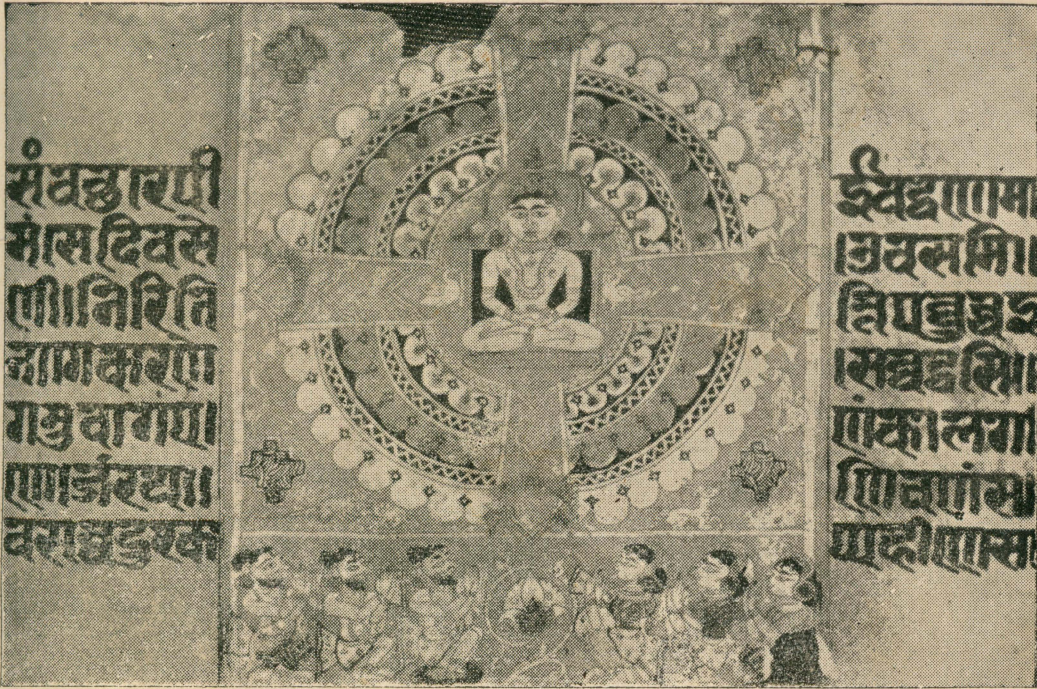


THE WORLD OF JAINISM

Jaina History, Art, Literature, Philosophy and Religion.



edited by

Vishwanath Pandey

'The World of Jainism' is a collection of articles written by eminent scholars. It highlights almost all aspects of Jainism — its history, art, literature, philosophy and religion. As the title itself suggests, the book gives a complete picture of Jainism. It presents an objective, yet a sympathetic exposition of the subject matter and underlines the significance of Jainism in the mainstream of Indian culture as well as in the cultural history of the world.

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THE ORIENT

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Philosophy and Religion**

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VISHWANATH PANDEY

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FOREWORD

I welcome this little bunch of essays which gives a comprehensive account of Jaina religion, philosophy, art and culture. It should not present any difficulty in understanding for scholars. I cannot claim to be an authority on the intricate problems of philosophy. But I think the basic tenets of Jainism and laymen alike.

I feel it would not be an exaggeration to say that Indian culture is deeply indebted to Jaina thought for some of its outstanding qualities, such as non-violence, *Anekanta* and limited possession. The Jaina religion embodying the principles of truth, non-violence, limited possession and, last not but least, *anekanta* or *syadvada* (many-sided view of reality) has made a contribution to Indian culture.

Dr. Viswanath Pandey has given a scholarly exposition of Jaina religion and philosophy and has shown how it contributes to the Indian philosophical system and way of life. However, I think that Dr. Pandey's analysis suffers from certain misconceptions about the Jaina concepts of *Ahimsa*, *Sramana* and *Brahmanana* ways of life, Jaina concepts of *jiva* and *ajiva* and the practice of *Sallekhana*.

I do not think it is correct to say that Jainism has over-emphasised asceticism and **ahimsa** in order to get the better of the rival religious faiths. To understand the proper significance of *ahimsa* in practical life, we have to see how a householder is expected to observe it.

A householder cannot avoid injury in an ideal manner so he is expected to cause minimum injury to others in the course of day-to-day activities. In view of the routine of the society in which we have to live, injury is classified under four heads: first, there is accidental injury in digging, pounding, cooking and such other activities essential to daily living.

Second, there is occupational injury when a soldier fights, an agriculturist tills the land, etc. Third, there is protective injury when one protects one's or other's life and honour against wild beasts and enemies. This third can be classified as *Rajdharm* or statecraft which will adequately deal with the problems of law and order and punishment of criminals if necessary with hanging.

Lastly, there is intentional injury when one kills simply for the sake of killing as in hunting or butchery. A householder is expected to abstain fully from intentional injury and as far as possible from the rest.

Similarly, I think it would not be correct to say that Mahavira followed the Brahmanic model of asceticism. In ancient scriptures *Sramanas* and *Brahmanas* were distinguished for different qualities. We have to remember that *Sramanadharm* was expounded by Mahavira as a protest against sacrificial killing in Brahmanism.

Also it would not be fair to consider *Sallekhana* as a form of suicide or *himsa* practised by Jaina sadhus and munis. There are elaborate rules about *Sallekhana* (voluntary death) in Jainism. This voluntary death is to be distinguished from suicide which Jainism looks upon as a cowardly sin.

In his essay *Jainism and Modern Life* Shri C. C. Shah has emphasized that Jainism is an ethical religion and rightly stressed the need for a critical re-examination of its religious practices to suit the needs of modern life.

Dr. H. D. Sankalia, Shri Sadashiv Gorakshkar and Dr. Umakant P. Shah have discussed the Jaina contribution to Indian art and architecture and its significance. Urmi Bhagwati in her essay has enlisted the bibliographical aids for the study of Jainism.

Except for certain misconceptions which I have noted above this collection of essays is a welcome contribution towards an understanding of Jaina philosophy, religion, culture and art and I commend warmly Dr. Vishwanath Pandey's efforts in bringing it together.

SHRIYANS PRASAD JAIN

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It was when we planned to bring out two special issues on Jainism commemorating the 2,500 years of Nirvana of Lord Mahavira that some friends suggested the idea of combining the two special issues together and giving them a permanent shape. Generally people do not preserve the copies of a magazine even if it contains valuable material. And since we wanted to publish in these two volumes valuable articles of eminent writers, we thought it worthwhile to bring out simultaneously these two volumes in book form also. We took care that the book should represent almost all aspects of Jainism deserving the name it bears. In order to make the book more informative an article on 'Bibliographical Aids for the Study of Jainism' was added at the end. Also, the articles on Jaina Art are supported by twenty-three art illustrations to make them complete.

As the work was done in a hurry, unfortunately some printing mistakes have crept in.

It has been our effort to see that while elucidating the different facets of Jaina philosophy and culture, the articles are simple yet scholastic, providing good reading material to general readers as well as to scholars on the subject. If any criticism or issue is raised in these articles, it is with a view to promoting the interest in Jainism by inviting a fresh thinking on some aspects of Jaina philosophy and practice.

However, all these tasks would have been almost impossible had it not been for the kind co-operation we received from many friends and well-wishers to whom we are extremely grateful. We are thankful to the writers, all of whom are authorities in their fields, for assisting us in our cultural mission by voluntarily contributing their valuable articles. We are thankful to the advertisers (in the special numbers of our journal) and to the donors, specially to the trustees of Motilal Bengani Charitable Trust, Calcutta, Sheth Aminchand Panalal Adishwar Temple, Bombay, and Shri Misrilal Jain, Calcutta, for extending some financial coverage to this plan which helped us meet a part of the cost of these publications. Also, we are obliged to Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and the Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Government of Maharashtra, for lending us some blocks used in this book.

Last but not least, we are extremely grateful to Sadashiv Gorakshkar, Director of Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, for assisting us in carefully selecting and captioning the art plates which required a great deal of thinking and study and to Professor V. Rajaraman and Mr. V. G. Kumar for going through a part of proofs and offering many valuable suggestions. We shall fail in our duty if we do not express our deep gratitude to Shri Shriyans Prasad Jain who so readily agreed to write the learned foreword to this volume.

15th August, 1976.

Vishwanath Pandey

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INTRODUCTION

Indian culture is a composite one. It is a harmonious amalgam of many races, traditions and religious and philosophical systems. Each one of these tendencies has added a new element to the totality and novelty of Indian life and culture. Jainism has been one of the most powerful cultural forces which has enriched Indian life in all aspects. Be it philosophy or religion, art or architecture, literature or folklore, Jainism has contributed immensely to the development of Indian civilization and culture. The Jaina doctrine of *Ahimsa*, its spirit of renunciation, the artistic monuments of Mt. Abu, Palitana and Sravana Belgola, and exquisite pieces of Jaina sculpture and paintings are landmarks in the cultural history of India.

Jainism champions the cause of complete renunciation (*nivritti*), which it takes to its logical extremes. The other extreme of life is self indulgence (*pravritti*) which was championed by the *Carvakas* in ancient India. It is between these two extremes that Indian life was regulated in ancient India, and to a great extent, it is so even to-day. The Jaina doctrine of renunciation and self-mortification is based on the belief that the absence of renunciation necessarily leads to *Pravritti-marga* or indulgence which in its turn leads to injury of life (*himsa*), and that renunciation leads to extinction of all actions (*karmas*) bodily, speech and mental, which automatically result in non-injury and hence in liberation of soul. The Jaina conception of *Ahimsa* is rooted in this belief. Again, the Jainas believe that the *karmas* which result from bodily, speech, and mental actions form karmic particles which cloud the soul, whose intrinsic nature is purity and knowledge.

The way to destroy the karmic particles which keep the soul in bondage is the practice of great vows (*Anuvratas* and *Mahavratas*), especially non-injury (*Ahimsa*), the crown of all virtues. Once the *karmas* are destroyed, the soul becomes free and full of knowledge. In order to realize this goal one has to depend on oneself. There is no place for grace of God in Jainism; for there is no place for God in it. One can at best derive some inspiration from the *Tirthankaras* by emulating them and paying them due reverence. But ultimately, as is the case in Buddhism, man is the master of his destiny.

Jainism and Buddhism are primarily ethical systems. They started as a revolt against the vedic ritualism which very often encouraged violence for the material gain of life. These movements, on the other hand, laid emphasis on the inner transformation of man. It is the moral purity and spiritual development that are *sine qua non* of Jainism and Buddhism. However, as it is natural for all religions, they could not help entering into metaphysical speculations, or rather into what one can call the fundamental questions of life and world. The Jaina canonical literature enumerates four schools of philosophy existing at the time of Mahavira. These are *Kriyavada*, *Akriyavada*, *Ajnana-vada* and *Vaiṇayikavada* (for details see the article Jaina Philo-

sophy and Religion). Jaina Philosophy seems to be founded on the philosophical tendencies present at that time. As the article referred to above shows, the Jaina *Kriyavada*, *Syadavada*, its conception of *Jiva* and *Ajiva* and its ethics can be traced to its contemporary thought (see the article 'Evolution of Jaina Thought') (pp. 46-52). But it is not denying the fact that Jainism has contributed a lot and has given a new blend to the religious and philosophical thinking of India. Like the other systems of Indian thought, Jaina philosophy developed as a result of polemic. And at times it had an edge over them.

Jaina philosophical works such as *Tattvartha Sutra* of Umasvati, *Nyayavatara* of Siddhasena Divakara, *Siddhavinisaya* and other works of Akalanka, *Anekanta-Jayapataka*, *Yoga Vindu*, *Yoga Sataka* of Haribhadra Suri, *Pramanamimansa* and *Yogasastra*, etc., of Hemachandra, *Anekanta-Vyavastha*, *Jnanabindu*, etc., of Yasovijaya, *Syadvamanjari* of Malisena and other philosophical works of several other authors are monumental.

Jaina philosophy and belief stimulated many traditions in Indian art and literature. The language which Mahavira used for his teachings was *Prakrit* or *Ardhamagadhi*. It is in this language the Jaina Agamas or canonical literature was first reduced to writing. *Ardhamagadhi* is therefore the sacred language for the Jainas, as Sanskrit is for Hindus and Pali for the Buddhists. In due course the Jainas also started using Sanskrit language and wrote many literary, philosophical and scientific works in this language. The Jaina works are now found in almost all Southern and Northern Indian languages. Contrary to the common belief the Jainas produced many standard works of secular nature as well. These are on astronomy, geography, cosmogony, prosody, lexicography, poetics, etc. They developed very rich narrative literature (see infra pp. 27-45) which mirrors very vividly the life of the people and society of that time. '*Charitra*' literature or stories about the *Tirthankaras* also enrich Jaina literature.

The Jaina narrative literature provides a mine of information on contemporary life. Interesting to note is the fact that while the Jaina monks themselves led a life too far removed from the fret and fever of ordinary life, they did not hesitate to enrich their stories by alluding to the customs prevalent in those days. The characters in the stories are drawn from different strata of life, and through them and their experience are expounded the merits of higher life and redemption. To drive home a point of view and to impress upon the laity the virtues of higher life, the Jaina narrators quite often introduced the supernatural element in their stories. Several stories in the '*Arahana Kahakosa*' and '*Punnasavakahakosa*' exhort the people to shun the pleasures of the body and the senses and cultivate right vision and understanding. Dr. A. S. Gopani in his '*Life and Culture in Jaina Narrative Literature—8th, 9th and 10th century A.D.*' (pp. 27-39) has made a broad study of the quality

and content of this literature. In a separate article on the position of women (pp. 40-45) as described in Jaina narrative literature, Dr. Gopani describes the position and role assigned to women by the Jaina society of olden times.

The teachings of Mahavira also made an impact on the ancient Tamil land-Tamilakan. Shri John Esklel Chalil gives glimpses of Southern Jainism in his short and lively study. Jainism was widely prevalent in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu and also spread to Andhra and Kerala. The influences of Jainism on the South can be gauged from the fact that most Kannada writers till the 12th century were Jainas and the Tamil Sangham classics '*Silappadikaram*', and '*Jivika Chintamani*' were written by Jainas. Quite some scholars are of the view that the author of the '*Timkkural*' now translated into several Indian and foreign languages was also a Jaina monk.

The Jainas were great builders in stone and marble and fine painters as well. The earliest known image of the Jaina is that of a nude *Tirthankara* discovered at the Mauryan site of Lohanipur, near Patna. Down South there are a number of sites in the Tamil region of rock-cut caves carrying descriptions both in Brahmi and Tamil and some fine mural paintings in the Jaina cave at Sittanavasal. Jaina paintings also decorate the ceilings of four caves at Ellora. Dr. Umakant P. Shah (pp. 95-105) highlights the distinct traits and features of Jaina art through its long period of artistic creativity and effusion. In his article, 'The Great Renunciation' Dr. H. D. Sankalia (pp. 93-94) aptly observes that the scene depicting the renunciation of Neminatha beautifully carved out in marble in the Tejahpala temple of Mt. Abu is most poignant of its type. The great masters of sculpture have put life into stone.

Shri Sadashiv Gorakshkar (pp. 101-107) avers that the term Jaina art or Buddhist art is "somewhat misleading in the context of Indian art in general". The fusion of art styles in India makes it probably difficult to isolate any particular style and call it distinctly Hindu or Buddhist or Jaina. Early Jaina art is characterized by simple figures and images but the use of marble in later times gave rise to a new tradition worked by decorative art and sculpture. Brahmanic influences in the later years made Jaina images "more complex in form".

It is a noteworthy fact, even as a cursory glance of the art plates would indicate, that style of the images was influenced by the different regions to where Jainism spread.

The remaining articles throw light on other dimensions of Jainism. Kaka Saheb Kalelkar (p. 9) describes Jainism as a familyhood of all religions. Dr. M. D. David traces the origin of Jainism from the *Adi Tirthankara* Risabhadeva to the twenty-fourth *Tirthankara*, Mahavira. Mr. C. C. Shah emphasizes the role of Jainism in the modern world.

Dr. Vishwanath Pandey

Jainism — A Familyhood of all Religions

Kaka Kalelkar

The very history of India has evolved a grand mission for our country. Ours is, perhaps the earliest and the longest history of humanity. People of different races have come here and settled. None of them were kept outside; nor did we easily mix with them freely. The same is true about the religions and the various languages that we have.

In our own generation, people like Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayand and others tried to solve the problems of this multi-religious country. These pioneers of our culture tried to evolve a synthesis that would be good for our people. Gandhiji, through his ashram, developed and spread the idea of familyhood of all races, religions and nations. He was modest enough to declare through his ashram, that we believe in equality of all religions. He wanted to avoid rivalry and antagonism amongst the religions that have come to stay in this land. His formula was *Sarvadharmā Samābhava*—equality of all religions.

With Gandhiji's permission, I made it into *Sarvadharmā-Mamābhava*, meaning thereby that it was not enough that we should merely accept the equality of all religions; our people should accept them as our own in a general way. I, naturally, tried to explain this idea 'that all religions are our own' in our way. I was anxious to declare that we should not associate ourselves with the rivalry and antipathy started by the followers of proselytising religions. Therefore, I evolved or rather modified Gandhiji's *Sarvadharmā Samābhava* into *Sarvadharmā-Kutumbabhava*, meaning that all great religions of the world deserve to live together as one family. Christianity for instance accepted Judaism as its old Testament and the teachings of Jesus formed the New Testament. Similarly we at one time were one family of religious beliefs under the common name of the Vedas. Then came Buddhism and Jainism. These systems were not prepared to accept the authority of the Vedas. Buddhism and Jainism were called *nastika*, in the sense that they did not accept the over all authority of the Vedas. Jainism accepted the existence of Soul. Buddhism would not even do that. There arose some doctrinal differences even in these systems. Every exponent tried to prove the philosophical and spiritual superiority of his system. This rivalry in India being on the intellectual

level became very fertile. It stimulated deep thinking and gave birth to various rich philosophical systems of thought. All of them grew in a healthy competition. Ultimately as it was natural to the tolerant Indian mind, we evolved a new synthesis.

The orthodox Hindus are formally guided by the Vedic traditions. The Muslims swear by the Koran. The Christians accept the final authority of the New Testament. But the Hindu religion being non-propnetic there is always a possibility of a change of outlook among the followers of this religion.

Rigid Indian society received a big jerk during the time of Indian renaissance movement. Raja Ram Mohan Roy discouraged blind respect for any scripture. Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj started a liberal movement in India. They discouraged Hindu orthodoxy and showed sympathetic attitude towards other religions. Swami Dayanand of Gujarat thought that these reformers were going too far. He wanted to make a compromise between the old religion and the new liberal outlook. His movement, the Arya Samaj, expressed full reverence in the authority of the Vedas; but it opposed the rigid and orthodox reverence shown by the people to the later scriptures like the Smritis and the Puranas.

Mahatma Gandhi studied these reforms very earnestly and avoided all religious controversies raised by these movements. Like Buddha, he followed the middle path, or rather, he left the religious matter to the individual; saying that everybody was free to follow his own religion. Not only that, he went even a step further and declared that from the national point of view all religions were equal. He thought India was the best place for this type of experiment where all religions would live together on terms of equality. But, that was possible only when the different religions of India could give up the spirit of rivalry and animosity. With this end in view Gandhiji established his ashram. This ashram was an ideal example of familyhood of all religions.

As a result of the then non-co-operation movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi to boycott the governmental universities and to start of our own, we started our own university in Gujarat, namely the Gujarat Vidyapith. I invited Dharmanand Kosambi, a Brahmin from Goa who had become a Buddhist monk, to join our university. The institute became an ideal institute for the study of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism which were taught and practised there with the spirit of mutual respect and 'give and take'.

Doctrine of Ahimsa

Lord Mahavira, the twenty-fourth and last Thirthankara of the Jainas, had given the widest interpretation of Ahimsa.

According to him it was not enough that we took vegetarian meals and did not kill animals for food or game. He wanted Ahimsa to be that precept which did not accept anybody as foreigner or outsider. Ahimsa means the widest and most intimate love and acceptance of all, with selfless love. In such a philosophy of life all human beings, nay all living beings, should be treated as deserving our equal love. The Jaina monks try to put this strict principle into their life by observing a rigorous code of conduct. In such a religion there could be no scope of rivalry or antagonism.

Anekanta-vada

But the greatest contribution of Mahavira was his *anekanta-vada*. In this he taught that various schools of philosophy and religion should not quarrel with one another. Everyone of them has some amount of truth which the other side may be wanting. Our conception of truth is often partial. We should, therefore, be ready to express respect for the positions of others and try to understand their viewpoints with open mind. If we live together, accepting the right of everybody to follow his own convictions, we would be able to form a familyhood of all religions through love, sympathy, service and self-sacrifice.

Fortunately, for us the present year is the 2500th anniversary of Nirvan of Bhagwan Mahavira. I am, therefore, trying even at my age of ninety to bring of different religions together under the banner of *anekantavada*, which is same as our familyhood of all religions preached by Mahatma Gandhi. I wish the Jainas of India start a Mahavira Mission respecting all viewpoints and building a familyhood of all the religions.

Ever since I joined Gandhiji's ashram, I read the scriptures of all religions with greatest reverence. But because of the early influence of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Rabindranath Tagore on me, I do not subscribe to the view of infallibility and ultimate authority of scriptures. My view is that all scriptures deserve equal reverence. That is why I am trying, now, to start a mission of India. I feel within myself that I am a Jaina because of my belief in the doctrine of *anekanta-vada* as my guiding spirit. I am a Hindu and a Buddhist who believes in the unity of humanity (*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*) and wellbeing of all people (*Bahujan hitaya*). It is not a question of policy or prudence. It is the reaction of my heart that prompts my action from within. It is this spirit that is behind the current mission.

I have been telling the Jainas that Buddha and Mahavira were contemporaries. Both of them propounded universal religions. The Buddhists tried to spread their religion far and wide. It went to Ceylon, Burma, Nepal, China, Japan, Korea and to

several other countries and peoples. The Buddhist thought and culture have influenced the people of Europe and America. But the Jainas did not do, so far, any preaching. Jainism is still confined to its original place, India. The real nature of Jainism demands that it should spread like any other universal religion. Unfortunately, the Jaina community has become almost a caste within the Hindu fold. Or, rather, the Jainas have become a caste themselves. The children of a Jaina are Jainas.

Jainism, if rightly viewed, fares better than Islam and Christianity. Unlike Muslims and Christians the Jainas believing in *anekantavada* do not ask anybody to give up his or her religion and embrace the religion of their own. He can very well say purify yourself even without giving up your religion you can become a true Jaina. The principle of Jainism entitles a Jaina to claim that Jainism has no quarrel with anybody. It embraces all within itself, and this is the philosophy of familyhood of all religions. If the Jainas proclaim so, they will receive the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi also.

From Risabha To Mahavira

Dr. M. D. David, M.A., Ph.D., LL.B.

The sixth century B.C. happens to be the most fertile from the point of view of the birth of new religious sects in India. It was a century of religious unrest because the pathway to *Moksha* came to be barred more and more firmly for a non-Brahmin. Caste system had placed a Brahmin in a privileged place in the later Vedic Society. It had become rigid. According to the Brahmins, the custodians of the religious life of the people, they alone were entitled to take up asceticism (*Sanyas-ashram*). There were many non-Brahmins who desired to take up ascetic life to attain salvation. Kshatriyas, being a caste next to the Brahmins, mainly felt inferior and resented these restrictions and reacted. The Kshatriya dominated reform movements arose to purify Hinduism of some of its evils that had greatly degenerated it.

There was a great spiritual and moral unrest. Men's minds were deeply stirred by the problems of life after death. How to free the soul from the bondage of *Karma* was the main spiritual problem or as Mrs. Stevenson puts it, "The desire of India is to be freed from the cycle of rebirths, and the dread of India is reincarnation". Brahmins advocated sacrifices and rituals (*Karmamargan*). Sacrifices were abhorred by the Kshatriyas. There were some for whom asceticism (*Tapas*) and self-mortification were more appealing. There were others who advocated *Jnanamarga* (Path of Knowledge) as described in the *Upanishads*. Thus it was the main interest of the philosophers and the thinkers to discover a new way to secure freedom from rebirth.

The ascetics or wanderers, in addition to the hermits, formed an important body of teachers—a new phenomenon to be seen in the pre-Buddhist India. Prof. Rhys Davids writes, "And we hear of Sophists, just as we hear in the history of Greek thought. But the peculiarity was that, before the rise of Buddhism, it was a prevalent habit for wandering teachers also—and not only students—to beg. Such wandering teachers, who were not necessarily ascetics except in so far as they were celibates are always represented as being held in high esteem by the people." These teachers spent eight or nine months of every year, wandering about, with a definite object of engaging people in discussion and deliberation "on matters of ethics and philosophy, nature-love and mysticism"² This body

of wandering ascetic-teachers was held in great esteem in India of the times.

Among the many religious sects that arose during this period, Jainism and Buddhism survived longer. In addition to these two major sects, there were others. The Buddhist Pali text *Samanna-phala Sutta*³ mentions that Buddhism had to compete with six main sects at the time. The names of the six leaders were: i. *Purana Kassapa*, ii. *Makkhali Gosala*, iii. *Ajita Kesakambali*, iv. *Pakhuda Kaccayana*, v. *Sanjaya Belatthiputta* and vi. *Nigantha Nata-putta*.

Nigantha Nata-putta was Vardhamana Mahavira himself.⁴ In addition to these principal six heretics there were several other religious leaders with varied followings about whom we have limited information. Mention should also be made of another school of thought known as the Charvakas named after the founder Charavaka. The Charavaka philosophy is based on pure materialism. It does not believe in God. It does not believe that a soul has a separate existence apart from the body. Soul is born with the body and dies with it. Since Charvakas did not believe in life after death they wanted a man to adopt epicurian attitude to life.

Makkhali Gosala

Among the sects mentioned above, Buddhism, Jainism and Ajivikas remained important. The founder of the—Ajivika sect Makkhali Gosala was closely associated with Mahavira. Mahavira in fact was an elder religious leader even to Buddha. The *Bhagavati Sutra*⁵ gives the details of the association between Mahavira and Makkhali Gosala. It also tells about his early life and teachings. Makkhali Gosala was low born. He begged to be the disciple of Mahavira and the latter accepted him after repeated requests. Gosala lived and wandered with Mahavira for six years and then separated from him because of doctrinal differences and established his own sect known as Ajivikas. Gosala did not like Mahavira and their relations were not friendly.⁶ Even Buddha did not have an honourable opinion of Makkhali Gosala as is evident from the Pali text *Anguttara Nikaya*.⁷ He considered Gosala's teachings pernicious.

Buddha was another great contemporary of Mahavira though junior to him was able to gather large number of followers. Buddha and Mahavira knew about each other's work and worked in the same region of Magadha and Kosala.

Jainism

It was then under these circumstances that Mahavira—the Great Hero—established Jainism. The founder of Jainism was

a Kshatriya, whose profession was to fight war, but Jainism lays stress on the practice of non-violence of the extreme kind. Founded by a person from the aristocratic warrior caste, it has gathered the largest number of adherents from among the middle class. Its founder taught the highest type of unworldliness but its followers are the repositories of greatest wealth in India. These Jain merchants won't hesitate to pour money on their mendicants and saints.

While Buddhism became a world religion, Jainism did not travel out of India. From its home in Magadha it soon spread to rest of India. Jainism came to have a larger number of followers in the South and Western India than in its home province of Bihar. It rose to prominence in Mysore. It also found many adherents in Tamilnadu. In Western India, Gujarat became its stronghold.

The Tirthankaras

A new religious leader or a reformer normally builds up his new teachings on the tenets of the earlier ones. When Mahavira founded Jainism he adopted most of the teachings of his predecessor Parsvanatha who is considered to be the twentythird Tirthankara while Mahavira himself being the twentyfourth Tirthankara. According to Jaina tradition there are twentyfour Tirthankaras.⁸ A few of them seem to be historical figures while others are legendary. Jaina scholars believe that their's is the oldest religion in India. They do not hesitate to cite examples from the Vedas to prove this point. An attempt will be made here to mention briefly about the more important Tirthankaras viz. Risabhadeva or Adinatha, Neminatha or Arista-neminatha, Parsvanatha and lastly Mahavira himself. However, mention must be made of all the twentyfour Tirthankaras. They are: (i) Risabhadeva or Adinatha, (ii) Ajitanatha, (iii) Sambhavanatha, (iv) Abhinandana, (v) Sumatinatha, (vi) Padmaprabhu, (vii) Suparsvanatha, (viii) Chandraprabhu, (ix) Suvidhinatha, (x) Sitajanatha, (xi) Shreyamsanatha, (xii) Vasupujya, (xiii) Vimalanatha, (xiv) Anantanatha, (xv) Dharmanatha, (xvi) Santinatha, (xvii) Kunthunatha, (xviii) Aranatha, (xix) Mallinatha, (xx) Munisuvrata, (xxi) Naminatha, (xxii) Neminatha or Arista-Neminatha, (xxiii) Parsvanatha and (xxiv) Mahavira.

We find the statues of most of these Tirthankaras housed in the precincts of the huge statue of Gomateshwara on the hill top at Shravana Belgola near Mysore.

Risabhadeva

Risabhadeva or Adinatha is claimed to be the first Tirthankara who was born in Kosala in the Jaina era of *Dusama-*

susama. He was born of a Rajput prince. The birth of most of the Tirthankaras is associated with a dream of the mother who gave birth to them. Risabhadeva's mother had seen a bull in her dream before the birth of her son and he came to be called Risabha. He was the first to teach the Jaina faith. He also taught seventytwo sciences to men and sixtyfour arts to women which were mainly meant for the benefit of the people. He lived for 84 lakhs of purva of time a part of which he spent in asceticism. King Bharata was one of his hundred sons and he attained *Moksha* on *Kailasa*. His followers included a large number of Sramanas, nuns and others.'

Neminatha

Neminatha or Arista-neminatha the twentysecond Tirthankara is represented as black like the twentieth Tirthankara. He was born to King Samudravijaya of Sauripura. His mother saw in a dream before the birth of her son a *nemi*, the outer rim of a wheel, consisting of *Rishta* stones (black jewels), flying upto the sky. He was named Aristanemi after this dream. He was a contemporary of Sri Krishna and his brother Balaram. After neglecting his body for fortyfour days and practising other severe penances he obtained the highest knowledge, *Kevala Jnana*. He had a large following of Sramanas, nuns, lay votaries and others. During his time a great part of *Dushma-sushma* era had elapsed. He obtained *Moksha* on the summit of mount Girnar.¹⁰

Parsvanatha

Parsvanatha the twentythird Tirthankara, seems to be a historical figure. He was born in Benares in about 817 B.C. His father Asvasena was the King of the town. He came to be called Parsva because his mother before giving birth to him saw a black serpent crawling about in the dark while lying on her couch. During his lifetime he was connected with snakes. Once he rescued a snake hiding in a log which was going to be burnt by a Brahmin. This snake later protected him from his enemies and a hooded serpent became the symbol of Parsva. He was married to Prabhavati but renounced the worldly life at the age of 30 by performing similar ceremonies as Mahavira later did. After 83 days of severe penance he attained *Keval Jnana* and became the leader of a community of his followers. He lived a life of a teacher for the next forty years and died as a people's favourite on the summit of mount *Sammata* in Bengal.¹¹

He asked his followers to practise four principles of good life. They were: i To practise non-violence, ii. not to steal,

iii. not to tell lies, iv. not to own property.¹² There is a controversy among some Jaina scholars according to whom one of the four teachings of Parsva was the practice of chastity and Mahavira added the fifth one i.e. not to own property. But we shall here adopt the former view. Mahavira added the fifth vow—the practice of chastity and also made confession compulsory for the monks. These facts clearly show that Mahavira reformed and built on what Parsva had already done.

Mahavira

The last and the twentyfourth Tirthankara was Mahavira. He was born when "the times were ripe for revolt". He was born at Kundagrama near Vaisali of Kshatriya parents. His father Siddhartha was the chief of the Kshatriya clan known as Jnatrikas. His mother Trisala was the sister of Chetaka, a powerful Licchavi prince ruling over Vaisali. Vardhamana was related to the king Bimbisara of Magadha who had married Chellana, the daughter of Chetaka. Thus, Mahavira was closely related to the two powerful princely families in the region, viz. Vaisali and Magadha.

Dreams of Trisala

According to *Kalpa Sutra* Trisala saw fourteen dreams before she gave birth to Vardhamana.¹³ There is a slight controversy between the Digambara and the Svetambara sects of the Jainas regarding a few of these dreams but they are unanimous regarding most of them. Only a very brief mention can be made of these dreams. In the first dream she saw an enormous elephant whiter than an empty great cloud, in the second she saw "a lucky bull of a whiter hue than that of the mass of petals of white lotus", in the third she saw a handsomely shaped playful lion jumping from the sky towards her face, in the fourth she saw with the face of the full moon goddess **Sri** on the mount of Himavat, in the fifth she was a garland charmingly interwoven with fresh Mandara flowers coming from the firmament in the sixth she saw the moon white as cow's milk in the seventh she saw the large sun, the dispeller of the mass of darkness, in the eighth she saw an extremely beautiful and very large flag, in the ninth she saw a full vase of costly metal respondent with fine gold, in the tenth she saw a Lotus Lake adorned with water lilies, in the eleventh she saw the milk-ocean, in the twelfth she saw an excellent celestial abode, in the thirteenth she saw an enormous heap of jewels and in the fourteenth she saw a fire.

The interpreters of the dreams told Siddhartha that "a universal emperor or a Gina, the lord of the three worlds" would be born.¹⁴ Vardhamana was born at the end of the

Dushmasushma era of Jainism in 599 B.C.* On the twelfth day, the child was named *Vardhamana* because "from the moment that this our boy has been begotten, our silver increased, our gold increased—(*Vardhamana*). Now our wishes have been fulfilled, therefore shall the name of our boy be *Vardhamana*, (i.e. the Increasing)".¹⁵

Vardhamana, according to *Svetambara* Jains renounced life after the death of his parents at the age of thirty. Until then he lived the life of a householder. Being married to *Yashoda* he had a daughter by name *Anuja*. But according to *Digambaras* he did not enjoy the wedded bliss. However, both agree that the great initiation of *Mahavira* into asceticism took place sometime in 570 or 569 B.C. while he was thirty years of age.

