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EPIGRAPHIA JAINIKA

Hampa Nagarajaih

INTRODUCTION

Defining the geographical boundaries of Karnataka :

The total carpet area of Karnataka is bordered by Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh in the north, by Andhra and Tamilnadu on the west, by Kerala on the south, with a vast stretch of sea coast. Comprising of 27 Districts and 200 Talukas, Karnataka has a population of about four crores.

The erst while Mysore State, now assimilated in the newly formed and reorganised Karnataka State, had only 9 Districts. After the state re-organisation in November 1956, the State still had the name of Mysore State. This nomen was officially changed to Karnataka in 1976, with Kannaḍa as its *lingua-franca*. Kannada, one of the 25 Dravidian languages, branched off from the Proto-Dravidian in around 5th century B.C.E. The present nomenclature of Karnataka is derived from the geographical position and soil quality of the land. The literary and epigraphical records mention Karnataka from the early period of Current Era. It was then an integral part of the Imperial Mauryan kingdom.

Karnataka was a happy cradle of many religions and ruling houses. Major dynasties like the Pallavas, the Gangas, the Kadambas, the Calukyas of Bādāmi (Vātāpi), the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa, the Hoysaḷas, the Vijayanagaras and the Oḍeyars of Mysore. Minor dynasties and feudatories, who ruled Karnataka, have left behind their indelible imprints. They have consciously promoted religion and culture, thereby incorporating into their kingdom a large variety of cults and religious traditions, which explains the wealth of religious tolerance and imagery, found in innumerable monuments and epigraphs.

It is this opulent intermixture of sacred and secular outlook that is singular to Jaina inscriptions and relevant to all times.

Karnataka is affluent in inscriptions. So far more than 25,000 inscriptions are discovered, out of which about 18,000 are published. The present work, *Epigraphia Jainika*, is an endeavour to bring together all the available Jaina inscriptions, and the corpus arranged methodically.

Many scholars entertain a wrong notion that all the inscriptions or almost all the major ones, have been discovered and studied. But the real fact is that every year new epigraphs are still being discovered and studied. Thus our knowledge of the early period of Jaina history is being widened and sharpened. This corpus of *Epigraphia Jainika* contains also a good number of new records which have incidentally come to light recently and not included so far in the published and revised volumes of EC, SII, KI, EI or MAR.

For instance, a hoard of the recently discovered lithic records from Koppala, by Prof. Hampa. Nagarajiah, have added a glorious golden chapter to the socio-political and cultural history of the Gaṅgas, the Rashtrakūṭas and the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa. With the publication of about new charters, an authentic history of Būtuga's sons, daughters and consorts has come to light. Nothing was formerly known about the place and date of the death of poet Somadevasūri, but the recently found inscription from Koppala affords an authentic record of these details. Numerous similar instances of the newly discovered records confirm that there is lot more in store to be unearthed and studied which will broaden and enliven the vista of Indian history in the Jaina context.

To define the methodology adopted in the present work :

- a. The inscriptions are arranged topographically, District, Taluk and Village being the order of entry.
- b. Chronologically also, as far as possible.
- c. Numbering pattern of inscriptions-continuous numbers are provided to facilitate the reader for easy identification.

- d. Fixing the date of undated inscriptions is a challenge to epigraphists. There are quite a good number of Jaina charters having no date at all. The only possible alternative is to explore avenues leading to the clue. Usually epigraphists fix the date, under such peculiar circumstances, on the basis of palaeography of the record. But recent research has confirmed that even the palaeographic assessment may not be always 100% correct. Moreover, editors like myself, may not have an easy access to the original estampage. Albeit, an attempt is made, and no effort is spared to reach a date nearer to the original record.

Scope of the Work :

The Epigraphia Jainica has an unlimited scope. The students of archaeology, history, religion, culture, linguistics and literature, will find this corpus more useful for further studies. The material will be of immense help in the reconstruction of a more comprehensive ancient history of Karnataka in particular and of India in general. For the students of culture, this corpus of Epigraphia Jainica provides an opportunity to study the phenomena of diffusion of culture and civilization with its localized features.

Language of the Jaina Inscriptions :

We encounter linguistic hyperglossia. Most of the Jaina inscriptions, under the present survey, are in Kannada and some are in Sanskrit. Vernacular transformation, as the literary language against Sanskrit's highly marked cosmopolitan status, needs as *in extenso* discussion. Sanskrit epigraphs, issued from royal courts, served more as expressions of the political trends. Sanskrit inscriptions generally reveal the flavour of literary language. The Aihole inscription of Jaina poet Ravikīrti (C.E. 634) is the most famous political poetry of the Bādāmi Calukyas. It is singular because it provided a model for many a later charters. A similar fascination, with publicly displaying the most sophisticated forms of royal poetry, seized the minds of royal elites and the bards in the court. Many Jaina charters thoroughly infused with the idiom, intelligence, and socio-political imagination.

The Sanskrit charters always had limited elite audience revolving round the royal courts and temple sites. Many inscriptions are placed

in sacred Jaina sanctuaries and monasteries, which implies that they are concerned with the administration of gods and other superiors.

The two languages, nay the three, Sanskrit, Kannada and Prakrit, had mutual relationship. As such, phonetic and morphological influence was not unnatural. Though massively invaded by Sanskrit and Prakrit vocabulary, at the lexical level from the earliest period, a symmetrical cultural and literary cordiality prevailed. Prakrit and Sanskrit culture and literature was homogenously indigenized. Constant flow of the Jaina traders, the burghers, the frairs and nuns, and the literati acted as the agents of this transculturation.

Even when the trend of vernacularization had not set in most of the South Asian countries, Karnataka had so systematically opted to Kannada, the *vox populi*, of the region. The skilled literati essayed their ability in *ars poetica* by composing some epitaphs. Surprisingly enough, their versification could bring out the *cream de lara* of Kannada creativity.

Dozens of fascinating Kannada verses composed in poetic style of academic excellence, appeared in the Jaina inscriptions of, as early as, 6th century C. E. An ancient small hill called Candragiri, at Shravanabelagola, provided a unique bedrock for inscribing such early epigraphs of 6th and 7th centuries. Interestingly, they do not sing the glory of god, or the royal elites, or the political power of a particular monarchy. On the contrary, those earliest charters carried metaphysical messages, recording the deeds and death of men and women, the recluse and the lay votaries, who lead the life of asceticism, of virtue and who voluntarily opted for the inevitable death with a smile. *śramaṇa-saṃskṛti*, the culture of the strivers, embodies the religious, philosophical and literary achievements of the Jains.

It is phenomenal that we witness an efflorescence of ascetic poetry first, and political poetry was yet to follow, in Karnataka. These early charters of the 7th century from Shravanabelagola, exhibit Kannada literary culture that had mastered a complete grammar, lexicon, prosody and mythography, along with the canon of Jaina epistemology and spiritual accomplishment.

Interestingly these inscriptions begin without the usual benedictory verses, and directly narrate the purport of the record, praising the merits of virtuous life. The inscriptional material, composed in Old Kannada language is, virutally without exception, religious, Albeit, it is poetic, striking for its aesthetic quality of expression and still maintaining *desi* sap. These lithic records confirm the harmonious blend of Sanskrit and Kannada languages. They clearly establish the fact that Sanskrit and even Prakrit elements had merged in the warp and the woof of Kannada linguistic structure, happily assimilating the Jaina idioms of religious connotation.

Gifted men of letters, assiduously mastering the intricate codes and protocols of Sanskrit literature, started composing their works in their local language. Elites, hitherto proudly participated in a peculiar supralocal ecumene of the Sanskrit cosmopolis, chose to express in their regional language, Kannada, thanks mainly and wholly to Jaina ascetics and litterateurs. Kannada versification had efficaciously absorbed the genre and essence of the Sanskrit and Prakrit language and literature. Karnataka is affluent in inscriptions. As mentioned earlier, so far about 25,000 inscriptions are discovered, out of which about 18,000 are published. Karnataka had yielded and still is yielding considerably larger number of inscriptions of early period, perhaps than North. The largest number of Jaina epigraphs come from Shravanabelagola, followed by Koppala and Hombuja. Except for these three places, all the other Jaina epigraphs, so far collected, come from different parts of the State, and their number is limited.

