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HYMN TO MAHAVIRA

JINA BALLABHA SURI

Sri Jina Ballabha Suri who is the celebrated author of *Sri Mahāvira Stotram* was born in v.s. 1125 and died in 1167 (approx. 1068-1110 A.D.). He is a great name among the Jaina monks. He was not only a profound scholar and great reformer but he was a great poet also and his poetry is sometimes compared with that of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti. Though much of the beauty and music of his verses may have been lost in translation, it reveals his wide range of imagery and poetic vision. Besides this *Mahāvira Stotram* which is a unique composition in Prakrit and Sanskrit, he is the author of more than a dozen works.

Bow I to Vira ! Thou art formidable
Like a lion to an elephant
To overpower all our inner enemies like anger and lust
That are destroyer of all conscience.
Bow I to Vira ! Thou excelleth in calmness
The best of Malaya and Mandara hills.
Bow I to Vira ! Thou art like a high wave
In washing the dirt of vice
That characterises the age of *Kali*¹. 1

Oh Lord ! Who in Heaven or Hell or in the Netherland
Can know thy divine attributes, thy glory great ?
Not even the holy preceptor of the gods,
Nor Indra himself, the Lord of Heaven,
What to speak of me, devoid of all merit !
Yet what particle little do I perceive
Of thy limitless glory, thy attributes divine
Do I strive delineate in my humble way. 2

¹ Fourth division of time-cycle in Hindu view, for which the near synonym is Iron Age. In this age, vice predominates over virtue so as to reduce the latter to a quarter, vice being three-fourth.

Oh Best amongst the men of virtue !
 Innumerable are thy virtues, white as a swan,
 A smile, a cluster of pearls, or as dew-drops fresh,
 Ever-spreading in radiance.
 Neither the Moon nor the brilliant Sun,
 Neither Hari², Hara³, nor even the creator, Brahma,
 Nor the enlightened Buddha himself,—
 The so-called gods, equal thee.
 For their merits are not all white, without blemish. 3

Certain it is, oh Lord !
 The creatures in the universe
 Floating in the ocean of mundane life
 With their sun-like conscience
 Clouded by indomitable lust
 Can never attain the state of liberation
 By leaving aside thy path. 4

Bow I to Vira ! The destroyer of haughty pride
 Of Sangamaka⁴, full of malice,
 Sun-like thou removeth all darkness covering conscience
 And lulleth *himsā*, as the moon lulls a lotus
 And thou like a sword killeth the seedling of ego
 Planted for ever in our heart.
 Bow I to Vira !
 Thy forehead is like a crescent moon
 Thou art the finest abode of weal and purity
 Thou like a pig wild destroyeth the roots of fear
 And like a Savior
 Terminate the never-ending cycle of birth, age and death
 In the ocean of this mundane world. 5-6

Even a maiden with a tide of passion
 With her dainty frame bursting with lust
 With breasts full-grown pointed to the tip
 With jingling of tinkling anklets

² Visnu, the Preserver, in Hindu pantheon.

³ Siva, the Destroyer, in Hindu pantheon.

⁴ Minor god of that name. He became jealous when Indra, Lord of Heaven, praised Mahavira's patience and austerities. He came down to earth and tried to disturb Mahavira's meditation by torturing him and inflicting pain, sometimes even by alluring him with heavenly damsels, but he failed.

Actress-like in gestures
 And dressed according to the injunctions of erotic science
 Whose arms are as tender as a lotus-stalk
 Whose glance pierces the heart of an amorous
 As a spear pierces the heart of a deer
 And who holds the restive ear-rings disdainfully on her cheeks
 Whose palm is rosy as tender *asoka*⁵ foliage
 Whose neck is as darling as a charming shell
 A centre-piece of all enchanting maidens
 With a sweet face overpowering to lovers all
 Can ever be able to raise
 Even a ripple of passion in thy settled heart. 7-8-9

Oh Lord ! Thy sermon profound
 Sounds like mixed note flowing from a flute or *vinā*⁶
 As played by the *Kinnaras*⁷
 Or like charming music raised by the gods
 It removes instantaneously the doubt
 Raised by a false preceptor or intellect or god. 10

Oh Lord ! Worship and worship men thy Commandments
 That are the sacred *Agamas*⁸, twelve in number
 Which like a water-tide
 Put out the forest-fire of doubt ;
 Which Sun-like radiate with accuracy
 The subtle notions of *jīva* and *ajīva*⁹ ;
 Which, like a vessel, aid
 The crossing of the worldly ocean ;
 And which favours with quick embrace,
 Of *kevala*¹⁰ knowledge by *bhavya jīvas*¹¹. 11

Oh Lord ! The gods pour in shower
 On thy holy congregation
 Flowers such as lotus, *navasundara*, *sindhuvāra*,

⁵ *Janesia Asoka*.

⁶ The Indian lute.

⁷ The heavenly singers.

⁸ The canonical texts of the Jainas.

⁹ The soul and the non-living substances. The principles of *jīva* and *ajīva* comprehend the whole universe.

¹⁰ Fifth kind of knowledge synonymous with omniscience.

¹¹ *Jīvas* or souls who are on the right path.

The sweet *mandāra* and *kunda*¹² all in bloom
Full of fragrance, dainty all
Overwhelming by the sweet hums of dragon-drones. 12

Bow I to thee, oh Vira ! the limitless, the fierce
Thou, like a plough piercing the crust of the earth,
Art the piercer of the veil of ignorance
Which produces the world ;
Thou like a vigorous stream removing all silt
Art the remover of all our desires unpius ;
Thou, like a lion subduing a tameless elephant,
Art the subduer of all uncontrollable passions. 13

Bow I to Vira ! Thou art the destroyer of all *ghāti-karma*¹³
That obstructs the attainment of our coveted goal ;
Thou art the therapist to the bunch of heinous diseases
That is our life on this earth ;
Thou art above all greed and attachment
Thou art the piercer of the dark-veil of lust
And thy bodily lustre puts to shame
Even the glow of the purest gold. 14

Oh Vira ! Thou like a stormy gust
Removeth the dust of piled-up doubts
Do I worship with reverence thy holy feet
Enlightened that are by the glow of gems
From the crest of the worshipful Indra and other gods,
And swollen with the pour of nicely-shaded pollen. 15

Oh Vira ! Bow I to the monks of thy order
Who are inspired by the sermons of thy fifth *Gaṇadhara*¹⁴
Who himself drank deep, drone-like, at thy lotus feet.
They are the abode of wisdom and piety
With auspicious emblems on their physical frame
To these, the bearers of the Right Conduct
Of Order four, do bow I. 16

¹² Flowers of these names of celestial trees.

¹³ These are four in number. These cover up the soul's power of infinite knowledge, vision, blissfulness and generate delusion in *jiva* regarding his own true nature. *Kevala* knowledge dawns when *ghāti karmas* are destroyed.

¹⁴ First disciples and upholders of the *Gana* (Order). Mahavira had eleven *Gaṇadharas*. Fifth *Gaṇadhara* was Sudharma. Teachings of Mahavira were recorded in the sacred *Agamas* as they were expounded by Sudharma to his disciple Jambu.

Men who worship thee,
 Can have instant victory even in the arena of war—
 That has invincible arrays of mighty foes
 With sharp-tipped spears in their hands ;
 And haunted by thick-necked herds
 Of elephants wild, with fearful look ;
 Battered with corpses pierced by weapons deadly
 With scores of greedy crows shouting joyfully over oozing gore ;
 And covered all over with arrows
 Cast by indomitable foes. 17-18

Thee for whom the embrace of *mokṣa*¹⁵ is all achieved
 Thou like Indra art the cutter of wings of attachment,
 Thou like bolt art the uprooter of all ills
 That bar the way to the coveted goal,
 Oh Lord ! The remover of all vices
 Who in the universe worship thee not ? 19

And when ye move, my Lord ! from one place to another
 The towns and the country
 Every nook and corner of this earth
 Is full of thrill, ecstasy, festivity
 Being devoid of theft, enmity, illness and plagues. 20

Glory be thine, oh Divine Master !
 Thou art unattached from the conquest of senses
 Thou hath given up fighting as thou art equanimous to a friend and foe
 Thou art unequal, as thou hath no self and non-self
 And without help, as thou relyeth on thine own strength
 Thou art without lust, as thou hath no interest
 Withdrawn, as thou hath conquered all earthly attractions
 Dry, as thou art devoid of all *rasas*¹⁶
 Passionless, as thou hath no need of woman's company
 Thou abode of patience, thou liberated
 Oh Vira, thou friend of beings
 Glory be thine. 21

Oh Lord ! Tell me what shall I do
 For women that are bursting, glowing, restive,

¹⁵ State of Liberation.

¹⁶ Sentiments like love, hate, etc.

Charming with pearls round their necks
 Who are immersed in the enjoyment of senses
 Disturb me in my concentration
 They are at the root of being born in the world again. 22

My Master Great !
 Uproot the tree of my attachment
 Which is full of demerit, and blemish
 Whose roots are objects of sight and sound
 And water desire
 Whose embryo is the thought-current
 That flourishes and thrives through enjoyment. 23

Oh Vira ! The Best and Greatest of men
 Bow I to thee with reverence deep
 Thy passage to the land of liberated is assured
 And Thou art the destroyer of all illusion
 Like an elephant destroying lotuses
 The last amongst the *Kevalins*¹⁷
 And the best and greatest of men. 24

Oh Lord ! Look at this servant thine
 Sinking in the whirlpool of the mundane world
 Oh Lord ! Hasten to his rescue
 Who is an addict to all vices
 And overwhelmed through their ceaseless performance,
 And pull him up by the hand. 25

Oh Vira ! The uprooter of all doubts
 Like mighty wind uprooting all trees
 Uproot from my mind all sacrilegious distortions.
 And destroyer of all fallacies
 Like a mighty elephant destroying all lotuses
 Destroy all doubts and fallacies of my mind.
 Make it pure, engross it in thy thought
 And ever becoming effulgent in thy image divine. 26

Oh Vira ! Wretched am I
 To roam in this world full of wrong deeds
 And misery unbound

¹⁷ One who had attained *kevala*-knowledge. Here it implies *Tirthankaras*.

Terrific, unbearable, pale due to the parting
 Of dear and near ones
 Full of shame, and hastening my way towards hell ;
 Follow not I thy commandments
 That are like easy steps to the abode of the liberated. 27

Oh Lord ! Bowing to thee with reverence
 Thee who hath no desire of earthly things
 And who is sure to enter the domain of the liberated
 Omniscient and above and beyond
 All quarrels and dissensions, all joys and jokes,
 One sinks not, nor one is lost
 In the mighty waves of worldly ocean
 Ruffled by the fear of death and agony. 28

Oh Master Divine ! Bestow on me the land of the liberated
 Tired that I am through many a journey of life
 Me that holds for ever in the heart
 Thy divine feet, like lotus in the sun,
 Shine in radiance bright
 Emanating from the gems of Indra's crest
 Bowing at thy feet. 29

Oh the Best among the *Jinas*¹⁸
 Have I thus offered my prayers to thee
 In verses of Prakrit and Sanskrit
 Desire not I the seat of Indra
 Nor kingdom nor riches,
 Nor the darling maidens' jocund company
 Extend only thy kind glance to me
 Jina Ballabha thy humble servant. 30

¹⁸ Victors over the bondage of *karma*. Here *Tirthankaras*.

LIFE OF MAHAVIRA

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

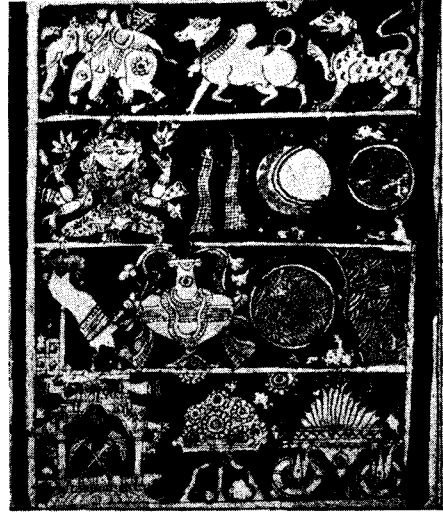
At the close of his allotted period of existence in heaven, where he had dwelt for twenty ages subsequent to his last incarnation, Mahavira, the last of the *Tirthankaras*, took conception in the womb of Devananda, the wife of the *Brāhmaṇa* Risabhadatta, in the town of Kundagrama (probably a suburb of Vaisali, capital of Videha or Mithila, the modern Tirhut).

That night the *Brāhmaṇī* Devananda lay in fitful slumber, between sleeping and waking, and she dreamed fourteen auspicious and blessed dreams, to wit : of an elephant, a bull, a lion, the lustration (of Laksmi), a garland, the moon, the sun, a flag, a vase, a lotus pool, an ocean, a celestial mansion, a heap of jewels, and a flame. She awoke from these dreams happy and contented ; and having firmly fixed the dreams in her mind, she arose from her couch. Neither hasty nor trembling, but with the even gait of a royal swan, she sought the *Brāhmaṇa* Risabhadatta and greeted him. Then she sat down in a rich state chair ; calm and composed, with folded hands, she related to him the dreams. He saw that they foretold a son, beautiful and perfect and clever, who would become acquainted with all branches of scripture, grammar, and science. She accepted the interpretation, and he and she rejoiced together.

Meanwhile Sakra (Indra), wielder of the thunderbolt, rider of Airavata, wearing robes as spotless as the pure sky, and trembling ear-rings of bright gold, sat on his throne in the council hall Sudharman in heaven. He who is ruler of heaven and all the gods of heaven and earth was then enjoying the divine pleasures, such as music and playing and story-telling. He likewise surveyed the whole land of Jambudvīpa (India) with his all-embracing gaze, and he saw that Mahavira was conceived in the womb of Devananda. Trembling with delight, he arose from his throne, and descending from the jewelled foot-stool, he cast his seamless robe over his left shoulder and advanced in the direction of the Holy One. Then knelt and touched the ground with his head thrice, and joining the palms of his hands, raised them above his head and said : 'Reverence to the



*Harinegamesi bringing the
foetus to Trisala*



*The fourteen auspicious
Dreams*



*Mahavira plucking out
his hair*



*The preaching hall
prepared by the gods*

Saints and Blessed Ones, the Masters, the Path-makers (*Arhats*, *Bhagavats*, *Adikaras*, and *Tirthankaras*), the Perfectly Enlightened Ones ; to the highest of men, the lions among men, the lotus-flowers of humanity ; to the highest in the world, the guides of the world, the lights of the world ; the givers of safety, of life, and of knowledge ; the givers and preachers of law ; the possessors of boundless wisdom and intuition ; the conquerors and saviours ; those who have reached a stainless and undying bliss whence there is no return, those who have conquered fear. Reverence to the venerable ascetic Mahavira, last of the *Tirthankaras*, whom the former *Tirthankaras* foretold. I here adore the revered one whom I see ; may he from there see me.' So saying, Sakra bowed again and returned to his throne.

It immediately occurred to him that it never had happened nor ever could happen that any *Arhat*, *Cakravartin*, or *Vāsudeva* had taken birth in a low or degraded or in any *Brāhmaṇa* family, but only in noble families of pure descent. 'This is the first time that an *Arhat* has taken conception in an unworthy family¹; however, it has not yet happened that one has ever been born in such a family. I shall therefore cause the venerable ascetic Mahavira to be removed from the *Brāhmaṇical* quarter Kundagrama, and from the womb of the *Brāhmaṇi* Devananda, and to be placed as an embryo in the womb of the *Kṣatriyāṇi* Trisala, wife of the *Kṣatriya* Siddhartha ; and the embryo of the *Kṣatriyāṇi* Trisala to be placed in the womb of the *Brāhmaṇi* Devananda.' Thus reflecting, he called Harinegamesi², the commander of his infantry ; and instructed him as aforesaid, to exchange the embryos, and to return and report the execution of the command.

Harinegamesi bowed and departed, saying : "Just as Your Majesty orders." He descended from heaven toward the north-eastern quarter of the world, and assumed a material form ; and so he passed with the high swift movement of a god, over continents and oceans, till he reached the town of Kundagrama and the house of the *Brāhmaṇa* Risabhadatta. There he bowed eight times to Mahavira, and cast the *Brāhmaṇi* Devananda into a deep sleep, and all her retinue ; removing all that was unclean, he brought forth what was clean, and placed the embryo of the venerable ascetic Mahavira in the womb of the *Kṣatriyāṇi* Trisala, and

¹ That is to say, so regarded by the Jainas, whose philosophy and membership, like that of the Buddhists, was primarily of *Ksatriya* origin.

² For the relation of this peculiar deity with the *Brahmanical* Nejamesa and Naigamesa see Winternitz, M., in *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, pp. 149ff.

the embryo of the *Kṣatriyānī* in the womb of the *Brāhmaṇī* Devananda. And having so done, he returned whence he came. With the high swift movement of a god he passed over oceans and continents and reached the heavens and the throne of Sakra, and reported the fulfilment of the command. This befell on the eighty-third day after conception, in the middle of the night.

On that night the *Kṣatriyānī* lay on her couch, twixt sleeping and waking, in her bower, whereof the walls were decorated with pictures, and the ceiling painted ; the chamber was fragrant with the scent of flowers and perfumes, and the couch was covered with a mattress of a man's length, with pillows at head and foot, raised on both sides and hollow in the middle, covered with a cloth of figured linen, hung with red mosquito nets, and furnished with all the comforts of a bed, such as flowers and sandal powder. Then there came to her the fourteen auspicious and delightful dreams that the *Brāhmaṇī* Devananda had formerly dreamed, to wit : a great lucky elephant, marked with auspicious signs, and four-tusked ; a lucky bull, whiter than the petals of the white lotus, sleek and well-proportioned, foreboding innumerable happy qualities ; a playful beautiful lion, whiter than a heap of pearls—his tail waved, and his beautiful tongue came out of his mouth like a shoot of beauty ; Sri, the goddess of beauty, seated on a lotus, laved by attendant elephants ; a garland of *mandāra* flowers hanging down from the firmament, incomparably fragrant, and haunted by swarms of bees ; the moon, white as the milk of cows, or as a silver cup ; the great red sun, whose thousand rays obscure the lusture of all other lights ; a green flag, fastened to a golden staff, with a tuft of soft and waving peacock feathers, a full vase of gold, filled with water-lilies ; a lake of lotuses, resorted to by swans and cranes and ducks, pleasing to heart and eye ; the ocean of milk, beauteous as Laksmi's breast—a splendid and a pleasant spectacle as its waters tossed in moving, ever-changing, excessively high waves, traversed by porpoises and whales ; a heavenly mansion of a thousand and eight columns, decked with gold and gems, hung with pearl garlands and decorated with various pictures, filled with music like the sound of heavy rain, perfumed delightfully and full of light ; a heap of splendid jewels, high as Meru, illumining the very firmament ; and a smokeless, cracking fire, flaming high as if to scorch the very heavens.

From these auspicious, happy dreams the *Kṣatriyānī* Trisala awoke, and all the hair on her body rose up in joy. She rose from her couch, and neither hasty nor trembling, but with the gait of a royal swan, she sought the couch of the *Kṣatriya* Siddhartha, and spoke to him with

pleasant, gentle words, and with his leave she sat on a chair of state, inlaid with precious stones in various patterns. She related the fourteen dreams, and asked her lord what they might portend. He foretold that she would give birth to a son, who would establish the fame of their family ; a beautiful boy who should be acquainted with all branches of scripture, grammar, and science, and become a lord of the earth. Then the *Kṣatriya* and *Kṣatriyānī* rejoiced together ; and Trisala returned to her own couch, and waked till morning, lest these good dreams should be counteracted by any bad dreams following.

At day-break, Siddhartha called for his servants, and ordered them to prepare the hall of audience. He himself went to the royal gymnasium and practised exercises, such as jumping, wrestling, fencing, and fighting, till he was wearied. Then he was well shampooed ; and when he was refreshed, he entered the bath-room. That was an agreeable chamber ; it had many a window, and the floor was covered with mosaic of precious stones. He seated himself on the bathing stool, inlaid with jems, and bathed himself with pure scented water. Then he dried himself with a soft towel, and donned a new and costly robe, with jewels, rings, and strings of pearls. He seemed like a tree granting all desires. A royal umbrella was held above him, as he proceeded from his bath and took his seat in the hall of audience, surrounded by chiefs and vassals, ministers, merchants and masters of guilds, knights and frontier-guards—a very bull and lion amongst men. On the one side of the throne he had set eight chairs of state ; and on the other a curtain, figured with various pictures, was drawn toward the inner rooms of the palace ; and behind this curtain was placed a jewelled chair of state for the *Kṣatriyānī* Trisala.

Then Siddhartha sent for the interpreters of dreams ; and they, bathing and donning clean court robes, came from their houses and entered Siddhartha's palace, and saluting him with folded hands they took their seats on the chairs of state. Meanwhile Trisala took her seat behind the curtain. Siddhartha recounted the dreams to the interpreters, and they, after consideration and discussion, replied to him : “O beloved of the gods, there are thirty Great Dreams enumerated in our books, and of these, those who dream fourteen dreams are the mothers either of Universal Emperors or of *Arhats* : and hence the *Kṣatriyānī*, having seen fourteen, will be the mother either of a *Cakravartin* or of a *Jina*.”

The king Siddhartha gladly accepted this interpretation and dismissed the interpreters with gifts ; and the lady Trisala returned to her

own apartments, neither hasty nor trembling, but with the even gait of a royal swan, glad and happy.

Now from the moment when the venerable ascetic Mahavira was brought into Siddhartha's family, their wealth and their liberality and popularity increased daily ; and on this account it was decided to name the child Vardhamana, the Increaser.

While still in the womb, the venerable ascetic Mahavira made the resolution not to pluck out his hair and leave the world during the lifetime of his parents.

During the remaining time of her pregnancy, the *Kṣatriyānī* Trisala guarded herself from all sickness, fear and fatigue, by suitable food and clothing and pleasant diversions and occupation, frequently resting on soft couches, and thus bearing the child in comfort. And after the lapse of nine months and seven and a half days, in the middle of the night, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalguni, Trisala, perfectly healthy herself, gave birth to a perfectly healthy boy.

That night was an occasion of great rejoicing; the universe was resplendent with one light, as the gods and goddesses descended and ascended, and great was the noise and confusion of the assembly of gods. These gods—the *Bhavanapati*, the *Vyantara*, the *Jyotiṣka* and the *Vaimānika*—appeared to celebrate the feast of anointment (*abhiṣeka*) of the *Tīrthankara's* birthday. Siddhartha proclaimed a ten days' festival in his city, with remission of taxes, alms-giving, and so forth. On the twelfth day there took place a royal banquet, and it was announced that the boy's name would be Vardhamana.

Besides this he is called *Sramaṇa*, or Ascetic, because he is without love and without hate ; and because he stands fast in the midst of dangers and fears, and patiently bears hardships and calamities, and is indifferent to pleasure and pain ; obedient to a chosen discipline, he is called Mahavira, the Great Hero, by the gods.

Mahavira dwelt in Videha for thirty years, before his parents departed to the world of the gods ; and then only, with the permission of his elder brother and the great men of the kingdom, he fulfilled his vow. The *Laukāntika* gods appeared to him, saying : "Victory to thee, O Bull

of the best *Kṣatriyas* ! Awake, reverend Lord of the World ! Establish the religion of the law which benefits all living beings in the whole universe ! ”

Mahavira had already perceived that the time for his renunciation (*niṣkramaṇa*) had come. He made a suitable distribution of all his wealth. This distribution of gifts occupied a whole year, at the end of which time, the four orders of gods, descending from heaven, proceeded to the abode of Mahavira. As they arrived in the *Kṣatriya* quarter of Videha, Sakra (Indra) descended from his chariot, and went apart ; and he created by magic a divine pedestal (*deva-chamda*) with a throne and footstool. Then proceeding to the venerable ascetic Mahavira, Sakra circumambulated him thrice from left to right, and placing him upon the throne, bathed him with pure water and precious oils, and robed him in the lightest of figured muslins, and garlands of pearls and precious gems. Then the god again created by magic a splendid palanquin called Candraprabha (moon-radiance), adorned with pictures and bells and flags, and provided with a throne ; it was conspicuous, magnificent and beautiful.

After completing a three days' fast, the ascetic Mahavira ascended the throne and took his seat in the palanquin ; in front it was borne by men, and by the gods behind,—the *Suras* and the *Asuras*, the *Gāruḍas* and the *Nāgas*. Its movement was accompanied by the sound of musical instruments in the sky and upon the earth ; and thus it proceeded from the *Kṣatriya* quarter of Kundapura along the highway toward the park called Jnatri Sanda. Just at nightfall the palanquin came to rest upon a little hillock beside an *aśoka* tree ; Mahavira descended, and took his seat beneath the tree, with his face towards the East. He removed his ornaments and fine clothes ; and tearing out his hair in five handfuls, he obtained *dikṣā*, entering upon the homeless life of a friar, adopting the holy rule, and vowing to commit no sin. At the same time he donned a divine garment, which he accepted from Sakra (Vaisramana, according to the *Acārāṅga Sūtra*) who received the rejected ornaments and fine clothes and removed them to the Ocean of Milk³. At the moment of Mahavira's obtaining *dikṣā*, the whole universe of men and gods became suddenly perfectly silent and motionless, like the figures in a picture.

³ The *Kalpa Sutra*, though it mentions the divine robe, and thus implies the presence of a divine donor, distinctly states that Mahavira was quite alone when he obtained *dikṣa*; this must be understood to mean that no other human being was present.

Mahavira obtained the degree of knowledge called *manahparyāya* ; and he resolved to neglect the care of his body for twelve years, bearing with equanimity all pleasures and pains, whether arising from divine powers, from men or from animals. The twelve years duly passed in blameless wandering, the practice of religious discipline, and the patient endurance of pain and pleasure. It was in the thirteenth year that Mahavira, seated in deep meditation beside a *śāla* tree, near the town Grmbhikagrama, attained to *nirvāṇa*, and the unobstructed, infinite and supreme knowledge and intuition of a *Kevalin* (syn. *Jina*, *Arhat*). Then he became aware of all states of gods or men or demons, whence they came and whither they go, their thoughts and deeds ; he saw and knew all circumstances and conditions of the whole universe of living things.

