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Dialectical Sociology of Religion in the Context of Jainism

ARVIND SHARMA

I

As the chairperson of the session of the World Congress of Sociology devoted to the topic "Dialectical Sociology of Religion", Professor Hans Mol prepared and distributed a short paper on Dialectical Sociology to the participants. In this paper, I would first of all like to summarize the basic points made by Professor Mol. Once these points have been indicated, I would like to review them in the light of Jain philosophy and history.

II

The main points made by Professor Hans Mol are as follows :

1. He begins by pointing out that dialectical sociology "embraces the view that the most fundamental and logically purest distinction is between sameness and difference or identity and change".¹
2. He proceeds to point out that "as reality has both unitary (identity promoting) as well as differentiating (change promoting) characteristics, a dialectical sociology assumes that the two are symbiotically, or dialectically related".²
3. This produces an interesting consequence. Although it was stated that the most logically pure distinction is between sameness and difference or identity and change, "perfect identity/stability is as maladaptive as perfect change/instability and that in a viable society each prevents the other from achieving purity".³

¹ Hans Mol, 'Dialectical Sociology', unpublished paper, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

4. This necessitates the realization that “dialectical sociology adds the words ‘tending towards’ to the logically pure categories of identity/sameness and change/difference. It postulates that a tendency towards sameness and a tendency towards change counterbalance one another”⁴
5. In this process of counterbalancing “religion bolsters the personal and social forces which tend towards wholeness and identity thereby compensating for the numerous fragmenting facets of human existence”.⁵
6. “Generally one can detect most, if not all, of the following four elements to safeguard the integrating side of the dialectic :
 - (a) objectification or transcendental ordering. It sums up the arbitrary, disorderly and meaningless elements of existence in a transcendental point of reference where they can appear more orderly, more consistent and more timeless.
 - (b) commitment or emotional anchoring. It moors a system of meaning in feelings and wraps it in ‘don’t touch’ sentiments. It is from these emotions that men derives a sense of union with his environment or of the wholeness of existence.
 - (c) ritual or sameness enacting. Rites retrace the grooves around order. They strengthen the form of the latter and affirm its boundaries. They represent what a particular identity perceives itself to be. Yet in the rites of passage they also strip an old and weld a new identity in order to safeguard the larger context.
 - (d) myth or dialectic dramatization. It dramatizes basic motifs of existence and weaves a pattern out of contrasting elements. These elements are often as close at hand as a father, a mother, children and their inclination to challenge authority. They can also be much more abstract such as the salvation (wholeness) and sin (breakdown) themes in Christianity.”⁶

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

III

The Jain position on the logical purity of the distinction between identity and change and sameness and difference is of considerable interest, although in the Jain philosophy the context is metaphysical rather than societal. Unlike Hinduism which by and large leans towards identity and Buddhism, which leans towards change, Jainism tries to combine both these aspects in its concept of reality. As S. Chatterjee and D. Datta explain :

As in common conversation so also in philosophy a distinction is made between the characters (*dharma*) and that which possesses the characters (*dharmī*). The latter is generally called a substance (*dravya*). The Jainas accept this common philosophical view of substance. But they point out that there are two kinds of characters found in every substance, essential and accidental. The essential characters of a substance remain in the substance as long as the substance remains. Without these the substance will cease to be what it is. Consciousness, for example, is an essential character of the soul. Again the accidental characters of a substance come and go ; they succeed one another. Desires, volitions, pleasure and pain are such accidental characters possessed by the soul-substance. It is through such characters that a substance undergoes change or modification. They may also be called, therefore, modes. The Jainas call an essential unchanging character *guṇa*, and an accidental, changing character *paryāya*. A substance is defined, therefore, as that which possesses qualities (*guṇas*), as well as modes (*paryāyas*).⁷

M. Hiriyanna has shown how this also applies to the definition of reality in general.⁸ If we focus on the dual aspect of identity and change, the Jain position would be that "Change and permanence are both real. It should not be thought contradictory to say that a particular substance (or the universe as a whole) is both subject to change and free from it. Change is true of the substance in one respect (*syāt*), whereas permanence is true in another respect (*syāt*). The contradiction vanishes when we remember that each predication is relative and not absolute, as taught by *syādvāda*".⁹

⁷ Satischandra Chatterjee and Dhirendramohan Datta, *An Introduction to Indian Philosophy* (University of Calcutta, 1968), p. 88.

⁸ M. Hiriyanna, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* (Delhi : Blackie & Sons, 1983), pp. 160-161. Also see Padmanabha S. Jaini, *The Jain Path of Purification* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 90 and M. Hiriyanna, *op.cit.*, p. 161 fn. 1.

⁹ Satischandra Chatterjee and Dhirendramohan Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

Thus, it may be safe to suggest that on account of its fundamentally dualistic formulation of the distinction between *jīva* and *ajīva* or living and non-living, Jainism is perhaps philosophically more hospitable to dialectical sociology than other systems which emphasize the aspect at the expense of another.

The fact that the same object is characterized by permanence as well as change, has implications for the discussion of sameness and difference. Identity and change may seem to imply a temporal dimension as change takes place over time, but sameness and difference need not always involve a temporal dimension¹⁰ in the sense that things may be same or different at the same point in time and merely a spatial rather than a temporal dimension may be involved. This distinction is clearly recognized in Jainism :

The general or universal features may be of two kinds, described as "crosswise" (*tiryak-sāmānya*) and "lengthwise" (*ūrdhvatā-sāmānya*), which may respectively be taken as equivalent to what are known as the abstract and the concrete universals in Western philosophy. An example of the former we have in "cowness" which is presented simultaneously (*tiryak*, literally meaning "extending horizontally") in several cows ; the latter is what underlies manifestations appearing successively in time (*ūrdhva*, literally

¹⁰ See M. Hiriyanna, *The Essentials of Indian Philosophy* (London : George Allen & Unwin, 1948), p. 65 : "Thus a cow is characterized by cowness, which it has common with other cows. It has also certain characteristics which are special to it, such as its particular colour or size by which we are able to distinguish it from other cows. Some thinkers view these particulars and universals, as they are called, as being separately real. The Jains, on the other hand, take the two as *together* constituting reality, so that things, whether spiritual or material, are necessarily complex according to them. The particular or the general taken by itself is a pure abstraction. They are distinguishable in thought, but are not separable in fact. The relation between these two aspects of an object is one of identity in difference (*bhedabheda*). That is, the particular and the general as such are different ; but as phases of the same substance (*dravya*), they are also one. In the case of a cow, for instance, these two, viz. cowness and the specific colour or size as such are distinct ; but they are not absolutely so, for they belong to or characterize one and the same object and have no being apart from it. To the objection that the contradictory features of identity and difference cannot, like heat and cold, be predicated of the same object the Jains reply that our sole warrant for speaking about reality is experience and that, when experience vouches for such a character, it must be admitted to be so. The so-called contradictions may themselves be the ultimate truth about reality. Thought must follow the nature of reality in grasping it, and should not attempt to determine it."

meaning “extending vertically”), for example, cotton as the material of single yarns, thread and cloth. It will be seen that these notions are respectively based upon those of similarity and identity, which are alike known through “recognition” (*pratyabhijñā*). Two or more cows which exhibit the same cowness are similar ; the cotton which appears in the yarn and the cloth is identical. When we say that A is a cow, and that B also is a cow, it is the predicative element of cowness that is common to both ; but when we say that X was a boy and that he is a youth now, it is the subject element that is so.¹¹

But both are also brought into relationship with the ideas of mode and substance. “Both sets of features, whether they be constant like cowness or changing like boyhood or youth, are described here as “modes” or “forms” (*paryāya*) of the substance to which they belong. Of these, it is clear that the latter are impermanent. The other set of modes like cowness also are so, according to Jainism. They are only special dispositions or configurations of the substance in which they appear and, as such, are to be regarded as different in different particulars. For example, the cowness of one cow is not numerically the same as the cowness of another.”¹²

