the questions of esthetics not to objects or theories of art or the analysis of literary works, but on phenomena taking place in religious contexts which could include -- but certainly not exclusively -- art and texts. As "Ästhetik" in German refers only to the art historian and philosophical

¹¹ Settar, p. 59.

¹² Only after 1159, the place had the name Gommaṭapura (Settar, p. 35).

¹³ According to one view, *gommaṭa* is derived from the Prakrit *gammaha* for *manmatha* (*kāmadeva*, a category of beings to which, according to Jaina mythology, also Bāhubali belongs); this is said to have become *gammaṭa* or *gommaṭa* in the Kannada language. According to another view, *gommaṭa* is a loanword from the Konkani language, in which *gomato* or *gommato* means 'beautiful' (Sangave, p. 77). According to Settar (p. 45) Bāhubali got the nickname 'Gommaṭa' only 225 years after the installation. Also there are the names Dorbali, Saunandi, and the variations Gummaṭa, Gommaṭṭa, Gamata, Gomata. Settar mentions another explanation, namely, that Gummaḍi is a Prakrit name of Kuṣmāṇḍinīdevī.

¹⁴ Cancik/Mohr, *Religionsästhetik*, p. 121 (Cancik, Hubert/ Mohr, Hubert, in: Cancik, Hubert/ Gladigow, Burkhard/ Laubscher, Matthias (Ed.), *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe* (HRGW). Band I. Verlag W. Kohlhammer: Stuttgart 1988, pp. 121-156).

term, the use of the term "Aisthetik", which assumes the spelling of the Greek word, will hereby indicate a meaning that includes and goes beyond this established meaning of Ästhetik. Aisthetik includes a wider range of academic subjects and research, such as the body as instrument of religious performance, ritual in all aspects (including, for example, dance movements and the question of religious experience in terms of inner effects by outer stimulation), the interaction of form and content in religious presentation, self-presentation and constitution, and a look at all possible sensory perceptions which are rather seldom observed while looking at a religious phenomenon: not only texts and pictures, but observing, recording and including acoustic elements, haptic elements, olfactory elements that all contribute to a certain cultural performance. According to me, they contribute in a most interesting way to the analysis and understanding of a religious event. Very generally, the analysis and interpretation of a religious performance will gain in depth if the researcher, in field work and in hermeneutic processes at his desk at home, is able to include other sensory data into his considerations. This asks for a wider sensory perception by the researcher himself (to get an idea what to record, what to observe and perceive and to note down while doing his field work), but also for a more flexible theory or method of analysis; it means more and different recording media (not just the photo camera, but also a video camera, an audio recording machine, something to collect elements creating haptic perceptions, even if not all kinds of haptic perception can be caught into a researcher's bag, and maybe a bottle to conserve some fragrant air?); and it means a wider acceptance of scientific means, methods and proofs at least such as audio and video documents, considering that the only traditional way of proving scientific quality is that of reading texts and publishing in form of written texts in scientific journals or books. This should not be a proposal to leave the boundaries of our established system of scientificity and to accept the most obscure theses without rational argument -- I rather wish to state that there are more perspectives to be taken into account while doing field research, namely, the full range of sensory perception and its cultural interpretations by the religious performers. This fact is not at all accepted in the study of religions, nor in its neighbouring disciplines like, for example, Indology, that still widely remains a pure philological discipline instead of accepting non-textual subjects or non-textual approaches or non-textual proofs of analysis of another culture, in our case Indian culture. There is nothing wrong about texts and their profound philological and hermeneutic analysis; all I want to stress is that our study of religious objects can gain in depth and thereby accuracy by adding additional perspectives. I plead for a concept of scientific approach to religious objects and phenomena in which all qualities of a textual study are combined and enriched with the observing and interpretation of sensory perceptible events.

So by keeping the Greek spelling in English as well, *aisthetics* of religion, as the study of religious phenomena under the aspect of their sensory perception, is to be

differentiated from the term *aesthetics* of religion, that customarily refers only to the artistically esthetic perspective.

Aisthetics of religion for a deeper study of Indian ritual

This new research perspective, by some authors even described as separate "discipline", of *aisthetics of religion*¹⁵ can have a new impact on Indian ritual studies by means of its focussing on perceptive categories - not only the visual one but also the acoustic perception, olfactory components and haptic components. I wish to exemplify the wider spectrum of this by applying the method of aisthetics of religion on the Mahāmastakābhīṣeka ritual, the impressive large-scale religious ritual performed in honour of Bāhubali, the mythological Jaina king, who became an ascetic and is said to have reached liberation (*mokṣa*) as the first person in this cosmic world age. There are several huge monolithic Bāhubali statues in India, most of them concentrated in South Karnataka. But the oldest and most important one is located at a place called Shravana Belagola.

In Jaina literature¹⁶ Bāhubali is known to be one of the 100 sons of Ādinātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara in this cosmic cycle. When Ādinātha or Rṣabha decided to become a wandering monk, he divided his realm among his sons in equal parts, of whom Bharata and Bāhubali were two. Bharata desired kingship of all the world, and he sent all his brothers the message that they should subordinate themselves to him.

¹⁵ As Klaus Hock describes anthropology of religion (Religionsethnologie) not as an independent discipline but rather a branch of religious studies with an eminent position ("Sonderstellung", p. 111), I would prefer to see aisthetics / esthetics of religion as a new and wider, because more holistic, perspective within the possible approaches of research and reflection on religious phenomena and research methods within the science of religion. Cf. Klaus Hock, *Einführung in die Religionswissenschaft* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002). In his chapter on Religionsästhetik he stresses the analysis of the perception and the production of signs (*Zeichen*) as subject of esthetics of religion (pp. 152-154), hereby referring to one of the important contributions to the discussion, the essay "Religionsästhetik" by Hubert Cancik and Hubert Mohr. in: H. Cancik, B. Gladigow and M. Laubscher (eds.), *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe* (HRGW). Band I (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1988), pp. 121-156. The term "Religionsaisthetik" is preferred by the following authors: Anne Koch, *Körperwissen. Grundlegung einer Religionsaisthetik*. Unpublished thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München 2007, p. 116; Daniel Münster, *Religionsästhetik und Anthropologie der Sinne*. Münchener Ethnologische Abhandlungen 23 (München: Akademischer Verlag – Edition anacon, 2001), p. 13; Jürgen Mohn, "Von der Religionsphänomenologie zur Religionsästhetik: Neue Wege systematischer Religionswissenschaft", in: *Münchener Theologische Zeitung* 55, München 2004, pp. 300-309.

¹⁶ Both the Digambaras as well as the Śvetāmbaras have their versions of the Bāhubali myth, that differ only in details. Bāhubali is first mentioned in the sixteenth chapter of the Ādipurāṇa (*Ādipurāṇa of Āchārya Jinasena*. Part I. Edited and Translated by Pannalal Jain. New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 2004¹¹. (Sanskrit text with Hindi translation)); the story of the duel is related in chapters 35 and 36 (*Ādipurāṇa of Āchārya Jinasena*. Part II. Edited and Translated by Pannalal Jain. New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 2002⁸). A Śvetāmbara version is found, for instance, in the commentary by Amara Muni on the Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, a Śthānakavāsī edition of the Prakrit original with translations in Hindi and English: Shri Amar Muni (ed.), *Sacitra Shri Kalpasutra*. Delhi: Padam Prakashan, 1995, p. 198.

According to the Digambaras, Bāhubali, not accepting subordination under his elder brother, decided to fight with Bharata. In a triple duel, the brothers fought by staring at each other, by splashing water at each other until one would fall, and by wrestling. Bāhubali, the one with the strong arms, was victorious in all three parts of the duel. In blind rage Bharata threw his cakra at Bāhubali. But this sharp miraculous weapon does not kill relatives, hence it flew around Bāhubali three times and returned to its master. Bāhubali then lifted up his brother; but then he realized that he wanted to harm his brother out of desire for worldly power. He gently put down his brother and decided to devote the remainder of his life to meditation and asceticism. In this way Bāhubali had lost almost all his karma. But his knowledge was still limited on account of his ego. When Bharata humbly came to him and explained this to him, Bāhubali also lost his remaining karma and attained omniscience.

The Mahāmastakābhiṣeka

Mahāmastakābhiṣeka literally means "the great anointing of the head". This refers to the common Indian ritual practice of pouring various fragrant and valuable substances over a statue (*mūrti*) in an act of worship. An *abhiṣeka*, in its most simple form using only water (*jalābhiṣeka*), is regularly performed to the small festive statue (*utsavamūrti*) of Bāhubali. As in the case of all very large and unmovable *mūrtis*, there is also a so-called *utsavamūrti* for Bāhubali in Shravana Belagola, a miniature version of the large figure that also carries the presence of the great *mūrti* in itself and is carried around in processions and worshipped in stead of the large one. With the help of this small version, Bāhubali is ritually worshipped every day. Only during the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka is the large image of Bāhubali the object of the complete anointing ritual.

The history of the festival

The installation of Bāhubali on the large hill on March 13th, 981¹⁷ was at the same time the first Mahāmastakābhiṣeka. The base of the ritual is the *pañcāmṛtābhiṣeka*, the anointing with five nectars, i.e., milk, curds, clarified butter, saffron water and water. Because of the various complications involved, the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka has always been performed once every 10 to 15 years¹⁸ and partly also at larger intervals (in any case historical records are not found). As a rule, it is performed once every 12 years. The last time, Shravana Belagola organized the big celebration in 2006, that is to say, 13 years after the previous Mahāmastakābhiṣeka. The first inscriptional record is from the year 1398, when the ritual had already been performed seven times.¹⁹ The dates for the performance of a Mahāmastakābhiṣeka are determined according to

¹⁷ Sangave, p. 79.

¹⁸ Sangave, p. 94.

¹⁹ Further Mahāmastakābhiṣekas have been reported for the years 1612, 1677, 1800, 1825, 1827, 1871, 1887, 1900, 1925, 1940, 1953, 1967, 1981 and 1993. Sangave, p. 97f.

exactly calculated astrological criteria. Mahāmastakābhiṣekas are performed also in other places with large Bāhubali images, such as Dharmasthala and Karkala in southwestern Karnataka. This custom seems basically southern and Digambara, but Jainas from all denominations gather for the celebrations, which receive increasing attention and appreciation in northern India.²⁰

Religious dimensions of the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka

A description of the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka opens different dimensions of a religious happening, that reveal themselves to the observer stagewise, but the participant is subject to all of them simultaneously. I wish to distinguish five dimensions of the religious event: the ritual aspect, the aesthetic, the social, and furthermore the economical component and the spiritual aspect.²¹ In the following, I deal with the ritual aspect to give a frame of this religious performance for those who are not familiar with this ritual, and will come then to the aesthetic analysis.

The ritual dimension

Although all Mahāmastakābhiṣekas are basically the same, namely, a Mastakābhiṣekapūjā, each individual Mahāmastakābhiṣeka can vary according to the kinds of substances used and the exact order in which the anointings take place, as well as in the number and size and material of the so-called *kalaśas*, the vessels in which the liquids are transported and poured out over the head of Bāhubali, and finally also in the number of days the ritual is performed. In what follows, I rely on the last Mahāmastakābhiṣeka in Shravana Belagola in the year 2006.²²

About two weeks before the main part of the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka,²³ the first of a series of major anointings, the first initial rituals take place. Among these are the first preparatory *pūjā* ceremonies for small *utsavamūrtis*, the festive statues of Bāhubali, as well as for the Tīrthaṅkaras, the 24 liberated great teachers and idols in Jainism, *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs*, lower deities accompanying the Tīrthaṅkaras, and the guardian

²⁰ Also in northern and central India there are a few Bāhubali shrines, such as in Papauraji (Madhya Pradesh), or the recently (only twenty years ago) erected Bāhubali in Gommatgiri, north of Indore (Madhya Pradesh).

²¹ For a detailed description see my article "Indiens prächtigster Gabenregen. Zum Mahāmastakābhiṣeka von Shravana Belagola", in: *Münchener Indologische Zeitschrift* (MIZ) Vol. I - 2008/09, pp. 18-127.

²² Sangave depicts in detail earlier Mahāmastakābhiṣekas with numerous references. Sangave, pp. 97-110.

²³ The opening ceremony took place on January 22, 2006, and the first Mahāmastakābhiṣeka on February 8th. The anointing ceremony, most lavish on the first day, was repeated eight times until the official end of the main period of worship on February 19th. Afterwards an *abhiṣeka* was performed every Sunday, to satisfy the immense influx of pilgrims; the entire program was prolonged, for the same reason, till May and then June. To organize the masses of pilgrims, specially dedicated Mahāmastakābhiṣekas were announced. Thus journalists (many of whom had no access to the first and largest *abhiṣeka*, because the narrowness of the hill only allows a limited number of persons) were specially invited to one, and other *abhiṣekas* were reserved for certain districts of Karnataka.

deity of the *kṣetra*, Brahmappa. The most important ceremony is the Pañca-Kalyāṇa ritual, in which the stages of the life of one of the 24 Tīrthankaras are revered. The five *kalyāṇas* are the conception (*garbhakalyāṇa*), the birth (*janmakalyāṇa*), the religious initiation (*dīkṣākalyāṇa*), the highest wisdom (*kevalajñānakalyāṇa*) and liberation from the cycle of births (*mokṣakalyāṇa*).

Thousands of pilgrims gather on the hill for the great *abhisheka*, they stand or sit at Bāhubali's feet or on plateaus that are constructed especially for the celebration, or outside the immediate temple premises on the hill, wherever any place can still be found. Already in the early morning hours, long before the commencement of the actual ritual, pilgrims begin their ascent of the large hill; they sing, pray and, in the case of many women, lay out typical auspicious symbolic patterns in rice in front of themselves while reciting mantras. There is a fixed dress order: all, especially those who participate in the anointing with a small *kalaśa*, must wear new, unused clothing in white or orange; men must wear a traditional garment such as a *dhautra* or *lungi*, and women must wear a sari.²⁴ An ocean of white and orange waits at the feet of the Gommateśvara, while directly in front of the statue the priests begin with the *pūjā*.

In the open courtyard of the temple in front of Bāhubali, a square surface is laid out in wheat. The beautifully ornamented *kalaśas*, that are used in the ritual, are placed on it. The *kalaśas* are traditional bellied metal jugs, decorated with white or yellow cotton threads. They contain the ritual liquids,²⁵ and they are closed with a coconut. A ring of mango leaves is inserted between the coconut and the mouth of the vessel, and also a rice straw, and they are further decorated with a white or yellow flower. There are different kinds of *kalaśa* fillings, and there are also different kinds of *kalaśa* materials and positionings.

The *kalaśas* are filled with water (*jala*), coconut water (*narikela*), sugar cane juice (*iṅsurasa*), milk (*kṣīra*), rice powder (*śveta-kalaka-cūrṇa*), kurkuma powder (*harita kalaka-cūrṇa*), a mixture of herbal extracts (*kaṣāya*), sandal paste water made of Mysore sandal (*śrīgandha*), coloured sandal paste water (*candana*), sandal paste water made of eight varieties of sandal wood (*aṣṭagandha*), and saffron water (*kesaravrṣṭa*). Between the "kaṣāya" and "śrīgandha" *kalaśas* stand four corner *kalaśas* (*kōṇa kalaśa*), particularly large *kalaśas* that are filled with water, standing at the corners of square arrangement of *kalaśas*. Additionally there are also special categories of *kalaśas*, such as the "first *kalaśa*" (*prathama kalaśa*), the "gem *kalaśa*" (*ratnakalaśa*),

²⁴ Children up to the age of ten may wear sewn clothing (*kurtā pajāmā / salvār kamīz*).

²⁵ The *kalaśas* on the ground are, according to my knowledge -- with the exception of the few special, highly priced *kalaśas*, that are festively carried on top the heads of the donors -- only filled with water. The huge quantities of additional holy water, milk, and coloured liquids are manually carried up beforehand (or in the case of Dharmasthala are carried up in an elevator) and are used to fill small *kalaśas* above repeatedly from gigantic barrels that never stood below. This guarantees that enough liquids are available to colour the body of Bāhubali completely without unspectacular pauses. The first *kalaśas* used in Dharmasthala in 2007 were large Nandini milk barrels.

"gold" or "copper *kalaśas*" (*suvarṇa* / *tāmra kalaśa*) or "*Gullakāyajji kalaśa*"²⁶ (after the story in which Padmāvatīdevī as a poor woman humbles the pride of Cāvūṇḍarāya, because his majestic outpourings do not reach below the navel, but she with her little vessel breaks the spell). In more than one respect these *kalaśas* are a focal point of the event. They contain the anointment substances, in other words, spectacular elements of the *pūjā*, and are basically the only vessels which the pilgrims clearly see; the other important ritual actions, which are carried out by priests at the foot of the image, remain practically invisible and are not explained. Totally different in this respect are the *kalaśas* that are individually and clearly announced through a public announcement system. Not only are they an impressive and clearly understandable part of the ceremony, but they are also the central point where the religious individual can actively participate in the common ritual. The individual becomes active and a part of the collective, in which the entire community participates. The person who is called goes to the *kalaśa* reservoir, identifies himself with his previously acquired *pūjā* slip, receives his *kalaśa* from the priest, carries it on his head to Bāhubali and climbs the many steps of the scaffolding. At the sign of the priests above and below (who communicate with each other by means of red and green flags, so that the anointings take place at the ritually correct moments), the carrier of the *kalaśa* slowly pours out its contents over the head of Bāhubali while pronouncing mantras, while the crowd cheers.

After the saffron *kalaśa* six more elements of the Mahāmastakābhīṣekapūjā follow: large basketfuls of yellow and white flowers are scattered over the image (*suvarṇa-ratna-puṣpavṛṣṭi*) and then white flowers (*puṣpavṛṣṭi*). Then follows a rain of colourful flowers, as well as a skilful hoisting of a gigantic flower garland, such as ordinarily is given to deities of smaller sizes (*pūrṇāṛghya*). Finally there is the pouring of water from the great *kalaśa* that stood in the centre of the collection of *kalaśas*, and the scattering of coins and gems such as rubies, pearls, pieces of gold etc. The *pūjā* ends with an *ārati* done by means of a huge pendulum with burning clarified butter, which illuminates the honoured *mūrti* from below to the top and downward again (*mahāmaṅgalārati*). Thus, after approximately six hours, the end of the Mahāmastakābhīṣekapūjā is reached, the gathering dissolves, devotees bow at the feet of Bāhubali in order to just once be at the forefront of things and to receive a bit of blessed water and flowers.

The aesthetic dimension

Religious aesthetics is, as defined, the study of religious phenomena under the aspect of their sensory perception. The Mahāmastakābhīṣeka is a ritual which, like hardly any other, appeals to the senses of the participants and thus impresses not only through its sheer size, but also, through its intensified perceptibility, makes the otherwise distant

²⁶ *March of Karnataka*, January 2006, p. 10.

relationship between *pūjā* participants on the one hand and priest and deity on the other, to a conscious, holistic experience. The *mise-en-scène* of the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka grabs hold of the devotee in his entire aesthetic capacity.

Here we come to the perceptive categories:

- λ *Vision* is most obviously appealed to, due to the size of the worshipped image, over which various colours are poured out: the glistening water, the white milk, the yellow kurkuma powder, the brownish red mixture of *kaṣāya*, to name only a few. When the liquids reach the head of the image, they spout in all directions, like a gigantic fountain, and the water drops appear against the background of the deep blue Indian sky as a rain of diamonds. The sheer unending rain of colourful fluids, powders and flowers offers a colour ocean to the eyes which might be unprecedented for most of the participants. The theatron-like architectural structure of the temple area, intensified by the mobile stages constructed just for this event, offers an all-surrounding colour bath for the participants. But also the strict dress code and the festive decoration of the hill, as well as in the main street of this temple town contribute to the effect. If taken into account that the landscape of India is basically just yellow or only green as far as the eye reaches - and leaving aside the proportionally small city areas and the TV and film revolution of the last decades - this ritual must have been one of the most colourful events in the life of the Jaina participants, marking this religious event as one of the most festive and most desirable feasts in their lives, topping even the most lavish wedding ceremony.
- λ *Acoustic perception* contributes greatly to the emotional atmosphere. Already long before the first *abhiṣeka* many electric amplifiers provide live music: well-known Jaina devotional songs are sung and played. Some of these become something like "*abhiṣeka* hits", whose choruses are sung along loudly by all who listen. The most popular song was according to my observances "*Bāhubalī Mahāsvāmiya Mastakābhiṣeka*" -- "(This is) the head anointing worship of the great Lord Bāhubalī" etc., telling the story of his worship. The function of the songs is to shorten the breaks for those participants who are 'bored' by the intermissions that are necessitated by the ritual, unseen by most, taking place at the feet of the statue. The priestly activities like reciting religious formulas and operating with the *pūjā* elements can cause longer "breaks" in the view of the participants who are hardly familiar with the complicated rites performed by the priests and are more interested in the spectacular parts of the performance. Certain phases of the ritual are announced and described (for instance by the song "*kesariya, kesariya...*", that announces the employment of the saffron and also yellow kurkuma *kalaśas*). Toward the end of the *pūjā* many women and men begin to cheer and dance.

- λ *The olfactory component* is not to be overlooked. Many of the substances that are poured out have an intense smell and delight the devotees. This is especially so with the penetrating smell of kurkuma and the gentle one of sandal, of which waves envelop the hill in a cloud of fragrance. These fragrances leave a deep olfactory impression in the mind of the participants, connecting it like in a outward syn-esthetic performance together with certain songs with certain stages. So as just mentioned the yellow colours will for example come with live music repetitions of the song "*kesariya, kesariya...*" -- singing "oh Bāhubali, you are the one being of saffron...".
- λ *The taste element* comes into play when receiving *prasāda*, the graceful "left-overs" of the ritual -- food that comes back filled with what are considered holy vibrations after having been used in the ritual. In these mass events there cannot be actual *prasāda* for everyone, of course, but having the free meals that are offered to every pilgrim in the monastary compensates for that. In another famous Jaina *kṣetra* with Bāhubali worship, Dharmasthala in southwest Karnataka, the temple food is so famous for its excellence in tastefulness and quality that people from afar, and even adherents of other religions, come rather to enjoy the food along with the worship rituals!
- λ *The haptic component* is particularly there for those who have the honour of being permitted to pour out a *kalaśa* over Bāhubali. After buying a so-called *pūjā* slip the pilgrim is allowed to carry one water (or otherwise filled) vessel on his head over many steps up to the head of the Bāhubali statue. Touching the vessel with holy water is believed to offer spiritual powers and cleaning effects, it has for the performer a cathartic meaning which is expressed by the white and orange colours of the clothes. The contact between skin and vessel, and later the fluid and the touching of the carved stone head of Bāhubali -- which is possible only at this time -- is a golden opportunity for collecting religious purity and merits which at the best may take place every 12 years. The *abhiṣeka* would remain incomplete if one does not touch the blessed liquids that flow down from the Gommateśvara or touch the *maṅgala* flame with one's hands. Some will put blessed, red-dyed flowers in their hair, others carry a little of the precious liquid mixture in a piece of newspaper, again others try to fill entire bottles with the Bāhubali potion, so that this may be carried home to an extended family. Whoever has not been besprinkled involuntarily, because he had a place near to the colossus, will not hesitate to join others in a joyful game of besmearing each other: the holy paste of powders, spices and flowers is not something that stains, but is a blissful sign of closeness to Bāhubali and his community. As one of the greatest haptic

blessings is believed when a layman is being touched by the peacock-feather brush (*piñcha*) of an ascetic.

Another haptic event is -- connected with sound -- the vibration. Especially the intruding sounds of the wind instruments such as the *nāgasvaram*, and the loud drums, make the bodies of the participants vibrate in a certain rhythm. That might have a more intuitive effect on subconscious levels, according to the reflective perceiving capacity of the individual; but in any case these powerful sounds touch not only the ears but go through the body and deepen the experience of the event in an unforgettable mind impressing way.