When the venerable ascetic Mahavira had thus reached the highest intuition and knowledge, the time had come for him to teach the doctrine of the *Jinas*. To this end the gods prepared for him a *samavasaraṇa* or preaching hall, and entering this by the eastern gate, he took his seat upon the throne, and taught the Divine Law to gods and men.

During a period of nearly thirty years following, Mahavira wandered to and fro, spending the rainy season in different cities, founding a great community of monks and lay votaries, and teaching the five great vows, the doctrine of the six classes of living beings, and so forth. At the end of that time, in the town of Papa, the venerable ascetic Mahavira died, cutting asunder the ties of birth, old age and death, becoming a *Siddha*, a *Buddha*, a *Mukta*, one who is finally released, never more to return, entering the paradise of perfected souls (*Iṣatpragbhārā*), above the world and beyond the heavens of the gods.

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THE DATE OF MAHAVIRA

YOGENDRA MISHRA

The date of Mahavira, like that of the Buddha, occupies a very important place in ancient Indian chronology ; but it has not attracted as much attention of scholars as the date of the Buddha. Indeed after Jarl Charpentier considered the problem in the *Indian Antiquity* of 1914 and the *Cambridge History of India*, Volume I, in 1922, H. C. Seth was the only scholar to take it up seriously in recent times and suggest a new date based on the Buddhist tradition. We intend to suggest here a new date for Mahavira but it is not completely new in the sense that it is based on the Buddhist tradition. We shall put this date to suitable tests with a view to examining its correctness. These tests will also, however, be based mainly on the Buddhist tradition itself which has rightly come to be regarded as very reliable for ancient Indian history.

Generally speaking, two dates of Mahavira's death hold the field. They are :

(A) 527 B.C. (Hoernle¹, Guerinot²), and

(B) 467 B.C. (Jacobi³, Charpentier⁴).

(A) The date 527 B. C. is based on the tradition recorded by Merutunga, a famous Jaina author, who flourished in the fourteenth century. He gives as a basis for an adjustment between the Vira and Vikrama eras the famous verses, first quoted by Buhler⁵ and after him discussed by Jacobi. The English translation of the verses, which is taken from Buhler, is as follows :

¹ A.F.R. Hoernle, *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1898, pp. 39 ff.

² Guerinot, *Essai de Bibliographie Jaina*, Paris 1906, p. VII.

³ H. Jacobi, *Kalpa Sutra of Bhadrabahu*, Leipzig, 1879 ; introductions to *SBE*, Vols. 22 (Oxford, 1884) and 45 (Oxford, 1895); 'On Mahavira and His Predecessors', *Indian Antiquity*, 9, 1880, pp. 156 ff.

⁴ J. Charpentier, 'The Date of Mahavira', *Ind. Ant.*, 1914, pp. 118-123, 125-133, 167-178 ; Chapter 6 in *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I (Cambridge, 1922), esp. pp. 155-156.

⁵ 'Pushpamitra or Pushyamitra ?' in *Ind. Ant.*, 2, pp. 362-363.

“Palaka, the lord of Avanti, was anointed in that night in which Arhat and Tirthankara Mahavira entered *nirvāṇa*. (1)

“Sixty are (the years) of king Palaka, but one hundred and fifty-five are (the years) of the Nandas ; one hundred and eight those of the Mauryas, and thirty those of Pusamitta [Pusyamitra]. (2)

“Sixty (years) ruled Balamitra and Bhanumitra, forty Nabhovahana. Thirteen years likewise (lasted) the rule of Gardabhilla, and four are (the years) of Saka. (3)”

Thus there was a gap of $60+155+108+30+60+40+13+4=470$ years between the death of Mahavira and the end of Saka rule (i.e., victory of Vikrama).

This date (or 528 B.C. according to those authorities who regard 58 B.C. as the starting point of the Vikrama era) is wholly rejected by Charpentier on the following grounds⁶:

1. “The Jainas themselves have preserved chronological records concerning Mahavira and the succeeding pontiffs of the Jaina church, which may have been begun at a comparatively early date. But it seems quite clear that, at the time when these lists were put into their present form, the real date of Mahavira had already either been forgotten or was at least doubtful.” (p. 155)

2. “The traditional date of Mahavira’s death on which the Jainas base their chronological calculations corresponds to the year 470 before the foundation of the Vikrama era in 58 B.C. This reckoning is based mainly on a list of kings and dynasties, who are supposed to have reigned between 528 and 58 B.C. ; but

(a) the list is absolutely valueless, as it confuses rulers of Ujjain, Magadha and other kingdoms ; and

(b) some of these may perhaps have been contemporary, and not successive as they are represented.” (p. 15)

3. “Moreover, if we adopt the year 528 B.C. it would exclude every possibility of Mahavira having preached his doctrine at the same time

⁶ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol I, pp. 155-156. [These points are found in a developed form in *Ind. Ant.* 1914.]

as Buddha, as the Buddhist texts assert ; for there is now a general agreement among scholars that Buddha died within a few years of 480 B.C." (pp. 155-156)

4. "Finally, both Mahavira and Buddha were contemporaries with a king of Magadha whom the Jainas call Kunika, and the Buddhists Ajatasatru ; and he began his reign only eight years before Buddha's death. Therefore, if Mahavira died in 528 B.C., he could not have lived in the reign of Kunika." (p. 156)

H. C. Raychaudhuri⁷ furnishes some additional arguments for rejecting this date :

1. "In the first place, it is at variance with the testimony of Hemacandra, who places Mahavira's *nirvāṇa* only 155 years before Candragupta Maurya." (p. 85)

2. "Again some Jaina texts place the *nirvāṇa* 470 years before the birth of Vikrama and not his *accession*, and as this event, according to the Jainas, did not coincide with the foundation of the era of 58 B.C. attributed to Vikrama, the date 528 B.C. for Mahavira's death can hardly be accepted as representing a unanimous tradition." (p. 85)

If we study the details of the list of kings and dynasties provided by Merutunga, we find the following irregularities as well :

1. The reign-periods of certain dynasties and kings are completely unacceptable, e.g., a total of 155 years has never been allowed to the Nandas by any tradition. With a view to defending the Jaina tradition, it may be argued that possibly the list indicates the reign periods of kings and dynasties who ruled over Ujjain and not Magadha. But even in that case, such a long period for the Nandas cannot be defended⁸.

2. The Great Satrap Nahapana, who is usually identified with Nabhovalana of the tradition, flourished after Vikrama according to competent authorities. Inclusion of such a post-Vikrama figure in this Jaina tradition renders it all the more valueless.

⁷ Majumdar, Raychaudhuri and Datta, *An Advanced History of India*, 2nd Ed. (London, 1950), Part I, Chapter 6 by H. C. Raychaudhuri, esp. pp. 85-86.

⁸ "Not only is the number of years (155) allotted in the *gathas* to the reign of the Nandas unduly great, but also the introduction of Palaka, lord of Avanti, in the chronology of the Magadha kings looks very suspicious." (Jacobi, *Kalpa Sutra of Bhadrabahu*, p. 8.)

3. As is well-known, the story of Vikrama and the end of Saka rule is of much later growth. Kielhorn⁹ long ago proved that the connection of the era commencing 57 B.C. with a king Vikaramaditya of Ujjayini, who perhaps never existed, was not established till a very late date, the first mention of 'Vikrama Samvat' being made in an inscription at Dholpur of Samvat 898=A.D. 842. Hence any tradition which incorporates this story must be used with great caution.

(B) The second date of Mahavira's death, i.e., 467 B.C., is based on a tradition recorded by the great Jaina author Hemacandra (A.D. 1088-1172), who says that 155 years after the liberation of Mahavira Candragupta became king (*Sthavirāvalīcarita*, *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* VIII, 399). As pointed out by Charpentier¹⁰, who like Cunningham and Max Muller, believes that the Buddha's *nirvāṇa* took place in 477 B.C. (and not in 487 B.C. as we believe), this date has some good points in its favour :

1. The Buddha (d. 477 B.C.) and Mahavira (d. 467 B.C.) become contemporaries.

2. Ajatasatru becomes the contemporary of both the teachers.

3. This is in keeping with the Jaina tradition of Hemacandra that there was a gap of 155 years between the death of Mahavira and the accession of Candragupta Maurya.

[Be it noted that according to the Jaina tradition the accession of Candragupta Maurya took place in 312 B.C., a date not regarded as correct by scholars for the accession of Candragupta Maurya.]

4. According to the Jaina tradition, the Jaina pontiff Sambhutavijaya died exactly in the year after Candragupta's accession, or 156 after Vira, which may after all perhaps be the very same year as Hemacandra says that the one hundred and fifty-fifth year had passed (*gata*). Bhadrabahu, the successor of Sambhutavijaya, died fifteen years later. All Jaina tradition from Hemacandra downwards gives 170 after Vira as the year of Bhadrabahu's death. This would be 297 B.C., if the date 467 B.C. is accepted for Mahavira's death ; and all Jaina tradition

⁹ 'Examination of Questions connected with the Vikrama Era' in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 19, pp. 20-40, 166-187, 354-374 ; Vol. 20, pp. 124-142, 397-414.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.* 1914.

also brings Bhadrabahu into the closest connection with Candragupta in whose reign the date 297 B.C. falls.

5. The *Kalpa Sūtra* was finished 980 years after Mahavira, but in another recension the number is 993. The commentaries, all going back to the old *Chūrṇī*, refer this date to four different events. One such event is the public recitation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* before king Dhruvasena of Anandapura whose reign lasted from A.D. 526 to A.D. 540. Thus we find a most remarkable coincidence, for $993 - 467 = 526$, or just the year King Dhruvasena's accession to the throne of Valabhi.

6. The Jaina creed is called in Buddhist literature *cāturyāma*, 'consisting in four restrictions'. But Mahavira enforced five great vows upon his followers. From this Charpentier concludes that Mahavira did not finally fix his doctrine of the five vows before a somewhat later date, when the Buddha was already out of any connection with him.

7. Bimbisara¹¹ is the main ruler in the Buddhist canonical texts, and Ajatasatru does not appear so very much there. In the Jaina canon Kunika plays a far more important role in the life of Mahavira. This may point to a later period of Ajatasatru's reign.

8. Although the date 467 B.C. (suggested long ago by Jacobi and strongly supported by Charpentier) has good points in it, it presents two very serious difficulties :

1. Firstly, this "date does not accord with the explicit statement in some of the earliest Buddhist texts that Mahavira predeceased the Buddha." (H.C. Raychaudhuri) Charpentier also knows that this date is "contradicted by a passage in the Buddhist *Dīgha Nikāya*¹² which tells us that *Nigantha* Nataputta—the name by which the Buddhists denote Mahavira—died before Buddha. This assertion is, however, in contradiction with other contemporaneous statements, and forms" for him "no real obstacle to the assumption of the date 468 B.C." (*C.H.I.*, I, p. 156) He adds that he considers "this evidence too strong to be thrown over on account of this passage in the Pali canon." (*I.A.*, 1914, p. 177)

For several reasons it is very difficult to agree with Charpentier :

¹¹ See *SBE*, Vol. 50 (Index), p. 99, for the references regarding the Buddha's frequent meetings with Bimbisara.

¹² *Dīgha Nikaya*, III, pp. 117 sq., 209 sq. Also *Majjhima Nikaya*, II, pp. 273 sq. Cf. Chalmers, *JRAS*, 1895, pp. 665-666.

- (a) The Jaina tradition was collected and reduced to writing much later and hence it is not as reliable as the Buddhist tradition.
- (b) Even the Jaina tradition is not unanimous about the date of Mahavira's death. There are several traditions¹³ about this, which rather shake our belief in them.
- (c) The insertion of Vikrama and the Sakas in the Jaina tradition strengthens our suspicion.
- (d) The Buddhist tradition is more reliable as it was reduced to writing very early. Moreover due to its comparatively more reliability, it has been used in the reconstruction of ancient Indian history. Hence, there should be no valid objections to its use in determining the date of Mahavira.

2. Secondly, Charpentier's calculation is based on the assumption that the Buddha died in 477 B.C.. This date has since been discarded and the date of the Buddha's death has been fixed at 487 B.C. as this is the date arrived at on the basis of the Cantonese tradition, the *Mahāvāṇsa* and the inscriptions of Asoka¹⁴. In order to discredit the tradition of the *Mahāvāṇsa* that Asoka was formally crowned 218 years after the death of the Buddha, Charpentier had to take recourse to an utterly untenable argument saying that "the 218 years did not refer originally to the *abhiṣeka*, but to the completion of the conquest of Kalinga or to the first conversion, or to both these events". (*I.A.*, 1914, p. 170)

There are some other theories as well about Mahavira's date which we may notice in passing.

(C) S. N. Pradhan¹⁵ holds the date 480 B.C. (=325+155) or 477 B.C. (=322+155) for the death of Mahavira, accepting Hemacandra who says that Candragupta became king 155 years after the death of Mahavira.

(D) "Certain Jaina writers assume an interval of eighteen years between the birth of Vikrama and the foundation of the era attributed to him, and thereby seek to reconcile the Jaina tradition about the date

¹³ Collected in Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 240-243.

¹⁴ This has been admirably pointed out by S. N. Pradhan (*ibid*) and need not be repeated here.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

of Mahavira's *nirvāṇa* ($58+18+470=546$ B.C.) with the Ceylonese date of the Great Decease of the Buddha (544 B.C.). But the suggestion can hardly be said to rest on any reliable tradition. Merutunga places the death of the last *Jina* or *Tīrthankara* 470 years before the end of Saka rule and the *victory* and not *birth* of the traditional Vikrama." (H. C. Raychaudhuri, *An Advanced History of India*, p. 86)

(E) "Certain Jaina *Sūtras* seem to suggest that Mahavira died about sixteen years after the accession of Ajatasatru and the commencement of his wars with his hostile neighbours. This would place the *nirvāṇa* of the Jaina teacher eight years after the Buddha's death, as, according to the Ceylonese chronicles, the Buddha died eight years after the enthronement of Ajatasatru. The *nirvāṇa* of the *Tīrthankara* would, according to this view, fall in 478 B.C., if we accept the Cantonese reckoning (486 B.C.) as our basis, and in 536 B.C., if we prefer the Ceylonese epoch.

"The date 478 B.C. would almost coincide with that to which the testimony of Hemacandra leads us, and place the accession of Candragupta Maurya in 323 B.C., which cannot be far from truth. But the result in respect of Mahavira himself is at variance with the clear evidence of the Buddhist canonical texts which make the Buddha survive his Jnatrka rival.

"The Jaina statement that their *Tīrthankara* died some sixteen years after the accession of Kunika (Ajatasatru) can be reconciled with the Buddhist tradition about the death of the same teacher before the eighth year of Ajatasatru if we begin their reckoning from the accession of that prince to the viceregal throne of Campa, while the Buddhists make the accession of Ajatasatru to the royal throne of Rajagṛha the basis of their calculation." (H. C. Raychaudhuri, p. 86)

(F) In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1917, S. V. Venkateswara wrote an article entitled 'The Date of Vardhamana' (pages 122-130) in which he suggested "the date 437 B.C. or 470 of the Annada Vikrama era" as the date of the *nirvāṇa* of Vardhamana, "the founder of modern Jainism". His view is based on the *Svapnavasavadattā* of Bhasa wherein the Sanskrit dramatist "introduces Pradyota as seeking the hand of Darsaka's sister in marriage for his own son." (p. 129) The reign of Darsaka as accepted by Venkateswara is 437-413 B.C. Thus Canda Pradyota was alive at the beginning of the reign of

Darsaka. Jaina tradition¹⁶ is to the effect that Vardhamana died on the same day as Canda Pradyota of Avanti. Thus "the founder of the Jaina faith must have seen Darsaka's reign (i.e., 437-413 B.C.), if it be true that both Vardhamana and Canda died about the same time." (pp. 124-125)

This view can be easily refuted on the basis of what has already been said.

(G) H. C. Seth¹⁷ suggests 488 B.C. as the date of Mahavira's death on the basis of the Buddhist tradition, assuming 487 B.C. as the date of the Buddha's death. As he says,

"The great difficulty in accepting 468 B.C. as the date for Mahavira's *nirvāṇa* will be that it will place Mahavira's death several years after that of Buddha. The traditions preserved in the Buddhist Pali canon clearly tell us that *Nigaṇṭha* Nātaputta i.e., Mahavira, died at Pava a little before Buddha¹⁸. Jacobi and Charpentier have rather lightly set aside this old Buddhist tradition." (p. 820)

"The traditional chronology of the *Svetāmbara* Sect of the Jains given in the *Tapagaccha Paṭṭāvalī* and Merutunga's *Vicārasreṇī*, which has been made familiar by European scholars like Buhler, Jacobi, and Charpentier, puts Mahavira *nirvāṇa* 470 years before the Vikrama era. (pp. 817-18)

"All the Jaina traditions assign 40 years of reign to Mahavira or Nahapana, whose reign therefore lasted upto 605 years (430 between

¹⁶ The *Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, Ed., by Ramachandra Ghosh (Calcutta, 1880), p. 130.

¹⁷ 'Mahavira *nirvāṇa* and some other important dates in Ancient Indian History' in *Bharata Kaumadi*, Part II (Allahabad, 1947), pp. 817-838. H. C. Seth's other articles on ancient Indian chronology include : 'Buddha *nirvāṇa* and some other dates in Ancient Indian Chronology', *Indian Culture*, Vol. 5 (1938-1939), pp. 305-317 ; 'Beginning of Chandragupta Maurya's Reign', *Proceedings of the 3rd Indian History Congress* (1939), p. 371 ; also republished in *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 19 (1940) pp. 17-21 ; 'Chronology of Asokan Inscriptions', *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 17, Part III.

¹⁸ *Digha Nikaya*, III, pp. 117, 209 ; and *Majjhima Nikaya*, II, pp. 243 ff. We are told here that while Buddha stayed at Samagama, the report was brought to him that his rival had died at Pava, and that the *Nirgranthas*, his followers, were divided by serious schisms. According to Jaina traditions also Mahavira died at Pava. (H. C. Seth).

Mahavira's *nirvāṇa* and Vikrama+135 of Vikrama's dynasty+40 of Nahavana) after Mahavira *nirvāṇa*." (p. 834)

Now his main argument is as follows :

"Nahavana is in all probability, as is generally believed by modern historians, the same as Nahapana, the *Mahā-Kṣatrapa* of Ksaharata family, who is mentioned in several inscriptions and a large number of whose coins is also discovered. ...The modern historical researches put Nahapana in the period after the commencement of the Vikrama era... If we take out 40 years of Nahavana from 470 years, the interval given in these traditions between Mahavira *nirvāṇa* and the commencement of the Vikrama era, the difference between these two important events will be 430 years. This will give (430+58) 488 B.C., as the date of Mahavira *nirvāṇa*. This will place Mahavira's death about a year before that of Buddha, who died, as suggested above, in 487 B.C. These two dates will reconcile most of the Buddhist as well as the Jaina traditions about these two great religious teachers." (pp. 831-832)

We fully agree with him that whatsoever date we accept, the Buddha and Mahavira must be shown contemporaries; otherwise the date cannot be correct. But we suggest a modification in it :

The Christian year changes in our *Pauṣa*. This may be applicable to B.C. dates as well. If we say that Mahavira died in 488 B.C. and the Buddha died in 487 B.C., seemingly there is a difference of one year between these two events. But really speaking, there is a difference of 6½ months only ; because Mahavira died in the month of *Kārtika* in 488 B.C., the year changed in *Pauṣa* and 487 B.C. began from that month and in *Vaiśākha* of the same year (487 B.C.) the Buddha died. From Buddhist literature we know that some time, evidently more than one or two years, passed between the deaths of the two teachers, because it is recorded that the Buddha passed his rainy season (evidently in 488 B.C., at Vaisali. So 488 B.C. as the date of Mahavira's death will have to be given up and we should see if we can find out a date of Mahavira's death somewhere near that, which is in keeping with other details.

After a comparison of the details of the lives of the Buddha and Mahavira, especially the places where they spent their rainy seasons, we have come to the conclusion that Mahavira died in 490 B.C. (November) and that he had been born in 561 B.C. (April). He was alive for

71 years and 6½ months. The Buddha was born in 567 B.C. (May) and he died in 487 B.C. (May). He was alive exactly for 80 years.

The point which induced us to try to find out the correct date of Mahavira is this :

In the Buddhist *Tripitaka* literature (*Maj. Nik.* II.3.7.) it is stated in most unequivocal terms that one particular rainy season was spent at Rajagrha by the Buddha as well as Mahavira and five other heretical teachers. Scholars so far have not paid serious attention to it. Had they done it, they would have been able to find out the correct date of Mahavira. Charpentier also knew this passage and certain other passages of the same type. On page 126 (foot-note 29) of the *Indian Antiquity* for 1914, he says— “The *Majjhima Nikāya* II, p. 2. sq. tells us how the six heretical teachers once spent the rainy season in Rajagrha at the same time as Buddha. Mahavira spent fourteen of his *varṣas* there according to *Kalpa Sūtra* §122.” But he, too, ignored it. This passage, as a matter of fact, provides us with another means from the Buddhist side (besides the one indicating that Mahavira predeceased the Buddha) to arrive at the correct date of Mahavira.

We proceeded to find out the date of that specific rainy season and consulted the lives of the Buddha and Mahavira, viz., *Buddhacaryā* (in Hindi) by Rahula Sankrityayana (2nd Ed., Banaras, 1952) and *Sramaṇa Bhagawān Mahāvira* (in English) by Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya, Vol. II, Parts I and II (Ahmedabad, 1948 and 1951) respectively. According to the former the date of the Buddha is 563 B.C.-483 B.C. and according to the latter the date of Mahavira is 597 B.C.-526 B.C. We have, however, followed only the years of the lives of these teachers with regard to particular events and not the dates of these events in terms of B.C. years offered by the two above mentioned writers. We were surprised to see that we could find out the particular rainy season in which both the Buddha and Mahavira were at Rajagrha. This was done in the following way :

In *Buddhacaryā*, which is a systematised collection of the Hindi translation of the selected passages from ancient Buddhist literature, especially *Tripitaka* literature, it is stated (p. 248) that Lord Buddha spent his 17th rainy season (after enlightenment) at Rajagrha ; and then follows the Hindi translation of *Mahāsakuludāyī Sutta* (*Maj. Nik.*, II. 3.7) in which it is said (p. 249) that on that particular occasion both the Buddha and *Nirgrantha* Nataputta spent their rainy season at Rajagrha.

Taking 567 B.C. as the date of the birth of the Buddha this comes to 516 B.C.

On the basis of the life of Mahavira written by Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya who has closely followed the early traditional literature on the subject we prepared the list of places where Mahavira spent his rainy seasons after leaving his home (with dates). We took 561 B.C. as the date of the birth of Mahavira and found that he spent his rainy season in 516 B.C. at Rajagrha. This was his sixteenth rainy season in his ascetic life (i.e., after leaving his home which event took place in December of 532 B.C. according to our calculation). In the rainy season of 513 B.C. also both the Buddha and Mahavira were at Rajagrha. So the date 561 B.C. as the date of the birth of Mahavira is able not only to show that the Buddha survived Mahavira but also to make both the teachers spend the same rainy season at Rajagrha. This is highly useful inasmuch as it also confirms the statement in the Buddhist literature and shows that Pali texts are not 'fancy and invention'.

Below we propose to show that if in Buddhist literature the Buddha and Mahavira¹⁹ have been shown as living at the same place at a particular time, we get confirmation from the life of Mahavira, too, about it pointing out that he was actually at the same particular place at that time. As Charpentier also collected, though for a different purpose, some examples of this situation when the Buddha and Mahavira were living at the same place or in the same locality, we shall begin this examination with the passages pointed out by Charpentier. (*I.A.* 1914, pp. 126-128)

1. "The well-known introduction to the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (*Digh. Nik.* I, p. 47 sq.) telling us how King Ajatasatru of Magadha paid visits to one after another of the six heretical teachers Purana Kassapa, Makhalī Gosala, Ajita Kesakambala, Pakudha Kaccayana, Sanjaya, Belathiputta and *Nigantha* Nataputta to hear their doctrines and at last discontented with all he had learnt took refuge with Buddha, may be a little exaggerated, as it is not very credible that Ajatasatru saw seven great teachers after each other in one single night²⁰. But the main

¹⁹ Passages where Nat(h)aputta is merely mentioned without anything being told about him are for instance *Cullavagga* V. 8, 1; *Digh. Nik.*, II p. 150; *Maj. Nik.* I, pp. 198, 250; II, pp. 2 ff; he is called in Buddhist Sanskrit *Nirgrantho Jnatiputrah*, e.g., *Divyavadana*, p. 143; *Mahavastu*, I, pp. 253, 257; III, p. 383 (Charpentier, p. 126, f.n.)

²⁰ The visit of Ajatasatru is said in *Digh. Nik.* to have taken place in the full-moon of *Kartika* (about Nov. 1) after the end of the rainy season. (Charpentier)

content of it is undoubtedly true, as much as we can control the facts told concerning the doctrines of at least two of the teachers, Gosala and Nataputta, by comparison with Jaina writings. Moreover, the Jaina writings, e.g., the *Aupapātika Sūtra* 39 sq., tell us of visits paid by King Kuniya or Koniya (Ajatasatru) to Mahavira, and although there are no facts from which to conclude that it is the same visit as that alluded to by the *Dīgha Nikāya*, there are sufficient instances to prove that the imagination of Ajatasatru paying visits to Mahavira was quite familiar with Jaina writers." (pp. 126-27)

This visit of Ajatasatru to the Buddha took place in 491 B.C. according to our calculation, because Rahula Sankrityayana put it at 487 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 426) taking 483 B.C. as the date of the death of the Buddha. The rainy season of 491 B.C. was passed by the Buddha at Sravasti. This was his 42nd rainy season after enlightenment. So this Buddhist reference means to say that sometime in the last month (i.e. *Kārtika*) of the *cāturmāsya* the Buddha came to Rajagrha. The example of the Buddha's leaving his *cāturmāsya* place on the *Aśvina Pūrṇimā* (the full-moon day of *Aśvina*, *Mahā-pravāraṇā* day) or later is furnished by Sankrityayana on page 82 of his book. [This was the Buddha's 7th rainy season (526 B.C.) which had been passed at *Trayastrimśa*.]

