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Book Review

PRACIN ARDHA-MAGADHI KI KHOJ-ME by K. R. Chandra, Prakrit Jain Vidya Vikash Fund, Ahmedabad, 1991, Pages 112, Price Rs. 32.00.

This treatise, *Prācīn Ardha-Māgadhi ki Khoj-me*, 'In Search of the Original Ardha-Māgadhi' written in Hindi by K. R. Chandra, is one of the finest specimens of research on *Ardha-Māgadhi* (=Amg.). The author is to be congratulated for taking pains in doing such a productive research work. The main purpose of the author is to find out the original features of *Amg.* in which the canonical literature of the Śvetāmbaras was written.

The book has eight chapters, and a detailed content where each point of the text discussed is indicated. It has a short bibliography as well. But it does not have any word-index.

We are grateful to the author for presenting such a thought-provoking research work. The arguments put forward by the author for finding out the original features of *Amg.* are praiseworthy. In the debris of different readings, Dr Chandra, intending to find out the original *Amg.*, has compared the Prakrit forms with the Asokan inscriptions and Pali canons, and in his opinion, what corresponds with these two languages must be regarded as the original old readings of the Śvetāmbara canons. He further adds that during the long period of transmission, lots of original readings have undergone changes, sometimes beyond recognition, at the hands of the copyists, and, as a result, we have these confused readings of the *Āgama* texts. While accepting his arguments, it can also be added that sometimes lack of editorial discipline and grammatical insight may be responsible for these divergent readings. Throughout his book Dr Chandra has put forth a strong argument and a convincing plea for tracing the original readings of the text. He has neither discarded any readings, nor has accepted any one, but has presented all the readings before the scholarly world to apply their power of judgment to select any one for the original *Amg.* In some cases he has also suggested the older readings of the canonical texts.

The present treatise will contribute a lot to the field of Prakrit textual criticism (for which, see the article by S. R. Banerjee in *Jain Journal*, Vol. XXII, No. 3, 1988, pp. 87-97). Dr Chandra has discussed at great length various readings of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canonical texts as edited by modern scholars. He points out quite clearly the diversity and disagreement of the readings which baffle all our attempts to find out the original character of the *Amg.* language. He has compared the different readings of the same word ; e. g., in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* the readings *egadā* vs *egatā*, *ṇassati* vs *nāsati*, *etaṃ* vs *eyam* are found indiscriminately. In his opinion, there must be some forms which are earlier than the rest. Dr Chandra has also said that grammatically they are not wrong, but these readings puzzle the scholars to trace the original readings of the text. In the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* as edited by Schubring, Agamodaya, Jain Vishva Bharati and M J V K, different forms of the same word have been accepted, e. g., *logāvāi* (Schub), *loyāvādī* (Agama), *logāvāi* (JVB) and *logāvādī* (MJVK). It is to be remembered that the change of *k* into *g* in *Amg.* is, of course, very common in the Śvetāmbara canonical texts, but they are limited to a group of words ; and hence all the *k*'s are not changed into *g*'s and in that case there will be no existence of *k* at all in *Amg.* texts. Similar is the case with the elision of intervocalic *d*. The loss of intervocalic single consonantal sounds is a tricky problem in Prakrit, and *Amg.* in particular. No norm is established in this regard, except the prescription of the Prakrit grammarians. Editors of Prakrit texts fly into fancy in accepting or rejecting the readings accordingly. However, the points raised by Dr Chandra is commendable.

In search of the original *Amg.* Dr Chandra has raised several points in his book. In the first chapter (pp. 1-34) he deals with different readings relating to the loss of non-conjunct intervocalic consonants found in different editions of the same texts. Out of many, only a few examples can be cited : *etaṃ-eyam*, *logam-loyam*, *bahugā-bahuyā*, *bhagavatā-bhagavayā*, *paveditā-paveiyā*, *udaram-uyaram*, *cute-cue* vs *cuto-cuo*, *adhe-ahe*, *thibhi-thihi*, and so on. In fact, one of the greatest difficulties in Prakrit in general, is the condition for the loss of intervocalic *k*, *g*, *c*, *j*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *y*, *v* (Hc. I. 177) which are generally elided in the intervocalic position. But where these sounds are to be elided is not easy to ascertain from the prescription of the Prakrit grammarians. Hemacandra has suggested by saying — *yatra śruti-sukham utpadyate sa tatra kāryaḥ* (*Vṛtti* under I. 231) ; but this is merely an indication of how to look at the problem. My feeling is that all these sounds in an intervocalic position are to be elided in principle, otherwise the rule of Prakrit will

be useless. So the readings where the elision of these sounds are found are to be accepted. But in case *t* is changed to *d* as in Śaurasenī (where intervocalic *d* is retained), then, of course, that *d* is not elided. If that principle is followed, then we can avoid confusions of readings. The passages like *suyam me āusam* or *sudam* or *sutam me ausam* are puzzling. In fact *sudam* is a Śaurasenī influence.

With regard to the changes between *dh* and *h*, *dh* is to be regarded as older than *h*, because *dh* is preserved in Vedic, e. g., Vedic *idha* > classical *iha*. This retention of *dh* is preserved in Śaurasenī and in some Asokan Prakrits, e. g., *idha na kirinci jiva*, etc. So also *adha*, *atha* > *aha* (Mahā). That is why in the history of OIA, there has always been an interchange between *dh* and *h*; e. g., *āghāta* and *āhata*, *dhita* and *hita*, *grbhñāti* and *grhñāti*. This is supported by Hemacandra's *sūtra kha-gha-itha-dha-bhām* (I. 180) where intervocalic *kh*, *gh*, *th*, *dh*, and *bh* become *h* in Mahārāṣṭrī. But *dh* is retained in Śaurasenī and *th* also becomes *dh* in the same dialect. So the readings, with *gh*, *dh* etc. in *Amg.* seems to have been carelessly done.

In chapter II (pp. 35-52) Dr Chandra discusses some forms of some words which seem to him to be confusing. He cites examples of some words which have several forms, such as, *ātman* has *attā*, *ātā*, *āyā* and *appā*, and the endings of locative singular are found in *-amsi*, *-ssim*, *-mmi*, *-mhi(m)* and so on. In Chapter III (pp. 53-67) the author points out the antiquity and the place of the origin of the *Āgama* texts through the analysis of the language. In the next two chapters IV and V Dr Chandra's main focussing line is on the characteristic features of *Amg.* In this connection, he has cited the views of Hemacandra (pp. 68-79) and has also suggested some principles to be adopted for the *Amg.* language (pp. 80-84). One complete chapter (VI, pp. 85-93) is devoted to the various Prakrit forms of one Sanskrit word *kṣetrajña*, and this shows how the *Āgama* texts are inundated with several forms of the same word. In chapters VII and VIII Dr Chandra has discussed the question of stylistic presentation of some sentences (pp. 94-99) and finally the conclusion (pp. 100-106) of his thesis is synoptically adumbrated.

One of the most interesting points of his treatise is the discussion on the formation of past tenses in *Amg.* (p. 44f). In his opinion the forms like *akāśi*, *ahesi*, *akarissam*, *āhamṣu*, *abhaviṃsu*, *himsiṃsu* and so on are the oldest features of the *Āgama* texts. These are, in fact, the remnants of some of the aorist forms crept into the canonical text, and

hence the oldest. Pischel in his *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen* (§§ 516, 517) has given some forms which are the remnants of Vedic Sanskrit imperfect (§ 515), perfect (§ 518) and Pluperfect (§ 519). Otherwise the entire systems of Sanskrit past tenses (imperfect, perfect and aorist) are lost in Prakrit, and are replaced by the past participial forms *ta* and *tavat*, of which again the latter form is extremely rare.

In judging the older forms of Prakrit what is wanted is to trace whether the forms in any way are connected with the other Sanskrit forms or not. Sometimes the older Vedic forms are preserved in Prakrit without realising that these Prakrit forms have come down to us through some rare Vedic occurrences. For example, the Prakrit words, *ṇāim* and *māim* (*aṇa ṇāim nañarthe* | *māim mārthe* // Hc. II 190-1) are the remnants of Vedic *nakīm* and *mākīm* (RV. VI. 54. 7). In a similar way, we have Vedic *mākiḥ* = Greek *me-ti's* (μητι's) meaning 'no one', 'none' 'never' and *nakiḥ* = Gk *ti's* (τι's), Latin *quis* Av *cis* also meaning 'no one' 'nothing' which are supposed to be very old even in Vedic. Just as we have *kim*, so also we have Vedic *kiḥ* (e.g. *ayam yo hotā kiruḥ saḥ*, RV. X. 52.3) from which the Prakrit forms *kissa* and *kīsa* have come down to us, though this form does not occur in classical Sanskrit.

In short, it can be said that this small book shows Dr Chandra's insight into the problem and records here the amount of indefatigable labour and sincerity he has given in finding out the material from the printed texts. This idea is welcome, and I personally feel that this should be a standard book of research for tracing the original *Amg*. I think that every student of Prakrit must have this book by the side of his study table.

I, therefore, heartily commend Dr Chandra's inspiring and excellent study to the learned readers throughout the world.

— Satya Ranjan Banerjee

Books Received

BHUTORIA, MANGILAL, *Itihāski Amr Bel Oswal*, Vol 2 (in Hindi), Priyadarshi Prakashan, Calcutta, 1992. Pages 460. Price Rs. 175.00.

Gives history of different Oswal *gotras* and life-sketches of some prominent men and women.

LALWANI, GANESH & BEGANI, RAJKUMARI, *Triṣaṣṭīśalākā-puruṣacaritra*, Vol 1 (in Hindi), Prakrit Bharati Academy, Jaipur, 1989. Pages 8+327. Price Rs. 100.00.

Gives Hindi translation of *Parva 1*, : Ādināth and Bharat Cakrī Carit.

LALWANI, GANESH & BEGANI, RAJKUMARI, *Triṣaṣṭīśalākā-puruṣacaritra*, Vol 2 (in Hindi), Prakrit Bharati Academy, Jaipur, 1991. Pages 7+187. Price Rs. 60.00.

Gives Hindi translation of *Parva 2* : Ajitnāth and Sagar Cakrī Carit.

SRIVASTAVA, A. L., *Nandyāvarta ; An Auspicious Symbol in Indian Art*, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1991. Pages xvi+138. Price Rs. 250.00.

It deals with the origin of the symbol, its various forms, and development, its different nomenclatures and meanings, its antiquity and its various representations in Indian art.

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Georg Bühler and the Western Discovery of Jain Temple Libraries

Donald Clay Johnson

Vidya Dehejia in a recent essay introducing the work of the Indira Gandhi National Center for the Arts said that “until recently, the vast majority of India’s extraordinary range of manuscripts on palm leaf and paper remained unstudied, unpublished, and uncataloged.”¹ Her comment raises many questions about the development of libraries and archives in India and overlooks the efforts of many individuals whose dedicated work brought to light the vast resources in numerous libraries in India. One monumental figure in such work was Georg Bühler who lived in India 1862-1881. While in India he, more than any other person, brought to the attention of both Indians and Europeans the nature and extent of Jain temple libraries. This activity led to systematic study of Jainism in the west and documented the significant contribution Jains have made to Indian culture and civilization. Studying Bühler’s activities in India reveals much both about contemporary attitudes towards scholarship and libraries as well as emerging knowledge about Jains.

Bühler was not the first European to write about Jain temple libraries. That honor goes to Col. James Tod who in his 1839 *Travels in Western India* described the Hemacandra Bhaṇḍār at Patan. His fascinating account describes a library of great importance to the world of scholarship.

The collection is the property of the Khartra section, or the orthodox. Though every one, lay or clerical, bearing the name of Khartra, has a property in the library, it is in the strict charges of the Nagar-Seth, and the Panch, while its immediate superintendence is confided to some Yutis spiritually descended from Hemacharya.

¹ Vidya Dehejia, “The Future of India’s Past : Conservation of Cultural Heritage” in *India Briefing*, 1990. Boulder : Westview Press, 1990. p. 153.

Years before my visit, I had known of its existence from my own Guru, who was equally anxious with myself to place the fact beyond doubt, and on the very day of our arrival, he hastened to 'worship the Bindar'. The council was convened, before whom my Yuti produced his *Patravali*, tracing his descent from Hemacharya himself, which acted like a spell, and he was invited to descend and worship the treasures of ages. The catalogue forms a large volume, and I should fear to hazard my own veracity, or that of my Guru by giving his estimate, from its contents, of the number of books which filled these chambers. They are carefully packed in cases, filled up with the dust of the *Mugd*, or Caggarwood, an infallible preservative against insects. The old man returned to me in raptures at what he had seen. But there was a want of correspondence between the catalogue and the contents of the boxes, forty of which he examined in seeking for two works named therein. The excessive closeness of the subterrene atmosphere compelled him to desist from the search, which he did the more readily, as he was promised permission to copy any work he desired.²

How remarkable that in 1839, the very year in the west that Sir Anthony Panizzi published the first set of cataloging rules for the library of the British Museum, which led to the establishment of standardized principles for the organization of libraries, in Patan the Hemacandra Bhaṇḍar amply demonstrated to Col. Tod that it too had evolved into a library. The library had a catalog, although we must be cautious as to what bibliographic information appeared in the entries for Tod's Guru did have difficulties finding two works noted in it. The library also had a well-defined administrative structure, rules regarding use, procedures to preserve and care for the manuscripts, and, alas, probably crowded conditions since the Guru reported "excessive closeness".

Unfortunately Tod gives no indication in his account that he actually entered the library for he based his description upon the statements of his Guru. Such-a pity we do not learn from Tod if he was refused admission to the library or if he failed to see it for some other reason. Tod, however, clearly recognized the great importance of this library to understanding Jain culture and civilization. His closing remarks urged others to continue his discovery but "extreme caution and

² James Tod, *Travels in Western India : Embracing a Visit to the Sacred Mounts of the Jains and the most Celebrated Shrines of Hindu Faith between Rajputana and the Indus, with an Account of the Ancient City of Nehrwalla*. London : W. H. Allen, 1839, pp. 233-4.

delicacy must be observed in the attempt ; the use of anything like power might seal every volume for ever, for the deposit is scrupulously guarded and only known to the initiated. Until we have some insight into the contents of the subterranean 'bindar' of Anhulwarra, and a more extended knowledge of the Oswals of Jessulmer, with access to its library, which is equally numerous and probably more select than that of Puttun ; above all, until we have formed some acquaintance with the dignitaries of the Jain sect and their learned librarians, we are not in a condition to appreciate the intellectual riches of the Jains,"³ In noting that the Jaiselmer collection probably was smaller than the Hemacandra Bhaṇḍār one can safely assume there was scholarly contact between the two libraries and this information was shared with Col. Tod.

Although Tod indicated rich intellectual rewards awaited the patient scholar, thirty years were to pass before any significant activity began to discover more about Jain libraries. The nineteenth century saw the evolution in Europe of the modern academic discipline of linguistics. Many of the great discoveries in this development related to Sanskrit scholarship which not only pointed out its relationship to the vast Indo-European family of languages, but also its evolution over time. In order to undertake systematic research, European scholars needed access to Sanskrit literature. Since Sanskrit during most of the nineteenth century was still an unpublished language, scholars needed to consult manuscripts. By an ironic twist of scholarly fate it was German-speaking scholars in Europe who conducted most of the research on Sanskrit. The Government of India thus was in the position of possessing control over important research sources wanted not by British universities but rather by continental ones. The oft-repeated concern that Britain considered its administration of India a trust meant cultural artifacts were not to be shipped massively to enrich western museums and libraries. After the Mutiny of 1857 the Government of India became particularly sensitive to this concern not to deplete the subcontinent of cultural treasures. Moreover, emerging in India itself was a need to have Sanskrit manuscripts to support the teaching and research programs initiated by the universities of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. In 1868 the Government of India passed a most enlightened act which provided 25,000 rupees annually to collect and to preserve Sanskrit manuscripts. Thanks to Georg Bühler Bombay was to transform this act into an internationally known activity which supported Sanskrit scholarship worldwide.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 234-5.

Bühler came to India in 1862 to serve as the first Professor of Sanskrit at Elphinstone College. Although only 26 years old he had not only gotten his doctorate from Göttingen University but also worked in both the Royal Library at Windsor Castle and the University of Göttingen Library. He thus came to the position with all the energies and ambition of youth enhanced by the highest scholarly credentials and complimented by the awareness of librarians to develop well-balanced scholarly collections to support every aspect of research. He must, also, have had the ability to instill great trust and confidence in all whom he met. Being the first Professor of Sanskrit at Elphinstone College, he came to a setting which had totally inadequate resources to support the program he wished to initiate. When he pointed this out to the local Indian community they raised 5,000 rupees so that he might purchase needed works. Bühler also used his initial time in India to become completely fluent in spoken Sanskrit, an ability which gave him great respect among Indians.

A person of such abilities does not go unrecognized for long and two years after his arrival in India the Government of Bombay appointed him to a special committee charged with compiling a digest of Hindu law which would assist the justice department. Concerned that he should survey the history of law, Bühler soon let it be known to various people that he would be willing to pay any price to get access to needed manuscripts. The plea worked and various individuals began selling him appropriate texts so that he might undertake his work.

In 1866 three things happened to Bühler which provide insight into the contribution which he would make to Sanskrit scholarship. With Franz Kielhorn, Professor of Oriental Languages at Deccan College, he launched the Bombay Sanskrit Series, one of the most prominent nineteenth century series which produced basic editions of Sanskrit texts. To support such work the Government of Bombay sent him on an acquisitions trip to the southern part of the Presidency to acquire Sanskrit manuscripts. Finally Bühler left his position at Elphinstone College to accept the post of Acting Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies and Professor of Ancient History and English at Deccan College in Poona.

The Government of Bombay did not take long to decide that Bühler was the ideal person to work on the Sanskrit program initiated by the Government of India 1868 act. Earlier in 1868 Bühler had accepted the position of Educational Inspector for the northern portion

of the Presidency and moved to Surat, which served as headquarters for the post. He made his first search trip in December 1868, just one month after the passage of the act in Calcutta. Before leaving on the trip Bühler first established an extensive organization of agents or deputies to assist him in the searches. His report of the trip mentions he "addressed a circular to the Deputies of Surat, Broach, Kaira, Ahmedabad, Kattiawar, Rewakantha, and Khandesh, requesting them to name the chief towns where Sanskrit manuscripts are to be found, and to furnish lists of persons possessing Sanskrit libraries."⁴ On the trip itself he visited Ahmedabad, Dholka, Limdi, Rajkot, Gondal, Junagadh, Palitana, Bhavnagar, Nariad, Cambay, Broach, and Balsar. Wherever he went he "had interviews with the Native scholars and possessors of libraries and explained to them the intentions of Government, and the purposes for which the present search for Sanskrit manuscripts is instituted."⁵ Even on this first trip Bühler was concerned to meet Jains and he specifically mentions "besides Sastris, I saw also some Pandits of the Jainas, Yatis, who willingly talked about their creed and literature. One of them even invited me to his house and shewed me his books there."⁶ For all his work, however, the results were minimal. He managed to add only 21 manuscripts to the Bombay Sanskrit Collection.

