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JAIN JOURNAL

Vol-XXIX

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JAINISM THROUGH THE AGES

SATYA RANJAN BANERJEE

1. Preamble

The subject which has been chosen by me for this series of Annual lecture on Jainism is *Jainism through the Ages**. Before entering into the problem, I must say at the very outset that it is not possible to tackle the vastness of the subject within the limited space and time. The utmost that is possible is to give a kaleidoscopic view of the subject which has a vast amount of literature for the last 2500 years written in different languages, such as, Ardhamāgadhi, Prakrit (Śauraseni and Mahārāṣṭri), Apabhṛṣṭa, Sanskrit, and in some modern Indian languages, such as, old Hindi, Gujarāti Rājasthāni, and also in old Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam. Its history and culture which have a great influence on Indian life and environment are fascinating. So considering the vastness of the subject, I would like to confine myself, however, imperfect and superficial it might be, to the development of Jain thoughts and ideas through the ages.

The history of Jainism can conveniently be divided into three broad periods: ancient, mediaeval and modern.

The ancient period (7th/6th cent. B.C. upto 5th cent. A.D.) is extended upto the fifth century A. D., beginning from the historic period which starts from the seventh or six century B.C. i.e., the time when Mahāvīra was born. This also includes the prehistoric Vedic period. This period is lacking in direct Jaina literary evidence, but is established on the basis of later literary works and other evidences. Some legends, myths and anecdotes concerning the life of Mahāvīra

* The present paper is a revised version of the Annual lectures delivered in the Department of Jainology, University of Madras, on the 13th, 14th and 15th of March 1991.

and the other Tirthaṅkaras are also helpful for reconstructing this period. Historically this period covers upto the beginning of the Classical Age.

The mediaeval period (5th cent. A.D — 14th cent A.D) begins from the fifth cent A.D. and extends upto the end of the fourteenth century A.D., covering a period of nearly thousand years which includes the Classical Age (320-740 A.D.), the Age of Imperial Kanauj (741 - 997. A.D) and the Struggle for Empire (997 A.D - 1400 A.D.).¹ For the history of Jainism, this period is very important, and most of the greatest achievements of Jainism in literature and art, in philosophy and religion, and in almost every branch of human knowledge, belong to this period. Winternitz² has rightly observed: "There is scarcely any province of Indian literature in which the Jains have not been able to hold their own. Above all, they have developed a voluminous narrative literature, they have written epics and novels, they have composed dramas and hymns; sometimes they have written in the simple language of the people, at other times they have competed, in highly elaborate poems, with the best masters of ornate court poetry, and they have also produced important works of scholarship." It is a fact worth noting that at times in this period, the Jain groups and individuals had sometimes exerted considerable influence on political development of India until the rise of Śaivism, particularly in the form of Viraśaivism in the south, and the incoming of Islam in the north vitiated the Jaina communities of India.

The modern period (15th cent. A. D. onwards) beginning from the fifteenth century A. D. till the present day is an age of decadence. In this period Jainism was mainly on the defensive. Lots of royal patronages and sources of power were lost, and the Jain communities were relegated to a small minority. Sometimes they lost their identities with some other social groups. But yet the literary and philosophical contributions of the Jains, though by no means inferior to others, has been going on till today.

1. These historical terms are taken from the *History and Culture of the Indian People* ed by R.C. Majumdar and published by the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, in several volumes. Most of the historical dates used in this dissertation are also taken from the said book.
2. *History of Indian Literature*, Vol-II, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1933, p. 483.

2. What is Jainism

The word *Jaina*³ has come from *Jina* which again is formed from the root *ji* 'to conquer' with the suffix *na(k)* meaning thereby 'one who conquers', and then by extension of its meaning 'one who conquers the five senses and thereby destroys all the Karmas, and ultimately attains *śarvajīva*-hood (omniscience) by performing *tapas* (penances). People who worship the *Jina* and follow his paths and doctrines are *Jainas*. Jainism is, therefore, the tenets or doctrines of the *Jinas*. The *Jinas* are also called *Tīrthaṅkaras*⁴ and *Arhats*⁵, and therefore, *Tīrthaṅkaras* and *Arhats* can also be used as synonymous with *Jaina* religion. "The term *Tīrthaṅkara* means one who helps human beings to cross the ocean of *samsāra* by providing them with a vessel to sail with in the form of *Dharma*. *Jina-dharma* is the boat which is provided for the human beings for the purpose of crossing the ocean of *samsāra* and because of this noble task of helping the mankind *Jina* is called *Tīrthaṅkara*".⁶ The designation *ārhata* shows that *Jina* is "worthy of adoration and worship". *Arhat Parameṣṭhi* is, therefore, the Lord worshipped by all the *Jains*⁷. "He is represented by a *pratibimba* or an image which is installed in a *caityālaya* (a *Jaina* temple) built for the purpose. The *pratibimba* is always in the form of a human being, because it represents the *Jina* or the *Tīrthaṅkara* who spent the last portion of his life on earth in the noble task of proclaiming to the world the *Mokṣamārga* ('path to salvation'). The idol will be either in a standing posture or *Kāyotsarga* ('renunciation of body'), or in the posture of *padmāsana*. Whether standing or sitting it represents the Divine Lord absorbed in the self-realisation as a result of *tapas* or *yoga*. Therefore the facial expression would

3. "The epithets" Enlightened one" (Buddha) and "Victor" (Jina) were applied to Gotama as well as to Mahāvira (and other founders of religions). However, whilst "Buddha" came to be the name of Gotama, "Jina" came to be the usual name of Mahāvira, and his adherents called themselves "Jainas", i.e., disciples of the *Jina*." It has grown customary to use the expressions "Jainism" and "Jainistic". However, as we never say "Buddhism" and "Baudhistic," we ought by rights to say "Jinism" and "Jinistic" just as we say "Buddhism" and Buddhistic. Scholars like A. Weber and Th. Benfey still considered the Jainas as a Buddhist sect. It has been proved by Jacobi (SBE 22, Introd., and in the introduction to his edition of the *Kalpa-sūtra*) that this view is erroneous."—Winternitz, *Hist. of Ind. Lit.* II p. 424 fn.
4. A Chakravarti, *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda, Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, Delhi, 1971, Introduction, p. 79.
5. Chakravarti, *ibid.*, p. 80.
6. Chakravarti, *ibid.*, pp. 79-80.
7. Chakravarti, *ibid.*, p.80.

reveal the intrinsic spiritual bliss as a result of self-realisation and omniscient knowledge (*kevala-jñāna*). People who worship the Jina in this form installed in *Jīvālaya* (Jaina temple) and who follow the religious tenets proclaimed by the Jina are called the Jainas and their religion is Jainism".⁸

The Jina is the divine person (*sarvajña*) who lived in the world with his body, and 'it refers to the period after attaining *sarvajña*-hood and the last period of the *parinirvāna*, when the body is cast away and the self resumes its own intrinsic pure spiritual nature and it becomes *Paramātmā* or *Siddha*'.⁹ This is the last stage of spiritual development and is identical with the Self which attains *Mokṣa*. This *Siddha-svarūpa* or *Paramātmā-svarūpa* is without body (*āśarīra*) and without form (*arūpa*). Hence its nature can be understood only by yogic contemplation. Having given in a nutshell the basic conception of Jainism, I will pass on now to the question of the conception of *dharma* in Indian atmosphere *vis-à-vis* Jainism which has a strong bearing upon Indian life and society.

3. Prehistoric Period : The Vedic Age (1500 B.C. — 7th/6th centuries B.C.)

In the Vedic period (1500 B.C. — 7th/6th centuries B.C.) we do not have any direct and definite evidence of Jainism. It is true that the name *Rsabha* occurs in some of the Vedic passages, but what was his tenets and what doctrines of Jainism he preached and practised is not as apparent as it was at a later time. Tradition says that he was the first *Tirthāṅkara* who propagated and at the end established the doctrine of *ahīṃsā* in Vedic times. Besides, there are some aspects of Jainistic ideas which may be traced in the Vedic period, but those ideas and thoughts are more Vedic than Jainistic. So to understand how the Jains reacted at a later time against the then prevailing ideas of religion, it is better to discuss briefly the Vedic conception of *dharma* *vis-à-vis* Jainism.

i) The Vedic Conception of Dharma

Dharma is generally translated as 'Religion', or sometimes as 'Righteousness' or 'Duty'. Etymologically, *Dharma* means 'the principle which holds together the Universe' (*dhāraṇād dharma ityāhuh*). And this meaning is more or less associated with the idea that *rta* ('eternal law') holds together the Universe. According to this conception it is the duty of man and society to make this *rta*, or otherwise known

8. Chakravarti, *ibid.*, p.80.

9. Chakravarti, *ibid.*, p. 80.

in literature as *dharma*, active and fruitful in every sphere. This conception of the Universe ultimately actuated the Vedic seers to establish a relationship between the Universe and man. And finally, the idea of religion is converted altogether into the acknowledgment of a close relationship between God and man. In this respect all religions, I believe, whatever may be the cause of their origin, or whatever idea a religion describes, are, at least, basically theanthropic. To establish, effectuate, or realize this relationship between God and man, the Vedic people preached various rites, formulas and practices. These tenets as embalmed and treasured up in the whole terrain of Vedic literature are commonly known as *dharma* in Indian atmosphere, which I want to translate as "Attitude towards Life" or "Way(s) of Life". If we forget this basic conception of Indian Religion (*dharma*) which tries to establish a relationship between God and man, we may fail to understand the Indian ways of life.

As I have said above that the origin of the idea of Religion is associated with the idea of God and man, the Vedic seers naturally speculated on many of the problems connected with man and Universe. They questioned many times about the origin of the Universe which was a wonder and a mystery to them. They endeavoured their best to understand the mystery of the Universe on the one hand and to get the idea about the oneness of the creator on the other. This oneness of the creator is emphasized in some of their inspired hymns commonly known as Hiranyagarbha, Prajāpati, Puruṣa, Viśvedeva, Kāla etc. In all these hymns and many others they have stated that 'Laws and Orders' of this Universe are due to the creator who is self-existent (*svayambhū*), self luminous (*svayārṇ prakāśa*), self-conscious (*samanaska*) and full of qualities (*saguṇa*)¹⁰. They have also depicted God as Father (*dauspitā*), as friend (*mitra*) and as companion (*āryaman*)¹¹. God is Almighty, and His power over Nature is boundless. All living and moving things, all phenomena, are dominated and ruled by the Ultimate Reality or Divinity (*Parama Puruṣa*). So ultimately supreme powerfulness is attributed to God. In the same period, different phenomena around this Universe were also recognized as different aspects of one creator. They are independent and at the same time are controlled by the Supreme Power. They are

10. For this idea of Vedic religion see S.K. Chatterji, *Indianism and Sanskrit*, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXXVII, pts 1-11, January-April, 1957. See also R.D. Ranade, *A Constructive Survey of Upanisadic Philosophy*, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay [1927], Second edn., 1968, pp. 66-75.

11. Chatterji, *op.cit.*

also extraordinary and mysterious, and therefore, some power is added to them. That one creator is a Unique Being (*ekam̄ sat*) and has been described by different sages in a manifold way (*bahudhā vadanti*). So the sun, the moon, the stars, the cloud, and even Indra, Varuṇa, Yama, etc. are considered as supreme powerful¹². The adjectives applied to these phenomenal gods in order to praise them show that they are almost equally powerful with the Creator. In this way, the conception of one creator originated together with His other aspects which are equally powerful and independent.