Thus Buddhist literature says that there was a meeting between the Buddha and Ajatasatru at Rajagrha in the full-moon night of *Kārtika*. But what about Mahavira? Ajatasatru mentions before the Buddha (Sankrityayana, p. 430) that he had been to *Nigantha* Nataputta as well and had held a discussion.

Coming to Mahavira, as is well-known, he passed his 42nd rainy season (which was his last rainy season) at Madhyama Pava where he died. This, according to our calculation, took place in 490 B.C. From the *Life of Mahavira* (Vol. II, Part II, page 658) we know that "*Sramana Bhagawān* Mahavira lived at Rajagrha *nagara* during the rainy season of the forty-first year of his ascetic life." The date of this rainy season will be 491 B.C.

Thus it was possible for Ajatasatru to meet the Buddha at Rajagrha after having met Mahavira (at Rajagrha).

2. "In *Majjhima Nikāya*, p. 93 sq., Buddha tells his relative, the Sakya prince Mahanaman, of a conversation which he had once had

with some *Nirgrantha* ascetics in the neighbourhood of Rajagrha. These disciples of Mahavira praised their master as all-knowing and all-seeing, etc. ; and there is nothing remarkable in this, for the claim of possessing universal knowledge was a main characteristic of all these prophets, Mahavira as well as Gosala, Buddha as well as Devadatta.” (p. 127)

This story is given in detail by Sankrityayana under ‘*Cūla-dukkhakkhandha Sutta*’ on pages 212-216 and the reference by the Buddha to the *Nirgranthas* of Rajagrha is given on page 214. The date of the event of this *Sutta* is given by Sankrityayana as 514 B.C. which is equivalent to 518 B.C. if we regard 487 B. C. as the date of the death of the Buddha. The age of the Buddha is given as 49th year which is equivalent to 519 B.C. (May) to 518 B.C. (May). Thus this event might have happened sometime between May, 519 B.C. and May, 518 B.C.

Now from the *Life of Mahavira* (Vol. II, Part II, pp. 141, 200) we know that he passed his 13th rainy season after leaving home (or 1st rainy season after enlightenment) at Rajagrha. The date of this according to our calculation is 519 B.C. (July-October), taking 561 B.C. as the date of Mahavira’s birth.

Thus we see that it was possible that sometime in 519 B.C. (either in May-June or July-October) the Buddha contacted at Rajagrha (at Kalasila near Rsigiri) some *Nirgranthas* who told him that *Nigantha* Nataputta was all-knowing. Very possibly, as we have seen above, *Nigantha* Nataputta (Mahavira) was himself residing there in the locality, although the text does not make it necessary.

3. “Moreover, there are other instances in the Pali Canon where Mahavira is praised in the same way by his followers ; so

- (a) in *Majjhima Nikāya* II, 31, where Sakuludayi in Rajagrha,
- (b) *ibid*, II, 214 sq., where some *Nirgrantha* monks, and
- (c) in *Anguttara* I, 220, where the Licchavi prince Abhaya, in a conversation with Ananda in Vesali,

eulogize Nataputta in the same way. But all these passages speaking in a quite familiar way of Nataputta, his doctrines and his followers seem to prove that the redactors of the Buddhist canonical writings

had a rather intimate knowledge of the communication between the Buddhists and the Jainas in the lifetime of Gotama and Mahavira.” (p. 127)

Of the three passages above, we have already considered the first one. This is the occasion when both Buddha and Mahavira passed the rainy season at one and the same place i.e., Rajagrha. This event took place in 516 B.C. according to our calculation as shown above. The other two passages are not relevant for our purposes.

4. “The passage in the *Mahāvagga* VI, 31, 1 sq. speaking of the meeting in Vesali²¹ of the General Siha, who afterwards became a lay-disciple of Buddha, with Nataputta has been discussed by Professor Jacobi in *SBE* 45, p. xvi. sq...” (p. 127)

The passage is very important as in this it is expressly stated that both the Buddha and Mahavira were at Vaisali at that time.

The Hindi translation of the *Siha-Sutta* (*Ang. Nik.*, VIII, 1.2.2) has been given by Sankrityayana on pages 138-140. He gives the date of this event as 515 B.C. which is equivalent to 519 B.C. according to our calculation. The Buddha spent his 13th rainy season at Caliya Parvata (p. 137) and 14th rainy season at Sravasti (p. 158, f.n.) The date of the 14th rainy season is 519 B.C (July-October) according to our calculation.

But where was Mahavira in the year 519 B.C. ? He passed his 13th rainy season at Rajagrha (*Life*, Vol. II, pp. 141, 200) in 519 B.C. (July-October) according to our calculation and 14th rainy season at Vaisali (*Life*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 231) in 518 B.C. (July-October) From the *Life* (page 200) again we know that “soon after the rainy season, *Sramana Bhagawān* Mahavira left Rajagrha, and went in the direction of Videha.” Then *Muni* Ratnaprabha Vijaya mentions Brahmana Kundagrama (p. 201) and Ksatriya Kundagrama (p. 206) as the places visited by Mahavira. All these places were suburbs of Vaisali. The only place outside the Vaisali area visited by Mahavira between his 13th and 14th rainy seasons was Campa. (page 227)

Thus combining both the Buddhist and the Jaina traditions we can say that both the Buddha and Mahavira were at Vaisali in November-December, 519 B.C. and that the conversion of Siha to Buddhism also

²¹ The passage is repeated in *Anguttara Nikaya* IV, p. 180 sq. (Charpentier)

took place at the same time. It may further be added that this was the first visit of Mahavira to Vaisali after his enlightenment (May 519 B.C.) That is why the Jaina tradition mentions the conversion of Rsabhadatta, Devananda, Jamali and Priyadarsana to Jainism on this occasion. But it is silent about the conversion of Siha, who was a *Nirgrantha*, to Buddhism.

5. "...and also the well-known *Upali Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. (I, p. 371 sq.) Here it is related at considerable length, how Upali, who was a lay follower of Nataputta, went to see Buddha at a time when the two teachers dwelt at Nalanda in order to try to refute him on matters of doctrine. But this attempt had only a scanty result ; for Buddha soon converted Upali, and made him his disciple. So Upali went back to his house in Rajagrha, and told his door-keeper no more to admit the *Nirgranthas*. When Mahavira afterwards came with his disciples to see him, Upali declared to his former teacher the reason of his conversion, and eulogised Buddha, his new master." (p. 127)

The *Upāli Sutta* is also highly important, because the event took place at Nalanda when both the teachers were there.

Rajagrha and Nalanda are close to each other just like Vaisali and Vanijyagrama or Campa and Prstha Campa. That is why in the §122 of the *Kalpa Sūtra* where totals of rainy seasons passed at different places are indicated, these are shown jointly and not separately. Thus it has been stated therein (quoted in *Life of Mahavira*, Vol. II, Part, II, pages 690-691) that Mahavira passed 3 rainy seasons at Campa and Prstha Campa, 12 rainy seasons at Vaisali and Vanijyagrama and 14 rainy seasons at Rajagrha and Nalanda²². This joint mention is significant.

Coming to the Buddhist tradition, Rahula Sankrityayana mentions in his *Buddhacaryā* that the Buddha spent his 42nd rainy season at Sravasti (page 413, f.n.) The date of this will be 491 B.C. according to our calculation. From the next page we find the Hindi translation of *Upāli Sutta* (pp. 414-423) with its scene at Nalanda. The date given is 487 B.C. which is equivalent to 491 B.C. according to our calculation. The year given is 77th year of the Buddha's life. This will be May, 491 B.C. to May, 490 B.C. according to our calculation. Thus it appears that

²² In the §122 of the *Kalpa Sutra* Mahavira is said to have spent fourteen rainy seasons in Rajagrha and the suburb (*bahirika*) of Nalanda. This was a famous place even with the Jainas, cf., e.g., *Sutrakritanga* II, 7 (*SBE*, XLV, 419 sq.) (Charpentier, p. 127, f. n.)

the event took place between November, 491 B.C. and May, 490 B.C. as shown above.

Turning to the Jaina tradition about the itinerary of Mahavira, we have to enquire as to where Mahavira was at this time : whether he was in the Rajagrha-Nalanda area or away from it.

From the *Life of Mahavira* (Vol. II, Part II, pages 650, 658) we know that Mahavira was at Rajagrha (or in the Rajagrha-Nalanda area, to be more exact and in keeping with the tone of the *Kalpa Sūtra* §122) from November, 492 B.C. to the early months of 490 B.C. This is evident from the following quotations :

“*Sramaṇa Bhagawān* Mahavira lived at Mithila *nagari* during the rainy season of the fortieth year of his ascetic life”. (page 649) [Date according to our calculation July-October, 492 B.C.]

“Soon after the close of the rainy season *Sramaṇa Bhagawān* Mahavira left Mithila and went in the direction of Magadha-*deśa*. Coming to Rajagrha *nagara*, the Worshipful Lord put up at Gunasila *Caitya* outside the town.” (page 650) [Date from November, 492 B.C. onwards.]

“*Sramaṇa Bhagawān* Mahavira lived at Rajagrha *nagara* during the rainy season of the forty-first year of his ascetic life.” (page 658) [Date July-October, 491 B.C.]

“Even after the close of rainy season, *Sramaṇa Bhagawān* Mahavira lived at Rajagrha *nagara*, for a long time.” (page 568) [Date from November, 491 B.C. onwards for some months]

From Rajagrha he went to Apapa *nagari* or Pavapuri (pages 664, 682) where he breathed his last in November, 490 B.C. (according to our calculation).

Hence the event narrated in the *Upāli Sutta* is rendered more probable due to the presence of the two teachers in the Rajagrha-Nalanda area in the period from November, 491 B.C. to the early months of 490 B.C.

6. “In the *Abhayakumāra Sutta* (*Maj. Nik.*, I, 392 sq.) it is stated that prince Abhaya was asked in Rajagrha by *Nigantha* Nataputta to go to Buddha, and put to him the question, whether it was advisable or

not to speak words agreeable to other people. By this a trap was to be laid out for him ; for if he answered 'no' he would, of course, be wrong, and if he answered 'yes', Abhaya ought to ask, why he had in such fierce terms denounced Devadatta and his apostacy." (p. 128)

Charpentier adds that "too much weight should not be attached to this passage" but we are unable to agree with him.

The date of the event of this *Sutta* is given as 487 B.C. by Sankrityayana (p. 424) which is equivalent to 491 B.C. according to our calculation. The scene of this *Sutta* is Rajagrha where both the Buddha and Mahavira are shown as present. We have already shown above that Mahavira was at Rajagrha from November, 492 B.C. to the early months of 490 B.C. He passed his rainy season of 491 B.C. also at Rajagrha. Thus there is nothing impossible in it.

7. "...*Samyutta Nikāya* IV, 322 sq. where we are told that the Buddha and Nataputta were staying in Nalanda at the same time during a severe famine ; when the latter asked his lay-follower, the squire (*gāmāni*), Asibandhakaputta (cf. *ibid.*, p. 317 sq.) to go to Buddha and ask him, whether he deemed it right to have all his monks there at that time devouring the food of the poor people." (p. 128, f.n.)

The story of Asibandhakaputta has been narrated on pp. 103-105 by Sankrityayana. It indicates that both the Buddha and Mahavira were at Nalanda at the time when there was a famine there. The date of the event is given as 518 B.C. which is equivalent to 522 B.C. according to our calculation. Just above the story is mentioned the fact that the 11th rainy season of the Buddha was passed in the *Brāhmaṇa* village of Nala or Nalada. (p. 103) The date of this rainy season according to our calculation is 522 B.C. Thus if Sankrityayana is strictly followed, the event took place sometime after the rainy season, i.e., in November-December, 522 B.C.

Coming to the Jaina tradition, we find that Mahavira passed his 10th rainy season at Sravasti (*Life*, Vol. II, Part I, 472) in 522 B.C. (according to our calculation). After the rains he travelled to other places. "*Sramana Bhagawān* Mahavira then went to Rajagrha *nagara*. There Isanendra (Indra of *Isāna Devaloka*) came, and worshipped the Lord. After making inquiries about *Bhagawān's* health, he went away." (*Life*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 491) Thus Mahavira is also at Rajagrha, i.e., in the Rajagrha-Nalanda area at the same time.

The seven passages analysed so far are pointed out in the article of Charpentier. While reading *Buddhacaryā* of Sankrityayana we have come across certain other passages as well in which the Buddha and Mahavira are shown at the same place at a particular time. One such is given below :

8. From the *Cūla Sakuludāyī Sutta* (*Maj. Nik.*, II. 3. 9) we know (*Buddhacaryā*, pp. 262-267, esp. p. 263) that there was a conversation between Sakula-Udayi and the Buddha at Rajagrha in which a reference was made by Sakula-Udayi to Mahavira. The date of this event as given by Sankrityayana is 512 B.C. which is equivalent to 516 B.C. according to our calculation. We have already proved above that in 516 B.C. both the Buddha and Mahavira passed their rainy season at Rajagrha. [The text in the *Sutta*, however, does not make Mahavira's presence at Rajagrha necessary.]

Thus my conclusion is that in case the Buddha's date is regarded as 567-487 B.C., the date of Mahavira should be :

Birth : 561 B.C. (April)

Death : 490 B.C. (November)²³

Here we would like to point out a mistake usually committed by many. When the date of the death of Mahavira is indicated, people find out the date of his birth by adding 72. This is wrong. Mahavira was alive for 71 years 6 months and 17 days, i.e., approximately for 72 years. If we add 72 we actually give him a life of $72\frac{1}{2}$ years, i.e., one year more than the real length of his life. It happens in this way. Suppose the date of his death is 490 B.C. If we add 72 to this in the usual manner, the date of birth comes to 562 B.C. Now Mahavira was born in April and died in November. So from April, 562 B.C. to November, 490 B.C. will be 72 years and 7 months while the real length of his life was 71 years and about 7 months. Hence we should add only 71 in order to find out the date of his birth.

²³ In case the Buddha's date is regarded as 566-486 B.C., the date of Mahavira in my opinion will be 560-489 B.C.

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THE VAJJIS—THE CLAN OF MAHAVIRA

HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI

The Vajjis, according to Professor Rhys Davids and Cunningham, included eight confederate clans (*aṭṭhakula*), of whom the Videhans, the Licchavis, the Jnatrkas and the Vajjis proper were the most important. The identity of the remaining clans remains uncertain. It may, however, be noted here that in a passage of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Aiksvakas and the Kauravas are associated with the Jnatrs and the Licchavis as subjects of the same ruler and members of the same assembly¹. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya*², too, refers to the close connection of the Ugras with Vesali or Vaisali, the capital of the Vajjian confederation.

The Videhans had their capital at Mithila which is identified by some scholars with the small town of Janakpur just within the Nepal border. But a section of them may have settled in Vaisali. To this section possibly belonged the princess Trisala, also called Videhadatta, the mother of Mahavira³.

The Licchavis had their capital at Vesali (Vaisali) which has been identified with Besarh (to the east of the Gandak) in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar. Vesali is probably identical with the charming city called Visala in the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁴ :

viśālām nagarīm ramyām divyām svargopamām tadā

¹ *Sacred Books of the East*, XLV, 339. Cf. Hoernle, *Uvasagadasao*, II, p. 139, fn. 304.

² 149 ; IV. 208.

³ It is, however, possible that the designation Videhan was also used in a geographical sense to mean all *ksatriya* families of Videha or North Bihar irrespective of their connection with the royal line of Mithila. It is significant that the *Acaraṅga Sutra* (II, 15, n. 17; *SBE*, XXII, Introduction) places the *sannivesa* of Kundagrama near Vaisali in Videha.

⁴ *Adi Kanda*, 45. 10

We learn from the introductory portion of the *Ekapaṇṇa Jātaka*⁵ that a triple wall encompassed the city, each wall a league distant from the next, and there were three gates with watch-towers.

The Jnatrkas were the clan of Siddhartha and his son Mahavira, the *Jina*. They had their seats at Kundapura or Kundagrama and Kollaga, suburbs of Vesali. In the *Mahāparinibbāṇa Suttānta*⁶, however, the abode of the 'Nadikas' (identified by Jacobi with the Natikas or Jnatrkas⁷) is distinguished from Kotigama (Kundagrama ?). Though dwelling in suburban areas, Mahavira and his fellow clansmen were known as '*Vesalie*', i.e., inhabitants of Vesali⁸.

The Vajjis or Vrijis are mentioned by Panini⁹. Kautilya¹⁰ distinguishes the Vrijikas or Vajjis from the Licchavikas. Yuan Chwang¹¹ also distinguishes the Fu-li-chih (Vrji) country from Fei-she-li (Vaisali). It seems that Vrijika or Vajji was not only the name of the confederacy but also that of one of the constituent clans. But the Vajjis, like the Licchavis, are often associated with the city of Vesali which was not only the capital of the Licchavi clan, but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy¹². A Buddhist tradition quoted by Rockhill¹³ mentions the city of Vesali as consisting of three districts. These districts were probably at one time the seats of three different clans. The remainder of the confederacy resided in suburbs and villages like Kundagrama, Kollaga, 'Nadika', Vaniyagama, Hatthigama, etc.¹⁴

⁵ No. 149.

⁶ Ch. 2.

⁷ *SBE*, XXII, Intro.

⁸ Hoernle, *Uvasagadasao*, II, p. 4 n.

⁹ IV. 2.131.

¹⁰ *Arthasastra*, Mysore Edition, 1919, p. 378.

¹¹ Watters, II, 81.

¹² Cf. *Majjhima Nikaya*, II, 101 : *the Book of the Kindred Sayings, Samyutta Nikaya*, by Mrs. Rhys Davids, pp. 257, 259.

¹³ *Life of Buddha*, p. 62.

¹⁴ For the Ugras and Bhogas see Hoernle, *Uvasagadasao*, II, p. 13, 139 (§210) ; *Bṛhadaranyaka Upaniṣad* III. 8.2 ; *SBE*, XLV, 71n. In the *Anguttara Nikaya*, I. 26 (*Nipata* I. 14.6), the Ugras are associated with Vaisali (*Uggo gahapati Vesalike*). In IV. 212 they are associated with Hatthigama. A city of Ugga is mentioned in the *Dhammapada Commentary*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol 30, 184. Hoernle points out (*Uvasagadasao*, II, App. III, 57) that a place called Bhoganagara, or 'City of the Bhogas' lay not very far from Vesali and Pava. The association of a body of Kauravas with the Vajjian group of clans is interesting. Kuru *Brahmanas*, e.g., Usasti Cakrayana had begun to settle in North Bihar long before the rise of Buddhism. For the Aikavakas of North Bihar, see Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, 95-97.

We have seen that during the *Brāhmaṇa* period Mithila had a monarchical constitution. The *Rāmāyaṇa*¹⁵ and the *Purāṇas*¹⁶ state that Visala, too, was at first ruled by kings. The founder of the Vaisalika dynasty is said to have been Visala, a son of Iksvaku, according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, a descendant of Nabhaga, the brother, of Iksvaku, according to the *Purāṇas*. Visala is said to have given his name to the city. After him came Hemacandra, Sucandra, Dhumrasva, Sarnjaya, Sahadeva, Kusasva, Somadatta, Kakutstha and Sumati. We do not know how much of the Ramayanic and Pauranic account of the Vaisalika kings (*nṛpas*) can be accepted as sober history. A king named Sahadeva Sarnjaya is mentioned in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*¹⁷ as having once been called Suplan Sarnjaya and as having changed his name because of his success in performing the *Dākṣāyaṇa* sacrifice. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*¹⁸ he is mentioned with Somaka Sahadevyā. None of these kings, however, is connected with Vaisali in the Vedic literature.

The Vajjian confederation must have been organised after the decline and fall of the royal house of Videha. Political evolution in India thus resembles closely the political evolution in the ancient cities of Greece where also the monarchies of the Heroic Age were succeeded by aristocratic republics. The probable causes of the transformation in Greece are thus given by Bury : "... in some cases gross misrule may have led to the violent deposition of a king ; in other cases if the succession to the sceptre devolved upon an infant or a paltry man, the nobles may have taken it upon themselves to abolish the monarchy. In some cases, the rights of the king might be strictly limited, in consequence of his seeking to usurp undue authority ; and the imposition of limitations might go on until the office of the king, although maintained in name, became in fact a mere magistracy in a state wherein the real power had passed elsewhere. Of the survival of monarchy in a limited form we have an example at Sparta : of its survival as a mere magistracy in the Archon Basileus at Athens."

But regarding the change at Visala we know nothing.

Several scholars have sought to prove that the Licchavis, the most famous clan of the Vajjian confederacy, were of foreign origin. According to Dr. Smith, the Licchavis were Tibetans in their origin. He

¹⁵ I. 47.11-17.

¹⁶ *Vayu*, 86. 16-22 ; *Visnu*, IV. 1.18.

¹⁷ II. 4.4.3-4.

¹⁸ VII. 34.9

infers this from their judicial system and the disposal of their dead¹⁹. Dr. S. C. Vidyabhusan held that the Licchavis were originally Persians and came from the Persian city of Nisibi²⁰. The unsoundness of these theories has been demonstrated by several writers²¹. Early Indian tradition is unanimous in representing the Licchavis as *kṣatriyas*. Thus we read in the *Mahāparinibbāṇa Suttānta* : “And the Licchavis of Vesali heard that the Exalted One had died at Kusinara. And the Licchavis of Vesali sent a messenger to the Mallas saying : ‘the Exalted One was a *kṣatriya* and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One.’ In the Jaina *Kalpa Sūtra*, Trisala, the sister of Cetaka who is regarded by several scholars as a Licchavi chief of Vesali, is styled *kṣatriyām*²².

Manu concurs in the view that the Licchavis (Nicchavis) are *rājanyas* or *kṣatriyas*²³.

*Jhallo Mallaśca rājanyād vrātyān Nicchivireva ca
Naṭaśca Karaṇaścaiva Khaso Drāvida eva ca*

It may be argued that the Licchavis, though originally non-Aryans or foreigners, ranked as *kṣatriyas* when they were admitted into the fold of Brahmanism like the Dravidians referred to in Manu's *śloka* and the Gurjara Pratiharas of mediaeval times. But unlike the Pratiharas and Dravidas, the Licchavis never appear to be very friendly towards Brahmanism. On the contrary, they were always to be found among the foremost champions of non-Brahmanic creeds like Jainism and Buddhism. As a matter of fact Manu brands them as the children of the *vrātya rājanyas*. The great mediaeval Rajput families (though sometimes descended from foreign immigrants) were never spoken of in these terms. On the contrary, they were supplied with pedigrees going back to Rama, Lakshmana, Yadu, Arjuna and others. A body of foreigners, who were unfriendly towards the *Brāhmaṇas*, could hardly have been accepted as *kṣatriyas*. The obvious conclusion seems to be that the Licchavis were indigenous *kṣatriyas* who were degraded to the

¹⁹ *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, p. 233. We know very little about the state of civilisation in Tibet in the early days of Buddhism. This fact should be remembered in instituting a comparison between Tibetan and Vajjian customs (as reflected in Pali texts).

²⁰ *Ind. Ant.* 1908, P. 78.

²¹ *Modern Review*, 1919, p. 50 ; Law, *Some Ksatriya Tribes*, 26ff.

²² *SBE*, XXII, pp. xii, 227.

²³ X. 22.

position of *vrātya* when they became champions of non-Brahmanical creeds. The Pali commentary *Paramatthajotikā*²⁴ contains a legend regarding the Licchavis which traces their origin to a queen of Benares.

The date of the foundation of the Licchavi power is not known. But it is certain that the authority of the clan was firmly established in the days of Mahavira and Gotama, in the latter half of the sixth century B. C., and was already on the wane in the next century. A vivid description of the Licchavis is given by Buddha himself in the following words²⁵ : "Let those of the brethren, who have never seen the *tāvatisma* gods, gaze upon this company of the Licchavis, behold this company of the Licchavis, compare this company of the Licchavis—even as a company of *tāvatisma* gods."

Buddhist tradition has preserved the names of eminent Licchavis like prince Abhaya, Otthaddha (Mohali), generals Siha and Ajita, Dummukha and Sunakkhatta²⁶. In the introductory portion of the *Ekaṇṇa*²⁷ and *Chulla Kālīṅga*²⁸ *Jātakas* it is stated that the Licchavis of the ruling family numbered 7,707²⁹. There was a like number of viceroys, generals, and treasurers. The Jaina *Kalpa Sūtra*³⁰ refers to the "nine Licchavis"³¹ as having formed a confederacy with nine Mallakis and eighteen *gaṇarājas* of Kasi-Kosala³². We learn from the *Nirayāvali Sūtra* that an important

²⁴ Vol. I, pp. 158-65.

²⁵ *SBE*, XI, p. 32.

²⁶ *Anguttara Nikaya*, *Nipata* III, 74 (P.T.S., Part I, p. 220f.) ; *Mahali Sutta*, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, p. 198, Part III, p. 17. *Mahavagga*, *SBE*, XVII, p. 108 ; *Majjhima Nikaya*, I. 234 ; 68 ; II. 252 ; *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, 295. For a detailed account of the Licchavis, see now Law, 'Some Ksatriya Tribes of Ancient India'.

²⁷ 149.

²⁸ 301.

²⁹ *The Dhammapada Commentary* (Harvard Oriental Series, 30, 168) informs us that they ruled by turns.

³⁰ § 128.

³¹ These are probably the Vajji Mahallaka referred to in *Anguttara*, IV. 19.