Bühler was on leave during much of 1870 and did not return to his duties until November. His search for that cold season resulted in 57 manuscripts being purchased for the government collection. Thirteen of these works were Jain titles. While a foundation had been laid for a Sanskrit manuscript collection sponsored by the Government of Bombay, the number of manuscripts acquired was most unimpressive. The basic reason for the failure to develop was the reluctance of Indians to part with their treasures since they did not know what would happen to them. The 1868 act did not specify what would be the ultimate disposition of the manuscripts and most Indians feared they would go to Europe and thus not be available in India. The response was not to sell or give their precious titles to Bühler or the other collectors. After much debate the Government of India decided

4 Georg Bühler, 'Report regarding the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts Instituted in the Northern Division during the First Five Months of the Year 1869' in Archibald Edward Gough, *Papers relating to the Collection and Preservation of the Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature in India*, edited by Order of the Government of India by Archibald Edward Gough. Calcutta : Government Printing Office, 1878, p. 49.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

that the manuscripts collected under the auspices of the program would remain in India. The search program now had the possibility of evolving into a meaningful vehicle to support Sanskrit research in India.

Since Franz Kielhorn, who headed the searches in the southern portion of Bombay Presidency was on leave in 1871, Bühler's search work during 1871 was minimal. Yet the year marks a great transition in two respects. First the number of manuscripts acquired jumped to 421, amply demonstrating the confidence Indians now placed in the searches and faith that the manuscripts which they parted with would indeed remain in India. Second, the number of Jain titles acquired was 271, almost two thirds of the total. Although Bühler accomplished far less than he had hoped, prospects for outstanding finds were most promising. He concluded his report with some general observations. "I have already acquired several manuscripts which are fully 600 years old, and have full confidence that I shall obtain others which exceed that age by 200 years. The more I become acquainted with Gujarat, the more offers of old and valuable books I get."⁷ In addition to acquiring manuscripts for the Bombay Sanskrit Collection, Bühler also had lists compiled of the holdings of libraries. His report indicates he concentrated such work on Jain libraries in Randir, Surat, Limdi, and Cambay.

Although most of what is today Gujarat was during Bühler's time Princely India, the inclusion into British India of port cities and major trading centers meant he did have Jain temples to investigate. He reported in his report for 1872-73 visiting collections in the cities of Cambay, Limdi, and Ahmedabad. The nature of these collections pointed out a key difference between these temple libraries and libraries in the west. "The extent and the condition of these libraries prevent me from causing complete lists of their contents to be made. Several of them contain upwards of 10,000 manuscripts, and sometimes hundreds of copies of one and the same work are found in one library. Thus a library at Ahmedabad contains 400 copies of the *Āvaśyakasūtra*. This assertion will appear neither astonishing nor incredible, if it is borne in mind that devout Jainas frequently give, or bequeath, large sums of money to the superintendents of monasteries for copying books, and that the multiplication of sacred writings is held to be highly meritorious. To make complete catalogues of such libraries is

7 Georg Bühler, "Report on the Results of the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in Gujarat during the Year 1871-72" in Gough, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

out of the question.”⁸ As in the previous year, Jain manuscripts once again dominated his acquisitions. Of the 200 works he added to the Bombay Sanskrit Collection during the year, 123 were Jain titles. “All these manuscripts are remarkable, not only for their age, but also for the form, the writing, and the material on which they are written.”⁹ In further describing the titles he observed “the form of the letters resembles the peculiar cramped hand of the more modern Jaina manuscripts, but the letters are very large, similar in size to those found in the inscriptions of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. One very striking feature is the form of the initial *i*, which frequently consists of two dots and a stroke beneath, and resembles that of the Shah and Gupta inscriptions. The *gh*, too, has an archaic form; it consists of three vertical strokes, joined above and below by horizontal ones.”¹⁰

Bühler’s searches constantly alerted him to additional places to visit, “palm-leaf manuscripts of this description, which are held in great esteem by the Jainas, are said to be found in larger numbers in Cambay and Pathan only. But one is said to exist in Surat, a few in Limdi and Vadhvan, and three are stated to be in the possession of the Jaina High Priest at Ahmedabad. One of the Limdi manuscripts, which contains the *Āvaśyakasūtra*, and is dated Samvat 1189, or 1133 A.D., has been sent to me by the owner as a loan.”¹¹ In concluding his report Bühler proudly announced “copies of all the forty-five sacred works of the Jainas, with the exception of three very small treatises, have now been obtained, and Sanskrit commentaries on most of them.”¹²

In 1872 Alexander Cunningham, Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, brought to the attention of the Government of India Tod’s 1839 remarks about Jain libraries in Princely India. He also added his own experience “in the great fortress of Bhatner I have myself seen a room 10 or 12 feet long, and about 6 feet broad, half filled with manuscripts, fastened up in the Native way in red cloth, and piled one on another to a height of about 4 feet. From amongst

8 Georg Bühler, “Report on the Results of My Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during the Period from July 1st, 1872 to May 15th, 1873” in Gough, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 102.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 103.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 103.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 103.

the top ones I selected a palm-leaf manuscript bearing the date of Samvat 1200.”¹³ Cunningham’s remarks had their desired effect and the Government of India expanded the program to include Princely India.

Bühler made his first trip to Princely India from December 1873 to March 1874. With him on the trip was Hermann Jacobi, who had just completed his doctorate and was to spend most of the rest of his life studying Jain life and culture. Their first “success was the opening of a famous Bhaṇḍār at Tharad, to which (we) gained access in the beginning of December 1873, with the kind assistance of Major Y. Watson, then Acting Political Agent of Pahlapur. The Bhaṇḍār contains a nearly complete set of the sacred and legendary works of the Jaina sect, and (we were) able thence to obtain copies of a few books bearing on the history of the sect and of Northern Gujarat.”¹⁴ The two then entered Rajputana and visited Abu, Nandol, Palli, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Bikanir, and Bhatner, all areas in which Jain libraries could be found. While there were disappointments, Jaisalmer’s rich discoveries more than compensated for all other negative things. As Bühler said “after considerable trouble, (we got) a sight of all the manuscripts preserved in the famous Bhaṇḍār under the temple of Parisnath. Though this library proved to be smaller in extent than was formerly supposed, its contents are of so great importance that I should have been satisfied with the results of my journey if I had found nothing else. It contains a not inconsiderable number of very ancient manuscripts of classical Sanskrit poems and of books on Brahmanical Sastras, as well as some rare Jaina works. With the assistance of Dr. Jacobi, I looked over every manuscript in the Bhaṇḍār, copied the whole of Bilhaṇa’s Life of Vikramāṅkadeva, and collated a portion of the *Raghuvamśa*. I made arrangements to have prepared copies of 28 manuscripts. Besides the great Bhaṇḍār, Jaisalmer is rich in private Jaina libraries. I secured catalogues of four, as well as that of the Raval’s private collection. I acquired also 23 old manuscripts referring both to Brahmanical and Jaina literature.”¹⁵

Bühler’s formal report, from which the preceding extract came, does not give an accurate indication of how impressed he was with the

13 Alexander Cunningham to E. C. Bayley, C. S. I., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 15, dated Simla, the 17th April 1872. In Gough, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

14 Georg Bühler, “Abstract Report for the Year 1873-74” in Gough, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-7.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 117.

collection. Before he had completed his first week's work in the Parisnath Library he wrote an extensive account to the *Indian Antiquary* which was published in its March 1874 issue.¹⁶ The scholarly world thus learned of his initial impressions even before he completed his trip to Rajasthan. A similar communication to the Berlin Academy was not only printed in its journal but the *Indian Antiquary* published a translation of it in 1875.¹⁷ The Bilhāṇa manuscript he and Dr. Jacobi personally copied was published as number 14 of the Bombay Sanskrit Series in 1875. Clearly the Parisnath Library was a focal collection for Jain scholarship and Bühler wanted the scholarly world to recognize its importance. Unfortunately the scholarly world was not to benefit as much as it might have from Bühler's discoveries. Of the 28 manuscripts he asked to have copied only 4 were ever done for him. During the rest of his career in India his correspondence is punctuated with letters relating to the 24 missing items but there is no record that he ever received them.

There remained the challenge of seeing the other prominent Jain temple library, the Hemacandra Bhaṇḍār at Patan. Bühler began his quest to see it in November 1873 while on his way to Rajputana. Since he was in Patan for only a day and a half, there was insufficient time to complete all the formalities. He returned in March 1874 with a second letter of introduction from Sir Lewis Pelly, British Resident to the Baroda Court, to the Suba of the Uttar Mahals. As luck would have it the Suba was away from Patan when Bühler arrived. "After endless conferences with the Nagar-Seth and the Panch, under whose control all the libraries are, (the Sir Faujdar) prevailed upon them to admit me to some of the Bhaṇḍārs."¹⁸ Bühler managed to see the Pophliapandao Bhaṇḍār, the Bhabhanapadano Bhaṇḍār, and the Sanghavinapadano Bhaṇḍār. Of these the Sanghavinapadano Bhaṇḍār had the most important collection containing "three boxes with near five hundred manuscripts, all of which are written on palm-leaves."¹⁹ Knowledge that a catalog of the library existed raised hopes that more extensive work could be done with the collection. But "its catalogue is, unfortunately, not accurate. A trained Sastri is now engaged in

16 Georg Bühler, (Miscellanea and Correspondence) "Jesalmir, 29th January 1874", *Indian Antiquary* 3 (1874), pp. 89-90.

17 "Dr. Bühler on the Celebrated Bhaṇḍār of Sanskrit MSS. at Jessalmir, translated from the Transactions of the Berlin Academy, March 1874, by Shankar Pandurang Pandit", *Indian Antiquary* 4 (1875), pp. 81-83.

18 Georg Bühler, "Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during the Year 1874-75" in Gough, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 128.

making a new catalogue of the library and several of its rare works are being copied. The Seth, in whose possession it is, has expressed and proved his willingness to allow the books to be used for copying or collating in Patan."²⁰

Since the keeper of the Hemacandra Bhaṇḍār was away from Patan Bühler returned to Surat. In May 1874 both the Sir Suba and Bühler's agent in Patan wrote him saying the keeper not only had returned to Patan but also agreed to show him the famous library. Bühler rushed to Patan, enduring along the way sand storms and thunder storms. The uncooperative and difficult weather predicted what he would experience in Patan. The keeper once again changed his mind and refused to show the collection to him. When Bühler pressed his case the keeper showed him a "bagful of dilapidated paper manuscripts."²¹ Bühler continued to press his case and six more bags appeared containing between 600 and 700 manuscripts, but nothing of such quality to justify the great fame of the collection. The keeper adamantly refused to show anything more and Bühler returned to Surat disappointed.

The matter did not stop there, however, for sympathetic members of the Panch as well as his agent continued to pressure the keeper. Eventually the keeper changed his mind and wrote to Bühler expressing his willingness to show him the entire library. As a gesture of good faith the keeper showed the collection to Bühler's agent. The agent reported seeing 40 boxes filled with manuscripts. Bühler immediately dispatched a Sastri to Patan to begin work on a catalog of the collection. Bühler, though, had just been delegated by the Government of India to make a 10 month search trip in Kashmir, so he was unable to go to Patan. The opportunity lost was never repeated and none of the subsequent writings of Bühler give any indication he ever entered the famous Patan library.

The Kashmir trip, from July 1875 to April 1876, once again gave Bühler the opportunity to visit libraries in Rajputana both on the way to as well as on his return from Srinagar. While in Delhi he met with Jain officials. Although he acquired only six manuscripts in Delhi, his discussions with Jains answered many questions he had about the religion. His report of the trip says he acquired 838 manuscripts for the Bombay Sanskrit Collection, of which 227 were Jain manuscripts.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

Bühler further subdivided this number to indicate 141 were Digambara works and 86 Svetāmbara. All the Digambara manuscripts came from Jaipur while the Svetāmbara manuscripts came from many places.

Bühler suffered from a delicate medical constitution and found it necessary to spend the next two years in Europe restoring his health. He undertook only one more search trip in India. The report of it showed his continuing interest in the Jains. A major thrust of this last major project was to prepare catalogs of Jain temple libraries in Cambay and Patan. He sent two men to Cambay and one to Patan to begin work before his arrival in each of the two cities. In Cambay work was to center on the Śāntināth temple but after two months of negotiations the men returned to Surat without having gained entrance into the library. At the end of 1879 the Collector of Kheda and the Divan intervened on his behalf and got him access to the library. Bühler then personally went to Cambay and inspected the library. It "is fully worthy of its fame. The manuscripts, about 300 in number, are exceedingly old, six dating from the beginning of the 12th century and beautifully and correctly written."²²

The person sent to Patan was to first catalog the Samghavina Pada Bhaṇḍār and then when this was done to begin work on the Hemacandra Bhaṇḍār. Although the keeper of the Samghavina Pada Bhaṇḍār had been very cooperative to Bühler earlier, when the Pandit arrived to make a formal list of its contents numerous obstacles were suddenly erected "as the leading Jainas feared that some sinister attempt against their books might be intended."²³ As in Cambay, the Sambhavina Pada Bhaṇḍār had an exceedingly important collection which contained "nothing but palm-leaf manuscripts."²⁴ The finds of such old manuscripts in the two libraries prompted Bühler to observe that "it will be the duty of Sanskrit scholars, who again and again publish the classical Sanskrit books according to manuscripts dating at the best from the 15th century, to turn their attention to our old Bhaṇḍārs and to use the copies there deposited, which are not only older than their earliest paper copies, but older also than the oldest commentators on whom usually great reliance is placed."²⁵ The use of the phrase "our old

²² Georg Bühler "Sanskrit Manuscripts in Western India", *Indian Antiquary* 10 (1881), p. 44.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Bhaṇḍārs" unquestionably shows how much Bühler identified himself with the Jains.

Bühler, however, was unable to pursue his quest to identify and catalog Jain manuscripts. His health continued to fail and in 1881 he left India, never to return. He accepted a position at the University of Vienna where he actively continued to do research on Sanskrit topics until his untimely death in a boating accident in 1898.

The activities of Bühler connected with the searches for Sanskrit manuscripts which resulted in the assembling of the largest government-sponsored collection of Sanskrit manuscripts in India were the most important contribution he made while in India. However they were not the only work he did on behalf of Sanskrit scholarship. Soon after the searches began he raised the question of the Government of India about what courses of action he might have if he found duplicates of titles already in the Bombay Sanskrit Collection. The Government of India saw no problem in his acquiring these duplicates for other libraries, provided that he secured their permission. Five times during his career he received requests from others to acquire such titles. Four of the five requests were for Jain works.

The first such request came in 1873 for the Königlich Bibliothek in Berlin. Over the next several years Bühler sent 500 Jain manuscripts to the Berlin Library. Although most of these titles were purchased by the Berlin Library, Bühler, ever concerned about completeness of holdings also donated elusive works which completed holdings he had purchased on its behalf earlier. In 1874 the Asiatic Society of Bengal asked Bühler if he would acquire titles for them. However during the time it took to get Government of India permission to allow him to undertake such work the Society lost interest and no titles were ever sent to Calcutta. In 1875 E. B. Cowell at Cambridge and Sir Monier-Williams at Oxford both asked for Jain works. Bühler sent them the titles they wanted for their respective university libraries. These requests represented the enrichment of western libraries of Jain manuscripts.

In addition to the efforts to help develop the holdings of Jain manuscripts in western libraries, individuals also got access to Jain manuscripts. In 1869 Theodor Goldstücker, University College, London, asked if three newly-acquired manuscripts might be sent to him for consultation. Bühler secured permission for this and launched an

inter-continental, inter-library lending program for the Bombay Sanskrit Collection. Between 1869 and 1913 Bombay lent 791 manuscripts to scholars in the west. Just as German-speaking scholars dominated Sanskrit scholarship during the nineteenth century, they also dominated this inter-continental lending program. Of the 791 manuscripts sent abroad, 547 or approximately two-thirds of them went to German-speaking scholars. Most interestingly scholars who wrote on Jain topics received 270 of the 547 manuscripts. Thus scholars of the Jain accounted for almost half the manuscripts sent to German-speaking scholars. Ernst Leumann at Strassburg received 96, by far the largest numbers sent to an individual. The three scholars who received the next largest numbers of manuscripts also wrote on Jain topics. They were Johannes Hertel, Dobeln (46) ; Georg Bühler, Vienna (45) ; and Hermann Jacobi, Bonn (36). The titles shipped to Bühler after his retirement from India amply point out his continued involvement with his research on the Jains.

There is no question that Bühler was one of the most widely known names in the scholarly world interested in India during the last half of the nineteenth century. The Government of India, too, recognized and supported his work most actively. More formal recognition of his efforts came in 1878 when he became a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire, the very year the order was established. Although the award would have recognized his services to the Bombay Education Department, the world of scholarship will always remember him as the person who introduced western scholarship to Jainism and who made its texts available for everyone to use.



Col. James Tod with his Guru

Albrecht Friedrich Weber

(1825—1901)

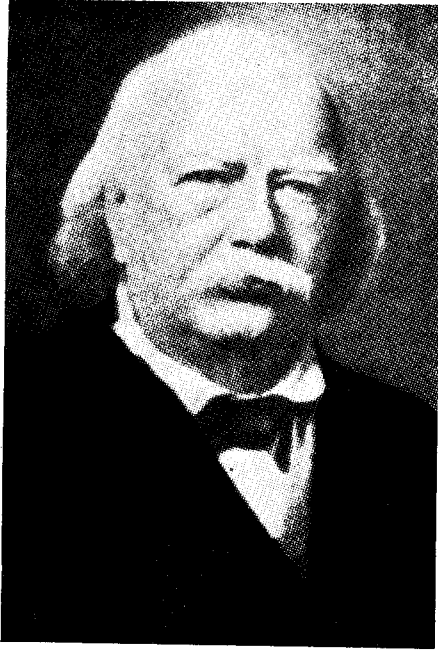
It is said that Johann Georg Bühler (1857-1898) was more or less the first to open up the rich treasures of the Jaina literature. Bühler acquired a large collection of the Jaina manuscripts for the Royal library at Berlin in the years 1873-1878. This collection of manuscripts by Bühler was the basis which had given Albrecht Friedrich Weber an impetus in writing the first comprehensive and epoch-making accounts of the literature of the Jainas. More than one hundred years ago, Weber's book in German entitled *Über die heiligen Schriften der Jaina* included in his *Indische Studien* (vol XVI, 1883, pp. 211-479, and vol XVII, 1885, pp. 1-90) was published between 1883 and 1885 covering nearly 358 pages. As the book is so authoritative and at the same time so detailed in giving an account of the sacred writings of the Jainas till that time that it was translated into English by Herbert Wier Smyth in the name of *Sacred Literature of the Jains* and was published in 15 issues distributed in the five numbers of the *Indian Antiquary* beginning from vols XVII (1888) to XXI (1892). Besides the above, a general survey of the whole Jaina literature was also given by Weber in his Catalogue of the Berlin Manuscripts under the title *Verzeichnis der Sanskrit-und Prakrit Handschriften* (Register of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts) part II, Berlin, 1888 (Jaina literature, MS 1773-1928) and part III, Berlin 1892 (Jaina literature, MS 1929-2027, and MS 2299-2304).

