

SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN CULTURE

L. D. SERIES 78
GENERAL EDITORS
DALSUKH MALVANIA
NAGIN J. SHAH

By
DR. A. S. GOPANI
FORMERLY PROFESSOR AND HEAD OF
THE DEPTT. OF PRAKRIT
BHAVAN'S SOMANI COLLEGE
BOMBAY



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FOREWORD

The L. D. Institute of Indology has great pleasure in publishing a collection of the selected research articles by Professor Dr. A. S. Gopani. True to its nature, the collection is given the title 'Some Aspects of Indian Culture'. It covers wide range of subjects, viz. religion, philosophy, education, languages, literature, astrology, etc.

The articles are based on the study of the original texts and hence are authentic. Students of ancient Indian Culture will find them interesting.

The L. D. Institute of Indology is grateful to Professor Gopani for allowing it to publish his research articles, in book-form, in its L. D. Series.

It is hoped that the publication of this collection of the research articles will be received well by the students of Indian Culture.

L. D. Institute of Indology,
Ahmedababa-380009.
11.1.1981.

Nagin J. Shah
Director

PREFATORY NOTE

The articles which have been selected to form this book were written by me at different times and on several occasions and published from time to time in the periodicals devoted to researches in Indology. They have been assembled here in the book with a view to acquainting the readers with my beliefs and opinions which I formed in course of my studies in such topics as the religion, philosophy, education, languages, literature, social conditions in a particular period and place etc. etc.

There is, therefore, no scope of writing an Introduction to the book such as the present one because the subject treated is not one and the articles are not concerned with one particular situation only or with one particular period of time.

I have, therefore, been content in this brief Prefatory Note with attempting a summary of informations contained in some of these articles with my observations and evaluations here and there. Of course, there is nothing in them which is unwarranted and unauthorized by contemporary sources and evidences.

To begin with, then, the articles titled "Thus Spake Mahāvīra," "Mahāvīra", and "Characteristics of Jainism" have got in them my arguments for and about the relevance, acceptability, and applicability of the principles and tenets of Jainism in the present context besides an outline of the salient features and factors responsible for giving shape to Jainism as it wended its way through the ages. Also Jainism has been compared and contrasted with other indigenous schools of thought bringing out in bold relief the fact regarding how well it can stand the test of critical, al beit, impartial investigation. I have presented in them my firm conviction and conclusion that it has a potentiality of the panacea correcting and curing all the ills and evils besetting the soul and the society.

An article on heretics in Jainism and another on the Ājīvika sect point to an axiomatic truth that no age in human history was free from the infectious virus of non-conformism. Even Mahāvīra, a spiritual leader nonpareil, had a doctrinal adversary in Jamālī who was his one-time conscience-keeper next only to Gautama and a conceptual opponent in Gośālaka who joined him only to defect from him and became a wily and vehement antagonist indulging in a malicious propaganda against Mahāvīra which ended in Mahāvīra's triumph and Gośālaka's downfall. True, the history of defectors always makes a painful reading.

There is a common charge, veiled or obvious, said or unsaid, on Indian culture that it has reserved a comparatively small place for female education in its boastful social scheme. I have tried to invalidate it in my article on female education, though it is restricted to Buddhist literature only, advancing facts and figures which are substantiated by various Buddhist works.

Jainism was at its zenith in Gujarat in the medieval period when Siddharāja and Kumārapāla ruled. Whether it was languages or literature, art or architecture, painting or sculpture, every thing, was Jainism-oriented. At least in this period in Gujarat, history minus Jainism looks insipid and anaemic. This is what the readers will find in my article on Jainism in Gujarat.

Outstanding peculiarities of Prākritis, Apabhraṃsa and Old Gujarātī, have been spelt out in the two articles concerning them.

"Kūvalayamāta" which is a literal English translation of Muni Jinavijayaji's article as also that of the three articles on Jambu, his life, date and traditions connected with him have also been included in the book as they all throw much light on the unsettled chronology regarding the dates of Haribhadra, Udyotana and Guṇapāla.

The striking Subhāṣitas, the religious and moral element, the intervening stories occurring in Guṇapāla's Jambucariyam have been described, discussed and critically assessed in the four articles relating to it.

Life and culture and woman with her legitimate place in Society, as reflected in Jaina Narrative Literature, and my tribute to my revered Guru, Acharya Jinavijayaji Muni along with my reminiscences have been dealt with in the articles on them.

The book has also got an article on Satyasamhitā which is a Nāḍigrantha about the predictive part of astrological science. I have presented in it my impartial estimate weighing the pros and cons, of the Samhitās which have cropped up like mushroom, these days. I have pointedly drawn the readers' attention to the fact that they should be taken at their face value and no more as there are discrepancies, lack of precision, pronouncements of a general nature and an air of superficiality in and around them.

So, this is what the book is and the readers, I hope, will benefit by it.

In conclusion, I cannot adequately express my thanks in words to Shri Dalsukhbhai Malvania, one of the General Editors and to Shri Naginbhai Shah, the Director for taking up this book for publication in the famous L. D. Series.

3, Meghdhanu,
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3-3-79

A. S. Gopai

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RELIGION AND SECULARISM¹

The grand truths written in letters of gold on every page of the history of any nation are these: human happiness is never secure without freedom, freedom, without virtue; virtue, without knowledge; and not the freedom, as also not even the virtue, has any hope or vitality except in the principles of religious faith and sanctions. True religion is the very basis on which society rests and also the government, and it is from this that power derives its authority, and laws, their sanctity, and both, their inspiration and sanction. This being the truth and the experience of all of us, religion should not be treated lightly and with contempt. Religion is the basis, equally, of personal good as also of public faith and prosperity. The task and triumph of religion is to make men and nations humble and honest in all their dealings and to bring all the law, character and conduct under control and in conformity with the law of God. Of all the things, if I were to choose one that is blessed and beneficial, I would prefer a strong religious conviction because it only makes the life disciplined and delightful, creates new hopes, throws light on decay and destruction, turns torture into a ladder leading to paradise, and above all worldly hopes and joys, calls up the most delightful glimpses of future, and the security of eternal bliss where the sensualist and the sceptic see only gloom, despair and annihilation.

Secularism is, on the other hand a deterrent to the cultivation of moral and spiritual values. Morals will die without religion like seed sown on stony ground, and religion without morals is not only a superstition, but a curse. The only salvation for man lies in uniting them both. Morality is religion in practice and religion is morality in principle. Morality without religion has no roots. It becomes a thing of custom, changeable, transient and optional. The highest morality, if not inspired, encouraged and enlivened by religion, is but as the marble statue or the unspeaking corpse to the living and the perfect man. In this connection, I would also like to make it clear that atheistic morality is not wholly improbable, but I am afraid it will never answer our purpose. The morality that binds the masses together must have its roots in an honest, downright personal faith and fear. I have heard people say that also economic science and moral discipline always go ill together. I do not agree with this. Granting that they are guided by their own principles in their own sphere, it is false that the two orders are so distinct and irrelevant that the former in no way depends upon the latter.

1. *All-India Colloquium on Ethical and Spiritual Values as the Basis of National Integration*,
Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 30 December, 1966 to 2 January, 1967.

But there is also a danger point. The weakness of human nature has always displayed itself in times of great revivals of religion in the form of a disposition, or an inclination to pass into extremes especially in these three things, enthusiasm, superstition and uncontrolled intemperate zeal. Fanatic faith once entertained fast and wedded to some dear falsehood, hugs it to the last. At the same time, it is also true that we often excuse our want of philanthropy by giving the name of fanaticism to the more ardent zeal of others. This also has got to be guarded against. Intolerance has been the curse of every age and State. Nothing dies so hard or rallies so often as intolerance. It is better to be of no church than to be bitter for any. Tolerance of all religions is a law of nature. How is it possible to imagine that a religion breathing the spirit of mercy and benevolence, teaching the forgiveness of injuries and the return of good for evil, can be so perverted as to breathe the spirit of slaughter? It is an unaccountable and extraordinary phenomenon. Still more extraordinary is that phenomenon in which it becomes the means not of base and wicked men only, seeking to cover up their own misdeeds, but of good men, seeking the way of redemption with honesty of heart and purpose. Let us all remember that even if we do not become tolerant, let us not commit at least a crime of intolerance.

Secularism, to a certain extent, does affect adversely the cultivation of moral and spiritual values, as it generally, is anti-religious attitude. We in India are normally tolerant and therefore other religions also do flourish, the main reason being that India is a Secular State. Our Secularism has no doubt cast a deleterious effect on the process of education in respect of fostering the values, moral and spiritual. I am, therefore, in favour of introducing a programme of general religious instructions in the primary education itself from its very start. I would even go to the length of suggesting that the subject of general religious instructions should be made compulsory. Compulsory teaching of Christianity and Islam in the denominational schools should be discouraged and instead the same of general religious instructions should be introduced. This will definitely create and promote a spirit of dedication, which is almost extinct. It is necessary and also practical. It is possible to formulate a common denominator of ethical and spiritual education for all religionists. The fact that Akbar's experiment of Divine Faith which almost died with his death should not disappoint us. If we patiently pursue it, I am hopeful, it will take deep roots in course of time.

Materialistic civilization, which is the offspring of physical sciences, has done more harm than good to humanity. It has made man a restless, fast-moving machine, bereft of hope and cheer and all the finer sentiments of life. The average man is superficially a gentleman, smiling and well-dressed; scratch him : he has but tailor-made happiness. Internally he has no peace of mind; he is worried; he is confused; he is bewildered. Trusting the future, remembering the past, he often fails to act in the living present. He goes on toiling, rejoicing and sorrowing, but having no set aim or ideal in life, he does not move onward with a purpose. The world is in a bad

way today. It has failed and is failing. Call it a crisis of spirit in the world or a moral vacuum or whatever you like. Modern life is so regimented, so full of hurry and noise, so soul-destroying in its lack of ideals, that it is rapidly taking away from man any conception of the purpose of life, any solace that he might find in the things of the mind and in the things of the spirit. Concerned mainly with many difficulties and with frightening increase in strain and stress, life has become as much a survival of the fittest as it is in the jungle. The uncertainty caused by economic crisis and threats of war leaves the average man little to live for. His ancient faith in moral and ethical values have been discarded and their place has been taken by unsatisfying ideologies or by nothing at all. Religious purpose and piety of life have been undermined by hedonism and utilitarianism. We have to recapture the lost values of ethics and morality and work out national integration through it, halting this mad march through enthronement of religion. Every religion has some mission to fulfil and nothing can thwart its aim or annihilate its purpose. In order that religion may be a perennial living force, one should esteem and revere all the different creeds, doctrines and theories and realize that they are like so many radii proceeding to the same centre—God. I cannot best conclude this short paper without quoting the famous lines of Thomas Paine: “The world is my country; all mankind are my brethren and to do good is my religion.”

ĀJIVĪKA SECT—NEW INTERPRETATION *

I.—*Life History of Goṣālaka.*

Goṣālaka was the son of Mankhali by Bhadrā. He was so named because he was born in a cowshed (*goṣālā*) of Gobahula—a Brahmin who lived in a *saravaṇa*, a suburb (*sanniveśa*). He was trained in his father's profession, namely, that of living by showing picture-board, as was usual in those days with the members of the beggar community known as Maṅkha in Buddhistic and Jaina literatures. He is also referred to therein as Maṅkhaliputra. Buddhaghosa, who flourished probably in the first half of the fifth century A.D., quotes in his commentary on *Dighanikāya*, an anecdote which is responsible for his name Maṅkhalī.¹ Personally I attach no more importance to this on account of the reasons mentioned elsewhere in this article than what should be attached to a simple anecdote.

No further details about the life-history of Goṣālaka before Mahāvira enrolled him as his pupil are available.

II.—*His Association with Mahāvira.*

Goṣālaka met Mahāvira for the first time in Nālandā at Rājagṛha when the latter, after he had become a monk, was spending his second rainy season there in a weaver's house. After a month's fast, in those days, Mahāvira went to beg alms to a rich man named Vijaya who respected him much. This incident came to be known to Goṣālaka and tempted him to become his pupil. His association with Mahāvira begins from here. I think he did not do this out of love for Mahāvira's creed. It was more or less a commercial bargain. In those days there was a well-organized sect of Ājivikas² who were beggarlike and maintained themselves by employing some specific means. They observed rules of penances quite peculiar to their sect. In this sect there were sub-branches also, founded on minor variations regarding discipline—moral and worldly. In *Majjhimānikāya*³ we find references to Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Samkicca, along with Goṣālaka, as followers of Ājivika Sect. Dr. B. M. Barua, following the late Dr. Jacobī, is of the opinion that these are the names of the Ācāryas of the Ājivika Sect who flourished before Goṣālaka.⁴ I do not subscribe to this view on the plain ground that the word (*ime*) used there in text refers to persons living and not dead, and again on the basis that the Jaina *sūtras*, such as *Upāsakadaśāṅga*, *Fraśnavyākaraṇa*,

* Published in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. II, Part II; May, 1941.

Aupapātiko, *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, *Bhagavaṭi* and *Sthānāṅga*, in which the Ājivika creed has been incidentally discussed, do not mention any person as the founder of the sect before Goṣālaka. So, in my opinion, Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Saṁkicca were perhaps the contemporaries of Mahāvira and represented two sub-varieties of the Ājivika Sect. The word Ājivika was used contemptuously for the inferior by the superior order of the monks. With the latter, the spiritual life was an end by itself while with the former it was observed only as a means with which to eke out their livelihood. I do not mean to say that they were intellectually less gifted; on the contrary my inference is that they were endowed with superb powers of the brain. What they lacked in was "character". Goṣālaka also possessed the knowledge of *Aṣṭāṅganimitta*.⁵ Whenever they practised penances they did so with a worldly point of view. In other words they resembled today's Jatis and Bāvās who do not hesitate to employ any base means such as *mantra*, *tantra*, medicine, etc., to earn their livelihood and win popular favour. So, in short, there was a well-organized religious sect styled Ājivika⁶ in the days of Mahāvira, whose connected account is lost to us. Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Saṁkicca and Goṣālaka Maṅkhaliputra, whose references we find in Buddhistic and Jain literatures⁷ represented some of the earlier and different schools of the Ājivika sect, and these three were the contemporaries of Mahāvira. It is true that we have not so much knowledge of the schools of Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Saṁkicca as we have of that of the Goṣālaka school. So it was not out of respect or faith for the Jaina school but on account of material consideration that Goṣālaka approached and attached himself to Mahāvira who was revered in those days and even worshipped. This worldly demonstration was the secret reason of Goṣālaka's forged friendship with Mahāvira. It was predestined that he was to prove traitor. He wanted to be the Mahāvira minus monkhood. Nor would it be true to infer that Mahāvira did not know this imposture. Mahāvira had the capacity to see Goṣālaka right through and he did see. By not granting the latter's request at the first time Mahāvira gave him to understand that he had seen his game and at the same time he wanted to give him sufficient scope to cultivate a genuine passion for the Jaina creed and philosophy. Later, at the second time when Goṣālaka made a request, it was soon granted. This time also Mahāvira did know that Goṣālaka was not a real convert. But as is habitual with spiritual leaders, he was full, above all, of the milk of human kindness and would not despise opposition. He took him into his fold out of sheer sympathy and he provided temporarily an opportunity to Goṣālaka to believe that he had befooled Mahāvira. This incident is a sure sign of Mahāvira's glorious catholicity of mind and purity of purpose, as well as of the roguish stuff of which Goṣālaka was made. Now let us proceed with the details of the incident : when and how Goṣālaka tried to worm into Mahāvira's friendship and shape his opinion in his favour.

As we saw before, Goṣālaka had offered himself to become Mahāvira's pupil but the latter at first had refused.⁸ Afterwards Mahāvira went to a neighbouring suburb called Kollāga. Goṣālaka searched for him but he could not get him, whereupon he himself got his beard, moustaches and head shaved, wore monk's dress and went to

Kollāga. Here he met Mahāvira and repeated his request. This time Mahāvira accepted it and allowed him company for six years. Once it so happened that they both saw a sesamum plant in full bloom as they were going to Kurmāragrāma from Siddhārthagrāma. Goṣālaka being both intelligent and inquisitive put a question to Mahāvira. "Divine Sir ! What will be the fate of this plant and the seven flowers hanging at the top ?" Mahāvira, the seer, replied : "Goṣālaka ! in course of time it will bear fruit and these seven flowers will be born as seven sesamums in the same plant." "Goṣālaka who was essentially a sceptic could not put faith in Mahāvira's words. As he wanted to heart to disprove Mahāvira's prophecy, he pulled out the plant from the ground thinking in his mind that he had thereby removed the possibility of its fructification. They reached Kurmāragrāma in the outskirts of which Goṣālaka saw Vaiśyāyana practising penance in the blazing sun with his head downwards and feet upwards. He approached him and asked: ' Oh, are you an ascetic or a sacrificial post ? To this Vaiśyāyana did not reply. Goṣālaka derisively repeated the same question, whereupon Vaiśyāyana took to anger and discharged the "heating power" (which he had come to possess as a result of his hard austerities) to kill Goṣālaka. Mahāvira, who saw this, took pity on Goṣālaka and discharged his "cooling power" to counteract the heating power of Vaiśyāyana who finally praised Mahāvira in a loud voice. Goṣālaka could find no marked reason that made Vaiśyāyana not only speak, but speak in a tone praising Mahāvira, because the discharging of powers on both the sides had taken place without the notice and knowledge of Goṣālaka. Mahāvira when asked by Goṣālaka, explained the whole thing to him and showed him also, at his request, the method of acquiring the heating power possessed by Vaiśyāyana. After this event they both returned to Siddhārthagrāma from Kurmāragrāma and on the way back that very sesamum plant came to sight, proving true word for word Mahāvira's prediction. Just after Goṣālaka had uprooted the plant and thrown it off, the clouds gathered in the sky and it began to rain in torrents whereby the uprooted sesamum plant got stuck to the ground and in due course of time it bore fruits also as was foretold by Mahāvira. Goṣālaka was dumb-founded and he requested Mahāvira to unravel the secret, the latter propounded in unambiguous words his principle of everlasting truth. "Oh, Goṣālaka, the living organisms of the vegetable kingdom take birth after their death in various parts (branches, roots etc.) of their principal body (tree)." Goṣālaka enlarged this principle of Mahāvira to an illogical extent and on a false analogy started a theory that every soul could inhabit the same body after death. This principle is the very essence of Goṣālaka's theory technically called *Parivartavada* (hereinafter referred to as the Theory of Transformation). Mahāvira's above-mentioned doctrine was simply restricted to the living organisms of the vegetable kingdom. Goṣālaka intentionally misinterpreted and extended it to all living beings under the sun. But later on, this theory of transformation was again modified by Goṣālaka himself to be able to cope with the new situation that arose out of his exposure by Mahāvira. At that time he seems to be giving a turn to his own theory and propounds that every living being should occupy his former body only seven times (but not as many times as he wished) and that too only in

the *bhava* preceeding emancipation (but not in every *bhava*) which is necessarily the *bhava* of a human being.

Goṣālaka thus differed and dissociated himself from Mahāvira. Taking up this principle of *Parivartavāda* as a starting point he erected a reformed edifice on an old foundation of the Ājīvika school. In order to enlist public sympathy and book its favour and win its applause by his miraculous powers he acquired heating power by practising hard austerities as shown by Mahāvira. He now thought himself to be a perfect man, called himself a *Jina*—an omniscient being. He fixed his headquarters in the shop of Hālāhalā—a pottress in a city named Sāvattī.

Twenty-four years elapsed and Mahāvira again met Goṣālaka in Sāvattī. This time he denied Goṣālaka's claim of being a *jina* and made it clear to the public that he was on the contrary his pupil when he was a Sādhaka, and revealed the story how he differed from him and why he severed his connection thereafter.

Goṣālaka did not like that Mahāvira should expose him. So he went to Mahāvira and told him that Goṣālaka who moved with him as his pupil had been dead for long. Really speaking he was Udāyi Kuṇḍiyāyāriya who had selected Goṣālaka's dead body to complete his seventh birth. To this Mahāvira retorted that he acted like a thief who puts on various forms in order not to be found out when he is hunted after. This was too much for Goṣālaka who abused Mahāvira like anything and released his heating power to do away with Mahāvira with the words : "It will kill him within six months". Mahāvira was, however, much more than an ordinary human being on whom alone such things can operate. So not only was the heating power rendered ineffective but it was made to enter the body of its own master when Mahāvira addressed him in clear words : "Oh Goṣālaka, I am still to live for sixteen years more instead of dying within six months as predicted by you ! Not only this, but the heating power employed by you against me will take your own life within seven days as it has already entered your body". Mahāvira's words proved true; Goṣālaka died as foretold. At the time of dying he took objectionable drinks and eatables and confessed, while repenting for his past folly that Mahāvira was a real *jina*, and not he. He also admitted that he was none else but Maṅkhaliputta Goṣālaka. He acknowledged that he was a wicked man and his dead body should be treated as such and carried with the cries of shame. This is the account of Goṣālaka's life according to *Bhagavatī-sūtra*.⁹ Instead of waiting to consider this history let us pass on to a discussion of his principal doctrines as we are to make a critical analysis of his life-account later in this article.

III.—*Niyativāda*,

I am taking *Niyativāda* first as it forms a corner-stone of Goṣālaka's philosophy taken as a whole. There occurs a significant dialogue between god and Kuṇḍakolika Śrāvaka, in the sixth chapter of *Upāsakadaśāṅga*, wherein the god says : "On, Kuṇḍakolika, religious teachings of Maṅkhaliputta Goṣālaka are really splendid because he does not

recognize anything such as a tendency to rise, a desire to act, strength or soul-force. He openly declares that there is nothing like "activity" and most emphatically proclaims that soul does nothing. Everything is predestined and controlled from without."¹⁰

It is in the very constitution of a thing animate or inanimate—to move as it moves. Predestination is the watchword of this philosophy. According to *Niyativāda* or fatalism, submission to all that happens is quite inevitable. And also in the seventh chapter of the same *sūtra* there has taken place a talk to the same effect between Mahāvira and Saddālaputta.

It is noteworthy that the followers of the Ajīvika Sect were generally known by the father's name such as Maṅkhaliputta, Saddālaputta etc. Against a legend, quoted by Buddhaghosa in his commentary on *Dighanikāya*, describing how Goṣālaka received the name Makkhali from his master, who spoke 'tāta, mā khalih' when Goṣālaka, whilst bringing oil from the bazar for his master, fell down on the mud, I have only one point to urge that Goṣālaka was called Maṅkhaliputta and not simply Makkhali in Jain literature as is found in Buddhist literature. The story, if at all it has the force of verity, ought to apply to Goṣālaka's father. That is why I, for my part, do not accept it as true. It is also interesting to note that the Ajīvika sect, like all other rival sects, had distinguished *Upāsakas* as Saddālaputta, Paṇḍuputta and Upaka and *Upāsikā* as Hālāhalā. Saddālaputta was later on converted to Mahāvira's creed.¹¹

In the second *Śrutaskandha* of *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* we find a statement elucidating this creed, to the effect that *Kriyavāda* (school of activity) and *Akriyavāda* (school of inactivity) are both one and the same from the standpoint of *Niyativāda* (school of fatalism or destiny) because *Niyati*, the nature of a thing, is responsible for activity or inactivity. He is lacking in discriminating power or he does not know the real nature of a thing who says it is only due to his past deeds that he becomes unhappy, grieved or afflicted. On the contrary, he is a seer, a wise man, who says or believes that the unhappiness, pain or agony which he is suffering from is not at all a result of his past actions; and the same holds good in the case of others. It is Destiny that controls, regulates and rules the affairs of the universe. There is no law over it: it is the law of the laws. What is to happen, does happen, and what is not to happen, never happens. This is the sum and substance, the be-all and end-all of our present life as taught by *Niyativāda*.¹² At the time of narrating various types of irreligious liars, the *Sūtrakara* in *Prāśnavyākaraṇasūtra* sarcastically refers to idlers who are fond of dainty dishes and lovers of happy-go lucky life and whose philosophy of life consists of such beliefs as the following; "In this material world whatever deed, noble or ignoble, whatever happiness or unhappiness is seen or experienced is by nature, or accident or divinity.¹³ It is not due to our efforts or exertions but is governed by the intrinsic nature of thing".¹⁴

Again, in *Sūtrakṛtāṅgasūtra*, there is a graphic picture of this type of *Niyativāda*.¹⁵ It is stated therein that there is a strong school of philosophy which advocates that the mundane or extra-mundane pain or pleasure experienced by people is not the effect of their past actions but is determined by Destiny.

To get a complete idea, let us turn now to Buddhistic literature and see what it has to say on this aspect of Goṣālaka's philosophy. We get a beautiful and consistent summary of some of the cardinal principles of the Ājīvika sect, collectively called *Niyativāda* or *Saṃgativāda*, in such authoritative Buddhistic works as *Dīghanikāya* and *Samyuttanikāya*. There it is said that people of this world experience pain without any reason; and that the purity of souls has no ground whatsoever. It is never so that the soul becomes a god or a goblin by its own efforts; nor is it freed by itself. Time, action, effort, strength, soul-force, or power plays no part in ensuring godhood or emancipation. No being in the universe, small or great has free-will, strength, or spiritual force. Every life—be it an ant or an elephant—is preordained to pass through a cycle of six special characteristics (*abhi jātis*) and to experience pain or pleasure as the case may be. At this point it should be made clear that this *Niyativāda* which is one of the basic principles of Goṣālaka's Ājīvika school, is also referred to in both the literatures under such various names as *Saṃgativāda*, *Bhāvavāda*, or *Parināmavāda*. Its meaning is fully expressed by the word 'fatalism'. For the present it is enough to remark that this school of Destiny is no innovation of Goṣālaka. There is, we find in the literature of every religion, an eternal tug-of-war between *Puṇyārthavāda* and *Prārabdhavāda*. So it is more true to say that its origin is rooted in the mind of man. It depends exclusively on environments why and which should become more popular. *Prārabdhavāda* is also hinted at in Vedic literature. There is subtle difference between *Niyativāda* and *Akriyāvāda* which will be discussed at length while considering in this article the import and implication of the Ājīvika school with special reference to Goṣālaka.

Next comes *Parivartavāda* which is technically expressed by the word *Pauṣṭaparihāra*. The incident of the sesamum plant is responsible for this theory of transformation of Goṣālaka who drew an inference on a false analogy that every soul after death could assume the same body, while really speaking Mahāvira wanted to restrict the application of this principle only to vegetable kingdom as we saw before in this article. Extension of this principle to human beings is Goṣālaka's own invention. As this theory of transformation can be better understood if it is viewed in the light of his principle of world and emancipation, I am coming to it before critically surveying *Parivartavāda*.

IV.—World and Emancipation

In the foregoing lines I have stated that the theory of Destiny is the corner-stone of Goṣālaka's philosophy. All other theories are to be deduced as necessary corollaries from this central principle which is axiomatic. He believes that the world from the view-point of an individual has a termination at a particular point and preaches that the liberated soul had to complete 8,400,000 Mahākālpas, seven existences of godhood; and had to pass through a cycle of seven births as *samyuthas* (*nikāyaviśeṣas*) and as sentient human beings, and lastly all the liberated souls (*siddhas*) had to undergo

seven changes, (*parivartas*) in the last birth of a sentient human being preceding emancipation. This is the world according to him. All the *siddhas* had to pass through them, and all the candidates for the final release will have to do so whether they will it or not. It is preordained for me and you and all. There is no escape out of it, no short-cut whatever. Moreover the souls had to work out 500,000 *karmas* of the past and 60,603 varieties thereof.¹⁶ We also get in *Dighanikāya* a description of the worldly existence, though different in detail.¹⁷ In *Bhagavatsūtra* Goṣālaka goes on describing Mahākālpa, etc. in his own fashion with which we are not so much concerned here. In the preceding paragraphs I have said that *Niyativāda* forms the foundation-stone of Goṣālaka's philosophy. It is this, rather than anything else, which differentiates Goṣālaka's philosophy from Mahāvira's. Mahāvira is a confirmed exponent of *puruṣārtha*. While assigning proper place to destiny he preaches with sincerity and force that it is the soul that has to undo what it has once done out of ignorance or nescience. He recognizes innate infinite power of the soul and makes room for *puruṣārtha* the ultimate result of which is liberation. With Mahāvira, *prārabdha* means something like past actions. Thus he acknowledges them both as bare metaphysical necessities, while Goṣālaka believes only in *niyati* and nothing else. If this fundamental difference is taken into consideration it will be easy for us to understand Goṣālaka's philosophy in its true perspective. We saw that he believes with Mahāvira in the beginninglessness of the world. I differ from Shri K. J. KARAGATHALA when he says in his otherwise scholarly article, "Mañkhali Goṣālaka and his creed¹⁸", that the world is limited according to Goṣālaka, implying thereby that the world as such ends at a particular point. I think Shri KARAGATHALA is mistaken in so stating because the words used by Goṣālaka in the 15th *Śataka* of *Bhagavatsūtra* do not warrant it.¹⁹ On the contrary, Goṣālaka believes like Mahāvira in the beginninglessness and endlessness of the worldly existence. So when Goṣālaka says that a man becomes a *siddha* or is freed only after passing through a predetermined cycle of births and deaths, he means to say that only from the viewpoint of an individual. According to him also the world as such will for ever last. It never comes to a stop. To be still more explicit, Goṣālaka does not believe in anything like the so-called terminus as Shri KARAGATHALA takes him to believe. Goṣālaka believes that a man is chained down to this worldly existence from time immemorial. Why? The answer is *niyati*. How? *Niyati* is the perpetual reply. He will get an emancipation after passing through a particular cycle. Why? The reason of reasons is *niyati*. A man will have to undo or neutralize a certain number of *Karmas*. Why and how? The reply is *niyati*. *Niyati* for Goṣālaka is what the *Brahma* is for a *Vedāntin*, that is, a rule of rules and a solution of solutions. To put it technically, according to Goṣālaka, the world is *Anādi* and *Ananta* from the viewpoint of the world, but *Anādi* and *Santa* from the viewpoint of an individual. This is exactly what is preached also by Mahāvira. The turning points in the philosophies of these two are *karma* and *niyati* in the case of Mahāvira and Goṣālaka respectively. Metaphysical necessity of *karma* is fulfilled by *niyati* in Goṣālaka's philosophy. A man is liberated the moment he destroys all the

karmas; but according to Goṣālaka, destruction or no destruction it is *niyati* only which has to bother about one's liberation or confinement. Mahāvira's philosophy has invested the soul with infinite powers to neutralize *karmic* effects. So according to it a soul can do this in a second's time or it may take even infinite time to extricate itself from these *karmic* effects. In other words, one may not get emancipation. There is no guarantee. If the powers of the soul are rightly employed, it may succeed in course of time in liberating itself, and if the powers are wrongly utilized it will have to move in a circle of births and deaths. Now if one argues that *Puruṣārtha* should not be done because it is only through *Puruṣārtha* that new *karmas* are incurred and freedom postponed, the reply is that soul's endeavour is entirely indispensable to annul the past, if not for any other reason. Thus there is a distinct place in Mahāvira's philosophy reserved for soul's endeavour. Now the founders of the Ājivika school, who were the representatives of lower form of asceticism, fabricated a flaw in Mahāvira's philosophy; they argued before the public in order to attract the latter towards them that Mahāvira's philosophy held out no security for liberation even if the soul put forth utmost effort to get it. They also maintained that efforts are only relatively right or wrong, and no one, desirous of crossing the sea of *samsāra*, should lean on such a reed. This is the background of *Niyativāda* which would appeal to the mob in which baser element or love for animal life might be predominant. It has no fascination for lovers of manliness and higher spiritual life or for people who believe in evolving their personality or real self gradually so as to unfold the embalming fragrance of the soul rather than live a life of stagnation. Thus *Niyativāda* held out alluring hope for emancipation, of course after passing through a coil of existences such as is predestined for all. And again it permitted its followers to live as they liked. This double promise secured much control on public mind and could get a considerable number of followers. Now studying the thing as it stands any one with a clear conscience cannot help believing that emancipation is not a thing resulting after a specified time. On the contrary it is a thing to be sought and striven after, and enjoyed. It does not come of its own accord but it is we who have to keep going on to the goal till we get it. It is also not believable that Goṣālaka who was really an intellectual man could not have seen this shortcoming in the reasoning of school. As the detailed record of the Ājivika school of which Goṣālaka was the head has not come down to us, we are not in a position to make any definite statement as to how he made good this deficiency. However, I am of firm opinion that Goṣālaka believed more or less in theory of automatic evolution, the highest result of which was emancipation.