Initiation

Before Initiation he fasted for two and a half days and did not touch even a drop of water. He gave up all his property and stripped himself of all ornaments. As a proof of ascetic endurance he tore off his hair by the roots which became a most painful custom of the Jainas. It indicates that they have no love for flesh or bones. According to the *Svetambara* Jainas *Mahavira* was born with three degrees of knowledge, viz. *Mati Jnana*, *Sruta Jnana* and *Avadhi Jnana*. After Initiation he gained the fourth kind of knowledge, *Manahparyaya Jnana*. He had to attain only the last, *Kevala Jnana*. But the *Digambaras* contend that he did not attain the fourth jnana until some time after Initiation. After Initiation *Mahavira* wandered homeless from place to place lost in meditation. He became indifferent to sorrow, joy, pain and pleasure, eating and drinking occasionally. He was so unconscious of his physical body that he cared little for it.

Mahavira felt that a true monk must conquer all his emotions, even shame. Being rid of clothes one is rid of lot of other worries. *Digambaras* believe that he abandoned clothes at the time of Initiation while *Svetambaras* believe that he abandoned his clothes after 13 months of Initiation. He patiently bore all physical pain without a murmur.¹⁶

Keval Jnana

These wanderings of *Mahavira*, coupled with the practice of severe asceticism, lasted for 12 years. At the end of the period he was fit to attain *Keval Jnana* or Omniscience. In the thirteenth year after his renunciation of the world *Mahavira* stayed

* There is a controversy about the dates of his birth and death. According to some his birth date is taken as 540 B.C.

at a place called Jrimbhakagrama. One afternoon Mahavira sat under the shade of Sala tree in the meadow of a field that belonged to a farmer by name Samga. He had fasted for two and a half days and had not touched a drop of water. As he sat in deep meditation, he attained *Kevala Jnana* i.e. the supreme knowledge. Soon after this he took the title *Jina* or the one who has conquered the Karma completely. Jainas call him *Arhata*, one who is fit for veneration, or *Arihanta*, one who is the destroyer of the enemies.

Mahavira began his career as a teacher by delivering his first sermon on the five vows. His message was, birth and caste were of no significance but Karma was everything and its destruction was essential for eternal bliss. Only through severe asceticism one could burn up Karma and become a Tirthankara. Unlike Mahavira, Buddha taught that desire is the cause of rebirth and he emphasised that self effort and mental discipline were more important than austerity.

Mahavira's first disciple was Gautama Indrabhuti. Sudharman is another of his great disciples. He taught his new way to the Kshatriya princes and noble men. His relations with other princely families must have given him a good support. Chetaka, king of Videha, Kunika, King of Anga, Satanika, king of Kausambi, Abhaya, son of Bimbisara, Srenika, king of Magadha were his patrons.

Main centres of Mahavira's activity were Rajagriha, Champa, Vaisali, Pava, Mithila and Sravasti. From the beginning of his career his lay supporters were rich merchants and bankers.

Mahavira was a greater organiser than Buddha though he did not possess the same personal charm as Buddha. It is no wonder that unlike Buddhism, Jainism continues to be an important religious sect in India because of the sound organisational structure Mahavira left behind. After attaining *Keval Jnana* he became the last Tirthankara and as a Tirthankara he assisted his followers to pass—across the troubled ocean of life. He pointed out one of the four ways or *Tirthas*—a monk, a nun, a committed layman or a committed lay woman.

Nirvana

Mahavira died in 527 B.C.* at Pava or Pavapuri, a small village in Patna district. He was 72 years of age and had lived

* There is a controversy regarding this date. According to Jaina monk Hemachandra, 468 B.C. appears to be a more probable date. According to the same testimony 478 B.C. is considered as more correct by scholars.

the life of a wandering teacher for 30 years after attaining *Keval Jnana*. *Kalpa Sutra* mentions, "the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira died, went off, quitted the world, cut asunder the ties of birth, old age, and death."⁷ When Mahavira attained *Nirvana* his disciples except Gautama Indrabhuti were present. After his death the kings who were present there organised an illumination in memory of the departed leader. They said, "Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter."⁸ This became the origin of the annual Jaina festival of lights—Divali. Since then Pavapuri has become a sacred centre for the Jainas. Orthodox Jainas believe that Mahavira passed through many incarnations before he was born as the last Tirthankara.

Schism

Sambhutavijaya and Bhadrabahu, who knew the 14 Purvas containing the teachings of Mahavira, were the heads of the Jain Church during the rule of the last Nanda rulers of Magadha. Bhadrabahu the author of *Kalpa Sutra* (an authoritative work on the history of the Jainas) died 170 years after the death of Mahavira.

During the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, a great famine fell over the kingdom of Magadha. Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta went to Chandragiri near Mysore along with some monks. The king starved himself to death in the true spirit of Jainism. Some of the monks who continued to stay in Magadha under the leadership of Sthulabhadra, the disciple of Sambhuta Vijaya, called the first Jain Council at Pataliputra in 300 B.C. and adopted 12 Angas, written in Ardhamagadhi, as the teachings of Mahavira. When Bhadrabahu and his followers returned after the famine, they did not agree to consider the 12 Angas as the authentic canonical literature. The northern monks had started wearing white robes, while those who returned from the South continued to be naked. Thus, the Jaina Church came to be divided into Digambara Jainas and Svetambara Jainas. There is again a controversy regarding the details and the reasons for this division of the Jaina Church.¹⁰

Popularity of Jainism was mainly due to the royal support Mahavira received. Even after the death of Mahavira, king Udayin of Magadha, Nandas, Chandragupta Maurya, King Kharavela of Kalinga, and the Rashtrakutas, Gangas, Kadambas and Chalukyas in the South supported it. Jainism became an important force in Western region like Mathura, Malva, Gujarat, Rajasthan and some parts of South India. The rulers of Gujarat became the great patrons of Jainism, between 5th and the 13th centuries A.D. i.e. until the Muslim conquest. As

a result the centre of Jainism shifted from Bihar to Gujarat and the second Jaina Council was held at Valabhi, in Gujarat, in 454 A.D.²⁰

Jainas form the richest community in India today. They are prosperous as marchants and traders and their temples display their affluence. Jaina monks have helped to develop languages like Ardhamagadhi which was the language spoken by Mahavira. The monks in the South influenced the development of Kannada literature. Jainism served as a source of inspiration to the development of jaina art and architecture in India. Mount Abu, Palitana, and Shravana Belgola are the best examples of Jaina art and culture.

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3. Basham A. L., *The Ajivikas* (London, 1951) p. 11.
4. Barua, B., *op. cit.*, p. 372.
5. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
7. Morris R. Ed., *Anguttara Nikaya* (London, 1885-1900) Vol. I, pp. 286-287, 331.
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9. Jacobi, H. Tr., *Sacred Books of the East* (SBE) Vol. XXII, Pt. I (Delhi, 1968), *Kalpa Sutra*. pp. 281-285.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 276-179.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 271-275.
12. 'Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
13. *Kalpa Sutra*, S.B.E. XXII, pt. I, pp. 231-238.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 247
15. *Ibid.*, p. 255; *Akaranga Sutra*, SBE, XXII, pt. I, p. 192.
16. *Kalpa Sutra*, S.B.E., XXII, Pt. I, pp. 260-261.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 264.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 266.
19. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.
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Glimpses of Southern Jainism

John Ezekiel Chalil

To Dravidian culture, proverbially hospitable to every redeeming ideology, Jainism's contributions have been phenomenal. This most humane doctrine that sought the perfectibility of the human soul, and preached non-injury to every form of life reached the South during the very days of *Rishaba*, the first *Tirthankara*, as Hindu traditions as well as Jain epigraphical evidence discovered in the *Tuluva* land in ancient Karnataka clearly reveal. In Andhra Pradesh, the precepts were first preached by none other than Lord Mahavira himself at Kalinga in the 6th century B.C. And Tamilakam, comprising of the Chera, Chola and Pandya kingdoms, came under its spell far earlier than the penetration of Vedic precepts into southern India. References in the Sangham classics, *Silappadikaram* and *Manimekhalai*, the oldest Tamil grammatical works, *Agathiam* and *Tolkappiyam*, the Buddhist work *Mahavamsa* as well as innumerable rock-cut beds and Brahmi inscriptions in natural caverns in hills evidence the prevalence of Jain belief in South India and Ceylon even before the 4th century B.C. Thus when Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta Maurya left the famine stricken Magadha for Karnataka in the 3rd century B.C., they were not moving to a strange land of heathen creeds but to a region where Jainism had already well entrenched itself.

A Divine Life

Saddened by the cruelty and intolerance of a discriminating priestly class, Lord Mahavira, the historical founder of Jainism believed that only by men of character a noble world could be built. Born in 599 B.C. in a Licchavi Kshatriya family at Kundgrama in Vaisali near modern Patna, he was christened *Vardhamana* denoting the unprecedented all-round prosperity the land witnessed after his birth. Like his great contemporary, Lord Buddha, he too renounced the luxury and comfort of his princely home out of pity for the suffering world, and sought enlightenment under extreme asceticism and meditation. For over twelve long years he endured unbearable sufferings. Neither the regour of the weather nor the cruelties of man could shake his determination. But he bore every sorrow with extreme meekness and resignation. He attained Infinite knowledge (*Kevala Jnana*) and became *Arihant*, (destroyer of enemies), *Arhat* (worthy of veneration) and *Jina*, the conqueror of the Self.

His teaching and ministry lasted for three historic decades. Extreme liberalism of thought and the profoundest emphasis on right conduct characterise his plain teachings. Truth is multifaceted and ever eludes complete perception by finite minds, he taught through the doctrine of *Anekantavada*. All our knowledge is partial and judgments necessarily relative. As the parable of the seven blind men and the elephant illustrates the universe is both eternal and non-eternal. As a collection of entities it is eternal. As parts it is non-eternal. Assertion of certainty on abstract issues is therefore false. The *Syadvada*, 'perhaps' method, is therefore the wisest course to adopt. It affirms alternative possibilities and shows utmost respect for others' views.

Consciousness is Soul

Consciousness is the essence of Soul which forms the predominant ingredient of the universe. The limitations of Time and Space bind it. And the fetters of *Karmas* born of attachments and passions inflict sorrow and misery on Soul and dim its innate attributes of infinite power, infinite knowledge, infinite perception, infinite bliss and divinity. Soul and matter are interpenetrative, and Soul inheres in everything, animate or inanimate. Passions chase the Soul everywhere and tie it to the chains of rebirths determined by the subtle nature of the *Karmas*. Neither repentance, nor blind faith nor vicarious sacrifices can liberate the Soul from its miseries. Every Soul is the sole architect of its sorrow or happiness. Its emancipation lies in Right Faith, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct. And the quintessence of Jainism consists of Lord Mahavira's enunciation of the five tenets of Right Conduct: *Ahimsa* (non-violence), *Truth*, *Non-stealing*, *Chastity* and *Non-possession* by the unswerving pursuit of which the Soul steadily progresses and ultimately enters the Celestial City, in Jain terminology, *Nirvana*. And in its lone pilgrimage toward perfection the Soul has no external refuge than Truth and the exemplary life of the noble *Tirthankaras* who by personal examples have shown the way.

Ahimsa—The Eternal Message

Ahimsa or non-injury to every form of life is the core of Lord Mahavira's doctrine which he carried farther than any other religious teacher in human history. All beings have souls and are therefore capable of feeling pain. And life is dear to all. Every being endowed with consciousness in varying degrees desires to live happily its span of life. So commit no violence to any being. *Ahimsa* is the highest religion, the greatest charity and the greatest happiness. "The laying down of the commandment", writes Dr. Albret Schweitzer, "not to kill and not to damage is one of the greatest events in the spiritual

history of mankind. Starting from its principle, founded on world—and life—denial of abstention from action, ancient Indian thought—and this is a period when in other respects ethics have not progressed very far—reaches the tremendous discovery that ethics know no bounds. So far as we know, this is for the first time clearly expressed by Jainism.” His was an uncompromising demand for living pure, reverent, patient, pitiful, loving all living beings as oneself.

Religious Consanguinity

The origins of this most ancient religion of India could be traced back to the religious beliefs of the Indus Valley Dravidians. The Mohenjo-daro idol of the prototype of Shiva is interpreted as that of Rishaba, the first Tirthankara, and the venerated bull the symbolic representation of his name. This religious consanguinity perhaps explains the deep veneration Jainism still commands in the South.

Jainism has always been most popular in Mysore where at *Sravana Belagola*, about hundred kilometres west of Bangalore, stands the colossal statue of the renowned Jaina Saint Bahubali, son of Rishaba, popularly known as *Gomatesvara*. One of the world's sculptural miracles, the statue is hewn out of a single vertical rock 57 feet high, showing the saint absorbed in deep meditation while ant-hills rise on either side of his feet and creepers entwine his legs and arms. The stupendous image was carved about 980 A.D. at the behest of Chamunda Ray, the Jain minister of the Ganga king Rajamalla. The majesty and freshness of the statue is perpetuated by a periodical anointment of ghee and milk mixed with spices and sweets and silver offered by devotees.

For several centuries Jainism predominated the religious life of Karnataka. Jain relics, inscriptions and sculptural monuments are found scattered throughout the state revealing the tremendous appeal the belief held there. Uninterrupted state patronage it enjoyed under successive Mysore rulers as well as the historic role it played in developing the Kannada literature account for the faith's permanent hold in Karnataka. The Ganga kings of Talkad, the Kalachurya monarchs of Manyakheta, the Rashtrakutas and the early Hoysalas were all Jains. The Brahmanical Kadambas as well as the early Chalukyas had adopted a tender-attitude towards it and continued to extend the royal patronage to Jain writers. Almost all Kannada writers upto the middle of the twelfth century were Jains. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang found the Jains everywhere in Mysore immensely contributing to the religious life by engaging themselves in lively religious discourses with Buddhist monks.

Jainism reached Andhra Pradesh through Lord Mahavir himself who preached the precepts in Kalinga. Later it clashed with Buddhism there which had almost replaced it. The struggle continued and Ashoka's grand son, Samprati revived it in the 3rd century B.C. He also sent Jain missionaries to different parts of South India to propagate the faith. Under the Satavahanas Jainism thrived as the leading religious order in Andhra Pradesh until its influence gradually waned on account of the combined resistance and persecution from resurgent Buddhism and Hinduism.

In Tamilakam

Silappadikaram, the immortal Tamil epic by the mendicant Kerala Jain prince Ilango Adigal reveals that by the time of its composition in the 2nd century A.D. Jainism had become a dominant faith in Tamil Nadu. Ilango was the younger brother of the Chera emperor Chenkuttuvan. To defeat a prediction that the throne would pass on to him and not to Chenguttuvan, the real heir-apparent, on their father's imminent death, he renounced his royal lineage and became a Jaina monk. *Silappadikaram* clearly displays his strong inclination to Jainism and the high sense of ethics and tolerance his personality radiates.

Around the story of Kannaki, an embodiment of chastity and her ill-fated husband Kovalan, both belonging to leading trading families of Puhar, the capital city of the Cholas, *Silappadikaram* depicts the life and history of southern India in the early centuries of the Christian era. The asceticism of her tormented soul raised the fire that burnt Madurai, the city that wronged her innocent husband. The epic reflects the encyclopaedic knowledge of Ilango Adigal who as a Jain monk had travelled throughout the length and breadth of the country observing as a connoisseur of art the customs and manners, and the joys and sorrows of the people of his day. The Pandya kings of the early Christian era were all Jains. Jain temples and monasteries existed throughout Tamilakam, especially in Madurai, Puhar, Uraiyur and Vanchi around which the story revolves. Shaivism, Vaishnavism, Jainism and Buddhism then prevailed everywhere with complete tolerance. Freedom of worship was absolute as even members of the same family used to subscribe to different faiths. The memory of Ilango Adigal and his immortal classic has recently been perpetuated by the Tamil Nadu Government by erecting, at *Kaveripattinam* on the confluence of river Cauvery, the happy homeland of Kannaki and Kovalan, a magnificent seven story art gallery, *Silappadikaram Kalaikoodam*, in ancient Dravidian architectural style. The structure narrates the story in stone carvings.

Another great Sangham classic expounding the Jain philosophy is *Jivaka Chintamani* by Thirutthaka Thevar, a resident

of Mylapore, the birth place of Thiruvalluvar, the famed saint-poet who wrote the *Kural*. One of the *Panchamahakavyas* in Tamil, *Jivaka Chintamani* containing 3145 verses was completed with astounding speed in 8 days. Under the parable of a human passion, the erudite Jain poet narrates the Soul's journey on earth through perilous courses until its ultimate emancipation and attainment of bliss.

Two other Sangham classics regarded as of Jain origins are the *Kural* and *Naladiyar*. The *Kural* could well be described as the New Testament of the Dravidians. Thiruvalluvar, its author who flourished in the 2nd century A.D. has been claimed to have been a Christian, Jain, and Hindu by the respective followers. It contains 133 Chapters each with 100 Kurals or couplets. The terse verses explain the ultimate aims of human life. Its ethical undertone is so akin to Jainism that Jain scholars call it "our own Bible." The *Naladiyar*, like the *Kural*, is a compendium of good conduct. Its forty chapters each consisting of ten stanzas were the works of different bards and compiled by Padumanar probably in the 8th century A.D. Mainly of Jain origin, it is regarded as an excellent ethical handbook intended for a righteous life.

Madurai, Kanchipuram, Pudukottai and Anaimalai were great centres of both Jainism and Buddhism from where they continued to influence the cultural life of the Tamils for over a thousand years. *Ponniyakkiyar* or Golden Yakshi of the *Panchapandavamalai* in the North Arcot district; the towering hill range of *Sittannavasal* or abode of the revered Siddhas or Jains; the rock-cut *Arivarkovil* or the temple of *Arhat* with its unique frescoes in the former Pudukkottai state; Madurai, the seat of the Sangham predominated by Jain poets and the centre of the revivalistic activities of the great teacher Ajjanandi. have all been Jain shrines spreading the message of the good life for the past many centuries.

Both Jainism and Buddhism flourished in Kerala till the 10th century. The famous Bhagavati temple at *Tirucharanam* in south Travancore and the Nagarajaswami temple at Nagercoil where the images of Mahavira and other Tirthankaras are still seen and adored were originally Jain. The famous temple near Sultan's Battery in Wynad in north Kerala is the "finest ancient Jain temple in Kerala" which continues to draw innumerable devotees. By its precepts and practice of ethical absolutism and stringent demand for moral perfection, Jainism all along aroused deep veneration from the people of southern India. Its selfless monks and nuns have been sincere social workers who by their healing presence and exemplary life have always won the people's hearts. Jainism's abiding messages of non-injury and tolerance pervade the religious life of southern India as reflected in the long prevailing communal harmony there.

Life and Culture in Jaina Narrative Literature

(8TH, 9TH and 10TH CENTURY A.D.)

Prof. A. S. Gopani, M.A., Ph.D.

All aspects of contemporary culture and civilization are delineated in Jaina narrative literature. Ways of life adopted by the people have been so intimately identified with those of the characters. A Jaina monk in course of his wanderings never missed an opportunity to awaken and enlighten the people with the basic tenets and principles of Jainism. Villages, towns and cities—all were roused from their spiritual slumber by the stimulating touch of these wandering Jaina monks. Even though they were wedded to seclusion and solitariness, the monks did not hesitate to describe in their works the actual life lived by kings, queens, and the people. They also gave a graphic account of the wild life of those days, customs and beliefs in the illustrative parables and stories written to emphasize the significance of the vows they undertook and the rites and rituals they performed. Their stories, written in the dialects of the days, presented the cultural background of the social and political life of the age. Thus the stories of the Jaina writers have an irresistible appeal and charm.

This narrative literature of the Jainas in Prakrit is vast and rich. There was a time when Prakrit was spoken language of the people. This literature served the purpose of folk-literature also. It represents the initial stage of our folk literature. We find the origin of the folk literature in *Vasudevabindi* for the first time. Gunadhya's *Brhatkatha* which 'is Paisace, is a veritable treasury of folk literature. Hence folk literature and the narrative literature of the Jainas in Prakrit are inseparably linked. We come across references to the dignity of man, a new meaning and significance of life, hero-worship, etc. It abounds in solutions of serious problems confronting mankind. Prakrit

* This articles is based exclusively on the informations contained in :

- (a) "*Haribhadrake Prakrit Katha Sahitya Alochanatmak Parishilan*" by Pandit Nemichandra Sanstri, pub. Research Institute of Prakrit, Muzzafarpur (Bihar), pp. 419; Price Rs. 10.30, and
- (b) "*Jain Kathoamka Sanskritic Adhayayan*" by Shri Chandra Jain, pub. Roshanlal Jain & Sons, Jaipur-3, 1971; pp. 160, Price Rs. 13/-.

writers adopted the pattern of folk literature for their stories which were held in high esteem by western scholars amongst whom Hertal is the foremost. He says that the Prakrit writers have a technique of their own in the narration of the stories which have faithfully stored informations, regarding trends and tendencies shaping and governing the life of the people belonging to various strata of society. He states further that the stories are not only the source of educational wealth of the people, but also contain the elements and data from which a dependable history of Indian civilization and culture can be constructed.

Spiritualism

Narrative literature of the Jainas is replete with information regarding their beliefs and interpretation of soul, atom, world, emancipation, heaven, hell, vice and virtue. The soul is divided into two categories, namely, worldly or mundane and freed or emancipated. The former is again subdivided into fit-to-get-emancipation (*Bhavya*) as well as unfit-to-get-emancipation (*Abhavya*). These stories illustrate through various incidents and characters such as monks, saints, the misery of existence and enjoin the people to work ceaselessly for their redemption. The writers have so devised their stories that religious beliefs and sentiments are automatically inculcated in them and fostered. While expounding in course of the narrative the principles and tenets of Jainism, they lay bare the fallacies and deficiencies of the rival sects with a spirit of impartiality of a judge.

Referring broadly to the elemental fact that Jainism is by and large a religion, the sole and final aim of which is total cessation of activities, good and bad, these writers also lay down that the people should not give up in the intervening period the performance of social duties, but on the contrary should so do them that in the process they get gradually purified and ultimately extricate themselves from the snares of passions such as love and hatred. Postulating that the world is without end and the soul independent, a being suffers or enjoys in accordance to his deeds and activities. This is what is adumbrated off and on in the stories. Religious practices and the performances of rites and rituals purge the soul of its impurities and finally enable it to achieve emancipation. With these writers rebirth is out of question and the hypothetical contingency of an arbitrary, sovereign ruler, called God, is ruled out completely. The chastening effect of the disciplinary vows and moral values is accepted beyond doubt. Thus *Nivrtti* is not passivity but activity which does not involve the doer as he keeps awake his awareness that he is neither the doer nor the not-doer. Jaina writers have illustrated these principles in their stories through characters, historical, semi-historical or

fictitious. While doing this, they appear at times and on occasions inartistic and unaesthetic, but they have never cared for this.

A certain sovereign monarch thinks in his mind that every thing in this world is transitory, and the world is a veritable ocean fully packed with miseries. He further thinks that a being is attached to a filthy thing as a body which is a receptacle of urine and faeces and is repellent. A wise man is never enchained with such a body. This is what we come across in *Arahana Kahakosa*, 1st Part, p. 30. In the same work, on page No. 135 we get an illustrative story of the monk, named Vajra who with unflinching devotion to Jainism explained what fell within the limits of Jainism such as installation of idols, renovation of old and dilapidated Jaina temples etc., and exhorted other monks to emulate his example in preaching the same thing as well as in preaching that chariot-procession, giving alms and instruction, etc., are worth doing for the elevation of Jainism, for the attainment of right and faith so that they may become the object of respect and adoration and ultimately be entitled to emancipation. The story of a king, Surata by name, conveys a lesson that he got excellent happiness as he welcomed the monks with total respect and reverence, requested them to take seats higher than the seat on which he was sitting and fed them with innocent alms. The story affirms that distribution of charities, performance of vows and worship of Jain idols, etc., form a part of a layman's duty and condemns those who do not do it comparing them with trees having no fruits (Loc. cit. p. 75). The same work refers to a woman who though chaste wandered in this worldly cycle due to the sinful activities which she had committed in her previous births (p. 76). Describing what *Samyaktva* (Right Perception) is and means, the *Arahanakosa* gives an example of a monk, named Rjumati, who exhorts the people to cultivate right faith because it is verily the seed of emancipation. A monk can go all out for the ascetic life but this being not possible for a layman, progressive development of Right Vision is the goal prescribed to him. It should be practised in all its entirety. But this is possible only if a perverted belief is given up. A misconduct which violates what has been told and done by the Jainas is termed *Mithyatva* which is the deadliest enemy of the soul destroying its power and potentiality (part 8, page 209). In *Punnasavakahakosa*, we come across the story of a Jain monk whose name was Sudarsana. In course of the story, we hear him speaking to a professional prostitute to the effect that this dirty body is the abode of miseries, is abounding in worms and vermins, is a victim of humoral vitiations and is liable to perish. It should be employed, he states there, towards attaining freedom from bondage and never for worldly pleasures which are transitory and ultimately harmful. There is no happiness comparable to sal-

vation and this can be had only if one uses his body for gainful purposes by practising penance and hard austerities (p. 121).

Ascetic Vows

Celebration of vows and religious occasions played a major role in activating and intensifying the zeal for spiritualism. These have bearing, direct or indirect, on the cultural life as it was lived in these days. They also produce a feeling of identity between co-religionists and a joy which is so essential for making religious practices which, otherwise are dry and disinteresting, an object worth pursuing. They indeed contributed to developing soul's inner and innate capacity and raise the spiritual level without which final release is not possible. Ahimsa-oriented Jaina civilization and culture not only does not deny but lays accent on the fact that worldly progress and prosperity is not something which is at logger-head with spiritual integrity and purity. Performance of religious practices and programmes is also enjoined on those days and occasions when birth anniversary falls, the children are about to go to school, bride and bride-groom marry. Spring festivities are arranged and holi is observed because along with worldly pleasures and amusements they provided, happiness of heaven of also insured through the merit accumulated by it. Writers of these stories have also recommended certain religious procedures which, if gone through in a strictly prescribed manner, can completely remove or at least redress the sufferings of the crippled, hardships of the handicapped, dangers and difficulties of the deceased and destitute and mitigate the miseries of those whose desires remain unfulfilled. *Rosumivrata*, *Nagapancamivrata*, *Astanhikavrata*, *Puspanjalivrata*, *Sungandhadasamivrata*—are some of the instances to the point according to *Arahana-kahakosa* and *Punnasavakahakosa*. Acceptance of these vratas has proved efficacious without doubt for the attainment of spiritual purity and for shedding the Karmas accumulated in the past as also for mundane and extra-mundane benefits.

The Supernatural

The presence of the supernatural element in Jaina narrative literature is a peculiarity of its own. It promotes the general interest of the reader instead of reducing it which is usual with such literary devices. It is pressed into service at a proper time and gives a turn to the narration when no other trick would work. Its employment just in the nick of time and in a required degree stimulates curiosity which is a necessity. If the story is not to miss its purpose. In order to develop the character of a hero or a villain, it is a powerful weapon with the Jaina literary writers.

Humorous stories and the stories abounding in supernatural element are similar to each other in a way. From beginning man is habituated to imagine about the supernatural elements in nature and to invoke it for a help when no other means are at hand. He has been depending upon it to get his desires fulfilled when human effort falls far below to fulfil them or when there is darkness everywhere around, it is this divine element which sends a new ray of hope. Though man knows that it is a figment of his own imagination and there is nothing real in it, he still takes delight in conjuring up such illusions so that he can safely escape from reality. It is on the basis of faith and not rational reasoning that the existence of such an element in the constitution of the universe can be defended. Once you grant it, you can exploit it for any end, good or bad. Thus, its practical utility is unquestioned. A man wants fabulous wealth, a charming wife, who is a paragon of beauty, a fame which spreads far and wide, this thing and that thing and when he knows that human effort is futile and insufficient and that the worldly medium is useless to answer his prayer, it is the belief in this supernatural element that does the trick, and saves him from slough of despondency. What brings him to near perfection is his blind faith in this element. Thus let us accept that a ghost, a god, a goblin, a fairy, a magical wand—the constituents of this supernatural universe—have a legitimate place in the narrative literature of the Jainas as also they have in non-Jaina literature.

These stories, while clearly illustrating the superhuman power of the Jaina saints and sages, also impress upon the followers that the employment of this element is also found in other literature. The twofold purpose of generating faith and making the people shun sinful activities is successfully served through this. People are firmly grounded in faith of Jainism which has remained unshaken for generations to come by these divine and semi-divine characters of Jaina literature.

Soul and Karmas

Jainism affirms that the soul has got infinite capacity. By shedding the Karmas, the soul develops its conscience and omnipotence. It is not possible to comprehend the entire impact of the supernatural agency or power which is but the outcome of this measureless potentiality of the soul. Shall we call the miracles brought about by the spiritual masters through their innate limitless capacity of the soul as merely unreal or imaginary? It is possible that the ordinary man will not be able to grasp it and rationally understand it. But it is as true as the existence itself for a Jaina who has faith in the spirit's unlimited power as declared by the Jaina seers. It is no wonder, therefore, if the miseries due to famine or due to some incur-

able disease are relieved or removed by this spiritual power as we very often see in the narrative literature of the Jainas. By the systematic and scientific utterance of the mystic formulae which is one of the manifestations of spiritual potentiality many difficult tasks such as taming a ferocious animal, the cure of a fatal disease and the stalling of enemy's attack are accomplished. The stories connected with the power and efficacy of the *Bhakta-mara Stotra* can be cited as instances to substantiate the above point.

Now let us analyse the purpose for which the supernatural agency has been employed in the Jaina narrative literature. Some of these are definitely the following: (a) for displaying the impact and efficiency of Jainism; (b) for making the story more attractive and appealing than what it would have otherwise been; (c) for illustrating the magical power of the mystical formula; (d) for proving the greatness to the great; (e) for developing the main characters of the story; (f) for stimulating curiosity; (g) for creating proper atmosphere in the story; (h) for the maintenance of tradition; (i) to increase the bulk and the size of the story; (j) to carry out a specific objective; (k) to give a turn and twist to the narrative; (l) for strengthening a belief. etc.

These would not have been carried out effectively without the help of the supernatural element. Mere human agency or effort would have miserably fallen short and the writer's aim would have suffered.

The Miracles

Certain incidents and episodes, almost patent, are cited here in support of what has been said above regarding the employment of supernatural agency. There is an episode in the story literature of the Jainas which eulogizes the efficacy of celibacy in lieu of which weapons are turned into inaction (Sudarshan Seth's story in *Punyasrava Kathkosa*, p. 11). These are some of the phenomena which we very often come across in the story literature. op. cit. p. 195. A fine aerial car comes into existence and air flight is undertaken. op. cit. p. 228. When the four principal Karmas of the would-be Tirthankara are completely annihilated, ten "excellences" occur as its evidence, namely (1) no famine visits the area measuring four hundred yojnas when the Tirthamkara moves round about; without any vehicle he can float in the air; no one hurts any one in his religious assemblage; he can remain without food for ever till death; all his four faces appear in all the four directions; he knows and perceives everything; his body has no shadow etc. (op. cit. p. 348). A sovereign monarch's material property consisting of eighteen crores of horses, eightyfour lacs of elephants, eighty four lacs of chariots, eightyfour crores

infantry, thirtytwo thousands of semi-divine body-guards, ninety-six thousands of queens, three crores of cows, nine treasures, etc. is amazing. He can have his desires fulfilled at any time and place through many other treasures which are in his possession. He can have any food and fragrance by merely wishing. He wills that the sword be present and the sword is present. He wishes anything and it is present. Five miraculous occurrences take place in the case of one who has offered food which confirms to the standard prescribed to an ideal monk (op. cit. 257). Plague, epidemic, famine and accidental death are kept at a distance if the birds called Kinjalka happen to stay in the vicinity. (*Arahanakahakosa*, p. 55). A foul-smelling body becomes scented in a moment by virtue of the mystical formulae and one can attain the power to fly in the air in lieu of the magical spell which he has come to possess (op. cit. p. 95). By special powers acquired through penances and hard austeries, one could assume a form, big or small as he liked (op. cit. p. 120). A self-controlled monk could tame hunting hound and turn poisonous arrows into flowers (op. cit. 157). A person who has been thrown into the lake in the midst of ferocious aquatic animals living in the lake could be saved simply through miraculous power achieved by practising some vows (op. cit. p. 184). Gems and jewels were showered by the heavenly powers when an ideal monk was honoured with innocent alms (op. cit. p. 228). By reciting the *Bhaktamara stotra*, incurable diseases were cured, a conflagration was quelled, a raging ocean was brought to book, a dangerous storm was stopped, beasts of prey were made lowly like lambs, a poor man got plenty of money, obstacles were warded off and one was saved from the snake-bite. A monk's very sight made one recollect his previous lives. A desire-yielding tree fulfilled wishes. Many difficult works were accomplished through the agency of gods. Goddesses waited upon the mothers of the revered Jinendras whose birth was celebrated by the lord of gods, descended from the heavn specially for that purpose and bathed the lord with the water of the milky ocean on the mountain, Sumeru; they arranged dances of the goddesses befitting the auspicious occasion where eulogies were sung by the Gandharvas. Immediately after a Tirthankara was born, the conches blew automatically in the houses of the Bhavanpati gods, drums beat in those of the Vyantara gods, a lion's roar issued in those of the Jyotisi gods, and the gongs rang in the residences of the Kalpavasis (*Punyas'ravakathakosa*, p. 335). In order to fully percieve and enjoy the extraordinary hand-someness of the Tirthamkara when he is born, Indra developes his two eyes into thousand and drinks deep his charm and grace and bathes his body enthroned on a gem-bedecked seat with one thousand huge pitchers filled with water of the milky ocean. When a Tirthamkara is born, fourteen wonders are

created by the gods, namely, (a) Aradhamagadhi language, (2) friendliness to all, (3) decoration of the religious assemblage with the best flowers of all seasons; (4) jewelled earth, (5) favourable wind, (6) cooling the dust, (7) rain of scented water, (8) creation of even lotuses round the footprints of the Tirthamkara, (9) cheerfulness in the hearts of all people of the world, (10) entrancing joy in the hearts of the people, (11) clear sky, (12) inviting gods for seeing the Tirthamkara, (13) Moving of the wheel of Religion in front of the Tirthamkara whenever and wherever he moves, and (14) creation of eighty auspicious things.