All these observations have to be analysed together with information we get from studying the Jaina ritual of worship (*pūjā*) in general, including mythological connections, theoretical considerations and beliefs about the meaning of colours, stones, godly sounds and vibrations, plants and so forth. So far I have dealt with aisthetic dimensions accepted by Western science. If we include the well-known Indian concepts of inner organs of perception, like the inner eye, the inner ear, the inner tongue etc., and make interviews with religiously advanced practitioners such as nuns and monks, the interpretational possibilities multiply, because there is an extra interpretation and concept for every sense organ for which the researcher has made his "outer" observations. These might also not be the same as for Indian participants just traditionally living their culture and religion, and not seeing the ritual in agreement with these more philosophical categories but just living their "normal" way of performing or watching or experiencing the ritual.

This becomes clear when looking at the "spiritual" dimension, that means the description of how the participants experience and interpret the "outer" sensory perceptions according to their mental capacity of experiencing. These might also include (according to Western academic standard) scientifically not provable notions and ideas of mental perception and transformation. These observations would, according to the general Indian understanding of science, be called scientific on the base of their supposed repeatability, but here I wish only to mention that these inner experiences are claimed and interpreted in a certain way.

This spiritual satisfaction is the main reason for coming to the Mahāmastakābhiṣeka, especially for the monks, nuns and novices, in other words: for the professional religious experts and performers. Most of the laypeople feel religiously elated and harmonized by the extraordinary sight of the gigantic ritual, purified by the travails of travel, by the presence in the pilgrimage centre (*kṣetra*) as such, and as already mentioned, in the case of those who were so fortunate, by the blessing touch of the peacock-feather brush of an ascetic; for the monks, nuns and novices especially the inner participation is an element of their spiritual path (*sādhana*). For instance, the colours have further, deeper, symbolic meanings for the ascetics: white stands for the

purity of the soul, gold for the shine of correct knowledge.²⁷ Whereas the laypeople express their joy in dance and song, the ascetics remain quiet and experience the elaborate worship of their ideal Bāhubali in peaceful meditation.

In this way Indian ritual, as exemplified here with the great Jaina Mahāmastakābhiseka *pūjā*, is a hitherto untouched field of research under the systematic and methodological reflected perspective of aesthetics of religion. In the short span of this article it is of course not possible to give a thorough analysis according to the aesthetics of religion; rather, through the example of this especially impressive Jaina ritual it should be shown here, which possibilities of analysis in the field of South Asian religions are possible by means of this approach through aesthetics. I want to invite scholars of religion to discuss the possibilities of this aesthetic approach to the immensely old and rich field of Indian religious culture, that until now is heavily under-researched and under-represented in academic discourse.

²⁷ I was told this during my field research at the Mahāmastakābhiseka of Dharmasthala 2007 by the Digambara Muni Nijānanda Mahārāj (2007).

John E. CORT

The pilgrimage shrine of Sravana Belgola is, without a doubt, one of the best-known sacred sites of the Jains, and its 58-foot tall colossal icon of Bāhubali, carved out of the very rock in the late tenth century, is one of the sculptural wonders of the world. The periodic great lustration (*mahāmastakābhiṣeka*) of the icon attracts hundreds of thousands of pilgrims, tourists and scholars to this otherwise small and quiet town in Karnataka. Photographs of the event, and more recently YouTube postings, spread throughout the world by newspapers, magazines, and now the internet. In many ways the icon of Bāhubali has become emblematic of Jainism as a whole. Robert Zydenbos, for example, in his 2006 popular introduction to Jainism, chose a photograph of the most recent (2006) lustration for the cover to the book, and Jeffery Long similarly chose a photograph of the ludic and celebratory response of devotees to the same lustration for the cover of his 2009 introductory textbook on Jainism.

Focusing solely on the ways that the icon of Bāhubali graphically demonstrates the Jain renunciatory ideal of liberation (*mokṣa*), however, results in both scholars and most pilgrims overlooking the other living heart of the sacred complex: the goddess. It is her presence, ritually installed and daily worshiped, at multiple locations that, in the eyes of Jain devotees, protects and vivifies the site.¹

Southern Digambara Jainism is known for the prominent place given to worship of goddesses. In this it stands in distinct contrast to the ways that northern Digambara Jainism has developed in the past three centuries due to the anti-goddess ideology of the Digambara Terāpanth. Goddess worship still maintains a place in the ritual culture of the Digambara Bīspanth, but is much reduced compared both to earlier centuries

❖ This short essay is based on fieldwork conducted in Sravana Belgola in 1999 and 2008. In both cases, research was funded by a Senior Short-Term Fellowship from the American Institute of Indian Studies. I thank Robert Zydenbos and Nagarajaiah, Hampi, for their assistance in organizing my two visits to Sravana Belgola (and much else). I also thank H. H. Swastishri Carukirti Bhattaraka and Dharanendra-Shastri for their hospitality at Sravana Belgola.

¹ This of course exaggerates the extent to which the icon of the liberated Bāhubali is “absent” of any divine presence. The evidence of icon consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) manuals and devotional hymns (*stavana*, *stotra*) in many languages clearly indicates that even though according to Jain doctrine Bāhubali now resides in the realm of liberation and is therefore no longer of this world, in the experience of both ritual specialists and countless devotees, he is very much a sacred and powerful presence in the icon (Cort 2006).

and to patterns in south India. In particular, there are three goddesses who are very popular among Digambara Jains of Karnataka.

Padmāvātī is the *yakṣī* or *sāsanadevī* who guarded the twenty-third Jina Pārśvanātha, and who continues to guard his *tīrtha* as embodied in his icons and shrines. She is a goddess who is equally popular in south and north India, and among Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras (Cort 1987: 244-46). In Karnataka, her most important shrine is at Hombuja or Humcha, in Shimoga District.² The Hombuja icon is said in the *sthalapurāṇa* or foundation myth of this shrine to have come from Madhure (Mathura) in north India. King Jinadatta was forced to flee to the south, and at the advice of his guru, the monk Siddhāntakīrti, he brought the icon of Padmāvātī to protect him on his journey. At one point she appeared to Jinadatta in a dream, and told him that she would travel no further. He became king of the local tribals, and with their aid cleared the forest and built his new capital city. Padmāvātī made him rich by turning into gold any iron bar that was touched to her icon. This was the beginning of the Śāntara dynasty. Her icon in Hombuja remains a popular pilgrimage goal among Karnataka Jains today.

In contrast to Padmāvātī, Jvālāmālīnī is a more distinctly southern Digambara goddess in her popularity. According to Jain iconography and mythology, she is the *yakṣī* or *sāsanadevī* of the eighth Jina, Candraprabha, but in many respects her cult is independent of his.³ There are two origin stories found for her worship. One involves the ninth-century Jain monk Helācārya. He worshiped a local goddess named Vahnidevī, who resided atop a hill in North Arcot District of Tamilnadu, in order to rid his female disciple Kamalāśrī of a fierce demon that had possessed her. The goddess gave Helācārya a *mantra*, and he incorporated her into Jainism as the goddess Jvālāmālīnī. In the other version, the great sixth-century philosopher-monk Samantabhadra was a devotee of Jvālāmālīnī. He was afflicted with a seemingly incurable disease. His own guru recommended that he go to the Śaiva shrine of Kanchi, where due to her grace he was eventually cured. It is this latter story that is told at her most important shrine in Karnataka, at Simhanagadde or Narasimharajapura, in Chikmagalur District.

The third goddess is Ambikā, better known in Karnataka by her alternate name Kuṣmāṇḍinī. She is also popular in both north and south India, and among both Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras.⁴ Her origin story is located in Saurashtra, in Gujarat. A

² In addition to Zydenbos (1992), I have consulted Nagarajaiah (2005: 153-57), and two pilgrim pamphlets, both of which I purchased in 1999: one (Ādisāgar n.d.) in Hindi, the other (Joyis 1996) in Hindi and English.

³ See Cort (1987: 246-47), Nagarajaiah (2005:150-53), Settar (1969), Zydenbos (1994: 139-41). I have also consulted a Hindi pilgrim pamphlet, *Suprakāśmatī* (n.d.), also purchased in 1999.

⁴ See Cort (1987:247-48), Granoff (1990: 183-84), Nagarajaiah (2005:137-44), Shah (1940), Tiwari (1989). See Shah (1987, 1991) for a highly speculative discussion of the possible origin of Ambikā-Kuṣmāṇḍinī at the confluence of three different goddesses: the Sumerian goddess Nanaiyā and Iranian

pious Jain laywoman named Ambikā was forced to flee her home along with her two sons due to the anger of her husband, a Brahmin named Soma. During their wandering, several miracles occurred due to the woman's piety. When her husband eventually ran after her to bring her back, she feared more violence, and so she and her sons jumped into a well to save themselves. She was reborn as the goddess Ambikā, who was the *yakṣī* or *śāsanadevī* of the twenty-second Jina, Neminātha. That he was the one Jina who was born, lived, and attained liberation in Saurashtra confirms the regional origin of her myth. Her story also conforms to those of many Saurashtrian and Gujarati goddesses, who are the reincarnations of virtuous and pious women who died from unfortunate and violent causes.

Kuṣmāṇḍinī in Karnataka is especially associated with Sravana Belgola, for she is the guardian deity of the site. Robert Zydenbos (2000:87-88) has observed that each of the three important goddess shrines is also the seat of a *bhaṭṭāraka*, so we see that these two distinctive aspects of southern Digambara ritual culture are closely connected. At Hombuja and Simhanagadde, the largest temples—and so putatively the main ones—are of the Jinas Pārśvanātha and Candraprabha, respectively. Even a cursory observation of the attention of pilgrims indicates, however, that most if not all of them come primarily to worship the goddesses, not the Jinas. At Sravana Belgola, on the other hand, there is no central temple of Neminātha, as one would expect since Kuṣmāṇḍinī is his *śāsanadevī*. There is no mythic or iconographic connection between her and Bāhubali. Her role as guardian of the shrine, therefore, either precedes the consecration of the Bāhubali icon in 981 A.D., or else further shows how the cults of the Jain goddesses in Karnataka are only loosely tied to those of the Jinas.

The principal icon of Kuṣmāṇḍinī is not on either of the two hills, but in a cell in the temple to the Jina Candraprabha (also known here as Candranātha) next to the *maṭha* (monastery) that is the seat of the *bhaṭṭāraka* (Plates 30.1, 30.2).⁵ The doorway to her cell is gilt with gold, adding to her luster. This icon is worshiped daily by ablution (*abhiṣeka*) and offerings (*pūjā*). While this temple is not visited by many pilgrims, who tend to focus their devotional attention upon the icon of Bāhubali on Vindhyagiri, a small number of people come every day to receive her sacred gaze (*darśana*). Tuesday is the day of the week devoted to Kuṣmāṇḍinī, so more people come for her gaze on that day. Her icon is elaborately adorned every day with a tall silver crown, silver and jeweled ornaments, flowers, and silk cloth, so her *darśana* is a visually rich experience. Kuṣmāṇḍinī is not the only goddess in this temple, as there are also icons of Padmāvatī and Jvālāmālīnī, both of which are also worshiped and elaborately decorated every day.

goddess Anaitis; an ancient goddess associated with the mango tree; and a goddess associated with the ancient tribe of the Kuṣmāṇḍas.

⁵ The Marathi pilgrim pamphlet by Deśmāne (1987), which I purchased in 1989, also tells the origin myth of Kuṣmāṇḍinī while tying the goddess to Sravana Belgola.

Kuṣmāṇḍinī, not surprisingly, since she is the guardian of the sacred site, is also present atop Vindhyagiri, the hill topped by the Bāhubali icon. She is not a very prominent presence, however. Her icon is located in a cell among a number of other cells with icons of Jinas in the pavilion that runs behind the Bāhubali icon (Plate 30.3). While this icon is worshiped daily, on most days she is ornamented much more simply than the other important goddess icons at Sravana Belgola, with just a long garland of red and white flowers around her neck.

The third important and popular icon of Kuṣmāṇḍinī is atop Candragiri. Compared to the steady stream of pilgrims up Vindhyagiri to worship the icon of Bāhubali, a much smaller number of people climb Candragiri, even though this hill is covered with temples, and is the older of the two sacred hills. Only a few icons in the more than one dozen medieval temples receive much active worship. Pilgrims who climb this hill tend to take a quick *darśana* of the many Jina icons. The people who linger to read the many signs posted by the Archaeological Survey of India, and to inspect the architecturally and iconographically important structures, are acting as much as tourists as they are pilgrims. Their gaze is as much a secular and historical one as it is religious.

Many of the people who engage in this historical viewing of Candragiri may pay very little attention to two cells on the veranda of the largest temple on the hill, the Kattale Basati, or “dark temple”, so called because the lack of windows renders it very dark inside. This temple, with its main icon of the Jina Ādinātha, was built in 1118 A.D. by Gaṅgarāja, a minister of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana, in honor of his own mother Pocikabbe, and renovated in the mid-nineteenth century by two women of the Mysore royal family.⁶ While the icon of Ādinātha is, in the words of one author (Nagaraj 1981, 16), “a fine piece of Hoysala art,” it is not the main focus of worshipers. They come instead to view and worship the icon of Padmāvati, and her devotional centrality has lent this temple its second name, Padmāvati Basati.⁷ The attentive pilgrim or tourist will note that her icon, as well as the icon of Kuṣmāṇḍinī in a nearby cell, and an icon of the male protector deity Kṣetrapāla in a third cell, give evidence of frequent worship. Their icons are ornamented, the smell of incense is in the air, and offerings are on the low tables at the entrances to the cells. Each goddess cell also has a rod running from wall to wall across the width of its inside, on which dozens of women devotees have left glass bangles, in response to a petition that has been successfully answered. Of the two goddesses, Padmāvati is more popular here, as seen in her more

⁶ Information on the temples on Candragiri comes from del Bonta (1981), Karnataka (1981), Nagaraj (1980), Nagarajaiah (2001), Sangave (1981), and Settar (1981).

⁷ Note that the two goddesses here are Padmāvati and Kuṣmāṇḍinī, the attendant goddesses of the Jinas Pārśvanātha and Neminātha respectively. Cakreśvarī, the goddess who attends upon Ādinātha, is not important either at this temple or elsewhere at Sravana Belgola (she is much more important in north Indian Śvetāmbara Jain ritual culture; Settar [1971b], Shah [1971]), showing again how the cults of the goddesses in southern Digambara Jainism are to a significant extent independent of the Jinas.

extensive ornamentation (Plate 30.4). The priests (*arcaka*) who perform the daily morning worship of the two goddesses pay more attention to Padmāvati than to Kuṣmāṇḍinī, especially on Fridays, the day dedicated to Padmāvati. The people who come to worship her on that day are almost exclusively Jains who live in the village of Sravana Belgola. On that day she receives four ablutions, of water, milk, water with sandalwood paste mixed in it, and finally water again (Plate 30.5). The icon is then dried off and ornamented. The priest goes outside the temple to crack open a coconut, and brings the two halves inside to offer before the goddess. He then performs the standard eight-fold worship (Vasantharaj 1985), concluding with the performance of *ārati*, the waving of a flaming lamp in front of the icon. He brings the metal plate with the lamp on it out of the cell for onlookers to wave their hands above the flame and then touch their hands to their faces as blessing. In return, some of the onlookers place a small monetary offering on the plate. Next the priest brings the bowl used to collect the ablution liquid, and uses a flower blossom to sprinkle the water on the onlookers, while speaking a Sanskrit *mantra* that says that this blessed water will remove all sins (*pāpa*), and result in all one's undertakings being successful. Finally he hands the two halves of the broken coconut to the lay person who has been the patron for that day's worship, who in turn breaks it into smaller pieces to distribute to everyone present. This worship is the same as that performed to an icon of a Jina and to the large icon of Bāhubali, with the only exception being that the Sanskrit *mantras* are directed to Padmāvati (and then Kuṣmāṇḍinī) instead of to a liberated being.

While the icon of Padmāvati in the Kattale Basati atop Candragiri is believed to be the oldest Padmāvati icon at Sravana Belgola, and so plays an important role in the protection of the entire site, another icon of her in the village is more popular, in large part because it is much more easily accessible. Across a square from the *maṭha* of the *bhaṭṭāraka* is the Bhaṇḍārī Basati, the largest temple in the entire sacred complex. It is so-called because it was commissioned in 1159 by Hullarāja, the treasurer (*bhaṇḍārī*) of the Hoysala king Narasiṃha I, who in turn dedicated the income of a village to its upkeep (Sangave 1981, 18-19). It is also known as the Caturviṃśati Tīrthāṅkara Basati, because instead of a single main icon, its main altar area contains a row of nearly identical icons of the twenty-four Jinas. On either side of the large pavilion in the front part of the temple are two cells, one containing an icon of the important male deity Brahmadeva,⁸ and the other an icon of Padmāvati (Plates 30.6, 30.7). Both of them receive regular attention from worshipers, especially early in the morning and in the evening. Some people even come for *darśana* of these two deities and do not proceed further into the temple for *darśana* of the Jina icons. There is a string of bangles in the cell of the Padmāvati icon. While these may be given to her in response to the granting of many different petitions, they are given most often as thanks for the

⁸ See Settar (1971a) on this deity, whose cult is distinctive to south Indian Digambara Jainism.

safe birth of a child, and local women regularly bring infants to this shrine to be blessed by the goddess.

We have seen that while Sravana Belgola is best known to pilgrims, tourists and art historians for the monolithic icon of Bāhubali, careful attention to ritual and devotional activity reveals a second sacred focus upon the goddess in two Jain personalities, Kuṣmāṇḍinī and Padmāvatī. Jvālāmālīnī, the third highly popular goddess among Digambara Jains of Karnataka, has a much less visible presence in the sacred complex. Also less noticeable in their presence are two goddesses whom the Jains share with the larger South Asian religious world, although they also have distinctive Jain cults and personalities: Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī.⁹ Any sacred site will accumulate multiple meanings, as centuries of pilgrims, residents and religious specialists leave their traces in memory, constructions, and the very rocks themselves.¹⁰ Some of these meanings will be evident to everyone, as they are embedded in the most public and obvious rituals and objects. These may come to be iconic for the entire site. But scholars must be attentive to more than the obvious. In the case of Sravana Belgola, such sustained observation and analysis is rewarded with the revelation that the goddess is a vital, even essential presence.

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⁹ See Cort (1987, 237, and 2001, 167-71, 188-90) and Ghosh (1979, 139-71) on Lakṣmī; and Cort (1987, 236-27, Nagarajaiah (2009), and Shah (1941) on Sarasvatī.

¹⁰ See also Cort (2008) for a more extended discussion of the ways multiple meanings accrue to a pilgrimage site, in this case Osian in western Rajasthan.

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Andrea LUTHLE-HARDENBERG

Introduction

On occasion of this felicitation volume for Professor Hampanaji, who has dedicated his life's work to the study of Jainism, I would like to raise the question how this age-old and apparently austere religion is continued by the younger generations. As a social and cultural anthropologist I would like to address this matter by discussing the religious practices, values and ideas of the contemporary, mostly urban Jaina youth. In particular, this paper describes how young metropolitan Shvetambara women with Marvari and Gujarati origins experience their religion. In my account on their contemporary religious attitudes and practices I focus on the so-called "99fold" pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya, *navanu*. This pilgrimage has not received much scholarly attention, neither by social and cultural anthropologists, nor by indologists.¹ According to my data this extraordinary strenuous religious practice is regularly performed by Shvetambara lay people, among them also a number of young and unmarried women.

For the description of this pilgrimage I am referring to data collected during an ethnographic fieldwork, which I conducted between September 2001 and June 2003 in Gujarat, mainly in the pilgrim town Palitana and on Shatrunjaya. I first give an overview of the collective performances, ascetic restrictions, liturgical rituals, and prescribed routes of the pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya in general and the *navanu* pilgrimage in particular. Next I introduce some case studies of young unmarried women in their late teens and early twenties who performed *navanu* in the winter seasons of 2001/2002 and 2002/ 2003. Finally I offer an interpretation of these practices by arguing that these extreme bodily experiences of *navanu* have performative effects on the participants. I argue that in the cause of this pilgrimage the young people embody Jaina ideas and values and thereby re-establish a connection with their religious community. Thus, the scope of this paper is limited to the Shvetambara urban middle class and does not consider the various "kaleidoscope images" of Indian youth.² Moreover, while referring to an extraordinary situation like *navanu* many questions regarding the every-day lives of the Jaina youth is left open.

¹ According to my knowledge, the only author who mentions the *navanu* pilgrimage briefly is Jain (1980).

² Verma/ Saraswathi (2002).

However, by taking into account the experiences of young Shvetambara women in Palitana and on Shatrunjaya, we might get a better clue of the Jaina youth's aspirations, skills and perspectives.

Shatrunjaya

In order to approach the subject we first have to address Shatrunjaya's crucial importance for the Shvetambara community. Today, among the supra-regional pilgrimage centers of the *Murtipujak Shvetambara*, the holy mountain Shatrunjaya together with the adjacent pilgrimage town of Palitana, is the most significant in both ritual and social terms. According to the estimation of an officer employed by the managing trust, Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, every year at least 400,000 pilgrims undertake the pilgrimage to the holy mountain in order to worship Adishvar, the way Adinath or Rshabha, the first fordmaker, is called locally. In accordance with the traditional obligation for pilgrimage (*tirtha yatra*) as enlisted within the eleven duties for the lay person,³ many Shvetambaras come regularly, even several times a year. In no other place one encounters such a concentration of Shvetambara temples of great importance and nowhere else are so many pilgrim hostels established which reflect the plurality of local Shvetambara communities. Elsewhere I therefore argue that the pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya is a central aspect in the construction of a distinct Shvetambara identity.⁴

What, however, does this mean for the younger generation, especially for the young people who live in metropolitan cities like Mumbai, Bengaluru, Kolkata or Chennai, which are at least a day's journey away? In fact, most of the Shvetambara youngsters of today belong to the middle or upper classes of these and some other urban centers. We would rightly expect them to attend a business school or a university class rather than a sermon of an Acarya and we are more likely to meet them in cyber cafés or shopping malls than in a temple. These youngsters wear fashionable clothes, communicate mainly in English and watch American TV serials or cosmopolitan music programs like MTV. On first sight they do not seem to be interested in establishing a lasting connection with their respective local Jaina community. Nevertheless, during my fieldwork I had the opportunity to observe and interview several Shvetambara girls and boys in their late teens or early twenties who took part in the so called "99fold" pilgrimage (*navanu*) to Shatrunjaya. These repeated pilgrimages are accompanied by extraordinary ascetic practices, which are continued over a period of two months. Thus, within the Shvetambara community a lot of people refer to *navanu* as the hardest austerity a lay person can take on, even harder than

³ Williams (1991[1963]: 233–34).

⁴ Luithle-Hardenberg (in print); for a summary of the main argument see Luithle-Hardenberg (2010).

other ascetic practices such as *updhan*⁵, the „one year of fasting“ (*varshi tap*)⁶, or one month of a complete fasting (*mahashkaman*).⁷

Interestingly, the prospect of extreme physical hardships does not frighten off those youngsters, who decide to take a two months leave of their worldly commitments in their comfortable urban residences in order to impose a rigorous ascetic practice on themselves. According to one of the officers of the Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, an average of about 3000 lay pilgrims perform *navanu* every year.⁸ At least 50% of them are lay women between 40 and 65, and about a half of these women are attended by their husbands. Typically these *navanu* pilgrims put their grown up married sons and their daughters-in-law in charge of their personal affairs back home. Usually these elderly women claim that they were intending to perform *navanu* since a long time, but were not able to accomplish their plans previously. Married women and men below the age of 40, who have unmarried or small children, very rarely perform *navanu*, as their daily business and household affairs does not allow them an absence of two months. However, according to my estimation about 15 % of the *navanu* groups, i.e. annually about 450 people, are under the age of thirty and *unmarried*. Out of these, about one third are *diksharthis* or candidates for the ascetic initiation. In this group girls are, in the clear majority, reflecting the fact that about two third of Shvetambara ascetics are women. The *dikshartis*, women and men alike, perform *navanu* mainly in order to prepare themselves for the ascetic wanderings. The rest of the unmarried *navanu* participants below the age of 30 are almost exclusively women. They often perform *navanu* because they are told to do so by elder relatives, who want to prepare them for their religious duties as wives and mothers. Some of them, however, have chosen *navanu* on their own initiative or have been convinced by a friend to accompany her during the 99 fold pilgrimage.