On points (2), (3) and (4) mentioned in Section II however, Jain thought is not of much direct help because it holds on to the logical purity of the distinctions. What is dualistic is not necessarily dialectical and recognition of the co-existence of change and identity as definitive of reality does not mean that the two are to be viewed as mutually corrective. However, in the history of the Jain community in India the relationship between its monastic and lay wings has often been of the kind which supports a dialecticsociology of the type advanced here. As Padmanabha S. Jaini has observed : “Strictly speaking, then the vows of the layman are really just a codified, relatively weak version of the *real* Jaina vows ; they may curb evil behaviour to some extent, but they cannot bring a person to liberation. In practice, however, this point has not been stressed. Jaina teachers have been realistic enough to see that most new converts will be emotionally ready only for the layman’s path. They have correctly perceived, moreover, that no religious institution can survive without the strong involvement of the laity ; hence they have not only downplayed the “inferior” nature of the lay path, but have shown their

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹² *Ibid.*

high regard for this path by producing numerous tracts (called *srāva-kācāra*) on the particulars of lay conduct. Despite this trend, the ascetic orientation of Jainism has certainly not been lost ; not only does the way of the mendicant retain premier status among Jains, but even the lay discipline is far more strict than that of any other Indian religious community.”¹³

Padmanabha S. Jaini also explains the relative success of Jainism in surviving in a predominantly Hindu milieu as compared to Buddhism to this symbiotic relationship between the monastic and lay wings of Jainism,¹⁴ and the adjustments Jainism made to Hindu influences (change) while retaining its distinct character (identity), thus presenting a classic example of “a tendency towards sameness” (identity) and “a tendency towards change counterbalancing each other”.¹⁵ The more general explanation of Jain survival offered by Jaini is of interest here . He writes :

Any investigation that seeks to unearth “the causes” of a complex phenomenon must eventually draw the line. In considering Jainism’s survival against formidable odds, we have noted the roles played by royal patronage, by the strong involvement of the lay community, by the ability of the Acaryas to constructively compromise with Hindu influence, and by internal movements towards reform. Equal weight could have been given in the general lack of schisms within the Jaina tradition (Buddhism, by contrast, could count eighteen schools, opposed to one another on doctrinal grounds, as early as the third century B.C.), or perhaps to geographical factors. Then, of course, there are the intangibles : commitment, timing, luck, and so forth.¹⁶

It will be noticed that four out of the six factors mentioned, leaving the intangibles aside, can be analysed in terms of dialectical sociology.

One may now turn to a consideration of points (5) and (6) identified in Section II, namely, that in various ways religion supports the forces towards wholeness as opposed to disintegration. In this respect the Jain doctrine of non-violence or *Ahimsā* has played a key role¹⁷ and out of the

¹³ Padmanabha S. Jaini, *op.cit.*, p. 160.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 285ff.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 291ff.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 311-312.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 312ff.

four elements identified by Hans Mol as safeguarding this integrating side of wholeness, *Ahimsā* seems to fit in best with what he calls “emotional anchoring” and which he relates to “those emotions that man derives from a sense of union with his environment or of the wholeness of existence.” The Jain doctrine of *Ahimsā* seems to encapsulate this emotion par excellence.¹⁸

¹⁸ It is worth noting, however, that in a Jain context non-violence did not necessarily entail pacifism ; see Wm. Theodore de Bary, ed., *Sources of Indian Tradition* (New York : Columbia University Press, 1958), Vol. I., pp. 86-87.

An Unique Jaina Image from Sankarpur, Burdwan

AMAL ROY

An image of Santinatha, the sixteenth Jaina Tirthankara has been found in the so-called Nyantesvara temple at Sankarpur under Mangalkote thana in Burdwan district of West Bengal.

According to local tradition, this exquisite specimen of sculpture was found in the river-bed of Ajaya by one of the fore-fathers of the present Brahmin custodians of the deity. From there it was brought in the village Sankarpur, located about 15 kms. away from Mangalkote. It being a nude image belonging to the Digambara Jaina sect,¹ it is now worshipped inside the temple as Nyantesvara Siva.

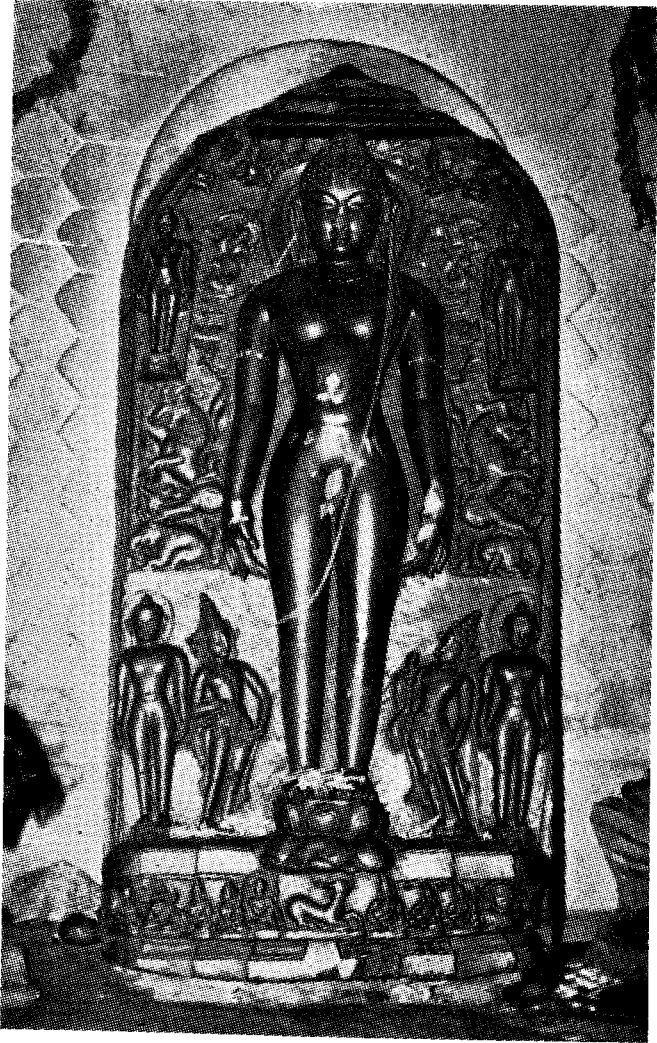
The image is curved out of fine-grained black-basalt or *kaṣṭi-pāthar*, probably quarried from the neighbouring hills of Rajmahal of Bihar State.

The figure (height 4½ feet, width 3 feet, thickness 6 inches approx.) is standing in *kāyotsarga mudrā* on a double-petalled lotus. On the centre of the pedestal, just under the lotus a deer, the conventional *lāñchana* of Santinatha is depicted. On both sides of the deer, panels of Navagrahas are also depicted. Two cauri-bearers stand in graceful pose, one on either side of the lower part of the figure. The ornamentations and physical features of the cauri-bearers show a high degree of artistic skill. The head is covered with the usual trilinear umbrella or *chatra*. *Caityavrkṣa*, the tree associated with the *kevala*-knowledge² and heavenly musician-couple playing drums alongwith flying Gandharvas with garlands are also depicted at the top of the oval-shaped halo. Other characteristic features of the image are four miniature Jinas depicted on either side of the central figure. Among these the two depicted on the lower part, standing besides of the cauri-bearers, are without their usual *lāñchanas*. So, they are not identifiable. The other two standing on either side of the upper part of the image are Sambhavanatha

¹ A. Ghosh, *Jaina Art & Architecture*, p. 26 ;

R. P. Mohapatra, *Jaina Monuments of Orissa*, p. 11.

² B. C. Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*, p. 7.



Santinath, Sankarpur, Burdwan

(right) and Vasupujya (left) respectively as identified by their *lāñchanas* of horse and buffalo. Other decorations on the back-slab are elephants, one on either side holding some objects in their trunks, a pair of roaring lions one on either side just on the top of the elephant with riders (similar to that of Gaja-Sardula motif of Orissan art of Mediaeval age), a pair of soldiers with shields on both sides of the main deity and a pair of peacocks probably representing Mahamanasi, the Sasanadevi associated with Santinatha.