Social Life

Social picture as reflected in the narrative literature of the Jainas is clear and complete. People lived in happiness and comfort as the ruler was on the whole kind and just. The king took the people as his own children. As such, he always worried and worked for their welfare. People also reciprocated the good will of the king with equal, perhaps greater, intensity and integrity. The relation between the ruler and the ruled was of a holy character on the political plane also. There was neither exploitation nor extortion, and blackmail was never thought of even. This does not mean that there were no bad kings or wicked rulers. Taken as a whole, the benign far outnumbered the bad.

Indications are found that there were religious conflicts and confrontations, as under these rulers, religious catholicity prevailed accomodating religions of every denomination and persuasion. (*Aradhana Kahakosa*, Part I, p. 8). Though there was co-existence of all religions, the Jaina writers in their stories tried to establish the superiority of Jainism and described all the kings figuring in the stories as followers of Jainism.

To secure social stability and preserve law and order in the state, the kings mostly resorted to inflicting severe punishment to the miscreants and wrongdoers. This was because the kings accepted in principle and practice that social security was necessary for the maintenance of their own kingship. They could not rule if there was unrest and anarchy. This motivated them for doing everything possible for the good of the society. The anti-social elements were weeded out by all possible means and were brought to book.

Caste System

Preservation of caste system was a sacred, God-given command with these kings. Rules and regulations governing the caste-system were strictly enforced and any one violating them was severely dealt with and sometimes exiled too. (op. cit. p.

143). The kings did not hesitate to involve deterrent capital punishment to teach a lesson to the offenders. The murderers were sent to the gallows without fail and delay. (*Punnassava Kahakosa*, p. 82). This type of penal code assured and increased integrity of character and stalled the onward march of crime which shook the social structure from its very foundation.

It is, indeed, impossible to expect total morality even in monks and saints, much less in ordinary human beings. They were exposed by their very nature to evil influences. This is why we meet in these stories with people who derived pleasure from forbidden things such as gambling, etc.

Thefts also were committed, though they were not so frequently indulged in as in our days (*Aradhana Kathakosa*, part II, p. 112). Even in the atmosphere pervaded a climate of non-injury. Practice of eating human flesh, though very rare, is also referred to. (op. cit. p. 179). Though society was infected by the occasional virus of such evil and anti-social practices, it was on the whole very well advanced and progressive and the man turned to the path of renunciation the moment he saw the winds favourable for sail (*Punyasravakathakosa*, p. 33 and 36; also *Aradhanakathakosa*, part I, p. 147). The fact is that these writers have always stood for preservation of values even in the background of reality. They stated directly and indirectly, that while being pragmatic, one should not neglect the higher, the loftier and the nobler pursuits.

Marriage

The Jaina writers gave adequate weightage to marriage, in the absence of which licentiousness, they feared, would be the only course left open to a person for giving vent to his carnal desires. They have given their verdict in favour of marriage which kept the scale of propensities and proclivities in balance. There are two view points governing the institution of marriage. According to one, it is a bargain, pure and simple, in which a duty of looking after children and managing the domestic affairs was assigned to the female partner and that of earning to the male. It has no religious sanctity and sanction which are the elements of the other view point according to which marriage was a sacrament, a pledge which if and when given was not to be broken under any circumstances until death. It is argued that religion fills the void and vacuum in a human being. Religion cannot be faithfully and fully practised without the help of inspiration derived from marriage. Wife and children are the necessary auxiliaries. Family life only could tie the man to a post of moral stability. It is the only institution that saves a being from unbridled conduct and at the same time urges him onward to progress and unfolding his self. It is both, a check and chastening if it is rightly

understood. From social point of view, there can be these objectives behind the concept of marriage, namely, performance of religious duties, progeny, the discharge of one's own responsibility, towards family, towards society, and also unfolding the human character, giving of alms, etc.

The origin of the institution of marriage dates back from time immemorial. Marriage makes it possible to undertake religious performances and practices, to earn money and maintenance and to fulfil the duty assigned to a householder. The real objective of a householder's life is to give alms, to offer worship to gods etc. and to help monks and nuns in carrying out their mission. Without the existence of a householder who alone can provide food to the saints, they will not be able to accomplish their duty and play the role fixed for them. The man or the woman alone will be ill-equipped to do the job satisfactorily. Therefore, the institution of marriage gets sufficient justification, as without it, the preservation of the fourfold *samagha* and family traditions will not be achieved.

While discussing the necessity and importance of marriage, *Adipurana* goes so far as to state categorically that progeny is not possible without it and religion is not possible without progeny (*Adipuranam* *Pratipadita Bharata*, pp. 160-161).

A variety of marriage is referred to in stories. While fixing the marriage, age, social status and cultural heritage of the bride groom's and bride's families are duly considered. Even today, this type of special consideration finds acceptance in some form or the other. Caste and community also play predominant part in the matter of selection of the partner.

Marriage has a special place in a man's life and it is celebrated with delight and enthusiasm. But according to different castes and communities, there are different customs, traditions rules, regulations and ceremonies in relation to its celebration. Notwithstanding this variety, the auspicious moment when the marriage is to be solemnized and the bondage of love between the two partners forming the couple are common to all of them (*Punyasravakathakosa*, p. 37, p. 67 etc.). Many of the stories can be cited, illustrating this point.

In the Jaina narrative literature, references to inter-caste marriages are also found. The story of Nagakumara Kamadeva in the *Punyasrava Kathakosa* (p. 126) is an instance. In the same book, there are clear indications that the bride herself selected the husband being guided by her own judgement based on the description of the factors and features, provided as a rule of the princes and princely persons invited to attend the Svayamvara by the father of the bride who played host to them all (p. 7; p. 246).

In the days bygone, mostly the brides who had reached maturity, were considered marriageable. It is only because of this that a lady was given an option to stipulate condition of her own the fulfilment of which settled the marriage. The condition laid down by her aimed at the assessment of the would-be bridegroom's ability and integrity (op. cit. p. 126; p. 371).

In the Jaina story literature, there are accounts of the Vidyadhara brides being married to people of this earth. There are more than one theories regarding origin and the kind of these Vidyadharas. Two theories are commonly advanced. According to one, the Vidyadharas are something of semi-gods who dwelt in the mountainous ranges forming part of Vijayardha and visited in their aerial cars, occasionally this world of ours for pleasures and diversions or for accomplishing some special aim or object. According to the other, the Vidyadharas are human beings but uncommon in spirit and strength (see the story of Vajrakumara in the *Aradhanakathakosa*, part I p. 121).

These stories of the Jainas reflecting the atmosphere of the feudal barons and princes do not miss to castigate the amorous nature of those princes, rulers, kings and chieftains. These lords threw off, occasionally, the fetters of marriage and went out of their way to satisfy their lust, sometimes with the brides of the Mlecchas even. Though they had kept monogamy as their ideal, they did not hesitate to go in for polygamy even.

Food and Dress

There are references to be found in the narrative literature of the Jainas about the fourfold caste system. Sometimes, the Shudras were divided into two categories, namely touchable and untouchable. On account of this, food and drink also differed according to the kind of the caste. Harmless but substantial food found place in the dietary of the Jainas. Some of the non-Jainas took to meat-eating and flesh-eating also. They took nourishing food as they were health-conscious (*Punyasravakathakosa*, p. 276). Sweetmeats, mostly made up of ghee and sugar were in vogue. In the villages, people subsisted on an article of food called Sattu while the prisoners were given rice of inferior type (see Do Hajar Varsha Purani Kahanian by Dr. J. C. Jain pp. 41, 91, 96, 125). As the financial position permitted, people used to put on costumes, apparel and ornaments of various descriptions and manufacture in order to satisfy their tastes. They also kept their bodies clean and perfumed, applying various types of unguents, anointments and scented powders. The fashion of chewing beetle-leaves, applying scents and attars, and putting on fancy garments and

costly ornaments is sign of the people's prevailing mood to use luxury goods and articles (op. cit. . 41). Rich people lavishly dressed themselves, with valuable clothes and put on gems and jewels on their bodies, as they thought they appeared thereby more charming and attractive (*Aradhana Kathakosa*, part II p. 46). Queens and princesses went further and did not spare anything in dressing and decorating themselves as best as they could, just befitting their status (*Punyasravakathakosa*, p. 65). Ordinary people did not bother much and made no fuss about this but pulled on within their own limits.

Games and Amusements

People took holiday from business and occupational activities with a view to removing fatigue and refreshing themselves employing various types of diversion which promised and provided pleasures and amusements. Gambling (*Punyasravakathakosa*, p. 83), seeing drama (op. cit. p. 197), riding (op. cit. p. 126), playing chess, singing, swimming (op. cit. p. 107) celebration of spring festivities, and dancing are some of the many pastimes, which the people in those days took to for the sake of pleasure. Educated people removed their fatigue by taking an escape into reading, writing, teaching, holding seminars and debates. Those who had no moral scruples and religious inhibitions used hunting as a kill-joy (op. cit. p. 19). Conferences, conversations and talks in which only the elite participated were organized for the pleasure of the kings and princes. Exhibitions of various arts and handicrafts sometimes did the job. Testing intelligence through riddles and puzzles also afforded pleasure, entertainment and enlightenment (*Aradhana Kathakosa*, part III pp. 176-77). While giving his judgement in a particular disputed case the king utilized the occasion also for his mental delight and relief (*Do Hajar Varsha Purani Gahanian*, by Dr. Jaina, p. 63).

Maintenance has always been a matter of prime concern for the whole mankind since the beginning of Time. In accordance with the prevailing times and conditions, it has sought to devise ways and means to secure livelihood. Jain story literature generally refers to many a means to eke out one's own livelihood, to name a few of them, agriculture, education, trade and business, arts and architecture, handicrafts, industries, arms and ammunitions, service, etc. (*Adipuranam Pratipadita Bharata* by Dr. Jain, p. 337).

Kingship and Bureaucracy

The Jain story literature is literally littered with references to kings, monarchs and sovereign rulers. Much has been said regarding their rule and administration, wars, battles, border clashes and skirmishes. Warrior's acts of bravery

have found proper place in it. From all relevant accounts is clear that the armies played a constructive role in the preservation of security, law and order. The safety of the citizens was protected at all cost. The citizens, properly qualified and trained joined the army and served the state and also their own self.

When oral instructions and orders from the king or the prime minister was enough, there was no question of written directions. But this was not possible and desirable always. There had to be a bureaucracy to ensure prompt execution, accuracy and preservation of recorded evidence. The only difference that existed between the procedures of those days and those of our days at present was that it was never allowed to row indispensable. Bureaucratic hold, red-tapism were never allowed to take roots. The officers had no say in the matter. They were employed to do the clerical work and keep the records on hand. There was of course a big section of such officers in every department of the state. The state did not under-rate their need and usefulness. Agriculture was no doubt one of the major means of maintenance. The well-being of the people and the state depended very largely on this. Adequate coverage is given to the peasants and farmers in their stories by the writers. In doing so they have not over-emphasized their indispensability. The farmers are the real feeders in the final analysis. Doing perspiring labour, it is they who put life in the land, untilled and unsown, barren and wild. This feature is sufficiently underlined by the Jaina writers of these stories. (*Punyasrava Kathakosa*, p. 337 and *Do Hajar Varshaki Kahanjan* p. 96).

Trade and Commerce

The traders and businessmen amassed wealth in their business. Boats and vessels and ships plied in those days. The enterprising merchants undertook voyages, went to far off countries to earn more wealth. They used to return home with wealth increased and money multiplied. No trouble dampened their spirit and no difficulty ever had an upper hand. They fully illustrated by their example the maxim "fortune favours the brave" and "wealth goes to him who is industrious" (*Aradhana Kathakosa*, part II, p. 25 and p. 135; *Do Hajar Varsha Purani Kahania*; p. 31 and p. 96).

The learned and literary people also did not lag behind. They employed their scholarships as a means to maintenance. It is said in these stories of the Jaina writers that a musician earned his livelihood through music and a poet through his poems. Lower section of the society fixed its hope of sustenance on their professional activities such as picture-showing, rope-walking, magic, sorcery and sleights of hand.

Position of Women in Jaina Literature

Dr. A. S. Gopani, M.A., Ph.D.

Various broad categories of women have been described in Jaina narrative literature, both religious and secular, by the Jaina writers. Among them, woman as bride, wife, mother, widow, nun, prostitute etc. are noteworthy.

In Indian Society, though a woman has been respected, cajoled and cared after, her birth was considered a matter of great misery and mishap for the family. Her parents were always anxious about her physical security and character. They never felt free so long as she was not married with a deserving husband. She was a property of her husband, deposited temporarily with the father. A very large amount of money or estate, which guaranteed a good living, was set apart for the princess when her father, the King declared her dowry at the time of her marriage. There was a special provision of a separate comfortable harem for the princesses guarded over by an old chamberlain who was the custodian of her character and virginity. She was reared with care and no pains were spared for her education which included painting, dance and drama. We come across in Haribhadra's Samaraicakaha a character, Kusumavati, who was a princess well-grounded in the art of composing poems.¹

We cannot say with exactness, due to paucity of material, about the place where such education was given, the manner in which it was given and the method of actually imparting it. There was no institutional arrangement for the princesses but a provision of private coaching. A purpose that the princess should as far as possible remain out of people's sight was hereby secured while her education was made comprehensive by employing teachers who were experienced, trained and specialized in their own subjects. Female education was encouraged and appreciated. An educated female, it was believed, could strictly observe and adhere to the traditions, customs and conventions of the family while the uneducated and the illiterate could not. This is supported by Haribhadra.² A perusal of Haribhadra's narrative works in Prakrit, Udyotana's Kuvalayamala and Gunapala's Jumbucariyam makes it at once clear that a girl very well

* For a part of the information contained in the article, I have drawn on Haribhadra's Prakrit Katha Sahitya Alochanatmak Parisilan by Dr. Nemichandra Shastri to whom I am grateful.

knew reading and writing. She studied scriptures, learnt painting, dance, music and drama and was an expert in the management of household affairs.

Let us now pass on from woman as a girl to woman in her role as a wife. In household matters, the husband and the wife were jointly responsible. According to Rigveda, the wife sometimes dominated also.³ This particular feature of wife's preponderance in matters domestic and temporal was existing in one form or the other and in varying degree from the Vedic times down to Haribhadra's. We got an indication to this in the Samaraicakaha in which the news of prince Gunacandra's death during the war when he invaded a hostile king was conveyed through a demi-god to his wife who eventually prepares to end her life by self-immolation. Just at this critical moment, the father-in-law steps in and advises her to wait till confirmation is forthcoming.⁴ This incident is cited to show that a wife did what she liked and thought. Whenever propitiatory rites were to be performed in the house, she had her own way and say. Though these are solitary examples and no safe conclusion can be drawn, it is a fact that society in those days, indeed, held progressive views in regard to woman as a daughter-in-law.

For the most part, there existed cordial relations between the daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law. The wife did not willingly accept the idea of separation from her husband. Haribhadra's Samaraicakaha again endorses this conclusion when Dhanas'ri clearly avows and her mother-in-law gladly allows to accompany her husband in his foreign travels⁵

Broadminded husbands closed their eyes and ears to their wives' faults and failures. But they made no exception when the question of the wife's loyalty was involved. There are characters in Haribhadra's works who did not stop for a moment to divorce the wife and remarry when they were found prone to a flagrant breach of conduct, conjugal discipline and chastity.⁶ But this was rare as the husband and wife otherwise fully enjoyed and drank the cup of married life to its lees. Marriage was a social, sacred sacrament to which they both were the signatories who swore to stand by it, come what may.

In his works, Haribhadra has also drawn pictures of women who could become vile and wicked, namely, Dhanashri and Lakshmi who caused unhappiness to their husbands through deception. But these were mere exceptions. On the whole the women led exemplary life in Haribhadra's times. Self-effacement and sacrifice guided the life of the wife who did not think worthwhile to live when the husband was no more. Newly married bride was welcome to the husband's house and all the members of the family were happy at her auspicious arrival which brought money and mirth.

Woman as a mother was most adorable. As a matter of fact, a woman found consummation of inner satisfaction in becoming a mother. She pined after motherhood so to say. She thought it her great misfortune if she was barren, if she gave birth to still-born children or if she had no son. When she became a mother her status in the family rose and her importance increased. This is exactly what is upheld in the old Hindu scriptures. The Gautama Dharmasutra states that a mother is superior to any teachers.⁷ This is maintained by Baudhayana⁸ and Apastamba⁹ also. The Mahabharata is all out for the mother when it declares that there is no shelter and no support as great and as reliable as the mother's.¹⁰ If all these literary sources point to any thing it is the high position occupied and enjoyed by the mother in the society in days bygone and in the days of Haribhadra. In his Samaraiccakaha, information to this effect is available when Jaya, having handed over the reins of the government to his brother, Vijaya, fell at the mother's feet, sought her permission and became a monk.¹¹ This shows that the mother's say was final and categorical.

Prostitution is as old as time. In Haribhadra's times it was in vogue and was practised without much intuition by certain low class women. The animal passion was responsible for this social evil. From time immemorial, man had been hunting after woman to satisfy his unbridled passion and fondness for a variety. Immoral women exploited this weakness of men and exchanged their chastity for money and maintenance. Thus a regular class of prostitutes came into existence and it depended exclusively on rich people for its sustenance. Distinct references to this class are found in Vedas,¹² Dharmasutras and Mahakavyas. Haribhadra has used the words. Ganika, Varavilasini or Samanya to denote prostitute. The prostitutes did the extra business of dancing and also that of dressing and decorating the bridegroom on the occasion of his marriage.¹³ Devadatta was a well-reputed courtesan of Ujjayini whom a wealthy man of the same city wanted to make his own giving her all his possessions and property but she was primarily in love with and devoted to one Muladeva. Prostitutes enjoyed a better social position in the past.

The woman as a nun was much respected and even adored as she was considered a symbol of devotion. She renounced the world to accept a life of self-restraint and sublimation. These nuns formed into groups and communities which were headed by a chief nun. They strictly observed rules and vows which were framed for them. Their aim was salvation which they realized through penance and a prescribed code of conduct. It should be remembered that they accepted this life of rigid discipline out of sheer conviction and not because they wanted to escape from realities.

It seems Haribhadra was not in favour of the system of veil, though it was current in his days. This is clear from the fact that Kusumavati did not object to allowing her friends to remove her veil which she had put on at the time of marriage. But after marriage she never put it. Moreover, there are no references in his works proving that he endorsed the system.

Woman had either been extolled or condemned in the changing context of social conditions. There are references to show that she was treated as a slave while on the other hand she was worshipped as a goddess. It cannot be denied that of the two constituents of the society, namely man and woman, the latter was subordinate. This is because of the compulsions of our civilization which, even if it grants equality of soul in both, assigns a subservient role to the woman for practical purposes. It did not stop merely at this but it went beyond and proclaimed that she was verily a gate for the entrance to hell. As against this there had been some women always who were shining symbols of dignity and divinity beating men in every field of human activity and achievements.

In Jaina narrative literature, we come across many a woman who by their acts of ideal conduct and character provided society at large with ennobling and inspiring examples such as queen Prabhavati and Nilibai who become objects of worship for gods even on account of their inviolable chastity. Tribhuvanarati, a princess of the king of Kashmir scored success in instrumental music and set a brilliant record.¹⁵ Mainasundari had acquired the force of character so much so that she cured her husband of leprosy.¹⁶ While on the other hand there are illustrations of women such as Nagadatta, Abhayavati and the wife of Somasarma which point to the disaster caused by these women to themselves, to the family and to the society.¹⁷

In Jaina narrative literature we will come across a number of incidents in illustration of a woman's right to perform religious rites and rituals. Just as man, woman also can wash and worship the images and idols of gods and deities. She, like a man, can practise vows and take to the life of a nun. Reading and studying the scriptures is permitted to her. In this respect particularly, Jainism is very broadminded. Unlike in other religions, she is qualified to seek and secure her own salvation in this very life. There are no prohibitions or bans of any type in exercising her rights.

In temporal and social matters also, she was treated with due respect. When the royal assemblies were in session, Jaina kings used to get up from their seats to welcome their queens. Not only this, but they offered their own seats to them to share. Mahavira, the last Tirthankara of the Jains, had given a spiritual status to many a deserving women. He did not hesitate to

accept alms at the hands of Chandana whom he thought to be a woman of purity, though the people had their own unfounded doubts about it. He thus cleared her of the infamous charge levelled against her.

Side by side, I would also like readers to take due note of the scathing and uncharitable invective to be found in Gunapalas Jambucariyam against woman. In it he says with vehemence that the female of the species is more deadly than the male. Woman's love, he avers, is writ in water and her faith is traced in sand. He condemns them as bad-natured. As if to complete his charge-sheet, he alleges that they can conveniently be hard-hearted and also soft; that they are frailty incarnate, and that their minds cannot be known and heartfully compassed and comprehended. And he lays the last brick when he bemoans that they can go to any length when they want to satisfy their carnal desires".

All the religious system of the East, and especially Jainism, had been unkind, more or less, to woman, the reason being their frivolity, frailty and innate capacity to arouse passion in man. Now it is a question of outlook whether or not these traits should be taken as natural to their very constitution of body and mind. The East is unwilling to compromise on this point while the West is poised to forgive and be forgiven. The male is unable to face the music or would shy away when the female counter-alleges that it is the male that has kept her suppressed so far. And who can deny the force of her logic? Given recognition and scope she could have certainly risen to the dizzy heights of development and progress like man and it is given to woman only to shine in grandeur more brilliantly than man in her sublime self-sacrifice. She has shown and the history points that she can excel man in any field of human activity under the sun. Now this is sufficient to prove that woman also like man has got infinite potentiality which she can bring to bear fruit given the opportunity. The onus of proving his own bonafides falls on man. If the woman is frailty incarnate and frivolous, what is man, then? If the woman has the capacity to cash her beauty and grace and charm in terms of physical happiness, why should the man fall a victim to it? It is no crime of the woman if she is so designed as she is. On no ground the attitude of any religious system, much less Jainism, that woman is a gateway leading to hell, is defensible. It is an inhuman approach to the whole problem. To say that wealth and woman are the main hurdles and handicaps hindering the man in his spiritual pursuits and progress is as absurd and ridiculous as a carpenter finding faults with his tools. But it is said that if any religious system has condemned a woman it is not for all her feminine beauty and for all that but for her designs on man. Well, the wind of change is sweeping our globe and the sooner

the man becomes alive and alert to the woman's urge for uplift and her equal and rightful place in the sanctuary of spiritualism, the better for both man and woman. If this warning is not heeded, a day is not far off when the religious systems which condemned woman will themselves come forward and condemn man.

Footnote

1. Kusumavati herself had composed a couplet depicting the breaved condition of a female swan. She had put it down below the picture which also she herself had prepared for being sent to prince Simha with whom a love-affair had started, pp 87-88. . Bibliotheca Indica Edition by Jacobi.
2. Op. Cit. p. 922.
3. Rig. 10, 85, 46.
4. Samaraiccakaha, op. cit., p. 314.
5. Op. cit., p. 241.
6. Op. cit., p. 623.
7. Gautama Dharmasutra, 2, 56.
8. Baudhayana, 2, 2, 48.
9. Apastamba, 1, 10, 28, 9.
10. Mahabharata, Santiparvan, 267, 31, 343, 18.
11. Samaraiccakaha, op. cit., p. 485.
12. Rigveda, 1, 167, 4.
13. Samaraiccakaha, op. cit., pp. 339-340 and 96.
14. to 17. — Punyas'ravakatha — Kosa's corresponding saories.
18. Ed. Jinavijayaji, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 7. Chap. 11, 18 to 41 and Chap. 16, 8, stz.

Evolution of Jaina Thought

Risabhadas Ranka

Jainism has a long history. According to Jaina tradition it goes back to even pre-historic age. This fact has now been accepted by the historians on the basis of the Jaina tradition and literature. The earlier view that Jainism is an offshoot of Hinduism and Buddhism is now not acceptable.

Although India had a glorious culture in the past, it has not been fully presented and understood owing to the lack of historical writings in the past. In the beginning there was no system of writing. The things were memorised and transmitted orally from one person to another. The teacher (gurus) used to transmit the knowledge that they had received from their teachers to their students and the students in turn used to do the same. Thus the Vedas were orally transmitted from one generation to another. Several centuries passed before things were reduced to writing.

The excavations of Mohan-jo-daro and Harappa have revealed that there was a flourishing culture much earlier before the advent of the Aryans in India. It is presumed that, that culture was different from the Aryan culture and was perhaps *Sramana* (monk) culture - the culture which valued asceticism and renunciation the most. Dr. Ramdhari Singh Dinkar writes: "It is logical to assume that the monk-institution was prevalent in India even before the advent of the Aryans and that this institution looked down upon the Brahmnical institution".

This *Sramana*-Brahman conflict seems to have existed before the emergence of Buddhism. Panini, the great Sanskrit grammarian, acknowledged this fact in his work. Dr. Dinkar continues; "Mythological Hindu religion is based on both scriptures, *Agama* and *Nigama*. The *Nigamas* are prominently Vedic whereas the *Agamas* are the source of monk-culture. The *Agama* word indicates a long pre-Vedic monk-tradition. The Jaina scriptures are known as *Agamas*. The founder of Buddhism is Gautam the Buddha who was born about twenty five hundred years ago. It should be, therefore, presumed that the pre-Buddhistic *Sramana*-culture must have been the Jaina culture. Parsvanatha, the twenty third Tirthankara, was born 250 years before the Buddha. Aristanemi and Rishabhadeva were earlier than even Parsvanatha. It is therefore probable that the pre-historic culture was

either Jaina or similar to Jaina culture. This is testified by the Jaina scriptures also. . . .”

Now we have to understand the difference between the Vedic and Sramana cultures. In the Vedas the Brahman is supposed to be the highest reality and the people are supposed to follow the path of sacrifice in order to realize that reality. Thus Brahman or Vedic culture is based preeminently on sacrifice, although we find a note of protest against the path of sacrifice in the Vedas and even before that. The followers of the Sramana culture, on the other hand, regard that the world is not created by any Supreme being like Brahman, but it is governed by the natural laws. There is no god who creates and controls the world. Man can reshape his life and his world by the knowledge of the real nature of existence. Man is all powerful and his knowledge of supreme value. Devadatta Shastri also testifies the fact that early Ksatriyas were highly intellectual and spiritual. Along with their administrative duties they used to do philosophical speculations also. They worshipped ‘Arhats’ and they had separate places for prayers. This is corroborated by the sources like Srimad Bhagawat, Padma Purana, Visnu Purana, Skanda Purana and so on.

There are several views about the origin of Jainism. The philosophical and religious tendencies which find prominence in Sramana culture or Arhat religion also find place with some modification here and there in the Vedas, Upanishads, Jaina Agamas, Mahabharata and the Puranas. The Jaina scriptures hold the view that the external mode of religion goes on changing according to time, society and the circumstances. At the time of Parsvanatha the religion that prevailed was the practice of four cardinal virtues, *Caturyama* i.e., *Ahimsa* (non-violence), *Satya* (truth), *Asteya* (non-stealing), and *Aparigraha* (non-acquisition of property). Lord Mahavira developed it into five cardinal virtues (*panca mahavratā*) by adding one more virtue, *Brahmacarya* (celebacy) to the above list.

Arhat religion laid emphasis on non-violence (*ahimsa*) and equality (*samata*). It was renunciatory in character and emphasized the importance of action. The Vedic culture, on the other hand, laid emphasis on the worldly affairs and was concerned with how to make the present life happier. Sacrifice (*yajña*) was regarded here the means of attaining the above goal. Although these two tendencies were poles apart, initially, they converged together by the time of the Upanishads and the Mahabharata.

Risabhadeva was revered by the both traditions, the Vedic as well as the *Arhat*. It is because of mutual acceptance and synthesis of these two tendencies the Brahmanas accepted Risabha-

deva as one of the twenty four incarnations of God. The excavations of Mohan-jo-daro have brought to light, by the discovery of the idol of the bull in meditative pose which is the symbol of Risabhadeva and Shiva, the fact that Risabhadeva was a pre-Aryan God. Both Risabhadeva and Shiva laid emphasis on yoga and taught renunciation and opposed sacrifices. They stressed on simplicity, self-control and spiritual upliftment, and believed in the efficacy of Karma and rebirth. It is because of this deep similarity between the two many scholars have tried to prove that they are one and the same deity. Be what it may, it is definite that both the tendencies were renunciatory in character and were different from the Vedic tradition. In short, the Indian culture as a whole is more dominated by the renunciatory element. It was because of the impact of pre-historic culture on the Vedic culture.

Lord Krishna

Lord Krishna seems to have played an important role in bringing together the Vedic and Arhat cultures. The Gita, the Mahabharata, the Upanisads and the Bhagavat bear out clearly the fact of eventual synthesis of these two cultures. It is most likely that violence and destruction caused by the Mahabharat told upon the mind of the thinkers of that time who turned towards non-violence (ahimsa) leaving the path of violence (himsa). It is held by the historians that the pragmatic and worldly outlook of the Aryans was dominant in their behaviour and outlook till the time of the Mahabharata; it is as a consequence of this war that all people inculding even the Brahmanas expressed their aversion against killing in sacrifices. Although one can trace the effort of synthesis of the two opposing tendencies right from the Rigveda, it found full support in the time of the Upanishads and the Mahabharata. The words 'Vrisabha' and 'Risabha' are used in different senses in the Vedas. They stand for cloud, bullock, bull and fire. At some places they stand for one who fulfils the desires. They stand for supreme power atleast at two places in the Rigveda. At some places they stand for Rudra, God Shiva. That is why Shiva or Rudra and Risabha are treated as one and the same deity. Arhat Risabha has been eulogised in the Vedic literature.

Risabhadeva

Risabhadeva is regarded as the founder of the Jaina religious path, according to the Jaina Agamas. The Bhagwat eludes him as one who championed the religion of the seers (Rishis) and Sramanas. Thus, Rishbhadeva was equally respected and rever-

ed by both, the Sramanas as well as the Brahmanas. He is regarded as first Tirthankara by the Jainas and the incarnation of Visnu by the Brahmanas. Shiva Purana also refers to him as one of the twenty eight incarnations of Shiva. There is a similar description of Vatarshana Muni in the Rigveda, Vatarshana Rishi in the Bhagwat and Risabhadeva in the Jaina Agamas. He is described as having a long hair (Kesi) in all these scriptures. I, therefore, think that the Hindu and Jaina religions have the same antiquity.

The impact of Sramana culture was not limited only to Ancient India. It had influenced Ancient Egypt, Cyprus and Sumeria. This is borne out by the recent exevations in Cyprus.

Jainism emphasized the importance of self-control, yoga, equality and spiritual development of man. It believed in re-birth. These ideas influenced the Vedic culture too. However, Pt. Sukhlal holds a different view. He opines that the original Jainism was not renunciatory. It gave, on the other hand, importance to pleasures of this life. This is established, he says, by the fact that Risabhadeva, who is regarded as the founder of Jainism, himself instructed about archery, cultivation and business. He was a man of action—Karma-yogi, and a perfect man. Thus we should understand that the two tendencies were persisting together. But they were so much infused with each other that there was not much difference between them. Besides, we should also understand why and when the spirit of non-violence and renunciation captured the mind of Indian people.

The Mahabharata

The era of Mahabharata is very important from this point of view. In this period the Sramana and Brahmana cultures were complementary to each other. This period saw the emergence of many great seers such as Vyas, Angirasa, Vidura, Bhisma who worked for the synthesis or unification of these tendencies. Lord Krishna and Tirthankara Neminatha were born in this period. Neminatha renounced the world and did not marry because he was so much moved by the spirit of Ahimsa that he wanted to prevent the sacrifice of the animals at the time of his wedding ceremony, which was customary that time. The Jaina scriptures regard Neminatha as the guru of Krishna. Dharmananda Kosambi, a Buddhist scholar of eminence, regards Neminatha as Angirasa, the teacher of Krishna. Aristanemi, another Jaina Tirthankara, was from the Yadavas, the clan of Krishna.

Lord Krishna was a great unifier of both the tendencies. That is why he was adored in both of them. For the Brahmanas, he was an incarnation of God, and for the Jainas he was a future Tirthankara. Krishna knew the disasterous consequences of

war. He tried his best to avert the Mahabharata war, but could not succeed. The war caused untold miseries to the people including the victorious party of the Pandavas. Even Krishna himself could not protect his own people. The destruction and suffering produced a new awakening. This reaction was marked by a change of attitude from violence to non-violence and from indulgence or wordly pleasure to renunciation and spiritual bliss. Ahimsa was regarded, thereafter, as the greatest dharma and the path of renunciation as the ideal way of life. The path of Ahimsa or non-violence was embraced not only by the Arhats and Sramanas, it formed the corner-stone of the philosophy of the Mahabharata. This is evident from the following verses of the Mahabharata.

अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यो दत्त्वा यश्चरते पुनः ।
न तस्य सर्वभूतेभ्यो भयमुत्पद्यते क्वचित् ॥

One who makes all creatures fearless has no cause of fear from anybody anywhere.

* * *

यथा नागपदे अत्यानि पदानि पदमाभिनाम् ।
सर्वार्ण्यैवापिधीयन्ते पदजातानि कौजरे ॥
— महा ० अनु ० पर्व ११४-६
एवं सर्वमहिंसायां धर्मार्थमपिधीयते ।
सोऽमृतो नित्यं वसति यो न हिंसा प्रपद्यते ॥

Just as foot-prints of all animals can come in the foot-prints of Mahanaga elephant, even so Ahimsa can include all the Dharmas. One who does not cause injury to anyone lives in peace always, being immortal.

