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**Mahāvīra Jayantī Special number
on
Gosāla Mankhaliputta**

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GOSĀLA MANKHALIPUTTA

A.F. RUDOLF HOERNLE

Gosāla, the son of Mankhali, the founder of the Ājivika sect, was one of the principal rivals of Mahāvīra, as also of Buddha. In the Skr. comm. to Ov. § 120, the Ājīvikas, are said to be *Goshālakamatānuvartināḥ*, i.e., 'followers of the doctrine of Gosāla'; and in the Skr. comm. to § 181 (below), they are called *Goshālakashisyāḥ* or 'disciples of Gosāla.' That the sect was, at one time, of considerable importance, appears from the reference to them in Ashoka's inscription on the Dilhi pillar where the Ājīvikas are named together with the Brāhmaṇas and the Nirgranthas or Jainas (*bābhāṇesu, ājivikesu, niggārṇthesu*), see *Corpus Inscript. Indicarum*, Plate XX, lines 5; also *Mahāvāṃśo* (ed. Turnour), p. 67. Gosāla is said to have received his name from having been born in a cow-shed (*gosālā*); and his father is said to have been a *mankka* (Skr. comm. *chitraphalaka-vyagrakarabhiksu-vishesa*), i.e., a kind of beggar that tries to extract alms from the charitable by showing them pictures of deities, which he carries about with him. In the present day in Bengal such beggars usually carry ugly pictures or representations of such deities as *Shitalā*, the goddess of small-pox, or *Olābibī*, the goddess of cholera, etc. In Pūri they carry pictures of Jagannāth, and greatly pester the pilgrims to that shrine. The history of Gosāla is related at length in the fifteenth section (*shataka*) of the *Bhagavatī-sūtra*. As that section is of considerable importance also from the chronological and doctrinal points of view, I have added a brief translation of the whole in an appendix. A portion of it will be also found translated in Appendix I to Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*; but the portion left untranslated there contains a notice of several curious doctrines of Gosāla. The religio-philosophical part of the doctrine of Gosāla which formed the principal mark of distinction between him and other contemporary sectarian leaders, is referred to above (§ 166), and again below in the seventh chapter. It is also given, from Chinese Buddhists accounts, in Appendix II to Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, and in Oldenberg's *Buddha*, p. 70. Buddha is said to have declared it to be the worst of all doctrines (see Oldenberg, *ib*). Its essence appears to have been the negation of free will and moral responsibility; according to him man throughout life was solely the resultant of his natural environments.—Mahāvīra's relation to Gosāla, as related in the fifteenth section of the *Bhagavatī*, affords an interesting means for the determination of the chronology

of the former's life, — all the more valuable as it is undesigned. The account states that Mahāvīra was 30 years old, when he left his home as an ascetic, (Bhag., p. 1206a Calc. print). Two years afterwards he met with Gosāla in Nālanda, near Rāyagīha (*ib.*, p. 1206b). Later in the same year Gosāla became his disciple and adopted the ascetic life; and thenceforward, the two ascetics lived together for six years in Paṇiyabhūmi (*ib.*, p. 1214a). Some little time afterwards, a doctrinal difference arose between them, and they separated in Siddhatthagāma (*ib.*, p. 1222b). They did not meet again, till many years afterwards, when their fatal meeting took place in Sāvatthī. Gosāla for his part, after the separation, went to Sāvatthī, where in Hālāhalā's potter shop after a six months' course of severe asceticism, he attained Jinahood (*ib.*, pp. 1222b, 1244a). In that state of Jinahood, he had spent 16 years (*ib.*, p. 1244a), when Mahāvīra also came to Sāvatthī (*ib.*, p. 1203a), and the meeting between them took place, which seven days afterwards proved the cause of Gosāla's death (*ib.*, pp. 1250a, 1264a). At the time of that meeting, and of Gosāla's death, the latter was in the 24th year of his ascetic life (*ib.*, p. 1201a). It follows, therefore, that two years intervened between the six years passed by Gosāla in Paṇiyabhūmi, and the time of his attaining Jinahood (for $6 + 2 + 16 = 24$). After Gosāla's death, Mahāvīra still lived for a period of sixteen years, according to his own prophecy (*ib.*, pp. 1250a, 1269a), which, of course, is to be taken as a historical statement made in the form of a prophecy. We thus obtain the following series of dates for determining the length of Mahāvīra's life to have 72 years.

Mahāvīra left his home	30	years.
” meets Gosāla	2	”
” lives with Gosāla	6	”
Gosāla lives alone before Jina-hood	2	”
” lives as Jina	16	”
Mahāvīra survives Gosāla	16	”
<hr/>		
Total of Mahāvīra's life	72	years

Now this agrees with the express statement of the Kalpasūtra (§ 147), according to which

Mahāvīra lived as householder	30	years	(Kap. § 110)
” ” as imperfect ascetic	12	”	(Kap. §§ 117, 120)
” ” as Kevalin or Jina...	30	”	(Kap. § 147)

Total of Mahāvīra's life ..	72	”
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Out of the 72 years of his life, Mahāvīra spent 42 years in monkhood (Kap. § 147), *viz.*, 12 in the preliminary and 30 in the perfect state.

Similarly Gosāla spent 24 years of his life in monk-hood, *viz.*, 8 in the preliminary and 16 in the perfect state; and further, out of the 8 years of monk-hood in the preliminary state, Gosāla spent 6 in the company of Mahāvīra, and 2 by himself. Again out of the 12 years of monk-hood in the preliminary state, Mahāvīra spent upwards of one year as a clothed monk; but in the second year he became a naked monk (Kap. § 117). The latter year coincides with that in which Mahāvīra, according to the Bhagavatī, met Gosāla and attracted him as his (apparently, first) disciple. Of the remaining 10 years he spent 6 with Gosāla. Accordingly after having separated from Gosāla, Mahāvīra lived for 4 years longer in his preliminary monk-hood. On the other hand, seeing that Gosāla attained Jina-hood within 2 years after his separation from Mahāvīra, it follows that at the time Mahāvīra became a Kevalin or Jina, Gosāla had already been a Jina for 2 years. This priority of Gosāla in regard to Jina-hood, before Mahāvīra is a noteworthy point. As Gosāla had originally been a disciple of Mahāvīra, it naturally enough explains the intense hostility, towards him, of Mahāvīra, who resented the presumption of the disciple in taking precedence of his master. It is evident from the tenor of the account in the Bhagavatī, that Mahāvīra and Gosāla never met but once, after the separation; and that was in the town of Sāvatthī at the time of the fatal encounter. As Sāvatthī was the head-quarters of Gosāla, it is clear that Mahāvīra can have visited that town but once in his life as a monk, otherwise he could not have avoided meeting Gosāla much oftener. Now this is borne out by the express statement in the Kalpasūtra (§ 122) that Mahāvīra spent but one rainy season in Sāvatthī. During that rainy season the fatal encounter must have taken place. At that time Mahāvīra had been 14 years a Jina, while Gosāla had been so 16 years: and the event took place in the 56th year of Mahāvīra's life (for $30 + 12 + 14 = 56$). If we accept the year 467 B.C. (see Jacobi's *Kalpasūtra*, Introd., p.9) as the date of Mahāvīra's death, his visit to Sāvatthī and the death of Gosāla will fall in 483 B.C. The only discrepancy between the accounts of the Bhagavatī and the Kalpasūtra is, that according to the former Mahāvīra spent 6 years in Pañiyabhūmi (in the company of Gosāla), while the latter gives him only one year in that place, but 6 years in Mithilā. Of this difficulty I am, at present, unable to offer any satisfactory solution.

THE HISTORY OF GOSĀLA MANKHALIPUTTA

A.F. RUDOLF HOERNLE

*briefly translated from Bhagavatī, saya XV, uddesa I.**

Gosāla Mankhaliputta was born in the settlement (*sannivesa*) Saravana, in the neighbourhood apparently of the town of Sāvatthī. His father was called Mankhali, because he was a 'mankha' or mendicant who went about getting his livelihood by showing a picture which he carried in his hand. His mother was called Bhaddā. Once on his wanderings Mankhali came to the settlement of Saravana, and failing to obtain any other shelter, he took refuge for the rainy season in the cow-shed of a wealthy brāhmaṇa, called Gobahula (p. 1204). There his wife bore him a son, and as the child was born in a cow-shed (*gosālā*), his parents gave him the name of Gosāla (p. 1205). When grown up, he also adopted the profession of a *mankha*. About that time Mahāvīra, having shortly before, at the age of thirty years, adopted the ascetic life, was spending his second year in a weaver's shed in Nālandā, a suburb (*bāhiriyā*) of Rāyagīha (p. 1206). Gosāla, in his wanderings, also happened to arrive and put up there. One day, observing the extraordinary respect shown to Mahāvīra by Vijaya, one of the rich householders of Rāyagīha, he approached Mahāvīra, as he came out of Vijaya's house, and asked to be admitted as his disciple. Mahāvīra, however, declined his request (p. 1210a). The same circumstances were repeated on two successive occasions, when Mahāvīra was honourably entertained by the householders Āṇanda and Sudamsaṇa (p. 1211a). The next time Mahāvīra went to the settlement of Kollāga, at some distance from Nālandā, where he was hospitably entertained by the brāhmaṇa Bahula. Gosāla, thinking that Mahāvīra had again gone into Rāyagīha, vainly sought him in the city and its suburbs. Failing to find any trace of him, he returned to the weaver's shed, gave away his clothes, vessels, shoes and pictures to a brāhmaṇa, shaved off his hair and beard, and in despair departed (p. 1212). On his way he passed Kollāga, which he reached at the very moment when a great crowd were applauding the liberality of Bahula towards Mahāvīra. He now recommenced his search and at last fell in with

In order to preserve the historic sequence of the events, I have, in the translation, slightly altered the sequence of the narrative as given in the Bhagavatī. This will be seen from the references to the pages of the Calcutta print of that work.