Despite these diverse social motivations all pilgrims agree that *navanu* is performed in remembrance and as a humble emulation of Adinath's 99 *purva*⁹ pilgrimages to the eternal mountain Shatrunjaya. According to various myths and legends¹⁰ (which are repeated in the various pilgrim's almanacs and retold by many pilgrims) Adinath himself once established the pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya. Therefore, the holy mountain is particularly important in connection with the life of the first fordmaker, Adinath or Rshabha. As commonly known, Adinath („the first Lord“) generally plays the vital

⁵ For an elaboration of this penance see Cort 2001: 105 and 137 and Luithle-Hardenberg (in print).

⁶ For an elaboration of this penance see Cort 2001: 137-138 and Luithle-Hardenberg (in print).

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ During my fieldwork I got notice of nine larger *navanu* groups, five in the winter season of 2001/ 2002 (about 3000 participants) and four in 2002/ 2003 (about 1500 participants).

⁹ The measurement *purva* is equal to the multiplication of 8,400,000 by 8,400,000, which is again equal to a number with 14 digits.

¹⁰ When being asked for textual sources the pilgrims usually refer to the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmyam* or *Shatrunjaya Laghu Kalpa* irrespective of their own actual knowledge of the text. However, these legends are explicitly mentioned by Hemacandra only (Johnson 1931: 354-357).

role of a cultural hero in Jaina mythology. He first established the Jaina community and Jaina kingship before renouncing it and becoming the first Jaina ascetic of our era.¹¹ Thus, in the context of pilgrimage (*yatra*) to Shatrunjaya, devotees always refer to Rshabha as "Adinath" or "Adishvar", thereby stressing this fordmaker's role as the 'first'. Accordingly, during the period of his ascetic wanderings Adinath also performed the first pilgrimage to the eternal mountain Shatrunjaya. It is said that he performed the pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya as many as 99 *purva* times and that he delivered sermons on every occasion.¹² His example inspired some of his own descendants to undertake the same. The most famous of them is Adinath's grandson Pundarik, who came to Shatrunjaya as his first disciple. He was also the first of countless saints, who are said to have attained salvation at the very spot.¹³ However, to be precise, for the Shvetambara this deed alone did not bring about the fame and uniqueness of Shatrunjaya as the "king of pilgrimage places" (*tirthadhiraja*). In fact, the exceptional importance of Shatrunjaya rather stems from the idea that the mountain is *shashvat*, literally meaning "eternal" and indestructible. Within a vast and constantly changing universe¹⁴ Shatrunjaya is considered the only eternal place accessible to human beings in our "dark age" (*kali yug*). Therefore it is believed that only those people who collected sufficient spiritual merits in their previous lives are able to complete a pilgrimage to Shatrunjaya and that a successful pilgrimage guarantees salvation after some rebirths. Thus, Shatrunjaya is seen as a ford to salvation in a very literal sense, because even though the Jaina doctrine holds that it is impossible to gain salvation in the current era of time, a successful pilgrimage is very effective in bringing a pilgrim closer to that remote goal.

When asked about the purpose of their pilgrimage, many pilgrims, not only the *navanu* participants, offer an interpretation of the very name of the holy mountain. Shatrunjaya literally means "the conqueror of enemies." For the pilgrims, this

¹¹ For the crucial role of Adinath see Folkert (1993: 152).

¹² Some of these legends are referred to in the medieval Shvetambara literature and some are not. The few available translations of primary sources are Weber 1901 and Cort 1993. However, the main sources of my analysis are oral references to mythology and legends made by the pilgrims in personal communication. Moreover, I carefully studied contemporary pilgrimage guides, for example: Dhami (2000), Gunaratna Suri (1997; 1998; 1999), Seth Anandji Kalyanji (1976 [V.S.2031]), Varaiya (1980 [V.S. 2035]). A version of Adinath's life story in English, although making only occasional reference to Shatrunjaya, can be found in Johnson (trans. 1931–54), Vol. I.

¹³ This event is celebrated every year on the full moon in Caitra (March/April). See Weber (1901: 249) for an early reference in the *Shatrunjaya Mahatmyam*. Because of Pundarika's salvation on Shatrunjaya, the hill is also called Pundarik Giri.

¹⁴ For detailed descriptions of Shatrunjaya's location within the Jaina cosmos, see Luithle-Hardenberg (in print); for a comprehensive summary of the Jaina cosmography see Glasenapp (1984 [1925]: 214–43) and Caillat and Kumar (1981). Due to this special eternal quality, Shatrunjaya is considered to be a place with a direct link to the place of salvation, Siddhashila, and that again enabled uncounted souls to attain salvation on this hill, including important protagonists of Shvetambara myths and legends, whose spiritual liberations are recalled in several festivals of pilgrimage and are observed by all image-worshipping Shvetambaras.

metaphor alludes to the difficult fight against the so-called “inner enemies”, namely the four cardinal passions (*kashaya*), which are the main cause for karmic bondage, and the major obstacles to the command of non-violence: greed (*lobh*), fury (*krodh*), ego (*man*), and hypocrisy (*maya*). Thus, pilgrims generally claim univocally that their pilgrimage was nothing but an effective way of striving for the purification of their souls by getting rid of *karma* and thereby getting a little closer to salvation. As in many other Jaina contexts, the purification of the pilgrim’s soul is considered to be basically a material process, because the karmic matter (*pudgala*) is believed to be a substance, which is attached to the soul (*jiva*) by the cardinal passions (*kashaya*).¹⁵ Consequentially it is necessary to take physical action against the karmic matter.

In accordance with that premise the motto of many pilgrims is: “*The bigger the physical efforts during pilgrimage, the greater the spiritual progress and the closer one comes to salvation*”, as Joshika, a twenty years old *navanu*-pilgrim put it. The average lay pilgrim usually resides in a comfortable urban home and avoids to walk long distances in his or her everyday lives. However, when climbing the top of the mountain on foot everybody, not only the *navanu* participant, has to endure unfamiliar strains during his or her pilgrimage (*yatra*) to Shatrunjaya.¹⁶

The 99fold pilgrimage (*navanu*)

The physical efforts are considerably enhanced during the two months long *navanu* pilgrimage. While in general all pilgrims — not only *navanu* pilgrims — perform liturgical rituals and adhere to certain restrictions during their pilgrimages, only the *navanu* pilgrims (*navanu yatriks*, *navanu aradhaks* oder *navanu tapasvis*) are ritually bound by a pledge (*paccakkhan*) to a number of rules and restrictions over a period of two months. Thus all *navanu* pilgrims have to adhere to the following four sets of obligations: 1. The compliance with the so-called “six restrictions (*cha’ri palit*)”, 2. The repetition of five liturgical rituals during each pilgrimage, 3. The performance of six alternative routes, and 4. The observance of a two or three days complete fast. First of all the *navanu* observances involve the mandatory six restrictions (*cha’ri palit*) of pilgrimage.¹⁷ The strict adherence to these brings the daily routine of a *navanu* pilgrim very close to the ascetics’ mode of life. They imply: (1) strictly abstaining from all kind of forbidden food (*sacitt parihari*), such as roots, bread with yeast or tinned food, (2) limiting the intake of food to once a day (*ekasan*), (3) walking barefoot and not to use any other mode of transport but one’s own feet (*pad cari*), (4) sleeping on the floor (*bhumi santhari*), (5) observing celibacy (*brahmacari*) with regard to deeds as well as thoughts and (6) performing the *pratikraman*-ritual twice a day.

¹⁵ Jaini: 1979:112 and 151, 114; Dundas 1992:83, 88, Banks 1992: 17.

¹⁶ Usually only children of a very young age, ailing or elderly people are taking a *doli*, a kind of palanquin mostly carried by herdsmen (of Bharvad caste).

¹⁷ These rules are the same which are followed by other pilgrimage groups, but no one does apply them for a longer period than two weeks.

The second set of rules refers to the daily repetitions of pilgrimages on the main route: All in all a *navanu yatrik* has to complete the pilgrimage to the main temple of Adishvar on the peak of Shatrunjaya 108 times. According to the pilgrims they perform 99 times in remembrance of Adinath's 99 *purva* pilgrimages, and 9 times for one's own spiritual protection (*sva jiv daya*). Furthermore every single pilgrimage implies obligatory liturgical rituals at the five prescribed sacred sites on the route to the main temple of Adinath.¹⁸ Therefore it is mandatory to visit the following sites during every single pilgrimage on the main route: The first place of worship is located at the northern foot of the hill, which faces Palitana. At the so-called Jay Taleti ("praising the foot") Jaina devotees worship a non-iconical piece of rock in a way which is usually reserved for the images of fordmakers. This rock represents the eternal, sacred mountain itself, which is considered to be *tirthadhiraja*, the king of all pilgrimage places. Furthermore the pilgrims worship Adinath, whose footprints are installed in several shrines around the Taleti rock. Sometimes, the Taleti rock itself is said to symbolically represent the feet of the first fordmaker.

Starting from Jay Taleti a pilgrim reaches the walled city of temples on the summit of the mountain Shatrunjaya only after at least an hour's strenuous ascent. Here, all the other four obligatory destinations are situated within the compound of the main temple of Adinath, which covers the south-eastern part of the peak. In fact, despite the great number of temples and shrines, the vast majority of pilgrims focus on these places only while performing their pilgrimage. This main route also entails the second mandatory destination, the Shantinath temple. A sanctuary of the 16th fordmaker is included into the main route because this Jina is considered to have spent eight rainy seasons meditating on the summit of Shatrunjaya while observing a complete fast.¹⁹ The third site is a small shrine which is situated under a *rayana* tree and harbors huge footprints of Adinath. This is believed to be the very spot where the first fordmaker delivered his sermons during his many pilgrimages. Therefore, the tree itself as well as its leaves and fruits are an object for veneration. The fourth sanctuary on the main route is dedicated to Adinath's grandson and first disciple (*ganadhara*) Pundarik, who was the first to have attained salvation on Shatrunjaya in our era of time.²⁰ The entrance of the Pundarika temple faces the gate of the main temple of Adinath, which

¹⁸ On their way, pilgrims may include other sites of their choice, but in contrast to the five main destinations, these are not obligatory. Anyway, most of the pilgrims usually go straight to the compound of the main temple of Adinath on the south-eastern peak of the mountain without a detour, for example to the temples on the north-western summit.

¹⁹ Except for Adinath, no other fordmaker is believed to have visited Shatrunjaya more often than Shantinath. According to the legend, 15,255,777 ascetics attained salvation here while spending the rainy season under the spiritual guidance of Shantinath. See Weber (1901: 250) for a short reference. Modern pilgrimage almanacs give Shantinath's story in detail; see for example, Gunaratna Suri (1997: 164ff).

²⁰ Interestingly, Pundarik's image has all the characteristics of the images of the fordmakers. He is depicted in the typical meditation posture and not as usual for an ascetic leader with the right hand raised for blessing. Furthermore, the liturgical ritual of veneration, as well as the eightfold worship, is performed in the same way as to a fordmaker.

is the fifth and last destination and the goal of pilgrimage. This temple is addressed by the pilgrims as “Dadanu Derasar” after its miracle-working image “Dada Adishvar”.²¹

At all five destinations, the pilgrims have to perform a liturgical worship (*caityavandan*) of the main image present in each temple. The singing of hymns (*stuti*) and devotional songs (*stavan*), in which the pilgrims refer to myths and legends related to the holy mountain and to the first fordmaker Adinath, forms the core of these rituals.²² Also, any liturgical worship can be accompanied by the “worship of eight substances” (*astaprakari puja*), which includes the bathing and decorating of the image.²³ All in all the *navanu* pilgrimage implies at least nine *astaprakari pujas* to Dada Adishvar.²⁴

As I stated elsewhere,²⁵ by progressing on the pilgrimage route, every pilgrim regresses in time: the foot of the eternal hill serves as a gate from whence the pilgrim goes back in mythological time. With every step s/he passes an earlier phase of our age until s/he reaches the temple of Adinath and the origin of the Jaina community, doctrine and practice represented by the first fordmaker. However, while an average pilgrim quickly leaves Palitana and goes back to the linear time of everyday life, a *navanu* pilgrim repeats the journey to mythological eras as many as 108 times and over a period of two months. Thereby s/he moves back and forth between everyday linear time and the cyclic time of the myths. The severe austerities and the resulting physical strains of the pilgrimage are considered to strengthen the ability of a *navanu* pilgrim to overcome the transience of everyday life and approach the eternity ascribed to the sacred mountain.

In enduring physical pain the *navanu* pilgrim clearly imitates the wanderings and daily routine of the ascetics, which were once initiated by Adishvar himself.²⁶ Whereas an average pilgrim – after having performed one *yatra* only – usually spends the rest of the day in his/ her hostel, a *navanu* pilgrim, is constantly away from sunrise until the late afternoon. S/he performs as many pilgrimages as s/he can and returns to his/her hostels not before 4.00 p.m, when s/he listens to the daily sermon of his/her ascetic preceptor. Afterwards s/he hurries to take the only meal of the day before sunset. The day is brought to an end by the collectively performed *pratikraman* ritual. Soon after the exhausted pilgrim goes to bed and sleeps early.

In order to complete the whole course 108 pilgrimages on the main route in two months only, *navanu* pilgrims have to adhere strictly to that schedule, which enables

²¹ Close to the sanctum, facing the main image, Marudevi, Adinath's mother, sits on an elephant. By standing behind the image of Marudevi during worship, every pilgrim takes up the same position in relation to Adinath as his mother, the first human being of our times who according to the Shvetambara version of the myth had attained salvation after having seen her omniscient son.

²² For details see Luithle-Hardenberg (in print).

²³ For a detailed description of the Jaina temple rituals, see Cort 2001: 61–99.

²⁴ At least once they have to offer a garland with 108 flowers to Dada Adishvar.

²⁵ Luithle-Hardenberg 2010.

²⁶ Remarkably, when performed by ascetics, *navanu* is seen as an equivalent for the obligatory itineraries.

them to perform an average of three pilgrimages a day. I also observed that the number of pilgrimages on the main route increases in the course of their stay. Thus, at the beginning they are usually able to complete only one or two pilgrimages a day but once they have gained some practice they may be able to climb the mountain as many as five times a day. In this way they gain some additional time which they need in order to observe a third set of *navanu* rules. According to these rules every *navanu* pilgrim has to include in his/her routine six additional and extensive pilgrimage routes, which I will describe below.

Last but not least the *navanu* pilgrims have to observe special rules of fasting in order to complete their pilgrimage. Usually they eat only one meal a day, but in the course of their two months long stay every *navanu* pilgrim must also completely abstain from all food and drink for at least two or three days. During this time they cannot take rest but have to perform seven or eleven pilgrimages respectively.

In general I perceived a strong mutual control among the pilgrims concerning the proper observance of these rules and rituals. They frequently explained this behavior by saying that their *sat sangh*— "true companionship"—requires reciprocal support. In their view, the strict observance of a rule or the thorough performance of a mandatory ritual inspires others to do the same and guarantees the success of the pilgrimage. Breaking a rule or neglecting a ritual is, on the other hand, considered to be a temptation for other pilgrims to do the same. Such behavior is, therefore, not only believed to reduce or destroy the karmic success of the pilgrimage, but believed to bring bad *karma* (*pap*) to the wrongdoer. In this sense, mutual control serves to ensure one's own as well as the others' spiritual progress.

Accordingly, most of the pilgrims are convinced that the *navanu* observances are much easier to follow when they are performed in a group. These *navanu* groups consist of at least 50 people and can be composed of as many as 1000 participants, but mostly have a size of 150-400 people. As with every larger pilgrimage group, all *navanu* groups are sponsored and organized by wealthy lay people — the *sangha pati* ("head of the group") — who invite members of their own local community to perform *navanu*, while they bear the expenses of all the participants.²⁷

From the first preparations to the actual performance of the pilgrimage, the sponsors and all the other lay participants are constantly supervised by at least one Acarya and his disciples, who belong to the ascetic branch which is affiliated with the respective

²⁷ This type of religious donation is quite expensive. For example, according to one of the *sangha patis*, who sponsored a medium scale *navanu* group of about 200 participants, his expenses were as high as two million rupees (40 000 Euro). However, the sponsors of the 99-fold pilgrimages only rarely perform *navanu* themselves. Mostly these sponsors are successful businessmen who hardly can leave their managing posts for as long as two months, unless they are semi-retired. Also, their organizational commitments for their *navanu* group do not leave much time for austerities.

local lay community. During the two months²⁸ sojourn time in Palitana all *navanu* participants stay in one of the 83 pilgrim hostels.²⁹ Generally, the sponsor of a *navanu* pilgrimage prefers to book a hostel which is run by a trust of his own local community. This preference corresponds with a general practice that regardless of the actual — mostly urban — place of residence, every pilgrim favors a hostel, which is linked to his or her family by regional affiliation and which is particularly defined by the family's place of origin (*mul vatan*)³⁰ and sometimes even limited to a certain local caste.³¹

However, if the hostels which comply with these preconditions cannot host all *navanu* pilgrims of his group, a *sangha pati* might also choose a bigger hostel associated with a different local community. At any rate the pilgrim hostel of a *navanu* group functions as an independent unit: In the assembly hall, the pilgrims listen to lectures given by ascetic preceptors and regularly elaborated *pujas* are performed here. In larger groups the pilgrims might also gather for the sermons in the inner yard, where for that purpose huge canopies are installed. At the same place each morning and evening the male lay pilgrims collectively perform *pratikraman* with the male ascetics, while the lay women join the female ascetics in their quarters for the same purpose. In the eating hall, all lay pilgrims eat together according to the strict Jaina dietary rules.

Some days before the end of the rainy season the lay people of a *navanu* group usually take a private car or bus from their urban residences in order to reach their hostel in Palitana. Traditionally, all pilgrims of a *navanu* group jointly commence with the first of the 108 pilgrimages on the early morning of the full moon day of the month of Kartik (October/November), which is called "Kartika Punam" in Gujarati.³² That day marks the end of the rainy season (*comasu/ caturmas*), during which the ascetics discontinue their itineraries and stay at one place in order to prevent the hurting of the abundantly thriving flora and fauna. For the same reason, ascetics and devoted lay people do not perform the pilgrimage to the top of Shatrunjaya hill during this season.

²⁸ Sometimes particular *navanu* pilgrims, mostly elderly couples, who have plenty of time, but cannot complete more than one pilgrimage a day, do not join a larger *navanu* group, but continue their 108 pilgrimages over an extended period or even years.

²⁹ In 2003 in Palitana I counted 102 pilgrim hostels; fourteen were closed (either under renovation or run down) and five were still under construction. Most of the pilgrim hostels are located alongside the Taleti Road at the southern end of town, literally meaning „foot road“ as it connects the old city and bazaar area with the northern foot of the mountain.

³⁰ For almost all hostels, the affiliation with a region or place of origin was obvious, even if it was not mentioned in their names. In interviews, their managers referred explicitly to a place or region in Gujarat (41), or in Rajasthan (31), Punjab (2), and Maharashtra (1), respectively.

³¹ For details see Luithle-Hardenberg (in print). In particular, the older hostels built before independence explicitly stress their pilgrims' affiliation with a certain region and local caste. For Jaina castes in Gujarat, see Cort (2004).

³² Sometimes a *navanu* group might start one month after Kartika Punam, on Magsar Punam. This is the case when the Acarya who is in charge of that particular *navanu* group has previously led a group of lay people to perform another kind of austerity, such as *updhan*, which also starts immediately after the rainy season and is also performed frequently in Palitana as an extension of the rainy season quarters.

Nevertheless Palitana is frequently chosen as so-called *comasu* quarters for Acaryas (and their disciples), who might afterwards continue their stay to supervise a *navanu* group of lay people, affiliated to their own particular ascetic branch. During the days, which precede the beginning of *navanu*, the Acaryas start to prepare the lay people of their particular *navanu* group for the ongoing austerities with daily sermons and presiding over elaborate rituals, *pratikraman*-rituals and long processions from their hostel to the foot of the hill. Thereby the daily shared routine in the hostels creates an exceptionally intensive interaction between all participants, lay people as well as ascetics.

The case study

The above exemplification of rules and rituals has shown that *navanu* is an extraordinary expression of lay religiosity, which imitates the ascetic mode of life yet places great emphasis on collective mutual support. I will now elucidate how these rituals, regulations and restrictions were perceived by a group of girls, who performed *navanu* in the winter season of 2001/ 2002 and 2002/ 2003 respectively, during which I met them regularly for interviews in their hostels. I also accompanied them during some of their pilgrimages, even though, I have to admit, I never completed 99!

In my case study I focus mainly on four girls who were between 18 and 21 years old: Priti,³³ Neepa, Joshika, and Latika. They belonged to a friendship circle of Marvari girls from Bengaluru. One of them, 20 year old Priti, had decided to perform *navanu* and consecutively convinced her best friends, Neepa and Joshika, to join her. Though Priti was the most experienced of the three friends with regard to ascetic practices,³⁴ Joshika had turned out to be the unofficial leader and spokeswoman of the group. She was also the one, who established contact with me soon after the girl's arrival in Palitana. Before that she had talked her younger sister Latika into accompanying her, Priti and Neepa to Palitana. Joshika also invited her cousin Vidhya, who was in her late twenties and already married, to join their pilgrimage. This helped her to receive her parent's approval of her plans because this cousin could act as a kind of "governess" and guarantee for the modest appearance of her comrades. Vidhya, however, rather acted as a silent observer than as a bossy elder sister and did also not complete *navanu* herself.

The friendship circle belonged to a larger *navanu* group of 400 participants, who jointly performed *navanu* in the winter of 2001/ 2002 and stayed in one of the biggest hostels in town, the Kacch Vagad Dharamshala. That particular group was sponsored by a *sangha pati* of Marvari origin and was lead by the Acaryas Kanakratnasuri und Jayshekharsuri of Mohansuri Samuday. Besides the case study of these five young women from Bengaluru I will also include some observations regarding another 21

³³ All names are changed in order to protect the privacy of my informants.

³⁴ She decided to perform *navanu* after having completed *updhan*.

year old *navanu* pilgrim, Charita from Mumbai, who was more or less dragged by her mother's mother to perform *navanu* in 2002/ 2003. In the beginning she reluctantly joined a *navanu* group of 150 participants, which was sponsored by a *sanghu pati* of Gujarati origin, led by Naivardhansuri of Ramcandrasuri Samuday and stayed in the Sabarmati Bhavan.

When meeting these girls the first time some days before the beginning of *navanu* they appeared to me as very typical young Jaina women, resembling those whom I had met earlier in different Indian towns and suburbs. They stepped out of the air conditioned bus which had brought them a long distance from their metropolitan homes, dressed in well-tailored and fashionable *salvar kamiz*, and looked a little out of place on this dusty road in front of their hostel in Palitana. During our first meetings on the next days they acted according to my expectations: They were just "normal" young middle class urban women, well educated, fluent in English, interested in fashion and Bollywood movie stars. Their conversational topics were quite the same as those of other girls, whom I had met in their urban homes. For example, though none of them was already engaged they frequently indulged in discussions about future marriages. However, when I asked them whether they had decided to perform *navanu* pilgrimage in order to find a suitable husband, they hurriedly answered in the negative. Like many other pilgrims they argued that *in contrast* to Hindu pilgrims, they do not give a vow (*manta*) that connects the pilgrimage with a mundane aim, such as finding a good marriage partner, gaining prosperity for the family, or ensuring health. Somewhat precociously Priti explained to me that [...] *the only motivation of pilgrimage is to get rid of karma. This is only possible while performing aradhana, ascetic practice.*"

While I secretly wondered, if she knew what she was talking about, or if she just had repeated what she had heard, this first conversation shifted quickly to less severe topics. For instance, I learned that two of them had widely travelled through India and abroad, but all of them claimed that they missed their family at home already after the first day. At the same time I got the impression that while being away from home they enjoyed a kind of freedom which was new to them.