To sum up, the central argument of the doctrine of Destiny, which is a part and parcel of the Ājivika school headed over by Goṣālaka, is an ungrudging surrender to fate. It has also made a provision for emancipation as is the case with every other system of Indian philosophy. But there is an essential difference regarding this between it on the one hand and other systems on the other. In other systems, emancipation may come sooner or later, while in Goṣālaka's philosophy it follows as a natural con-

sequence or as an inevitable result after passing through a predetermined cycle of births and deaths. These grades of animal life are pre-arranged. As emancipation is the highest good one can achieve or is a condition *par excellence*, Goṣālaka is an exponent, directly, of the theory of automatic evolution, resembling somewhat DARWIN's. He believed that the world was an evermoving cycle without a beginning or an end.

V.—Theory of Transformation.

His theory of transformation is no less illogical than it is interesting. At first sight it would appear very ludicrous. However, let us try to interpret it as it is an authentic feature of his philosophy evidenced in the *Bhagavatisūtra*, 15. By *Parivarta* what he means to say is that one can assume after death the same body which one previously inhabited. It is most significant that Goṣālaka makes reference to this theory for the first time only when Mahāvira reveals before the public the truth that Goṣālaka was formerly his pupil and could not thus be a *jina* as he claimed to be. He was discomfited by Mahāvira in a wordy fight and totally exposed before the public. This exposure was a matter of no small concern for Goṣālaka who had almost succeeded in attracting the public to him by means fair and foul. The exposure dealt a death-blow to the prestige of Goṣālaka to reestablish which he would go to any possible length. Exactly at this time he remembered and sought shelter in Mahāvira's theory that after death living organisms of the vegetable kingdom take birth in the various limbs of the principal body. We have seen before in this article how Goṣālaka did not approve of this theory and what he did to disprove it, though it came out true finally. He intentionally amplified this principle and applied it to himself on a false analogy to save his prestige. I think he did not believe in this theory as sincerely as he did in his theories of *Niyativāda*, world and emancipation, cycle of births and deaths. He must have been inwardly enamoured of Mahāvira's omniscience when he saw Mahāvira's prophecy, regarding the fate of the seven flowers of the sesamum plant, turning out entirely true. However this phenomenon made him a great rival of Mahāvira instead of making him all the more devoted to him, as Goṣālaka had a good brain but a bad heart. He was temperamentally crooked, full of malice and pomp. So a misuse of talents was in every way possible in his case. His theory of transformation (*Parivartavāda*) was the result of his exposure by Mahāvira. When Mahāvira's prediction came out true, he became jealous and therefore severed his connection with Mahāvira. He was afraid that Mahāvira would throw him in the background by his divine knowledge, and his ambition of becoming a leader would never be realized. His unmasking by Mahāvira who had an admirable hold on public mind could only be refuted, he must have thought, by his theory of transformation. Necessity is the mother of invention. He invented that theory out of sheer necessity. He took inspiration from Mahāvira's theory and enlarged it to disprove his exposure by Mahāvira. Considering psychologically the make-up and development of Goṣālaka's mind, I firmly hold that Goṣālaka must have sincerely believed in the school of destiny throughout his life (excluding the time of repentance before his death) before and

even after his meeting with Mahāvira. So he was essentially a fatalist and wedded to that theory with all the force of heart. All other theories he evolved just as he felt them indispensably necessary. It is not to be seen whether he remained consistent or not in conceiving these theories. It is quite manifest through his *Parivartavāda* how illogical or inconsistent he could become when he chose to do so. It looks not only unconvincing but absurd when he says to Mahāvira that he was not the same Goṣālaka who was his pupil but was Udayi Kuṇḍiyāyaniya in the body of Goṣālaka who died some time before.

* VI.—*Analysis of Goṣālaka's Transformation (Parivartavāda)*

GOṢĀLAKA's theory of transformation is to be understood and interpreted with reference to his theory of the world. Looking to the mental development of Goṣālaka, it can be stated with a fair amount of certainty that the first theory which he formulated was the theory of destiny (*Niyativāda*) and the second was the theory of transformation (*Parivartavāda*) while his theory of the world was a corollary from these two.

According to the theory of transformation every Jiva can assume, like the living organism of the vegetable kingdom, the body of the same kind after death for times without number. While according to his theory of the world every sentient human being could inhabit the body of the same kind without dying but seven times only and that too in the birth (*bhava*) preceding emancipation. Instead of finding harmony between these two theories, Shri KARAGATHALA sees irreconcilable contradiction.^{3*} I for one do not agree with him for I believe that there is complete affinity between these theories though we are unfortunate in not having any light from the *Cūrṇikāra* and the commentator. I give below Shri KARAGATHALA's synthesis of these two conflicting (according to him) theories :

(1) Every Jiva can take birth after death seven times in the same species like a living organism of the vegetable kingdom.

Note : He adds the word seven on his own responsibility though it is not specifically mentioned in the first theory (theory of transformation) stating for his so doing that the Jaina and the Buddhistic works often employ the word seven in the respective descriptions of their theories of the world as in seven *samyuthas*, seven births of godhood, seven births of demonhood, etc.

(2) It is more proper to believe, Shri KARAGATHALA adds, that a Jiva is born seven times in the same species after dying rather than believing that a sentient human being can change its abode seven times without undergoing death in the last birth (*bhava*) preceding emancipation as formulated by Goṣālaka in his second theory of the worldly existence.

Note : For his modification of Goṣālaka's theory, Shri KARAGATHALA adduces a simple reason that it is neither intelligible nor practicable to change a body seven times

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without dying. This is in short Shri KARAGATHALA's critical review of both the theories of Goṣālaka and his own modification thereon.

My explanation is as under :

(1) Every *jiva* after death can take birth in the same species for any number of times (Goṣālaka's theory of rebirth).

Note : Simply for the sake of going against Mahāvira, he started this theory even though he was finally convinced of the integral veracity of Mahāvira's theory.

(2) Controlled and guided by Destiny, he goes on progressing while passing through various grades (theory of automatic evolution).

(3) He has not to bother about good deeds or bad deeds, merit or demerit, *punya* or *pāpa*. Destiny is his friend, philosopher and guide (theory of ethics).

(4) From the standpoint of an individual, the world is limited. His description of it is purely metaphysical and stereotyped just of the type we find in other sacred literatures (theory of the world).

(5) Emancipation is a surety definitely arising after passing through a pre-arranged cycle of births and deaths (theory of emancipation).

(6) Without dying he has to undergo seven changes in the same body in the birth (*bhava*) preceding emancipation (theory of transformation).

Note : In order to falsify his exposure by Mahāvira, I think, as I have made clear in the first part of this article, that Goṣālaka had to invent this theory. He found himself on the horns of a dilemma when Mahāvira, a powerful spiritual leader of those days, undertook unwillingly to expose him. He had either to admit Mahāvira's statement or to escape through a theory. The first he could not do as egoism ruled high in him; the second he did as he felt he was sufficiently intellectual. I believe that Goṣālaka had used the word *Parivarta* in a figurative sense. Here lies all the difference between my interpretation of the theory and Shri KARAGATHALA'S. He thinks rightly that the theory of transformation is scientifically untenable. Such a change is impracticable. When Mahāvira said that Goṣālaka was formerly his pupil and no more than that, the latter wanted to refute him on somewhat logical grounds and he achieved his desire through his theory of transformation. So when he says by way of a retort to Mahāvira that Goṣālaka who was formerly his pupil was dead long ago, and he was at present Udāi Kuṇḍīyāyaṇya in the dead body of Goṣālaka, what he really meant to say was that Goṣālaka as a one-time pupil of Mahāvira was now no more from the viewpoint of progress though his body continues to remain. Thus he uses the word *Parivarta* strictly in a technical sense. He may appear Goṣālaka like but he is *really* not Goṣālaka. *Parivarta* means a change brought about by spiritual progress. Thus he seeks satisfaction of having paid Mahāvira in the same coin, of having ensured public confidence and, lastly, of having saved his spiritual degradation or death. He took pride of having killed two birds with one stone. Why one should undergo seven *Parivartas* and no more is purely arbitrary, or we may willingly subscribe, so

far as this is concerned, to Shri KARAGATHALA'S view that the number seven is a patent number used in both the Jaina and Buddhistic literatures. So this is how I would like, in fairness to Goṣālaka, to harmonize all his theories though one would believe more than I did that Goṣālaka was far inferior to Mahāvira in all good points and deserved no following at all. Before emancipation the last birth (*bhava*) is the birth of a sentient human being in which he has to expedite much of the work which may be still in arrears. It is a momentous life in which he must undergo many extraordinary spiritual changes (*parivartas*). Such a change Goṣālaka did in the shop of a pottress named Hālāhalā at Sāvathī. It was the most extraordinary and the last. Such changes in all amounted to seven. He would not have perhaps invented such, a cumbrous and complicated theory had he not been put to infamy through his exposure by Mahāvira. In my opinion, this is the only plausible explanation of Goṣālaka's theory of transformation (*Parivartavāda*).

VII.—Theory of Ethics

Goṣālaka's theory of ethics can be constructed from his own word which are to the following effect :

"It is never so that one can mature the undue *Karmas* or can destroy the mature ones by adopting a particular line of conduct, observing certain vows, practising the prescribed penances or by adhering to rules of chastity. One cannot avoid passing through a cycle of the world without actually experiencing pain or pleasure unlike the corn in the granary that can be emptied by *droṇa* (a particular measure) without actually eating the corn. In short, the cycle of the world cannot be shortened or lengthened. It is pre-arranged and one has to pass through it whether he wills it or not, whether he does good or bad deeds".²¹ These words contain in a nutshell Goṣālaka's theory of ethics. Thus it can be clearly seen that Goṣālaka does not believe in absolute good or bad, merit or demerit, *puṇya* or *pāpa*, virtue or vice. According to him everything is relative and whenever he enjoins a particular duty or discipline, he does it with a design because with him the truth of truths is divine dispensation. It is Destiny that spurs you on to do good or bad deeds. You are not to be praised or blamed for that. In short, this gives one a licence to act as he likes. This theory of ethics is an offspring of his theory of destiny. It is at present not our concern to see how ugly this theory of ethics is from the standpoint of society, politics or religion.

VIII.—Theory of Eight Finals

Now I am coming to his Theory of Eight Finals²² which are : (1) Final Drink, (2) Final Song, (3) Final Dance, (4) Final Respect, (5) Final Tempest, (6) Final Elephant named Secanaka of King Śreṇika, (7) Final War named Mahāśilākṣṭaka Saṃgrāma and (8) Goṣālaka—the Final Tirthamkara of this aeon of decrease. These eight conceptions are styled Final by him because each of them he believes to be a thing par excellence. It is a standard, a type by itself. The first four and the last one refer to him while the remaining three to other things. Secanaka elephant of king

Śreṇika was perhaps a superb elephant of its kind. This as well as the tempest and the war that took place in Goṣāḷaka's days were perhaps historical. The elephant seems to have proved an apple of discord and a cause for war between Kuṇṇika,²⁵ the eldest son of Śreṇika, and Ceṭaka who took the side of two younger sons. In this war large stones were made use of as weapons as the name²⁴ suggests. Reference to these two Finals clearly indicates that Goṣāḷaka either died after the occurrence of these events or at the most was a contemporary of Śreṇika, Kuṇṇika, Mahāvira and Ceṭaka. HOERNLE fixes 484 B.C.²⁵ as the date of Mahāvira's *nirvāṇa* (while Muni KALYANAVIJAYJI has proved the traditional date to be true²⁶, and according to the *Bhagavatsūtra*, Goṣāḷaka died sixteen years before Mahāvira, that is to say, before about 500 B.C.

When Goṣāḷaka discharged the heati²⁸ power against Mahāvira, it was made to re-enter Goṣāḷaka's body—its original habitat—by the cooling power of Mahāvira. This re-entry of his own force effected by the opposite force started burning sensation in Goṣāḷaka's body, to be relieved from which he resorted to various irreligious and objectionable means such as drinking with the result that he sang and danced like a mad man. Or it may be that Mahāvira's exposing him turned him mad and out of madness he resorted to these foolish practices. Curiously enough he repeatedly paid his respects by folding his hands to Halāhalā who was his pupil and a follower. These things done even by an ordinary man would have betrayed him to be a mad man; what to talk of Goṣāḷaka, then, who was one of the shrewd and formidable opponents of Mahāvira? These things thus had all the fear and disadvantage of being misinterpreted. Moreover, it was also not the case that this escaped the notice of Goṣāḷaka who was all the more in a hurry to hide the real motive behind these things and to pass them as religious excellences. Goṣāḷaka has tried, though feebly, to furnish religious background and to give religious interpretation to his conduct which was doubtlessly and definitely despicable.

The term *carama* literally means 'final', 'last' and is applied to a thing which is topping all other things of its kind. Thus the drink he drank, the song he sang, the dance he danced and the respects he gave to Halāhalā were all final, superb, he meant to say. No one has performed and shall ever perform such things. They are the standard things or spontaneous conduct of an inspired spiritual leader. They are innocent practices of the last Tirthamkara of this aeon of decrease. He has asserted his being the last Tirthamkara as the last of the eight finals. Most skilfully and indirectly he preached that no one should perform such things for the simple reason that these are finals and were destined as such to be performed only by him. Thus while justifying his breach of gentlemanly conduct, he keeps no room in his system for such a disgraceful demeanour. Really speaking he drank to cool the hot sensation and he knew it, but he justified it on the ground that such a conduct was inevitable in the case of the last Tirthamkara who he was. To sum up, what he means to say is that what he did was natural and predestined but at the same time was final. He includes in these Eight Finals the Secanaka elephant, the Stone War and the Tempest simply to secure public

confidence which the historical events only are entitled to inspire. Historical events are hard facts which cannot be denied and thus by denying the five unhistorical finals he will have to deny the three historical finals also which no sane man can ever afford to do because all the eight things as finals have an equal claim to belief and recognition. This theory of eight finals has no philosophical, ethical, theological or spiritual significance. It has a historical colour inasmuch as those three historical things are concerned, and it has no meaning beyond it. Remaining five things are the worthless inventions of Goṣāḷaka's brain and therefore it should not engage our attention any more seriously. Instead of revealing his so-called noble motive in fabricating such an absurd theory, it brings in the forefront his lack of character. I am now coming to his Theory of Six Abhijātis.

IX—Theory of Six Abhijātis

Abhijāti is a technical term meaning a soul-characteristic which distinguishes a man from a man. Description of this theory is not to be found in Jaina literature but its underlying idea is gathered from the Buddhistic works. According to it the whole mankind is divided into six groups and every man of the world must belong to one group or the other. The following is a description of this doctrine of Goṣāḷaka according to Budhaghosha who quotes it in his commentary on *Dighanikāya* from *Aṅguttarānikāyas* in which Pārāṇa Kassapa, a contemporary of Buddha, outlines a sketch of six *Abhijātis*. This sketch is as follows :

- (1) *Kṛṣṇabhijāti* : This characterizes the people doing evildeeds such as fishermen, hunters and others of the kind.
- (2) *Nīlabhijāti* : This characterizes the monks who use the four *pratyayas* after putting thorns in them.
- (3) *Lohitabhijāti* : This characterizes the monks who wear only one cloth, such as the pupils of Mahāvira.
- (4) *Horidrābhijāti* : This consists of the Ājivika laymen and laywomen who put on clean garments.
- (5) *Śuklābhijāti* : This consists of the Ājivika monks and nuns.
- (6) *Paramaśuklābhijāti* : This consists of Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Saṁkicca and Makkhali Goṣāḷaka.

It is quite apparent that this division has been based on the deeds one does and on the merits one has got. In the Jaina literature we find a similar description of the Jain doctrine of *Leśyas*²⁰ which, though agreeing in substance and form with the theory of six *Abhijātis*, is finer and more thorough going than this. This fact led JACOBI and BARUA²¹ to hypothesize that Mahāvira borrowed this doctrine of *Leśyas* from Goṣāḷaka. This hypothesis is not well founded as will be seen from the following lines :

From his theory of six *Abhijātis* one can see how bigoted and self-centred

Goṣāḷaka was. The fourth and the fifth *Abhijātis* have been exclusively reserved for the followers of his creed and the last for himself, Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Samkicca. He seems to have thought that he has hereby increased the value and the excellence of his creed while the real state of affairs is just the reverse. In the first *Abhijāti* he has given (though crudely) the characteristic and an example while in the remaining five we miss the characteristics of all. It is possible to assume, looking to the incomplete nature of the literature of the Ājīvika school, that he might have given the characteristics of other *Abhijātis* as well. He preferred to give the incomplete nature of his own pupils rather than those of others. The Jaina doctrine of six *Leśyās* as preached by Mahāvira gave merely characteristics and those who had particular characteristics belonged to a particular *Leśyā* without any distinction of cast, colour or creed. The Jaina doctrine of *Leśyās* has really much in common with Goṣāḷaka's theory of *Abhijātis* but it is hazardous to conclude only on this ground in the absence of any positive proof that Mahāvira borrowed his doctrine of *Leśyās* from Goṣāḷaka. As we are not at present in possession of the entire literature of the Ājīvika school we cannot say which of the two doctrines was earlier and who borrowed from whom. It might be that they both would have independently based their theories on the traditions inherited by them.

X—Theory of Eight Life-stages

The sketch of this theory of eight life-stages is drawn according to the Buddhist literature because no reference to this also is to be found in the Jaina literature. *Aṭṭhapūrisabbhūmi*⁵¹ is the only phrase found in the original texts; it is insufficient by itself and for a detailed view we have again to depend on Buddhaghosha, the *Aṭṭharathakara*.

Shri KARAGATHALA differing from Buddhaghosha offers a new explanation, while arguing that this division of life into eight stages appertains exclusively to the spiritual life as a whole. I think, no serious consideration should be given to such a trivial matter. It does not make any material change in our estimate of Goṣāḷaka's outlook on life in general. We also have no reason to doubt the authority of so great a scholar as Buddhaghosha even though Shri KARAGATHALA's interpretation may appear more attractive for the time being. Such a division of a man's life has been attempted by poets and philosophers of all times and climes.

XI—Character of the Ājīvikas

The Ājīvikas passed urine and motion standing,⁵² ate and drank standing. Instead of washing the hands, they cleaned them by licking. They did not accept alms from those who invited them or requested them to sit. Nor did they receive alms which were specially prepared for them. They never accepted invitation. And they did not receive alms from a woman feeding or nursing the babe as well as from a pregnant woman. The Ājīvikas did not accept wine or meat or articles from the feast. They lived and moved naked. Some of them ate as much as a morsel or two or at the most seven. Some of them begged only from one house or at the most seven houses.⁵⁴ And there were some who ate only on alternate days.

There is also a mention to the effect that these Ājivikas who practised penance outwardly, took dainty dishes privately and this accounted for their being fat.³⁴

In the *Aupapātikasūtra* it is mentioned that some Ājivikas go to beg alms leaving two houses, three houses or at the most seven houses³⁵ by turn.

In the *Thāṇāṅgasūtra*³⁷ we come across a reference to the austerities practised by the Ājivikas. They were of four types : (1) *uggatapa* (2) *ghorotapa* (3) *rasantjjuhaṇatā* and (4) *jibbhindiya paḍisaṃliṇatā*.

In the *Majjhimanikāya*, it is stated by Ānanda a pupil of the Buddha, to Sandaka that there are two types of *Ācāryas* leading unchaste life. Goṣālaka represents the first type and Mahāvira, the second.³⁸ So far as the latter is concerned, the statement is full of sectarian hatred. Mahāvira is taken by one and all, I need hardly stress this fact, an incarnation of chastity and religiosity.

The Buddha has also said that there is none more sinful than one who has a false vision and amongst such people *Moghapuruṣa* (deceptive, cunning) Goṣālaka was the foremost.³⁹

In the *Praśnavyākaraṇa*,⁴⁰ Mahāvira considers the Niyativāda as a false school of thought. We can take this as a reflection on Goṣālaka who, according to the Jaina literature, is considered to be a father of this school of thought.

In the *Anguttaranikāya*,⁴¹ the Buddha has illustrated his estimate of Goṣālaka's school by an example of a blanket. He says there that the school of Goṣālaka is as worthless as a blanket made up of coarse and prickly hair is among all types of cloth.

In the *Saṃyuttanikāya*,⁴² Sahali speaks about Goṣālaka before the Buddha that Goṣālaka does not prefer penance to quarrelsome talks and to censurable deeds. We should take this statement of Sahali at a discount because one would have expected it to be full of praise, Sahali being a staunch follower of Goṣālaka.

In the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, there is a dialogue between Ardraka and Goṣālaka, in which the latter says to the former that moving alone, cold water, food full of seeds and even the enjoyment of a woman were not at all prohibited for a monk.

In the midst of all these contradictory references there is preserved in the *Majjhimanikāya* a very curious mention that the Ājivikas remain as sons with those women whose sons are dead. They accept the leadership only of Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Saṃkicca and Makkhali Goṣālaka; and they praise themselves while censuring others. This reference is very significant on account of its sure indication to their characterlessness and unchastity as also a reference to Goṣālaka's residence with Hālāhala.

As the records of the Ājivika school are not preserved, we have solely to depend for our knowledge about them on the references found in the Jaina and the Buddhist literatures. From the foregoing quotations it is quite clear that they lived naked and knew no manners. They practised penance to impress the public and trade on their credulity. Had self-mortification through penance been their goal, they would not have preferred to eat privately. Satyaka's statement that they ate dainty dishes

in private lends full support to my inference. It was an age of penance and non-injury. Self-mortification was preached with vigour and vehemence. In such an atmosphere it was suicidal for the Ajivika school to give free reins to the cravings of the flesh. So they also like all other rival schools, made room for austerities but not with sincerity. Self-torture cannot be a real aim in the case of those who were wedded to the principle of divine dispensation. This also proves that they were past masters in the art of *dissimulation*. Moreover, when they practised it with some sincerity, they did it with a view to achieving divine powers which were used to inspire awe in the public and to draw it towards them. Eating sumptuous dinners made them fat and sharpened their sexual appetite which they perhaps satisfied in any manner they liked. They even went to the length of staying as their sons in company with soulless women offering services in the form of consolation in times of their adversity. Hereby they could get the best opportunity to preach to them the cardinal principles of the school of destiny and to cultivate a genuine liking for that. This somewhat accounts for the fact that Goṣālaka had a large following.⁴⁵

It also makes me suspect that at the same time this provided ample scope and convenience to satisfy their sexual hunger. In all times and climes woman has played a really solid though imperceptible part in shaping the course of a man's career. Their company is an oasis in the desert of life. It provides solace to a solitary man in times of adversity and adds flavour to happiness. The practical and cunning Ājivikas were fully conscious of the efficacy and the influence of woman. Thus while accepting to offer honorary services they reaped all the advantages of a married life without incurring any responsibility of a house-holder. For his propaganda Goṣālaka preferred woman to man. His headquarters in the shop of Hāṅghaṅgā a pottress in Sāvattihī provide a telling instance. My conclusions regarding the employment of a woman for propaganda purposes have a support from Goṣālaka himself who says to Ārdraka to the effect that cold water and the company of a woman are allowed to a monk moving alone.

It is a fact that the Ājivikas did not drink wine and did not eat meat. It is quite natural that these people would have gone to that length but they did not do so as their prohibition was specially laid down by Goṣālaka himself whom they dared not disobey, though we know that he himself drank and danced. In order to justify this inconsistency and contradiction between his word and deed, he pleaded that it was destined in the case of the last Tirthankara of this aeon of decrease but no one else should practise it. They could have drunk and justified their conduct on the grounds of predestination but Goṣālaka's hold on them was so firm and fast that they could not go against his wishes and injunctions. Drinking wine and eating meat must have been looked down upon as the evils of society in those days and therefore Goṣālaka must have prohibited their use as a matter of policy. I purposely use the words 'as a matter of policy' because for a fatalist anything and everything is allowed as a policy. To enlist public sympathy, Goṣālaka could not have afforded to close his eyes against

the prevailing customs and conventions of that day. These Ājivikas were undoubtedly very sharp-witted as is seen from the repeated warnings sounded by the Buddha against *Moghapurusa* Goṣāḷaka who was really a wizard.

Instead of remaining dependent on the society at large, the Ājivikas took up a certain profession and maintained themselves therefrom. These professions such as showing pictures, astrology etc. were not necessarily ignoble but they were positively and comparatively less worthy from society's point of view. Ājivikas mastered these secular sciences, and statements indicating that they knew (especially Goṣāḷaka) *Aṣṭa-ṅganimitta* are not wanting.⁴⁶ Three leaders of the Ājivika school are more known to us. They are Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Saṅkicca and Makkhali Goṣāḷaka. Nothing except the names of the first two is known. According to me the Jaina and Buddhistic references to Ājivika school point only to the Ājivika school headed and led by Goṣāḷaka and not by the first two. As I have made clear in the beginning of this essay these three were contemporaries. There must then be some subtle differences between these three schools of the Ājivika sect. The schools of the first two *Ācaryas* were of minor importance. So a reference to the Ājivika school is a reference to Goṣāḷaka's Ājivika school and not to a school of any of the first two. Just as there are various schools of Vedānta but Śāṅkara's Vedānta is the standard, so also there are various schools of the Ājivika sect but Goṣāḷaka's Ājivika school is a standard representative.

It seems these Ājivikas came later on to be identified with the Digambaras, as is seen in Śīlāṅkīcārya's commentary on the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*.⁴⁷ For my part I am very reluctant to agree with Śīlāṅka as there is essential doctrinal difference between these two schools of thought.

We have no knowledge of the order of the Ājivika church as we have of the Jaina church. Also we are not in a position to say whether there were any nuns in that school. There were no doubt influential *upāsakas* as Saddālaputta and *upāvikas* such as Halāhala. We have no basis to make any statement regarding their dwelling places, like the modern *upāśrayas*, to house the Ājivika monks. But with all that they had their headquarters in all the well-known cities such as Halāhala's shop at Sāvattṛī.

The Ājivikas continued to exist in the days of Aśoka and his successors,⁴⁸ Daśharatha, a grandson of Aśoka, had granted caves in the Nāgārjuna hills⁴⁹ to the Ājivikas. All these evidences show that the sect was also respected even by the kings.

XII—Summary

(1) It is very significant that the Buddhistic Literature almost exclusively uses the phrase Makkhali Goṣāḷaka while in the Jaina Literature we find the phrase Māṅkhaliputra Goṣāḷaka used for the same. Buddhaghosa's explanation of the term Makkhali is more or less of a legendary character rather than philological. So also the Jaina tradition has no support from any well-known, authoritative Sanskrit dictionary. Moreover, in Jaina Literature there is a wide difference of opinion among

the commentators themselves, namely, Abhayadeva,⁵⁰ Hemacandra⁵¹ and others, regarding the meaning of Maṅkhali. Under such circumstances the derivation of the word Maṅkha from the Skt. word मङ्क⁵² arrived at by Hoernle appears to me more appealing. There was, as he says, on the authority of Pāṇini, Patañjali, Varāhamihir and Bhattotpala (the last depending on the Pkt. *gāthā* of one Kālakācārya) a well-organized sect of monks who carried a bamboo-staff with them. So originally they would have got their name from this symbol but as time went on they would have either dropped the system of carrying it in their hands or some other stronger symbol (e.g. one of employing specific means to maintain) in the form of showing pictures would have superseded the former. The Jaina commentators have a mess here that they identified the practice of showing pictures with the word Maṅkhali and thus tried to deduce the original meaning of the word Maṅkha from the profession of showing the pictures which they all followed alike. So my interpretation is that Goṣāḷaka belonged to a sect of Ājivikas whose prototypes were the original Ekadaṇḍins. And, as is quite possible in the history of names, these Ekadaṇḍins came later on to be called Ājivikas because they adopted certain specific means to eke out their livelihood. Goṣāḷaka who was the prominent leader and a vehement propagandist of the Ājivika school was thus identified with the class (एककिन्) and came to be known as Maṅkhaliputra just as Mahāvira who is also identified with his ज्ञानवृक्ष and is equally known as नायपुत्र. So this explanation is quite plausible because it reasonably reconciles both the traditions — the Jaina and the Buddhistic.

(2) The Jaina account which accepts Goṣāḷaka only as the acknowledged founder of the Ājivika sect is not tenable because a statement to the effect that the Ājivikas⁵³ outnumbered the followers of a well-honoured spiritual leader like Mahāvira, and another statement in the Buddhistic canonical works to the effect that there were other leaders of the Ājivika sect, namely Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Samkicca, indicate that there existed this very sect though under a different name as that of Ekadaṇḍins in Pre-Buddhistic days. Moreover, it can be argued that it would have taken at least some centuries to gain so much popularity as it did in the days of Mahāvira.

(3) An attempt to connect the Ekadaṇḍins or the prototypes of the Ājivikas with the Jaina monks of Pārśvanātha's times as well as an attempt to trace the origin of the Digambara sect to that of the Ājivikas of Mahāvira's times just as was done by HOERNLE⁵⁴ is bound to meet with our disapproval because the fundamental doctrines of the Ājivika sect are so much diametrically opposed to those of the Jaina school of Pārśvanātha's times and also to those of the Digambara Jaina school that such a comparison seems to be ridiculous. There is no doubt similarity between them but such similarities are found as a matter of fact between several sects. No doubt Dr. HOERNLE has a solid support, in this connection, of no less renowned commentator as Śīlāṅka,⁵⁵ and also of Halāyudha.⁵⁶ Halāyudha of course has evidently depended on Śīlāṅka who is somewhat inconsistent.