Having established the idea of one creator, the Vedic seers felt it necessary to bridge a relationship between man and the creator. It is in this connection that the question of sacrificial rites (*yajñas*) comes into existence.¹³ To the Vedic seers sacrifice was one of the best means, if not the only one, by which a man could communicate with the Ultimate Reality (*Parama Puruṣa*) and could send his message to Him¹⁴. It was also considered at that time that sacrifice was one of the chief means of attaining *puruṣārtha*. It was also thought that men should send their messages to the Creator through Agni who acted as a divine messenger. And gods are always waiting for men to receive their messages through the mouth of Agni (*agnimukhā vāi devāḥ*). The Sacrifice, it seems to me, was introduced in order to seek happiness by men in this mundane life by making a relation with God. One of the attributes of God is, in fact, a state of happiness in Him. That is why, Indra used to get happy by drinking the soma which was offered to him by his devotee and which was carried to him by Agni, the divine messenger. In fact, to drink the soma, or to eat *puroḍāśa* (a sort of cake used at the sacrifice) was intended to awaken or augment the state of joy in human beings. Eventually, of course, this sacrifice developed into a complex system, and killing of animal as one of the things to offer to gods in order to please them became very apparent.¹⁵

Finally, came the philosophical speculation to establish the relationship of man with God.¹⁶ Different philosophers from time to time tried to explain the mysterious elements of Nature and by that they tried to understand the equally mysterious elements of human life. In order to determine the mysterious relation between man and God, the

12. *Indram̄ Mitram̄ Varuṇam̄ Agnir āhur atho divyāḥ sa Suparṇo garutmān ekam̄ sad vīprā bahudhā vadantyagnim̄ Yamam̄ Mātarīśvānam̄ āhūḥ* (RV. 1.164.46)

13. For the significance of Sacrifice, see Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, under *Sacrifice*.

14. *agnimukhā vāi devāḥ*.

15. Ranade, *ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

16. Ranade, *ibid.*, pp.153-155.

question of *jñāna* (knowledge) and *karma* (series of actions) came into existence. The Brāhmanic and Upaniṣadic treatises emphasize the value of Knowledge or self-realisation for attaining the ultimate goal (*parama Brahma*), and they set forth the *summum bonum* of the life of man, and also how to get *parama puruṣa*. They have also raised the question of ultimate Reality or Divinity. The answer to this question has been given by different philosophers in different ways. In later times, six or nine systems of Indian Philosophy (Jainism being one of them) have suggested different paths to be followed by man. Some philosophers who are the followers of Vedic injunctions stressed the *jñāna-mārga* (the path of knowledge), or the *karma-mārga* (the path of the series of actions), or at a much later time *bhakti-mārga* (the path of Devotion or Faith). The atheistic philosophers have their own views. They in general renounced the theistic views from their field of studies.

It is at this stage man's function in the worldly life comes into existence. To the Vedic school it is seen that to prepare the ground for attaining the *parama puruṣa*, the vedic people started from the very beginning to speculate on man's function in mundane life by establishing the four stages of life (*catur āśrama*).¹⁷ These are *brahmacarya*, *gārhasthya*, *vāṇaprasthya* and *sannyāsa*. In the *brahmacarya* stage, a man should undergo the life of a student in order to discipline his life by means of knowledge. He can be a *naisthika-brahmacārī* (taking the life of a celibate) seeking knowledge and the Truth, he may not go to the other stages of his life. From this stage, a man passes into the *gārhapatya* stage where his first duty is to get married in order to fulfil certain rites. According to the vedic people, a man comes to the world to pay in course of his life, three debts (*maṣas*), viz., *deva*, *pitṛ* and *rṣi*.¹⁸ He pays *deva-ma* (debt to the gods) by worship, service and doing good duties; his *pitṛ-ma* (debt to the Fathers) is paid by marriage and thereby he leads the life of a householder and continues the race by raising a family; *rṣi-ma* (debt to the Sages) can only be paid by studying and learning, by discussing the old learning and by extending its bounds by further additions. It would be a great achievement, if a man could pay all these three debts in one life. In the third stage, known as *Vāṇaprasthya*, a man seeks to get rid of the encumbrances of worldly existence. In the last stage (*sannyāsa*), he renounces altogether the mundane happiness. It should be noted that this system of *catur āśrama* was adopted

17. The Grhya-sūtras and Smṛtis generally describe the four stages of life.

18. *jāyamāno vai brāhmaṇas tribhir ṣṭavā jāyate. brahmacaryeṇa ṛṣibhyo yajñena devebhyah prajayā pitrbhyah eṣa vā anṛṇo yaḥ putro yajvā brahmacāriuṣī* [Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, VI. 3.10.5].

in the Jaina system sometime in the 10th cent. A.D. It will be discussed later on. In performing four stages of life, mind has been given a prominent place, and to control mind from various aspects of life, several paths have been suggested. After a full-fledged control over mind, a man with a thorough knowledge of self (*ātma-tattva*) can enter into the path of Realization (*mokṣa-mārga*) by following some measures of ethical principles (*nūti-tattva*). It is in this connection that the question of *caturvarga*—*dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa* — are related. Without going into details about all these things, the fundamental issues of the Vedic people can be summed up in the following ways. In the Vedic period there developed -

i) a belief in an unseen Reality arrived at either

- a) by Intuitive Faith, or
- b) by Intellectual Ratiocination, or
- c) by Reason and Faith both.

There developed further-

- ii) a belief in the oneness of Life and Being, in one single principle running through the Universe which also regulates the life of human beings;
- iii) there is sorrow and suffering in this world and a man will have to free himself from this either by following the path of knowledge and self-culture, or by Faith or by doing good deeds. This idea of the Vedic people has led them to believe the theories of *karma* and *sāṃsāra* (of Actions in Life) which bring in good or bad results as they are good or bad, and Rebirth and Transmigration;
- iv) lastly, a sense of sacredness of all lives. This is followed both in positive and negative ways. In the negative way it teaches the principle of *Ahīṃsā* (non-injury), and the positive side of it is *upeksā* (ignoring evils), *muditā* (the spirit of graciousness and happiness in all circumstances), *karuṇā* (a feeling of pity and charity) and *maitrī* (a spirit of active friendship by doing good).¹⁹

I do not want to go into details about the implication of all these doctrines with regard to *dharma*, but with this idea in the background I now pass on to Jainism.

ii) Jaina attitude towards Vedic Religion

Now turning to Jainism I can say that Jaina Philosophy as one of

19. See Chatterji for these ideas, *ibid.*, pp. 8ff.

the interpreters of human life exhibits a remarkable independence of religious tradition. It is generally said that it is basically a revolt against some of the fundamental issues of the then existing system of religious ideas. First, the Vedic conception of the Ultimate Reality or Divinity as an outside creator-God is challenged. Moreover, the conception of God as a Perfect Being is questioned. It was often asked if God were perfect, then why His creations were imperfect. If the world is the creation of a Perfect Being, how is it that there are sorrows and sufferings, and miseries and want and iniquities in His created beings ? Whatever may be the position of God as a Perfect Being, it is an undeniable fact that there are miseries in the world. The Jains and the Buddhists went on further to emphasize that if the woes and troubles of the creators are to be accounted for by the acts of the creators themselves, and if the creator-God could not be held responsible for them, then what is the point of accepting the outside creator-God ? So the Jains eliminated the outside creator-God from their processes of thinking. They accepted this world as it is and tried to account for the miseries. Buddhism says that the miseries of creatures are due to *tañhā* (unquenchable thirst) for existence on the part of the creatures themselves. Jainism asserts that miseries and imperfections are due to *karma* (a series of actions) on the part of the unemancipated soul for which man comes to live in this world again. Hence if any godhood is attached, it is to be attached to a person who is a perfectly emancipated soul being possessed of omniscience, and a perfectly all-powerful man being absolutely free from all taints of selfishness. He is a person who saw the eternal verities as they were and realised the truth as they came to him. So to the Jains there is no need to accept an outside creator-God. This is the first principle which the Jains formulated with regard to the Vedic conception of creator-God.

Secondly, when the foundation of a creator-God is questioned, the other elements based on it naturally dwindle down. The validity of Sacrifice is criticised, particularly the elements of animal sacrifice. As the main object of Jainism is to establish the doctrine of *Ahīṃsā* (non-injury/non-violence), animal sacrifice has no place in it. The Jains do not believe in the authoritative character of the Vedas. They contend that these Vedas cannot be said to be eternally self-existent. 'The fact of non-remembrance of any author (*kartur asmarañāt*) of the Vedas does not prove that they had not any author at any time. In order to justify their case, they have given an example : In the case of an ancient well, an ancient house, or an ancient garden people may not know who in olden times made it, the name of its maker may long have been forgotten, but nobody would be prepared to say that the well, or the house or the garden is self-existent from the eternal past.

The doctrine of the eternal existence of the Vedas is thus untenable. The Jains further point out that the very fact that the Vedas are a collection of words, so arranged as to carry an intelligible sense, shows that they were carefully made. So the Jains have refused to accept the validity of the Vedas as well as the sacrificial rites."

Thirdly, in Vedic literature Self or *Ātman* (or Ultimate Being or Reality) is maintained as permanent, without beginning, change or end. The Jains oppose this view, and declare that Being or *Sat*, is not persistent, unchangeable or endless. Reality is permanent and changeable, there is a growth, development and destruction in it. The Reality has two aspects, and this is what is known as *anekāntavāda* in their philosophy.

Lastly, about the origin of the idea of *Ahīṃsā*. The cult of *Ahīṃsā* is very old in India. It is found in Vedic religion as well as in the Buddhist. But in these two religious beliefs, the doctrine of *Ahīṃsā* is not fully and rigorously stressed. But in Jainism it is very rigorously stressed and that is why this doctrine of *Ahīṃsā* is mainly associated with Jainism.

4. Historic Period : The Age of Imperial Unity (7th cent. B.C.—320 A.D.)

After the Vedic period comes the Age of Imperial Unity (7th/6th cent. B.C.-320 A.D.) which is, in a sense, an age of revolt in Human Civilization. In fact, the sixth century B.C. is extraordinarily important in the intellectual history of mankind. In India we had Mahāvīra and Buddha, in Persia Zoroaster, in China Confucius and Laotse, and in Greece Pythagoras — all were promulgating their new philosophies in their respective countries and as a result great human religions emerged out of their doctrines. All these great men revolutionized some of the fundamental ideas of human beings. Mahāvīra's contribution towards the religious development of mankind is a great landmark and unparalleled in many ways in the annals of human history. It was in this period that Lord Vārdhamāna Mahāvīra was born in 599 B.C. at the site of the modern village of Basarh about 27 miles north of Patna; it was at that time Magadha, an area in Eastern India, was both politically and spiritually in the height of its power; it was in this age Mahāvīra started preaching and teaching of his doctrines for 30 years; it was an era which experienced some new riveted thoughts and trenchant ideas which ultimately gave birth to a new religion known as Jainadharma. Though Mahāvīra gave it a new shape, the antiquity of Jaina religion is older than Mahāvīra and Buddhism.

i) The Antiquity of Jainadharma

According to the belief of the Jains themselves, the Jainadharma is eternal, and it has been revealed again and again, in every one of the endless succeeding periods of the world, by innumerable Tirthankaras.²⁰ In the present period, which is *avasarpī* according to the Jains, there are 24 Tirthankaras. The first of them was Rṣabha, and the last three were Arīṣṭanemi, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. All these Tirthankaras reached Nirvāṇa at their death. Because of their attainment of *Mokṣa*, all these Tirthankaras are regarded as gods (*devas*) by the Jains. In order to honour and worship them, the Jains have erected temples where the idols or images of these 24 Tirthankaras, the favourite being the first and the last three ones, are found. At a later time, some sects, especially a rather recent section of the Śvetāmbaras, the Dhūṇḍīyā or Sthāṇakavāsīs, reject this kind of worship. Except the last two (Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra), all the Tirthankaras belong to mythology rather than to history. But the 22nd one, Arīṣṭanemi, is connected with the legend of Kṛṣṇa as his relative. But Kṛṣṇa is regarded as a historical person, so also Arīṣṭanemi. It is said that Pārśvanātha was the real reformer of Jainism, and Mahāvīra gave it a final shape into the present order in which we get it in the canonical literature of the Jains.