However, most strikingly, they were highly ambivalent with regard to the ritual routine. For example, the four friends used to sit on the veranda in front of their shared room joking with each other thereby almost forgetting to attend a sermon or one of the elaborate rituals in the assembly hall that lasted for hours during the preliminary days. Some of the older lay pilgrims felt it necessary to reprimand them repeatedly for doing so. Moreover, female ascetics regularly paid visits to their room, in order to remind them of the very reason for their stay in Palitana. The female ascetics also gently pushed them to join the morning and evening *pratikraman* in the *sadhvi's* quarters. Several times I witnessed how these girls courteously and decently received these advices, often with an open show of honest acceptance or even abashed regret.

Though the girls showed a more or less carefree attitude in the beginning, I never observed them to violate the rules which were regulating their stay in Palitana. For instance, in accordance with the strict vow of celibacy, I never saw them talking even casually to any men, except for their brothers or fathers who had accompanied them to Palitana and later regularly came to visit them. The girls clearly cherished the special measures which were meant to guarantee the careful segregation of sexes, for example by setting up fences in the tents of the assembly. Although they, according to their own reports, were used to a relaxed coeducational atmosphere in their colleges, the girls welcomed these measures because they were considered to prevent sexual harassment and thereby promote a relaxed atmosphere within the whole group. As Joshika expressed it: "*It is like sitting in the ladies compartment constantly!*" Moreover, the girls emphasized that they have to take a special precaution in avoiding male ascetics, as the presence of young unmarried women is usually seen as a severe threat to the younger ascetics' vow of celibacy.

Even though the girls tried to adhere to the many rules and regulations, they did not show much enthusiasm for the Acarya's sermons, which were meant to prepare the *navanu* groups for their pilgrimages. With the exception of Priti, who had initiated the *navanu* project among their friends and now continuously tried to motivate them, the girls rather anxiously listened to the stern instructions given by the Acaryas regarding the manifold *navanu* restrictions. If the young women talked to me or to each other about the upcoming challenges of *navanu*, they mostly expressed their fear of not being able to meet the expectations. For example, during the three daily meals which were served in their hostel, they enjoyed eating high calorie dishes and usually discussed the coming abstinence of culinary pleasures with a clear sigh of regret. Furthermore, they very hesitantly got used to abandon their footwear and even before starting the actual pilgrimages they spent a lot of time to treat their feet with cold cream in order to better prepare them for the anticipated strains.

The first pilgrimages: enduring physical strains

When the big day of Kartika Punam 2001 had come, the girls, like all the other pilgrims, got up very early, at 4:30 a.m. When I met them at 5:15 a.m. in front of their hostel, shortly after they had performed the morning *pratikraman*, they still looked bleary. While the group proceeded to Jay Taleti, the foot of the hill, they seriously joined in singing devotional songs, but were carefully tip-toeing around stones and holes, in order to prevent their bare feet from being hurt on the unpaved road.

Arriving at Jay Taleti, the northern foot of the mountain Shatrunjaya, which faces Palitana, all the six girls got very excited in view of the huge masses of pilgrims, which had come for performing their first pilgrimage to the top of Shatrunjaya after the end of the rainy season. Moreover Kartika Punam is a holiday dedicated to Dravid and Varikhil, two other grandsons of Adinath, whose spiritual liberation on the

mountain Shatrunjaya is remembered and celebrated on that day.³⁵ In addition to the *navanu* pilgrims as many as twenty to thirty thousand people climb the sacred mountain on this occasion. Even for Indian standards the rush was immense. It was hardly possible to find enough space for performing the twenty one ritual prostrations (*ekvis khamasmana*),³⁶ which are a mandatory part of the *caityavandan* ritual on that day. Though the four girls from Bengalaru earnestly tried to follow this important ritual with devotion, at least three of them appeared strained even before commencing the actual climbing.

When starting the pilgrimage on the steep and stony stairs of the main route, the girls could not move freely, but constantly had to watch one's own steps in order not to push other pilgrims, nor to lose the grip on the floor. Due to the mass of pilgrims the ascent to the mountain was even more tiresome than on other days. As a consequence two of the girls got exhausted before having completed one third of the route. Very early they complained about suffering stitches in the side. Latika, the youngest, even burst out into tears and felt completely discouraged. Catching her breath, she asked her mates: "How will I be able to complete 108 when I am not able to complete one?" I must admit I secretly asked myself the same and got worried about her. However, her friends did not allow her to take a rest or to drop behind. They firmly took her in the middle, holding her hands and telling her to go on. This companionship is typical for all *navanu* pilgrims, who usually prefer to walk in the company of other members of their *navanu* group. According to their sex, age, stamina and pace they form smaller units, which often stay together for the whole period of two months. Sometimes, one of them may proceed a little faster or slower, but in general they try not to lose sight of each other and always take care for each other's wellbeing.

While slowly continuing on their first pilgrimage the four girls of my case study openly expressed their admiration for the younger and well trained male and female ascetics, who literally sprinted up the hill on a small alley that was reserved for them. These ascetics usually ascended the mountain by taking two steps at a time and in double pace when compared to most other pilgrims.

During this very first *navanu* pilgrimage of the girls from Bengalaru even I was able to overtake them easily and after a while I admittedly got impatient. I left them before reaching the top of the hill as I did not want to miss the rituals, which took place in the compound of the main temple of Adinath on that day. When I paid the four friends a visit on the evening of the same day, I found them lying on their mattresses, where they had dropped after returning from evening *pratikraman*. Despite the dazzling neon lights Latika was already fast asleep, but the others were very ready to talk about their experiences. Even though they looked very tired, they were obviously very excited and proud of having successfully finished the first day by performing even two *yatras*.

³⁵ Weber 1901: 250.

³⁶ For details see Luithle-Hardenberg (in print).

When I asked them about the hardest task of their first day they univocally explained that they suffered most from not being able to satisfy their thirst. In fact, *navanu* pilgrims must observe strict rules with regard to drinking. First of all, they cannot drink anything else than boiled water (*garam pani*). Secondly, they must abstain from drinking water until they have completed one pilgrimage. Thirdly, if they continue their pilgrimages on the same day, they may only take water two more times before returning to their hostel. Moreover, in accordance with the strict dietary restrictions the girls did neither eat nor drink anything after their evening meal of the previous day. As it took them as many as six hours to get down the hill after the first pilgrimage, they did not have water before twelve o'clock on the next day. In order to be able to understand their suffering one must also take into account that in this season of the year it starts getting very hot in Palitana at eight o'clock. Apart from their thirst they also complained about their paining feet which were swollen and pierced by thorns because they were not used to walk barefoot.

Thus, during this early stage of *navanu* bodily strains were emphasized by the girls when describing their experiences. Compared to these sufferings spiritual progress was only a random topic. Even when the girls broached the issue of religious devotion, they immediately turned to a discussion about the physical stress they had experienced. For example, they expressed a deep regret that it had not been possible to have a proper *darshan* of Dada Adishvar in the main temple, because the masses of pilgrims had pushed from behind and prevented them from having a free sight for more than a few seconds.

They also complained that it was very hard to focus on meditative rituals, which are mandatory during every single pilgrimage. Thus, every *navanu* pilgrim must complete the chain of 108 prayer beads (*jap*) 10 times, while silently reciting the *nokar mantra*. Furthermore, they have to perform nine *logassa* in a standing meditation posture (*ka'ussagg*) and nine prostrations (*khamasamana*) for the worship of Shatrunjaya, which are accompanied by yet another liturgical recitation. If one of the girls diverted her attention and forgot a liturgy she was gently reminded by others to start the whole procedure all over again, something which happened to the girls several times because of their physical stress and exhaustion.

When visiting the girls in their hostel during this first week I could observe that the tone of their reports stayed quite the same. Not the religious experiences, but the physical strains formed the center of all their discussions. So they daily complained about not getting sufficient sleep, of suffering from sore muscle, of having chapped feet, and of losing weight as they were allowed to eat only one meal per day. In the evenings our conversations often came to an end when a maid appeared and offered the girls to massage their legs for a small payment. The topics of their conversations also changed in another significant way. Bollywood stars or fashion were no longer of a concern for the girls and in accordance with the strict vow of celibacy the discussion

of romantic issues such as prospects of marriage was suddenly strongly disapproved in that group.

Getting used to the daily routine: the transforming effect of bodily efforts

After this first week, the girls slowly got used to their new daily routine. They increased their daily pace and after some time were even able to perform three *yatras* in a relatively short period of time. It came the same time when I was no longer able to keep up with their pace. Thus one day, when they were performing their perhaps 25th pilgrimage, I met them on their ascent to the mountain. Similar to the ascetics the *navanu* girls from Bengaluru now climbed up the hill effortlessly. They also performed their ritual observances in a focused and proficient manner, knowing all liturgical texts by heart. Their increasing speed enabled the girls to return early enough to attend the daily sermons of Kanakratnasuri und Jayshekharsuri, which started at about 4 p.m. When I joined the girls on these occasions, I noticed that the daily reprimands, which were frequently uttered by the eloquent Acaryas in a humorous style to motivate the lay pilgrims, furthermore encouraged the friends to consciously apply the *navanu* rules and regulations. Hence, the girls stopped complaining about their hardships and began to look at their physical experience with a sense of black humor. For instance, one day, while combing each other's disheveled hair Neepa exclaimed: "*Gosh, Joshika, I think after having completed navanu all your beauty will be gone! Can you tell me what happened to your hair? I am glad for you that your friends at college do not see you like that! O.K., but I think something has happened to me, too. Have you seen my legs? They are disgusting! When will I find time to pluck the hair? I hardly find time to take a quick bath once a day!*"

This kind of conversation also implied an air of surprise about how easy it is to live without all the time consuming beauty care, which shapes the life of an average Indian girl. Thus, the ascetic negligence of the girl's outer appearance stands in stark opposition to the daily hours of beauty "rituals", which the girls were used to enjoy at home when taking several baths a day, shaving and peeling their bodies, changing their fashionable clothes frequently, carefully oiling and combing their hair, polishing nails, plucking eyebrows, and abundantly applying scented talcum powder on their skin. It was not new for the girls to be concerned with their bodies, but the way they treated their bodies during *navanu* was new and even adventurous to them. Apart from the physical strains deriving from the pilgrimages they had to adapt to an ascetic code of behavior that clearly stood in contrast to their everyday lives. To start with, they were only allowed to use three sets of garments, one for performing pilgrimages, one for sleeping and taking meals³⁷ and one for touching the image of a *tirthankara* while performing *puja*. Their dresses during *navanu* consisted of polyamide *salvar kamiz*, which did not look fashionable, but were selected because this cloth dries quicker than

³⁷ Moreover, only this garment must be worn while using the toilet.

cotton, does not need ironing and is therefore faster to clean.³⁸ During *navanu*, body care is reduced to a minimum, namely to take a bath once a day, to brush teeth immediately after the only meal, and to comb one's hair. More efforts in beauty care, such as oiling the hair, are denounced as an evidence for vanity, which is an aspect of ego (*man*) and therefore not in accordance with the code of behavior of ascetics and pious lay people. For the same reason, the four friends and other women of that group rejected the usage of mirrors.

Gradually, I could also perceive a considerable modification of their attitudes towards the challenges of *navanu*. They actually started to appreciate the diverse austerities. Reports on religious experiences now entered into their conversations with me and other people. Priti, for example, explained to me that the bodily strains of the *navanu* observances helped her to get rid of a large load of karmic matter. As a consequence, everything, not only the climbing, now appeared easier to her. Her friend Neepa enthusiastically agreed with her and added: "*While performing navanu my bhav [devotion] becomes bigger and bigger with every pilgrimage. I am close to Dada Adishvar now. He is giving us shakti [mental and physical strength].*" Hence, she added, the highlight of every pilgrimage is the *darshan* of Adishvar, now easily received by her. Thus, according to these *navanu* pilgrims, the physical routine systematically enforced by the strict observance of all mandatory *navanu* rituals and restrictions leads to a quick spiritual improvement. In a later conversation Joshika also explained to me, that performing *navanu* is not a question of physical stamina, but of devotion and mental willpower. According to her, a bodily weak person with a lot of willpower can easily complete *navanu*, whereas a physically strong person with less devotion was bound to fail or could not even start with *navanu*.

In short, a fervent enthusiasm had taken hold of the girls at this time. This became all the more obvious whenever one of them was forced to stay back in the hostel due to her menstruation period, during which she had to observe a strict seclusion for 72 hours in order to avoid polluting the sacred mountain or her fellow pilgrims. Whenever a girl of this group had to interrupt her pilgrimages for that reason she was full of eagerness to get through these three days, instead of being glad to have a chance to rest.

Additional routes and fasting observances: Intensifying the transformative experience

Highly motivated the girls now began to include some additional mandatory *navanu* observances, which even further aggravated their bodily strains *and* their devotion (*bhav*). To begin with, they increased the number of daily pilgrimages to five. They also included five of the six prolonged and mandatory routes of pilgrimage into their

³⁸ Usually the pilgrims do not employ *dhobis*, as they cannot be sure if the washermen are carefully observing the rules which prevent the ritual pollution of the clothes. For instance a garment has to be dried completely before ironing it.

daily program. These additional routes cover other and sometimes remote parts of an area that is considered to be part of the Shatrunjaya mountain range. While the normal pilgrimage has an average length of about three hours to four hours, the longer routes may take up to eight hours to complete.³⁹

Whereas two of the alternative routes, the so-called Ghetipag tour⁴⁰ and the *dodh gau*⁴¹ tour, are short and are therefore performed daily or at least regularly, the other four extend the main route considerably. The first prolonged route includes the attendance of all the 12 main temple compounds (*tunk*) of both the summits of Shatrunjaya and is known as *nav tung*.⁴² While most of the pilgrims focus on the Dada Adishvar Tunk on the south-eastern summit and usually ignore the north-western summit opposite of the main temple, every *navanu* pilgrim has to attend all the 12 temple complexes of Shatrunjaya in one pilgrimage for at least nine times, thereby performing *caityavandan* in each of the main temples.

The three other routes are usually performed only once during *navanu*. The so-called *tran gau* route, which literally means “three *gau*”, adds about seven and a half km to the main route before reaching the top of Shatrunjaya. It starts at the reservoir of the Shatrunji river close to the hamlet Rohilshala, where the pilgrims have to take a ritual bath with water from the river (not in the river, but taking water from it in a bucket and having a bath in a tent). Afterwards liturgical worship is performed in front of the footprints of Adinath in the nearby hamlet of Dungapur. Though the *tran gau* route is otherwise uneventful in terms of ritual actions the climbing of the eastern slopes of the hill on an unsecured, stony and thorny path is a challenge even to the *navanu* pilgrim, who at the time of conducting this particular pilgrimage is usually accustomed to walking barefoot. What about the girls of my case study? They were meanwhile well trained and took the troubles of *tran gau* with equanimity, neither complaining about

³⁹ The detailed description of all routes is included in Luithle-Hardenberg (in print) and could, of course, cover another article.

⁴⁰ The first of the shorter routes leads to the small hamlet Ghetipag at the northern foot of the mountain and is usually performed by *navanu* pilgrims at least once a day. After the first performance of all five obligatory rituals, they climb down to the hamlet Ghetipag, where the footprints of Adinath are worshipped in a small shrine. Going back to the top of Shatrunjaya from this site is considered a shortcut but is still assessed as the second climbing of the day.

⁴¹ The so-called *dodh gau* route, that is „one and a half *gau*“, covers about 3,5 km and forms a small circumambulation of the main temple complex on a path a little below the summit, connecting the main route with the Ghetipag-route as a semi circle.

⁴² The route is called *nav tung*-route, „nine temple compounds“, referring to the traditional number of complexes. (For details see Luithle-Hardenberg (in print)). However, to be precise, the complex of Dada Adishvar (1), as well as Kesavji Nayak Tunk (2) and Nava Adishvar Tunk (3) are situated at the southeastern summit. The northwestern summit is covered by the Kesavji Nayak Tunk (4), the Caumukhji or Sava Soma Tunk (5), the Chipa Vasi Tunk (6), the Sakar Vasi Tunk (7), the Ujambai (Ujamphai) Tunk (8), the Hemabhai Tunk (9) and the Premchand Modi Tunk (10). Moreover, the *navanu* pilgrims also have to attend the Motisha Tunk (11) and the Balabhai Tunk (12), which are located in a small valley in between the two summits.

the taking an unpleasant bath with cold water,⁴³ nor lamenting about their sore feet. On the contrary, they even expressed feelings of peace while walking in the wilderness of the most remote part of the mountain, with a grand sight over the Shatrunjaya reservoir.

They showed the same kind attitude during their pilgrimage on the so-called *cha gau* route ("six gau"). This route is the longest and most arduous route with about 15 extra km. As the above mentioned routes it can be performed on foot only.⁴⁴ Its first part is identical with the *dodh gau* route and forms half a circumambulation of the main temple complex, a little below of the southwestern summit. Afterwards the route leads to the shrine of Bhadava Hill, a smaller summit on the southwestern slopes of Shatrunjaya, where the footprints (*pagla*) of Shambha and Pradyumna, heroes of the Jaina-Mahabharata,⁴⁵ are located. The two brothers are said to have attained salvation on that spot on Phagan Sud Teras, the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Phagan (February-March). Every year on this day the pilgrimage is performed by as many as forty thousand pilgrims, who share the belief that a pilgrimage on this tour frees the devotee from all sins (*pap*).⁴⁶ This route ends in the hamlet of Adpur at another shrine with the footprints of Adinath. The *cha gau* route also includes five additional *caityavandan* rituals,⁴⁷ as well as an extensive ritual of meditation in front of a large rock, which is situated at the bank of the "silver pond", Chandan Talavadi. The pilgrims refer to it as "abode of salvation", Siddhashila, because it is commonly believed that on that very spot thousands of ascetics attained salvation. The girls also explained to me that in the vicinity of the rock a devoted pilgrim can find access to a subterraneous path which leads to the first image of Adishvar. According to a local myth this image is hidden in the roots of the *rayana* tree behind the main temple and was once installed by Adinath's son Bharat. Here, at Siddhashila, the girls from Bengalaru, as well as all the other *navanu* participants, performed at least 12 *logassa*, while standing or laying in the "motionless" *ka'ussaga* posture. For many pilgrims this

⁴³ According to the ritual observances the water which is taken from the river to have a bath has to be *garam pani*, i.e. has to be boiled. However, when it was the girl's turn to have a quick bath, it had already cooled down because early in the morning the air is fresh.

⁴⁴ The last route to mention here, the *bar gau* route, literally means „twelve gau“, and covers about thirty kilometers. However, since 1962, when a dam was built in the river Shatrunjaya and the old route was flooded, this route cannot be done on foot. Thus, the *navanu* pilgrims undertake that variation of pilgrimage after they have completed all 108 pilgrimages on foot only.

⁴⁵ According to the Jaina version of the epos, Krishna's sons named Shamba and Pradyumna, attained salvation on Shatrunjaya.

⁴⁶ For details of this elaborate festival see Luithle-Hardenberg (in print).

⁴⁷ These are conducted at: (1) the shrine of the "six sons of Devaki" (*Devaki na cha putro*), which is dedicated to the elder brothers of Krishna, who are said to have attained salvation on Shatrunjaya according to the Jaina Mahabharata, (2) a shrine with the footprints of Adishvar close to the well named Ulkha Jal, (3) the shrines of Ajitanath's and Santinath's footprints close to the "silver pond", Chandan Talavadi, (4) the shrine with the footprints of Krishna's sons, Shamba und Pradyumna, situated on the top of the Bhadava hill and, another shrine with the footprints of Adinath (5), located under a huge banyan tree, which is called "Siddhavat". It marks the end of that particular route in the hamlet Adpur.

meditation is especially difficult, because it has to be observed at about noon, when they are exposed to heat but are not allowed to drink anything at all. Joshika reported afterwards that under these circumstances she found it quite difficult to focus her mind on that task, and the others agreed with her. However, all in all they proceeded very determined and arrived quite early at the end of the *cha gau* route in Adpur. While usually this elaborated route of *cha gau* adds at least another five hours to the main route, the girls completed it within four hours, only slightly later than the young and fast ascetics. Considering the bad physical condition of the girls during their first pilgrimage, this was quite an achievement!

After the completion of 60 to 70 *yatras* on the main route and after having performed all possible alternative routes on foot, their bodies had adapted to the daily demands of *navanu*. More interestingly, however, they had also become experts of pilgrimage. They knew the various religious sites on Shatrunjaya, their legends as well as the respective rituals. Yet the demands made on the girls during the *navanu* pilgrimage were once more increased. The maximum of physical strain as well as of spiritual devotion was reached when the girls observed a complete fast without even drinking water on at least two consecutive days (*chath*) while still performing seven *yatras* during this fasting period. This kind of fierce asceticism is said to guarantee salvation after three rebirths only, a privilege which is usually attributed to outstanding Acaryas only. Despite the high motivation for achieving that goal, this practice regularly leads to extreme exhaustion and many *navanu* pilgrims collapse while performing it.⁴⁸

Unsurprisingly, many pilgrims consider this part of *navanu* as the greatest challenge of their life and, if successfully completed, as their most important achievement. While performing this kind of extreme austerity the girls again put emphasis on the importance of gaining spiritual *bhav*. Neepa, to her own surprise, spontaneously decided to perform even three days of fasting (*atham*) and she managed to complete 11 *yatras* during these days. On the third day, when she was back in the hostel, she told me about her experiences in a very low voice and with glowing eyes, thereby resembling many other pilgrims whom I talked to after they had performed such extreme austerities. She said: “*I pled Dada Adishvar to give me strength for atham and eleven yatras. And I made it! Beforehand nobody, not even me, could imagine that I would be able to do so. At home I never took on a serious fast, not even ayambil. Since I am performing atham, I feel very close to Dada.*”

Another young *navanu* pilgrim, 21 year old Charita, whom I met in 2003, put it vividly:

⁴⁸ The festival of “Silence Eleventh”, *Maun Agyaras/Maun Ekadashi* (Cort 2001: 143), the 11th day of the bright half of the month Magsar (November/ December) is especially popular for performing this penance, because according to general beliefs of the pilgrims the *punya* earned by a penance at this day is multiplied a 150 times. Therefore at this day apart from the *navanu* pilgrims some 4000 other devotees also come to Palitana in larger groups of 50-150 people and start for seven or eleven pilgrimages while completely fasting on two or three consecutive days.

"[...]when I did *chath* [...] I was crying tears of joy after my seventh *yatra*. I was praying to Dada, please help me, don't put me down. [...] After the fourth *yatra* it became very difficult. I was so thirsty and exhausted. I constantly told '*mane pani piu!*'. Then I prayed to Dada and the other *yatriks* came to support me. They told me '*Calo ben, beso nahi! Calo, jaldi!*' They told me again and again: don't sit, get up, hurry up, *Adishvar bolave che!* [Dada is calling!] ' Somebody told me to close my eyes to see Dada from inside. Then I saw his *pratima* from inside and I could feel that he will always be with me. Then I felt as if somebody was pushing me from behind and holding my hand. A voice was telling me: '*Calo, calo!*' I can tell you, four *yatras* we have to do ourselves; the last three Dada is holding our hands."