Before Weber, Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765-1837) noted a few observations on the Jainas and their sects, and gave a little account of Prakrit literature. His two articles—*The Sanskrit and Prakrit Language* (1801) and *The Sanskrit and Prakrit Poetry* (1808) created a sensation among the scholars at that time. His *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus* (1832) (vide his *Essays* Vol I, p. 280f) might be regarded as the starting point of the studies of the Jain sects. Even before Bühler and Weber, Col. James Tod in his *Travels in Western India* (1839) gave us information about the Jaina Temple Libraries. However, the account of Jaina literature was given first by Weber.

After Weber, some scholars have attempted to write the history of the sacred writings of the Jainas. Moriz Winternitz's (1863-1937) *History of Jaina Literature* forming the part II of the volume two of his *History of Indian Literature* translated into English and published by the University of Calcutta in 1933 was a systematic one. Jarl Charpentier's Introduction to his edition of the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra* (Upsala, 1922) contains an elaborate discussion on the problems of the *Āgama* literature. Hiralal Rasiklal Kapadia's *A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas* (1941) is, in a sense, a monument of scholarship. There are many others in Hindi as well.

Despite the fact that there are books on the Jaina Canonical literature, not a single author has yet surpassed Weber in his treatment of the subject as well as in his analysis of the *Āgama* texts. He is still unique and pioneer in this respect. Even the scholars who write books on Jaina literature do consult Weber every now and then, and always find new materials in it. It is still a treasure house of Jaina literature. As the *Indian Antiquary* is not easily available at present and at the same time nearly one hundred years have elapsed, there is enough scope to reprint the same for the benefit of the scholars. Hence Weber's *Sacred Literature of the Jains* is being reprinted here. But as the Romanization of Weber was antiquated, the latest method of Roman scripts with usual diacritical marks are only adopted for easy comprehension and pronunciation.

—Editor



Albrecht Weber
1825-1901

Weber's main field of specialisation was Vedic literature, but he also made valuable contributions in the field of Jaina studies and Prakrit. He was one of the outstanding scholars of the latter part of the 19th century.

Sacred Literature of the Jains¹

According [211]² to the conception of the modern Jains, their collective sacred texts date back to the first Jina, Ṛṣabha.³ The first trace of this view appears to be found in the concluding paragraph⁴ of the *Nandi*, in which the *aṇunnā* (*anujñā*) is referred to Usabhasena,⁵ the 12 *aṅgas* having in the passage just before been enumerated as *bhāvāṇunnā* and in an earlier passage, in which 8,400,000 *painnas* are attributed to Vaddhamāṇasāmi, the scholium substitutes Ṛṣabhasvāmin.⁶

The statements (in four. 436 in Nemicandra's *Pravacanasāroddhāra* §36, composed in Prakrit, on *titthavucchea* (in four verses inserted between 435 and 436) are, to a certain extent, in agreement with the above. These verses⁷ are a detailed explanation of the statements in v. 434, which are rather general in character and obscure; and assert that during the eight *jīṇam̐taras* : *Usahajīṇim̐dāu jā Suvihi*, i.e. from Usaha 1 to Suvihi 9, there existed only e'even *aṅgas*, without the *diṭṭhivāa*, which stands in the twelfth place : *muttūṇa diṭṭhivāyaṃ havam̐ti ikkārase 'va aṅgāim̐*. During [212] the following seven *jīṇam̐taras* : *Suvihiṇā jā Saṃti* from Suvihi 9 to Saṃti 16, all twelve *aṅgas* were *vucchinna*. But during the last eight *jīṇam̐taras* : *Sam̐tijiṇā jā Viraṃ*, from Saṃti 16 to Vira 24, they were not *vucchinna*.

The *diṭṭhivāa* was a second time lost : *vucchinno diṭṭhivāo tahir̐m̐*.

¹ The Editors beg to acknowledge much valuable assistance kindly given by Professor Leumann, of Strassburg, in taking this paper through the Press; and the translator adds his acknowledgments for assistance of the same scholar in respect of the translation from the German, also, for some additional notes distinguished by asterisms with the initial L put after them.

² The figures in brackets indicate the pages of the original German article.

³ Dharmasāgara in his *Kupakṣakaśikāḍḍya*, in the proceedings of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Berlin, of 1882, p. 813, 23 (I cite this essay of mine under the abbreviation *Kup.*) and Jacobi in this Journal *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 161 (1880).

⁴ Doubtless of secondary origin.

⁵ *adikarapurimatale (kāle !)* *pavattīa Usabhasenassa*.

⁶ See *Ind. Stud.* 17, 15, note. *Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit and Prakrit MS.* 2, p. 679.

⁷ In the commentary of Siddhasenaśūri, composed Saṃvat 1242 (A.D. 1186) these verses are not explained, but in the MS. which I have before me they are found in the text, page 212, in the middle of the page, and are counted in with the rest.

These statements are, it is true, obscure, yet become clear by means of verse 434,⁸ which they are designed to explain. According to this verse, all three statements are valid merely for the interval between the Jinas. Their significance is as follows :

At the time of Usabha all twelve *aṅgas* were extant ; between Jinas 1-9 only the first eleven ; between Jinas 9-16 all twelve were lost ; and under or between Jinas 16-24 they were all extant. The twelfth *aṅga* was however lost again after Jina 24.

Though these statements appear to establish the fact that the 12 *aṅgas* are said to have existed as early as the time of Usabha, nevertheless it becomes perfectly plain, from a consideration of their nature, that this claim rests upon an insufficient foundation. The commentator characterizes the degree of the *vucchea* during the *jinamātaras*, which existed between Suvihi, to Saṁti, as follows : *arhaddharmavārttā 'pi tatra naṣṭā* ; a peculiar testimony, we may remark in passing, to the result of the activity of each of the seven saints 9-15.

In reference [213] to the *vucchea* of the twelfth *aṅga* (i.e. the *ditṭhivāa*) which happened again after Mahāvīra, we have additional information derived from tradition.

The fourteen so-called *pūrvāṇi*, cf. Hem. 246-247, which, according to the statements handed down to us, formed a part of this *aṅga* and which Mahāvīra is said to have transmitted to all his pupils (though only one of these, Sudharman by name, transmitted them to a pupil of his own, Jambū, the last Kevalin) are said to have existed for only six generations longer. In consequence of this the six patriarchs in question, namely : Prabhava 3, Śayyambhava 4, Yaśobhadra 5, Sambhūtivijaya 6, Bhadrabāhu 7, and Sthūlabhadra 8, had the honorary title of Śrutakevalin, or *cauddasa-purvi* (in the *Nandis.*), *caturdaśa-pūrvadhārin*, °*pūrvin*.⁹

The following seven patriarchs : Mahāgiri, Suhastin to Vajra (Hem. v. 35), knew only ten of the whole number, inasmuch as tradi-

⁸ It runs : *purimāntima-aṭṭhaddha (aṭṭhaṭṭha !)—'mtaresu (caturvimsates tīrthakṛtām trayovimsatir evāmtarāṇi bhavanti) titthassa na 'tīhi voccheu/majjhillaesu sattuṣu ittiyakālaṃ tu voccheu*||434||. Dr. Leumann informs me that the source of these statements is found in *Bhagavati*, 20. 8 ; cf. also *Āvaśy*, 3, 16 *paḍhamassa (jīṇassa) bārasaṃgāṃ, sesāṇikkārasaṃgasualāmbho*.

⁹ Cf. Hem. 33-34 : Comm. p 293 in Böhtlingk-Rieu.

tion asserts that with Sthūlabhadra the knowledge of the 4 last *pūrvas*¹⁰ (11-14) ceased. In consequence of this they are called *daśapuvvi* (cf. *Nandis.*), *daśapūrvin*; and from that point the knowledge of the *pūrvā* decreased gradually. In *Anuyogadvārasūtra* there is still mention of the first gradation lower, *navapuvvi*, cf. *Bhag.*¹¹ 2, p. 318 so that finally in the time of Devarddhigaṇi, 980 years after Vīra "only one *pūrvā* remained", cf. Klatt, *ante*, Vol. XI, 247b, 1882.¹² Also according to Śānticaṇḍra on *up.* 6, the *diṭṭhivā* was entirely *vyavacchinna* 1000 years after Vīra.

In the 9th book [214] of the *Paṇiṣṭaparvan* v. 55 ff., Hemacandra gives us a detailed account of the first loss of the knowledge of the *pūrvas*, viz. of the reduction of their number from 14 to 10. Unfortunately in the MS. (Berlin MS. or fol. 773) which lies before me, and which is rather incorrect, a leaf is lacking with v. 69-98, cf. Jacobi, *Kalpāsūtra*, p. 11. After Hemacandra has informed us in the preceding verses about Cāṇakya and Bindusāra, about Aśoka and Śrī-Kuṇāla, and also about Samprati, he passes to the synod of Pāṭaliputra, held at the end of this "wicked" period. The principal duty of this council which was to collect the *śruta*, from all who were in possession of any portion; and it succeeded thus in collecting the 11 *aṅgas*.¹³ As regards the *dr̥ṣṭivāda*, Bhadrabāhu was the only person to whom recourse could be had. He, however, was on his way (?) to Nepal (*nepāladeśamārgastha*) and refused the summons of the Saṁgha (which had sent two Munis to fetch him), saying that he has begun a *dhyānam* of 12 years, and that he could not interrupt it. The Śrīsaṁgha, however threatening him, by means of two other Munis, with the punishment of exclusion (*saṁghavāhaya*), he begged that capable scholars should be sent to him, to whom, at appointed times, he would give 7 *vācanās*. The Saṁgha thereupon sent Sthūlabhadra,

¹⁰ *trayodaśapūrvin*, *dvāśaśa*, *ekāśaśa* never existed according to tradition. Cf. commencement of the *avacāri* to the *Oghaniryukti*.

¹¹ *Ueber ein Fragment der Bhagavati*, two papers of the author in the Transactions of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Berlin 1866 (1) & (2).

¹² I cite this article as Klatt's.

¹³ *itaśca tasmin duṣkālē karāle kālarātrivat/
nirvāhārtham sādhusaṁghas tīraṁ niranidher yathā* ||55||
*agunyanānaṁ tu tadā sādhuṇāṁ viṣṁtām śrutam/
anabhyasanatonaśyaty adhītaṁ dhīmatām api* ||56||
*saṁghaḥ pāṭaliputr (ak)e duṣkā'ānte 'khilo milat |
yad aṁgādhyayanoddeśādy āsīd yasya tad ādade* ||57||
*tataś cai 'kādaśāṅgāni śrīsaṁgho melayat tadā/
diṭṭhivādanimittam ca tasthau kiṁcid vicīntayan* ||58||

(v. 69) who, [215] however, after he had learned the first 10 *pūrvas*, so enraged Bhadrabāhu, that the latter as a punishment gave him the remaining four for his own personal knowledge only, and forbade him to teach them to others (*anyasya śeṣapūrvāṇi pradeyāni tvayā na hi*, v. 109).

In opposition to this information is the fact, that not only in *aṅga* 4 and in the *Nandisūtra*, do we find a detailed table of contents of the whole *diṭṭhivā*, including the 14 *pūrvas*, but also that partly in the just-mentioned places, partly in several other texts (*Mahānīśītha*, *Anuyogadv.*, *Āvaśy.*, *nijj.*) the *duvālasaṃgaṃ gaṇipīḍagaṃ* is repeatedly mentioned; consequently the *Diṭṭhivā* appears to have still existed at the date of those texts, and moreover to have been still intact, since there is no mention of any imperfection. The Bhadrabāhu, to whom the above-mentioned legend has reference, died, so says tradition, 170 after Vīra, whereas in two of the texts, which mention the *duvālasaṃgaṃ gaṇipīḍagaṃ*, there are contained dates which refer to a period later by 400 years. The whole legend appears to me, after all, to be nothing more than an imitation of the Buddhist legend of the council of Aśoka etc., and thus to have little claim to credence.

Be this as it may, the legened manifests a direct opposition between the 11 *aṅgas* and the *pūrvas*. And in fact from the scholium on *aṅga* 4 we must conceive their inter-relation to be as follows: the Tīrthakara, i. e., Mahāvīra—here is no thought of Rṣabha,—first recited to his Gaṇadharas the contents of the *pūrvagata sūtras* (whence the name *pūrvāṇi*); whereupon the Gaṇadharas on their part brought¹⁴ the contents of the *pūrvagata sūtra* into the form of the *aṅgas*, *ācāra*, etc. According [216] to another view the Gaṇadharas first brought the *pūrvagataśrutam* after its recital by the Arhat, into a textual form, and afterwards directed their attention to the *aṅgas*, *ācāra* etc.¹⁵ Later on we shall return to the explanation of the name *pūrvā* and the difference between *aṅgas* 1-11 and *aṅga* 12.

¹⁴ *atha kiṃ taṃ (tat !) pūrvagataṃ ? ucyate, yasmāt tīrthakaras tīrthapravartanakāle gaṇadharāṇāṃ sarvasūtrādhāratvena pūrvagata sūtrādhāratvena pūrvaga (ta)-sūtrārtham (m ; the second sūtrādhāg'ata is perhaps a repetition of the scribe) bhāṣate tasmāt pūrvāṇi 'ti bhāṣitāni. gaṇadharāḥ puṇah śrutaracanāṃ vidadhānā ācārādi krameṇa racayānti sthāpayānti ca. Cf. also Wilson, Sel. W. 1 285 ed. Rost (from Mahāvīracar. 3) : sūtritaṇi gaṇadharair aṅgebhyaḥ pūrvam eva yat | pūrvāṇi 'ty abhīdhīyante tenai tāni caturdaśa ||*

¹⁵ *matāntareṇa tu pūrvagatasūtrārtha(h) pūrvam arhatā bhāṣito gaṇadharair api pūrvagataśrutam eva pūrvvaracitaṃ, paścād ācāra (here perhaps a lacuna) nirvyūkyam abhihitāḥ : savveṣi āyāre paḍhamo ity-ādi, tat katham ? ucyate, tatra sthāpanāṃ āśritya tatho 'ktam iha tv akṣararacanāṃ pratītya bhāṣitaṃ, pūrvāṇi kṛtāni 'ti.*

In full agreement as we find here that the actual contents have been ascribed to the Arhat, *i. e.* Tīrthakara (cf. *Āv.*, 2, 13), but the external form to the Gaṇadharas, so likewise in the *Amuyogadvārasūtra* we find that the *āgama* is divided into *aṭṭā°*, *aṇamtarā°* and *paramparā°*, *i. e.* (1) original doctrine, (2) doctrine that has been received immediately from its author and (3) traditional doctrine. The first category belongs to the Tīrthagaras (plur.) alone unconditionally; to their pupils, the Gaṇadharas, it belongs only as far as the *suttam* (text) is concerned, while the Gaṇadharas, as regards the *attha* (contents) possess the *aṇamtarā°* alone. The pupils of the Gaṇadharas possess, as regards the *suttam*, the *aṇamtarā°*, as regards the *attha*, they have only the *paramparā°*. And after them only the latter (*paramparā°*) exists; there is no longer *attā°* or *aṇamtarā°*. According to the commencement of the *avacūri* of the *Oghaniryukti*, [217] the activity of *daśapūrvin* was already limited to the composition of *Samgrahaṇis*¹⁶ to the *upāṅgas* etc.

We must however not omit to remark that for some texts of the *Āgama* distinct authors are named, part of whom, at least, are even considerably later than the *daśapūrvin*, *Upāṅga* 4 mentions as its author Ajja-Sāma, characterizing him as "the 23rd" (*i. e.* "saint" after Vīra¹⁷) and as one who possesses wisdom ripened through listening to the *puvvas*, as being therefore in unison with the *diṭṭhivā*. The name of Jīṇabaddha (*Āvaśy.* 14) belongs perhaps to a much later date. We have however, no information of an exact nature in reference either to him or to Vīrabhadra, who was probably author of *painna* 1. Sijjambhava, presumably author of the third *mūlasūtra* and Bhadrabāhu, to whom *chedasūtra* 3-5 and other texts are ascribed, belong to the *caturdaśapūrvin*, but not to the immediate pupils of the Gaṇadharas, and consequently can lay claim to the *paramparāgama* alone. Nevertheless their works, as those just mentioned, are included in the existing *āgama*. We must therefore accept the conclusion, that we have to deal in it with constituent parts which differ widely from each other.

The text-constitution of the *āgama* appears, after all, on nearer view, to be of a very multifarious character. And this is vouchsafed also by tradition itself. The council of Pāṭaliputra, which the account of Hemacandra [218] places in the immediate neighbourhood of the

¹⁶ *daśapūrvadharā apy upakārakā, upāṅgādi* (°*dinām* C) *saṃgrahanyuparacanena* (°*nena hetunā* C).

¹⁷ "He (Kālikācārya) is the 23rd personage from Vīra, including the 11 Gaṇadharas. In the *Siddhānta* he is called Syāmārya"—Bhau Daji in *Jour. Bombay Br. R. As S.* 9. 150 (1867).

date of Aśoka, had, as we have seen above, been able to collect the 11 *aṅgas* only in a rather indifferent fashion by acquiring one portion from one quarter, another from another (*yad aṅgādhayanoddeśādy āsid yasya*); and of the twelfth *aṅga* had been able to acquire only a part from Bhadrabāhu. The existence of what had thus been collected, was, as time went on, endangered from the fact that its transmission was only oral;¹⁸ for which, according to tradition, writing was not substituted till eight centuries later, in the year 980 Vīra. This was effected by a council in Valabhī under the presidency of Devarddhigaṇi Kṣamaśamaṇa; though others state that this ensued 13 years after (993 Vīra) at the hands of a council in Mathurā under Śrī Skandilācārya. In connection with this the statement may be placed that in the year 980 the Valabhī king Dhruvasena commanded that the *Kalpasūtram* should be recited publicly. Herein a special participation of the king in the work is indicated, be it in that of Devarddhigaṇi or in that of Skandila, to whom by this act he gave decisive support.

If, then, as a matter of fact in the interval of 800 or 1000 (980) years after Vīra, the doctrines whose contents were promulgated by him (though the form of the doctrines is ascribed to his pupils and not to the master himself) were handed down by oral tradition alone—and in unison with this assumption is the fact that just in the older portions of the text we find the introductory formula [219] *suyam me āusam, teṇam bhagavayā evam akkhāyam* as well as for the single sections the concluding formula *ti bemi*—then we may well be astonished that the existing *Siddhānta* contains so many traces of antiquity as is the case. What knowledge would we possess of Christ if the New Testament had existed in an unwritten form till 980 A.D.,¹⁹ and if we were limited to a codification of traditions under Pope Sylvester II, which was based not on written, but on oral transmission!