³² Dr. Barua is inclined to identify the nine Licchavis and the nine Mallakis with the eighteen *ganarajas* who belonged to Kasi-Kosala. He refers in this connection to the *Kalpadrūmakalikavyākhyā* which represents the 'Mallakis' as *adhipas* (or overlords) of Kasi-*desa* and the 'Licchakis' as *adhipas* of Kosala-*desa*, and further describes them as *samantas* or vassals of Cetaka, maternal uncle of Mahavira (*Indian Culture*, Vol II, p. 810). It is news to students of Indian history that in the days of Mahavira the kingdoms of Kasi and Kosala acknowledged the supremacy of the Mallas and Licchavis respectively, and formed part of an empire over which Cetaka presided. Even Dr. Barua hesitates to accept this interpretation of the late Jaina commentator in its entirety and suggests that the nine Mallas and the nine Licchavis... derived their

leader of this confederacy was Cetaka³³ whose sister Trisala or Videhadatta was the mother of Mahavira, and whose daughter Cellana or Vedehi was, according to Jaina writers, the mother of Kunika-Ajatasatru.

The great rival of Vaisali was Magadha. Tradition says that even in the time of the famous Bimbisara the Vaisalians were audacious enough to invade their neighbours across the Ganges³⁴. But in the reign of Ajatasatru the tables were turned, and the great confederacy of Vaisali was utterly destroyed.

The preliminaries to the conquest of Vesali (Vaisali) are described in the *Mahāvagga* and the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttānta*³⁵.

family prestige from their original connection with the dynasties of Kasi and Kosala. The *Paramattha jotika* (Khuddakapatha Commentary), however, connects the Licchavis not with the dynasty of Kosala but with that of Kasi. The divergent testimony of these late commentators shows that they can hardly be regarded as preserving genuine tradition. There is no suggestion in any early Buddhist or Jaina text that either the Licchavis or the Mallas actually ruled over any *grama* or *nigama* in Kasi-Kosala (see *Indian Culture*, II, 808). The *ganarajas* of Kasi-Kosala apparently refer to the Kalamas, Sakyas and other clans in the Kosalan empire.

³³ In the opinion of several scholars Cetaka was a Licchavi. The secondary names of his sister (Videhadatta) and daughter (Videhi) may however, indicate, that he was a Videhan domiciled at Vesali. But the names may, have, been used also in a geographical sense.

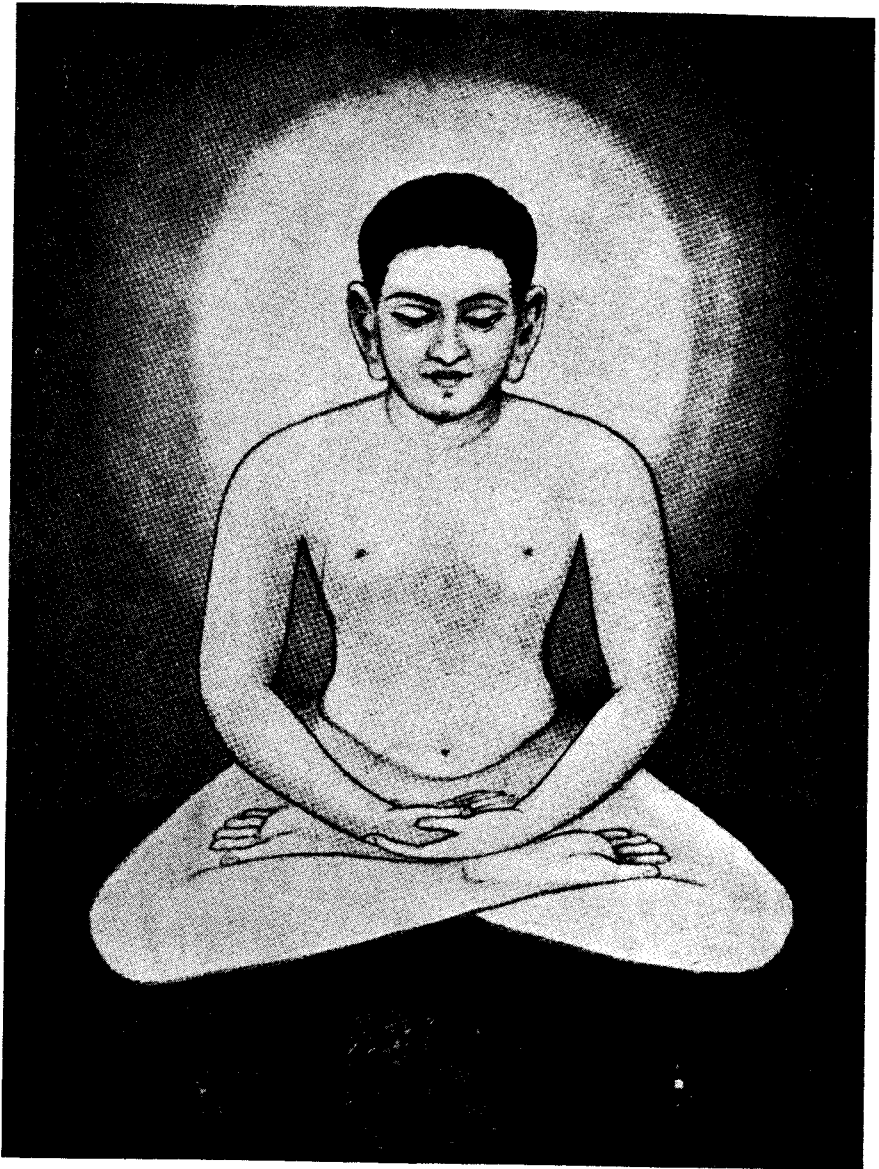
³⁴ *Si-yu-ki*, Bk. IX.

³⁵ *SBE*, XVII, p. 101 ; XI, pp. 1-5.

Reprinted from Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, the *Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1938, pp. 99-106.
Courtesy University of Calcutta, Calcutta.



MAHAVIRA
Hira Chand Dugar

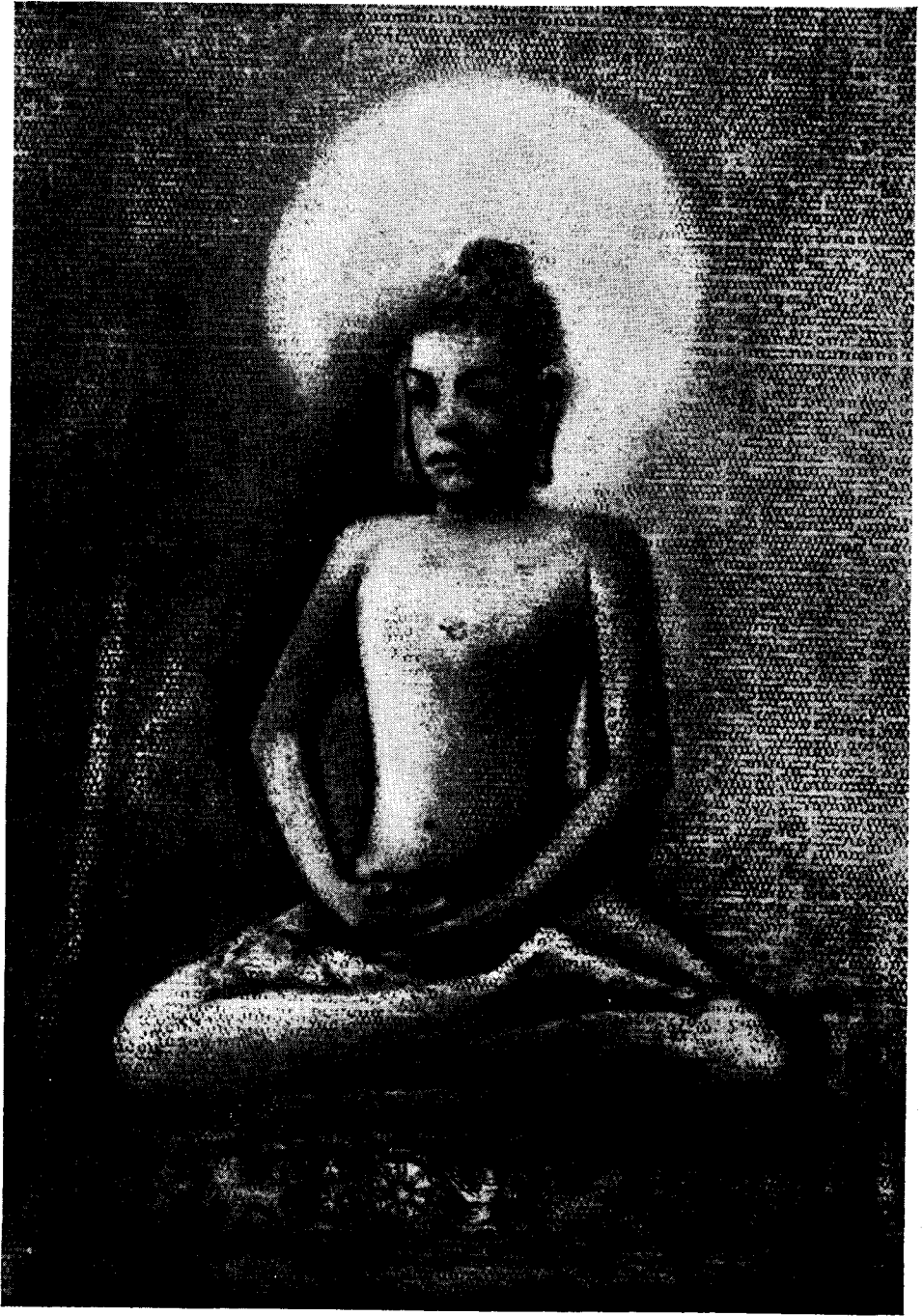


MAHAVIRA
Iswari Prasad Varma



MAHAVIRA
Bhola Chattopadhyaya

Courtesy : Darsak



MAHAVIRA
Ganesh Lalwani

CONTEMPORARY HERETICAL CREEDS

Mahavira's Classification

AMULYA CHANDRA SEN

The heretical creeds of the time were all comprehended by Mahavira under four heads¹, viz.

1. *Kriyāvāda*
2. *Akriyāvāda*
3. *Ajñānavāda*
4. *Vinayavāda*

These four great schools comprise three hundred and sixty-three schools² : *Kriyāvāda* consists of one hundred and eighty schools, *Akriyāvāda* consists of eighty-four schools, *Ajñānavāda* consists of sixty-seven schools, and *Vinayavāda* consists of thirty-two schools³.

The scheme of classification in details is as follows :

1 *Kriyāvāda*

Kriyā denotes the existence of *jīva*, etc., and those who admit the existence of *jīva*, etc., are called *Kriyāvādins*.

The Jainas have the 'nine principles' of *jīva* soul, *ajīva* non-soul, *āsrava* the inflow of *kārmic* matter into the soul, *bandha* the consequent bondage of the soul, *saṃvara* stoppage of the inflow, *nirjarā* shedding

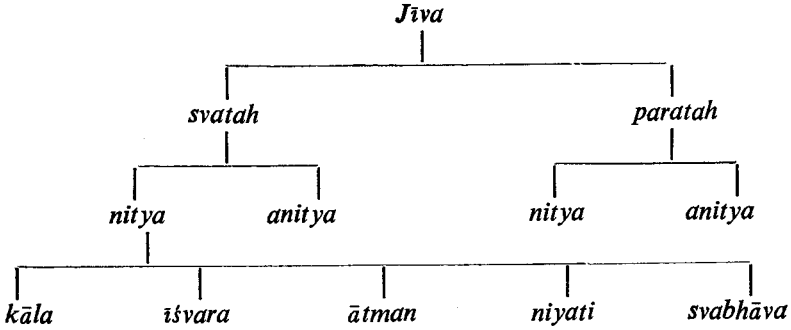
¹ *Sutrakritanga*, I. xii. 1 ; *Sthananga*, 4.4.345; *Bhagavati Sutra*, 30.1.824; *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*, 18.23 ; *Nandi Sutra*, 47 ; and *Sutrakritanga*, II. ii. 79.

² *Sutrakritanga*, II. ii. 79.

³ *Nandi Sutra*, 47 ; Gunaratna quotes the following couplet :

*asiisayam kiriyanam akiriyavaina hoi culasii
annania sattatthi venaiyanam ca battisam*

off the *kārmic* matter, *punya* merit, *apunya* demerit, and *mokṣa* emancipation. Let us take the first, *jīva* and draw a table as below :



Those who admit the existence of the soul (*jīva*) by itself (*svatah*), for all eternity (*nitya*), through time (*kāla*) are the first school. They say that the soul exists in its own nature, it is eternal, and acts through time. They are called *Kālavādins*. Gunaratna quotes the following as stating their doctrine :

*na kālavyatirekeṇa garbhabālaśubhādikam
yat kiñcij jāyate loke tadasau kāraṇam kila
kim ca kālād ṛte naiva mudgapaktirapikṣyate
sthālyādisannidhāne'pi tatah kālādasau matā
kālābhāve ca garbhādi sarvam syād avyavasthaya
pareṣṭahetusadbhāvamātrād eva tadubhavāt
kālah pacati dhutāni kālah saṅharate prajāh
kālah supṭeṣu jāgarti kālo hi duratikramah*

(The blossoming of trees and plants, the appearance of fruits, the change of seasons, the movement of stars and planets, the periods of gestation, infancy, adolescence, youth, old-age, etc., could not have taken place if there were no Time. In the absence of Time everything would be in disorder, but such disorder we neither find nor desire. Cooking, for instance, depends not on the bringing together of fire, pan and other materials, but on Time. It is not at the sweet will of man that causes happen, but according to the order of Time and we cannot dispense with it.)

Those who say that the soul exists in itself eternally through *īśvara* (God) are the second school called *īśvaravādins*. They regard the universe

as made by God who is endowed with the attributes of perfection and is the ordainer of heaven or hell for men.

Those who say that the soul exists by itself eternally through *ātman* (self) are the third school called *Ātmavādins*. According to them, the self creates everything.

Those who say that the soul exists in itself eternally through *niyati* ('the fixed order of thing') are the fourth school called *Niyativādins*. According to them, there is a principle called *niyati* by which all that exist assume their form in a prescribed manner, and not otherwise. Whatever comes out of something at one time always comes out of that thing in a regular manner, as otherwise the law of cause and effect and the law of uniformity of nature would not be in operation, for there would be nothing to determine the order of events (*anyathā kāryya-kāraṇavyavasthā pratiniyatarūpavyavasthā ca na bhavet niyāmakabhāvāt*).

Those who say that the soul exists by itself eternally through *svabhāva* (Nature) are the fifth school called *Svabhāvavādins*. They hold that everything is caused by Nature, e.g., the clay becomes a jar and not a piece of cloth, a piece of cloth comes from yarn, while a jar does not do so. The uniform production of jars from clay shows the order of Nature. Gunaratna quotes the following as illustrating the doctrine of *Svabhāvavādins* :

*kaḥ kaṇṭakānām prakaroti taikṣṇyam
vicitrabhāvam mṛgapakṣiṇām ca
svabhāvataḥ sarvamidam pravṛttam
na kāmācāro 'sti kutah prayatnah
badaryāḥ kaṇṭakas tīkṣṇa rjur ekaśca kuñcitah
phalm ca vartulam tasyā vada kena vinirmitam*

(What causes thorns to have sharp points and birds and beasts to have their own wonderful ways ? All this is ordained by Nature and there is no caprice anywhere. Of the jujube tree the thorns are sharp-pointed, some straight, some bent, the fruit is round—by whom are all these made ?)

Even the simple phenomenon of the cooking of the *mudga* also depends on Nature. The *kaṇkaduka mudga*, for instance, cannot be cooked even after the combination of a pan, fuel and Time, for by nature it is a kind of cereal that is not softened by boiling. Therefore, that in the

presence of which effects follow and in the absence of which effects do not follow is to be regarded as the cause.

We have thus obtained five schools under *asti jivah svatah* “*nityah*”. Under *asti jivah svatah* “*anityah*” we shall have another five schools accordingly as the non-eternity is predicated of *kāla* etc. Then under the head *asti jivah paratah* “*nityah*” we shall have another five schools according as “not of itself” is predicated of *kāla*, etc. The five classes of *kāla*, etc., are to be supplied under both *nityah* and *anityah* varieties of *svatah* and *paratah*. The *paratah* schools mean that the existence of *jīva* is admitted not of itself but as it is distinguished from other objects, for it is well-known how things are known by contrast with other things just as shortness is known as that which is not long, and in the same way the soul is known by distinguishing it from such objects as pillars, etc. The *anityah* varieties of *paratah* would give us yet another set of five schools. So we have twenty schools on *jīva*, the first of the “nine principles” and by extending the same classification to each of the eight “other principles” we have altogether nine times twenty or one hundred and eighty schools comprised in *Kriyāvāda*.

To *Kriyāvādins* have been ascribed the views that unless a sinful thought is translated into action or a sinful act is performed with a sinful motive the full *kārmic* consequences will not follow and such acts will affect the soul but slightly⁴, and that misery is produced by one’s own works and not by the work of somebody else, viz., fate, creator, etc.⁵

The meaning is that the state of mind and conduct must combine to constitute sin, for any one of them without the other would not give rise to the consequences of a sinful *karman*. Silanka points out that they hold that action alone leads to liberation even though it be unaccompanied by right knowledge and right faith.

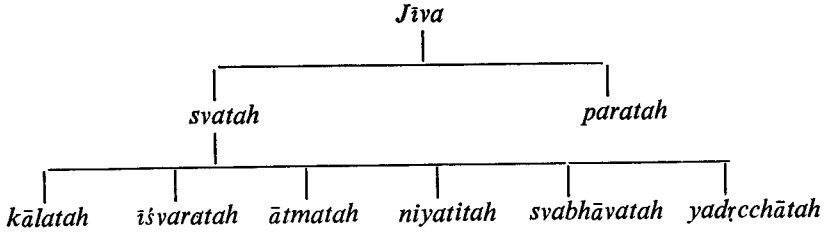
2. *Akriyāvāda*

The *Akriyāvādins* deny the existence of the soul, etc., for according to them everything is of a momentary existence and a state comes to an end the moment it comes into existence, and therefore, it cannot have any *kriyā*. Without continuity of existence no *kriyā* is possible ; the existence itself is the cause and effect of it.

⁴ *Sutrakritanga*, I.i.2.25-28.

⁵ *Sutrakritanga*, I.xii.11.

The *Akriyāvādins* are of eighty-four varieties obtained in the manner shown below. Let us take seven of the “nine principles” leaving out *punya* and *apunya*. Of these seven let us take the first, *jīva*, and draw a table thus :



The divisions of *nityah* and *anityah*, as in the *Kriyāvāda* table, are not necessary here as the question of eternity and non-eternity does not arise when the existence itself of soul, etc., is denied. *Yadṛcchā* is put last because all *Akriyāvādins* are *Yadṛcchāvādins*. The same six divisions from *kāla* to *Yadṛcchā* are also to be considered under *paratah* as under *svatah*.

Those who say that no soul exists in itself through Time are the first school. According to them, the existence of object is established from their signs and there are no such signs or effects from which the existence of the soul can be established. The same argument is applied in denying the existence of the soul through *īśvara*, *ātman*, *niyati* and *svabhāva* as in regard to *kāla*. *Yadṛcchā* means obtainment of results without any determining cause. The *Yadṛcchāvādins* see no uniformity of casual relation in the world. *Sāluka* ‘the root of a particular kind of water lily’ comes of a *sāluka* as well as of cow-dung ; fire comes of fire as well as of *araṇi* ‘a piece of wood’ ; smoke comes of smoke as well as of a combination of fire and fuel ; *kandalī* ‘a particular kind of plant with white flowers appearing very plentifully in the rainy season’ comes of *kanda* ‘bulbous root’ as well as of seeds ; the *vaṭa* tree comes of seeds as well as of a section of a branch, and wheat comes of wheat-seeds as well as bamboo seeds. So there is plurality and not uniformity in casual relations and everything comes into existence accidentally (*yadṛcchātāh*) as in a freak. Gunaratna quotes the following as illustrating the views of *Akriyāvādins* ;

*atarkitopasthitameva sarvam
citram jānānam sukhadukkhajātam
kākasya tālena yathābhīghāto
na buddhipurvo ‘sti vṛthābhīmānah*

(All this has come into existence by accident—the various joys and sorrows of men ; all this is like the striking a crow by a palm-fruit, which is not preceded by design. It is useless to think that the origination of things is preceded by design.)

Thus under *nāsti jīvaḥ* “*svataḥ*” we have obtained six schools and under *nāsti jīvaḥ* “*parataḥ*” we shall have a set of another six schools. Therefore there are obtained twelve schools under the first of seven “principles” and by extending the same classification to each of the other six “principles” we have altogether seven times twelve or eighty-four schools comprised in *Akriyāvāda*.

Another classification of *Akriyāvādins* divides them into eight classes⁶, viz.,

Ekavādins who believe in one supreme soul as the first cause.

Anekavādins who believe in one supreme principle manifesting itself in several principles.

Mitavādins who gave a fixed size to the soul.

Nirmitavādins who regard the universe as created by God.

*Sātavādins*⁷ who believe in obtaining *mokṣa* by living a comfortable life.

Samucchēdavādins who believe in the constant destructibility of things.

Nityavādins who believe in the eternity of things.

And *Na-santi-paralokavādins* who do not believe in a future life or soul, etc.

It will appear from the above classification that all possible non-Jaina creeds have been comprised under those eight classes of *Akriyāvāda*, the scope of which is certainly wider than that of the previous classification into eighty-four classes.

The *Akriyāvādins* are mentioned in the texts as not admitting that the action of the soul is transmitted to future moments⁸, and as holding that nothing exists and all forecasts of the future are false⁹.

⁶ *Sthananga*, 8.3.607.

⁷ *Sutrakṛtāṅga*, I.iii.4.6 ; I.iii.4.10. This is the view held by the *Tantrikas*. Cf. *Cittavisuddhiprakaraṇa* attributed to Aryadeva, *JASB*, 1xvii, 1898, p. 175, and *Subhasitasangraha*, p. 37.

⁸ *Sutrakṛtāṅga*, I. xii.4.

⁹ *Sutrakṛtāṅga*, I. xii 10.

3. *Ajñānavāda*

The *Ajñānavādins* deny the necessity or importance of knowledge. According to them, knowledge is not the highest thing, for where there is knowledge there is assertion of contradictory statements by different disputants resulting in dissensions which spoil the mind and bring on a longer period of worldly bondage. But if *ajñāna* or negation of knowledge is upheld, it generates no pride and there is no ill-feeling towards others and therefore the chances of worldly bondage are removed. The result of volition is *karman* and the result of *karman* is bondage which is of dire consequences and has to be suffered from, it having been produced by resolute and determined volitional activity. But that *karman* which results from the activity of mere body and speech unprompted by mental action is not volitional and therefore is not productive of severe suffering nor does it entail dire consequences. Such unvolitional effects of *karman* are swept off easily by good activities like the easy blowing off by the wind of dust particles adhering to a very dry and white wall.

The absence of volition of mind is generated by the force of *ajñāna*, for where there is knowledge there is volition. Therefore one desiring *mokṣa* should adopt *ajñāna* and not knowledge to lead him along the path of perfection.

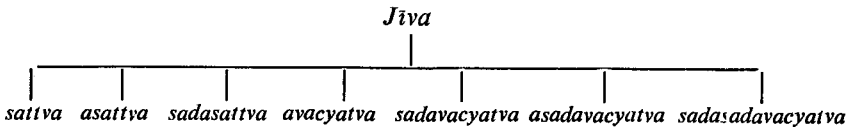
Supposing for argument's sake that knowledge is necessary, how is one to know for certain what is knowledge? It cannot be known. All philosophers differ in their idea of knowledge. We cannot say which of them spoke the truth. The followers of Mahavira may say that he obtained omniscient knowledge and therefore the knowledge that proceeds from him is right knowledge. But how is one to know in the absence of any evidence to prove it that Mahavira alone obtained omniscient knowledge and no one else? The story of the gods coming down from heaven to worship Mahavira and thus testifying to his omniscient knowledge is not to be trusted for there is no evidence to prove that it really so happened. Traditional evidence is also untrustworthy because it cannot be definitely known whether such tradition was set on foot by an imposter or a worthy man. What has not been proved cannot be believed. The phenomenon of the coming down of gods from heaven is shown by magicians also and in itself is not enough to prove the omniscience of anyone.

Granting even, say the *Ajñānavādins*, that Mahavira was omniscient how do we know that *nirgrantha* scriptures are really his teachings and

not circulated by knaves ? How again we are to know if Mahavira used the words in the scriptures in the same sense as they are taken now ? How do we know what his real intention was ?

Therefore it is established that owing to its being the cause of longer bondage in the world and owing to want of definite certainty, knowledge is not the highest thing but *ajñāna* is the highest thing.

There are sixty-seven schools under *Ajñānavāda* obtained in the following manner. Let us take the first of the nine “principles” and draw a table as below :



Here *sattva* means existence in its own form. *Asattva* means non-existence in other forms. *Sadasattva* means simultaneous existence in its own form and non-existence in other forms. When such existence and non-existence are to be expressed at one and the same time in one word it becomes indescribable, there being no such word and therefore it is said to be *avācyatva* ‘indescribability’. When from one point of view it is existent and from another it is indescribable and the two are to be simultaneously expressed it is called *sadavācyatva*. When from one point of view it is non-existent and from another it is indescribable and the two aspects are to be simultaneously expressed it is called *asadavācyatva*. When from one point of view it is existent, from another it is non-existent and from yet another indescribable, and all these aspects are to be simultaneously expressed it is called *sadasadavācyatva*. Thus we have these seven schools under the first “principle” and extending the same classification to each of the other eight “principles” we have nine times seven, i.e. sixty-three schools. These refer to the nature of the nine “principles” severally, but as for their origin in general four other schools are possible, viz., *sattva*, *asattva*, *sadasattva*, and *avācyatva* —the other three forms of the seven possible variations are not used in this case as they are used only in respect of the several parts of a thing only after its origin has taken place which is not the case here. The last four added to the previous sixty-three give us sixty-seven schools under *Ajñānavāda*.

The first school on *jiva*, for instance, says “Who knows if there is *jiva* ? No one does, because there is no evidence to prove its existence.

What again is the use of knowing it ? If it is known it will give rise to volition which will stand in the way of attaining to the next world (*jñātasyaābhiniveśahetutayā paralokaratipanthitvāt*).” In the same way are to be described the other varieties of *asattva*, etc., as also their origin in general.

It is obvious that although the *Ajñānavādins* say they have no need of knowledge and that it is unnecessary, they happen yet to be the employers of the acutest argument.