It follows from this statement that the individual pilgrim not only needs Adishvar's support, but also encouragement from her (or his) companions. In many instances the exhausted pilgrims have to be motivated by others, who support them, fan air into their faces, put wet cloths on their heads and constantly push them physically and verbally to complete their daily program of pilgrimages. Though I did hear of people who died during that kind of the pilgrimage, I never witnessed any of these pilgrims to be encouraged to give up, nor did I see any pilgrim untimely quit his or her pilgrimage. In fact, any pilgrim who had successfully gone through this experience of total exhaustion but still managed to complete the pilgrimage enjoyed a lot of approval and respect by others. In order to be able to support each other, the pilgrims take turns in performing the hardest part of *navanu*.⁴⁹ Some of the pilgrims, who had performed *chath* or *atham*, repeatedly talked about a very special kind of reward, which is said to wait for the earnest *navanu* pilgrims. Accordingly, only very exceptional pilgrims can get access to the hidden and subterranean realms of Shatrunjaya, which were already an issue while performing the *cha gau yatra*. For example Induben, an elderly *navanu* pilgrim from Ahmedabad, whom the girls (and I) met during the second part of *navanu*, told us that the austerities experienced while performing *chath* and *atham* might open unsearchable places for elected pilgrims. She explained:

"Kamalben [another pilgrim] knows a *shravika*, Urmilaben, who repeatedly [...] performed *navanu* [...] Once she decided to go for *atham*. [...] During her eleventh *yatra*, while performing a *pradakshina* around the main temple of Dada Adishvar, she suddenly disappeared [...]. Later on Urmilaben told that a cave opened up in front of her and a *kshetrapal*

⁴⁹ Sometimes the pilgrims decide to pay the professional porters of Kholi or Bharvad caste in order to support them during this special task of *navanu*.

appeared who led her to an enormous subterranean temple hall with the first *pratima* of Dada Adishvar. It was so huge that she only could see his feet. [...] On her way back she suddenly appeared again at Jay Taleti, bringing flowers which nobody had seen before and with a very delicious scent. [...] Some people think, this is a miracle, but the only reason why Urmilaben got there was that she came close to salvation already.

Though the girls themselves never experienced a comparable miraculous incident, such accounts clearly fascinated them.⁵⁰ In my view, this story about the possibility of entering otherwise concealed realms by performing fierce austerities can be seen as a symbolic expression of the transformative aspects ascribed to the *navanu* pilgrimage in general. Thus, physical deprivations were eventually cherished by the four friends from Bengaluru, as well as by other *navanu* pilgrims, even in view of a possible untimely death. In case someone dies during a pilgrimage, s/he is usually not bemoaned. On the contrary, such a death is considered ideal in the eyes of many pilgrims. Although immediate salvation is considered impossible during our era of time, not even on Shatrunjaya, such a death is nevertheless seen as a kind of guarantee for achieving salvation within the next three rebirths.⁵¹ With other words, death during a pilgrimage is accepted, as a way for accelerating the process of reaching spiritual salvation. Admittedly, a critical mind would rightly argue that the girls surely did not intend to die, nor would a responsible adult of their group have allowed such an effect of their austerities. Nevertheless the possible death is just an extreme form of the real transformation, which the girls actually experienced during the *navanu* pilgrimage. As Charita put it dramatically, one day after having performed *chath*:

Physically *navanu* is very difficult, but every day when I reach Dada I feel happy as never before. I feel that I achieved everything in my life. So if I die now I will do it happily. I make use of my human birth. I come close to salvation. This feeling was extreme when I did *chath*. [...] I thought even if I die on spot I will be happy.

After two or three days of fasting the *navanu* pilgrim is ritually fed by close family members, who on that occasion comes to Palitana, in order to share the feeling of spiritual success with the daughter, sister or niece. During the last ten days of *navanu*, all the four friends from Bengaluru continued their pilgrimages while being convinced that they cannot fail any more. After all, the hardest task was already achieved.

⁵⁰ For the hidden parts of Shatrunjaya see also: Granoff 1999: 164

⁵¹ On death during pilgrimages in the Hindu context see, for instance: Morinis 1984: 297, Hardenberg 1998: 226

Therefore, the four of them performed even more than 108 *yatras*, ranging from 113 to 131.

The final days of *navanu*: The embodiment of tradition

The end of the *navanu* pilgrimage is marked by several elaborated rituals, but for the sake of brevity I want to refer to them only shortly.⁵² The first ritual, the *Navanu Prakari Puja*, is celebrated two days before Posh Punam, the full moon day of Posh (December-January). On this occasion all *navanu* groups assemble together at the northern foot of the mountain, Jay Taleti, and "99 substances" are applied to a mobile image of Adinath, which is installed in front of the Taleti rock.

The very last pilgrimage on the full moon day of Posh is accompanied by special observances. Similar to the first pilgrimage, the last is also commenced jointly by all members of a particular *navanu* group who collectively perform a *caityavandan* at Jay Taleti. Furthermore, every individual pilgrim has to be engaged in a quite unique "mountain ritual", the *giri puja*, which entails the cleansing and worshipping of every single of the 3745 steps of the main route to the temple of Adishvar. As Joshika explained to me in advance, this has to be done as a penance (*prayascitt*, *alocana*) in order to ask forgiveness for any ritual fault (*ashatna*), which a pilgrim might have committed by accidentally trespassing the rules and regulations during the many pilgrimages on the sacred mountain. With this ritual the pilgrims can prevent any harmful consequences to their *karma*. However, in order to complete the *giri puja* in one day only, the co-operation of all *navanu* pilgrims is again required. In smaller groups of 10 to 25 pilgrims they are taking shifts in carrying out the following procedure, which clearly resembles the *ashtaprakari puja* for Jina images: After bathing the step with milk and water, it is first dried with a white cotton cloth and then decorated with sandalwood paste, as well as a piece of silver or gold foil.⁵³ At every shrine with images or footsteps (*pagla*) of the Jinās, which are located on the main route, the pilgrims stop for a short *caityavandan* ritual. Special attention is also given to the shrines of the protecting deities Hingulaj, Padmavati, Chakreshvari and Kapad Yaksh, who receive generous donations. While previously the pilgrims have performed their *yatras* more or less silently in order to save energy, they now continuously sing devotional songs about Adishvar or Shatrunjaya. The exceptionally cheerful atmosphere of the last *yatra* was also mentioned by the girls when they talked to me about this *giri puja*.

On the last day, when returning from the top of Shatrunjaya in the late afternoon, the *navanu* pilgrims are venerated by a so called "group ritual" (*sāngh puja*), which is organized by the sponsor of the particular group. The sponsor and his family members

⁵² For details see Luithle-Hardenberg (in print).

⁵³ The expenses for that costly ritual of at least 2,5 lakhs are mainly born by the sponsors of the *navanu* group, even though every pilgrim is eager to add a minor donation to that sum.

take bow down in front of every pilgrim of his group, symbolically wash their feet and give them a coconut and a *tilak*. For the girls, it was the first occasion ever that they were honored in this way. In the following and very last ritual of the day, the *bahuman*, it was now their turn to pay “tribute” to the sponsor of the group (*sangha pati*). In the course of events, the four young women put their worn out garments aside, took a bath and dressed in their best *saris* or *chaniya cholis*. As suggested by elderly *navanu* pilgrims, it was their prominent role to perform an artful stick dance, *ras dandia*, in front of all assembled lay people of their *navanu* group. After that skillful performance the same elderly *navanu* pilgrims, who had to admonish them at the very beginning of the pilgrimage, now praised the young women for having successfully completed all austerities. On a similar occasion Charita from Mumbai, who performed *navanu* in 2002, expressed her feelings in the following way:

“I feel happy as never before. I feel that I achieved everything in my life. By doing *navanu* I think I have completely changed my life. In Bombay I never went out without my car. Every day I got up at 12:30 noon! I spent my nights going to the movies. I never went to *derasar*. I never did *pratikraman*. [...] My parents got worried. They sent me to US. [...] They wanted me to get interested in something, not to waste my time. I liked to go for outings. I saw the Niagara Falls, Statue of Liberty and so on. But it did not change my life. [...] To send me to Shatrunjaya was my parent’s last hope. I am grateful they did it. This place is incomparable. [...] Nobody could believe that I did it [*navanu*]. People said she will never finish *navanu*! She will be back in five days! They are very surprised now! Now I don’t want to go back [...] [to Bombay]. I want to stay in Palitana for the rest of my life! So people ask my parents: How is it possible? They say it is a miracle. I am indifferent to what they think. I am happy that I did *navanu*. Now they [my parents] are afraid that I won’t marry, but take *diksha*. I don’t want to marry. When I close my eyes all I see is Dada. [...] This place made me change my mind. I want to make use of my time now. When I am back home I will go for *derasar* every day. I will get up early in order to do so. I will do *bhav yatra*⁵⁴ daily.”

In the same year I also met Priya, a 22-year old woman from Ahmedabad, who only two months after completing her *navanu* pilgrimage spontaneously decided to become a nun and therefore joined a group of 19 *diksharthis* who took *diksha* in March 2003.

⁵⁴ *Bhav yatra*, the “pilgrimage of devotion” is a mental pilgrimage, which is performed in front of an image or model of Shatrunjaya. (For details see Luithle-Hardenberg (in print)).

Somewhat less extreme, but still determined, the four young woman of our friendship circle also felt inspired to continue their spiritual progress by performing special penances such as the „one year fast“ (*varshi tap*) in the instance of Priti, and the *updhan tap* in the case of Neepea.

When the last day came, the four friends from Bangalore left with tears, though they said they were looking forward to be with their families and friends again. While the ascetics continued their journey on foot the lay pilgrims entered the bus for their urban places of residence. When later calling me in Palitana Joshika told me that on the day of their arrival her parents conducted a ritual for her which is usually performed to newly initiated ascetics only, the *pad prakshal puja*, literally “making footsteps”. In this ritual a returning pilgrim steps into a dish with red color before walking over a white cloth. In this way the footprints of a person can be preserved and will be kept in the house shrine of the respective family. This ritual is meant to preserve the enhanced spiritual status, which s/he had achieved during his/her pilgrimage. Like the saints in the mythical and legendary pilgrimages to Shatrunjaya the young women from Bengaluru, too, got transformed by performing *navanu*. Even if they did not to achieve the ultimate goal of salvation, they still made some steps into its direction. Thus, the pilgrimages of these *navanu* pilgrims and their presence on the mountain is remembered by their footsteps, which are preserved in their family’s shrines just as the numerous shrines on Shatrunjaya contain the footsteps of those people whose souls were liberated on this sacred mountain.

Conclusion

In their everyday lives young urban Shvetambara women are mainly engaged with their bodies in extended beauty care “rituals”. The five girls of our case study, however, took up quite a different task when they decided to perform the 99fold pilgrimages. During *navanu* the concern with their bodies shifted from beauty matters to spiritual goals. The physical strain deriving from ascetic restrictions, repeated pilgrimages, liturgical rituals and endured fasting rituals was now seen as a catalyst for a spiritual “uplift” and the ability to endure these austerities as an evidence for spiritual progress. In other words the observable physical strains became indicators of spiritual achievements which are again considered to change the body of the pilgrim.

These physical challenges were taken up collectively by the girls who thereby helped to create a religious community, in which they participated actively. The joint commitment to identical and ritualized physical strains on prescribed pilgrimage routes and during particular collective fasts enabled the girls to experience extreme physical deprivation, which was culturally purported and socially orchestrated. Thus, the physical strains endured by the girls can also be taken as an observable expression of the shared identity as Jains.

This connection of individual physical experience and ritualized social practices can be seen as an example of what Connerton calls „incorporated bodily practices“. According to Connerton (1989: 73-74) such practices are used as a very effective technique for linking the memory of a group with the memory of an individual. Applying this idea to the *navanu* pilgrimage of young women and others, it can be concluded that the socially important values, rituals, myths and legends of Adishvar and Shatrunjaya are remembered by the individual pilgrim, because they are inscribed into the individual memory by the unforgettable sensation of an extreme exhaustion. This effect is of a special importance for the young Jains such as the girls from Bengaluru, whom I presented in my case study. Though leading everyday lives which are quite averted from ascetic ideals and practices, they were able to resurrect their link to the Jaina community by the intense experience of the two months long *navanu* pilgrimage.

This experience is intimately linked to the sacred centre Shatrunjaya. Especially the final ritual of *giri puja* clearly illustrates the exceptional relation between the *navanu* pilgrim and the sacred mountain of Shatrunjaya. This relation is established during the course of *navanu* as our case study of the four girls from Bengaluru shows. While the girls came as absolute beginners and without any special knowledge regarding their religious tradition, the intense bodily and devotional experience of 108 or more *yatras* made them adepts of pilgrimage and its rituals, which were quickly learned by heart. In the last pilgrimage of the *giri puja* not only all the five major places, but literally every corner of Shatrunjaya is worshiped, remembered and internalized in order to be carefully kept in mind and body. Thus, in the end of *navanu*, every performer becomes an expert in the eyes of other lay pilgrims. For example, whenever I asked a detailed question regarding the pilgrimage or the sacred mountain Shatrunjaya and my interview partner could not answer it, they often excused themselves by saying: „I do not know, sorry. Anyhow, ask my sister. *She* has performed *navanu*!“ Similar to an ascetic a performer of *navanu* is thus attributed with an unquestioned authority.

Strikingly, this extraordinary knowledge of the *navanu* pilgrims is linked to the potential of overcoming linear time and participating in mythological, cyclic time. Thus, the *navanu* pilgrim is considered to enjoy a share of the imperishable quality called *shashvat*, literally meaning "eternal" and indestructible, a quality, which is ascribed to Shatrunjaya. It is believed that Shatrunjaya, even if it expands and contracts in accordance with the ups and downs of the never-ending cycles of time, is one of the few places which never vanishes. Affected by this quality, the *navanu* pilgrims, while moving on Shatrunjaya for a period of two months and performing diverse rituals which refer to mythological events, transcend linear time and take part in the mountain's eternity. Furthermore, during *navanu* the transcending of linear time coincides with the crossing of spatial borders. This is expressed by the idea that *navanu* pilgrims are among those few people who might get access to the otherwise hidden, subterraneous realms of the sacred hill, which are also linked to mythical time

by the implied reference to the very first image of Adinath. Thus, even in the eyes of the young pilgrims, the full potential of the sacred mountain is never exhausted, nor completely felt out. Shatrunjaya will never become boring! In the words of Charita, one of the *navanu* girls:

That is the difference between all the wonders of the world and Shatrunjaya. Disney world you can find everywhere, but for real happiness of life you have to come to Giriraj. This place is unique! Everything will be destroyed, but not Shatrunjaya! It will remain forever. It will be still there when we are gone and forgotten."

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One of the most neglected areas of research in Asian religions is the sociology of monastic orders. This is surprising, given the pivotal importance of organised asceticism for contemporary Jain, Buddhist and Hindu traditions. Jain mendicant orders are the oldest surviving monastic traditions of the world. Today, they broadly refer to themselves as *śramaṇa saṅghas*, or ascetic communities. While information on the history and organisation of these itinerant groups is increasingly accessible, few studies inform us on their social and geographical dynamics. To remedy this situation regarding one centrally organised and tightly regulated Jain mendicant order in India, a combined socio-demographic and network-analytical survey was conducted by the present writer in 2001-2003 in Rajasthan, with the blessings of the late Ācārya Mahāprajāna (1921-2010), head of the Śvetāmbara Terāpanth mendicant order. The aim was to supplement previously collected qualitative data on the history, rules and regulations, monastic division of labour and religious life of the Terāpanth, and on general demographic trends in contemporary Jaina monasticism.

The principal unit of investigation was the monastic order itself, which was treated as social system differentiating itself from the social environment through rules of membership, role-definitions, and emergent actions. The analysis of living social systems is predicated on third order observation, or observation of self-observation. While the Terāpanth order describes its own functioning in normative terms, resembling the model of rule-implementation of classical organisational sociology with a focus on values, norms, rules, commitment, hierarchy, lines of command, compliance, etc., the project aimed at an understanding of the social dynamics within a Jain monastic community which presents itself as a limiting case of perfect social self-regulation. Not the formal structure and the practice of rule-implication, but the conditions, functions and consequences of the process self-organisation were the main concern of the project.

The principal aim of this pilot study was to generate a clearer idea of the network structure of actual contacts within the mendicant order, ideally in form of a

¹ First published in CoJS Newsletter, March 2009, Issue 4, pp. 24-29. - The project was funded by the British Academy Small Research Grant SG-32893. For a detailed account see Flügel 2009.

sociomatrix recording the internal transactions of all mendicants in selected media (name-recognition, communications, services, material transactions) within a defined time-frame, to collect data for the study the spatial dynamics, to measure group connectedness, to statistically correlate the results with the newly generated demographic data, and to analyse outcomes in the light of the rules and regulations of the order and ethnographic background information collected over more than fifteen years. The project specified three main objectives:

- To produce reliable statistical information on the demographic and social composition of the entire contemporary Terāpanth mendicant order, including psychological factors such as motivations for renunciation.
- To produce a systematic analysis of the network structure within the order and the patterns of transactions in key media such as information and material support.
- To learn more about the network analytic aspects of studying a trans-regionally organised group of itinerant mendicants.

The research was conducted in form of a survey in 2003 amongst 785 Terāpanth monks (19.6%), nuns (68.5%) and male (0.5%) and female novices (11.3%) using a two-part questionnaire in Hindi.

Muni Sukhlāl in Pañcāvat



Data Collection

The first round of data collection took place between 1.8.2001–1.8.2002. After pre-tests, the distribution of the questionnaire amongst an exceptionally large group of some 450 monks and nuns attending the annual assembly, *maryādā mahotsava*, of the Terāpanth mendicant order held in January 2002 in the town Pacapadarā in Rājasthān proved to be a great success. With the help of a leading monk, Muni Sukhlāl (born 1930), and the junior monks under his guidance, research assistant Harshita Jain of Bikaner managed to get most of the locally distributed questionnaires returned in February 2002.

Because the response to the network analytical questions was insufficient for statistical investigation, additional questionnaires were distributed by mail with the help of Muni Sukhlāl and his associates. More than 100 questionnaires were returned in this way.

Due to the geographical distances no interviewer could be used.

By August 2002, 477 mendicants completed the questionnaire, at least in part. The response rate of monks and *samanīs*, who are all well educated, was notably higher than of the nuns. Some mendicants were too old or sick to be involved in the project. Many older nuns did not answer the questionnaire because they could not read and write, though some asked younger nuns to help them.² A number of mendicants never received or did not return their questionnaire, and about 10-20% refused to answer or did not fill in the questionnaire properly for a variety of reasons, partly due to the mechanical and apparently meaningless nature of the exercise and the perceived "shallowness" of network-analytical questions geared towards quantitative analysis. The quality of the answers varied significantly from question to question.

Because of the, not entirely unexpected, difficulties encountered with the response rate and the quality of the data for network analysis, it was decided to initiate a second round of data collection with the help of interviewers during the period of residency of the mendicants during their annual rain retreat, or *cāturmāsa*, in July-November 2002, and to extend the project by six months until March 2003. During this period, the response rate was increased to 530 or 67.6%: 108 monks (14%), 362 nuns (46%), 4 male novices (0.5%), and 56 female novices (7%). For an additional 40 (5%) mendicants (13 monks, 12 nuns, 15 female novices) basic demographic information was extracted from mendicant biographies and group statistics published by Muni Navaratnamal (1981-2002). In this way, detailed demographic data were collected for 570 or 72.6% of all mendicants in the Terāpanth Jain order between August 2001 and March 2003. However, for some items of Part I of the questionnaire the response rate was too low to form a representative sample, and in order to enable meaningful cross-tabulations, 74 of the 570 questionnaires had to be excluded from analysis.

The final sample of 496,99 *sādhus* (20%), 341 *sādhvīs* (68.8%), 4 *samanas* (0.8%) and 52 *samanīs* (10.5%), is statistically representative of the population and forms one of the largest collections of demographic data on a South Asian mendicant order to date.

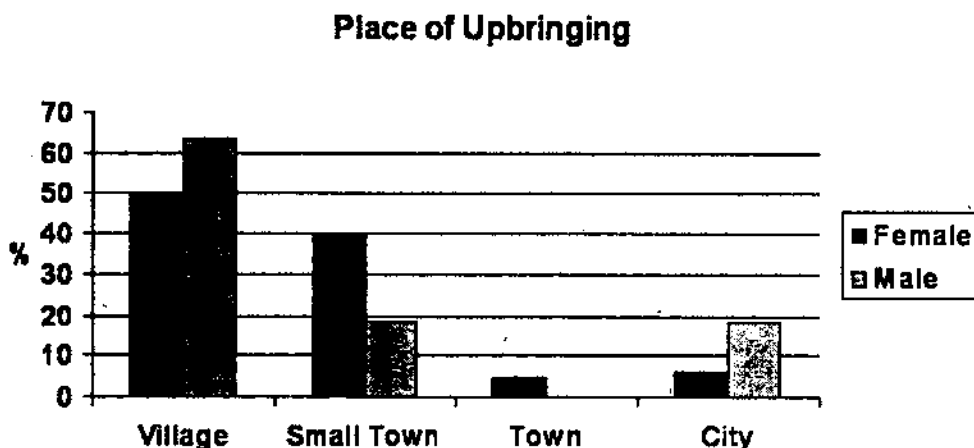
Social Background of the Mendicants

State of Origin: The majority (78%) of the sample of Terāpanth mendicants came from a small number of districts in Rajasthan, in particular Churu (30%), Bikaner (20%) and Nagaur (10%), and from migrant families from these regions to Kalkatta (3.2%) and other commercial centres (where the majority of Terāpanth laity now live).

Birth Place: Most mendicants were born and brought up in villages (52%) and small towns (36%), and only a minority in towns (4%) and cities (8%). The main recruitment areas were the small towns Sardarshahar (10%), Gangashahar (9%), Dungargarh (7%), Ladnun (9%) and the surrounding villages and adjacent small towns

² Balbir 1990: 202-4, 223 reports similar experiences.

such as Sujangarh, as well as the area around Badmer and Kalkatta. The highest proportion of male renunciators came from villages. There is no significant evidence of (an impact of) family migration from villages to towns and cities or vice versa.



Caste: The majority of the mendicants belonged to the Osvāl castes (85%) with a significant minority of Agravāls (12%) from the region of Hisar and Hansi in Hariyana (and Delhi and Orissa). Most respondents returned themselves as Bīsa Osvāl or emphasized that the status distinction between Bīsa- and Dasa Osvāl is not observed anymore.

Father's Occupation: Generally, the data on father's occupation (in the majority of cases equivalent with family occupation) show that nearly all mendicants (87%) came from traditional self-employed lower middle class business families with a modest but relatively secure source of income. This seems to reflect the overall pattern amongst the Rajasthani Osvāl castes. More than half of the business families from which Terāpanth mendicants emerged engaged in the traditional cloth (33%), jute (4%) and jewellery (5%) trades as well as in shop keeping (13%). Only 7% engaged in manufacturing, and 1% in finance. The rest were higher professionals and employees in government service and management etc. (11%), and a small number of (part time) farmers (0.8%).

The fact that wealthy metropolitan Terāpanth Osvāls families produced only few mendicants was explained by Terāpanth nuns with reference to the "greater freedom" and "more entertainment" and "opportunities for self-development" rich women

enjoy. Women of "poor" middle class families in rural areas live in joint families. They have less time for themselves and are totally dependent on their husbands and their families. They have no independent income, cannot leave the house often, and, because the villages offer not much, enjoy few public entertainments. But they have more contact with mendicants than metropolitan families. The only entertainment and intellectual stimulation is often provided by religious contexts. Similar reasons have already been reported by Goonasekera (1986) for Terāpanth monks.

Family Name: The mendicants were recruited from a small number of *gotras*, or exogamous family clans. Of altogether 114 family names mentioned by respondents, 17 names accounted for 33% of all mendicants.