A large number of Jaina images have been found in Bengal from different places, viz., Surohor of Dinajpur District, Mandoil of Rajsahi District, Nalgora of 24 pargana District, Ujani and Sat-Deuliya of Burdwan District, Barabhum of Midnapore District, Chatra of Purulia District, Deulbhira, Ambikanagar, Citgiri, Barkola, Paresnath, Kendua of Bankura District etc.³

So, it is clear that Jainism witnessed a great development in the valleys of the Damodar, the Kansavati, the Suvarnaksha and the Ajay rivers which have yielded images of many Tirthankaras and Sasana-devatas, besides retaining many Jaina shrines.⁴

Through these sculptures it is revealed that Jainism was popular in Bengal in the mediaeval period side by side with Buddhism and Brahmanism. Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, refers that in Pundravardhana (North Bengal) and Samatata (South Bangladesh) the Digambaras were numerous.⁵ During 9th and 10th Centuries a large number of Jaina shrines were built and many stone and Bronze images made in different parts of Bengal, though Buddhism became the dominant religion of the state under the Palas. In the 9th and 11th Centuries Jaina art in Bengal was as vigorous and varied as Buddhist and Brahmanical art.

So far, a large number of Tirthankara images have been reported from Bengal. But the image of Santinatha the sixteenth Tirthankara, is very rare in Bengal. Only 4 images of Santinatha have been reported so far, excluding this image of Sankarpur. Among them the image of Santinatha, discovered from Ujani near Mangalkote in Burdwan District, is

³ *Jaina Art & Architecture*, Vol. 1, Chap. 15, p. 152ff.

⁴ *Babu Chhotelal Jain Smriti Granth*, pp. 150 ff.

⁵ R. C. Mazumdar, 'Jainism in Ancient Bengal', *Sri Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Souvenir*, Vol. I, pp. 136-137.

in good state of preservation. This particular specimen is now preserved in the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad in Calcutta.⁶

Another image of Santinatha is reported from the village Chatra in the District of Purulia. It is embedded in the plaster to the left of the doorway of a modern Siva Temple.

Other two images of Santinatha have been reported from the village Pakbirra and Chatra in Purulia District.⁷ Only the lower portion of the images are available. They are identified with Santinatha, as deer, the conventional *lāñchana* is depicted on the pedestal of both the sculpture.

Scenes from the life of Buddha, such as the great renunciation, as well as from the Buddhist *Jātaka* stories, are represented in numerous reliefs from Gandhara, Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathura, Amaravati, Nagarjun-konda and elsewhere in India and abroad. But little is known of similar representation from the lives of the Jaina Tirthankaras.

Fortunately, a large number of reliefs in the ceilings of the Jaina shrines at Delvada, Mt. Abu, especially in the temples built by Vimala Shah and Tejapala, and in the group of temples at Kumbharia near Abu, preserve for us beautifully carved representations depicting main events from the lives of Tirthankaras like Candraprabha, Munisuvrata, Santinatha, Neminatha, Parsvanatha, and Mahavira.

In the earlier birth, the soul of Santinatha was born as king Megharatha who possessed clairvoyant knowledge. Once a god, Surupa by name, desired to test Megharatha's steadfastness in the practice of Dharma. He, therefore, took the form of a pigeon which was being pursued by a falcon and flew in the meditation hall of Megharatha with cries for help. The pigeon took shelter into the lap of the king who was meditating there. Megharatha asked the bird not to worry and promised protection at any cost. The falcon, chasing, rushed in and told the king that since he was hungry, his bird of prey, the pigeon, should be handed over. The king offered to satisfy his hunger with his own flesh. The falcon, another god in this form, insisted on having his flesh equal to the weight of the pigeon. The king instantly ordered for a balance and began to cut his own flesh and put it on the scale. But the god in the pigeon's body kept on increasing his

⁶ R. D. Banerjee, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, p. 144, Pl. LXXVII.

⁷ *Jaina Art & Architecture*, Vol. I, Chap. 15, pp. 152ff.

weight till ultimately the king decided to sacrifice his whole body and put himself on the scale. God Surupa, convinced of Megharatha's steadfastness in Dharma, was pleased and healing the wounds of the king went to heaven. (Further details about previous births and the life of Santinatha, are to be found in Hemacandracarya's *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣa Carita, Parvan 5.*)

An elaborate relief sculpture representing the life of Santinatha⁸ is however preserved in a big ceiling in the shrine of Mahavira at Kumbharia, North Gujarat, consecrated in 1062 A.D. The whole relief is divided into four sections, the innermost being a circle enclosed in a square, representing the *samavasaraṇa* of Santinatha. The different scenes in the different sections have inscribed labels. The second and the third sections, for example, show the *dikṣā* (renunciation of Santinatha), king Asvasena and Queen Acira, the parents of this Jina, the dreams seen by the Queen Mother when the Jina descended from heaven in her womb (representing the *cyavana-kalyāṇaka*), the Nativity of Santinatha (the *janma-kalyāṇaka*), Santinatha as Cakravartin or world conquerer and so on. The arrangement of these sections is so beautifully done and the miniature figures of animals and men are so nicely carved and are so animate that the whole sculpture can be said to be one of the best *Jātaka*-relief so far discovered.

⁸ U. P. Shah, 'Jaina Jataka Stories in Art', *Kusumanjali*, Vol. II, ed by Nagaraja Rao, pp. 291ff.

A Note on Jaina Atheism

SUBODH KUMAR PAL

The tendency of philosophical thinking usually branded as atheism holds the view that 'the world has not been brought into existence by an omnipotent and omniscient personal consciousness called God (*Īśvara*), since a personal creator God of that kind does not exist. Atheism may of course mean more than this and may assume diverse forms, viz., materialism, scepticism, naturalism, agnosticism etc., but the denial of a Personal God who is the creator of the world and moral governor of human destiny is the basic minimum that is connoted by the word 'atheism'.

Systems of Indian philosophy are sharply divided on the question—Does God exist? The Carvarkas, the Buddhists and the Jainas, and even the Samkhyas and the Mimamsakas in the Hindu fold stoutly deny His existence. The Carvaka denial is intelligible : they are qualified materialists. But how the Buddhists and the Jainas who turned their philosophies to a high level of spirituality could deny God is almost an enigma. In India atheism could put up with high-pitched spiritual philosophy—a type of compatibility which it is difficult for the western people to allow. The Buddhists and the Jainas, were not all positivists or humanists ; their religions, though largely ethical, were as spiritual as religion could be, and they did not fail to recognise higher and higher levels in spiritual progress. In this paper I shall discuss Jaina atheism.

One of the most acrimonious battles of Indian philosophy was fought between the Jainas and the Naiyayikas on the ontological nature and status of a Creator God, the former denying His existence altogether while the latter defending His Being by means of inference (*anumāna*). The argument of the Naiyayikas proceeds from some perceived features of the world around us. The empirical datum from which this argument takes its start is the observed fact that the world-process consists of a casual series. For example, any particular event or object say a 'pot', has a cause, which again in its turn has a cause and so on. But this observed casual series of an object or event extending backwards in time cannot run out to infinity, but must finally be terminated in an uncaused First Cause, which is no other than God Himself. In otherwords, the world is of the nature of an effect (*kārya*) must have an efficient cause (*nimitta-kāraṇa*), just as a 'pot' is made by an efficient cause, i.e. potter. In the

same way, God is the efficient cause (*nimitta-kāraṇa*) of the world. God has created the world out of pre-existing eternal atoms (*paramāṇus*) which are its material cause (*upādāna-kāraṇa*) of the world. So, the inference (*anumāna*) of a creator God, holds a Naiyāyika, proceeds from the effect-hood (*kāryatva*) of the world, which is supposed to be the probans (*hetu*) of the inference in question.