Truly, in this interval the cultivation of the sacred text had not been entirely abandoned. So, for example, to the 19th patriarch, Vajra, is ascribed particular solicitude in its behalf²⁰ cf. *Kup.* 811(21). According to the statement of the Digambaras, cf. Jacobi, *Kalpas*, p. 30, the written codification of their sacred texts had been effected

¹⁸ *pūryam sarvasiddhāntānām pāṭhanam ca mukhapāṭhenai 'vā'sit.* Jacobi, *Kalpas*, p. 117, from the *Kalpadruma* of Lakṣmidhara.

¹⁹ Or 950, as we reckon from the birth of Christ, the Jains from the death of Vīra.

²⁰ Cf. also the accounts which exist in reference to *aṅga* 1, 1, 9.

by Puṣpadanta A.V. 633-683,²¹ 300 years before the date above mentioned. The sacred texts alluded to are not the same as those of the usual *Siddhānta*, which belongs to the Śvetāmbaras, cf. Wilson, Sel. W. 1, 279 & 281 ed. Rost.

In the *āgama* which we possess, writing plays a very important role ; so that [220] it becomes clear that writing had, at the time of the written codification of the *Siddhānta*, long been extensively used for literary purposes. Indeed the very lateness of the above-mentioned date necessitates already this conclusion, A.V. 980, corresponding to the middle of the fifth, or the beginning of the sixth, century A.D.²² A distinct proof for this extensive use of writing is the expression *bambhī livī* frequently used in *āngas* 4, 5, *upāṅga* 4 etc., to denote the "sacred writing". Furthermore, the characterization of its most important part, the *āngas*, as *duvālasaṅgam gaṇipīḍagam* makes for the same conclusion.²³ *Leham* (writing) always stands at the head in the enumeration of the 72 *kalās*, which we meet with in *āṅga* 4 and frequently elsewhere. The material of which the MSS. are made : *pattaya*, *poṭṭhaya* *lihiyam*, is spoken of distinctly in the *Amuyogadvārasūtra*. In *āṅga* 4 and *up*, 4, eighteen different kinds of writing are mentioned, *bambhī* and *javaṇāliya* (*yavanānī*) being placed first. Herein we may observe a close connection with the similar enumeration in *Lalitavistara*. Moreover all 18 are mentioned as used for the *bambhī livī*. The 45 *māuyakkharāṇi* in *āṅga* 4 ought to be mentioned here in this connection.

Jacobi (*Kalpas*. p. 16n) has called our attention to the peculiar synchronism of the activity of Devarddhigaṇi (or of Skandila), with the contemporaneous activity of Buddhaghoṣa as regards the drawing up in writing of the Pāli canon. Since this latter is, furthermore, several decennia older (almost a century older than Jacobi's "adjusted date" of A.V. 980), we must conclude that in any case he must have been followed in the wake [221] by his Jaina colleagues and not *vice versa*. A great difference is manifest, it must be confessed, between both parties. While Buddhaghoṣa did not change the linguistic make-

²¹ Jacobi's statement "the whole of the *āngas* was lost after Puṣpadanta : he reduced the sacred law to writing" is so self-contradictory as to baffle explanation on my part. Also the double statement in reference to the year of Vikramāditya's birth, *ibid*, 470 A. V. and 683 A. V. remains a riddle. The Puṣpadanta mentioned *āṅga* 4, 75,86 is the 9th Jina.

²² A. V. 980 corresponds either to the year 543, if we establish as the date of Vikramāditya 470 Vira,—or, if we accept Jacobi's assumption (*Kalpas*. p. 15), to the year 514 A. D.

²³ Cf. *Bhag*. 1, 282n.

up of the Pali texts, the redactor of the Jaina texts adapted to the requirements of his own age the Māgadhi language, in which, it is probable to suppose, they were originally composed (cf. in *aṅga* 5, 2, 1, the salutation *Māgahā* ! see *Bhag.* 2,250) and in which they had been in all likelihood allowed to remain by the council of Pāṭaliputra. The character of the language of the redactor of the Jaina texts is incomparably younger than Pāli,²⁴ and consequently its official name *addha-Māgahā bhāsā* (in *up.* 1, 4, and elsewhere)²⁵ or *ardha-Māgadhi* (with the Jain grammarians) bears traces of this late date. In fact, of the Māgadhi only a few remnants, especially the Nom. Sing. Masc. of the 1 Decl. in *e*, have been retained, while even these disappear gradually in the course of time. In general the language may be characterized as a very much younger sister of Pāli. The reason for this fact must probably be sought in local influence, whether it be Valabhī or Mathurā, where the written codification was made ; at least such is a safe assumption. To the dialect of either Valabhī or Mathurā these ancient texts, composed originally in Māgadhi, had to accommodate themselves.

The Council of Pāṭaliputra, it is supposed, [222] limited its functions to the collection of the *aṅgas* ; the written codification of Devarddhi-ḡaṇi, it is claimed, embraced the entire *śrīśiddhānta*, *āgama*²⁶ the *sarvān granthān* of this *Āgama*. See Jacobi, l.c.p. 115-117. What position have we here to assume ? In *aṅga* 3, 4, 1 we find *aṅgabāhīriya* texts expressly recognised as different from the *aṅgas*, and as *pannattiū* of this kind the names of *upāṅgas* 5-7 are mentioned, together with a fourth name, which is that of a section in *upāṅga* 3. In *aṅga* 3, 10 ten *dasā* texts, each comprising 10 *ajjhayaṇas*, are enumerated of which we possess only four, as *aṅgas* 7-10, and a fifth, as *chedasūtra* 4. In *aṅga* 4 there are mentioned, besides the 11 (or 12) *aṅgas*, the names of the 36 sections of the first *mūlasūtra*, and three other texts, which are no longer extant ; the last occur only in a statement in reference to the number of their *ajjhayaṇas*. A real enumeration of those texts, which besides the *aṅgas* belong to the *suam* (*śrutam*) is not found in the *aṅgas*,

²⁴ cf. *Bhagav.* 1, 392-7 *Vorlesungen über Indische Lit., Gesch.* 2, p. 316.

²⁵ *se kiṃ taṃ bhāsāriyā ? je ṇaṃ addha-Māgahāe bhāsāe bhāsānti jatthayaṇaṃ bambhī, livi pavattai.*—Also according to *upāṅga* 1, 56 (see Leumann, *Aupapāt*, p. 6) Mahāvīra himself already preached in Ardha-Māgadhi.—Accordingly we read in the quotation given by Hemacandra IV. 287 : *porāṇam addhamāgahabhāsāniyaṃ haviṇī suttam* ; cf. Pischel's note on this passage in his translation, p. 169. The ordinary term for that idiom with Hemacandra is *āṛṣam*.

²⁶ Other synonyms are *śruta*, *sūtra*, *grantha*, *śāsana*, *āṇā*, *vacana* *upadeśa*, *prajñāpanā* Such is the enumeration in the *Anuyogadv.* (but in *Prākṛt*).

but in the *Nandisūtra*, a work that is probably a production of Devarddhigaṇi himself. See below. In this work the sacred texts are divided into two groups ; (1) the *aṅgapaviṭṭha*, i. e. the 12 *aṅgas*, and (2) the *anaṅgapaviṭṭha* texts. A further subdivision shows that under *anaṅgap*, there are 60 single texts enumerated, 27 of which prove to be names of existing parts of the *Siddhānta* ; the other names appear either to be merely titles of sections of single texts of this number [223] or, and this is the majority of cases are not found in the *Siddhānta*, though *aṅga* 3, 10 is acquainted with some few of them. A repetition of this enumeration in the *Pākṣikasūtra*²⁷ adds at the end to the latter category four^{28*} additional texts, the former existence of which can be proved from another source. Inasmuch as this proof is as entirely free from suspicion as it is surprising I deem it fit to discuss this matter already here in some detail.

In the *Vihimaggapavā*, called briefly *Vidhiprapā*, that is to say, in a *sāmāyārī* of Jīṇapahamuni (Jinaprabha in Kosalā ; likewise author of the *Samdehaviṣaṣadhi*) composed Saṃvat 1363 (A.D. 1307) in Prakrt, the above mentioned enumeration of the *anaṅgapaviṭṭha* texts is found with the addition of the same four names as in the *Pākṣikasūtra*. To these four there are added two more names. On this occasion we now find there, inserted between *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas*, the following remarkable statements in reference to that state of advancement in which the student is to study the single texts. The statement occurs in a passage where the author describes in detail the diurnal occupation necessary to learn the single texts of *Siddhānta*. The passage is as follows :

*ittha ca dakkha*²⁹ *pariyāyeṇa tivāso āyārapakappaṃ vaḥijjā vāijjā ya, evaṃ cauvāso sūyagaḍaṃ, paṃcavāso dasākappavavahāre, aṭṭhavāso ṭhāṇasamavāe, dasavāso bhagavaī (°vāim), ikkārasavāso khuḍḍiyāvīmāṇāi (°nāḍini) paṃca 'jjhayaṇe, vārasavāso arunovavāyāi (°āḍini) [224] paṃca 'jjhayaṇe, terasavāso uṭṭhāṇasuyā (°yāḍini) caurajjhayaṇe, cauddasāi-aṭṭhārasamṭavāso kameṇa āsivīśabhāvaṇa-dīṭṭhivisabhāvaṇa-cāra-ṇabhāvaṇa-mahāsumiṇabhāvaṇa-teyanisagge, egūṇaviṣavāso dīṭṭhivāyaṃ, sampunnavisavāso savvasuttajogottī. The same statements recur in an older form (cf. the name *vivāha* for *aṅga* 5 and not *bhagavaī*) in Śānticaṇḍra's*

²⁷ Where the texts in question are called *aṅgabāhira*.

^{28*}Or 'five' ? they seem to have been mentioned also by the original MS. commented on by the *bhāṣā* of the Calcutta edition of the *Nandis* ; see the explanation of the five names in that edition p. 418 (after *Vaṇḍidasāo*).—L.

²⁹ The MS has *dakkhaḥ*. But *visarga* is of course here inappropriate. Is *dikkha* ('*dikṣā*') the correct reading ?

Comm. on *upāṅga* 6 in 7 verses, the first two of which are found in Abhayadeva on *aṅga* 3 :

tivarisapariyagassa u āyārapakappanāmam ajjhayaṇaṃ |
cauvarisassa ya sammaṃ sūgaḍaṃ nāma aṅgaṃ ti || 1
dasakappavavahārāsamvaccharapaṇagadi-kkhiyasse 'va |
ṭhāṇaṃ samavāociya aṅga ete³⁰ aṭṭhāvāsassa || 2
dasavāsassa vivāho egārasavāsagassa ya ime u |
khuḍḍiyavimāṇa-m-āi ajjhayaṇā paṃca nāyavvā || 3
bārasavāsassa tahā aruṇovāyāi paṃca ajjhayaṇā'
terasavāsassa tahā uṭṭhāṇasuyāiyā cauro || 4
caudasavāsassa tahā āsivisabhāvaṇaṃ jīṇā bīnti |
pannarasavāsagassa ya diṭṭhāvisabhāvaṇaṃ taha ya || 5
solasavāsāisu ya eguttaravudḍhiesu jahasaṃkhaṃ |
cāraṇabhāvaṇa-mahasuvīṇabhāvaṇā-teaganisaggā³¹ || 6
egūṇavāsagassa diṭṭhivāo duvālasaṅgaṃ |
sampunnavīsavariso aṇuvāi savvasuttassa tti || 7

This enumeration is exceedingly noteworthy, from the fact, that of the texts which now belong to the *Siddhānta*, only nine are mentioned (six *aṅgas* and three *chedasūtras*), whereas the other eight names to which reference will be made later on when we examine the *Nandī*, are at present not found therein. The question [225] arises ; are we justified in placing the composition of these verses³² at a period in which the remaining portions of the present *Siddhānta* were as yet not embraced therein, their place being occupied by the eight lost texts, which are mentioned in the enumeration ? In any case the enumeration cannot be otherwise than ancient, since at the date when it was composed, the *diṭṭhivā* manifestly still existed, and in fact as the highest in the order of gradation.

If we now return to a consideration of the 60 *anāṅgapaviṭṭha* texts

³⁰ *aṅga* masculine or 'ete' neuter; see *ime' ajjhayaṇā* in v. 3.

³¹ *teyanisagga* is, according to another passage of the *Vidhiprapā*, another name of the Gośāla book in the *Bhagavatī*, the latter in its turn being *dasavāsassa*.

³² Śānticaṇḍra maintains a different view, viz.—that since in v. 3 *aṅga* 5 is ascribed to *daśavarsaparyāyasya sādhuḥ* therefore *eo ipso aṅga* 6, and the connected *upāṅga* 6, took, their places accordingly. But how is the case with *aṅga* 7 etc ?

of the *Nandī* we shall find that we have to deal with a rich literature of which nearly half has probably been lost. On the other hand, among these 60 texts we miss not only at least six names which are now enumerated as portions of the *Siddhānta* ; but all the titles of those groups are lacking, in which the *Siddhānta* is at present divided. These 60 names are enumerated without any reference whatever to any definite order in groups, and in a succession entirely different from the present order. Does this state of things permit us to conclude that neither the texts which are not mentioned in the enumeration nor the present groupings or titles of group existed at the date of the *Nandī* ?

At present the entire *Siddhānta* embraces the following 45 texts³³ divided into the following six groups : 1. eleven (or twelve) *āṅgas* : [226] *Ācāra*, *Sūtrakṛtam* (*°kṛit*), *Sthānam*, *Samavāya*, *Bhagavatī*, *Jñātādharma-kathas*, *Upāsakadaśās*, *Antakṛddaśās*, *Anuttaraupapātikadaśās*, *Prāśnavyākaraṇam*, *Vipāka* (*Dṛṣṭivāda*, no longer extant), 2. twelve *upāṅgas* : *Aupapātikam*, *Rājaprasānīyam*, *Jivābhigama*, *Prajñāpanā*, *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, *Candraprajñapti*, *Sūryaprajñapti*, *Nirayāvali* (or *Kalpikā*), *Kalpāvataṁsikā*, *Puṣpikā*, *Puṣpacūlikā*, *Vṛṣṇidaśas*, 3. ten *painnas* ; *Catuḥśaraṇa*, *Samstāra*, *Āturapratyākhyānam*, *Bhaktaparijñā*, *Taṇḍulavaiyāliā*³⁴ *Candāvijā*,³⁴ *Devendrastava*, *Gaṇivijā*,³⁴ *Mahāpratyākhyānam*, *Virastava*, 4. six *chedaśūtras* : *Niśītham*, *Mahāniśītham*, *Vyavahāra*, *Daśāsrutaskandha*, *Brhatkalpa*, *Pañcakalpa*, 5. two *Sūtras* without a common name, *Nandī* and *Amuyogadvāram*, 6. four *mulaśūtras* : *Uttarādhyayanam*, *Āvaśyakam*, *Daśavaikālikam*, and *Piṇḍaniryukti*. This division is that of Bühler (see Jacobi, *Kalpas*. p. 14), with an exception in the succession of *up.* 5-7, where I have deviated from his arrangement on the strength of the *Vidhiprapā* and the scholium on *up.* 6. The same division is found also in *Ratnasāgara* (Calc. 1880) except that there groups 3 and 4 have changed places with 5 and 6, not to mention some minor differences. It is a very remarkable fact that in Rajendra Lal Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* 3. p. 67 (Calc. 1874)—on the authority of a definite source of information, the *Siddhānta dharma-sāra*, we find an enumeration³⁵ varying materially from the above. First a very different grouping may be noticed ; [227] secondly, there

³³ Those are probably the "45 āgamas," which the patron of the writer of a *MS* (Saṁvat 1666, A. D. 1609) of the *Vyavahārasūtra* (Berlin MS. or. fol. 1038) had copied ; see v. 10 of the statements at its end.

³⁴ These names, both as regards form and signification are either of doubtful explanation, or are involved in obscurity.

³⁵ Repeated in the "Report on the Sanskrit MSS. examined during 1880-81" addressed to the Govt. of the Punjab, by Pandit Kashinath Kunte. He has given the report twice with tolerable similarity—Jan. 24, 1881 (p. 4-7) and June 6, 1881 (p. 6-9).

are a few additional names (50 instead of 45) and finally remarkable variations in the names themselves. The first two groups of *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas* are identical, although *aṅga* 10 has changed place with *aṅga* 11, and the name of *upāṅga* 12 having fallen out, in its stead another name (*Kappiyāsūtra*) has been introduced in the ninth place.³⁶ The four *Mūlasūtras* appear as Group 3, and of these two have different names (2. *Viśeṣāvaśyaka*, 4. *Pākṣika*). Group 4 bears the title *Kalpasūtras* and consists of five texts, viz : *mūlas*, 1, *chedas*, 1 and 3, *Kalpasūtra* (part of *chedas*, 4) and *Itakalpasūtra*. Group 5 embraces 6 *chedasūtras* of which the first three alone are perhaps identical with *chedas* 1; the fourth corresponds to *mūlasūtra* 4 of Bühler. The names are : 1, *Mahāniśīthavṛhadvācanā*, 2, *Mahāniśīthalaghuṇvācanā*, 3. *Mahāniśītha* (not in Rajendra Lal Mitra, but in Kashinath Kunte) *Madhyamavācanā*, 4. *Piṇḍaniryukti*, 5. *Aughaniryukti*, 6. *Paryuṣaṇākālpa*. Group 6 : the ten *painna* or *payanna* texts, but in a different order. The *Marāṇasamādhisūtram*, which is in the eighth place, takes place of *painna* 10. *Nandisūtra* and *Anuyogadvārasūtra*, counting separately as groups 7 and 8 respectively conclude the list. If, now, [228] after a consideration of the above, it is manifest that even the parts of the *Siddhānta* are at present uncertain, we have herein a sure proof of the unsettledness and uncertainty which attaches to the entire writings of the Jains. As a matter of fact it is apparent that the oldest portions of their literature are in reality nothing but *dissecta membra*, that they are very unequal and, as regards the date of their composition, separated from each other by extensive periods.