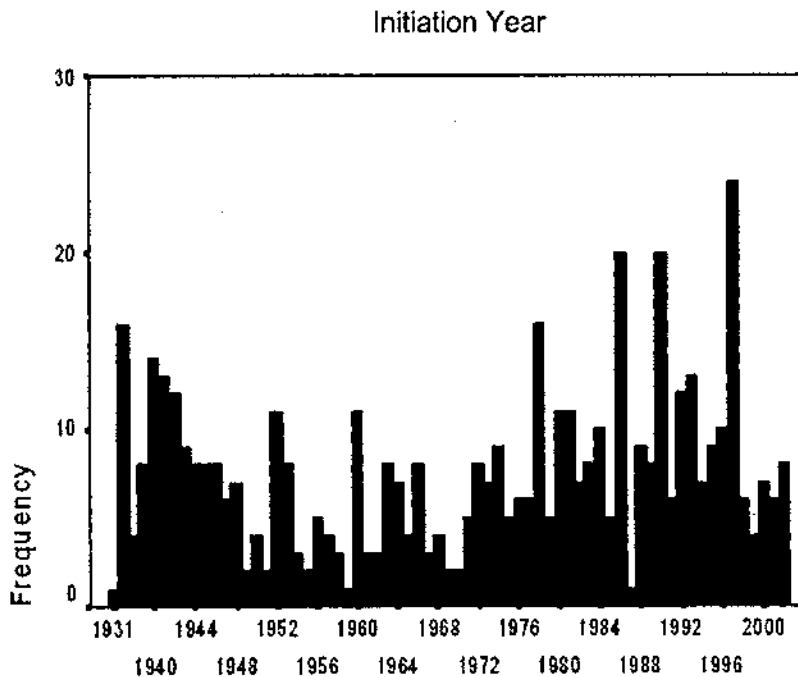
Family Size: Nuclear families (within the joint family) had a median size of 6 members (range of 1-14). This family size is not untypical for middle class Rajasthani households, though firm data are a desideratum. It decreased slightly over the last 70 years. Most of the key families had more than one mendicant in the order (one nun could name 13 relatives inside the order).

Birth Order: Previous studies on Buddhist (Spiro 1970) and Terāpanth Jain mendicants (Goonasekera 1986: 122) argued that the motivation for renunciation can be explained in terms of the emotional deprivation of middle children, i.e. Freud's theory that "middle children experience fluctuations of nurturing and affection from early childhood ... especially girls". In contrast to Goonasekera's finding of a higher than statistically expected proportion of middle children amongst his sample of 75 Terāpanth "renouncers" (82%) - 65 females (86.6%) and 10 males (13.3%) - the present sample of 137 respondents - 56 *sādhus* (40.9%), 40 *sādhvīs* (29.9%), 41 *samanīs* (29.2%) - revealed only the expected percentage of 61% middle children (given an average family size of 6), as well as 26% youngest (Goonasekera: 10%), 11% eldest, and 2% only children. The overrepresentation of middle children in the earlier study may thus be a sampling effect. But both samples are not statistically representative. It is significant, though, that 10% more female than male middle children renounced. The high number of youngest male children reflects the economic and social importance of the eldest male child as the principal heir of the family business.

Initiation Age: The data confirm the overall increase of the mean initiation age over time observed by Goonasekera, and substantiate trends, such as the impact of the aforementioned institutional factors on initiation patterns. The mean initiation age for the entire sample was 20 years. Generally, males (mean age: 18) were initiated earlier than females, nuns (20) earlier than female novices (*samanīs*) (24). However, during the period between 1931 and 1948 the mean initiation age of 15 years was identical for male and female mendicants. Gender differences developed with the creation of the first pre-monastic educational institution for girls in the town of Ladnun in 1949, and in particular after the reforms of Ācārya Tulsī (1914-1997) in the 1980s which only

permit male but not anymore female child-initiation (*bāla-dīkṣā*). Both the overall gender differential and the higher initiation age of female novices compared to nuns thus appear to be effects of institutional factors, especially the compulsory pre-monastic education for girls which also accounts for the increasing number of unmarried girls rather than widows in the monastic order (90% of the mendicants in the sample are unmarried). Social support for widows is nowadays provided by religious and social funds.

Initiation Year: In 2001-2 the mean age of the Terāpanth mendicants was 52 (for monks it was slightly lower: mean 50, median 47) with peaks around 75 and 40, i.e. those born 1926 and 1961. This reflects the lower recruitment rate during the 1950s and 1960s compared to the 1940s and the 1980-1990s. The number of initiations increased after the inaugurations of the last two *ācāryas* in 1937 and 1997, and during the decisive years of the Indian freedom struggle between 1940 and 1945, followed by a post-Independence low, and a peak after the establishment of two new institutions – the Jain Vishva Bharati centre in Ladnun in 1978 and the new Terāpanth novice order in 1980. Less than 50% of all initiations took place in the home-village/town of the mendicants.



Reasons for Renunciation

The two open questions concerning the causes informing the decision to renounce the world and the sources of inspiration identified push and pull factors. For statistical

analysis, the spectrum of answers was coded into seven categories, after discussing the answers with Terāpanth *samanīs*:³

- SOCIAL REASONS (6%: male 4%, female 6%): social reasons, fear of marriage, the monastic environment, to live a meaningful life, to gain spiritual power, to gain the status of a mendicant.
- PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONS (27%: male 21%, female 28%): death of a family member or others, sight of suffering, illness, uncertainty of life.
- RELIGIOUS REASONS (7%: male 11%, female 6%): path of salvation, religious disposition, experience of meditation or ritual, experience of a natural event, religious literature, drama or film, inspired by a deity.
- INSPIRED BY A MONK OR A NUN (20%: male 33%, female 16%).
- SELF INSPIRED (34%: male 25%, female 37%).
- INSPIRED BY A RELATIVE (7%: male 6%, female 7%): inspired by a family member, inspired by the initiation ritual of a relative.
- OTHER (0.4%: male 0%, female 0.5%): unknown.

Statistical analysis demonstrated that religious experiences or doctrinal reasons were not the prime motivating factors. The fact that nevertheless relatively more men than women mentioned religious reasons may be explained by the perceived need of men to legitimize their interest in religion, since traditional role models cast them as 'less religious' than women.

A more detailed analysis of the responses revealed interesting gender differences. For males, especially young males, the personal influence of ascetics (sometimes but not necessarily relatives) was important, while for females (socio-) psychological factors were more significant. Personal interviews indicated that the most frequent answer of female mendicants in response to the question who inspired them to become initiated: 'self inspired' (*svataḥ prerāṇā*) also served as a rationalization for a number of unspecified personal, spiritual, social and psychological reasons.⁴

Initiation as an alternative to marriage for women was not often explicitly mentioned (10 nuns and no monks), although in the ethnographic literature on Jain mendicants it is highlighted as the most important factor. However, this motive may also hide behind the answer 'self inspired' and co-varies with certain 'psychological reasons'.

³ Boradiyā (1975: 265-80) interviewed 100 nuns "from various sects" and coded the stated reasons for renunciation in a similar way: 21 "personal reasons", 19 "inspired by particular nun", 17 "orphan", 14 "ambiance of ascetic community", 5 "outward appearance of ascetic life", 59 "spiritually motivated", 17 "refuge", [? widows], 11 "increase of knowledge for specific religious end", 10 "service of the community", 3 "escape from marriage". The word 'reason' is ambiguous. Motives and intentions are rarely clearly distinguished.

⁴ "Within the order, desire to belong to the group, or attraction to a charismatic leader, is not treated as a 'social' motivation, stemming from worldliness. Instead, it too is seen as evidence of a spiritual purity" (Vallely 2002: 197).

Interviews with Terāpanth nuns confirmed that relative poverty and family pressure only indirectly influence female renunciation “because the conflicts produce intense bitterness in the mind of the renouncer” (Goonasekera 1986: 224).

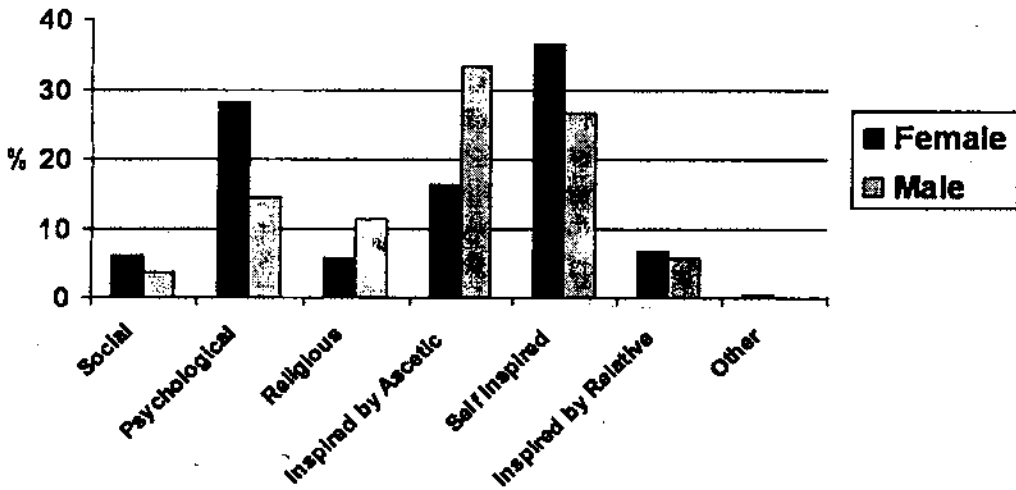
Widowhood (Boradiyā 1975, Goonasekera 1986) could not be established as a dominant factor for renunciation anymore (15 widows, 2 widowers), since most initiation candidates are nowadays young and unmarried (Reynell 1985: 269). Within the Terāpanth this is not only a consequence of fewer numbers of child-widows and improvements in the social world of women (Cort 1991: 659f.), but also because of new rules regarding pre-monastic education of female candidates (Flügel 2006: 364f.).

For young women the ‘experience of death’ was an important explicit motive, but less so for young men, who more often mentioned ‘religious disposition/inclination’ (*dhārmik pravṛtti/ruci*) or the ‘extreme attraction’ (*atyadhik ākarṣaṇa*) of religious life as motives (despite the high number of fatherless male renouncers), which was rarely referred to by women. An explanation for this may be sought in the role patterns in Rajasthani middle class and caste families, i.e. the strong family orientation that is imprinted more on women than on men, who are frequently on business travels away from home. Men have to legitimate their special interest in religion, which is taken for granted in the case of women, who described themselves as “more sensitive”.

The analysis of the survey data showed that, in contrast to Buddhist societies (Spiro 1970), economic or status considerations were not directly important; nor are women forced to renounce by their families as is often suspected (see already Goonasekera 1986).

With regard to the factors ‘own choice’ and ‘social’ and ‘psychological’ reasons not much seems to have changed over the last 2000 years. Self-attributions of motives and intentions are, of course, constructions which are, more or less, informed by role expectations. Many of the returned reasons, especially extrinsic or psychological reasons, have already been enumerated in sections of the Jain canon “which, partly, give the impression of holding up a mirror to the monks” (Schubring 1935/2000 § 137). The ten principal reasons are listed in the *Couplets on Renunciation* (*Pavvajjā-padam*) of Ṭhāṇa 10.15 [712a]: (1) one’s own choice, (2) anger, (3) poverty, (4) dreams, (5) fulfilment of an earlier vow, (6) recollection of inspiration received in a former birth, (7) illness, (8) insult, (9) enlightenment by the gods, (10) affection for a son who is a *muni*. Ṭhāṇa 4.571-577 [276ab] lists additional this-worldly and other-worldly motives and methods for inducing the inclination for renunciation in another person. To put these empirical motives in perspective, Ṭhāṇa 4.577 distinguishes four types of renunciation on a scale beginning with renunciation free of fault and three progressively more faulty types. The leaders of Jain mendicant orders are compared with farmers who are interested in keeping only unsullied grain.

Reasons for Renunciation



Division of Labour

The favourite activity of initiated monks (38%) and nuns (32%) is to study (*svādhyāya*), followed by service (*sevā*) to the order (16%) for monks, and needlework (*silār*) (9%) and art work (*kalā*) (7%) for women, i.e. producing objects of daily use (begging bowls, etc.), drawing, and other crafts. This reflects the traditional sexual division of labour within the order which is perpetuated through a system of rewards (*kalyāṇaka* bonus points) (Flügel 2003b), though the quantity of items produced and transacted is low.

Statistically, needlework, study/research, and service to sick and old nuns and monks (it is obligatory for young monks and nuns to serve one year in one of the *sevā kendras* for old nuns and monks), but also artistic work, are more often than other 'good deeds' rewarded with bonus points by the present head of the order. Officially, *kalyāṇaka* bonus points should not be used as a medium of exchange within the order. However, for females the correlation of the length of time spent in the mendicant order with the number of bonus points collected for good work is statistically significant. Nuns accrued far more bonus points than monks. High scoring men and women tended to study and to write. By contrast, there is no statistically significant correlation with regard to males. This result furnishes indirect proof for the observed pattern that males used their bonus points as a medium of exchange and spent their *kalyāṇakas* on help offered by the nuns for mending clothes, etc., while nuns rarely received reciprocal

services from monks. The rules of the order explicitly rule out the practice of equivalent exchange in favour of the ideal of service to the order.

Monastic Networks

The key questions for network analysis concerned the extent to which the order was socially integrated, which informal networks or groups ('cliques') existed, and how the monastic rules and regulations shaped the network structure.⁵ The analysis of selected features of the monastic networks demonstrated: (a) that many mendicants do not know one another; (b) that older mendicants are better connected than younger mendicants; (c) that mendicants of the same category, gender, age group and kinship group are more connected than others; (d) that the members of the entourage of the head of the order, or *gurukula*, are more connected than others; and (e) that both novices (*saman/ī*) and ex-novices who were promoted to the status of fully initiated mendicants are extremely well connected. There are three reasons for this: the *saman/īs* lived and studied together for several years in religious boarding schools, they are allowed to travel and meet other monks and nuns, and they meet each other every year at the annual assembly of the mendicants. Thus, over time, the entire network structure of the order will be affected by the introduction of the novice category in 1980. Increased connectivity between the nuns is to be expected.

The data also showed that: (a) (with the exception of the members of the *gurukula*) fully initiated male and female ascetics hardly ever interact across the gender divide, since contact between male and female ascetics is strictly regulated and because there are few opportunities for itinerant mendicants to meet; (b) the networks are oriented towards the office holders of the centralised monastic hierarchy, who qua position know and interact with everyone; (c) family members of the same gender often live together in the same itinerant group, because in this way conflict within small groups is minimized; (d) family connections are maintained within the order through occasional "exchanges" of small gifts which have to be mediated by the group-leader and the head of the order; (e) group solidarity as a whole is strengthened through birth-day and initiation-day cards from the leadership of the order; (f) rotation of personnel does not often take place, except: in cases of conflict, to balance the educational and age profile of a group, and for specific collaborative projects; (g) due to the greater group size the rate of rotation is higher amongst nuns than amongst monks; (g) novices show a higher degree of mutual interaction than other mendicants for the said reasons.

⁵ The following characteristics of personal or ego-centred networks oriented the analysis in particular: (a) morphological: anchorage, reachability, connectedness (density), range, (b) interactional: directedness (symmetry/asymmetry), frequency, content. See Mitchell 1969.

Summary

On the basis of a sample of 496 mendicants of the Terāpanth Śvetāmbara Jain order in the years 2001-3, a number of ethnographic observations and theories on Jain ascetics could be tested, albeit only for few questions in a statistically representative way due to uneven response patterns. A socio-demographic analysis showed that the Terāpanth mendicants are largely recruited from lower middle class Osvāl business families in the villages and small towns of the Churu, Bikaner and Nagaur districts of Rajasthan. The pivotal families are long-term followers of the Terāpanth and often have more than one initiated family member in the order. Nowadays, the majority of the mendicants are unmarried females who renounce of their own accord, primarily because their conservative families do not offer them any other alternative to marriage, and because of their familiarity with Jain values and pre-established links with the well organised Terāpanth order which offers unique educational opportunities for women in a traditional social context. With regard to the rural background, the findings resonate with Spiro's (1970) observations on Therāvada Buddhist monks in Burma. However, the families of Terāpanth Jain renouncers are more urbanized and of higher social and economic standing than those of the Buddhist monks in Burma. There are no significant material reasons for renunciation, and no one is forced to enter mendicancy. Goonasekera (1986) offered a psychoanalytical interpretation of Terāpanth Jain patterns of renunciation, but overlooked the psychological significance of experiences of death and suffering for female renouncers in particular. By contrast, one of the main findings of this study is that social and organisational factors, such as the pre-monastic educational institutions of the Terāpanth founded in 1949 and 1980, have a strong influence on initiation patterns, gender relations, geographical spheres of influence, the division of labour and the social integration of the order.



Muni Navaratnamal in Lādnūm 2000

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Gabriele R. HELMER

Introduction

One might wonder what there is to see in the one-horse town of 'Geitendorp', as Wilrijk, a borough of Antwerp, is often called. But an early morning walk through this part of the city has many a surprise in store. Wandering along Sneeuwbeslaan, you will hear Indian sounds from loudspeakers break the silence. Each morning and evening at the same time the chiming of a bell can be heard for approximately ten minutes. But hardly anyone from the local population knows what goes on behind the evergreen hedges on the 4000m² compounds.

And yet the first Indian migrants arrived at Antwerp as early as 1948. Today (2006/2007) 310 families live here in third generation. The men work exclusively in diamond trade, whereas the women work in the house. Economically, diamond trade, which lies in the hands of the Jains, plays a major role for the city of Antwerp. Religiously, the migrants belong to one of the various Jain traditions. They come from the state of Gujarat in north-western India. Unlike many minorities of refugees and immigrants, this comparatively small group holds considerable financial means. This makes many things possible and certainly contrasts the financial straits that characterize many Diaspora communities. The foundation of the Jain Cultural Center Antwerp (J.C.C.A.) in 1992 was the first step towards the planning and building of a new Jain temple in traditional style. The construction work itself started in 2001.

Entering the Field

My situation can be described with the words: From outland to outland.

In July 2004, I decided to move from the Netherlands to Belgium. For coming in touch with the Jains in Antwerp and doing a research which had never been done before, it was necessary to live at the same place where they live. I stayed in Antwerp till December 2007. Normally it is very difficult for somebody from outside to enter this community. One reason for this could be the seclusive nature of the diamond business. Another obstacle was that the Jains have no common area where they can come together for a longer period of time. This made it very difficult to get in touch and to find informants. Doors that had just been opened were closed again in the next

moment. It felt like looking for a needle in the haystack. But patience, openness and empathy were soon to be rewarded.

Jains in Antwerp

This article is giving an overview of the Jain Community in Antwerp/B. I lived very close to this community for four years. To collect the data I needed took me several years, from 2004 to 2006. I was able to collect them mainly by participating observation, by active participation, and by many talks and visits with the Jain families. This is an explorative study focusing on the religious life, the construction of the temple, and the guru network of the Jains in Antwerp.

In comparison with the Jains in the USA and England,¹ the Jain diaspora in Antwerp is very small. The number of Jains living out of India reportedly varies between 70,000 and 80,000 (Dundas, 2002) and one million (Jain Center, Toronto, 1998). There are no exact statistical data available around the Jains, but the following figures are acceptable: There are around seven million Jains worldwide. Around six million Jains are living in India, which is less than 1% of the whole population. The largest Jain diaspora is to be found in North America, comprising 60,000 people, the second largest – 10,000 people – in the UK, followed by 10,000 in East Africa and 310 families in Antwerp. Till today, no research has been done around the Jain immigrants in Antwerp. There are only studies available around Germans, French, Polish, Italians, Jews, and Turkish and Moroccan migrants in Antwerp. According to the mailing list² of the Indian Community, there are 310 Jain families living in Antwerp. All Jains in Antwerp have come directly from Gujarat to Antwerp for diamond trade. Most of them came to Antwerp at the end of the 1970s or in the early 1980s. Most of them are between 40 and 60 years old. In the meantime, many of them got the Belgian nationality or an unlimited residence permit. In the early days, the migrants settled close to the diamond centre, where many Jewish families live as well. After some time, the Indian migrants bought land in the district of Wilrijk, where they proceeded to build their villas. Today many Jain families also live in Edegem and Schoten, districts where many villas are to be found, too.

The diamond business in Antwerp refers back to a tradition of four centuries. In the book *'Brilliant Story of Antwerp'*,³ one can find an exact documentation of the historical development of the diamond business in Antwerp. History shows that the diamond trade in Antwerp has always been in the hands of migrants up to the present date. The Flemish port on the Schelde river, with its convenient infrastructure and its

¹ Jacobsen, Knut A.; Kumar, P. Pratap: *South Asians in the Diaspora: Histories and Religious Traditions*. Leiden: Brill, 2004: 4-7.

² Antwerp Indian Association (Hg.), 2005.

³ Kockelbergh, Iris; Vleeschdrager, Eddy; Walgrave, Jan, *The Brilliant Story of Antwerp Diamonds*. Antwerp: MIM, 1992.

attractive conditions favoring migration and business, made it easy for Indian diamond dealers to choose Antwerp as their second place of home. Antwerp, the most important port of Belgium, counted 949 000 inhabitants in January 2005. Antwerp has the most important world trade centre for diamonds. The city has four stock exchanges, around 1,600 diamond companies, and one diamond museum. The diamond business, which had been in the hands of Jewish traders for four centuries, has moved to the hands of the Jains. In very short time the Jains were able to take the leading role in the diamond business. They took the companies over from their fathers or established new ones operated by their sons and grandsons in the second and third generations today. There are big differences in the history of migration, in particular as compared to the Jains in Leicester, London, and Manchester. Most of the Jains in the UK migrated twice, first from India to South Africa, and in the 60s – 70s to England or the USA. As mentioned previously, the Jains in Antwerp migrated from India to Belgium for economical reasons in order to extend their trading network and to enhance their standard of living. Most of the migrants came to Antwerp without their families. The women and children moved to Antwerp later. The diamond business has always been the domain of men, and this has never changed till today.

The religious life of the Jains in Antwerp

Religious Profile of the Antwerp Jain Diaspora

The Jain diaspora consists of various subgroups of the *Svetambara* tradition. Only one family belongs to the *Digambara* tradition. The members of the families spread over two main branches of the *Svetambara*: The *Deravasi* and the *Sthanakvasi*. While *Deravasi* and *Sthanakvasi* are equal in number, a small group of around thirty families belongs to the *Shrimad Rajchandra Movement*, and around ten families are *Terapanthi*.

Jain Traditions in Antwerp

Svetambara

Digambara

Sthanakvasi

Terapanthi

Deravasi (temple construction)

Shrimad Rajchandra Movement (guru network)

Daily Practices

With the beginning of the temple construction, the Jains established a small temple where they perform *ashta prakari puja* every day and *aarti* every evening.

Every morning, a group of between five and ten men celebrates the *ashta prakari puja* together, which is a very special feature of Jain puja.

Annual Practices

The first feast in the year is *gyan panchami*. The Jains worship the *Kalpasutra*. The devotees bring notebooks and pencils and donate (Plate 33.1).

The most important feast of the Jains is *paryushan*, a time of reflection, meditation and fasting (Plate 33.2). In India this feast takes place during the four month rainy season called *caturmas*. During this time, nuns and monks do not wander around, but stay at one place and give lectures to the lay people. In the diaspora, *paryushan* is also of great importance. During these eight days, many Jains are fasting, everybody according to his or her individual abilities. To celebrate *paryushan*, which takes place in August/September, they set up one or two big tents. Lay preachers and musicians from India are invited. There are lectures every morning and evening. *Paryushan* ends on the eighth day with the celebration of *pratikraman*, which takes three hours for the *Deravasi* and one and a half hour for the *Sthanakvasi*. After this ceremony people greet each other with *Micchami Dukkadam*, and all look forward to *parna* taking place the next day in the morning (Plate 33.3).