Yet another salient feature of the Jaina inscriptions is the large number of *Nishidhi* epigraphs. It has been the practice to speak of *Nishidhis* that they are composed in bald prose. But in reality there are hundreds of *Nishidhis* composed in excellent literary *kāvya* style, embedded with verses of various metres. [Hampa Nagarajaiah : *Jaina Corpus of Koppala Inscriptions Xrayed* : Bangalore : 1999]

So is the case with records of endowments. Charters mentioning grants of specified area of land, garden, oil-mill, house and site gifted for worship offerings of the concerned deity, alms giving etc, made over to the pontiffs in charge of the adminsitration of the Jaina shrines,

not only specify the responsibility of the donee, but also versify the act of charity.

Some recently discovered stone inscriptions of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭa period have revealed rare information of Gosāsas to Jaina pontiffs. So far donation of cows to Jaina monks or monasteries, although recorded in Tamilnadu epigraphs, was almost unknown in Karnataka. Ranna (C.E. 993), poet-laureate of the Kalyāṇa Cālukyās, had mentioned *Gosāsas* in his *Ajitapurāṇam*, a *campū* calssic. Though most of the extant inscriptions in the state are read and recorded, the doors are still wide open for the fresh entries to come in, shedding new light on the dark corners of cultural history. This brief anatomy of the Jaina inscriptions, studied so far, of Karnataka, is an attempt at explaining their superiority as an essential and authentic source material, in the reconstruction of history of India in general, and of Karnataka in particular.

So far it has been possible to examine only 1/4 of the total number of Jaina inscriptions to be studied. Further research of the remaining 3/4 of the epigraphs will yield more useful and authentic material. Jaina literature of Karnataka is multifaced. It is not confined to literary texts alone. It is inclusive of inscriptins also. Some of the Jaina epigraphs of Karnataka, composed in Sanskrit and Kannada languges, are nothing short of abridged poems. Inscriptions of Shravanabelagoḷa, Muḷguda, Hombuja, Kogāḷi, Niralgī, Halebīḍu, Saundatti, Terdāl, Lakkunḍi, Balligāme, Bandalike etc are in traditional *campū* style and are notable for their socio-historical importance. At the same time they are remarkable for their literary flavour.

The Jaina inscriptions found in the Districts of Bhiḍ, Kolhapura, Nānded, Sangli and Usmānabād in Maharashtra State, confirm that the Yāpaniya sect had its branches and followers in that area, during the reign of the Cāluyas of Kalyāṇa.

Authentic material is available about the ravage and conversion of Jaina temples at various places. For instance, an inscription of C.E. 1184 from Tālikote in Bijapur District (vide SII. Vol XV No. 56) is of great historical, socio-cultural and religio-political significance.

It gives a graphic description of the catastrophe of Jaina places of worship and of how the Jaina idols were replaced by Śivaliṅgas. The communal clash of 1184, registered in this charter, is well-attested by other literary and inscriptional evidences. Interestingly, the above inscription also affords credible proof and convincing explanation of the conversion of Jaina temples at the places mentioned in the epigraph. The Rāmeśvara temple at Bommakūru, the modern Baṅkūra (Gulbarga Dt.), is basically a Jaina shrine. It was appropriated by the Liṅgāyits (Vīraśaivas) in 1184. In spite of its subsequent renovations, after being converted, the temple still continues to retain the characteristic features of Jaina architecture. The rack and ruin of two more Jaina temples is corroborated by the Jaina vestiges scattered nearby the village Bankūr. Literally hundreds of inscriptions glow with vivid and picturesque description of Jaina monks and nuns and their engrossment in austerity. These Jaina epigraphical documents were not issued for a royal court, nor sing the glory of kings or the riches. Contrarily, they are eulogies of the recluse who relinquished everything dear to them. Many of these records are embedded with verses charged with poetic merit, and the bards who composed them have remained *incognito*. Let me illustrate the statement, by a free rendering of two such inscriptions: the first one is the English translation of a seventh century inscription from Shravanabelagoḷa, and the second one is of tenth century from Koppaḷa;

1. The pomp of rainbow
the streaks of lightning
the charm of dew-drops
loose splendor to become
invisible within no time;
The prosperity, the treasures of beauty
profane pleasure, power and opulence
all ephemeral to be sure !
Nandisena, chief of friars
contemplating on worldly life
dispassion arose in an instant
engaged himself in deep penance
accomplished nonpareil delight
ascended the acme of heavens !

2. The austerities of Traikālya-yogi
 standing in a rocky place
 exposed to the fierce rays
 careless of the summer days
 feeling the full-moon beams;
 Ah! arrived the rainy-season
 roaring sounds of the clouds
 rainfall pouring cats and dogs
 with the flashing light'ning
 earthly creatures trembling
 wind blowing ferocious
 Traikālyayogi, Lord of sages
 constantly contemplating of ages
 does not move even inches!
 Came the winter showering
 snow-flakes fully covering
 Everyone simply shivering!
 Lo! this ascetic in austerity
 dismissing it as cotton balls!
 peerless pontiff possesses
 strength to sustain summer,
 monsoon and the vital winter;
 conqueror of human nature !

The lithic and copper-plate records of Jaina color date back to fourth and fifth and sixth century C.E., and extend up to the eighteenth century, spanning over 1400 years of history and shedding, flood-light on affairs-cultural, economic, political linguistic and religious aspects. The earliest are the copper-plate records.

Jaina genius always patronised and nourished the local languages and indigenous literature and culture. Jaina authors did not wholly get rid of Sanskrit, but, out and out, encouraged the growth and development of Kannada and other Dravidian languages in the South. They experimented, initially, by mixing Kannada words with Sanskrit and Prakrit words, in the early centuries of the current era. Gradually, Kannada gained the vigour and glow to dominate and assert

its position, in epigraphy and in literature. About a dozen lithic records, from Shravanabelagoḷa alone, reveal the literary elegance, skill and sap that Kannada language had come to possess so early as in seventh century.

The learned Jaina litterateurs were conversant with their contemporary inscriptions. Particularly while authoring poems with special reference to historical personages, the poets would avail of the material from epigraphical sources. Pampa, Ponna and Ranna, the triad of tenth century Kannada literature, had thorough knowledge of the lithic records of their patrons and the dynastic genealogy as recorded in the inscriptions. Epigraphists have examined and established that the genealogical table furnished by some of the Kannada poets, including the court-poets, agree with corroborative inscriptional details.

Pampa (C.E. 941), greatest of Kannada authors, in one of his verses, states: “The *sāmantas*, while proclaiming their cognomen, make use of the set phraseology of *svasti samadhigata pañca-mahāśabda et cetera*. Such epithets are common to all feudatories, but in ability and virtue, all are not equal. Arikesari, king of Lembulavātaka, excells others, including his predecessors. Arikesari erected the pillar of benevolence and inscribed his valour of annexing the principalities and establishing his sway” [Pampa (941) : *Vikramārjuna-vijayaṃ* : chapter 1, verse 50].

Jaina temples, their exterior and interior walls and the compound, have yielded valuable inscriptions, revealing the pedigree of the different branches of ruling dynasties, their vassals, the Dukes and governors, the ministers, generals, merchants, local chiefs and shroffs, and country sheriffs. The pontiffical order and succession of disciples are neatly documented.

Inscriptions recording the demolition of Jaina temples and reinstallation of new images after the desecration of the shrine at the hands of the marauding fanatics, are interesting. Such epigraphs are valuable pathfinders as they enrich us on different phases and events of the history of the period. Inscriptions recording the capital and other

metropolis of a kingdom regaining their glory and grandeur after their demolition are notable evidences.

I am not the first, and certainly not the last, to conceive and contemplate a project of this nature. Due credit should go to Guerinot of Paris, perhaps a forerunner in this direction, who ably compiled *Epigraphia Jaina*, of course in the French language, as early as in 1908. Even though it did not contain the original text or translation of the inscriptions, which was not his intention, Guerinot ventured to crystallize the gist and classify according to the Royal dynasties. Speaking of his limitations, it should be remembered that many of the charters were not published during his life time. Since then, so many inscriptions are published that the early anthologies need to be brought upto date and the material therein is to be re-examined, re-assessed and re-arranged. But all this will not deprive of the historical role played by the volumes edited earlier, including A. Guerinot's [*Repertoire D'epigraphic Jaina Precede D'une, Esquisse De L'histoire du Jainisme*, Paris, 1908].

