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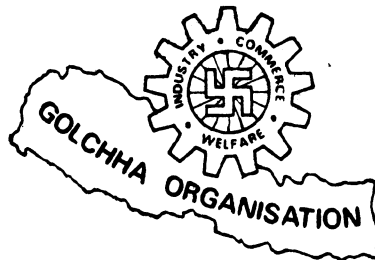
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Contents

Indian Concepts of Matter 75
J. C. Sikdar

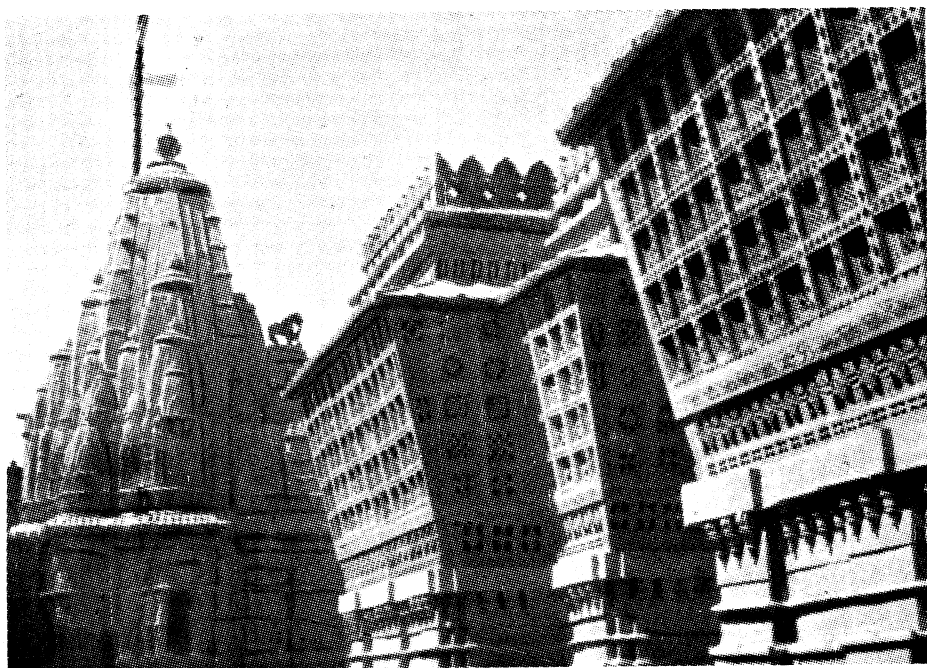
Prakrit Textual Criticism 87
Satyanarajan Banerjee

Some Aspects of Jainism in Tamilnadu :
An Epigraphic Assessment 98
A. Ekambaranathan

An Analysis of the Contents of the
Kalakacharya Kathanaka 106
B. N. Mukherjee

Plate

Jain Temple, Lodrava. Jaisalmer 75



Jain Temple, Lodrava, Jaisalmer

Indian Concepts of Matter

J. C. SIKDAR

Introduction

Matter has been studied by every system of Indian philosophy in its own manner. *Bhūta*¹ of the Carvakas, *prakṛti*² of the Sankhya-Yoga, *jaḍa-dravya*³ of the Nyaya-Vaisesika⁴ and the Mimamsaka⁵, *rūpa*⁶ of the Buddhists, *māyā*⁷ of the Sankara-Vedanta, *acit* of the Ramanuja-Vedanta⁸ and *puḍgala*⁹ of Jaina philosophy are only diverse views on this problem.

The concept of matter can be traced back in *bhūtavāda*¹⁰ (doctrine of elements of matter) which arose out of the Indian speculative thought on the object of the senses. It is known from the ancient Indian literature that some Indian thinkers, having kept the perceptible world in view, which came first of all in thought accepted the nature of the universe as endowed with *pañca-bhūtas*¹¹ or *pañca-dhātus*¹² or *pañca-skandhas*¹³ (five elements). On the basis of this postulation other thinkers began to make a clarification of the nature of *acetana-tattva* or *ajīva-tattva* (non-sentient principle).

Kṣiti (earth), *ap* (water), *tejas* (fire), *vāyu* (air) and *ākāśa* (ether ?) are called the five elements of matter (*pañca-bhūtas*).¹⁴ They are also

¹ *Tattvopaplavasimha*, Jayarasi, p. 1.

² *Sankhyakarika*, Isvarakṛṣṇa, vv. p. 10, 11.

³ *Vaisesikasutra*, Kanada, 1. 1. 5.

⁴ *Prasastapadabhasya*, p. 16 ; *Nyayakandali*, Sridhara, p. 16.

⁵ *Prabhakara Mimamsa*, Prabhakara Bhatta, pp. 35 ff.

⁶ *Abhidharmakosa*, Vasubandhu, K. 1. 24.

⁷ *Sankarabhasya on Brahmasutra*, 1. 1. 43.

⁸ 'kacīnmayeti sucitam mayam tu prakṛtiṁ vidyanmayinantu mahesvaramiti man-travarnat.'

⁹ *Sribhasyam*, Ramanuja, 1. 1. 43.

¹⁰ *Bhagavati Vyakhyaprajñapti*, published by Agamodaya Samiti, Bombay.

¹¹ *Svetasvatopaniṣad*, 1. 2.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Dighanikaya*, *Samannaphalasutta*, the view of Ajitakesakambali.

¹⁴ *Sutrakṛtanga*, 1. 1. 17-18.

¹⁵ *Svetasvatopaniṣad*, 1. 2.

known as the five aggregates of matter (*pañca-skandhas*).¹⁵ The words 'dhātu'¹⁶ and 'kāya'¹⁷ also are used in this sense. Later on the word 'dravya'¹⁸ was employed for this *bhūta* indicating elements of matter. There is no difference of opinion in regard to the elements—earth, water, fire and air as being tangible to the senses. *Ākāśa*¹⁹ was accepted unanimously by some Indian schools of thought as the container of these four elements or entities. In the sense of realities the word '*bhūta*' was used by the ancient Indian thinkers because entities which exist by themselves are real.

Just as a tree stands on the base of its trunk (*skandha*), so the structure of the material universe is standing on the foundation of these aforesaid five elements. Therefore, these elements—earth, etc., are called *skandhas*.²⁰

The meaning of *dhtāu* is explained in this way : that which maintains and nourishes is called *dhātu*. Just as *vāta* or *vāyu* (air), *pitta* (bile) and *kapha* (phlegm)²¹ are called *dhātu* because of their being the maintainer and nourisher of the human body so the five entities—earth etc. maintain and nourishes the universe. The meaning of the word '*kāya*' is the organic body or figure in Indian literature. The five entities—earth, etc. are called *kāyas*²² (bodies) because of their being of different shapes or figures. These entities are called *dravyas*²³ (substances) on account of the continuity of their various qualities and actions or modes in the womb of space and time.

Similarly, such a concept that the universe is composed of five elements (*pañcabhautikā pṛthivī*) has emerged with the development of Indian metaphysical thought. A reference to these five elements

¹⁵ *Sutrakṛtāṅga*, 1. 1. 17-18.

¹⁶ *Abhidharmakośa*, 1. 20. It seems that '*dhatu*' has been borrowed from medical science where it means elements of the body'.

¹⁷ *Bhagavati Vyākhyaprajñapti*, 33. 1. 844.
'*pudhāvīkaye, apkaye, etc.*'

¹⁸ *Vaisesikasūtra*, Kanāda, 1. 1. 5.

¹⁹ *Akāśa* has been accepted as space-container of all other substances by the Jainas (see *Tattvartha Rajavartika*, Akalanka, p. 434.) and the Vaibhasikas respectively (see *Abhidharmakośa*, Vasubandhu, K. 1. *karika* 5, *sphutartha*).

²⁰ *Abhidharmakośa*, Vasubandhu, Commentary on K. 1. 2

²¹ *Carakasamhita*, *Sarirasthana*.

²² *Bhagavati Vyākhyaprajñapti*, *sataka* 24, *uddesakas* 12-16, *sutras* 702-707.

²³ *Vaisesikadarsana*, Kanāda, 1. 1. 5.
'*pṛthivyapastejo vayurakāśam iti dravyam.*'

(*bhūtas*)²⁴—earth, water, fire, air and *ākāśa* (ether ?) is found in the *Upaniṣads*,²⁵ the Buddhist *Piṭakas*²⁶ and the Jaina *Āgamas*.²⁷ But the Indian speculation about *acetana-tattva* (non-sentient principle) went on more and more and it turned towards the subtle cause from the tangible gross cause of the material universe. The group of the advocates of the concept of five elements of matter fell apart from that of the speculators of the finest cause of *acetana-tattva*. The first group of thinkers stopped there and began to establish the concept that there was nothing else except the five elements of matter (*bhūtas*). This concept is known by the name of Barhaspatya, Lokayata or Carvaka.²⁸

One tradition of Indian schools of thought accepting the concept of four elements of matter (*bhūtas*)²⁹ without *ākāśa* (ether or sky) was also continuing in the field of metaphysical speculation on *acetana-tattva* (non-sentient principle) in course of time. On the other side those Indian thinkers who were not satisfied with the concept of the five elements of matter apprehended by the senses began to speculate about the cause of these reals and their nature. In this way two currents of thought on the problem of the non-sentient principles arose in the field of Indian metaphysics, giving birth to the concepts of matter. One group of Indian thinkers started to find out the fundamental cause out of the material realities on the basis of their inner feeling and thought, while the other group began to think over the nature of the fundamental cause of the material universe mainly on the basis of the sense-experience. The Sankhya and Brahmovadin views on it represent the first current of thought and the Nyaya-Vaisesika, Bauddha and Jaina views on this problem represent the second one.

The Sāṅkhya Concept of Matter

In the Sankhya philosophy *prakṛti*³⁰ represents the primordial matter. It is non-living, eternal, infinite and all-pervading, undecaying and indestructible in nature. It is formless, unmanifest and undifferentiated. The manifested world is traced in the Sankhya to an unmanifested ground, *prakṛti*, which is conceived as formless and undifferentiated, limitless and ubiquitous, indestructible and undecaying,

²⁴ *Nyayamanjari*, Jayanta Bhatta, part II, p. 3.

²⁵ *Svetasvataropaniṣad*, 1. 2.

²⁶ *Dighanikaya, Samannaphalasutta*, see the view of Ajitakesakambali.

²⁷ *Sutrakṛtanga*, 1. 1. 17.

²⁸ *Dighanikaya, Samannaphalasutta* ; *Tattvopaplavasinha*, p. 1.

²⁹ *Tattvopaplavasinha*, p. 1.

³⁰ *Sāṅkhyakarika*, Iśvarakṛṣṇa, ka, 8. 10, 11.

ungrounded and uncontrolled, without beginning and end. But the unity of *prakṛti* is “a mere abstraction ; it is in reality an undifferentiated manifold, an indeterminate infinite continuum of infinitesimal Reals”.³¹

Prakṛti is inapprehensible due to its fineness, just as *paramāṇus* (atoms) of smoke, stone, water and dew are intangible to the senses, though they exist; but it is apprehended by its effects, as the cause is known by the effect, *buddhi* (intellect) etc. ; *buddhi* (intellect), *ahaṃkāra* (ego), five *tanmātrās* (infra-atomic potentials), eleven *indriyas* (senses—*jñānen-driya* and *karmendriya* and mind), five gross elements of matter—earth, etc. are its effects ; its effects are dissimilar and similar.³²

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Concept of Matter

In the Nyaya-Vaisesika system of thought matter is conceived as intrinsically non-living and essentially substantive eternal reality (*dravya*),³³ having *astitva* (existence or existentiality),³⁴ *jñeyatva* (knowability) and *abhidheyatva* (self-identity),³⁵ for “the existence of a thing and its knowable and predictable character are co-existent in nature”.³⁶ The most important aspect of its nature is its inherent causality, i.e. capability of producing “an effect within itself as its cause (*svātman-yārambhakatva*), an individual character in each of its ultimate forms which are eternal (*antaviśeṣavatta*) and in its emergent aspect, incapability of being destroyed, as an effect, by the cause concerned (*kārya-kāraṇavirodhittva*)”.³⁷

Of the general qualities of matter as conceived in the Nyaya-Vaisesika system of thought, its impenetrability, perceptibility and mass are the essential aspects of its nature. Beside, it possesses colour, taste, smell, touch, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscosity and impulse as its *mūrta-guṇas* (finite or subjective concrete qualities),³⁸ and also

³¹ Seal, B. N., *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, pp. 2-3.