Shankheshvar Parshvanath Mandir

In 1992, the Jains decided to build a Jain temple on the 4,000 m² plot of land they had bought from a Belgium company years ago. In this year, they established an incorporated society called *Jain Cultural Center Antwerp*, abbreviated as *J.C.C.A.* Members of this society are thirteen men, who also form the temple committee. This team is responsible for the whole organization of the temple construction. This project is financed by donations of the Jain Community Antwerp. The temple is called *Shankheshvar Parshvanath Mandir*. *Shankheshvar* is a place of pilgrimage for the Jains and *Parshvanath* is the 23rd *Tirthankara*. The temple of the Jains is located amidst a residential area in Wilrijk, a district of Antwerp (Plates 33.4 and 33.5).

White marble is transported from Rajasthan to Antwerp by ship and from the port to the temple area by a big lorry (Plates 33.6 and 33.7).

Every year, people from India come to Antwerp for six months to build the temple. Most of them come from Rajasthan and few from Gujarat. They are no Jains. While most of the stonemasonry work is completed in India, there is still a lot of hard work to do for the people by hand, with hammer and bit or with the cutting machine (Plates 33.8 and 33.9).

The temple built in *Nagar* style has three *Shikhara*. The biggest is the middle one (Plate 33.10). The temple, called *Shankheshvar Parshvanath Mandir*, was not built according to a model (Plate 33.11). Yet the cultural hall was built according to the example of the *Shrimad Rajchandra Ashram* in Agas. This building provides space for approximately 1,500 people (Plate 33.12).

Conclusions

This study adds a small stone to the still incomplete and permanently changing picture of the global Jain diaspora in particular and of the migrants from South Asia in general. From now onwards, the Jain Community Antwerp will have to be mentioned in all discussions about South Asian diaspora.

The analysis of the data shows a very strong collective identity. These are the three identity features:

1. Ethnicity – they all are Gujaratis
2. Business – they all are in the diamond business
3. Religion – they all are Jains

Only people with all three characteristics are members of the Jain Community Antwerp. The Jain families in Antwerp have a very strong relationship on the social, economical and religious level, which is supported by the very strong network of a lay guru. One of the gurus, Rakeshbhai Jhaveri, regularly visits all Jain communities out of India. Shrimad Rajchandra was the founder of this lay guru movement. It can be seen as an innovation within Jainism because of migration.

In summary, we can say that an utterly homogenous milieu like the Jain Community in Antwerp leaves less space for intercultural and interreligious dialogue. Most probably, the Jains will be able to maintain their tradition in the foreign environment. The following reasons are apt to emphasize this hypothesis:

- The closeness of the community
- Their independence of the host country
- The very close relationship to their home country.

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2. ಮೊಳಕೆ ಮತ್ತು ಚಿಗುರು -ಕಥಾಸಂಕಲನ (ಸಂ. ಡಾ.ಎಂ.ಬೈರೇಗೌಡ)	2000	ರೂ. 150*
3. ಕನ್ನಡ ನಾಡು-ನುಡಿ -ನಾಡಗೀತೆಗಳು(ಸಂ. ಡಾ. ಎಂ. ಬೈರೇಗೌಡ)	2000	ರೂ. 045*
4. ಹೆಬ್ಬಾಳ -ಗಾದೆಗಳಾಧಾರಿತ ನಾಟಕ (ಜಯಂತೀರ್ಥ)	2001	ರೂ. 025*
5. ಮುಖ -ಕವನ ಸಂಕಲನ (ಮಧುಕುಮಾರ)	2001	ರೂ. 015*
6. ಸಾಲು ಸಾಲು ಕವಿತೆಯ ಸಾಲು ಕ. ಸಂಕಲನ (ಶರತ್ ಕಲ್ಯಾಣ್)	2003	ರೂ. 025*
7. ವೈತರಣೀ ದಡದಲ್ಲಿ -ಕವನ ಸಂಕಲನ (ಬಿ.ಆರ್. ಸತ್ಯನಾರಾಯಣ)	2003	ರೂ. 020*
8. ಉರ್ವಿ -ನಾಟಕ (ಅನಂದ್ ಋಗ್ವೇದಿ)	2003	ರೂ. 025*
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10. ಬಾನ ಬೆಡಗು -ಕ. ಸಂಕಲನ (ಜಾಜಿ ದೇವೇಂದ್ರಪ್ಪ)	2004	ರೂ. 025*
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13. ಆಡಳಿತದ ನೆನಪಗಳು -ಅನುಭವ (ಬಿ. ಪಾರ್ಥಸಾರಥಿ)	2004	ರೂ. 100
14. ಕನ್ನಡ ಸ.ಕಥೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ದ.ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ -ಅಧ್ಯಯನ (ಡಾ.ಸಿ.ಬಿ. ಹೊನ್ನಯ್ಯ)	2004	ರೂ. 150*
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18. ಕುವೆಂಪು ನಾಟಕಗಳು -ಅಧ್ಯಯನ (ಡಾ. ಎನ್. ಸುಶೀಲ)	2005	ರೂ. 150*
19. ಹಂದೀಪುರಾಣ -ನಾಟಕ (ಡಾ. ಎಂ. ಬೈರೇಗೌಡ)	2005	ರೂ. 050*
20. ಜಾಲ-ಮಾರ್ಜಾಲ -ನಾಟಕ (ಡಾ. ಎಂ. ಬೈರೇಗೌಡ)	2005	ರೂ. 050*
21. ಪಂಚವರ್ಣದ ಗಿಣಿ -ನಾಟಕ (ಡಾ. ಎಂ. ಬೈರೇಗೌಡ)	2005	ರೂ. 055*
22. ಎಲೆ ನಕ್ಕು ಅಡಿಕೆ ಮಾತಾಡಿ.. -ನಾಟಕ (ಡಾ. ಎಂ. ಬೈರೇಗೌಡ)	2005	ರೂ. 050*
23. ತೇಜಸ್ವಿ -ಸಂ. -ನಾಟಕ (ಡಾ. ಎಂ. ಬೈರೇಗೌಡ)	2006	ರೂ. 070*
24. ತೆರೆ ಸರಿದಾಗ -ಜೀವನ ಚಿತ್ರ (ಗುಡಿಹಳ್ಳಿ ನಾಗರಾಜ)	2006	ರೂ. 085*
25. ಬಡವನಹಳ್ಳಿ ರಂಗಧಾಮ -ಜಾನಪದ (ಮೈ. ಶಿವರಾಮಯ್ಯ)	2006	ರೂ. 070
26. ಮಳೆಹನಿ ಹಾಡು ಹಿಡಿದು -ನಾಟಕ (ಟಿ.ಎಚ್. ಲವಕುಮಾರ್)	2006	ರೂ. 030
27. ಮಾರಿ -ನಾಟಕ (ಡಾ. ಮಂಡ್ಯ ರವಿ)	2006	ರೂ. 052
28-39. ಚಣ್ಣರ ಲೋಕ -ಮಕ್ಕಳ ಪುಸ್ತಕಗಳು (ಜಿ.ಎಸ್. ವಸಂತಮಾಲ)	2006	ರೂ. 480
40. ರನ್ನನ ಸರಳ ಗದಾಯುದ್ಧ -ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ (ಡಾ.ಎಲ್. ಬಸವರಾಜು)	2006	ರೂ. 160
41. ನಂಬಿದ ಸತ್ಯಗಳು -ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ (ಡಾ. ಕೆ. ಸಾವಿತ್ರಿ)	2006	ರೂ. 250*
42. ಬಿತ್ತಿ ಬೆಳೆದವರು -ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ (ಡಾ. ಜಿ.ಆರ್. ತಿಪ್ಪೇಸ್ವಾಮಿ)	2006	ರೂ. 120
43. ತೆರೆ ಸರಿದ ಮೇಲೆ -ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ (ಡಿ.ಎಸ್. ಚೌಗಲೆ)	2007	ರೂ. 080
44. ಬಣ್ಣ ನನ್ನ ಕಣ್ಣೊಳಗೆ -ಕಲಾ ವಿಮರ್ಶೆ (ಡಿ.ಎಸ್. ಚೌಗಲೆ)	2007	ರೂ. 050
45. ಪಂಪನ ಆದಿಪುರಾಣ - ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ (ಡಾ. ಎಲ್. ಬಸವರಾಜು)	2007	ರೂ. 350
46. ಹಂಪನಾ ವಾಚ್ಯಯ -ಸಂ. (ಡಾ. ಎಂ. ಬೈರೇಗೌಡ)	2007	ರೂ. 120
47. ಪಡಸಾಲೆಯ ಪವಾಡಗಳು -ಜಾನಪದ(ಡಾ. ಎಂ.ಎ. ಜಯಚಂದ್ರ)	2007	ರೂ. 150
48. ಜಾನಪದ ನೀಳ್ಗತೆಗಳು -ಜಾನಪದ (ಡಾ. ಎಂ.ಎ. ಜಯಚಂದ್ರ)	2007	ರೂ. 150

49. ನೆಲಮುಟ್ಟುವ ಪ್ರೀತಿ -ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ (ಡಾ. ಚಂದ್ರಶೇಖರ ನಂಗಲಿ) 2007	ರೂ. 150
50. ಕೈಫಿಯತ್ತು ಕಂಡ ಕ.ರಾ. ಚರಿತ್ರೆ -ಅಧ್ಯಯನ (ಡಾ. ಪುಟ್ಟಸ್ವಾಮಿ) 2007	ರೂ. 120
51. ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ವಿಷವೈದ್ಯ ಪರಂಪರೆ ನಿಘಂಟು (ಡಾ.ಸ.ನಾ. ಬಟ್) 2007	ರೂ. 300
52. ಸಂಕರ ಬಂಡಿ -ಕವನ ಸಂಕಲನ (ರಾಮಲಿಂಗಪ್ಪ ಟಿ) 2007	ರೂ. 050
53. ಉತ್ತರ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ಬಯಲಾಟಗಳು (ಡಾ. ಬಸವರಾಜ ಮಲಶೆಟ್ಟಿ) 2008	ರೂ. 200
54. ಬುಡಕಟ್ಟು ವೈದ್ಯ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ (ಡಾ. ಮಂಗಳಾ ಶ್ರೀಧರ್) 2008	ರೂ. 200
55. ಸ್ಪೋರೀಸ್ ಆಫ್ ಅಭಯಕುಮಾರ ಅನುವಾದ (ಹಂಪನಾ) 2008	ರೂ. 125
56. 106 ಶರಣರ 1000 ವಚನಗಳು (ಡಾ. ಎಲ್. ಬಸವರಾಜು) 2008	ರೂ. 250
57. ಬಾಪು ಚಿಂತನೆ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ (ಪ್ರೊ. ಬಿ.ಎ. ಶ್ರೀಧರ) 2008	ರೂ. 300
58. ನಟ ನಾಡೋಜ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಚಿತ್ರ (ಪ್ರೊ. ಶಿವರಾಮಯ್ಯ) 2008	ರೂ. 150
59. ರನ್ನನ ಸರಳ ಗದಾಯುದ್ಧ -ಡಾ. ಎಲ್. ಬಸವರಾಜು 2008	ರೂ. 200
60. ಬಸವಪೂರ್ವ ವಚನಕಾರರು -ಡಾ. ಎಲ್. ಬಸವರಾಜು 2008	ರೂ. 150
61. ಮಾರ್ಕ್ಸ್‌ವಾದಿ ವಿಮರ್ಶೆ -ಡಾ. ಚಂದ್ರಶೇಖರ ನಂಗಲಿ 2009	ರೂ. 100
62. ಪಂಪ ಭಾರತ ಸಂ. ಡಾ. ಎಲ್. ಬಸವರಾಜು 2009	ರೂ. 400
63. ಜನಭಾಷೆ ಮತ್ತು ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವ ಭಾಷೆಗಳ ಸಂಘರ್ಷ ಡಾ. ರಂಗನಾಥ ಕಂಟನಕುಂಟೆ 2009	ರೂ. 250
64. ಕೆರೆ ಕರಗುವ ಸಮಯ -ಆರ್. ಮಂಜುನಾಥ್ 2009	ರೂ. 500
65. ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ಒಡಮಗಳು -ವ.ನ. ಶಿವರಾಮು 2009	ರೂ. 150
66. ಶಬ್ದಮಣಿದರ್ಪಣ - ಡಾ. ಎಲ್. ಬಸವರಾಜು 2009	ರೂ. 300
67. ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಮುಖ -ಡಾ. ಮುಜ್ಜಾಫರ್ ಅಸ್ಸಾದಿ 2009	ರೂ. 120
68. ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಐಡೆಂಟಿಟಿ ರಾಜಕೀಯ: ರೈತ, ರೈತ ಹೋರಾಟ ಹಾಗೂ ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಚಳುವಳಿಗಳು 2009	ರೂ. 150
69. ಹಿಂದಣ ಹೆಜ್ಜೆ -ಡಾ. ಬಿ. ವಿವೇಕ ರೈ 2009	ರೂ. 150
70. ಚಿಂದೋಡಿ ಲೀಲಾ - ಗುಡಿಹಳ್ಳಿ ನಾಗರಾಜ 2009	ರೂ. 60
71. ಎಚ್.ಎಸ್.ಎ. ಕತೆಗಳು -ಡಾ. ಎಚ್.ಎಸ್. ವೆಂಕಟೇಶಮೂರ್ತಿ 2010	ರೂ. 200
72. ಕೊಡಗು ಗೌಡ ಸಮುದಾಯ -ಡಾ. ಕೋರನ ಸರಸ್ವತಿ ಪ್ರಕಾಶ್ 2010	ರೂ. 250
73. ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ರಿವಿಸಿಟ್ - ಡಾ.ಹಂಪನಾ 2010	ರೂ. 500
74. ಬುದ್ಧ ಚರಿತೆ - ಡಾ. ಎಲ್. ಬಸವರಾಜು 2010	ರೂ. 200
75. ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ - ಸಂ. ಪ್ರೊ. ನಳಿನಿ ಬಲಬೀರ್ 2010	ರೂ. 600



Tiwari & Sinha Plate 1.1



Plate 1.2



Plate 1.3



Plate 1.4



Plate 1.5



Plate 1.6



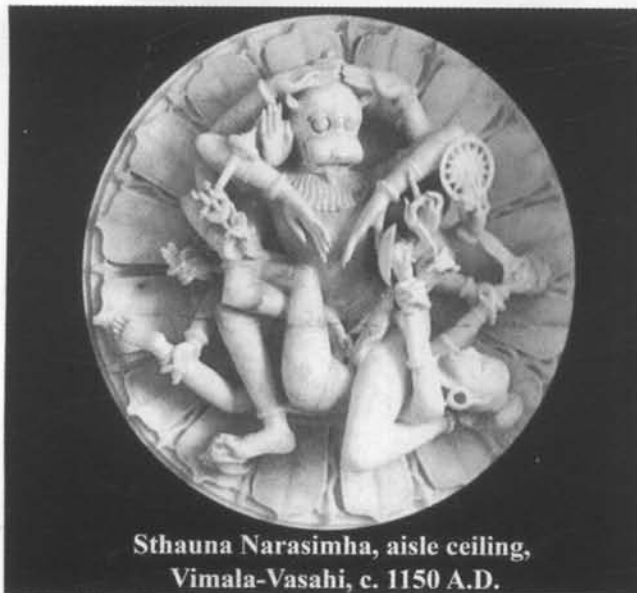
Plate 1.7



Plate 1.8



Plate 1.9.



Sthauna Narasimha, aisle ceiling,
Vimala-Vasahi, c. 1150 A.D.

Plate 1.10



Fig.1

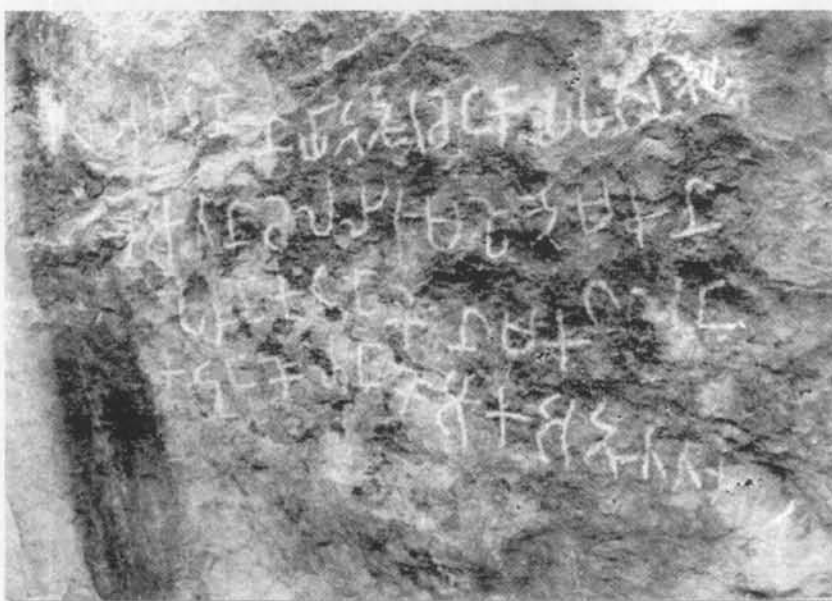
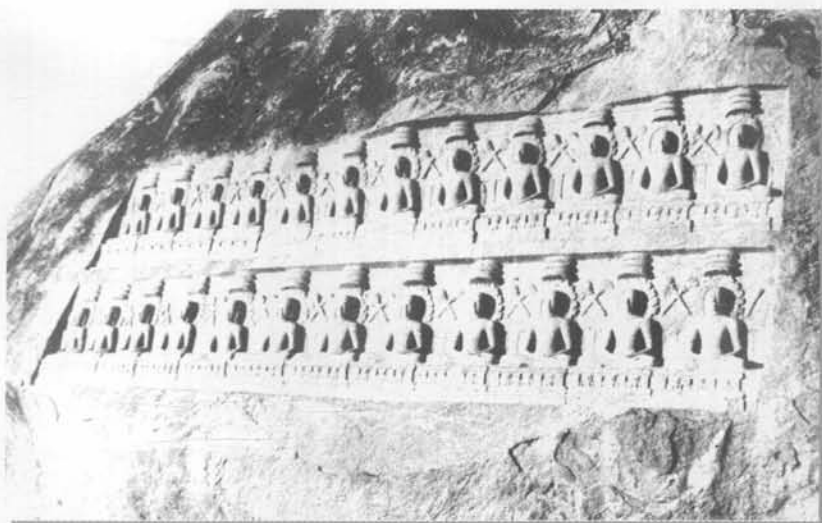


Fig.2



Plates 2.3 and 2.4



Singh & Jain. Plate 8.1.



Plate 8.2.



Plate 8.3A.



Plate 8.3B.



Plate 8.4



Plate 8.5.