Early scholars made an earnest attempt to compile anthologies of the Jaina inscriptions. The *Jaina-Śilālekha-Saṅgraha* was published in four parts :- Part 1 was edited by Hiralal Jain (Mumbai 1928), which contained the inscriptions of Shravaṇabelagoḷa and nearby villages, Parts 2 and 3 were edited by Vijayamurti (1952), and Part 4 was edited by Dr. Vidyadhar Johrapurkar. Of these 4 parts, Part 3 has included many Jaina inscriptions of Karnataka, in Devanagari characters, and Part 4 has some details about Royal dynasties of South India. Jinavijaya Muni had edited the *Prācīna Jaina-Lekha-Saṅgraha*, with an Introduction in Gujarati (Part II, 1921), and Dr. Vasudeva Sarana Agrawal had edited the *Bikaner-Jaina-Lekha-saṅgraha* (Calcutta, Vīrābda 2482). P.C. Nahar's the *Jaina Inscriptions*, also titled *Jaina-Lekhana Saṅgraha* in 3 volumes, made signal contribution to the study (1918, 1927, 1929)

Possibly, B. L. Rice was the pioneer in publishing Jaina inscriptions in Karnataka. His volume two of *Epigraphia Carnatica*, devoted exclusively for the Jaina inscriptions of Shravaṇabelagoḷa, published in 1889, had included only 144 inscriptions whereas its

revised edition by R. Narasimhachar contained about 500 inscriptions. Its re-revised edition of 1973 contains 573 inscriptions.

The *Jaina Inscriptions*, collected and compiled by Puranchand Nahar, containing Indices of Places, Glossary of Names of Shrāvka castes and *gotras of Gachhas* and Ācāryas with dates and with plates, part I was published in 1918 (2nd edition 1983), followed with part 2 and 3 in 1927 and 1929 (Delhi-Calcutta). An advocate of Calcutta High Court, P.C. Nahar, a member of Asiatic Society of Bengal and Bihar and Orissa Research Society, was also an Honorary correspondent of the Archaeological department (Govt. of India). While editing the three volumes of *Jaina Inscriptions*, P. C. Nahar wrote : “The epigraphs are undoubtedly the main source of ancient Indian history. In the absence of any systematic history of the Jains, the collection of their inscriptions is very significant. A major part of their history is based on these records. The information gathered from the epigraphs is hardly available from any other source of history. Moreover, with the passage of time, other writings get easily corrupted or destroyed, while the epigraphs remain intact till the life of the stones themselves. Thus the inscriptions have proved to be an important source of history.”

P.C. Nahar added further that “The records generally are inscribed either on stones or on metals. The writings on stones get damaged earlier in comparison to the records on metals. The stone-writings lose also their clarity after sometime. That is the reason why I have read more records those on metal than those on stones. The information regarding following points is available in the inscriptions:

1. The year, month, date and day of the week
2. The names of Vaṃśa, Gotra and kula
3. The genealogy
4. The names of the Gachhas, Shākhās and Gaṇas
5. The names of Ācāryas, the shishyas and the Paṭṭāvali
6. The names of the countires, cities and villages
7. The names of the artists and the inscribers
8. The names of the kings and ministers.
9. The contemporary events.

[P. C. Nahar, : 1915 : preface, p.1].

But, Nahar's three parts of the Jaina inscriptions does not deal with the epigraphs of Karnataka at large.

The first part of the *Prācīna Jaina Lekha Saṅgraha*, edited by Hiralal Jain, has the preface of Nathuram Premi, whereas the second and third parts, edited by Vijayamurti are crowned with the preface of Hiralal Jain. Part 2 of the series was published in 1952, 14 years after the first part. The Manikchand Jaina Granthamala of Mumbai of which Nathuram Premiji was the General Secretary, has published these volumes.

Some of the observations made by Hiralal Jain are worth pondering : "These inscriptions have a peculiar interest for the historian in so far as all of them are associated in one way or another with the Jain Religion. Interest in historical researches has of late been awakened in almost all the important communities in India and it is a happy augury of the times that the Directors of the Manika Chandra Digambara Jaina Granthamala have decided to included in their distinguished series a set of volumes bringing together in a handy form, all the known inscriptions of the Digambara Jains, thus facilitating the work of the future Jain Historian. It was thought suitable and convenient to start this series with a volume of Shravanabelogala inscriptions and the work was entrusted to me." (*infra*)

"The present edition is based upon the above mentioned two editions. It has, thus, nothing new to offer to the scholars, but to the general reader, who is interested in Jain history but who for one reason or another cannot go to the previous costly editions in Roman and Kanarese characters, this edition has a few advantages. The text of the inscriptions is here presented for the first time in Devanagari characters, the numbers of the inscriptions in the previous two editions have been given and the verses have been numbered to facilitate reference; the sustance of the inscriptions having portions of Kanarese in them has been given in Hindi; all the important information about Shravanabelagola and its surroundings as contained in the previous two editions is given in the introduction and the historical importance of the inscriptions from the Jain point of view is more thoroughly discussed and the index of the names of Jain monks, poets and works has been seperated from the general index" [Hiralal Jain : 1928 : "Intro" IX-X].

“From around the beginning of the common era, the hitherto largely sacral language of Sanskrit came to be used for the first time as a vehicle for literary and political expression throughout South and much of Southeast Asia. The quite extraordinary story of how all this came about need not be restated here. Suffice it to say that by the middle of the millennium, there are clear signs every where in southern Asia by which literati and their courtly patrons could recognize a common culture and in which we can perceive the presence of a kind of cosmopolitan community. A strong rule obtains throughout this cosmopolis regulating the functions of Sanskrit and vernacular languages : Sanskrit alone was employed for the production of literary and political texts, the latter being the royal genealogies and eulogies (*praśasti*) that often formed the prologue to inscriptions. Vernacular languages, most of which came to literization first through the mediation of Sanskrit, were used - but this was their sole use - for the production of documents (specifying the boundaries of a land grant, for example). For the greater part of the history of this cosmopolitan formation, ‘literized literature’ or expressive texts committed to writing (the Sanskrit term is *kāvya*) could be made only in transethnic, transregional, and (according to its own self-understanding) transhistorical language of Sanskrit and never in a local code. This is something both the theory and practice of Sanskrit culture corroborate. Given that the cosmopolitan culture of the Sanskrit ecumene was increasingly restricted to the expressive and divorced from the documentary, its relation to power seems to have been far more aesthetic than instrumental, a ‘poetry of power’, perhaps, in an aesthetic state.

“The history of literary culture in southern Asia for a period of some five centuries beginning a little before 1000, however, shows everywhere a decisive turn away from Sanskrit, whereby it is gradually supplemented by local language and eventually supplanted for most purposes of literary and political communication. The cultural processes at work here are desperate and complex, but most cases seem to have three components in common : Superposed literariness (and its philological appurtenances) is appropriated and localized; the geocultural sphere of literary communication becomes itself a matter

of literary representation, something we might call literary territorialization; and vernacular literary production becomes a central concern to royal courts. I want to illustrate these features across a variety of literary cultures, in however summary a manner, in order to demonstrate the reality and cultural-political character of this vernacular transformation (*infra*).

‘Kannada, a language found in the present-day south Indian state of Karnataka, is in many ways a paradigmatic case. For about a thousand years until the eighth century, ruling lineages of the region expressed their political will generally in Sanskrit. Only then does Kannada, first literized in the fifth century begin to be used for the documentary portion of inscriptions, by the thirteenth century, most dynastic inscriptions, including eulogistic texts, are in the vernacular. In the ninth century its first literary texts are produced, some four hundred years after the language is first inscribed (a timelag found almost everywhere). The new literature is profoundly self-conscious, it is concerned above all with what it means to produce literature in Kannada as opposed to Sanskrit, and with the identity of the world for which this literature is produced. “The Way of the King of poets” (*Kavirājamārgam*), a treatise on vernacular poetics composed at the Rāṣṭrakūṭa court around 850, shows this clearly. Adapted from a seventh-century Sanskrit treatise, ‘The Mirror of poetry’ (*Kāvyaḍarśa*), ‘The Way’ aims first to constitute Kannada as an epistemological object worthy of analysis by providing it with theory, and, by conducting the discourse in Kannada itself, to make this a language of science even while establishing it as a language of literature.” [Sheldon Pollock: India in the Vernacular Millennium : Daedalus 127-3, 1998 : 48-50]

“By appropriating Sanskrit models for inscriptional and literary expressivity, remapping epic space, invoking new sociotextual communities that would inhabit the new vernacular places and (re)produce themselves by reading/hearing those new vernacular texts, courtly intellectuals in southern Asia at the start of the second millennium created a wholly new kind of cultural formation. Although the cosmopolitan code of Sanskrit is not eliminated, any more than Latin was eliminated in vernacular Europe, its significance in the literary sphere and in the articulation of the political dramatically

decreased. All this we can see, measure and know. What is far more difficult to make sense of in any given case, let alone for the vastly varied world of late medieval South Asia - are the political and social meanings of these cultural transformations'. [*ibid*; 54]

This account must be regarded as having a considerable amount of truth behind the claim. The rulers of Karnataka, both major and minor dynasties, have consciously promoted religion and culture, thereby incorporating into their kingdom a large variety of cults and religious traditions, which explains the wealth of religious tolerance and imagery, found in the innumerable monuments and epigraphs. It is this rich intermixture of sacred and secular outlook that is singular to Jaina inscription, also relevant to all times.