XIII—*Interpretation*

Thus there was, in Pre-Buddhistic days, a well-formed sect of the Ājivikas who were known as Maskarins or Ekadaṇḍins. They carried a bamboostaff as their symbol. These Ekadaṇḍins might have received a designation of the Ājivikas in the days of Buddha and Mahāvira probably because they employed some specific means such as showing pictures etc. to maintain themselves as the word *ājiva* shows. Goṣālaka was a vigorous exponent of this school as also Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Samkicca who represented some sub-varieties of this school. It was based on a lower form of asceticism which was not an end in itself but rather a means. In other words, they turned asceticism into an earning factor. Goṣālaka made friendship with Mahāvira with an evil motive of learning the secret and the art of capturing the mass mind. And he took no time in severing his connection with Mahāvira when the former was exposed by the latter. He changed his creed off and on so as to meet the pressing needs of his times. There are statements to show that they practised penance, observed fast while they ate in private. Goṣālaka might have gone to the length of even establishing sexual contact with women and in some form or the other he preached it also. The Ājivikas practised different popular tricks, such as magic and fortune-telling, to gain footing in the hearts of people. In a nutshell, they wanted to make capital out of asceticism and leave everything to fate. It is true that they could manage, in the way, to get as large a following as any of the contemporaneous sects but it is a recognized truth that it is quality, not quantity, which can perpetuate a particular creed. The sect had very influential *upāsakas* in the persons of Saddālaputta, Paṇḍuputta and Upaka, and *upāsikā* Hālāhalā. A question, then, naturally, arises as to why such a popular sect turned out so short-lived. The answer is not very far to seek. The Ājivika sect had nothing of some such thing as a coherent philosophy nor did it give any spiritual recipe to the suffering humanity. It provided only a fleeting temptation to credulous people who always have a leaning towards secular sciences such as magic, astrology, sorcery, omens and portents. These no doubt fell victims to machinations, manoeuvres and manipulations of a scheming man like Goṣālaka. But they were disillusioned also within a very short period. His *Niyativāda* was a double-edged weapon which cut anyway it liked but that also did not serve him long as it was rendered blunt by Mahāvira's bold and spirited exposure of Goṣālaka. It was the very height of absurdity and inconsistency when he applied the principle of transformation to himself and said that he was not Goṣālaka but Udayi Kuṇḍiyāṇiya in the dead body of Goṣālaka. The public took resentment at this shamefast nature of Goṣālaka and refused to be further exploited. It changed its course in the opposite direction and assembled under the banner of Jainism and Buddhism. Thus there came a tide in the affairs of the Ājivika school which did not see again the palmy days. And Goṣālaka who elevated it eventually ended it. He invented all the theories according to the changing needs. The theory to which he firmly adhered till the last breath of his life was *Niyativāda*. With respect

to all other theories: he was himself a law-giver and a law-breaker. His Theory of World and Emancipation is a stereotyped one that can neither be proved nor disproved. His Theory of Transformation is so illogical and ridiculous that it does not deserve even the name of a theory. He started a Theory of Eight Finals just to justify his misdemeanour in old age and to shield his moral lapses. His Theory of Eight Life-stages is more or less a common property owned by all literatures. His Theory of Six Abhijātis—the origin, according to JACOBI, of the Jaina doctrine of six *leśyās* is an elaboration of the *Triguṇa* theory of the Sāṃkhya. So the theory which was the backbone of the Ājivika school was the Theory of Fatalism which is in some form or the other a lower form of asceticism that advocated a life of stagnation and shut the doors to free will. Therefore we are quite justified in saying that the Ājivika school was not at all a major school of philosophy and the attempt to consider its points of similarity and dissimilarity with the well-conceived systems like the Jaina and the Buddhist schools is not worthwhile. I repeat, once more, in conclusion that the Ājivika sect, of which the Pre-Pāṇinian Ekadaṇḍins are the prototypes, is in its turn the original pattern of the present day Jatis, Bāvās, Bhāvās and Garoḍās. Regular references to Ajivikas are found as follow :

(1) Ekadaṇḍins of Pre-Pāṇinian days (2) Ājivikas of Mahāvra's times; (3) reference to Ajivikas in Barbar Rock Inscriptions of 251. B.C.; (4) reference to Ājivikas in the seventh Pillar-edict of Aśoka (236 B.C.)⁵⁷ (5) reference to Ājivikas in the *Bṛhajjātaka*⁵⁸ and *Lighujātaka*⁵⁹ of Varāhamihira (550 A.D.); (6) Siḷāṅka's reference to Ājivikas in the 9th century A.D. in his commentary of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*; (7) Halāyudha's *Ratnamālā*⁶⁰ refers to Ājivikas (10th century A.D.); and (8) South Indian Inscriptions of the 13th century refer to Ajivikas.⁶¹

After this there is no authentic reference to the Ajivikas, and this points to the fact that they became quite disorganized, followed and practised whatever they like. There was no common tie which could unite them under a common leadership and thus they vanished after thirteenth century leaving as the remnant the modern vagrant, gypsy-like, nomadic Bāvās, Bhāvās, Jatis and Garoḍās.

Foot-notes

- 1 *ERÉ.*, Vol. I, p. 259.
- 2 *Aupapitika*, p. 104.—The references to the Jaina canonical works are to the Āgamodaya Samiti editions, and to the Pali text society editions in the case of the Buddhist canonical works. *Sihānāṅga*, 2; 4; p. 233; p. 310.
- 3 *Majjhimanikāya*, I, 36; p. 238; II, 26; p. 524.
- 4 *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, p. 302.
- 5 *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* (Trans.) p. 161.
- 6 *Majjhimanikāya*, II, 26; p. 524. *Vinayapiṭaka* (OLDENBERG), *Culavagga*, V, 23, 3; *Pācittiya* in *Suttavibhaṅga*, 41, 1, *Sihānāṅga*, loc. cit.

- 7 *Majjhimanikāya*, loc. cit., *Sthānānga*, loc. cit.
- 8 *Bhagavatisūtra*, *Śataka* 15, pp. 660–695.
- 9 *Bhagavatisūtra*, *Śataka* 15, pp. 660–695.
- 10 *Upāsakadaśāṅga*, chap. 6
- 11 *Op. cit.*, chap. 7.
- 12 *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, II, 1, 1; pp. 287–298.
- 13 Cf. "There's a divinity that shapes our ends:
Rough hew them how we will" *Hamlet*, 5; 2,
- 14 *Praśnavyākaraṇasūtra*, I, 2; p. 28.
- 15 *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 1, 2.
- 16 *Bhagavatisūtra*, *Śataka* 15, p. 673.
- 17 *Dighanikāya sāmāññaphalasutta'*
- 18 *Jaina Prakāśa, Uthāna, Mahāvīrāṅka*, (v. s. 1990), p. 82.
- 19 *Bhagavatisūtra*, *Śataka* 15, p. 673.
- 20 *Jaina Prakāśa, Uthāna, Mahāvīrāṅka*. (V.S.1990), p. 82
- 21 Cf. *Upāsakadaśāṅga*, Chaps. 6 and 7; *Dighanikāya, Sāmāññaphalasutta*.
- 22 *Bhagavatisūtra*, *Śataka* 15, p. 680
- 23 *Nirayavalūo*, p. 5.
- 24 *Op. cit.*, loc. cit.
- 25 *ERE*, Vol. I, pp. 259 ff.
- 26 *Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa Sahvat aur Jaina Kālagarāṇā*, published by Nāgari Pracāriṇī Sabhā.
- 27 *Sumangala Vilāsini*, I, p. 162
- 28 *Anguttaranikāya*, III, p. 383.
- 29 *Uttarādhyayansūtra*, 34, pp. 572 ff; JACOBI, *SBE.*, Vol. 45, p. 196.
- 30 *Jaina Prakāśa, Uthāna, Mahāvīrāṅka*, (V. S. 1990) p. 90.
- 31 *Op. cit.* p. 94.
- 32 *Op. cit.*, loc. cit.
- 33 *Majjhimanikāya*, I 36; p. 238.
- 34 *Aupapātikasūtra*, p. 104.
- 35 *Majjhimanikāya*, I, 36; p. 238
- 36 *Aupapātikasūtra*, p. 104. This is Abhayadeva's interpretation of the phrases *dugharantariyā*, *tigharantariyā* and *sattagharantariyā*, etc. occurring there.
- 37 *Sthānānga*, 4–2–310; p. 233.
- 38 *Majjhimanikāya*, II, 26; pp. 514ff
- 39 *Anguttaranikāya*, I; p. 33.
- 40 *Praśnavyākaraṇasūtra*, p. 28
- 41 *Anguttaranikāya*, III, 133, p. 286.
- 42 *Sāṃhuttanikāya*, II, 3, 10; p. 66.
- 43 *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, II, 6; p. 391,

- 44 *Majjhimanikāya*, II, 26; p. 524
- 45 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 161.
- 46 *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita* (Trans.), p. 161.
- 47 JACOBI, *SBE.*, Vol. 43, p. 267.
- 48 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, pp. 181 f.
- 49 *Op. cit.*, pp. 103 f. and pp. 131 ff.
- 50 See Abhayadeva's commentary on the *Bhagavatsūtra*, Śataka 15.
- 51 The word मृदकं means a pipe also. See S. P. CHATURVEDI'S article "Pāṇini's vocabulary—its bearing on his date", on p. 50 in the *Woolner Commemoration Volume*, Lahore, 1940.
- 53 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 162.
- 54 *ERE.*, Vol. loc. cit.
- 55 Jacobi, *SBE.*, Vol. 45, p. 267.
- 56 *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, 2, 189-90.
- 57 *Indian Antiquary*, 20, 361 ff.
- 58 *Bṛhajjātaka*, 15, 1.
- 59 *Laghujātaka* 9, 12.
- 60 *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, loc. cit.
- 51 *South Indian Inscriptions* (Archaeological Survey of India), 2, 88, 89, 92, 103.

MAHĀVĪRĀ *

The sixth century B.C. is one of the most eventful periods in history. It was characterised by mental stir and spiritual urge of an unusual nature. New experiments were tried and values reassessed. People longed for new light.

India, at this time, was passing through a period of transition and uncertainty. The superiority of one class over the other was questioned and exploitation had become unbearable. It was in this atmosphere that Mahāvira, the twenty-fourth and the last Tirthankara, appeared on the scene.

His birthplace was Kuṇḍagrāma, prosperous suburb of Vaiśālī, somewhere about twenty-five miles north of modern Patna. It was the principal centre of the Kṣatriyas called Jñātrikas, Nāyas or Nātas and was something of an oligarchic republic ruled over by Mahāvira's father, Siddhārtha. He belonged to Kāśyapa gotra and his mother's name was Triśalā, a sister of Ccṭaka, a most powerful ruler of Videha, who had both Licchavis and Mallas always at his beck and call.

Mahāvira was born on the 13th of the bright half of Caitra in the year 599 B.C. His coming into the world was hailed with great rejoicings by the members of his family and the people of the city; every house in every street was beautifully decorated and illuminated, befitting the occasion. He is sometimes referred to in the Jaina canon and remembered by the Jainas as Videha, the son of Videhadattā; as Vaiśāhya, a citizen of Vaiśālī, as Kāśyapa, one belonging to the Kāśyapa gotra; as Arhat, Arihanta, Aruhanta and also sometimes as Buddha.

Truly speaking, Mahāvira is an appellation which gods gave him as he annihilated, in the manner of a formidable fighter, quite a big army of Karmas, with the ever-sharp weapon of Tapas when he was a monk. His real name is Vardhamāna which is significant in the sense that the prosperity and popularity of the father increased after his birth.

The Buddhists and his other contemporaries also on the other hand, refer to him in their works more often as Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta. There is a host of other names such as Sanmati, etc., given to him, but he is most commonly known as Mahāvira and we shall refer to him as such in this article.

The facts of his early life as collected from early works are not many. No complete picture of his boyhood emerges from these. For detailed information, one,

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therefore, has to rely on later accounts which are intermixed with miracles and myths. Here is an illustration to show his bold and brave nature

“Vardhamāna was once upon a time playing in his father’s garden in the company of his friends. He saw an infuriated elephant running amok in the crowd and rushing towards them. His friends were afraid of the impending danger and they fled away leaving him all alone. Immediately deciding to face the mad elephant with calmness and courage, he made a dash towards it, caught hold of the elephant’s trunk and climbed straightaway on its back.”

Mahāvira had a sound physique. His limbs were all perfect and proportionate. Strength appeared as if overflowing from them and he was equally strong in mind, heart and soul too. He was brought up in a royal atmosphere and learnt all the arts and sciences worth knowing. It is clear that he had made up his mind from his very childhood to humanise the society and to so orientate the religious teaching as to wipe out inequality, exploitation, autocracy and injustice, especially in the social and religious domains. His religious crusade against the tyranny of the so-called self-appointed custodians was exclusively based on the principles of Jainism which he ably expounded and interpreted to the people of his time

Mere preaching without practice was hypocrisy, he thought, and therefore, he wanted to renounce the world in the prime of life, but his parents desired to see their son live a normal life and arranged Mahāvira’s marriage, which was ultimately solemnized. In this matter Mahāvira respected the wishes of his parents, although his heart was not in it. Yaśodā was the name of his wife and in course of time, Priyadarśanā, a daughter, was born to them. Out of sheer regard for his parents, Mahāvira gave an assurance that he would not renounce the world so long as they were alive.

In his twenty-eighth year, when his parents died, he informed his elder brother, Nandivardhana, of his original desire, but the latter prevailed upon him to postpone his renunciation in view of the bereavement caused by the death of their parents. Mahāvira yielded and put off his departure by two years more.

Mahāvira ultimately threw off the worldly shackles at the age of thirty and started his religious career as a homeless monk, fully convinced of the ephemeral nature of all that was going on around him and fired by a zeal in quest of the Supreme Truth. This great event is vividly and touchingly described in the *Kalpasūtra*.

Mahāvira destined to be the Tirthankara was gifted from his very birth with three kinds of knowledge technically called Mati, Śruta and Avadhi and got the fourth one called Manaḥparyaya on the eve of his renunciation. Only the Supreme Knowledge—all-comprehensive knowledge—the fifth and last, technically called Kevala, now remained to be obtained by him, and this he did by leading an ascetic life for twelve years or so.

He went about stark naked and did not even keep such a trifling possession as a bowl for collecting food and preferred to eat in the hollow of his palms. He took no notice that there was something like a body. Insects and worms crawled and crept on his body and gnats and mosquitoes and bees and wasps bit him and stung him. People got shocked at his unusually uncouth appearance and they drove him away, beating him with stones and sticks. For days and nights, sometimes for months together, he would remain in silent meditation, starving his body but feasting his soul, exposing himself to cold and heat and rains. He talked to none, gave no interviews and dropped all sorts of formalities.

Absolute selfcontrol of body, speech and mind is the essential part of his conception of Tapas. Mere restraint of the body or only outward austerities could not take one very far. If one wanted to work out a complete annihilation of Karmic forces, the surest and quickest method was to practise the three-fold restraint of body, speech and mind. That is to say, it should be both outwards and inward. Thus the Tapas automatically came to be divided into fasting, absolute chastity, relentless meditation and the most rigid observance of the rules and regulations regarding eating, drinking, sitting, standing, sleeping, speaking.

The *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* has given a soul-stirring account of his Sādhanā directed to the attainment of the goal.

Mahāvira showed reverence to all forms of life which included among others, the earth-bodies, water-bodies, fire-bodies, wind-bodies and the vegetable-bodies. He never accepted what was specially prepared for him. He was circumspect in walking, speaking, begging, placing and in attending to calls of nature. He was guarded in his activities of mind, speech and body. He harboured no anger, no pride, no deceit and no greed. He bore no malice and showed no hatred. To none had he any feeling of attachment or aversion. He had no friends and no foes. He was equanimous to one and all. He wanted no support like the firmament and knew no obstacles like the wind. His heart was so clear as an autumnal night and as unaffected as a lotus-leaf. Controlled in senses like a tortoise, alone like a rhinoceros, free like a bird, valorous like an elephant, unassailable like a lion, steady as Meru and deep as ocean, he went through his life of Sādhanā. He utilized every moment and every atom of his energy for spiritual advancement and progress. In the course of his travels, he visited many villages, towns and cities where he met many a hostile Parivrajaka who did everything to harass him, and also encountered untold suffering and unbearable persecution at the hands of tempter gods.

In his second rainy season which he spent at Nālandā, he met Goṣāṅka Makkhaliputta who was attracted towards him with ulterior motives. Goṣāṅka found that Mahāvira was popular among people and was practically revered by them. He nurtured an ambition that he too should be an equal to Mahāvira, if not a superior. With a view to mastering the art of earning a name and fame, he associated with Mahāvira who turned down more than once Goṣāṅka's respectful offer to be his

pupil as he doubtless, and rightly too, his bonafides. Goṣālaka, who was so thick-skinned and practical that he swallowed this insult without a change of mien and stuck fast to Mahāvira as an unwanted associate, if not as a pupil.

Company with the great is never fruitless and Goṣālaka did, indeed, learn some occult secrets such as those of fiery power (तेजोवेश्या) and with the help of these he impressed the masses and secured a following. He, later, picked up a quarrel with Mahāvira on a flimsy philosophical ground and parted company. He, then, turned out to be one of the greatest adversaries of Mahāvira and even went to the length of using the fiery power against Mahāvira from whom he had managed to get the secret. He started a propaganda against Mahāvira virulently and vehemently, used every means to defame him but ultimately to no avail as it is the Truth and only the Truth that wins in the long run.

When he was breathing his last, he confessed that it was Mahāvira who was the real Jina and not he and he advised his pupils to believe in him, to accept him as a reliable religious leader and to respect him as such. Thus ended the tragic episode of Goṣālaka bringing out in bold relief before the public the spiritual mettle of which Mahāvira was made.

After a strenuous, unparalleled, historical Śādhinā spread over twelve years, Mahāvira attained the unequalled Supreme Knowledge called Kevala on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Vaiṣākha outside the city of Jumbhikagrāma, in the field of Śyāmāka under a Śāla tree, on the bank of the river Rjupālīkā.

Thus at the age of forty-two he became a Jina who saw everything and knew everything.

After enlightenment, he felt he was justified in propagating the truth he knew. He travelled far and wide; came to villages, cities and towns; mixed and moved with all; preached simple truths in simple language, in a simple manner; held discussions and solved the doubts of all men, women and children, the wealthy and the poor, the educated and the illiterate.

Mahāvira, once came to know of a sacrifice, organized on a grand scale, by a certain Brāhmaṇa named Somilācārya. He rushed to the place and addressed the people who had gathered, enlightening them. While preaching the Gospel, unequivocally he declared that the road leading to final liberation consisted of Right Vision, Right Knowledge and Right Character, expounded the principle of Ahimsā and described the nature of the seven Tattvas. The result was that with so many others eleven Brahmin chiefs who had come there with bands of pupils became converts. These eleven chiefs later came to be known as Gaṇadhāras who were heirs-apparent to the spiritual legacy of Mahāvira and whose contribution to the consolidation of Jainism is more valuable than that of any other disciples. Mahāvira seized the opportunity and strengthened the position of the fourfold Order reinforcing it with these mass conversions, Mahāvira's genius for organization was clearly evident. He was now at the zenith of his career as a prophet.

Mahāvira had a following in the princely order also. It is a historical truth that without a royal patronage, direct or indirect, propagation of any religion could not be as speedy and wide as expected. Mahāvira had staunch followers in King Udayana, Dadhivāhana, Śātānika, Caṇḍa Pradyota and Śreṇika. In addition to these there were also others such as the Gaṇarājās of Kāśi and Kosala, the nine Licchavis and Mallakis. Ten lay followers, no less important than the previous ones, mentioned above, have also been referred to in the *Uvāsagadasāo*. Ālabhikā, Campā, Kāmpilyapura, Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Vaṇijagrāma are some of the many important places visited by Mahāvira. In all of these cities, Mahāvira had many devout disciples who had fabulous wealth, enjoyed high social status and were all pious-minded, and they did a great lot to propagate the Jaina religion, which found a ready acceptance among a large section of the people. Mahāvira's personality evoked immediate response and respect in his disciples. They found in Mahāvira a saviour who had a ready solution for their trials and tribulations, here and beyond. Mahāvira's words had the force of law, and his character was irresistible. To his followers he was a beacon light, a sheet-anchor.

In the course of his career as an Enlightened Teacher, he passed the rainy seasons in many big cities such as Vaiśālī, Rājagṛha, Pavā, Mithilā, Ālabhikā and Bhadrka. He passed his last rainy season at Pavā where in the fourth month on the fifteenth day of the dark half of Karttika, in the last quarter of the night, in King Hastipāla's office of the writers, the Enlightened Mahāvira breathed his last. He got liberation, final bliss and beatitude. This took place in 527 B.C. at the age of seventy-two. This occasion was a matter for pride and honour for the eighteen chieftains of Kāśi and Kośala, as also for the nine Mallakis and Licchavis who, as they all had undying devotion for the departed teacher, celebrated the historical event with bonfires and illuminations proclaiming 'The light of intelligence is gone and we are making an illumination with the material object.' According to Jainas, the traces of the origin of the Dīvalī celebrations are to be found here in this programme of illumination by the confederate kings and chieftains.

It is now an acknowledged fact of history that Buddha and Mahāvira were contemporaries. Though they never met, they tried to understand each other's point of view and stated their dispassionate opinions before their respective followers, recluses, lay disciples and devotees.

The teachings of Mahāvira can be compressed into three significant words, namely. Ahimsā, Karmavāda and Syādvāda.

The Ahimsā of Mahāvira comprehends Ahimsā in thought, word and action. It is not a negative principle as is sometimes erroneously believed by some. When we do not help a person when we can, it means Himsā. So it is not merely an abstention from injury but a rendering of active service to others, of course, with non-attachment. Though the aim and end of Jainism is consummation *par excellence* of one's own personality and thus is individualistic in approach, it does not alto-

gether exclude the objective side of ethics also. Such a formulation and application of the principle of Ahimsā has sure visible effects in other fields also. Kings who came under the influence of Jainism granted protection to different forms of life by law. It fostered vegetarianism and mitigated the rigour and ruthlessness of the criminal law, prescribing capital punishment for few crimes. To sum up, it contributed a great deal in its own way towards humanising the society. Jainism recognizes that Karma by itself and without the intervention of any outside agency, divine or mundane, is adequate to explain the whole world of experience and thus to throw on the individual himself the whole burden of responsibility for what he thinks, speaks and does. The theory of Karma gives absolute religious independence and freedom to an individual. Nothing can interfere with his activities and it is, therefore, the doer who has solely to experience the result, good or bad. It thus saved the individual from being victimized by the autocratic and despotic sections of the society. Syādvāda teaches one the art of looking at the other point of view. In Mahāvira's day it removed unnecessary controversies, created an atmosphere of tolerance and gave an overall picture of the Supreme Truth.

Mahāvira's contribution is distinctly this. He preached : all are potentially capable of attaining perfection. No divine favour is required for this. One is solely responsible for what one does, speaks and thinks. Merit and not the birth is the determinant of his status in society. Inherent ability and not the sex is the stand for admission into the Order. Sacrifice of the animal is to be substituted by the sacrifice of the brute self. The means is not justified by the end. Mahāvira's Sangha was open to all, irrespective of caste, colour, and sex. 'Mortify the flesh to develop the Spirit,' he declared. He delivered his message in the tongue of the people. He attacked aristocratic aloofness and mystifying secrecy of other thinkers of the day. In a nutshell Mahāvira undertook to work out and propagate a veritable spiritual democracy in the form of Jainism.

THUS SPAKE MAHĀVĪRA

The sixth century B. C. is one of the most outstanding periods in the history of the whole world. It was marked by mental stir and spiratual urge everywhere. Socrates in Greece, Zoroaster in Persia, and Confucious in China sparked a revolution in the thoughts of their countries. Mahāvira and Buddha did the same thing in their lands of birth. The whole nation in the country was undergoing fundamental transformation. Arbitrary distinctions of caste were openly condemned by Mahāvira and Buddha who asserted that full scope should be given to all human beings to achieve peace and progress. Admisson of women into their Sanghas followed as a corollary of this basic principle. People were fed up with the excessive devotion to the ritual as it deprived the religion of the element of real ethical values. Mahāvira and Buddha vigorously voiced their protest against priestly oligarchy which exploited the people for its own ends in the name of chaotic and disturbing ritualism. Such a state of things in all the fields of human activities provided Mahāvira with an additional reason to spell out his message of deliverance with force and frankness. It was in the background of these circumstances that Mahāvira, the last and twentyfourth Tīrthamkara, who came on the scene fought with vision and vigour more than what Pārśva, his predecessor, two hundred fifty years before had displayed.

Jainism is as old as Time. It sometimes, receded in the background while at other times it occupied the vanguard. This depended on the situations and circumstances developing at particular times. The Tīrthamkaras came and went according to the inaxorable law of Karman, of course, leaving the world better.

In the Jaina system the Cārvāka view that perception alone is the valid source of knowledge has no place. It takes perception, inference and testimony as valid. As a matter of fact, it is on the authority of the teachings of the omniscient liberated saints technically called the Jinas that one can have unerring knowledge about certain spiritual matters lying beyond the compass of human perception and reasoning. According to it there are as many souls as there are living bodies. Consciousness in all of them is of a varying degree. However developed the senses may be, the soul inhabiting the body has limited knowledge which becomes infinite with its innate power and happiness increased infinitifold, once the carmic barriers are removed. Liberation is, according to it, a final goal. It is the consummation, secured with the help of the simultaneous and full cultivation of right faith, right knowledge and right conduct. Jainism believes in godhead, though not in one single God. It has

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respect for all opinions as it believes in every object having infinite aspects. It is a kind of realism as it takes the external world to be real and is pluralistic in nature.

The teachings of Mahāvira first transmitted in the form of a tradition which was later put into writing. The Aṅgas constituting the canon are the only authoritative source containing them. Despite the occasional accretions, these Aṅgas as also the Upāṅgas present an essentially correct picture of what Mahāvira thought, spoke and did.

The foundation on which Jaina Metaphysics rests is formed of nine categories such as Jīva and Ajīva, the subsequent seven such as Puṇyā, Pāpa etc. being included in the second, Ajīva. The soul in its pristine purity is possessed of infinite perception, infinite knowledge, infinite bliss and infinite power. Of Jīva, there are many divisions and subdivisions.

It is the union of Jīva with the matter which is responsible for his wanderings in this worldly cycle. Karma and its intensity are the determining factors of this union. It is formed of atomic particles which behave in such a way that every change which they undergo leaves and impress which itself becomes the germ of future action. When the soul is completely stripped of the Karmic bondage, it is restored to its original state which is one of eternal bliss and unending calm. This is called Siddhahood in Jaina terminology and it is attainable equally by the non-Jainas also if at all they have disciplined themselves in accordance with the injunctions laid down in Jaina śāstras. This type of catholicity is unparalleled in the sense that it is found in no religious system anywhere.

Looking differently, Jainism is a system of ethics much more than a religion. It is characterized by the strictest discipline and severe austerity, not only for the monks and the nuns but also for the laity. To be called a true, bonafide Jaina, one must cultivate faith which should be total. If one has faith, every thing else will come in due course of time but if he has no faith, it is useless if he is Jaina in other respects. This accounts for the fact that Right Faith is the first of the three requisites required to lead one on to the final goal of emancipation,

Right conduct means, in addition to other drills and disciplines, the practising of the Five Vows which are Non-injury, Truth, Non-stealing, Continence and Non-possessiveness. These vows are not the special features of Jainism only. They are enunciated and enjoined in other faiths also but the point is that their application according to Jainism has the utmost rigours and fine subtleties to be rarely found elsewhere. The way in which the principle of non-injury is elaborated in Jainism bears this out. Ahimsā does not merely mean Ahimsā in action. It means much more than this. It also includes Ahimsā in words and Ahimsā in thoughts even. There is a general misbelief that the Jaina principle of Ahimsā is a negative one. It is not so because it also implies that it is as good as injuring a person if he is not helped when we are in a position to do so but do not do so intentionally. Final aim of an individual being his own redemption, it is true that more accent is put in

Jainism on individualistic aspect than on the social, that is to say, the objective. Purity of mind more than anything else is the sine qua non of the Jaina ethics. Ascetic processes and procedures without it do not take one any further. One can reach it only through the gateway of self-control. Even-mindedness and maditation go hand in hand in Jainism. One is crippled without the other and is effective only when in company. Ethics and metaphysics are not completely divorced from each other in Jainism as is the case with Hinduism. This is evidenced in the Jaina texts while discussing into details the rationale of Bandha (Bondage) and Mokṣa (Emancipation)—two of the nine categories referred to before. The anger, egoism, deceit and greed are the four cardinal sins ranking above all the vices in their harmfulness and horribleness. The strangeness about them all is that while committing the one, a person commits the other also automatically and immediately. A person falling and remaining for ever into the clutches of these four sins forfeits once for all his right to heavens and to emancipation. The significantly moral character of the whole ethical code is clearly brought home when one remembers the fact that Mahāvira ruled that both—ascetic and householder—should not only make a daily confession of the acts of omissions and commissions but also should atone for them. One would be convinced of the hollowness of the argument contained in the accusation that Jainism is a negative creed, if at all he cares to go through a formidable list detailing the pious and positive social duties as part of Puṇya which one is called up on to perform without demur and deceit. One has to admit “Not in vain is practical ethics wedded to philosophical speculation in Jainism”.

Five vows referred to above collectively constitute the ethical code of the Jainas. They contribute to the furtherance of the social uplift as much as they do individual's. As said before, the world consists of two kinds of reality, the living and the non-living. Every living being has a soul, however imperfect or insignificant, the body, its habitat may be. Avoidance of injury, even the least, plays, therefore, an important role in Jaina ethics. Ahimsā as enunciated and elaborated by Mahāvira, comprehends Ahimsā in thought, word and action. The application of the principle of Ahimsā has sure, visible effects in other fields also. In non-technical language it also means the maximum kindness or reverence towards or for the animate world. Every living being has a sanctity, a dignity, a divinity of its own. Life is sacred, however big or small, a living may be socially or otherwise. Use of brute force implies a standing negation of the worth of personality as personality, the dignity of man as man. We have witnessed this negation many a time during the last hundred years and it poses a formidable problem. Competition in armaments, secret diplomacy, aggressive nationalism, imperialism, exploitation and blackmailing, racial discrimination etc. etc. What are all these--if not various forms of the negation of principle of Ahimsā? A tremendous effort, rational and moral is, therefore, needed to bring home to the world that a way out of the present turmoil and trouble leading to real peace and progress lies in installing the Jaina principle of non-injury, non-violence (Ahimsā) in place of violence (Himsā). The principle of non-injury also means that equal

regard may be paid to the welfare and good of every single man, woman or child. In sum, the principle of Ahimsā really implies that life should be elevated completely from the plane of force to that of reason and reverence, adjustment and accommodation, service and sacrifice. This can be achieved exclusively through the sincere and solid application of the principle of Ahimsā, the cornerstone of Jainism, to all the fields of human activities. It should be noted that the principle of Truthfulness is inseparably linked up with the principle of non-injury, non-violence. Truth is the highest divinity and is of the ten types as stated in the Pannavāṇa sūtra. Violence begets fraud which is but another form of untruth. We say in our daily talk that truth only conquers. It is true when it means that truth prevails in the long run. But it is a wrong interpretation if it is meant to signify that truthfulness in thought, word and deed is a road to success. The path of truth is strewn with thorns, is beset with difficulties. It demands courage and conviction, stoicism and sacrifice. It is one thing to speak the truth in private but it is quite another thing to say and stick to it in public. However ideals are ideals and they cannot be tempered with. Lofty aims are the wings of the soul aiding it to soar higher and higher. The wings, therefore, should never be clipped even partially. To those who argue that in a society which is permeated in and out with vice and wickedness, vile and violence, it is well nigh impossible to stick to truth, and therefore the society should be so organized as to facilitate the truth to prevail, it can be with equal force advanced that a society is made up of individuals and if these improve, the society is automatically improved. The principle of non-stealing is but another name of honesty. In Uttarajjhayāna, the Lord had said "To abstain from taking what is not given, even so much as a tooth-pick etc. and to accept only such alms as are free from all faults; this is a difficult vow (to observe)". If the conditions of right living are to be sustained, one has to see that one does not so enjoy the rights as to deprive the others of them. What is a right in regard to oneself is a duty in regard to others. Rights and duties are interdependent. They go hand in hand. If one adheres to this principle strictly and with sincerity, there will be no problem of plunder, or loot, or robbing. The fourth vow is named continence, another form of it being self-control which, like the pruning of a shrub, assists the beauty and flowering of the soul. One must grow in self-control. One must not suppress the instincts but sublimate them and this is what exactly results from the observance of celibacy or continence. Sublimation is the organic device of attaining self-control without disintegrating personality. It renders possible the all-round organisation of self which is the mainstay of morality. Celibacy directs the flow of energies into specific channels and helps the person in continually recreating the moral order in which he has his being and in contributing immensely to the moral life of the society of which he is a part. Aparigraha is the last of the five vows. It means absence of acquisitiveness, or a state of Possessionlessness or stoicism. It enjoins on a person to exercise restraint on accumulation. An ideally religious man is totally devoid of a lust for hoarding. His wants are bare and his needs are few. This will save him from getting lost in the pursuit of material gain.