The date of Mahāvīra, though controversial, is more or less fixed. According to the Śvetāmbaras, Mahāvīra was born in 599 B.C. and he got his *parinirvāṇa* in 527 B.C. This date is more or less accepted. The Digambaras believe that Mahāvīra was born in 659 B.C. and attained *nirvāṇa* in 587 B.C. But Jacobi thinks that Mahāvīra's date must be between 549/48 B.C. and 477/76 B.C. Jacobi wants to bring down the date of Mahāvīra very near to Lord Buddha who is a contemporary of Lord Mahāvīra. The date of Buddha is also controversial. According to Ceylonese tradition the *Parinirvāṇa* of Buddha happened in 544 B.C.²¹, whereas according to Cantonese tradition it was in 486 B.C. Geiger, however, thinks that the date should be 483 B.C.²² However, the 6th or 5th cent. B.C. would be the time of Buddha as well. The date of Pārśvanātha is much older than of Mahāvīra. According to the *Cambridge History of India*, Pārśvanātha lived some 220 years prior to Mahāvīra. The traditional date of the birth of Pārśvanātha is 817 B.C.²³ If that is taken to be partially true, then

20. In the past there were 24 Tirthankaras and there will be 24 Tirthankaras in the future.
21. For these dates, see R.C. Majumdar and others, an *Advanced History of India*, 2nd edn. MacMillan & Co Ltd., London, 1963, p. 58.
22. Majumdar, *loc cit.*
23. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 1045.

Jainism must have penetrated into India nearly three centuries before Gautama Buddha. Though Charpentier did not go beyond Pārśva, we may add here that the 22nd Tirthankara, Ariṣṭanemī, is said to have preached and practised Jainism and to have attained *Nirvāṇa* on the Mount Abu in the Junagarh State. If Śrī Kṛṣṇa is to be taken as a historical person, then Ariṣṭanemī may also be regarded as such. In that case, Jainism can be further pushed back to nearly 1000 B.C.

ii References to Jainism in the Buddhist literature

That Jainism is older than Buddhism can be proved by the fact that Buddhist literature contains references to the Jain views. "As a matter of fact, The Buddha was a younger contemporary of Lord Mahāvīra. The Buddha himself in his conversation with his friend and disciple Sāriputta, narrates the fact that he himself in his earlier days was adopting Jaina practice of austerity which he had to give up because of the rigorous discipline which he did not like".²⁴ How far this is true is a matter of speculation now. But it is true that some of the Jainistic references are found in Buddhist literature. We often come across the references to *Niggantha Nātaputta*²⁵ which, it is said, is another name for Jaina or Jain religion. In the dialogue of Pāyāsi and Kumāra Kassapa in the Pāyāsi-sutta of the *Dīghanikāya* No.23, the existence of a soul substance is denied by Pāyāsi as it was done by Buddha himself. A version of this dialogue is also found among the Jains. In the Upāli-Sutta (No.56) of the *Majjhima-Nikāya*, there is a dialogue between Buddha and Jaina with regard to the practice of asceticism. In the *Ānguttara-nikāya* (III. 27) eight powers of people belonging to the different strata of society are described. These are also found in the *Thāraṅga* and *Samavāyarīga* suttas of the Jainas. The parable of the blind man and the elephant (*andha-gaja-nyāya*) is also found in the Jaina *Syādvāda-maṇjari* as well as in the *Udāna*. The idea of a true *brāhmaṇa* is dealt with in the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* (xxv) as well as in the *Sela-sutta* (III.7) of the *Sutta-nipāta*, in the *Dhammapada* (Ch. 26=383-423), in the *Udāna* (I). It is surprisingly interesting to know that some of the verses of the *Dhammapada* are also found in the texts of the Jainas, such as, *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*, *Daśavaitālikasūtra* etc. Leumann²⁶ has tried to prove that the Jātaka No. 530 has a specimen in the Jaina texts. In the story of Moggalāna

24. A. Chakravarti, *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda, Bhāratīya Jñānapiṭha, Delhi, 1971, Introduction, p.81.

25. See for this Winternitz's *Hist of Ind. Lit.* Vol-II. p.424f.

26. For this reference see Winternitz, *ibid.*, p. 145.

a very hostile attitude towards the Jaina monks is described. The reference to Bhaddā's becoming a Jaina ascetic is found in the commentary of *Therigāthās*. In the *Kalparā-mandūkā*, the religious views of the Brāhmaṇas and Jains are confuted. In the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 427), the persecutions of Jaina monks are mentioned. In the *Sumāgadhāvadāna*, there is a legend of Sumāgadhā, the daughter of Anathapindada, a merchant, who alienates her husband from the Jaina monks and then converts the whole town to Buddhism. In the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, Ariṣṭanemī, among others, is mentioned.

iii) Jain Literature : Śvetāmbara and Digambara

In the age of Imperial Unity, the codification of Mahāvīra's sayings started.²⁷ After the death of Mahāvīra (527 B.C.), in the fourth-third centuries B.C. after a severe famine lasting for twelve years at the time of Chandragupta of the Maurya empire, the Jains were divided into two broad sects : Śvetāmbara and Digambara. So their canonical literatures (Āgamas), though originally based on the sermons of Mahāvīra, are also different. Mahāvīra was not the composer of these texts, but these were compiled by his disciples, Indrabhūti Gautama, who, in turn preached to his disciple the gaṇadhara Sudharmā who again related these texts to his disciple Jambusvāmi. It is believed by both the sects that originally the Jaina sacred texts were preserved in the 14 *pūrvas* and 12 *Āṅgas* including the *Dṛṣṭivāda*. The knowledge of the 14 *pūrvas* continued only down to Sthūlabhadra, the 8th patriarch after Mahāvīra, the next 7 patriarchs down to Vajra knew only ten *pūrvas*, and after that time the remaining *pūrvas* were gradually lost, until the time when canon was written down in books in 454 A.D. on the lapse of 980 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. All the *pūrvas* and the 12th *Āṅga* *Dṛṣṭivāda* were lost. What remains is the 11 *Āṅgas* and these 11 *Āṅgas* are the oldest part of their Siddhānta. The Śvetāmbaras accept these 11 *Āṅgas* which consist of 45 texts divided into 11 *Āṅgas* (different from the previous ones), 12 *upāṅgas*, 10 *pāṇnas*, 6 *chedasūtras*, 1 *Nandi*, 1 *Anuyogadvāra*, and 4 *mūlasūtras*. The Digambaras do not accept these Āgama texts at all. On the contrary, they have their own Āgama texts comprising almost 45 books under the name of *Satkhāṇḍāgama*, *Kasāyapāhūda*, *Mahābandha*, *Tiloyapannatti*, and so on, and they claim that the lost *Dṛṣṭivāda* has been restored and preserved by them in their canonical literature. These books have been published since 1938. In a nutshell, I will say that all these books are complementary and supplementary to each other for the study of Jainism as a whole. It is a fact

27. Winternitz, *ibid.*, pp. 431-445.

worth noting that the Śvetāmbara texts are written in Ardhamāgadhi, while the present day Digambara texts are in Śauraseni. In both cases, texts are either in prose, or in verse, or in prose and verse mixed. In course of time, a large literature of glosses and commentaries (*Niryukti, Cūrṇi, Tīkā*) has grown up round the Āgama texts of both the sects. Besides these, the Jains possess separate works in close material agreement with the former works, which contain systematic expositions of their faith in Prakrit and Sanskrit. Gradually, the Jains have covered all branches of literature, such as, cosmogony and cosmology, Theogony and Philosophy, folk-lore and tradition, tales and stories, ornate *kāvyas*, dramas, grammar and so on. All these books will tell us all about Jainism. With this brief synopsis, I now pass on to the next.

One of the greatest contributions of Mahāvīra in his age is his idea of preaching the religious sermons in a spoken language, a practice which was never followed by anybody before him. At the time of Mahāvīra Sanskrit was probably used for all sorts of communications — be it a general conversation or an ecclesiastical one. Mahāvīra broke the tradition and realised the value of a spoken language as a vehicle of religious discourses. The language in which he preached his religious doctrines was Ardhamāgadhi, one of the dialects of Prakrit, a name given to the Middle Indian languages, whose uninterrupted literary documents had come down to us from the time of Mahāvīra down to the 15th century A.D. covering a period of twenty hundred years. Later on, his doctrines were codified by his disciples and followers in Ardhamāgadhi. Mahāvīra won the admiration of the common people for speaking in their own language.

After the death of Mahāvīra, the history of Jainism for a few centuries practically means 'little more than the history of the Jain Church'.²⁸ Later on, the Church organisation became very complex. At the time of Mahāvīra some of his followers started dissenting from his opinion. Gosāla's doctrine of fatalism was formulated before Mahāvīra. We have some references to seven schisms²⁹ at the time of Mahāvīra. A little later sometime in the fourth-third centuries B.C. the Jaina community was broadly divided into two sects — Śvetāmbara and Digambara. The points of difference between the two pertain to matters of dogma like the number of movable and immovable beings, the possibility of woman attaining liberation, and the food partaken by the omniscient teachers; to mythological events like the transference of Mahāvīra's embryo, his marriage, the sex of

28. Majumdar, *History and Culture of the Indian people*, Vol-II, (The Age of Imperial Unity), p. 415f.

29. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, pp. 346-49.

Mallī, one of the prophets, and to practices like the wearing of clothes and going naked."

At the time of Mahāvīra Jainism spread to the kingdoms of Kośala, Videha, Aṅga, Vāṅga etc. besides its birth place Magadha. In the *Kappasutta* (I. 51-52) Mahāvīra's itinerary is preserved to some extent. He wandered as far as Aṅga-Magadha to the east, Sthunā to the west, Kauśāmbī to the south and Kuṇālā to the north. From the inscription of Khāravela (3rd cent. B.C.), we come to know that Mahāvīra established Jainism in the country of Kalinga, and Khāravela, the Chedi king of Orissa, showed his great inclination towards Jainism.

Sometime in the second century B.C., the Jaina community migrated to Mathurā and Ujjayinī. In Mathurā we have some ruins of a Jaina shrine and a small number of inscriptions, engraved on Jaina images. Ujjayinī was also a stronghold of Jainism. If we believe in the story of Aśoka's grandson king Samprati and his conversion to Jainism by Suhastin, this spread to Malwa must be placed as early as the second century B.C. We are further told that Samprati persuaded his grandfather to send religious missionaries to the countries of Andhras and Dramilas to propagate the religion. The famous story of Kālakācārya, the Jaina sage, implies the spread of Jainism in Malwa in the first century B.C.³⁰.

The Junagarh inscription (2nd cent. A.D.) gives the earliest reference to Jain monks who had attained the perfect knowledge (*kevalajñāna*). The inscription contains the Jaina symbols like *Svastikā*, *Bhadrāsana*, *Minayugala* and others.

The spread of Jainism to the South is due to the migration of a Jaina community affected by the famine at the time of Maurya Candragupta which resulted in the establishment of the Digambara community in Mysore with Śravana-Belagoḷa as its centre.