4. *Vinayavāda*

The *Vinayavādins* or *Vaināyikas* do not accept signs, external rules of ceremony, and scriptures but uphold the supremacy or reverence as the cardinal virtue leading to perfection. There are thirty-two schools of *Vinayavāda* obtained in this way. Reverence may be shown to eight classes of beings, viz., god, master, ascetic, kinsman, aged persons, inferiors, mother and father, and to each of these eight classes of persons reverence may be shown in four ways, i.e., by body, mind, speech and gifts. There are thus four times eight or thirty-two schools of *Vinayavāda*.

The three hundred and sixty-three philosophical schools of Jaina literature are thus obtained by totalling one hundred and eighty schools of *Kriyāvāda*, eighty-four schools of *Akriyāvāda*, sixty-seven schools of *Ajñānavāda* and thirty-two schools of *Vinayavāda*.¹⁰ The commentators Silanka, Abhayadeva and Malayagiri as well as Hemacandra accept this classification as a standard.

¹⁰ *Tarkarahasyadipika*, a commentary by Gunaratna on the *Saddarsanasamuccaya* of Haribhadra, B. I., P. 19.

Reprinted from Amulya Chandra Sen, *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature*, Santiniketan, 1931, pp. 29-37. Courtesy Visva Bharati, Santiniketan.

PARABLES OF MAHAVIRA

HERMANN JACOBI

The Parable of Three Merchants

1

Three merchants set out on their travels, each with his capital ; one of them gained there much, the second returned with his capital, and the third merchant came home after having lost his capital.

The capital is human life, the gain is heaven ; through the loss of that capital man must be born as a denizen of hell or a brute animal.

He who brings back his capital is one who is born again as a man.

But he who increases his capital is one who practises eminent virtues ; the virtuous, excellent man cheerfully attains the state of gods.

The Parable of the Ram

2

As somebody, to provide for a guest, brings up a young ram, gives it rice and gram, and brings it up in his yard ;

Then when it is grown up and big, fat and of a large belly, fattened and of a plump body, it is ready for the guest.

As long as no guest comes, the poor animal lives ; but as soon as a guest arrives, its head is cut off, and it is eaten.

As this ram is well treated for the sake of a guest, even so an ignorant, great sinner longs, as it were, for life in hell.

He is desirous of women and pleasures, he enters on undertakings and business, drinks liquor, eats meat, becomes strong, a subduer of foes.

He eats crisp goat's meat, his belly grows, and his veins swell with blood—but he gains nothing but life in hell, just as the ram is only fed to be killed for the sake of a guest.

After having enjoyed pleasant seats, beds, carriages, riches, and pleasures, after having squandered his wealth which he had so much trouble in gaining, and after having committed many sins, he will, under the burden of his *karman*, and believing only in the visible world, be grieved in the hour of death like the ram at the arrival of a guest.

The Parable of the Deer

3

As the swift deer, who are destitute of protection, are frightened where there is no danger, and not frightened where there is danger;

As they dread safe places, but do not dread traps ; they are bewildered by ignorance and fear, and run hither and thither ;

If they did jump over the noose or pass under it, they would escape from the snare ; but the stupid animal does not notice it :

The unhappy animal, being of a weak intellect, runs into dangerous place, is caught in the snare, and is killed there ;

So the fools dread the preaching of the Law, but they do not dread works, being without discernment and knowledge.

Shaking off greed, pride, deceit, and wrath, one becomes free from *karman*. This is a subject which an ignorant man, like a brute animal, does not attend to.

Those, who do not acknowledge this, will incur death an endless number of times, like deer caught in a snare.

The Parable of the Lotus

4

There was a lotus-pool containing much water and mud, very full and complete, full of white lotuses, delightful, conspicuous, magnificent, and splendid.

And in the very middle of this lotus-pool there grew one big white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas, in an excellent position, tall, brilliant, of fine colour, smell, taste, and touch.

There came a man from the Eastern quarter to the lotus-pool, and standing on the bank of it he saw that big white lotus and said to himself : 'I am a knowing, clever, well-informed, discerning, wise, not foolish man, who keeps the way, knows the way, and is acquainted with a direction and bent of the way. I shall fetch that white lotus, the best of all Nymphaeas.' Having said this the man entered the lotus-pool. And the more he proceeded, the more the water and the mud seemed to extend. He had left the shore, and he did not come up to the white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas, he could not get back to this bank, nor to the opposite one, but in the middle of the lotus-pool he stuck in the mud.

Then there came a man from the Southern quarter to the lotus-pool, and standing on the bank of it he saw that big white lotus and also saw one man who had left the shore, but had not come up to the white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas, who could not get back to his bank, nor to the opposite one, but stuck in the mud in the middle of the lotus-pool. He said to himself : 'This man is not knowing, not clever and is not acquainted with the direction and bent of the way. I am knowing, clever and acquainted with the direction and bent of the way. I shall fetch that white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas.' But this white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas, cannot be got in the way this man tried.

The same thing happened to a third and a fourth man, who came from the Western and the Northern quarters respectively, and saw two and three men respectively sticking in the mud.

Now a monk living on low food and desiring to get to the shore of the *saṁsāra*, knowing, clever and acquainted with the direction and bent of the way, came to that lotus-pool from some one of the four quarters. Standing on the bank of the lotus-pool he saw the big white lotus and saw there those four men who having left the shore, stuck in the mud. The monk said to himself : 'These men are not knowing, not acquainted with the direction and bent of the way. I am a monk living on low food, acquainted with the direction and bent of the way. I shall fetch that white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas.' Having said this the monk did not enter the lotus-pool ; but standing on the bank of it he raised his voice : "Fly

up, O white lotus, best of Nymphaeas !” And the white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas, flew up.

The venerable ascetic Mahavira addressed the crowd of *nirgrantha* monks and nuns, and spoke thus :

‘O long-lived *śramaṇas*, meaning the world I spoke of the lotus-pool. Meaning *karman* I spoke of the water. Meaning pleasures and amusements I spoke of the mud. Meaning people in general I spoke of those many white lotuses. Meaning the king I spoke of one big white lotus, the best of Nymphaeas. Meaning heretical teachers I spoke of those four men. Meaning the Law I spoke of the monk. Meaning the *dharma-tirtha* I spoke of the bank. Meaning the preaching of the Law I spoke of the monk’s voice. Meaning *nirvāṇa* I spoke of the lotus flying up. Meaning these things, O long-lived *śramaṇas*, I told this.

Extracted from *Jaina Sutras*, Part II,
published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi.

ITINERARY OF MAHAVIRA

*Being a Geography of the Towns of Monsoon
Retreat of Mahavira*

OTTO STEIN

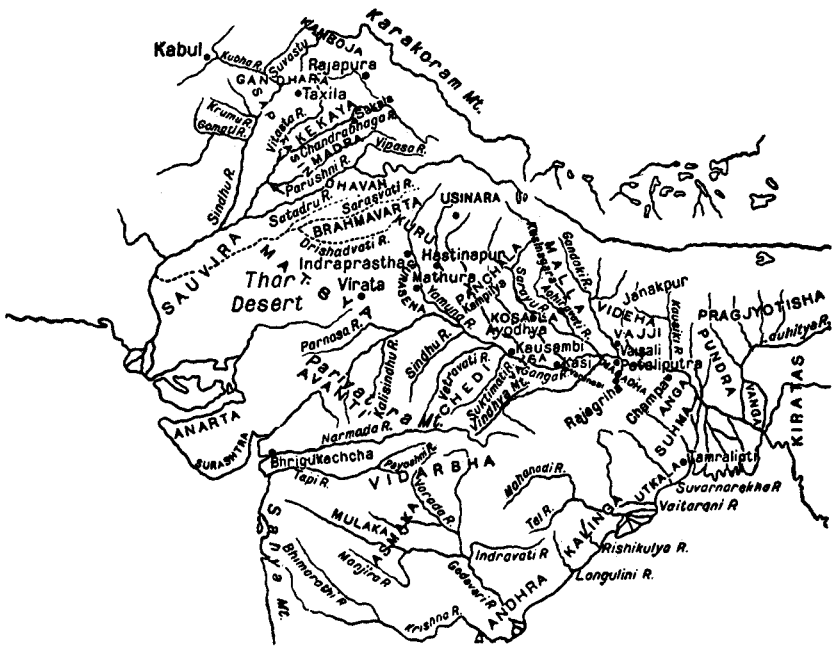
In *Kalpa Sūtra* II. 122 these names of towns are found in the following list given in Sanskrit :

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Asthikagrama | |
| 2. Campa | 8. Mithila |
| 3. Prsthicampa | 9. Bhadrīka |
| 4. Vaisali | 10. Alabhika |
| 5. Vanijyagrama | 11. Panitabhumi |
| 6. Rajagrha | 12. Sravasti |
| 7. Nalanda | 13. Papa |

1. *Asthikagrama*. In his translation (*SBE* XXII, p. 264, n. 2) H. Jacobi cites the commentary according to which "it was formerly called Vardhamana, but it has since been called Asthikagrama, because a *yakṣa* Sulapani had collected there an enormous heap of bones of the people whom he had killed. On that heap of bones the inhabitants had built a temple." Accepting this story we must try to locate the town Vardhamana.

In *Mahābhārata* (I, 126, 9 ; III, 1, 10) occurs Vardhamanapura, a village according to Nilakantha on the second passage, which cannot be in connection with the other places identified with our Vardhamana. In Varahamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* we find a people called Vardhamana mentioned (XIV, 7) next to Tamraliptika and Kosalaka¹, located in the East, in the Burdwan region. The passages as XVI, 3 ; LXXIX, 21 ; XCIV, 2

¹ Cf. W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn 1920, p. 107 and 117. Vardhamanapura is found also as a town in the West in the Jaina *Harivamsa*, s. *Indian Antiquary* XV (1886), p. 141 f. Cf. Nundelal Dey, *IA*, XLIX (1920) Suppl., p. 25 s.v. Vardhamana 2. In *Anguttara Nikaya* V, 342, 346, f. occurs Atthakanagara on the way to Patalimitra ; should there exist a connexion between Atthakanagara and Atthiyaggama ?



speak of the mountain Vardhamana, of which two occur in the *Purāṇas* ; more to say seems impossible as long as the story alleged by Jacobi cannot be shown elsewhere.

2. *Campa*. A city, well-known from Buddhist literature, four miles to the west of Bhagalpur, the capital of the Anga kingdom².

3. *Prsthicampa*. There is no other explanation possible than the assumption to see in the name not the suburb, but a certain part of the town Campa. In *Aupapātika Sūtra* § 38, for instance, Mahavira stays not in the town Campa but *bāhchim* ; the meaning of Prsthicampa seems to be something like 'High-Campa' or the 'Acropolis of Campa'. The ruins of a fort, Karnagad, exist till today³.

4-5. *Vaisali* and *Vanijyagrama*. Few places of India, besides Pataliputra, perhaps none attracts and deserves the interest of students of Ancient India in such a high degree as it is the case with

² Cf. Mark Collins, *The Geographical Data of the Raghuvamsa*,.....Dissertation, Leipzig, 1907, p. 23 ff. ; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd Ed. 1914, p. 31 ; N. Dey, *l.c.*, p. 44-46.

³ Cf. N. Dey, *l.c.*, p.44.

Vaisali, one of the central places in the history of Buddhism as well as in that of the religion of Mahavira.

It is not possible, without autopsy, even without a good map of India, to discuss the problems connected with the ancient site of Vaisali ; therefore the few remarks are given here in a tentative form. A future inquiry must be based on the whole Indian literature, especially on the Buddhist and the Jinist, down to the records of the Chinese pilgrims.

Three theories about the site of Vaisali have been made : (i) That which is expressed by A. Cunningham and completed by V. A. Smith⁴, locating the town at the modern village of Basar (Basad) and the neighbouring villages in the Muzaffarpur District of North Bihar. (ii) In a letter to Prof. Rhys Davids, W. Vost expressed his opinion "that Vaisali city was situated in the Chapra District of Bengal, and is represented by the extensive remains of the underscribed walled city of Manjhi, on the left bank of the Ghaghara (Gogra) river, opposite to the confluence of this river with the old bed of the Ganges⁵." (iii) A third, similar to the former, is dealt with by W. Hoey in *JASB* XLIX, 1900, 77ff., (shortly repeated in *JRAS*, 1907, p. 46), assuming the site of Vaisali eighteen miles to the west from Paleza Ghat, at Cherand, seven miles towards the south-east by east of Chapra.

The indications for the topography of Vaisali, as laid down in Jaina works, are discussed by A.F.R. Hoernle in his translation of the *Uvāsagadasāo*⁶. He pointed out that Vaniyagama is another name of the well-known city of Vesali, that Kundagama or Kundapura is an equivalent for Vesali. Vaniyagama may be found in the existing modern place of Baniya (Buneean), lying north-west of Basar⁷. Should this identification be correct, then Vaniyagama could not be another name of Vaisali, and *Kalpa Sūtra* (II, 122) explains that Mahavira is said to have stayed twelve years in Vaisali and Vanijyagrama. A further proof against the view held by Hoernle is the analogous connection between Rajagrha and its suburb Nalanda. Kundapura cannot be equivalent to Vaisali, because in *Kalpa Sūtra* (100) it has been again mentioned as suburb and is described as *nagara*. An argument against this view is also the name of Mahavira as Vaisalian.

⁴ *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1902, p. 267-288 with a map.

⁵ *JRAS*, 1903, p. 583.

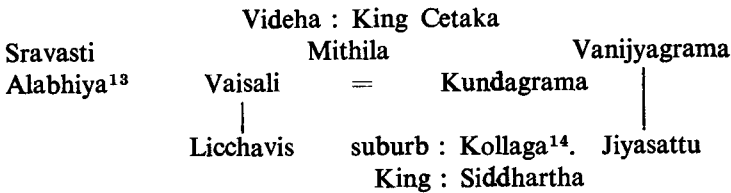
⁶ *Bibliographia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 3 ff., n. 3.

⁷ Smith, *l.c.*, p. 272f.

A. Weber and H. Jacobi⁸ have remarked that the Indian commentators did not understand the term, found in *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (I, 2.3) ; *Uttarādhyayana* (VI, 17). But a closer consideration will show that the term is without value. Jacobi stated himself (*SBE*, XLV, p.261 n. 1) that the passage *evam se udāha...arahā Nāyaputte bhagavam Vesālie* is a contradiction to the supposition that the whole lesson was pronounced by Rsabha ; Mahavira, on the other hand, could not have said about his own person (*Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 2, 26) *mahayā mahesiṇā*. In *Uttarādhyayana* (VI, 17) we find the term only in prose annexed to a metrical chapter and neither the *Commentary* on *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* nor that on *Uttarādhyayana* knows anything about the origin of the name Vaisalika⁹.

In the following lines may be shown from another standpoint the inconsistency of the historical circumstances respecting Mahavira's birthplace and family with the geographical data.

The father of the founder of the Jaina religion was the *kṣatriya* Siddhartha (*Acārāṅga*, II, 15, 4), to which two other names (*Acārāṅga*, II, 15, 15) are assigned : Sejjamsa and Jasamsa¹⁰. According to the remarks made by Hoernle he was "the chief of Naya-clan, resident in the Kollaga suburb of the city of Vesali or Kundagama¹¹." Kollaga is situated in a north-easterly direction of Vanijyagrama, whose king was Jiyasattu (*Uvāsagadasāo* I, 3). The king of Videha was Cetaka, while Jiyasattu is also mentioned as king of Sravasti¹². But we know from the Buddhist sources that there existed in Vaisali the oligarchy of the Licchavis. Now we have the following relations between the residences :



⁸ Cf. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXII, p. xi.

⁹ Cf. A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, Vol. XVI (1883), p. 261 ; *Verzeichnis der Sanskrit and Prakrit—Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek*, Zu Berlin, II, 3 p. 424 n. 1., 434, n. 5.

¹⁰ Probably Sreyamsa and Yasamsa.

¹¹ *Uvāsagadasao*, translated by A. F. R. Hoernle, p. 5., note.

¹² Hoernle, l.c., p. 103, n. 246.

¹³ Cf. *Uvāsagadasao*, l.c., p. 6, n. 9 and text IV, 155.

¹⁴ Perhaps the modern Kollua (*JRAS* 1902, p. 283).

It is quite impossible that such a complicated ruling of the Videha country and the city of Vaisali has any degree of likelihood ; and the assumption of the identity of Jiyasattu with Cetaka is based on nothing. Cetaka is *mahārajā* (*Kalpa Sūtra Commentary* 128), king of Vaisali and of Videha¹⁵ ; his daughter Trisala is Mahavira's mother (*Acārāṅga*, II, 15, 15) ; she is named therefore Videhadatta and Mahavira therefore again Videha (*Acārāṅga*, II, 15, 17 ; *Kalpa Sūtra*, 110). And because Vaisali was in this time the capital of Videha, Mahavira is named also Vaisalian.

Buddhist writings give another picture of Vesali. The Kotigama is mentioned, near the city (*Mahāvagga*, VI, 30) ; another village is Beluva. In *Dīgha Nikāya* (XVI, 2, 21 ; XVI, 3, 2) are described the *ceṭiyas* of Vesali-, Udena-, Gotamaka¹⁶-, Sattambaka-, Bahuputra-, Sarandada- and Capala *ceṭiya*. Less importance can be laid on the description in *Dulva* (III, fol. 80¹⁷) ; it may be connected with *Mahāvagga* (VIII, 1) in any way.

So much about Vaisali and Vanijyagrama ; but the chapter of the "history of Vaisali" is not yet written¹⁸. It seems that the coincidence between Buddhist and Jinist literature respecting Vaisali is not great and it seems further that the Licchavis did not play the same role in the time of Mahavira as in Buddha's time¹⁹.

6-7. *Rajagrha* and *Nalanda*. According to the *Bhagavati Sūtra*²⁰ Nalanda was a *bāhiriyā* of Rayagiha (p. 1206) and the same expression we meet in *Kalpa Sūtra* (II, 122) ; from *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (II, 7, 1) we learn that it was situated in a north-eastern direction. In *Dīgha Nikāya* (I, 1, 1 ; XI, 1) Nalanda is represented as a greater town, near Rajagrha. It is possible that the growth of villages, former suburbs, led to independent towns ; in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (193, 18) Sri Nalandah

¹⁵ *Uvasagadasao*, I. c., p. 6, n. 9.

¹⁶ *Dīgha Nikāya*, translated by R. O. Franke, p. 204, n. 5. He is right to say that the *caityas* are sometimes trees. In *Divyavadana* 201, 5 and 14 the *Gautama-nyagrodha* is mentioned as a *caitya* of Vaisali.

¹⁷ W. W. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, London 1907, p. 62.

¹⁸ A short article has been published by V. A. Smith in Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics* XII, p. 567 f. Cf. *JRAS* 1905, p. 152-154.

¹⁹ Cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 26.

²⁰ Cited by Hoernle, *Uvasagadasao*, I. c., App. I, p. 1.

is mentioned, separate from Rajagrha. This town is the modern Rajgir, north-east from Gaya, south-east from Patna²¹. The monastery of Nalanda, according to I-tsing, was distant from Rajagrha 5 *krosa*; today Nalanda may be Bargaon²².

8. *Mithila*, known by the *Rāmāyana*, has not yet been identified ; it was a city of Videha²³.

9. *Bhadrīka*. This place runs in Prakrit Bhaddiya and is found under the same form in Pali. According to *Mahāvagga* (V, 8, 1) Buddha comes from Varanasi to Bhaddiya and goes (V, 9, 1) from here to Sravasti (Savatthi) ; from Savatthi he comes to Bhaddiyanagara (*Jātaka*, II, 331 [264]). It must have, therefore, been situated in a northern direction from Benares on the way to Sravasti. Bhaddiyanagara is its name in *Mahāvagga* (VI, 34, 1) ; here it is represented as a city under the regime of the Magadha King Seniya Bimbisara ; he says (VI, 34, 3): *amhākam kira vijite bhaddiyanagare*. In *Divyāvadāna* (125, 11 ff.) the Buddha determines on going to Bhadrakaranagara, while staying at Sravasti (126, 16). Bhaddiya is according to *Dhammapada Commentary* (I, 384) ; Sp. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, (first edition ; 220) in the Anga country ; inasmuch as Srenika Bimbisara conquered and annexed the kingdom of Anga²⁴, the two indications do not contradict the historical facts. The *Mahāmāyūri*, which belongs to a time prior to the fourth or fifth century

²¹ V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 1.c., p. 31, n. 1.

²² *Journal Asiatique* s. XI, t. XI (1918), p. 157. For the importance of Nalanda in archaeological respect cf. V.A. Smith, *ERE*, IX, p. 126 f. The correct spelling of the modern name is, according to T. Bloch, *JRAS*, 1909, p. 440 Bargav, who p. 441-3 informs about his own, but short journey thereself. Known only by the brief notice by V. A. Smith, *JRAS*, 1917, p. 154f. ; *ibid.* 1919, p. 239 f. are to me the undertaken explorations, for which see D. B. Spooner, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Eastern Circle, for 1916-1917. About the distance between Rajagrha and Nalanda s. *JA* s. XI, t. XI (1918) p. 157.

²³ According to T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 37 in the district Tirhut. I do not know the source, from which H. Jacobi, *Das Ramayana*, p. 68, n. 1 argues that Mithila and Visala have grown together in Buddhist times, Rhys Davids, on the contrary, 1.c., p. 26 says that Mithila was about thirty-five miles north-west from Vesali. For the size of the Videha country and of Mithila cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, *JRAS*, 1907, p. 642-649.

²⁴ Sp. Hardy, 1.c., p. 163, n.* ; Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 70, where Campa (s. above) is already in the Magadha kingdom, cf. p. 90. The close relation of the Anga and Magadha kingdom is indicated also by the expression Anga-Magadha, *Majjhima-Nikaya* II, 2 : *Paramattajotika* I, p. 115 ; II, p. 326, 384.

A.D.²⁵, mentions (66,3)²⁶ the city Bhadrīka and as the next, Pataliputra (67,1) ; it is, because Pataliputra appears (1,2), very probable to assume with Silvain Levi the identity of Bhadrīpura (in 2,2)²⁷. The twice mentioned neighbourhood of Pataliputra would agree well with the notice that Bhadrīka belonged to the Anga kingdom, respecting the Magadha empire, but it does not agree with the situation concluded from *Mahāvagga* (V, 8 ff). The explanation can only be to interpret the *Mahāvagga* passages in another way or to give up the identification. The latter possibility is less admissible, except that there existed two cities with the same name. The first way is also only practicable by the interpretation that the Buddha was not going directly from Benares to Bhaddīya and from here to Sravastī, but that these are only points of his travelling ; going from Rajagṛha (*Mahāvagga* V, 7, 1) to Benares, then back to Bhadrīka and from here in a northern direction to Sravastī. We learn from the *Dhammapada Commentary* (I, 384 f.) that king Pasenadi comes, travelling from Bhaddīyanagara, to a place which is distant from Pasenadi's capital, Savatthī, seven *yojanas* ; here he found the town Saketa. In this connexion it may be remembered that Fa-Hien knows the place Sha-che eight *yojanas* north from Sravastī, which is an error, because the latter town lay in a north-eastern direction from Sha-che²⁸. Sha-che has been identified by A. Cunningham with Saketa. In spite of the objection by V. A. Smith²⁹ we will see that there is still another point which speaks for identification. The monastery of the Jatiyavana is mentioned on frequent passages in the Buddhist literature, near Bhaddīya.

10. *Alabhika*. In his note on *Uvāsagadasāo* (IV. 155) Hoernle³⁰ made the attempt to identify the here-mentioned town Alabhiya with Alow in Sp. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism* (p. 261 cf. p. 356)³¹, and with A-le in Fa-Hien's *Travels*. He saw in this place the modern Newal, called Navadevakula by Hiuen-Tsang.

²⁵ Cf. S. Levi, *JA* s. XI, t. V (1915), p. 19 ; M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, II, p. 271 and 380.

²⁶ *JA*, 1.c., p. 48.

²⁷ S. Levi is not right in declaring (1.c., p. 99) in the Sanci Stupa Inscription No. 187 (Buhler, *Epigraphia Indica* II, p. 377) Bhadrīkiyasa as the inhabitant of Bhadrīkiya ; we must rather expect Bhadrīyakasa, further No. 306 (Ep. Ind. II, p. 389) names a *bhikkhu* Bhadrīka from Kuraghara. Bhaddīya is a name of *Bhikkhus*, there as and *khattiyas*, very often occurring.

²⁸ V. A. Smith, *JRAS*, 1898, p. 523.

²⁹ *JRAS*, 1900, p. 3, ; cf. W. Vest, *JRAS*, 1905, p. 437-449.

³⁰ *Uvasagadasao*, 1.c., App. III, p. 51-53.

³¹ 1860 edition.

The town Alavi is familiar to Buddhist literature with the story of the *yakṣa* Alavaka, residing there and converted by Buddha. V.A. Smith³² points out that A-le (in Legge's transcription) must be either Bangarmau or Jogi Kot, four and a half miles east of Newal. While from A-le to Sha-che in south-eastern direction are ten *yojanas*, the Corean text has only three. For our purpose it is irrelevant whether the distance is ten or three *yojanas*, it is sufficient to know that A-le must be located near Sha-che and Sravasti. A proof for this view is *Cullavagga* (VI, 17, 1) ; the Buddha comes from Kitagiri³³ to Alavi and goes from here to Rajagṛha (VI, 21, 1). That is the argument mentioned above (p. 35. f.) that all the towns, Sha-che, Alavi and Bhadrīka, must be placed in the northern portion of the triangle, formed by Rajagṛha, Benares and Sravasti.