³² ‘mahadadi tacca karyam, prakṛti virupam svarupam ca’—*Sankhyakarika* 8.

³³ *Prasastapadabhasya*, p. 20.

³⁴ ‘sato lingabhavat’, *Vaisesikasutra*, Kanada, II—11-26 ; *Nyayakandali*, Sridhara, p. 16.

³⁵ *Prasastapadabhasya*, p. 16.

³⁶ Misra, U. C., *The Conception of Matter according to the Nyaya-Vaisesika*, p. 58.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58 ; see *Vaisesikasutra*, 1.1.9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

‘prthivyadinam...dravatvayogah svatmanyarambhakattam gunavattvam karyakaranavirodhittamantavisesavattvam’—*Prasastapadabhasya*, p. 20 ; see also *Nyaya-kandali*, Sridhara, p. 21.

³⁸ *Prasastapadabhasya*, *Gunapadarthanirupanam*, 1, p. 38.

elasticity (*sthitisthāpakatva*).³⁹ As it is substantial, it possesses the following objective qualities, viz. number, magnitude, separateness, conjunction and disjunction,⁴⁰ smell, taste, colour, and touch which are the specific qualities (*viśeṣa-guṇas*) of the four material substances, viz. earth, water, fire and air, and weight, fluidity, viscosity and elasticity are the physical qualities of matter, while number, magnitude, separateness, conjunction and disjunction and impulse are its general qualities (*sāmānya-guṇas*).⁴¹

The Bauddha Concept of Matter

In the Bauddha philosophy *rūpa*⁴² stands for matter. "The term *rūpāyatana* is reserved for visible matter or more precisely, the phenomena of visibility alone, this being matter par excellence."⁴³ According to Yasomitra, the word '*rūpa*' has been formed for the sake of necessity in the sense of "that which is tormented by misery is called *rūpa*".⁴⁴ For example, if the object of desire of any desirous man does not become fruitful nor it is attained, then he becomes tormented by misery like a man pierced by a lance (*śalya*). In this way *dharma*s (elements) having colour and shape have been called '*rūpa*' by name because of their being tormented by misery.

In refutation of the objection raised against this explanation of *rūpa* in the absence of equality between *dr̥ṣṭānta* (example) and *dār̥ṣṭāntika* (that which is compared) that 'the non-living objects are equated with a living entity by making it an example and there is no state of *upamāna* (standard of comparison) and *upameya* (object of comparison, that which is to be compared) because of dissimilarity between them ; the living entity may really be tormented by misery in the case of non-attainment of his own desired object, but not the non-living entities, such as, jar, clothes. etc. which have been called *rūpa* in accordance with the above explanation. Vasubandhu opines that although the non-living entities are not tormented by misery like the living entities, nevertheless, the non-living entities undergo modification because of

³⁹ *Nyayakandali*, Sridhara, p. 272.

⁴⁰ *Prasastapadabhasya*, *Guṇapadarthanirupanam*, p. 38.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *viśesanartham pradhanyad-bahudharmagrasamgrahat ekamayatanam rūpamekam dharmakhyamucyate*

—*Abhidharmakosa*, Vasubandhu, K. 1. 24.

⁴³ Stcherbatsky, *The Central Conception of Buddhism*, p. 9.

⁴⁴ '*rupyate sabdo badhanartha eva paricchidyate*', *Abhidharmakosa*, K. 1. 13, *sphutartha*, p. 38.

their being *pariṇāmin* (mutable) ; for this reason they also are called *rūpa*.⁴⁵

According to the Vaibhasika school it is postulated that *saṃskṛta-dharmas* (non-eternal elements) are *pratikṣaṇa-pariṇāmin* (changing at every moment). Moreover, if the word *rūpyate* of the sentence “*tasya kāmāyānasya dvandvajātasya kāmā na smṛdhyante, śalyavidhā iva rūpyate*” is employed in the sense of ‘undergoes modification’, then there does not arise the question of dissimilarity between *dṛṣṭānta* and *dārṣṭāntika*, for the non-living entities also undergo modification⁴⁶ like the living entity.

Some again solve the problem of the word *rūpa* by the derivation that which does not allow another object to be produced in its place will be known as *rūpa*.⁴⁷ In other words, the general characteristic of matter or material elements as conceived in the Bauddha philosophy is impenetrability which means that “space occupied by one of them cannot at the same time be occupied by another”.⁴⁸ *Dharmas* (elements of matter) having colour and shape do not allow other objects in their own place at the moment of their own respective births. It is well known that when a jar remains in its own place, then there is no room for other objects in its place because elements having colour and shape become resistive to others, hence they have been called *rūpa*. In the Vaibhasika works such kinds of elements have been given the name ‘*sapratigha*’ (impenetrable).

In reply to the objections raised against the above interpretation of *rūpa* “that (i) if the impenetrable element (*pratighātin* or *sapratigha dharma*) is *rūpa* (matter), then atom-moments like blue, etc. will not individually be known as *rūpa*, for they are not individually capable of resisting any other element on account of being partless⁴⁹ and (ii) it cannot be *pariṇāmin* or *vikārin* (variable) because of being partless, while each of the elements like milk, etc., which are known to be transformable, is composed of parts (*sāvayava*). Therefore, according to

⁴⁵ ‘*rupam tu katham badhyate ? viparinamotpadeneti vikriyotpadanetyarthah*’

—*Abhidharmakosa*, K. 1. 13 ; *sphutarthabhasya*, pp. 38-39.

⁴⁶ ‘*tatha ca iharthe sati salyavidhā iva rupyata ityatrapi yadi vikriyata ityartho grhyate sutaramartho yujyate*’—*Ibid.*, K. 1. 13, *sphutartha*, p. 39.

⁴⁷ ‘*pratiighata iti svadese parasyotpattipratibandhak*’—*Ibid.*, K. 1, 13, *sphutartha*, p. 39.

⁴⁸ ‘*rupyata iti rupam*’—*Ibid.*, II. 22, *sphutartha*, p. 37.

⁴⁹ ‘*dravyaparamanurupam na rupam prapnoti kasmat ? arupanat— Ibid.*, *niravayavate sati arupanadiityarthah*’—*Ibid.*, K. 1. 13, *sphutartha*, p. 39.

this interpretation, atoms (*paramāṇus*) cannot individually be called *rūpa* by name".⁵⁰ Vasubandhu explains that in the universe there is really no such atom-moment (*paramāṇu-kṣana*) which is uncombined (*asaṃghātastha*) separate or discrete (*prthak*); the nature of atom (*paramāṇu*) is to exist as combined (*saṃghātastha*). Having such a nature atoms are individually existing as *savikāra* (modifiable or changeable) and *sapratigha* (impenetrable or resistive). Therefore, *rūpasamjñā* (name-*rūpa*) will properly be applicable to each of them.⁵¹

As to the objection that atom-moments of the past and future conditions do not become *vikārin* (modifiable) and *sapratigha* (impenetrable), so they cannot be called *rūpa* any more,⁵² but at the present time only they become *vikṛta* (modified) and resist other elements in their own place but not at any other time. Vasubandhu further explains that although atom-moments of the past and future times do not become *vikārin* (modifiable) and *sapratigha* (impenetrable), nevertheless, they become *vikṛta* (modified) and *sapratigha* (impenetrable) at the present time, therefore, their being *vikāritva* (modifiability) and *sapratighatva* (impenetrability) in a special condition, they also will be known as *rūpa* (matter).⁵³

The Jaina Concept of Matter :

The Jaina system of thought, having accepted many real entities as the cause of the universe, has speculated on the nature of the non-sentient principle and advocated the theory that the non-living substance (*ajīva-dravya*) is basically comprised of four extended reals, viz. *dharmāstikāya* (principle of motion), *adharmaśtikāya* (principle of rest), *ākāśastikāya* (space) and *pudgalāstikāya* (matter). It is propounded in Jaina philosophy that the universe (*loka*) is constituted of *pañcāstikāya* (five extensive reals) including *jīvāstikāya* (soul).⁵⁴ This Jaina concept of *pañcāstikāyas* reminds one of the Buddha concept of

⁵⁰ 'paksadvaye api etaccodyamupanyastam badhanarupane pratighatarupane ca dravyaparamanurniravayavatvanna sakyate rupayitum'—*Abhidharmakosa*, K. 1. 13, *sphutartha*.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ 'tadapi rupitamityatitabadhanapratighatarthena rupayisyamanamityutpattidharmakamanagatam tenaivarthadvayena'—*Ibid.*

⁵⁴ 'pamcatthikaye esa-nam adhammtthikae java pogglatthikaye' —*Bhagavati Vyakhyaprajñapti*, *sataka*, 13, *uddesaka* 4, *sutra* 481; *sataka* 2, *uddesaka* 10, *sutra*, 118; *sataka* 7, *uddesaka* 10, *sutra* 305; *Tattvarthadhigamasutra*, *Umasvati*, ch. V. 1, 2; *Pancastikayasara*, *Kundakunda*, V. 22.

*pañcaskandhas*⁵⁵ (five aggregates), viz. *rūpa* (matter), *vedanā* (feeling), *saṃjñā* (ideas), *saṃskāra* (volition and other faculties) and *viññāna* (pure sensation or general consciousness). *Kāla* (time) has been conceived in Jaina metaphysics as a mode (*pariyāya*)⁵⁶ of other substances or as a separate independent substance (*dravya*),⁵⁷ of course, denying it the right of horizontal organic extension, although it is entitled to being characterized as an extensive substance (*astikāya-dravya*).⁵⁸

As the most visible form of the non-living substance (*ajīva-dravya*) *pudgalāstikāya* (matter) of the Jainas exists in the universe in various forms, such as, earth, water, fire, air, shadow, objects of four senses, viz. senses of hearing, smell, taste and touch, physical mind, speech, bodies, etc. upto *kārmic* matter and atom (*paramāṇu*).⁵⁹ *Pudgala* of Jaina metaphysics is a tangible reality within the sensuous and super-sensuous experiences in perceptible and imperceptible conditions. Its first form is *paramāṇu* (atom). The concept of *pudgala* preserved in the Jaina *Āgamas* forms the basis of the physical sciences in Jainism in a nascent form. On it a superstructure of the concept of matter has been raised by Umasvati and other Jainacaryas in the post-Agamic period and Age of Indian philosophy (*darśana-kāla*) with a synthetic view of all other Indian concepts of matter on the basis of its existence in the universe as a permanent substance endowed with infinite qualities (*guṇas*) and *pariyāyas* (modes)⁶⁰ which can be studied in the light of many unique notions of matter as explained in the physical sciences.

⁵⁵ 'to punah samkrtadharma rupadiskandhapancakam' — *Abhidharmakosa*, K. 1.7.

⁵⁶ *Tattvarthadhigamasutra*, *Bhasya*, *Tika*, ch. V. 39, p. 434. ; *kimidam bhante ! kalotti pavuccati ? goyama ! jiva ceva ajiva ceva* ; vide *Tattvarthadhigamasutra*, p. 290.