But, with a great deal of sophistication and hair-splitting analysis, Gunaratna, a celebrated Jaina philosopher, first tries to prove that the probans (*hetu*) of this inference (*anumāna*), namely “being an effect” of the world, (*kāryatva*) hardly makes any sense in the context of the Nyaya-Vaisesika argument. According to him, in the Nyaya context ‘being effect’ may mean only one of the following four alternatives :

- (a) Being constituted of parts.
- (b) The co-inherence in the material cause.
- (c) Being the object of knowledge in the form ‘It is produced’.
- (d) Being characterised as what has undergone a change.¹

Now, Gunaratna argues to prove that none of these four possible meanings of ‘being effect’ can stand to the test of logical scrutiny. Take the 4th alternative, namely ‘being characterised as what has undergone a change’, as the representative. The 4th possible alternative of ‘being effect’ is ‘being characterised as what has undergone a change’—does not stand better. Because, an object may be described to have changed only when it has undergone a state different from what it has at any previous point of time. According to the Naiyāyika, the alleged creator, i.e., the Supreme Lord does not create at all times, sometimes He engages Himself in the work of creation and sometimes He does not. So the alleged creator, i.e. God is to be considered a being characterised by transformation. Transformation means nothing but the attainment of a different state by an actually existing thing. Now it must be admitted for the sake of argument that at the time of creation the nature of God, the alleged creator, ‘had definitely undergone a change from the time when it did not create’. That is, instead of being the cause of the world, the

¹ *yattavat kisityader buddhimadhetukatvasiddhaye karyatvasadhanam uktam, tat kim savayavatvam, pragasatah svakaranasaattasamavayah, krtam iti pratyayavisayatvam, vikarivam vasyat.*—Gunaratna, *Tarkarahasyadipika*, a commentary on *Saddarsanasamuccaya*, (Asiatic society, 1905), p. 117.

alleged Creator, i.e. God Himself shares the nature of being an effect. This line of argument will lead the Naiyayika to admit that God, being Himself an effect, presupposes another intelligent cause and that intelligent cause in its turn still another and so on without any rest. Thus, in short, it results in a vicious infinite regress or *ad infinitum* or *anavasthā*.²

But in order to avoid the charge of infinite regress (*anavasthā*), the Naiyayika may refuse to declare the changeability in the nature of the Supreme Lord. But in doing so, he will have to forego the creative activity (*kāryakāritva*) of God.³

The Naiyayika says that God creates, but He creates occasionally. But 'occasionally' means the relation of an object which was non-existent before to a subsequent point of time.⁴ So, occasionality of an event means that an effect sometime exists and sometimes it does not. It should be carefully remembered that occasionality of an event does not simply imply a relation to a subsequent moment, since not only non-eternal objects but eternal objects as well relate to a fixed subsequent moment. But it is quite obvious that there can be any occasionality with regard to an object which is eternal. So, occasional creation is irreconcilable with eternal creative activity. The temporal limitation remains inexplicable. If God were not liable to change and possessed of creative urge at the sametime, creation would have always happened. But, infact, no object is produced at all times. This is an accepted truth that occasional effect must have an occasional cause. An eternal cause of an occasional effect is simply unthinkable.

Thus, we have seen above how the Jaina examines the possible definition of an effect, which may be advanced by the Naiyayika and proves that it is vitiated by defect. So, the syllogism of the Naiyayika for the inference (*anumāna*) of God as the creator of the universe involves the fallacy of unreality of proban (*hetvāsiddhi*).

Again, the Jaina proceeds to show that the doctrine of God as the creator of the world is also unworthy of acceptance, because of a number

² *satovastuno' nyathabhavo hi vikaritvam. tacce 'svarasya'py asti 'tyasya' parabuddhi-maddhetukatvaprasangad anavastha syat.*—Gunaratna, *Ibid.*, p. 118.

³ *avikaritveca' syakaryakaritvam atidurghatam.*—Gunaratna, *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁴ *purvakalasattve saty uttarakalasattvam kadacitkatvam.*—Varadaraja, *Nyayakusumanjalibodhani*, a commentary on Udayana's *Nyayakusumanjali*, (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1950), p. 54.

of other important considerations. If God is conceived as the creator or the cause of the world, then the world must be viewed as an effect of God. But the world cannot be viewed as an effect for the following reasons :

An effect is something which sometimes exists and sometimes does-not. The world is ever existing. Because, the non existence of the world can never be the object of anybody's experience and this means the world is ever existing. And also there is no evidence that the world is destroyed as a whole. So, it is clear that the world does not satisfy the condition of being an effect. Therefore, the world cannot be an effect.

The ninth-century Jaina philosopher Jinasena wrote in his *Mahā-purāṇa* : "Some foolish men declare that creator made the world. The doctrine that the world was created is ill-advised, and should be rejected. If God created the world where was He before the creation ? . . . No single being had the skill to make this world. For how can an immaterial God create that which is material? . . . If out of love for living things and need of them He made the world, why did He not make creation wholly blissful, free from misfortune?"⁵ Again Acarya Jinasena asks : "If God created the universe, where was He before creating it ? If he was not in space, when did He localise the universe ? How could a formless or immaterial substance like God create the world of matter ? If the material is to be taken as existing, why not take the world itself as unbegun ? If the creator was uncreated, why not suppose the world to be itself self-existing?"⁶

The Jaina philosopher pertinently asks : 'If every existent object must have a maker, that maker himself would have to be explained by another maker, etc. To escape from this vicious circle we have to assume that there is one uncreated self-explaining cause, God. But if it is maintained that one being can be self-subsistent, why not say that there are many others also who are uncreated and eternal similarly ? Hence, it is not necessary to assume the existence of any First Cause of the universe.'⁷

The passages above demonstrate the Jainas' refusal to associate reality with any supernatural Being. In this sense Jainism is not a religion in the ordinary usage of the term. Prof. Basham's comment on the Jaina thought is worth quoting in this context. "Jainism, like

⁵ W. Theodore De Bary, *Sources of Indian Tradition*, (Newyork, 1958), p. 76.

⁶ C. J. Shah, *Jainism in North India*, (London, 1932), p. 35.

⁷ Hemacandra, *Syadvadamanjari*, verse 6.

Buddhism, is fundamentally atheistic, in that, while not denying the existence of the gods, it refuses them any important part in the universal scheme. The world, for the Jaina, is not created, maintained or destroyed by a personal deity, but functions only according to the universal law.”⁸ Again S. Radhakrishnan remarks : “The Jaina view is that the whole universe of being, of mental and material factors has existed from all eternity, undergoing an infinite number of revolutions produced by the powers of nature without the intervention of any external deity. The diversities of the world are traced to the five co-operating conditions of time (*kāla*), nature (*svabhāva*) necessity (*niyati*), activity (*karma*) and desire to be and act (*udyama*).”⁹

From the above discussion, it is clear that the Jaina view of God is conditioned by their conviction that the world is uncreated and indestructible. So, Jainism may be regarded as a kind of naturalism, because it denies theistic type of explanations of the universe. The universe according to the Jainas, is neither created nor destroyed by a Supernatural Being, a God. Instead, it has existed eternally and operates in terms of natural law. In this system, we have seen the most consistent theory of realism, which maintains that the ontological categories are eternally real and hence they are not in need of a Creator God who is the Supreme Cause and Ruler of the world. The Jaina, like other Indian Schools of thought admits the efficacy of individual desires in determining individual fact. But the system does not find any urge to postulate God as the dispenser of reward and punishment—it is *karma* alone which fructuates and determines the course of an individual through different births. Because the Jaina believes in the inexorable moral law of *karma* which no mercy can bend.

The term ‘god’ is used in Jainism to denote a higher state of existence of the *jīva* or the conscious principle. The system believes that this state of godly existence is only a shade better than that of the ordinary human being, for, the latter is not free from the cycle of birth and death. In this context, the view of S. Radhakrishnan is worth quoting : “God is only the highest, noblest and fullest manifestation of the powers which lie latent in the soul of man.”¹⁰ Jacobi also explains the atheistic aspect of Jaina thought as follows : “Though the Jainas are undoubtedly atheistical, as we understand the term, still they would probably object to being styled as atheists. While admitting that the world is without beginning or

⁸ A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India*, (Bombay, 1963), p. 290.