Mahāvīra in a place called Pañiyabhūmi. There he again begged to be received as a disciple. This time Mahāvīra listened to Gosāla's prayer, and thenceforth these two lived together for six years in Pañiyabhūmi, practising asceticism (p. 1214a).* After this period they were once travelling together from the town Siddhatthagāma to the town Kummagāma. On their way they passed a large sesame shrub in full bloom. On seeing it Gosāla asked Mahāvīra, whether the shrub would perish or not, and where its seeds would reappear. Mahāvīra replied, that the shrub would perish, but that the seeds would form in seed vessels of the same shrub. Gosāla would not believe it; so, thinking to prove him a liar, he quietly returned to the shrub, tore it up by the roots and threw it away. As chance would have it, just then a shower of rain fell. In consequence of it the shrub was able again to take root and stand up, and so the seeds after all formed in its seed vessels (p. 1216a). In the meantime Mahāvīra and Gosāla had passed on to Kummagāma. Outside the town they met the ascetic Vesiyāya sitting with upraised arms and upturned face in the glare of the sun, while his body was swarming with lice. On seeing him Gosāla, quietly dropping behind, derisively asked him whether he was a sage or a bed of lice. Vesiyāya giving no reply, Gosāla twice repeated his question. Vesiyāya, now roused to anger, attempted to strike Gosāla, with his magic power; but Mahāvīra, taking pity on Gosāla, interposed with his own magic power to save him. The other, observing this, (pacified) said to him : "all right, Sir ! all right, Sir !" Gosāla then asked Mahāvīra, why that man had said so, whereupon Mahāvīra explained to him his danger and deliverance by magic power. This account greatly terrified Gosāla who wished to know, how the man had acquired his magic power. Mahāvīra then explained to him the severe ascetic discipline by which he had obtained it (p. 1220). Shortly afterwards when the two ascetics returned to the town Siddhatthagāma, they passed the identical sesame shrub. On seeing it, Gosāla reminded Mahāvīra of his prophecy, that the shrub would die, but that the seeds would form on it in a seed vessel, adding, that it was quite clear that the shrub had not died, and the seeds had not formed. Mahāvīra replied that his prophecy had come true; for the shrub had perished, seeing that Gosāla himself had pulled it out by the roots and thrown it away; but that owing to a lucky fall of rain the shrub had come to life again, and the seeds had formed in its seed vessel (p. 1221). He added that similarly all plants were capable of reanimation. Still Gosāla would not believe it, and went up to the plant to examine its seed vessel. But finding, on opening it, that Mahāvīra had been correct, he drew the further

This hardly agrees with the statement in the Kalpasūtra, § 122, that Mahāvīra spent but one rainy season in Pañiyabhūmi.

conclusion that not only plants, but in fact all living beings were capable of reanimation. This generalisation of the theory of reanimation, apparently, not finding favour with Mahāvīra, Gosāla thenceforward separated from him, and by following the course of asceticism, previously explained to him by Mahāvīra, himself succeeded after six months in acquiring magic powers (p. 1222). He then professed himself a Jina, and became the head of a sect, called the Ājiviyas. Their chief seat was the town of Sāvatthī, where a woman, Hālāhalā of the potter caste, a lay disciple of theirs, gave them lodging in her shop. While Gosāla was staying there in the twenty-fourth year of his ascetic life, he was visited by a company of ascetics who were known as the six Disācharās (p. 1201). With them he discussed their respective theories. His own theory, taken from the so-called eight Mahānimittas, a portion of the Puvvas, embraced the following principles : obtainment, and non-obtainment, pleasure and pain, life and death (p. 1202). The fact of this visit was reported to Mahāvīra, who just at that time had also come to Sāvatthī, by his eldest disciple Indabhūi (p. 1203). On this Mahāvīra took occasion to relate the above-mentioned circumstances of Gosāla's life, and to deny his claim to Jina-hood. The news of this denial soon spread to the town, and caused great annoyance to Gosāla (p. 1224a). Some time afterwards Āñanda, another of Mahāvīra's disciples, on one of his begging tours, happened to pass Hālāhalā's potter shop. Gosāla called him in and told him a story of some merchants, who in distress for water, persisted, against the advice of one of them, in opening a huge ant-hill, and were all, with the exception of the dissentient one, destroyed by the magic fire of a fierce serpent that had been concealed in it (p. 1231). He added that he should go and tell Mahāvīra that he would meet with a similar fate, if he ventured to encounter him, while Āñanda himself would be spared (p. 1232). The latter greatly terrified, at once went to Mahāvīra, who was staying outside the town in the Kotthaga cheiya, and telling him all that Gosāla had said, asked him whether the latter really possessed magic powers of destruction (p. 1234a). Mahāvīra admitted Gosāla's power, but added that it could have no effect on an Arhat, because the magic powers of the latter were still greater. He further told Āñanda, to forbid all his followers to hold any intercourse with the heretical Gosāla (p. 1236a). While Āñanda was still communicating this interdiction to the other Nigantha ascetics, Gosāla with his Ājiviyas came out to Kotthaga, and addressing Mahāvīra, said to him : "You have called me your pupil; but that pupil of yours, Gosāla Mankhaliputta, is long since dead and reborn in the world of the devas, while I, who am really Udāi Kunḍiyāyanīya, have only, in the seventh (and last) of my series of changes of body by means of reanimation, entered the body of Gosāla, which body I am still retaining (p. 1237)." He then proceeded to explain

in detail his theory of all rebirths of all living beings, as well as to enumerate his own seven reanimations successively in the bodies of Eñejaga for 22 years, of Mallarāma for 21 years, of Mañdiya for 20 years, of Roha for 19 years, of Bhāraddāī for 18 years, of Ajuṇa Goyamaputta for 17 years, and of Gosāla Mankhaliputta for 16 years. The last named reanimation, he said, he had undergone in the town of Sāvatthī, in the potter shop of Hālāhalā, the potter woman (p. 1243a).* Mahāvīra, in reply told him, that he acted like a thief who, on being hardly pressed by the villagers, tried to hide himself under different disguises in all sorts of out-of-the-way places, fondly imagining that he could not be recognised (p. 1245a). Gosāla now getting angry, began to grossly abuse him, and when Savvāñubhūi, one of Mahāvīra's disciples, reproved him for such shameless conduct towards his former teacher, he destroyed him by means of his magic power (p. 1247a). For the same reason and in a similar way he destroyed Suñakkhatta, another disciple of Mahāvīra (p. 1248a). At last Mahāvīra himself reproved him. Gosāla then drawing back a few paces, shot forth his magic power of destruction against Mahāvīra; but harmlessly rebounding from him as from a rock, it returned burning Gosāla himself (p. 1249a). The latter thinking, that he had hit Mahāvīra, told him that he would now die of bilious fever within six months. But Mahāvīra replied that so far from dying within six months, he would yet live sixteen years longer as a Jina, while on the contrary, Gosāla himself, having been hit by his own magic power, would perish of bilious fever within seven days (p. 1250a). The rumour of this dispute spread through the town, and there was much discussion among the people as to whose threat would prove true, the better sort among them maintaining, that Mahāvīra spoke the truth (p. 1250b). Mahāvīra himself told his Nigantha ascetics, that now that Gosāla was discomfited by magic power, they might go to him and worry him with questions and discussions. They went and did so, and Gosāla, though greatly enraged, was unable to defend himself (p. 1252a). Then his Ajīviya followers, observing the discomfiture of Gosāla, left him and attached themselves to Mahāvīra; but a few of them still remained with Gosāla (p. 1253a). The latter, discomfited and horror-stricken, fled back to Hālāhalā's potter shop, where in the delirium of fever, holding a mango in his hand, he gave himself up to drinking, singing, dancing, soliciting Hālāhalā, and sprinkling himself with the cool muddy water in the potter's vessels (p. 1253b). On this Mahāvīra took occasion to explain to his followers that the magic power that destroyed

* A fuller translation of the phantastic account of Gosāla's preexistent history, which, however, forms no essential part of his doctrine, will be found in Rokhill's *Life of Buddha*, Appendix I, pp. 253-255.

Gosāla was powerful enough to cause the destruction of the people of the sixteen tribes of the Anga, Banga, Magaha, Malaya, Mālava, Achchha, Vachchha, Kochchha, Pādha, Lādha, Bajji, Moli, Kāsi, Kosala, Avāha and Sambhuttara. He further explained to them how the delirious actions of Gosāla gave rise to some of the tenets of the Ājīviyas (p. 1254a). Thus the drinking, singing, dancing and soliciting of Mankhaliputta occasioned the doctrine of the 'eight finalities' (*attha charamāīm*): the last drink, the last song, the last dance, the last (improper) solicitation, the last tornado, the last sprinkling elephant, the last fight with big stones as missiles, and the last Titthārikara who is Mankhaliputta himself (p. 1255a).* Again Mankhaliputta's wetting himself with the muddy water from a potter's vessel led to the doctrine of the four things that may be used as drinks, and the four things that, on account of their cooling properties, may be used as

The first four items refer to the last personal acts of Gosāla. Of the latter four items the first three refer to events which happened at or about the time of Gosāla's death. The 'sprinkling' elephant, was a huge elephant, apparently known by the name of *Seyanaga* (Skr. *sechanaka*) or 'the sprinkler', belonging to king Seniya of Magadha. He gave the elephant, together with a huge necklace of eighteen strings of jewels, to his younger son Vehalla, by his wife Chellanā, a daughter of king Chedaga of Vēsāli. His elder son, Kuṇiya, by the same wife, after usurping his father's throne, on the instigation of his wife Paūmāvāī, demanded from his younger brother the return of both gifts. On the latter refusing to give them up, and flying with them to his grandfather Chedaga in Vēsāli, Kuṇiya, having failed peacefully to obtain the extradition of the fugitive, commenced war with Chedaga. In this war those stone missiles were employed. The story of the elephant and the war is narrated in the *Nirayāvaliyāsutta* (see a portion of it in Warren's ed., §§ 17ff). The synchronism of Gosāla's death with the war between Kuṇiya and Chedaga may perhaps possess a chronological value. According to the calculation, given in note 253, the war would fall in 450-451 B.C. In Nir. § 17 it is related how the elephant *Seyanaga* carried the royal ladies of Champā to their bath and sport in the river Ganges. He took them up with his trunk, and placed them, some on his back, some on his neck, some on his forehead, some on his head, some on his tusks; then taking up some of them with his trunk, he tossed them up on high; others sitting on his trunk, he swayed to and fro as on a swing; others he held up between his tusks; others he bathed with a spray of water; and others he amused in various other ways. The tornado probably refers to one of those cyclonic storms, accompanied with torrents of rain, which occasionally visit India. The term *charama* 'last' denotes that events or things, so improper or so extraordinary as those mentioned, would never again occur.