⁵⁷ *Bhagavati Vyakhyaprajñapti*, *sataka* 25, *uddesaka* 4, *sutra* 734 ; *sataka* 2, *uddesaka* 10, *sutra* 121 ; *sataka* 13, *uddesaka* 4, *sutra* 482 ; *uttaradhyayanastotra*, *adhyayana* 28, verse 10 ; *Anuyogadvāra*, *sutra* 482 ; 324 ; *Dravya Guna-pariyayano Rasa*, *Upadhyaya Yasovijaya*, p. 235 ; *Tattvarthadhigamasutra*, *Umasvati*, ch. V. 38, 39 ; *Pravacanasara*, *Kundakunda*, V. 36, 42 ; *Sarvarthasiddhi* Ac. *Puiyapada*, ch. V. 39 ; *Tattvartha Rajavartika*, *Akalanka* ch. V. 38 ; *Tattvarthaslokavartika*, Ac. *Vidyānanda* ; ch. V. 39, *Dravyasamgraha*, Ac. *Nemicandra*, V. 13, etc.

⁵⁸ 'na caitavataivasyastikayata apahnotum sakya' — *Tattvarthadhigamasutra*, *Tika*, p. 434.

⁵⁹ 'pudhavi-jala-chaya-caurimdiyavisaya-kamma-khamdha-paramanul' — *Satkhandag-ama*, vol. III. p. 3. ; *Pancastikaya-samayasara*, *Kundakunda*, ch. V. 83., p. 81. : *Gommatasara*, *Jivakanda*, *Nemicandra*, V. 602.

⁶⁰ *Bhagavati Vyakhyaprajñapti*, *sataka* 5, *uddesaka* 8, *sutra* 221 ; *sataka* 2, *uddesaka*, 1, *sutra* 90.

Etymology of the word *puggala* or *poggala* (Skt. *pudgala*)⁶¹ has been dealt with by the Jainacaryas,⁶² Bauddhacaryas,⁶³ different foreign⁶⁴ and Indian scholars including S. M. Shah⁶⁵ of Poona University in their respective manners of scholarly approach to the problem. According to the consensus of opinions of all scholars the basic etymological meaning of the word '*puggala*' is that the substance which undergoes transformation or modification by the process of integration and disintegration^{65a} is called *puggala* or *poggala*, (Skt. *pudgala*), although it remains as a problem to be solved satisfactorily, as it has been used in the sense of both matter and soul or empirical being in the Jaina tradition⁶⁶ and soul or personality in the Buddhist tradition⁶⁷ respectively. So the nature of '*puggala*' according to the accepted Jaina tradition is to integrate and disintegrate.⁶⁸ On account of this nature the name *puggala* denoting matter has been attributed to the permanent material substance in Jaina metaphysics. This Jaina concept of matter may be compared with the concept of matter in the physical sciences to some extent where it is conceived as the substance in the sense of stuff of which the material universe is constituted, undergoing changes by the process of integration and disintegration.⁶⁹ So the concept of matter of the Jainas comes nearer to that of matter of the physical sciences in some respects. In Jaina metaphysics matter is conceived

⁶¹ *Ibid.*; *Tattvarthadhigamasutra*, ch. V. 1. (*pudgalah*)

⁶² '*puranadgalanaeca pudgalah*'—*Tattvarthadhigamasutra*, *Tika*, Siddhasena ganin, ch. V. 1, p. 316; '*puranagalanavarthasamjnatvat pudgalah*. etc.',—*Tattvartha Rajavartika*, Akalanka, ch. V. 19 *Tika*.

'*pumgiladva athava pumamso jiva te sariraharavisayakaranopakaranadibhavana gilanta iti pudgalah*'—*Ibid.*; '*poggale iti puranadgalanaeca sariradinam pudgalah*'—*Bhagavati Vyakhyaprajnapiti Vrtti*, vol. III, Abhaydevasuri, pp. 776 ff.; '*Puramti galamti jado puranagalanehi poggala tena paramanucciya jada iya dittham ditthi kayamhi*'—*Tiloyapannatiti*, Yati Rsabha, pt. I. ch. IV. 99.

⁶³ *Visuddhimagga*, Buddhaghosa, 310.

⁶⁴ Desco, Sanskrit *pudgala*, body, soul, *American Oriental Society*, vol. 67, pp. 172-177.; Edgerton, Franklin, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, vol. II. Delhi, 1970, p. 347.; Burrow, T. and Enemacau, M. B., *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford 1961, word no. 3494, p. 283.

⁶⁵ Shah, S. M., 'On the Etymology of *Pudgala* or *Poggala*', *Sambodhi*, vol. 4 nos. 3-4. L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, pp. 11-16.

^{65a} *Tattvarthadhigamasutra*, Umasvati, p. 316.

⁶⁶ *Bhagavati Vyakhyaprajnapiti*, sataka 20, uddesaka 2, sutra 664.

⁶⁷ '*kecit saugatamany apyatmanam pracaksate pudgalavya padesena tattvanyatavadivarjitam*'—*Tattvasamgraha*, Santaraksit, *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, V. 336.

⁶⁸ *Bhagavati Vyakhyaprajnapiti* (comm.), sataka 20, uddesaka 2, sutra 664, etc.

⁶⁹ Jain, G. R., *Cosmology, Old and New*, pp. 58-64.; see also Roychaudhury, S. C. and Sinha, P. B., *Int. Physics*, p. 2.

as substance (*dravya*) endowed with quality (*guṇa*) and mode (*paryāya*)⁷⁰ and it is studied from the aspects of substance (*dravya*), locus (*kṣetra*), time (*kāla*) and condition (*bhāva*)⁷¹ on the basis of the metaphysical speculation which runs parallel to some extent to the conception of matter as found in Western philosophy and modern physics in which matter is conceived as one of the ultimate principles or substances of which phenomena are manifestations. "The physical world consists of substances with qualities and relations."⁷² "Metaphysically substances have generally been held to be indestructible."⁷³

It is to be noted here that the subject 'substance' of Western philosophy corresponds to *dravya* (substance) of Jaina metaphysics according to which matter (*pudgala*) is a permanent, non-living, extensive, physical, corporeal and concrete, active, disintegrating and integrating, and changeable substance.⁷⁴ It is infinite in number, co-extensive with the universe, possessed of the capacity to be received by soul⁷⁵ and to be of assistance to it.⁷⁶ It is characterized by origination, decay and permanence without giving up its essential nature of existence.⁷⁷

Conclusion

A comparative study of Indian concepts of matter reveals that according to the Sankhya philosophy, there is *prakṛti-tattva* (primordial matter) among many successive changes ever existing and all pervading, again, however, it is attaining itself also other states in accordance with the changes. Of course, it is formless, unmanifest, and undifferentiated like the atom (*paramāṇu*) of Jaina metaphysics in its unmanifested state.

⁷⁰ *Bhagavati Vyakhyaprajñapti*, sataka 2, uddesaka 10, sutra 118.; *Anuyogadvara*, 5. 121; *Uttaradhyayanāsutra*, adhyayana 28, v. 6.

⁷¹ *Bhagavati Vyakhyaprajñapti*, sataka 2, uddesaka 10, sutra 118.

⁷² Russel, Bertrand, *Analysis of Matter*, pp. 243.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁷⁴ *Bhagavati Vyakhyaprajñapti*, sataka 2, uddesaka 10, sutra 118; *Tattvarthadhigamasutra*, ch. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6; *Dravyasamgraha*, Nemicandra Siddhanta Cakravartin 5.

⁷⁵ *Bhagavati Vyakhyaprajñapti*, sataka 2, uddesaka 10, sutra 118; 'sakasayat-vajjivah karmano yogyan pudgalanadatte'—*Tattvarthadhigamasutra*, ch. VIII, sutra, 2.

⁷⁶ 'sukhaduhkhajivitamaranopagrahasca'—*Tattvarthadhigamasutra*, ch. V. 20. p. 343.

⁷⁷ 'apariccattasahavenuppadaṇḍavayadhuvattasamjuttam gunavam ca sapajjayam tam dāvam ti vuccam ti', Kundakunda, *Pravacanasara*, II 3.

The Nyaya-Vaisesika maintains the view that when newer and newer effects like substances, etc. get produced, then an atom (*paramāṇu*) as the basis of these effects exists as absolutely permanent (*kūṭasthānitya*) without any kind of change. According to Jaina philosophy also, an atom too is the basis of newer and newer material effects. Nevertheless, atoms are not by any means different and independent from the effects like those of the Nyaya-Vaisesika. But there is one point which is the same in the Sankhya, Nyaya-Vaisesika and Jaina systems of thought that the individuality or self-identity of the fundamental substance as substratum (*dharmīn*) is to remain as whole or non-divisible (*akhaṇḍa*). As, according to the Sankhya view, the identity of *prakṛti-tattva* exists as whole or non-divisible from the points of view of all-pervasive substratum (*sarvadharmīn*), just so the infinite atoms exist as permanent according to the Nyaya-Vaisesika and Jaina concepts of matter.

The Bauddha philosophy calls the universe *rūpātmaka* (material). The term, *rūpa* as already explained, does not connote only the meaning 'perception to the eye' but it signifies all the primary and secondary elements of matter (*bhūta-bhautika-tattvas*) by this term, which can be apprehended by the sense-perception. Like the Nyaya-Vaisesika and Jaina philosophies the Bauddha school of thought also, having kept in view the perceptible gross matter, material effects, such as, taste, etc. as prominent, made consideration of its cause. It also has admitted the concept of similarity in the postulation of causality (*kāryakāraṇa*), i.e. as there is the effect, so there is the cause. If the material effect is perceptible to the sense as taste, etc., then its fine, finer and finest (i.e. intangible) ultimate cause also is as such, that is to say, it can be only as *rūpa* (colour and shape), *rasa* (taste), *gandha* (smell), *sparsa* (touch), etc. According to this consideration, the Bauddha philosophy has made reference to all gross and fine elements of matter of the universe by using the term '*rūpa*.' But there is a gulf or difference between the Bauddha concept of *rūpa* and that of *rūpa* of the Nyaya-Vaisesika and Jaina metaphysics.

The Bauddha tradition also is an advocate of atomism (*aṇu-paramāṇuvādin*) like the Nyaya-Vaisesika and Jaina philosophies. Nevertheless, its postulation appears to be distinct from the doctrine of *prakṛti* of the Sankhya on the one hand and that of eternal and infinite atoms of the Nyaya-Vaisesika and Jaina schools of thought on the other. The Bauddha philosophy is an advocate of the theory of manifoldness (or multiplicity) by elements of matter, but it does not admit the permanence of any entity. It advocates that the constitution of reality is

always subject to change or being changed. It does not accept change in entities under the influence of an independent reality called time, but it calls the series of evolving momentary changes due to the intrinsic nature of an entity as time. By this method the Bauddha philosophy does not admit the concept of any such reality as ever existing (i.e. permanent) like that of the Sankhya and Jaina systems of thought in the stream of the would-be newer and newer changes at every moment but it accepts ever dynamic momentary changes.

Prakrit Textual Criticism

SATYARANJAN BANERJEE

1. *Introduction : Statement of the Problem :*

The Prakrit language, or more properly, the Middle Indo-Aryan, belongs to the middle period of the Indo-Aryan language which is the Indic branch of the Indo-Iranian sub-branch of the Indo-European family of languages. So it is a connecting link between old Indo-Aryan (i.e. Vedic and Classical Sanskrit) on the one hand and the New Indo-Aryan languages (such as, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, Oriya, Bihari, Assamese etc.) on the other.