⁹ S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, (London, 1941), p. 330.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

end, and therefore not produced by a God or ruled by one. They recognise a highest deity (*paramadevatā*) as the object of veneration viz., the Jina, the teacher of the sacred law, who, being absolutely free from all passions and dissolution and being possessed of omniscience, has reached absolute perfection after having annihilated all his *karma*.”¹¹ So, there is no eternal God sitting upon judgement on human beings. Human souls themselves attained *siddha*-hood by shedding away all impurities. Such human souls become completely free and are possessed of infinite knowledge, perception and bliss. These Siddhas neither create nor destroy anything. So, though this system does not believe in God, yet it believes in the innate divinity in each soul. Every soul can realise its intrinsic divinity by self-efforts.

So, we may conclude from the above discussion that Jaina atheism without denying the existence of the soul and without presuming a Creator God, makes each individual responsible for his own fate and maintains that everything in the universe is eternal and that ethical living alone can ensure lasting happiness.

¹¹ *Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics*, Vol. II, p. 187.

Apabhramsa Literature

H. C. BHAYANI

General Character

In a glaring contrast with Sanskrit and Prakrit literatures, Apabhramsa literature in so far as it is available, has an overwhelmingly Jaina character. Buddhist, Brahminical (known indirectly and through references and sparse citations) and non-sectarian contributions seem to have been dwarfed by the rich and varied Jaina contribution. The Jainas can claim Apabhramsa as their special domain. This, of course, is a transitional picture, as the activity of unearthing and bringing to light Apabhramsa texts is hardly fifty years old and so far it has never been undertaken with any vigour.

Aside from its predominantly religious tone, another outstanding trait of the discovered Apabhramsa literature is its almost exclusively poetic character. Bhamaha and Dandin did know of some Apabhramsa prose tales, but no prose work even of a modest length is preserved to us, and this creates grave doubts about any vigorous prose tradition in that literature.

Apabhramsa Language

Literary Apabhramsa, like the literary Prakrits, was considerably 'artificial'. It was a special language, which, though strongly dominated by Sanskrit and maintaining dominant features of the 'Prakrit' stage in its phonology, attempted to a limited degree to adapt its morphology and expressions (and, to a slight extent, its lexicon) to the constantly changing spoken idioms of the period. This fact of being continuously open to reinforcement through an undercurrent of living speech forms, slowly worked for undermining the rigidity that Apabhramsa had attained as a highly standardized literary language, fostered in the linguistic surrounding of centuries-old aristocratic and stylized traditions.

The circumstances surrounding the origin of Apabhramsa language and literature are very much shrouded in obscurity. The best part of the early literature is all lost. We have no means to trace the course of Apabhramsa evolution from its beginnings. The literary types and

metrical forms, of great originality and vigour, remain quite unexplained as to their genesis.

Beginnings and the Main Types

On the showing of literary and inscriptional records, Apabhramsa enjoyed already in the seventh century A. D. an independent literary status. It was worthy of being mentioned along with Sanskrit and Prakrit. The earliest Apabhramsa work preserved to us, however, does not go much further than the ninth century A.D., though stray citations from a near dozen earlier Apabhramsa poets, including some epic-writers, testify that the literary activity in Apabhramsa during the few preceding centuries too was in full swing. This is also presumed by the well developed form, style and diction of the earliest available specimens. From the theoretical treatment in two¹ pre-tenth century prosodists, Virahanka and Svayambhu, we gather that Apabhramsa had evolved at least two distinct new poetic types, viz., the *sandhi-bandha*, and the *rāsā-bandhā*,² besides a host of rhymed moraic metres unknown to earlier literatures.

The Sandhi-Kāvya

Of these, the *sandhi-bandha* was the most favourite form of composition. It is found employed for a wide range of narrative themes. The puranic epic, the biography, the religious narrative—single or the whole cycle of them—all could be handled with equal aptness and facility in this form. The earliest extent *sandhi-kāvya* is not later than ninth century A.D. But this had a respectable long tradition behind. Several earlier poets like Bhadra (or Dantibhadra) and Caturmukha are known from literary allusions to have attempted before Svayambhu to work on the themes of *Rāmāyana* and *Harivamśa* and among them Caturmukha, highly respected by all the succeeding centuries of Apabhramsa literary tradition, possibly a non-Jain, was known to be the pioneer in treating those themes in the *sandhi*-form. Bhoja followed by Hemacandra especially selects the name of Caturmukha's *Abdhimathana* for citing as an illustration of the Apabhramsa *sandhi-bandha*.

¹ Possibly three, if we are to include *Jnanasraya*.

² At present it cannot be quite ascertained whether some *rasa* compositions reported to be in Sanskrit and Prakrit were original or derivative as a type.

Svayambhudeva

But since none of these early works are traceable, Svayambhu's epics (between the seventh and tenth century A. D.) serve us as the first source of information on the *sandhi*-form. Kaviraja Svayambhudeva, Caturmukha and Puspadanta make up the three greatest names in the field of Apabhramsa letters and one may be even tempted to assign the first place to Svayambhu. Poetry was in his family tradition. His literary activity was carried on probably in the Vidarbha and Karnataka regions under the patronage of different pious Jaina laymen. He himself appears to be a follower of Yapaniya Jaina sect, flourishing at the time in those areas.

Only three of his works are preserved to us : two puranic epics viz. the *Paumacariya* and the *Riṭṭhaṇemicariya* and a manual of Prakrit and Apabhramsa metres called *Svayambhuchandas*.³

The Paumacariya

The *Paumacariya*, Sk. *Padmacarita* alternatively called *Rāmāyaṇa-purāṇa* continues the Sanskrit and Prakrit literary traditions of composing epics on the life-story of Padma i.e. Rama. The Jaina versions of the famous narrative show wide and important variations from the Brahmanical version (represented by the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Valmiki), which they presuppose and imitate. Svayambhu's work has the extent of a *Purāṇa*. Its five books, (*kāṇḍa*) called respectively Vijjahara (Sk. Vidyadhara), Ujjha (Sk. Ayodhya), Sundara, Jujjha (Sk. Yuddha) and Uttara contain a total of ninety cantos (*sandhi*), each of which is further divided into twelve to twenty smaller well-defined units, resembling verse-paragraphs (*kadavakas*). This *kadavaka* was peculiar to Apabhramsa and early New Indo-Aryan poetry and was eminently suitable for shaping narrative themes. The main body of the *kadavaka*, consisting normally of eight rhymed distiches in some moraic metres, develops the topic and the concluding piece in a shorter metre, uniform for the whole canto, rounds it off or in addition, hints at the succeeding one.⁴ Such a structure aided by run-on distiches and flexible metres, affords very good scope for narrative and episodic treatment, in contrast to the *sarga* unit of the

³ Apart from its importance as an early and authoritative source for MIA prosody, it is of supreme value by virtue of its numerous illustrative citations that give us a glimpse of the lost literary riches of Prakrit and Apabhramsa.

⁴ This form of the Apabhramsa *kadavaka* has been inherited by the Sufi *premakhyanakas* and the famous *Rama-carita-manasa* of Tulasidas in early Awadhi poetry.

Sanskrit *mahākāvya* with its series of self-contained, exquisitely rounded off, semi-independent stanzas. Besides, the Apabhramsa *sandhi* possessed the great quality of being recited or sung before an audience in pleasant melodies, with rhythmic and lyrical effects.

Of the ninety cantos of the *Paumacariya* the last eight were the work of Svayambhu's rather self-conscious son Tribhuvana, as the former for some unknown reason had left the epic incomplete. To Tribhuvana goes also the credit of completing his father's second work, the *Riṭṭhanemicariya* and composing independently a poem called *Pañcamī-cariya* (Sk. *Pañcamīcarita*)—to us, a mere name.

Svayambhu was quite honest in acknowledging his debt to his predecessors. For the structure of his epic he thanks the great poet Caturmukha, and for the subject matter and the poetic treatment of the *Paumacariya* he admits obligations to Ravisena, whose *Padmacarita* alias *Padmapurāṇa* (677-78 A. D.) in Sanskrit he closely follows. The *Paumacariya* can aptly be described as a free and compressed Apabhramsa recast-cum-adaptation of the *Padmacarita*,⁵ and yet there is ample evidence of Svayambhu's originality and poetic powers of a high order.