substitutes of drinks :* the former include what is excreted by the cow, what is soiled by the hand (e.g., the water in a potter's vessel), what is heated by the sun, and what drops from a rock. By the latter is understood when one clutches a dish or a bottle or a pot or a jar which is cool or wet with water, but does not drink from it; or when one squeezes or presses with one's mouth a mango or a hog-plum or a jujube fruit or a tinduka fruit when it is tender or uncooked, but does not drink of its juice; or when one squeezes or presses with one's mouth kalāya or mudga or māṣa or shimbali beans when they are tender or uncooked, but does not drink of their juice, or when one eats pure food for six months, lying successively, for two months at a time, on the bare earth, on wooden planks and on darbha-grass, then there appear to him, on the last night of the six months, the two devas Punṇabhadda and Māñibhadda, and clutch his limbs with cool and wet hands; then he who submits to their caresses furthers the work of serpents, but who does not submit to them, in his body arises a fire which consumes his body; and thus he attains death and perfection; this is the pure drink (p. 1257). At that time a layman of the Ajiviya sect, called Ayampula, who lived in Sāvatthī, happened to go to visit Mankhaliputta, to put a question to him on the nature of the Hallā insect. On approaching the potter's shop and observing Mankhaliputta in his delirious state, he felt ashamed and wanted quietly to retire; but the Theras who were about Mankhaliputta called to him to stay and, explaining to him the above-mentioned new points of doctrine, invited him to enter and put his question to Mankhaliputta (p. 1259b). In the meanwhile they secretly signed to the latter to throw away the mango which he was holding in his hand. Ayampula then entered and put his question. Mankhaliputta replied : "this which you see is not a mango, but merely the skin of a mango; you want to know what the Hallā insect is like; it is like the root of the bamboo; play the lute, brother, play the lute!" With this reply, Ayampula whose suspicions had been lulled by the previous explanations of the Theras, contentedly retired (p. 1261a). Then feeling certain of his death, Mankhaliputta instructed his Theras to bury him after his death with every mark of honour and to proclaim publicly that with him the last Titthāṅkara had passed away (p. 1262a). But at the last moment his assurance

Text *chattāri pāṇagāīm chattāri apāṇagāīm*. The commentary explains *pāṇagāīm* by *jalavishesā, vratiyogāḥ*, i.e. 'kinds of water that are fit (to be drunk) by ascetics,' and *apāṇagāīm* by *pāṇaka-sadrishāni shitalatvena dāhopashamahetavaḥ*, i.e., 'objects that resemble water because, on account of their coolness, they serve to assuage (internal) heat.' The words might be more literally translated : 'four things which may be drunk, and four things which (though they may be touched) may not be drunk.'

gave way, and overwhelmed by the sense of his evil deeds, he retracted everything, declared that Mahāvīra alone was the true Jina, that he himself was only Gosāla, the son of Mankhali, and a wicked man, and that his Theras should bury him with every mark of dishonour and publicly proclaim his shame. Immediately afterwards he died (p. 1264a). Upon this the Theras closed the doors of the potter's shop, and within its precincts made a pretence of carrying out Mankhaliputta's instructions regarding a dishonourable burial; then they opened the doors again and gave his body a public burial with all honours according to his original instructions (p. 1265a). After these events Mahāvīra left Sāvatthī, and after wandering about some time, at last came to the Sālakotthaya cheiya near the town of Midhiyagāma, where there was a fine flourishing arbour of the Mālukā creeper. In that town there lived a married woman, Revāi by name (p. 1266a). Soon after his arrival Mahāvīra got a very severe attack of bilious fever, and all the people of the town thought that Gosāla's prophecy was going to be fulfilled, and that Mahāvīra would die in a paroxysm of fever after six months. This greatly troubled the mind of one of Mahāvīra's disciples, called Siha, who was going through a course of asceticism in the vicinity of the Mālukā arbour; so much so that retiring into the arbour he began to weep aloud (p. 1267). On hearing his voice, Mahāvīra sent his Nigganths to call him. They went and called Siha. Mahāvīra then comforted him, telling him that he was so far from dying through Gosāla's curse, that he would yet live for sixteen years longer the life of a Jina (p. 1269a). He further instructed him to go to the woman Revāi and tell her, that there was no need of the two pigeons which she had been cooking for him, but that there was the flesh of a cock killed the day before by a cat, — that she should send (p. 1269a)*. Siha did as he had been instructed, and obtaining from Revāi that flesh, placed it in the hands of Mahāvīra, who voraciously gulped

This is the literal interpretation (*shrūyamānam ev'ārtham*) of the words of the text; and the commentary says that some people interpret them in that way; but it adds, that others interpret it differently. They take *kavoya* (Skr. *kapota*) 'pigeon' to be a species of gourd (*kuśmāṇḍa*), so called on account of its colour; and *majjāra* (Skr. *mārjāra*) 'cat' they take to be a species of plant, commonly called *virālikā* or *viḍālikā* or *viḍārikā* (the latter also means 'a female cat'), and *kukkuḍa* to be a synonym of *vijapūra* 'a citron.' Hence they would interpret 'there was no need of the two gourds which she had been cooking for him, but that there was the pulp of citrons seasoned with *virālikā* the day before, — that she should send.' The comm. further adds a third interpretation, agreeing with the second in everything, except that it takes *majjāra* to mean a certain kind of morbid affection of the windy humour (*vāyu*) for which the pulp of citrons was a remedy.

it down. Instantly he recovered from his disease to the intense delight of all men and devas (p. 1272a).

The account that goes on to relate how the two disciples of Mahāvīra, Savvāṇubhū and Suṇakkhatta, who had been slain by Gosāla, were re-born as devas, and so forth (p.1274a). Similarly it is related of the false disciple Gosāla, that he was re-born as a deva in the Achchuya world, where he is to remain for a period of twenty-two Sāgarovama. Afterwards he is to be born again in the Bhāraha country of Jambūdīva, in the town of Sayaduvāra, in the province of Puṇḍa, at the foot of the Vinjhā Mountains, in the family of king Sumāi, as the son of his wife Bhaddā; and on account of a miraculous rain of lotuses on the day of his birth, he is to bear the name of Mahāpaūma (p. 1275b). When he will be past eight years of age, he will be made king, and two powerful devas, Puṇṇabhadda and Māṇibhadda, will act as his generals, and he himself, on that account, will be called Devasēṇa (p. 1276a). He will get into his possession a beautiful white elephant, and take his rides upon it in and out of the town, and on that account he will receive the name of Vimalavāhaṇa (the white-vehicled-one) (p. 1277a). He will then enter into disputes with the Niggantha Samanas, and will ill-treat them in many ways. Then the people of the town, disapproving of the conduct of the king, will try to dissuade him from continuing it.

The king, however, will not listen to them (p. 1279a). Now there will be near the town of Sayaduvāra a sacred grove called Subhūmibhāga, and in it Sumangala, a descendant of the Arhat Vimala, an ascetic endowed with the miraculous power of destruction and the threefold knowledge, will be going through a course of asceticism (p. 1279b). Then one day, when the king will be taking the air in his chariot, he will observe Sumangala engaged in his ascetic practices, and, being enraged, will push him with the front of his car, upon which Sumangala will rise up, continuing his asceticism with uplifted arms (p. 1280a). The king then will push him once again, upon which the ascetic will apply his miraculous (*avadhi*) power, and recognizing the past existence of the king, will tell him that he was not the king Vimalavāhaṇa Devasena Mahāpaūma, but that three births ago he was the wicked Gosāla Mankhaliputta, and that though he was at that time spared by Mahāvīra and his disciples, he himself would not spare him this time, but by means of his ascetic power destroy him together with his horse, carriage and driver (p. 1281a). The king, hearing this, will angrily push him a third time, upon which Sumangala, carrying out his threat, will miraculously destroy the king with his

horse, chariot and driver (p. 1281b). After this the king will pass through the longest-enduring hell of the seventh earth, and then be re-born as a fish, and be caught and killed (p. 1283a). After having gone through the same circle of changes once more, he will then similarly, twice in succession, pass through the longest-enduring hell of the sixth earth (*tamappabhā*), and be re-born as a woman and killed (p. 1283b). Similarly he will go successively through the following phases of existence, undergoing each phase twice: an inhabitant of the longest hell of the fifth earth (*dhūmappabhā*), a serpent; an inhabitant of the longest hell of the fourth earth (*pankappabhā*), a lion; an inhabitant of the longest hell of the third earth (*bāluyappabhā*), a bird; an inhabitant of the longest hell of the second earth (*sakkarappabhā*), a reptile (p. 1284b). At last he will pass through the longest-lasting hell of this (first) earth (*rayappabhā*), and then be re-born, at first, as a conscious being, and next as an unconscious being; and, being killed, he will then pass through another hell of this earth, in which he will have to remain through an asankheja part of a paliovama period (p. 1284b). After that, he will be re-born and slain successively, for many hundreds of thousands of times, in all the various forms of birds, reptiles, quadrupeds, fishes, beings with four senses (e.g., the blind, dumb, etc.), beings with three senses, beings with two senses, trees, wind-things, fire-things, water-things, and earth-things (p. 1287a). After all this, having been twice re-born and slain, as a courtesan, in the town of Rāyagiha, he will finally here, in Jambūdiva, in the Bhāraha country, at the foot of the Vinjhā Mountains, in the settlement of Vibhela, be re-born as the daughter of a brāhman, and married in all form by her parents to a suitable husband, with whom she will live in great happiness. But one day, when returning pregnant from her father-in-law's house to that of her own family, she will be caught in a jungle fire and burnt to death (p. 1288a). He will then be re-born as one of the southern Aggikumāra devas, and after that, as a man. In the latter existence he will exclusively devote himself to the acquisition of knowledge and the practice of asceticism (p. 1288b). After that he will similarly pass through successive existences as a southern Asurakumāra deva, a southern Nāgakumāra deva, a southern Vijjukumāra deva, a southern Thaniyakumāra deva, and a Joisiya deva, each of these existences being separated from the other by a human existence devoted to study and asceticism (p. 1289a). After that he will similarly pass through successive divine existences, alternating with human ones, in the world of Sohamma, Sanakkumāra, Bambha, Mahāsukka, Añaya and Āraṇa, and finally in the grand abode of Savvatthasiddha (p. 1289b). Thence he will at last be re-born in the Great Videha country, as the son of a wealthy man, and will receive the name of Dadhapaīṇa, and pass through all the vicissitudes of

Ambaḍa Daḍhapaïṇṇa, as related in the Ovavaïya Sutta (p. 1290a).* Finally having become a kevalin, Daḍhapaïṇṇa shall recognise his previous existences, and assembling the Niggantha ascetics around him, he will tell them, how once on a time he was the wicked Gosāla Mankhaliputta, and how he came to a miserable end, and then wandered through an interminable series of existences. Thus he will exhort them to take a warning from his experiences. This account will be listened to by the Nigganthes with great awe. After that Daḍhapaïṇṇa will live many years as a kevalin, and at last depriving himself of all food, he will attain a blessed end (p. 1291a).