As for the doctrines of Jainism, nothing definite can be vouchsafed. We can only sum up the position of Jainism in the words of Ghatage : 'Most of the features of Jainism suggestive of its primitiveness may be regarded as received by Mahāvīra as they already existed. What he did was, in all likelihood, the codification of an unsystematic mass of beliefs into a set of rigid rules of conduct for monks and laymen'³¹ But as what Mahāvīra really preached is not known, barring a few references in the Canonical literature codified after a thousand year of the death of Mahāvīra, we may assume that most of the Jaina dogmas, such as, *karma*-theory, soul, non-soul, influx, bondage, cessation, etc. must have been evolved after Mahāvīra and

30. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 418.

31. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 420.

before Umāsvāmi wrote his *Tattvārtha-sūtra* in the first or second century A.D.

5. Jainism at the Classical Age (320-740 A.D.)

At the time of Mahāvīra Jainism was in a formative stage, but the contributions of the Jains in the Classical Period (320-740 A.D.) was immense. It was in this age that the Jaina Canonical literature was codified, besides other developments.

It has been said above that the Śvetāmbara Canonical texts, as we have them today, were not composed in one day. There were several councils for that, the last being in the middle of the Classical Age (320-740 A.D.), which saw a springtime efflorescence in all spheres of life. "The creative urge of the time has contributed both character and richness to the evolution of the national mind in every succeeding century."³² The texts redacted in the first Council of Elders in Pataliputra in 4th/3rd centuries B.C. did not get the recognition of the whole community.³³ It was at that time the division of the two sects—Śvetāmbara and Digambara—came into existence. In the Classical Age the Second Council at Valabhi under the able guidance of Devardhīgaṇī Kṣamāśramaṇa was held in 454 A.D or 467 A.D.³⁴ This council was held at the time of King Dhruvasena I of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhi. The Jaina tradition says that this King was extolled as a Jaina convert. But this tradition seems to be doubtful as numerous records of the Maitraka Kings of Valabhi make no mention of this fact. This tradition can only say that Valabhi was a famous centre of Jaina literary activity. The two famous Jaina scholars Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali belonging to the ninth century embodied the older works of Dharasena.³⁵ It is in this Age that Jinabhadra-Kṣamāśramaṇi wrote his famous *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya* in 609 A.D. It was in this Second Council at Valabhi that the Jaina Āgama text took its present shape into 45 āgamas divided into aṅga, upāṅga, prakirṇakas, chedasūtras, mūlasūtras and the two independent texts.³⁶

Besides the redaction of the Āgama texts, vigorous literary activity went on among the Jain monks. As a result we have a vast and rich literature of considerable merit. The later non-canonical literature such as, the *Nirjuktis* and *Bhāṣyas* were greatly recast in this period by Samghadāsa, Jinadāsa and Siddhasena.³⁷ The *Cūrṇis*,

32. K. M. Munshi's Foreword p. vii in Majumdar's *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol-III (The Classical Age).

33. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 415f.

34. *op.cit.*, p. 415.

35. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 416.

36. *op.cit.*, p. 416.

37. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 417.

Prakrit commentaries of the Āgama texts in prose were also composed in this period. It is in this age that we see "a general tendency among Jaina scholars to prefer Sanskrit more and more to Prakrit."³⁸ The preference to Sanskrit was so strong indeed that the famous Jaina scholar Haribhadra nearly at the end of this period composed works and commentaries in Sanskrit. The Jaina philosophy received in these days greater emphasis on its logical side, and we know of such keen intellects as Siddhasena, Akalaṅka, Puṣyapāda and others formulating Jaina dogmatics in a more logical form, defending it against the views of the rival philosophical schools and developing the doctrines of Syādvāda and Nayavāda with admirable skill and wonderful subtlety.³⁹

It was in the same period that the Digambaras cultivated their literary activities in the South.⁴⁰ They still used both Prakrit and Sanskrit. The Digambara scholars belonging to this period are Bhaṭṭakera, the author of *Mulācāra*, which describes the rules of conduct of the Jain monks, Svāmi Kārttikeya, the author of the *Dvādaśārūपreksā*, which deals with the twelve reflections on the glaring shortcomings of this mundane life, Yatiyāśabha, the author of *Tiloyaparīṇatti*, which describes the comprehensive survey of Jaina cosmography. Some Digambara scholars also started writing in Sanskrit. We may mention the names of Samantabhadra, Akalaṅka, Puṣyapāda, Mānatunga and others. It is a fact worth noting that it was in this period that the *karma*-doctrine of the Jainas got its prominence.

Historically the starting point of Jainism was Magadha sometime in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. But by the end of the third century A.D. at the time of Imperial Unity, Jainism spread throughout India. To the south-east it went to Kalinga, and to the south to Deccan and Tamil lands, and Mathura and Malwa to the west. By that time Jainism lost its strongholds over Magadha. It is guessed that for the lack of royal patronage it was lost in the North, but was confined to the merchants and bankers for a long time. This loss of kingly support in the north, was, however, made good by the favour shown to this religion by many ruling families of the Deccan.⁴¹ By the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Jainism became the main stronghold to the country to the south of the Vindhya. By the end of that period the Jain communities were finally sharply divided into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras. Only one community like the Yāpaniyas was still alive, but they were not as important as the other

38. *op.cit.*, p. 417.

39. Majumdar, *ibid.*, pp. 417-18.

40. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 418.

41. Majumdar, *ibid.*, Vol-III, p. 409.

two sects. These two sects were further grouped. In the south there were Saṅghas and Gaṇas, whereas in the north we have groups like Gacchas, Kulas and Śākhās. In the age of Gupta Imperialism (320-467 A.D.) Jainism as well as Buddhism declined. We have come to this conclusion because of the fact that there are no epigraphic and literary records about Jainism. We do not find any description of Jainism in the records of the Chinese traveller Fahien (5th cent. A.D.). But there are indications by which we can say that it continued to be popular among the merchants and bankers.⁴²

Apart from literary sources described above, there were two inscriptions⁴³ concerning Jainism in the 5th century A.D. At the time of Kumāragupta these inscriptions were found at Mathura and Udayagiri. The Mathura inscription (dated 432 A.D.) speaks of a Jaina image dedicated by a lady, while the other at Udayagiri in Malwā (426 A.D.) describes the image of Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara, erected by an unknown person. Similarly, at the time of Skandagupta (461 A.D.) in the inscription of Kakubha, commonly known as Kahuan inscription, it is stated that five images of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras are set up in that village. All these records show that Jainism was popular more in the west than in the east.

In Bengal and Bihar during the period under review, Jainism did not flourish very much. Only in the Pāhārpur copper-plates of 478 A.D. in Rajshāhi District, it is recorded that 'for the maintenance of worship at the Jain Vihāra at Vata Gohāli, which was presided over by the pupils of the Nirgrantha teacher Guhanandin of the Pañcastūpanikāya of Banaras⁴⁴ some pieces of land were donated by a person and his wife. 'This *vihāra*, of the fourth or fifth century, probably occupied the site of the great temple unearthed at Pāhārpur (Rajshāhi District). It is worth noting that the founder of the *vihāra* was a monk, who migrated from Benaras to the East.'⁴⁵

In the seventh cent. A.D. from the records of Hiuen Tsang (who was in India from 629 A.D. to 645 A.D.) we come to know that both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara monks were found near Taxila to the west, and Vipula to the east. It also tells us that in Pundravardhana and Samataṭa to the east there were numerous Digambara Nirgranthas.⁴⁶ That the Jains, particularly the Digambara sect, were not held in great esteem at least in Northern India can be gleaned from a reference to the *Harṣa-carita* by Bāṇa. The reference

42. Majumdar, *ibid.*, III, p. 409.

43. Majumdar, *ibid.*, III, p. 409.

44. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 410.

45. Majumdar, *ibid.*, III, p. 410.

46. Majumdar, *ibid.*, III, p. 410.

is to the Jain ascetics carrying peacock feathers to sweep insects out of their path. It is also said that the sight of a naked Jain ascetic is cited as a very bad omen (*abhimukham ājagāma śikhi-picchā-lāñchano nagnātakah*).⁴⁷ At a much later time Viśākhadatta (8th-9th cent. A.D.) in his *Mudrārākṣasa* Act IV. says that the sight of a *kṣapanaka* is said by Amātyarākṣasa to be an evil omen. So also Mādhavācārya (13th-14th cent. A.D.) in his *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha* (Ārhatadarśana) had the same opinion when he said - *luñcītāḥ picchikāhastāḥ pāñipātrā Digambarāḥ*. Dāṇḍin in his *Daśakumārācarita*⁴⁸ also made fun of a Jaina ascetic.

Though there are some references to low estimate of the Jain monks by some writers, the activities of the Jain monks were not, however, very poor. We can get this idea from a reference to a book *Kuvalayamālākahā* by Uddyotana composed in 779 A.D. At the beginning of his romance Uddyotana tells us the following story.⁴⁹

"In the northern part of India there was a town called Pavvaiyā close to the river Chandrabhāgā, which was the capital of the Yavana king Toramāṇa. The spiritual preceptor of this king was one Harigupta of the Gupta family. One of his pupils was Devagupta, a royal scion of the Gupta dynasty, who, in turn, had a pupil called Śivachandra, bearing the title Mahattara. In the course of his wanderings, Śivachandra took up his residence at Bhinnamāla, otherwise known as Śrimāla. One of his pupils was the far-famed Yakshadatta, while a band of his other pupils is represented as converting the whole of Gujrāt to Jainism by their wanderings and preachings. One of his pupils was Vateśvara, who caused a magnificent temple of the Jina to be constructed in the town of Ākāśavapra. He had a pupil Tattvāchārya, who was the teacher of Uddyotana, the author of this work. Uddyotana imbibed the knowledge of the scriptures from Virabhadra while he learnt logic and other sciences from the famous scholar Haribhadra."

On this piece of information as gathered from the introductory portions of *Kuvalayamālākahā*, A.M. Ghatage⁵⁰ comments :

"Though history does not help us in ascertaining who these Gupta kings were, and how far the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa was a regular convert to Jainism, we may readily believe that men of standing

47. *Harśacarita*, 5th Ch. p. 20 of P.V. Kane's edn; see his Introduction, p. xxxviii.

48. *Daśakumārācarita* of Kale's edn. second ch. of the *Uttarapīthikā*, p. 73ff.

49. *Kuvalayamālākahā* ed by A.N. Upadhye, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1949. The quotation is from Majumdar, *ibid.*, III, p. 410f.

50. Majumdar, *ibid.*, III, p. 411.

and petty chieftains of those times patronised the Jain faith, and bands of wandering monks formed the chief agency of spreading the religion in different parts of Western India."

In the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. the Gariga Kings of Mysore were very much attracted to Jainism. In fact, the founder of the family was a disciple of a Jaina teacher called Simhanandin. His successors were also followers of Jainism. It is said that two later rulers of this dynasty, Avinita and Durvinita were brought up and nurtured by the two Jain sages Vijayakirti and Puṣyapāda respectively. At their time, the kings presented gifts to Jain monks and built Jain temples.

In a similar way, the Kadamba rulers of Vaijayanti, though followers of Hinduism, showed unusual favour towards Jainism. They too gave donations to Jain monks and erected many Jain temples. At the time of the Kadamba rulers "the Jaina community was flourishing under their benevolent patronage, and that many high officials and rich landlords of the country were devout followers of this religion".⁵² There were many sects at that time : the Nirgranthas, the Yāpaniyas, the Kūrcakas and the Śvetapaṭas.