According to Fa-Hien (p. 54 in Legge's translation) A-le is situated three *yojanas* south from the northern bank of the Ganges, near Kanauj. From here three *yojanas* to south-east he reached Sha-che and Sha-che lay eight *yojanas* south-east³⁴ from Sravasti. There is no question that the text is wrong declaring Sha-che in a northern direction from Sravasti ; we have, I think, one proof for this emendation in the passage of the *Dhammapada Commentary* (I, 384), where Sha-che (Saketa) is located at a distance of seven *yojanas* south from Pasenadi's capital Sravasti, and a second in *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, 149) ; here king Pasenadi uses, staying in Savatthi, and going to Saketa, seven *rathavinitas*, that is to say, seven relay-posts, an institution known from Persia (cf. *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 191, 5 p. 21, 323 f.). In this region, south or south-east we must look for Bhaddiya, in the northern corner of Bihar³⁵. But who is to reconcile such a result with the statement that Bhaddiya lay in the Anga kingdom ?

³² *JRAS*, 1898, p. 520 f. ; cf. also N. Dey, *Ind. Ant.* XLIX (1920), Suppl. s. v. Alavi, p. 3, who gives Airwa.

³³ The situation of Kitagiri is generally clear from *Cullavagga* I, 13, 1 ff. The followers of Assaji and Punabbasu are dwelling in Kitagiri. A *bhikkhu* arrives at this place, coming from Kasi, and goes on to visit the Buddha, then staying at Sravasti. Kitagiri must therefore be placed on the way from Benares to Sravasti. I, 13, 5 the *bhikkhu* declares to have arrived from the land of Kasi, after dressing in the morning, at Kitagiri ; whether the same day, is uncertain, but it seems so.

³⁴ V. A. Smith assumes, *JRAS*, 1898, p. 523, eighteen or nineteen. There is a difference in *Dhammapada Commentary* I, p. 387 in comparison with Sp. Hardy, *Manual*, p. 221, where the king says, his city is only seven *yojanas* in size and Dhananjaya thinks it therefore too small for his retinue. That Saketa was on the way to Savatthi is also evident from *Mahavagga* I, 66, 1 ; 67, 1 ; VI, 1, 1f. ; cf. W. Vest, *JRAS* 1905, p. 437 ff., esp. p. 440-445.

³⁵ Could the modern Bettiah be the ancient Bhaddiya, Bhadrīka ?

It is true that in the *Dhammapada Commentary* (I, 384) the Anga-rattha is mentioned, in which Bhaddiya was situated. But in *Dhammapada Commentary* (III, 363) we read : *satthā kira Āṅguttarāpesu cārikam caranto.....bhaddiyanagaram gattvā.....* This country Anguttarapa occurs in *Mahāvagga* (VI, 34, 17), wherein Buddha comes from Bhaddiya and also in *Suttanipāta* (1917 ed. Fausboll, p. 99, Pali Text Society Ed., p. 102). The commentary, *Paramatthajotikā* (II, p. 102), remarks : *Āṅguttarāpesu ti āṅgā eva so janapado gangāya pana yā uttarena āpo tāsam avidūrattā uttarāpā ti vuccati.* (Cf. p. 439 and 440, where *Āṅguttarāpānam rattham* is mentioned). This explanation based on etymology may be little satisfying, but it shows the affinity between Anguttarapa and Anga³⁶. Should it now be impossible that this country Anguttarapa, whose *nigama* was Apana, is the Anga kingdom of the *Dhammapada Commentary* (I, 384) or did there exist a second, northern Anga ?

Alavi is, according to the *Paramatthajotikā* (II, 217) on *Sutta Nipāta* (10), a kingdom and a town ; *rattham pi nagaram pi vuccati, tadubhayam pi idha vaṭṭati* ∴ therefore the commentary speaks Alavinagara and Alavirattham. The name of Alavi is found further in the *Paramatthajotikā* (II, 265, 269 344); in the *Sutta Nipāta* (1917 ed. Fausboll p. 34; PTS edition p. 33). Alavi is probably identical with Atavi, whose *yakṣa* is Atabaka (cf. Alavaka³⁷) in the *Mahāmāyūri* (15, 1) ; the foundation of this town is narrated in the *Mūla-Sar-Vāstivādin-Vinaya* and falls, according to this source, under the king Bimbisara³⁸. In the *Bhagavati Sutra*³⁹ the *caitya* Pannakalaga outside Alabhiya is mentioned.

11. *Paniyabhumi* or *Panitabhumi*, as Jacobi renders the Prakrit form, is a town, whose identification has not yet been found. Hoernle⁴⁰ is right to say that in *Kalpa Sūtra* the proper name is natural, but in the *Bhagavati*⁴¹ the meaning is not clear and also the number

³⁶ Buddha is staying in Anguttarapa : *Majjh. Nik.* I, 359 (54) ; 447 (59).

³⁷ The demon Alavaka is well-known ; in the *Fe-she-hing-tsan-king* by Dharmarakṣa (a Chinese form of Asvaghosa's *Buddhacarita*, written between 414-421 A.D.) occurs Verse 1695 a demon Alava on the Mount Ala (*SBE* XIX, p. 244). The *cetiya* is named Aggalava, e.g. *Sutta Nipata* 12 ; *Dhammapada Comm.* III, p. 170 ; *Jataka*, I, 160 (16) ; II, 282 (253) ; III, 78(323) ; *Ang. Nik.* IV, 216 ; *Samyutta Nik.* I, 185 ; *Paramatthaj.* II, 2ff. ; (F. Spiegel, *Anecdota Palica* p. 83 ff.)

³⁸ S. Levi, *JA* s. XI, t. V. (1915). p. 64 ; cf. H. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism* (Grundriss III, 8) p. 37, n. 2.

³⁹ E. Leumann in Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, App. p. 255. The town Atavi in *Mahabharata* II, 31, 72 has nothing to do with Alavi.

⁴⁰ *Uvasagadasao*, I. c., App. III, p. 54.

⁴¹ E. Leumann, I. c., App. p. 250.

of years inconsistent with that of *Kalpa Sūtra*. According to the *Commentary* Paniyabhumi was a place in Vajrabhumi.

From the context in *Kalpa Sūtra* as well as in *Bhagavati Sūtra* it is quite not clear where Paniyabhumi should be located. But it seems to be logical to assume that the enumeration of the towns could be hardly arranged topsy-turvy that Sravasti in the north and Alakbhika, probably also Bhadraka, should include a place not lying in the north. And further it seems probable that Paniyabhumi was near Sravasti. Now there exists an inscription of the *Mahārāja* Mahendrapaladeva (Dighwa-Dubauli plate⁴²) ; in line 8 there is mentioned a village Paniyakagrama in the Sravasti-*bhukti* and Valayika *viṣaya*⁴³. The Sanskrit form, however, of Paniyabhumi is not quite certain ; Panyabhumi is also possible ; but perhaps for the proposed identification the difference in the quality of the vowels is of less importance.

12. *Sravasti*. It is a sad fact that regarding the correct identification of Sravasti there is no agreement between the archaeologists and historians of India. The statements of Cunningham and Hoey have been twice rejected by V. A. Smith⁴⁴. J. Ph. Voey⁴⁵ has attempted to justify Cunningham's view, supported by new discoveries of inscriptions.

13. *Papa*. The last of the towns, here considered, is Papa or Pava, playing a great role in the Buddhist literature as being the place where Buddha, according to *Dīgha Nikāya* (XVI, 4, 13 f.) took his fateful meal.

This Pava is represented by the modern village Papaur or Pappaur (Pavapura), three miles east of Aliganj Sewan, between Gogra and Gandak, both the tributaries of the Ganges on the left side⁴⁶. The determination of this place is dependent on that of Kusinagara. But there is a *petitio principii* inasmuch as the site of Kusinagara or Kusinara is again the object of controversies. It seems, however, that the view held by V. A. Smith⁴⁷ that Kasia is Vethadipa, is correct and Kusinagara must be located at 84° 51' E.L. and 27° 32' N.L., in Nepal at the confluence of the Little Rapti with the Gandak.

Assuming such a statement—and the records of the Chinese pilgrims exclude another one—Pava must be sought in a region, not too far from

⁴² IA, XV (1886), p. 112 f., Kielhorn's List *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, App., p. 74, No. 542.

⁴³ *Visaya* is, it seems, the administrative district, *bhukti* the centre of the region ; cf. IA, XV, p. 306, l. 29 ; *tirabhuktau kaksavaisayikasvasambaddha*.

⁴⁴ JRAS 1898, p. 520-531 ; 1900, p. 1-24 ; cf. *ibid*, 1905, p. 441, n. 1.

⁴⁵ JRAS 1908, p. 971-975.

⁴⁶ Hoey's statement in JASB, LXIX, Part I, (1900), p. 80 cited by R. O. Franke, *Dīgha Nikāya*, Transl. p. 222, n. 1.

⁴⁷ JRAS, 1902, p. 139-163 ; ERE, VII, p. 761-763 ; the further literature is given on the latter place. For Vethadipa s. also JRAS, 1908, p. 164 and Smith's article.

Kusinagara. There is no doubt that we must place all the mentioned towns viz., Bhadrīka, Alabhika, Kusinagara in a more or less close vicinity of Sravastī. In *Dīgha Nikāya* IV, 1 (*Mahāparinibbāṇa*) the Buddha comes via Vesālī to Bhandagama, Hatthigama (5), Ambagama, Jambugama, and Bhoganagara (6) to Pava (13) (IV, 33), a Mallian *pukkusa* is passing the high road from Kusinara to Pava. And from there Buddha comes to Kusinara (*Dīgha Nikāya*, XVI, 4, 20)⁴⁸. From Pava to Kusinara led another way from Vesālī (*Mahāvagga* VI 30, 6) via Apana, which is in the Anguttara (*Mahāvagga* VI, 35, 36) and via Atuma from Sravastī (*Mahāvagga*, VI, 37, 38). The east direction of all these places cannot be in question.

In *Dīgha Nikāya* (XXIX, 1) the Buddha receives the news of Mahāvira's death in Pava, while staying in the Sakka country. Franke⁴⁹ remarked in connection with *Dīgha Nikāya* (XXXIII, 1, 66) that Buddha was at the same time in the Sakka country and in Pava. Such a conclusion is wrong. In *Majjhima Nikāya* (II, 243, 1041) we read : *ekam samayam bhagavā sakkesu viharati sāmāgāme tena kho pana samayena nigaṇṭho nātaputto pāvāyam adhunā kālagato hoti... (p. 244) atha kho cundo samanuddeso pāvāyam vassavuttho yena sāmāgāmo yen ayasma anando ten upasaṅkami*. The conclusion is possible that Pava must be near Samagama in the Sakka country, but never that Buddha was in Pava. And also the identity of this *samanuddesa* Cunda with the *kammāraputta* of *Dīgha Nikāya* (XVI, 4, 13) is not plausible, because this latter can be the son of the older Cunda of *Dīgha Nikāya* (XXIX) and *Majjhima Nikāya* (II, 244). But that does not involve the necessity that Pava must be situated in the Sakka country. The location of Pava has to be sought, on the foot of the Nepal hills, "to the north of the modern Basti and Gorakhpur districts⁵⁰." It was necessary to state that, there could arise the problem of another Pava ; for in *Dīgha Nikāya* (XXXiii, 1, 1) Pava is named *mallānām nagaram* (XXXIII, 1, 2), the Mallas are named Paveyyaka. Because the Sakka territory was in the neighbourhood of the Malla territory⁵¹, the identity of these two Pavas is out of question. Now there existed still a second Pava, says J. Charpentier⁵², near Rajagrha and this scholar denies that this Pava could be the same where Mahāvira died. It is quite correct that Mahāvira did not pass away in the Pava near Rajagrha.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Cullav.* XI, 1, 1.

⁴⁹ In his *Dīgha Nikaya*, 1. c., p. XLII, n. 1.

⁵⁰ V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 29 and n. 2.

⁵¹ T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 26.

⁵² *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Cambridge 1922, p. 163.

First, no source is known where such a statement will be found ; further, the above cited passages from Buddhist works and the place of Pava in the list make it clear that Pava could only be the Malla Pava⁵³. Only later sources give the information of Mahavira's death in consequence of the discourse with Upali⁵⁴. But it seems to me, here is a problem : we hear that Gosala Mankhaliputta died sixteen years before Mahavira⁵⁵ in consequence of an attack against the latter ; the whole story of Upali seems to be a doublet of the Gosala episode, inasmuch as the old texts know nothing about that⁵⁶. The invention of a second Pava is due to the rencontre between Upali and Mahavira, because the first visited Buddha, while staying at Nalanda ; and if in the Amavatara Sp. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 271 it stands : "In consequence of these things, the *tirtaka* declared that his rice-bowl was broken, his subsistence gone ; and he went to the city of Pava and there died", it is like a doublet of Gosala's end. But to conclude from this passage that Pava was near Nalanda or Rajagriha is, considering the other indications, quite inadmissible⁵⁷. Finally, according to some passages in Jaina works there shall exist a Pava in the Bhamgi country or Gambhi territory⁵⁸ ; from other sources nothing is known about such a town.

If Pava has been a town in the Malla territory, then Hastipala was a Malla knight, a *rājā* in the sense of Suddhodhana, Siddhartha.

The foregoing remarks have shown how abundant the material is, met with in Jaina works as well as in Buddhist literature and how the combination of both is able to elucidate not only some problem of geography, but also problems of general interest.

⁵³ J. Charpentier, *IA*, t. XLIII (1914), p. 228, cf. p. 177. The attribute *majjhima* (*Kalpa Sutra* II, 122, 123, 147) does not involve the existence of three Pavas nor does it mean a Pava in the Madhyadesa ; the meaning is that Mahavira died in the heart of the city in the king's palace, the *rajyasabha*, while on other occasions he, like Buddha, stayed out of the city in *caityas*.

⁵⁴ J. Charpentier, l. c., p. 128.

⁵⁵ *Uvāsagadasao*, l. c., App. p. 6 (from the *Bhagavati*, p. 1250 a).

⁵⁶ J. Charpentier, l. c., p. 128.

⁵⁷ Pava has been placed by H. T. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays* (ed. by E. D. Cowell, London 1873) II, p. 193, n. 2. near Rajagriha in Bihar. Cf. Fr. Koeppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, Berlin 1906, I, p. 114 f., n. 3.

⁵⁸ In Nemicaṇḍra's *Pravacanas*. (Weber, *Verzeichnis* No. 1939, p. 854 f) Pava is located in the Bhamgi country ; cf. A. Weber, *Indian Studies* XVI, d. 398 and n. 3 ; *Verzeichnis* II, 2, No. 1837, p. 562.

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MAHAVIRA AS A TIRTHANKARA KEVALIN *A Chronology*

KALYAN VIJAYA GANI

[On this less known aspect of Lord Mahavira's Life, the learned author has, after painstaking researches from the *Acārāṅga*, the *Kalpa Sūtra* and the *Abāṣyak Nirvyukti*, their *bhāṣyas*, *cūṛṇis* and *ṭīkāś*, compiled a complete chronology, year by year, whose English translation and adaptation are being given below. He has also drawn occasionally from the *Mahāvira Caritas* composed in the medieval period by such erudite scholars and poets as Nemi Candra, Guna Candra and Hema Candra. More interested readers are, however, referred to the original Hindi text entitled *Sramaṇa Bhagawān Mahāvira*.]

Era pre-Vikrama 500-499 (approximately B. C. 557-56)

This was the thirteenth year of Mahavira's life as a *śramaṇa* (mendicant) when he attained the knowledge perfect (*kevala jñāna*) on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of *Vaiśākha* on the fourth part of the day on the bank of the river Riju Valuka. This was hailed by the gods from heaven who descended on earth to hold the first congregation (*samavasaraṇa*) on the very spot.

About this time a sacrifice was being celebrated in the city of Madhuma Pava in which were assembled the wise men from far and near. Mahavira thought of using the occasion to obtain valuable recruits for his *tirtha* (order). So he covered the distance of 12 *yojanas* the same night and settled in the Mahasena park of the city. Here he held the second congregation. In this congregation in course of a day 4411 Brahmins headed by their *ācāryas*, eleven in number, who later became known as Mahavira's *gaṇadharas*, became converted to the *śramaṇa* order. They were : Indrabhuti, Agnibhuti and Vayubhuti of Gautama *gotra*, Aryavyakta, Sudharma, Mandika, Mauryaputra, Akampika, Acalabhrata, Metarya and Prabhasa. Here in this park was established the four-fold order consisting of the monks and nuns, and the lay followers, male as well as female.

Then Mahavira set his feet on the way to Rajagrha where he stayed in the Gunasila *caitya*. At this time, King Srenika was the ruling monarch at Rajagrha whose younger queen Cellana was a near relative of Mahavira and a follower of the *śramaṇa* religion. The king and members of the royal household, nobles and citizens, all attended the congregation addressed by Mahavira. From this assemblage, Prince Megha Kumar, Nandisena and many others joined the *śramaṇa* order, Prince Abhaya, Sulasa and many other men and women becoming the lay disciples, and the king himself expressed profound admiration for Mahavira's sermons and was initiated in equanimity. The Lord spent the monsoon months at Rajagrha helping the spiritual elevation of the people and then set out for Videha.

14th year, pre-Vikrama 499-498

In Videha, Mahavira reached Brahmanakunda where he settled in the Bahusala park outside the city. This place was not far from his own birthplace at Ksatriyakunda. So when the news of his arrival reached there, thousands flocked from both the cities to see him and to listen to his words. Among the many that were initiated into the order, the most illustrious were Jamali, his son-in-law and his daughter Priyadarsana. Brahmin Risabhadatta and his wife Devananda, who would have been his parents in this life if the embryo was not transferred to the womb of Trisala, were also initiated. For about a year Mahavira moved about in Videha and spent the monsoon months at Vaisali.

15th year, pre-Vikrama 498-97

On the termination of the monsoons, he left for Vatsya. On the way, he reached Kausambi where he stayed at the Candavatarana *caitya*. The minor king Udayana with the members of the royal household paid him respect to Mahavira. The most note-worthy event here was the religious discussion with Jayanti, already a celebrated follower of the path, and her initiation into the religious order. Then on his way to north Kosala, he reached Sravasti where he stayed at the Kothaka *caitya*. Then he returned to Videha. Needless to add, at every place he had important recruits to the order. He spent the monsoon months at Vanijyagrama in Videha where *Gāthāpati* Ananda and his wife Sivananda took twelve vows prescribed for the members of the household.

16th year, pre-Vikrama 497-96

From Vanijyagrama, he entered into Magadha and reached the Gunasila *caitya* at Rajagrha. Here on the query of Indrabhuti Gautama

he gave an important discourse on Time (*kāla*). Other events included the initiation of Dhanya, Salibhadra and many others into monkhood. Monsoon months were spent at Rajagrha.

17th year, pre-Vikrama 496-95

At Campa, the Prince Mahacandra Kumara was so influenced by Mahavira's discourse that he joined the religious order. At this time King Udayana was the ruling monarch at Bitabhayapattana which was the capital of Sindhu Sauvira and many other countries. He was a follower of the path. One day he thought, "Sacred must be the lands where the Lord sets his feet ; fortunate must be the princes and people who can worship the Lord. If the Lord ever comes to the Mrigavana Park here, I too can worship him." The Lord being omniscient, he knew of it at once and started for Bitabhayapattana. The place was a long way off. But Mahavira undertook the hazardous trek reaching that city and fulfilled the wishes of Udayana. Then he returned to his monsoon retreat at Vanijyagrama in Videha. For the monks, however, this was the severest ordeal to pass through the desert in the summer months. For miles together there was no trace of human habitation ; prescribed sort of food and water were difficult to get. After monsoon months, Mahavira started for Varanasi.

18th year, pre-Vikrama 495-94

Mahavira stayed at the Kothaka *caitya* and initiated Culanipita and his wife Syama and Suradeva and his wife Dhanya into the order. Both these were exceedingly rich and henceforth became the strongest pillars of the order.

From Varanasi, on his way to Rajagrha, Mahavira spent some time in the Sankhavana Park at Alavia. Not far from this park there lived a wandering friar named Poggala who had made some spiritual progress. By dint of this elevation, he could see the position and movement of the gods upto the *Brahmmaloka*. Poggala, however, mistook this with the highest knowledge. So he returned to Alavia and began to propagate his views in the city. When Mahavira had dispelled his questionable views, he became convinced and joined the order and by dwindling his *karma* to nothing he ultimately attained the domain of the Liberated. Here at Alavia, Cullasataka and his consort and many others joined the lay order. On the way to Rajagrha he converted Mankati, Kin-krama, Arjuna, Kasyapa and many others into monkhood. This monsoon retreat was spent at Rajagrha.

19th year, pre-Vikrama 494-93

The monsoon retreat being over, Mahavira did not depart from Rajagrha. He continued his stay there for the propagation of religion. King Srenika was so much devoted to him that he made the following proclamation : "If anyone is keen for initiation from the Lord, he should go ahead with it. If he has some dependents behind, the king himself will take care of them." The lay people apart, king's proclamation was followed by a tremendous response in the royal household itself from where twenty-three of Srenika's own sons and thirteen of his queens entered the *śramaṇa* order under Mahavira.

At this time *śramaṇa* Ardraka was going to Mahavira to pay obeisance when on the way he came across Gosalaka. Gosalaka said to him, "Formerly your master lived in isolation but these days he has collected a number of monks round him and offers stormy discourses. He is a man of unsettled mind." The dialogue continued Ardraka offering strong defence of the master and silencing the adversary. Proceeding further he encountered the *Sākya-putriya* monks, and he won over them by arguments. The third to meet him was *Hastitāpasa* who claimed to be killing only one elephant during a year and subsisting on its flesh thereby saving many other living beings. Ardraka told him that in killing even one animal during a year he could not claim to be a perfect devotee of the *ahimsā* path. Then he met the Lord and worshipped him. The princes and monks who were already initiated by Ardraka were now sanctified by Mahavira and handed back to him. The monsoon retreat continued at Rajagrha for the second consecutive year. Then he repaired towards Kausambi.

20th year, pre-Vikrama 493-92

On the way he spent some time at Alavia and expressed his views on the life-span of the denizens of *Devaloka*, supporting Risibhadra in this matter. At Kausambi, he initiated into the religious order Mrigavati, the queen-mother of the minor prince Udayana and eight queens of King Canda Pradyota of Ujjaini who were at that time present there. This was the outcome of a very effective sermon that he delivered on *vairāgya* (loss of worldly attachment). Then he returned to Videha, spending the monsoons at Vaisali.

21st year, pre-Vikrama 492-91

Then, after the monsoons, he reached Kakandivia in north Videha via Mithila, where he initiated into monkhood Dhannya, Sunakshatra

and several others. Then he took a trek of the western districts and reached Kampilya via Sravasti. There he converted Kundakolika into the lay order. Then he spent sometime at Gajapura and reached Polasapura.

At Polasapura there lived a rich potter named Saddalaputra who ran at least five hundred shops and who had hundreds of potters in his employ. He belonged to the Ajivaka sect and was a very devoted Ajivaka too. One night when he was asleep, he heard a divine voice intimating the arrival of the all-knowing and all-seeing '*mahā-brāhmaṇa*' next morning. Who else could this be, thought he, except his own master Man-khaliputra! He got up pretty early in the morning to receive his master when to his dismay he heard that Mahavira had arrived. But then he remembered the divine order and so he went forward to extend his invitation to the *mahā-brāhmaṇa*, whosoever he might be. Mahavira accepted it and reached his pottery. They had a long dialogue on *niyati* (destiny) and *puruṣa-parākrāma* (manly effort) and Mahavira convinced him about the importance of manly effort. After this his conversion to Mahavira's lay order was just a matter of course. When this news reached Gosalaka, the head of the Ajivaka order, he became angry beyond limit. Gosalaka hurried to Polasapura with his retinue. He had hoped that the moment his disciple would see him, he would come back to the Ajivaka order. But when all his efforts and entreaties failed, Gosalaka went away disappointed. This was a severe blow to him which he could never overcome.

From Polasapura, Mahavira visited several places moving and preaching throughout the summer months. Before the onset of the monsoons he reached Vanijyagrama and settled there for the next few months.

22nd year, pre-Vikrama 491-90

After the monsoons, Mahavira reached Rajagṛha. In the congregation, being influenced by his preachings, Mahasataka sought refuge under him. Another noteworthy event was the approach to Mahavira by a number of followers of Parsvanatha who had some of their doubts and difficulties raised. When Mahavira gave them the convincing reply, they readily accepted him to be the all-knowing and all-seeing and sought conversion from the *cāturyāma* (four-principled) religion of Parsva into *panca-mahāvratātmaka* (five-principled) religion of Mahavira which was readily granted. For many years these monks practised the five-principled religion and ultimately attained *nirvāṇa*. He also solved some of the difficulties of a monk called Roha regarding the priority of

loka and *aloka*, *jīva* and *ajīva*, etc. He also answered Gautama's queries on the location of spheres or *loka-sthiti*. The monsoons were spent at Rajagrha.

23rd year, pre-Vikrama 490-89

Then he moved to north-west passing through many a village preaching and reached at last the Chatrapalasa *caitya* in the vicinity of Kacangala. At this time in a monastery near Sravasti, there lived a learned mendicant Skandaka of the Katyayana line who was supposed to be well-versed in the Vedic literature. When Mahavira had reached the Chatrapalasa *caitya*, Skandaka had come to Sravasti on business. Here he met a *Nirgrantha śramaṇa* who simultaneously asked him five questions. But Skandaka could give no reply even though the questions were repeated. He was in deeper water. Just at that moment he heard of Mahavira's arrival at Chatrapalasa. So he returned to his monastery, equipped himself with the dress and insignia of his holy order and set out for the *caitya* where Mahavira stayed. Meanwhile Mahavira was telling Gautama that that day he would be seeing one of his old acquaintances. Mahavira narrated the whole incident between Skandaka and the *Nirgrantha* monk to Gautama. When Gautama saw Skandaka coming, he went forward to receive him and narrated what Mahavira had already communicated to him. This was really impressive. Skandaka being introduced, Mahavira solved all the issues raised by the *Nirgrantha* monk whereupon Skandaka discarded the dress and insignia of his previous order and became a follower of the Lord. Skandaka was already spiritually advanced. His ascent was now quick. He discarded the earthly frame through fasting on the Vipulacala hill.

After the conversion of Skandaka, Mahavira came back to the Kosthaka *caitya* at Sravasti where the *Gāthāpati* Nandinipita and *Gāthāpati* Salihipita with their consorts became the followers of the path. From Sravasti he returned to Videha and spent the monsoons at Vanijyagrama.