Prakrit is a vast subject. It covers literatures for over 1500 years beginning from the time of Mahavira and Buddha (7th or 6th Century B. C.) down to the time of the emergence of New Indo-Aryan (i.e. 1000 A. D.) or even later than that. It includes literature written in Inscriptional Prakrits, nearly about 1500 in number and distributed geographically in almost all parts of India—South, North-West, West, North and East ; it includes literature in Pali, both canonical and non-canonical, and also literature written by the Jainas in Ardha-Magadhi, Sauraseni, Maharashtri and Apabhramsa. There are some non-Jaina poets, such as, Satavahana, Pravarasena, Vakpatiraja, Rajasekhara, Abdul Rahaman and several others. Sanskrit dramas offer us a great variety of Prakrit dialects beginning from the time of 2nd or 1st Century B. C. down to the time of 10th Century A. D. or even later than that. Prakrit being a common speech and its dialects being representatives of different parts of India, the variety of Prakrit dialects makes it more difficult to handle any Prakrit texts easily. It also includes some other Prakrits, such as, Kharosthi, Nya and Gandhari or Prakrit Dhammapada, outside India.

Apart from the Inscriptional Prakrits, our knowledge on Prakrit language and its dialects and sub-dialects, commonly known as 'Literary Prakrits', is mainly based on the works of Prakrit grammarians and the dramatic and rhetorical works of Sanskrit writers. The Sanskrit dramaturgists, such as, Bharata, Dhananjaya, Visvanatha, Singha-bhupala, Sagarandi and others, have given in their respective treatises only the names of Prakrit dialects which should be or is to be spoken

by persons belonging to different strata of the society. The distribution of Prakrit dialects in Sanskrit dramas is, therefore, based on a sort of socio-linguistic pattern, no matter whether the author of a particular drama belongs to any particular region of India and speaking a particular dialect of Prakrit. While distributing the Prakrit dialects in a Sanskrit drama, not a single author has shown any lack of knowledge by which the prescriptions of the dramaturgists are generally violated. But at the same time, it should be borne in mind that not a single dramaturgist has ever given any characteristic features of the dialect that they are prescribing for the dramatists. Bharata, of course, has given some general features of Prakrit, but nothing about dialects. So where do the Sanskrit authors get the characteristics from? Did the dramatists know the characteristic features of Prakrit dialects from their own personal experience, or from books current at their times ?

Our knowledge about Prakrit and its dialects is mainly based on the grammarians beginning from Vararuci (4th or 5th Cent. A. D.) down to Markandeya (16th or 17th Cent. A. D.)—Vararuci and Hemacandra being the oldest and the best representatives of Prakrit grammarians. Although most of the Prakrit grammarians are later than the Prakrit literature, the features of Prakrit including dialects as prescribed by the grammarians are in major, if not in all cases, preserved in the works of the Prakrit writers and Sanskrit dramatists as we find them printed to-day.

But to a scholar, it seems, there are works where features of dialects as described by the grammarians are not fully preserved, not even in essential forms. Herein lies the main difficulty in handling a Prakrit passage in a text. When a scholar opens up a Prakrit book and peruses a few passages, he can easily detect that such book is written mainly in X dialect, but it is also interspersed with other Y and Z forms. As a result what happens is this that we assume a different dialect for the justification of variety of forms. This assumption may be partly true at times, but sometimes it seems too much adherence to the manuscripts forgetting that some forms might be scribal errors or wrong representation of spelling, unless they can be justified historically. Therefore, in editing a Prakrit text, the problems which a linguist faces are mainly—

- (i) dialectal,
- (ii) orthographic and
- (iii) selection of readings.

2. Problems in editing a Prakrit text :

(i) Dialectal

As we have said above, it is a very difficult task to determine the dialect of a Prakrit passage. While editing some Prakrit texts, even scholars like Jacobi, Pischel were puzzled in determining the question of language of the text.

Hermann Jacobi has assumed a Jaina Maharastrī dialect of those texts which are non-canonical on the one hand but written by the Jainas on the other. In a similar way Richard Pischel has postulated a Jaina Sauraseni of those Jaina texts which are written in Sauraseni. At the time of Pischel, of course, no Digambara canonical literature was published, and so he had no comment on them. A few books by Kundakunda and Umasvami were available, and on the basis of those books he had established the Jaina Sauraseni. But recently the earliest canonical literature of the Digambara Jainas were published first in 1939 and then completed the whole lot in subsequent years by 1960 after which most of the earlier editions were being reprinted. The first of the series is *Saṅkhaṇḍāgama* which is written in Sauraseni dialect, but again influenced by the older Ardha-Magadhi and the Maharastrī as well, giving it a name which is called by Pischel as Jaina Sauraseni. The assumption of these two dialects—Jaina Maharastrī and Sauraseni is based on a notion that probably these two dialects are different from the normal features of the language as embalmed and treasured up by Prakrit grammarians. But how far they differ from Maharastrī and Sauraseni is a moot question and how far these differences are systematic to form a separate dialect is another problem. These are the questions which normally puzzle the readers of Prakrit. With regard to the Inscriptional Prakrits and Pali, the question is not severe, but with the Prakrit and Apabhramsa and partly with the early literary specimens of some modern Indo-Aryan languages, the problem of readings is acute.

Although inscriptions are written documents and we have more reliability in inscriptions than in the manuscripts, the earlier writers do not offer the features of Prakrit that can go on at par with the inscriptions. Take, for example, the drama of Asvaghosa. We are all grateful to Luders (*Bruchstruck Buddhistischen Dramen*, 1911) who has presented the fragments of some Buddhist dramas discovered in Turkestan and dated by him in the first or second cent. A. D. In his opinion, there

are three types of Prakrit dialect employed by Asvaghosa in his plays. To use his terminology, they are old Suaraseṇi, old Magadhi and old Ardha-Magadhi. The Duṣṭa's speech in three important points is similar to the Magadhi of the Prakrit grammarians, it substitutes *l* for *r*, reduces all three sibilants to *ṣ* ; and has *e* in the nominative singular of masculine nouns in *a*. But it ignores the rules of the grammarians in certain respects ; hard letters are not softened (e.g. *bhoti*), nor soft consonants elided (e.g., *kumuda-gandha*), when inter-vocalic. There is no tendency to cerebralize *n* and in *kālanā* the dental replaces the cerebral. Fuller forms of consonants remain in *hangho* (*hamho*) and *bambhaṇa* (*bamhaṇa*). Certain consonantal changes are irregular : *ry* > *jj* and not *yy* ; e.g., *ajja*, *śc* > *cch*, *kṣ* > *kkh*, not *sk* or *cch*, *ṣṭ* > *ṭṭh* not *ṣṭ*, *kiṣṭa* > *kiṣa*, *ahakam* than *ahake*, *hake*, *haje*, (Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 86).

But it is a point worth noting here that not a single grammarian has even described any old features of Sauraseṇi, Magadhi or Ardha-Magadhi. How should we justify these forms then ? Should we reconsider the judgment of the manuscripts ?

(ii) Orthographic

The orthography of manuscripts is sometimes responsible for the selection of a reading particularly of a Jaina manuscript. The peculiar way of writing *na* and *ṇa*, *y* and *th*, *ṣ* and *ph*, *jh* and *bh* and many other conjuncts makes us responsible for a wrong selection. Unless one is thoroughly conversant with the calligraphy of Mss, one cannot do any justice to the reading of a Prakrit passage. I need not dwell upon this point here in detail.

(iii) Selection of readings

Leaving aside the orthographic representation of Prakrit, we shall now pass on to the next problem, i.e., selection of readings. It is a fact worth noting here that sometimes some editions are responsible for the peculiar, forceful and incongruous reading of a text. In this respect, we shall divide our examples into two groups. In group A, some of the grammatical texts are discussed, where the selection of a particular reading, instead of another, has caused us trouble in determining the linguistic features of a particular language. In group B, the readings of some Prakrit texts are analysed.

A. Grammatical texts

Let us first take Senart's edition of Kaccayana's Pali Grammar. Under the *sūtra*—*jāyāya tudam-jāni patimhi* (11. 7. 24. No. 34)—*jāyā iccetāya tudamjāni iccete ādesā honti patimhi pare, jāyāya pati tudam pati jāyāya pati jānipati*. Senart has read the sentence as *tu-dampati* meaning 'husband and wife', and after that the word is included in all the Pali Dictionaries. But most of the scholars including Senart himself were not happy with the reading. The *tu* prefixed to *dampati* is difficult to solve. T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede's *Pali-English Dictionary*, The Pali Text Society, London, (1972) has explained the formation of the word thus :

"*tudampati* (dual) husband and wife. [*tu*=*dial. for du*, Skt *dve*. *dampati* from *dama*=*domus*, Skt. *dayapati*=Gk. *despotes* ; cf. also Kern Toev-II. 93. who compares *tuvantuva* for *duvanduva*]."

In reality, the word is not *tudampati*, but simply *dampati* as in Sanskrit, meaning husband and wife. *tu* is, in fact, an emphatic particle meaning 'but', and the passage means, "but (=tu) when *jāyā* is compounded with *pati*, we get the compound as *dampati*, *jānipati* and *jāyāpati*."

Coming to the field of Prakrit, the situation seems to be worse. For one word, we could have several forms in Prakrit and at times it is difficult to think which one is correct. Take, for example, the reading *isi* in Cowell's edition of Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa*. Cowell has accepted the reading *isi* with a short initial *i* under the *ṛtti* of a *sūtra* *id-īśat-pakva-svapna-vetasa-vyajana-mṛdangāṅgāreṣu*, 1.3 i.e., (in a group of words beginning with *īśat* etc. *i* is substituted for the first *a*), whereas he has given the variant reading with long *ī* in the foot-note as *īsi*. In fact, the reading with long *ī* is the correct one, as in all the editions of all Prakrit grammarians so far known to us, the word *īsi* with long *ī* at the initial is given, which is also Cowell's reading in the foot-note. Moreover, there is no reason why the Sanskrit long *ī* in *īśat* should be short in Prakrit. The use of this word is also found with long *ī* (cf. *īsīsi cumbiāim* etc. in *Sankuntalā*, Act I, prologue). As Cowell has given the alternative reading in the foot-note, this should not be taken as printing mistake. The question of dialect will not also help us in solving this reading.

Hultsch's edition of Simharaja's *Prākṛta-rūpavatāra* offers us another difficulty. Simharaja has based his grammar on Hemacandra

and Trivikrama, as far as examples are concerned. But with regard to *l*, Hultzsck has edited his text with cerebral *l* in cases where others will have simple or dental *l*. In fact, cerebral *l* is a rare occurrence in Prakrit. The reason that Hultzsck's edition contains cerebral *l* is due to the fact that he has edited his text from a South Indian manuscript preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society of London, where Sanskrit *l* is written as *l*_o, which Hultzsck thinks a variety of Prakrit. That is why in Bhasa's dramas this cerebral *l* is preserved. On the basis of this feature L. D. Barnett once thought that there was a southern school of Prakrit grammarians as well. (*JRAS*, 1921)

While giving the characteristic features of Sakari, Purusottama in his *Prākṛtānuśāsana* has given two *sūtras* as

ṣṭah ṣṭah XIII. 3

viṣṭarasya XIV. 4

Some have suggested 'na *viṣṭarasy*' i.e. but not in *viṣṭara*. Even then some scholars think that the *sūtras* are not clear. Actually I feel that the reading should be *ṣṭah ṣṭo viṣṭarasya* as one *sūtra*. From the method of framing the *sūtras*, it is seen that the preceding *sūtra* is *duṣprekṣa-sadṛkṣayoh kṣasya kkho vā* (XIII. 2) where words are particularly mentioned for the Sakari dialect, it is quite possible also that the next *sūtra* should contain a word as well, and the subsequent *sūtras* are also framed with regard to some words. There is no reason to think *ṣṭah ṣṭah* as a general rule.

B. Prakrit texts

Let us now consider some of the textual readings of Prakrit.