* * *

जीवितेयः स्वयं चेच्छेत् कथं सोऽन्यं प्रधातयेत् ।
यद् यदात्मनि चेच्छेत् तत् परस्यापि चिन्तयेत् ॥

How can one who wants to live oneself cause injury to others? Whatever one thinks for oneself, he should think the same for others also.

(Compare Sutrakritanga I. II, 9-10)

* * *

प्राणदनात् परं दानं न भूतं न भविष्यति ।
न ह्यात्मनः प्रियतरं किंविदस्तीह निश्चितम् ॥
— महा ० अनु ० पर्व ११६-१६

There is no better charity than to protect life, nor would there be any in future. There is no more precious thing in the world than life.

अहिंसा सर्वभूतानामतत् कृत्यतमं मतम् ।
एतत् पदमनुद्धिग्नं वरिष्ठं धर्मलक्षणम् ॥

Ahimsa is the greatest virtue—this is the view of the elders. This virtue is without ill will; it is superior and the sign of Dharma.

* * *

अहिंसा परमो धर्मस्तथाहिंसा परमं परो दमः ।
अहिंसा परमं दानमहिंसा परमं तपः ॥

—महा० अनु० पर्व ११६-२८

Ahimsa is the greatest religion (dharma), the greatest punishment (dama) and the greatest penance (tapa).

* * *

अहिंसा परमो यज्ञस्तथाहिंसा परं फलम् ।
अहिंसा परमं मित्रमहिंसा परमं सुखम् ॥

—महा० अनु० पर्व ११६-२९

Ahimsa is the greatest sacrifice, the greatest result, the greatest friend and the greatest happiness.

* * *

However, although Ahimsa was eulogized, yet it was not completely accepted as the norm of social life till the time of the Mahabharata. But the ground was prepared where it could have been accepted as the basis of religion. By this time there was complete synthesis and harmony between the Sramana dharma and the Brahmana dharma. In order to completely infuse this spirit in life the Brahmana dharma founded *Asrama* dharma, wherein the life was divided into four periods. In these four periods a man was supposed to fulfil his social obligations as well as he was required to follow the path of renunciation. Sramana dharma did not prescribe any such *Asrama* dharma and laid more stress on renunciation irrespective of age.

Parsvanatha who was born about 2800 years ago tried to make non-violence, truth, non-stealing and non-acquisition as the religion of common man. Acquisition included along with wealth, wife also. Therefore, non-acquisition implied the renunciation of wife or the practice of celibacy (*bramacharya*). These four cardinal virtues (*caturyama*) expounded by Parsvanatha were later developed into five cardinal virtues (*pancamahavrata*) by Mahavira. More or less the same principles were expounded by the Buddha and Jesus Christ. In Buddhism these virtues are known as eightfold path (*astangikamarga*) and in Christianity they are called the Ten Commandments. Thus,

Sramana culture was not limited to the Jainas and Buddhists it had universal appeal.

The basic foundations of the Jaina Sramana culture are non-violence or Ahimsa and equality or Samata. If we go deep into the nature of our life and its problems, then we find that it is because of the absence of these two virtues that there are struggles and strifes. The practice of equality and non-violence, the twin principles of Sramana culture, can ensure the peace and progress of humanity. Besides, there are egoism, craving and dogmatism which also cause immense suffering to man. They are causes of individual suffering and mass destruction. The glowing examples are the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagashaki. It is the curbing of all these ills that can ensure freedom from suffering. This is exactly what Bhagwan Mahavira tried to do. He was not the first Tirthankara of the Jainas nor is he the last. There were many before him and there would be many after him. His religion is universal and is not meant only for a particular individual or community. It is that all-embracing universal religion which can, if practised, bring peace and progress to entire humanity.

Jaina Philosophy and Religion

Dr. Vishwanath Pandey

India has been a cradle of civilization and culture. Its geographical boundaries, its mountains and rivers, its rich forests and high yielding plains all along with its moderate climate have contributed to the richness of its civilization and culture. A bountiful nature always nurses a glorious culture. But the peculiarity of Indian culture has been richness coupled with variety. Unity in diversity is a novelty of India. And this characteristic is nowhere better expressed than in its philosophy.

Indian Philosophy begins in an atmosphere of intellectual freedom. In the absence of internal or external constraints subjecting human psyche to conform to any given pattern of thought, early Indian thought had to conform to no other norm except the one laid down by itself. This is the reason why Indian mind was busy in the search for truth rather than accepting one on faith. External aggressions and inner compulsions that early India occasionally felt could not disturb its free intellectual fervour. On the contrary these disturbances deepened its quest. The Mahabharata war no doubt left a deep impact upon the mind of the people. But the quest continued. The only change that it produced was that the starch became inward and it is in the light of this intellectual temper that we have to consider Jainism.

The Vedic speculations are marked by its ethical and philosophical optimism. Numerous ideas giving birth to different philosophical systems are found in the Vedas. From the metaphysical point of view, many views such as pluralism, monothiesm, monism, materialism and even agnosticism can be traced to the Vedas. From the religious and ethical point of view, we find in them the ideas of rebirth, efficacy of karma and final liberation. The Upanisads elaborated these ideas and became more explicit on many points left somewhat in suspension in the Vedas. Metaphysically, they gave prominence to the Atman theory and discouraged skepticism and agnosticism. They are very vocal about the possibility of liberation (*Moksa*) and suggest several means to attain it. The path of knowledge is one such means and perhaps the surest one, although the significance of sacrifice is not underrated. The efficacy of Karma is here beyond question.

However, the crystalization of the Vedic thinking in the Upanisads could not dispel other philosophical speculations. One can find their echo in the Upanisads also. The period between the composition of the Upanisads and the emergence

of the two important rebellious thinkers, namely Gautam the Buddha and Mahavira is of great significance. Many changes took place which mark the scene. The most important event was the Mahabharata war which created the deepest impact upon the mind of the people at that time and produced serious change in the outlook of the people. It is needless to go into the controversy of the historical authenticity of the Mahabharata war here. Even if it is myth and the war figures only in the epic, as many scholars would like to believe, the epic had its impact on the mind of people, as it does to-day. The exalting optimism of the Vedas had a setback after the Mahabharata war. There was general abhorrence for violence and destruction. Scepticism found a new ground. Even the wise ones were not sure about the nature of the right path, *dharma* and *satya*. The post-Mahabharata pessimism led again to various ways to attain it.

The Buddhist and the Jaina sources also mention numerous schools which were prevalent when the Buddha and Mahavira came on the scene. The *Brahmajala* and *Samannaphala Suttas* of *Digha Nikaya* in particular and *Anguttara Nikaya*, *Majjhima Nikaya* and several books of the Jaina canonical literature, e.g. *Bhagwati Sutra*, *Akaranga Sutra*, *Sutrakritanga*, etc., mention a host of schools and preachers propounding their different and often conflicting views or systems. Sixty two such schools can be enumerated not to talk of the forgotten ones. From the metaphysical point of view these schools¹ oscillate between the eternalism of the followers of the Upanisads and the nihilism of the materialists like Ajit Keshkambalin. From the ethical point of view these schools lie between the view of possibility of liberation (*moksa*) and the efficacy of the karmas held by the Upanisads and the Jaina thinkers and that of the ethical nihilism of the materialists. Determinism (*niyativada*) of Makkhali Gosala, scepticism of Sanjaya and several other thinkers fall within above extremes. The *Karmavadins* held yoga or more correctly, the path of supreme knowledge coupled with moral perfection as the surest means to attain the final goal—the destruction of bad karmas and the consequent liberation of soul or the attainment of Nirvana. For the attainment of moral perfection and supreme knowledge, these thinkers prescribed from simple to most rigorous mental and physical disciplines. Some of the *Ajivakas* who were predecessors of Mahavira wandered even naked. Some of them subjected themselves to severe self mortification such as sleeping on thorns or sitting surrounded with fire.

It is against the background of this ethico-philosophical atmosphere that we have to consider the emergence of Mahavira and the Jaina philosophy and religion. The questions naturally

1. *Sutrakrintanga*, II, 1, 15: *Digha Nikaya*, *Samannaphala Sutta*.

arise as to what extent Mahavira was influenced by his predecessors and what is the original contribution of Jaina philosophy and religion. To a devout Jaina, this question would appear rather odd. He would argue that since Mahavira is credited to have acquired the supreme knowledge (*Kevala Jnana*), all that he has said is based on his revelation. Or at the most, he would argue, Mahavira can be said to be influenced by his previous twenty three *Tirthankaras*, but not by any other thinker belonging to any other sect including the Brahmins. The Jaina tradition holds that all the *Tirthankaras* propagated almost the same thought. Parsvantha, the immediate predecessor of Mahavira is well known for his precept and practice of Ahimsa. It is reported that he was so much moved by compassion that he once risked even his life in order to save a snake from being burnt in fire. He is supposed to have enunciated the four ethical principles (*caturyama*), e.g. non-injury (*Ahimsa*), truth (*Satya*), non-stealing (*Asteya*) and non-acquisition (*Aparigraha*). These form the very foundation of Jaina philosophy and religion. To this list the extension of one more virtue, e.g. celibacy (*Brahmacharya*) was added subsequently by Mahavira. These five principles, known as five great abstinences (*pancamahavrata*), are the corner-stones of Jaina religion and philosophy.

As regards the influence of other systems of thought on Mahavira and the religion known after him as Jainism (lit. *Jina* which means one who has conquered the passions), one has to examine his thoughts in relation to other systems and find out the common elements in them. To begin with, let us examine the Jaina ethics and religion, especially its concept of Ahimsa, the doctrine of karma and the monastic order.

The concept of Ahimsa is a well known doctrine. It has its origin in Indian literature prior to the emergence of Mahavira and the Buddha who carried this doctrine to its logical extreme. There are references to Ahimsa in some of the earliest Upanisads. In a very important injunction of *Chhandogya Upanisad* (8.15.1.) where the duties of a student (*Brahmacarin*) is elaborated, it is enjoined upon him that he should never injure any living creature, except in sacrifice, *Ahimsantsarvabhuta nyam-yatra tirthebhyah*. Here the word *tirthebhyah* which means sacred places or sacrifices is very significant. The word *Thirthankara* in Jaina literature stands for those twenty four prophets who have laid the foundation or established sacred places or religion. In another verse of the same Upanisad (3.17. 4.) Ahimsa is regarded as one of the five great virtues. The other virtues being austerity (*tapas*), charity (*dana*), simplicity (*arjavam*) and truthfulness (*satyam*). The practice of these five higher spiritual virtues is regarded as their fee (*dakshina*). On the part of aspirants of spiritual discipline many other minor Upanisads also regard Ahimsa as an important moral virtue.

The Mahabharata is replete with references of Ahimsa. In Mahabharata it has been said time and again that life is the most precious thing and hence non-injury or Ahimsa is the greatest virtue, the greatest of all religion (*ahimsa parmo dharmah*)². The Bhagavadgita often refers to Ahimsa. It emphasizes that Ahimsa should be practised along with other virtues like equanimity (*samata*), contentment (*tustin*), truthfulness (*satyam*), non-anger (*akrodhah*), and celibacy (*brahmacharya*)³. The refusal by Arjuna to fight war because he did not want to violate the principle of Ahimsa is itself an indication that Ahimsa was held to be an important dharma. However, it is, in all possibility, the deadly and futile consequence of the Mahabharata war that deepened the mind of the people against death and destruction and turned them to follow the path of non-violence under all circumstances. The strong emphasis on non-violence that we notice in Jainism and Buddhism is an elaboration of this spirit.

As regards the doctrine of Karma of Jainism, one can easily notice it in the contemporary philosophy. The Upanisads hold this doctrine very distinctly. In *Brihadaranyaka Upanisad* Yajnavalkya, a great Upanisadic philosopher, makes a profound statement that it is the karma that survives man. The doctrine of karma is one of the basic postulates of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism.

Now turning to the monastic order, it should be noted that there were no two clear cut tendencies as the path of ritual, (better known as *brahmana dharma*) and monastic order (*sramana dharma*) in ancient India as has been conveniently surmised by some scholars. The reason is that the religio-philosophical tendencies were variant and individualistic. They did not conform to any strict set of belief and practice. It is wrong to assume that all the people supposed to be following the path of rituals practised ritualism blindly and in the same form, and that they were not opposed to its shortcomings. Nor can we assume that the so-called followers of monastic order (*sramana dharma*) completely abhorred ritualism and were of higher intellectual acumen. Even Jainism and Buddhism which are popularly supposed to be offshoots of this monastic order could not get rid of ritualism completely—a fact which is evident even to-day. A careful examination of the early Indian religion shows that as the natural religion went on evolving, it went on shedding, gradually the cruder elements in it, and more and more sophisticated ideas gained their place. External ritualism gave way to inner purity. In this process of religious evolution all brands of thinkers participated. And the most important thinkers were, naturally, the followers of the Vedas being in majority. Some of these thinkers, including *Brahmanas*, advocated for the monastic way of life for self-

2. Supra, pp. 50-51.

3. Op. cit, X. 5; XVI, 2; XVII, 14.

forest) and *samnyasa* (lit. renunciation) consisted in following realization. Life was divided into four periods, and the third and the fourth of these periods e.g. *Vanaprastha* (lit. going to the monastic order of life. It is these two stages of monastic life, especially the fourth, i.e., *samnyasa* which found support with Brahmins as well as non-Brahmin ascetics.

The Buddha and Mahavira followed the path shown by these ascetics. "The Brahmanic ascetic was their model, from which they borrowed many important practices and institutions of ascetic life".⁴ This fact has been well established by a comparative study of Baudhayana and Jaina sutras by Professor Buhler. The only difference between Buddhism and Jainism was that while the Buddha followed the middle path, Mahavira wanted to outwit his contemporary Brahmanic ascetics in the matter of austere practices. Professor Jacobi rightly remarks that the Jains took a sort of pride in outdoing their Brahmanic rivals as regards rigorous conduct.⁵ Mahavira found a positive correlation between rigorous conduct and moral and spiritual purity, and went even to the extent of virtually recommending suicide by fasting in order to attain the state of Kevalin.

There is thus, no doubt that he was championing the cause of the Brahmanas. He glorified those Brahmanas who followed the original austere path and decried those who indulged in hypocrisy and sensual pleasure. This is borne out in a dialogue between a Brahmana monk Jayaghosa and a Brahmin. The Brahmin monk goes on to describe the characteristics of a real Brahmin. "He who is exempt from love, hatred and fear (and who shines forth) like burnished gold purified in fire, him we call a Brahmana".⁶ The Jaina concept of Brahmana or monk is: "A lean, self-subduing, ascetic, who reduces his flesh and blood, who is pious and has reached Nirvana, him we call a Brahmana".⁷

There are clear evidences to believe that Mahavira glorified monastic life, or the practice of austerities only because it causes pain.⁸ There is a popular belief prevailing still in the villages of India that the more bitter the medicine, the better is the result. However, one finds it difficult to accept such a generalisation. The Jains believe that it is by profession or practice that a man is Brahmana or monk and not by caste. "One does not become a *Sramana* by tonsure nor a *Brahmana* by the sacred syllable 'Om' nor a *Muni* by living in the woods nor a *Tapasa* by wearing (clothes of) Kusa grass and bark. One becomes a *Sramana* by equanimity, a *Brahmana* by chastity, a *Muni* by knowledge and a *Tapasa* by penance. By one's actions one becomes a *Brahmana*, or a *Kshatriya*, or a *Vaisya*, or a

4. Jacobi, Jaina Sutras, Part I, p. XXIV.

5. Ibid, p. XXVI.

6. *Uttaradhyayana*, XXV, 19.

7. Ibid.

8. *Sutrakritanga*, I, 3, 1(3).

Sudra".⁹ It is this Brahmana monk, Jayaghosa, who is the ideal for the Jainas and not any Brahmana. Mahavira himself is described as a wise Brahmana.¹⁰ It is therefore, obvious to imagine whether Jainism was a revolt or reformation. While decrying the path of sacrifice (violence), Mahavira advocated for the path of renunciation so common to Brahmanic tradition. As regards the question of the Jaina ethics, both Jainism as well as Buddhism followed the old tradition—the tradition which sought spiritual perfection by purity of conduct and knowledge. Their ethical systems are almost the same.

Now we come to that problem of metaphysics as propounded by Mahavira in relation to other contemporary systems, especially Brahmanical system which was the most prominent school of thought prevailing at that time. *Sutrakritanga* (I, 1, 1) makes a mention of the materialists, Vedantins, Buddhists, and the followers of Caraka and Samkhya schools of thought. The Sutra presents the materialists as those who believed that man was composed of five gross elements which disintegrated completely at the time of death. The materialists, the Sutra states, had no faith in rebirth and morality. Some thinkers (perhaps the Vedantins) believed in an intelligent principle which they held to be the source of all multiformities of nature. Some thinkers (the followers of the Samkhya school of thought) held the view of plurality of souls, but absolved them (souls) from any moral responsibility. Some thinkers accepted soul as sixth substance which they thought to be eternal like other five substances. The Buddhists are presented as holding the theory of five aggregates (skandhas). These and several other views are mentioned here for the purpose of criticising them or rather denouncing them as heresies leading the followers of these views to hell. Without going into the question whether this *Sutra* and other *Sutras* dealing with this problem have properly presented the views of the opponents, it is obvious that the philosophical ideas held by early Jainism can also be found, partly or wholly, in other philosophical systems prevailing at that time. Besides the four heresies, viz., that of *Kriyavadins* (those who believed in the existence of soul in the Vedantic sense), that of *Akriyavadins* (those who believed in non-existence of soul, i.e. Buddhists), that of *Vainayikas* (who tried for salvation through bhakti), and that of the *Ajnavadins* (agnostics) mentioned in the *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*, *Sutrakritanga* refers to many metaphysical and ethical views some of which may not come under the four heads mentioned above. But, it is made clear even from the Jaina *Sutras* that beliefs in the existence of soul, plurality of souls, karmic determinism, which form the corner-stone of the Jaina philosophy were held by the non-Jaina thinkers also. In the Sutra¹¹ quoted above

9. *Uttaradhyayana*, XXV, 31-32.

10. *Sutrakritanga*, I, 11, 1.

11. *Sutrakritanga*, I, 1, 1-4.

there is an attempt to criticize other systems, but not so much to propound its own except that an emphasis is laid on ethical purity of man in order to destroy his karman. "These are the three ways (by one's own activity, by commission, by approval of the deed) of committing sins. Thus by purity of the heart one reaches Nirvana".¹²

Mahavira's contribution lies in carefully selecting the fragments of his thought from the intellectual ethos of the time and giving them the shape of the coherent system of philosophy and religion. If at all, the only distinctive features of the early Jaina thought is its hylozoistic theory—the 'theory that not only animals and plants, but even the smallest particles of the elements such as earth, fire, water and wind, are endowed with souls (Jiva)'.¹³ The Buddhists do not hold such a view. But Vedantins did have a generalized view of this theory when they held that the Atman is the source of all existence. The Vaisesika conception of plurality of souls come very close to the Jaina view, with the difference that to the former the souls are infinite and all-pervading, while to the latter the souls are of limited dimensions.

However, we would be loosing sight of the philosophical background of the Jaina metaphysics, if we do not consider the motive which prompted Mahavira and his followers to induct hylozoist belief into the system. Contrary to the popular belief, the rigorous doctrine of Ahimsa is not the logical outcome of the metaphysical revelation to Mahavira that all elements have life. On the contrary his metaphysics is the outcome of the doctrine of Ahimsa which he took it to its logical extreme. Mahavira's motive was to outwit the other ascetics of the time. This provided them with the metaphysical justification for extreme self-abnegation in the absence of which their extreme asceticism would have appeared meaningless. The rivalry among the religious teachers for popularity and superiority is a well known fact. This has existed in India from the very beginning of Indian thought.

The practical wisdom of Mahavira made him accept some doctrine of the Ajivikas in order to win over Gosala the leader of the Ajivikas, and his own disciples.¹⁴ Similarly, the close metaphysical similarities between Jainism and Vaisesika is evident. This has been brought out eloquently by Professor Jacobi.¹⁵ Even if it is assumed that neither the Vaisesika nor Mahavira borrowed from each other, one cannot help assuming that both of them must have been influenced by the same philosophical systems prevailing at that time. This contention is supported even by the Jaina sources. *Sutrakritanga* (I, 6, 27) states about Mahavira: "He understood the doctrines of the

12. Ibid, I. 13. Jaina Sutras, Part I, p. XXXIII.

14. Jacobi, Jaina Sutras, Part II, p. XXXII. 15. Ibid, p. XXXV.

Kriyavadins, of the *Akriyavadins* of the *Vainayikas*, and of the *Ajnanavadins*, he had mastered all philosophical systems and he practised control as long as he lived". Both *Vaisesika* and Jainism come under *Kriyavada*. Thus there must be a common source for common belief. The Jaina claim that *Vaisesika* system was established by a schismatical teacher of theirs, does not appear to be plausible. Sanjaya, who was an elder contemporary of Buddha and was highly respected as the founder of a school of thought, agnosticism or scepticism, seems to have influenced Mahavira to a great extent. "Thus he came to be a true precursor of Mahavira who propounded a doctrine of antimonies (*Syadvada*) and of the Buddha who advocated a critical methods of investigation (*Vibhajyavada*)".¹⁶ Thus the Jaina ethics, logic, metaphysics, and even monastic order was a natural outcome of a fervent intellectual atmosphere. Mahavira was a sharp and prudent teacher. His ambition was to found a religious order. He carefully analysed the situation, made compromises, utilized the resources—men and material and organized a big band of followers.** Although he did not have as big a following as Buddha had, he nevertheless, succeeded in his mission of founding a religious order and a school of philosophy which lasted longer than the one founded by the Buddha, in India the place of their origin.

After tracing the sources of the philosophy of Mahavira to different sources briefly I would like to give a short exposition of different tenets of the Jaina philosophy and religion as contained in its canonical literature and the commentaries. The space does not permit here either to give an elaborate picture of different doctrines or to present a critical evaluation i.e. Jainism as it is received by other systems of Indian thought. I shall rest satisfied here only by hinting at the fact that no system of thought grows in isolation. Philosophy is the result of collective thinking; rival systems play a constructive role by posing challenges as a result of which a system achieves a greater maturity. This is true in the case of Jainism also.

EPISTEMOLOGY

Philosophy is a quest for ultimate reality. It tries to distinguish between what is of eternal value and what is evanescent. But before the quest for the ultimate reality begins, it is obligatory on the part of the seeker of ultimate reality to ascertain the tools with which such a quest has to be undertaken. Every philosophy, therefore, must begin with the problem of

16. Barua B. N., *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 331.

* Readers are advised to study the role that the relatives and patrons of Mahavira played in the spread of Jainism.

** The figures given in *Kalpa Sutra* of the followers of Mahavira seems to be an exaggerated one.

knowledge, its sources and limitations. If the capacities of human mind are limited, and if there are no other sources to know the nature of ultimate reality, then philosophy would be an exercise in futility. Epistemology, the science of knowledge, must, therefore, precede ontology, the science of reality.

The Jaina philosophy, like any other system of Indian philosophy, is aware of this problem. It provides an elaborate science of knowledge to support its ontology. The Jaina theory of knowledge is of great antiquity. According to some scholars its origin is pre-Mahavira.¹⁷ The Jaina *Agamas* are very explicit about it. In the *Bhagavati Sutra*, Mahavira is referred to as having described about four sources of valid knowledge (*pramana*), perception (*pratyaksa*), inference (*anumana*), analogy (*upamana*), and authority (*agama*).¹⁸ The *Uttaradhyayana Sutra* (XXVIII, 4 & XXXIII, 4) and the *Tattvartha Sutra* refer to five types of knowledge. These are: *Sruta*, knowledge derived from sacred books; *abhinibodhika*, perception; *avadhi*, supernatural or extra-sensory knowledge; *manahparayaya*, knowledge of the thoughts of other people; and *Kevala*, the highest, unlimited knowledge. The *Tattvartha Sutra* uses the term *mati-jnana* for *abhinibodhika-jnana*. Of these five types of knowledge, *mati*, (perception) and *Sruta* (authority or testimony) are regarded by the Jainas as indirect (*paroksa*), and *avadhi*, *manahparayaya* and *kevala* are classified as direct (*pratyaksa*). The reason why the Jainas regarded *mati* (perception) as indirect (*paroksa*) is that the perception depends on senses which are external. *Sruta-jnana* (knowledge based on authority or testimony) is also indirectly derived. The Jainas regard direct-recognition (*pratyaksa-jnana*) as that which is born in the soul without the help of any external instrument. Since *avadhi*, *manahparayaya* and *kevala* are the types of knowledge directly born in the soul, they are regarded as direct knowledge. However, due to the influence of the rival systems this classification was slightly modified by the later Jaina thinkers, and *mati* came to be recognized as 'empirically direct' (*samvyavahara-pratyaksa*).

As regards the origin and nature of knowledge the Jainas believe that knowledge is inherent in soul. In the case of an ordinary being, since his soul is covered with karmic dust, the knowledge does not shine forth. But, when this obstruction is removed by practising penances, knowledge illumines itself as well as others. "Siddhasena defines *pramana* as that knowledge which is free from obstruction (*badhavarjita*) and which illumines itself and other things (*svaparabhasi*)"¹⁹ The knowledge is imperfect when the obstructions are destroyed only partially. It becomes perfect (*kevala*) when the obstructions are

17. Tatia Nathmal, *Studies in Jaina Philosophy*, p. 27.

18. Gopalan, *Outlines of Jainism*, p. 48. 19. *Ibid*, p. 49.

destroyed completely. The opposite of valid knowledge is error (*viparyaya*) which, according to the Jainas, lies in the inability to distinguish between right and wrong. Thus, the Jainas believe in the correspondence theory of truth.

Darsan and jnana

Before we elaborate the five kinds of knowledge, it is necessary to understand the two categories of knowledge, namely indeterminate knowledge (*darsana*) and determinate knowledge (*jnana*). Jainism classifies knowledge into indeterminate and determinate, perhaps, in order to show clearly the different stages of the activity of cognition before it could be said to be knowledge. There are many interpretations of these two categories of knowledge in the Jaina *Agamas*. According to one interpretation, *darsana* comprehends the universal characteristics of things whereas *jnana* comprehends the particular features of things. But this contention is not acceptable by all Jaina thinkers. According to another interpretation, *darsana* intuits the internal self whereas *jnana* knows the external reality.

The solution offered by Hemachandra appears to be more satisfactory. According to him, *darsana* and *jnana* represent two stages of knowledge which are inseparably connected with each other. The former provides the basic data and the latter the specific details of knowledge. In this sense they are similar to sensation and perception as conceived by modern psychology. The controversy as to how they function in *kevala jnana* worked up by the Jaina thinkers amounts to stretching the point too far.

As regards the question of temporal relation between the two stages, *darsana* and *jnana*, as to whether they represent succession, simultaneity or identity—the views upheld by the Jaina thinkers—Yasovijaya, a prominent Jaina thinker, offers a happy compromise. He says: "He who admits separate identity of apprehension and comprehension but does not recognize succession, is right from the empirical standpoint that entertains distinction, the believer in the successive occurrence of apprehension and comprehension is correct from the analytic standpoint that distinguishes the border—line between cause and effect, while the upholder of the identity of apprehension and comprehension is right from the synthetic standpoint that tends to abolish distinction and establish identity. Therefore none of the three propositions can be called improper".²⁰

Mati or Perception and Inference

*Tattvartha Sutra*²¹ defines *mati* as that type of knowledge

20. Cited by M. L. Mehta, *Jaina Psychology*, p. 56.

21. V. 1, 14.

which is acquired with the help of senses (*indriya*) and mind (*anindriya*). Again, *mati* stands for such processes as memory (*Smṛiti*), recognition (*Sanjñā* or *pratibhijñā*), induction (*cintā*) and deduction (*abhinibodha*).²² Bhadrabahu gives a list of other synonyms²³ of *mati*. *Mati-jñāna* is of two types: (1) Dependent on sense-organs such as eye-sensation, touch-sensation, etc. This is known as (*indriya-jñāna*), and is of five types. (2) Non-Sensuous (*anindriya* or *no-indriya jñāna*) consists in knowledge derived from mind. This includes knowledge derived from processes such as memory, induction and deduction. *Avagraha* (perception, *iha* (speculation), *avaya* (perceptual judgement), and *dharna* (retention) are classified under *indriya-pratyakṣa* whereas *smṛiti* (memory), *sanjñā* (recognition), *cintā* (discursive thought) and *abhinibodha* (perception cognition) are regarded as *anindriya-pratyakṣa* or mental perception.

The theory of perception details several stages through which the activity of perception or *mati-jñāna* finds its completion. As stated earlier, it consists of *avagraha* (perception), *iha* (speculation), *avaya* or *apaya* (perceptual judgement), and *dharaṇa* (retention). *Avagraha* lies in arousing initial consciousness or contact awareness (*vyanjana-avagraha*). Thereafter follows the awareness of the object (*artha-avagraha*). But at the stage of *avagraha*, the perception of the object is not complete. It is indeterminate; because only general features of the object are cognized at this stage. This stage provides the preparatory ground for a thorough grasp of the object. Thereafter follows the stage known as *iha* or speculation. In this stage the object becomes distinct. "For instance, in *avagraha* (perception) a person simply hears a sound, while in *iha* he cognizes the nature of the sound also".²⁴ Now even the specific features of the object are clearly known. Thereafter comes the stage known as *apaya* or *avaya*. This is the stage of perceptual judgement. In this stage various alternatives are examined and the correct judgement is made. For instance, at this stage it is distinctly known that it is the sound of man and not of bell or conch. The last stage of perception is *dharaṇa*. This is the stage of retention. The perceived object is completely registered in mind at this stage. This marks the termination or completion of perception. These stages of perception are very similar to the stages mentioned in Buddhist psychology. These stages are: *bhavanga upaccheda*, disturbance of subliminal consciousness; *pañcadvaravarjāna*, sensation; *cakṣu vijñāna*, visual perception, etc.; *sampaticchana*, recipient consciousness; *santirāṇa*, investigation consciousness; *voṭṭhapana*, determining consciousness; *javana*, apperception; and

22. Ibid, V. 1, 13.

23. For detail, see Tatia Nathmal, Studies in Jaina Philosophy, pp. 32-34.

24. Nandi Sutra, 35.

finally *tadarammana*, registering consciousness. The last stage marks the termination of the process of cognition.

Inference

After surveying the nature and stages of perception, it is necessary to discuss the process of inference here; for, as stated above, *mati-jnana* includes both perception as well as inference. According to this scheme memory (*smṛiti*), recognition (*sañña*), discursive thought (*cinta*), and perception cognition (*abhini-bodha*) are regarded as *anindriya-pratyakṣa* or quasi-sensuous or mental perception. Although Jainism goes against other systems of Indian philosophy in considering *mati-jnana* (perceptual knowledge) as indirect (*parokṣa*), it is in conformity with other systems when it regards inference (*anumāna*) as indirect (*parokṣa*) source of knowledge. Inferential knowledge is regarded as indirect by all systems of Indian philosophy.

The Jaina theory of inference is very similar to that of other systems of Indian thought. Like other systems, it classifies inference into two kinds: (1) inference for self (*svārthanumāna*) and (2) inference for another (*parārthanumāna*). Further, it accepts two types of syllogism, categorical and hypothetical. A categorical type of syllogism consists of five propositions, namely (1) the thesis (*pratijñā*), reason (*hetu*) example (*dṛṣṭānta*), application (*upanaya*), and conclusion (*nigamāna*). The most important characteristic of the Jaina theory of inference is, perhaps, its introduction of ten-membered or ten-proposition syllogism, although it does not enhance the value of deduction. It makes the process more cumbersome. However, it is worth quoting an example of ten-numbered syllogism:

1. Non-injury to life is the greatest virtue (*pratijñā*).
2. Non-injury to life is the greatest virtue according to the Jaina scriptures (*pratijñā-vibhakti*).
3. Those who adhere to non-injury are loved by gods and it is meritorious to do them honour (*hetu*).
4. Those who do so are the only persons who can live in the highest places of virtue (*hetu-vibhakti*).
5. But even by doing injury one may prosper and even by reviling Jaina scriptures one may attain merit as is the case with Brahmins (*vipakṣa*).
6. It is not so, it is impossible that those who despise Jaina scriptures should be loved by gods or should deserve honour (*vipakṣa-pratisedha*).
7. The *Arhats* take food from house-holders as they do not like to cook themselves for fear of killing insects (*dṛṣṭānta*).
8. But the sins of the house-holders should touch the *Arhats*, for they cook for them (*Asaṅka*).

9. This cannot be for the arhats go to certain houses unexpectedly, so it could not be said that the cooking was undertaken for them (*asankapratisedha*).
10. Non-injury is therefore the greatest virtue.²⁵

Sruta-Jnana or Authority

Sruta (lit. heard) or authority is another source of knowledge. Earlier, *Sruta-jnana* was confined to that type of knowledge which was received through the sense of hearing as the word *Sruta* itself means that which is heard. But later on, it was extended to cover knowledge acquired by other senses also. Since earlier only the knowledge contained in the scriptures was communicated through words, and was heard and memorised by the people, *Sruta-jnana* came to be identified with the knowledge of the scriptures. And since the knowledge of the scriptures was supposed to be contributed by persons of superior wisdom, *sruta-jnana* came to be regarded as superior to *mati-jnana*. Further, sensuous knowledge or *mati-jnana* was considered by the Jainas as limited to the objects of the present only, whereas *sruta-jnana* was thought to be concerned with the past, present and the future. Thus Jainism held *sruta-jnana* to be superior to sensuous knowledge or *mati-jnana*.

However, Jainism regards *sruta-jnana* to be preceded by *mati-jnana*. *Tattvartha sutra* (I, 20) and other texts are one in this regard. The reason seems to be that the Jainas thought that knowledge has to be first perceived before it is transmitted to others. It was argued that the relation between *mati* and *sutra* is one of the mutual concomitance. It is because of the mutual interdependence of these two processes, some thinkers considered them to be one, and regarded *sruta* nothing but *mati*.