24th year, pre-Vikrama 489-88

After the monsoons, Mahavira came to Bahusala *caitya* at Brahmanakunda. Here Jamali expressed his desire to the Lord to permit him to establish a separate Order for his five hundred followers but received no approval. So he deserted the order. Starting from Brahmanakunda, Mahavira entered Vatsya and therefrom reached Kausambi.

Via Kasi, he returned to the Gunasila *caitya* at Rajagrha. At this time a number of followers of Parsva were stationed in a nearby *caitya* and were preaching the four-principled religion. When Indrabhuti Gautama went to Rajagrha to collect alms, he heard the contents of their discourses which raised doubts in his mind. He came back to Mahavira and sought clarification which the Master gave supporting the views of Parsva's followers. The same year a number of monks of the Order discarded their mortal frame through fasting and attained god-hood. The monsoon retreat was spent at Rajagrha.

25th year, pre-Vikrama 488-87

On the completion of monsoon retreat, he set his foot towards Campa which, after the death of Srenika, was now the capital-city of Magadha under Kunika. He halted at the Purnabhadra *caitya* here. He was received by the king with the entire body of citizenry behind him. Being influenced by Mahavira's discourses, ten grand-sons of Srenika and many other citizens of wealth and influence embraced monkhood. On his way to Videha, he converted *Gāthāpati* Ksemaka, Dhrtidhara and others into monkhood and stayed at Mithila during the rainy months.

26th year, pre-Vikrama 487-86

Mahavira went towards Anga. At this time a bloody war was raging at Vaisali which had been attacked by Kunika, the king of Magadha, and Vaisali was being defended by a confederation of eighteen kings. When Mahavira came to the Purnabhadra *caitya* at Campa, he was acquainted with the war situation. Even the widows of the late king Srenika whose sons had gone to the war-front came to enquire about their future welfare and were in turn so influenced by Mahavira's words that they renounced the world. The rains were passed at Mithila.

27th year, pre-Vikrama 486-85

From Mithila, Mahavira reached Sravasti by side-tracking Vaisali. Kunika's brother Halla and Behalla who were the main causes of the Vaisali warfare somehow reached him and entered the religious order. At Sravasti, he stayed at the Kosthaka *caitya*. Gosalka too was stationed here at this time and had declared himself to be a *Tirthankara*. When Indrabhuti Gautama had gone to collect his alms, he had heard people saying that these days there were two *Tirthankaras* moving at Sravasti. He returned to the Kosthaka *caitya* and narrated what he had heard. About 18 years back Gosalka indeed was an ardent follo-

wer of Mahavira when he decided to part and start an order of his own. But he was by no means all-knowing, all-seeing, still less a *Tirthankara*. Mahavira assured Gautama that Gosalaka was not a *Tirthankara*. The report having reached Gosalaka he became furious and assembled with his followers in a meeting. At this moment, Ananda, one of Mahavira's disciples, was going out to collect alms. When Gosalaka saw him, he stopped him and threatened him on account of Mahavira's utterances regarding himself. Ananda was terrified and reported the whole matter to the Master. Gosalaka was not a man to desist. He too followed him with his followers and tried to establish before Mahavira that he was a *Tirthankara*. When challenged, he said that he was not Gosalaka who followed him for a few years but Kundiayana, temporarily entering into the mortal frame of Gosalaka, this being his seventh such penetration, claiming to be a *Jina* or Victor. This was strongly repudiated by Mahavira. Now Gosalaka started abusing but Mahavira was equanimous. This added fuel to the fire. He released his *teja-leśyā* (fiery forces) which burnt dead a monk on the spot. Abuses continued and another monk became a victim of his *leśhyā*-fire. But even then Gosalaka was not pacified and this time he directed it to Mahavira himself. It touched the Lord but unable to burn him, rose up, reverted and re-entered into Gosalaka's body. Gosalaka said, "Now that you are burnt by *leśyā*-fire, you die within six months." Mahavira said, "Oh Beloved of the gods, it is not my life-span but thine that is really affected. I will continue to roam on this earth for sixteen more years but you will die of severe illness within a week. Repent you must." Gosalaka died, as Mahavira had said, within a week. His last confession was full of repentance for his past misdeeds.

After the death of Gosalaka, Mahavira left Sravasti and arrived at Salakosthaka *caitya* in the village Mendhika. Six months had elapsed since the Gosalaka episode. His *leśyā*-fire that had touched Mahavira had already made him ill and his body had become emaciated. People started gossiping lest Gosalaka's forecast should come true. This reached the ears of a monk named Singha who was at this time absorbed in deep meditation. He was disturbed, got up from his seat, started, and by the time he reached Malukakachha he burst out in deep sob and could go no further. Mahavira realised the agony of his disciple and sent some of his followers to get him there. When Singha had arrived, Mahavira directed him to bring two medicines from a certain woman Rebati in the village of Mendhika which was done. The Lord regained his lost physique. Fortunate indeed is Rebati whose medicine cured the Lord ! There was joy everywhere, not only on the earth but even among gods in heaven.

Jamali who had separated from Mahavira and was moving about at his own discretion reached Sravasti once and was staying in the Tinduka park. He was ill at the time. But he had raised a controversy on a certain issue and was ready to cross swords with Mahavira. Nothing happened immediately beyond Jamali propagating his views among the public. After recovery Jamali left Sravasti but people were still gossiping over the point raised by him. Later, Mahavira was at Campa staying at the Purnabhadra *caitya* when one day suddenly Jamali appeared before him and declared that he was no ordinary monk but a full *kevali* wandering on the earth. Indrabhuti Gautama argued with him but to no effect and Jamali left and continued his false propaganda. But the foundation of falsehood is always weak and Jamali's followers began to break away, the first being Priyadarsana, the head nun under him. This had no effect on Jamali who remained the same propagating falsehood and claiming himself a victor till the last day.

From Mendhika, Mahavira reached Mithila which he used for his monsoon retreat. Then he turned to the western districts.

28th year, pre-Vikrama 485-84

Indrabhuti Gautama with his disciples started a little earlier and halted at the Kothaka *caitya* at Sravasti. At that time *śramaṇa* Kesi Kumara too along with his disciples was sojourning at the Tinduka park here. This instituted a contrast between the religious practices of the two Orders and raised inquisitiveness in the minds of their respective disciples as to which were the more correct. This Indrabhuti Gautama soon realised. Since Kesi Kumara was of the senior Order, Gautama accompanied with his followers saw Kesi Kumara one day. This was a very unusual meeting between the followers of Parsva and Mahavira when they talked about the four-principled religion of the former and five-principled religion of the latter, about Parsva's prescription regarding the use of cloths and Mahavira's in favour of sky-cladness, and many other things of significance. Kesi was convinced that in the existing state of things Mahavira was the leader earmarked. He bowed his head in reverence to Gautama and accepted the five-principled religion. Needless to add, this settled some of the intricate differences between the two religious Orders and had tremendous impact on the people, lay as well as ecclesiastical.

Now, Mahavira reached Sravasti and after a brief halt proceeded towards Pancala. He reached Ahichatra and therefrom proceeded towards Kuru, ultimately settling at the Sahasramaravana park outside Hastina-

pura. At this time *Rājarṣi* Siva, the former monarch of Hastinapura, was also staying here. By dint of severe penance he had acquired knowledge that in this *loka* there were several islands and seven seas. This he had propagated. When Gautama went to Hastinapura, he heard people discussing this theory and so coming back to the shelter he acquainted Mahavira about this latest discourse. Mahavira rejected it outright. *Rājarṣi* Siva heard of this, came to the Lord and after listening to his discourse sought spiritual protection under him. He was duly initiated and after practising severe penances he attained *nirvāṇa*. Another convert worth-mentioning here was the monk Puṭṭhila. On the return journey he spent some time in the city of Moka and during the monsoons, Vanijyagrama received him back.

29th year, pre-Vikrama 484-83

After rains, Mahavira came to Magadha and stayed at the Guna-sila *caitya*. At this time, scholars belonging to diverse paths, Buddhists, Ajivakas and others were all assembled here and each was often indulging in ridiculing the rest. Indrabhuti Gautama had become particularly curious about some of the Ajivaka tenets which he raised to the Master who threw due light on them. The monsoons were spent at Rajagrha where many monks celebrated fast on the mountain Vipula.

30th year, pre-Vikrama 483-82

After the monsoons, he started for Campa settling ultimately at Pristha Campa, a suburb. The ruling prince Sala and his brother Mahasala both entered the religious Order. Then he reached the Purnabhadra *caitya* at Campa where he praised in public the forbearance of his disciple Kamadeva who though a lay disciple had attained a sizeable spiritual elevation. From Campa he went to Dasarnapura where the king Dasarnabhadra entered the spiritual Order. The Lord came back to Vanijyagrama.

Here the great *Brāhmaṇa* scholar Somila saw him and raised important questions. Soon he was convinced and joined the lay Order. He attained a very high knowledge of the Master's discourses and on death attained heaven. Vanijyagrama was fortunate to claim the Master again during the monsoons.

31st year, pre-Vikrama 482-81

Then via Saketa, Sravasti and other cities of Kosala, Mahavira proceeded towards Pancala and settled at the Sahasramravana park outside Kampilya.

At this time, a wandering *Brāhmaṇa* scholar, Ammad, with his seven hundred disciples, was staying at Kampilya. Though he was very much influenced by Mahavira's teachings and was a follower of the Jaina religion, he did not discard his outward robes. Ammad had attained a high level and could simultaneously live and dine in a hundred homes. When Indrabhuti Gautama raised the matter, Mahavira did not consider him fit to enter his religious Order. Then he moved towards Videha and spent the monsoons at Vaisali.

32nd year, pre-Vikrama 481-80

After travelling through Kasi and Kosala, Mahavira returned to Videha during the summer. He was stationed at the Dutipalasa *caitya* outside Vanijyagrama where he replied to the queries of Gangeya, a disciple of Parsva and initiated him into the Order. Vaisali claimed him back during the retreat.

33rd year, pre-Vikrama 480-79

In winter he entered Magadha, reaching the Gunasila *caitya* at Rajagrha. Here Gautama had raised important questions regarding other Orders, *Jiva and Jivātmā* and the language of the *kevalins* which the Master answered. From there he reached Campa and Pristha Campa where there were important initiations. Here some people belonging to other Orders saw him and held important discussions. Particularly significant was the dialogue with Madduka. Rajagrha was honoured by his stay during the monsoons.

34th year, pre-Vikrama 479-78

Moving through several villages and towns round Rajagrha he returned to Rajagrha during the summer months and took shelter at the Gunasila *caitya*. One day when Gautama was returning from alms-taking, he met a number of people belonging to other Orders, notably Kalodai, Silodai and others who were engaged in a religious discussion. On seeing Gautama, they stopped him and stated the points at issue. Gautama too had expressed his own views but Kalodai was unable to understand its meaning. So he followed Gautama to Mahavira's gathering. The outcome as usual was his initiation.

In the north-east of Rajagrha there was a prosperous township called Nalanda where lived many a rich man one of whom, Lewa, was an ardent follower of the *śramaṇa* Order. He had a water-reservoir called

Sesadravika and a garden called Hastiyama. Once Mahavira was stationed here with his followers when Udaka, the son of Pedhala and a follower of Parsva, asked Gautama several questions. He was happy with the answers and became a follower of the Master. Nalanda worshipped Mahavira during the monsoons. Jali, Mayali and many other monks discarded their mortal frames through fasting on the Vipulacala.

35th year, pre-Vikrama 478-77

Moving through many a villages and towns and preaching his message, he reached Vanijyagrama near the capital of Videha. This was a commercial centre on the bank of the Gandaki. One of the wealthy Jaina merchants was Sudarsana. Mahavira revealed his previous identity. This revived his pre-birth memory and he could now see his previous births himself. Enkindled was his *vairāgya* (detachment) and the Master initiated him with his own hands.

One day Indrabhuti Gautama had gone in to Vanijyagrama for collecting alms. On his way back he heard that Ananda, a lay-follower of the Master, was fasting unto death at Kollaga lying on a grass-cushion. Gautama went to see him when they had talk on *avadhi* knowledge. But Gautama disbelieved him when he said that he had acquired *avadihi* knowledge. When Gautama returned to the shelter and enquired of the Master whether he had *avadhi* knowledge, Mahavira said he had and directed Gautama to go back and beg his forgiveness. Vaisali claimed the Master during the monsoons.

36th year, pre-Vikrama 477-76

Then he moved towards Kosala reaching Saketa, an important city of the kingdom. At this time, a non-Aryan king Kirata of Kotivarsa had come to Saketa in the company of a local merchant Jinadeva in search of costly gems and was living as the latter's guest. When king Kirata saw thousands moving to see the Master, he enquired of Jinadeva where these were going. Jinadeva said, "Your Majesty, today has come here a gem-merchant who is the owner of the most precious gems in the universe." Here the Lord gave his discourse on the *tri-ratna*—right vision, right knowledge and right conduct. Needless to add, King Kirata embraced the *tri-ratna*. On the return journey, Mahavira spent sometime at Kampilya in Pancala, moved towards Saurasena and passed through Mathura, Sauripura, Nandipura and many other cities ultimately coming back to Mithila where he spent the monsoons.

37th year, Vikrama 476-75

Then he turned his steps toward Magadha, reaching Rajagrha and holding congregation at the Gunasila *caitya*. Many followers of other Orders were stationed here at that time. These had launched attacks on Mahavira's Order expressing dissatisfaction with its ways. There were long discussions between these and the monks of the Order in which the latter established their supremacy. The monk Kalodai raised questions on impious deeds, on the genesis of *agni-kāya* (fire-bodied) organisms and other things of importance. He accepted the dispensations of the Master. After this Kalodai practised severe penances and discarded the visible frame by fasting. During this year, *Gaṇadhara* Prabhasa and many other monks too entered into *nirvāṇa* by fasting on the sacred Vipulacala. Rajagrha was sanctified by Mahavira's stay during the rainy season.

38th year, pre-Vikrama 475-74

The Master was moving about in Magadha. Gautama had raised important religious issues on which the Master cast light—issues like *kriyākāla* and *niṣṭhākāla*, *paramāṇu* and their unity and division, language, sad outcome of *kriyā*, the transitoriness of pain, two acts at a point of time, the enjoyment of godly status by the *Nirgrantha* followers and many others. *Gaṇadhara* Acalabhrata and Metarya attained *nirvāṇa* through fasting.

39th year, pre-Vikrama 474-73

Mahavira entered Videha and reached Mithila where he was received by king Jitasatru. The congregation was held at the Manibhadra *caitya*. After the gathering has dissolved, Indrabhuti Gautama raised innumerable questions on astronomy of which twenty were highly significant. The answers were so elaborate that they became the contents of important works on ancient astronomy dealing with the Sun and the Moon and other planetary bodies. Mithila became sacred by the Master's stay during the monsoons.

40th year, pre-Vikrama 473-72

Mahavira continued to move in Videha. He spent the rains at Mithila for a second consecutive year and fulfilled important religious missions everywhere.

41st year, pre-Vikrama 472-71

He proceeded towards Magadha after the rains and settled in the Gunasila *caitya* at Rajagrha. One important event here was the words of caution that the Lord sent to Mahasataka for having broken equanimity during fast with his entreating and drunk wife. On receipt of the Master's words he made due amends for his slip.

Mahavira solved many important questions raised by Gautama. One related to the existence of a reservoir of hot mineral waters beneath the Baivara hill near Rajagrha ; another dealt with the *āyusyakarma* ; a third about human habitation in the *manuṣyaloka* ; a fourth about pleasure and pain ; a fifth about undiluted pain or pleasure ; and so on.

This year Agnibhuti and Bayubhuti, the two *Gaṇadharas* entered into *nirvāṇa* through month-long fasting at the Gunasila *caitya*. The rains were passed at Rajagrha.

42nd year, pre-Vikrama 471-70

After the rains Mahavira continued for a month more at Rajagrha. Meanwhile four more *Gaṇadharas*, Abyakta, Mandika, Mauryaputra and Akampik followed Agnibhuti and Bayubhuti into *nirvāṇa* through month-long fasting.

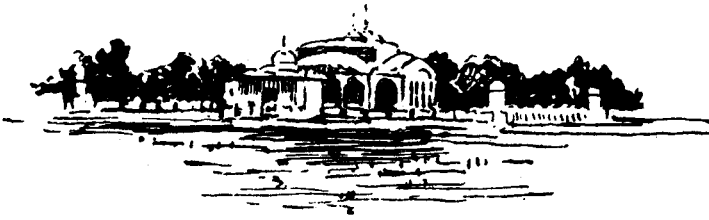
Indrabhuti Gautama raised important questions on the state of things in the *dussama-dussamā kāla* (the sixth era of the *abasarpini*, the *nadir* of the lower phase of the time-cycle) that lay ahead, more particularly in Bharata-Varsa during this period. This was a long and vivid discourse in which the Lord gave out the details. On hearing this 'discourse' many took refuge of the *Nirgrantha* religion.

This indeed was the last year of Mahavira's mission on earth. Having decided to spend the monsoon retreat at Pava, he arrived and stayed in the Rajjuga Hall of king Hastipala. Three months and a half of the rains were over. It was the dawn of the new moon day of the month of *Kārtika*. The last congregation was held which was attended among others by nine Licchavis, nine Mallas and eighteen *gaṇarājas*. Knowing the approach of his last moment on earth he started a non-stop discourse which continued till late at night. When he was still in the midst of his discourse, Lord Mahavira ascended from this earth, discarding the mortal frame, to the domain of the Liberated. Indrabhuti Gautama, his nearest disciple, who had gone

at that time to a nearby village at his behest to advise a *Brāhmaṇa* called Devasarma, heard of his master's demise there and was deeply moved. But on reflection he understood why he was sent away and lifting his soul gradually he attained *kevala jñāna* (perfect knowledge) on the spot.

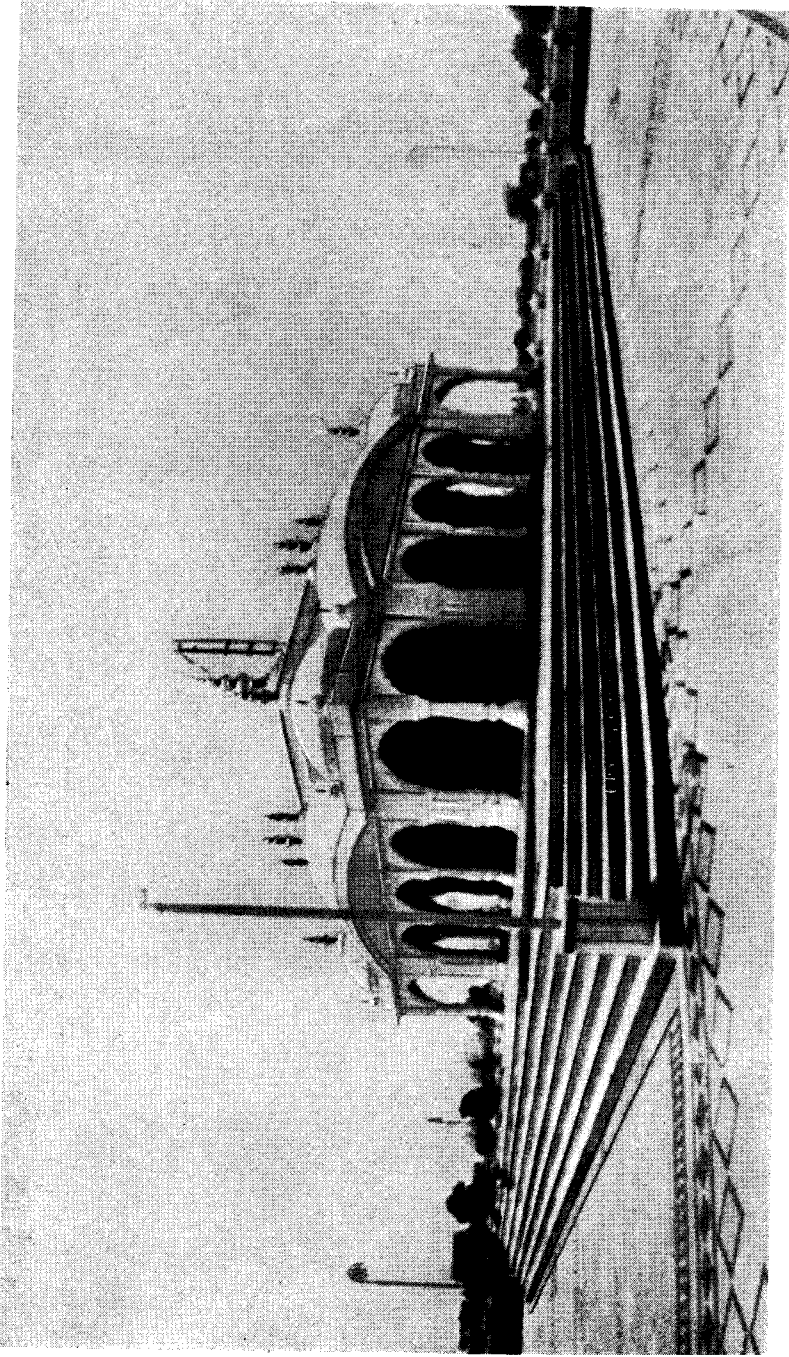
As the light of the world had passed away, so to dispel darkness, the princes that had assembled there lit the earthen lamps.

In their obituary, the princes said : "Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter."





*Mahavira (12th century A. D.)
from Tripuri near Jabbulpur*



Jalamandir, Pawapuri

Photograph by M. Srimal

SOME CONTEMPORARIES AND NEAR-CONTEMPORARIES OF MAHAVIRA

KASTUR CHAND LALWANI

"This sixth century B. C. was indeed one of the most remarkable in all history. Everywhere men's minds were displaying a new boldness. Everywhere they were waking up out of the traditions of kingships and priests and blood sacrifices and asking the most penetrating questions. It is as if the race had reached a stage of adolescence—after a childhood of 20,000 years."—H. G. WELLS

Indeed Mahavira was born in an age when men's minds were astir all over the civilised world—in India, in China, in Greece. All on a sudden leaders of men had emerged to show humanity the way. Lao-tse, and Confucius did it in China, as Mahavira and Buddha did in India and Pythagoras, Socrates and Plato in Greece. But then there was not much in common either in their heredity or in the way they prescribed. For while Mahavira and Buddha were princes themselves their illustrious contemporaries both in Greece and in China were just ordinary men. And while Mahavira and Buddha had devoted to attaining liberation for themselves and to showing the way to the common man, Confucius in China and Socrates and Plato in Greece were mainly concerned with social and political reforms. All of them were, however, great in so far as they influenced not only their contemporaries, but, much more, the generations that followed and all are revered to this day as the wisest and as born leaders of men.

Lao-tse

Probably none except Confucius has exerted a greater influence over the Chinese mind throughout history than a shadowy philosopher called Lao-tzu or Lao-tse, who, according to tradition, is considered to be the founder of the naturalistic, quietistic philosophy called Taoism.

He was a member of the Li family, born, again according to tradition, about 600 B.C. in the modern Honan province. His personal name was Lao-tan, Lao meaning old and Tan meaning long-lobed. Hundreds of years later, when he was canonised, his name was changed into Lao-tse or Lao-tzu meaning the Old Sage or the Old Philosopher. Legend goes that he lay in the womb for eighty-one years and was born with snow-white hair. Another legend holds that he was the Yellow Lord reborn, an incarnation of one of the all-wise guides of mankind.

Though a recluse, Lao-tse, according to tradition, rose to become the librarian (treasurer) at the royal court of the Chou dynasty that ruled all over China. He served the Court for many years and perhaps acted as the official historian. His living was extremely virtuous and modest and his life was almost uneventful except for the visit of Confucius about 517 B.C. The two met as strangers and there was not much common ground between them. For, while Lao-tse was a mystic and was looking back to an age when rulers were necessary, Confucius, a much younger man at the time of the meeting, was a practical reformer and was looking only to a time when rulers were benevolent and subjects law-abiding. Confucius saw Lao-tse not because the latter was a mystic but because as an archivist he must have had sufficient information about laws and ceremonies of olden times. Lao-tse talked of the *Tao* or the Way to Heaven, which was of little use and interest to Confucius and so he went away dissatisfied.

Lao-tse dreamt of a golden age of contemplation and quietude but he saw no possibility of its realisation in the intensely militaristic ventures of the Chou dynasty. Meanwhile the common man in China was steeped in stark poverty and serfdom. In this surrounding, Lao-tse could see the decay and extinction of civilisation. He even forecast the collapse of the proud Chou dynasty and the disintegration of the empire. He could no longer stay at this royal court. So he moved to the western frontier, may be in search of his paradise, may be to spend the rest of his life in spiritual illumination and perfect calm. When he reached the western frontier, the keeper of the pass, Yin-Hi, recognised him. He requested the sage to put down in a book his ideas so that he could be remembered by the posterity. This the sage did, composing his *Tao Teh*, and depositing it with the frontier guard, he went through the pass into the mountains beyond, and disappeared. This tradition is based primarily on an account given in the *Historical Records*, a work completed in the first century B.C. Later Taoist propagandists, compet-

ing for prestige with Buddha, claimed that Lao-tse travelled to India and converted Buddha himself to Tao-ism.

Lao-tse is a confusing personality whose historical identity is yet to be revealed. But whatever that may be, like many other pre-historic personalities whom history cannot accurately identify, Lao-tse's is a great name. The original name of his book was *Tao-teh* : but when the book was recognised as canonical, it became known as *Tao-teh-Ching*. It exists in various recensions, 5,000 odd words in length and divided into 81 sections or chapters. It deals with various things—metaphysics, ethics, psychology and socio-political theories, all, however, centering upon a concept of the Tao as the all-embracing First Principle. A verse in *Tao-teh-Ching* reads :

*Tao produces all things of earth
The outflowing Teh sustains them
Therefore let a man exalt Tao
And honour Teh, its expression.*

The acceptance of Tao-ism was deferred by a very long time and yet, surprising though it is, it did not die out. It was not until A.D. 666, about twelve hundred years after Lao-tse's disappearance, that the sage was canonised by an emperor of the Tang dynasty. Since then, sometimes Tao-ism replaced Confucianism as official religion and sometimes the latter replaced the former. Tao-ism henceforth developed into a religion, with divinities, temples, icons, rites, priests and a pope at the top, and in course of time incorporated things like witchcraft, divination and the like. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that Lao-tse and his teachings have enriched the life of millions of people in China by giving them spiritual sustenance when they needed it most.