Sten Konow's edition of *Karpuramañjarī* (*KM*) is a great problem. Here the problem is not only of reading but also of language. According to general belief the *KM* is written in a Sauraseni dialect. But Konow has never mentioned it in so many words. In his opinion Rajasekhara's *KM* is written in a sort of mixed Prakrit—between Mahārāstri and Sauraseni. In his edition what we find is that the verses are in Mahārāstri and the proses are in Sauraseni following the dictum as laid down in the works of dramaturgy. After 35 years, M. Ghosh edited that text again. In his edition all the passages are in Sauraseni. Konow has consulted several Mss, and some of the best Mss do contain the readings in Sauraseni even in verses which he has either corrected for the sake of dramaturgy or neglected as improper readings. Ghosh has done just the opposite. For example :

Sten Konow : *hou* (Ms. *bhodu*), Ghosh : *bhodu phurau* (Ms. *phuradu*), *phuradu* etc.

With regard to some of the readings of *Deśināmamālā*, Pischel remarks :

“Another great difficulty was raised by the examples which Hemacandra adds at the end of the commentary on each stanza of the *ekārtha śabdās*. These examples are either void of all sense, or of an incredible stupidity.....It was a most disgusting task to make out the sense, or rather non-sense, of these examples, some of which have remained rather obscure to me.” (Pischel’s edition of *Deśināmamālā*, Poona, 1938, pp. 29-30)

This remark of Pischel depends upon the selection, of readings which, at times, seems to be ineffective poetically. Let us take one example to demonstrate this truth.

Pischel’s reading :

*aḍae suṇāhi ayaḍe aṇāḍa-aḍayaṇa-pie sarasi kāle-
aṇdhaṇdhumaviṇaya-varāha-vvāḥhāṇam tamittā aṇaḍo kim*

(Hc. I. 18. verse 15)

The English translation on the basis of this reading will be as follows :

“O you the courtesan, hear (me), oh well, are you remembering the time favourable to a paramour and a courtesan ? Well is the (meeting) place of a paramour and an unchaste lady, is there any paramour ?”

The assumption of the reading *suṇāhi* meaning *ṣṇu* (‘hear me’) and *ayaḍe* as independent words in Pischel’s edition followed by other editions, gives us a sense that does not appear to be happy and consistent. But these two words when combined *suṇāhi+ayaḍe*=Skt. *sunābhi-kūpa* acting as a *bahuvrīhi* compound representing vocative singular form of a feminine base ending in *a* and referring to *aḍaye* as an attributive adjunct, will present us a good sense, because the comparison *nābhikūpa*, *nābhigarta* etc. is rather usual in Indian literature, and even Hemacandra uses this comparison more than once in the same book.

The next difficulty is with the root *sarasi*. The use of the Prakrit root *sara* as an equivalent to Sanskrit root *smṛ* 'to remember' is far less common than the Sanskrit root *sy* 'to go'. And it may be added here that of the root *smṛ*, the form *sumara* very often puts in appearance in Prakrit literature, and the form *sara* is extremely rare. Hence I suggest *sarasi* meaning 'go'. It is also suggested that *aṇāḍa-aḍayaṇa-pi* should be taken in a locative form qualifying the word *kāle*, i.e., 'the time pleasing to the paramours and courtesans' which no doubt yields a good sense, happy and consistent and *sarasi* in the sense of 'going', its object; being *aṇḍhaṇḍhuma*, when *aviṇaya-varāha-vvāṭṭhāṇam* will stand in opposition to it, i.e., the going of an uncaste lady to the well which is the meeting place of the paramours and courtesans.

The Prakrit word *tam* should stand for *tad*, meaning 'therefore' ; so *tam ittha aṇāḍo kim* should be translated as 'is there any paramour (waiting for you) ?' So the translation of the improved reading should be as follows :

"Oh, you the courtesan whose naval cavity is like a well, are you going at this time pleasing to the paramour and the courtesan to (that) well which is the meeting place of the paramour and the courtesan. Why, is there any paramour (waiting for you) ?"

It is very difficult to get a very good edition of Prakrit texts. Take, for example, the editions of Kalidasa's *Sakuntalā* by two eminent scholars—Monier-Williams and Richard Pischel. Both have claimed that they have paid much attention to the readings of the text and have carefully preserved the Mss. Pischel has an advantage over Monier-Williams with regard to Prakrit passages, which, Pischel believes, have been presented correctly. These two editions differ so much that they represent two different recensions. But with regard to the treatment of labial *b* and semivowel *v*, these two scholars vary too much. About the retention of *v*, Pischel is in favour of the grammarians, while Monier-Williams has a strong predilection for the historical development of the sound and prefers *b*. The common reader is at a loss to decide which course to adopt. This problem is summed up in my book *The Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians*, p 99 which is quoted below :

"He (i.e. Pischel) says that the grammarians are not to be corrected with the help of the manuscripts ; but the manuscripts are to be improved upon with the help of the grammarians. But it can be added here that the peculiar characteristics of an eastern Prakrit, supported by the eastern grammarians should not be rectified with the evidence

of the western grammar. So the Prakrit readings, in regard to labial *b*, cannot be summarily rejected. It should also be noted that the readings given by Monier-Williams seem to be based on an outlook of the historical background answering to the reliability of one or two other readings of the different manuscripts, while it will appear as almost certain that the readings given by Pischel reveal a strong predilection for grammar."

In the Jaina canonical texts the problem is different. We are all aware of mistakes that a scribe makes while copying the Mss from another one, or writing from the dictation of a person. The copyist may or may not be educated in the subject. As a result the Mss may contain some mistakes which obviously defy the genuineness of the language. These mistakes are at times regarded as 'archaic' or earlier features of a language. Take, for an example, the one reading of the *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* (1.5)

kaṇakunḍagaṃ caittāṇaṃ viṭṭhaṃ bhujjai sūyare
evaṃ sīlaṃ caittāṇaṃ dussīle ramaī mie

Here the reading with long *ī* in *ramaī* is difficult to accept, but for 'archaic'. Similar types of readings of long *ī* of verbs, such as *vuccaī* (1.2), *nikkanjjaī* (1.4) are abundant. The readings with short *i* are also available in the foot-notes.

Besides these are orthographic problems in Jaina texts. The use of *ya-ṣruti*, dental and cerebral *n*, the sporadic cases of voiceless changing into voiced, and so on. These problems will remain as long as the principles of editing Prakrit texts are not followed.

3. Manuscripts vs Grammarians :

Having discussed some difficulties and anomalies of Prakrit texts, what remains now is a great task for the scholars to determine the principles we follow in editing a Prakrit text. The basic problem is whether the grammarians or the manuscripts are to be followed. It is not easy to answer the question, particularly when most of the scholars think that any kind of linguistic phenomenon is possible in Prakrit. Perhaps under the tacit influence of this so-called ideas, some of the Prakrit forms have been incorporated in some editions which sometimes baffle and betray some of the basic notions of Prakrit language including dialects as enunciated by Prakrit grammarians. It is true

that Prakrit grammarians are not very old, and most of the authors belong at a time when the language was almost stereotyped like Sanskrit. As a result the Prakrit features as embalmed and treasured up by the grammarians vary from author to author, except a few general forms which are common to all. The texts of Prakrit manuscripts are not always uniformly common ; the variations are such that it is difficult to follow any particular reading from the Mss. The copyists are not always learned, more so, they may not have any knowledge or a very limited knowledge of the language and hence every possibility of making mistakes. The phonetics of the language is not always regular. Sometimes the copyists add something to the Mss. to improve upon the text. It is, therefore, not an easy task to edit a Prakrit text, as is normally the case with Snaksrit or with Pali.

4. *Emendation :*

It is my personal feeling that some sorts of emendations are necessary to edit a Prakrit text—if the Mss. of a particular text do not help us much—recording, of course, the variants at the foot-note. (Cf. my edition of Kramadisvara's *Prakrit Grammar*, § 26, pp. 19-22).

5. *Conclusion :*

The above are some of the specimens taken at random to show the linguistic problems of Prakrit and Prakrit textual criticism,. It is indeed very difficult to form direct cut-and-dry principles for this purpose, unless we base our arguments on some principles by which grammarians are involved in the matter. In conclusion, I can just say that I have endeavoured to present a picture of editing Prakrit texts, and leave with the readers to judge its value or revalue of some Prakrit passages presented in this dissertation.

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Some Aspects of Jainism in Tamilnadu : An Epigraphical Assessment

A. EKAMBARANATHAN

Jainism had a long but chequered history over a period of two thousand years in the southern part of peninsular India. There is no denying of the fact that it played a dominant role in the cultural milieu of the Tamils, and had left indelible marks on the thought and life of the people. Jaina vestiges in the form of monuments, sculptures and inscriptions are found throughout the length and breadth of our country. Of these, the epigraphs engraved on rocks, stone-beds, walls of temples and pedestals of images throw welcome light on the socio-economic and religious life of the Jaina community.

Distribution of Inscriptions :

Tamilnadu has 530 Jaina inscriptions reported from 120 places, many of which are still living centres. These records are found widely distributed in almost all the districts of the State (Chingleput-30, Coimbatore-16, Dharmapuri-7, Kanyakumari-21, Madurai-102, Madras-5, North Arcot-85, Pudukkottai-27, Ramanad-11, South Arcot-93, Tirunelveli-111, Thanjavur-6 and Tiruchirappalli-17). A bulk of these records is shared by Tirunelveli, Madurai, South Arcot and North Arcot districts. It is worthy of note that more number of early records are reported from the southern districts than the northern counterparts. Apparently, the concentration of the Jainas prior to the 9th or 10th century A.D. was in the southern part and subsequently several settlements sprang up in the northern part of Tamilnadu.

The scripts employed in the lithic records are Brahmi, Vatteluttu, Grantha, Tamil, Kannada and Devanagari. Though the scripts varied from time to time, the language of these inscriptions is invariably Tamil, with a very few exceptions which are written in Kannada and Sanskrit.

Archaeologist's Spade-work :

The earliest epigraphs available in Tamilnadu are the Jaina Brahmi inscriptions, palaeographically assigned to the 2nd century B.C. to

2nd century A.D. Largely noticed in Madurai, Tirunelveli, Ramanad, Pudukkottai and Trichy districts, they are short inscriptions recording names of monks and *śrāvakas* who caused to be made rock-cut beds for the ascetics. Besides, some of them mention early Jaina centres like Vellarai, Pakanur, Madurai, Elaiyur, Venpalli, Nagapperur, Kunrattur, Yarrur and Karur. Of these, Vellarai, Madurai, Pakanur, Nagapperur (Nagamalai) and Karur retain their old names even to the present day. It may be said in passing that archaeological excavations in these places may throw new light on the material culture of the Jainas who inhabited these villages somewhere about the 2nd century B.C. Though Karur was put under the spade of Archaeologists, no material remains of the Jaina population had been brought to light. Perhaps, the small scale operations carried out here are inadequate to assess the nature of Jaina settlements. Besides the above sites, the major centres which flourished in later times may also be taken up for archaeological investigation in future so as to bridge the gaps in the history of Jainism in this region.

Spread of Jainism in the South :

It is generally held by historians that by the close of the 4th century B.C., the Maurya king Candragupta and a band of Jaina monks under the leadership of Bhadrabahu, anticipating a severe famine in their country, migrated to Sravanabelgola where from they spread religious principles to the laity. Subsequently, after the death of Candragupta and Bhadrabahu, their disciples moved further south to propagate Jainism in the Tamil country, and very likely, this could have happened in the 3rd century B.C. Contemporary epigraphic evidence testifying to the southward movement of the monks and the spread of Jainism from Karnataka into the far-south, though absent, the early Brahmi records assignable to the 2nd century B.C. found in Madurai, Tirunelveli and Ramanad districts would certainly indicate the introduction of Jainism much earlier than the 2nd century B.C.