Fairly a good number of new Jaina inscriptions, not included in the published epigraphical volumes, are included in this corpus. While an attempt is made, in brief, to discuss and highlight the wide ranging scope of the information that the corpus replenish. Thus, attention of the scholar-historians is drawn to take up the relevant issues.

There are a few other epigraphs which, because of their mutilated conditions and for certain otehr erasons, cannot be ascribed to any specific ruling dynasty or assigned to any particular period. Sometimes it becomes difficult to group the epigraphs either regionwise or religionwise or otherwise. Under such circumstances I have bracketed the doubtful ones in the miscellaneous heading.

Jaina epigraphs are invaluable for various reasons :

1. They belong to an important phase in the history of Karnataka and of the Deccan as a whole.
2. The add new material for the study of the different aspects of history, culture, religion, and language of the period and region.
3. Many Jaina edicts are thoroughly infused with the idiom, intelligence and socio-political imagination.
4. They supply useful material for the linguistic study :

- a. Dravidic Studies
 - b. Indo-Aryan studies
 - c. Stylistics, Semantics and Lexicology
 - d. Furnish abundant data for the diachronic and synchronic study of Kannada language
 - e. Paleography and orthography of both Kannada and Sanskrit.
5. Throw fresh light on the social and economic life of the people and regional variation.
 6. They provide complementary information to workout a cogent genealogy and chronology of the major and minor dynasties
 7. Some of the *Prasasti* portions are interminable panegyrique compositions
 8. They feed information about Jaina Basadis and *tirthas*.
 9. Frequent references and short biographical sketches of elite women related to specific kinship structures in the region assist and define the role of noble Jaina ladies in medieval Karnataka. Many records mirror the nature and extent of their socio-cultural and politico-religious activities. Interestingly, some charters establish that women were in the fore front in creating religious foundations/endowments and commissioning temples.
 10. Invaluable written history of the achievements of early Jainas are delineated in detail. This wealth of material is of great help in reconstructing the place, position and contribution of Jaina community and in authenticating their past history.
 11. Some charters are extraordinary in adding a glorious chapter to the political/cultural history of a particular period / dynasty / region.
 12. Chronologically, the earliest Jaina inscriptions belong to the Gangas and the Kadambas, two coeval royal dynasties.

13. Graphic description of persons possessing virtues of sterling character, learning, political status, and similar high qualifications - is notable.
14. Activities of the various types of merchants' guilds throw light on the system of economic life.
15. Repairs and construction of temples, tanks, wells and canals for the benefit of the cultivators of a locality.
16. Patronising artists (musicians, dancers, sculptors), men of letters and the scribes.
17. Jaina lithic records/copper plates whether they are *dāna-śāsanas*, endowments/reviving the donations/*praśastis*, are stylistically elegant and positive in their presentation.
18. Through epigraphs we learn that the Cāmuṇḍi Hills at Mysore, the famous pilgrimage centre Melukoṭe in Mandya Dt., were once nerve centres of Jaina order. Many temples in Karnataka, as is elsewhere, now in the custody of non-Jainas were originally Jaina places of worship.
19. An hitherto unsolved question of the Kalacuri king Bijjala's faith is solved on the basis of an epigraph found in the premises of a Jaina shrine [SII. Vol. XVIII. No. 151. C.E. 1167].
20. One more salient feature is the mode of dating. Inscriptions are mostly dated in Śaka era, but other methods of reckoning are not rare. Aihole *praśasti* of Pulakesin-II is dated Śaka year 556 (C. E. 634) but it also refers to the Kali year 3735. The early Gaṅgas referred to the regnal years. So did some of the epigraphs of the Bādāmi Calukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Seṇas and the Hoysaḷas. It is well-known that Vikramāditya-VI formed the Cālukya-Vikrama Era, named after himself, replacing Śaka, commencing from C.E. 1077.
21. The contribution of the Jaina epigraphical poets to the Indian inscriptional literature needs special consideration. The Jaina records of literary excellence constitute an important branch of

Jaina literature and form a valuable addendum to the classical literary words.

22. A recently discovered inscription from a renovated temple at Guttalu, a village near Mandya, has supplemented additional information about the Ganga prince Lokavidyādhara who predeceased his father Aramulideva, by observing the vow of Sallekhanā, a Jaina ritual of willing submission to death [Hampa Nagarajaiah : Candrakoḍe : 1997 : 170-80].
23. The Halmiḍi inscription, supposed to be the earliest extant lithic record in Kannada (C. 450 C.E.), has mentioned Arakella Bhaṭṭari, a person belonging to Kella family, supposed to be one of the oldest Jaina house [Hampana : 1997 : 470-72].
24. Jaina shrines received various kinds of grants and gifts, in cash and kind, ranging from gold, land, money, silver, village, tank, house, well, house-site and many other objects of interest. Endowments/donations had the formal approval of the concerned authority-king, queen or otherwise,. Apart from the details of gifts, the purpose of the donation is also mentioned in the epigraphs.
25. Till recently, the place and date of the death of poet Somadevasūri, author of the *Yaśastilakacampū* and *Nitivākyāmrta*, was not known. A recently discovered *Nisidhikal* has recorded that he died a voluntary death on 2.10.984 at Koppala [Nagarajaiah : *Jaina Corpus of Koppala Inscriptions* 1999 : 65-66].
26. The trilingual Kurkiyāl *olim* Gangādharam inscription of Jinavallabha, younger brother of poet Pampa (941), has shed flood of light on the life and achievement of both the elder and younger brothers [ARIE 1966-67, B-1; EA, Vol. II. P. 30]. It has shed interesting light on the growth of poetry in Telugu. The epigraph puts Telugu poetical composition a century earlier to the oldest Telugu poem the Mahābhārata by Nannayya-bhaṭṭa, which was dedicated to Rājarāja-narendra (1022-63).

27. Much of the genuine material required for the reconstruction of the history of the Yāpaniyas, a vanished sect of Jaina church, comes from the inscriptions of medieval Karnataka. It is a happy feature of their epigraphs that they furnish information about the names, dates, places and pontifical genealogy of the Yāpaniya ascetics, otherwise not known to history.
28. Inscriptions on the Jaina metal images also have yielded material of historical importance.
29. Outstanding poets like Ponna (950), Ādi-Guṇavarman (915), Jinavallabha (950), Ranna (1007), Śāntinātha (1068), Boppana Paṇḍita (1180), Janna (1190), Pārśva Paṇḍita (1204) and Vardhamāna have composed inscriptions of historical importance.
30. A Jaina inscription from Shravanabelagoḷa [EC. 11 (R) 82 (73)] dated C.E. 1118, has recorded a unique historical incident of the defeat of Vikramaditya's army which was made to flee, notwithstanding the attack of general Gaṅgarāja [Hampa Nagarajaiah : *Apropos of Vikramāditya-VI and Jainism* : 1999 : 33].
31. They recount historical information of how the successive generation of kings and dynasties continued to endow the sanctuaries and monasteries for over a stretched period of two millenium.

Thus, the Jaina inscriptions form a class by themselves from all points of view.

Regarding the salient features of the benedictions and imprecations found in the hoard of Jaina edicts, I have discussed elsewhere. [Hampa Nagarajaiah : 1. *Chandrakode*, Hampi : 1997 : 2. Invocatory Sanskrit verses in Jaina Inscriptions, in *Sambodhi* - 22]. Analogous with non-Jaina epigraphs, in the Jaina charters also, the protector of the charity is profusely blessed with several rewards while the destroyer of the gift is mercilessly cursed to the maximum extent possible. These benedictory/imprecatory passages reflect the hallowed

sentiments of the devotees : “However, the imprecations tend to be full of offensive terminologies which reflect a general deterioration of social standards, moral values, and higher principles” [A Ekambaranathan : *Jainism in Tamilnadu* : 1996 : 35-36].