Sruta-jnana is classified in various ways. It is not possible to enumerate all these here. It is, however, necessary to consider some classifications here. Umasvati classified *sruta* into two categories: (1) *anga-pravista*, contained in the 12 Angas, and (2) *anga-vahya*, contained in other than the *angas*. Again, it is divided into two: *aksaratmaka*, verbal or lettered and *anaksaratmaka*, non-verbal or letterless. Verbal knowledge is derived from words which are composed of letters (*aksara*) spoken or written. Seeing or hearing of the words is *mati-jnana*, but understanding their connotation is *sruta-jnana*. Again, *aksara-sruta* is analysed into three sub-classes, shape of the letter (*samjnaksara*), sound of the letter (*vyanjanaksara*), and the connotation (*sruta-jnana*). Kunda Kundacarya in his *Pancastikaya*, *Samayasara* (43) divides *sruta* into four classes,

²⁵. Cited by Dasgupta S. N., History of Indian Philosophy, I, p. 186, from Bhadrabahu's *Dasavaikalika-nirukti*, 50.

viz., integration (*labdhi*), consideration (*bhavana*), understanding (*upayoga*), and interpretation (*naya*).

Direct Knowledge: Pratyaksa Jnana

It has been stated above that the Jainas hold perception (*mati*) and authority (*sruta*) as indirect knowledge (*paroksa-jnana*), because they are obtained through some medium. But they consider *avadhi* (clairvoyance), *manahpratyaya* (telepathy) and *kevala* (supreme) knowledge as direct knowledge (*pratyaksa-jnana*). This contention is based on the Jaina hypothesis that the soul has knowledge as its intrinsic quality, and that the soul can utilize this quality independent of any medium. That is to say, there is no need of any direct or indirect physical contact with the objects. Generally, the contact between the senses and their objects is considered to be necessary for the emergence of knowledge. But according to Jainism the soul can directly intuit the objects. If the soul is unable to have knowledge, it is not because of its inherent inability but because of the veil of the Karmas with which it is very often covered. Thus, the Jaina epistemology, ontology and ethics are interdependent. Without ethical considerations the epistemological problems are incomplete. The ethical presupposition is that the soul is sensitive to the Karmic dust and it is usually veiled by it. Only rigorous religious practice can destroy the Karmic dust and thus open the path of knowledge. Knowledge is, here, destruction-cum-subsidence (*Ksayopasama-nimitta*).²⁶ It is acquired by the good and bad deeds of the being (*guna pratyaya*), and hence there are degrees of knowledge depending upon the degrees of knowledge-veiling (*jnana-avaraniya*) karmas.

Avadhi and Manahpratyaya

Avadhi or clairvoyance is the lowest category of direct knowledge. Besides human beings, denizens of heaven and hell are endowed with *avadhi*. But in their case, it is due to their birth (*bhava-pratyaya*).²⁷ Since *avadhi* is the lowest under this category, its objects are not very subtle, but are those which have shape or form (*rupin*). The units of time and space can be objects of *avadhi*. But, it cannot know their various modes. Besides, *avadhi* cannot grasp such things as soul, *dharma* and *adharma*. Here also it differs from individual to individual with reference to their spiritual attainments.

This brings us to the second category of direct knowledge, i.e. *manahpratyaya* or telepathy. It is more advanced stage of knowledge than *avadhi*. Besides having the knowledge of other minds, *manahpratyaya* has the knowledge of things and modes which are beyond the comprehension of *avadhi*. The difference

between *avadhi* and *manahparayaya*, according to Umasvati, lies in their purity, place, person of inherence and subject-matter.²⁸ There are two types of such knowledge, *rijumati* and *vipulamati*. The former is fallible whereas the latter, though not infallible like *kevala*, is more reliable and lasting than the former. The Jaina thinkers differ as regards the precise scope and meaning of *manahparayaya*. According to some thinkers *manahparayaya* only intuits the mind of other persons. While others hold that it is inclusive of *avadhi*.²⁹ Some other thinkers hold the view that the difference is one of degree and purity of knowledge and not of the subject matter so much. Umasvati is also inclined to this view.³⁰

The capacity of telepathy, *manahparayaya*, requires higher spiritual attainment. *Nandhi-Sutra* (39, 40) states that it is available only to those who have fully developed spiritual personality, have right view (*samyagdristi*) and have self-control. It is the stepping stone to the highest knowledge, i.e., omniscience or *kevala*.

Kevala Jnana

Avadhi and *manahparayaya* have limitations. The highest of *avadhi* knowledge called *Sarva avadhi* can know at the most one atom, and the highest of *manahparayaya*, *vipula-mati*, can know the infinitesimal part of atom and can have simple mental knowledge. But it is *kevala-jnana* or omniscience that knows all substances, and in all their aspects (*sarva dravya paryayesu kevalasya*).³¹ Nothing remains beyond the scope of *kevala-jnana*. Besides, all other four kinds of knowledge, namely *mati*, *sruta*, *avadhi* and *manahparayaya* have the element of doubt (*samsaya*) and thus can be wrong, while *kevala* is infallible. It is infallible, because unlike other kinds of knowledge *kevala* does not make confusion between truth and falsehood. With the rise of *kevala-jnana* all other kinds of knowledge lose their lustre in the same way as all other luminaries of the sky disappear with the appearance of dazzling sun in the firmament.

Kevala-jnana is the result of destruction of all kinds of Karmas which veil the soul. Hence this knowledge is possible only to *arhats* or *kevalin* who have destroyed the Karmas and have thereby put an end to the process of life and death. At this stage the soul, being free from all veils, shines forth in its splendour. It beacons itself as well as the world. It is the highest state, the culmination of moral and spiritual progress.

JAINA LOGIC

Any discussion of Jaina philosophy is incomplete, unless it includes the discussion of Jaina logic—its doctrines of *nayavada*.

28. Ibid, I, 25.

29. See Tatia Nathmal, op. cit. for details.

30. Op. Cit., p. I, 28.

31. *Tattvartha Sutra*, I, 29.

or *anekantavada* and *syadvada*. Although the ideas of *syadvada* is pre-Mahavira, and its origin can be traced to what the Buddhist call eel-Wriggle-ism (*amara-vikkhepa-vada*), it came to assume greater prominence and consistency with Mahavira and his followers. So much so that it appears, now, to be the original contribution of Jainism. The doctrines of *anekantavada* and *syadvada* lay the foundation of the Jaina theory of reality. They support Jaina pluralism, the view that the reality is manifold. The Jainas hold that things appear differently when viewed from different standpoints (*naya*). Hence they (things) do not have any one (*ekanta*) fixed nature; they are manifold (*anekanta*). S. N. Dasgupta sums up *nayavada* as: "The Jains regarded all things are *anekanta* (*na-ekanta*) or in other words they held that nothing could be affirmed absolutely, as all affirmations were true only under certain condition"³². A thing may have as many affirmations as there are standpoints from which these affirmations are made. In order to elaborate this point, the Jainas are found of quoting the anecdote of several blind persons who gave their different descriptions of an elephant whom they tried to perceive by touching. One who touched the legs of the elephant thought him to be like a pillar. One who caught his ear thought elephant to be like winniwing fan, etc. Now all these descriptions of the elephant, the Jaina would contend, are right from different angles; and yet no one description gives the complete truth.

Nayavada

Although there can be infinite numbers of standpoints from which a thing can be viewed, the Jainas summarise these standpoints into seven. These are: (1) *Naigama Naya*: Universal—particular or teleological standpoint. Universal and particular go together. Or, an object can be looked at from the standpoint of its end. (2) *Samgraha Naya*: The class point of view. This concerns with the class characteristics. (3) *Vyavahara Naya*: The standpoint of the particulars. The opposite of the Second. (4) *Rijusutra Naya*: The standpoint of momentariness. It takes into account the state of a thing at a particular moment of time. (5) *Sabda Naya*: The standpoint of synonyms. It means each name has its own meaning and significance even though it may refer to one and the same thing. (6) *Samabhirudha Naya*: The etymological standpoint. It is an application of the *Sabda naya*. (7) *Evambhuta Naya*: The 'such-like' standpoints. It elaborates the applications of the sixth.

Each one of these *nayas* have several sub-divisions augmenting, thus, the number of standpoints. The Jainas regard the correct way of looking at Reality is to look at it from these

standpoints. The other systems of philosophy, they hold, mistake in judging the nature of Reality, because they look at it from some standpoints and regard as if they know the full truth. The Jainas argue that all philosophical confusions arise out of the confusion of standpoints.

Syadavada: The Doctrine of Perhaps

The Jaina conception of relativity of knowledge and manifold nature of reality is well explained by its doctrine of 'may be' or 'perhaps' (*syadavada*). If *anekantavada* is one side of the coin with reference to the Jaina epistemology and logic, *syadavada* or the doctrine of 'perhaps' is the other side. "Whereas the emphasis in *nayavada* is on an analytical approach to Reality, on pointing out that different standpoints can be taken, the stress in *syadavada* is on the synthetic approach to Reality, on reiterating that the different view-points together help us in comprehending the Real".³³ The import of *syadavada* is that no judgment can be absolutely true. Its truth is conditioned by several limitations, e.g. space, time and so on. In other words, every judgment is only relatively true or false. Since it holds that there are only seven ways of predication, it is also known as *Saptabhangi* (lit. seven turns). These are: (1) *syad asti*: perhaps is, (2) *syad nasti*: perhaps is not, (3) *syad asti nasti*: perhaps is and is not, (4) *syad avaktavya*: unpredicable, (5) *syad asti avaktavya*: perhaps is and is unpredicable, (6) *syad nasti avaktavya*: perhaps is not and is unpredicable, and (7) *syad asti nasti avaktavya*: perhaps is, not is and is unpredicable. Of these seven ways of predication the first two are the basic. Thus a judgment may be true from one angle and false from another. It has neither absolute truth nor absolute falsity. The truth is relative, so is falsity.

JAINA METAPHYSICS

After discussing the nature and sources of knowledge as conceived by the Jainas, that knowledge is relative and that it can be acquired by direct and indirect sources, we now take up the Jaina metaphysics. Metaphysics or ontology is the science of reality or ultimate reality. It studies the nature and kinds of reality. It distinguishes between empirical and transcendental, between being and becoming, and between identity and difference. Jainism had from its very inception a metaphysical bias. Of course, like Buddhism, the Jaina metaphysics is ethically oriented. As has been stated earlier here philosophy, psychology and other branches of human endeavour are means to an ethical end. The end is the alleviation of suffering, physical as well as spiritual.

33. Gopalan, op. cit., pp. 152-3.

Secondly, since the Jaina metaphysics, as it is found in the *sutras*, is the result of elaboration of a primitive system of beliefs, it preserves its original simplicity. It is a system of pluralism, because it believes in the existence of many classes of reality. It is a system of realism, because, according to it, the things exist independent of mind. It can also be called a system of dualism since mind and matter are here supposed to be two independent realities, *jiva* and *ajiva*.

Thirdly, Jainism is opposed to all types of idealism, transcendentalism and agnosticism. It entered into a polemic with these systems right from the days of Mahavira. And lastly, the Jaina metaphysics is conformist rather than radical. It preferred a policy of philosophical reconciliation than of innovation.

The *Uttaradhyayana Sutra* (28) and the other *sutras* give elaborate classifications of the Jaina view of reality. The world or universe is traced to six kinds of substances, i.e. *dharma*, *adharma*, space, time, matter and soul. A substance is that which has qualities (*guna*) and modification (*parayaya*). These substances are classified into two classes, (1) *Jiva*, soul, and (2) *ajiva* or inanimate things. The *ajivas*, again, are of two kinds: (1) without form (*arupa*), and (2) with form (*rupa*). *Dharma*, *adharma*, space and time are substances without form whereas matter or *pudgala* is with form. A detailed discussion of some of these substances is necessary in order to have a glimpse of the Jaina metaphysics. An exhaustive discussion of all the categories is not possible here.

Jivas and Ajivas

Jiva is distinguished from other substances (*ajiva*) by the differentiam of consciousness. *Jiva* has consciousness whereas the *ajivas* do not possess that. Besides, unlike matter (*pudgala*), the *jiva* has no form; its intrinsic nature is beyond description. "(The liberated jiva) is not long nor small nor round nor triangular nor quadrangular nor circular; he is not black nor blue nor red nor green nor white; neither of good nor bad smell; not bitter nor pungent nor a stringent nor sweet; neither rough nor soft; neither heavy nor light; neither cold nor hot; neither harsh nor smooth; he is without body, without resurrection, without contact (of matter), he is not feminine nor masculine nor neuter; he perceives, he knows, but there is no analogy (whereby to know the nature of liberated soul) its essence is without form; there is no condition of the unconditioned. There is no sound, no colour, no smell, no taste, no touch—nothing of that kind. Thus I say".³⁴

Uttaradhyayana Sutra enumerates the following characteristics of soul: knowledge, faith, conduct, austerities, energy

and realization of its development. *Tattvartha Sutra* (chap. II) gives an exhaustive classifications of *jivas* from different points of view and narrates their qualities. For example, *jivas* are either liberated (*mukta*) or mundane (*samsari*). Again, these have several divisions. Similarly, *jivas* are classified from the point of view of number of senses they have or the places (*lokas*) they inhabit, viz., hell, heaven, etc. They are classified from the point of view of species to which they belong and so on. However, these divisions and sub-divisions no doubt elaborate, do not provoke much philosophical insight. In all these, the emphasis is laid on the fact that even the minutest particles have life. This is known as the hylozoistic theory of the Jainas.

The fact that the Jaina *Sutras* reveal the earliest strata of Indian thought is reflected in the passage quoted below which contain the primitive idea of self. Here, the liberated self is thought of as straight line moving up in the sky (*akasa*), an imagination which is so common in the Vedic belief that the souls move upward either to the abode of gods (*Devayana* or *Deva Loka*) or to that of ancestor (*Pitrayana* or *Pitra Loka*). "Then having, by all methods, got rid of his audarka, karmana and (*taijasa*) bodies, the soul takes the form of a straight line, goes in one moment, without touching anything and taking up no space, (upward to the highest *Akasa*), and there develops into its natural form, obtains perfection, enlightenment, deliverance, and final beatitude and puts end to all misery".³⁵

As regards the problem of existence of self, it is held that since the self is immaterial it cannot be apprehended by the senses.³⁶ And since it is non-corporeal, it is eternal.³⁷ Now, the question arises as to how do we know that the self exists. The Buddhists reject the existence of self on the ground that it is an unverifiable entity. The Jainas argue like the Upanisadic thinkers that the seer cannot be seen, yet its existence is implied in the very act of seeing. "The self is the knower (or experienter), and the knower is the self. That through which one knows is the self. With regard to this (to know) it (the self) is established. Such is he who maintains the right doctrine of self".³⁸

As has been stated above, of the five inanimate substances, *dharma* (medium of motion), *adharma* (rest), *akasa* (space), and *kala* (time) are without form and *pudgala* (matter) is with form. These elements are permanent in their nature and are the sole constituents of the universe. The last substance, namely, *pudgala*, has touch, taste, smell, and colour as its attributes. *Pudgala* consists of innumerable atoms and its cons-

35. *Uttaradhyayana*, XX×IV, 73.

36. *Ibid*, XVI, 19 also *Akaranga Sutra*, 1, 5, 6. 37. *Ibid*.

38. *Akaranga Sutra*, I, 5, 5.

tituent molecules which occupy space. The atoms are permanent, but they change their forms as a result of composition and decomposition. In Jainism creation means the change of form.

PSYCHOLOGY

Indian psychology differs from its Western counterpart fundamentally; for, 'psyche' or 'soul' is considered in general in Western thought the same as mind or consciousness. In India, the position is different. Leaving aside the Buddhists and materialists all other schools of Indian philosophy consider mind not only different from soul or self but quite antagonistic to it.

Mind

Mind, in Indian psychology, figures as a material fact opposite to soul which is spiritual in nature. Mind, though subtle in nature, has physical base. It is closely associated with intelligence (*buddhi*) and egoism (*ahamkara*). The Jainas also hold a similar opinion, although the Jaina conception of mind differs from that of other systems. The Jainas like other systems make a clear distinction between the self and the mind. But in contrast to other systems they hold that the mind is not a sense organ (*indriya*). They hold mind to be an *anindriya* or *noindriya*. This has been stated earlier while discussing the epistemology of the Jainas. The reason why other systems considered mind as the sixth sense was that the knowledge of pain, pleasure and inferential knowledge required the supposition of some sense by which the above types of knowledge could be explained. It was held that the five senses were not capable of having the knowledge of above facts. Therefore, the supposition of mind was a logical necessity. But, since mind did not have external sense organ like, eye, ear, etc., it was supposed to be internal organ (*antahkarana*); and perception through internal organ was regarded as indirect perception. Thus, leaving aside the Jainas, other systems of Indian philosophy considered mind (*manasa*) as the internal sense.

One of the reasons to discard the existence of mind by the Jainas or accord to it the status of *anindriya* (not-sense organ) seems to be its epistemological position. Contrary to the belief found in other systems, the Jainas regard perceptual knowledge (*mati-jnana*) and authority (*sruta-jnana*) as indirect knowledge (*paroksa-jnana*). Here the definition of direct (*pratyaksa*) knowledge is that which is directly revealed to soul without the media of senses and the mind. Hence the experiences such as pain and pleasure or extra-sensory perceptions are assumed to be directly experienced by the soul. This dispenses with the necessity of assuming the mind as a separate sense organ. This is the reason why the Jainas regard only five senses.

However, the difficulty persisted. It was difficult on this contention to understand how memory, recognition, etc. could be explained without assuming the existence of mind. This difficulty forced the Jaina thinkers, later on, to accord to mind the status of a quasi-sense organ (*no-indriya*) but not a sense organ (*anindriya*). Pressed by the internal necessity of the system to counter the persistent attack on it by the rival systems, the concept of mind gained importance in the Jaina philosophy later on. Consequently the mind was accepted as a sense organ in Jainism and was defined as that which had for its cognition the data of all the senses (*sarvartha grahanam manah*). It was regarded to be made of subtle matter (*manovargana*).

The Senses

As has been stated earlier, the Jainas believe that there are five senses, and all of them are viewed in two aspects: (1) physical (*dravya-indriya*), and (2) psychical (*bhava-indriya*).³⁹ The first refers to physical organs and their function; and the second refers to the psychological activity of attainment (*labdhi*) of knowledge. The attainment of knowledge, as has been stated earlier, occurs due to partial or total destruction of knowledge covering Karmas. Thus the senses have but to perform a passive role in the activity of perception. It is the soul which is the master of all.

Perception

The senses are capacities of soul, and they are instruments of soul through which the soul enjoys the external qualities, like form, sound, sapid, etc. Jainism presents an elaborate analysis of the objects of the senses. Perception or *mati-jnana* is the result of contact between the senses and their objects. Leaving aside the visual perception where there is no direct contact (*sparsa*) between the eye and its object, e.g. colour, the other four kinds of perception take place as a result of direct contact or touch between the sense organs and their respective objects. Perception is further classified into different kinds, such as quick, hidden, lasting and so on.⁴⁰ Other psychological processes such as *avagraha*, *iha* and *dharana* have already been discussed in the section on epistemology.

As regards the problem of emotions and feelings, the Jainas hold almost the same view as that of the Buddhists or other ethical oriented systems of Indian philosophy. A reference, to this is made in the section on the Jaina ethics.

39. *Tattvartha Sutra*, II, 16.

40. *Ibid.*

JAINA ETHICS

Right belief (*samyagdarsana*), right knowledge (*samyag-jnana*), and right conduct (*samyagcaritra*) are the heart of Jainism. And, since like other systems of Indian thought, Jainism believes that right belief and right knowledge are not possible without right conduct, it becomes the starting point of Jainism. The primacy of spiritual life is a fact emphasized by all schools of Indian thought with the only exception of the materialists. But Jainism tops them all in prescribing a very rigorous moral discipline for spiritual progress of man. The ethical system of the Jainas is more rigorous than that of Buddhist. Buddhism follows the middle path while Jainism teaches extreme asceticism. It considers patience or endurance as the greatest virtue and preaches even fast unto death. Perhaps, it confuses physical torture for moral virtue. The difference between Buddhism and Jainism is that the former lays more stress on the purity of mind while the latter stresses more on physical purity. This distinction flows from the difference in their metaphysical positions. The Buddhists aspire to purify the stream of consciousness of its impurities which are psychological in nature. The Jaina wants to destroy the material karmic dust which physically envelops the soul.

The Doctrine of Karma

In order to have proper understanding of the Jaina ethics, it is necessary to understand the Jaina doctrine of karma. It may be of interest to note here that beliefs in rebirth and the efficacy of karma are the foundations of all systems of Indian philosophy with the solitary exception of the *Carvakas* or the materialists. Besides, these conceptions have long antiquity. They are at least as old as the Vedas. However, the conception of karma is not same in all the systems. Although function of karma remains the same, its nature changes with reference to different systems according to their different metaphysical positions.

Like other systems of Indian philosophy, Jainism also faces the problem of origin of karma. All systems of Indian philosophy face the following problems. What is the original cause of nescience? How is the soul enchained by nescience in the beginning? There are no satisfactory explanations to these questions. For a religious man these questions do not arise at all. Religion is a matter of faith. Philosophers may rest content by assuming them to be presuppositions or the questions beyond explanations, ineffable. Equally difficult is the problem to establish the belief in karma. The explanations offered by Jainism and other systems of Indian philosophy is that the variety in nature and inequality in life of men are sufficient ground to believe that there is something as destiny. This:

destiny is the karmas of men, their own doings. Although these explanations do not provide absolutely sure ground for the belief in the doctrine of karma, one may psychologically justify such a belief. As regards the question of *modus operandi* of karma, almost all systems of Indian philosophy, with the exception of *Nyaya-Vaisesika*, hold that the karmas operate automatically. Jainism also holds the same view. It dismisses *Nyaya-Vaisesika* contention that God, *Isvara* is necessary to manage the unseen, *adrasta*, i.e., karma.

As regards the problem of genesis of karma, Jainism holds that karma arises due to *yoga*, the vibrations set in the soul by the activity of body, speech and mind. On account of the passions (*kasaya*) of the soul, the soul attracts the karmic particles (*karmapudgala*) and converts them into a karmic body. This process of accumulations of particles is a continuous one. Therefore, the Jainas regard that the soul continuously undergoes change; but it, they hold, maintains its original identity. It is a position of identity in difference. This position is very similar to Buddhistic position except for the fact that whereas Buddhism does not maintain the view that there is unchangeable soul, Jainism holds the view that the soul maintains its identity while in change.

The Jaina idea of somewhat pseudo-identity of soul is difficult to understand. If the soul constantly goes on being modified (from unknown time), it can hardly maintain its identity. This hypothetical position is necessitated only to explain liberation (*moksa*). In absence of an unchangeable or identical soul what will remain after all the karmic body is blown up by the austerities? Besides, it is difficult to understand the Jaina position regarding the nature of relation between two diametrically opposite realities, soul and matter (*karmapudgala*), a position even Samkhya also finds it difficult to maintain.

As has been stated above, the yoga is the cause of the flow of the karmic matter (*asravas*) into the soul. These matter may be meritorious (*subha*) or demeritorious (*asubha*). Accordingly, karmas are classified into different classes from different points of view. Generally karmas are classified into eight classes, viz., (1) *Jnanavarniya*, that which veils right knowledge; (2) *Darsanavarniya*, that which veils right faith; (3) *Vedaniya*, that which produce experience of pain and pleasure; (4) *Mohaniya*, that which leads to delusion; (5) *Ayuhkarman*, that which determines the length of life; (6) *Naman*, that which determines the name or individuality of the embodied soul; (7) *Gotra*, that which determines his *Gotra*; and (8) *Antaraya*, that which prevents one's entrance on the path that leads to

41. See *Uttaradhyayana*, XXXIII for details.

eternal bliss. These classes have further divisions and subdivisions.⁴² The space does not permit to furnish all the details here.

It is, however, interesting to note in this context the Jaina doctrine or coloration (*lesya*). *Lesya* refers to different conditions produced in the soul by different karmas which are conceived in terms of different colours such as black, grey and white. Again, these *lesyas* have different tastes, smells character, variety and so on. It is supposed that if the passions of the soul are deeper, the *lesyas* are darker. A soul free from the passions has purely white *lesyas*. *Uttaradhyayana Sutra* (XXXIV) gives an exhaustive description of these *lesyas*. The doctrine of *lesyas* appear to be highly fanciful description of the notion of karmas. Dr. B. C. Law thinks that the Buddhist idea of mental contamination by the influx of impurities from outside seems to have some bearing on the Jaina doctrine of six *lesyas*.⁴³

It is due to karma the soul is polluted and is enchained (*bandha*). It has to be liberated (*moksa*) by destroying (*nirjara*) the karmic matter which veils it. This can be done only by right belief. In India the truth is not only to be known but also to be realized. Here metaphysics, religion and ethics go together. Life is an integrated reality. Knowledge, faith and action are complementary to one another. This is the ideal of *Samyag-jivana*, right life. I quote below in full a very interesting passage from *Uttaradhyayana Sutra* which poses the ethical problem very distinctly: "A man attached to pleasures and amusements will be caught in the trap (of deceit). (He thinks): 'I never saw the next world, but I have seen with my own eyes the pleasures of this life'. The pleasure of this life are (as it were) in your hand, but the future ones are uncertain. Who knows whether there is next world or not? Then he begins to act cruelly against movable and immovable beings, and he kills living beings with a purpose or without. An ignorant man kills, lies, deceives, calumniates, dissembles, drinks liquor, and eats meat, thinking that this is the right thing to do. Overbearing in acts and words, desires for wealth and women, he accumulates sins into two ways, just as a young snake gathers dust (in and out of its body). Then he suffers ill and is attacked by disease; and he is in dread of the next world when he reflects on his deeds. I have heard of the places in hell, and of the destination of the sinner, where the fools who do cruel deeds will suffer violently".⁴⁴ This passage of the *sutra* sums up the Jaina view of life and the world.

42. Shri Mahavira Commemorative Volume, Vol. I, p. 158 (Mahavira Jain Society, Belaganj, Agra, 1950).

43. V, 1-12 also in *Akaranga*, I, 3, 2 with slight variation.

The Jaina Yoga

The term *yoga* has a long history. In the pre-Panini literature it is usually used to convey the meaning of 'connecting' or 'yoking'. In Panini's time and after that it was frequently used in the sense of 'meditation'. Patanjali uses *yoga* in this sense only, although the term still has other connotations. The early Jaina literature used the term *yoga*, as stated earlier, in the sense of vibration set in soul, which produces an influx of karmic dust into the soul and thus impurifies it. This is union, *samyoga*, between the self and the not-self. This meaning of *yoga* is diametrically opposite to that of the *Yoga-sutra* and other such texts concerned with meditation. Early Jainism used the word '*samyag-carita*' (right conduct) to connote what we understand by *yoga* to-day. However, later Jainism adapted this word in the same sense in which it is used in the *Yoga-Sutra*.

As has been stated earlier, the ethical considerations are of supreme importance in Jainism. It treats life full of suffering whose goal lies in final liberation of soul from the bondage by rigorous mental and physical discipline. "All the professors, conversant with pain preach renunciation. Thus thoroughly knowing karma, observing the commandment, wise, unattached (to the world) recognizing thyself' as one, subdue the body chastise thyself, weaken thyself just as fire consumes old wood".⁴⁴ Early Jainism has, as it were, absolutely sure solution to offer to get away from all the troubles and turmoils of this mundane life. "Subdue yourself, for the self is difficult to subdue; if your self is subdued, you will be happy in this world and in the next".⁴⁵ Now how to subdue the self, is suggested in the *Sutras* in a very interesting dialogue between two monks. The master monk says: "The passions are the fire, knowledge, a virtuous life, and penances are the water; sprinkled with the drops of knowledge the fire of the passions is extinguished and does not burn me".⁴⁶ Thus the aim of *yoga* in Jainism, or for that matter in all other systems of Indian thought, is to destroy passions by gaining knowledge which works like fire, and burns down all the bad karmas of man.

Vratas or Virtues

But to gain knowledge, one has to live a virtuous life without which, the Indian mind believes, knowledge is not possible. Jainism shares this belief with other systems of Indian thought. Again, virtuous life involves mental and physical discipline or purity. Jainism recommends the following ways for cultivating mental and physical purity: (1) by threefold control

44. *Akaranga*, I. IV. 3.

45. *Uttaradhyayana*, I. 15.

46. *Ibid*, XX×III, 53.

(*guptis*), e.g., control of mind (*mano-gupti*), control of speech (*vag-gupti*) and control of body or action (*kaya-gupti*); (2) by fivefold regulations (*samitis*), e.g., following proper path (*Irya samiti*), proper speech (*bhasa*), proper alms (*eshana*), acquiring only necessary things (*adana*), and choosing proper place for answering nature's call.⁴⁷ The practice of tenfold moral virtues (*dharma*) and contemplating (*anupreksha*) are absolutely necessary. The abstinences from injury (*himsa*), falsehood (*anrita*), theft (*steysa*), unchastity (*abrahmacarya*), and acquisition of property (*parigraha*) enjoined on laymen and monks, and known as *anuvratas* and *mahavratas* with reference to laymen and monks respectively, are absolutely necessary for moral life.⁴⁸ To this list *Uttaradhyayana* (XXX) adds one more abstinence and that is, refraining from eating at night. This *Sutra* classifies the austerities into internal and external and gives an exhaustive account of all these which, though, important, cannot be elaborated here. The Jaina monks are supposed to know and bear twenty two troubles: (1) hunger, (2) thirst, (3) cold, (4) heat, (5) gad-flies and gnats, (6) nakedness, (7) to be discontented with objects of control, (8) women, (9) erratic life, (10) place for study, (11) lodging, (12) abuse, (13) corporal punishment, (14) to ask for something, (15) to be refused, (16) illness, (17) picking up grass, (18) dirt, (19) kind and respectful treatment, (20) knowledge, (21) ignorance, (22) righteousness.⁴⁹ Jainism prescribes more rigorous discipline to its monks than Buddhism does to its monks.

The Jaina system of meditation is very similar to the Buddhist system of *Satipatthana bhavana* where a monk is supposed to keep all the time (standing, sitting, lying down, jumping, etc.) his mind away from abnoxious desires. The only difference between the two is whereas Jainism usually restricts the object of meditation to refraining from causing suffering to living beings,⁵⁰ Buddhism is more contemplative and advises the meditators to ponder over the nature of things.

That the passion (*trishna*) or ignorance (*avidya*) is the cause of suffering, and that knowledge (*jnana*) is the means by which the ignorance can be destroyed and the soul can be freed, are the common beliefs of all systems of Indian philosophy. Jainism shares these beliefs with other systems. These system pursue almost similar analysis of moral virtues, and their ultimate goal is the same, that is, the destruction of suffering and the attainment Nirvana or Moksa—the supreme goal of life. There is nothing very striking with any one system insofar as their

47. See *Uttaradhyayana*, XXXIV, 1-27 for details; also *Tattvartha Sutra*, Chapters VII-I×; *Uttaradhyayana*, XVI-1, mentions ten *guptis*.

48. *Akaranga*. II, 15.

49. *Uttaradhyayana*, II, 1

50. *Ibid*, XXIV, 24-25.

ethics is concerned. However, we should discuss here briefly the Jaina conception of *Ahimsa* and the Jaina doctrine of *Gunasthana*, not because these ideas are absolutely new but because of the emphasis that Jainism lays on them. The concept of *Gunasthana* is the Jaina contribution; although the idea behind the concept is very much familiar to other systems of Indian thought. It is a theory of moral progress through successive stages.

The Doctrine of Ahimsa

The doctrine of Ahimsa is a very old ethical principle in Indian thought. In the *Mahabharata* Ahimsa is hailed as the greatest religion (*paramodharmah*).^{*} Ahimsa is *sine qua non* of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. However, it is Jainism which lays the greatest emphasis on Ahimsa. Ahimsa is not only the heart of Jainism, but the latter has become almost a synonym of the former. "All beings hate pain; therefore one should not kill them. This is the quintessence of wisdom: not to kill anything. Know this to be the legitimate conclusion from the principle of the reciprocity with regard to non-killing".⁵¹ The *Sutras* are replete with such injunctions. There is hardly any chapter in a Jaina *Sutra* which does not refer to Ahimsa, directly or indirectly. The Jainas believe that all six elements, earth, water, fire, etc., possess life; and hence a wise man should neither kill life himself nor cause to others to do so, nor even allow others to do so.⁵²

The Jaina concept of Ahimsa is, as is the case with other systems of Indian thought, very deep. It is not confined only to abstinence from physical injury to human beings; it is the practice of non-injury towards all beings right from the smallest bacterial to the highest, human beings. The vow of Ahimsa runs thus: "I renounce all killing of living beings, whether subtle or gross, whether movable or immovable. Nor shall I myself kill living beings nor cause others to do it, nor consent to it. As long as I live, I confess any blame, repent and exempt myself of these sins, in the thrice threefold way, in mind, speech and body".⁵³ A monk is supposed to be obsessed so much with the fear of injuring a living being that he is strictly advised not to keep even his bowl recklessly, lest he should unknowingly injure some insects below it. Eating before sun-set and covering mouth with a piece of cloth in order to avoid any unintentional injury are well known practices among the Jainas.

However, the extreme interpretation of Ahimsa in Jainism appears to be out of proportion. It has been felt by many

* See the article on 'Evolution of Jaina Thought', pp. 46-52.

51. *Sutrakritanga*, I, 2, 9-10.

52. *Akaranga*, I, 1, 3-7.