If this vow is observed in strict conformity with the scriptural injunctions it will halt that ruthless and lustful competition for wealth and property which is the curse of the present age and is responsible for its heinous crimes. The attitude of mind resulting from the observance of this vow is perhaps more required today than before. Expressed in slightly different terms, this vow may be described as the right sense of proportion, a perception of the true scale of values. It will be clear from the foregoing description that these vows are interdependent and supplementary. The application of one to human relationships leads necessarily to that of the others. But it must be said that priority goes to Ahimsā, non-injury or non-violence whatever you may call it. This is the very bedrock on which is erected the edifice of higher, nobler life. It is not mere humanitarianism but much more than that because it covers the entire sentient creation. Its comprehensiveness illustrates that ethical life and it only is the very foundation of mental attitude, outlook and approach. Asteya (Non-stealing) and Aparigraha (Possessionlessness) also like Ahimsā, appear to be negative but they are really positive when applied. The five vows taken together constitute a single, whole conception of life, moral and spiritual.

Mahāvira has put the same emphasis on the application of the principle of Ahimsā in regard to Mind as he did in regard to character. He achieved this through his enunciation of the principle of Anekānta or Syādvāda. Different kinds of immediate and mediate knowledge of objects prove only one thing that every object has innumerable aspects. Imperfect beings as we all are cannot comprehend an object in its totality. Our view of it, therefore, is limited and we are wrong when we say that our view is full and final. This fact is very well brought home by a popular illustration of the blind men who formed their idea of an elephant by severally touching its legs, ears, tail and trunk. Each one of them claimed credibility for his idea and quarrelled when the claim was repudiated by the other. But they laughed over their own folly when every one realized that his knowledge was only of one of the many parts of the animal. This also applies to various systems of philosophy which are dogmatic in their assertions. This created bitterness amongst the followers of different philosophical schools. They never saw eye to eye on many a point and this hostility created factions in society. Seeing that this also is a type of violence in the realm of thought, Mahāvira advanced his theory of Menifoldness of Aspects, technically called Syādvāda, and silenced zealots of one school or the other. "Truth, he said, and meant, is not anybody's monopoly with tariff walls of denominational religions". This was the greatest contribution of Mahāvira so far as the mental plane of speculation is concerned alongside his principle of Ahimsā which has done so much as nothing else has done to raise the standard of dignity of every being under the sun, howsoever small and insignificant. This catholicity of outlook is the very soul of Jainism. It harmonises all conflicting interests, sees unity in diversity, rejects absolute arbitrary claims and knits into one whole the seemingly contradictory doctrines. It is, indeed, a way of life aiming at democratization of the processes of thought, word, and act. The fact that

Mahāvira spoke in the tongue of the people is another example proving that he championed the cause of the masses against the totalitarian trends of the society. He spared nothing to take out the wind out of the sails of monopolistic tendencies of the elite.

Jainism as professed and practised by Mahāvira recognized that Karma by itself and without the intervention of any outside agency, divine or mundane, is adequate to explain the whole world of experience. It throws on the individual himself the whole burden of responsibility for what he thinks, speaks and does. He is thus the architect of his own fortune and needs not wait for God's mercy. This Jaina theory of Karma gives unqualified religious independence and freedom to an individual. It also saves the individual from being victimized by the autocratic and despotic sections of the society. It is only merit that counts and not the artificial status symbols based on arbitrary distinctions created by caste, community, colour and sex.

If atheism means an unbelief in a life beyond, then a Jaina is not at all an atheist. If again atheism means an unbelief in the authority of the Vedas, a Jaina is, of course, an atheist. Jainism has no quarter for a creative God, accommodating at the same time the concept of godhead.

Thus spake Mahāvira. All, excepting the Abhavyas (unredeemable), are potentially capable of attaining perfection without the God's grace or good will. Portals to emancipation are open to all. One is exclusively responsible for what one thinks, speaks, and does. Merit and not the birth is the determinant of status in society. Inherent ability and not the sex is the standard for admission into the order. Reverence for the life of all being howsoever small and insignificant one is, is the first law of ethics. Sacrifice of the animal is to be substituted by the sacrifice of one's own brute self. For the attainment of the end the means cannot be sacrificed. One should be tolerant of the other's point of view. 'Mortify the flesh to develop the spirit'— he declared. Mahāvira delivered his message in the tongue of the people. He led a frontal attack against priestly oligarchy, aristocratic society and mystifying thinkers of the day. In short, he lived and died for working out and propagating a virtual spiritual democracy in the form of Jainism. Without sacrificing substance, Mahāvira reoriented the principles of Jainism traditionally received from his predecessor, Pārśva, so as to be an effective weapon with which to counteract successfully the complicated technique employed since long by the spiritual monopolists to perpetuate their hold on the people who were passing through a crisis of faith. Mahāvira's contribution, from this point of view, is sound and sizeable. In the world of thought, he ushered a republican era.

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HERETICS OF JAINISM

Even though their final aim is the same, the means employed in the Gaṇadhara-vāda and Nihnavavāda radically differ. Understanding and realization of the truth is the avowed common goal with both of them, while, the methods of approach vary. Gaṇadhara-vāda has for its basis the element of curiosity which when ultimately satisfied proves the veracity of the fundamental virtues on which the supreme excellence of Jainism rests while the central core of Nihnavavāda is formed of repudiation and therefore it eventually ended in weakening Jainism. When Gaṇadhāras were not able to understand and interpret certain Vedavācanās without coming into conflict with the acknowledged principles of Jainism, they sought clarification from Mahāvira. When their minds were cleared of the doubts, they became more aligned to Jainism than before. The Nihnavas¹ doubted the statements of the Jaina Āgamas, dissented and ultimately backed out. They started their creeds independently, got some feeble following, survived for a brief period and ultimately vanished. Gaṇadhāras had honest doubts. When these were solved, they became followers of Jainism with increased zeal. The Nihnavas were actuated with a bad motive, perhaps the motive of establishing a new sect though they put up an outward show of attempting at truth. The Gaṇadhāras were the seekers of truth; the Nihnavas were the doubters, dissenters, sceptics. The former contributed to the growth and popularity of Jainism; the latter retarded it. The Gaṇadhāras were all non-Jain persons who wanted to be initiated into Jainism and to be its followers if they could be enlightened and convinced. When Mahāvira succeeded in removing their doubts, they embraced Jainism without any reservation. The Nihnavas were the Jain monks themselves who, being urged by impious desire for undeserving leadership, found fault with the creed, dissented from and deserted it. Thus they worked for the ruin of Jainism from within. Though the declared aim of the Nihnavas, as said above, is the understanding and realization of truth, the discussions held by them and the controversy raised and indulged in by them are the clear pointers to their ulterior motives, such as those of jealousy, anger, revenge or vanity. They were egocentric. The Gaṇadhāras did not have doubts simply for the sake of having them. They raised them with a view to getting a logical solution from the Master so that they can make Jainism more invulnerable against the opponents. The Gaṇadhāras, who were all of them non-Jains before they embraced

¹ For the informations contained in this article, I have mainly drawn on the *Thāṇamga Sūtra*, *Bhagavati sutra* both of the Āgamodaya Samiti, the *Vīśeṣāvaiyaka Bhāṣya* edited by Pandita Hargovinddas and Pt. Becharadas, *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvira*, Vol. IV, Ed. by Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya, 1947.

Jainism proved themselves in the end real assets and the Nihnavas who, though they were the Jain monks from the beginning, dug the very grave of Jainism from below. Thanks to the strenuous efforts of the genuine Jain monks of those times, the grave did not turn out to be the real grave but only a crevice that was repaired in a comparatively short time. The fundamental difference, if we so call it, distinguishing the Gaṇadhara from the Nihnavas is that the Gaṇadhara, after their doubts were satisfactorily removed by the Master, became perfectly agreeable to the Āgamas while the latter remained always at variance with the same, in part or in toto, for some or whole part of their life.

Thus viewed, the Nihnavavada proved to be menace, though temporary, to the expending influence of Jainism. The Nihnavas, the rebels, were indeed highly intellectual. This quality of the head in them should not be denied as it cannot be. But at the same time, they were so head-strong that when logical arguments proved successful in the case of the Gaṇadhara, they not only failed in that of the Nihnavas but made them the bitterest enemies of the Jain church so much so that they were to be brought round by the corporal punishment. Any way, this upsurge of intellectual outlawry turned out for Jainism a blessing in disguise. Preachers and followers of Jainism became more cautious and introspective. Whatever degree of hypocrisy had crept in the Saṃgha was soon driven out. The Saṃgha took a hint to set its own house in order. Laxity was treated ruthlessly. Discipline was restored and the dignity of Anekānta was once more placed on the firmer footing. It may be remembered here that the Nihnavas were discomfited mainly through the rigid application of the rules of Anekānta which is the bedrock of Jain logic and philosophy.

Now let us see who these Nihnavas were and what their stand was.

Jamāli, who was both the nephew and so-in-law of Mahāvira, was the first Nihnava.² He had five hundred monks as his pupils and his wife with one thousand nuns. He was highly intellectual but equally egoistic. Naturally he could not pull on well with the master and therefore separated from him. He was once laid up with high fever and therefore ordered the monks to prepare bed for him as he wanted to rest. As he was feverish, he could not brook the delay, though the monks actually did not make delay at all. He shouted in the heat of fever whether the bed is being prepared for him or not. The monks replied "yes; it is prepared". Jamāli saw that it was not prepared but was in the process of being prepared. He, therefore, took the monks to task for making a false statement whereupon the monks justified themselves by advancing that what is "kriyamāṇam" is, according to the Bhagavati Sutra,³ "kṛtam". Jamāli cut them short by laying down that actual production takes place only after a long time. Thus, he started the theory of "Bahurata"⁴ which went counter to the theories of "Nityakṛtva etc. etc. Mahāvira tried to explain to him in number of ways but he was hard to be reconciled regarding the transitoriness of the Jiva like loka. Many of his pupils left him out of sheer disgust.

for his stubbornness. Neither did he revise his wrongly conceived theory nor did he repent. He was thus Heretic No. 1, who undermined the foundation of the Saṃgha remaining all through his life in the garb of a Jaina monk.

Tiṣyagupta was Heretic No. 2. Ācārya Vasu, Śrutakevalin, was his teacher. When he was studying the Pūrvas, he came across a dialogue between a Tirthamkara and his pupil in which the Tirthamkara propounded a theory that a Jiva is not formed of one particular pradeśa—whether it may be the first or the second or the last, but it is formed of all the pradeśas taken together—the first, the second, the intervening and the last. Tiṣyagupta gave a twist to the theory and formulated instead a new one stating that only the last pradeśa by which the Jiva comes into existence is the Jiva and no other pradeśas. The Ācārya spared no pains to explain to him, on the strength of Evāmbhuta Naya,⁵ that it is not one particular pradeśa only which is responsible for bringing the Jiva into existence. Tiṣyagupta could not be agreeable to this and he was, as a result expelled from the Gaccha. He started preaching his theory which was styled as ‘Antyapradeśatva’. In course of wanderings he comes up to Āmalakapā where he gets an invitation for dinner from a Jaina layman, named Mitraśrī, who taught him a lesson by offering to him the last portions of the food and drink. His eyes opened and he gave up his theory.

Ārya Āśādhācārya was Heretic No. 3. His theory was known as Avyakta. He was once teaching the practice of āgādha yoga to his pupils when all of a sudden he died out of extreme pain in the cardiac region generated by the strenuous labour which he took at the time. He was born as a god in the heaven from where he found through the Avadhī Jñāna that his pupils were all engaged in the study of the Yoga to grasp which the need and help of an accomplished like himself were necessary. He therefore came down from the heaven out of pity for the pupils, entered his dead body and fully explained the aims and commandments of the Holy Writ in the guise of Āśādhācārya. Before going away after the teaching work was over, he requested his pupils to excuse him for exacting from them the respect and homage which only a Saṃyata teacher can, while he was none other than an Asaṃyata god.

When the pupils were thus disillusioned, they began to think that they on their part were also unable to find out as to who was Saṃyata and who was Asaṃyata. They therefore decided not to respect any one. The elder experienced, wise monks tried their best to enlighten these youngsters but as they could not be, they were expelled from the Gaccha.

Now in course of their wanderings, they came to Rājagrha, the king of which, one Balabhadra, ordered that they should be killed being trampled upon by the elephants under their feet, advancing the reason that he was unable to find out whether they were the Sādhus or the thieves. The Nihnavas told the king that they were the real Sādhus and not the thieves whereupon the king immediately retorted that if they thought themselves to be the real Sādhus, they should have no objection

in treating the other elderly monks also as the real Śādhus. This retort of the king brought back these Nihnavas, called Avyaktas, to their senses and they were regularly taken back in the Gaccha after extortion of apology.⁶

Ārya Aśvamiṭra was Heretic No. 4. He was the pupil of Ācārya Mahāgiri. When he was once absorbed in the studies of Aṅupravāda Pūrva, he found therein a statement to the effect that all that Nārakas of the present convention shall perish as also will all the deities. He enlarged the principle underlying the statement, applied to all living beings and went on openly preaching that there is no need for good or for evil in view of the fact that there was to occur the entire destruction of all beings soon after they were born. He styled this novel theory of his as Kṣaṇikakṣaya-vāda, the faults and inconsistencies of which were exposed by his Guru on the ground of Rjūsūtra Naya,⁷ but he could not be brought round. As a punishment he was driven out of the Gaccha.

He then went to Rājagṛha with his followers where he was held up and bitten by the watchmen who took him to be a burglar. He pleaded that he was a Śramaṇa whereupon the watchman paid him in the same coin saying that the Śramaṇa is dead and gone there and then and now no more. He was thus forced to give up his theory.

Ārya Gaṅgācārya was Heretic No. 5. He was once crossing the river in the hot sun. Bald-headed as he was, he felt the heat on his head and coolness on his feet due to cold river water. This practical experience of his own inspired him to enunciate a theory of Dvaikriyās which postulated two experiences at one and the same point of time. But this theory of his went against the teachings of the Āgamas. His teacher, one Dhanagiri, tried much to dissuade him, advancing an argument that there was always a thin line of demarcation between the two experiences—upayogas. He was obstinate and did not give up the position which he had taken. When one Maṇināga threatened him with death he gave up his new attitude and joined back the original school, now with firmness and faith.

Rohagupta is Heretic No. 6. He once defeated a mendicant in debate through his theory of Trairāśikas which he specially invented to serve his purpose at that time. It meant the existence of three categories of Jīva, such as, Jīva, Ajīva, and Nojīva. The teacher warned him against preaching the theory as it was in contravention of the established principles of Jainism. But Rohagupta was so much enamoured of his newly conceived theory that he declined to obey the teacher. The teacher, who was very unhappy at this, tried for six long months to convince him in long drawn debates. Ultimately they both agreed to go to Kutrikāpaṇa (Universal Store) to ascertain whether anything like a Nojīva was available there. It was of course not and hence Rohagupta was silenced by the teacher. Silenced or not, Rohagupta was not a man to give up his theory. He was eventually disclaimed and therefore, he thereafter founded a new school of his own which later came to be known as Vaiṣeṣika⁸ that believed, unlike Jainism, in six entities, namely, Dravya, Guṇa, Karma, Sāmānya, Viśeṣa and Samavāya.

Coṣṭhā-Māhila was Heretic No 7. He differed from the principle, laid down in the Āgamas, that the Karmic particle gets intertwined with every pradeśa of the soul as well as from the rule that the pratyākhyāna was to be observed till the end of the life of a Mukṭātmā and not after as he had nothing to atone for due to his final release. He openly preached that the Karmic particle stuck to the upper surface of the soul exactly in the manner of the skin of the serpent and the pratyākhyāna should be practised irrespective of any time-limit whatsoever whether one is a Mukta or not. The Ācārya produced many proofs and pramāṇas to wean him from his views. But it was of no avail. He was so intelligently cunning that he interpreted Mahāvīras utterances and pronouncements so as to suit and validate his own beliefs. Therefore, the arbitration through a goddess was sought of Simāndhara Swāmi who gave a verdict completely against Goṣṭhā Māhila. When the latter knew this, went to the length of declaring that he was not bound by it and decided more firmly to have his own way. This forfeited his membership of the Gaccha. He remained a heretic throughout his life.

These were the seven Heretics. The first two of them sprang up during the life-time of Mahāvīra himself and the remaining five after his Nirvāṇa they differed in one or two principles only and therefore they were called Deśa-visamvādī. But they were "Heretics" no doubt. Boṭṭika Nihava⁹ which gave rise to the Digāmbara Sect was Sarva-Visamvādī and a type by itself. The seven Heretics were so to say the leaders of the Opposition Parties with varying denominations under one and the same Government while the Boṭṭika Nihava was a different Government altogether and hence I have excluded it from my survey.

Note

- 1 *Thāraṅga*, Āgamodaya Samiti, *ihāṅga*, 7. *Ogha Nirukti Bhāṣya*, Āgamodaya Samiti, Gāthā-40 *Viśeṣāvāyaka Bhāṣya*, gāthā-2299.
- 2 Schubring's *Die Lehre der Jainas*, English rendering by Wolfgang Beurlen. 1st Edition, 1962, page-33.
- 3 *Bhagavati Sūtra*, Āgamodaya Samiti, 1; 1; 1. For details also see Khaṇḍa 1; Śataka 9; uddeśaka 33 of the same Sūtra.
- 4 *Viśeṣāvāyaka Bhāṣya*, gāthā 2301.
- 5 *Sanmati Tarka*, Eng. trans. by Gopani and Athavale, Pub. Shri Jain Śvetāmbera Education Board, Bombay-3, 1939; page 8.
- 6 *Viśeṣāvāyaka Bhāṣya*, gāthā 2388.
- 7 *Sanmati Tarka*, Eng. trans. by Gopani and Athavale, pp. 6-7
- 8 Schubring *op. cit.*, p. 15.
- 9 Schubring *op. cit.*, page 50

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CHARACTERISTICS OF JAINISM *

It has been now conclusively proved that Jainism is not at all an offshoot of Buddhism¹ but it is an independent and original system of thought claiming perhaps more antiquity than what is generally ascribed to it. As a system by itself, it has, like its rival schools of thought, many outstanding characteristics in almost all of its branches, namely, logic, philosophy, physics, metaphysics, cosmology, biology, ethics, astrology, astronomy, etc. It has made a valuable contribution to the development of ancient Aryan thought and culture. However, it is not possible for me to give in this lecture a detailed sketch of its various characteristics. As I hope that you are already in the know of the fundamental principles of all the leading schools of thought in India, I shall be content at the moment simply with outlining some of the prominent features of the Jaina thought and culture.

(1) I shall first of all discuss the Jaina conception of philosophy as it has a direct bearing on the life we ought to live. Philosophy is, unfortunately, such a term, as has the fate of having been ambiguously employed, thereby often giving rise to much confusion even in the scholarly world regarding its significance, aims and objects. Aristotle, for example, has defined philosophy to be "the science of the first principle or beginnings". Another Western scholar interprets it in the sense of entirely unified knowledge, while according to the third it is nothing more or less than the science of the Absolute. Thus there are as many interpretations placed on the term philosophy as there are authors. Which shows that the West gives us no clear-cut definition of the functions of Philosophy.

In my humble opinion, among the Eastern schools of thought it is Jainism only which offers the practical solution as to what Philosophy stands for. It adopts a matter-of-fact attitude, instead of indulging in wild theories, as other schools have idly done, and defines philosophy as a harmonious attempt of the head and the heart for the removal of impediments which block the way to Right Vision into the metaphysics of thoughts and things, which vision leads us to Right Knowledge of the whole universe and also of our duties to ourselves, to our neighbours and to the world around. Thus the Jaina definition of it, which is based on such *sūtras* as नाणकिरियाहि मोक्खो² or सम्मग्दर्शनज्ञानचरितानि मोक्षमार्गः³, includes in itself an often-too-much-neglected practical aspect of our life.

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Taking philosophy then as a means to obtain a condition *par excellence* through Right Behaviour which arises from Right Knowledge based on Right Vision or Right Belief, we can at once see that the definition of philosophy as advanced by Jinism varies fundamentally from the idle theories of the rival schools of the East and the West.

It is interesting to note at this stage how this practical attitude of the Jainas, as seen from its outlook on definition of philosophy, has affected its views concerning the soul.

This world at once resolves itself into two main groups, to wit, the cogitative substance and the non-cogitative substance.⁴ The cogitative substance or the sentient self or the soul which is technically styled *Jiva* in Jaina terminology differs essentially from the *puruṣa* of Sāṃkhya philosophy which is entirely inert or simply a spectator.⁵ The latter is neither the agent nor the experiencer, like the Jaina *Jiva*. It has also the fate to vary from the basic conception of soul of the Vedānta philosophy⁶ which is technically called *Jivatmā*. It is nothing more or less than *Avikṛta Brahma* confined in this mortal coil through *avidyā*. It is this immutability of the Vedānta soul from which the Jaina conception disagrees. From the phenomenal point of view (*paryāyastika naya*) it is ever changing according to Jinism. It has also to record its protest against the Buddhistic idea of soul which is a *viññāna skandha* or a *santāna*⁷ dying at every moment, because the Jaina *Jiva* though always changing; it is *nitya* from the nomenal standpoint (*dravyāstika naya*). It amounts, then, to saying that the Jaina *Jiva* is *nityānitya*.⁸ It is a practical hypothesis inasmuch as it admits of being verified from our everyday experience. It is best fitted to explain rationally and not dogmatically many of the anomalies which accumulate round the conceptions of *Jiva* or other philosophies which are, it would seem from this, not true to experience. It makes the unobjectionable features of other schools of thought its own and putting its original colour on all of them, tries to soften down the hostile elements existing between one school of thought and the other. Thus we are justified in saying that Jinism makes a valuable contribution to the philosophic world, which is independent, original and of real worth.

(2) I am now passing on to *Syādvāda*, which I believe to be one of the most striking inventions of the Jainas regarding their philosophy. We noted above that the Jaina *Jiva* is both *nitya* and *anitya*. This *nityānitya* doctrine of the Jaina *Jiva* is a necessary corollary of *syādvāda* which, let it be said in justice to Jinism, has received a rough and undeserving treatment at the hands of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya.

Syādvāda is the doctrine of Relativity of truth. It undertakes to show that every other philosophy, at the most, contains statements of partial truth, while it itself should be accredited with making the exposition of truth in toto. It will appear at the first sight that it makes a bold announcement but it does prove it by devising a network of *syād asti*, *syān nāsti*, etc. It must be said in fairness to Jinism that it is really here that Jinism surpasses all other forms of faiths and creeds. It accommodates in its fold both the theoretical and the practical aspects of our life.

Syādvāda therefore is a distinctly original contribution of the Jainas to the Indian Logic. Every religion in India has to make room, and to provide at the same time, for perfect knowledge if it wants to live perennially. It has also been the common duty of such a living religion to teach the suffering humanity to go beyond the phenomenon, the mere form, and not to seek solace there. Jainism is by no means an exception to this rule but the method formulated and employed is no less original than different. For the acquisition, then, of such a perfect knowledge, or better say, for one's own realization, it has devised and developed a philosophy of its own which goes under the popular name of *Anekāntavāda* which is a peculiar feature of the Jaina Logic. "It is obvious that regarding a given *Padārtha* we can make from a divergent point of view, different and yet contradictory statements."⁸ A single statement can never put you in the knowledge of a thing in its entirety. Moreover a thing can also be viewed from the standpoints of matter, space, time and mode. In short, a thing cannot be comprehended at one glance or attempt as it has got numberless aspects or qualities or facts. Dr. DAS GUPTA seems to be lending support to this view when he speaks in his *History of Indian Philosophy*: "Since the most contrary characteristics of infinite variety may be associated with a thing, affirmation made from whatever standpoint cannot be regarded as absolute."⁹ In other words *Syādvāda* is a synthetic presentation of innumerable viewpoints. In his *Religion of India*, HOPKINS writes about *Syādvāda* in the following terms: "In contrast to the Nihilistic Buddhist, the Jaina assumes a doubtful attitude so that he is termed the may be philosopher or a *Syādvādin* in opposition to the Buddhist philosopher of the void."¹¹ Can we not say that HOPKINS misrepresents *Syādvāda*? Sir RADHAKRISHNAN'S following verdict on *Syādvāda* can be well quoted against this partial and hence incorrect opinion of the author of *Religions of India*. Sir RADHAKRISHNAN observes in his *Indian Philosophy*: "The view is called the *Syādvāda* since it holds all knowledge to be only probable. Every position gives us only a perhaps, a may be or a *Syāt*."¹²

It is never possible for us to affirm or deny in absolute terms about a particular thing the very nature of which consists of endless complexity, is filmy and uncertain. Distinguished scholars have maintained an opinion that *Syādvāda* is the doctrine of Scepticism.¹³ This is also a glaring mistake which needs be corrected by saying that it is the Science of the Assertion of alternative possibilities.¹⁴ It is only through it that one can look at a thing with a wide and liberal view. And it is only through it that one can review a thing in all its bearings and relationships. Ever-progressing character of Reality is always elusive and therefore admits only of relative or conditional predication. The fact is this; it always and under any circumstances recognises the possibility of predication. Every proposition is true but only under certain restrictions.

I will close the discussion of this unique feature of Jaina Logic and Philosophy by saying that it smooths all the apparent differences, which supply the ground to several philosophies, without sacrificing anything of intrinsic and eternal value and

uproots that vanity—that ego the fruitful soil for those envenomed passions, and finally leads one to emancipation—the *summum bonum* of life. It makes us what we really ought to be. I recommend Malliṣeṇa's *Syādvādamāñjari* in this connection to those interested.

(3) I now come to *Nayavāda*. It should be said at the outset that this also forms a part and parcel of Jaina thought and culture and is older than the highly complicated *Syādvāda* as will be seen from its simple technique.

Nayavāda is the second means of understanding things, *Pramāṇa* being the first. It must have been clear to you from the foregoing remarks that all things are full of diversities, qualities and relations. To be brief, the reals are such complex entities as can allow being seen from different aspects. And *Naya* is a technical name given to this specific act of apprehending. Every such act unfolds a part of the infinite meaning to which one is ushered through the gateway of *Nayas* which are theoretically infinite as the characteristics of the reals are also infinite.¹⁵ But the Jaina writers have compressed them into seven groups. These are *Naigama*, *Samgraha*, *Vyavahāra*, *Rjusūtra*, *Śabda*, *Samabhiruḍha* and *Evambhūta*.

These are further brought under two main divisions, namely, *Arthanaya* consisting of the first four, and *Śabdanaya* comprising the remaining three. Then again they are otherwise classed :—The first three coming under *Dravyāstika Naya* while the remaining four belonging to *Paryāyastika Naya*. The former class has a reference to the substantial aspects, and the latter to the modificatory.

As there is a close affinity between the outer structures of *Syādvāda* and *Nayavāda* there is every possibility of mistaking one for the other. But let me sound a warning that such a mistake shall be considered a howler. There is really speaking nothing in common between them except that they both are the expressions of the same point of view. But for this reason it is too much to consider them as two stages of a single process of thought. They should rather be traced to separate sources united in a common point of view.

Jinabhadragaṅikṣamāśramaṇa's Viśeṣavāśyakabhāṣya contains an exhaustive and elaborate elucidation of *Nayavāda* to which I would like you to refer to get a detailed conception of it.

(4) I shall now deal with the Jaina metaphysics. As important as *Syādvāda* and as original as *Nayavāda* but occupying a less showy position is its doctrine of *Sat* (Reality) which is defined as उपादेय्यप्रौढ्ययुक्तं सत्¹⁷ and which, like other two doctrines mentioned just now, namely, *Syādvāda* and *Nayavāda*, is a prominent feature of Jaina Thought and Culture which takes its stand exclusively on golden mean instead of erring on any of the extremes.

Jinism calls that a substance which is *Sat* and which has not to depend on anything else for its assertion and continuation. It characterizes it (*Sat*) as that

which stays on in and through its own qualities or modificatory changes. It (*sat*) stands under, supports and holds together the qualities and modificatory changes¹⁸ which become manifest through originations and destructions in and through which the substance asserts and maintains its own existence and continuance at the time of its interaction with other things.

Reality or *sat* according to Jaina Metaphysics has neither the beginning nor the end. It is always noted for its appearance and disappearance in the midst of permanence. At the first sight it appears to be a very peculiar doctrine, and it is so. According to HEGEL the nature of Reality is dialectical. It consists of thesis and antithesis harmonized and held together by synthesis. It can be, then, fairly admitted that this doctrine of HEGEL is fully reflected in the Jaina doctrine of *Sat*, which can also be compared to a biological principle of metabolism which asserts through the two opposite forces of anabolism and katabolism. And just so the Jaina Reality has got both the positive and negative aspects held together in a synthetic form by its own complex nature.

Such being the case of Reality according to Jaina metaphysics it follows that it should maintain as it does its identity and stability only through an incessant process of changes consisting of origination and disintegration -- identity in diversity and permanency through change. Stability and change are so interlinked with each other that they cannot be isolated though they can be differentiated from each other in thought and speech.

This triple nature of Reality¹⁹ has given rise to various other philosophical doctrines related to Jaina metaphysics according to which the ultimate reals are five in number.

These ultimate reals are, to put in different terms, the primary elements which are at the basis of the cosmos. They are *jiva*, *pudgala*, *dharma*, *adharmā* and *ākāśa*,²⁰ or five *Astikāyas*. *Astikāya*, again, is a technical term meaning spatial relation, which, is different from volume connected with matter.²¹ Of these five *Astikāyas*, *pudgala* alone is *mūrta* and the others are *amūrta* even though they are *Astikāyas* or existences having spatial relations. So this world, at the foundation of which exist these reals, is neither exclusively composed of disconnected things without any link like the loose parts of a broken chain nor constituted of a single unity without any difference or dualism whatsoever. It is our common experience that it has both the elements of unity and difference. This universe appears merely as an entity when we view it simply from the standpoint of unity, dismissing temporarily from our mind the thoughts of mutual differences which exist between things and knowledge. This standpoint of Unity is no doubt comprehensive, but it does not help us in our practical life. For a solution of it we have to fall back upon the standpoint of difference. This is exactly what we very often say, a quarrel between a fact and a fable. This is also a different side of that great law that there is always unity in

difference and difference in unity. This universe according to Jainism, is a permanent canvas on which are always displayed new compositions and decompositions, unities and disunities, associations and dissociations. Here also, as in the definition of *jiva*, Jainism takes its stand exclusively on golden mean and instead of erring on any of the extremes tries to reconcile the antagonistic schools of thought which lay exclusive emphasis either on the eternal or the ephemeral aspect of a thing.

The favourite tenet of the Jaina metaphysics is the trinity of *Utpāda*, *Vyaya* and *Dhruvya*. It runs through and under cogitative substance and non-cogitative substance of which this universe is composed. This is very well explained by a line from *Syādvādamañjari*: वस्तुत्वं चोत्पादव्ययप्रौव्यात्मकम्. This law holds good in both the worlds animate and inanimate. VĀCAKA UMĀSVĀTI also supports this view in his *Tattvārtha Sūtra* by saying उत्पादव्ययप्रौव्ययुक्तं सत्. Here the word *Utpāda* does not mean any new product or creation, inasmuch as it does not believe that the world has a beginning or an end. *Sat* or an Entity is a permanent substratum on which there is an incessant display of *Utpāda* and *Vyaya*. The following verse from HARIBHADRASŪRI's *Śaddarśanasamuccaya* may well be quoted here :

उत्पादव्ययप्रौव्ययुक्तं वस्तुत्तदिव्यते ।
अनन्तधर्मात्मकं वस्तु तेनोक्तं मानगोचरः^{२३} ॥

WARREN in his book called *Jainism* expresses an opinion to the effect that this *guṇa* of origination (*utpāda*) is just to show that in the permanent universe there is always origination of its modes or manifestations.^{२३}

The sum and substance of the whole discussion regarding Jaina Metaphysics may be said to be that it has made room for the two contradictory phases--eternal and ephemeral. Destruction is involved in origination and origination ends into destruction. There is an incessant flow of these two on the permanent bed of *sat*. Being, as it is testified by experience, is that which involves a permanent unit which is incessantly losing some qualities and gaining new ones.^{२४}

(5) Now let us discuss biology. It is well known that the Jainism is a pre-Christian religion and biology is a product of scientific age. So it is not legitimate to expect a well-defined enunciation of biological principles in a system before us. Still however the fragmentary material which is at present available is so decisive as to land us on correct estimation of its principles from which wild and fantastic notions pertaining to gods and goblins, denizens and devils should be safely kept apart.