“Tamilnadu has more than five hundred and thirty (530) Jaina inscriptions reported from over one hundred and twenty locations. Many of these sites are still inhabited. As demonstrated in the chart below these records are found widely distributed in almost all the districts of Tamilnadu :

Chingleput 30, Pudukkottai 27, Ramnad II, Coimbatore 16, South Arcot 93, Dharmapuri 7, Tirunelveli III, Madurai 102, Thanjavur 6, Kanyakumari 21, Madras 5, North Arcot 85, Tiruchirapalli 17.

As indicated in the chart, bulk of the records are located in the regions of Tirunelveli, Madurai, South and north Arcot districts. The findings also indicate that most of the earliest epigraphic records first appeared in southern districts. This suggests that prior to ninth and tenth century C.E., Jain communities were first established in the northern region.

The various scripts employed in the lithic records include : Brahmi, Vatteluttu, Grantha, Tamil, Kannada and Devanagari. Although the scripts varied from time to time, the language of these scripts was invariably a form of Tamil. The few exceptions are those written in the Kannada and Sanskrit languages. The earliest epigraphs found in the Tamilnadu region are of Jaina Brahmi inscriptions, which have been palaeographically assigned to a period dating from the second century B.C.E to the second century C.E. There is little questions of the historical importance of these sites, and that the archaeological excavations have, and will continue to, shed new light on the material culture of Jains who first inhabited these villages in the second century B.C.E. Besides the above sites, major Jain centres which flourished in later periods may also be taken up for archaeological investigation in future, so as to bridge gaps in the history of Jainism in Tamilnadu.” [A Ekambaranathan A: 1996 : 20-21]

Most of these observations on Jaina elements in Tamilnadu, are also applicable to Karnataka's Jaina inscriptions. The superiority of an epigraph is determined by the light it throws on the political and cultural chronicle of the land.

“The story of Chālukya history in the Aihole inscription begins with Jayasimhavallabha, founder of the house, and his son Raṇarāga, both of whom appear to have been small rulers. Raṇarāga's son, Pulakēśin I, who made Vātāpi (Bādāmi) his capital and performed the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice, established the greatness of the family. His son and successor named Kīrtivarman I subdued the neighbouring powers such as the Nāḷas, Mauryas and Kadambas and was succeeded by his younger brother Maṅgalēśa who was successful in extending Chālukya power in the west and north by conquering Rēvatidvīpa and defeating king Buddharāja of the Kalachuri dynasty. Maṅgalēśa's attempt to appoint his son as his successor resulted in a civil war between himself and his nephew Pulakēśin II who was the eldest son of Kīrtivarman I. Disorder set in and the whole kingdom fell into a chaotic state. Ultimately Pulakēśin II succeeded in killing his uncle and gaining the throne; but he had to face the invading armies of Appāyika and Govinda who had reached as far as the northern bank of the Bhimārathi (Bhima). He was successful in winning over Govinda and expelling Appāyika. In the South, he next subdued the Kadambas of Vanavāsi on the Varada and some of their neighbours such as the Gaṅgas and the Āḷupas. In the west, the Mauryas of the Konkaṇa were defeated and their capital Pūri was besieged, while in the north, the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gūrjaras were subdued. Next Pulakēśin II defeated the north Indian emperor Harsha in the region of the river Rēva (i.e. Narmada) and became the undisputed lord of the three Mahārashṭras or great kingdoms. There after in the course of a *digvijaya* in the east, he subdued Kosala (i.e. South Kosala) and Kalinga, conquered Pishtapura and Lake Kuṇāla and drove the Pallava king behind the ramparts of his capital, the city of Kāñchi. Next he crossed the Kaveri and made friends with the Chōḷas, Pāṇḍyas and Kēraḷas. The Pallava army was once again defeated on his way back to his capital, the city of Vātāpi. The details of the rise and growth of the Chālukya empire quoted above from the

Aihoḷe inscription are mostly unknown from any other source so that, if the inscription had not been available for study, the early history of this great dynasty would have remained inadequately unknown” (*infra*)

Sanskrit, Prakrit vs Kannada

“To the history of Sanskrit literature, very important is the concluding stanza of the Aihoḷe inscription which says, ‘May that Ravikīrti (i.e. the author of the record) be victorious, who full of discernment has used the Jaina temple, firmly built of stone, for a new treatment of his theme, and who thus by his poetic skill has attained to the fame of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi’. Besides offering us the only work of the great South Indian poet Ravīkīrti, the Aihoḷe inscription (dated 634 A.D.) shows that both Kalidāsa and Bhāravi were already regarded in South India as the foremost of Sanskrit poets by the time it was composed” [D.C. Sircar, *South Indian Epigraphy - Its value as source Material - in - South Indian Studies*, Mysore : 1990 : 187-88].

“Most of the inscriptions are of importance from one or the other angle of vision : but some of them are more important than the others for the purpose of reconstruction of history. The importance of an inscription is determined by the light it throws on the political and cultural history of the land. Thus great importance should be attached to the Aihoḷe inscription [EI. Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.] of Pulakēsin (C. 610-42) which offers very valuable information regarding the rise and early history of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi till the year 634 A.D. as well as to the light it throws on the date of the poets Kālidāsa and Bhāravi and to the otherwise obscure poet of great merit named Ravikīrti, who composed the record” [D. C. Sircar : 1990 : 186-87].

“For its first 400 years, inscriptional culture in South Asia is almost exclusively non-Sanskrit (the languages used were instead the Middle Indic dialects called Prakrit), but this situation changed dramatically at the beginning of the common era when we first begin to find expressive texts eulogizing royal elites composed in Sanskrit and inscribed on rock-faces, pillars, monuments, or copper-plates, a form that will later receive the genre name *praśasti* (praise poem). The most famous of these texts, produced for or by the Indo-Scythian (Saka) overlord Rudradāman (Ca. A.D. 150), has been known to scholars for more than a century, and nothing has been discovered

since to alter the impression that it marks a profound cultural-historical break. Never before had Sanskrit spoken as it does in Rudradāman's text, out in the open, in written form, in reference to a historical king, and in aestheticized language. And yet almost immediately thereafter, and for the next thousand years, it is the voice of Sanskrit poetry that would be heard in polities from the mountains of Peshawar to Prambanam on the plains of Central Java" {Shelden Pollock : The Cosmopolitan Vernacular-in-*The Journal of Asian Studies* 57, no. 1 (Feb 1998), pp. 6-37].

"The subsequent history of Sanskrit in inscriptional discourse is the history of an unprecedented and vast diffusion, once it came to be used for inscriptional literature in North India in the second to third centuries. Sanskrit was adopted elsewhere with astonishing speed. Prakrit disappeared from the epigraphical record throughout India in the space of a century, never to be revived for inscriptions thereafter, and retained only a residual status in the literary cultural order' [*ibid* : 11].

Priests, who served various Āryan clans and their rulers, composed Ṛgveda, collection of hymns in praise of Āryan gods. They glorified Āryan language as being divine, eternal and produced by the gods themselves. Āryans considered non-Āryan languages as substandard. Beyond the pale of Brahmanical Āryāvarta in the north eastern regions, Buddha, Mahāvīra and other Ājīvaka sects, used local vernacular languages having a bearing upon the linguistic tension. The Magadhan attitude towards language and culture, was obviously in contrast to the Āryāvarta, northwest stand. Buddha and Mahāvīra advised their friars to teach the doctrine in *Sakāya niruttiyā*, their own language. The claim of the Vedas as *apauruṣeya*, super human creations and not *pauruṣeya*, human creations, was evidently to refute the Buddhist and Jaina notions.

In the South, even when Sanskrit was no longer a living language, it continued to enjoy the status of high prestige. Gifted authors of vernaculars considered it as the classical language. Contemplating on the questions relating to the social attitudes connected with the use of Sanskrit and Prakrit, including Pāli, an adversary stance also needs consideration, which obviously involves major dimensions of socio-linguistic and regional/indigenous disagreements. Māgadhi,

including Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī, supposed to be *sabba-sattānam mūlabhāsā*, the original and most prestigious language of all beings of North India in the 5th to 3rd centuries B.C.E., during the Mauryan period. In the South too, a similar position prevailed in the Sātavāhana age. After the fall of the Mauryas and the Sātavāhanas, overall political prestige of Sanskrit rose linearly that it eclipsed the prestige of Prakrit. From Rudradāman (2nd century C.E.) onwards royal edicts changed from Prakrit to Sanskrit. Then Vākāṭakas and the Pallavas who were initially in favour of Prakrit, also drifted towards Sanskrit. The onwards nowhere, a shift from Sanskrit to Prakrit is seen in the history of edicts in the South or in the North.