See Dr. Leumann's edition, §§ 89-116.

THE DOCTRINES OF GOSĀLA MANKHALIPUTTA

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translated from the Pāli of the Sumaññaphala-Sutta-Vaṇṇanā in the Sumangala-Vilāsinī, Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya, II, 20.¹

In Makkhali's system the term *a necessary* (*pachchayo*) is simply a synonym of 'cause'. He rejects both tenets, that the evil actually done in deed, word and thought is a necessary consequence of depravity (*sankilesa-pachchayam*²), and that the good actually done in deed, word and thought is the necessary consequence of rectitude (*visuddhi-pachchayam*).

The term *self-action* (*atta-kāro*) has its ordinary meaning. He also rejects the tenet that the creatures here on earth (*ime sattā*) can attain deva-hood or Māra-hood or Brahmahood or the knowledge of a sāvaka (i.e., disciple of a Buddha or Jina) or the knowledge of a *pachcheka* (i.e., one who has attained saving knowledge, but does not communicate it to others) or the condition of an Omniscient (Buddha) through acts done by themselves.

In the second place, he rejects the tenet that, setting aside a 'Great Being' (*mahāsatta*, i.e., a bodhisattva), the rest of mankind attain human happiness and all other conditions, including arhat-ship, through acts done by others, that is, through the instructions and exhortations of others. By this denial that fool (i.e., Gosāla) may be said to give a blow to the authority of a Jina. By the expression *there is no such thing as manly action* (*n'atthi purisa-kāro*) he rejects the tenet that any creature can attain the above-named kinds of conditions by such actions as men are capable of. By the expression *there is no such thing as power* (*n'atthi balaṃ*) he rejects the tenet that, trusting in any power of his own, any creature can, by exerting himself, attain to those conditions. By the expression *there is no such thing as vigour* (*n'atthi viriyam*) and similar ones, he rejects all synonymous phrases

1 The translation is made from the Pāli Text Society's edition, pp. 160-165. I regret that the text of the Dīgha Nikāya itself was not also available to me for translation. The portions printed in italics give Gosāla's tenets; those in brackets are added for the sake of clearness.

2 *Lit.*, has depravity as its necessary cause.

for the power of man's actions (*purisa-kāra*), such as when we say : "this we owe to our vigour (*viriya*), this to our manly strength (*purisa-tthāma*), this to our manly exertion (*purisa-parakkama*).” And on account of his rejecting all these terms, he then accepts the following set of expressions.

In the term *all beings* (*sabbe sattā*) he comprises camels, oxen, asses and other (animals) without exception. The term *all sensitive beings* (*sabbe pāṇī*) he uses to denote those with one sense, those with two senses, and so forth. The term *all generated beings* (*sabbe bhūtā*) he uses with reference to those that are generated or produced from an egg or from the womb. The term *all living beings* (*sabbe jīvā*) he uses with reference to rice, barley, wheat, and so forth; for in these he conceives that there is life, because it is their nature to grow. His terms *forceless, powerless, vigourless* (*avasā, abalā, aviriyā*) indicate that (all) those (beings) have no force or power or vigour of their own. In his expression *they become diversified* (*parinatā*) *through their destiny, their surroundings and their nature*, the term *destiny* (*niyati*) means fate,³ the term *surroundings* (*sangati*) means the walk of life peculiar to each of the six classes (to which any particular being belongs); the term *nature* (*bhāva*) means the peculiar nature of each being. Thus it is that in accordance with their destiny, their surroundings and their own nature they (i.e., all beings) are *diversified* (*parinatā*) or get into that variety of conditions in which we find them. For it is clear that every thing happens exactly as it must happen; and that which must not happen, does not happen. He says that *in those very six classes* (*chhasu eva abhijātisu*)—by which expression he means that it is only on account of their being in one of those six classes—*they experience pleasure as well as pain* (*sukhañ cha dukkhañ cha patisañvedenti*). It follows that (according to him) there is no other ground of experiencing pleasure or pain.

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- 3 The reading of the text is not quite intelligible. The quotation of the term has *niyati* 'fate'; but the explanation reads *niyati* and *niyattā*, which is incongruous. I am not aware of the existence, in Pāli, of any such words as *niyati* or *niyattā*; possibly they are misprints for *niyāti* (Skr. *niryāti*) and *niyattā* (Skr. *niryat-tā*), but these words which mean 'exit' or 'decease' would yield no sense in the context. The correct reading would seem to be either *niyatīti niyatata* or *niyatīti niyatā*, in the latter case *niyatā* agreeing with *sabbe sattā*.
 4. The doctrine, contained in the paragraphs down to this point, agrees in the main with those ascribed to Gosāla in the Tibetan Dulva, as translated in Rokhill's *Life of the Buddha*, p. 101. But the remaining portion of it is there ascribed to another 'heresiarch' Ajita (*ibid.*, pp. 103, 104).

By the expression *hundred thousands of principal births* (*yoni-pamukha-satasahassāni*) he means 'fourteen hundred thousands (1,400,000, in the Dulva only 14,000) of principal or best births'; he also believes in other *sixty hundreds* (6,000, in the Dulva 60,000), and again in other *six hundreds, and also in five hundreds of functions* (*kamma*). This nonsensical doctrine he only sets forth for the mere sake of argument. The same is to be said about his expressions that there are *five (kinds of) acts as well as three (kinds of) acts*, and so forth. But some say that he uses the expression *five (kinds of) acts* (*pancha kammāni*) on account of the five organs of sense, and the expression *three (kinds of) acts* (*trī kammāni*) on account of the threefold distinction of acts done with the body, the speech and the mind (i.e., acts, words and thoughts). The terms *act* (*kamma*) and *half act* (*adḍha-kamma*), again, express his heretical view that acts done with the body and acts done by speech are (full) acts, while acts done with mind are only half-acts.⁵

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5. With the statements in the above paragraph may be compared another in the Jain Bhagavati, p. 1237b (Calcutta edition). There can probably be little doubt but that the two sets of statements refer to the same doctrine of Gosāla, though the numbers differ somewhat in the Jain account of it. The latter (also quoted and translated by Dr. Leumann in Rokhill's *Life of the Buddha*, p. 253) runs as follows. Gosāla explaining it to Mahāvīra: "According to my doctrine, O venerable Kāsava, all those who have become, or are now becoming, or will hereafter become perfected, have to finish eighty-four hundred thousands of mahākalpas, during which they have, in regular succession, while born seven times as a deva, seven times as a sanjūha (some kind of embodiment), seven times as a sentient being (*saññigabbha*), and reanimated in seven different bodies, to rid themselves, with reference to the functions (*kammarṇi*), of the five hundred thousands and the sixty thousands and the six hundreds (of them), and (also) of the three varieties of actions (*kamm'āṇsa*, i.e., *karma-bheda*); and having done so, they attain final perfection." From the context, in which the statements occur in the Bhagavati, and in which Gosāla relates his 'pre-existent' history, there can be no doubt that they refer to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, though what the exact meaning of them may be I am unable to make out. It is clear, however, from the remarks of both the Buddhist and Jain commentators, that to them they were equally unintelligible. Buddhaghosa declares them to be "non-sensical"; and Abhayadeva says, that, failing an exposition by the older commentators (*chumukāra*), he restricts himself to a mere verbal explanation. At the same time, Abhayadeva's explanation, in one point is open to doubt. The Prākrit text reads *pancha kammarṇi sayasahassāīm satṭhim cha sahassāīm chhach cha sae trīya ya kamm'āṇse*. Abhayadeva's commentary takes *kammarṇi* as Skr. *karmarṇi* (loc. sing., = *karmavिषये*), 'with reference to functions (or actions)', and connects *pancha* with *sayasahassāīm* as Skr.

The term *sixty-two modes of conduct* (*dvatṭhi paṭipadā*) he uses with the ordinary meaning. By the term *sixty-two subordinate periods*

pancha-shata-sahasrāni. Accordingly I have so translated it above. But Abhayadeva himself admits that he does not understand the doctrine, and a comparison with Buddhaghosa's statement seems to me to suggest a different construction and interpretation of the passage. *Pancha* should be connected, not with *sayasahassāñ*, but with *kammanī*, and the latter word may be Skr. *karmāñi* or, perhaps, is a misreading for *kammāñi* (acc. plur., Skr. *karmāñi*). The meaning of the passage would then be: 'they have to rid themselves of the five (kinds of) actions, and of the hundred thousands and the sixty thousands and the six hundred (of births), and of the three kinds of actions.' Thus interpreted, the passage has a much closer agreement with Buddhaghosa's statement, especially if the word *chudasa* 'fourteen', which seems inconsistent with his context, be omitted from it, and his *satṭhi satāni* be amended to *satṭhi sahassāni*, as the corresponding passage in the Dulva (Rokhill, *ibid.* p. 103) has it in agreement with the Bhagavati. In that case, both authorities speak of the 5 kinds and the 3 kinds of actions, and also of the 100,000 and 60,000 and 600 births. I believe the addition of *chudasa* in the statements of both, Buddhaghosa (14 x 100,000) and Dulva (14 x 1000), is capable of being in a general way harmonised with the Jain account. Buddhaghosa explains that the term 'hundred thousands' refers 'to the principal births'; and as of such 'principal births' there are 'fourteen', there must be altogether 'fourteen hundred thousands' (of principal births). By the 'principal births,' I imagine, are meant births as devas and births as men. Now later on (see pp. 25, 26) it is stated by Buddhaghosa, that Gosāla believed in 'seven (kinds of) devas', and 'seven (kinds of) men.' He also believed in 'seven kinds of pisāchas.' and 'seven kinds of sentient beings.' Any two of these classes would together give 'fourteen principal births.' Now with this may be compared the Jain account (see Rokhill, *ibid.*, p. 254), according to which living beings pass through a series of fourteen alternate births as devas and as sentient beings. There is, therefore, clearly here some kind of general agreement between the Buddhist and Jain authorities. The number 14,000 in the Dulva, unless it be a mere misprint in Rokhill, I take to be an error for 1,400,000, as given in the Digha Nikāya. The Jain account itself requires a word of explanation of a seeming inconsistency in it. According to it (see the passage at the beginning of this note) all beings must pass through a series of births, seven of which are devas, seven sanjūhas (of uncertain meaning, but according to the commentator 'some kind of embodiment') and seven sentients, and finally they pass through seven re-animations. This would seem to give a total of 21 births and 7 re-animations. In the detailed application, however, of this theory to Gosāla's own case, the Jain account (see Bhagavati, Calc. ed., pp. 1239-1241, translated in Rokhill, *ibid.*, p. 254 says, that 'after endless embodiments (*sanjūha*) a being passes through a series of fourteen births, alternating between an embodiment (*sanjūha*) as a deva and a birth as a sentient (*sañigabbha*),