As a rule he holds to the thread of the narrative as found with Ravisena, which otherwise too, being fixed by tradition even in its minor details, permitted little invention or artistic designing and variation, in so far as its subject matter was concerned and no poet of the period would even conceive of any departure from the sacred tradition. Regarding only the stylistic embellishments, descriptions and depiction of sentiment the poet enjoyed a measure of freedom and he could expatiate on particular incidents he took fancy for.

These limitations, notwithstanding, Svayambhu displays a keen artistic sense and prunes, rehandles or altogether parts company with his model to allow enough scope to his poetic fancy. The vivid, racy and sensuous description of water sports in a fascinating setting of vernal scenery (canto 1) has been always recognised as a classic. Various battle scenes, some incidents of tense moments in the Anjana episode (cantos 17-19), penetrative sadness enveloping the telling scene of Ravana's cremation (canto 77) are a few of highly inspired passages, wherein Svayambhu's poetic genius is seen to find an unhampered expression.

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The *Riṭṭhanemicariya*

Svayambu's second voluminous epic, viz. *Riṭṭhanemicariya* (Sk. *Ariṣṭhanemicarita*) also called *Harivamśa-purāṇa* deals with the favourite subject of the life-story of the twenty-second Tirthankara Aristanemi along with the narrative of Kṛṣṇa and the Pandavas in its Jaina version. Barring a few extracts, the work is still unpublished. Its one hundred and twelve cantos (said to contain 1,937 *kadavakas* and about 18,000 units of thirty two syllables) are distributed over four books : Jayava (Sk. Yadava), Kuru, Jujjha (Sk. Yuddha) and Uttara. Here too Svayambhu had several precedents. Vimala Suri and Vidagadha in Prakrit, Jināsena (c. 783-784 A.D.) in Sanskrit and Bhadrā (or Dantibhadrā, Bhadrāsva ?), Govinda and Caturmukha in Apabhramsa appear to have written epics on the subject of Harivamśa before the ninth century. The portion of the *Riṭṭhanemicariya* after the ninety-ninth *sandhi* was written by Svayambu's son Tribhuvana and further, a few interpolations were made in the sixteenth century by an Apabhramsa poet Yaśahkīrti Bhattaraka of Gopacala (modern Gwalior).

Of the several epics in the *sandhi*-form written after Svayambhu on the same two subjects, particulars about a few are given below :

Author	Work	Date	Remarks
Dhavalā	<i>Harivamśa-purāṇa</i>	Not later than 10th cent.	Contains 122 cantos
Yaśahkīrti Bhattarka	<i>Pāṇḍu-purāṇa</i>	1523	Contains 34 cantos
Pandit Raidhu (1) alias Simhasena	<i>Balabhadra-purāṇa</i> (2) <i>Nemināthacarita</i>	15th cent.	A Rama-epic in 11 cantos
Srutakīrti	<i>Harivamśa-purāṇa</i>	1551	Contains 40 cantos

The works testify to the living tradition and popularity of these themes even some seven centuries after Svayambhu.

Puṣpadanṭa

From the works of Puṣpadanta alias Mammaiṇya (c. 957-972 A.D.) we come to know of two other subject-types treated in the *sandhi*-form. Puṣpadanta was born of Brahmana parents that were later converted

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to Digamabara Jainism. He composed his three Apabhramsa poems under the patronage of Bharata and his son Nanna who were successive ministers to the Rastrakuta kings Kṛṣṇa III (939-968 A.D.) and Khotigadeva (968-9 A.D.) ruling at Manyakheta (modern Malkhed in the Andhra Pradesh). Svayambhu and his predecessors exploited the popular narratives of Rama and Kṛṣṇa-cum-Pandavas, while Puspadanta's poetic genius turned towards other and vaster regions of Jaina mythology. According to it, there flourished in past sixtythree dignitaries (*śalākā-puruṣas*), who include twentyfour prophets (Tirthankaras), twelve universal monarchs (Cakrin), nine Vasudevas (heroes enjoying half the status of a Cakrin), nine Baladevas (brothers corresponding to Vasudevas), and nine Prati-Vasudevas (opponents of Vasudevas). Lakṣmana, Padma (or Rama) and Ravana constitute the eighth and Kṛṣṇa, Balabhadra and Jarasandha, the ninth trio of the groups of Vasudevas, Baladevas and Prati-Vasudevas. The works giving an account of these sixty three great men are known as *Mahāpurāṇa* or *Triṣaṣṭīmahāpuruṣa* (or *śalākāpuruṣa*) *carita* (Lives of Sixty-three Great Men). The earlier portion dealing with the life of Rṣabha, the first prophet and Bharata, the first universal monarch, is called *Adipurāṇa*, while the later portion containing the narratives of the rest of the great men is called *Uttarapurāṇa*.

The Mahāpurāṇa

Before Puspadanta the subject was already treated in Sanskrit and Prakrit. He was possibly first to write an epic on this in Apabhramsa. Of the 102 cantos of his *magnum opus* named *Mahāpurāṇa* or *Triṣaṣṭīmahāpurisaguṇālamkāra* (Sk. *Triṣaṣṭīmahāpuruṣaguṇālamkāra*), the first thirty seven make up to *Adipurāṇa*, and the remaining the *Uttarapurāṇa*. For the narrative Puspadanta follows the *Triṣaṣṭīlakṣaṇamahāpurāṇa-samgraha* (completed in 898 A.D.) of Jinasena and Gunabhadra in Sanskrit, besides the lost work of Kavi Paramesṭhin. Here too the whole frame of the narrative with all its incidents and details was rigidly fixed by tradition and the poet had to depend on the resources of his descriptive and stylistic abilities and Sastric learning for investing his theme with a literary status. This was one of the reasons why the Jaina poets inspite of the puranic character of their themes, were compelled to follow in their treatment the great tradition of the ornate Sanskrit epics and to lavish all the wealth of elaborate rhetoric and erudite learning on the thin frame of the narrative. Svayambhu expressly tells us in his *Riṣṭhanemī-carīya* that he had laid under contribution Indra for grammar, Bharata for flavour (*rāsa*), Vyasa for bulk, Piṅgala for prosody, Bhamaha and Dandin for rhetorics, Bana for rich and sonorous diction, Sri Harsa for

maturity of style and Caturmukha for the special metrical structure. Compared with Svayambhu, Puspadanta draws, more upon the subtleties of rhetoric, abundance of metrical varieties and the treasures of traditional learning. Greater prosodic variation and the longer *kadavaka* and *sandhi* indicate a further elaboration of *sandhi-bandha* as found with Puspadanta.

Some portions of the cantos 4,12,17,46,52 and a few others from the *Mahāpurāṇa* can be cited as the choicest flowers of Puspadanta's poetic genius. Cantos 69 to 79 recount in brief the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Cantos 81 to 92 narrate the Jaina *Harivaṃśa* while the end portion deals with the lives of Parsva and Mahavira, respectively the twenty-third and twenty-fourth Tirthankaras of the Jainas.

The Carita-Kāvya

The other two poems of Puspadanta, viz., the *Nayakumāracarīya* (Sk. *Nāgakumāracarita*) and the *Jasaharacarīya* (Sk. *Yaśodharacarita*) reveal that aside from the vast puranic themes the *śandhi* form was employed also for the biographical narratives of famous persons of Jaina mythology, legendary or traditional history. In its range and treatment the *carita-kāvya* or *kathā-kāvya* reminds one of the Sanskrit *sarga-bandha-kāvya*, though the Apabhramsa counterpart tends to have a shorter extent. In this case too Puspadanta had before him several earlier models. From a stray reference or two we know the names of at least two such poems—the *Suddhayacarīya* of Svayambhu and the *Pañcamīcarīya* of his son, Tribhuvana.

The *Nayakumāracarīya* narrates in nine cantos adventures of the hero Nagakumara (one of the twentyfour Kamadevas—'Cupids' of the Jaina mythology) and his two powerful lieutenants, Vyala and Mahavyala with the object of illustrating the fruits of observing the fast on *Srīpañcamī* (the fifth of Phalguna).