53. *Akaranga*, II, 15.

thinkers that Jainism, motivated by the spirit of outwitting the rival systems, has over emphasized asceticism in general and the doctrine of Ahimsa in particular. The doctrine suffers from scientific and practical limitations. The hylozoistic conception that even the particles of fire element possess life is highly imaginative. The practice of living naked among the Digambaras, drinking boiled water, not eating anything produced underground, etc., are beyond practical reason. One faces the problem as to how one can explain capital punishment or any other type of punishment, corporal or otherwise; for, all of them cause suffering to men. Or, what would be the social philosophy of Jainism if the principle of Ahimsa is strictly adhered to? Will it be conducive to social good if the system of punishment is abolished altogether, because it causes pain and suffering? Or, what should a soldier do when he is facing an attacking enemy? Should a surgeon stop operation because it causes pain or he sterilizes his instruments in the process of which many germs die? Is it possible to pursue even one's religious life in a chaotic society where there is no system of social control? There are many such questions which demand answer from the protagonists of extreme Ahimsa. Perhaps, Jainism has no answer to these questions. Nor can any other system which emphasizes Ahimsa to this extreme have any answer. Such systems become lopsided, and cannot develop any integrated philosophy of life feasible in this world.

The problem of inherent contradiction involved in the doctrine of Ahimsa had engaged the mind of Indian thinkers right from the Upanisadic time or perhaps even earlier; and this is the problem which forms the very theme of the *Bhagavadgita*. The problem of Ahimsa and social responsibility or, in other words, the antagonism between moksa and social solidarity (*loka samgraha*) is thoroughly discussed in the dialogues between Arjuna and Krishna, and the solution suggested therein is that in case of a conflict between general duty (*sadharana dharma*) such as Ahimsa, etc., and specific duty (*varnasrama dharma*), such as the duty of a soldier, it is the latter which should prevail over the former. In other words, the precept of Ahimsa has to be sacrificed for greater good. Even to perform religious duties, the man and the society must exist. Mr. C. C. Shah's article on 'Jainism and Modern Life' reports an interesting incident from Mahatma Gandhi's life where Gandhiji is reported to have drawn the attention of a Jaina Muni about the inherent opposition (he calls a situation of dilemma) between the doctrine of Ahimsa and some hard facts of life. Gandhiji asks the Muni as to what he should do when he faces a poisonous snake in a room where there is no outlet to escape. He pointedly asks: "Should I kill the snake or allow him to bite me?" This question brings out the dilemmatic situation very aptly. But the answer given by the Muni that he would not advise Gandhiji to allow the snake to bite

him nor would he advise him to kill the snake is not satisfactory. It does not lead us anywhere. This is no solution to the problem; the question demands a categorical rather than an evasive answer. Some compromise has to be made between the hard realities of life and the lofty ideal that we keep before us. It is here that we appreciate the solution suggested in the *Bhagavadgita* in this matter.

Violence in some form is inevitable. Even Jainism itself cannot avoid such situations. To drink boiled water in order to avoid killing of germs inside the stomach is to kill them while boiling the water. Is there any escape? Minor violence has to be allowed for greater good. The doctrine of absolute Ahimsa can at the most be an ideal, and Jainism, or any other religion for that matter, deserves appreciation for maintaining such a lofty ideal because it inspires man to approximate to it.

But what is objectionable, when eloquent allusion is made to this doctrine, is that while Jainism teaches to avoid even the slightest injury to living beings, it has high praise for the worst type of pain that an adept is supposed to inflict upon himself. The practices such as pulling off the hair from their roots, *lunchana* (which should ideally be done in five handfuls) and fast unto death are worst types of himsa. Undue self-inflicted injury is no sign of virtue. When such practices are glorified, they express a sort of negative or sado-masochistic tendency. Jainism, thus undermines the very principle on which it claims to build the super structure of its philosophy and religion. It is because of these rigorous practices Buddhism, following the middle path, became more popular than Jainism. The high impracticable precepts have given birth to needless ritualism. Both Hinduism as well as Jainism suffer from this contradiction.

The Doctrine of Gunasthana

The final attitude of Indian philosophy and religion is highly optimistic. Although Indian philosophy teaches initial pessimism, it is, in its final analysis, confident of moral and spiritual progress of man. The path of religious perfection, though an arduous one, is assured of those who have necessary qualification. Here the key to kingdom of heaven lies with the man himself. He can rise even upto godhead—a position unthinkable in other religious systems of the world. There a man can utmost win over grace of god, but he cannot attain His position. The Indian thinking is that every man has spark of divine, and that he can if he so desires realize his full godhood. Jainism also carries the same belief. The journey of moral perfection is a long one. There are many hurdles to be overcome and many stages to be crossed before a wayfarer finds his final destination. The doctrine of *Gunasthana* of the Jainas conveys this idea. It is a theory of gradual moral progress passing

through different stages or stations (*sthana*) of successive spiritual progress. These stages of progress are marked by certain characteristics (*guna*).

It has been stated above that Jainism is a philosophy or religion which prepares man to master three-jewels of life, right belief (*samyag-darsana*), right conduct (*samyag-carita*) and right knowledge (*samyag-jnana*). These virtues are realized after a man destroys his karmas; this means a rigorous training of body and mind is absolutely necessary. The thoughts and emotions must be completely inhibited before one realizes ones real self. This process, known as *gunasthana*, consists of fourteen stages.

The first stage in this process is known as the stage of wrong view (*mithya dristi*). In this stage the soul, being full of wrong views, is at its bottom of progress. In this stage people are likely to be a prey to false religion and may not realize the significance of a true religion—for example, Jainism which is true. At the second stage of development (*sasvasadana*) the adept knows the distinction between true and false, but forgets about it. The third stage is the mixture of the above two (*misra*). In the fourth stage the soul develops some right vision, but it cannot maintain it since it is unable to follow the vows (*avirati samyag dristi gunasthana*). In the fifth stage the soul acquires partial abstinence. There are various degrees of perfection in this stage as is the case with other stages. In the sixth step of the ladder (*pramatta gunasthana*) passions are destroyed, but spiritual inertia remains which is destroyed in the next step (*apramatta-samyata*). In the eighth step the soul acquires purity more rapidly, and it experiences unprecedented joy (*apurvakarna gunasthana*). In this the power of meditation (*dhyana*) increases and the fetters of karmas become loose. According to liberal tradition in the Jainas, women can come upto this stage. The orthodox Digambaras believe that the women can attain only the first fifth stage of spiritual development. The ninth and the tenth stages refer to the state of inhibition of greed which becomes subtle (*suksma*) and is inhibited at the tenth stage, though not completely. "He who owns even a small property in living or lifeless things, or consents to other holding it, will not be delivered from misery".⁵⁴ The eleventh stage (*upasantamoha*) refers to total suppression of passions. The twelfth step shows complete annihilation of all the karmas. This is the summit of the ladder of annihilation. In this stage develops the pure contemplation (*shukladhyana*). The thirteenth stage is marked by the development of wisdom or spiritual illumination. The adept acquires the three necessary qualifications, right faith, right knowledge and right conduct, and he becomes a *Tirthankara*. This stage is known as *Sayogikevali* and is, according to Dr. Tatia, equivalent

54. *Sutrakritanga*, I, 2, 55.

to the *Jivanmukta* stage described in the Vedanta philosophy. At the beginning of the stage *Ayogikevali*, the *Tirthankara* becomes a *Siddha* and realizes *Moksha* at once. This is the final culmination of spiritual life.

NIRVANA

Absolute freedom from bondage is the ultimate goal of religious and spiritual life. To many religions (the term religion is used in the traditional sense) this goal consists in liberation or salvation of the soul. The Jains and Hindus aspire for this ideal. However, the aspirant for such an ideal is required to attain certain standard of spiritual progress. Jainism believes that only an adept who has perfected the last two stages of the ladder of moral evolution achieves liberation by destroying completely the knot of karmas and freeing the soul from it once and for all.⁵⁵ Since Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism emanate from the same cultural ethos, they have the same conception of the highest goal irrespective of the different terms that they use to denote this goal. Desirelessness is the cause of Nirvana in Buddhism and Jainism; the same is the cause of Moksha in Hinduism. The Jain *Sutras* hold the view that the means to realize the goal of freedom from bondage are, as stated earlier, right knowledge, right faith, right conduct and austerity. "By knowledge, one knows things, by faith one believes in them; by conduct one gets freedom from Karman, and by austerities, one reaches purity. Having destroyed their Karman by control and austerities, the great sages, whose purpose is to get rid of all misery, proceed to perfection".⁵⁶ For such a sage destroys all fetters of life and makes himself absolutely pure. "The dirt (of sins) formerly committed by a thus liberated mendicant who walks in wisdom (and restraint), who is constant, and bears pains, vanishes as the dirt covering silver (is removed) by fire".⁵⁷

The often repeated and short-cut way to Nirvana is to abstain from injuring any living being. For, Jainism starts with the fundamental truth that every body shuns pain and likes pleasure. "A wise man should study them with all means of philosophical research. All beings hate pain; therefore one should not kill them".⁵⁸ Therefore, Jainism concludes: "He should cease to injure living beings whether they move or not, on high, below, and on earth. For this has been called the Nirvana, which consists in peace".⁵⁹ There is an interesting discussion regarding the nature of Nirvana between two monks, Kesi and Gautama. To a question put by Kesi, as to what a

55. *Tattvartha Sutra*, X. 2. 56. *Uttaradhyayana*, X×VIII.

57. *Akaraṅga* II, 16, 8. 58. *Sutrakritanga* I. 11.

59. *Ibid*; also I, 3, 4.

safe, happy and quiet place for living beings is, Gautama answers thus: "It is what is called Nirvana, or freedom from pain, or perfection which is in view of all; it is the safe, happy and quiet place which the great sages reach".⁶⁰ This is what the Buddhists and the Vedantins also have to say about their conception of Nirvana and Moksha respectively. The epithets bliss (*Sukham*), safe (*Yoga Ksemam*), immortal (*Amritam*), etc., are used by all the systems of Indian philosophy, except by the materialists, to describe the summum bonum of life.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS GOD

Jainism has been classified under the atheistic schools of Indian Philosophy along with Buddhism and the Carvaka system. The word '*nastika*' which is normally translated as atheist, does not convey the exact sense in the context of Indian philosophy. As a matter of fact, the word 'atheism' is a misnomer here. The word 'atheist' (godless a = not theos = God) refers, in the context of western thought in general, to a person who does not believe in the existence of God. Or, an 'atheist' is a person who holds that the sentence "God exists" expresses a false proposition. Atheism, therefore, refers to that system of belief in which there is no God. But the word '*nastika*' does not convey this sense in the context of Indian thought. According to Panini, the great grammarian, the word '*nastika*' refers to those persons who do not believe in the efficacy of Karma or in the possibility of rebirth. And since Buddhism and Jainism both accept the theory of Karma and rebirth, they cannot be called as *Nastika* schools of thought. The belief in a personal God is not strictly adhered to here for being an *astika*; for, even many orthodox schools of Indian philosophy do not subscribe to the belief in a personal God. In this sense, Jainism and Buddhism are *astika* systems, although they are commonly understood as *nastika* systems. This is more so because they do not accept the authority of the *Vedas*; and the belief in the authenticity of the *Vedas* or, atleast the absence of disbelief in them, is regarded obligatory for an *astika* from the orthodox point of view.

But, Jainism and Buddhism are atheistic systems (to use the western concept of atheism) in the sense that they do not subscribe to the belief in a personal God. The concept of God is, atleast so far as Christianity and Islam are concerned, that God is the ultimate reality which is the creator and controller of the spiritual and material world. He is the first cause of the world, but is *causa sui* Himself. He is omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent. He is benevolent and merciful. Such a God does not exist in Jainism. For that matter, no system of Indian thought, including even the so called theistic systems, has such

a conception of God. Moreover, Jainism is openly hostile to the idea of such a God who is the creator of the world. The Jaina *Sutras* spare no argument to repudiate such a theistic idea. *Sutrakristanga Sutra* (I, 1, 3, 5-8) vehemently criticizes the theories of those who hold that the world is created by Gods or *Brahman* or *Ishvara* or *Svayambhu* or *Maya* or primeval egg. It also rules out the possibility of the world being created accidentally. It calls such people as ignorant who speak untruth. Acharya Jinasena has also criticized the hypothesis regarding the existence of God. He asks: "If God created the Universe, where was he before creating it? How could a formless or immaterial substance like God create the world of matter? If material is to be taken as existing, why not take the world itself as unbegun? If the Creator was uncreated, why not suppose the world itself to be self-existing?"⁶¹ Although these objections can be answered from the theistic point of view — and also some of them can be turned against the Jaina position — nevertheless these arguments fully express the Jaina attitude towards a personal God.

The Jainas explain the genesis of the world with reference to Karma⁶² and the combination and permutation of eternally existing elements (*tattvas*). These elements create the world because of the necessity created by Karmas of the beings. The diversities of the world are explained with reference to five co-operative conditions, viz. Time (*kala*), Nature (*svabhava*), Necessity (*niyati*), Action (*karma*) and Desire to be and act (*udiyama*). Dr. S. Radhakrishnan comments on the Jaina position as: "The whole universe of being consisting of mental and material factors, has existed from all eternity, undergoing an infinite number of revolutions produced by the powers of Nature without the intervention of any eternal deity".⁶³ Such is the conception of the world in Jainism.

However, Jainism is a religion of Godhead without having any personal God. This paradox becomes clear when we understand the Jaina view of an ideal man. According to Jainism every soul has an inherent potentiality of perfection. If it utilizes this potentiality properly, it can become supreme soul, *paramatman*. The *Tirthankaras* are such supreme souls. They have gone upto the highest stage of the ladder of evolution. They are the embodiment of highest virtue and perfection. Jainism conceives the *Tirthankaras* as superior even to gods who live on a lower strata of moral evolution. This is the Jaina conception of Godhead. But, the *Tirthankaras* cannot shape the destiny of Man. Unlike the God in any theistic system, they

61. As cited by Gopalan, op. cit., p. 40.

62. *Sutrakristanga*, I, 1, 3, 10.

63. Indian Philosophy, vol. I, p. 330.

cannot bestow mercy upon the suffering souls. Hence there is no place for devotion or *bhakti* in the Jaina religion. "Personal love is to be burnt up in the glow of asceticism".⁶⁴ The *Tirthankaras* can at best be guides or inspirers of virtue, being models before all aspiring souls. Jainism lacks the spirit of altruism that we find in Mahayana Buddhism where the Bodhisattvas are moved by the feeling of great compassion (*Mahakaruna*). They take the vow not to attain Nirvana, until all the suffering beings are free from woe and misery.

The Jaina laity are, however, more liberal about their belief in gods and their worship than the Jaina doctrine would permit. Like the Hindus, the Jainas also worship many gods and goddesses. Besides the *Tirthankaras* (*Jinas*) who are worshipped like gods and occupy virtually the same position in the minds of common Jaina folk that a Hindu god occupies in the minds of the Hindus, the Jainas worship many other gods and goddesses also. The gods such as Indra, Krishna and goddesses like Lakshmi, Saraswati and Ambika occupy important position in Jaina pantheon. This happened as a result of the impact of Hinduism on Jainism. When the followers of Krishna cult embraced Jainism, a close connection was established between Krishna and the twenty-second *Tirthankara*, Aristanemi. Besides, the Jaina mythology mentions numerous other deities who are supposed to be residing in different regions of the world. But, the Jainas are very emphatic about the fact that these gods are inferior to the *Jinas* or *Tirthankaras*; for, other gods and goddesses operate in Karmic world, and are subject to passions which they have destroyed only partially. All their gods admire the *Tirthankaras*, or *Jinas* who have conquered the world and themselves by completely destroying all their karmas. The *Tirthankaras* are the supreme beings and the kevalinship the greatest ideal.

64. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 331.

Jainism and Modern Life

C. C. Shah

Jainism is essentially an ethical religion. Like all prophets, and unlike philosophers, Mahavira was more concerned with the problems of life than with metaphysical speculations. Even while reflecting upon life, he appears to be more concerned with how to find escape from pain and misery rather than how to seek positive happiness or pleasure. Unlike Buddha, he did not need direct contact with old age, disease and death to realize the futility of the pleasures of life or of worldly possessions; he appears to have been averse by temperament to pleasures of life and worldly possessions from his childhood. But for his respect for elders, his parents and elder brother, probably he would not have married or waited to renounce the world. He was of an ascetic disposition, and renunciation was very natural to him.

He was born in an age when *Sanyas* and severe austerities were common. But those who preached such *Sanyas* and practised austerities did not have the spiritual outlook, or inward looking approach like Mahavira. To Mahavira, *Sanyas* and Austerities were not an end in themselves but the means to salvation. He was convinced that embodied existence was an evil which one should get rid of. Life, according to him, was bondage and the ideal was to free oneself from bodily existence. Bodily existence was an obstacle to spiritual realization. All activities of the body, from breathing to eating and possession of any kind, resulted in injury to living creatures. Hence the only way to spiritual realization was to practise extreme austerities and renunciation of all activities of the body. Mahavira carried both these principles to their extreme logical conclusions.

The most important discovery of Mahavira is his realization that earth, air, fire, water, etc. are full of living creatures. This significant discovery 2500 years ago is the greatest achievement of Mahavira. This is a result of intuition or direct realization of Mahavira. Once this is realized, the principle of non-injury to living beings in all forms follows as an inevitable consequence. Mahavira inherited a long and well established tradition of non-injury to all living creatures. The Twenty-second Tirthankara, Neminath renounced marriage to save animals brought to be sacrificed on the occasion of his marriage ceremony. The Twenty-third Tirthankara Parshvanath, saved a serpent from fire at the risk of his life. Mahavira carried this great tradition further.

He derived all other vows and virtues from the principle of non-injury to all living creatures in all forms of life. *Satya* (Truth), *Asteya* (Non-stealing), *Brahmacharya* (Complete celibacy) and *Aparigraha* (Non-possession) all logically flow from and are a direct result of Ahimsa. *Tapa* and *Samyam*, austerities and every kind of restraint in every activity of mind, speech and body are inevitable consequences of the principle of non-injury. The whole of Mahavira's religion or ethics can be summed up in these three concepts, *Ahimsa*, *Samyam* and *Tapa*. The distinguishing characteristic of this ethical religion is that Mahavira carried it to the extreme limit. As a result, the emphasis was laid on renunciation of all worldly activities, and involvement in self-analysis or introspection. Mahavira, unlike Buddha, admitted no compromise. Buddha adopted the middle path, but Mahavira followed the path of extreme asceticism.

The practice of such an ethical code leads to spiritual individualism and indifference to social activities and responsibilities. It is true that there is a code of conduct for householders *Grihasta-dharma*. But, Mahavira's whole emphasis is on *Muni-dharma*. *Grihasta-dharma* is only a step to *Muni-dharma*. This has led to a somewhat lop-sided concept of non-injury, and to a great deal of misconception and misapplication of that principle. It has led to contradictions in life. Such an ideal leads to more negative approach towards life than to a positive one.* Active compassion does not find a place in such an ideal. No doubt, practice of the principle of non-injury does not permit any harm to any one, but it does not lead to active compassionate conduct either. Efforts have been made to correct this imbalance but not with much success. The result has been dichotomy in life between what is conceived to be religious duty and what calls for social responsibility.

Dr. Albert Schweitzer evolved the basic ethical principle of reverence for life, but he wanted to combine it with what he called life-affirmation which means full social activity. He was then confronted with the problem what he called the horrible dilemma of life where life exists at the cost of life. He could find no way of escape. Mahavira avoided this dilemma by renouncing all worldly activity, which, to Dr. Schweitzer, was negation of life. Schweitzer found greater comfort in Christ's principle of love or Buddha's principle of active compassion which also favoured reverence for life. Dr. Schweitzer made no distinction between one form of life and another. Like Mahavira, he accepted the principle of unity of life and maintained that there was no justification to regard one form of life as higher than another. Therefore, man had no right to sacrifice life in any form for his happiness. However, Schweitzer was

* For detailed discussion on this point see the article 'Jaina Philosophy and Religion' pp. 79-81.

wedded to the western concept of progress and he wanted progress, both spiritual and material. He could not realize fully the inherent contradiction between the two, material and spiritual which was realized by Mahavira that these two cannot be reconciled. Hence Mahavira's principles of complete *Brahmacharya* and *Aparigraha* were not acceptable to Dr. Schweitzer. Not that Dr. Schweitzer was in favour of pleasures and wealth. He saw the evil of both, but was not prepared to renounce them completely as did Mahavira.

Gandhiji made an heroic attempt to combine non-violence with worldly activity. He claims to have based it on *The Bhagwad Gita*. It is difficult to trace the roots of non-violence in Gandhiji's thought. It may be due to the influence of some Jain Sadhus on Gandhiji's life in his childhood. But undoubtedly at the age of 24, he was deeply engrossed in the problems of non-violence and its implications. When he sought spiritual guidance of Shrimad Rajchandra, of the 27 questions which he asked, the last one was on non-violence which he put in an extreme form. Gandhiji asked what he should do if, in a room with only four walls without door or window, a deadly serpent appeared. Should he kill the serpent? Shrimad gave a characteristic reply. He said it was difficult to advise to allow the serpent to bite you. But if he truly realised that the soul was different from the body, and if he had no attachment to the body, he should allow the serpent to do what he liked. But, he said, I can never dream of advising to kill the serpent.

Gandhiji read non-violence in *The Bhagwad Gita*. He regarded the war-like setting of *The Gita* as symbolic of the inner conflict of man. This is not the occasion to discuss how far Gandhiji was right in his interpretation of the *Gita* in this manner. But Gandhiji was not content with merely preaching non-violence. He was a revolutionary, and wanted to create a non-violent society. He had a complete plan for it. His interest in the realities of life and the affairs of the world was intense, and he wanted to see a world in which non-violence becomes the law of life. Gandhiji actively opposed injustice by non-violent means. Mahavira cannot be said to be having the belief that the world can adopt non-violence as the principle of life. An individual can and must, but to be able to practice non-violence, it was necessary to renounce the world. Therefore, the question of opposing injustice does not arise in case of Mahavira.

The metaphysical speculations of Mahavira's ethics appear to be of a later growth. The seeds of metaphysics are there in Mahavira's teaching. But he was primarily concerned with the development of ethical and spiritual conduct of man rather than with the metaphysical speculations. The essence of Jain metaphysics is dualism of soul and matter, *Jiva* and *Ajiva*. The philosophical system can be said to be plurastic realism, as it recognizes infinite number of souls which remain independent

from each other even after liberation. Soul and matter are totally different from each other. It is regarded that Karmic substance has penetrated into the souls of ordinary living beings from time immemorial, and the souls are therefore in bondage because of such influx of matter into them. Though the contact between soul and matter is without a beginning, it is not without an end. In fact, the highest ideal of life is to end that contact or relationship for ever, and with it the cycle of birth and death. Since matter is foreign to soul, it must be got rid of. Embodied existence is the result of connection of soul with matter. Body and all its activities including those of mind and speech are sources of further bondage, *Asrava* and *Bandha*. This influx must be stopped, *Samvara*. And the accumulated weight of Karma should be dissolved (*Nirjara*) by *Tapas*. Every activity of body, mind and speech—even good activity involves injury to some living creature and causes therefore, further influx of Karma and bondage. Hence all such activities should be stopped. The principles of non-injury and austerity are carried to their extreme limit as a result of this dualistic philosophy. They are a direct logical consequence of it. Renunciation of all worldly activities follows as a matter of course.

It is difficult to say whether this philosophical approach influenced the ethical code of conduct or it was vice versa. I believe that the philosophical system of Jainism is an after-growth intended to support and justify the ethical system. But undoubtedly, the metaphysical ideas have largely influenced and strengthened the ethical philosophy of Jainism.

The three great religions of India—Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism have more or less a common ethical approach and a common goal. But there is a difference in the emphasis they place on different aspects of the ethical and spiritual path-way to self realisation; and that has made all the difference to their general outlook on life and its problems. Their philosophical and metaphysical systems vary a great deal and that also has made a difference to their ethical approaches. Their views on the nature of the ultimate reality have basic differences. Buddha had a somewhat agnostic approach and avoided speculations on the nature of the ultimate reality. He was more concerned with the immediate problems of life. His approach is therefore more practical. It has a larger social content and is more appealing to the people. Hinduism is an ocean with Shankar's *Advaita* and *Sanyas* at one end and caste-ridden ritualistic Brahminism at the other. Jainism has a clear-cut dualistic approach which involves extreme practice of non-injury and austerity and indifference to worldly affairs.

All three religions however agree that the pathway to spiritual realisation necessarily involves renunciation or restriction of material possessions, self-restraint in life, and feeling of brotherhood with all sentient creation. The five great vows

Ahimsa, *Satya*, *Asteya*, *Brahmacharya* and *Aparigraha* are accepted by all the three religions as the basis to spiritual discipline, but the emphasis and practice in them differ.

Jain philosophy is summed up in *Nava-tatva* and *Sada-dravya*. Common to both the categories is the dualism of soul and matter. *Asrava* and *Bandha* are subject matter of psychology; *Samvara* and *Nirjara* are subjects of ethics; *Punya* and *Papa* are results of good and bad actions; and *Moksha* is the summum bonum of life. In *Sada-dravya* Time and Space are regarded as real and also Rest and Motion. These are really concepts of science. They are all characteristics of the phenomenal world. The ultimate reality is beyond time and space, beyond rest and motion. It is transcendent, immutable and eternal.

Complete dualism of Soul and Matter, and pluralism of Souls even after liberation, are matters of philosophysical and metaphysical discourse. Some kind of unity, which must be spiritual, appears more probable. There must be a spiritual power maintaining and regulating the whole universe. Soul and matter, if utterly disparate will not be connected so closely as they are in embodied existence. Subject and object are different, but they merge in knowledge. If matter were totally different from soul, both would remain entirely separate and soul cannot even gain knowledge of matter. The fact that soul, not only gains knowledge of matter but is able to discover its laws and control the physical universe, should lead us to an inference that there is some kind of affinity or unity between the two, and that there is a unity which transcends this dualism.

Those who accept that Mahavira attained omniscience—perfect knowledge—and that what he is said to have known is the whole truth and complete knowledge about ultimate reality, will resent any attempt to raise any adverse comment about the metaphysical system which is associated with Jainism. To them, any other idea is *Mithyatva*; to them, any other system is *Mithyatva*. Mahavira's teaching is considered to be preserved in the *Agamas*. Digambara reject them. They were written eight centuries after Mahavira's Nirvana. The works of great Acharyas, Swetamber and Digambara, cannot be said to be revelations of any perfect being.

I believe that the ethical and spiritual teachings of Mahavira and his path-way *Sadhana-marga* to self realisation are profound, borne out of great and highest spiritual experience and have eternal value. The metaphysical system which is associated with him bears re-examination. The ethical and spiritual teachings and the metaphysical system need not be made inseparable. Even the ethical and spiritual teachings, eternal and of abiding value as they are in their basic approach, bear re-examination and re-application from time to time. Jain

philosophy and ethics have not received that critical evaluation which could make it ever fresh and living. It has remained static.

One great contribution of Mahavira is his theory of non-absolutism in thought, speech and deed (*Anekantavada*, *Naya-vada*, *Samata*). Such an approach leads to tolerance (*Sambhava*), charity of heart and humility. This approach in a way, is another form or aspect of the principle of non-injury. Principle of non-injury becomes truly effective in action, only if there is a spirit of non-violence in thought and speech. If one is dogmatic or intolerant or harbours hatred, it is bound to result in violence of speech and action. This spirit of non-absolutism leads to synthesis of opposite views or at least it leads to respect for each other's views and feeling of fellowship.

Mahavira's principles of *Ahimsa*, *Aparigraha* and *Anekanta* have greater value, and are of great need in the modern world than they were some 2500 years ago. Mahavira's principle of *Samyam* has greater relevance now than ever before. Man needs to learn self restraint in thought, word and deed against licence and intolerance which is so widespread nowadays. These principles can be the basis of true democracy, socialism and peace. Their application to the conditions of modern life cannot be the same as it was in Mahavira's time. Every great man is conditioned by his time and its needs. Life is too great and complex to remain in straight jacket for all time to come. It demands ever new synthesis from the contradictions it evolves and creates. Faith has to be renewed to be living. Spirit may remain the same, but it needs new forms. Free thought is the breath of life. Jainism is no exception to the need for critical re-examination of its practices to suit the needs of modern life.

These are stray thoughts. They have been germinating in my mind since years, but I have had neither the time nor the ability for a deep and sustained study for a systematic exposition. They are necessarily incomplete and I crave indulgence of the learned, if I have misunderstood them. I am neither dogmatic about these views nor do I have a closed mind. I would be content if they lead to a fruitful dialogue.

The Great Renunciation

Dr. H. D. Sankalia

This is the 2500th year of Mahavira, the 24th Tirthankara of the Jainas. Unlike Buddhism, Jainism is said to have a long and hoary past, stretching back to thousands of years. The first Tirthankara, Risabha or Adinatha, as I pointed out long ago, in JAINA ANTIQUARY, is credited in Jaina literature with what we call the birth of 'civilization'. It was Risabha who made the earth flat and made it suitable for agriculture.

Neminatha, Risabha's distant successor, and the predecessor of Mahavira abandoned the world in a much more dramatic way than did Buddha or any other teacher we know of.

The story of the Great Renunciation of Neminatha, the 22nd Jaina Tirthankara which is carved in a ceiling panel in the Tejhpala* temple on Mount Abu is perhaps more poignant in the swiftness and contrasts of its scenes than the gradual world-weariness of Buddha.

The story had become a classic as early as the 4th century B.C. for it is related in the *Uttaradhyayanasutra*,¹ a canonical work of the Jainas. Since then it was so popular and sacred that as late as the 12th century A.D., Hemachandra, the great poet-philosopher of Gujarat, included it in his work, on the lives of 63 great men.²

Neminatha, or Aristanemi as he was called before he became a Jina, was a prince who, some 5000 years ago, is supposed to have lived in the town of Saurypura (perhaps modern Mathura). Kesava (Krishna of Hindu mythology) was his friend and relative, and he by his influence arranged the engagement of Aristanemi with Rajimati, a daughter of king Ugrasena of Mathura (and later of Dwarka). For the marriage-rite the bridegroom, according to the Hindu custom, was invited to go to the bride's house. Decked in rich clothes and ornaments, riding on the best of elephants under a raised umbrella, fanned by attendants. Surrounded by his clansmen, and preceded by musicians and an army drawn up in rank and file, he started from his palace.

On his way he saw animals, kept in enclosures. Overcome by fear and looking miserable, beholding them thus Aristanemi spoke to his charioteer, "Why are all these animals, which desire to be happy, kept in an enclosure?"

The charioteer answered, "Lucky are these animals because at thy wedding they will furnish food for many people".

Note: For footnotes see page No. 100.

Having heard these words, which meant the slaughter of so many innocent animals he, full of compassion and kindness to living beings, decided to renounce the world and then he presented the charioteer with his ornaments and clothes.

Everyone including the gods coming to know of Aristanemi's resolution gathered together to celebrate and witness the Great Renunciation. Thus surrounded, sitting in a palanquin Aristanemi left Dwarka for Mount Raivataka, (modern Girnar in Saurashtra), and there in the presence of the whole assembly he plucked out his hair in five handfuls, called technically *Panca-musti-locas*. Aristanemi renounced the world. An erstwhile prince, about to be married to a beautiful princess, was now a homeless, naked ascetic in search of truth and happiness for the suffering humanity.

With but one exception, the story in the canonical work is faithfully represented on a ceiling carved in the marble temple of Lunavasahi, built by Tejapala, a minister of Viradhavala of Gujarat in 1232 A.D., at Delwara on Mount Abu.

The ceiling is divided into 7 horizontal sections. Each section depicts a part of the story. Beginning from the bottom;

SECTION I:— shows the dancers and musicians which led the marriage procession of Aristanemi.

SECTION II:— the battle between Krisna and king Jarasandha with Aristanemi in a chariot.³

SECTION III:— the musicians, army and clansmen.

SECTION IV:— (from right; first, the arrival of Aristanemi in a chariot; second, animals tied for slaughter in an enclosure; third, the marriage pandal, called 'Cori', a square tent-like bower constructed with seven brass or earthen pots, supported by stems of plantain trees, and decorated with festoons of garlands; fourth and fifth, the elephants guarding the entrance of the palace and horse stable; sixth, gateway to the palace of Rajimati; seventh, two storied palace, with chamberlain announcing to Rajimati and her friends the arrival of Aristanemi.

SECTIONS V, VI, VII, face upwards. Chronologically first comes Section VI, then VII and lastly V.

SECTION VI:— (from right) Aristanemi seated on a throne in the midst of the assembly of gods and men, giving money and food in charity for a year before he became a Jaina.

SECTION VII:— (from left to right) first, a scene which cannot be exactly identified; it shows Aristanemi seated on a throne attended by fly-whisk bearers and others; second, Neminatha seated in meditation-pose and plucking out the hair in five handfuls.

SECTION V:— (from right to left) first, procession of gods and men carrying Aristanemi to Mount Raivataka; second, Aristanemi, now Neminatha, standing erect and motionless practising penance (*kayotsarga*).

1 : Dancers and Musicians

2 : Krishna and Jarasandha fighting.
Arishtanemi in a Chariot.

3 : Musicians, army, Clansmen.

4 : Arishtanemi arriving at marriage pendal.
Animals tied for slaughter.

5 : Penance of Neminatha.

6 : Arishtanemi seated in the midst of the
assembly.

7 : Panchamushtilochoa.