In the early part of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi (Bijāpur District) who held sway over extensive regions of the Deccan from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the eighth century, we do not get any remarkable evidence of Jainism.⁵³ But at the time of Pulakeśin II (610/11-642 A.D.), the greatest of the Chalukya rulers, Jainism was very much favoured. A temple of the Jinendra, called Meguti, was constructed by Ravikirti. Later rulers like Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya gave grants to Jaina teachers for constructing Jain Temples.⁵⁴

The early history of Jainism in South India⁵⁵ is not very clear. The lack of direct evidence is the cause of this uncertainty. There is a reference to the Nirgranthas in Ceylon in the Mahāvaṃśa at the time of Puṇḍukābhaya. So also in the caves in the districts of Rāmnād and Tinnevelly there are references to Jainism. The early Tamil literature, though might indicate the flourishing state of Jainism in South India, does not supply us concrete evidence on the existence of Jainism in South India. The Jains also claim that the authors of *Tolkāppiyam* and *Kural* are their adherents. The dates of some works, such as, *Yaśodharakāvya*, *Silappadikāram*, *Jivakacintāmaṇi* and

51. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 411f.

52. *Ibid.*, III, p. 412.

53. *Ibid.*, III, p. 412.

54. *Ibid.*, III, p. 412.

55. *Ibid.*, III, p. 413.

Nilakeśi, though Jain in origin and contents, are uncertain. But it is supposed that they must be dated before the seventh century A.D. But the doctrines of Jainism as depicted in the *Maṇīnēkhalaī*, which mentions the Digambara Jain monks, are fairly accurate.⁵⁶

Though the early history of Jainism in the South is obscure, their later history supports the prosperous state of Jainism in South India. In the town of Kāñci Jainism was at its height.⁵⁷ Kundakunda, the famous Digambara writer, also honoured by the Śvetāmbaras, belonging to the first century A.D. wrote several philosophical treatises. All of his works, available so far, are in Śauraseni Prakrit. Three of his works—*Saṁayasāra*, *Pravacanasāra* and *Pañcāstikāya*, commonly known as *Nāṭaka-traya* or *Sāra-traya* (cf. the *Prasthāna-traya* of the Vedānta Philosophy) are studied with great zeal by Jain scholars. Kundakunda is very popular in the South Indian Jaina tradition. These three works are commented upon in Sanskrit by Amṛtacandra (about the close of the 10th cent. A.D.) and by Jayasena (12th cent. A.D.) and in Kannada by Bālacandra (13th cent. A.D.). Padmaprabha Maladhārīdeva (died A.D. 1185) wrote a Sanskrit commentary on the *Niyamasāra*. After Kundakunda the name of Sarvanandin can be mentioned. When Śimhavarman was the ruler of Kāñci, Sarvanandin, a Jain scholar, wrote his Prakrit work *Lokavibhāga* in 458 A.D.⁵⁸

The Digambara Jaina author Samantabhadra (1st half of the 8th cent. A.D.) at the time of Kumārilabhaṭṭa belonged to Kāñci. He wrote a commentary on Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra*. The introduction to this commentary, is entitled *Devāgama-stotra* or *Āptanīmāṇsā*. In the book the Jaina Philosophy of Syādvāda is explained. Kumārilabhaṭṭa and Vācaspati Miśra knew this book. It should be noted in this connection that there was a great philosophical dispute between Kumārilabhaṭṭa and Samantabhadra. Akalaṅka also joined the dispute, while Prabhācandra and Vidyānanda defended their co-religionists against Kumārla.⁵⁹

Almost at the same time there were several *saṅghas* (groups) in South India. There was a Mūla-saṅgha (the original group) in the south. Later on this saṅgha was divided into four gaṇas. The names of the gaṇas depended on the founders of the gaṇas. For example, the Nandigaṇa is named after Māghanandin, Senagaṇa after Jinasena, Śimhagaṇa after Simha and Devagaṇa after Deva.⁶⁰ They

56. *Ibid.*, III, p. 413.

57. *Ibid.*, III, p. 413.

58. *Ibid.*, III, p. 413.

59. Winternitz. *Hist. of Ind. Lit.* II, p. 478.

60. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 414.

were all pupils of Arhadbali, who was again a pupil of Bhadrabāhu II. From Hiuen Tsang's account⁶¹ we come to know that in the country of Pāṇḍyas, a large number of the Nirgranthas lived and preached their doctrines. But in the seventh century, owing to the rise of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, Jainism began to decline. Tradition says that Mahendravarman, a Pallava king, was a Jain by faith, but was converted to Śaivism by Appar. So also Arikeśari Māravarman, a Pāṇḍya king, was converted to Śaivism. All these evidences show that Jainism lost its ground in the south in the seventh century A.D.⁶²

Ghatage⁶³ has succinctly outlined the position of Jainism in the south at that time thus :

"The picture of Jainism as a religion, which we get in this period, does not differ materially from what we know of it in later days. The community was divided into the monastic order and the lay following, with further sub-divisions, particularly among the former. The building of temples, the establishment of monasteries, the worship of the prophets, and celebration of great public festivals were the normal features of the religious life of the people. Circumstances probably led to a change of habits of some of the monks, which produced the distinction between Chaityavāsa (residence in the monastery) and Vanavāsa (residence in the forest). The former developed a more compact organisation which led to the establishment of a spiritual head of the community of a given locality, called the Bhāṭṭārakas, whose lists of succession called the Paṭṭāvalis, often cover long periods of time. Many religious records of these days speak of the observance of the vow of Sallekhanā, the peculiarly Jain practice of observing fast unto death, as performed both by monks and laity, and we observe a steady growth of holy places to which monks and pious householders retired towards the end of their life."

6. Jainism at the Age of Imperial Kanauj (750-1000 A.D.)

In the age of Imperial Kanauj (750 A.D.— 1000 A.D.), which began with the invasions of the Arabs (712 A.D.) in the beginning of the 8th cent. A.D. and ended with Āfghānisthān's passing into the hands of the Turks in 997 A.D., Jainism did not flourish very much for the lack of royal support in the north, though it was very popular among the merchants and bankers in the north.⁶⁴ In the south, on the other

61. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 414.

62. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 414.

63. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 414f.

64. Majumdar, *ibid.*, Vol-IV, p. 287.

hand, it enjoyed an extensive royal patronage. In fact, in the Deccan there was no rival of Jainism, and as Altekar⁶⁵ thinks that perhaps one-third of the population of the Deccan was following the doctrines and teachings of Mahāvīra. But afterwards owing to the rise of the Līngāyata sect, Jainism received a serious set-back.

During the period under review, Jainism did not have any appreciable influence in Bengal. It is noticeable that in the inscriptions of the Pālas, no reference to Jainism is found.⁶⁶

During the period of the Chāpa dynasty⁶⁷ whose one branch ruled from Vardhamāna and the other from Anahilapāṭaka, modern Pātan, in Northern Gujarāt, in the first quarter of the ninth century, Jainism received royal patronage. In fact, the Chāpa rulers were the patrons of this religion. According to the Jaina Prabandhas, Vanarāja Chāvīdā was installed on the throne at Anahilapāṭaka by his Jaina *guru* Śīlaguṇasūri. Vanarāja's prime minister was a Jaina merchant (*vāṇīk*) named Champa. Another merchant prince Ninnaya by name built a temple of Rṣavānātha at Anahilavāḍa; Lahora, the son of Ninnay, was a general in Vanarāja's army. Vanarāja consecrated the idol of Pārśvanātha in the temple of Pañcāsara-caitya built by him. The rulers of the Chāpa dynasty also built many Jain temples.

From *Bappabhattisūricaritra*, found in the *Prabhāvakacarita*, (SJS, pp.85 ff) we come to know that the Pratihāras (from the second quarter of the eighth century to the 10th cent. A.D.) were also the chief patrons of Jaina religion.⁶⁸ Vatsarāja of this dynasty also consecrated a golden temple of Lord Mahāvīra at Kanauj, and at Gwālior he also established an image of Mahāvīra. It is said that Vatsarāja's son Nāgabhaṭṭa II was converted to Jainism and his grandson Bhoja was a great patron of Jainism.

Literary activities were also pursued by many famous Jaina writers in the court of Paramāra Kings.⁶⁹ One of these writers was Dhanapāla. We have two Dhanapālas : one is a Śvetāmbara Jain and the other is a Digambara one. The Śvetāmbara Jaina Dhanapāla (10th cent. A.D.), son of Sarvadeva, wrote his *Tilaka-maṇjari* under Muñja Vākpatirāja of Dhārā at about 970 A.D. In the introductory verses Dhanapāla eulogises the Paramāra King of Dhārā. He also mentions the name of some of his predecessors, such as, the author of *Tarāngavāī* and Rudra who composed a *Traīlokya-sundari-kathā*. The *Tarāngavāī*⁷⁰ is a Jain religious story (*Dharma-kathā*) and the

65. *Rāstrakutas and their times*, Poona, 1934.

66. Majumdar, *ibid.*, Vol-IV, p. 288.

67. Majumdar, *ibid.*, Vol-IV, pp. 288-89.

68. Majumdar, *ibid.*, Vol-IV, p. 289.

69. Majumdar, *ibid.*, Vol-IV, p. 284.

70. Winternitz, *Hist. of Ind. Lit.* II, p. 522; S.N. Dasgupta and S.K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Calcutta, 1946, p. 201(fn 1).

name of the author is Śripādalipita or Siripālitta. In the *Anuogadāra* he is mentioned as a *Taraṅgavatikāra*. As the Jaina canonical works were finally laid down by the 5th cent. A.D., it is presumed that the author must have flourished before the 5th cent. A.D. The *Taraṅgavatī* is lost, but its romantic love-story is, however, preserved in the *Taraṅgalolā* whose authorship is variously ascribed to Virabhadra or Yaśahsena or Nemicandra of the Hāriyapuriya Gaccha. It is composed in Prakrit verse in 1643 A.D. E. Leumann, who has translated the work into German (München, 1921), says that Śripādalipita lived as early as the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D. Tradition says that he lived in the time of Śālivāhana. This Dhanapāla also wrote a Prakrit lexicon named *Pāya-lacchī-nāma-mālā*, and a Jaina Stotra, *Rsabhapāncasikā*.

The other one is a Digambara Dhanapāla,⁷¹ who also lived in the same century, and is the author of the Apabhramśa poem *Bhaṭṭisattakahā*, otherwise also known as *Jñāna-pañcamī-kathā*. This Dhanapāla is a son of Māesara and Dhanaśrī.