In the *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas* we may observe groups, which are well defined, individual, and united through criteria which prove their inter-connection. These groups were in a later age brought into connection with the other groups of like nature.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that a hand, aiming at unification and order, has been brought to bear especially upon the *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas*. This is clear from the many remarks in reference to the redaction (*Bhagav.* 1, 389) which consist partly of the parallel references of one text to another, partly of *kārikās* which are placed at the beginning to serve as a general introduction or inserted in the middle or subjoined at the end. The linguistic character of those re-

³⁶ Here Kashinath Kunte deviates from Rajendra Lal Mitra, adducing the common name of *up.* 12 but in the ninth place. A further variation is that in the place of *Candapannatti* he adduces the *Mahāpannavanā*, which is found in the list of the *anāṅgapayitṭha* texts in the *Nandī*. The *Mahāpannavanā* is characterised as "obsolete and extinct" by Kashinath Kunte.

dictionary remarks can be readily distinguished from that of the text. Among those parallel references, there are doubtless many, which are to be ascribed, not to the redactor but (cf. below) to the copyists ; and among the *kārikās* may be contained many additions of a decided secondary stamp. If now we do not discuss at length the problem as to whether we are to consider all the 45 *āgamas* of Bühler's list as collected by Devarddhigaṇi, [229] as is the belief of Jacobi, *Kalpas*, p. 16, we must accept *this* as a fact ; that their present state cannot be that to which they were possibly brought by him. Despite the firm foundation erected by his activity, and despite the care which the Jains especially have, even from the earliest times, devoted to the restoration of their MSS., nevertheless both the constitution and condition of the *Siddhānta* text have been subject to most important modifications. Jacobi, p. 16, 17, has called attention to the numerous *pāṭhas* (various readings) recognized in the Scholia, and has expressed it as his conviction that it is impossible to restore Devarddhigaṇi's recension or text. There exist however other differences between the original and the present *Siddhānta* text. Not only have there been lost passages or sections of the text, which were extant at the date of the older commentaries, but also there have been inserted large interpolations which are apparent ; and furthermore the text, according to all probability, has even suffered complete transformations. I conjecture that the reason of these changes may be sought in the influence of the orthodoxy of the Svetāmbara sect,³⁷ which became more and more unbending to the various divisions of sectaries. The existing *Siddhānta* belongs exclusively to the Svetāmbaras. The loss of the entire *dr̥ṣṭivāda* (cf. below), is doubtless principally due to the fact that it had direct reference to the doctrines of the schismatics. This point of view may afford us an explanation for the omissions, additions, and transformations in the constitution of the other *aṅgas*. The [230] rigour of the polemic against the *annauṭṭhiya*, *anyatīrthika*, *parapāṣaṇḍa* and against the *ninhaga*, *nihnava*, is so sharp and cutting, that we are justified in drawing ulterior conclusions, which are of significance for the history of Jain literature.

Thus we have seen above, page 222f, that of works mentioned in *aṅgas* 3 and 4 with special reference to their contents and extent, eight are no longer extant, as is also the case with some 30 of the 60 *anaṅgapaviṭṭha* texts mentioned in the *Nandisūtra*, etc. Again, it is a definite and certain conclusion that the *Mahāpainna* chapter of the first

³⁷ A patent example of this inflexibility is to be found in the *Kupakṣakausikāditya*,

part of *aṅga* 1 long formed an integral part of that *aṅga* before it was lost, as is at present the case. The *nīsīhājghayaṇam*, which originally belongs to the second part of that *aṅga*, has been removed thence and given an independent position, that is to say, it exists, according to all probability, as *chedasūtra* 1. Some verses, which originally had their place at the end of the first chapters of *upāṅgas* 5 and 7, and which the scholium ascribes to that place, are now not extant. On the other hand, there is no lack of insertions: At the date of the fourth *aṅga* (§84) the fifth had not yet attained the half of its present extent (84,000 instead of 184,000 *padas*). The addition of certain portions called *cūlās* (protuberances), is expressly recognized by tradition as having taken place, partly in *aṅga* 5 (*vivāhacūlā*) partly in *aṅgas* 1 and 12 as also in *mūlasūtra* 3. In the case of *chedasūtra* 4 we have a certain instance of a growth out of manifold constituent parts. Besides, these changes, be they omissions or additions, there are traces of evident textual transformations. The statements in *aṅga* 3, 10 in reference to the contents of *aṅgas* 8-10, are drawn from a text quite different from our own. Furthermore [231] the statements in reference to the extent and division of all the 12 *aṅgas*, to be found in a detailed discussion of the subject partly in *aṅga* 4, partly in the *Nandī*, are oftentimes in unison neither with each other nor with the actual constitution of the text. Even the modern representation of the *Vidhiprapā*, dating from the commencement of the fourteenth century, shows extensive variations in the case of an *aṅga* 6. It is furthermore to be noticed that chapter 16 of the first part of *aṅga* 2, has a title which does not comport with the character of its contents. The same may be affirmed of *aṅga* 10, the commentary to which refers to a textual division no longer in existence; nor does this *aṅga* contain the same dialect as the others. Finally, the name of the second *upāṅga* does not harmonize with its traditional explanation, which, in turn, stands in no genuine relation to the contents of the *upāṅga*. In this latter case there exists perhaps some connection with a Buddhistic text of similar denomination, to which we may, in the last instance, ascribe some influence in bringing about the transformation of the text. We have seen that the constituent parts of the text in general have been exposed to modifications of the most varied character; and the same, we can confidently assume, has been the case with the state of the text itself. The peculiar style of these works in the first instance is to be held responsible for this result. The massiveness and ponderosity especially of the presentation by means of continual repetitions and constantly recurring stereotyped forms, has often sorely tried the patience of the Jain clergy. All the precautions which were taken by the division of the text into *granthas*,

that is to say, groups of 32 syllables³⁸ and by counting the latter by hundreds [232] or by thousands, which precautions according to Jacobi, *Kalpas* p.24 emanated from Devarddhigaṇi himself, have not been able to protect the text against the insertion of single words, or against abbreviations and omissions. The latter were then made good by reference to the parallel passages in other texts, cf.p. 228. All this, together with the dangers accruing from the constant copying of the MSS, has produced a state of confusion which is utterly irremediable. Often the catchwords alone, the skeletons of the page so to speak, are left, and that which must be supplied is to be found in the preceding, which was identical in tenor. The omitted portion was thus left to oral delivery or to oral instruction. The allusions to certain stereotyped descriptions, the *epitheta ornantia*, the so-called *vannaa*, *varṇaka*, are doubtless to be referred to the period of the redaction,

So the text itself, as we see, has met with enormous losses in the course of time ; also the form of the words has suffered equally. I do not refer here to the frequent *pāṭhas*, of which mention has already been made and which were intentionally changed from reasons of the most various character, but to the form of the words itself. The Prakrit of these texts was, as we have seen, page 221, afflicted in the very beginning with "a thorn in the flesh". Its origin is to be sought in the East of India, in Magadha, and it was therefore provided at the start with those peculiarities, or at least with a good part of them, which belonged to the Magadhī dialect according to the testimony of the old inscriptions and of the tradition of the later grammarians. These texts were collected for the first time [233] by the Council of Pāṭaliputra probably in that dialect, and after 800 years' transmission by word of mouth, if we trust the voice of tradition, were codified in writing in Western India. In this codification the attempt was doubtless made to preserve a part of the ancient grammatical form, particularly the termination of the Nom. Sing. Masc. of the 1st decl., in *e* not in *o*. Such was the ancient colouring of the language of the "Scriptures", as the texts were now called. But, aside from this attempt at preserving an ancient flavouring, it may be stated as a general proposition that the texts were written down in that form, which the language assumed at the time and place where the written codification took place. In the case of those texts which were then not merely collected or compiled from ancient material, but newly created by the sole assistance of this ancient material, the desire to preserve the ancient

³⁸ Also called *śloka* or *anuṣṭubh*. See *Ind. Streifen*, III. p. 212.

form held good merely as regards the ancient citations. The remainder of the contents, including the notes of the redactor and his additions, was at the outset, composed in the new form (e.g. Nom. in *o*, not *e*). This then remained for the future the only authoritative form which as far as can be discovered, was imperfect and contaminated by the most varied defects. No reference was paid to a substructure of grammar, and the flexibility of the rules as regards flexion or non-flexion recalls the latitude which the Prakrit grammarians of a later age [234] ascribed³⁹ to the Apabhramśa in this particular. In compounds the single members are either entirely without *saṁdhi*, or the case termination is lacking in the latter member, so that it stands, like the other members, in its pure thematic form. The pure theme especially is frequently found instead of the inflected forms in the *kārikās*, which are inserted into the *aṅgas*. The gender and number of the words which are associated, do not agree in a very large number of cases.⁴⁰ The insertion of an inorganic *m* in the middle of compounds and at the end of a word, is a recognized practice. Corresponding occurrences or rather beginnings of such a use are found even in ancient times, and in fact in the *Veda* (cf. *śatamūti*). The use of the particles *to* (from *ato*) and *o*, *tu* and *u* as mere expletives, is exceedingly common. The indiscriminate variation of *i* and *u* with *e* and *o* before double consonants makes many passages obscure and difficult. If to these considerations we add the so-called *yaśruti* it is apparent what a wide field is opened up for the disfigurement of words. There is, however, one circumstance more, and that of a very peculiar nature. By reason of the falling out at any time of a *t* in the frequently recurring forms of the 3rd pers. Singul. Pres., and of the Past. Perf. Pass., a misunderstanding arose in the minds of the copyists, which is only to be explained from the fact that there was no absolutely established grammatical use. This misunderstanding arose from the belief of the grammarians that *t* was a sound [235] that could be omitted or inserted at pleasure. The insertion of such an inorganic *t* in time gained ground so extensively, that the recognition of the original form becomes a matter of exceeding difficulty. As a matter of fact it can be proved that this situation of affairs led even at quite an early date to grotesque misunderstandings.⁴¹ As the result of all this many words of the

39 A perfect analogy is presented by the peculiar Sanskrit of the North Buddhist texts *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, etc.

40 Just as in the texts of the *Avesta*, especially the *Vendidad*, which were collected at about this period.

41 All sorts of false forms which had no claim to existence came gradually into use in this way. An interesting case of this, which, if my conception is correct, transplants us into a period before Varāhamihira A. D. 504-587, will be found in the

texts are exceedingly corrupt. We find therefore it almost beyond belief when we consider the nature of the licenses which modern Jain authors allow themselves when they write Prakrit. In the scholia all matter of this class is explained simply as *chāṇḍasa*, or *ārṣa*. If now, despite the above great transformation of the constitution and condition of the text of the *Siddhānta* since Devarddhigaṇi, it is always difficult in a given case to demonstrate the posteriority of any definite text after him, there is nevertheless, [236] in the contents a sufficient number of dates which correspond exactly, or at least tally well, with the period in which he is placed by tradition, namely the fifth century A. D.

Of the evidence of this character we must first mention the astronomical and astrological conceptions, which are anterior to the authoritative influence of Greek astronomy, or at least in all essentials independent of it. There is as yet no knowledge of the Zodiac ; the planets are not arranged in the Greek order (as is the case in several of the Ath. Paris.), and play a very unimportant part. The *nakṣatras* and the Vedic *yugam* of five years still hold sway. The *nakṣatras* are often found, arranged after the old order, starting with *kṛttikā*. At the same time we find in the *upāṅgas* the change of the vernal equinox from *kṛttikā* to *bharaṇi* indicated by the commencement with *abhijit*, which is such a favourite in the *upāṅgas*.⁴² In this fact we have a sign that the influence of Greece had already become active. In general, however, the statements of the *upāṅgas* still represent the stage of the so-called *Jyotiṣam* and of a part of the *Atharvaparīṣiṣṭas*. The names of the *karaṇas* that have a foreign sound : *bava*, *bālava*, etc. belong, it is true, to the *upāṅgas* ; *horā* is found however for the first time in *painna* 8. v. 60.

We must also mention the enumeration of the foreign, non-Aryan peoples, [237] which are frequently referred to in the *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas*.

name of the metre *vaitāliyam* in *aṅga* 2. 1. 2. The title of the first *upāṅga* is incorrectly stated to be *aupapātika* instead of °*dika*. The name Meayya (Metayya) became Metārya, the common form. In my treatise on the *Śatruṃjaya Māh.* p. 3. 4, when I had no knowledge of this inorganic *t*, I conjectured Metārya to have originated from Mevārya. The Schol. on *aṅga* 2. 2. 7 has, it must be confessed, Medārya. Furthermore the later Jains have been guilty of all sorts of wild misconceptions in reference to their own language ; as for example, the completely erroneous explanation of the name *nivāha* by *niśātha*. In this category we may perhaps place Licchaki for Licchavi.

⁴² So also in *aṅga* 3 ; in *aṅga* 4. 7 probably is an interpolation. The names of the *nakṣatras* appear, we may notice in passing, here only in their secondary form, thus : *puṣya*, *bhadrāpada*, etc.

This enumeration transplants us with tolerable certainty to a period from the second to the fourth century A.D., which is the most ancient period in which the enumeration can have originated, though the present texts may be much later. The mention made of the Arabians among the list, in the form *ārava*, which has yet not been discovered as occurring elsewhere in India, might lead us to suppose that we had to deal with a period far posterior to that delimited above. This could, however, be the case only on the supposition that the Arabians of Islam are referred to. It is my opinion that a reference to an ante-Islamic period (in which Arabia and India were closely connected by commercial ties), is as fully justified as a reference to the Islamic period. From the mention of this peculiar denomination of the Arabians, which as before said appears here for the first time in the history of Indian literature, I conclude that the first author of the enumeration in question lived in a part of India in which the commercial connections with Arabia were very close, that is to say, on the west coast. The mention made of the seven schisms in *aṅgas* 3, the last of which occurred in the year 584 Vīra, compels us to regard the second century A. D. as the extreme limit *a' qua* for the composition of the texts of the *Siddhānta*. We have therefore to conclude that the period from the second to the fifth century is the period to which their composition must be relegated.

The other dates, which we can extract from the texts, are in agreement with this delimitation of the period of their origin, of special importance are the references in the *aṅgas* to the corpus of Brahmanical secular literatures [238] which existed at the time, see *Bhagav.* 1. 441 ; 2. 446 8. Then too the use of the word *aṅga* to denote the oldest portions or the chief group of the *Siddhānta*⁴³ deserves attention, and makes probable the assumption that the period of their origin is the same as that to which belong the Brahmanical *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas*, often alluded to in their most ancient portions. The second of those two names (*upāṅgas*) has been adopted by the Jains as the title of the second chief group of their texts. I have already called attention to

⁴³ The Buddhists in the case of the chief group of their own scriptures make use of the word *sūtra* to denote a class of literature of somewhat ancient date. The word *sūtra* occurs also in the colophons of the Jaina *Siddhānta* and plays a very important role in the Scholia ; yet is never used in the texts themselves with the same significance as among the Buddhists, if we except the *Anuyogadvāras* and *Avāśy. nijjuttī* together with that section of *aṅga* 12 which has the specific title of *suttāim*. See *Bhag.* 1, 441, 2, 196, 247 and *Vorles. über Ind. Lit. Gesch.* 2 316. The style of some of the oldest parts of the *Siddhānta* reminds us in a very slight degree of that of the later Brahmanical *sūtra*. In reference to the connection, of somewhat problematic character, between *sāmāyika* or *sāmāyāri* and *sāmāyācārika*, see later on under *aṅga* 1, or in *Uttarādhy.* 16.

the close connection between the astronomical doctrines of the *aṅgas* and those of the “*Jyotiṣa*” *vedāṅga*. Finally may be mentioned (see *Bhagav.* 1. 383) the solemn composition in the *āryā* measure⁴⁴ of verses which are cited in the *Siddhānta* or inserted therein. This measure must at the time of the redaction of the *Siddhānta* have enjoyed especial authoritativeness, otherwise it had never been made so exclusive a vehicle of composition. We must however call attention to the fact that the oldest material portions of the texts are not composed in *gāthās* but in *ślokas*; thus *aṅga* 2, the metrical portions of the *cheda-sūtras* and those of *mūlasūtras* 1 and 3 [239] are composed in *ślokas*, while the *nijjutti* and *cūrṇi* belonging to those *mūlas* are in *gāthās*. In *aṅga* 2 we find also the *vaitāliya* measure. The name of this metre (cf. *ad loc.*) which exists even in the “*Chandas*” *vedāṅga*, appears to have been caused⁴⁵ by a misunderstanding of the name of a chapter of this *aṅga*, brought about by the insertion of an inorganic *t*. The existence of the name of this chapter of the *aṅga* would receive by this supposition a valuable attestation, inasmuch as it dates far back to a very remote period. In *ślokas* and *vaitāliyas* are composed the verses of the *Dhammapada* of the Buddhists, with which several portions of this *aṅga*, as well as of *mūlasūtras* 1 and 3, are very closely connected.

We come at this point to a question, which I will here merely mention. What is the relation of the *Siddhānta* of the Jains to the sacred writings of the Buddhists, both northern and southern? A few sidelights of this character will be brought into use as the course of our investigation progresses. The solution of the question can only then be successfully undertaken, when we are in a position to compare the texts themselves.

The following review of the contents of the *Siddhānta* endeavours, in the first place, to disclose to us the actual constitution of the texts which are at the present day reckoned as belonging to the *Siddhānta*. In this review I follow the order adopted by Bühler (see above, page 226). Secondly, it purposes from the dates contained therein to cast light upon the most important points for the date of the composition of each single division, and for the life of the founder [240] of Jainism, as far as this is possible for me in this first assault upon its literature, remarkable not less for its immensity than for its monotony and intellectual poverty.

⁴⁴ There is frequently a great lack of metrical correctness in these verses.

⁴⁵ The metre in question existed earlier as may be seen from its use in the *Dhammapada*.

The more exact details will be found in the second part of my catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. of the Royal Library of Berlin, which is at present in the press.^{46*} I have unfortunately been able to make use of the editions of *aṅga* 10 and *upāṅga* 2 alone out of the Calcutta and Bombay editions of the *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas*, published 1876 ff.

At the conclusion of this introduction it may be permitted me to state that personally I still continue to regard the Jains as one of the oldest of the Buddhistic sects.^{47*} The fact that the tradition in reference to the founder of Jainism deals partly with another personality than Buddha Śākyamuni himself—with the name of a man who in the Buddhistic legend is mentioned as one of the contemporary opponents of Śākyamuni—this fact, I say, does not, in my opinion, militate against the conclusion that Jainism is merely one of the oldest of the Buddhistic sects. It appears to me that the conception of the founder of Jainism as an opponent of Buddha can well be regarded as an intentional disavowal of religious opinion which took its rise in sectarian hate. The number and the significance of common features in both Buddhistic and Jain traditions in reference to the life and labours etc. of each of their founders outweigh any arguments that make for the contrary opinion. If we reflect and I here repeat what I have said on page 219—that the Jain texts were, as the Jains themselves claim, codified in writing 1000 years after the death of the founder of Jainism, then it is really marvellous [241] that they appear to contain so much that is original. How large the number and how influential the character of the events which occurred in the interval, is for the present veiled in obscurity, although the information emanating from the Jains themselves (or more particularly from the Śvetāmbaras with whose literature we have specially to go) in reference to the seven schisms etc.⁴⁸ affords us at least some slight base of operations. One fact, for example, is noteworthy : that the nakedness, which is adduced by the Brahmins (e.g. also by Varāhas mih. 58,45,59,19) as a chief characteri-

46* Of this new catalogue Vol. I has since appeared under the title : *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*. Vol. V. Part II. Vol. I (352 pages ; see ante 1887. p. 316), Vol. II (p. 353-828) which is particularly devoted to the sacred Jain Literature, is nearly ready.—L.

47* This view (which in Europe has apparently persuaded only M. Barth of Paris) will scarcely be maintainable any longer, since Prof. Bühler has discovered inscriptional proofs for the authenticity of the Old Thera lists given by the *Kalpasūtra*. see the two papers by Bühler in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. I. p. 165ff and Vol. II., (III), p. 1ff.—L.