Some are of the opinion that there was a large number of Jaina *śrāvakas* in the south to support the incoming monks, as it was a custom of the *śramaṇas* not to accept food from people other than the Jainas. Therefore, it is argued that even before the arrival of Bhadrabahu and his disciples, Jainism could have had a firm footing in Tamilnadu. Anyway, the exact period of its spread in the southern most part of our land can not be ascertained precisely at the present state of our knowledge.

Kings of the Sangama Age :

The ancient Tamil country was ruled by the Ceras, Colas and Pandyas who are cherished in most of the Sangama classics. Some of the kings of the Sangama age also find place in the early records of the Jainas.

The Brahmi inscriptions from Pugalur in Tiruchirappalli district provide a geneological list of three Irumporai kings of the Cera line. It is inscribed that Ilankadungo, the son of Perunkadungo and the grandson of Atancel Irumporai, on becoming the heir-apparent, caused to be made an abode to the revered monk Senkayapan of Yarrur.¹ The aforesaid names of the kings with slight variation occur in *Patiruppattu*, one of the Sangama anthologies.²

One of the epigraphs from Mangulam near Madurai records the dedication of a monastery (*pallī*) to the reputed monk Kaninanta by Kadalavaluti, an officer of the Pandya king Nedunjeliyan. It was for the same monk, Nedunjeliyan's brother-in-law Catikan and nephew Ilancatikan also caused to be made stone-beds in the monastery.³

The recent discovery of a Brahmi inscription at Jambai in South Arcot District reveals that Atiyan Nedumananji, the Satyaputra, caused to be made a *pālī* (monastery) to the Jainas.⁴ Atiyaman Nedumananji was one of the minor chieftains who ruled over the northern part of Kongunadu with its capital at Tagadur, *i.e.*, modern Dharmapuri. He is eulogised by poets like Parana and Avvaiyar as a hero of many battles, a patron of bards and poets and an ardent devotee of Lord Siva. But the fact that he caused to be made an abode to the Jaina ascetics shows his religious tolerance.

The Jambai record also solves a great controversy which continued to persist among scholars for a long time. The Asokan edict at Brahmagiri in Karnataka refers to several southern kingdoms like the Cola, Pandya, Keralaputra and Satyaputra, lying beyond the borders of the Mauryan empire. Of these, the Satyaputras remained unidentified, even though attempts have been made by scholars to equate them with

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy (ARE)*, 349/1927-28.

² *Patiruppattu*, 2 : 42-56.

³ *ARE*, 465/1906.

⁴ R. Nagasamy, "Asoka and the Tamil Country—A New Link", *Express Magazine*, 6-12-81.

some of the feudatories of South India. But now it is unquestionably proved that the Satyaputras were none other than the Adiyamans of Tagadur. The Jaina Brahmi records, thus, have the credit of supplementing our knowledge with the names of atleast five kings of the Sangama age.

Tamilnadu and Ilam :

Tamilnadu had political and cultural contacts with Ilam from time immemorial. Infact, it formed part of the Cola empire during the medieval period. Jainism should have found its way into the island through the southern part of peninsular India. The Jaina adherents of both the countries seem to have maintained very good relations with each other. This is echoed in two Brahmi inscriptions from Tirupparankunram and Muttupatti near Madurai. The record from Tirupparankunram states that Polalaiyan, a *śrāvaka* of the village Erukkattur in Ilam, caused to be cut stone beds at this place.⁵ The other record from Muttupatti mentions one Caiyalan (*i.e.*, one from Ceylon) of Vintaiyur, who was probably a monk residing in one of the caverns at Muttupatti.⁶ Palaeographically, these epigraphs are dated in the 1st-2nd centuries A.D. Perhaps, there would have been a regular flow of monks and laity from either side much earlier to this, even though the confirmatory evidence are of the first two centuries of the Christian era.

Karnataka and Tamilnadu :

Jainism, as said elsewhere, seems to have spread to Tamilnadu from Karnataka in about the 3rd century B.C. Successively, monks from Karnataka came down to the south when Jainism was on its ascendancy in Tamilnadu, as is proved by both Tamil and Kannada epigraphs. Aryanandin and Balacandradeva, two reputed monks of the Mulasangha at Sravanabelgola, had set out to propagate the gospels of the Jainas to the people of far-flung centres like Kilakuyilkudi near Madurai and Vallimalai in North Arcot district in the 12th century A.D.⁷ During the course of their sojourn, they would have visited several other important places, but inscriptions of other centres are silent about it.

⁵ ARE, 333/1908.

⁶ I. Mahadevan, *Corpus of the Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions*, Muttupatti, no. 1.

⁷ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. IV, 15-D.

In the year 893 A.D. two individuals Nidhiyanna and Sandhiyanna sons of a merchant from Srimangala, apparently a village in the southern part of Karnataka, built a Jaina temple at Tagadur (Dharmapuri). They received from the Nolamba king Mahendra the village Mulap and inturn granted it to Kanakasena Siddhantabatarā, for the regular conduct of worship, repairs and additions in the same temple.⁸

Chittamur, being the headquarters of the Jaina community in Tamilnadu, attracted Jainas from Karnataka from 16th century A.D. onwards, and some of them made liberal contributions to the temple and the *maṭha*. The *mānaśthambha* of the Parsvanatha temple was erected by one Bussetti, a merchant of the Mahanagakula from Jagatā-pigutti,⁹ a village in eastern Karnataka. The pontiffs of the *maṭha* at Chittamur are said to have had their education mainly at the Mula-sangha of Sravanabelgola.¹⁰ Thus the Kannada records, besides some Tamil epigraphs, found in places like Dharmapuri, Chittamur and Vallimalai would amply bear testimony to the contact of Jainas of Karnataka with their counterparts in Tamilnadu.

Endowments :

The Jaina establishments received several kinds of endowments like gift of land, money, gold, ornaments, vessels, lamps, food grains, sheep etc., from the members of the ruling house as well as the common man. The lands gifted to the Jaina temples came to be called *pallī-cchandam*, which were generally exempted from payment of certain taxes. A portion of the tax collected from the public was at times endowed to religious institutions. Very rarely images of Tirthankaras were also donated to temples.

Of these different categories of endowments, grant of land and gift of sheep are commonly met with in lithic records. For the rituals and ceremonies connected with the worship of the deity, milk, ghee, curd etc., were found to be essential, hence large number of sheep had been gifted to temples. For instance, the Jaina temple at Melkudalur in Gingee taluk was endowed with 2300 sheep during the reign of Parantaka Cola (*i.e.*, in 911 A.D. and in 935 A.D.) and another 750

⁸ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. X, 1909-10, pp. 54-57.

⁹ *ARE*, 517/1937-38.

¹⁰ A. Ekambaranathan, *The History of Chittamur*, p. 79 ff.

during the time of Nrpataungavarman Pallava (in 967 A.D.).¹¹ It is interesting to observe that this is the only temple which received a maximum number of 3050 sheep in the whole of Tamilnadu.

Sallekhanā :

It was a custom among the Jaina monks to give up their life by fasting unto death and liberate wordly bondage. This was called *sallekhanā*. Inscriptions from places like Tirunatharkunru, Paraiyanpattu, and Vijayamangalam bear testimony to such practice of *sallekhanā* in the Tamil country. A Brahmi inscription of the 5th-6th century A.D. characters records that Tirunatharkunru was the place of penance of Candranandi who died observing fifty seven days of fasting.¹² Yet another 10th century epigraph from the same place mentions the death of Ilayapadarar who fasted for thirty days.¹³ Similarly, at Paraiyanpattu also in South Arcot district, one Aradan, the disciple of Vajranandi, observed such a *vrata* and liberated his soul.¹⁴

A solitary instance of a nun observing fast and ending her life is known from an inscription found at Vijayamangalam in Coimbatore district. Accordingly, Pullappai, the younger sister of Camundaraya, fasted unto death, and in order to commemorate this event a pillar was erected in the *maṇḍapa* of the Candranatha temple at the place.¹⁵ Camundaraya of this record seems to be identical with the minister of the western Ganga king Rajamalla IV, who is said to have set up the colossal image of Gommatesvara at Sravanabelgola.¹⁶

Dēvaraḍiyārs :

Women employed in Hindu temples to sing and perform dance were called *dēvaraḍiyārs*. They performed dances during special services to the deity, on festive occasions and when images were taken out in procession. Generally, the custom of appointing *dēvaraḍiyār*

¹¹ A. Ekambaranathan and C. K. Sivaprakasam, *Jaina Inscriptions in Tamilnadu*, (A Topographical List), pp. 366-369.

¹² *ARE*, 239/1904.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 238/1904.

¹⁴ G. Krishnamurti, "A New Jaina Inscription from Gingee Region", *Mukkudai*, July 1985, pp. 5-9.

¹⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VII, pp. 109-110.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 108.

was not in vogue in Jaina temples. However, it seems to have crept into the Jaina establishments from about the 13th century A.D. The Parsvanatha temple at Chittamur had 12 *dēvaraḍiyārs*, besides other servants like the *arcaka*, *paṇḍita* and drummers, all of whom were given some lands as *sarvamānya* for their services in the temple.¹⁷ It is not known whether any other Jaina temple employed *dēvaraḍiyārs*, since no other record speaks of them. Anyway, due to the influence of Hindu institutions, the *dēvaraḍiyār* system was followed even in Jaina temples.

Jaina Nunnery :

A Jaina nunnery organised and maintained exclusively by nuns existed at Vedal in North Arcot district. It was a unique establishment with more than 900 nuns on its roll. The exact nature and functioning of the nunnery are not clearly known to us. In the year 885 A.D. there arose a dispute between Kanakavirakurattiyar and her 500 lady pupils on the one hand and a group of 400 nuns on the other. It was at this time, the inhabitants of the locality who were the lay disciples of the school to which Kanakavirakuratti belonged, undertook to feed her and her lady pupils.¹⁸ The cause for the dispute between the two groups and how it was amicably settled are not recorded in the epigraph.

Sectarian Animosity :

Acute religious conflicts existed between the Hindu sects and the heretical sects of the Jainas and Buddhists in about the 7th century A.D. The devotional hymns of the Saiva Nayanmaras and Vaisnava Alvaras echo such a trend of animosity. Infact, the *bhakti* movement initiated by the Nayanmaras and Alvaras to a large extent curtailed the growth of Jainism and Buddhism.

The inimical attitude of the Hindu sects towards the Jainas is indirectly hinted at in some lithic records also. For example, an epigraph of Kulottunga III ridicules that those who misappropriate the tax-revenue of the Tiruvannamalai temple, would be considered as *śiva-drohins*, beef-eaters, and bearers of the *kuṇḍika* (*kamaṇḍala*) of the Jainas.¹⁹ Another record of the time of the Vijayanagara king Harihara

¹⁷ *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, vol. I, nos. 30, 31.

¹⁸ *ARE*, 84/1908.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 559/1902.

states that those who defy the agreement made by the Siva temple at Maravapalayam, would incur the sin of killing seven or eight Jainas even in their next birth.²⁰ These imprecatory passages, condemning people as bearers of the *kundika* of the Jainas and incurring the sin of killing seven or eight Jainas, would evidently show the hatred of the Saivites towards the Jainas.

This sort of sectarian animosity incourse of time led to conversion of temples and even the very religious faith of the people. Some of the Jaina temples in Tamilnadu had been converted into Hindu shrines when Hinduism was on its ascendancy. The best known examples are the Nagaraja temple at Nagercoil and the Bhagavati shrine at Citalar, both in Kanyakumari district. In both these two places, sculptures depicting the Tirthankaras and their attendants, besides epigraphs recording *pallichhandam* endowments, go to prove that once they were dedicated to the Jaina faith and later converted into Hindu temples.²¹ Thus, epigraphs are reasonably more reliable than the other types of source materials to have a better understanding to the religious history of Jainism in Tamilnadu.