(*dvatth-antarakappā*) he means to say that there are sixty-two⁶ sub-periods in his one (kind of) mundane period (*kappa*). And this he says, because he does not recognize the two other (kinds of mundane periods)

The expression *six classes* (*chal-abhijātiyo*) refers to his tenet, that there are the following six classes: the black, the dark-blue, the red, the yellow, the white and the supremely white. Among these he denotes, by the "black class" (*kañhābhijāti*), the sheep-butchers, the boar-hunters, the bird-catchers, the deer-stalkers, the hunters, the fish-killers, the thieves, the murderers for the sake of robbery,⁸ the prison-keepers, and in fact all other workers of wickedness. The Bhikkhūs (or Buddhist mendicants), according to him, constitute the "blue class" (*nilābhijāti*); they are said to eat after inserting thorns into their four necessaries. For the Sacred Text (*Pāli*) itself says on the subject, that "the mendicants are those who practise the insertion of thorns" (*bhikkhū kañtaka-vuttikā*). Or it may be that he designates by the name

and finally undergoes seven re-animations.' The fourteen alternative births are thus specified : 1, as a deva in the upper Māṇasa embodiment (*mānase sanjūha*); 2, as a sentient being of the first kind; 3, as a deva in the middle Māṇasa embodiment; 4, as a sentient being of the second kind; 5, as a deva in the lower Māṇasa embodiment; 6, as a sentient being of the third kind; 7, as a deva in the upper Māṇasuttara embodiment; 8, as a sentient being of the fourth kind; 9, as a deva in the middle Māṇasuttara embodiment; 10, as a sentient being of the fifth kind; 11, as a deva in the lower Māṇasuttara embodiment; 12, as a sentient being of the sixth kind; 13, as a deva in the Brahma-world (not 'embodiment'); 14, as a sentient being of the seventh kind. These two enumerations have an appearance of inconsistency. The commentator, Abhayadeva, reconciles it thus: in the list of fourteen births there are mentioned 6 embodiments; these in addition to the 'endless embodiments' mentioned previously, make up a total of 7 embodiments (*sanjūha*); again in that list are mentioned 7 births as devas and 7 births as sentients; and the list is followed by 7 re-animations; thus we obtain the four sets of sevens of the first enumeration. I cannot say, that this reconciliation strikes one as quite satisfactory; still its tendency is to prove a series of 'fourteen principal births', and, thus far, to establish an agreement with the Buddhist accounts. Even thus, however, after all has been said, Gosāla's doctrine on the point remains obscure.

6. The text has *chatu-sat̄hi* 'sixty-four', which I do not understand. One would expect *dvā-sat̄hi*.
7. The Buddhists recognize three kinds of periods, the *mahākappa*, the *asankheyakappa*, and the *antarakappa*. Gosāla only recognized the *mahākappa*; see below, p. 124.
8. Pāli *chora-ghātaka*, German *Raubmörder*, modern *ṭhag*.

of "those who practise the insertion of thorns" some kind of ascetics.⁹ The "red class" (*lohitābhijāti*) are the Niggāñthas (or Jain mendicants); he calls them "the men with one garment."¹⁰ These are said to be whiter than the two preceding classes. The householders who wear white clothes and are the adherents (*sāvaka*) of the Unclothed one (*achelaka*, i.e., Gosāla) constitute, according to him, the "yellow class" (*haliddābhijāti*). Thus he assigns to these (laymen) who supply him with his own necessaries, a higher place even than to the Niggāñtha (ascetics).¹¹ The Ājīvika mendicants (or the ascetic followers of Gosāla) constitute his "white class" (*sukkābhijāti*). They are said to be whiter than the four preceding classes. Nanda, Vachchha, Kisa, Sankichcha and Makkhali-Gosāla constitute his "supremely white class". They are said to be whiter than all the others.¹²

By the expression *eight stages of man* (*aṭṭha purisa-bhūmiyo*) he designates the following eight developmental periods of man: the dull

9. The commentator's meaning is, that by the 'blue' clas Gosāla intends the bhikkhus or Buddhist mendicants; and by the term 'thorn-inserters' he may mean either these bhikkhus or some other kind of ascetics. The 'four necessities of a Buddhist mendicant' are his clothing, food, bedding and medicine (see Childers' Dictionary, s.v. *pachchayo*). I do not understand, however, the practice referred to, nor do I know where the "sacred text" referred to occurs. There appears to be some doubt as to the correct reading of the word *kantaka* or *kandaka*; accordingly the meaning of it must remain uncertain.
10. Ordinarily a Jain ascetic was to content himself with one garment; see Āchārāṅga Sūtra, Jacobi's Translation, II, 5, 1, § 1 (p. 157), also Introduction, p. xxvi.
11. Gosāla's preference of his lay patrons to any ascetics, even if they were only the heretical Niggāñthas, appears particularly reprehensible to the Buddhist commentator! In the text *Niggāñthe hi* is clearly a misprint for *Niggāñthehi* (abl. plur.).
12. This would seem to be intended as a classification of all men. Gosāla himself and, apparently, his chief disciples constitute one class; the mendicant classes of Bhikkhus, Niggāñthas, and Ājīviyas constitute three others, the blue, red and white respectively; and all the rest of mankind appear to be lumped up in the two remaining classes; viz., the good, i.e., those who patronize Gosāla, forming one class, the yellow, while the bad, i.e., those who do not accept Gosāla's authority, constitute the other, the black. Incidentally it would appear from this classification, as if at one time the Buddhist, Jain and Ājīviya mendicants formed the largest and most prominent bodies of ascetics, — a fact which is also supported by the reference to them in Aśoka's pillar inscription in Delhi (see p. 103). In Rokhill's translation of the Dulva (*Life of the Buddha*, p. 104) the six classes are referred to as the "six social degrees".

stage, the playful stage, the experimental stage, the erect stage, the learning stage, the ascetic stage, the jina stage, and the prostrate stage. What he means is this : beginning with the day of birth, for (a period of) seven days, till they come out of a condition of mental obstruction, (living) beings are dull (*manda*) or semi-conscious (*momūha*). This he calls "the dull stage" (*manda-bhūmi*). Afterwards those that have arrived (in the present birth) from a state of torment (in a previous existence) perpetually cry and scream; while those that have come from a state of happiness laugh in the perpetual recollection of it. This he calls "the playful stage" (*khiddā-bhūmi*). Then when they attempt to walk along on the ground, holding on to the hands or legs of their parents or to a bed or a stool, that he calls the "experimental stage" (*vimāṇsā-bhūmi*): The time when they are fully able to walk on their feet, he calls "the erect stage" (*ujugata-bhūmi*). The time when they are made to learn the arts, he calls "the learning stage" (*sekha-bhūmi*). The time, when leaving their houses, they devote themselves to a life of ascetic mendicancy, he calls "the ascetic stage" (*saṃaya-bhūmi*). The time when, after a continuous course of ascetic practices, they attain perfect knowledge, he calls "the Jina stage" (*jina-bhūmi*). When a mendicant, becoming a prostrate Jina, no longer speaks (i.e., begs) anything, showing thereby that he has become an ascetic who is passed all wants, that he calls "the prostrate stage" (*panna-bhūmi*).¹³

The expression *forty-nine hundreds of mendicancies* (*ekūṇapaññāśa ājīva-sate*) signifies forty-nine hundreds (4900)¹⁴ of modes of mendicancy.

13. Childers' translation of *panna-bhūmi* by 'period of decay' (see s.v. *puriso* in his Dictionary) hardly gives the meaning quite accurately. The stage referred to seems to be similar to that of the religious suicide in the Jain system; see Āchārāṅga Sūtra (Jacobi's translation) I, 7,8, pp. 74-78. It is only permitted to ascetics who have reached the highest degree of perfection, and is regarded as leading to final liberation. The ascetic gives up begging, selects a suitable place on which he lies down, and starves himself to death.
14. Perhaps the object of the commentator may be to guard against the expression being taken to mean 'one hundred and forty-nine'; and so on in the following cases. From the parallel passage in the Dulva (see Rokhill's *Life of the Buddha*, p. 103) it would seem that the numbers were sometimes taken in that sense. The corresponding numbers are there given as follows: "120 hells, 130 organs (or sensible distinctions), 36 elements of dust, 49,000 nāgas, 49,000 garudas, 49,000 parivrājakas, 49,000 achelakas, 49,000 nirgranthas, 7 modes of conscious existence, 7 of unconscious existence, 7 as asuras, 7 as pisāchas, 7 as devas, 7 human; there are 7 (or) 700 lakes, 7 (or) 700 (kinds of) writing (?), 7 (or) 700 dreams, 7 (or) 700 proofs (?), 7 (or) 700 kinds of precipices." These tenets are in Rokhill's

The expression *hundreds of wandering mendicants* (*paribhājakasate*) means hundreds of formal professions of wandering mendicancy.

The expression *hundreds of abodes of Nāgas* (*nāgāvāsa-sate*) means hundreds of regions (inhabited) of Nāgas.

The expression *twenty hundreds of sensible distinctions* (*vīse indriya-sate*) means twenty hundreds (2000) of sensible distinctions.¹⁵

The expression *thirty hundreds of hells* (*tiṁse niraya-sate*) means thirty hundreds (3000) of hells.

The expression *dust-depositories* (*rāja-dhātuyo*), that is, places on which dust gathers, he uses with reference to tables¹⁶ (*hattha-pīṭha*), footstools (*pāda-pīṭha*), etc.

The term *seven (kinds of beings) produced from sentient beings* (*satta saññi-gabbhā*) he uses with reference to camels, oxen, asses, goats, sheep (*pasu*), deer, and buffaloes.

The expression *produced from insentient beings* (*asaññi-gabbhā*) he uses with reference to (the seven kinds of cereals) rice, barley, wheat, mugga-beans, kangu-millet, varaka-beans and kudrūsaka-grain.