48 According to v. 43 of Dhammaghosā's *Kālasattari* : *terasasachīm* (1300) *Virā hohimti aṇegahā mayavibheā/bāmdhamti jehim jivā bahuhā kaṁkhāi mohaṇām.* ||

stic of the Jains, and which according to Buddhistic statements, was resolutely opposed by Buddha, assumes an unimportant position in the *aṅgas* and at least is not regarded as a matter of necessity, see *Bhag.* 2,187,239,314. Later the necessity of appearing naked was introduced as a dogma by a sect of dissenters. If we take into considerations the hate which the Śvetāmbaras, who played the *role* of the orthodox sect, manifested so vigorously against the Digambaras in particular⁴⁹ (*Kup.* 797 7), it is no rash conjecture to assume that many prescriptions or traditions in regard to this point have been removed from the *Siddhānta* of the Śvetāmbaras. Even the orthodox do not deny that the Jinas themselves went naked;⁵⁰ they assert merely that, what was permissible then is no longer permissible at the present day.

At the head of [242] the *Siddhānta* stand then :

a. The (11 or 12) *aṅgas*.

We have seen above on page 211 ff. that, according to tradition, at the time of the first Jina all 12 *aṅgas* were extant ; that then between Jinas 2-9 there existed only eleven, *i. e.*, all except *aṅga* 12 ; that between, Jinas 9-16, those eleven also were lost, whereas in the time of, or between, Jinas 16-24, all twelve were extant, and that the 12th afterwards was again⁵¹ lost. If we exclude the mythical first Jina from our consideration, the essence of this tradition is perhaps this : the number of the *aṅgas* was at first eleven, to these a twelfth was joined, which twelfth *aṅga* was again lost. This assumption corresponds to the conclusions to be derived from the *Siddhānta* itself. In the *aṅgas* themselves and in the *upāṅgas* too,⁵² only eleven *aṅgas* are as a rule mentioned. The principal exception to this assertion is the fourth *aṅga* where at the very outset we find a short enumeration (which can easily be shown to be of secondary addition) of the single parts of the *duvālasaṃgaṃ gaṇipīḍagaṃ* ; alike in §§18,46,88, some declarations in reference to *aṅga* 12 ; and finally at the end a detailed exposition of this subject, in which the *duvālasaṃgaṃ gaṇipīḍagaṃ* is glorified as hav-

⁴⁹ *deśavisaṃvādino dravyaliṅgeṇā 'bhedino nihnavāḥ, Boṭikās tu sarvavisaṃvādino dravyaliṅgato 'pi bhinnāḥ*, according to the *Vicārāṃṭa-saṃgraha* in Malayagiri's Comm. to *Āvaśy.* ; cf. Jacobi, *Kalpas.* p. 15n.

⁵⁰ See Wilson *Sel. W.* I, 294 ed. Rost in reference to the nakedness of Mahāvīra : cf. also the characterization of his doctrine in *aṅga* 3, 9 fin. as *acelae*.

⁵¹ Accord. to *Bhagav.* 20, 8, *aṅga* 12 was lost *savvattha, i. e.* in all 23 *jīṇaṃtaras*, as Leumann informs me.

⁵² But see *up.* 1.26 (p. 36, Leumann).

ing existed eternally in the past and as destined to exist forever in the future. This laudation of *aṅga* 12 is very surprising, and may well be explained as an intentional polemical assertion to satisfy all doubts that might arise. According to all probability the last section, which is found almost *verbatim et litteratim* in the *Nandī*, composed probably by Devarddhigaṇi himself, [243] is to be regarded as a later addition to *aṅga* 4, whether it was borrowed from the *Nandī* itself, or, if this cannot be the case on account of some few differences between them, from a common source. Besides this mention in *aṅga* 4 and some other references, which eventually may also be of secondary origin (e. g., *aṅga* 5,20,8) the *duvālasaṅgaṃ gaṇipīḍagaṃ* is mentioned only in those portions of the *Siddhānta* which do not belong to the *aṅgas*.

The later origin of the passages in question is manifest from the form in which they are referred to.

When anything is said of the eleven *aṅgas*, they are always characterized⁵³ as "begining with the *sāmāyika*", in case the statement is not merely limited to this number itself, but when the first one is specifically referred to by name. When, on the other hand, anything is said of twelve *aṅgas*, in which case the titles of each and all are generally cited, the first *aṅga* is not called *sāmāyika*, but *ācāra* (e. g. also *aṅga* 5,20,8); the latter name is found in the MSS. and elsewhere up to the present day. This direct variation between the two forms of denotation is peculiar and surprising, but may perhaps be explained as follows: The word *sāmāyika* was perhaps originally a synonym of *ācāra*. I derive⁵⁴ it from *samaya* and hold that it is equivalent to the Brahmanical *sāmāyācārika* (see M. Müller, *Hist. Anc. S. Lit.* p. 206 fg.) which here appears probably [244] in the term *sāmāyārī* (see *Uttarajjh.* 26). This may be regarded as a counterpart of *sāmāyācārika*. In *upāṅga* 1 at the end of the first part, the *dharma* of Mahāvīra is designated in a general way as *sāmāia* or as *agārasāmāie dhamme* and *anagārasa°*. The use of the word in this universal signification in a legend is attested for Mahāvīra's predecessor Pārśva; see *Bhagav.* 2, 184. Besides this wider signification there was developed a second more restricted use (see the

⁵³ *Sāmāyika-m ādiyāi i. e. sāmāyikādini*. see *Bhagav.* 2, 281-3. 300. up. I, 31 remains an exception (Leumann, p. 44)

⁵⁴ Cf. *Pāṇ.* 5, 4, 34 where in the *gaṇa*, *samaya* and *samāyācāra* are found, also *sāmāya* (var. 1); the form *sāmā°*, might be regarded as an intentional differentiation for *sāmā°*; cf. the *ākṣtigāṇa*, *anuśatika* as also *saṃgrāhika*, from *saṃgraha*, in Abhayadeva on *aṅga* 4, who even uses *svasāmāyika* as the adj. to *svasamaya*. The Jains themselves affect several etymologies, and generally regard *sama* as the first member of the compound. See also *Bhag.* 2, 186.

reference just quoted) viz.—the first member of the six so-called *āvaśyakas*⁵⁵ i. e., necessary observances, the treatment of which forms the chief subject of the *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra* and of the *sūtra* text, on which the *Āvaśyakanijjuttī* is based. In both these works and in the *Nandī*, which in turn also makes special mention of the six *āvaśyakas* with *sāmāya* at the head, the *duvālasaṃga gaṇipīḍaga* with *ācāra* at the head is principally spoken of. Consequently it is easy to conjecture that the use of the word *sāmāyika* occurring here in its pregnant sense as the title of the first *āvaśyaka*, has been the cause of the dropping of this denotation for the first *aṅga* (in order to avoid any misunderstanding⁵⁶), and the reason of the choice of the title *ācāra* for this *aṅga*, [245] a title which is perfectly clear.⁵⁷ Further more transitional stages may be found. *Āvaśy. nijj.* 2,14 we read *sāmāia-m-āiaṃ suanāṇaṃ jāva bīṃdusārāo*. Here the first *aṅga* is still entitled *sāmāia* although twelve *aṅgas* are treated of ; *bīṃdusāra* is the title of the fourteenth *pūrva* or of the concluding section the third part⁵⁸ of the twelfth *aṅga*. In *chedas* 2, 3 the same is said of the *duvālasaṃgaṃ suyanāṇaṃ* : that it is *sāmāiya-m-āi logabīṃdusāgara* (*jāra* !) *payyavasāṇaṃ*.^{59*}

If now the passages, in which eleven *aṅgas* with *sāmāyika* at their head are spoken of, are older than those in which reference is made to twelve *aṅgas* with *ācāra* at their head, it becomes self-evident that the twelfth *aṅgaṃ* has been united to the other eleven as a secondary addition. According to tradition and to the actual state of the case, the twelfth *aṅgaṃ* did probably not long assert this secondary position which it had acquired ; and at present at least is no longer extant. Doubtless it was lost long ago (cf. page 213). From this circumstance alone we may conjecture that there existed a species of oppositions, an actual incongruity between it and the other eleven *aṅgas*, which led to its loss. For the confirmation of this assertion we still have proof. In both the works, which we have just found to be the two principal witnesses for the existence [246] of the *duvālasaṃgaṃ gaṇipīḍagaṃ*, viz. in the *Anuyogadv.* and in the *Āvaśy. nijj.*, the twelfth *aṅgaṃ* under

⁵⁵ These form the first of the ten groups of the *sāmāyārī*, see *Uttarajjh.* 26.

⁵⁶ It is very peculiar that in *Āvaśy. nijj.* 2, 8 *sāmāia* appears as the title of the first *āvaśyaka* and only six verses later on in 2, 14 as title of the first *aṅga*.

⁵⁷ The change may have been favoured by the union of both words in the Brahmanical term *samayācāra*.

⁵⁸ Both the following parts are herewith completely ignored.

^{59*} On the authority of such passages the *pravacanam* is explained by *sāmāyikādi bīṃdusārāparyāṃtam* in later works, e. g., in the commentary to Dharmaghoṣa's *Jitakaḷpa* ; also in the *Nandī-ṭīkā*, see ed. of the *Nandī*., p. 390.—L.

its title *diṭṭhivāa drṣṭivāda*, is placed in direct opposition to the other eleven *aṅgas*, which are there included in the collective title of *kāliyaṃ suam kālikam śrutam*. This occurs in the *Anuyogady.*, in the section *parimāṇasaṃkhā*, where the means are explained by which the sacred text is assured through counting its constituent parts. Common subdivisions are ascribed to both its above mentioned parts, but for the chief sections the titles *uddesaga*, *ajjhayaṇa*, *suakhaṃdha*, *aṅga* are given to the *kāliasua*, the titles *pāhuḍa*, *pāhuḍiā*, *pāhuḍapāhuḍiā*, *vatthu* however to the *diṭṭhivāa*. According to this (and the other statements in reference to the division of the *diṭṭhivāa* are in agreement herewith) there existed between both these groups of texts a fundamental difference in the designation of their chief divisions. This may probably be referred to a different origin or to a different treatment of the subject matter of both.^{60*} In the *Āvaśy. nijj.* 8,54 two other texts are mentioned (*isibhāsiyāi* and *sūrapannatti*) besides *kāliasuam* and *diṭṭhivāa*. Of these the first is lost, the second has found lodgment among the existing *upāṅgas*. Its agreement with the *diṭṭhivāa* in its division into *pāhuḍa*, leads us to conclude that it must have some connection with it. Finally of special importance is a notice, found but a short distance from this in the same text (8,40), according to which [247] up to the time of Ajja Vayara, that is, of Vajrasvāmin, *apuhatte (apṛthaktvam) kālāṇuo-assa* existed, and the *puhattam (pṛthaktvam)* “*kāliasua diṭṭhivāe a*” had found entrance later on : *teṇāreṇa, tata ārataḥ*.

For the present at least it is quite uncertain how we are to understand this peculiar notice, or how we are to bring it into harmony with the position, which Vajra holds elsewhere in tradition, that is, as the last *daśapūrvīn*—knower of (merely) ten *pūrvas*. After him there were only *navapūrvins*, and the knowledge of the *pūrvas* gradually decreased until it finally ceased altogether (p. 213). We can determine at least *this* with certainty—that a thorough-going difference existed between *aṅga* twelve and the other eleven. The hostility of the great Bhadrabāhu, who is held to be the real representative of the *drṣṭivāda*, to the sacred Saṃgha is apparent from other sources and from the late notice in Hemacandra's *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* (above, p. 214).⁶¹ The reason for

^{60*} In the tradition referred to on page 215 the priority of the *pūrvas* over the *aṅgas* is claimed. Their position in the last *aṅga*, at the conclusion of the others, is however not in harmony with this claim. The title *pūrvas* has rather reference in the last instance to the contents. See below on *aṅga* 12—It must however be taken into consideration that the old accounts on the rise of the Jain schisms mention only the *pūrvas* and not the *aṅgas*; see my paper “*Die alten Berichte von den Schismen der Jaina*,” *Ind. Stud.* Vol. XVII. pp. 107 and 112.—L.

⁶¹ If Bhadrabāhu appears here, and elsewhere, in the tradition, as the last teacher of the 14 *pūrvas*, which form an integral part of the *drṣṭivāda*, and if with his pupil

this enmity can be clearly discerned in the statements, which have been preserved in reference to the twelfth *āṅga*. It may be permitted here to refer to the discussion of the same later on. According to these statements, the first two of the five parts in which it was presumably divided, dealt with the views (*dr̥ṣṭi*) of the heterodox sects, the *ājīviya* and the *terāsia*⁶² besides treating of other subjects. [248] The name *dr̥ṣṭivāda* may perhaps be explained by reference to this fact. The third part consisted of the so-called 14 *pūrvas*, the contents of which was probably not in entire harmony with the sect of the Śvetāmbaras, which had gradually arrogated to itself the position of being the representative of orthodoxy. This then is perhaps the reason for the loss of the twelfth *āṅga*.

The remaining extant eleven *āṅgas* by no means represent a unit since they fall into several groups, the single members of which are marked by certain formal peculiarities, which prove a connection closer in the case of some than in that of others.

The first of those groups is formed by *āṅgas* 1-4, all the larger divisions of which close with the words *ti bemi, iti bravīmi*; and according to the Scholia, Sudharman, Mahāvīra's pupil, is regarded as the one who gives utterance to this formula. The prose portions begin with the formula ; *suyam me āusam! teṇam bhagavayā evam akkhāyam*. "I have heard, O long-lived one ! Thus has that saint spoken." Sudharman is the speaker, according to the Scholia. In this formula,⁶³ which characterizes the contents as the oral transmission of the utterances of Mahāvīra, a scholar of Sudharman, *i. e.* Jambū, is the one addressed. This introductory formula is found also in other texts of the *Siddhānta* at the commencement of the prose sections ; and with this the closing formula *ti bemi* is generally connected. From this it appears to me that an immediate connection of these portions with the first four *āṅgas* is here *eo ipso* indicated, in so far as in all probability [249] all bear the traces of a unifying hand. In regard to the especial connection of *āṅgas* 1-3 with one another, this fact deserves mention that in *āṅga* 4, 57 they appear as a group which belongs by itself or as the 'three

in the 14 *pūrvas*, Sthūlabhadra, the mere knowledge of the last four *pūrvas* is said to have vanished, this is in no greater agreement with the information derived from the *Siddhānta* itself (see above, p. 215) than with the above statements in reference to Vajra's activity in the case of the *diṭṭhivā*. See above, page 215.

⁶² The traditional date for the foundation of this sect—544 after Vira is exactly 374 years later than the date which is set for Bhadrabāhu the supposed last teacher of the 14 *pūrvas*—(*kalasatts. v. 37*).

⁶³ This is explained in very different ways.

gaṇipīḍagas” (*ācāryasya sarvasvabhājanāni*) κατ’ ἐξοχῆς. *Āṅga* 4 is nothing but a continuation of *āṅga* 3, and in the very beginning is styled to be “the fourth *āṅga*”.

A second group is formed by *āṅgas* 6-9 and 11, which in a common introductory formula refer on the one hand their contents directly to Suhamma or Jambū, and on the other are shown by other statements to have been united by one hand. See the remarks at the commencement of *āṅga* 6.

Āṅgas 7-9 appear to be connected by an especially close bond.

The fifth *āṅga* and the existing redaction of *āṅga* 10 are not embraced in either of these groups. *Āṅga* 10 belonged originally to the second group. It exists in a form demonstrably later and is composed in another dialect (Nom. Sing. in *o*). The fifth *āṅga* takes a separate position, and begins in a very peculiar way. It possesses however one point of similarity with *āṅga* 6 ; *kārikās*, which state the contents of what is to follow, are found with each larger section. These sections do not have in the case of this *āṅga* the title *ajjhayaṇa*, but are called *saya*, *śata*. The title of the *āṅga* itself has some connection with the titles of *upāṅgas* 5-7, and this fact makes plain that there is an inner connection between them.

That the reader may obtain a ready survey, I add the statements in reference to the extent of each of the *āṅgas* which are found [250] in the MSS. of each at the end. As stated above, page 231, the texts are divided into hundreds and thousands of *granthas*, i. e., groups of 32 syllables, and these are marked at the proper place (either by thousands or by five hundreds) or the collective number of the *granthas* is stated at the end. As a matter of fact the statements of the MSS in reference to the number vary very frequently ; which is to be referred to the greater or smaller number of omissions which have been made therein. We shall refer further on, under *āṅga* 4, to this matter again. The following are the numbers in questions :

1,2554 gr., - 2,2300, - 3,3750, - 4,1667, - 5,15750, 6,5375,-7,812,-8,890, -9,192,-10,1300,-11,1316.

In the case of several *āṅgas* at the close there are special statements in reference to the number of days necessary for the study or for the

recitation of the *aṅga*—see *Bhagav.* 1,377-8, a subject which is treated of at great length in the *Vidhiprapā*.⁶⁴ I now proceed to an examination of each of the *aṅga* texts.

I. The first *aṅga* has, in its existing form, the name *āyāra*, *ācāra*, or *āyārapakappam*⁶⁵ and treats [251] in two *suakkhamidhas*, *śrutaskandas* of the manner of life of a *bhikkhu*.⁶⁶ The first *śrutask.*, *bambhacerāṁ*, *brahmācaryāṇi*, contains at present eight *ajjhayaṇas* with 44 *uddesagas*, the second : 16 *ajjh.* and 34 *udd.* It is however definitely stated that the first *śrutask.* contained previously not 8 but 9 *ajjh.* and the whole *aṅga* consequently not 24, but 25 *ajjh.* and not 78, but 8⁷ *udd.* Cf. especially in *aṅga* 4 § 25 and § 85 and the detailed *re'sume'* of the 12 *aṅga* found both there and in the *Nandī*. In § 25, where the titles of the 25 *ajjh.* are enumerated one by one, we find the name *mahāparinnā*, belonging to this *ajjh.* which is no longer extant placed in the ninth place between 1, 8 and 2, 1^{67*}; and the same circumstance may be noticed as occurring in *Āvaśy.* 16,112 fg. More exact information is found in the *Vidhiprapā* according to *Āvaśy.* 8, 46-49. Here we find that Vajrasvāmin (presumably 584 *Vīra*) extracted⁶⁸ from it the *āgāsagāmiṇi vijjā*; and from the fact that it contained exaggerations (? *sāisayattaṇeṇa*; according to Leumann, on account of the excellence of this extract) it was lost, or rather continued to exist only in the *nijjuti*. It was the opinion of Śīlāṅka (A.D. 876) that it occupied not the ninth but the eighth place.⁶⁹ This latter statement is incorrect,^{70*} for [252] in the existing commentary of Śīlāṅka⁷¹ the

64 The names of the single *ajjhayaṇas* and the number of the *uddesagas* etc. are specifically enumerated in the *Vidhiprapā*: *aṅga* 1, 50 days; 2,30; 3,18; 4,18; 5,77 (a second statement, it seems, allots 6 months 6 days) 6,33; 7,14; 8,12; 9,7; 10,14; 11,24. In like manner the author examines and states the number of days necessary for certain work; *āvassaya* (8 days), *dasaveālia* (15), *uttarajjhayaṇa* (39) *nisiha* (10), *dasākappavavahāra* (20 or 22), *mahānisiha* (45). A recapitulation "in 68 *āryās*" concludes the discussion; *jogavihāṇaṁ nāma payaraṇaṁ*.