Similarly the object of Puspadanta's third work, viz. *Jasaharacarīya* (Sk. *Yaśodharacarita*) is to illustrate the evil fruits of the sin of taking life through narrating in four cantos, the sotry of king Yasodhara of Ujjayini. Numerous works on these very subjects in Prakrit, Sanskrit, Apabhramsa and modern Indian languages before and after Puspadanta testify to the great popularity of the *parva-kathās* with the Jainas.

Puspadanta's mastery of the poetic craft, his matchless command of Apabhramsa language and his impressive erudition would entitle him

to an honourable place among the great poets of classical India. At one place he has most aptly indicated his ideal of great poetry. It is to be resplendent with the figures of sound and sense, to have a delicate diction, harbour many sentiments and 'flavours', flow evenly with excellent sense, display numerous arts and sciences, illustrate the wealth of grammar and metres and be inspired by the sacred canon. The best of Apabhramsa literature appears to have attempted to realize this poetic ideal but probably none succeeded as much as Puspadanta.

The Carita-Kāvya after Puṣpadanta

After Puspadanta, we get numerous *carita-kāvyas* in the *sandhi* form, but most of them are known so far only from manuscripts. Of the few published, the *Bhavaisattakahā* of Dhanapala (probably before the 12th century A.D.) is the most important. This poem too is a *parva-kathā* in twenty-two cantos. It recounts in a relatively simple style the romantic story of Bhavisyadatta to illustrate the fruits of observing a fast on *śrutapañcamī* or *jñanapañcamī* which falls on the fifth of Kartika. The story tells us of a merchant's son Bhavisyadatta, who, along with his mother, was discarded for no reason by his father, who then married another wife. When grown up, once he went on a voyage in the company of his younger step-brother, who defrauded and deserted him twice over on a lonely island. But ultimately, thanks to his mother's observing the fast of *śrutapañcamī*, all his woes and difficulties came to an end, he rose to the crest of fortune and for helping the king defeat an aggressor was rewarded with a share in the kingdom. Having died he underwent a few more births and eventually in his fourth birth he attained omniscience by virtue of having observed the *śrutapañcamī* fast.

Dhanapala's *Bhavisattakahā* had at least two models before: Tribhuvana's *Pañcamīcariya* in Apabhramsa and Mahesvara's *Nānapañcamīkahā* in Prakrit. After Dhanapala we have Sridhara's Apabhramsa poem *Bhavisayattacariya* (Sk. *Bhavisyadattacarita*) in six cantos, completed in 1174 A. D. and still unpublished.

The *Karakaṇḍucariya* of Kanakamara treats in ten cantos the life story of a Pratyeka Buddha (self-enlightened saint). The story of Karakandu figures also in the Buddhist literature.

Paumasiricariya (Sk. *Padmaśricarita*) of Dhahila (before the 12th century A.D.) illustrates in four cantos the evil fruits of deceitful acts by narrating the story of Padmasri in successive births.

The great bulk, however, of the *carita-kāvyas* of the *sandhi-bandha* variety has not yet appeared in print. The works narrate the biography either of some Tirthankaras or of some notable figures of Jaina mythology or history to illustrate some point of Jaina belief, religious practice or pious conduct.

The Kathākoṣa Type

The *sandhi*-form serves yet another class of subjects, viz., the one characterized by a chain of narratives woven round some particular body of religious or ethical beliefs, dogmas or practices. The *Sayala-vihī-vihāna-kāvya* (Sk. *Sakala-vidhi-vidhāna-kāvya*) of Nayanandi (1044 A.D. in two parts respectively of cantos 56 and 58, and the *Kahākoṣa* (Sk. *Kathākoṣa*) of Sricandra (11th century A. D.) in 53 cantos narrate stories associated with the verses of the *Bhagavatī Arāḍhanā*, the well-known pro-canonical Digambara work in Jaina Sauraseni, dealing with monachism. Nayanandi and Sricandra appear to have based their works on similar previous *Kathākoṣas* in Prakrit and Sanskrit connected with the *Arāḍhanā*.

Here are also to be included the *Damsana-kahā-rayana-koṣa* (Sk. *Darśana-kathā-ratna-koṣa*) of Sricandra (1064 A.D.) in 21 cantos, the *Dhammaparikkhā* (Sk. *Dharmaparikṣā*) of Harisena (988 A.D.) in 11 cantos, the *Chakkammovaesa* (Sk. *Saṭkarmopadeśa*) of Amarakirti (1191 A.D.) in 14 cantos, and possibly the *Paramitthipayasasara* (Sk. *Parameṣṭhiprakāśasāra*) of Srutakirti (1497 A.D.) in 7 cantos, all of which so far remain to be published.

Of these the *Dhammaparikkhā* is specially interesting on account of its remarkable subject-matter. It tells us how Manovega converts his friend Pavanavega to Jainism by effectively demonstrating the absurdity of the stories of the Brahminical *Purāṇas*. Quite an effective technique is employed for the purpose. Manovega narrates in the presence of Pavanavega all sorts of incredible and fantastic stories about himself before an assembly of the Brahmanas, and when they refuse to believe him, he justifies himself by quoting equally absurd incidents from the great epics and *Purāṇas*. Harisena's work was based on a Prakrit original and was succeeded by several similar compositions in Sanskrit and other languages. Haribhadra's *Dhūrtākhyāna* (8th century A.D.) in Prakrit, having a similar purpose and motif was the earliest finished work of this type, though an unrefined version was known even earlier to Haribhadra.

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The foregoing brief survey would suffice to give an idea of the importance and richness of the *sandhi-bandha* in Apabhramsa literature.

The Rāsā-Bandha

The second important genre in Apabhramsa literature was the *rāsā-bandha*, which enjoyed the same vogue as the *sandhi-bandha*. It was probably a sort of lyrical composition of moderate length (reminding us of the Sanskrit *khaṇḍa-kāvya*). In one of its forms it employed one traditionally fixed metre for the general body of the poem and a variety of choice metres for the purpose of variation.

In the face of its popularity as can be gathered from definitions and extolling reference of the earliest Prakrit prosodists (Svayambhu proclaims it as a veritable elixir to the gatherings of the dilettante), it is very strange that not a single name of any of these early *rāsakas*, let alone their actual specimens or excerpts, is handed down to us. And for the later times too, we have very little to relieve our ignorance about this important class of Apabhramsa poems. It seems that there were even some Prakrit and Sanskrit *rāsakas*. But none has come to light so far. Having undergone continuous and basic transformation the *rāsaka* persisted in some of the New Indo-Aryan literatures down to the end of the nineteenth century (and as *rāsas*, it is even currently a popular poetic form of composition). There are hundreds of *rāsas* in early Gujarati and Rajasthan, most of the preserved ones being works of the Jaina authors. But for Apabhramsa all we have got is a tenth century reference to one *Ambādevaya-rāsa* a twelfth century reference to one *Mānikya-prastarikā-pratibaddha-rāsa*, a unique thirteenth century poem, *Sandeśa-rāsaka* from the pen of a Muslim author, and one small didactic Jaina *rāsa* of the twelfth century devoid of any literary significance.

The *Sandeśa-rāsaka* of Abdul Rahaman, is a charming *dūta-kāvya* of 223 stanzas distributed over three *prakramas* or sections. But this division rests entirely on the development of the theme. After the pre-fatory section, we are introduced in the section to a *Virahinī's* chance meeting with a traveller, through whom she sends a message to her husband who has failed to return from abroad at the promised date. In spite of the overworked theme of love-in-separation, the poet has succeeded in importing to it some genuine freshness and a very facile handling of diction and metre gets the lion's share of this credit. In using one metre for the general frame and more than twenty popular metres for variation, the *Sandeśa-rāsaka* supplies us a typical and the only preserved

example of a genuine *rāsā-bandha*. That it is from the pen of a Muslim poet further adds to its uniqueness.