Original research of Jaina biology consists in assuming and asserting the organic unity in the plant and the animal world. Vegetable kingdom is clearly organic. Its nature has been keenly observed and minutely described.

There are two main divisions, namely, the plant world and the animal world. The first group possesses one sense throughout--the sense of contract.^{२५} The second is sub-divided into four types, starting from insect such as earthworm and ending in man having two, three, four or five senses as the case may be.

Another innovation, as original as the former, is its spirited exposition of the existence of microscopic beings. These are technically styled *sūkṣma ekendriya jivas* or microscopic beings having only one sense.²⁶ Earth, water, fire and air are the places for them to dwell in. Existence of these organisms in fire is a little too unscientific but we need have no hesitation in the case of other three as they are fully established by modern scientific researches.

(6) Now I am turning to Jaina Physics. When we look at this universe, the very first idea that strikes us is the idea of order which is technically called cosmos. The leaf of the tree does not move; why? It moves; why? What is the principle—the law underlying and governing its motion and its rest? This is the case everywhere in this universe. There is order, not disorder. There is cosmos, not chaos.

This occupied the mind of the ancient seers. And they attempted to give a philosophic interpretation which was in keeping with the basic elements of their systems. The Vedāntins said that it is Parabrahma which permeates through the animate and the inanimate world. It is the instrumental and the material cause of everything.²⁷ The Sāṃkhyas advanced a theory of the evolution of Prakṛti which was at the root of everything.²⁸ The Jainas had also their own say in the matter.²⁹ Let us see in the following few lines the chain of reasoning adopted by them in order to provide for and justify order in the universe.

They start with a fundamental hypothesis that *jiva* and *pudgala* can be at the most a material cause and no more. In order to give adequate place to instrumental cause, they had to devise some other principles controlling and conditioning motion and rest, to which they gave the technical names of *dharma* and *adharmā*—the essential principles of Jaina Physics.

They have, moreover, invested the *jiva* and the *pudgala* with the power of motion by virtue of which they can go to any place even in the world beyond. If they are not made to move, they will stick fast to the place and the point for ever, thereby making progress impossible. So they wanted *jiva* and *pudgala* to move and to rest in such a way as to beget order and keep it. It was desirable not to disturb the existing order of things and at the same time to accommodate for progress. They were quite conscious that they had to steer clear of these difficulties which have overtaken and perhaps upset the rival schools of thought.

So they invented the two physical principles called *Dharma* and *Adharma*. They have here a distinct and specific implication. In other words, they are not used here in the ordinary sense of religion and irreligion as in Jaina ethics and elsewhere.

Dharma is allotted a duty of supplying free movement to the *jiva* and *pudgala* and the function entrusted to *adharmā* is to arrest wanton movements of the flying *jiva* and *pudgala*. So they are the regulating factors—the instrumental causes of motion and rest of progress and inertia.

They are not the absolute principles; they have therefore to move with full regard to and in complete harmony with each other. For if the former alone is to work, the word will be out of joint; its centre will shift and consequently it will be out of its axis. And if the latter is to function alone with complete disregard to the former there will be cosmic paralysis. The long and short of it is that they are not principles-in-themselves.

Now let us see what is the Jainā description of the nature of these principle, and conclude.

They have neither the qualities of *jiva* nor of *puḍgala*. They are non-physical, non-discrete and non-atomic. They are entirely simple, that is to say, they are a single unit throughout. Their full denominations are *Dharmastikāya* and *Adharmastikāya*. They are neither corporeal nor have they any form. They are neither light nor heavy. They are also not the objects of sense perception. Their existence is merely felt and inferred through their functions. They are hypothetical assumptions. This, in short, is the description of the Jainā physics.

Now I shall discuss *Ahimsā*. *Ahimsā* and Jainism are so vitally connected with each other that the real conception of Jainā thought and culture shall for ever remain incomplete without a reference to *Ahimsā*. The popular belief that Jainā Dharma is *Ahimsā Dharma* is well-founded. It is the backbone of Jainā Ethics as *Anekāntavāda* is the backbone of Jainā philosophy. Of the three constituents of Jainism *Ahimsā* or non-injury is the first.⁵⁰ It is the first and the foremost qualification required by one who wants to walk on the path leading to a land of joy, glory and immortality. It is the first of the five vows and has got to be observed irrespective of Time and Space. It means non-injury to any living organism (moving or non-moving),⁵¹ small or great, whether it is a beast or a bird, an insect or animal. Not only should one not practise injury in action but one should not do so even in thought and speech. This much does not suffice. It further stipulates that not only should one directly do injury but one should not make others do it and also should not approve when one is actually doing injury.

This makes all the difference which exists there between the Jainā and the Bauddha conception of *Ahimsā*. The Bauddhas say that one should not directly deal injury. That is all. This gives them a license, in a way, to buy meat from a butcher and use it, seeking satisfaction that they are exempt from the sin which they might have otherwise incurred.

This is what is preached and actually practised by them. On the contrary the Jainas hold that not only is this not permissible but morally culpable also. It is expressly laid down in the Jainā doctrine of *Ahimsā* that injury to life should not be inflicted, encouraged and approved in mind, speech and deed. So there is a clear line of demarcation between the same doctrines as conceived by both the rival schools of thought—Jainism and Buddhism. If the principle of *Ahimsā* is to be rightly and rigidly followed, the nine types of cruelty, as defined above, should be abandoned at any cost.

MAHĀVĪRA has, no doubt, intentionally made the principle of *Ahimsā* as perfect in detail as was possible for him with a view to using it as a successfully counteracting force against the *himsā* which ran riot in his days. It was his earnest wish—nay, the mission of his life—to humanize the inhuman society, to give tone of the diseased morality of his time. Before a few decades this Jaina principle of *Ahimsā* was ridiculed. But now we are made to acknowledge, thanks to Mahātmā GANDHI, the wide range of its infinite possibilities and applications as a spiritual force. It formerly considered as a weakness of human mind; now it is a colossal force never failing when everything else has failed. The fable of bygone days is assuming to-day the force of a fact. What Jaina *Ahimsā* is, and can really be, has been amply illustrated by the life of GANDHIJ.

(8) Last but not the least is the doctrine of *Karma*. This doctrine of *Karma* is the keystone supporting the grand edifice of Jaina Ethics. *Karma* is neither prior nor posterior to soul but it is attached to it from time immemorial. In other words, its metaphysical entity has neither the beginning nor the end. So the relation between the *karma* and the soul—the deed and the doer—is one of a phenomenal conjunction. This universe including hells and heavens, solar system and the lunar system, and an ant or an elephant, a microbe or a man, and all the sentient things, is thus subject to this inexorable Law of Causation otherwise called Law of *karma*; and omnipotent is the effect thereof in this phenomenal universe. The life as we have lived in the hoary past, as we live at the present moment, and as we shall live in the unknown future was, is and shall never be an allotment of a power, unquestionable and unknowable, working upon us from without but was, is and shall for ever be a resultant force—a composite effect of the deeds we have done, are doing and shall do in future. The deed without a doer is a non-entity and the doer cannot escape from the clutches of the deeds he has done, good or bad.³⁸ The smiles and the frowns of an autocratic ruler do not and cannot mend or mar our future. The prince will be reduced to a state of a pauper if his deeds are not princely; a pauper will elevate himself to the position of a prince if he is princely within. We have to work out our own freedom from within; we should not watch and wait for the favours of a power existing elsewhere outside our soul. It declares at once the dignity and the equality of all the souls in any forms of their existences and teaches that every soul stands erect and independent of the so-called inscrutable will and power of any superior Being. Thus we are the makers and the moulders of our own fate; we are the architects of our own fortune; it is we who do, and that is why it is we who can undo also. This is exactly the position of *karma* philosophy in the Jaina system, which differs from Vedāntic conception inasmuch as it debars the all-pervading influence of a Supreme Being from stepping in. For a detailed study of this unique principle one should refer to DEVENDRASŪRI's *Karmagranthas*.

By way of concluding remarks I must mention that the important message which Jainism has to convey to the suffering humanity is the attainment of emancipation that can only be effected by successfully and simultaneously employing right belief,

right knowledge and right conduct. These three are equally emphasized by Jinism; hence an isolation of any one of the three is denounced outright. There are religious schools which lay most emphasis either on *Bhakti* such as the *Bhāgavatu* school, or only on *Karma* such as the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* school. But according to Jinism no such one-sided emphasis is acceptable as the correct path leading to emancipation.

To effect a cure of a malady, faith in the efficacy of a medicine, knowledge of its use and actual taking of it: these three together are essential, so also to get emancipation, faith in the efficacy of Jinism, its knowledge and actual practising of it: these three are quite indispensable. The universal malady of worldly misery which every soul is suffering from can be cured by this triple panacea — the *rainatraya* as it has been technically called.

The high value of Jinism consists in its adopting a practical attitude to philosophy, metaphysics, ethics etc. It always takes its stand, let me say once more, on golden mean, instead of erring on any of the extremes, as we saw in its definition of philosophy of soul and of *sat* as well as in the discussions about *Syādvāda* and *Nayavāda*. It tries, wherever possible, to reconcile the antagonistic schools of thought just as we saw while discussing Jaina metaphysics. It is a favourite dogma of Jinism to evaluate a thing in terms of practical utility. It accepts only that which is logically tenable as illustrated through its karmic doctrine which dismisses the autocracy and the interference of a Supreme Being.

From the foregoing remarks it may be seen that Jinism has made a substantial contribution to the development of Aryan thought and culture. Its philosophy is strictly dualistic as it believes in a separate existence of soul and matter. Its ethics is grounded on the principle of *Ahimsā*. Its attitude towards rival scholars of thought is solely regulated by its philosophy of *Anekānta*. It is a system really abounding in principle of Peace and Tolerance.

Notes

- 1 E. J. Rapson : *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, p. 152.
- 2 Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, *Vīṣeṣavāśyaka Bhāṣya* : Gāthā 3.
- 3 Vācaka Umāsvāti : *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* : Chap. 1, Sūtra 1; Haribhadrasūri : *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, verse 53.
- 4 Nemicandra : *Davva-Saṃgaha*, verse 1.
- 5 Īśvarakṣṇa : *Sāṃkhyakārikā*, verse 3.
- 6 *Māṇḍūkyakārikā*, verse 2; Madhusūdana Sarasvatī : *Advaitasiddhi* (Nirṇaya Sāgar Edition, 1917), p. 830.
- 7 *Visuddhimagga*, p. 585; *Bodhicaryā*, p. 334; *Tattvasaṃgraha*, *Kārikā*, 1877, 1889.
- 8 Kundakunda : *Samayasāra*, verses 349-350.
- 9 Dr. Belvalkar and Ranade : *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II p. 112.
- 10 Dr. Das Gupta : *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 179.
- 11 Hopkins : *The Religions of India*, p. 291.
- 12 Sir S. Radhakrishnan : *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 302.

- 13 See particularly E. Hultzsch : *Ephigraphia Indica*, VII (1902-1903), p. 113.
- 14 Fleet : *Indian Antiquary*, VII, p. 107.
- 15 Jinabhadraṅgi Kṣamaśramaṇa : *op. cit.*, verse 2180-2185.
- 16 Siddhasena Divākara : *Sanmati Prakaraṇa*, First chapt., verses 3-4-5; Devasenasūri : *Naya-cakrasamgraha*, verse 11
- 17 Vācaka Umāsvāti : *op. cit.* 5. 29.
- 18 Vācaka Umāsvāti : *op. cit.*, 5. 37.
Kundakunda : *Pañcāstikāyasāra*, verses 12-13; Siddhasena Divākara : *op. cit.*, First Chapt., verse 12.
- 19 Malliṣeṇa : *Syādvādamāṅjarī*, commentary on verse 21 Kundakunda : *Pañcāstikāyasāra*, verse 8.
- 20 Kundakunda : *Pañcāstikāyasāra*, verse 4.
- 21 Kundakunda : *ibid.*, verse 5.
- 22 Haribhadrasūri : *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, verse 57.
- 23 Herbert Warren : *Jainism*, pp. 22-23.
- 24 Dr. Das Gupta : *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 175.
- 25 *Pannavaṇā* : I, (first Pada); *Jivājivābhigama* : I (first Pratipatti).
- 26 *Jivājivābhigama* : I (first Pratipatti).
- 27 Madhusūdana Sarasvatī : *Advaitasiddhi* (Nirṇayasūgara edition, 1917). pp. 760-767.
- 28 Śrīpādaśāstri : *Dvādaśadarśanasopānāvalī* (1938), p. 134.
- 29 Kundakundācārya : *Pañcāstikāyasāra*, verses 90-96.
- 30 *Dasavealiya sutta*, I, 1.
- 31 Hemacandra : *Yogaśāstra*, chapt. I, verse 20.
- 32 Siddhasena Divākara : *Dvātrīṅśikā*, First verse, 26.

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JAINISM IN GUJARĀTA *

From time immemorial Jainism has not played so important a role in other parts of India as it has in Gujarāta where Ariṣṭanemi,¹ the twenty-second Tīrthānkara has practised very hard austerities and had at last obtained absolution and where many a Jaina pontiff earned eternal freedom on the famous mountains of Girnār and Śatruñjaya. In 980² of the Vira Samvat, a big conference of the Śvetāmbara Jaina monks was held here at Valabhi which drew up for the third time a redaction of the Jaina Canon as it is found to-day. This fact illustrates the remark made above that Jainism enjoyed an eminent position in Gujarāta from very early times. Additional support to this is also furnished by the Kṣatrapa inscription number 9 of the Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāta.³ If the word, "Kevali" used there in that mutilated inscription be taken as referring to the famous Jaina word "Kevali", it, then proves the existence of the Jainas in Saurāṣṭra in the second century A.D.

Rulers of distinguished dynasties who were either converted to Jainism or at least showed a notable aptitude for it are not few. At the cost of his life even, Śilaguṇasūri, a Jaina monk of repute; had sheltered⁴ Vanarāja of the Cāvaḍā dynasty in course of his wanderings and had taken special care to see that he was not found out by his foes. Not only that but this Sūri always cheered him up with sweet, sympathetic words when the latter was in low spirits usually due to his hard, chequered and lonely life which would have surely given way had he not found in Śilaguṇasūri, a friend, philosopher and guide. When, Vanarāja was made a king, he reciprocated this obligations of Śilaguṇasūri, by declaring his implacable faith in Jainism. This sincerity of his increased day by day, and at last found a concrete expression in getting a Jaina temple erected at Aṇahilavāḍa wherein he has mentioned himself as a pupil of Pārśvanātha.

* Published in *Bhāratīya Vidyā* Vol. IX, 1948; pp. 229ff.

I have based this article entirely on the informations contained in the following articles and books. Footnotes have been attached only to important and specific statements:

- (1) Muni Jinavijayaji's article 'Gujarātano Jainadharmā' (GJ) pp. 88-119 : Gujarati Granthā-kāra Sammelana Vyākhyānamālā, Pub. Oriental Institute, Baroda 1938.
- (2) Muni Jinavijayaji's article 'Rājaraṣi Kumārāpāla' (RK) *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (Guj.-Hindi) Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 221-245.
- (3) Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* (Vol. II). (HL), Ed. Rasīklai Parikh, Pub. Mahavira Jaina Vidyālay Bombay, 1938.
- (4) *Madhyakālo Sāhitya Pravāha* (MSP), Gujarati Sāhitya, Vol. 5, Bombay, 1929, pp. 66-114
- (5) *Jaina Sāhityano Samkṣipta Itihāsa* (JSSI), M. D. Desai, Bombay, 1933.
- (6) H. V. Glasenapp, 'Der Jainismus' (DJ).

Mostly, it is the illustrious kings of the Caulukya dynasty of Gujarāta who patronised Jainism. Mūlarāja, the famous founder of that dynasty was a Śaivite by religion. It cannot be denied, however, that he had a fancy for Jainism which materialized in the erection of a Jaina temple. When Bhīma I was the ruler, Vimala, a devout Jaina layman, got constructed on Mount Ābu, many a Jaina temple of matchless workmanship, collectively called 'Vimalavasahī'.⁶ Only on account of these, Mount Ābu has become a symbol of everlasting glory and grace. The inimitable craftsmanship of its lofty summits bestows on them a charm which is freshly felt at every visit. Pilgrims, scholars and architects come from abroad to see and study their wonderous art and beauty but they have not so far succeeded to go at the very root of their original conception and perfect execution responsible for their high spectacular value. They are both a riddle and a challenge and this is no small a share on the part of Jainism in bringing world-wide fame to Gujarāta.

But as far as pure scholarship is concerned, the reputation of Gujarāta owes not so much to anything as it does to Hemacandra, a polymath, an encyclopedist. Hemacandra's original name was Cāpigadeva. He was the son of Cacca by Cāhin and was born at Dhandhukā in Gujarāta in about 1088 A.D. In one of his religious tours, Devacandra came across this boy prodigy who was finally initiated, at a young age about nine, in the Jaina order after repeated request of the boy and with the willingness of the parents. He was thereafter known as Somacandra. Within a short time, this gifted monk obtained complete mastery on the Jaina scriptures and his able guru introduced him to the intricacies of the traditions. An amazing output of literary work possessing intrinsic worth is the result of his extensive knowledge purified and balanced by his comparative studies. His precocity and personality made him an Ācārya at the age of 21. He was henceforth known as Hemacandra. His skill and efficiency are markedly evidenced in the fact that he was able to attract Siddharāja who was somewhat fastidious and temperamentally reluctant to grant undue favours to the Jainas. Though Śaivism was his religion of choice, he also showed special sympathy to Jainism. This is amply testified by his generous invitations to debates and discussions at the royal court. Siddharāja inspired Hemacandra to draw up a special and an authoritative work on Grammar which was styled by the latter as Siddhahema in token of deep sense of respect and gratitude combining the first of the names of the patron and the protege. Whenever he got opportunities to give instructions to the king he did not lose sight of his sole aim to prove the superiority of Jainism to the rival schools. But Hemacandra could not convert him. However, the king discharged his deep debt to him by getting built a temple of Mahāvira at Siddhapura⁸ and by going on a pilgrimage with Hemacandra to Gīrnār to pay respects to Neminātha. An interesting debate held between a Digambara Kumudacandra of Karṇāṭaka, and a Śvetāmbara Devasūri held at the court of Siddharāja is fully indicative of his sincere love for Jainism.

In 1143 A.D.⁹ Siddharaja died heirless and was succeeded by his brother's son Kumārapāla. He was attracted by the magnetic personality and the winning manners of Hemacandra who gave him spiritual lessons and instructions on Jainism. In the fertile soil of Kumārapāla's heart, these sowed seeds of Jainism and in course of time, they ripened into unflinching devotion for the same.

Kumārapāla's faith reached consummation when he openly embraced the Jaina religion the practices of which were begun with first giving up meat.¹⁰ This was soon followed by his last farewell to hunting.¹¹ His sincerity to Jainism was not limited to himself only. He made it a point to spread it amongst his subjects as much as possible by issuing edicts, prohibiting animal-slaughter,¹² meat, drinking and gambling. These royal firmāns bestowed an ideal Jaina character on the state, in and out. With a view to tempting them to close slaughter-house, their owners were given three years' proceeds in advance and the Brāhmins were strictly enjoined to offer grain, instead of animals, in the sacrifices.¹³ It was also stressed therein that they should be observed rigorously. This proves how intensely the king was devoted to Jainism. Hemacandra had also taken every care to see that the king was under his direct control and influence and to achieve his end, he proposed some changes in the traditional methods of administering and managing the state. Rājasekhara's Prabandhakoṣa describes a vivid instance¹⁴ to illustrate this point.

“ In the first half of Āṣvin, the worshippers of the Kaṅṭheśvari temple and also of the other temples came to the king to request him to offer to the goddess 700 goats and 7 buffaloes on the 7th day, 800 goats and 8 buffaloes on the 8th day and 900 goats and 9 buffaloes on the 9th day, according to the family conventions. Puzzled at this the king went to Hemacandra for solution which was promptly supplied to him. He then went to the worshippers and accepted to respect the family practice. At night he sent for the animals to be offered to the goddess and placed there in the courtyard of the temples, duly locking them. Next morning, the king came and ordered the gates of the temples to be opened. When he saw the animals comfortably ruminating he made a very caustic remark to the Brāhmins conveying that had the goddess so desired, she would have made a relishable meal of them all but as it is not so it is abundantly clear that she has no palate for them. So enough of this fuss and he would henceforth never allow any carnage of this sort. Thus the Brāhmins were foiled in their foul and fanatic attempt.”

Kumārapāla had personally visited several Jaina places of pilgrimage to commemorate which he got erected many Jaina temples thereon. Before he accepted the Jaina religion, he underwent penitence by getting built Jaina temples, thirty-two in number, as the number of the teeth, which ate flesh is also thirty-two.¹⁵

Under a liberal patronage of this king, Hemacandra largely applied himself to writing works of permanent value on almost every branch of general literature. Confining himself within the limit of Jainism, he drew out a volume on Yoga. He has written two bulky books entitled the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* and the *Kumāra-*

pālacaritra, the first on the universal history and the second on the lives and achievements of the Caulukya kings in general and of the Kumārapāla in particular. He also touched politics, as is evident from the fact that he has also written a small treatise, called Laghvarhannti, describing within the bounds of Jainism, the art of ruling the state. This is, I think, a first bold example of the Jaina saint trying his hand at secular subjects. This makeshift of sagacious Hemacandra may appear unimportant to us at present but it means much when it is viewed in the light of the then existing social condition which were permeated by the spirit of orthodox Jainism. Hemacandra could foresee that if Jainism was to be popularized it must cater to the public taste without really sacrificing the principles of Jainism. Hemacandra's wisdom and genius are markedly seen in this work which successfully tackles both the diametrically opposed problems. Not only this but he effectively intervened in the administration of the state the policy of which did bear a clear stamp of his irresistible personality. There is also recorded a great number of anecdotes testifying to his having carried out many projects through his sheer supernatural power and to his having made auguries¹⁶ which came out true. In one of these he is described to have guaranteed security to Kumārapāla who was intimidated by the invading enemy. According to it the goddess of Jainism so arranged that necklace of the enemy king got intertwined with the branch of a tree when he was resting on an elephant at night and this resulted in his instantaneous death. Thus the prestige of Hemachandra was anyhow saved.

Hemacandra died in about 1229 (V.S.) at the ripe age of 84 by fasting upto death. In a short time of six months, Kumārapāla also followed him in 1230 (V.S.) living a good old age of about 80 years¹⁷. He was succeeded by Ajaypāla, a bigoted Śaivite. Jainas, were, on the whole, not well treated by him, ¹⁸ The fact that Rāmacandra, a Jaina pandit, was killed by him by placing him on a heated copperplate proves his apathy towards the Jainas.

In the beginning of the 13th Century of the Vikrama era the Caulakyas were succeeded by the Wāghelās. In their regime the two brothers, named Vastupāla and Tejpāla strained every nerve to keep Jainism in the front rank. They both rose to the status of ministers¹⁹ and earned good reputation by their unparalleled generous deeds. Anupamā, the wife of Tejpāla, chiefly inspired these brothers to spend their enormous wealth in such a way that it only can be seen but not looted and hence these two brothers mainly acting on this suggestion, spent a lot on getting Jaina temples erected on Ābu, Girnār and Śatruñjaya.

The development of Jainism is inseparably linked with certain well known cities of Gujarāta. Broach²⁰ is one of such cities. It has enjoyed a particular privilege of being the seat of Jainism. There was a big temple, in old days, of Munisuvrata named Śakunikavihāra.²¹ This city was largely inhabited, in those days, by the Buddhas and the Jainas. Bhuvana,²² a learned pupil of Ārya Khapuṭācārya²³, vanquished in debate the Buddhas and their leader, Battukera²⁴ in about 4 (V.S.). Ārya Khapuṭācārya made the image of Buddha bend a little through his supernatural powers which is still there in the same condition at present and is popularly known as 'Nirgranthanāmita²⁵.'

Śatruñjaya, a Jaina place of pilgrimage has from very old days been held in highest esteem. Even the kings went there on a pilgrimage. An anecdote says that Vikrama, who was enlightened by Siddhasena had gone to Śatruñjaya, taking four fold Samgha²⁶ with him. Bhāvadaśā²⁷, a big Jaina marchant also did the same thing at the time when Vikrama, the ruler, above-referred to was ruling. These two examples amply testify to the fact that Jainism was a favourite religion even with the kings and rich persons in so ancient times as the beginning of the Vikrama era. According to the Śatruñjayamāhātmya of Dhaneśvara, this Tirtha which had suffered much from the ravages of time was repaired in 108 (V.S.) by Jāvadaśā, the son of Bhāvadaśā.²⁸

Valabhī also has its own importance. It is traditionally believed that a certain Śīlāditya once ruled over Valabhī, the modern Valā in Kathiawar. He was converted to Jainism by Dhaneśvarasūri.²⁹ In this connection, it is necessary to remember in fairness to Jainism, that the Jaina monks undertook the work of propaganda not exclusively with the zeal of a missionary but they did so being inspired with the intrinsic worth of their creed. In other words, they were solely actuated in their preachings by objective considerations such as sympathy, benevolence, etc. Moreover, Valabhī in Saurāshtra, as I said before, had the honour of being a place where a conference was held to redact the Jaina Canon. On account of this and also on account of the facts that Neminātha is connected with Gīrnār and Ārya Khapuṭcārya with Bhṛgukaccha, Gujarāta reveals early traces of Jainism.

In V.S. 510, Ānandapur, the modern Vaḍanagar was a very flourishing city. It was ruled over by a certain Dhruvasena. When he was very much grieved at the loss of his son, he was consoled by Dhaneśvara, a Jaina Ācārya, by reading to him Kalpasūtra, a Jaina work of supreme importance.³⁰ This sufficiently shows that Jainism continuously enjoyed the patronage of kings. Thus when Jainism was patronised and adopted by the royal persons in the south, it was also fostered by the Maitrakas of Valabhī.

Śrīmāla (which was also called Bhinnamāla) was the capital of Gujarāta before Pātan was recognized as such. It was a big city and a prosperous one on the borders of modern Gujarāta and Mārwar. There were no other such cities as can be ranked with Valabhī of Saurāshtra and Ānandapur-Vṛddhapur of Gujarāt. After some centuries, Valabhī dwindled down and a very long famine that lasted for twelve years destroyed it. This forced the people of the place to migrate to Śrīmāla. From this date the terms Śrīmālī Brāhmins, Śrīmālī Banias and Śrīmālī Sonis began to be employed for those who shifted to Śrīmāla. In about the 9th century of the Vikrama Samvat, almost 700 families were proselytised to Jainism by Sāntisūri of the Pippalgaccha³¹. Those who came to Śrīmāla from the east were called Porwādas. The history of Gujarāta fully supports the view that both the Śrīmālīs and the Porwādas came together to Pātaṅ as they are seen together in the administration of the state.

Vanarāja, a king of the Cāvaḍā dynasty declared Pātan a Capital of Gujarāta in 802 V.S. As mentioned before this Vanarāja was protected, when he wandered incognito, by a Caityavāsī Jain monk named Devacandra⁵³. This very monk celebrated the coronation of Vanarāja at Pañcāsara⁵³. This image of Pañcāsarā Pārṣvanātha was set up by Vanarāja just to discharge a modicum of his deep debt to Jainism. He was a Jaina outright. This is evidenced in his selection of Cāmpā⁵⁴, a Jaina Bania, as his prime minister. In connection with this it is well worth remembering that the present Cāmpāner took its name after him. It was Śrīdevī⁵⁵, a Jaina lady, who put mark on the forehead of Vanarāja when he was proclaimed king. Lahir⁵⁶, a Jaina, was made a general of the army. One of his ministers was Jāmba⁵⁷ a Śrīmaṇī Jaina. This Lahir occupied the post of a general also in the regime of three kings who succeeded Vanarāja. He had a son named Vira and a grandson named Vimala. All these kings leave no room for doubt that the Jainas were active participants in the administration of the state, that the Jainas who are stigmatized as cowards could guide military operations and that they could wage wars⁵⁸ and could successfully effect negotiations. This arrogation of power in every field by the Jainas tempted the Jainas of Mārwar to Gujarāt which had at that time become a bome of the Jainas. Thus there is nothing wrong in saying that Jainism which exercised inescapable influence in the reign of Vanarāja suffered a little set-back when Siddharāja was a ruler, but was at its highest in the time of Kumārāpāla. Moreover, there is a great number of references to show that the Cāvaḍās respected the Jaina yatis so much that they appointed them as their family priests⁵⁹.

References are also found to the effect that the kings of Sapādalakṣa and of Tribhuvanagiri were converted to Jainism by Pradyumanasūri of Rājagaccha. When Viragaṇin was raised to the status of an Ācārya, the occasion was celebrated with great eclat and pomp by Cāmuṇḍarāja, the son of Mūlarāja. This Ācārya gave the vāsakṣepa⁴⁰ to the king duly investing it with the māntric power. The queens who had up till now no sons took bath with the water mixed with it and as a result they got sons, Vallabharāja and others. All these incidents lead us to only one conclusion that Jainism was a religion of choice with kings and queens alike. As it was a religion of the ruling power it found a general reception from the public also. The sterling character of the Jaina monks and the feeling of friendliness of Jiana laity both combined to set a good example on the society. Royal persons were more drawn towards it because it guided dispassionately the course of their conduct. There was a time when the Jaina world kept completely away from the hubbub and the turmoil. But as this indifference to hard realities put an undesirable check to its brisk spread it was soon replaced by living interest in what happened around. This modification of their attitude ensured a greater following. Though the beginnings of this change date back as far as the Vikrama era, they are more markedly seen from the times of the Cāvaḍās. This is seen in the Kings' adopting it as their favourite religion, in their joining the Jaina Samgha while going to a Jaina

place of pilgrimage, in their erecting Jaina temples, setting up Jaina images and repairing the same, in their granting special concessions and privileges to the Jainas and in issuing edicts consistent with the spirit of Jainism.