At the time of the Imperial Kanauj⁷² Jain literature was written in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhsaṃśa including the *Deśabhaśās*, and also in Tamil and Kanarese. One of the famous writers of this age is Haribhadra who has written books in Sanskrit and Prakrit. He is, in fact, the earliest Sanskrit commentator of the Jaina Āgama texts. Haribhadra⁷³ lived in the 8th Cent. A.D., probably between 705 and 775 A.D. He is the pupil of Jinabhadra or Jinabhaṭṭa and Jinadatta from the Vidyādharakula. He was born at Citrakuṭa, modern Chitore. He was a Brahmin by birth and had all the Brahmanical learning. He was later on converted to Jainism. On the conversion to Jainism there is an anecdote which runs as follows. "Proud of his enormous erudition, he declared that he would become the pupil of any man who could tell him a sentence the meaning of which he did not understand. This challenge was inscribed on a plate which he wore on his stomach, whilst another legend has it that he laid gold bands around his body to prevent his bursting owing to so much learning. One day he heard the Jaina nun Yākīṇī reciting a verse, the meaning of which he did not understand. He asked her to explain the meaning to him. She referred to a teacher Jinabhaṭṭa, who promised to instruct him, if he would enter the Jaina Order. So Haribhadra became a monk, and thence forth called himself the "spiritual son" (*dharma-putra*) of the nun Yākīṇī. He soon became so well-versed in the sacred writings of the Jainas that he received the title Sūri

71. Winternitz, *ibid.*, p. 532.

72. Majumdar, *ibid.*, Vol-IV, p. 292.

73. Winternitz, *ibid.*, II, p. 479f.

(honorific epithet of learned Jain monks), and his teacher appointed him as his successor.⁷⁴ The Jain tradition says that he wrote no less than 1,444 works.⁷⁵ But so far 88 of his works have been found in manuscripts, of which again, 20 books are only printed. He wrote both in verse and prose, and most of his writings are scientific and philosophical. According to one tradition, it is said that Haribhadra is supposed to have taken part in the compilation of the *Mahā-niśīha*. This seems to be unlikely, although he occupied himself with the text.⁷⁶ He was the first to write commentaries on the Jaina Āgama texts of which again Āvassaya and *Dasaveālīya* have come down to us. In Haribhadra's commentaries many interesting tales are found. In his Sanskrit commentaries he retained the narratives in their original Prakrit form. Hemacandra has taken some of his stories in his *Sthāvīrāvalī-carita*. Haribhadra is also the author of *Upadeśapada* and 32 *Aṣṭakāni*. In his famous book on general philosophy *Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya*, he mainly deals with Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya, Jaimini and Buddhism, and lastly on Jainism in a short section. *Loka-tattva-niṛṇaya* is his another philosophical text in Sanskrit verses, where also he has discussed other systems including Jainism. He wrote a commentary on Umāsvāmi's *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra*. He also wrote a commentary on the *Nyāya-praveśa* of the Buddhist Diśnāga. His other works are *Yogabīndu*, *Yogadrṣṭi-samuccaya*, *Dharmabīndu* etc. All these works deal with the doctrines of Jainism. Jacobi⁷⁷ mentions some other works of Haribhadra. They are *Anekānta-jaya-patākā* with his own commentary, *Ṣāstra-vārtta-samuccaya*, *Ṣoḍaśa-prakarāṇa*. Haribhadra's *Samarācīca-kaḥā* is a prototype of *Taraṅgavatī* and is a Prakrit prose romance.

One of the greatest contributions of the Jains in the Age of Imperial Kanauj was the introduction of the *Caturāśrama*⁷⁸ concept of Hinduism. It is believed that Jinasena (9th cent. A.D.), a pupil of Virasena, and the friend of King Amoghavarṣa I (815-877 A.D.), and an author of the *Ādi-purāṇa*, accepted the *Caturāśrama* system of Hinduism. His follower the famous Digambara Cāmuṇḍarāya (10th-11th centuries A.D.) in his work *Cāritra-sāra* has acknowledged this concept of the four āśramas of the Hindus. Except one, the names are also the same. His system of *Caturāśrama* can be tabulated thus:

74. Winternitz, *ibid.*, II, p. 480.

75. Winternitz, *ibid.*, II, p. 485.

76. W. Schubring, *Das Mahāniśīha-sutta*, Berlin, 1918, p. 5f; Winternitz, *ibid.*, p. 565.

77. Winternitz, *ibid.*, II, p. 527.

78. For this information see R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga*, London, 1963, pp. 36-38.

Caturāśrama			
brahmacārīn	gr̥hastha	vānaprastha	viñśu
1. <i>upanaya brah.</i>	<i>jāti</i>	<i>tūrtha</i>	1. <i>anagāra</i>
2. <i>avalamba brah.</i>	<i>kṣatriya</i>	<i>kṣatriya</i>	2. <i>yati</i>
3. <i>adikṣa brah.</i>			3. <i>muni</i>
4. <i>gudha brah.</i>			4. <i>r̥ṣi</i>
5. <i>nāīthika brah.</i>			

The *upanayana brahmacārī* is he who after his *upanayana* ceremony enters into the household life. In this period his main object is to study the *Āgamas* and becomes a master of the subject. On the contrary, an *avalamba brahmacārī* is one who is a novitiate before entering into a monkhood and studies the *Āgama* in this period. After that he may become a monk or go back to the household life. *Adikṣa brahmacārī*, as the name suggests, is he who, without wearing the monk's attire or taking orders, but adhering to the household life, studies the *Āgamas* thoroughly. *gudha brahmacārī* is a *kumāra śramaṇa*, a boy ascetic, who studies the *Āgamas* in this stage. After the expiry of his student life, he may go back to the household life after abandoning his monkhood. He may do so either on his own, or owing to the pressure from his relatives or otherwise. A *nāīthika brahmacārī*, on the other hand, is he who leads the life of a monk, studies the *Āgamas* and other *Śastras*, begs alms for food. He wears a white garb (or a red one), and wears a sacred thread on his chest, and his head is shaven. It is not clearly stated whether he can go back to his household life or not. But from his description it appears that he prefers monkhood to family life.

A *gr̥hastha* is a householder. It is of two types : *jātikāyastha* and *tūrtha kāyastha*. *jāti-kāyasthas* are Brāhmins, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, and *śūdras*. This classification is the same with the Hindus. The *Tūrtha-kāyasthas* are of various kinds depending on their ways of life.

In the *vānaprastha* stage, one practises a moderate asceticism and wears one piece of cloth without taking the vow of nudity. The type of life expected in this stage is similar to that of Hindu order. But Medhāvin (1504 A.D.) at a much later time in his *Dharma-saṅgraha-śāvakācāra* has styled the *Vānaprastha* as the *aparāda-līṅgi* and the *bhikṣu-utsarga-līṅgi*.

The *bhikṣu* is one who begs alms for his livelihood after being initiated into the order of monkhood. It is of four types : *anagāra*, *yati*, *muni* and *r̥ṣi*. An ordinary monk is called *anagāra*, while a monk who has ascended the spiritual ladder is called a *yati*. A *muni* is a monk who has acquired supernatural knowledge by his power of penance. He is endowed with *avadhi-jñāna*, *manah paryāya* and *kevala-*

jñāna. When a monk attains to divine power (*rddhi*), he is called *r̄si bhikṣu*. It is the supreme stage of *bhikṣu*-hood.

The above classification is given by the followers of the school of Jinasena, and hence cannot be taken to be representative of any authority. In the normal Jaina context the term *muni* has no relevance, even though the term is used as a prefix to certain Jaina *sādhus* in modern times. The term *bhikṣu* is also dubious. It generally means a Buddhist monk, as opposed to a Jaina, and the Śvetāmbaras use it to describe an ordinary Jaina *sādhu*. Even the Digambaras use it to designate a layman in their orders.

Along with the concept of *caturśrama*, the Jains also discussed the types of Śrāvaka in the same period. Śāntisūri (11th cent. A.D.) in his *Dharma-ratna-prakaraṇa* (verse 32f) has enumerated four categories of śrāvaka⁷⁹, e.g., *nāma-śrāvaka*, *sthāpanā-śrāvaka*, *dravya-śrāvaka*, and *bhāva-śrāvaka*.

Nāma-śrāvaka, as the name suggests, is one who is a Jaina in name only, *Sthāpanā-śrāvaka* is a Jaina layman who follows some statutory principles of Jain orders, but a *dravya-śrāvaka* is one who follows the Jaina rites compulsory for a Jaina, whereas a *bhāva-śrāvaka* is a mere believer of Jainism.

After a few centuries, Āśādhara (1240 A.D.) in his *Sāgara-dharmāmyta* and Medhāvin (1504 A.D.) in his *Śrāvakācāra* had given three-fold classification of the Śrāvaka.⁸⁰ These are *pāksika*, *naīṣṭhika*, and *sādhaka*. A *pāksika-śrāvaka* is a layman who practises the *anuvratas* and the *mūlaguṇas*. He is called a *pāksika* layman, because he has an inclination (*pakṣa*) towards *ahīṃsā*, while, on the contrary, the *naīṣṭhika-śrāvaka* (which is, in fact, equivalent to *naīṣṭhika-brahmacāri* and which is again later on called *ksullaka*) is one who pursues his path upwards for spiritual attainment and practises the tenfold *dharmas* of the ascetic. As in his culminating point (*niṣṭhā*) he leaves the household life, he is called *naīṣṭhika-śrāvaka*. A *Sādhaka* is he who concludes (*sādhayati*) or renounces his human body by carrying out *sallekhanā*.

7. The Doctrine of *Ahīṃsā* through the Ages

Having discussed briefly the rise, growth and development of Jainism, I shall now talk on the question of *ahīṃsā* in its historical perspective.

India is the cradle home of *Ahīṃsā*. From the Vedic times down to the present day, the doctrine of *ahīṃsā* has always been regarded as

79. Williams, *ibid.*, p. 36.

80. Williams, *ibid.*, p. 37.

pure and serene. There are some passages in the Vedas which tell us the eulogy of *ahimsā*.

What Mahāvīra actually talked about *ahimsā* cannot be known authentically, because most of his teachings and doctrines have come down to us through his disciples and their descendants who have kept in their memory the sayings of Mahāvīra for nearly thousand years after his *nirvāna*, till the second council at Valabhī in the 5th cent. A.D. which codified the doctrines of Mahāvīra in the present form of the Āgamas of both the sects. I shall only discuss the position of *ahimsā* as recorded in the Āgama texts considering them to be the views of Mahāvīra.

In the Āgama texts the nature of *ahimsā* is generally descriptive. The passages as recorded there are the glorification of *ahimsā*. At a much later time the glorification was turned into a philosophy. For example, in the *Daśavaikālīka-sūtra* non-killing (*ahimsā*) is regarded as one of the best and excellent *dharmas* along with controlling of mind (*saṃyama*) and penance (*tapa*), and the followers of *ahimsā* are even respected by gods:

*dhammo maṅgalam ukktīham ahimsā saṃjamo tapo/
devā vī tam namanissanti jassa dhamme sayā mano// I.I.1.*

This has a parallel in the *Dhammapada* (19.6) :

*yamhi saccarī ca dhammo ca ahimsā saṃyamo damo/
sa ve vantamalo dhiro so therō ti pavuccati//*

In a similar way life of all beings is extolled :

*jāvanti loe pāṇī tasā aduwa thāvara/
te jāṇam aṭāṇam vā na hāne no vi ghātae// I.VI.9.*

'In this world as many lives of both *trasa* and *sthāvara* animals are there, one should not kill them or cause to be killed with or without knowing.'

The reason he offers for saying this is —

*savve jivā vi icchanti jīwtum na marījītum/
tamhā pāṇīwahān ghorān niggārīthā vajjayanti nām// [I.VI. 10]*

'All animals wish to live, and not to be slain; therefore, the Jain monks must relinquish the dangerous killing of animals'.

On the question of a restraint, Mahāvīra says—

*tesīṇi acchaṇaṇoṇa niccaṇi hoyavvayaṇi stiṇā/
maṇasā kāya-vakkeṇa evaṇi havaṇi saṇjae//* [I.VIII. 3]

‘Towards all these animals one must always and constantly be non-injurious even in mind, body and speech, then he is called a restrained person’.

Mahāvīra’s emphasis was on the fact that life is dear to all sorts of creatures. The Ācārāṅga says — *savve pāṇā piyāsiyā* (I.2.3) and *nātiwāṇīja kīṇcana* (I.2.4). The Uttarādhyayana also echoes the same—

*jaganissiehīṇi bhūeheṇi tasanāmehīṇi thāwarehīṇi ca/
no tesim ārabhe daṇḍaṇi maṇasā vayasā kāyasā ceva//* [VIII.10]

‘In thoughts, words, and acts he should do nothing injurious to beings who people the world, whether they move or not.’