Jainism found Prakrit a useful medium to propagate their faith, in the North. As a corollary, they could have preferred Prakrit to Kannada. But, with their commitment to the language of the people, they rightly opted for Kannada, the *lingua franca* of the region. They did not reject Sanskrit but confined it to the elite and official hierarchy. However, ratio of Sanskrit inscriptions never overtook the higher frequency of Kannada. Even the inscriptions prefaced with Sanskrit stanzas, would narrate the rest of text in chaste Kannada, couched in prose in between. Often prose passages consist of a long string of epithets, but beautifully arranged in different patterns such as *anuprāsa*, *saṃkhyāpūrvā*, *akṣaramālā* and *antādi*, *śabdālaṅkāra*, and *arthālaṅkāra*. Some are composed in Campū style, and admixture of verse and prose, employing *deśi* metres such as Akkara, Śaṭpadi and Tripadi.

Epitome

The early inscriptions engraved on the boulders of Candragiri at Shravanabelagoḷa, some of them being very brief to the point, normally do not mention the ruling King's or his chief's name, the regnal year, the Śaka date and the ruling country. They form a class by themselves and directly deal with the subject of the record and mention the name of the deceased monk, nun or householder. Without either invocatory or imprecatory formalities, the content of the record glows with vivid description enveloped in high flown eulogy of the person who voluntarily embraced death. The unaffected simplicity of local language and treatment of the subject deserves a special mention. The phonological, morphological, semantic and other linguistic traits of Pre-Old Kannada are furnished. Based on the Jaina epigraphs from

6th to 12th century, an evolution of the Kannada language is traced methodically. The shift and stages of Pre-Old-Kannada to Old-Kannada and Old-Kannada to Middle-Kannada are richly illustrated. The *Campū* style, rooted deeper and the happy choice of elite literati, served as a model of dignity in composing inscriptional poetry. Not only in drafting royal records, but also in delineating the pontifical genealogies (chronicler of successive teacher pupil pedigree), highflown and refined language of literary poetic style was felicitously employed. Inscriptional literature reached its zenith at Śravaṇabelagoḷa. The 11th and 12th century compositions in particular, including the *niśidikals*, exhibit ornateness and grandeur of successful poetry at its best. The vigorous verses used and their metrical composition amply testify to the existence of a literary tradition though no literature of this early period is surviving to this day. Even the prose passages arranged in poetic diction, is a positive evidence of Kannada poetry. The period marks the flowering of the excellence of Kannada poetry. The epigraphs here had developed a proto-literary style and format of its own in drafting Jaina inscriptions which, very often, gets repeated. As mentioned before, details found recorded in these inscriptions are of immense value for history, religion, politics, culture, art, architecture, linguistics, poetics, economics, sociology, philosophy, grammar, prosody and literature.

The language and orthography of early inscriptions, of this ancient place of pilgrimage, shows some interesting and significant features not commonly met with, of the period, elsewhere. The literary feature of charters assigned to 6th to 9th centuries is that they furnish more archaic and *deśi* vocabulary compared to the later records written with a mixture of less Kannada words and more Sanskrit words. In brief, the inscriptions at Śravaṇabelagoḷa afford an evolution of the Kannada language and orthography.

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APROBABLE JAIN SOURCE FOR A VERSE IN
SARVA-DARŚANA-SAMGRAHA, CHAPTER I

Ramkrishna Bhattacharya

A verse in the *editio princeps* of *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha* (*SDS*), Ch.1 runs as follows :

*mṛtānāmapi jantūnām śrāddhaṁ cet tṛptikāraṇam/
 gacchatāmiha jantūnām vyartham pātheyakalpanam¹//*

If the *śrāddha* produces gratification to beings
 who are dead.

Then here too, in the case of travellers when they
 start, it is needless to give provisions for the
 journey.²

Īśvarachandra Vidyāsāgara, the first editor of *SDS*, could procure only five manuscripts (MSS) for collation. Apparently all the five contained the same reading. Two large Sanskrit dictionaries, the *Śabdakalpadrūma* and the *Vācaspatyam*, quote this reading along with other verses from *SDS*.³ Subsequent editions (reprints) of *SDS* published by Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati (1871), Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara (1889) and Maheśacandra Pāl (1894) adopted the same reading.⁴

Hari Nārāyaṇ Āpte brought out a new edition of *SDS* in 1906. It supplied the last chapter not found in the MSS available to Īśvarachandra Vidyāsāgara. However, as regards the verse under discussion (v. 4 of the last section), Āpte's edition does not differ in any respect from the *editio princeps*.⁵

It was in Vāsudeva Shāstrī Abhyāñkar's edition of *SDS* (1924) that two additional lines are first found. The second line of the earlier reading (4 *cd*) becomes the first line of the next verse (5 *ab*) and two new lines, 4 *cd* and 5 *cd* are added. The two verses now read as follows:

*mṛtānāmapi jantūnām śrāddhaṁ cet tṛptikāraṇam/
 nirvāṇasya pradīpasya snehaḥ saṁvardhayecchikhāṁ//
 gacchatāmiha jantūnām vyartham pātheyakalpanam/
 gehasthakṛtaśrāddhena pathi tṛptiravāritā⁶//*

If the *śrāddha* produces gratification even to the
 dead beings, oil would then increase the flame of
 an extinguished lamp.

It is futile to provide for the travellers when they start. Their gratification on the way would be boundless by the offering of *śrāddha* at home.

(Trans. mine)

The addition of two new lines (4 *cd* and 5 *cd*) makes more cogent reading and much better sense. In place of nine verses of two lines each and a verse having three lines (twenty-one lines in all), we now have ten verses of two lines each and a verse having three lines (twenty-three lines in all).

Unfortunately Abhyaṅkar does not specify from which new MS or MSS he got these two additional lines. In his short exposition he refers to a couple of verses from the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (3.18.25-26). The second one is a variant of *SDS*, Ch. 1, lines 114-15 (= v. 3 in the last set of verses). However, Abhyaṅkar failed to notice that the first additional line, viz. *nirvāṇasya pradīpasya*, etc. (line 117 in his ed. = 4 *cd*) also occurs in the *Prabodha-candrodaya* (*PC*). 2.21.⁷ In fact the reading given in *SDS* tallies with that of *PC*. Most probably Sāyaṇa-mādhava (S-M) got this verse from *PC*, as he might have got vv. 2 and 3 from other sources.⁸

Fortunately, the verse (*PC*, 2.21) also occurs in the works of two Jain savants, Hemacandra (1089-1172) and Malliṣeṇa (early thirteenth century). In Hemacandra's auto-commentary on his *Yogaśāstra* (*YS*), the verse runs as follows :

*mṛtānāmapi jantūnām yadi tṛptirbhavediha/
nirvāṇasya pradīpasya snehaḥ saṁvardhayecchikhām⁹//*

This varies a little from the reading found in *PC* and *SDS* (*yadi tṛptirbhavediha*, 'if it causes gratification here' in place of *śrāddham cet tṛptikāraṇam* in *b*), but otherwise the readings are all alike.

Malliṣeṇa quotes this verse in his comentary on Hemacandra's *AYDV*. The reading cited by him is different from Hemacandra's but it is much closer to that of *PC*. There is only one minor variant in *c* : *tannirvāṇapradīpasya* for *nirvāṇasya pradīpasya*.¹⁰

In spite of these variations, it cannot be claimed for certain that Hemacandra and Malliṣeṇa got the verse from two different sources. Most probably they were quoting from memory which may account for the differences in their readings.