The significance of Ahimsā, a cardinal principle of Jainism, has been largely and for the most part internationally, misunderstood. It has been interpreted as giving rise to or fostering cowardice and has been branded as a theory of the weak. This is certainly a misinterpretation. On the contrary, it is a creed of the brave, the fittest. It requires more guts, greater stamina for its strict application. And to be brief, it is the only principle which can secure both secular and spiritual well-being. Therefore, it has never precluded the brave Jainas from entering into wars when they were sheer necessities. Not going beyond the bounds of Jainism, Śīlaguṇa sheltered Vanarāja; Hemacandra actively and ably guided Kumārāpāla in the administration of the state and Cāmpā, Muñjala and Vimala waged wars. When Bhimadeva I was a ruler, Vimala, the general commander of his army, had defeated the twelve Sultāns. He has thus earned designation of द्वादशसुत्राणलत्रोद्दालक. ⁴¹

Gujarāta under the Caulukyās is the Gujārata of Jainas. In private and public life, in the harem and outside, in art and architecture, in science and sculpture, the Jaina influence is the only influence that prevailed. So far as architecture is concerned, there is nothing in the world that can well compare with the famous Vimalavasahi. I may also mention one more example of the Jaina monk having been highly respected by the kings. Abhayadevasūri of the Harṣapurīyagachha was held in high esteem by Karṇa who had also given him a nickname of 'Maladhāri'. He was equally loved by Khengāra, the king of Saurāṣṭra. More than once, thousand Brahmins were converted to Jainism by him. ⁴² By his order King Bhuvanapāla exempted the worshippers of the Jaina temples from paying the taxes. Jayasīṃha of Ajmer and Pṛthvirāja of Śakambhari also were attracted to Jainism by sheer preaching of this Śūri. The influence of Jainism in Gujarāta cannot be rightly and completely understood without referring to Śāntu, Udayana and Sajjana. Udayana was so much popular in the royal household that he was more known as a Rajamāmā. ⁴³ He was made a Subā of Cambay. Sajjana had repaired the Jaina temples on Girnar by spending the revenues of Saurāṣṭra of which he was the Subā. As the men at the helm of affairs were all Jainas, the people of Śrīmāla which had on account of famine and otherwise, become unattractive, were drawn towards Gujarāta. Gujaradeṣa thus became a Jaina State from east to west and south to north. I am once more reiterating the point that every field was practically captured by the Jainas. In Gujarāta under the Caulukyās, literary output also was mainly due to the vigorous attempts of the Jainas. Śrīpāla, a blind Jaina, was poet laureate in the court of Siddharāja who loved him so much that he was nicknamed 'Pratipannabandhu' ⁴⁴, and he was given the title of 'Kavicakravartti' ⁴⁵ by Siddharāja. In appreciation of his high intellectual gifts, Siddharāja declared his desire to give a lack of gold Mohurs to Devasūri when the latter worsted a Dīgamabra Jaina paṇḍit named Kumudacandra in debate. As money is forbidden to a Jaina monk, it was spent in

building a Jaina temple Rājavihāra⁴⁶ where an image of R̥ṣabhadeva was installed by Siddharāja. He had also honoured Amaracandra and Ānanda with the titles of 'Vyāghraśiṣuka'⁴⁷ and 'Simhaśiṣuka'⁴⁸ respectively. The king had such a love for Virārya that he was rendered unable to go away from the city by ordering the gates to be closed when Virārya was about to move out. He was also presented with the Jayapatakā by the king when he inflicted a defeat upon Vādisiṃha, a dialectician, with the help of Govindasūri. Siddharāja had also constructed a Jaina temple of Suvīdhinātha⁴⁹ the 9th Tirthankara. All these actions of Siddharāja prove his deep-seated sympathy for Jainism of which he made no secret.

When Kumārapāla came to the throne, Jainism was at its zenith. All the important posts were filled by the Jainas and key positions guarded by them. Thus Jainism found a good deal of convenience for its spread and development when it became a religion of the royal persons openly, the subjects also prided themselves on adopting it. The wisdom of the Jaina monks lay in securing the royal patronage. Moreover, the Jaina saints spared no pains to help the royal persons tide over their difficulties. They brightened their spirits in their gloomy moments; they had led them to light from darkness; in short they doctored them so far as their spiritual health was concerned. Thus when they came to power, they did not forget the real obligation of the Jaina monks and Jainism. They discharged it in a number of ways referred to before and which shall be referred to now.

Udayana was now no more. His place was taken by his illustrious sons. Āmbāḍa inflicted a defeat on Mallikārjuna of Konkāṇa and earned for him the title of 'Rājapitamaha'.⁵⁰ Vāhaḍa was a brave warrior and a brilliant literary man — a curious admixture of two incompatible merits. He wrote the Vāgbhaṭalaṅkāra and was raised to premiership. Caḥaḍa and Sollaka, the third and the fourth sons, occupied responsible posts. Thus Jainism found favourable winds in its voyage. It gave the message of deliverance to the suffering humanity. Animal-slaughter and a long train of vices associated with it were prohibited by ordinance. Special grants and concessions were given to the Jainas as per royal firmāns. Old Jain temples were repaired, broken images were restored and new ones were set up. Scribes were employed to copy the books on palm-leaves or papers. Bhāṇḍārs were established and art and architecture were unsurpassingly perfected.

Śakunikavihāra Tirtha at Broach was repaired by Āmbāka, the son of Rāḡiga and a pavement of some stone was carved out to the Mount Girnār by the same gentleman.⁵¹ Kumārapāla's ardent love for Jainism is fully demonstrated by his visits to the Śatruñjaya off and on, by his 16000⁵² reparations of old Jaina temples, and by placing golden jars on 1444⁵³ temples of the Jainas. He built quite a good number of new Jaina temples of which "Kumāravihāra"⁵⁴ is the first. It was set up, at Pāṭaṇ under the supervision of Vāhaḍa and the sons of Gargaṣeṭha. That Vihāra (a collective term) contained twenty-four Jaina temples. "Tribhuvanavihāra" was the next big Vihāra that was formed of seventy-two small Jaina temples. Twenty-four Jaina

temples representing twenty-four Tirthankaras as well as Vihāra called 'Trivihāra'⁵⁶ were all constructed only at Pāṭaṇ, excluding others that were built elsewhere. This gives us a pretty fair idea of the devotional depth of King Kumārapāla of Jainism.

Most of these magnificent monuments of the Jains succumbed to the iconoclastic whim of the Muslim kings and to the anti-Jaina attitude of Ajayapāla.⁵⁷ Of those that survived, one on the Tārāṅgā hills, symbolically expresses the firm faith of king Kumārapāla in Jainism. In addition to those glorious actions of King Kumārapāla, indicating his sincerity of Jainism, he founded twenty-one Jaina Bhāṅḍārs, put a stop to animal-slaughter by a royal declaration technically called 'Amāriḡhoṣānā'⁵⁸ and cancelled the law confiscating the uninherited property.⁵⁹ It is sufficiently obvious from all these facts that Kumārapāla was a confirmed and devout Jaina and therefore he was called a 'Paramārḡhata',⁶⁰ a staunch follower of Arhat.

Kumārapāla was succeeded by Ajayapāla--his cousin. Unlike his worthy predecessors, he was ill-disposed to Jainism which was once more restored to its original dignity and status by the unexceptional generosity of Vastupāla and Tejapāla which has no parallel in the history of the whole world. Vastupāla, who was also called 'Laghu Bhojarāja'⁶¹ on account of his bounteous nature, had founded three Bhāṅḍāras spending after them a huge amount of eighteen crores of rupees.⁶² It is also gratifying to note that he, whose wealth reached a mathematical figure, was instead of being a bigoted Jaina, equanimous to non-Jaina schools of thought also. Thus there are clear references to show that he spent lacs of rupees in making arrangements for the worships of the Hindu temples at places like Someśvara, Bhṡgukachha, Śuklatīrtha, Vaidyanātha, Dwārīkā, Kāsi-Viśvanātha, Prayāga, etc. etc.⁶³ A similar example of the catholicity of the Jainas is also provided by Shāh Sāliḡa Desalaharā, the brother of Samarāṣā, who restored the famous Rudramahālaya at Siddhapur.⁶⁴ This shows that the considerations of caste, colour and creed did not interfere with their liberalities.⁶⁵ These two brothers--Sāliḡa and Samarā--stood by the people and served them at the time of the devastating invasion of Allāuddin. It is a truism to say that the charitable disposition is a racial characteristic of the Jainas. This has been fully dealt with in the foregoing pages while, referring to Udayana, Āmbada, Vāhaḡa, Bhāvadaṣā, Vimala and Jāvadaṣā. Jaḡaḡusā is another instance of the point. He was a native of Bhadreśvara in Cutch and he distributed lacs of maunds of grain to the famine-stricken people.⁶⁶

To sum up, the administration of the state, in the Caulukyās and the Wāḡhelā periods was entirely in the hands of the Jainas. The whole policy regarding it was formulated and shaped by them. Jambā, Nedha, Vimala, Muṅjāla, Śāntu, Āśuka, Udayana, Āmbaka, Vāhaḡa, Sajjana, Soma, Dhavala, Pṡthvipāla, Vastupāla, Tejapāla, Pethaḡa, and Samarāṣā⁶⁷ are some of these distinguished Jainas of the Caulukyā and the Wāḡhelā periods, who were entrusted with the onerous and responsible duty of administering the state. The architecture of these periods is under the deep debt

to the Jainas for its conception, execution, and perfection.⁶⁸ Its exquisiteness becoming manifest through the Jaina temples at Śatruñjaya, Gīrnāra, Tārangā, Ābu, Pāvāgaḍha, Zaghāḍiā, Kāvī, Chhānī, Mātar, Bārejā, Pethāpur, Pānsar, Serisā, Śankheṣvara, Bhoyanī, Metrāṇā, and Bhilāḍiā and various other cities and villages of Gujarāta, is Perennial.⁶⁹ It is they that have kept alive the art and architecture of the Caulukya Gujarāta. And what about literature? It also bears equally perceptible imprint of the Jaina genius. The monks stayed in the Upāśrayas at Aṇahilapur, Broach, Cambay, Kapāḍavañja, Dholkā, Dhandhukā, Karṇavati, Dabhoi, Barodā, Surat, Pālanpur, Candrāvati, Iḍar and Vaḍanagara and turned out a vast amount of literature on almost all the topics is evidenced through a bewildering lot of manuscripts which lie hidden in the Bhāṇḍārs of those places.⁷⁰ It is no less superior in quality and quantity to the Brāhmanical and the Buddhistic literatures in point of originality and imagination. The credit of establishing the Pāñjarāpols for breeding the cattle and protecting the crippled animals etc. goes to the Jainas of Gujarāta.⁷¹ This was their special innovation. It was, no doubt, an outcome of the extension of the principle of Ahimsā which means non-injury to man and animals alike. Though the Jainas are wedded to the principle of Ahimsā, they were not cowards necessarily. As I have said before⁷², this observation is borne out by gallant Jaina warriors such as Vimala, Āmbaḍa, Lahir, Udayana, Vastupāla and Sajjana. The equanimous attitude of the Jainas of Gujarāta to all the religions alike is amply testified by their erection of the temples of Śīva along with those of the Jina.⁷³ In short, in the Caulukya regime the life and literature, art and architecture, sculpture, politics and the public works, administration and education—everything of human interest and happiness was pre-dominantly governed, conditioned and controlled by the Jaina vision, intellect and common sense.

Notes

- 1 Hemacandra's *Kāvyañūsāsana*, Vol. II, E. I. Rasiklal C. Parikh Pub. Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, Bombay, 1938 (HK), Introduction p. XXI.
- 2 *Jaina Sāhityano Samkṣipta Itihāsa* (JSSI), M. D. Desai, Bombay, 1933, Para 32.
- 3 HK (cited above), Intr. p. XLIII.
- 4 JSSI (cited above), Para, 235.
- 5 Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmañi*, trans. C. H. Tawnay, p. 19.
- 6 *Bombay Gazetteer*, I—p. 169
- 7 G. Buhler, *Ueber das Leben des Jaina mouches Hemacandra*, *Denkschriften der Kais Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 1889
- 8 HK (cited above) Intr. p. CLXXXVIII.
- 9 G. H. Oza, *Rājaputānekā Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 218–219
- 10 H. Glassenapp. *Der Jainismus* (DJ) pp. 61–62.
- 11 HK (cited above) Intr. p. CX.
- 12 Muni Jinavijayaji's article 'Rājarsi Kumārapāla' (RK) *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (Guj.–Hindi), Vol. I No 3, p. 233

- 13 DJ (cited above) pp. 61-62.
- 14 (a) G. Buhler, Uebar da Leben des Jaina monches Hemacandra, Denkschriften der Kais Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 1889, pp. 45ff.
 (b) DJ (cited above), p. 63.
 (c) U. S. Tank, Some distinguished Jains, 2nd edition. Agra, 1918, pp. 1 ff (d) RK (cited above) p. 234.
15. DJ (cited above) pp. 63-64. 16. RK (cited above), page 241.
17. Madhyakāno Sāhitaya Pravāha, Gujarati Sāhitya, Vol. 5 (MSP), Bombay 1929 p. 90
18. MSP (cited above) p. 104. 19. U.S.Tank, Some distinguished Jains, pp. 47ff.
20. MSP (cited above) p. 72. 21. MSP (cited above) p. 99
22. MSP (cited above) p. 73 23. MSP (cited above) p. 73
24. MSP (cited above) p 73 25. Op. cit., loc cit.
26. Op. cit. loc. cit. 27. Op. cit; loc. cit. 28. Op. cit; loc. cit.
29. Op. cit; p. 75 30. Op. cit; p. 78. 31. Op. cit; p. 79.
32. The Prabhandhacintāmaṇi supports this name. But the prācina Jaina lekha Samgraha, edited by Muni Jinavijayaji, part 2, No. 510, mentions the name Silagaṇasūri.
33. MSP (cited above), p. 79 34. Op. cit; loc cit. 35. Op. cit; loc. cit.
36. Op. cit; loc. cit. 37. Op. cit; loc cit.
38. "Gujarātano Jaina dharma" (GJ) by Muni Jinavijayaji, Gujarati Granthakāra Sammelana Vyākhyānamālā, pub. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1938 p. 111.
39. cf. सिसोदीया संडेसरा, चउदसीया चोहाण, वैत्यवासीआ चावडा, कुलयुग एह वखाण.
 MSP (cited above). p. 79. 40. MSP (cited above), 82. 41. Op. cit; loc. cit.
42. OP. cit; p. 84. 43. Op. cit. p. 85 44. Op. cit. p. 86, 45. Op. cit; loc. cit'
46. RK (cited above) p. 226. 47. MSP (cited above) p. 86 48 Op. cit; loc cit.
49. Op. cit, 50. RK (cited above), p. 243. 51. MSP (cited above) p. 89. 52. Op cit; p 90
53. OP. cit; loc. cit. 54. RK (cited above) p. 231 55. Op. cit. p. 239
56. MSP (cited above) p. 90. 57. Op. cit. p. 104. 58. HK, Inr. p. CCXI,
59. RK (cited above) p. 228 60. RK cited above p. 224. 61. MSP cited above p. 108
62. Op. cit; loc. cit, 63. GJ cited above p. 113, 64. Op. cit. p. 98
- 65 GJ cited above p. 112. compare, 66. Op. cit. 114
67. Op. cit. p. 93. 68. Op. cit. p. 104, 69. Op. cit. p. 96.
70. Op. cit. p. 105 71. Op. cit. p. 109, 72. Op. cit. p. 111,
73. Op. cit. p. 112.

LIFE AND CULTURE IN JAINA NARRATIVE LITERATURE *

(8th, 9th and 10th Century A.D.)

All aspects of contemporary culture and civilization are delineated in Jaina narrative literature. Ways of life adopted by the people have been so intimately identified with those of the characters. A Jaina monk in course of his wanderings never missed an opportunity to awaken and enlighten the people with the basic tenets and principles of Jainism. Villages, towns and cities—all were roused from their spiritual slumber by the stimulating touch of these wandering Jaina monks. Even though they were wedded to seclusion and solitariness, the monks did not hesitate to describe in their works the actual life lived by kings, queens, and the people. They also gave a graphic account of the wild life of those days, customs and beliefs in the illustrative parables and stories written to emphasize the significance of the vows they undertook and the rites and rituals they performed. Their stories—written in the dialects of the days, presented the cultural background of the social and political life of the age. Thus the stories of the Jaina writers have an irresistible appeal and charm.

This narrative literature of the Jainas in Prakrit is vast and rich. There was a time when Prakrit was spoken language of the people. This literature served the purpose of folk-literature also. It represents the initial stage of our folk literature. We find the origin of the folk literature in *Vasudevahinḍī* for the first time. Guṇaḍhya's *Byhatkathā* which is Pāṣāṇī, is a veritable treasury of folk literature. Hence folk literature and the narrative of the Jainas in Prakrit are inseparably linked. We come across references to the dignity of man, a new meaning and significance of life, hero-worship, etc. It abounds in solutions of serious problems confronting mankind. Prakrit writers adopted the pattern of folk literature for their stories which were held in high esteem by western scholars amongst whom Hortal is the foremost. He says that the Prakrit writers have a technique of their own in the narration of the stories which have faithfully stored informations, regarding trends and tendencies shaping and governing the life of the people belonging to various strata of society. He states further that the stories are not only the source

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This article is based exclusively on the informations contained in :

- a. "Haribhadrake Prakṛit Kathā Sahityakā Alocanātmaka Parīṣilan" by Pandit Nani-chandra Sanstri pub. Research Institute of Prakrit, Muzaffarpur (Bihar), pp, 419; Price Rs. 10-30, and
- b. "Jain Kathāmkā Sinskrītic Adhayayaṛ" by Shri Chandra Jain, pub. Roshanlal Jain and Sons, Jaipur 3, 1971: pp, 160, Price Rs. 13/-.

of educational wealth of the people, but also contain the elements and data from which a dependable history of Indian civilization and culture can be constructed.

Spiritualism

Narrative literature of the Jainas is replete with information regarding their beliefs and interpretation of soul, atom, world, emancipation, heaven, hell, vice and virtue. The soul is divided into two categories, namely, worldly or mundane and freed or emancipated. The former is again subdivided into fit-to-get-emancipation (*Bhavya*) as well as unfit-to-get-emancipation (*Abhavya*). These stories illustrate through various incidents and characters such as monks, saints, the misery of existence and enjoin the people to work ceaselessly for their redemption. The writers have so devised their stories that religious beliefs and sentiments are automatically inculcated in them and fostered. While expounding in course of the narrative the principles and tenets of Jainism, they lay bare the fallacies and deficiencies of the rival sects with a spirit of impartiality of a judge.

Referring broadly to the elemental fact that Jainism is by and large a religion, the sole and final aim of which is total cessation of activities, good and bad, these writers also lay down that the people should not give up in the intervening period the performance of social duties, but on the contrary should so do them that in the process they get gradually purified and ultimately extricate themselves from the snares of passions such as love and hatred. Postulating that the world is without end and the soul independent, a being suffers or enjoys in accordance to his deeds and activities. This is what is adumbrated off and on in the stories. Religious practices and the performance of rites and rituals purge the soul of its impurities and finally enable it to achieve emancipation. With these writers rebirth is out of question and the hypothetical contingency of an arbitrary, sovereign ruler, called God, is ruled out completely. The chastening effect of the disciplinary vows and moral values is accepted beyond doubt. Thus *Nivṛtti* is not passivity but activity which does not involve the doer as he keeps awake his awareness that he is neither the doer nor the not-doer. Jaina writers have illustrated these principles in their stories through characters, historical, semi-historical or fictitious. While doing this, they appear at times and on occasions inartistic and unaesthetic but they have never cared for this.

A certain sovereign monarch thinks in his mind that every thing in this world is transitory, and the world is a veritable ocean fully packed with miseries. He further thinks that a being is attached to a filthy thing as a body which is a receptacle of urine and faeces and is repellent. A wise man is never enchained with such a body. This is what we come across in *Ārāhaṇa Kahāṅkosa*, 1st Part, p. 30. In the same work, on page No. 135 we get an illustrative story of the monk, named Vajra who with unflinching devotion to Jainism explained what fell within the limits of Jainism such as installation of idols, renovation of old and dilapidated Jaina temples etc., and exhorted other monks to emulate his example in preaching the same thing as well as in preaching that chariot-procession, giving alms and instruction etc., are worth doing for the elevation of Jainism, for the attainment of right

faith so that they may become the object of respect and adoration and ultimately be entitled to emancipation. The story of a king, Surata by name, conveys a lesson that he got excellent happiness as he welcomed the monks with total respect and reverence, requested them to take seats higher than the seat on which he was sitting and fed them with innocent aims. The story affirms that distribution of charities, performance of vows and worship of Jain idols etc., form a part of a layman's duty and condemns those who do not do it comparing them with trees having no fruits (Loc. cit. p. 75). The same work refers to a woman who though chaste wandered in this worldly cycle due to the sinful activities which she had committed in her previous births (p. 76). Describing what *Samyaktva* (Right faith) is and means, the *Ārahaṇākosa* gives an example of a monk, named Rjumati, who exhorts the people to cultivate right faith because it is verily the seed of emancipation. A monk can go all out for the ascetic life but this being not possible for a layman, progressive development of Right Vision is the goal prescribed to him. It should be practised in all its entirety. But this is possible only if a perverted belief is given up. A misconduct which violates what has been told and done by the Jinas is termed *Mithyātva* which is the deadliest enemy of the soul destroying its power and potentiality (part 8, page 209). In *Punnāsavakāhākosā*, we come across the story of a Jain monk whose name was Sudarṣana. In course of the story, we hear him speaking to a professional prostitute to the effect that this dirty body is the abode of miseries, is abounding in worms and vermins, is a victim of humoral vitiations and is liable to perish. It should be employed, he states there, towards attaining freedom from bondage and never for worldly pleasures which are transitory and ultimately harmful. There is no happiness comparable to salvation and this can be had only if one uses his body for gainful purposes by practising penance and hard austerities (p. 121).

Ascetic Vows

Celebration of vows and religious occasions played a major role in activating and intensifying the zeal for spiritualism. These have bearing, direct or indirect, on the cultural life as it was lived in these days. They also produce a feeling of identity between co-religionists and a joy which is so essential for making religious practices which otherwise are dry and disinteresting, an object worth pursuing. They indeed contributed to developing soul's inner and innate capacity and raise the spiritual level without which final release is not possible. Ahimsā-oriented Jain civilization and culture not only does not deny but lays accent on the fact that worldly progress and prosperity is not something which is at logger-head with spiritual integrity and purity. Performance of religious practices and programmes is also enjoined on those days and occasions when birth anniversary falls, the children are about to go to school, bride and bride-groom marry. Spring festivities are arranged and holi is observed because along with worldly pleasures and amusements they provided, happiness of heaven also insured through the merit accumulated by it. Writers of these stories have also recommended certain religious procedures which, if gone through in a strictly prescribed manner, can completely remove or at least redress

the sufferings of the crippled hardships of the handicapped, dangers and difficulties of the deceased and destitute and mitigate the miseries of those whose desires remain unfulfilled. *Rohinivrata*, *Nāgapañcamivrata*, *Aṣṭāṅhikāvraṭa*, *Puspāñjalivrata*, *Sugandhadāsamivrata*—are some of the instances to the point according to *Ārāhanākahākosa* and *Punnāsavakahākosa*. Acceptance of these vratas has proved efficacious without doubt for the attainment of spiritual purity and for shedding the Karmas accumulated in the past as also for mundane and extra-mundane benefits.

The Supernatural

The presence of the supernatural element in Jaina narrative literature is a peculiarity of its own. It promotes the general interest of the reader instead of reducing it which is usual with such literary devices. It is pressed into service at a proper time and gives a turn to the narration when no other trick would work. Its employment just in the nick of time and in a required degree stimulates curiosity which is a necessity, if the story is not to miss its purpose. In order to develop the character of a hero or a villain, it is a powerful weapon with the Jaina literary writers.

Humorous stories and the stories abounding in supernatural element are similar to each other in a way. From beginning man is habituated to imagine about the supernatural elements in nature and to invoke it for a help when no other means are at hand. He has been depending upon it to get his desires fulfilled when human effort falls far below to fulfil them or when there is darkness everywhere around, it is this divine element which sends a new ray of hope. Though man knows that it is a figment of his own imagination and there is nothing real in it, still takes delight in conjuring up such illusions so that he can safely escape from reality. It is on the basis of faith and not rational reasoning that the existence of such an element in the constitution of the universe can be defended. Once you grant it you can exploit it for any end good or bad. Thus, its practical utility is unquestioned. A man wants fabulous wealth, a charming wife, who is a paragon of beauty, a fame which spreads far and wide, this thing and that thing and when he knows that human effort is futile and insufficient and that the worldly medium is useless to answer his prayer, it is the belief in this supernatural element that does the trick and saves him from slough of despondency. What brings him to near perfection is his blind faith in this element. Thus let us accept that a ghost, a god, a goblin, a fairy, a magical wand—the constituents of this supernatural universe—have a legitimate place in the narrative literature of the Jains as also they have in non-Jaina literature.

These stories, while clearly illustrating the superhuman power of the Jaina saints and sages also impress upon the followers that the employment of this element is also found in other literature. The twofold purpose of generating faith and making the people shun sinful activities is successfully served through this. People are firmly grounded in faith of Jainism which has remained unshaken for generations to come by these divine and semi-divine characters of Jaina literature.

Soul and Karmas

Jainism affirms that the soul has got infinite capacity. By shedding the Karmas the soul develops its conscience and omnipotence. It is not possible to comprehend the entire impact of the supernatural agency or power which is but the outcome of this measureless potentiality of the soul. Shall we call the miracles brought about by the spiritual masters through their innate limitless capacity of the soul as merely unreal or imaginary? It is possible that the ordinary man will not be able to grasp it and rationally understand it. But it is as true as the existence itself for a Jaina who has faith in the spirit's unlimited power as declared by the Jaina seers. It is no wonder, therefore, if the miseries due to famine or due to some incurable disease are relieved or removed by this spiritual power as we very often see in the narrative literature of the Jainas. By the systematic and scientific utterance of the mystic formulae which is one of the manifestations of spiritual potentiality many difficult tasks such as taming a ferocious animal, the cure of a fatal disease and the stalling of enemy's attack are accomplished. The stories connected with the power and efficacy of the *Bhaktāmara Stotra* can be cited as instances to substantiate the above point.

Now let us analyse the purpose for which the supernatural agency has been employed in the Jaina narrative literature. Some of these are definitely the following (a) for displaying the impact and efficiency of Jainism; (b) for making the story more attractive and appealing than what it would have otherwise been; (c) for illustrating the magical power of the mystical formula; (d) for proving the greatness to the great; (e) for developing the main characters of the story; (f) for stimulating curiosity; (g) for creating proper atmosphere in the story; (h) for the maintenance of tradition; (i) to increase the bulk and the size of the story; (j) to carry out a specific objective; (k) to give a turn and twist to the narrative; (l) for strengthening a belief etc.

These would not have been carried out effectively without the help of the supernatural element. Mere human agency or effort would have miserably fallen short and the writer's aim would have suffered.

The Miracles

Certain incidents and episodes, almost patent, are cited here in support of what has been said above regarding the employment of supernatural agency. There is an episode in the story literature of the Jainas which eulogizes the efficacy of celibacy in lieu of which weapons are turned into inaction (Sudarshan Seth's story in *Punyāsraava Kathākosā*, p. 11). These are some of the phenomena which we very often come across in the story literature. op. cit. p. 195. A fine aerial car comes into existence and air fight is undertaken. op. cit. p. 228. When the four principal Karmas of the would-be Tīrthaṅkara are completely annihilated, ten "excellences" occur as its evidence, namely--no famine visits the area measuring four hundred yojanas when the Tīrthaṅkara moves round about; without any vehicle he can float in the air; no one hurts any one in his religious assemblage; he can remain without

food for ever till death; all his four faces appear in all the four directions; he knows and perceives everything; his body has no shadow etc. (op. p. 348). A sovereign and monarch's material property consisting of eighteen crores of horses, eightyfour lacs of elephants, eightyfour lacs of chariots, eightyfour crores infantry, thirtytwo thousands of semi-divine body-guards, ninety-six thousands of queens, three crores of cows, nine treasures. etc. is amazing. He can have his desires fulfilled at any time and place through many other treasures which are in his possession. He can have any food and fragrance by merely wishing. He wills that the sword be present and the sword is present. He wishes anything and it is present. Five miraculous occurrences take place in the case of one who has offered food which confirms to the standard prescribed to an ideal monk (op. cit. 257). Plague, epidemic, famine and accidental death are kept at a distance if the birds called Kinjalka happen to stay in the vicinity. (*Ārahanakahākosā* p. 55). A foulsmelling body becomes scented in a moment by virtue of the mystical formulae and one can attain the power to fly in the air in lieu of the magical spell which he has come to possess (op.cit. p. 95). By special powers acquired through penances and hard austerities one could assume a form, big or small as he liked (op. cit. p. 120). A self-controlled monk could tame hunting hound and turn poisonous arrows into flowers (op. cit. 157). A persons who has been thrown into the lake in the midst of ferocious aquatic animals living in the lake could be saved simply through miraculous power achieved by practising some vows (op. cit. p. 184). Gems and jewels were showered by the heavenly powers when an ideal monk was honoured with innocent alms (op. cit. p. 228). By reciting the *Bhaktāmara stotra*, incurable diseases were cured, a conflagration was quelled, a raging ocean was brought to book, a dangerous storm was stopped, beasts of prey were made lowly like lambs, a poor man got plenty of money, obstacles were warded off and one was saved from the snake-bite. A monk's very sight made one recollect his previous lives. A desire-yielding tree fulfilled wishes. Many difficult works were accomplished through the agency of gods, Goddesses waited upon the mothers of the revered Jinendras whose birth was celebrated by the lord of gods, descended from the heaven specially for that purpose and bathed the lord with the water of the milky ocean on the mountain, Sumeru; they arranged dances of the goddesses befitting the auspicious occasion where eulogies were sung by the Gandharvas. Immediately a Tirthankara was born, the coaches blew automatically in the houses of the Bhavanapati gods, drums beat in those of the Vyantara gods, a lion's roar issued in those of the Jyotisi gods, and the gongs rang in the residences of the Kalpavasis (*Punyāśravakathākosā* p. 335). In order to fully percieve and enjoy the extraordinary handsomeness of the Tirthankara when he is born, Indra develops his two eyes into thousand and drinks deep his charm and grace and bathes his body enthroned on a gem-bedecked seat with one thousand huge pitchers filled with water of the milky ocean. When a Tirthankara is born, fourteen wonders are created by the gods, namely, (1) Aradhamāgadhī language, (2) friendliness to all, (3) decoration of the religious

assemblage with the best flowers of all seasons; (4) jewelled earth, (5) favourable wind, (6) cooling the dust, (7) rain of scented water, (8) creation of even lotuses round the footprints of the Tīrthaṅkara, (9) cheerfulness in the hearts of all people of the world, (10) entrancing joy in the hearts of the people, (11) clear sky, (12) inviting gods for seeing the Tīrthaṅkara, (13) Moving of the wheel of Religion in front of Tīrthaṅkara whenever and wherever he moves, and (14) creation of eighty auspicious things.

Social life

Social picture as reflected in the narrative literature of the Jainas is clear and complete. People lived in happiness and comfort as the ruler was on the whole kind and just. The king took the people as his own children. As such, he always worried and worked for their welfare. People also reciprocated the good will of king with equal, perhaps greater, intensity and integrity. The relation between the ruler and the ruled was of holy character on the political plane also. There was neither exploitation nor extortion, and blackmail was never thought of even. This does not mean that there were no bad kings or wicked rulers. Taken as a whole, the benign far outnumbered the bad.

Indications are found that there were religious conflicts and confrontations, as under these rulers, religious catholicity prevailed accomodating religions of every denomination and persuasion. (*Āradhanā Kathakośa*, Part I, p. 8). Though there was co-existence of all religions, the Jain writers in their stories tried to establish the superiority of Jainism and described all the kings figuring in the stories as followers of Jainism.

To secure social stability and preserve law and order in the state, the kings mostly resorted to inflicting severe punishment to the miscreants and wrongdoers. This was because the kings accepted in principle and practice that social security was necessary for the maintenance of their own kingship. They could not rule if there was unrest and anarchy. This motivated them for doing everything possible for the good of the society. The anti-social elements were weeded out by all possible means and were brought to book.

Caste system and moral life

Preservation of caste system was a sacred, God-given command with these kings. Rules and regulations governing the caste-system were strictly enforced and any one violating them was severely dealt with and sometimes exiled too (op. cit. p. 143). The kings did not hesitate to involve deterrent capital punishment to teach a lesson to the offenders. The murderers were sent to the gallows without fail and delay. (*Puṇyāsraṇa Kathakośa*, p. 82). This type of penal code assured and increased integrity of character and stalled the onward march of crime which shook the social structure from its very foundation.

It is, indeed, impossible to expect total morality even in monks and saints, much less in ordinary human beings. They were exposed by their very nature to evil influences. This is why we meet in these stories with people who derived pleasure from forbidden things such as gambling etc.

Thefts also were committed, though they were not so frequently indulged in as in our days (*Ārādhana Kathakośa*, part II, p. 112). Even in the atmosphere pervaded a climate of noninjury. Practice of eating human flesh, though very rare, is also referred to. (op. cit. p. 179). Though society was infected by the occasional virus of such evil and anti-social practices, it was on the whole very well advanced and progressive and the man turned to the path of renunciation the moment he saw the winds favourable for sail (*Punyaśravakathakośa*, p. 33 and 36; also *Ārādhana Kathakośa*, part I, p. 147). The fact is that these writers have always stood for preservation of values even in the background of reality. They stated directly and indirectly, that while being pragmatic, one should not neglect the higher, the loftier and the nobler pursuits.