The *Upadeśa-rasāyana-rāsa* of Jinadatta Suri (1076-1155 A.D.) is a sermon in eighty verses praising the genuine spiritual guide and religious practices and denouncing the spurious ones. It is not a real representative of a *rāsaka* poem, but a late specimen of a popular literary type pressed in the service of religion. In fact, as it is straight way composed in one single metre without any structural arrangement of parts that usually characterize the *rāsaka* form, it could as well go under the next section.

The Unstructured Types

Besides the above two types with a definite structure which required the literary subject-matter to be moulded and organized in a particular form, Apabhramsa also used the 'unstructured' verse form, for long and short themes.

The Carita-Kāvya

For the epic narrative, the *sandhi-bandha* was not obligatory, as can be seen from a preserved instance or two of extensive narrative poems using only one metre continuously from start to finish. This practice is known from Prakrit literature, *gaudavaho* being a typical example. Haribhadra's *Nemināhacariya* (Sk. *Nemināthacarita*), finished in 1150 A.D. has an extent of 8032 units of thirtytwo syllables (and is throughout composed in a mixed type of metre called *raddā* which consists of two units : a five-lined unit in the intricate *mātrā* (metre) with a four-lined unit in the *dohā* metre tacked on to it. This type does not appear to have any formal divisions. One Govinda preceded Haribhadra by at least three centuries. From citations in the *Svayambhucchandās* of Svayambhu and from other sources Govinda appears to have an epic on the life of Neminatha, in different varieties of the *raddā* metre.

Haribhadra's epic, as its title indicates, narrates the life of Neminatha, along with the famous story-cycle of the Jaina *Hārivamśa*. Like his predecessors, Svayambhu and Puspadanta and numerous others, Haribhadra has an ornate style, revealing a deep influence of the standardized conventions of the Sanskrit ornate *kāvya* in its later form.

Religious—Didactic and Mystical Works

Though Apabhramsa was very rich in narrative (and probably, lyrical) poetry, it does not mean that it was quite so lacking in other poetic varieties. Besides some minor works of a religious—didactic character, there are a few works of mystical spirit and contents which testify to the cultivation of spiritual poetry in Apabhramsa.

Of these the *Paramāppapayāsa* (Sk. *Paramātmaprakāśa*) and *Yogasāra* of Yogindudeva (Ap. Joindu) are the most important. The *Paramāppapayāsa* is divided into two sections. The first section gives in 123 *dohās* a free rambling exposition of threetypes of selves—the external self, the internal self and the supreme self. The second section of 214 stanzas, mostly in the *dohā* metre, deals with the topics of liberation and the means thereto. Yogindudeva preaches to the mystic aspirant (Yogi) the supreme importance of self realization which can be achieved by renouncing sensual pleasures, by adhering to the inner spirit rather than the mere external shell of religion, by purifying the mind, by meditating on the true nature of the self.

His *Yogasāra* in 108 stanzas mostly *dohās*, purports to awaken and enlighten souls disgusted with wandering in the rounds of births and aspiring for liberation. In form, style and contents it has a family-likeness with the previous collection.

The same remark applies to the *Dohā-pāhuḍa* (Sk. *Dohā-prābhṛta*) of Ramasimha (possibly before the 12th century) which in 212 stanzas stresses the same mystic—moral outlook that distinguishes the spirit from the body and regards realization of the identity of the individual spirit and the superspirit as the *summum bonum* of the spiritual aspirant.

These three works reveal a stock of ideas, terms and symbolisms that is commonly shared by them with Brahminical and Buddhistic works of mysticism. Together they make as a noteworthy Jaina contribution to Indian mystical literature.

Buddhists too, like the Jainas, had some of their mystical works in Apabhramsa. Their authors were Siddhas of the Tantric sects of Vajrayana and Sahajayana deriving from Mahayana Buddhism.* Of these the *Dohā-koṣas* of Kanha and Saraha (possibly c. 10th century) are more

* The Buddhist sect Sammatiya is said to have its sacred literature in Apabhramsa. But no such work has yet come to light.

important. Opposition to ritualism and form, importance of the Guru, inner purity, attainment of *śūnyatā* as the highest goal—these are the favourite subjects of the *Dohā-koṣas*, treated in a direct and penetrating diction of colloquial force. As rare works of Buddhist Apabhramsa literature and more as the root-sources of the spirit, language and mode of expression so familiar to us from the literature of mediaeval saints, these mystical works are invaluable.

Of the minor religious diadactic works we may mention a few. The *Sāvaya-dhamma-dohā* (Sk. *Srāvaka-dharma-dohā*) alias *Navakāra-śrāvaka-kācāra* of Laksmidhara (before 16th century A.D.), which occupies itself with explaining in a popular way the religious duties of a Jaina householder ; the *Samjamamañjarī* of Mahesavara (possibly 13th century A.D.), small poem in 35 *dohā* verses on self-restraint ; the *Carcari* and *Kāla-svarūpa-kulaka* of Jinadatta Suri (1076-1152 A.D.) ; and various devotional hymns like the *Satyapuramaṇḍana-Mahāvīrotsāha* of Dhana-pala (11th century A.D.), the *Jayatihuyana* of Abhayadeva (11th century A.D.) etc.

Miscellaneous Works and Later Tendencies

Besides independent works, small and large sections in Apabhramsa occur in numerous Jaina Prakrit and Sanskrit works and commentarial literature. Their number is far from negligible. To cite only a few such works :

- Svayambhucchanda* of Svayambhu (before 10th cent. A.D.)
- Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharana* of Bhoja (11th cent. A.D.)
- Rṣabhacarita* of Vardhamana (1109 A.D.)
- Santināthacarita* of Devacandra (1109 A.D.)
- Siddhahem* of Hemacandra (12th cent. A.D.)
- Kumārpañcarita* of Hemacandra (12th cent. A.D.)
- Chandonuśāsana* of Hemacandra (12th cent. A.D.)
- Upadeśamālā-daughatṭivṛtti* of Ratnaprabha (1182 A.D.)
- Kumārpañlapratibodha* of Somaprabha (1185 A.D.)
- Sanjamamañjarivṛtti* of Hemahansa-sisya (before 15th cent. A.D.)

The Sandhi

In the thirteenth century a new form/type for short poems is developed. These *sandhi* poems (to be clearly distinguished from the *sandhi-bandha* treated earlier) have some religious-didactic or narrative topic

mostly from the *Agama* or earlier *Dharmakathā* literature as their subject, which they develop in a number of *kadavakas*. The *Antaranga-sandhi* of Ratnaprabha (13th century A.D.), *Bhavanā-sandhi* of Jayadeva Gani, *Cauranga-sandhi*, *Mayanarehā-sandhi* (1241 A.D.) and several other *Sandhis* of Jinaprabha (13th century A.D.) may be named as the typical instances.

The language of many of the Apabhramsa works after the 13th century reveal an ever-increasing influence of the contemporary speech-forms, some of which were already being employed for literary purposes, though, to start with, these new literatures were but further extensions of the Apabhramsa literary types and trends. This influence of the spoken idiom is left even in some of the illustrative verses cited in the Apabhramsa section of Hemacandra's grammar, and conversely, the Apabhramsa tradition in form, style and diction continues in literature with diminishing vigour up to the 15th century or in some cases, even later.

Concluding Remarks

From the preceding broad survey it would be seen clearly that Apabhramsa can boast of a considerably rich and varied literature. Most of the known Apabhramsa authors were Jainas and the lion's share goes to the Digambara Jainas. The high artistic traditions of the classical Sanskrit poetry were ably and creditably maintained by the Apbhramsa poets, their inescapable didacticism notwithstanding. Of course in accord with the atmosphere and spirit of their times poetic expression had become further elaborate, pedantic and fond of display. But it cannot be denied that Svayambhu, Puspadanta (and possibly Caturmukha) had a stature equalling that of any famous authors of the Sanskrit *Mahākāvya*. Their works have a classical eminence. The mystic verses of Yogindu, Kanha and Saraha too with their direct and penetrating spiritual note, as also the lyrical appeal of the *Sandeśa-rāsaka* assure them of a venerable place in Ancient Indian literature.

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