The expression *produced from an inter-joint* (*nigāñhi-gabbhā*), that is, 'taking their rise in a joint,' he uses with reference to sugar-cane, bamboo, reeds, and so forth.¹⁷

His expression *seven (kinds of) devas* (*satta devā*) refers to the numerous devas, whom he, however, declares to be (of) seven (kinds).

The *men* (*mānusā*), who are also numberless, he declares to be (of) seven (kinds).

By the expression *seven (kinds of) pisāchas* (*satta pisāchā*) he means

translation ascribed to the heresiarch Ajita, possibly through a mere misunderstanding or through a confusion of the original Tibetan pages; but they seem clearly to belong to Gosāla; see note 4.

15. I suppose, by the term *indriya* are here intended "principles" like the thirty-three enumerated in Childers' Dictionary, under *indriya*.

16. Or counters of shops, etc.

17. Instead of this clause, the parallel passage in Rokhill (*Life of the Buddha*, p. 103) has a clause speaking of "seven (births) as asuras."

the gigantic (*mahanta-mahanta*) pisāchas, whom he holds to be (of) seven (kinds).¹⁸

The expression *lakes* (*sarā*) refers to the (seven) 'great lakes,' which he holds to comprise the Kaṇṇamuṇḍa, Rathakāra, Anotatta, Sīhappapāta, Tiyaggala, Muchalinda and Kuṇāladaha.¹⁹

By the expression *precipices* (*papātā*) he means the (seven) 'great precipices,' and by the expression *hundreds of precipices* (*papāta-satāni*), the (seven) hundreds of small precipices.

By the expression *dreams* (*supinā*) he means the (seven) 'great dreams' only; and by the expression *hundreds of dreams* (*supina-satāni*) he means the (seven) hundreds of small dreams.²⁰

The term *great period* (*mahākappa*) is taken in its ordinary meaning. This period he holds to be equal to the time consumed in completely draining a 'great lake'²¹ seven times, by removing from it, by means of

18. See the description of such a 'gigantic' pisācha in Lecture II, §§ 94, 95. The text reads *sattā ti* (Skr. *sattvāni iti* 'beings'), but it should probably be *sattāti* (i.e., *satta ti*, Skr. *sapta iti* 'seven'), as shown by the corresponding passage in Rokhill's *Life of the Buddha*, p. 103.
19. The corresponding passage in Rokhill (*Life of the Buddha*, p. 103) mentions the number seven of the lakes, but does not name them. A clause that here follows is omitted, as I do not understand the expression *pachuṭā* or its variants. May *ganthikā* be a synonym of *gandikā* in the sense of 'hill,' or 'declivity'? see the Petersburg Dictionary. The corresponding passage in Rokhill (*ibid.*, p. 103) offers two different clauses which are themselves doubtful "seven (kinds of) writing (?) or "seven proofs (?)".
20. I have added 'seven' in this as well as in the preceding clause on the authority of the corresponding passage in Rokhill (*Life of the Buddha*, pp. 103, 104), which speaks of "7 or 700 dreams" and "7 or 700 kinds of precipices."
21. From the general connection in which the expression 'great lake' here occurs, it seems evident that Buddhaghosa intended it to refer to the seven 'great lakes' mentioned in one of the preceding paragraphs. This, however, is a misunderstanding, as can be clearly seen from the Jain account of the same subject. In the Bhagavati (Calc. ed.), pp. 1238, 1239 (transl. in Rokhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 253, 254) the measure of a *mahākappa* is thus explained : 'The river Gangā is 500 yojanas in length $\frac{1}{2}$ yojana in breadth and 500 dhanu in depth; there is altogether a series of seven Gangā rivers, each succeeding having seven times the dimensions of the preceding; the last of the series, accordingly, is equal to 117, 649 (or $7 \times 7 \times 7 \times 7 \times 7 \times 7 \times 7$) Gangā rivers; if now every hundred years one grain of sand be removed, then the time required to exhaust the whole of the sand of those 117,649 Gangās would be one *sara* period; and 300,000 of such *sara* periods make one *mahākappa* period; and 8,400,000 of the *mahākappas* make one *mahāmāṇasa* period.'

of a blade of 'kusa' grass, one drop once in every hundred years. With regard to these 'great periods,' his belief is that after the lapse of eighty-four hundred thousands (8,400,000) of them, *the fool and the wise alike*—as he says—*will make an end of their suffering* (*bālo cha pāṇḍito cha dukkhass' antam karonti*).²² Even the wise, he means to say, cannot become perfected within a shorter time, nor can even a fool go beyond it.

The expression *by religious precept* (*silena*) means 'by (observing) the precept of nakedness or any other that they may have'. In the expression *by religious rites* (*vatena*), the word 'rite' has the same meaning (as with us Buddhists). In the expression *by ascetic practices* (*tapena*) the word 'ascetic practice' (*tapo-kamma*) has its ordinary meaning.

The expression *he cherishes immature (knowledge)* (*a-pari-pakkam*, scl. *ñānam*, *paripāceti*) describes one who, thinking himself to be a wise man, becomes (as he fondly imagines) perfected within a shorter time (than 8,400,000 'great periods'). The expression *he more and more removes from himself mature (knowledge)* (*paripakkam phussa phussa vyanti-karoti*) describes one who, thinking himself to be a fool, (fondly imagines that he) may go beyond the period limited as above stated.

By the expression *it is not so* (*hevan n'atthi*) he means to show that it is impossible that either of the two cases should happen.²³

The expression *drona-measured (drona-mita)* means 'measured, as it were, with a droṇa.'

The terms *pleasure and pain* (*sukkha-dukkha*) have their ordinary meaning.

The expression *one who has reached the end* (*kaṭa-pariyanta*) means 'one whose end coincides with the end of the period limited as above stated.'

The expression *there is neither decrease nor increase* (*n'atthi hāyana-vaddhana*) means that there is no diminution nor any augmentation. His meaning is, that the period of transmigratory existence neither decreases in the case of the wise, nor increases in the case of the fool.

22. *Bālo* and *pāṇḍito* have the theological sense; the fool is the 'worldly', and the wise, the 'religious'; of course, from Gosāla's point of view.

23. *I.e.*, either falling short of, or exceeding the above-stated limit of 8,400,000 'great periods.'

The terms *raising* and *lowering* (*ukkams'āvakamsa*) he uses as synonyms of 'increase' and decrease.'

Finally clinching this theory of his by a simile, he adds the words just as (*seyyathāpi nāma*) and so forth. In that simile, by the expression *a ball of string* (*sutta-gula*) he means 'a ball of string which is fully wound up'; and by the expression *it opens out just so far as it can be unwound* (*nibbēthiyamānam eva phaleti*) he means that a ball of string which is thrown from a mount or from the top of a tree goes on unwinding just so far as the length of the string allows; when the string is run out, it stops there and goes no further. Even so, he means to show, can a fool not go beyond the time above stated.²⁴

From the same work, II, 3, pp. 143, 144.

Then another began to speak, thinking within himself that he would now relate the story of his particular confidant. Hence it is said *another then also* (*aññataro pi kho*) and so forth, all which is to be understood exactly as before explained.

Now here by the word *Makkhali* is meant that was his name, and by the word *Gosāla*, that that was his second name (given to him) on account of his having been born in a cow-shed. Regarding him, it is said that (seeing him) walking on a muddy piece of ground, with an oil-pot in his hand, the owner of it said to him: "My dear man, take care lest you stumble!" He, from carelessness, having stumbled and fallen, began to flee away through fear of the owner. The owner, having run up, caught the edge of his garment. He letting go his cloth, fled away naked. The rest is the same as in the case of *Pūraṇa*.²⁵

24. This simile, and the doctrine it illustrates, will also be found in the corresponding passage in Rokhill (*Life of the Buddha*, p. 104).

25. The account of *Pūraṇa* is given in the preceding sections of the work, II, 2, pp. 142, 143. The same story of *Gosāla* will be found in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 301. He is there said to have been the son of a slave of the owner of the cow-shed in which he was born; and it was the same owner of the cow-shed that he ran away from. He is then said to have fled to a village, the people of which received him kindly and offered him clothes; but he refused to put them on, hoping thus to be respected as a 'holy man' or arhat.

[Reprinted from Hoernle's edition of the *Uvāsagadasāo*, Calcutta, 1888]—
editor.

Book Review

Devendra Kumar Shastri—*Apabhraṃśa Bhāṣā Sāhitya Kī Śodha-Pravṛttiyā* (in Hindi), Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, New Delhi, second edition, 1996, price : Rs. 130.00.

The appearance of Devendra Kumar Śāstri's Research Study on the Apabhraṃśa language and literature is a welcome idea for which the Indological scholars of the world will be greatly indebted to him. The present work is a newly enlarged version of the earlier edition published some years ago. The second edition of the book within a short time shows how popular the first edition was and how it has been utilised by the scholars of the world. I personally congratulate Professor Devendra Kumar Shastri for the second edition of his Apabhraṃśa bibliography, and the credit to the publisher will also go along with it.

The study of Apabhraṃśa, both its language and literature, is a necessary event for the origin, growth and development of New Indo-Aryan languages. The New IA languages of Northern India, such as, Assamese, Bengali, Oriyā, Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuri, Mārāṭhī, Gujarāṭhī, Rājasthāni, Pāñjābī owe much for their origin to Apabhraṃśa. The early stages of all these literatures derived much linguistic material from Apabhraṃśa. In fact, the old Bengali *Caryāgīti*, the *Kīrtīlatā* of Vidyāpatiṭhākura and the old inscriptions of Mārāṭhī and Jñāneśwari, a commentary on the *Gītā* in the *ovi* metre, the *Uktiyakti-prakarana* of Dāmodara Pandit, the *Ādi-grantha* and even the *Padumāvat* of Mālik Muhammad Jaysī do not differ much from Apabhraṃśa. Although the origin of the time of New Indo-Aryan languages is generally reckoned from the 10th cent. A.D. onwards i.e. the time also for Apabhraṃśa, historically we can have the Apabhraṃśa literature even some 3/4 centuries earlier. The bulk of Apabhraṃśa literature did not really start before 9th/10th centuries A.D. The name Apabhraṃśa appeared in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (2nd c. B.C.), the verses of Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvāsiya* (in the 4th act) are also composed in Apabhraṃśa and in *Vasudeva-hīṇḍī* we have the specimens of Apabhraṃśa. These are some stray cases and controversial as well. In Uddyotana's *Kuvalayamālā-campū* (8th c. A.D./779 A.D.) there are mentions of several languages available at that time. Those names of Modern New IA languages includings Apabhraṃśa show that all these NIA languages began to appear on the horizon as early as the 8th cent. A.D.. This, in brief, is the case where we can find the existence of

Apabhramṣa both as a language and a literature. Though the full bulk of Apabhramṣa literature started not before the 9th/10th centuries A.D., the major bulk of Apabhramṣa literature are still buried in the *Bhāndārs* of different places. Devendra Kumar Śāstri's book is a timely contribution to this field of literature.