There is another point to be noted. Kṛṣṇamiśra attributed this verse to Cārvāka who makes a brief appearance in his allegorical play. Kṛṣṇamiśra has nothing but contempt for his views. Hemacandra and Malliṣeṇa, on the other hand, quote the verse under discussion with approval and use it as a stick to beat the Mīmāṃsakas with. Both of them were adherents of the doctrine of non-violence (*ahimsā*) while the Mīmāṃsakas, as staunch Vedists, accepted and recommended slaughter of animals in *śrāddha* and other rituals. There is nothing to prove that Kṛṣṇamiśra was the author of this verse. It is more probable that the verse was already current as an *ābhāṇaka* or *lokagāthā* (popular saying), a floating verse circulating orally. S-M might very well have taken the verse from *PC* and believed that it had its origin in the Cārvāka tradition. But the question is : did Hemacandra and Malliṣeṇa, too, think that the verse “ is clearly in the style of Cārvāka comments”? ¹¹ Would they use a verse attributable to the Cārvākas in their polemics against the arch-Vedists? Or, did they know that the verse had emanated from Jain circles and it could be employed with immunity?

The verse makes fun of offering oblations to the departed soul in the *śrāddha* ceremony. The Cārvākas did not believe in the existence of the soul without the body. So the banter against the *śrāddha* ceremony is quite fitting. But that is not the only point. *śrāddha* also involves slaughter of animals as food for the ancestors. As *Manu* prescribes :

*dvau māsau matsya-māṃsena trin māsān hāriṇena/
aurabhreṇātha caturaḥ śākunenātha pañca vai//*
(3 . 268)

Two months with fish-flesh, three months with that
of deer,

Four months with that of sheep, five months with
that of birds.

(Trans. F.W. Thomas)

Both Hemacandra and Malliṣeṇa quote this verse in the same sections in which they quote the *mṛtānāmapi jantūnām*, etc.¹²

Similarly in order to deprecate *himsā* in the performance of Vedic rituals, Malliṣeṇa quotes a verse that is also found in the *Padmapurāṇa* (*PPu*) :

*yūpaṃ chitvā paśuṃ hatvā kṛtvā rudhirakardamam/
yadyevam gamyate svarge narake kena gamyate//*¹³

If having cut a sacrificial post, having slain animals,
and made a puddle of blood,

Thus one gets to heaven, whereby does one go to
hell ?¹⁴

(Trans. F.W. Thomas)

Māṭhara too quotes this verse (with some variants) in his commentary on the *Sāṃkhyakārikā*,¹⁵ although neither he nor Malliṣeṇa mentions the source. In the *PPu*, too, the verse is not attributed to the Cārvāka. The basic theme of the section in which this verse occurs is condemnation of Vedic sacrifices that require violence.¹⁶

It is probable that S-M merely compiled the last eleven verses from disparate sources. He did not compose any of these verses (although he made some alterations in the readings)¹⁷ and attributed all the verses to Bṛhaspati.¹⁸ S-M concentrates on the practice of slaughtering animals in vv. 3-6, 9 and 11; vv. 1 and 7-8 deny the existence of the incorporeal soul (and consequently the futility of *śrāddha*), and vv. 9-11 ridicule the text the Vedas, as well as Vedic sacrifices, and blame the Brahmins for inventing obscene rituals.

The first three verses can be traced back to *PC*, *VPu*, *Naiṣadhacarita* and other sources. The context of vv. 4-6 can be related to similar sources, such as Jābāli's speech in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* and *VPu*; v.7 is taken from the *VDMPu* while vv. 10-11 could have been taken from some Buddhist and / or Jain sources.¹⁹ S-M does not always quote verbatim and his choice of the last eleven verses is rather eclectic. It is impossible to accept his declaration that Bṛhaspati is the author of all these verses. It is more probable that the verse, *mṛtānāmapi jantūnām*, etc., was taken from a Jain source although Kṛṣṇamiśra attributed it to Cārvāka. Hemacandra and Malliṣeṇa most probably knew the verse to be of Jain origin and unhesitatingly used it against the Vedic ritualists in general.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *SDS*, BI ed., p.6.
2. *SDS*, Parimal ed., p.12. The translation first appeared in *JAS(B)*, 1862, p. 381. For the meaning of *śrāddha*, see Appendix A.

3. S. V. *Cārvāka*.

4. It may be mentioned in this connection that Karl H. Potter wrongly attributes the *editio princeps* to Tarkavācaspati (T) and gives the year of publication as 1851 (809.17.1, p.510). T's edition appeared only in 1871. A copy of this edition is available in the Government Sanskrit College library, Kolkata. Similarly the name of Maheśacandra Pāl has been misprinted in Potter as C.M.Pal (809.17.19, p.510).

5. *SDS*, Ānandāśrama ed., p.5.

6. *SDS*, BORI ed., pp. 13-14, lines 116-19.

7. The speech is attributed to Cārvāka. Cf. *PC*, 2.20 = *VPu*, 3.18.26 = *SDS*, Chapter 1, last section, v.3.

8. For details see Ramkrishna Bhattacharya, *JIP* (Dordrecht), 30:6, pp. 609-11.

9. On *Yogaśāstra* (*YS*), 2.47, f. 98b.

10. *SVM*, p.69 on *AYVD*, v.11.

11. F.W. Thomas, p.69 n36. He must have had some edition of *SDS* prior to the BORI ed. Hence his comment: "The first line is given [in *SDS*] as such, the second line differs" (ibid.). But, as we have shown above, the difference in reading is merely due to the absence of 4 *cd*.

12. On *YS*, 2.43, f 98b ; *SVM*, p.62, on *AYVD*, v.11.

13. *SVM*, p.65 on *AYVD*, v.11. See *PPu*, *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*, 13.323 (there are some minor variants).

14. Trans. F.W. Thomas, p.66.

15. Māṭhara on *SK*, v.2, p.111. The verse as quoted reads :

*vr̥kṣamschitvā paśun hatvā kṛtvā rudhirakarddamam/
yajñaiśced gamyate svarge narakāḥ kena gamyate//*

Editors and translators of *MVr* and *SVM* have not identified the source of this verse. Māṭhara vaguely refers to *anyacca* (another) while Malliṣeṇa attributes the verse to an anonymous "great ṛṣi" (*tathā ca paṭhanti paramarṣaḥ*). There was no love lost between Hemacandra (or, for the matter of that, Malliṣeṇa) and the Cārvākas. So the "great ṛṣi" can never refer to a Cārvāka. It is also to be noted that Hemacandra devotes no fewer than thirteen verses in his *YS* (2.37-49) to denounce

himsā enjoined in the Vedas and Smṛtis and denounces Manu and other law-makers as the worst of the *nāstika-s* (*nāstikebhyo 'pi nāstikaḥ*, 2.37).

16. See Appendix B.

17. See Ramkrishna Bhattacharya, *JICPR*, 14:1, 1996, pp. 170-74 and 17:1, 1999, pp. 171-76.

18. *Tadetatsarvaṃ bṛhaspatināpyuktam*. *SDS*, BORI ed., p. 13 line 109.

19. For details see Ramkrishna Bhattacharya, (n8 above), pp. 609-11 and 626-27. Jābāli, however, does not object to *himsā*. He is content to point out the futility of offering food to the dead.

APPENDIX A

The word, *śrāddha* is generally taken to mean funeral ceremony. But Monier-Williams has rightly observed :

.... Śrāddha is not a funeral ceremony [*antyeṣṭiḥ*] but a supplement to such a ceremony : it is an act of reverential homage to a deceased person performed by relatives, and is moreover supposed to supply the dead with strengthening nutriment after the performance of the previous funeral ceremonies has endowed them to ethereal bodies; indeed until those *antyeṣṭiḥ* or 'funeral rites' have been performed, and until the succeeding first *śrāddha* has been celebrated the deceased relative is a preta or restless, wandering ghost and has no real body [only a *liṅgaśarīra*, q.v.], it is not until the first *śrāddha* has taken place that he attains a position among the Pitṛis or Divine Fathers in their blissful abode called Pitṛi-lioka, and the *śr°*. is most desirable and efficacious when performed by a son.

(*A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1899), Delhi : MLBD, reprint 2002. s.v. *śrāddha*.)

APPENDIX B

The episode in *PPu*, *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*, Ch. 13, first tells how Bṛhaspati (disguised as Śukra) misled the demons (*dānavā-s*) who wished to learn the way to liberation. Bṛhaspati advised them to renounce all *yajña* and *śrāddha* (v.316), and remain celibate (vv. 327-33). He also spoke vehemently against *himsā* (319-26).

In another section of the same chapter Māyāmoha (as produced by Keśava) advises the demons further. He first assumes the guise of a Jain ascetic (*yogī digambara muṇḍo varhipatradhara*, v.346) and then of a Buddhist monk (*raktāmbaradhṛk*, v. 360). In

both forms Māyāmoha denounces the evil religion of slaughtering animals, etc. *paśughātādiduṣṭadharmā*, v. 361). The demons then began to indulge in reviling the Veda, gods, *yajña* and Brahmins.