*na hu pāṇavahāṇi aṇuṣāṇe mucceṇa kaiyāi savva-dukkhāṇiṇi/
evāriehīṇi akkhaṇyāṇi jehīṇi imo sāhudhammo pannatto//* [VIII.8]

‘One should not permit the killing of living beings; then he will perhaps be delivered from all misery; thus have spoken the preceptors who have proclaimed the Law of ascetics.’

*savvāhīṇi aṇuṣuttihīṇi matimāṇi padilehiyā/
savve akkanta-dukkhāya ao savve na hīṇsayā//* [Sūtr. I. 11.9]

‘A wise man should study them with all means of philosophical research. All beings hate pain; therefore one should not kill them.’

*eyāṇi khu nāṇiṇo sāraṇi jaṇi na hīṇsaṇi kīṇcana/
ahīṇsā samayaṇi caiva eyāvantaṇi viyāṇiyā//* [Sūtra. I. 11.10]

‘This is the quintessence of wisdom : not to kill anything. Know this to be the legitimate conclusion from the principle of reciprocity with regard to non-killing.’

From the above passages of *ahīṇsā* we must not get this idea that Mahāvīra has asked the people to renounce the world. It will be a great mistake if we think so. In all his teachings he wants to emphasize that we must not be goaded by the passions and impulses of *hīṇsā*. But, to all intents and purposes, we must control our mind to allow us to grow stronger mentally, so that our life can become se-

rene, pure and holy. This does not mean that we should not enjoy life to its fullest extent, but that enjoyment should not be of a beastly type, but of a divine nature. It must not transgress the purity and serenity of life and of *dharma*. It should be noted that the basic idea of *ahīnsā* is not to control the outward events to one's life, but to control the inward temper in which he faces these events. So the practice of *ahīnsā* will teach us how to preserve a purely inward integrity and balance of mind, and how to conquer the world from a world both hostile and intractable.

It must be noted in this connection that Buddha has also preached the doctrine of *ahīnsā*. In the *Suttanipāta* and in the *Dhammapada* kindness towards all beings (*mettā*), non-violence (*ahīnsā*) and many more ethical doctrines are found. But the Jains emphasize the doctrine of non-violence in a more vigorous way than the Buddhists. Because of the non-killing, Jainism lays stress far more on asceticism and all manner of cult exercises than Buddhism.

In the Hindu scriptures *ahīnsā* is also eulogised. Though it is true to say that *hīnsā* in connection with sacrifice is not *hīnsā* at all, it is *ahīnsā*, and the mandate of Manu is often quoted for that :

*yajñārtham paśavah srstāḥ svayam eva svayambhuvā/
yajñaśca bhūtyāśca sarasya tasmād yajñe vadho' vadhaḥ//* [V.39]

"Svayambhū (the Self-existence) himself created animals for the sake of sacrifice; sacrifices (have been instituted) for the good of this whole (world); hence the slaughtering (of beasts) for sacrifices is not slaughtering (in the ordinary sense of the word)."

The Mīmāṃsakas also hold this view. But the Sāṅkhya disagrees with this opinion. Despite the fact that for sacrificial purposes the killing of animals is not despised, Manu in general has described the excellence of *ahīnsā*. In his opinion non-killing is a quality which is to be inculcated by all :

*indriyānāṁ nirodhena rāga-dvesa-ksayena ca/
ahīnsayā ca bhūtānām amṛtatvāya kalpate//* [VI. 60]

"By the restraint of his senses, by the destruction of attachment and hatred, and by the abstention from injury to the creatures, he becomes fit for immortality."

Ahīnsā is also eulogised in the various part of the *Mahābhārata*. In the Vanaparva (III) a long conversation between Draupadi, Yudhishthira and Bhīma was made on ethical questions in which

Draupadi praises the doctrine of *ahtīṣṭā*, i.e., the forbearance towards living beings (chapters 206-208). It is noteworthy that in many places of the *Mahābhārata* "the ascetic morality of *ahtīṣṭā* and of love towards all creatures" is depicted. In the *Sāntiparva*, the greatness of *ahtīṣṭā* is firmly established, the argument being-

*śvītūṇ yaḥ svayam cecchet kathāṇ so'nyāṇ ghātayet/
yad yad ātmāṇi ceccheta tat parasyāpi cintayet//* [12.254.22]

'He who himself wants to live, how he can kill the other; what one wants for himself, that is to be thought of others.'

In order to establish this statement the story of Jājali-Tulādhāra is given, in which Tulādhāra has proved the excellence of *ahtīṣṭā* as a superior religion to anything else. Tulādhāra is the pedlar and Jājali is the Brahmanical ascetic. In this conversation Tulādhāra appears as a teacher. The Brahmin Jājali well-versed in the Sāstras has asked Tulādhāra about the essence of religion. Tulādhāra says-

*adroheṇāiva bhūtānām alpadrohena vā punah/
yā vṛttih sa paro dharmas tena jivāmi Jājale//*

'Oh Jājali, without injuring the animals or doing less injury (to animals), if one lives, that is a great religion. I want to live by following that religion'.

*sarvesāṇi yaḥ suhṛn nityāṇi sarvesāṇi ca hite rataḥ/
karmāṇā manasā vācā ca dharmāṇi veda Jājale//*

'Oh Jājali, he who becomes a friend to all people or who is engaged in doing good to others by means of action, mind and speech, he knows religion.'

*yadā cāyāṇi na bibheti yadā cāsmāṇi na bibhyati/
yadā necchati no dveṣṭi brahma sampadyate tadā//*

'When one does not fear others, and when others do not fear one and when one does not wish to do anything, or when one does not want to hurt others, he attains the feet of Brahma.'

*yadā na kurute bhāvāṇi sarvabhūtēṣu pāpakam/
karmāṇā manasā vācā brahma sampadyate tadā//*

'When a man does not do harm to animals by action, mind and speech, he can attain the feet of Brahma.'

*yasmān nodvijate bhūtam jātu kiñcīt kathañcana/
abhayam sarvabhūtebhyaḥ sa prāpnoti sadā mune//*

'When an animal is never agitated by any means from anybody, that world does never feel any agitation from any animal.'

*loke yaḥ sarvabhūtebhyo dadātyabhaya-dakṣiṇām/
sa sarva-yajñātrijānaḥ prāpnotyabhaya-dakṣiṇām/
na bhūtānām ahīnsāyā jyāyān dharmo'sti kaścana//*

'He who gives fearless (atmosphere) to all animals of the world, he attains no fear (from anybody) even by performing sacrifice. There is no great religion of men like *ahīnsā* (non-injury) in the world.'

Tulādhāra⁸¹ goes on saying that "there is no higher law than forbearance towards all living beings. Therefore the breeding of cattle is cruel, because it involves the torturing and killing of animals. Cruel, too, is the keeping of slaves, and traffic in living creatures. Even agriculture is full of sin, for the plough wounds the earth and kills many innocent animals.' To this Jājali replies—

*kṛṣṇā hyannaṇ prabhavati tatas tvam asi jwasi/
paśubhiś coṣadhbhūśca martyā jwanti vanīja//
tato yajñāḥ prabhavati nāstīkyam apījalpasi/
na hi varted ayam loko vārtām utsṛjya kevalān//*

'Food is produced by agriculture, and you, too, are living on it; people live on cattle-breeding and agriculture; from that sacrifice is performed, you are talking like an atheist, people could not live alone by giving up the business of his livelihood.'

'There upon Tulādhāra replied with a long discourse upon the true sacrifice, which should be offered without the desire for reward, without priestly deception, and without the killing of living beings. Finally Tulādhāra calls on the birds which had nested in the hair of Jājali's head as witnesses for his doctrine, and they, too, confirm that the true religion consists in forbearance towards all human beings.'

*ahīnsā paramo dharmas tathāhīnsā paro damah/
ahīnsā paramaṇ dānam ahīnsā paramaṇ tapah//*

'*Ahīnsā* (non-violence) is the highest religion, in the same way

81. Winternitz, *ibid.*, I, p. 416-17.

ahimsā is the highest restraint; *ahimsā* is the highest gift, and *ahimsā* is the highest penance.'

ahimsā paramo yajñas tathāhimsā paramam̄ phalam/
ahimsā paramam̄ mitram ahimsā paramam̄ sukham//
ahimsā paramam̄ satyam ahimsā paramam̄ śrutam//

'*Ahimsā* is the highest sacrifice, in the same way *ahimsā* is the highest fruit; *ahimsā* is the highest friend, *ahimsā* is the highest happiness; *ahimsā* is the highest truth, *ahimsā* is the highest knowledge.'

sarva-yajñeṣu vā dānaṇi sarva-tirtheṣu vā plutam/
sarva-dāna-phalaṇi vāpi nāttat tulyam ahimsayā//

'Or *ahimsā* is the best gift in all sacrifices, it is a raft (boat) in all *tirthas*; or even is the result of all gifts, nothing can be compared with *ahimsā*'.

Whether this portion of the *Mahābhārata* is greatly influenced by Jainism or not, is a matter of speculation now. But in other Hindu texts *ahimsā* is also praised as one of the best ways of social behaviour. For example, in the *Bhāgavata* the killing of animal even in the sacrifice is vilified to a great extent as the following verse shows:

ye twanevaṇvito'santaḥ stabdhāḥ sadabhīmānīnaḥ/
paśūn druhyanti vīrabdhāḥ pretya khādanti te ca īān// [11.V.14]

'Those who are ignorant of this real Dharma and, though wicked and haughty, account themselves virtuous, kill animals without any feeling of remorse or fear of punishment, and are devoured by those very animals in their next birth.'

In the *Uttarakhaṇḍa* of the *Padmapurāṇa* we come across a passage where the goddess Durgā praises the doctrine of *ahimsā*. Even in the Tantrik texts some praises of *ahimsā* are found. For example, in the *Kulārṇava-tantra* the drinking of wine (*surā*) is extolled in the most extravagant manner, and the eating of meat is permissible only in the *Kulapūjā*, even though the non-killing (*ahimsā*) is honoured elsewhere. This shows an exception to the rule of *ahimsā*.

I am not quoting here the passages from the *Gītā* (X. 5, XII. 13, XIII. 7, XVI. 2 VII. 14) to say that the encomiums showered on *ahimsā* there prove beyond doubt that it has a significant place in Hindu religion as well. Śaṅkarācārya in his *Sarva-vedānta-siddhānta-sāra* also says-

ahimsā vāṇi-mana-kāyāṭī prāṇi-mātrā-prapīḍanam/
svātmavat sarvabhūteṣu kāyena manasā gīrā//

Coming to Jainism we can say that the doctrine of *ahīnṣā* has gained a ground in philosophy. Apart from the passages on *ahīnṣā* in the Jaina canonical literature, the philosophical texts like the *Tattvārtha-sūtra* by Umāsvāmī (1st cent. A.D.) describe also the nature of *ahīnṣā* as was current in his time. It is said by Umāsvāmī that *hīnṣā* does not depend on acts alone. *Hīnṣā* may be *bhāva-hīnṣā*, i.e.; 'the intention to hurt', and *drawya-hīnṣā*, i.e., 'the actual hurt'. *Bhāva-hīnṣā* arises under the influence of anger and other passions (*krodha-lobha-bhūrutva-hāsyā-pratyākhyānāni-anurici-bhāṣaṇam* *pañca*. TS. VII.5). *Dravya-hīnṣā* is the actual physical injury. On this point Amṛtacantra (11th cent. A.D.) thinks that *rāga* and *dvēṣa* can constitute *hīnṣā* even though no creature perishes. His argument is that once a person is full of anger, he destroys himself, even though he does not destroy any creature.