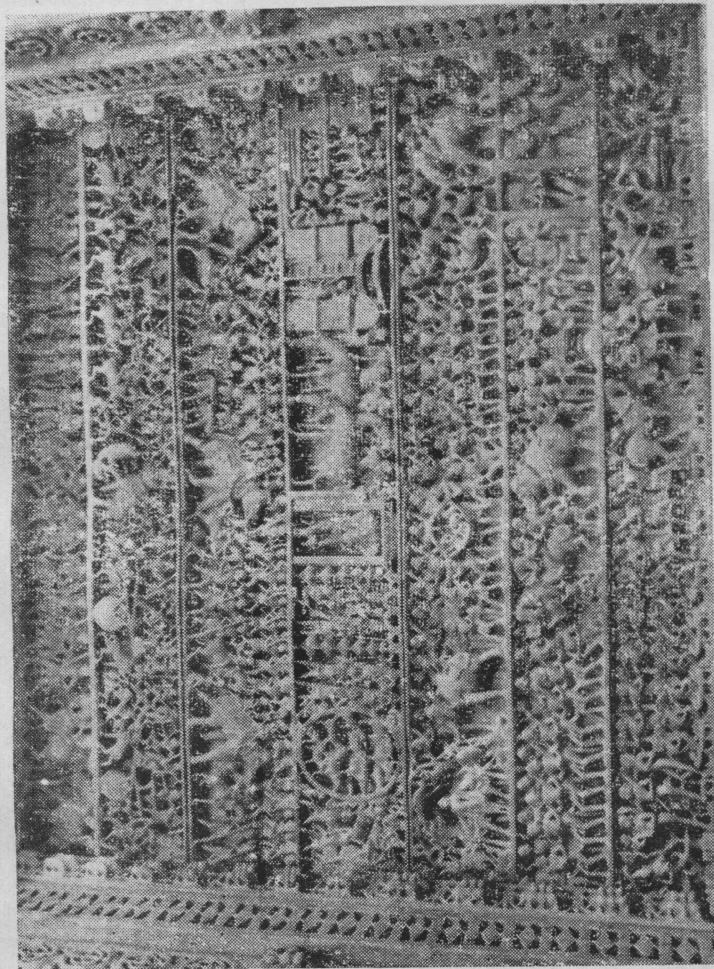


Fig. 1. Renunciation of Neminatha.

Ceiling of the Lunavasahi Temple,
Mount Abu, Dt. 1232 A. D.

(Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India.)

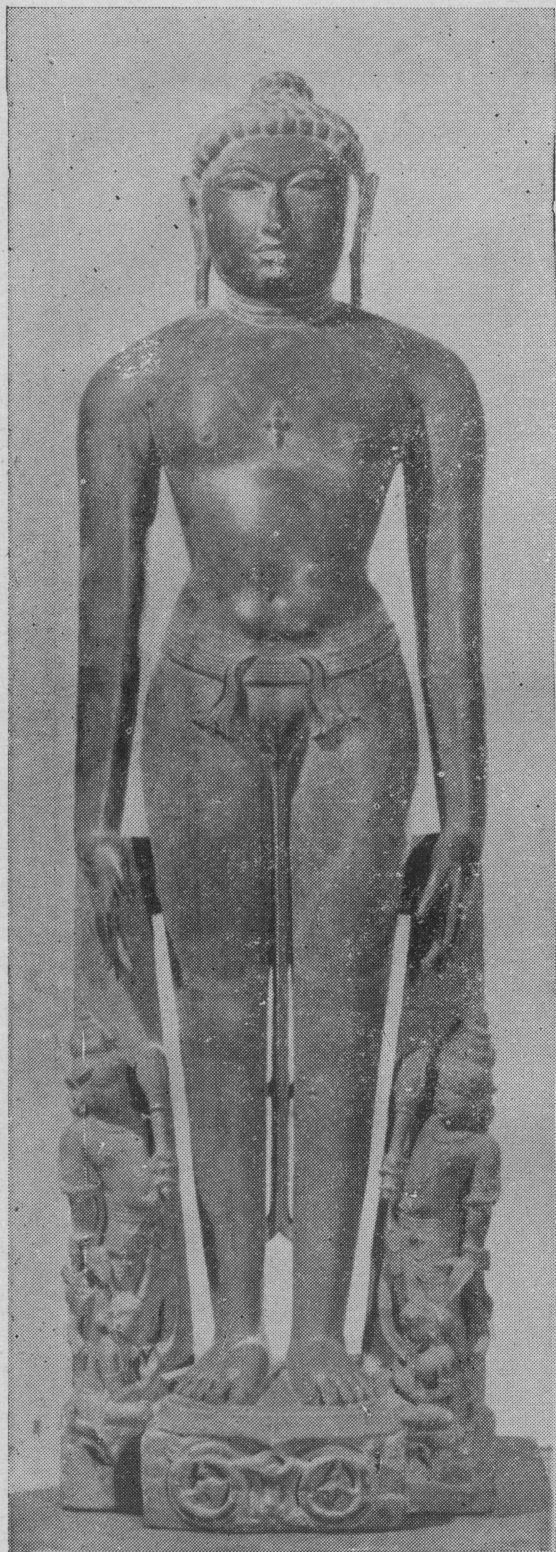


Fig. 2. Neminath. Black Marble.
Chahamana, c. 12th Cent. A.D
Narhad, Pilani, Rajasthan



Fig., 3. Chauri-bearer, Bronze. Akota c 8th Cent. A, D. Baroda Museum.

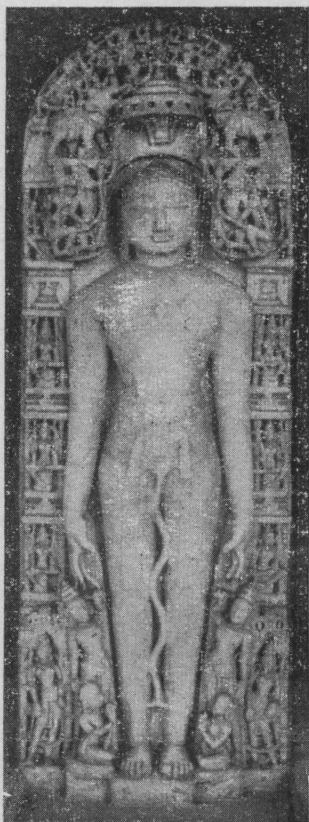


Fig. 4. Santinath. Marble.
Gujarat, Dt. 1138 A.D.
Prince of Wales Museum.



Fig. 5. Sarasvati. Schist Stone
Karnataka. 12th Cent. A. D.
Prince of Wales Museum.

Jaina Contribution to Indian Art

Dr. Umakant P. Shah

The Jaina contribution to Indian art had not received the attention it deserved, till the last three or four decades. Unlike Buddhism and Hinduism, Jainism did not spread beyond the frontiers of India, whereas the other two sects have so much influenced the life and cultures of countries of central, eastern and south-eastern Asia that they readily attracted the attention of modern Western scholars. This handicap to Jainism was largely due to the religious injunction prohibiting Jaina monks to travel by conveyances or to cross the seas and big rivers by boats. There were also other restrictions, especially regarding obtaining alms, which made it impossible for Jaina monks to go out of India for propagation of their faith. However, unlike Buddhism, Jainism has been a living faith in India and has continued as such without a break for at least 2500 years. It has, therefore, a very long heritage, both rich and varied, extended in time as well as space. The Jaina contribution to Indian art and culture is both substantial and significant and can never be overlooked by a serious student of Indian art and culture.

Excluding the proto-historic finds, the earliest known cult images are those of Yakshas and Yakshinis assigned to the Mauryan period on account of the high polish on them and several terracotta figurines of mother-goddesses. These do not belong to the Brahmanical, Buddhist or Jaina faiths and are only objects of worship of the Mother-Goddess and the Yaksha-Naga cults of the masses. Of about the same age is a rare headless figure, with only the torso and parts of legs preserved, of a nude standing Tirthankara in the *kayotsarga* posture, obtained from the Mauryan site of Lohanipur, near Patna (Bihar), during excavations which revealed foundations of a brick structure. The bricks were of the size known for the Mauryan period. The figure, now in the Patna Museum, has the high Mauryan polish on it. A head of another image was also found at this site. Samprati, the grandson of Emperor Ashoka, is well-known as a follower and patron of Jainism. The Lohanipur torso and the temple site should, therefore, be regarded as the earliest known Jaina image and shrine in India. It may be remembered that the *kayotsarga* posture of this figure is a typical posture for all standing Tirthankara images.

The earliest image of Sarasvati, the Goddess of learning, discovered hitherto, also belongs to the Jaina faith and was

obtained from Kankali Tila, Mathura. The inscription on the pedestal suggests that the image date from the Kushana period and is possibly not later than the second century A.D. But a relief panel from the same site, now in the State Museum Lucknow, showing a scene identified as that of the Dance of Nilanjana and renunciation of Risabhanatha, is clearly assignable to the Sunga period, second century B.C.

The caves at Udayagiri and Khandagiri, in Orissa, are supposed to belong to the Jaina faith. Kharavela, an inscription is found in the Hathi Gumpah cave (Fig. 6), and the inscriptions of his queen and prince, show that the donors followed Jainism. Kharavela's inscription has been assigned to the second or first century B.C. by various scholars. A cave inscription from Pabhosa, near Kausambi, Allahabad district, refers to King Bahasatimitra and the excavation of the cave for *Kasyapiya Arhats*. Since Mahavira, the twenty-fourth Tirthankara, belonged to the *Kasyapagotra*, the cave can be safely regarded as excavated for use by Jaina monks, in second century B.C. It is interesting to note that inside the cave, on the southern side, is a stone bed with pillow for the monks to rest.

This practice of carving stone bed with pillow for Jaina monks living in rock-cut caves and natural caverns is also discovered from various sites in Tamil Nadu. Scattered all over the Tamil country such natural caverns with stone beds and pillows, and inscribed in early Brahmi characters and Tamil language, are found at several spots on the Eastern Ghats, particularly in the region around Madurai. The dates of these inscriptions vary from c. second century B.C. to c. third century A.D., the earliest inscription being perhaps the one from Mangulam.

It is presumed that the Jainas reached this area from the Karnataka region, through the hills of the Kongu country (Coimbatore area), the region west of Tiruchirappalli, further south to Pudukottai and then to the hills of Madurai. However, this belief rests on the general, but relatively late, accounts of Chandragupta Maurya and Acharya Bhadrabahu, migrating to Sravana Belgola from the north in the early third century B.C. The earliest reliable archaeological source for this belief is an inscription at Sravana Belgola, which, as this writer has shown elsewhere, clearly shows that it was not the Srutakevali Bhadrabahu-I, but another later Bhadrabahu, and the inscription itself gives names of some of the Jaina *acharyas* who flourished between the two Bhadrabahus. So it is not impossible that this earlier evidence of Jaina monks in Tamil Nadu was due, perhaps, to infiltration from Pratishthanapur, either during the reign of Samprati the grandson of Ashoka (as the *Brihatkalpa-bhasya* suggests) or during the rule of some early Satavahana rulers who had Jaina leanings. There is no archaeological evidence of Jainism in Karnataka, so far discovered,

which would prove its existence there before third or fourth century A.D.

Rajgir in Bihar is one of the very old sites of Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina associations. The Son Bhandara cave and the cave adjoining it were carved for the use of Jaina monks and for worship of images of *Arhats* by Acharyaratna Muni Vairadeva, identified with Arya Vajra, who lived in c. first century A.D. Attempts have recently been made to equate the Prakrit name Vairadeva with Vairadeva but Vaira in Prakrit can only be Vajra in Sanskrit and we do come across *Vairi sakha* or *gana* in the Sathaviravali of the *Kalpa-sutra*. It is also suggested that the script of the inscription referring to Muni Vairadeva getting these caves excavated is not earlier than third or fourth century A.D. It is not unlikely that the inscription referring to Vairadeva in such glorious terms has been recorded at a latter date by a disciple of the monk.

The various finds from the site of a Jaina *stupa* at Kankali Tila, Mathura including figures of Tirthankaras sitting in *padmasana* or standing in *kayotsarga* posture, *ayagapatas* or tablets of homage, various symbols of *astamangalas*, *stupas*, representations of heavenly beings and Harinegamesin, four-fold Jina images known as *Pratima Sarvatobhadrika* etc., have an important bearing on the history of Indian art of the early centuries of the Christian era. Of about the same age (except three or four bronzes of the Gupta (Fig. 20, 21) and Post-Gupta periods), the Jaina bronzes, discovered from Chausa (Bihar) (Figs. 13 to 21), are an important landmark in the history of Indian Bronzes.

A group of caves, known as caves of Bawa Pyara's Math, near Girnar, Junagadh, were probably of Jaina association because of the carving of some of the *astamangalas* above the entrance of two caves and on account of an inscribed slab referring to monks having obtained *kevalajnana*, found buried near a cave, and dating from the Ksatrapa period in W. India. Digambara Jaina traditions also refer to existence of a *Chandrasala guha* near Girnar.

Of the Gupta age, there is a cave at Udayagiri near Vidisa which has an inscription referring to an image of Parsvanatha in this cave. Of the Gupta art, a few Jaina sculptures are preserved in the museums at Lucknow, Mathura and Varanasi, while a few more sculptures were discovered from sites such as Gwalior (rock-cut), Sira Pahari near Nachna Kuthara, and Vidisa. Of these the recent find of three inscribed sculptures of Jaina Tirthankaras is interesting as the inscriptions refer to the donor *Maharajadhiraja* Ramagupta who has been identified with the elder brother of the famous Gupta emperor Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya of Indian legend.

The earliest known Jaina free standing pillar, known as *Manastambha*, with figures of Tirthankaras facing four sides

carved on it, dates from the Gupta period and is still *in Situ* at Kahaun in Uttar Pradesh.

Of the post Gupta and early mediaeval periods, a large number of beautiful temples, sculptures, rock-out reliefs, and bronzes exist in various states of India. Amongst such early shrines, the Meguti Temple at Aihole, Karnataka, dates from early seventh century A.D. There are, besides, two Jaina caves at Aihole which are assignable to the seventh and eight centuries. Of c. ninth century, the Maladevi temple at Gyaraspur in Madhya Pradesh is especially noteworthy not only for its beautiful sculptures and iconography, but also for its architecture, as a beautiful example of Northern Indian *sikhara* temple. Earlier by about a century are two temples, one at Osia (Rajasthan) and another at Deogadh Fort (near Lalitpur and Jhansi, Uttar Pradesh) which are equally interesting for their architecture and sculpture.

Ranging from ninth to tenth centuries are a group of about four caves at Ellora which have not only some beautiful reliefs of the scenes of austerities practised by Parsvanatha and Bahubali, and figures of Tirthankaras, the Sarvanubhuti yaksha and the yakshini Ambika (formerly wrongly called Indra and Indrani) but also have several paintings on their ceilings which are an important landmark in the history of painting in India. Of about this age c. ninth century, we also have some exquisite examples of mural paintings in the Jaina cave at Sittannavasal in Tamil Nadu.

From tenth century onwards the Jaina contribution to Indian art is so rich and varied that it is impossible to refer to it in some detail in such a brief survey. Mention may, however, be made of some noteworthy groups of temples at Deogadh Fort, Khajuraho, Chanderi and Un, in Madhya Pradesh, Sravana Belgola, Humca, Karkal, Mudabidri in Karnataka, the temple-complex at Tiruparuttikunram (Jina-Kanchi) in Tamil Nadu, the Dilwara temples on Mt. Abu in Rajasthan, the Kumbharia temples near Abu, and the groups of temples at Satrunjaya and Girnar in Gujarat and some individual temples like the tenth century Sitalanatha temple at Zhalawad and the Mahavira temple at Ghanerao in Rajasthan, the Navamuni and Barabhuji caves at Khandagiri in Orissa, the Nemi-Jinalaya at Tirumalai in Tamil Nadu, a few temples at Lakkundi, Lakshmeshwar, Jinanathapuram, Venur etc., in Karnataka, and so on. A large number of beautiful Jaina sculptures and bronzes from various sites are preserved in the museums at Calcutta, Lucknow, Patna (Figs. 13-21), Mathura, Allahabad, Baroda (Figs. 3 & 10), Bombay (Figs. 11 & 12), Mysore, Madras, Hyderabad, Bhuvaneshvara, Nagpur, Gwalior etc., in India, and in the British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the Zurich Museum, Switzerland, the museums at Cleveland, Los Angeles, Kansas City, San Francisco, etc. in the U.S.A. and in a number of private collections in India and abroad.

The Jaina contribution to the art of casting metal images is now acknowledged by scholars with the publication of hoards of Jaina bronzes from Vasantagadh, Akota, Rajnapur, Khinkhini, Chausa etc. Some beautiful Jaina bronzes of the Chola period are now brought to light. A few such specimens are preserved in the Govt. Museum at Madras.

The biggest known stone sculpture in India, about 17 m. in height, is the beautiful statue of Bahubali, popularly known as Gommatesvara, at Sravana Belgola, installed in about 980 A.D. Of about the same height but of late period is another rock-cut figure of a Tirthankara at the Gwalior Fort. Another colossus sculpture of Gommatesvara, also set up on a hillock at Karkal is 12.5 m. in height, installed in 1431-32. A third one set up at Venur in 1603-04 A.D., is about 11 m. high.

Some of the mediaeval Jaina shrines are world famous. Of these the Dilwara group of shrines at Abu are especially attractive for their delicate carvings and fine chiselling of white marble. The famous *Chaumukha* shrine at Ranakpur in Rajasthan is noteworthy for its complex plan and a large variety of richly carved marble pillars.

As in the field of architecture and sculpture, the Jaina munificence is equally great in the field of painting. The Jaina contribution in this field is of great significance, especially of the mural paintings at Sittannavasal, Armamalai and Tirumalai in Tamil Nadu, and at Ellora in Maharashtra. These supply important links in the history of Indian painting. But the most prolific contribution is by way of book-illustrations or miniature paintings on palm-leaf and paper manuscripts from Western India, especially Gujarat and Rajasthan, dating from c. eleventh century up to the nineteenth century.

Most of these miniature paintings so far published are from manuscripts of the Svetambara Jaina sect. Of these, a manuscript of the *Kalpa-sutra* in the Devasanapada Bhandar collection at Ahmedabad, painted at Gandhara Bunder on the West coast in c. 1475 with a lavish use of gold, lapis lazuli, carmine etc., shows remarkable borders with paintings of different technicalities of Bharatnatyam and Persian influence. Another famous *Kalpa-sutra*, now in the National Museum, New Delhi, painted at Mandu in the fifteenth century is noteworthy for its colour scheme. A third *Kalpa-sutra* (Fig. 9) with fine decorative border designs, painted at Jaunpur, in U.P. is in the Jaina collections at Baroda. Wooden book-covers of palm-leaf manuscripts of the Jaina collections at Jaisalmer are interesting for depicting scenes from Jaina mythology (Fig. 8), for some beautiful renderings of meandering creepers and animals. Some of these book-covers date from the early eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. Most of these miniatures are in the Western Indian style with pointed noses, projected farther eye, squarish faces etc. Recently some interesting miniatures from manu-

scripts of *Yasodhara-caritra*, *Adipurana* etc. of the Digambara sect have been brought to light by Dr. Sarayu Doshi, Dr. Moti, Chandra and others.

A rare set of pal-leaf miniatures painted in Karnataka in c. twelfth century A.D., preserved in Digambara Jaina collection at Mudabiri are also published by Dr. Sarayu Doshi and Dr. C. Sivarammurti.

The Jains also patronised the art of wood-carving. Beautifully and richly carved temple *mandapas*, miniatures shrines etc., have been discovered and published.

Paintings on paper-scrolls and canvas of both *Tantric* and *non-tantric* nature, known from several Jaina collections, and some late well-paintings still existing in several Jaina temples offer interesting study.

Footnotes of the article 'The Great Renuiciation'.

* Tejahpala Temple is also known as Lunavashi Temple. It was built by Tejahpala.

1. Jacobi; Sacred Books of the East; Charpentier, Archives D'Etudes Orientales, vol. 18, *adhyayana* 22, p. 164 ff.
2. *Trisasthi-salaka-purusa-caritra*, Parva 5, Sargas 5, 9, 10 11, 12.
3. An episode not mentioned in the canonical work but which is referred to in later works. This battle took place because Jarasandha resented Aristanemi's marriage with Rajimati.

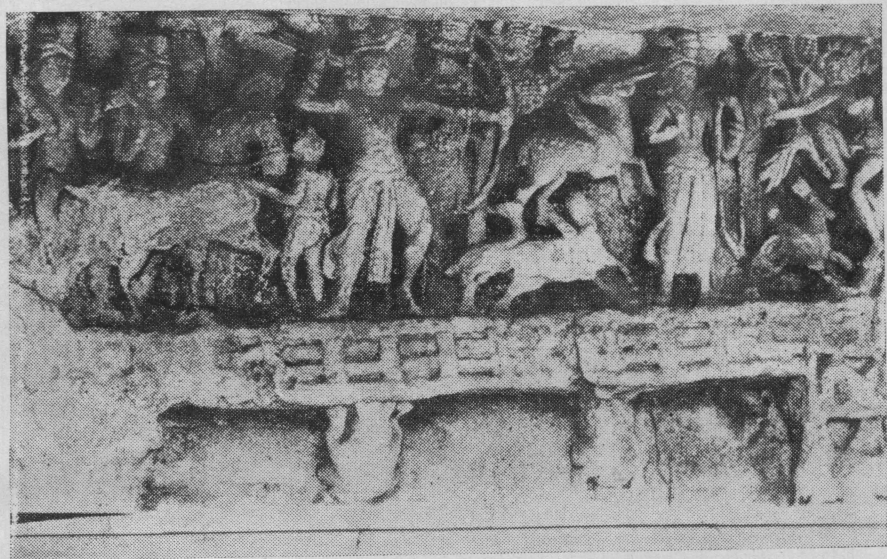


Fig. 6. Inner Panel.
Hathigumpha Cave,
Udayagiri, Orissa.
c. 2nd Cent. B. C.



Fig. 7. Dharmachakra. Bronze.
Chausa, Bihar, c. 1st Cent A.D.
Patna Museum.



Fig. 8. Lady worshippers.
Part of a painted
wooden book-cover,
c. 12th Cent, A.D.
Jain Jnana Bhandar,
Jaisalmer.



Fig. 9. Birth of Mahavira.
Folio from the
Kalpasutra
Printed at Jaunpur in
A.D. 1465
Narasimhajina Polna
Jnana Bhandar,
Baroda.



Fig. 10 Rishabhhanath. Bronze.
Akota, c 5th Cent, A.D.
Baroda Museum.



Fig 11. Rishabhanath. Bronze.
Chopda, (E. Khandesh), c. 9th Cent. A. D.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Early Metal Images of the Jainas

Sadashiv Gorakshkar

Though the nomenclature 'JAINA ART' or 'BUDDHIST ART' would be misleading in the context of studies of Indian art in general, yet with increasing emphasis on symbolism and canons of image making, certain sectarian trends developed in respect of form and composition whereby evolved a terminology of referring to a group by its sectarian association. Even in the early centuries of the Christian era there was no distinction such as the Hindu, Buddhist or the Jaina art. The technique and the style was the common equipment of an artist's guild which worked alike for a patron irrespective of his faith. This is amply demonstrated by the findings of Jain sculptures of the Kushana period from Kankali Tila, Mathura, or the entire range of Digambara bronzes discovered from Chausa in Bihar, now preserved in the Patna Museum. During the Gupta period too the classical art that developed was not based on sectarian considerations. The art, in this period as well, exerted its influence irrespective of the sect which employed it for its glorification. The standing images of *Jinas*, discovered at Vala, now in the prince of Wales Museum and assigned to c. sixth century A.D., support this viewpoint.

Jainism is older than Buddhism. Parsvanatha, the 23rd *Tirthankara* is believed to have lived at least about 250 years before Mahavira, and the accounts of disputations between the followers of Parsva and Mahavira only tend to confirm the historicity of Parsva. To the religion of four vows preached by Parsva, Mahavira added a fifth, by emphasising chastity. He preached his monks to give up wearing clothes completely as a mark of austerity in contrast with the teaching of Parsva who advised his followers to wear white robes. Also he systematised the philosophical tenets. While this could be the beginning of the two schisms, both literary and sculptural evidences tend to show that the difference between the two sects was of slow growth. In any event the disension between the two sects came up by only around the 1st century A.D.

Jainism remained relatively restricted to Kosala, Videha, Magadha and Anga during the time of Mahavira and for some period after him. This finds a mention in *Chhedasutras* which refers to the tenets allowing Jain monks to wander as far east as Anga-Magadha, as far south as Kausambi, as far west as Sthuna and as far north as Kunala. The diffusion of Jainism to other parts of the country is traditionally attributed to the dreadful famine of Magadha which lasted for over a decade.

The Digambara traditions mention of the migration of Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta Maurya to the South while the Svetambra traditions refer to migration taking place from Ujjayini in Malwa. Yet another tradition of the Mulasangha suggests the route to have been along the western coast via Gujarat and Maharashtra to Karnataka.

On the west coast, however, as traditions indicate, Jainism had already penetrated in times unknown. For that matter, the twentyfirst *Tirthankara* Neminatha is considered to have renounced the world at Girnar in Kathiawad. In about the fourth century B.C. it is held that Bhadrabahu's journey to the South left some traces of migration even in Gujarat. There is a reference to 'Kevalins' in an inscription of Jayadaman's grandson, which reads: "Here in Girinagara.....the Gods, *asuras*, *nagas*, *yakshas*, and *rakshasas*.....city(?).....who had arrived at the knowledge of the Kevalins.....old age and death....." If viewed in the Jaina context it may be considered as the first historical evidence of Jainism in this part of the country. Valabhi from where a group of bronzes assignable to c. 6th 7th Century was recovered also happens to be a place of particular importance at least in the Svetambara tradition. It was here that the redaction of the Svetambara canons—the *pustakarojana*—took place. Nevertheless, in spite of the many grants recovered from Valabhi not one mentions of any donations to any Jaina *Sangha*, the apparent reason being that the Jainas then very staunchly believed in the observance of the *mahavratas* of *aparigraha* or non-possession.

Jainism remained relatively less predominant till the medieval period when the entire Western India from Rajasthan to Karnataka became important field for Jainism to grow. The profuse sculptural activity in the caves or the temples, belonging to Digambara and Svetambara, provides enough material for the study of the development of Jaina iconography.

The major contribution of Gujarat to the Jaina art was during the medieval period when under the patronage of the Paramaras of Malwa and the Chalukyas of Gujarat the region witnessed profound building activity. The Delwada temples of Mount Abu built in V.S. 1088 by Vimala Saha is a landmark of this period. This helps us in understanding the stylistic developments of this period. The religious fervour of Jainism in the late medieval period rose to such heights that it influenced the entire region of Gujarat, Saurashtra and Rajasthan. It contributed enormously not only to the field of sculpture but also to paintings, bronze and wood work.

Unlike Karnataka, where at least the legend of Bhadrabahu's migration along with Chandragupta Maurya to Sravana Belgola associates the region with Jainism, in the Deccan we have evidence of flourishing Jainism starting with the Chalukyas of Badami (c. 500-950 A.D.) and continuing

under the Rashtrakutas. At Ellora, Ankai-Tankai and Dharashiva we have Jain caves which indicates that Jainism remained popular till at least the 10th, 11th century A.D.

Karnataka's contact with Jainism is traditionally associated with the migration of Digambaras under Bhadrabahu to this region in the early centuries before the Christian era. It flourished under the Gangas and later the Kadambas. Even today we come across deserted ruins which once formed active *Bastis* of the Jains.

As has been pertinently observed by Dr. S. B. Deo, Jainism seems to have spread in successive phases of migration rather than a continuous connected chain of events and also that the Digambaras seem more restricted to the south and the Svetambaras to the north.

The early Jaina art is characterised by simple figures such as those of Parsvanatha or the *Tirthankaras* from the Chausa, the Akota and the Vala hoards. In the North-Western regions of Gujarat/Rajasthan with the employment of marble a new tradition of highly decorative art appears to have been started. It also influenced even the art of metal sculpture of the Jains. Compositions in metal such as the *Samavasarana* or the *Chaturvimsati Pattars* (Fig. 11) go to indicate the extent of influence exercised by this new trend. Though the Jain religion at no stage enjoyed the status of a state religion, the affluent Jain merchant community was responsible for munificent donations which went a long way in building up the traditions of the Jain art.

In harmony with the indigenous traditions of the respective regions the composition varies from the representation of the eight *Pratiharyas* in case of Northern sculptures (Fig. 4) to a scroll emanating from the mouth of gargoyle on either side and terminating into a *Kirtimukha* on the crest in the case of Southern images (Fig. 5). The triple umbrella over the *Jinas* too differs in form in the northern and southern images. Once again the simpler composition of the stele from Karnataka is in contrast with the elaborate form of the northern one; the obvious reason for this could well be the difference in attitude between the Digambaras and Svetambaras. Nevertheless, in the Deccan at places such as Ankai we see the lingering influences of both the Northern and Southern traditions.

After the eighth century, Jainism too appears to have fallen in line with the increasing tendency to produce miniature metal shrines which were installed and worshipped in private homes. But as mentioned earlier, such shrines became increasingly elaborate in later centuries to the extent that they gradually lost their aesthetic value. It is a common practice among the Jains to have "*Chaitya-griha*" or portable metal

shrines with the image of the presiding deity of the family enshrined in it.

However, our purpose here is to survey only the early bronze images represented by the hoards discovered at Chausa, Vala and Akota, the former in Bihar and the latter two in Gujarat.

Jainism, being basically a moral code, recognized no supreme being, but deified its spiritual leaders. Early history of image worship in Jainism is thus restricted to the images of *Jinas* or *Tirthankaras* as is evident from the images of the early period. The antiquity of this practice cannot be traced beyond the Mauryan period. Sculptural and inscriptional evidence, however, securely establishes the practice of image worship among the Jainas.

The earliest stone image in the round is the nude male torso from Lohanipur which, on the basis of its polish, can be safely assigned to the Mauryan period. Inscriptional evidence in support of image worship is provided by the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela which is assigned to 2nd century B.C. He mentions:

"Nandraja ritam cha Kalinga jinam sannivese"

(sets up (the image) "the *Jina* of Kaling" which had been taken away by king Nanda").

Though it is not clear whether the reference is to a stone or metal image, this is the earliest extant reference to image worship in India.

The earliest bronze image is of Parsvanatha (Figs. 120, 6) standing in *kayotsarga* and variously assigned to a period between 2nd century B.C. to 2nd cent. A.D., now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum. Those who have advocated an early date relate it to the Lohanipur Torso on points of modelling, as also its archaic features which to them resembles the applique technique of Mauryan-Sunga terracottas. It is, however, not proper to make an evaluation of its archaic features in isolation, for the bronze itself is a product of archaic modelling. A reassessment of its dating seems necessary on the evidence provided by the bronzes from the Chausa hoard.

In the year 1931 a hoard of about 18 bronze images was discovered from village Chausa near Buxar and is now preserved in the Patna Museum (Figs. 13 to 21). Peculiarly enough the hoard consists of images which can be assigned distinctly to the Kushana and Gupta styles. The former style is represented by nude standing images of *Tirthankaras* (Figs. 12-19) while the latter are characterised by seated images (Figs. 20-21). Invariably all the early bronzes show distinct features of that age such as broad shoulders, wide-round eyes (Figs. 13, 14, 16), either flat (Fig. 13) or bulkily modelled torso (Figs. 14, 15) and

in its comparison a rather stiff lower portion with stiffly planted legs placed apart, rather awkwardly modelled. The Parsvanatha image (Fig. 12) mentioned above has many things in common with the bronzes from the Chausa hoard and hence should be considered along with these.

While on one side a comparison of the Parsvanatha image is suggested with the Lohanipur Torso, on the other side opinions have been expressed to suggest that this bronze is a product of Western Indian workmanship possibly of Sind—on the basis that it has affinities with Indus art. Any suggestion to equate the Mauryan or the Kushana art with that of the Indus Valley sounds too far-fetched and does not merit serious consideration. It also seems untenable to assign an isolated piece like this to a region which has not yielded any single monument or relic of Jaina Art.

One more problem needs clarification and it is the absence of *Srivatsa* mark on the chest of this image.

It will not be correct to assume that such a mark is an inevitable characteristic of images of the northern region at least during the early centuries of the Christian era. Even in the Chausa hoard there are many images (Figs. 13, 16) wherein this mark is conspicuously absent, and all such bronzes evidently belong to the 2nd-3rd century A.D. It is rather on the basis of these considerations that the Prince of Wales Museum's Parsvanatha can be considered to belong to the North-Eastern region and can be assigned to *circa* 2nd century A.D.

Some Kushana sculptures from Mathura particularly a group of *Sarvatobhadrika* provides excellent comparison for the Chausa images and hence the group can safely be dated between the 2nd-4th century A.D. None of the images has any *ushnisha* which is a Gupta period development.

The presence in this hoard of a few bronzes (Figs. 20, 21) which evidently belong to the Gupta period is rather intriguing. This group includes seated images of Chandraprabha (Fig. 21) and Mahavira. In the *Valabhi-bhanga Prabandha* (on the Destruction of Valabhi) of Merutunga's *Prabandha chintamani*, it is mentioned that when the Mlechhas attacked Valabhi the images of Chandraprabha and Vardhamana disappeared and travelling through the sky settled at Somnath Patan and Sri Malapur respectively. This reference has led to the belief that the images of Chandraprabha (and may be even other images) in the Chausa hoard must have originally belonged to Valabhi. Whatever be the truth of the legend, it is true that the later images do not seem to belong to any known tradition in the north-eastern province.

On the other hand we have evidence of Jain metal images of the sixth century A.D. from the region of Valabhi (Fig. 22). It consist of five images of *Tirthankaras* one with the halo

intact, all standing in *kayotsarga*, and belonging to the Svetambara tradition. The images which are modelled in the Gupta tradition look fleshy but not bulky like some of the Chausa images. The eyes are introvert, and all have a prominent *ushnisha*. Not only in respect of modelling but even in respect of the lower garment with a zigzag pleated end the knot of the waist girdle as also the shape of the pedestal, these Vala bronzes show striking comparison with the style that was in vogue in Western India, around the 6th-7th century and could be assigned to this period. It is interesting that type of halo we observe in the Vala bronze becomes in later times a set-pattern in the bronzes of Kashmir.

The finest examples of this early period are evidently the two bronzes from the Akota hoard. They represent Rishabhanatha (Fig. 10) and Jivantaswami (Fig. 23) both standing in *kayotsarga*. Both the bronzes are outstanding examples of the 5th-6th century A.D. done in the wake of strong Gupta influences.