Confucius

Confucius, the younger contemporary of Lao-tse, is, in contrast, a historical person, China's most famous man, a teacher, philosopher and political theorist. The ultimate success of the doctrines propounded by him was so great that it is difficult to believe that during his life-time he was a most frustrated type of man. About his life and ancestry very little is known, so many legends having grown around his name. This much is perhaps certain that he descended from an impoverished nobility and his name was K'ung Fu-tsu, of which Confucius is only a Latinised version. Poor and largely self-educated, he started his life by keeping

accounts but he was so very diligent that he became the most learned man of his day.

Confucius was, however, very much distressed by the life that the common man was forced to live in feudal China and he dedicated his life to effect improvement in it. What he demanded was, in brief, a radical reform of the government, a view which was least liked by the then rulers of that country. His life-long desire was to occupy a key position in the administration wherefrom he could put his ideas into effect ; but such a chance did not come in his life. So he adopted a more practicable course of talking to young men about his principles and in course of time he could gather a number of them round him. He now pinned his hope in his disciples getting important positions in the government, in which he proved more lucky. Indeed his disciples got important positions in the government but they were not enthusiastic to put their master's tenets into effect and thereby to compromise their own position with their political masters. So the doctrines of Confucius had little practical usefulness in his own days. Even the master had not yet given up the hope of getting a responsible position in the government, which he eventually got and he was given an impressive title too ; but he soon became conscious of his powerlessness in his new position and gave it up in disgust. By this time, he was more than fifty years in age ; but still undaunted he now started a long and strenuous trek throughout China which lasted for over a decade with a view to find a ruler who would entrust to him the administration of his state. Finally, at 67, Confucius responded to an invitation of some of his disciples to come back to Lu. There he continued his teaching until his death at 72.

Private teachers were virtually unknown in ancient China. The aristocrats had of course their family-tutors and government servants were tutored by their bosses. Confucius may be considered to be the first private tutor in ancient China who accepted anybody irrespective of wealth or social position as his student and also the first to use his teaching as an instrument of reform. His method was informal and flexible and he sought to develop the whole man. Even if a student disagreed with him and the former was found to be correct, he would not hesitate to acknowledge it. In two respects, he opened new grounds. First, by emphasizing right and duty of every individual to make basic decisions for himself, he undermined the foundation of authoritarian government in China and this, it must be conceded, was no small achievement. Second, by accepting students from all social ranks on the basis of their merit and earnestness, he broke the monopoly of the feudal houses in education and administration.

In later-day China, Confucianism had become a creed, but Confucius was never a religious leader in the usual sense. He himself was a religious man who took aesthetic pleasure in religious rituals and who believed that somewhere in the universe there was a force on the side of the right. But he was rational and empirical and never a believer in supernaturalism. It was largely due to his influence that the Chinese philosophy has given little attention to metaphysics, epistemology and logic. Humanity is pretty high in his view. "Virtue is to love men", said he. He looked on humanity as one large family. The state, according to him, should be a cooperative enterprise and to make it a vessel of human welfare he suggested that the king should take such men as were virtuous and able. But these he would not leave to chance. Hence his emphasis on the suitable education of the administrators. He also stressed upon the need of educating the common man for two reasons which may hold even now. First, since ability does not depend on birth, education alone can ensure that the most capable get opportunity to develop ; and second, since, according to him, the state is a cooperative enterprise, a citizen can play a more effective role if he is educated. In the 19th century some political philosophers suggested that education must precede universal enfranchisement ; but Confucius had done it long before the Christian era.

Confucius was indeed a scholar who had read many books but it is doubtful if he wrote any, though the Chinese tradition attributes to him the authorship of a great number of books. The difference between the ideas of Confucius and later-day Confucianism is already very great. Yet it must be admitted that he not only influenced the Chinese statecraft during and after his life-time, he even left a lasting influence on the Chinese culture and philosophy.

Gautama Buddha

It has been said of Gautama Buddha that no other man among men was so god-less while so god-like. This is indeed true. Gautama Buddha is worshipped like a god not only by the millions of the Buddhists, even in the Hindu pantheon he has been given the place of the ninth incarnation. But above all, he is the first world-renowned figure in the records of India. It is no accident that the nation should be known first through the fame of a holy man.

Siddhartha who was later to become the Buddha or the Enlightened was born about the year 560 B.C. His father Suddhodhana was the

chief of the Sakya clan and had his capital at Kapilavastu near the western border of Upper Bihar. He had married two sisters, Mahamaya and Mahaprajapati Goutami, daughters of a neighbouring king. The former was destined to give birth to the future Buddha and the latter to rear him up.

Many legends have grown up about the Buddha's birth, often entering the region of miracle, and it is pretty difficult to disentangle facts. However, it seems certain that it was prophesied at his conception that he would renounce the world on seeing a sick man, an old man, a corpse and a mendicant. Siddhodhana, therefore, so contrived that Siddhartha's youth would be spent in an environment where no sign of evil would come before his eyes. He was all the time surrounded by beautiful damsels indoors and gaming companions outdoors that made his life gay and comfortable, where no desire was unfulfilled and no distress could penetrate. At ripe age he chose his own bride, Yasodhara, who was his own cousin, having given tests of both body and mind. For, while the youngman confounded the sages by his mental brilliance, he could surpass even the strongest and best in physical accomplishments. And out of this union a son was born, Rahula being his name.

But now the time of his renunciation was drawing near,—a renunciation for which he was marked by destiny. One day while driving through the city he caught sights of misery, of a sick man, an old man and a corpse and he had these explained to him by his charioteer Canna. His mind was full of distress and compassion. He said to his wife, "Men grow old, sicken and die. I must save mankind from this cycle of suffering." And then one day he saw a monk in tattered cloth with a begging bowl in his hand. But he had dignity in his manners and peace on his face. Siddhartha was deeply impressed. "And who is he?" he asked. "He is a monk who has renounced the world. He has no wealth, but no ambition and no fetters indeed. He is free seeking solitude and enlightenment," said Canna.

Siddhartha renounced the world at the age of twenty-nine in search of enlightenment, for the conquest of misery, and for the next six years he experienced varied spiritual practices, with blood-shed and sacrifice for the propitiation of gods at one extreme and rigorous self-torture at the other. His charming body was all wasted away until it was no more than a skeleton covered with parched skin. At last he was convinced that this self-torture could not lead to enlightenment, still less to emancipation. And so he decided to change his spiritual method. He ate rice boiled

in milk offered to him by a peasant damsel who had long waited for his arrival. After he had taken food, he felt his strength returning and he could perceive that the time for his illumination was now not far. He went to a nearby river for ablution ; he sought for the tree he had visioned as his shelter during enlightenment ; he begged an armful of grass from a man who was mowing in an adjacent field which he spread beneath his coveted tree and took posture of a meditating sage. Enlightenment came at last in the morning hour. Siddhartha now became the Buddha (the Enlightened), the Tathagata (the One who has come).

Now started his spiritual mission,—that of rescuing the suffering humanity of the misery of earthly living and showing the way to *nirvāṇa*. He made his way to Sarnath, near Varanasi, to give his first sermon. In the Canon occurs a *sutta* which is traditionally believed to be the first exposition of the doctrine preached by him, the *dharmma-cakka-pavattana-sutta*, ‘the *sutta* of turning the wheel of the doctrine’. It is addressed to “him who has gone forth from the world” in the conviction that the worldly life cannot give final happiness and it repudiates two extremes which he ought not to follow—the profitless life of indulgence in sexual pleasure and the equally profitless way of self-torture. The Middle Path which “conduces to enlightenment and *nirvāṇa*” has been won by the Tathagata and enlightenment consists in the knowledge of the four Truths : (1) truth of pain, (2) truth of the cause of pain, (3) the cessation of pain and (4) the actual means of arriving at these truths, the noble Eight-fold Path as follows :

right view	right livelihood
right intention	right effort
right speech	right meditation
right action	right concentration

The Eight-fold Path is essentially a course of training and in order to carry it out fully and extinguish craving, it is essential to abandon the household life and join the *sangha* or the order of the monks. Five monks who were his old associates and who had given him up as fallen after he had taken milk-rice offered by the peasant damsel rejoined him to become his first disciples in the *sangha*.

In his second sermon delivered five days after he spoke of the *ātman* or soul. More monks now joined his order and some lay disciples too. When he had sixty monks in the brotherhood, he sent them forth to convey his message, the celebrated “Eight-fold Path, that leads to wisdom,

peace and *nirvāṇa*". Then was delivered his third sermon on the fire of craving, the torments of sickness, age and death that were no more than the fires of misery enkindled by sense-desires. He said how the flames might be extinguished by right living and the self itself in *nirvāṇa*. By this time he had gathered many more disciples round him.

The Tathagata now remembered the promise he had made to king Bimbisara, the ruler of Magadha, and so he went there with his many disciples. He was not only well-received, the king became a follower of the master and presented to him a charming park which became the first centre of the Buddhist faith. It was here that the Buddha took his two disciples, Sariputta and Mogallana, who were later to become the St. Paul and the St. Peter of the Buddhist Church. At the Jetavana park in Kosala that was jointly dedicated to the master by the king of Kosala and the merchant-prince Anathapindaka, the Tathagata delivered his sermon on *nirvāṇa*. Invitations were pouring in from his own people, from Suddhodhana in particular, urging the master to visit Kapilavastu which he did with his twenty thousand followers. One is only to imagine the touching scene of the meeting between the two who were once a parent and a child and above all between the two who were once a man and a wife. The proud Yasodhara would not go herself to meet the master who seven years back had forsaken her one night in her bed. This was no pride born of haughtiness ; this was a grievance genuine born of a very natural relation. The master perceived this and met her in her own chamber to see Yasodhara a very embodiment of monkhood. For ever since Siddhartha had left, she had renounced all earthly comforts and courted a life of rigorous austerity. Among the new recruits to the order here, the Tathagata claimed his own son Rahula who later became one of the wisest apostles of the Buddhist way.

The women too, headed by Yasodhara, wanted to join the order but the order had no place for them. Now the disciple Ananda interceded for them and the master had to reluctantly yield. The women now joined the order as nuns for whom more rigorous discipline was prescribed. But the order was now complete. For forty years thereafter the master fulfilled his earthly mission which, later, under royal patronage, was to cover the whole land and spread far beyond its border. In his last years he looked forward to the death of the body as a natural consequence of the mortal process ; but he had lifted his spirit into the realm of *nirvāṇa*. He was still fulfilling the mission in his eightieth year. When the rainy season came, he was severely ill. To Ananda he forecast his passing away three months hence. The master then reached Pava where

he took food offered by a smith named Cunda. He was ill again with severe pain in the stomach. As soon as the pain had subsided, he made his way for Kusinara where, it was then foretold, the master was to pass away. But the meal offered by Cunda was the last meal. Blessed was the peasant damsel that had offered him meal before enlightenment ; and blessed was Cunda to provide the last meal before the master's entering into *nirvāṇa*.

The master now lay between two *śāla* trees with his head towards the Himalayas and surrounded by his dearest disciples. People came from far and near. Ananda was by his side. "Transiency is in the nature of all created things ; seek diligently for emancipation"—these were the master's last words to the gathering. He then sank deeper and deeper into meditation ultimately passing away into *nirvāṇa*.

Pythagoras

Among the illustrious near-contemporaries of Mahavira we must introduce three persons all of whom flourished in Greece and through their contributions which have been directly inherited by the modern western society have enriched the life and thought of humanity. Of these the first in the line is Pythagoras, followed by Socrates and Plato. They were not god-men in the strictest sense of the term, as Lao-tse or the Buddha were ; but they were very much in touch with and influenced by the religious ideas current in Egypt and Asia, notably in India. All the three had, therefore, lots of mystical experience and all of them emphasized more the matters of the soul than that of the body. After Plato, however, the mystical current died out in Greece and even though, a little later, a direct political connection had been established between India and Greece by the military activity of Alexander of Macedon and a large number of Greeks had settled on and beyond the north-western border of India, the flow of culture between one and the other country had gradually died out.

"I wish to set forth the fundamentals of religion as determined by Pythagoras and his followers." Thus wrote Iamblichus of Syria in the biography of the great Greek philosopher written after about nine hundred years of the latter's death. He continued, "The test of all that they did or abstained from doing was consonance with divinity. Their first aim was converse with God. They shaped their lives in order to accord with His will. That is the foundation of their philosophy, because, they say, to search for good from any but the divine source is foolish." This gives

the picture of a typical oriental seer far removed from the Greek rationalism. Sheldon Cheney has nicely said that Pythagoras was "at once the most spiritual of Greek philosophers and the most philosophical of Greek religious leaders."

Pythagoras was born on the Island of Samos about 580 B.C. and was the most active about 530 B.C. when he gave his name to an order of scientific and religious thinkers. He adopted freely from the mystery faiths of Greece but he adopted much more from many other sources, mostly from the Ionean teachers such as Thales and Anaximander and spent about twenty years with Egyptian seers. He may have gone as far as Babylon and India. The historically important part of his career begins with his migration to Crotona, a Dorian colony in southern Italy about the year 530 B.C. According to tradition, he was driven from Samos by the tyranny of Polycrates. At Crotona, he established his school and brotherhood from which Pythagoreanism spread all over the colonies and even to the mainland of Greece.

The Pythagorean brotherhood had much in common with the Orphic communities which sought by rites and abstinences to purify the soul of the believer so that it would escape from the "wheel of birth". Conduct (*cāritra*), not faith or learning, was the test of membership. The basic aim of the brotherhood was consonance with God for which the strict observance of rules of abstinence and conduct was the most inescapable means. The school at Crotona was perhaps the earliest residential university in Europe.

The Pythagorians were, however, the supporters of aristocracies which created many political enemies against the brotherhood. It was this which in the end led to the dismemberment and suppression of the brotherhood. The first reaction was led by Cylon which resulted in the retirement of Pythagoras to Metapontum where he remained until his death in 496 B.C. The order was, however, powerful in Magna Graecia until the middle of the fifth century B.C. when its meeting-houses were sacked and burned and the order was violently trampled out. Those who survived from these stormy events moved out elsewhere carrying with them the teachings of their master. For a time, the noted Pythagoreans, Lysis and Philolaus in particular, lived at Thebes and it was the latter who wrote, according to tradition, the first systematic exposition of the Pythagorean system. Later, some of the Pythagoreans returned to Italy where Tarentum became the chief seat of the school. A split, however, occurred in the school, there being mathematicians, on the one

hand, who were interested in scientific studies and there were the more conservative members of the school, on the other, who concentrated on the moral or religious precepts and were therefore called *akousmatikoi*. The Pythagoreans as a philosophical school disappeared about the middle of the 4th century B.C.

Pythagoras was eminent in the field of mathematics and astronomy wherein his interest was both scientific and mystical. He discovered the mathematical bases of music and music constituted an integral part of spiritual training of his disciples. It was Pythagoras again who coined the word *philosophia*. He taught the divine origin of the human soul, the notion of immortality of the soul, a pervading harmony of the spheres, the transmigration of the soul and the kinship of men and beasts. "Do not hurt him," he once said to a man who was beating a puppy, "it is the soul of a friend of mine. I recognised it when I heard it cry out." We have it on the authority of Sextus Empiricus that "these philosophers (i.e., the Pythagoreans) appealed to men to spare creatures having a living soul ; they said, it is an evil act when men 'stain the altars of the Divine with warm blood'. But if a man led a pure life, they taught, his soul might be released from all flesh. Pure life consisted in obeying precepts. By one such precept, the Pythagoreans avoided conversation in the morning until they had prepared the mind and attained some sort of inner serenity. For this purpose, they took long walks in solitude, to temples or groves or other sacred places. As an alternative, they listened to music specially composed for the purpose. More strictly moral were the three questions which had to be put to oneself every evening, viz., (1) In what have I failed ? (2) What good have I done ? (3) What have I not done that I ought to have done ?

Quoted below is a brief passage from a biography of Pythagoras written by an unknown author but preserved by Photius :

"Man gains improvement in three ways. First, he conversed with God—and to approach Him he must have stamped all evil out of the self, he must have followed the course of imitating the divine, he must even have identified himself with God. Second, he lives a life of good deeds, for all goodness binds one to divinity. Third, he will be finally improved in dying ; for if by discipline of the body he has been able to lift the soul away toward God in life, how much more certain and rapturous will be the cleaving to God when the soul leaves the body altogether at death ! "

Socrates

“Experience has proved that to have pure knowledge of any thing we must be rid of the body.....In mortal life, I believe, we approach nearest to truth when the body is least intruded, when we have not given way to the corporeal nature, having kept ourselves pure toward the hour when God pleases to release us. Rid of the foolish body, we shall be pure and we shall commune with the pure, and ourselves attain the pure light which is none other than the light of wisdom.”

Thus spoke Socrates, whom Plato described to be ‘the wisest and just and best’, before he was administered with a cup of hemlock and with him the golden age in Greece came to an end. “Within the memory of man”, Xenophon had said, “no one ever bowed his head more beautifully to Death.” When Socrates came of age as a philosopher, there were two currents flowing in Greece side by side,—one Pythagorean, near-mystic, and the other rationalist, and while Socrates was influenced profoundly by both, his personal preference was for a belief in the soul though he did nothing to stem the belief in reason.

The great Athenian was put to death in 399 B.C. at the age of seventy ; from this his birth falls in or about 470 B.C. Thus he was born about twenty-six years after the death of Pythagoras. His father Sophroniscus was a friend of the family of the ‘just’ Aristides ; his mother Phaenarete acted as a ‘mid-wife’. He had been depicted by his important contemporaries as being intimate with the leading personalities of the Periclean circle. He must already have been a conspicuous figure at Athens when Aristophanes and Ameipsias both made him the subject of their comedies in 423 B.C. but both have made a special point of his poverty which, according to Plato, was caused by his occupation with his mission to mankind. Professionally a sculptor or stone-cutter, he was well-versed in geometry and astronomy. He married a shrew named Xantippe knowingly as a matter of self-discipline and had by her three sons, one of whom was infant at the time of his death. Socrates often caused her irritation with his casual ways, his improvidence and his absence-mindedness and like a true philosopher accepted her occasional outbursts.

Socrates was well-known for his prowess and endurance. He served as a hoplite, perhaps at Samos, at Potidaea where he saved the life of Alcibiades, Delium and Amphipolis. In politics he took no part because office would mean compromise with his principles. Once only he was

a member of the council of five hundred and at the trial of the victors of Agrinusae, he resisted, at first with the support of his colleagues, but later alone, the unconstitutional condemnation of the generals by a collective verdict. Two years later, in the 'terror' of 404, he showed the same courage. The 'thirty' wishing to implicate honourable men in their proceedings instructed Socrates with four others to arrest Leon which Socrates disobeyed. This would have cost him his life but for the counter-revolution of the next year. He had, however, made strong political enemies and could not escape for long. In 399, he was indicted for 'impiety', for "refusing to worship the gods sanctioned by the state, and introducing new divinities of his own." 'Corruption of the young' was another charge against him. He was also suspected to be an ardent Pythagorean and of teaching, under the guise of a mysterious-voice-guided personal faith, the beliefs of the heretical Sage of Crotona. The author of the proceeding was the influential Anytus, but the nominal prosecutor was an obscure man, Meletus. The judges were the members of the assembly who by alphabetical rotation had become judges for the day. The trial was thus a grand phrase. Socrates who treated the charge with contempt and made a 'defence' which amounted to a sort of justification of the sort of life he had led was convicted by 280 votes against 220. The prosecutors demanded a penalty of death and the accused was asked to make a counter-proposition. It would be unjust, he answered, if they rewarded him not with death demanded by the accusers but with the honour of a place in the prytaneum ; or if it must be a penalty, why not a nominal fine, say one mina. The court felt insulted and death was voted by an increased majority. Socrates was well-content at the verdict because he felt not that any evil had befallen him. Now as a rule at Athens, the condemned man drank the hemlock within twenty-four hours, but in the case of Socrates the fact that no execution could take place during the absence of the sacred ship sent yearly to Delos caused an unexpected delay of a month during which Socrates remained in prison and received his friends and conversed with them daily in his usual manner. An escape was planned by his friend Crito but Socrates refused to leave the jail on the ground that the verdict, though contrary to fact, was that of a legitimate court and must, therefore, be obeyed. On the last day he talked most of the day about the immortality of the soul. And then Plato records in the *Phaedo*

"Raising the cup to his lips, quite readily and cheerfully, he drank off the poison. And hitherto most of us had been able to control our sorrow ; but now when we saw him drinking, and saw too that he had finished the draught, we could no longer

forbear.....at that moment Apollodorus who had been weeping all the time broke out in a loud and passionate cry.....Socrates alone retained his calmness. What is this strange outcry ? he said. I sent away the women mainly in order that they might not misbehave in this way, for I have been told that a man should die in peace. Be quiet then and have patience.....”

And then the end came to a man who had once been adjudged by the Delphic Oracle to be the wisest man of Greece. When Socrates had heard of this Oracle, he had pondered over it and had come to the conclusion that “I am named the wisest because I am sufficiently wise to know that I know nothing.”

Socrates was viewed by his friends to be a man who was ‘all glorious within’. He put concern for the soul first in the conduct of individual life and for perfecting the soul he inferred the necessity to conduct oneself decently. He believed in God and counted on the soul as a part of the divine essence. He prayed not for favours or things but for whatever was good ‘for my soul’. He had a link with the divine source of wisdom, a silent ‘voice’, and he had occasional mystical experiences, but it is not known if he ever plunged into the ocean of divine consciousness.

Socrates founded no academy nor wrote any book. Conversation was his method and for this he used to spend his time out of doors, in the streets, in the market place and in the gymnasia. He frequented the society of promising young men though he would not even shut out the company of others. But there was an inner circle of friends and admirers who more deeply entered into his principles and transmitted them to subsequent generations. These were, however, not his ‘disciples’ and Socrates repudiated all claims to have any. The bond of union which attracted some Greeks from other, even enemy, states was based on a common reverence for the great man’s super-human intellect and character.

Plato

As a man Plato was entirely different from the market-place philosopher who so much enriched and influenced his mind,—cold, reserved, aristocratic and literary, and he was marked by destiny to influence the western thought almost continuously for more than 2400 years. Born about the year 427 B.C. of aristocratic parents, he lost his father early

in life and his mother apparently married as her second husband her uncle who was a great supporter of Pericles. Plato was probably brought up in his house. Some of the leading personalities of the oligarchic terror of 404 were his near-relations and it was through them that Plato came to be acquainted with Socrates from his boyhood.

Plato's early ambitions were political but the oligarchic terror was a great shock to him and he held back for a time. But his experience with democracy later was no better, for it was democracy that had so unjustly put Socrates to death. Now he realised that there was no place for a man of conscience in active politics. On the execution of Socrates, Plato and other Socratic men took temporary refuge with Eucleides at Megara and from there Plato at least travelled extensively in Greece, Egypt and Italy. He spent some time in one of the Pythagorean communities and was deeply influenced by Pythagorean beliefs. He travelled to Syracuse where he incurred the displeasure of the Tyrant who betrayed him into the hands of the Spartan ambassador. The latter put him up for sale in Aegina where an admirer recognised and bought him. Freed from here Plato came back to Athens. When Plato's friends heard of his misadventures at Syracuse, they raised the money to ransom him but the admirer having refused to be so reimbursed, the money was used by Plato to establish a school of wisdom near Athens.

Thus was established Plato's Academy about the year 387 B.C. The name was taken from the surrounding park or grove which had belonged to an owner named Akademos. This developed into an institution for the systematic pursuit of philosophical and scientific research. Plato presided over it for the rest of his life teaching mathematics and philosophy. Twice during this period he went to Sicily, once in 367 B.C. and again in 361 B.C., to tutor the young Dionysius II, successor to Tyrant of Syracuse, to whom he imparted his own notion of an ideal state. But this did not yield any expected result. To Plato, the Academy must have appeared as his chief work, as to us Plato appears as one of the greatest of philosophical writers. In *Epistle*, he offers a comparatively unfavourable verdict on written works in contrast with the contact of living minds. Unlike the Pythagorean brotherhood, Plato's Academy put less emphasis on spiritual life. Religion or holy life was taught to the students, male as well as female, as a part of basic philosophy but the other important course of study was mathematics. Plato's Academy however, did not produce spiritual leaders ; it produced, in contrast, scientists, cynics, stoics, hedonists, political economists, demagogues, logicians. About this time, politically Athens was humbled ; there was

disorder and decline everywhere. The only torch burning was Plato's Academy which was destined to be for several centuries yet a centre of education in Europe.

Plato pursued the line of mathematical researches initiated by Pythagoras. Study of numbers, he said was a way of approach to pure truth. But above all he placed the knowledge of geometry. In his words,

“The knowledge at which geometry aims is knowledge of the eternal, and not of transitory and perishing things. Geometry leads the soul toward truth. It draws out the spirit of wisdom and it raises that which has fallen. There is in every man an eye of the soul which, when it has been by other pursuits blinded or dimmed, is by this study restored and reilluminated. That eye of the soul is more worthy of preservation than ten thousand corporeal eyes, for by it alone is Truth itself perceived.”

And yet Plato was a prophet of mystic religion too. His mysticism centred round the love of the Absolute. The fundamental for good life is the pursuit of wisdom. In the *Phaedo* he writes,

“Is there not,.....one true coin for which all things should be exchanged, and that coin wisdom ?.....And is not all true virtue the companion of wisdom ? ”

In Plato persists the earlier idea of the body being the tomb of the soul, although it does not hold him for long and he desires us believe that the sojourn of the immortal soul on earth has its uses.

“The soul of the philosopher will calm passion ; she will follow reason ; she will dwell in contemplation of the eternal, the divine and, the unchanging, and take rapture therefrom. Thus she seeks to live while here ; but she looks forward to release from human ills, to a return to her own kind, to that of which she essentially is.”



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