Śāstrijī says that in his bibliography he has included 3000 items on Apabhramṣa language, literature and cultural writings as embalmed and treasured up in Apabhramṣa. It is a huge task and Śāstrijī is to be commended for this strenuous and painstaking endeavour. To prepare a bibliography of a particular subject is a Sisyphean task for which a scholar must devote the major part of his life. When the Indological studies grow to a great extent and when a bulk of literature is accumulated here and there in the different parts of the globe, a book, containing the bibliography of a particular subject, is necessary to control the mass of material scattered all over the world. As research is a continuous process on a particular subject, bibliography of any subject cannot be for that matter complete. But it can be elaborate to a great extent, so that it will appear that not a single material is, perhaps, omitted. That sort of bibliography is highly appreciated and worth mentioning. Śāstrijī's bibliography is of such a type which requires no amount of introduction.

His bibliography contains 338 pages with all amount of information on the Apabhramṣa language and literature. It has 5 chapters and an appendix which has 4 parts. In the first chapter (pp. 11-99) he has discussed all sorts of problems concerning Apabhramṣa. The term Apabhramṣa and its position in Prakrit and New IA languages is delineated in a very nice way. Almost all sorts of information are amassed here for the benefit of the readers. In the second chapter (pp.100-192) he has given the list of books on the Apabhramṣa language and literature, covering nearly 1300.

In most of the cases, perhaps, he has given the chronological developments of these books and so it started from Pischel (1877-1880) down to 1996. From a perusal of this bibliography one can easily imagine how Apabhramṣa has been studied within the range of a century. Though language is no bar, it has covered the books and articles written in English, German, French, Hindi, Gujarāti. It goes without saying that he cannot cover all the languages of India, not to speak of the world.

In the third chapter (pp. 193-269) the author has given the names of Apabhramṣa literature numbering 1204 which are still in manuscript and therefore not edited. Of course, in the meantime some of the books

like *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadahta, *Karakandacariu* of Kaṇakāmara, *Yaśoharacariu* of Puṣpadanta and so on are published. The main purpose of this list is, perhaps, to show how big is the Apabhramṣa literature lying in different Bhāṇḍāras.

He has not, perhaps, tried to say whether some of these books are already edited or not. At least, if there is an indication either by giving an asterisk before the book or by mentioning, at least, the editor of the first publication of that book, the scholars would have been much benefited by this text so meticulously collected. In the fourth chapter (pp. 270-281) he has mentioned again some of the names of authors of Apabhramṣā literature and also some of the works whose author is more or less controversial. This portion is also very interesting. In the fifth chapter (pp. 282-320) he has given some interesting verses of Apabhramṣa not yet published. These quotations are from 228 authors. In the *pariśiṣṭas* (1-4) he has given the references to Apabhramṣa and Apabhramṣa verses found in Sanskrit literature. And in another *pariśiṣṭa* he has collected some Apabhramṣa verses from Prakrit literature. In the third appendix he has given some 40 Apabhramṣa inscriptions and in the last appendix he has given some specimens of Apabhramṣa prose from *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotana Sūri mentioned above.

These vast and varied topics of Apabhramṣa are covered by Dr Devendra Kr. Śāstrī in his above mentioned book. Every lover of Prakrit and Apabhramṣa will welcome this bibliography and will definitely shower encomiums on Śāstriji. Himself an authority on Apabhramṣa, it is quite in the fitness of things that he has undertaken such an important task of preparing a hand book of Apabhramṣa bibliography. If human labour and scholarship have any prize, then Śāstriji's book will honour him and make him immortal in the field of Indological studies. I recommend this book to every lover of Indian studies and hope their libraries will be adorned by the inclusion of this monumental work.

Satya Ranjan Banerjee

B.K. Tiwary—*History of Jainism in Bihar*, The Academy Press, Patel Nagar, Gurgaon-122 001, 1996, price : 300.00.

Jainism has been a fascinating study to many scholars of India and abroad. For the last 200 years with the advent of the Europeans in the field of Indology, Jainism got its prominence and many scholars

devoted their valuable times to unearth many hidden treasures of Jainism from the debris of antiquity. The subject is so vast and varied that the whole amount of literature put together will not be able to fathom the depth of the ocean of learning. Dr Vinod Kumar Tiwari's *History of Jainism in Bihar* is again one such contribution to the history of Jainism. The book has 250 pages with 6 chapters excluding introduction and conclusion.

Historically Bihar is the place for the origin of Jainism. It was in the 6th c. B.C. in Magadha (in Modern Bihar) that Mahāvīra preached his doctrines which in later times came to be known as *Jina dharma*, that is, Jainism. In the first chapter the author has described the life and works of *Vardhamāna Mahāvīra* (561-490 B.C.), that is, his birth and parentage and his early life and the renunciation of house and the meeting of Gośāla and so on. The facts are very straightforward and, more or less, historically established. Though the author has based his subject on some textual evidences, the author could not avoid the secondary sources for which he has to depend on some sources which have some controversial elements. His second chapter *Jainism before the Mauryas* (490-325 B.C.) is interesting, though very short. As this chapter is based on some materials which are late in origin the historicity of this chapter is not free from question. The third chapter *Jainism in Mauryan period* (325-188 B.C) is again very short, though the kings like Candragupta Maurya, Vindusāra, and Aśoka, are presented. The historicity of many facts of this chapter may create some controversy among the scholars. Some of the mistakes in regard to some of the books are very much regretted. For example, the author says "even Vāṇa's Sanskrit drama *Harṣacharita* twice uses it in a good sense as an honorific." I am sorry to say that '*Harṣacarita*' is not a Sanskrit drama, rather it is a historical *kāvya* in prose. Such types of mistakes, of course, are found here and there, as far as the references to the original texts are concerned. In the chapter *Jainism before the rise of the Guptas* (188 B.C. 319 A.D), the author has delineated the rise of some political powers before the Gupta period and the position of the Jainas in that period. Though most of the references are very scrappy and short, it also flashes some new outlook which is in no way inferior to others. In the chapter *Jainism in Gupta period* (319-600 A.D) the author has discussed the points which are more political rather than on Jainism. So also his last chapter – *Last phase of Jainism in Bihar* (600 A.D – to the Muslim conquest) where the account on Jainism is less than the other political ideas.

Though the author has tried his best to put Jainism in proper perspective from a historical point of view, the way he has handled the

material has given him less opportunity to exhibit his proper perspective. In a very small space within the range of 250 pages, the author's endeavour is praise-worthy. As the subject is very vast, volume after volume can be written on it. One point to be mentioned in this connection is that the author has not used any diacritical marks for Sanskrit and Prakrit words for which it is, at times, very difficult to pronounce the words correctly and to understand the meanings, though the printing, quality of paper and binding of the book are good and well-done. However, these shortcomings will not hinder the value of the book as a piece of research work.

Satya Ranjan Banerjee

Sibdas Chaudhuri – *index internationalis indicus* 1993 (Current micro writings on Indic and Buddhist Studies, esp. in Calcutta Journals), Centre for Asian Dokumentation, Calcutta, 1996, price : Rs. 250.00.

To prepare an index of the Journals of Indological Studies is one of the greatest research works. Unless there is an index of the Journals, it is not only difficult to handle the mass of material on Indological studies, but also it is beyond the jurisdiction of human power to trace the articles. Sibdas Chaudhuri, one of the leading scholars in this respect, has rendered a yeoman's service to the scholarly world by the publication of his *index internationalis indicus* (1993). As the author has put it : "This volume of the *index internationalis indicus* records micro-writings on Buddhistic and South-Asian (especially Indic) studies in the current well-known and obscure journals of India and abroad, specially of Calcutta, in Indian and foreign languages. Entries have been arranged under the surname of the author in an alphabetical order." There is hardly any doubt that this bibliographical index is obviously a desideratum which has long been unattended to by many scholars. That this bibliography has a necessity is admitted by many scholars. "The necessity of this private venture", says the author, "has been admitted by the scholars, though there are a few mass compilation such as the bibliography of Asian studies (of the association for the Asian studies, sponsored by the universities of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Yale) and *index India* (of the Rajasthan University, supported by the U.G.C.) which are considered sometimes less helpful because of their size and selective language coverage."

It goes without saying that no index, in howsoever way the author is meticulous, is perfect and complete in many respects compare to

what it is expected. These bibliographical indexes help the readers and researchers to collect facts on their respective subjects. One man's labour saves the labours of thousand men. This is the spirit of bibliography. Mr. Sibdas Chaudhuri is an expert in preparing bibliographical indexes. While he was the librarian of the Asiatic Society, he had prepared an index of the Journals and publications of the Asiatic Society, and also some volumes on Indological studies for 1955, 1956 and so on.

I hope this bibliography of Sibdas Chaudhuri will definitely help the scholars in their research work and we will expect some more volumes from him to keep the Indological studies alive. For the Indological studies this bibliography will be a "must" and I hope this index will adorn the tables of teachers and researchers of Indological studies.

Satya Ranjan Banerjee

B.K. Khadabadi—*Studies in Jainology, Prakrit Literature and Languages* (a collection of 51 selected papers), Prakrit Bharati Academy, Jaipur, 1977, price : Rs. 300.00.

One of the latest contributions to the field of Prakrit literature and languages, and also of Jainology, is the contribution of Professor Khadabadi. Professor Khadabadi in his long life contributed lots of articles on Jainology and on the Prakrit language which were published from time to time in different Journals and felicitation volumes. The present study is a collection of some 51 articles of Professor Khadabadi in the above mentioned book under review. From his preface it is known that he has some more articles scattered at different places. It will be a nice idea if those articles are also published in subsequent years.