In the mediaeval period *ahīnṣā* was relegated to the position of *anuvrata* which should be practised by all, whereas in the earlier stages it was one of the *pañca-mahāvratas*. Somadeva (959 A.D.) in his *Upāsakādhyayana*, i.e. the sixth, seventh, and eighth books of his *Yaśas-tilaka* which constitute an excursus on the Śrāvakācāra, has emphasized the positive aspect of *ahīnṣā* which, in his opinion, is *mātrī*, *pramoda*, *kāruṇya*, and *mādhyasthya*. *Mātrī* is the friendship with the animals by practising non-infliction towards the creatures, *pramoda* is the affection coupled with the respect for the beings, *kāruṇya* is charity to help the needy, and *mādhyasthya* is a state of equanimity. Later on, Amitagati, (993 A.D.) and Amṛtacandra (11th cent. A.D.) in their respective treatises Śrāvakācāra (VI. 33-44) and *Puruṣārtha-siddhyupāya* (verses 79-89) advocated absolute *ahīnṣā* (non-violence).

There are various facets of *hīnṣā*. This is described by Devagupta (1016 A.D.) in his *Navapada-prakarana* (verse 22). He says that *hīnṣā* may be *ārambhaja* or *anārambhaja*. *Ārambhaja-hīnṣā* is inherent in the occupation, whereas *anārambhaja* is not related to the occupation. There is another called *sārikalpaja* which is intentional. Crimes done by *hīnṣā* may be either *sārthaka* or *nirarthaka*. *Sārthaka* offences are done consciously, while *nirarthaka* fortuitously. *Sārthaka hīnṣā* may be committed with care and attention (*sāpeksa*), while, if it is committed carelessly, it is *nirapeksa*.

Though Manu has depicted the excellence of *ahīnṣā*, he has said that the killing of animals in a sacrifice is not an offence (*tasmād yajñe vadho' vadhaḥ*). Hemacandra (1088-1172 A.D.) protests against his statement in his *Yogaśāstra*, (II. 33-49). He says that it is a distortion of reality to think that the animals have come to this world to be offered to gods for the prosperity and betterment of the world. It is not true to say that the *jīvas* living in this world will be

reborn as divine beings. Hemacandra calls these people hypocrites who preach the religion of cruelty. Hemacandra goes on further to say that if the animals are sacrificed for an abode in heaven, then why should one not kill one's parents in the sacrifice for getting an abode in heaven? His argument rests on the famous verse he quotes from the *Daśa-vaikālīka-sūtra* :

*savve jivā vī icchanti jwālūṇ na marījījūṇ/
tarñhā pāṇīwahāṇ ghorāṇ nigganṭhā vajjayanti ṣaṇ//* [I.VI. 10]

Hemacandra then concludes by comparing *ahīṇsā* with the beneficent mother :

*māteva sarva-bhūtānām ahīṇsā hitakārīṇi/
ahīṇsāiwa hi saṃsāram arāvamṛta-sāraṇī//* [2.50]
*ahīṇsā duḥkha-dāvāgnī-prāvṛṣenya-ghanāwali/
bhava-bhrāmī-rugārtānām ahīṇsā paramāuṣadhi//* [2.51].

'*Ahīṇsā* is like a beneficent mother of all creatures, in the desert of *Saṃsāra* (mundane life) *ahīṇsā* works like a stream of nector to the forest-fire, *ahīṇsā* is course of rain-clouds, for the beings tormented by the disease, (*ahīṇsā*) is the best healing herb; and *ahīṇsā* is called the perpetual return of existence'.

Hemacandra thinks that the protection to all animal beings (*abhayadāna* or *karuṇādāna*) is the positive side of *ahīṇsā* which everyone should follow.

Apart from the textual citations, there are historical references as well. After Jayasimha, Kumārapāla became the king of Gujarāt. He was initiated into Jainism in 1159 A.D. by Hemacandra. After that he made the Jain religion a state religion in his country. He himself abandoned hunting, and prohibited the killing of animals, eating meat, drinking, gambling and animal combat. Such types of instances can be ransacked from the pages of history.

It is a fact worth mentioning here that in the reign of Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) for his *Ilahi Din* or "Religion of God," the Jains obtained a warrant "prohibiting the slaughter of animals" in all the places wherever the Jains practised their religion⁸².

Though the Hindus, the Buddhists and the Jains have accepted the question of *ahīṇsā*, it is the Jains who have turned it into a system of philosophical order. The quintessence of *ahīṇsā* has made Mahāvīra an outstanding exponent of social equality and justice. He stood up both for the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak, and for the ruler and the ruled. He did not allow anybody to be exploited

82. James Burges, *The Temples of Satruñjaya*, Jain Bhawan, Calcutta, 1977, p. 30.

and oppressed, but through his principles of *ahimsā* (non-violence), he maintained peace and tranquility in a society with his splendid and imperishable excellence of sincerity and strength.

It seems somewhat paradoxical to think of any religion in this advanced age of science and technology. It may seem outlandish too to think of a religion at the present day which speaks of non-violence, when the spectacular contributions of science erode the foundations on which our beliefs and values of life have rested for centuries. But in spite of all these achievements one thing is still true : Are men really happy? Has science been able to bring mental peace and tranquility? Is it not true that one violence has brought back another violence? Has one war stopped another war? Material world does not and cannot bring happiness to mankind. It did not happen in the past and it will not happen in future either. People have realised now that spiritual and ethical teachings and practices may restore happiness in our life. And in this respect Mahāvīra's doctrines have profound significance in the present society as it had in the past. To be precise, if Jain philosophy is properly understood, one is inclined to believe that it will contribute much to the development of human personality and will make life worth living. A proper understanding of Mahāvīra's teachings will lessen the misery and dishonesty, corruption and fear, malice and hatred under whose pressure the present world is helplessly groaning.

Mahāvīra's intellectual empire as reflected in his principles of non-violence is imperishable, and the heart of a great number of people burst with a boundless admiration has been greatly moulded from thousands of years over the whole terrain of Indian life. A section of people still believes that Mahāvīra's doctrines should be preached and practised in this world —a world which is full of toil and turmoil, a world which is full of violence and conflicts, a world where the values of human lives are jeopardised at the altar of human power, a world where beastly propensities of human beings are increasing rapidly, where the human finer qualities are sacrificed for the cause of material expansion and prosperity, and where lives of all sorts are butchered as fodder for guns. It is also believed that if Mahāvīra's basic tenets are imparted to the present generation as a part of their education, a new world may be ushered in in course of time, where there will be no violence, but a permanent bliss will pervade all over the world. To conclude, his teachings will deepen our ideas and thoughts, broaden our visions, heighten our mental horizon, strengthen our mind with a new vigour, and enlighten our future generations for the betterment of our life.

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BOOK REVIEW

L.C. Jain—The *Labdhisāra*, The essence of attainment, Vol.1. The S.S. Muralidhar Kānhaiyalal Jain Trust Kirti Stambha, Nehru Park, 483501, India, first edition, 1994, Rs.600/- pp. 107.

It is true that mathematics plays an important role in Hindu and Jaina religion. The Jainas went to the extent of regarding mathematics as an integral part of their religion. A section of their religious literature was named *Ganitānuyoga* the system of calculation. The Jaina scholars in ancient India contributed a lot to Astronomy, Mathematics as well as Jaina *Karma*-theory of mathematical approach. The *Āgamas* and other religious books of the Jainas are the evidences in support of this view. The Jaina *āgamas* strongly emphasized the *Karma*-theory besides other subjects. Some of the most important *āgamas* are the *Kasāya-pāhuda*, the *Ṣatkhaṇḍāgama*, the *Tiloyapannatti*, their extracts like *Kṣapaṇasāra* (including *Labdhisāra*), the *Gommatasāra* and the *Trilocasāra* and their valuable commentaries : *Dhavalā*, *Jayadhavalā*, *Mahādhavalā*, *Jvatattva-pradipikā* and *Samyagjñāna-candrikā*. Highly sophisticated mathematics and astronomy have been discussed in the Jaina canonical works. The books of the Jainas which threw a good deal of light on mathematics and astronomy are *Sthānāṅga-sūtra*, *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra*, *Sūrya-prajñapti*, *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra*, *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti*, *Jyotiṣakaranyaḍaka*, *Lokavibhāga*, *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, *Kalpasūtra*, *Candraprajñapti* etc. Besides these books, there are some more important mathematical books, such as, *Kṣetrasamāsa*, *Brhatkṣetrasamāsa*, *Āṅgulasaptati*, *Ganitasārasaṅgraha*, *Vyavahāra-ganita*, *Kṣetraganita*, *Vyavahāraratna* etc. Among the noteworthy modern investigators who dealt with Jain mathematics are H.L. Jain, H.R. Kapadia, B.B. Datta, A.N. Singh, L.C. Jain, T.A. Saraswati, R.C. Gupta, S.S. Lisik, S.D. Sharma, A.K. Bag, P.K. Majumdar, D.E. Smith, Volodarski and others.

The scholars of the Jaina school of mathematics dealt with permutation, combination, series, numbers, logarithm, notational places, place value system of decimal notation, word numerals, different types of infinity, different types of measure, Mensuration, Magic Square, applied mathematics etc. The formulae which have been depicted in Jaina mathematics are

- (i) $C = 10d^2$, (ii) $A = \frac{1}{4} c.d$, (iii) $c^2 = 4h(d-h)$,
- (iv) $C = 3d$ (gross), (v) $h = \frac{1}{2}(d - d^2 - c^2)$

$$(vi) \quad a = 4h^2 + c^2 \quad (vii) \quad c^2 = a^2 - 6h^2$$

$$(viii) \quad A = 10 c.h \text{ etc.}$$

[Where C = circumference, d = diameter, A = area of a circle,
 $a = chad$, c = height, h = around of a circle.]

The Jainas were also excellent experts in Algebra, Arithmetic and Geometry.

At present, attempts are being made to excavate the history of mathematics to revive the past glory. Various books on mathematics are being written for this purpose, some are individual efforts and some are Institutional efforts. One of such projects of the Indian National Science Academy, New Delhi, is "The *Labdhitsāra* of Nemicandra Siddhānta Chakravarti" which is operated by L.C. Jain. It is a work on the advanced theory of *Karma* which is full of symbolic mathematics and technical terms. The book is divided into four volumes of which this is the first one. The first volume contains comprehensive glossary of technical terms, symbolism and brief working symbols etc.

The author divides the first volume mainly into five sections, viz. (A) List of abbreviations and Transliteration scheme. It is divided into two subsections, viz. (i) Abbreviations, (ii) Roman transliteration of Devanāgarī. (B) Research report. It is divided into five parts, viz. (i) Preliminary information, (ii) methodology, (iii) Mathematical contents, (iv) Algorithmic verses, (v) Scientific concepts, methods and procedures, (C) Comprehensive glossary of technical terms. It is divided into three parts, viz. (i) Introduction, (ii) Conspectus of basic principles underlying the preparation of Jaina Comprehensive glossary of technical terms, (iii) Comprehensive glossary of technical terms relevant to the '*Labdhitsāra*'. (D) Symbolism and List of working symbols, (E) Subject matter of the '*Labdhitsāra*'.

The book is well-written and is very useful to those who are going to study ancient and medieval Indian mathematics.

I compliment Professor L.C. Jain on his monumental endeavour which, I am sure, will benefit the intellectual community at large.

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