The image of Rishabhanatha (Fig. 10) shows him standing in *kayotsarga*, bare bodied but with a *dhoti* that extends to the ankles and is tied at the waist with a girdle. The *dhoti* with its folds marked very subtly also has a pleated end in the centre. The *ushnisha* is prominently marked. The eyes are downcast as in meditation, and the copper inlay in the lower lip is indicative of the *Mahapurusha-lakshana* which suggests that the lower lip should be coral in colour. The image shows all the other characteristics of the Gupta modelling. Dr. U. P. Shah is of the opinion that this is perhaps the earliest known image of the Svetambara tradition. A noteworthy feature of the bronze is also its size. The present image is about 78 cm. in height. The only other image of such a large size of this period is the image of Brahma from Mirpurkhas, now in the Karachi Museum.

The other image of Jivantaswami (Fig. 23), represents Mahavira before becoming a *Jina*. He too is represented in *kayotsarga*, but, in keeping with the tradition, he is represented in princely attire and wearing a crown. The crown as can clearly be seen is square, flat at the top, and is done in the style introduced during the Kushana and continued in the Gupta period. Even the hairlocks falling on his shoulders are reminiscent of the style of the Gupta period. A noteworthy feature, however, is the *urna* on his forehead, a feature not at all common to Jain images.

Both the images from Akota, though badly mutilated, are the finest examples of the art of metal casting of an early period of Western India. It is, however, surprising that at a time when sculptural activity was flourishing in the Deccan continuously since the time of the Satavahanas, there is no trace of any kind of Jain art till we come to the Rashtrakuta period around the

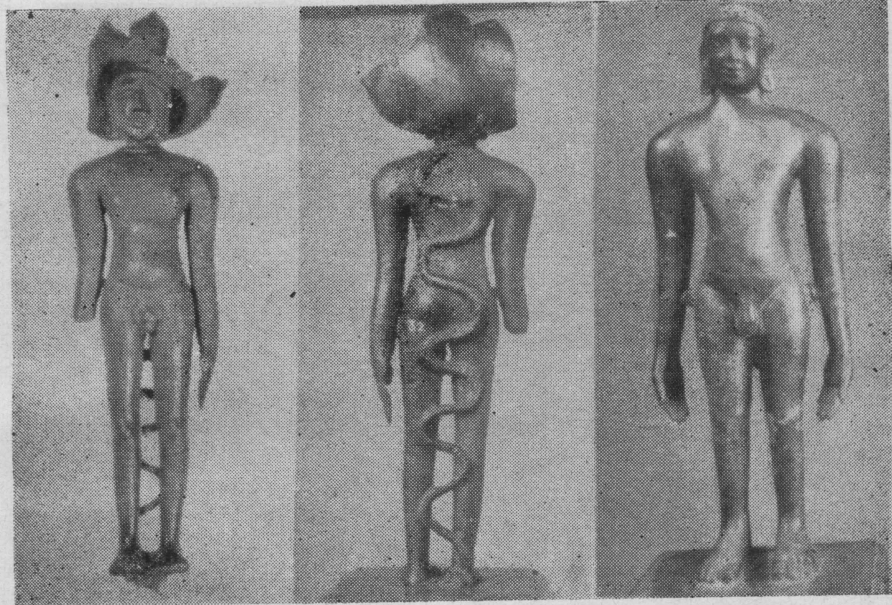


Fig. 12 a.

12 b.

Fig. 13

Figs.12a & b : Parsvanatha, Bronze. Probably U. P. c.2nd Cent. A.D, Prince of Wales Museum.

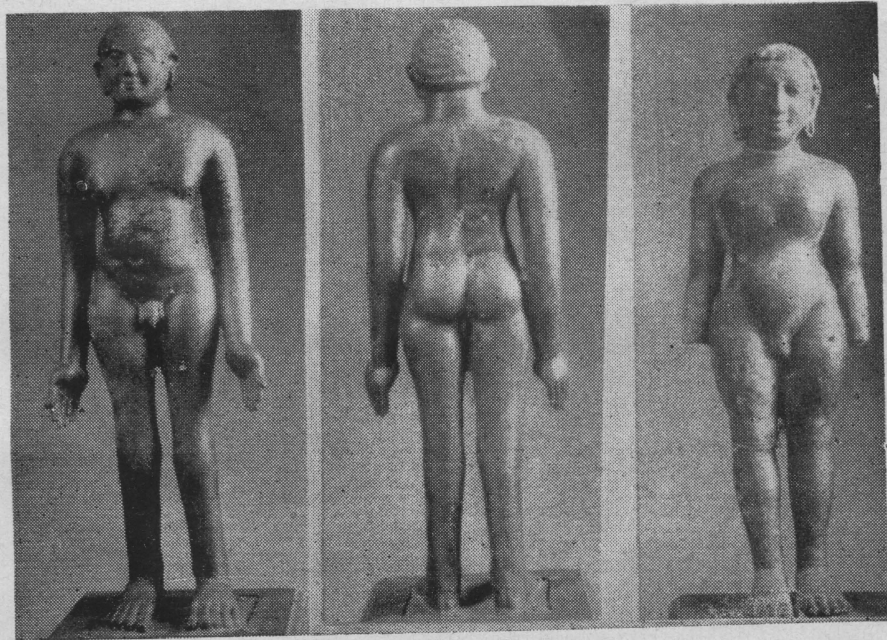
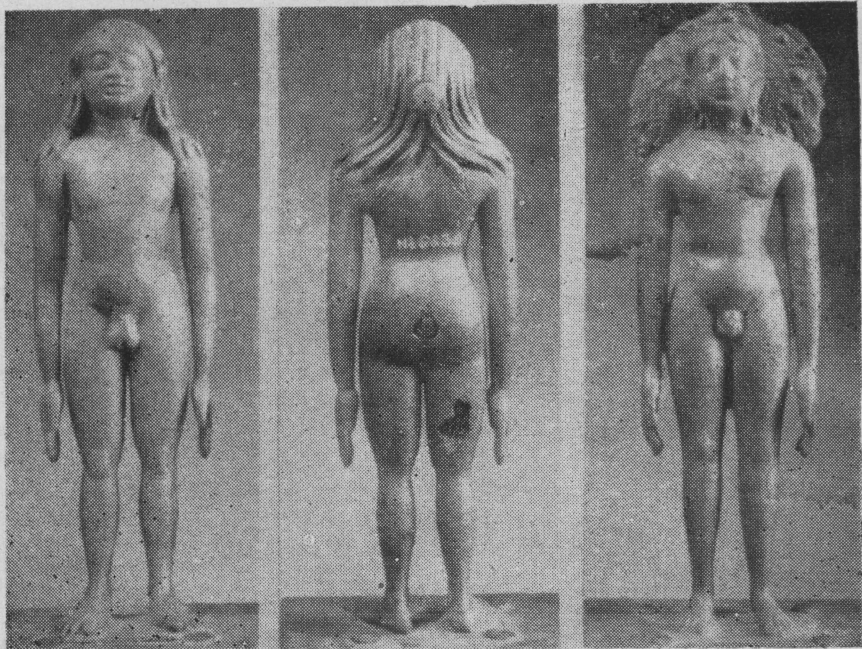


Fig 14 a

14 b

Fig 15

Figs. 13, 14a, b & 15 : Jina Images, Bronze. Chausa, c. 2nd 3rd Cant. A D. Patna Museum.

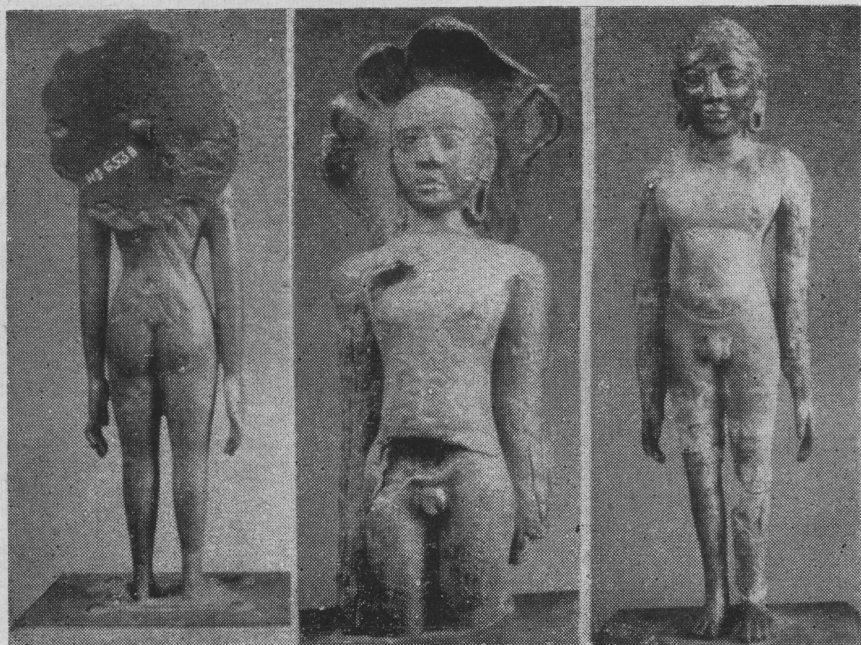


16 a

16 b

17 a

Figs. 16 a, b & 17a, b : Jina Images, Bronze, Chausa c. 3rd Cent. A. D. Patna Museum.



17 b

Fig. 18 Jina Image, Bronze

Fig. 19 Parsvanatha, Bronze.

Chausa, 3rd-4th Cent, A.D, Patna Museum.

Chausa. c 3rd Cent Patna Museum

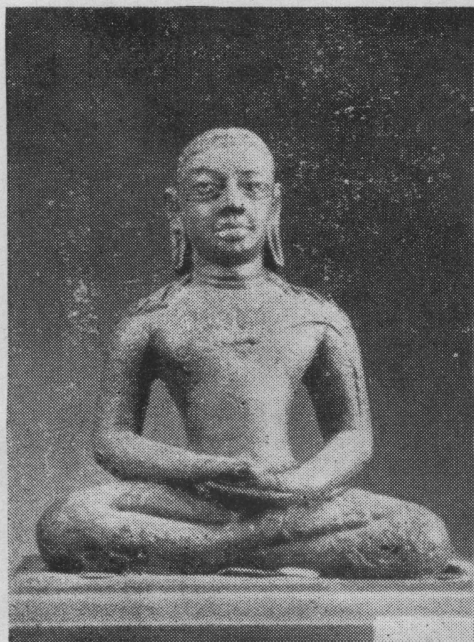
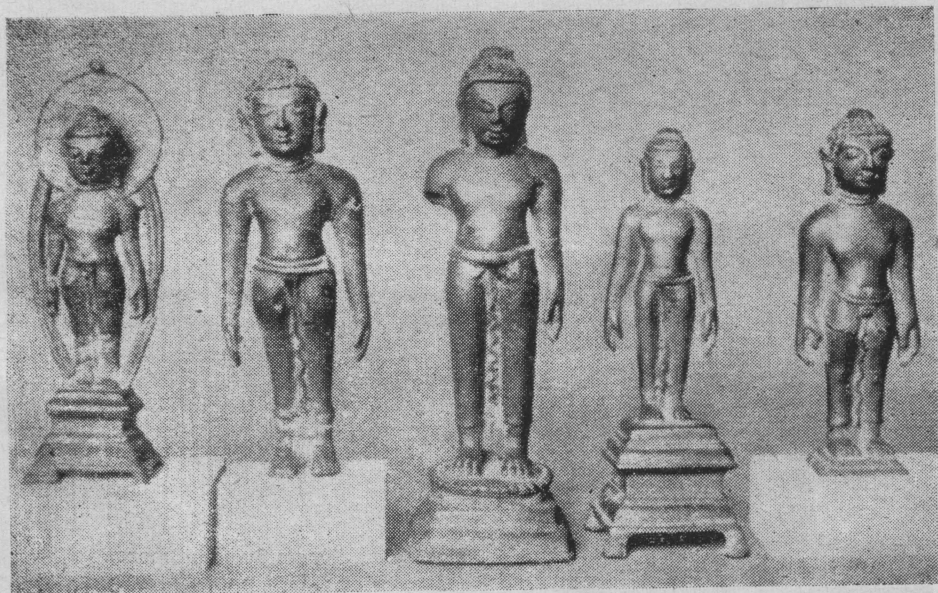


Fig. 20. Seated Jina, Bronze.
Chausa, c 4th-5th Cent. A. D.,
Patna Museum.



Fig 21. Chandraprabha, Bronze,
Chausa, c 5th-6th Cent A. D.
Patna Museum,



Figs. 22 Jina images, Bronze.
Vala, c. 6th Cent, A. D. Prince of Wales Museum.



Figs. 23 Jivanta Swami, Bronze.
Akota. c 5th Cent. A. D.
Baroda, Museum.

9th-10th century A.D. The Rishabhanatha image from Chopda now in the Prince of Wales Museum (Fig. 11) is a fine example of Rashtrakuta art.

We have reviewed Jaina metal images of the period of about five centuries which reflects the changing concepts of image making of the Jains. Until that time the Jain images, as we have observed earlier, are restricted to isolated images of *Jinas*. Not only that, even from the early sculptures of the Kushana period from Mathura it is evident that there was no distinction between the Digambara and Svetambara images. Both worshipped nude images. Even Varahamihira in his famous canonical work—the *Brihat Samhita* (c. 5th cent. A.D.) refers to the God of the Arhats as being young, beautiful, serene, *ajanubahu* (with long arms) and *naked*. It clearly shows that at least till the end of the 4th cent. A.D. there was no differentiation in the representation of Jain images. They were invariably represented as nude.

About a century prior to the second Valabhi Council the monks had adopted the attitude of prolonging their stay—*Chaitryavasa*—in the cities and consequently the gap between the two schisms was widening and thus when the council met in the middle of the 5th century A.D. the difference was reflected even in the representation of their respective images. Subsequent years witnessed not only a further hardening of attitude, but as a result of Brahmanical influences on Jain art the Jaina images became more complex in form.

Bibliographical Aids for the Study of Jainism

Urmi Bhagwati

Jainism and Buddhism originated to show the masses (of people) an easier path for realization; not involving the sacrificial complex, the hierarchy and monopoly of the priests, the evils of the caste system, and the consequent burdens of Brahmanism—the then existing religion. But it is remarkable to note that while Buddhism has literally vanished from India, Jainism exists only in India. And it also forms one of the leading religions of India and has steadfast followers all over the country.

The Jain literature belonging to both the *svetambara* and the *digambara* sect is vast. Some canonical texts like the *Akaraṅga Sūtra*, the *Kalpa Sūtra*, have been translated by Jacobi and published in the Sacred Books of the East Series. Other German scholars like Leumann and Weber have also translated and edited several canonical and non-canonical texts. However, many Jain texts are yet to be published. Undoubtedly, research work on Jainism is being carried out independently and also as a part of the Indological studies. Many scholars have also been writing about this ancient religion.

Nevertheless, the bibliographical sources aiding the promotion of research and study of Jainism are comparatively limited. The present year marks the twenty-five hundredth *Nirvana* anniversary of Lord *Mahavira*, and is being celebrated throughout India. Hence, it would be most appropriate if we start an active study in this field by launching projects to edit and publish the yet unpublished texts, to develop centres for the study of Jainism, (and so on). Compilation of further bibliographical aids would be a very useful step.

In the present article, I would like to enlist the bibliographical aids that have already been published, and point out their scope and limitations to enable research workers and lovers of Jainism to get ready matter on the subject.

Bibliographies:—

(1) *International Bibliography of the History of Religions*
(In French—*Bibliographie Internationale De L'Histoire Des*

- * This article was prepared under the guidance of Dr. B. Anderson, Librarian, University of Bombay, to whom the writer is very much indebted.

Religions). By Henriette Boas: Annual publication started since 1952. Published in connection with the periodical 'Numen' with the support of Unesco and under the auspices of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, by the International Association for the History of Religions. It lists books and articles, on philosophy, psychology, sociology and allied subjects, published during the year, and also provides information on the personalities in the field of the history of religions.

Information on Jainism is provided under Hinduism. Authors are included in the index from 1958-59 onwards.

(2) *A Guide to Reference Materials on India*: In two volumes, compiled and edited by N. N. Gidwani and K. Navalani. Jaipur, Saraswati Publications, 1974. It lists bibliographies, catalogues, indices, dictionaries, and directories. Vol. I gives the contents of both the volumes. The alphabetical index is at the end of the Vol. II. The desired information is found in the index under Jain, Jains, Jainism and also under Jaina.

(3) *Humanities: A Bibliography of Doctoral Dissertations accepted by Indian Universities, 1857-1970*, Delhi, Inter-University Board, 1975: It contains a list of dissertations from 1857-1970 in the field of Humanities submitted in all the Universities of India.

(4) *Jaina Bibliography*: Compiled by Chhote Lal Jain, Calcutta, Bharati Jaina Parisad, 1945. Jaina Bibliography Series No. 1. It tries to supplement Guerniot's bibliography covering researches upto 1906 and further researches upto 1925. It covers all the fields of Jainism, and has indices on works on Jainism, authors, localities, dynasties, etc.

(5) *Bibliography of Indian Philosophy*: Compiled by Karl H. Potter. Published for American Institute of Indian Studies, by Motilal Banarasidas, 1970, 1st ed. It forms the first volume of the Encyclopaedia of Indian Philosophies.

Jainism occupies a separate topic, under Part III. Names and titles of works respectively occupy separate indices. In the Topical Index one could look up under topics like Jainism, wherein most information is given.

(6) *Annual Bibliography of Indian History and Indology*: To which are Added Publications of Islamic World. 5 annual volumes, 1938-42. Comp. by Braz A. Fernandes, Bombay, Bombay Historical Society, (Ceased publication).

The content-table gives all information under Jains and Jainism. Index to authors and reviewers is useful. Information could be had from the General Index also, under phrases with "Jain" as the first word.

(7) *Bibliography of Indological Studies*: 2 annual vols. for 1942 and 1943 respectively. Comp. by George M. Moraes. Sponsored by The Konkan Institute of Arts and Sciences,

Bombay. (Ceased publication). Information is scattered in the Index, as under Jainism, Mahavira, etc.

(8) *The Indian National Bibliography*: Calcutta, Central Reference Library. Started in 1958. A quarterly publication till 1963. A monthly publication from 1964 onwards. Cumulated volume is published for each year. Not Up-to-date. Latest annual volume is of 1971. Annual Volume is divided into two parts; listing general and government publications respectively. Each part has a classified section and an index section. In the classified section, (Part I) the titles and authors for Jainism could be collected from under the class 294.4 (under Religion). Index section is useful for the entries under authors, editors, translators, compilers, titles, series and subjects, in one alphabetical sequence.

(9) *Indian Books in Print*: Comp. by Sher Singh and S. N. Sath. Delhi, Indian Bureau of Bibliographies. Started from 1969 onwards. Three editions, each for 1969, 1972, and 1973. It is in three volumes, one volume for Authors, one for Titles and one a Subject Guide. It is a bibliography of Indian books in English Language published up to the date given within.

Authors and titles are alphabetically arranged in Volumes I and II respectively. The Subject Guide has no index. Contents-list lists all the feature headings by the Dewey Decimal classification. Complete bibliographical information is provided for each entry. Information on Jainism is under the class 294.4.

(10) *An Up-to-date Encyclopaedia of all Indological Publications Published in India and other Countries Relating to Ancient Indian Learning*: Delhi, Mehar Chand Lachhman Das, 1962. Classified and arranged subjectwise in alphabetical order. It is a mine of information regarding both the available and the non-available books distinctly marked. It has no index. Information has to be sought from the contents-list, under Jain Literature.

(11) *Vedic Bibliography*: In 3 volumes by Dr. R. N. Dandekar.

volume 1 — Karnatak Publishing House, 1946.

volume 2 — University of Poona, 1961.

volume 3 — Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1973. (Government Oriental Series, Class B, No. 10).

It is a bibliography of all significant writings referring to the Vedas and allied antiquities including the Indus Valley Civilization. The title is, somewhat misleading. For, an examination of the list of abbreviations in the preliminary section shows that some important journals on Jainism are also included, like Jaina Antiquary, Jaina Bharati, etc. Indexes of authors and words separately given can be helpful.

(12) *Indian Reference Sources*: An annotated guide to Indian reference books. Compiled by H. D. Sharma, L. M. P. Singh, and S. P. Mukherji. Varanasi and Jullunder, Indian Bibliographic Centre, 1972.

Apart from these, the most fundamental bibliography till the beginning of this century was *Essai de Bibliographie Jaina, pértoire analytique et méthedique des travaux relatifs au Jainisme*. Compiled by Guérinot, Armand Albert. Paris, Leroux, 1906. It was a classed bibliography of 852 works on Jainism.

INDEXES

There are a few indexes which are useful to look for periodical articles on different aspects of Jainism.

(1) *Index India*: Edited by N. N. Gidwani, Jaipur, Rajasthan University Library, 1967 — Not up-to-date. Last volume is vol. 8, nos. 1 and 2, for January-June, 1974. It is a quarterly documentation list on India of materials in English appearing in Indian newspapers, Indian and foreign periodicals, composite publications, biographical profiles, book reviews, theses and dissertations. It has author and subject indexes. Desired information is found in the subject index under Jain. and under Jainism.

(2) *Guide to Indian Periodical Literature* (Social Sciences and Humanities): 5 annual volumes for the years 1964-68, edited by Vijay Kumar Jain, Gurgaon, Prabhu Book Service. It is a cumulated subject-author index to articles from about 140 selected Indian periodicals on social sciences and Humanities. Subject entries are to be found under Jainism.
Periodicals:—

There are quite a number of periodicals specially bringing out articles on Jainism, and others in which Jainism forms a part of the subject covered. The former can be easily located in the following bibliography of journals.

Indian Periodicals: An Annotated Guide; compiled and edited by N. N. Gidwani and K. Navlani, Jaipur, 1969. Using the key to subjects in the preliminary section, one could look up for the desired information under Jainism, coming under Religion. Alphabetical Index provided at the end is also useful. *Press in India* (Part II), and a recent bibliography of Indian periodicals, namely, *Indian Periodicals In Print* — 1973, compiled by H. N. D. Gandhi, Jagdis Lal, and Suren Agrawal, Delhi, Vidya Mandal, 1973, gives useful information on the price, place of publication, etc. of the required periodicals.

SOME OUTSTANDING PERIODICALS

1. *Jain Antiquary*: Six Monthly. Dev Kumar Jain

Oriental Research Institute, Arrah. It is in English. Its counterpart is the *Jaina Siddhanta Bhaskar*, in Hindi and is published by the same Institute as a six monthly. Both the Antiquary and the Bhaskar are combined in the same volume e.g. the first part of the 17th volume is the Bhaskar and the second part is the Antiquary.

Jain Antiquary is indexed in *Index India*, and in *Guide to Indian Periodical Literature*.

2. *Voice of Ahimsa*: An international magazine of Ahimsa (Non-Violence), Monthly, Alingan (U.P.), World Jain Mission, 1951.

Indexed in *Index India* from 1969 onwards. It gives special emphasis on Jainism.

3. *Jain Journal*: A quarterly on Jainology. Quarterly. Calcutta 1966. Indexed in *Guide to Indian Periodicals* and in *Index India*.

It contains articles and other contributions on all aspects of Jainology.

4. *Oriental Institute, Journal*: Quarterly. Baroda, Director, Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, 1951. Indexed in *Guide to Indian Periodical Literature*, in *Index India*, and in *Praci Jyoti*. Jainism here forms a part of the study of Indology.

Apart from these, there have been a few special reference (Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias) works also giving information on Jainism.

1. *Jainagam Sabda Sangraha*: Compiled by Ratna Chandra. Kathiawad, Sanghvi, Gulabchand, 1929.

2. *Jaina Laksanavali*: An authentic and descriptive dictionary of Jain philosophical terms. Edited by Balchandra Siddhanta shastri, Delhi, Vir Sewa Mandir, 1972. It forms a part of the Vir Sewa Mandir series. It is planned as a multi-volumed dictionary. Only the first volume is available in the Bombay University Library. Here, the definitions of terms are taken verbatim from the scriptures.

3. *The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*: In 8 volumes. Editor-in-Chief — Paul Edwards, New York, The Macmillan Company and the Free Press, London, Collier-Macmillan Limited, 1967. Signed articles with bibliographies at the end. Information is scattered in the index in the 8th volume, e.g. under Jainism, Karma — Jainism, etc.

4. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*: In 13 volumes. Edited by James Hastings, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955. 3rd impression. General Index, in the last volume, gives all information on Jainism at one place, under — Jains, Jainas, Jainism. So reference is easier.

However, it should be noted that there is no special encyclopaedia on Jainism alone, as there are Encyclopaedias on

Buddhism. The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Catholic Encyclopaedia, etc. A project could be undertaken for the same.

For the last century or so, manuscripts from the Jain Bhandaras have been procured in large libraries. Surveys of the *Bhandaras* had also been undertaken. Catalogues of these and also of the manuscripts existing in the *Bhandaras* have been compiled and published. Many manuscripts have also been published. Yet there are other unpublished manuscripts and also those which are not still catalogued. Projects could be launched for the same. Several catalogues that are available, are as follows:—

1. *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars at Jesalmere*: Compiled by C. D. Dalal, edited with introduction, indexes and notes on unpublished works etc., by Lalchandra Bhagwandas Gandhi, Central Library, Baroda, 1923. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 21) Reviewed in Indian Antiquary vol. 55, April 1926, p. 78-79.

2. *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts and other books in Sri Ailak Pannalal Digambar Jain Sarasvati Bhavan, Jhalrapatan*, (With the title Granthanamavali): Published by Ailak Pannalal Digambar Jain Sarasvati Bhavan (Jhalrapatan) 1933.

3. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, etc.*: Compiled by Haraprasad Bhattacharya. Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1917-1966. In 14 volumes. Vol. 13 — Jaina (Sanskrit and Prakrit). Separate index.

4. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collections of Manuscripts*: In 19 volumes. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Vol. 17 — Jaina Literature and Philosophy. Compiled by H. R. Kapadia. It consists of five parts.

Vol. 18 — Jaina literature and Philosophy.

Part 1 — Logic, Metaphysics etc. Compiled by H. R. Kapadia. Nos. 1-305. 1952, xii, xxvi.

Vol. 19 — Jaina literature and Philosophy (Hymnology). Compiled by H. R. Kapadia.

Part 1, sec. 1 — *Svetambara* works. Nos. 1-354, 1957.

Part 1, sec. 2 — Narratives (Jaina literature).

Part 2 — *Svetambara* and *Digambara* works 1962.

5. *List of the Strassburg Collection of Digambara Manuscripts*: Compiled by E. Leumann.

Bibliothèque Nationale Et Universitaire, Strassbourg.

6. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Bombay (Bhagvatsinghji Collection and H. M. Bhadkamkar Collection)*:

Compiled by G. V. Devasthali, 2 Books, Bombay University, Bombay. Book 2, vol. 4 — Jaina literature, Manuscript nos. 2374-2408.

7. *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Punjab Jaina Bhandars*: Compiled by Banarasidasa Jaina. Part I, Punjab University Library, Lahore, 1939 (Possibly the same as) *Catalogue of 3168 manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars of the Punjab*, Pt. I, by Benarsi Dass Oriental College, Lahore.

8. *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Jain Bhandars at Pattan*: Compiled from the notes of the late C. D. Dalal with introduction, indices and appendices by Lalchandra Bhagawandas Gandhi. vol. I. Oriental Institute, Baroda 1937. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 76).

9. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts acquired and deposited in the Government Sanskrit College Library*: (In vol. 5 — Sanskrit University), Sarasvati Bhavana, Benares, during the years 1791-1956, in 12 volumes.

Vols. 1-4 — published under Sarasvati Bhavana, and from vol. 5ff published by the *Varanaseya Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya*, Banaras, 1953-65. Title in Sanskrit. Vol. 12 — includes Jain manuscripts.

10. *Hiralal's Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts*:

11. *Jaina Granthavali or A list of Jaina works prepared under the auspices of the Jaina Svetambara Conference*, Bombay 1909.

12. *Jaina Pustakaprasastisamgraha*. pt. I.: Pt. I — by Sri Jinavijaya Muni 1943, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavana, Bombay, 1943 (Singhi Jain Series 18).

A collection of prasastis and colophons of ancient manuscripts preserved in the *Jaina Bhandaras* at Patan, Cambay, Jaisalmar and other places.

13. *Catalogue of Sanskrita, Prakrita, and Hindi works in the Jaina Siddhanta Bhavana*, Arrah: Edited by Suparshwa Das Gupta. Jaina Siddhanta Bhavana, Arrah 1919.

14. *Prasastisamgraha*: A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrita and Prakrit manuscripts Nos. 196-263 and 54-78 in the Jaina Siddhanta Bhavana. Compiled by Bhujabali Sastri. Jaina Siddhanta Bhavana, Arrah, 1942.

15. *Jaina Granthavali*:

Jaina Svetambara Conference, Bombay 1902.

16. *Jaina-pustakaprasasti-samgraha* Jaina Svetambara Conference, Bombay, 1936.

17. *Jaina Grantha Bhandaras in Rajasthana*: A thesis by Kastur Chand Kasliwala, approved by the University of Rajasthan. Gaindial Sah, Jaipur, 1967.

18. *Prasastisamgraha Amer Sastra Bhandaro* (Jaipur ke Samskrita, Prakrita, Apabhramsa evam Hindi Bhasa ke granthon ki grantha tatha lekhaka-prasastiyon ka apurva samgraha): Edited by Kastur Chand Kasliwala.

Vol. 2-4 — *Rajasthan ke Jaina Sastra bhandarom ki grantha-suci*.

19. *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar*: Compiled by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, 1926. Under the orders of the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar.

Pt. II has the catalogue of the Jaina manuscripts. Appendix I — Some important extracts from the Jaina Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts of Karanja.

20. *Königlichen Bibliothek (Berlin)*: Verzeichniss der Sanskrit-Handschriften (2. 1-3. Verzeichniss der Sanskrit-und Prakrit-handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin).

Compiled by A. Weber Band 2, Abtheilug 2 — Jain-literature. Manuscripts 1773-1928. Abtheilung 3 — Jaina-literature Manuscripts 1929-2027.

21. *Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology (Ahmedabad). Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts*: Edited by Ambalal P. Shah Compiled by Punyavijaya, 4 pts.

Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidyamandira, Ahmedabad.

22. *Limbdi Jain Bhandar. Printed Catalogue of Manuscripts*: Limbdi Jaina Jnanabhandara hastalikhit pratiyom sucipatra. Ogamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1928. (Agamodaya Samiti, Series 58).

23. *Bikaner Jaina lekha sangraha*: Compiled and edited by Agarchand Nahata and Bhavarlal Nahata, Calcutta, 1956.

24. *Reports on the search for Sanskrit manuscripts*: Peter Peterson. In 6 volumes. Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch, Bombay; (Nos. 1-4) Trubner, London; (Nos. 5-6) Government Central Press, Bombay 1882-98.

25. *Preussischen Staatsbibliothek (Berlin)*: Die Jaina-Handschriften.....Neurwerbungen seit 1891. Unter der redaktionellen Mitarbeit von Gunther Weibgen beschrieben von Walther Schubring. Harrassowitz, Leipzig. 1944. (Band 1: Jaina-Hss).

26. *New Catalogus Catalogorum*: An alphabetical register of Sanskrit and allied works and authors. Editor in Chief: C. Kunhan Raja University of Madras, Madras, 1948. Only 7 volumes published so far. Work in progress. Based on Aufrecht's work. But most important addition is the inclusion of Buddhistic, Jain and Prakrit works and authors.

27. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch*: Comp. by H. D. Velankar. 4 volumes in 3. Young (and Parker), Bombay, 1925-30. volumes 3-4. Jaina-Manuscripts 1383-1861.

28. *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the library of the Sanskrit College (Benares)*: Published as a supplement to the "Pandit". Lazanes, Medical Hall Press, Benares. 1869-75. 10 volumes. Vol. 10 — No. 109. Jaina manuscripts. 1875. P CCLX — CCLXI. The "Pandit" is the journal issued by the College.

29. *List of Sanskrit, Jaina (Jaini) and Hindi manuscripts, purchased by the order of Government in the Sanskrit College Library (Benaras)*: Government Press, United Provinces, Allahabad, 1902-19.

30. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the library of Sanskrit college (Calcutta)*: Prepared under the orders of the Government of Bengal. By Hrishikesa Sastri and Siva Chandra Gui. 10 volumes in 11. Vol. 10, 3 — Jaina Manuscripts 1-202. Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1895-1917.

31. *Descriptive Catalogue of palm-leaf manuscripts in the Santinatha Jaina Bhandara (Cambay)*: 2 pts. By Panyavijaya. Oriental institute, Baroda 1961-66. (Aaekwad's Oriental Series 135, 149).

32. *Catalogue of manuscripts in the Saraswati Bhandar Library of H. H. the Maharana of Udaipur, Mewar*: Compiled by M. L. Menaria, Itihas Karyalaya, Udaipur, 1943.

33. *Kannada — Prantiya tada-patriya grantha-suci*. (A descriptive catalogue of Bhandars of Jaina Matha, Jaina Siddhanta Bhavana, Siddhanta Vasadi etc., of Mudabidri, Jaina Matha of Karakala and Adinatha Grantha-Bhandara of Aliyura, tatha Mudabidri ke anya granthabhandara rom ke 3533 amulya tadapatriya granthom ka savivarana paricaya): Edited by K. Bujabali Sastri. Moodbidri, Bharatiya Jnana Pitha, Kashi. Ramakrisna Dasa, Kasi Hindu Visvavidyalaya Press, Banaras, 1948. (Jnanapitha Moortidevi Jain Granthamala, Sankint granth. No. 2).

34. *Sri Prasastisamgraha*: Edited by Amritlal Maganlal Shah, Ahmedabad, 1937.

35. *Sri Khambhata Santinatha pracinā tadapatriya Jaina Jnana Bhandarnu sucipatra*: Compiled by Vijayakumuda Suri, Cambay, Vikrama Samvat 1907 (1941).

36. *Typed List of 52 Jaina manuscripts at Jambusar, Broach Dt.*

37. *Jinaratnakosa*: Alphabetical register of Jain works and authors. Vol. 1. Compiled by H. D. Velankar. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1944.



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