Marriage

The Jaina writers gave adequate weightage to marriage, in the absence of which licentiousness, they feared, would be the only course left open to a person for giving vent to his carnal desires. They have given their verdict in favour of marriage which kept the scale of proclivities in balance. There are two view points governing the institution of marriage. According to one, it is a bargain, pure and simple, in which a duty of looking after children and managing the domestic affairs was assigned to the female partner and that of earning to the male. It has no religious sanctity and sanction which are the elements of the other view point according to which marriage was a sacrament, a pledge which if and when given was not to be broken under any circumstances until death. It is argued that religion fills the void and vacuum in a human being. Religion cannot be faithfully and fully practised without the help of inspiration derived from marriage. Wife and children are the necessary auxiliaries. Family life only could tie the man to a post of moral stability. It is the only institution that saves a being from unbridled conduct and at the same time urges him onward to progress and unfolding his self. It is both, a check and chastening if it is rightly understood. From social point of view, there can be these objectives behind the concept of marriage, namely, performance of religious duties, progeny, the discharge of one's own responsibility, towards family, towards society, and also unfolding the human character, giving of alms, etc.

The origin of the institution of marriage dates back from time immemorial. Marriage makes it possible to undertake religious performances and practices, to earn money and maintenance and to fulfil the duty assigned to a householder. The real objective of a householder's life is to give alms, to offer worship to gods etc. and to help monks and nuns in carrying out their mission. Without the existence of a householder who alone can provide food to the saints, they will not be able to

accomplish their duty and play the role fixed for them. The man or the woman alone will be ill-equipped to do the job satisfactorily. Therefore, the institution of marriage get sufficient justification, as without it, the preservation of the fourfold *samgha* and family traditions will not be achieved.

While discussing the necessity and importance of marriage, *Ādipurāṇa* goes so far as to state categorically that progeny is not possible without it and religion is not possible without progeny (*Ādipurāṇamen Pratipādita Bhārata*, pp. 160-161).

A variety of marriage is referred to in stories. While fixing the marriage, age, social status and cultural heritage of the bridegroom's and bride's families are duly considered. Even today, this type of special consideration finds acceptance in some form or the other. Caste and community also play predominant part in the matter of selection of the partner.

Marriage has a special place in a man's life and is celebrated with delight and enthusiasm. But according to different castes and communities, there are different customs, traditions, regulations and ceremonies in relation to its celebration. Notwithstanding this variety, the auspicious moment when the marriage is to be solemnized and the bondage of love between the two partners forming the couple are common to all of them (*Punyāsravakathakośa*, p. 37, p. 67, etc.). Many of the stories can be cited, illustrating this point.

In the Jaina narrative literature, references to inter-caste marriages are also found. The story of Nāgakumāra Kāmadeva in the *Punyāsrava Kathakośa* (p. 126) is an instance. In the same book, there are clear indications that the bride herself selected the husband being guided by her own judgement based on the description of the factors and features, provided as a rule of the princes and princely persons invited to attend the Svayamvara by the father of the bride who played host to them all (p. 7; p. 246).

In the days bygone, mostly the brides who had reached maturity, were considered marriageable. It is only because of this that a lady was given an option to stipulate condition of her own the fulfilment of which settled the marriage. The condition laid down by her aimed at the assessment of the would be bridegroom's ability and integrity (op. cit. p. 126; p 371).

In the Jaina story literature, there are accounts of the Vidyādhara brides being married to people of this earth. There are more than one theories regarding origin and the kind of these Vidyādhara. Two theories are commonly advanced. According to one, the Vidyādhara are something of semi-gods who dwelt in the mountainous ranges forming part of Vijayārdha and visited in their aerial cars, occasionally this world of ours for pleasures and diversions or for accomplishing some special aim or object. According to the other, the Vidyādhara are human beings but uncommon in spirit and strength (see the story of Vajrakumāra in the *Āradhanakathakośa*, part I, p. 121).

These stories of the Jainas reflecting the atmosphere of the feudal barons and princes do not miss to castigate the amorous nature of those princes, rulers, kings and chieftains. These lords threw off, occasionally, the fetters of marriage and went out of their way to satisfy their lust, sometimes with the brides of the Mlecchas even. Though they had kept monogamy as their ideal, they did not hesitate to go in for polygamy even.

Food and Dress

There are references to be found in the narrative literature of the Jainas about the fourfold caste system. Sometimes, the Śūdras were divided into two categories, namely touchable and untouchable. On account of this, food and drink also differed according to the kind of the caste. Harmless but substantial food found place in the dietary of the Jainas. Some of the non-Jainas took to meat-eating and flesh-eating also. They took nourishing food as they were health-conscious (*Punyāsravakathakośa*, p. 276). Sweetmeats, mostly made up of ghee and sugar were in vogue. In the villages, people subsisted on an article of food called Sattu while the prisoners were given rice of inferior type (see *Do Hajār Varsh Purāni Kāhānīn* by Dr. J. C. Jain pp, 41, 91, 96, 125). As the financial position permitted, people used to put on costumes, apparel and ornaments of various descriptions and manufacture in order to satisfy their tastes. They also kept their bodies clean and perfumed, applying various types of unguents, anointments and scented powders. The fashion of chewing beetle-leaves, applying scents and attars, and putting on fancy garments and costly ornaments is sign of the people's prevailing mood to use luxury goods and articles (op. cit., 41). Rich people lavishly dressed themselves, with valuable clothes and put on gems and jewels on their bodies, as they thought they appeared thereby more charming and attractive (*Ārādhana Kathakośa*, part II p. 46). Queens and princesses went further and did not spare anything in dressing and decorating themselves as best as they could, just befitting their status (*Punyāsravakathakośa*, p. 65). Ordinary people did not bother much and made no fuss about this but pulled on within their own limits.

Games and Amusements

People took holiday from business and occupational activities with a view to removing fatigue and refreshing themselves employing various types of diversion which promised and provided pleasures and amusements. Gambling (*Punyāsravakathakośa*, p. 83), seeing drama (op. cit. p. 197), riding (op. cit. p. 126), playing chess, singing, swimming (op. cit. p. 107), celebration of spring festivities, and dancing are some of the many pastimes, which the people in those days took to for the sake of pleasure. Educated people removed their fatigue by taking an escape into reading, writing, teaching, holding seminars and debates. Those who had no moral scruples and religious inhibitions used hunting as a kill-joy (op. cit. p. 19). Conferences, conversations and talks in which only the elite participated were organized for the pleasure of the kings and princes. Exhibitions of various arts and handicrafts

sometimes did the job. Testing intelligence through riddles and puzzles also afforded pleasure, entertainment and enlightenment (*Ārādhana Kathakoṣa*, part III pp. 179-77). While giving his judgement in a particular disputed case the king utilized the occasion also for his mental delight and relief (*Do Hajār Varsha Purāni Kahāniāṅ* by Dr. Jaina, p. 63).

Maintenance has always been a matter of prime concern for the whole mankind since the beginning of Time. In accordance with the prevailing times and conditions, it has sought to devise ways and means to secure livelihood. Jain story literature generally refers to many a means to eke out one's own livelihood, to name a few of them, agriculture, education, trade and business, arts and architecture, handicrafts, industries, arms and ammunitions, service, etc. (*Ādipuraṅamen Pratipadita Bhārata* by Dr. Jain, p. 337).

Kingship and Bureaucracy

The Jaina story literature is literally littered with references to kings, monarchs and sovereign rulers. Much has been said regarding their rule and administration, wars, battles, border clashes and skirmishes. Warrior's acts of bravery have found proper place in it. From all relevant accounts is clear that the armies played a constructive role in the preservation of security, law and order. The safety of the citizens was protected at all cost. The citizens, properly qualified and trained joined the army and served the state and also their own self.

When oral instructions and orders from the king or the prime minister was enough, there was no question of written directions. But this was not possible and desirable always. There had to be a bureaucracy to ensure prompt execution, accuracy and preservation of recorded evidence. The only difference that existed between the procedures of those days and those of our days at present was that it was never allowed to row indispensable. Bureaucratic hold, red-tapism were never allowed to take roots. The officers had no say in the matter. They were employed to do the clerical work and keep the records on hand. There was of course a big section of such officers in every department of the state. The state did not underrate their need and usefulness. Agriculture was no doubt one of the major means of maintenance. The well-being of the people and the state depended very largely on this. Adequate coverage is given to the peasants and farmers in their stories by the writers. In doing so they have not overemphasized their indispensability. The farmers are the real feeders in the final analysis. Doing perspiring labour, it is they who put life in the land, untilled and unsown, barren and wild. This feature is sufficiently underlined by the Jaina writers of these stories. (*Puṇyāsraṇa Kathākosa*, p. 337 and *Do Hajār Vavshapuraṇi Kahāniyāṅ* p. 96).

Trade and Commerce

The traders and businessmen amassed wealth in their business. Boats and vessels

and ships plied in those days. The enterprising merchants undertook voyages, went to far off countries to earn more wealth. They used to return home with wealth increased and money multiplied. No trouble dampened their spirit and no difficulty ever had an upper hand. They fully illustrated by their example the maxim "fortune favours the brave" and "wealth goes to him who is industrious" (*Āradhanā Kathakośa*, part II, p. 35 and p.135; *Do Hajar Varsha Purani Kahānīḥ*; p. 31 and p. 96).

The learned and literay people also did not lag behind. They employed their scholarships as a means to maintenace. It is said in these stories of the Jaina writers that a musician earned his livelihood through music and a poet through his poems. Lower section of the society fixed its hope of sustenance on their professional activities such as picture-showing, ropewalking, magic, sorcery and sleights of hand.

POSITION OF WOMEN IN JAINA LITERATURE *

Various broad categories of women have been described in Jaina narrative literature, both religious and secular, by the Jaina writers. Among them, women as bride, wife, mother, widow, nun, prostitute etc. are noteworthy.

In Indian Society, though a woman has been respected, cajoled and cared after, her birth was considered a matter of great misery and mishap for the family. Her parents were always anxious about her physical security and character. They never felt free so long as she was not married with a deserving husband. She was a property of her husband deposited temporarily with the father. A very large amount of money or estate, which guaranteed a good living, was set apart for the princess when her father, the King declared her dowry at the time of her marriage. There was a special provision of a separate comfortable harem for the princesses guarded over by an old chamberlain who was the custodian of her character and virginity. She was reared with care and no pains were spared for her education which included painting, dance and drama. We come across in Haribhadra's *Samarāiccakahā*, a character, Kusumavati, who was a princess well-grounded in the art of composing poem.¹

We cannot say with exactness, due to paucity of material, about the place where such education was given, the manner in which it was given and the method of actually imparting it. There was no institutional arrangement for the princesses but a provision of private coaching. A purpose that the princess should as far as possible remain out of people's sight was hereby secured while her education was made comprehensive by employing teachers who were experienced, trained and specialized in their own subjects. Female education was encouraged and appreciated. An educated female, it was believed, could strictly observe and adhere to the traditions, customs and conventions of the family while the uneducated and the illiterate could not. This is supported by Haribhadra. A perusal of Haribhadra's narrative works in Prakrit, Udyotana's *Kuvalaymālā* and Guṇapāla's *Jambūcariyam* makes it at once clear that a girl very well knew reading and writing. She studied scriptures, learnt painting, dance, music and drama and was an expert in the management of household affairs.

Let us now pass on from woman as a girl to woman in her role as a wife. In household matters, the husband and the wife were jointly responsible. According to Rīg-

* For a part of the information contained in the article, I have drawn on Haribhadra's Prakrit Kathā Sāhitya Alochanātmak Parīśilan by Dr. Nemichandra Shastri to whom I am grateful.

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veda, the wife sometimes dominated also.⁵ This particular feature of wife's preponderance in matters domestic and temporal was existing in one form or the other and in varying degree from the Vedic times down to Haribhadra's. We got an indication to this in the *Samarāiccakahā* in which the news of prince Gunacandra's death during the war when he invaded a hostile king was conveyed through a demi-god to his wife who eventually prepares to end her life by self-immolation. Just at this critical moment, the father-in-law steps in and advises her to wait till confirmation is forthcoming.⁴ This incident is cited to show that a wife did what she liked and thought. Whenever propitiatory rites were to be performed in the house, she had her own way and say. Though these are solitary examples and no safe conclusion can be drawn, it is a fact that society in those days, indeed, held progressive views in regard to woman as a daughter-in-law.

For the most part, there existed cordial relations between the daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law. The wife did not willingly accept the idea of separation from her husband. Haribhadra's *Samarāiccakahā* again endorses this conclusion when Dhanaṣṭri clearly avows and her mother-in-law gladly allows to accompany her husband in his foreign travels.⁵

Broadminded husbands closed their eyes and ears to their wives' faults and failures. But they made no exception when the question of the wife's loyalty was involved. There are characters in Haribhadra's works who did not stop for a moment to divorce the wife and remarry when they were found prone to a flagrant breach of conduct, conjugal discipline and chastity.⁶ But this was rare as the husband and wife otherwise fully enjoyed and drank the cup of married life to its lees. Marriage was a social, sacred sacrament to which they both were the signatories who swore to stand by it, come what may.

In his works, Haribhadra has also drawn pictures of women who could become vile and wicked, namely, Dhanaṣṭri and Lakṣmī who caused unhappiness to their husbands through deception. But these were mere exceptions. On the whole the women led exemplary life in Haribhadra's times. Self-effacement and sacrifice guided the wife who did not think worthwhile to live when the husband was no more. Newly married bride was welcome to the husband's house and all the members of the family were happy at her auspicious arrival which brought money and mirth,

Woman as a mother was most adorable. As a matter of fact, a woman found consummation of inner satisfaction in becoming a mother. She pined after motherhood so to say. She thought it her great misfortune if she was barren, if she gave birth to still-born children or if she had no son. When she became a mother her status in the family rose and her importance increased. This is exactly what is upheld in the old Hindu scriptures. The Gautama Dharmasūtra states that a mother is superior to any teachers.⁷ This is maintained by Bauddhāyana⁸ and Āpastamba⁹ also. The Mahābhārata is all out for the mother when it declares that there is no shelter and no support as great and as reliable as the mother's¹⁰. If all these literary

sources point to any thing it is the high position occupied and enjoyed by the mother in the society in days bygone and in the days of Haribhadra. In his *Samarāṅgacakāḥ*, information to this effect is available when Jaya, having handed over the reins of the government to his brother, Vijaya, fall at the mother's feet, sought her permission and became a monk.¹¹ This shows that the mother's say was final and categorical.

Prostitution is as old as time. In Haribhadra's times it was in vogue and was practised without much intuition by certain low class women. The animal passion was responsible for this social evil. From time immemorial, man had been hunting after woman to satisfy his unbridled passion and fondness for a variety. Immoral women exploited this weakness of men and exchanged their chastity for money and maintenance. Thus a regular class of prostitutes came into existence and it depended exclusively on rich people for its sustenance. Distinct references to this class are found in Vedas,¹² Dharmasūtras and Māhākāvyas. Haribhadra has used the words *Gapikā*, *Vāravilasini* or *Sāmānya* to denote prostitute. The prostitutes did the extra business of dancing and also that of dressing and decorating the bridegroom on the occasion of his marriage.¹³ Devadattā was a wellreputed courtesan of Ujjayini whom a wealthy man of the same city wanted to make his own giving her all his possessions and property but she was primarily in love with and devoted to one Mṇadeva. Prostitutes enjoyed a better social position in the past.

The woman as a nun was much respected and even adored as she was considered a symbol of devotion. She renounced the world to accept a life of self-restraint and sublimation. These nuns formed into groups and communities which were headed by a chief nun. They strictly observed rules and vows which were framed for them. Their aim was salvation which they realized through penance and a prescribed code of conduct. It should be remembered that they accepted this life of rigid discipline out of sheer conviction and not because they wanted to escape from realities.

It seems Haribhadra was not in favour of the system of veil, though it was current in his days. This is clear from the fact that Kusumavati did not object to allowing her friends to remove her veil which she had put on at the time of marriage. But after marriage she never put it. Moreover, there are no references in his works proving that he endorsed the system.

Woman had either been extolled or condemned in the changing context of social conditions. There are references to show that she was treated as a slave while on the other hand she was worshipped as a goddess. It cannot be denied that of the two constituents of the society, namely man and woman, the latter was subordinate. This is because of the compulsions of our civilization which, even if it grants equality of soul in both, assigns a subservient role to the woman for practical purposes. It did not stop merely at this but it went beyond and proclaimed that she was verily a gate for the entrance to hell. As against this there had been some women always who were shining symbols of dignity and divinity beating men in every field of human activity and achievements.

In Jaina narrative literature, we come across many a woman who by their acts of ideal conduct and character provided society at large with ennobling and inspiring examples such as queen Prabhavati and Nilibai who become objects of worship for gods even on account of their inviolable chastity. Tribhuvanarati, a princess of the king of Kashmir scored success in instrumental music and set a brilliant record.¹⁵ Mainasundari had acquired the force of character so much so that she cured her husband of leprosy.¹⁶ While on the other hand there are illustrations of women such as Nagadattā, Abhayavati and the wife of Somaśarmā which point to the disaster caused by these women, to themselves, to the family and to the society.¹⁷

In Jaina narrative literature we will come across a number of incidents in illustration of a woman's right to perform religious rites and rituals. Just as man, woman also can wash and worship the images and idols of gods and deities. She, like a man, can practise vows and take to the life of a nun. Reading and studying the scriptures is permitted to her. In this respect particularly, Jainism is very broad-minded. Unlike in other religions, she is qualified to seek and secure her own salvation in this very life. There are no prohibitions or bans of any type in exercising her rights.

In temporal and social matters also, she was treated with due respect. When the royal assemblies were in session, Jaina kings used to get up from their seats to welcome their queens. Not only this, but they offered their own seats to them to share. Mahāvīra, the last Tirthānkara of the Jainas, had given a spiritual status to many a deserving women. He did not hesitate to accept alms at the hands of Candanā whom he thought to be a woman of purity, though the people had their own unfounded doubts about it. He thus cleared her of the infamous charge levelled against her.

Side by side, I would also like readers to take due note of the scathing and uncharitable invective to be found in Guṇapāla's Jambucariyam against woman. In it he says with vehemence that the female of the species is more deadly than the male. Woman's love, he avers, is writ in water and her faith is traced in sand. He condemns them as bad-natured. As if to complete his charge-sheet, he alleges that they can conveniently be hardhearted and also soft; that they are frailty incarnate, and that their minds cannot be known and hearts fully compassed and comprehended. And he lays the last brick when he bemoans that they can go to any length when they want to satisfy their carnal desires.¹⁸

All the religious system of the East, and especially Jainism, had been unkind, more or less, to woman, the reason being their frivolity, frailty and innate capacity to arouse passion in man. Now it is a question of outlook whether or not these traits should be taken as natural to their very constitution of body and mind. The East is unwilling to compromise on this point while the West is poised to forgive and be forgiven. The male is unable to face the music or would shy away when the female counter-alleges that it is the male that has kept her suppressed so far. And who can deny the force of her logic? Given recognition and scope she could have

certainly risen to the dizzy heights of development and progress like man and it is given to woman only to shine in grandeur more brilliantly than man in her sublime self-sacrifice. She has shown and the history points that she can excel man in any field of human activity under the sun. Now this is sufficient to prove that woman also like man has got infinite potentiality which she can bring to bear fruit given the opportunity. The onus of proving his own bonafides falls on man. If the woman is frailty incarnate and frivolous, what is man, then? If the woman has the capacity to cash her beauty and grace and charm in terms of physical happiness, why should the man fall a victim to it? It is no crime of the woman¹¹ if she is so designed as she is. On no ground the attitude of any religious system, much less Jainism, that woman is a gateway leading to hell, is defensible. It is an inhuman approach to the whole problem. To say that wealth and woman are the main hurdles and handicaps hindering the man in his spiritual pursuits and progress is as absurd and ridiculous as a carpenter finding faults with his tools. But it is said that if any religious system has condemned a woman it is not for all her feminine beauty and for all that but for her designs on man. Well, the wind of change is sweeping our globe and the sooner the man becomes alive and alert to the woman's urge for uplift and her equal and rightful place in the sanctuary of spiritualism, the better for both man and woman. If this warning is not heeded, a day is not far off when the religious systems which condemned woman will themselves come forward and condemn man.

Notes

1. Kusumavati herself had composed a couplet depicting the breaved condition of a female swan. She had put it down below the picture which also she herself had prepared for being sent to prince Simha with whom a love-affair had started, pp 87-88. Bibliotheca Indica Edition by Jacobi.
2. Op. cit, p. 922.
3. Rig, 10. 85. 46.
4. Samarācakahā, op. cit., p. 814.
5. Op. cit., p. 241.
6. Op. cit., p. 623.
7. Gautama Dharmasūtra, 2, 56.
8. Baudhāyana, 2. 2. 48.
9. Āpastamba. 1. 10, 28, 9.
10. Mōhabhārata, Śāntiparvan, 267, 31, 343, 18.
11. Samarācakahā, op. cit., p. 485.
12. Rīgveda, 1, 167, 4.
13. Samarācakahā, Op. cit., pp. 339-340 and 96,
14. to 17—Punyās'ravakathā—Kōśa's corresponding stories.
18. E1. Jinavjayaji, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 7. Chap. 11, 18 to 41 and Chap. 16, 8, stz.

KUALAYAMĀLĀ *

(A. Jaina Story of the 8th Century A.D.)

I

The story of which the following details and description are given goes under the name of the *Kuvalayamālā*. Its author was a Jaina scholar, named Udyotanasri¹ *alias* Dakṣiṇyacinna. The story was completed on the last day but one of the eighth century of the śaka era, i.e., on the latter part of the fourteenth day of the dark half of Caitra of 699th year of the Śaka era, in a city called Jābālipura which was at that time included in Gujaraṭ but is at present identified with Jhālora of Mārwar. Śri Vatsaraja then ruled over the city. The language of the text of the story is Jainā Māhāraṣṭrī—the principal Prakrit, and the manner of its composition reminds one of the style of a *Campū* in which both prose and poetry had a place. The story consists of 10000 *ślokas*; the plot is of a diverse character. All these statements are based upon facts gleaned from the prefatory and panegyric remarks made by the author of the story in the introductory and concluding stanzas. The *Kuvalayamālā*, moreover, affords us some important data and hints regarding history and linguistics; these will be dwelt upon, however, in another article.

II. *History of the development of Jaina story literature.*

I am tempted to give a short account of the development of the Jaina story literature before attempting a detailed description of the *Kuvalayamālā*. The Jaina story literature is vast. Several hundreds of story works are available to-day principally written in four languages, viz. Prakrit, Sanskrit, Apabhraṃṣa and Gujarāṭī. But the large portion of this literature seems to have been written after the 10th century A.D. As we go back, the number of the story works decreases, so much so that in the first millennium we hardly get even ten works of this branch of literature. From this point of view the discovery of the *Kuvalayamālā* is very important.

A particular kind of the Jaina literature is termed *Dharmakathānuyoga*, of which *Jñānadharmakathā*, one of the eleven Aṅgas, is a good representative. Tradition has it that it contained a number of crores of such religious stories out of which only sixteen have survived the ravages of time; at present only nineteen chapters of that Aṅga are available with changes hither and thither. These religious stories resemble the *Ākhyānas* of the *Vedas*, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*. They are of a frag-

* Abridged English summary of the original Gujarāṭī article which the author, Prof. Jinavijayji Muni, has published in *Vasanta Rajat-mahotsava Smāraka Grantha* (Ahmedabad 1927). English Translation is prepared by Prof. A. S. Gopani.

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mentary character. These *Ākhyānas* were traditionally handed down from generation to generation and each successive generation of religious teachers related them in their own style before the general masses. Later on as the composition of the *Purānas* and *Purānic* stories as well as the composition of the epics like *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṃśa* attracted the attention of the audience, the practice of creating and narrating such stories was initiated by the Jaina writers also. As time went on, stories of secular character began to replace those of religious contents. The Jaina writers were not slow in producing such stories so that we have now a considerable bulk of them. It can be safely inferred that the *Vasudevacarita*, besides the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, captured the popular fancy. We have no historical means at our command which can help us in arriving at a decisive conclusion as to the names and title of the biographical compositions current in those times. But as far as the Jaina story literature is concerned a famous and very old work entitled *Vasudevahinḍī* is available though in a fragmentary form. This leads us to feel that the story of Vasudeva might have amused the people very much, who held it in high esteem. Devacandra, the guru of Hēmacandra, informs us in the introduction of his *Śāntināthacarita* that *Vasudevacarita* was originally written by Bhadrabāhu, the religious teacher of Candragupta. We also learn from the same source that *Vasudevacarita* contained one lac and twenty five thousand *Ślokas*! Bhadrabāhu's work seems, however, to have been lost long ago, for in the *Vasudevahinḍī* which was undertaken by Saṅghadāsa Kṣamaśramāṇa (C. 7th century A.D.) and supplemented by Dharmasēnagaṇi Mahattara, there is a clear mention that in composing it, its author relied on the one hand on the story handed down traditionally through a series of teachers and on the other, on that recorded in scriptures.²

Similarly when the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was found to be favourite among the masses Vimalasūri, a Jaina Ācārya wrote the *Paumacariyam* which may be the Jaina *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is difficult to say exactly when this Ācārya flourished. According to what is suggested in the work he seems to have flourished in the first century A.D. Considering the style of the composition and the language employed, Dr. JACOBI believes that the work could not be older than the fourth or the fifth century A.D. It is said in the *Kuvālayamālā* that the same Ācārya was also an author of another Prākṛit work viz., *Harivaṃsacarīyam* similar to the above-mentioned *Paumacariyam*. But unfortunately it is not as yet available.

Later on the stories of eminent worldly persons such as Udayana Vatsarāja and Naravāhanadatta established, besides the epic stories, their hold on the mass mind. These stories afforded their authors a vast and unbounded field for displaying their literary art and imagination. There soon arose, therefore, several story works such as *Vasavadatta*, *Sumanottara*, *Urvaśi*,³ *Bhaimarathi* and *Naravāhanadatta*,⁴ in these story works, historical facts and fiction have intermixed and the erotic sentiment has enjoyed a free and unfettered play. This new story literature had a more ready and direct appeal to the common mass of the audience than the older epic stories in which religious sermons and didactic element occupied a central place.⁵

Generally speaking, the mass mind is more attracted by stories of love and romance full of erotic expressions than by those replete with moral tone and prosaic devotional exhortations. And the Nirgrantha writers were not slow to recognize this tendency of the mass mind. They, therefore, decided to write some *Dharmakathās* which were not without passages depicting love and romance,⁶ although formerly they were prohibited by their *Dharmaśāstras* to write stories whose central theme would be a king, a country, a woman or a foodstuff. Thus on account of their literary gifts and power of imagination and expression they adorned their stories, "which like a new bride would delight the mind of sympathetic audience—they being well decorated, beautiful, graceful, tender, and full of sweet expressions."⁷

It will be seen that the chief aim of these new Jaina story writers remained the same as before, viz., the spiritual well being of the masses. In order to meet the need of the time they adopted new motifs and new expressions, but the end of the stories always pointed to the fruits of Dharma and Adharma.

III. Pādalīpta's *Taraṅgavatī-kathā*

Among the new story literature Pādalīptasūri's *Taraṅgavatī* occupies almost the first place. That monk was a reputed court poet of king Hāla of the Śātavāhana dynasty. Another great Guṇāḍhya by name, author of that exquisite story-work *Bṛhatkathā* (in Pāṭāli language), was also a *protégé* of that king, who was himself a great poet and had written the famous *Gāhakośa* or *Gāthā-saptaśatī*. This poem in Prakṛit has made its author, the king Hāla, very famous and is a source of delight to the learned circles. Even at present the author of the *Kuvalayamālā* has given us some description in his preface, about these three poets, as will be seen from the relevant passages to be quoted below in the course of this paper. The original *Taraṅgavatī* of Pādalīptasūri has not been as yet discovered. Only a condensed summary of the same by one Gaṇi Veṇicandra, pupil of Ācārya Vīrabhaṭṭa or Vīrabhadra, of unknown date, is available at present, through which we get a glimpse of the original.⁸ This condensed summary, which is according to its own author only an abbreviated summary, contains 1640 *ślokas*; to gauge the size of the original story must therefore be left to the imagination. The reason of the abridgment of the story is given by the author in the introductory four verses : "*Taraṅgavatī-kathā* by Pādalīpta is elaborate, extensive and of a strange character. It abounds in Deśī expressions. There are many *Kulakas*, *Gupita-yugalakas*, and *Śaṅkas* which are generally unintelligible to the average reader. Therefore nobody studies it, none listens to it and even inquires about it. Only a few learned persons use it. I am therefore preparing this summary leaving out Pādalīpta's own Deśī expressions, for the benefit of the common masses. There is an additional purpose in this undertaking, viz., the prevention of Pādalīpta's work from falling into complete oblivion."⁹ This description shows that Pādalīpta's *Taraṅgavatī* was originally written in Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī and its author used a large

measure of Deśī expressions. The story was composed both in prose and poetry and was strewn with long narratives here and there with a huge mass of verses. The author of the *Kūvalayamālā* calls such a story *Samkīrṇa-kathā* (mixed story).

IV. Other Unavailable Stories

This novel type of story-literature initiated by Pādaliptasūri, was later reinforced by other five works as *Malayavati*, *Magadhasenā*,¹⁰ *Bandhumati*, *Sulocamā*¹² etc. But nothing, except their titles, is unfortunately known about them.

Next in order comes the *Dharmilahinḍī*—generally known as *Vasudevacarīyam* or *Vasudevahinḍī*—excluding the biographical compositions in the style of the *Purāṇas*, e.g., *Paumacarīyam*, *Harivaṃśacarīyam*; *Vasudevacarīyam* etc. The *Dharmilahinḍī* is referred to both by Haribhadrasūri and Udyotanasūri, and must therefore, have been composed before 8th century A.D.

Samarādīyakathā of Haribhadrasūri.

The most popular and famous of the existing story-works is the *Samarādīyakathā* of Haribhadrasūri. Haribhadrasūri was a preceptor of Udyotansūri, the author of the *Kūvalayamālā*—a view which I hold and, have tried to prove in my article, "Haribhadra's Date"¹³ and which is approved of even by Dr. Jacobi.¹⁴ Haribhadrasūri flourished in the first half of the 8th century and was an able writer, especially in Jaina philosophy. According to Jaina historical tradition, he is the author of no less than 1400 or 1444 works, big and small. Nearly 88 works go to his name even to-day.¹⁵ The Jaina principles are discussed from various view-points. His works include the commentaries on the Jaina canonical books, the digests of older books, and independent treatises, some of which deal with the philosophical and spiritual subjects. He had, as naturally follows, perfect mastery of Sanskrit. It is surprising that he became a convert to Jainism by hearing the words of counsel from a nun, Yākinī Mahattarā, whose sacred memories he ever preserved till his death and whom he revered as 'Religious Mother.' Many of his compositions at the end refer to her with respect.

Haribhadrasūri was not only a great commentator and a writer on logic and philosophy, but according to Jaina tradition, also a pre-eminent poet. From the available list of his compositions, enumerating the *Kathākoṣa*, *Dhūrtākhyāna*, *Muni-pāṭicarita*, *Yasodharacarita*, *Virāṅgadākathā* and *Samarādīyakathā*, only the *Dhūrtākhyāna* and *Samarādīyakathā* are at present existent. The *Samarādīyakathā* is a glaring evidence of his poetic genius. Udyotanasūri in his preface to the *Kūvalayamālā*, Dhanapāla in his *Tīlakamañjari*, Devacandrasūri in his *Śāntināthacarita*¹⁷ and many other scholars have proffered it the laurels of praise, especially as a work abounding in the tranquil sentiment. Hemacandra in his *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* refers to the *Samarāiccakathā*¹⁹ as one containing all the requisites of the various types of stories.