²⁰ *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, vol. I, pt. I, no. 322.

²¹ A. Ekambaranathan, "Jainism in Kanyakumari District", *Journal of the Madras University*, 1976, pp. 3-4.

An Analysis of the contents of the Kalakacharya Kathanaka

B. N. MUKHERJEE

The *Kālakācārya-Kathānaka* is a well-known cycle of legends found in Jaina scriptures and texts. One of its episodes deals with the quarrel between Kalakacharya and Gardabhilla, the king of Ujjayini. The important features of this episode, found in different long and short versions, may be enumerated as follows.¹

Kalaka, according to most of the earliest versions,² was a son of Vairasimha (variants-Vairasiha, Vajrasimha, Versimha, Vayarasiha,³ etc.), the king of Dharavasa. He became a Jaina monk and went to Ujjayini where his sister Sarasvati (called Silamai in one version⁴) also resided in a Jaina convent.

King Gardabhilla (also called Dappana in one edition⁵) of Ujjayini was fascinated by the beauty of Sarasvati and ravished her. The enraged Kalaka left the city and, according to the Long Anonymous Version travelling “steadily came to the bank called the Scythian bank” (*anavarayam ca gacchhanto patto sagakulam nāma kulam*⁶). In the version of Bhavadevasuri it is stated that Kalaka “went to the Scythian bank situated on the other side of the Sindhu” (*sindhupārakulammi sagakulam gao muni*⁷) whereas, according to the *Srīvīravākyaṇumatam*

¹ The story is reconstructed here on the basis of a comparison of different published versions of the text. We have considered the earlier Prakrit and Sanskrit recensions and not the later renderings in Gujarati or in mixed Sanskrit and Gujarati. For a description of different recensions, see N. Brown, *The Story of Kalaka*, pp. 25-35 and S. M. Nawab, *The Collection of Kalaka Story*, pt. I., pp. 1-32.

² *Op. cit.*, 37, 71, 87, 93 and 98.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 102. In the *Nisitha-curni* the name of the sister is given as Rupavati (see n.9).

⁵ N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁶ N. Brown, *Op. cit.* p. 40.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 89, v. 32. The *Puspamala* of Maladhari Sri Hemacandrasuri also states that “Kalaka went to the other side of the Sindhu called the Saga bank” (*sagakulam nama sindhuparakulam*) (Nawab, *Op. cit.*, pt. II, p. 27, v. 37).

recension, Kalaka "went to the western bank of the Sindhu river" (*surir gata eva sindhor-nadyāstatam paścimapārsvakulam*⁸). The *Niśitha-cūrṇi*,⁹ and the *Kathāvali* of Bhadresvara¹⁰ refer to the destination of Kalaka as the Persian bank (*pārasakulam*).¹¹

In the land in question lived the Sahi, whose overlord was the Sahanusahi (i.e. the king of kings). Kalaka stayed with the former. To this Sahi there came a messenger from the Sahanusahi, demanding his death as well as that of ninety-five other Sahis. In order to escape the wrath of their master the Sahis were advised by Kalaka to go to Hindukadesa (Malavadesa) in one (?) version¹² and the kingdom of Gardabhilla in another.¹³ According to the Long Anonymous Version, the Hindukadesa could be reached by crossing the Sindhu or the Indus.¹⁴

The Sahis crossed the Indus and came to the land of Surastra. There they settled for some time and then proceeded to Ujjayini. The city was besieged and Gardabhilla was ousted. Sarasvati was re-established in the discipline.

The Sahis began to rule the conquered land with that Sahi, to whom Kalaka had resorted, as their overlord. Thus arose the family of the Sagas or Sakas.¹⁵

According to some recensions the Sakas were uprooted by one Vikramaditya.¹⁶ The Long Anonymous Version states that this Vikramaditya, who had become the king of Malava by exterminating the Saka family, established his own era, and that his family was later

⁸ N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 99, v. 34.

⁹ *Niśithacurni*, *Uddesa* 10.

¹⁰ Bhadresvara, *Kathāvali* (N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 102 ; S. M. Nawab, *Op. cit.*, pt. II, p. 41).

¹¹ N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹² *Haya-Padiniva-Payavo* version (N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 974, v. 52 ; see also S. N. Nawab, *Op. cit.*, pt. II, p. 205, v. 52.)

¹³ Bhadresvara's *Kathāvali* ; (N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 103 ; S. M. Nawab, *Op. cit.*, 37).

¹⁴ N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 41, See also the version of Vinayacandrasuri (S. M. Nawab, *Op. cit.*, pt. II, p. 97, v. 25).

¹⁵ According to the *Niśitha-curni* the Sagakula or the Saka family was established in Suratta (i.e. Surastra) during the sojourn of Kalaka and the Sahis in that region.

¹⁶ N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 43, v. 56 ; p. 90, v. 63 ; p. 95, v. 31. See also the version of Vinayacandrasuri (S. M. Nawab, *Op. cit.* pt. II, p. 97, v. 25).

destroyed by another Saka king, who started his own reckoning when 135 years of the Vikrama had already lapsed.¹⁷

The earliest manuscript of the Long Anonymous Version, the most elaborate of all recensions, is dated in the year 1335 of the Vikrama Samvat,¹⁸ i.e. A.D. 1277/78 or 1278/79. Again, another manuscript of same recension, dated in the following year,¹⁹ contains many copyists' errors,²⁰ and hence indicates that between the date of the original manuscript of this version and that of the present one should be allotted time enough for the accumulation of a number of bad readings, possibly as a result of inaccuracies of succeeding generations of the copyists. It may be noted in this connection that Bhavadevasuri, who wrote a brief version of the Kalaka story, is known to have flourished about the middle of the 13th century, A.D.²¹

Thus by this time the Kalaka legend had already become well-known in Jaina literary circles. On the other hand, it has been pointed out²² that we should recognise in the name of Vairasimha of Dhara-vasa, described in most of the versions as the father of Kalaka, one of the Vairasimhas of the Paramara family of Dhara or Dhar.²³ Thus the full development of the story cannot have taken place prior to the second quarter of the 9th century A.D., when Vairasimha I began to rule.²⁴

The connotation of the term Hindukadesa, as used in the above form of the story, also indicates a late origin for the present state of that legend. Here Hindukadesa is placed to the east of the Indus—one version even replaces it by Malavadesa and another by the kingdom of Gardabhilla. Thus the Hindukadesa of our story cannot be identified

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 43, vv. 65 and 68-70. Some versions refer to the establishing of the Saka rule 135 years after the time of Vikramaditya (N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 91, v. 64, p. 95, v. 32), but not to the institution of the Vikram era.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2 and 87. Brown notes in one place that Bhavadevasuri flourished in A.D. 1250 (*Ibid.*, p. 2). And again he states in another place (*Ibid.*, p. 87) that the latter lived in samvat 1312 of the Vikrama era (?). A. D. 1254-55 or 1255-56.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²³ Brown considers the Vairasimha in question to be Vairasimha II of the Paramara family (*Ibid.*, p. 2). However, there is no reason why he should not be identified with Vairasimha I. Brown is probably wrong in thinking that Dhara became the capital of the Paramaras in the time of Vairasimha II. It may have been so from an earlier period (B.C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 27).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30. Vairasimha I ruled from c. A.D. 836-37 to c. A.D. 863.

with Sindhuka or Sindhudesa, meaning in pre-Christian and early-Christian centuries a land to the west of the Indus.²⁵ The term Hindukadesa may be more favourably compared with the name Hind, by which the Muslim chroniclers and geographers of early mediaeval times meant the Indian subcontinent or parts of it to the east of the Indus.²⁶

On the other hand, there are certain factors which suggest high antiquity for at least some portions of the Kalaka story. The name Kalaka is a celebrated one in Jaina hagiology. It may be pointed out, without entering into the question of plurality of Kalakas,²⁷ that all relevant texts indicate that a Jaina monk of that name was alive in the

²⁵ The *Hou Han-shu* indicates that Shen-tu was situated between Kao-fu (on the north-west ?), sea (on the south-west or south ?) and P'an-ch'i (on the east). It lay on a big river. (*Hou Han-shu*, ch 118, pp. 9-10). Kao-fu was the Kabul area, and the sea was obviously the Arabian Sea. Hence the river was probably the Sindhu or the Indus. Sindhu and Sauvira, mentioned in the Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VIII, p. 41) were probably situated respectively on the west and east of the Indus. See also B. N. Mukhejee, *The Lower Indus Country*, book I. ch. II.

²⁶ Ibn Khurdadba, who died in 300 A.H. or A.D. 912, distinguished between Sind and Hind and took Bakar as the first place on the border of Hind. It is clear from the context that this author located Bakar to the east of at least the main channel of the Mihran, i.e. the Indus. He also included the kingdom of Balhara (of a Rashtrakuta king having the title Vallabha), of Kamrun (Kamarupa), etc. within India, (H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India as told by its Own Historians*, vol. I, pp. 12-14) which probably means Hind. (For the identification of Bakar see J. Abbot, *Sind—A Reinterpretation of the Unhappy Valley*, pp. 60-64).

Ibn Khurdadba probably included in Hind only lands lying to the east of the Indus. One is left with same impression after reading the *Kitabu-I Akaim* of Abu Ishak Al Istakhari, written about the middle of the 10th century A.D. (Elliot and Dowson, *Op. cit.* pp. 26-27 ; see also the map accompanying the *Ashkalu-I Bilad*, written in A.H. 589 or A. 1193. *Ibid.*, p. 32).

The *Chaah-nama*, the original Arabic version which was written probably before 136 A.H. (A.D. 753), also distinguished between Sind and Hind, but made Alor capital of both. This indicates that Hind or a part of it was situated near Sind of the *Chaah-nama*. Only a little more than a century prior to the date of the original *Chaah-nama*, Sin-tu was taken by Hsien-tsang as including a land immediately to the west of the Indus (T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. II, p. 252). The word Sind may well be a corruption of the name Sindh (i.e. Shen-tu). Hind within which Ibn Khurdadba includes lands lying to the east of the Indus, may also denote in the *Chaah-nama* at least some of the same territory. (Elliot and Dowson, *Op. cit.*, pp. 136 and 138).

²⁷ N. Brown thinks that the Jaina traditions testify to the existence of the three Kalakas—one dying in the year 376 of the Vira era, the second flourishing (perhaps becoming a Suri) in the year 453 of that era, and the third living in the year 933 of the same reckoning (Brown *Op. cit.*, p. 7). U. P. Shah, on the other hand, support the existence of only one Kalaka living in the 1st Century B.C.

year 453 of the Vira era.²⁸ In a stanza appended to three manuscripts of Dharmaprabhasuri's version it is stated that in the same year Kalaka "took (*gahiya*) Sarasvati".²⁹ This evidence, even though appearing in a comparatively late version,³⁰ may be accepted, on the ground of its not being contradicted by any other source, at least as a working hypothesis. The Kalaka associated with Sarasvati should be the same as the brother of the Sarasvati of our story. In fact, Merutunga, though another late authority,³¹ explicitly states that in the year 453 after Vira's *nirvāṇa*, Kalikacarya (i.e., Kalakacarya), the uprooter of Gardabhilla, was honoured with the title of Suri.³² Hence it is possible that our Kalaka lived in 452 of the Vira era. Although there is a controversy about the epoch of this era, no existing theory would place the year 453 of that reckoning after the 1st century B.C.³³ or much before it.