It is one of the good things of the Prakrit Bharati Academy of Jaipur to publish some articles of some scholars in a book form like the present one. From that point of view, the Prakrit Bharati Academy is to be congratulated for undertaking such a publication. It is always difficult to find out the articles from the pages of different Journals, because not a single library (except a very few in number) is well-equipped with all sorts of Indological Journals of the world. As Journals are increasing day by day, it is also difficult to cope with the latest development of the Journals. So scholars who are serious and at the same time contributing consistently and regularly articles to different Journals are requested to publish their articles in a book form in subsequent years. As Professor Khadabadi is a serious and persistent

scholar and has contributed quite a lot to the field of Prakrit and Jainology, it is quite in the fitness of things that his articles should be published in a book form in one place. We have some instances also like this in the past. P.K. Gode's articles were published in 4 volumes by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute some more than 50 years ago. If his articles were not published it would have been difficult for us to estimate his scholarship on the subject of manuscriptology on which he has spent his whole life. Similarly collected articles of Professor S.K. Chatterji have also been published by some Delhi publishers and some volumes by Calcutta publishers. However, these are some instances of many which show how important is this idea of publishing a selection of some articles of a scholar. However, this is a very welcome idea for which the publisher must be congratulated.

Khadabadi's articles can broadly be divided into several categories. On Jainism he has written the teachings of *Mahāvīra* and on *Ahimsā* and some concepts of truth in Jainism. The doctrine of *Anekānta* and some aspects of *Jaina yoga* are other interesting articles which need special attention of the readers. His contribution to the South-Indian Jainism with particular reference to *Karṇāṭaka* is a valuable contribution to the Jainistic study.

His studies on the Prakrit language are other interesting features in this book. He has several articles on the influence of Middle Indo-Aryan literature and language, on Kannada literature and language. This portion of his collections of articles will help the scholars in future to pursue some more studies on this point. The other aspect of his articles is the individual authors like Somadeva Sūri, and Kundakundācārya, and treatises like *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā*, *Kathākoṣa*, or *Gāthāsaptāśati* are very much interesting and thought-provoking. He has also an article on the *Apabhraṃṣa*.

On the whole, this book is a valuable publication and rich in quality. Although most of the articles may be known to most of serious scholars, a fresh reading of these articles will give a chance to brush up their memories and to look into the problems again with a new outlook. I hope the reading public will enjoy reading this book in a better way. I, therefore, recommend this book to all the readers of Prakrit and Jainism.

Satya Ranjan Banerjee

K.R. Chandra (Ed) — *Ācārāṅga* (first chapter of the first Śrutaskandha), Prakrit Jain Vidyā Vikāsa Fund, Ahmedabad, 1997, price : Rs. 150.00.

The editing of a Jaina *Āgama* text — be it Śvetāmbara or Digambara — is one of the most difficult tasks of Prakrit scholars. For the last more than one hundred and fifty years, both occidental and oriental, scholars have been trying their best to edit Jaina *Āgama* texts faithfully and correctly, and for this, they have accepted some principles for the Prakrit literature, and the Jaina *Āgama* texts, in particular. Though J. Stevenson translated the *Kalpasūtra* along with the *Navatattva* (London, 1848), he did not mention the MSS from which he had translated the text. Later on, a critical edition was prepared by Jacobi (Leipzig, 1879). At present, though we find some discrepancies with the printed editions of the *Kalpasūtra*, it is still a kind of the earliest reference to the *Kalpasūtra* used by many scholars. But the best edited text of the Jaina canonical literature, as far as we know, is A. Weber's edition of the *Bhagavatī sūtra*. (*Ein Fragment der Bhagavatī*, in ABA, 1865 (pp. 367-444) and 1866 (pp. 155-352).

It was as early as 1865-66, Weber realized certain orthographic difficulties of the manuscript for selecting a particular reading. As a result, in his introduction he has laid down certain principles for editing Jaina canonical texts. Later on, Hermann Jacobi (*Ācārāṅgasūtra* London, 1882), Pischel (*Desināmamālā*, Bombay, 1880) and many others have all faced the problems of editing Prakrit texts in general, and Jaina *Āgama* texts, in particular. In modern times Hiralal Jain, A.N. Upadhye, Dalsukh Bhai Malbania, Hariballabh C. Bhayani and many others have edited Jaina *Āgama* and Prakrit texts and encountered insurmountable difficulties in selecting certain readings for the texts whenever they have collated a text from some manuscripts.

When the world of Prakrit has been wavering for a long time to find out the correct and faithful reading of the *Āgama* text, it was, at that time, the edition of K.R. Chandra's *Ācārāṅga*, the first chapter of the first Śrutaskandha, appeared in the horizon a few months ago. Dr Chandra has been working on this text for a long time, and as a prelude to his edition he has written several articles and books on the problems of finding out the original language of the *Āgama* text. The present text i.e. the edition of *Ācārāṅga*, is an outcome of that long persistent labour. In his edition he has discussed again quite a lot on how to edit a Jaina *Āgama* text, and what type of reading is to be selected for the restoration of the original language of the Ardha-*Māgadhi* texts. It goes without saying that he has laboured much on

this point, and from that point of view, he has been successfull in presenting the text faithfully. Linguistically also this text will help the scholars to find out different readings of the printed texts. I can vouchsafe sincerely that this text will furnish us lots of material for the future generation to work on.

It is true, indeed, that there might be some scholars who may not like all his arguments as applied to the text. Some of the readings he has selected for the main body of the text can be altered with the readings of the text given by him in the footnotes. The reading of the very beginning of the text may be altered as per reading of the other texts and some may feel that some of the readings may not represent the original language of the text. For example Candra's reading *sutam me āusante(?)nam* can be altered as *sutam me āusam tenam*. In this sort of reading the difficulty is with the euphonic combinations *santena*. This sort of sandhis is not very happy in Prakrit. Moreover, *tenam* is a very common word used in most of the Ardhamāgadhi canonical texts and this is not to be separated by any way, particularly when it is an adjective to the next word *Bhagavatā evam akkhātam*. In some of the commentaries of the Āgama text where the words *tenam kālenam*, *tenam samayenam* are found, some commentators tried to separate *te* and *nam* and so also *kāle* and *nam* and take some sort of explanations which did not go on a par with the original intended meaning of the text. However, as far as the general notions are concerned, certain remarkable features of this edition can be mentioned.

One of the noticeable things in his edition is the absence of *ya-śruti* in Amg., even though consciously or unconsciously in some places, perhaps, *ya-śruti* is printed, e.g. at page 118 § 35 the reading *jāti-marāṇamoyanāe* which, to my mind, seems to be a sort of *ya-śruti* with the loss of the intervocalic consonant. The reason for this reading is that one of the editions has given this reading *moyanāe* without any variation. From his edition it appears that the author thinks that *ya-śruti* is not one of the vital features of Amg., as most of the scholars think, but is a later development in later Prakrits. Of course, in accepting the reading *moyanāe* the author has given his explanation for the retention of *ya-* (see page 12 § 12), yet this simple restoration shows that the author has partly accepted *ya-śruti*, at least, in those places where he has no other alternative readings available in any edition.

It should be borne in mind that *ya-śruti* has a long history in Indian languages. Pāṇini (400 B.C) has recorded this phenomenon for the Sanskrit language (comp. Pā. viii. 3.18). This was also found, of course,

very rarely in Pali probably as a remnant of Sanskrit (Geiger, *Pali Language and Literature* § 60). In Prakrit, of course, it is abundantly found, because some of the intervocalic consonants constantly drop out, as a result the remaining vowels after 'a' or 'ā' have a slightly *ya* like *śruti* which is linguistically also very very correct. D.C. Sirkar has mentioned an *ya-śruti* in the Bürhikhan Brahmi Inscription in Bilaspur District, M.P. He says— "The epigraphy may be palaeographically assigned to a date about the close of the first century B.C.".... "The language of the Inscription is Prakrit. Interesting from the epigraphical point of view is the *ya-śruti* in the names *Payavatī* for *Prajāvatī* and *Bhāradāyī* for *Bharadvājī*. But there is no case in which a surd has been modified into a sonant." (*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Culture and Heritage number*, Bangalore, 1956, pp. 221-24). And in almost all the manuscripts of the Amg. texts, this type of *ya-śruti* is found. So, I do not know how far it is right to think that there was no *ya-śruti* in the Amg. text. (For a detailed study of the problem, see my article— *Ya-Śruti in Prakrit*, Jain Journal, Vol-xxvi, No. 3 January 1992, pp. 157-169). However, Dr Chandra, at least, has been consistant in not recording any reading with *ya-śruti* (except in a very few cases) throughout the text and from that point of view he has maintained what he has said in the Introduction.

His other points like the initial and medial dental *n*, *jña*, *nya* etc. need some more consideration than what he has said in the Introduction. The whole problem of editing Jaina Āgama texts is a severe one, and the problem is not like Sanskrit or Pali. This is, indeed, true that we will have to accept some procedures to edit a Prakrit text, before we venture to improve upon the text. His inclusion of *-dha-* intervocally makes the text a Śauraseni one. In some cases, intervocalic *-k-* is changed to *-g-*, but in other cases *-k-* (intervocalic) is retained. However, I am not in a position to assess all these readings in this short space and time, but I am sure that this text will provide lots of interesting phenomena for future generations to come.

On the whole, this edition is admirable and commands respect from the readers of Prakrit. One thing very praiseworthy is that what Dr Chandra thinks as the correct reading, he has accepted and his conviction that the original language of the Amg. text was more archaic than what is found in later Prakrits is faithfully represented in the text. I personally believe this edition of Dr Chandra's will rouse stimulations in the minds of the scholars and for that reason this edition has a remarkable value in the scholarly world.

Satya Ranjan Banerjee

BOOKS ON PRAKRIT AND JAINISM

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[Contents : Introduction, the historicity of Mahāvīra, sources of information—mythological stories, family-relation-birth, childhood-education-marriage and posterity, renouncing the world, severe penance, his preachings, attainment of Nirvāṇa and its date].

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[Contents : Vol-I. Six substances, seven *tattvas*, three *ratnas*, *lakṣaṇa*, *pañca parameṣṭhī*; Vol-II, doctrines of *Karma* and *Anekānta*].

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[It contains the English translation of *Gāthā-koṣa*, index of stanzas, Glossary and notes, and an Introduction].

The part I text (*Gāthā-koṣa*) with the Sanskrit commentary of Bhuvanapāla was published by Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad, in 1980.

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[The *Yoga-koṣa* contains all the references to the *Yoga-śāstra* found in the Jaina literature. This *Yoga-koṣa* will also tell us how to do research on a particular topic of Jainism. It is a Cyclopaedia on the Jaina *Yoga*].

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