65 See above. p. 223, 224; this is to be studied in the third year after the *dikṣā*.

66 Teaching sacred observances after the practice of *Vāsiṣṭha* (!) and other saints, Wilson. Sel. works 1,284 ed. Rost.

67* According to Malayagiri and the Prakrit authority quoted by him (*Nandī*, p. 425) between 1,7 and 1,8 (*ohāṇas*).—L.

68 From this it seems as if its contents touched upon the subject of magic. Was this the cause of its removal? Cf. the analogous case in *aṅga* 10. According to the *Gaṇadharasārddhaśata* V. 29 (see p. 371) Vajrasv. borrowed the *āyāsag. vijjā* from *sumahāpaina* *puvva* rather than from the ninth *ajjh.* of the first *śrutask.* of *aṅga* 1.

69 *navamajjhayaṇaṁ vocchinnaṁ, taṁ ca mahāpaārinnā itto kira āyāsagāmiṇi vijjā Vajrasāmiṇā uddhariyāsi tti sāisayattaṇeṇa vocchinnaṁ nijjuttimātraṁ ciṭṭhai; Śīlāṅkāyariyamaṇa puṇa eyaṁ. aṭṭhamaṁ, vimukkhajjhayaṇaṁ sattamaṁ, uvahāṇasuyaṁ navamaṁ ti.*

70* It would suit if Malayagiri were concerned, see the last asterism note.—L.

71 In the opening of *ajjhayaṇa* 7 we read: *adhunā saptamādhyaṇasya mahāparijñā-*

mahāparinnā, which at and probably long before his time had been lost, is placed, not between 1, 7 and 1, 8, but between 1, 6 and 1, 7—that is to say in the seventh place. In the *Vidhiprapā* there is probably a confusion with Abhayadeva, in whose commentary on *aṅga* 4—as also in the anonymous comm. on the *Nandī*—the *mahāparinnā* keeps, it is true, the eighth place. The *nijjuttī* then, which manifestly was still extant at the time of Jinaprabha, is probably identical with that *nijj*, of which the author of the *Āvaśy. nijj.* declares (2,5) that he is himself the composer ; and which served specially as a basis to the comm. of Śīlaṅka. The scholia everywhere preserve a knowledge of the ninth chapter. Furthermore the comm on *chedas. 1* in its opening still mentions nine *bambhacerāṇi*.

The titles of the 8 extant *ajjh.* of the first *śrutaskandha* (V = *Vidhiprapā*) are :

1. *satthaparinnā*, *śāstraprajñā*, with 7 *udd.* ; in *udd. 1 jīvatvaṃ, jīvāstīvaṃ sāmānyena*, in 2-7 *viśeṣeṇa pṛthivikāyādyastīvaṃ*. There are many references of a polemical nature to the Śākyas, or Bauddhas, in 2.3, according to the scholiast.

2. *logavijaya*, *lokasāravijaya*, with 6 *udd.* ; *mokṣāvāptihetubhūtaṃ cāritraṃ*.

3. *siosaṇijjam* (*siūsi°*), *śītoṣṇīyam*, with 4 *udd.* ; *pratilomānulomapariṣahāḥ*.

4. *sammattaṃ*, [253] *samyaktvaṃ*, with 4 *udd.* ; *samyagvādaḥ, mithyāvādabhūtatīrthika-matavicāraṇā*.

5. *logasāra* ; in *aṅga* 4, 25, in *Āvaśy. nijj.* and in the schol. on *Nandī* : *āvaṃti*, according to the words of the commencement,⁷² with 6 *udd.* ; *saṃyamah, mokṣaśca, munibhāvaḥ*.

6. *dhūyā* (*dhūyaṃ V*), *dhūtā*, with 5 *udd.* ; *nijakarmaśarīropakaraṇa... vidhūnanena niḥsaṃgatā*.

7. *vimoha*, *vimokṣa* (?) with 8 *udd.* ; *samyag nīryāṇaṃ*.

8. *ohāṇasuyam* (*uva° V*), *upadhānaśrutam*, with 4 *udd.* ; treats of Vīra Vardhamānasvāmin who himself practised the course enjoined in *ajjh. 1* to 7.

khyasyā'vasaras, tacca vyavacchinnam iti kṛtvā 'tilaṃghyā 'ṣṭamasya sāmāndho vācyah.

⁷² *āvaṃti logasāraṃ vā*, in the *Vidhiprapā*.

This first *śrutask*, is exceedingly difficult to comprehend and belongs, as Jacobi, from whom we expect an edition,^{73*} informs me in a letter of March 14th 1880, "without doubt to the oldest portions of Jaina literature". Even the commentaries "very often do not understand the text, since from pure force of explanation they fail at reaching any explanation of the sense. The restorations, which must frequently be made, are in fact prodigious."

This shows that we have to do with the method of explanation found in the later Brahmanical *sūtras*⁷⁴ (treating of ritual, grammar, philosophy), the difficulty of which is here increased from the fact that Prakrit is the language used, and that the MSS. are uncertain. The second *śrutaskandha* is characterized by the epithet attached to it : *agre śrutaskandha* (*agre* having the meaning of "later" here) as a species of supplement to the first. This is in harmony [254] with the peculiar designation of the four sections of which it consists according to the scholia, viz. : *Cūlā*, i. e., "pudding", "excrescence", used figuratively here : *uktaśeṣāmvādini cūḍā*. The first is formed by *ajjh*. 1-7, the second by *ajjh*. 8-14, the third by *ajjh*. 15, the fourth by *ajjh*. 16. The scholia state that a fifth *cūlā* belongs to these, which is called *nīśīthādhyayanam*,⁷⁵ being no longer reckoned as a part of the *ācāra* but placed among the *chedasūtras* as the first of them.⁷⁶ It belonged however to the *ācāra* at the period of *aṅga* 4,25, where the *nīśīhajjhayaṇam* is expressly designated as "25th *ajjh*", of the *ācāra* i. e. as the last of the 25 *ajjh*. enumerated there.⁷⁷ The impression is made upon us as if this *ajjh*. alone was called *cūliyā*. The *ācāra* is there expressly designated as *sacūliyāga*, but in § 57, where only 24 *ajjh*. are ascribed to it, the three *aṅgas* (1-3) which are there treated of, are designated as *āyārācūliyavajja* ; a statement which as far as I can see, is to be explained with tolerable certainty only in the above way.⁷⁸ Also [255] at the time of

73* This has appeared as one of the publications of the Pali Text Society, 1882 ; Jacobi has also translated the text and prefaced it by a most valuable introduction in Vol. XXII. *Sacred Books of the East*.—L.

74 The chief representatives being Kātyāyana (*śrautas*.), Pāṇini, Bādarāyaṇa, Jaimini.

75 Or *nīśīthā*° ; *ācāravikalpo nīśīthaḥ sa pañcamī cūde* 'ti fol. 209a. So also *pañcacūla* as designation of the *ācāra* in the beginning of the *Nīśīthabhāṣya*.

76 The fourth *chedasūtram* is closely connected as regards its contents with *aṅga* 1 ; and in *aṅga* 3,10 it is cited under the title of *āyārādasāu*.

77 The first *cūlā* must be reckoned as having 6, not 7, *ajjh*., otherwise there would be in all 26 and not 25 *ajjh* ; as a matter of fact 26 names are adduced, *mahāparinnā* in the ninth place. Perhaps *sajjeriyā* counted as but one *ajjhayaṇa*.

78 Abhay., it must be confessed, understands by *ācārācūlikā* : *sarvāntimaṃ adhyayanam vimuktyadhyayanam, nīśīthādhyayanasya prasthānāmtaratvene*... 'hā nāśrayaṇāt (!) ; the latter statement is however in too direct contrast to § 25.

the *Āvaśy. nijj.* 16,114, the *nisiḥajjh.* was still regarded as a part of the *ācāra*, and in fact plays a greater role there than in *aṅga* 4,25. It is counted as having 3 *ajjh.* so that not 25 but 28 *ajjh.* enumerated there.⁷⁹ Even the *Vidhiprapā* still designates the *nisiḥajjhayaṇam* as the *pañcamī cūlā* of the second *śrutaskandha*.

It consists manifestly of different constituent parts, which originally existed independently of each other, but at a later period were brought into conjunction. They begin almost always with the same formula : *se bhikkhū vā bhikkhunī vā abhikaṃkhe...*

In the *Nandī*, the *aṅgacūliyā* is expressly enumerated among the *anaṅgapaviṭṭha* texts. This is not in harmony with the position of our *cūlās* either at §§ 25,57,85 of *aṅga* 4 nor with the detailed treatment of the 12 *aṅgas* in *aṅga* 4 nor in the *Nandī* itself, since there the second *śrutask.* with its *cūlās* is invariably regarded as a part of *aṅga* 1. In *aṅga* 3, 10 the *aṅga-cūliyā* is mentioned as third *ajjhayaṇam* of the *saṃkheviya dasāu*. Consequently reference is made to a text entirely different from these *cūlās*.

The 7 *adhyay.* of the first *cūlā* have the following titles :

1. *piṇḍesaṇā* ; *piṇḍaiṣaṇā* ; with 11 *udd* ; “collection of the necessities of life” (see *Dasaveāl.* 5) or “rules for eating”.
2. *sejjā*, *śyyā* with 3 *udd*. ; “couch”.
3. *iriyā*, [256] *īryā*, with 3 *udd*. ; “conduct of the Śramaṇa when he goes out *piṇḍa-vasaty-artham*”.
4. *bhāsaṃjāyā*, *bhāṣājātaṃ* with 2 *udd*., “what he has to say and what not to say”.
5. *vatthesaṇā*, *vastraiṣaṇā*, with 2 *udd*. ; *vastragrahaṇavidhiḥ*.
6. *pādesaṇā*, *pātraṣaṇā*, with 2 *udd*., “vessel for the *piṇḍa*”.
7. *uggahapaḍimā*, *avagrahapratimā* with 2 *udd*. ; on possession in general.

The second *cūlā* likewise embraces seven *adhyayanas*, each of

⁷⁹*bhāyaṇa vimutti*||113|| *ugghāyam aṇugghāyaṃ āruvaṇā tivīham o nisiḥam tu ia aṭṭhāvisaviho āyārapakappanāmo a*||114||. Here we find the correct number of *adhyayanas* for both *śrutask* ; for *śrut.* 1, 9, for *śrut.* 2, 16.

which has only one *udd.*, whence its peculiar name ; *sattikka*, *sattikkaya*, explained by *saptaikaka*.⁸⁰ They existed in conjunction with one another originally, and formed a whole before they were placed here.⁸¹ Their names are :

8. *ṭhāṇasattikkayam*, *sthānasaptaikaka*.

9. *nisihiyā*, *niśīthikā* (also *niśī°*) ; begins : *se bh. vā bh. vā abhikamkhe nisihiyam gamaṇāe*. Very brief.

10. *uccāra-pāsavaṇa* (°*prasravaṇa*).

11. *saddasattikkaa*, *śabda°*.

12. *daṁsaṇa*, *darśana* ; *rūvasattikkayam V.*

13. Without any specific title, accord. to V. *parakiriyāsattikkayam* ; *rāgaḍveṣotpattinimittapratīṣedhaḥ*.

14. Without any specific title (*saptamaḥ saptaikakaḥ*), according to V. *annamakiriyāsattikkayam* ; *anyonyakriyā niśidhyate*.

Since it appears that here in the second (ninth) *ajjh.* the same subject is briefly treated of as in the fifth *chūḍā*, see page 254, [257] the latter must be regarded as an amplification. The constant explanation of the word is deserving of special mention : *nisiha*, *nisihiyā* explained by *niśītha* (*niśī°*), *niśīthikā*. From this one might readily be led to assume that by this explanation *conduct at night*, or *couch for the night* was intended ; and the introductory words (see above) are capable of being so explained. According to the scholiast, however, the contents appear to be of a different nature : *tasyām svādhyāyabhūmau* (as it is described in *ajjh.* 8) *yad vidheyam yacca na vidheyam*. The use of these two words in other passages, especially in the *Āvaśy. Nijj.*, and the contents of the first *chedasūtra* itself which bears this name (see later on), point rather to *niśedha* than to *niśītha*. In the traditional conception as *niśītha* we have to deal with a direct misunderstanding, which is without prejudice to the remaining points of identity between *nisiha* and *niśītha*.

The third *cūlā*, *bhavaṇajjhayaṇam V.* with but one *udd.*, has

⁸⁰ *saptai'kakāni ekasarāṇi, uddesakarahitāni*.

⁸¹ The following two *cūḍas* too, have only one *udd.* each and in this respect are exactly like the *sattikkaya*. They have, however, not been drawn into unison with the *sattikkaya* but remain independent.

reference to the observance of each of the 5 *bhāvanāh*, as conditions of the five *mahāvratas* ; and, as an introduction, gives the legends of the birth etc. of their teacher Mahāvira.

The fourth *cūlā*, *vimutti*, also having but one *udd.*, consists of only eleven *jagati*-verses.

The table of contents of *aṅga* 1, found in *aṅga* 4, and in the *Nandī* is as follows ; *se*⁸² *kiṃ taṃ āyāre ? āyāre ṇaṃ samaṇāṇaṃ niggaṃthāṇaṃ āyāragoyare*⁸³ *viṇaya-veṇaiyaṭṭhāṇa*⁸⁴ *gamaṇacamaṇa-pamāṇa-jogajum-janabhāsāsamitigutti* *seyyo-*'*vahi*⁸⁵*-bhatta-pāṇa-uggama-uppāyaṇaesaṇā-visohi-suddhāsuddha-gaḥaṇa*⁸⁶ *vaya-niyama-tavo*' *vahāṇa-suppasattham āhijjai* [258] *se samāsau paṃcavihe pannaṭte : taṃ jahā : nāṇāyāre dāsaṇāyāre carittāyāre tavāyāre viriyāyāre*. From this we derive but little information concerning details or for the grouping of the contents. Following upon the table of contents are statements in reference to the division into 2 *suyakkh*, 25 *ajjh*, etc ; this is also the case with the following *aṅgas*.

I have before me a commentary on *aṅga* 1, which was probably composed Śaka 798,⁸⁷ A. D. 876, and which at the end of the first part is designated as *Nirvṛtakulīnaśrī Śālyaghāryeṇa*^{88*} *Tattvādityāpara-nāmnā Vāharisādhūsaḥāyena kṛitā* ; at the end of the second part as *ācāryā Śīlāṃkaviracitā*. This commentary is also a commentary on Prakrit *niryukti*,⁸⁹ composed in the *āryā* measure.

In the opening the author refers to other works and to a *śāstra-parijñāvivaraṇaṃ Gandhahastikṛtaṃ*, the *sāra* of which he claims to
[To be continued]

⁸² For this *se*, which corresponds to the *sa* of the *Sat. Br.*, see *Ind. Streifen*, 3, 391.

⁸³ *Goara N.*

⁸⁴ Instead of *thāna*° to *āhijjai* N. has merely : *sikkhābhāsābhāsācaraṇa-karaṇajāyā-māyāvitti* (*yatrā, mātrā, vṛtti*).

⁸⁵ *sāyyā upadhi*.

⁸⁶ *śayyādināṃ udgamādiviśuddhya śuddhāṇaṃ asuddhāṇaṃ ohagrahaṇaṃ*.

⁸⁷ According to Z. D. M. G. 33,478, it was composed Śamvat 550 ; but see *Kl.* 247b, where it is noted that the verse, which contains the date is added after the "colophon of the MS." and consequently 'of no great weight' in all probability. It is as follows : 'Sakavṛṣay kālātī (°lāt !) samvatsaraśateṣu saptaśu/aṣṭānavatīṭ-(navaty adhikeṣu vaiśākhaśuddhapāṃcamyām/ācāraṭikā kṛte ti.

^{88*} Misreading for *Śīlācāryeṇa*.—L.

⁸⁹ Doubtless the same *niryukti* as that composed by the author of the *Āy. nijj.* (see ante, p. 252).



Muni Sri Nagrajji, eminent monk and scholar has been awarded the 8th Murti Devi Puraskar for his work Agam aur Tripitak at a function in New Delhi on 6.12.91. On the extreme Left is Sri Lakshminil Singhvi, President, Selection Committee, in the centre Sri Kamal Narayan Singh, the Chief Justice, Supreme Court, New Delhi, and on his left Sri Asoke Kumar Jain, Managing Director, Bharatiya Gyan Pith.

Jain Monastic Rules

Swami Brahmeshananda

The origin, growth, working, and decline of a monastic community is an interesting and complex socio-ethical phenomenon. An important aspect of monasticism is the problem of rules of basic precepts and exceptions to those rules which invariably arise in the process of growth and expansion. One of the best examples of this process is found in Buddhism as recorded in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. After attaining *bodhi* or Supreme Knowledge, Buddha was at first reluctant to share it with others since he found most people incompetent to receive it. He was, however, persuaded by gods to preach it for the good of humanity. Buddha then preached his fundamental doctrines of the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path. As the number of disciples increased, he framed more rules for the guidance of monks. As the monks started living together and interacting with the society at large, new situations and problems began cropping up. New rules had to be introduced or the old ones modified at every step and, as a result, a large number of rules and subrules were framed. Although Buddha himself allowed many exceptions to those rules, he always stressed that the morsels of food given in alms, robes made of rags taken from dust-heap, the dwelling at the foot of a tree, and the decomposing urine as medicine are the 'four resources' for a monk ; thus must he endeavour to live all his life. All else must be considered extra allowances.¹

Origin of Jain rules

Something similar occurred in Jainism also. Being a monastically oriented religion, Jainism lays great stress on right conduct. Jain scriptures are overloaded with the finest details of right conduct, rules and regulations, possible pitfalls and penance for default. The principal scriptures, the *āṅgas*, said to be the teachings of Vardhamān Mahāvīra as recorded by his apostles, describe the basic tenets and fundamental precepts of conduct. But they do not describe the process

¹ *Mahāvagga*, 1.3.4.

of gradual modification as found in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. It seems that only a few important modifications and exceptions were allowed by Mahāvīra himself. Most of the alterations in rules occurred later.

The third section of the second part of *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, (*ācāra* = conduct), the most important among the *aṅgas*, describes the five great vows (*mahāvratas*) with their twenty-five clauses, which are the bedrock of the mighty and complicated edifice of monastic rules. The *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*, which is considered the last sermon of Mahāvīra contains more rules and regulations, the restrictions (*guptis*) and precautions (*samitis*)² which help monks keep their vows.

All the rules and subrules regarding food, clothing etc. were meant for the perfect and unbroken observance of the *mahāvratas*, with special emphasis on *ahimsā* or non-violence. There are some interesting exceptions. The general rule for the monk is that he must not touch greenery or step upon grass since it also contains life, which he has vowed not to injure. But, according to the *Ācārāṅga*, 'the mendicant might stumble or fall down ; when he stumbles or falls down, he might get hold of trees, shrubs, plants, creepers, grass or sprouts to extricate himself.'³ It will be observed that in the final analysis this exception supports *ahimsā* inasmuch as on falling, the monk may injure other creatures, and on being hurt he may engage in unwholesome thinking related to pain, illness etc (*raudra* and *ārta dhyāna*), thus triggering a train of events not conducive to the ultimate goal.