Traditional chronology, however, should never be accepted as an independent evidence. Hence the testimony of Ptolemy confirming a part of our story is much more important for our purpose. It states that after crossing the Sindhu or the Indus Sahis or the Shahis entered into Surastra (the widest possible geographical limits of which included, as the cumulative evidence of certain sources should indicate, the whole

²⁸ Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ The earliest known manuscript of the version of Dharmaprabhasuri is dated in *samvat* 1502 (*Ibid.*, p. 93).

³¹ Merutunga composed the *Prabandha Cintamani* in *samvat* 1367. (*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, os. vol. IX, p. 147).

³² *Ibid.*, p. 148.

³³ For different theories about the epoch of the Vira era, see H. C. Ray Choudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition), p. 213, p. 3. See also *JBBRAS*, os, vol. IX, p. 147.

of the Kathiawad peninsula and the adjacent lands to its north as well as a part of the littoral lower Indus area to the east of the Indus³⁴). Hence it can be assumed that within the land of the Sahis or Shahis, called Sagakula, was incorporated the coastal portions of modern Sind to the west of the Indus. Again, since these Sahis crossed the Indus only once, they should have forded its main eastern arm flowing near the Saurashtra area. In other words, the Indus delta, known to the classical writers as Patalene,³⁵ was included in Sagakula. This

³⁴ The Junagadh inscription of c. A.D. 150 refers to Rudradaman I as the lord of *inter alia* Anartta and Surastra (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VIII, p. 44) and speaks of Suvisakha as ruling on his behalf the whole of these territories (*Ibid.*, p. 45). Since this epigraph also states that Suvisakha repaired the dam of the Lake Sudarsana (*Ibid.*), apparently in the vicinity of Junagadh (*JBBRAS*, os, vol. XVIII, pp. 47-55; *IA*, vol. VII, p. 257), this lake must have been either in Anartta or in Surastra. It also appears from the same source that they were contiguous territories.

The term Surastra seems to have survived in Sorath, the name of an area in Southern Kathiawad (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. 1, p. 6). This may indicate that at least South Kathiawad was known in some earlier ages as Surastra (*Ibid.*) Anarttapura, referred to in the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhi and identified as Vadnagar in the Mehsana district, is considered to be connected with Anartta (*Ibid.*). So the latter may have included in some earlier periods certain regions to the east of the Little Runn of Cutch and immediately above Kathiawad (*Ibid.*). It has also been suggested that Anartta may have also incorporated Northern Kathiawad. (*Ibid.*, Bhagwanlal Indraji observed that certain Puranic passages should indicate the inclusion of the whole of Kathiawad within Anartta).

Surastra or Saurashtra seems to have been referred to in classical sources as Syrastrène (Ptolemy, *Op. cit.*, VII, I, 55-61; McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 140). It appears from a section of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (sec 41) that Syrastrène included the territory now covered by the whole of the Kathiawad peninsula and the adjacent lands to its north as well as a part of the littoral Lower Indus Country to the east of the Indus. Syrastrène, the name of a province of Ptolemy's Indo-Scythia, may also have the wider connotation (Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, VII, 1, 35-61).

³⁵ Strabo, *Op. cit.*, XV, 1, 33; Ptolemy, *Op. cit.*, VII, 1, 35.

interpretation compels us to reject the theories of Konow and Jayaswal, who placed Sagakula respectively in Sauvira³⁶ and Seistan.³⁷

In the second or the third quarter of the 2nd century A.D.³⁸ Ptolemy enumerated Patalene, Syrastrane and Aberia or Saberia as the provinces of Indo-Scythia (several towns situated outside the possible natural limits of any of those three regions)³⁹. It appears that Ptolemy extended the ethno-geographical name of Indo-Scythia (i.e. land of the Indian Scythians or Seythians in India) to a larger political division. The latter incorporated the land denoted by the geographical connotation of the term Indo-Scythia and also some tracts politically annexed to the territory of some power ruling Indo-Scythia at the time to which Ptolemy's source of information should be dated.⁴⁰

As a tract is not likely to be called after a people until some time after their first settlement in it, Ptolemy's evidence which implies that Aberia or Saberia, Patalene and Syrastrane were known as the lands of the Scythians, should indicate that the Scythian colonisation of these provinces probably started long before the date of his *Geography* or rather than of the source of his information. In fact, the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, a text probably of the 1st century A.D.⁴¹ locates Scythia in the lower Indus area.⁴² We have also convincing data to suggest that some of the sources of Ptolemy's information may be dated to periods earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.⁴³

The evidence of Ptolemy thus shows that Patalene and Syrastrane began to be inhabited by the Scythians long, even centuries, before

³⁶ *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol XII, p. 18.

³⁷ *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, vol. XVIII, p. 233. Brown's equation of Hindukadesa with the Lower Indus Country (*Op. cit.*, p. 57) is wrong; for the latter includes *inter alia* territories lying even to the west of the Indus.

Konow was also wrong when he suggested that Hindukadesa was the Shen-tu of the *Hou Han-shu*. (S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. 11, pt. 1, pp. LXVII and LXVIII). Hindukadesa was situated on the east of the Indus, whereas Shen-tu incorporated some regions to the west of that river.

³⁸ E. H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography*, vol. II, pp. 546-547.

³⁹ Ptolemy, *Geographika Huphegesis*, VII, 1, 55-61.

⁴⁰ B. N. Mukherjee, *The Lower Indus Country*, c. A. D. 1-150, book II, ch. I; see also W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edn.).

⁴¹ B. N. Mukherjee, *Op. cit.*, book I, ch. 1; W. H. Schoff, *Periplus*.

⁴² *Periplus*, etc. see 38.

⁴³ W. W. Tarn, *Op. cit.*

the date of his *Geography*, i.e. 2nd or 3rd quarter of the 2nd century A. D. There are precisely two of the three territories indicated in the Kalaka story to have been colonised by the Sagas or Sakas by the time of Kalaka whom the Jaina hagiology dates not later than the 1st century B. C. And as Sakas were certainly Scythians,⁴⁴ the testimony of Ptolemy should lend conviction to at least a part of the Kalaka story.

The *Kālakācārya-Kathānaka* indicates that Sagakula or Sakakula (including the area called Patalene (in classical sources) was colonised by the Sakas before their settlement in Surastra. We have noted above that in two versions there appear the name Parasakula in place of Sagakula. If the relevant portions of these two recensions, like the corresponding sections of other editions, echo events of a period very much earlier than the date of Ptolemy's *Geography* of the 2nd or 3rd quarter of the 2nd century A.D., then the terms Sagakula and Parasakula are not necessarily contradictory. For the 'Scythian bank' might also be called the 'Persian bank' if it was included within the dominions of an Iranian overlord. We have produced elsewhere sources suggesting hegemony of the Imperial Parthians over the west bank of the Indus in a period of the 2nd and again in the 1st century B.C.⁴⁵ And from its situation, the Parthian empire may well have been referred to by an Indian author as a Persian empire. It is also to be noted that the overlord of the Saka Sahis is called a Sahansahi or Shahanushahi, an Iranian version probably familiar among the inhabitants of the Indo-Iranian border lands of the title *Basileos Basileon* appearing on the coins of the Imperial Parthians.⁴⁶

If one accepts the evidence of the Long Anonymous Version as correct in stating that the Vikrama era was established after the overthrow of Saka rule in Ujjayini, the *Kālakācārya-Kathānaka's* references to the Sagakula and probably to the Parthian hegemony over Sagakula may be dated well within the first half of the 1st century B.C.⁴⁷ However, it must be noted that neither are the earlier examples of the use of the era of 58 B.C. found in the region of Ujjayini, nor does the name

⁴⁴ Sakai or Sacae referred by Strabo and described by him as Scythians (XI, 8, 2) were obviously Sakas. See *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, vol. I. No. 2, July, 1965, p. 5.

⁴⁵ B. N. Mukherjee, *The Imperial Parthians in the Lower Indus Country*, ch. II.

⁴⁶ W. Wroth, *Catalogue of Parthian Coins in the British Museum*.

⁴⁷ See also Konow's remarks in *CII*, vol. II, pt. 1.

Vikrama appear in such instances.⁴⁸ Moreover the story of the Saka occupation of Ujjayini before the beginning of the Christian era is not corroborated by any reliable independent evidence.

No doubt, as Konow⁴⁹ and Jayaswal⁵⁰ contended, some Jaina treatises including the *Paṭṭāvalis*⁵¹ and the *Therāvalī* of Merutunga⁵² put the rule of the Sakas in Ujjayini before the beginning of the Vikrama era.⁵³ However, they also place Nabhovahana and Gardabhilla before the Sakas,⁵⁴ and think that Nabhovahana was the same as Nahapana of coins and inscriptions. The identification is made virtually certain by the facts that another Jaina work describes the protracted struggle between a Satavahana king and Nahavahana,⁵⁵ that the latter name may be variant of the name Nabhovahana, and that the only ruler known to have been involved in such a war and to have borne a name almost similar to that of Nabhovahana was Nahapana. But this Nahapana cannot have ruled before the 1st century A.D.⁵⁶ This at once reveals the weakness of the relevant portions of the works on which Konow and Jayaswal depended. Hence it must be admitted that no reliable source testifies to Saka rule in Ujjayini in the 1st century B.C.

It appears that, of the different features of the Kalaka story, only those concerning with or alluding to the existence of Saka colony on the western bank of the lower Indus, the Parthain hegemony over the same region, and the activities of the Sakas in Surastra (in the 1st century B.C. ?), can be taken as historical facts. It is doubtful whether any Jaina teacher called Kalaka was in any way associated with the Saka activities in Surastra. We can only admit that such

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *JBBRAS*, vol XVI, pp. 234f.

⁵⁰ *Indian Antiquary*, vol II, pp. 362-363 ; *JBORS*, vol. XVI, p. 234.

⁵¹ *JBBRAS*, os. vol. IX, p. 148.

⁵² See also Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1888, p. 232.

⁵³ See *IA*, vol II, pp. 362-363, where Prakrit *gathas* from the works of Merutunga, Dharma Sagara and Jaivijayagani are quoted.

⁵⁴ *śrīmad-bhadravāṣuṣvami-praṇīta-nīryuktīyukth-bhāṣyakalīta-śrīmad-haribhadra-sūri-sūtrīṭavṛtti-parivarīṭam śrīmad-avasyakasūtra-syottarardham, parvabhagāi* (edited by the Agamodaya Samiti), folios 712-713.

⁵⁵ The name Nahapana itself could easily be corrupted in the Indian sources into Nahavana, etc.

⁵⁶ See B. N. Mukherjee, *Op. cit.*, book III, ch. I. In this connection see also the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1953, pp. 30-40.

an association was believed in by the time the story had grown up around the core of hard facts. When it was given literary form it was evidently altered, expanded and historically vitiated, and thus later characters,⁵⁷ such as Vairasimha, etc, were incorporated in it.

Thus the cumulative effect of the testimonies of the *Kālakācārya-Kathānaka* and Ptolemy indicates the presence of a Saka colony including Patalene probably under the hegemony of the Imperial Parthians ; and the activities of the Sakas or Scythians in Surastra.⁵⁸

Reprinted from *Babu Chotelal Jain Smṛti Granth*, p. 229-236.

⁵⁷ This critical appraisal of the contents of the Kalaka study indicates that Dr. S. K. Chattopadhyay is wrong in thinking that the legend is wholly unhistorical (S. Chattopadhyay, *Early History of Northern India*, p. 56).

⁵⁸ We must add here that there is no evidence suggesting the activities of the Saka-Scythians from the Lower Indus region, where Sagakula was situated, in the Punjab area in the 1st century B.C. There is no proper foundation for the theory of Rapson (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. I. p. 568), Konow (*CII*, vol II, pt. 1, pp. XXXI-XXXII), Tarn (*Op. cit.*, p. 232), Marshall (*Taxila*, vol. I. 44-45), etc. advocating such activities and connecting the Scytho-Parthian Mause with them.

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