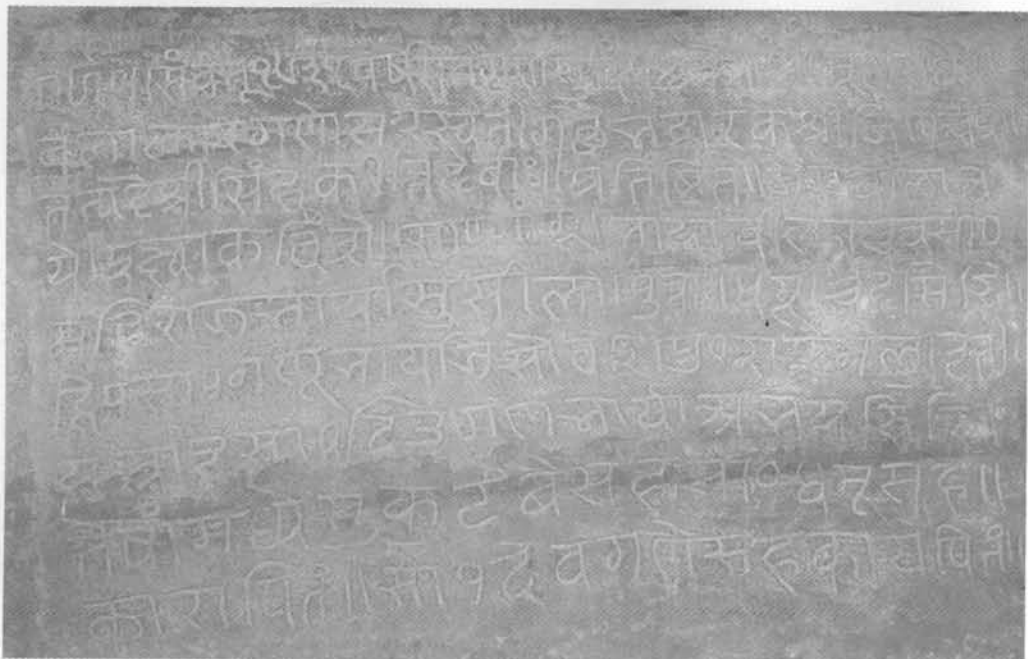


Plate 8.6



Balbir Plate 9.1



Plate 9.2



Plate 9.3

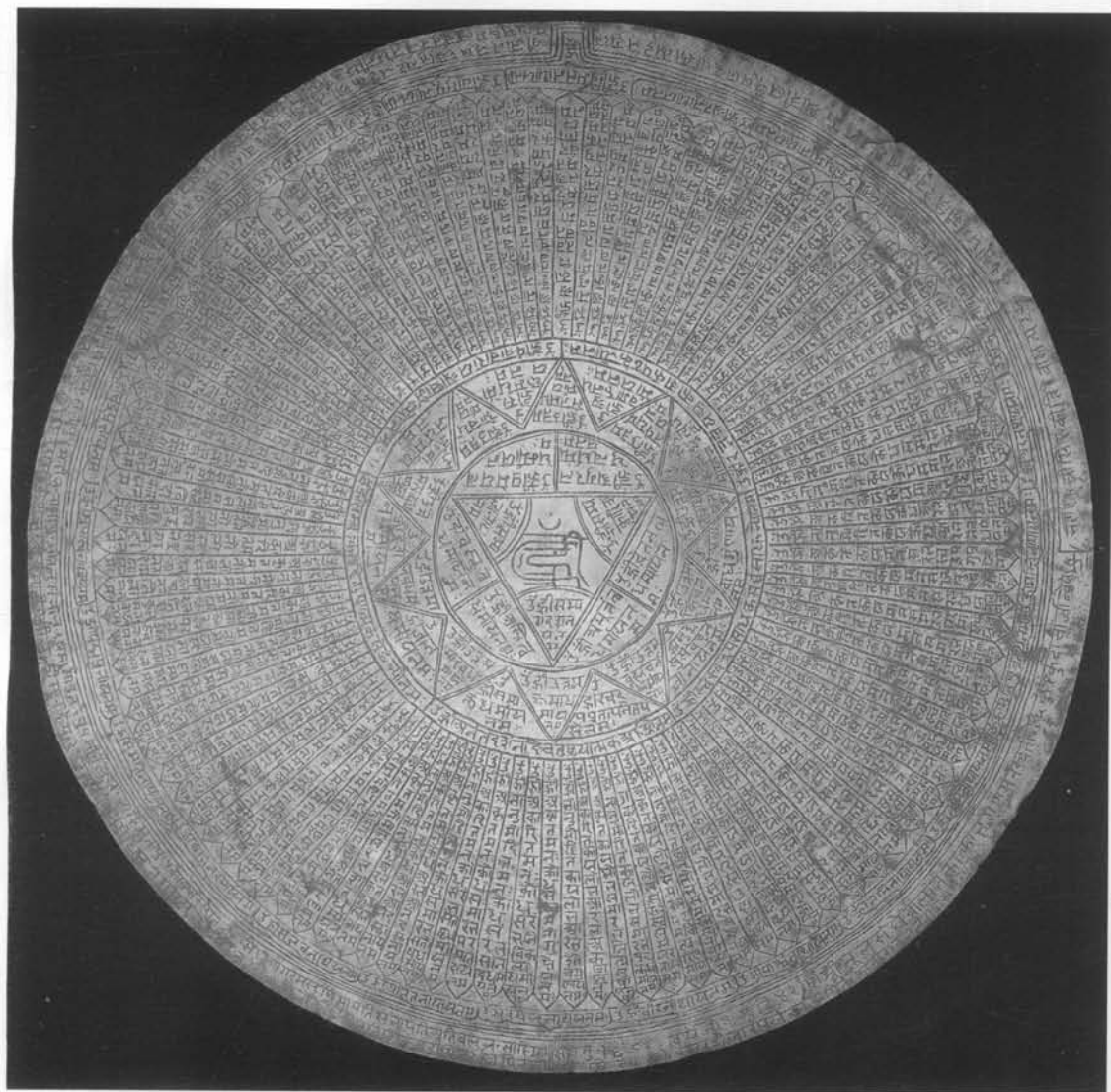


Plate 9.4



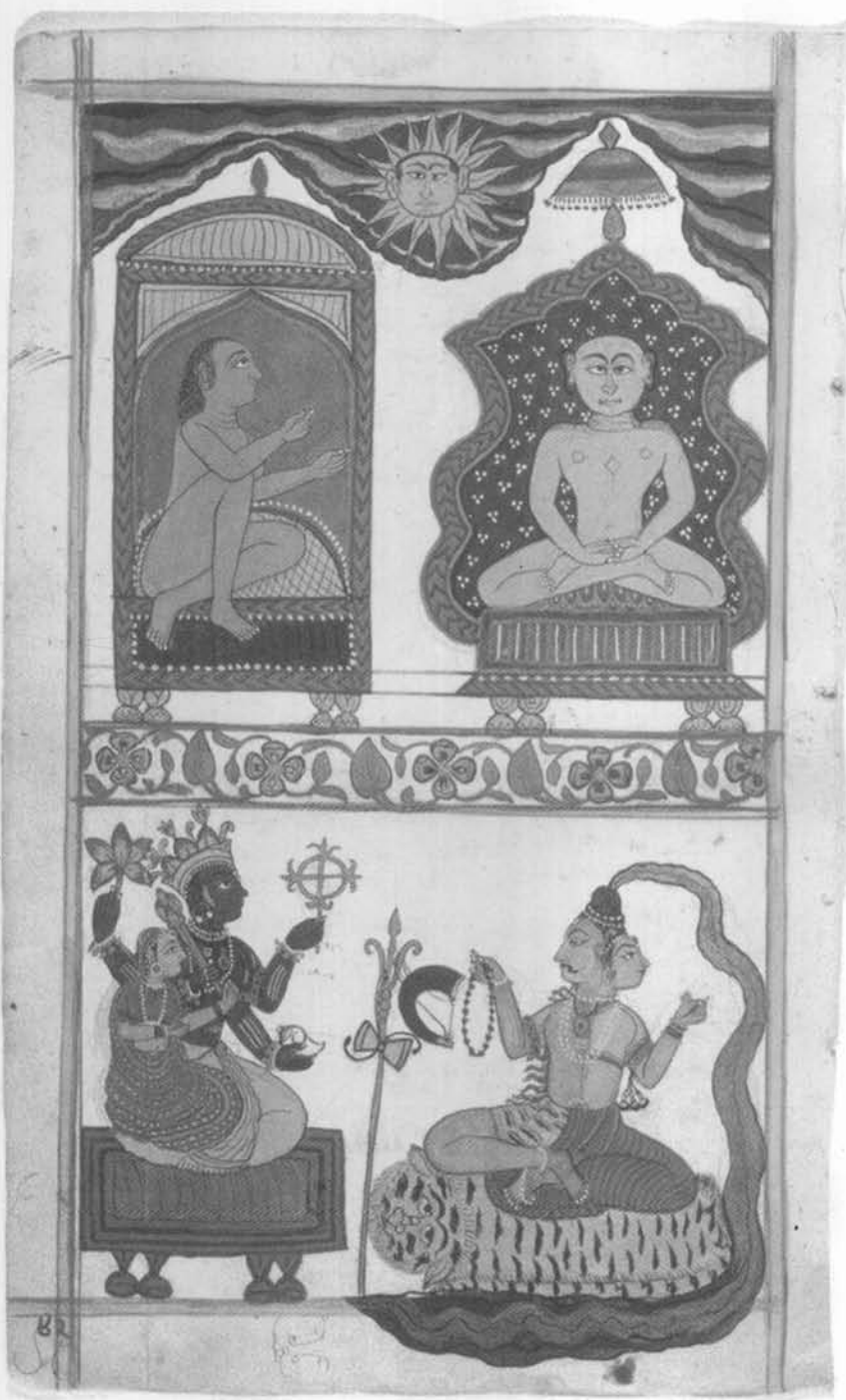
Plate 9.5



Plate 9.6



Plate 9.7



Granoff Plate 10.1

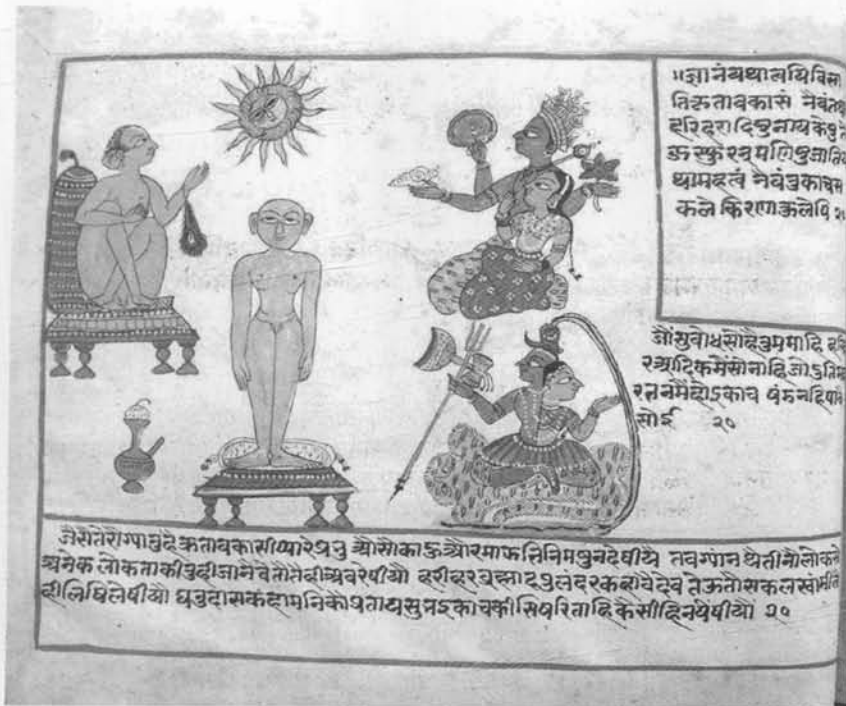


Plate 10.2



Plate 10.3



Plate 10.6



Plate 10.7

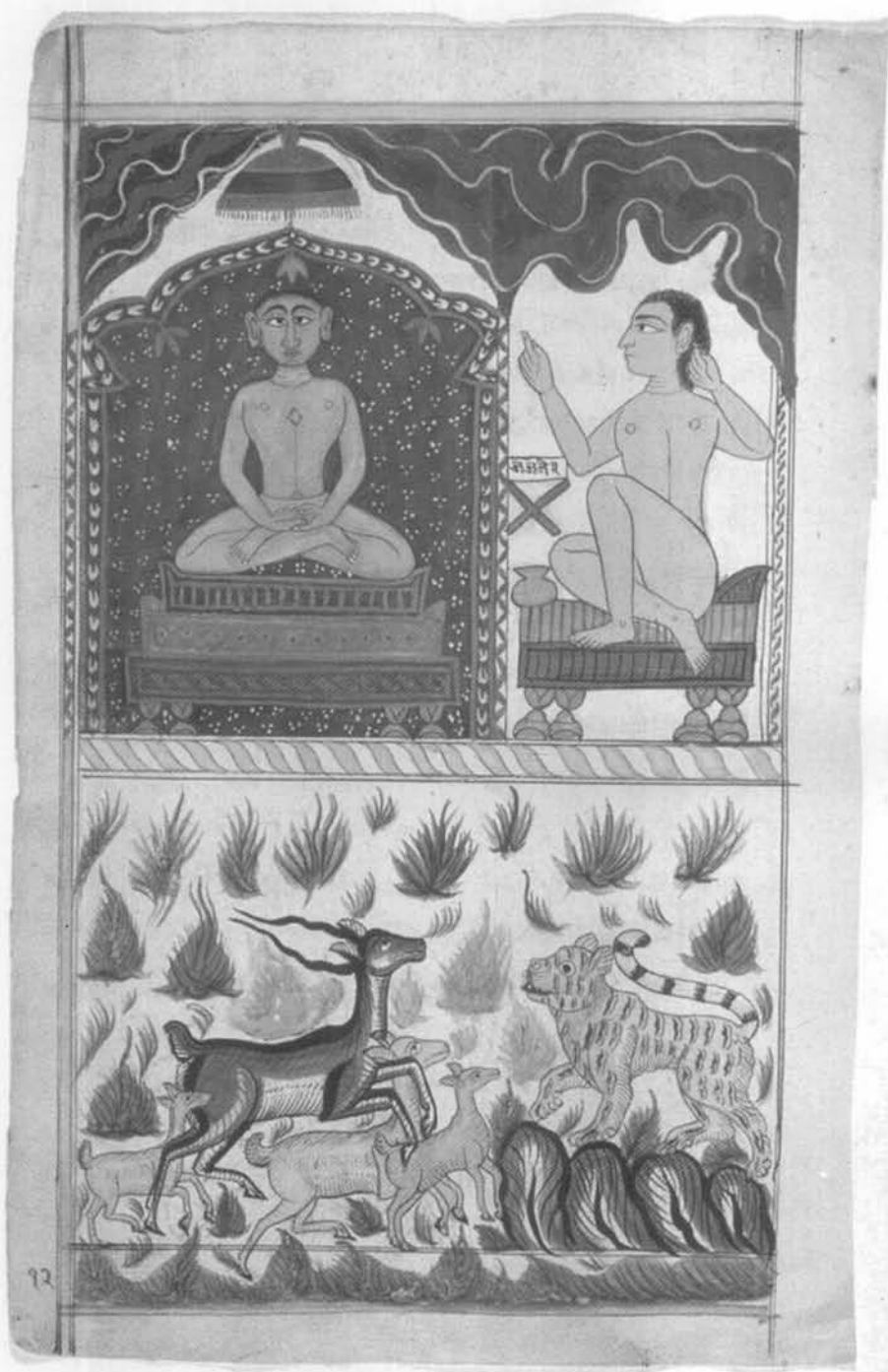


Plate 10.8



Plate 10.9

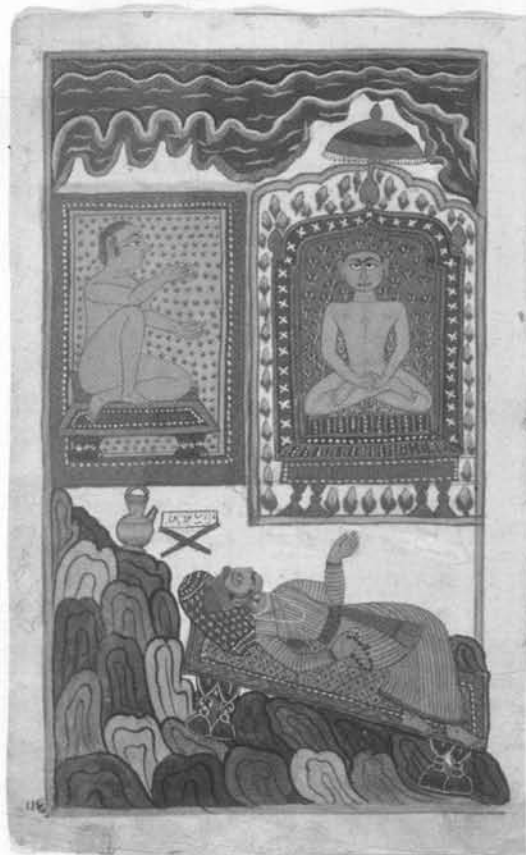


Plate 10.10



Plate 10.11

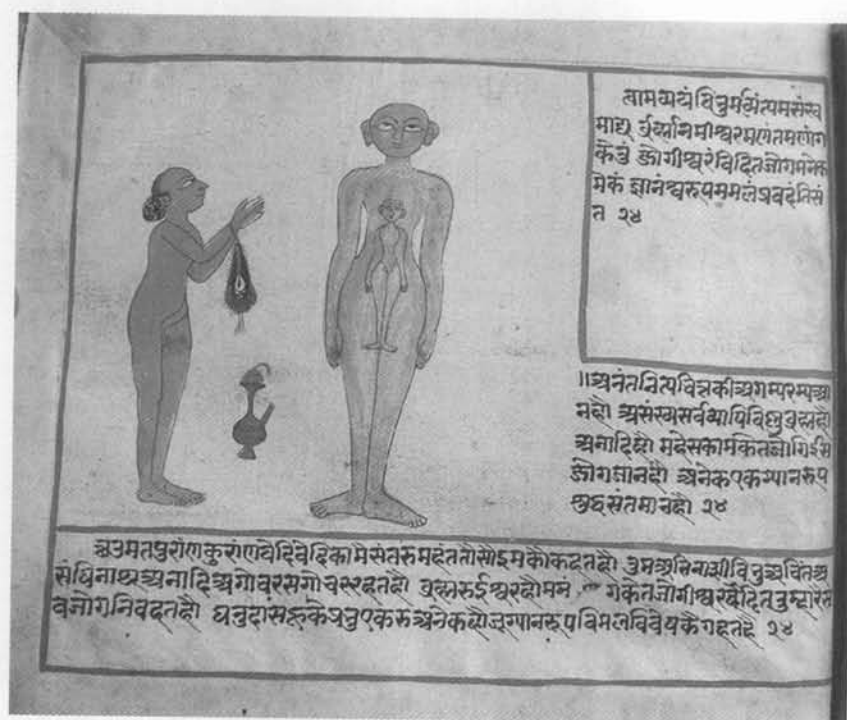


Plate 10.12



Plate 10.13



Plate 10.14



Plate 10.17



Plate 10.18



Plate 10.19



Plate 10.20



Plate 10.21



Plate 10.22



Bruhn Plate 11.1 & fig.1



Plate 11.2 & fig.2



Plate 11.3 & fig.3



Plate 11.4



Plate 11.5



Plate 11.6



Plate 11.7



Plate 11.8



Cort Plate 30.1



Plate 30.2



Plate 30.3



Plate 30.4



Plate 30.5



Plate 30.6



Plate 30.7



Helmer Plate 33.1



Plate 33.2

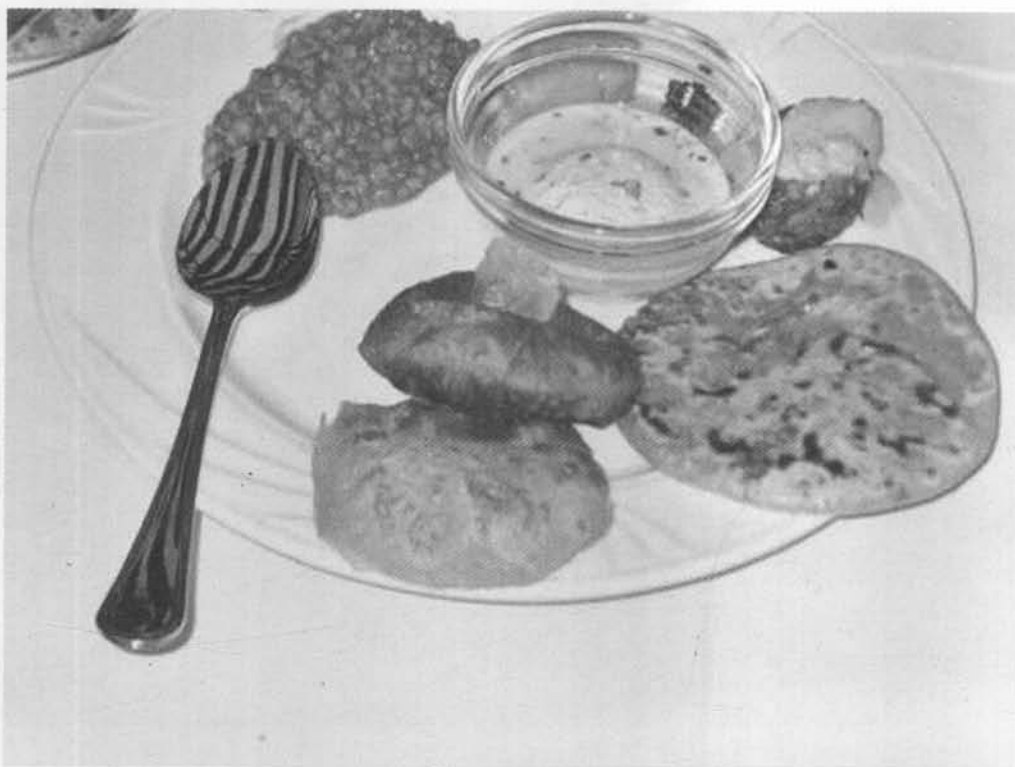


Plate 33.3



Plate 33.4



Plate 33.5



Plate 33.6



Plate 33.7

Plate 33.9



Plate 33.8



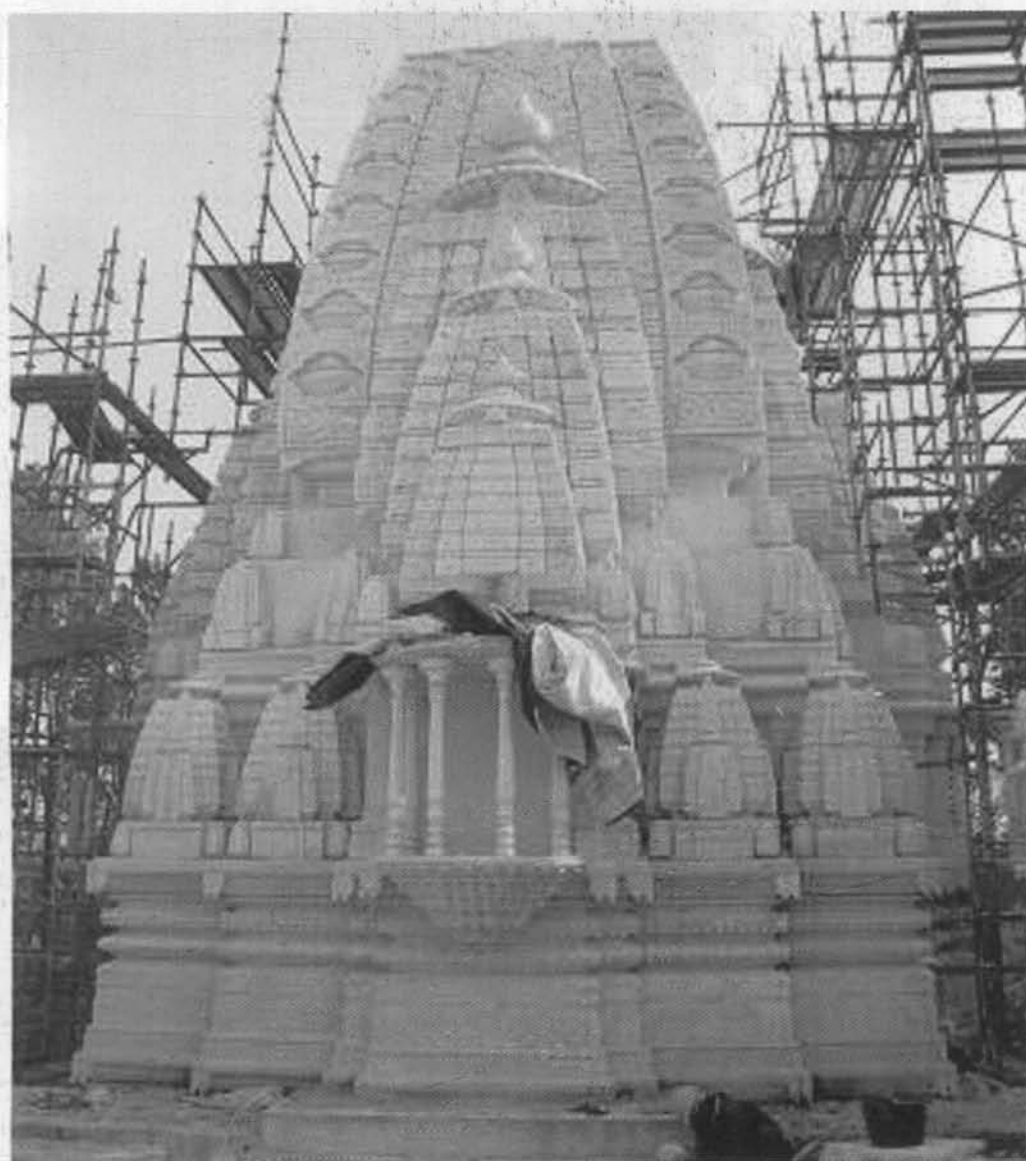


Plate 33.10



Plate 33.11



Plate 33.12

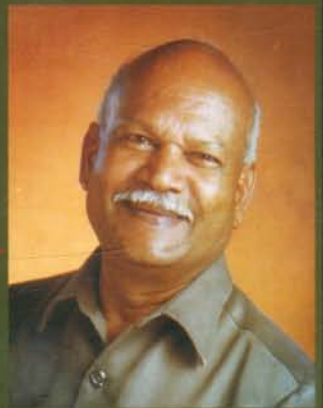


We are all delighted to present this volume of essays to Prof. Hampa Nagarajaiah alias "Hampanā", a star of learning and culture, a bright, lively and enthusiastic personality whose contribution to Karnatak culture and the Jain traditions are so numerous and valuable. Who would not be impressed by his list of publications and the wealth of information they bring to light? Hampanā is a true persona whose manifold activity has extended to all fields. Far from being a scholar living in his ivory tower and content with his own research, he is present in a large number of institutions – too many to be mentioned here.

He plays an official role in the diffusion of Indian culture as a whole. One of the main concerns of Hampanā is to share his love for Indian culture, especially Kannada and Jain, with everybody who is willing to, and, indeed, many of his numerous books, in Kannada, then, more recently, in English, reach large audiences. Hampanā is also a writer. One section of his publications consists of books for children. His services in this field, which was rather neglected in India until recently, have been recognized by the "National Award for Extraordinary Service for Children Literature" given to him in 1990 – one award among several that he has received in the course of his long career.

No wonder, then, that scholars from India and abroad responded so enthusiastically to the call of papers for this volume. How could one be reluctant to pay a small tribute of homage and gratitude to a person like Hampanā, whose knowledge, enthusiasm, generosity and hospitality are so helpful and comforting? The papers offered to the readers are devoted to a wide range of subjects, a requirement to honour a scholar whose interests have no boundary. They cover all aspects of Jain culture in matters of space, time and sects, ignoring none of the four directions and going beyond the seven oceans, forgetting neither the past nor the present, neither the Digambaras nor the Śvetāmbaras nor the Terāpanthins. Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramśa, Kannada, Tamil and Hindi textual sources have been used according to the topics selected. Epigraphy and iconography, two areas where Hampanā has published so much, are of course present. Broad perspectives on the impact and relevance of Jainism to modern times are submitted by some of the contributors as thoughts for the future. The "trilingual formula" is valid in this volume: Kannada and Hindi are the languages of two essays, beside English which is used by the majority of contributors. SVASTI.

Professor. Nalini Balbir
Editor, University of Paris France



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