A monk is debarred from leaving the place of his residence while it is raining. This is the general rule. But as an exception he may go out in rain for answering calls of nature.⁴ Forceful restraint of calls of nature is harmful for health and leads to mental unrest, which is undesirable.

Let us take another example. Observance of truth is one of the *mahāvratas*. In the *Ācārāṅga* an exception is described thus : While going on a road if a hunter or some such person with suspicious

² *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*, translated by H. Jacobi in *Jain Sūtras* (Part 2) *Sacred Books of the East Series*, Vol. 45, Ch. 24.

³ *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, translated by H. Jacobi in *Jain Sūtras* (Part 1) *Sacred Books of the East Series*, Vol. 22, II.3.15, p. 144.

⁴ *Yogā Śāstra*, *Svopajñā Vṛtti*, 3.89 quoted by Upādhyāya Amarmuni ; Kanhaiyalal 'Kamal', in *Niśītha Sūtra* III, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Delhi 1982, p. 20.

intention asks the monk whether he has seen any animal or human being around, the monk should first try to evade the answer and keep quiet. But if it is not possible to remain silent or if silence is likely to be construed as affirmation then 'although knowing, he should say that he does not know.'⁵

Under the vow of non-stealing, monks as a rule cannot stay at a place without prior permission. But as an exception, if it is not possible to stay outside or in a forest, and if the monks reach an unknown village at night, they may stay at a suitable place at night and seek permission later.⁶ A monk vowed to practise chastity in thought, word and deed must not touch even, a newly born female child. But there is this exception : he can catch hold of a drowning nun and pull her out to save her life.⁷

From the above illustrations it is evident that the possibility of exceptions can never be denied and even the founders of monastic rules were conscious of this fact. It must, however, be noted that these exceptions pertain only to temporary situations. The monk is expected to revert to the practice of basic precepts as soon as the specific situation is over.

Later modifications in rules

Jain monastic rules in their pristine pure form are extremely rigorous. Only a few monks dare to observe them to the letter. These uncompromising ascetics are called Jinakalpīs.⁸ They believe that the written word of the Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra must be honoured and followed to the letter, and that there is no scope in them for interpretation or explanation. They however forget that it is not the question of lack of faith in and disregard for the written word of the Founder but the ability of the follower to practise them. The majority of aspirants, although possessing complete faith and having a sincere desire and true aspiration to follow the path, are not sufficiently competent—physically or psychologically—for the most austere way of a literal observance of the law. Out of untempered zeal if they were to practise the rigorous

⁵ *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, *op. cit.*, 2:1, 33, 129.

⁶ *Vyavahāra Sūtra*, 8.11, quoted by Upādhyāya Amarmuni, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁷ *Bṛhadkalpa Sūtra*, 6.7-11, quoted by Upādhyāya Amarmuni, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁸ Malvania, Pandit Dalsukh, *Niṣṭha : Ek Adhyayana* (Hindi), Sanmati Jnana Pith, 1959, p. 54.

discipline, they may break down physically or mentally and incur more harm than good. The later Ācāryas, who had vast knowledge and life-long experience of problems of spiritual life and complexities of human nature, therefore proposed certain exceptions which were of an almost permanent nature. This led to the development of alternative modes of monastic life. Those who adopted the less rigorous path were called Sthavirakalpīs. In contrast to Jinakalpīs or the solitary mendicant, the Sthavirakalpīs lived in a community. Here we see an exception to the original rule itself becoming a rule. The acceptance of garments in place of nudity as done by the Śvetāmbara sect, is the best example of this. Originally done for protection against cold and for social reasons, this exception led to the branching out of a major sect.

Modifications in rules in the post-canonical period

As the monastic order (Saṅgha) spread and began to play its social role, the leaders of the monastic community were faced with the conflict between upholding the original tenets on the one hand and the need to preserve the prestige and safety of the Saṅgha on the other. They tried their best to reconcile the spiritual welfare of the individual aspirant with the welfare of the Saṅgha, but at times they were forced—at the expense of the individual—to relax the rules in order to glorify the Saṅgha and to ward off danger to the monastic community.

In the post-canonical period, when Jainism spread to various parts of India including the South, monks were allowed to deviate from general rules according to place, time and situation. They resorted to magical practices and spells to demonstrate their prowess to kings whose goodwill mattered much for the survival of the Jain community.⁹ They even entered into politics and dethroned kings if it was profitable for the Jain community. Monks had to organize religious congregations and engage themselves in writing books. All these made relaxation of certain rules inevitable. At times even improper acts were permitted for the sake of the Saṅgha. A few examples may be cited.

A monk is prohibited from inflicting injury to a clay image of an enemy after infusing life into it with the help of incantations. But he

⁹ Deo, S. B., *History of Jain Monachism* (from inscriptions and literature), *Deccan College Dissertation Series*, No. 17, Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, 1956, p. 438.

was allowed to do so if the person concerned was an enemy of the Saṅgha.¹⁰ Once a group of monks had to pass the night in a forest infested with wild beasts. An exceptionally robust monk was deputed as a guard. The monk on duty killed three tigers and saved the Ācārya and others.¹¹ His act, though blatantly against the vow of *ahimsā*, was not condemned. According to another exception, monks were permitted to take recourse to violence, if need be, to protect nuns.

These are extreme illustrations, but they highlight to what extent changes in basic concepts can occur in the course of history. Mahāvīra was prepared to and actually did undergo untold sufferings inflicted by an enemy, without resisting. But his monastic followers resorted to the common dictum for the laymen that an enemy of Dharma (*ātātāyī*) must be punished. It also demonstrates the fact that a stage comes when the welfare of the Saṅgha and the propagation of the Faith become more important than the personal salvation of the individual. The individual does not then hesitate to do something for the Saṅgha which he may never do for himself. His act is justified on the ground that the Saṅgha is essential for the propagation of the only right path. Such act also suggest the belief that the ends justify the means, as against the basic ethical postulate that means are as important as the ends.

In spite of such unusual exceptions, the moral conduct and character of the monks on the whole remained good.¹² But it is obvious that such relaxation cannot be conducive to any permanent good. Monks gradually started relaxing rules on the false pretext of serving the Saṅgha. Overemphasis on catering to the religious needs of lay-devotees led to the entanglement of monks in secular matters. They started living in permanent dwellings (*caitya-vāsa*) with the associated ills.

To summarize, the basic rules laid down by the first founders of the Jain monastic order underwent change in a stepwise manner. Initially, the founders themselves postulated some important exceptions for specific situations. The subsequent heads of the Order laid down some exceptions for the larger section of less competent aspirants which became an alternative but equally valid path for the majority.

¹⁰ *Niṣṭha Gāthā*, 167, quoted by Malvania, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

¹¹ Malvania, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

¹² Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

The next stage was marked by exceptions introduced for the propagation, glorification and welfare of the monastic order, the Saṅgha. In the final stage, changes of such magnitude occurred in the monastic conduct that a reform was called for. This is not the story of only Jain monasticism, but is true of the monastic communities of other religions too.

2

UTSARGA AND APAVĀDA

The brief historical survey presented above warrants a deeper study into the concept of rules and exceptions in a monastic system. In Jainism the technical terms used for them are *utsarga* and *apavāda*. *Utsarga* is a general rule or precept, and *apavāda* is a particular rule or exception. In terms of ethics, *utsarga* represents the absolute, ideal, inviolable aspect of the moral code, while *apavāda* represents the relative, practical and flexible aspect. In any healthy ethical system, both are essential. They balance and complement each other.

Definition

Etymologically, *utsarga* means leaving, abandoning. Hence the word generally denotes a prohibitory or inhibitory law.¹³ The injunctions fall under *apavāda*. *Utsarga* deal with the 'don'ts' while *apavāda* deals with the 'dos'. The path of a Jain ascetic is essentially one of renunciation and strict restraint (*samyama*). The five great vows (*mahāvratas*) are by their very nature prohibitory. They can be observed faithfully only by the avoidance of *vitarkas*,¹⁴ i.e., their opposite tendencies—violence, falsehood, stealing, lust, and possessiveness—committed, caused or approved, and mild, moderate or intense. The whole of Jain ascetic conduct consists in strict avoidance of every shade of these evil tendencies in thought, word and deed. Thus there have arisen innumerable rules dictating what a monk must not do.

According to Ācārya Haribhadra,¹⁵ *utsarga* is the right conduct with regard to procurement of food etc, followed by a competent aspirant when conditions of time and place are favourable. On the other hand, *apavāda* is the apparently imperfect conduct performed by

¹³ Malvania, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁴ *Yoga Sūtras of Patañjali*, II.34.

¹⁵ *Upadeśa Pada*, 784, quoted by Upādhyāya Amarmuni, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

a less competent aspirant under unfavourable circumstances, but with the full awareness (*yatana-pūrvaka*) of this fact and with the same ultimate end in view. Jain Ācāryas consider both *utsarga* and *apavāda* equally important. Overemphasis on any one is not conducive to greatest spiritual gain and is decried as lopsided (*ekāntika*) view which is against the basic teaching of Mahāvīra, who always stressed the multifaceted view of reality (*anekāntavāda*). No rule or exception is good in the absolute sense. It is always relative and valid with reference to the place, time, prevalent conditions, and attitude of the individual (*deśa, kāla, dravya, bhāva*). The important point is that both are means for the attainment of the common goal, *ekārtha-sādhana*, and a judicious combination of the two leads to optimum spiritual gain and makes the path easier. Both are paths; if *utsarga* is the highway, *apavāda* is the byway or diversion taken to overcome an obstruction. This means that although *apavāda* does not contradict *utsarga*, it can neither replace nor violate the fundamental nature of *utsarga*.

When and how long ?

Utsargas are the general precepts and must be always followed by all. They cannot be given up permanently and even when they are bypassed occasionally, there must be valid reasons for doing so. Medicines are used only when there is some ailment and are discontinued after you are cured. Similar is the case with *apavādas*. If a monk resorts to exceptions under special situation but does not revert to the rules after the situation is over, he is either insincere or has a wrong concept of rules and exceptions. An aspirant must, therefore, be extremely cautious so that he is not deceived by his subtle desires which may urge him to take permanent shelter under the exceptions. The minimum possible exception must be made only for the shortest period of time and that too when no other alternative is available, because there is always the danger that one may want to resort indefinitely to exceptions to suit one's convenience. Those who have neither the sense of proportion nor the knowledge of the limitations of exceptions fall headlong like a ball rolling down a staircase. For such people exceptions are never a help but hindrances. The real spirit of an exception is well demonstrated in the following story.¹⁶

During a prolonged famine, a learned monk wandering in search of food came across a group of people sharing a common meal. When he

¹⁶ Upādhyāya Amarmuni, *op. cit.*, p. 9-10.

begged for a little food they told him that the food was unfit for consumption by a monk because it was impure (*ucchiṣṭa*). The monk cited the scriptural exception that during a calamity such restrictions do not apply and said he would accept the impure food. After eating, however, he refused to drink water, saying that it was impure ! He explained that when he had begged for food he was dying of hunger and there was no immediate possibility of getting pure food approved by scriptures. So he made the exception. But now he was no more dying of hunger and could wait for pure water which could be had elsewhere. Why should he then break the rule for water ?

Similar precautions must be observed while relaxing the rules for the welfare of the Saṅgha. Such relaxations may not prove spiritually detrimental if the spirit of renunciation and total dedication to the fundamentals of monastic life are kept alive. In the absence of these, even the strictest observance of rules may be nothing more than lifeless pretention or mere ostentation.

Tests for validity of exceptions

An exception made without valid reason is technically called *darpa-pratisevanā* and the one made with valid reason is called *kalpa-pratisevanā*.¹⁷ The ultimate test of validity is whether a specific course of action, a rule or an exception, conduces to the ultimate goal of liberation or not.

Right Faith, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct are the three pillars of Jainism. Since all the three are interrelated, any Conduct which goes against Right Knowledge and Right Faith cannot be considered Right. Those exceptions which neither go against Right Faith nor in the long run obstruct Right Knowledge fall under the category of *kalpa-pratisevanā*. Exceptions in the rules of procurement of food during famine etc fall under this category.

Another test of valid exception is *ahimsā*. Before making an exception a monk must carefully consider whether the particular exception would lead in the long run to greater *ahimsā* or not.

¹⁷ Malvania, *op. cit.*, p. 55-56.

It must be understood that these tests also apply to basic precepts or rules. Under unusual situations, when observance of rules is neither possible nor in any way beneficial, dogmatically sticking to them would fall under *darpa-pratisevanā*. But it is always safe to follow the rules, since it is the natural way, the royal road. The path of *apavāda* or exceptions is difficult like walking on the razor's edge and, though apparently easy, is beset with great dangers. Only a person well-versed in scriptures, the rules and subrules of monastic conduct, and having a good knowledge of the variables governing the exceptions, can prescribe or practise exceptions safely. Time, place, specific situation, and individual strength and temperament are the variables. Since such extensive knowledge of the canonical texts and the variables is not possible for all, the Ācāryas have laid down rules and exceptions in detail for the guidance of those who lack such knowledge. Ultimately, the individual is the best judge of the path to be chosen, and much depends upon his discrimination and sincerity.

Conclusion

Rightly has it been said : 'An exception proves the rule.' Rules and exceptions are the obverse and reverse of the same coin. Under certain situation, exceptions itself becomes the rule. Both are meant to lead the spiritual aspirant beyond all rules. They are the hedges protecting the tender plant of spiritual life. Once the plant is grown, hedges are no more required. On the attainment of spiritual maturity, an aspirant no more remains bound by prohibitory or injunctory laws, but spontaneously performs the right action according to time, place and situation. He never takes a wrong step.

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Jainism and Nepal

H. C. Golchha

According to Jaina literature, Jaina religion was known as Arhat Dharma in ages past. The founder of Arhat Dharma was the first Tīrthaṅkara Bhagavān Ṛṣabha Deva. Lord Ṛṣabha Deva is also known as the propounder of human civilization and according to *Śrīmad Bhāgavata* he is considered as the eighth incarnation among the twenty four incarnations of Viṣṇu. It is noteworthy, that Jainas do not believe in God's Incarnation.

As per the old scriptures, the name of India as Bharata Varṣa has been derived from the name of the Emperor Bharata, the eldest son of Ṛṣabha Deva. According to fifth *skandha* of *Śrīmad Bhāgavata*, Bharata performed the penance in Pulhāśrama on the banks of the holy river Kālī Gaṇḍakī in the Harihara Kṣetra of Nepal. The world famous collosus of his younger brother Bāhubalī known as 'Gommatesvara' is at Śravaṇa Belagolā in Karnataka State of India.

In the series of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, the nineteenth Tīrthaṅkara Bhagavān Mallinātha was born at Mithilāpurī in Nepal. The twentyfirst in the Tīrthaṅkara series, Bhagavān Naminātha was also believed to have been born at the same Mithilāpurī sometime around Dvāpara *yuga*.

The mention of the twentythird Tīrthaṅkara Bhagavān Pārśvanātha is found in all books of ancient histories. The 24th and last Tīrthaṅkara Bhagavān Mahāvīra was born only few years before Bhagavāna Gautama Buddha, and propounded the religion of *pañcayāma* or five *mahāvratas* inclusive of the four-fold tenets of Pārśvanātha. The modern form of Jaina religion is attributed to Lord Mahāvīra.

Many historians say that the birth of Lord Mahāvīra took place at a place known as Vaiśālī near Muzaffarpur (Bihar) not very far from the present boundaries of Nepal. In the Jaina scriptures, it is stated

that the birth place of Mahāvīra is at a locality called Kṣatriya Kuṇḍapura, but the historians are not unanimous about the whereabouts of this Kṣatriya Kuṇḍapura. In the opinion of Nepal's ex-Prime Minister General Matrika Prasad Koirala, the locality of that city could be where now lies the remains of a city near Simrongarh of Bara District. (vide the preface written by Śrī Koirala of the book "Mahāvīr-ke Thiye".) In this way, it would be a very noteworthy fact if Nepal be the birth place of both the great propounders of *ahimsā* (non-violence) namely, the Buddha and Mahāvīra.

About two centuries after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* when the scriptural knowledge of the *pūrvas* was on the verge of collapse, due to a famine prevailing in eastern India, the only remaining Saint with complete knowledge of the *pūrvas*, was Śrutakevalī Bhadrabāhu who was under "*mahāprāṇa*" meditation in the caves of Nepal. It was widely discussed at the learned assembly of Jaina monks at Pāṭaliputra, who sent a group of 500 scholarly monks under the leadership of Sthūlabhadra to Nepal to meet Bhadrabāhu and learn the *pūrvas* from him.

Apart from this, there are ample evidences about the continuance of Jaina religion in Nepal throughout the ages. There are a number of ancient Jaina manuscripts in the National Archives in Kathmandu, among which the hand-written palm-leaf manuscript of *Praśna Vyākaraṇa* is a rare collection. The local society 'Nepal Jain Parishad' has made several copies of it and has sent them to various Jaina scholars and libraries. The reported presence of the images of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras in the holy shrines of Paśupatinātha is a ready confirmation of the prevalence of Jainism in Nepal. In fact, the scientific study of Jaina Archeological Monuments has not yet been undertaken in Nepal so far. It is believed that many additional evidences can be brought to light by such scientific study and excavations.

Centuries past after the *nirvāṇa* of Lord Mahāvīra, Jainism got divided primarily into two main branches : (a) Digambara—whose monks discarded clothes, as these were regarded as *parigraha* which stood against the vow of non-possession and (b) Śvetāmbara—whose monks and nuns accepted clothes as essential *parigraha* which should not be discarded because of civil consideration. Later the Śvetāmbaras got further sub-divided into Mūrti Pūjak (believers in idol worship), Sthānakvāsī (non-believers in idol worship) and Terāpanthī (also non-believers in idol worship). Although Jaina community is a minority in

Nepal, followers of all the four sects are present. But due to their large number, the Śvetāmbar Terāpanthī sect is prominent.

The followers of Jaina religion are spread mostly in eastern and central regions of Nepal. In western region they are comparatively low in number. There are local associations of Jainas in Morang, Sunsari, Jhapa, Saptari, Parsa and Kathmandu. A Jain Centre named 'Bhagavān Mahāvīr Jain Niketan', meant primarily for religious purposes, has been built in Kathmandu at a cost of Rs. 10 million and was recently inaugurated by Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala in the month of July 1991. It has a conference hall, 24 guest rooms and various other facilities. A temple is yet to be built in the centre. However, there is a small Gṛha Mandir (House-temple) located in the premises of Golchha House at Ganabahal in Kathmandu where local and visiting Jaina devotees offer their prayers. In Kathmandu, all the four Jaina communities are members of a single association known as 'Nepal Jain Parishad' where various religious events of different sects are collectively organised.

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