This is an amplified version of a tale found in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. For a detailed study, see Hazra (1963), pp. 343-45. Hazra, however, doubts the authenticity of the episode in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, 3.18 (1940, p. 25). See also his “Introduction” to H.H. Wilson’s translation of the *VPu*, pp. (k) - (l).

For a survey of the *heretical doctrines* in the Purāṇas, see Dandekar, pp. 737-53.

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- AYVD* *The Flower-spray of the Quodammodo Doctrine*. F.W. Thomas. (trans.). Delhi, etc. : Motilal Banarsidass, (MLBD), 1968.
- MS* *Manu-smṛti*. Ed. J.H. Dave, Bombay : Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1972-84.
- MVr* Īśvarakṛṣṇa. *Sāṃkhyakārikā*. Ed. Swamī Divākarānanda. Mandirbājār (West Bengal) : Jagannāth Barman, 1968 (with Māṭhara’s *Vṛtti*).
- PC* Kṛṣṇamiśra. *Prabodhacandrodaya*. Ed. Sita Krishna Nambiar. Delhi : MLBD, 1971.
- PPu* *Padma Purāṇa*, *Sṛṣṭikhanda*. Ed. Pañcānana Tarkaratna. Kalikata : Vaṅgavāsī, 1310 Bengali Sal (=1893-94 CE); Poona : Ānandāśrama, 1893-94.
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- SVM* See *AYVD*.

- VDMPu* *Viṣṇudharmottara Mahāpurāṇa*. Bombay : Kṣemarāja Śrīkrṣṇadāsa, śaka 1834.
- VPu* *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. Ed. Pañcānana Tarkaratna. Kalikātā : Āryya Śāstra, 1965-1966; Poona : Anandashram.
- VPu* English translation by H.H. Wilson. Calcutta : Punthi Pustak, (trans.) 1972 reprint (first pub. 1840).
- YS* Hemacandra. *Yogaśāstram* (with auto-commentary). Bhavanagar : Śrījaina-dharma Pracārasabhā, 1926.

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OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

- ABORI* *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.
- JAS (B)* *Journal of the Asiatic Society (Bengal)*, Kolkata (formerly Calcutta).
- JICPR* *Journal of Indian Council of Philosophical Research*, New Delhi.
- JIP* *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, Dodrecht.

NEWS ON JAINISM AROUND THE WORLD

Under the programme of teaching, the Bhogilal Leherchand Institute of Indology conducted 2 Refresher Courses (Elementary & Advanced) in Prakrit Language and Literature with effect from May 25 till the Valedictory Function on June 15, 2003.

Presentation of a panel of 44 pictures of the Kalyan Mandir Stotra, a Jain Devotional Hymn, to the BLII, was the first event. The panel has been prepared on copper plates with gold plating and safety coating to preserve the pictures from the effects of weather. The pictures are highly artistic and worth seeing. The pictures have made the Museum of Jain Art and Culture many times worth visiting than it was. It was presented to the BILL by Seth Rajendra Shah of Bombay who came all the way to Delhi for the presentation ceremony.

After this, presentation-prizes, First, Second and Third in the order of merit to participants of the two schools and their certificates were presented.

The most important part of the programme was the conferment of the Acharya Hemachandrasuri Puraskar of Rs. 51,000/-, a shawl and a golden statue of Acharya Hemachandrasuri, to the awardees. The awardees were Dr. G.V. Tagare of Pune, and Dr. N.J. Shah of Ahmedabad. The awards were presented over by the famous critic and author Dr. Namwar Singh and Mrs. Laila Mulgoakar, Chief Office of the U.S. Library of Congress, now in Delhi.

Dr. Nagin J Shah, one of the two awardees put a very great emphasis on putting a stop to the loss of interest in Sanskrit studies among the Jains. After the initial period of 800-900 years (3rd-4th cent. A.D.)

Devoted to literary and religious activity through the medium of Prakrit, Umāsvāti the great, by his Tattvārtha-sūtra, adopted Sanskrit as the medium of expression. After Umāsvāti, many great Jain philosophers, thinkers and logicians wrote their works on philosophy, logic and epistemology in Sanskrit. The Buddhist philosophers also adopted Sanskrit as a medium of expression for philosophical works and their highly intellectual writings on Logic. Without supplementing

Prakrit studies with Sanskrit, we shall not be able to continue the great scholarly tradition of the medieval and modern Jain thinkers. Dr. Namwar Singh reemphasized the importance of Prakrit for the cultural and geographical unity, integrity and oneness of this great country, though divided into over many small states incessantly fighting each other. The programme thus ended with a note that the BLII must continue its efforts of teaching Prakrit to teachers and scholars interested in historical and cultural researches in India, and must not, come what may, allow discontinuation of Prakrit studies, because this is the only institution which has continued its efforts to teach scholars and create interest in learning the Prakrit languages i.e. the ancient and medieval dialects of the country as a whole, through the past fifteen years. Under the aegis of BLII, Professor Satya Ranjan Banerjee of Calcutta has been conducting this course for the last twelve years.

Vimal Prakash Jain

JAIN BHAWAN : ITS AIMS AND OBJECTS

Since the establishment of the Jain Bhawan in 1945 in the Burra Bazar area of Calcutta by eminent members of Jain Community, the Jain Bhawan has kept the stream of Jain philosophy and religion flowing steadily in eastern India for the last over fiftyeight years. The objectives of this institution are the following:

1. To establish the greatness of Jainism in the world rationally and to spread its glory in the light of new knowledge.
2. To develop intellectual, moral and literary pursuits in the society.
3. To impart lessons on Jainism among the people of the country.
4. To encourage research on Jain Religion and Philosophy.

To achieve these goals, the Jain Bhawan runs the following programmes in various fields.

1. School:

To spread the light of education the Bhawan runs a school, the Jain Shikshalaya, which imparts education to students in accordance with the syllabi prescribed by the West Bengal Board. Moral education forms a necessary part of the curricula followed by the school. It has on its roll about 550 students and 25 teachers.

2. Vocational and Physical Classes:

Accepting the demands of the modern times and the need to equip the students to face the world suitably, it conducts vocational and physical activity classes. Classes on traditional crafts like tailoring, stitching and embroidery and other fine arts along with Judo, Karate and Yoga are run throughout the year, not just for its own students, but for outsiders as well. They are very popular amongst the ladies of Burra Bazar of Calcutta.

3. Library:

“Education and knowledge are at the core of all round the development of an individual. Hence the pursuit of these should be the sole aim of life”. Keeping this philosophy in mind a library was established on the premises of the Bhawan, with more than 10,000 books on Jainism, its literature and philosophy and about 3,000 rare manuscripts, the library is truly a treasure trove. A list of such books and manuscripts can be obtained from the library.

4. Periodicals and Journals:

To keep the members abreast of contemporary thinking in the field of religion the library subscribes to about 100 (one hundred) quarterly, monthly and weekly periodicals from different parts of the world. These can be issued to members interested in the study of Jainism.

5. Journals:

Realising that there is a need for reasearch on Jainism and that scholarly knowledge needs to be made public, the Bhawan in its role as a research institution brings out three periodicals: *Jain Journal* in English, *Tithayara* in Hindi and *Śramaṇa* in Bengali. In 37 years of its publication, the Jain Journal has carved out a *niche* for itself in the field and has received universal acclaim. The Bengali journal *Śramaṇa*, which is being published for thirty year, has become a prominent channel for the sbvgftr54pread of Jain philosophy in West Bengal. This is the only Journal in Bengali which deals exclusively with matters concerning any aspects of Jainism. Both the Journals are edited by a

renowned scholar Professor Dr Satya Ranjan Banerjee of Calcutta University. The *Jain Journal* and *Sramaṇa* for over thirty seven and thirty years respectively have proved beyond doubt that these Journals are in great demand for its quality and contents. The *Jain Journal* is highly acclaimed by foreign scholars. The same can be said about the Hindi journal *Tiṭṭhayara* which is edited by Mrs Lata Bothra. In April this year it entered its 25th year of publication. Needless to say that these journals have played a key-role in propagating Jain literature and philosophy. Progressive in nature, these have crossed many milestones and are poised to cross many more.

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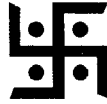


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