Haribhadrasūri has tried in this story to show through fictitious characters as to how a person who has become a victim of anger, desire, avarice, infatuation, jealousy, hatred and such other vices, wanders in incessant cycles of births and deaths, while the one who practises non-injury, self-control, penance, forgiveness and charity accomplishes his spiritual progress.

This *kathā* is composed in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī—a principal variety of Prakṛit, though strewn with Śauraseni forms here and there. It is in prose, occasionally interspersed with verses in various metres. It does not abound in figures of speech or long compounds. The short pithy sentences, a few really inspired metaphors and felicity of phrase keep intact the flow of the story which like that of the Ganges marches onward to its goal with firmness and delicacy—all its own. The language is easily understandable even by an ordinary Prakṛit student, a fact that accounts for its popularity.

V. Udyotanasūri's *Kuvalayamālā*

A comparison of this work with the *Samarādityakathā* pretty well establishes the indebtedness of Udyotanasūri to Haribhadrasūri for its conception.

Only two manuscripts of the original *Kuvalayamālā* in Prakṛit are at present available; one, in the Government Library of Poona and the other in the Bhāṅḍārs of Jesalmere. The first of these, a paper manuscript, appears to belong to the 15th century A.D., while the other is a palm-leaf manuscript and is written on Sunday,—the first of the dark-half of Phālguna, 1139 (v.s.). Many important variants in them compel us to conclude that both these had quite distinct traditions behind them. Dr. Jacobi first raised a doubt about Haribhadrasūri's traditional date i.e. latter half of the 6th century, and in his introduction to Siddharṣi's *Upamiti-prapañcakathā* edited by him, ascertained it to be the middle of the 10th century from the fact that Haribhadra and Siddharṣi were contemporaries and that the former was the preceptor of the latter. The veracity of the traditional date is questionable, firstly because Haribhadra's own statements go against it and secondly because Siddharṣi acknowledges him as his *guru*. The references by Haribhadra to Dharmakīrti and others who definitely flourished in the 7th century made me to discard the traditional date, yet I was not inclined to place him in the 10th century, as a contemporary of Siddharṣi.

Ratnaprabhāsūri's (14th century) Sanskrit *Kuvalayamālā*,—an abbreviation of Dākṣiṇyacinhasūri's Prakṛit original—edited by Muni Caturvijayaji mentioned Haribhadra amongst other names of the former poets cited by the author of the Sanskrit *Kuvalayamālā*. Dr. Jacobi had misconstrued the reference occurring in the *Prabhāvākacārītra*, and hence his statement in the introduction of his *Upamitibhava-prapañcakathā* (p. 12, Calcutta Edition).

This aroused my curiosity and the manuscript from the Government Library of Poona was sent for. That, surely, was the original *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotanasūri. The praśasti, date of its composition, the traditional list of the author's preceptors—all were found in it. Reference to Haribhadra, too, was detected, so also the eulogy of *Samarādityakathā*. I came to the conclusion that Haribhadrasūri, the author of the *Samarādityakathā* cannot be Siddharṣi's contemporary. In my essay "Haribhadra's Date" at the first All-India Oriental Conference at Poona, I had drawn the attention of the scholars to tackle the problems concerning the *Kuvalayamālā*.²⁰

V. Brief Sketch of Udyotanasūri

It is a fact of much historical worth that Udyotanasūri has himself mentioned the time and place of his composition as well as the traditional list of his preceptors. Very few of our ancient writers have thus disclosed their personal history or whereabouts so that the chains of history, in our land, fit together but with great difficulty.

An account regarding him runs as under :

- (1) २^१अत्थि पुहईपसिद्धा दोण्णि पहा दोण्णि चेय देसत्ति ।
तत्थत्थि पहं णामेण उत्तरा बुहजणाइणं ॥
- (2) सुइदिच्चारुसोहा विअसियकमलाणणा विमलदेहा ।
तत्थत्थि जलहिदइआ सरिआ अह चंदभाअ चि ॥
- (3) तीरम्मि तीय पयडा पक्कइया णाम रयणसोहिळा ।
जत्थ द्विण्ण भुत्ता पुहई सिरितोररायेण^{२२} ॥
- (4) तस्स गुरु हरिउत्तो आयरिओ आसि गुत्तवेसाओ ।
तीए णयरीए दिण्णो जेण णिवेसो तहि काळे ॥
- (5) तस्स वि सिस्सो पयडो मह्हाकई देवउत्तणामो ति^{२३} ।
.....सिवचंद गणी य मयहरो ति (?)^{२४} ॥
- (6) सो जिणवंदणद्वेउं कहवि भमंतो कमेण संपत्तो^{२५} ।
सिरिभिळमालणअरम्मि संठिओ कप्पक्कखो व्व ॥
- (7) तस्स खमासमणगुणो णामेअं जक्खदत्तगणिणामो ।
सीसो महइमहप्पा आसि तिलोए वि पयडजसो ॥
- (8) तस्स य बहुया सीसा तववीरिअवयणलद्धिसंपण्णा^{२६} ।
रम्मो गुजजरदेसो जेहि कओ देवहरएहि ॥
- (9) णामो विंदो मम्मड दुग्गो आयरियअग्गिसम्मो य ।
छओ वडेसरो छम्मुहस्स य वयण व्व ते आसि^{२७} ॥
- (10) आगासवप्पणयरे जिणालयं तेण जिम्मवियं रम्मं^{२८} ।
तस्स मुहदंसणे त्थिअवि पसमइ ज्जो अमन्वो वि^{२९} ॥
- (11) तस्स वि सीसो अण्णो तत्तयरिओ ति णामपयडगुणो^{३०} ।
आसि तवतेयणिज्जियपावतमोहो^{३१} दिणयरो व्व ॥
- (12) जो दूसमसलिलपवाह्वेगहीरन्तगुणसहत्साण^{३२} ।
सीलंगविउल्लालो लक्खणरुक्खो व्व निक्कंपो^{३३} ॥
- (13) सीसेण तस्स एसा हिरिदेवीदिण्णदंसणमणेण ।
इया कुवलथमाला विलत्थिअदक्खिणइन्धेण ॥

- (14) दिग्गजद्विच्छिद्यफलभो बहुकृती कुसुमरेहिराभोभो ।
आयरियवीरमहो अथावरो⁵⁴ कण्ठरुक्खो व्व ॥
- (15) सो सिद्धंतेण गुरु जत्तीसत्थेहि जस्स हरिमहो ।
बहुसत्थगंथवित्थरपत्थारियपयडसवत्थो⁵⁵ ॥
- (16) आसि तिकम्माभिरभो महादुवारम्मि खत्तिओ पयडो ।
उज्जोअणोत्ति णामं तच्चिय परिमुंजिरे तद्दमा ॥
- (17) तस्स वि पुत्तो संग्घ णामेण वडेरु ति पथडगुणो⁵⁷ ।
तस्सुज्जोअणणामो तणओ अह विरइया तेण ॥
- (18) तुंगमलंघं जिणभवणमणहरं सावयाजलं विसमं ।
जावाल्लिउर⁵⁸ अट्टावयं व अह अत्थि पुहईए ॥
- (19) तुंगं धवलं मणिहारिरयणपसरंतधयवडाडोयं ।
उसमजिणिदायतणं करावियं वीरभट्टेण ॥
- (20) तत्थ ठिएणं अह कोद्मीए चेतस्स कण्हपक्खम्मि ।
णिम्मविआ षोहिकरी भव्वाणं होउ सव्वाणं ॥
- (21) परमडभिउडिभंगो पणईयणरोहणीकल्लचंदो ।
सिरिवच्छरायणामो रणहत्थी पत्थिओ जइया⁵⁹ ॥
- (22) को किर वच्छई तीरं जिणवयणमहोयहिस्स दुत्तारं ।
धोयमइणावि बद्धा एसा हिरिदेविचयणेण⁶⁰ ॥
- (23) जिणवयणओ ऊणं अहियं व विरुद्धयं व जं बद्धं ।
तं खमसु संठवेज्जसु मिच्छा अह दुक्कडं तस्स ॥
- (24) चंदकुलावयवेणं आयरियउज्जोअणेण रइया मे ।
सिवसांतबोहिमोक्खाण साहिया होउ भवियाण⁶¹ ॥
- (25) एयं कहं करेउं जं पुण्णं पावियं मए विउलं ।
साहुकिरियासु चित्तं भवे भवे होउ मे तेणं ॥
- (26) सगकाले बोलिणे वरिसाण सएहि सत्तहि गएहीं ।
एकदिणेणूणेहि रइया अवरण्हवेलाए ॥
- (27) ण कइत्तणाहिमाणा ण कव्वसुद्धोए विरइया एवा ।
धम्मकह त्ति णिवद्धा मा दोसे काहिह इमीए ॥

Summary:—There are only two famous *pathas* – namely *Dakṣiṇāpaṭha* and *Uttarāpaṭha* in the world. Out of them both, *Uttarāpaṭha* is said to be abounding in learned people. (1) In that *paṭha*, there flows a river Candrabhāgā—the mistress of the sea. (2) On the bank of that river is situated a famous and a prosperous city called Pavvaiaṅga staying in which Śrī Torarāya enjoyed the lordship of the world. (3) Harigupta was the preceptor of that King; he belonged to the Gupta family

and stayed there in that city with the King. (4) His pupil was Devagupta who was well-versed in many arts and sciences, and was a deep student of Siddhāntas besides being great poet. He had a pupil named Śivacandraḡaṇi who was a Mahattara. (5) When he was out on a pilgrimage he came across Bhinnamāla where he settled for ever. (6) Yaksadatta was his pupil; his fame spread far and wide in the three worlds. (7) This Yaksadatta had many pupils gifted with miraculous powers. They added to the beauty of the Gurjaradeśa by getting many Jaina temples erected. (8) Of those pupils, Nāga, Vinda, Mammaḡa, Dugga, Aggisaṃma, and Vaḡesara were chief. (9) Vaḡesara caused a beautiful temple erected in Āḡāsavappa. (10) Tattvācārya--one of his many pupils--was much worshipped on account of his noble character and hard austerities. (11) His pupil whose *nom de plume* Dākṣiṇyacihna composed an excellent story entitled *Kūvalayamāla* by virtue of a boon from goddess Hrī. (12) Acārya Viraḡhadra was his religious preceptor who, resembling a Kalpavṛkṣa (desire-yielding tree), taught him the religious canon. Acārya Haribhadra, who enunciated clearly the real significance of the canon by writing several works, taught him logic and philosophy. (13-15) Udyotana--a Kṣatriya by caste--was the then ruling Prince of Mahāduvāra. He never missed performing three deeds. (16) He had a son named Samprati *alias* Vaḡesara; and his son whose name Udyotana has composed this story called *Kūvalayamāla*. (17) In this world, there was once a city named Jābālipura--narrow and abounding in Jaina laymen. It had the Jina temples--very charming, untraversable and as lofty as the Aṣṭapada mountain. In it Viraḡhadra had got built a temple of the first Jina. It was very exalted, white-coloured, and decorated with banners. The author says that he completed this story, staying in that temple, on the fourteenth of the dark half of Caitra. (18-20). At the time of completion of this story the ruler of the city was Śri Vatsarāja--like an elephant a terror to the foes and a moon to Rohiṇi in the form of lovers. (21).

There is none who can go to the opposite bank of the untraversable ocean of the Jinas' teachings. Though I am dull-witted, I have dared compose this story depending simply on the promise of the goddess--Hrī. Therefore let that which I may have, out of mistake, written, against or unwarranted by the Jinas, be undone. (22-23).

Udyotana who is a member of the Candra family has composed this story. Let it be an instrument in securing liberation for the *bhavya* people. Let my mind remain absorbed in doing good deeds as a result of the merit ensured possibly by the composition of this story. (24-25).

This story was brought to an end on the latter half of the day when the seventh century of the Śaka Era had only one day less to complete. (26).

Poetic pride or poetic skill is not responsible for the composition of this story. I have composed it simply with an intention of telling what *Dharmakathā* is and conveys. Let no fault be attached to it. (27).

Notes

1. See the following *gāthā* occurring in the *Sāntināthacarita* :

वंदामि भद्राहुं जेण य अइरसियं बहुकलाकलिये ।
रइयं सवायलकखं चरियं वसुदेवरायस्स ॥

Peterson's *Report in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*; No 5; p. 73.

2. See the following sentence occurring in the beginning of the central part of *Vasudevahindī* :

तत्थं च किञ्चि सुवनिवद्धं किञ्चि आयरियपरंपरेण ।
आगयं तंतो अवधारितं मे ।

Peterson's *Third Report*, p. 199.

3. The reference to these stories is found in the following lines of Patañjali's *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* (IV, 3, 872):

वासवदत्तामकिकृत्य कृताऽऽख्यायिका वासवदेता
सुमनोत्तरा, उर्कशी । न च भवति मैसरबी ।

4. The reference to this name is found in Jaina works such as *Vasudevahindī*, etc.

5. A similar reference is found in the introductory *Śloka* of Meruṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* :

भृशं श्रुतत्वात् कथाः पुराणाः
प्रीणन्ति चेतांसि तथा बुधानाम् ।

6. Compare the following quotation from *Vasudevahindī* :

सोऽण लोइयाणं....गरवाहनदत्तादीणं क्हाओ कामियाओ लोमो एगंतेणं कमकहासु रजंति सोऽणइपह्वेसियं
पुण धम्मं सोऽंणि नेच्छति य जरपितवसड्डुयमुहो इव गुलसक्करखंडभच्छंडियाइसु विपरीतपरिणामो ।
धम्मत्थकामकलियाणि य सुहाणि धम्मत्थकामाण च मूलं धम्मो; तम्मि च मंदतरो जणो । तं जह्णं नाम कोई
वेऽजो आवरं अमवससइपाणपरंमुहं ओसडमिति उव्विययं मणोभिलसियपाणवधएसेण उसहं तं पज्जेति काम-
कहारतहितवस्स जणस्स सिंमारकहावसेण धम्मं चैव परिकहेमि ।

Peterson's *Third Report*, p. 198.

7. सालंकारा सुहया ललियाया मउयमंजुसंलावा ।
सहियाण देइ हरिसं उब्बडा नववहु चैव ॥

Introduction of the *Kuvalayamāta*.

8. Ernst LEUMANN has translated it into German. The Gujarati translation done by Shri Narasimhabhai PATEL has appeared in the second volume of the *Jaina Sāhitya Samśodhaka*.

9. पालित्पण रइया कित्थरओ तह्णं य देसिवयणेहिं ।
नामेण तरंगवर्हं क्हा षिविता य विउला य ॥
कत्थं कुलयाइं मणोरमाइं अणत्थ गुविवजुयलाइं ।
अणत्थ छक्कलाइं दुप्परिअलाइं इयराणं ॥

न य सा कोई सुणेइ नो पुणो पुच्छेई नेव य कहेई ।
 विउसाण नवर जोग्गा; इयरजणो तीए किं कुणउ ॥
 तो उच्छेऊणं गाहाओ पालित्तण रइयाओ ।
 देसिपयाई मोत्तुं संखित्तयरी कया एसा ॥
 इयराण हियट्टाए मा होही सव्वहा वि बोच्छेओ ।
 एवं विचित्तऊणं खामेऊणं य तयं सुरिं ॥

(From the manuscript of *Taraṅgalolā*)

10. A reference to *Malayavati* and *Magadhāsena* is thus found in the *cūṛṇi* on *Niśīthasūtra* :

अणेगित्थोहि जा कामकहा । तत्थ लोइचा णरवाहणदत्तकया । लोयुत्तरिया तरंगवती, मग्गसेणादीणि ।

(Quoted from the manuscript.)

11. A reference to this story is found in Siddhasena's commentary on *Tattvārtha* :

विकल्पितेऽपि ह्यर्थे स्मृतिदृष्टा-बन्धुमतीआख्यायिकादौ ।

12. A reference to *Sulocanā* is in the *Kuvalayamālā* itself :

संनिहियजिणवरिंदा धम्मकहाबन्धदिविखयनरिंदा ।

काहिया जेण सुकीहिया सुलोयणा समवसरणं व ।

13. See the *Jaina Sāhitya Saṁsodhaka*—Part I, No. 1,

14. See introduction to *Samarāicca Kahā*, Bibliotheca Indica Series (Calcutta).

15. See Muffi Kalyanavijiyaji's Introduction to *Dharmasaṅgrahaṇi* (Devacanda Lalbhāi Jaina Pustakoddhāra Fund, Surat).

16 निरोद्धुं पार्थते केन समरादित्यजन्मनः ।

प्रसमस्य वशीभूतं समरादित्यजन्मनः ॥

17 वेदे सिरिहरिमिहं सुरिं विउसयणमिग्गपयाव ।

जेण य कहापबंधो समराईच्चो विणिम्मविओ ॥ Peterson's Report, 5, p, 72

18 समस्तफलान्तेतिवृत्तवर्णना समरादित्यवत्सकलकथा ।

19. The *Samarādityacarita* was a work widely read among the monks and heard by the laymen. It was considered a meritorious deed to give in charity a copy of this to the monks. A Sanskrit palm leaf manuscript of Samvat 1299 is found in the Śāntinātha Bhāṅḍāra of Cambay and Dr. Peterson draws attention to it in the 3rd part of his *Report for the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (p. 183). In the colophon, a long panegyric poem in honour of the person who got it written is appended.

20. Vide : *Jaina Sāhitya Saṁsodhaka*, Part I, No. 1, p. 43.

21. At the time of discussion about the copies of the *Kuvalayamālā*, I have already said that only two original copies are available and there are very important variants. An important difference between readings is markedly seen even in the eulogy (*Prasasti*) and therefore it has become imperative for me to mention it here. The palm-leaf manuscript of Jesalmere is styled as "J" and the Poona manuscript as "P".

22. First two verses are not found in "P", where the eulogy (*Prasasti*) begins with the third verse, the first part of which differs from that of the verse in "J". It is as follows :-

'अत्थि पयडा पुरीण' । "P" तोरमाणेण ।

23. In place of this first half, the following verse is found in "P" :

[तस्स] बहुकलाकुसलो सिद्धान्तवियाणओ कहे दक्खो ।
आयरियदेवगुत्तो अज्जवि विज्जरए कित्ती ॥

24. In "J" this latter half is not complete, In "P" it is as follows :-

सिवचन्दगणी अह महयरोत्ति सो एत्थ आगओ देसा ।

25. This first is missing in "P".

26. "P" has got तववीरियलङ्कचरणसंपण्णा.

27. In "P" this whole verse is missing.

28. This first half is as under in "P" :

आगासवप्पनयरे वड्ढेसरो आसि जो ख्मासमणो ।

29. "P" has got अहव्वोवि

30. This first half is as under in "P" —

तस्य य आयरधरो तत्तायरिओत्ति नामसारगुणो ।

31. In "J" this later half as seen in the verse is not complete. In "P" it is complete and runs as follows :

आसि तवतेयनिज्जियपावतमोहो दिणयरव्व ॥

32. The first part of this *gāthā* is missing in "J" and therefore it has been given from "P".

33. "P" has got लगणखंभो व्व निक्कंभो ।

34. "P" has got अवावरो ।

35. It is this very *gāthā* which has helped me materially in fixing the date of Haribhadra. In "P" this *gāthā* has got a different reading and is of an incomplete nature. It is as follows :

सो सिद्धन्तगुरु पमाणनायेण जस्स हरिभहो ।
भ(ब)हुगन्धसत्थवित्थरपयडसत्थत्थो ॥

This *gāthā* is not sufficiently understandable as it is incomplete, looking from the view-point of metrical measurement. After much thought, it occurred to me that the first part of this verse must have connection with Virabhadra referred in the second part of the preceding verse and the remaining three phrases should be taken with reference to Haribhadrasūri. From that I imagined the following version :

सो सिद्धन्त[म्भि] गुरु(रु); पमाणनाएण (अ) जस्स हरिभहो ।
बहुगन्धसत्थवित्थरपयड[समत्सुअ]सक्वत्थो ॥

(See *Jaina Sāhitya Samśodhaka*, Part I No. 1 p p, 52)

Dr. Jacobi has also considered my emendation mentioned above as consistent and he has taken notice to the following effect in the introduction of his *Samarāditya kathā* :—"The passage in which Haribhadra is referred to is corrupt as shown by the metre. In the Ms. of the *Deccan College*, the only that seems to be available, it runs thus :— सो सिद्धन्त० (Just as above). Muniraj Jinavijaya has satisfactorily emended the text and supplied the missing syllables as follows :—सो सिद्धान्त गुरु० (the whole verse as above). The first Pāda is connected with the preceding verse which eulogises

Udyotana's teacher Virabhadra; and the following verse names his father Vateśvara who was a Kṣatriya and became a Kṣamāśramaṇa." I was very glad to see that the *gāthā* as found in the old palm-leaf manuscript of Jesalmere agreed with my imaginary emendation and with meaning deducible from it.

Just now Shri KANTIVIJAYAJI Maharaj has been able to get the photographs of Jesalmere copy. I take this opportunity of thanking him for the generosity which he has shown by providing me, at the earliest opportunity, with its photographed copy from which I have also been able to find out a *gāthā* relating to Jābālipura and Vatsarāja—its King. I will discuss the utility of this *gāthā* at a proper place in another article.

36. "P" has not got this whole *gāthā*.
 37. The following first half is found in "P" in place of this:—

राया [य] खलियाणं वंसे जाओ वडेसरो नाम ।

38. The name of this historically important place is altogether missing in "P".
 39. These four *gāthās* are not to be found in "P".
 40. This is also missing in "P".

*

JAMBU—A HISTORICAL PERSON AND THE STORIES ABOUT HIM WITH THEIR ORIGIN*

A historical tradition of the Jain literature begins from Mahāvira who got Nirvāṇa (emancipation) in 527 B.C. equal to 470 Vikrama Samvat (V.S.) according to almost all the Indian and foreign scholars of Indian history and civilization.¹ After Mahāvira, the name of Indrabhūti comes next. Mahāvira as hinted before, got salvation in the early hours of the 15th of the dark-half of Kārttika and the same day in the evening, his first pupil, Gautama alias Indrabhūti got omniscience. He worked out his final release after twelve years which he spent in preaching the gospel to the people. This incident was immediately followed by another incident of Sudharma's getting omniscience. Sudharma who was another pupil of Mahāvira next in rank to Gautama, spent eight years in preaching and got emancipation finally. Jambu soon succeeded Sudharma, his spiritual master. He gave a major portion of his life, something like forty four years, to spreading Jainism and thus enlightening the people. It is recorded that he got final freedom in 465 B.C. (408 V.S.). This very Jambu is the hero of the Jambucariyam (JC).

According to tradition, this Jambu is the last pontiff to get omniscience. After him no body got it. It is a historic fact that it is only through tradition successively transmitted from one pontiff to another pontiff that we have come to possess the substance of Jainism as preserved and presented in the Jaina Ardhamāgadhī canon. Thus it is obvious that Jambu's position in the Jain hierarchy is foremost and highest. This also makes it clear that sixty four years (12 + 8 + 44 = 64) passed between the two periods of emancipation, that of Vira and that of Jambu.² In this manner, the tradition transmitted by one omniscient to the other continued for sixty four years. After Jambu, his co-pupil, Prabhava, assumed the reins of the establishment for eleven years.

Sudharma, Jambu's teacher, attained salvation eighteen years after Jambu's initiation into the order. Jambu got omniscience just on the day on which Sudharma got emancipation. Thus the pupil's getting the omniscience coincided with the teachers' obtaining the emancipation. Now, Jambu got emancipation eighteen years after Sudharma's. This makes the total of thirtysix. Now if we

* Section no 4 of the Introduction of *Vira's Jambucariyam*, edited by Dr. Vimalaprakash Jain, Bharatiya Jānapiṭh Prakāshan no. 7, 1968, which discusses Jambu as a historical person and which covers pp. 26 ff is the source of the most of material presented here in this article which is a literal translation of the same.

accept, in accordance with both the Śvetāmbara and Digambara traditions, that Jambu got absolution sixtytwo or sixtyfour years after Mahāvira's emancipation, we will also have to accept the fact that Indrabhūti Gautama got final release twentysix or twentyeight years after Mahāvira's but this is entirely against all the acknowledged facts of the history of the Jain church. In the opinions of Yativṛṣabha,³ Virasena,⁴ Neṇicandra,⁵ Guṇabhadra,⁶ and Puṣpadanta,⁷ Indrabhūti Gautama got emancipation twelve years after Mahāvira's, Sudharma twelve years after Gautama's and Jambu forty years after Sudharma's. This is the conclusion arrived at by almost all.

Now according to another view point, Buddha got Nirvāṇa in 544 B.C.⁸ Eight years before this, that is to say in 552 B.C. Ajātaśatru sat on the throne and just about this very time, Śreṇika's death occurred.⁹ It is recorded in all the Jaina literary sources that Śreṇika had put a question regarding Jambu's birth to Lord Mahāvira or Gautama. This leads us to suppose that Jambu's birth must have taken place by about the time of Śreṇika's death, that is to say, by about 552 B.C. Moreover, it is not improbable that Jambu might have lived for ninety years instead of eighty. Other writers of Jambu's life have said that Jambu took initiation at a time when Śreṇika was ruling. Not only that but they have also said that Śreṇika celebrated it with great interest and enthusiasm. In the light of these considerations we will have to accept that Jambu's birth took place in 568 B.C., some sixteen years before Śreṇika's death in 552 B.C. If we accept this we will have also to accept that Jambu lived for 105 years between 463 B.C. and 568 B.C. This will disturb the hitherto accepted theories about the dates of the attainment of omniscience by the three personages – Gautama, Sudharma and Jambu and therefore it is not tenable.

Period of eighteen years of omniscience assigned to Sudharma and Jambu each, according to others, is also not supported by historical evidence. Puṣpadanta's statement that Mahāvira got emancipation on the same night on which Jambu was conceived¹⁰ does not stand to reason. Thus we are left with no choice but to rely on the Paṭṭāvalis of the Śvetāmbaras in relation to Gautama, Sudharma and Jambu. According to these Paṭṭāvalis Indrabhūti-Gautama was born in 607 B. C. He passed fifty years as a householder and thirty as a monk and got emancipation in 515 B.C. having passed twelve years as an omniscient sage after Mahāvira's Nirvāṇa in 527 B. C. Sudharma also was born in 607 B.C. and remained as a householder for 50 years. He observed monkhood for 30 years, remained as the head of the church for 12 years and as an omniscient sage for 8 years thus completing the age of 100 years. Jambu was born in 543 B.C., was initiated into order at the age of 16, got omniscience in 507 and emancipation in 463 B.C., thus living till the age of 80 years. This theory is the only most accepted theory according to the historical evidence hitherto available relating to Jambu's birth, initiation, omniscience and emancipation.

AS-13

Now, we will think about the main sources, the earliest traditions about the stories of Jambu as also about the material concerning the biographical account of Jambu. The principal among the available historical sources is the *Ardhamāgadhī* Jain canon.¹¹ It clearly points to the fact that Jambu of the *Kāśyapa* Gotra, was one of the foremost pupils of *Ārya Sudharma* who belonged to the *Agni Vaiśyāyana* Gotra and who was the fifth of the eleven pontiffs of Lord *Mahāvira*. After taking orders, he requested his teacher, *Sudharma*, to teach him the *Āngas* one by one in due order as the latter had learnt from *Mahāvira*. *Sudharma* not only did this with pleasure but also solved satisfactorily his doubts about the teachings of *Mahāvira* which he could not fully grasp or unerringly interpret.¹² This is how *Jambu* came to possess the scriptural legacy from *Sudharma* and his pupils from him. No more information is available in the canon.

In addition to this, there is another source also namely *Yativṛṣa-bhacārya's*¹³ *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, in which from the Jain point of view, are found the biographical data of sixty three legendary persons such as the 24 *Tīrthaṅkaras*, 12 *Cakravartins*, 9 *Baladevas*, 9 *Vasudevas*, 9 *Prativāsudevas* as also the information in the form of the lists of names of the Jain *Mahāpurāṇas* and biographies which deal with or give merely the names of their parents, families, places of birth, places where they obtained emancipation and of the persons who were in one way or the other connected with these big people mentioned above. We come to know from this work of *Yativṛṣabha* that *Indrabhūti* (*Gautama*) got omniscience on the day on which *Mahāvira* got emancipation and so on so forth till *Jambu* after whom no body got omniscience and that 62 years (12 + 12 + 38) passed between these incidents of the attainment of omniscience and emancipation of the three spiritual leaders, namely, *Mahāvira*, *Sudharma*, and *Jambu*.¹⁴

After *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* next in antiquity and in importance is the work called *Vasudevahiṇḍī* by *Saṅghadāsa*. This contains sufficient material forming canvas on which to paint the life of *Jambu*. All the subsequent writers have designed their works on the model of this. Scholars are of the opinion that the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* is the authentic Jain version of *Guṇādhyā's* famous *Bṛhatkathā* which from linguistic view-point also is in close resemblance with the former.

In the first chapter titled "The Genesis of the Story", *Vasudevahiṇḍī* starts after the benedictory stanza with saying that *Sudharma* acquainted *Jambu* with the story of *Vasudeva* at the time of the descriptions of *Tīrthaṅkaras*, *Cakravartins* and of the *Daśāra* dynasty while teaching him the *Prathamānuyoga*. Thus providing the ground for the narration of the stories of *Jambu* and *Prabhava*, the author of the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, proceeds, before describing the *Vasudevacarita* in this manner :

In the city of *Rājagrha* in the country called *Magadha*, there lived king *Śreṇika* who had a queen named *Chillaṇā*. They had a son whose name was *Kuṇika*. In this very city, there also lived a merchant and his wife named *Rābhadattā* and *Dhāriṇī*. Once this *Dhāriṇī*, having seen five dreams in a half-awakened state,

awoke. These were the dreams : (1) Smokeless fire; (2) Lake of lotuses; (3) Field of rice with trees laden with fruits; (4) Elephant as white as a white cloud, with four tusks; (5) Jujube fruit having pleasant colour, smell and taste. On this very night, the soul of a god named Vidyumālī descending from the heaven was conceived in the womb of Dhārīṇī. Just after completing nine months—the full period of pregnancy—a boy was born to her. As he began to grow, the fragrance of his fame and virtues began to spread far and wide.

Just at this time, Sudharama, in course of his peregrinations, came over this city and encamped in the temple named Guṇaśīla. Along with people of all communities and castes, Jambu also went out to pay respects to Sudharma. Having heard Sudharma's religious sermon delivered to the feeling of detachment and dejection. While returning home having firmly made up his mind to renounce the world and undertake monkhood with explicit consent of the parents, he saw on the way a large crowd of sepoys and soldiers near one of the gates of the city. Thereupon he asked the charioteer to divert the chariot and take him home via another route. On his way home, he was seized with a terrible feeling of death as he thought he would be no more in a moment if even one of the destructive weapons wielded by the soldiers to finish the foes, fell on his head and in that case he would meet his end without the benefit of an ascetic life and therefore he ordered the charioteer to take him back to Sudharma instead of taking him home. Having gone to Sudharma again and having paid him full respect again he implored him to give him the vow of complete celibacy till death which he did. Now as a total celibate he repaired home and requested his parents to give consent to him to renounce the world and become a monk. The parents replied with one voice that people do hear the religious sermon but they do not take to monkhood. Jambu was not impressed by what the parents said. He on the contrary advanced a counter-argument saying that some take time in understanding the import and implications of the scriptural injunctions while the others are quick to imbibe their meaning and significance. In support of his contention Jambu described to the parents the story of those five friends who went to the garden where in a solitary corner the Tirthaṅkara had fixed up his quarter. They, Jambu continued, bowed to the Tirthaṅkara, heard the sermon on the law, exchanged their views, made up their mind to renounce and finally got omniscience and became emancipated. Finishing the story and emphasizing the moral on their minds, Jambu repeated his resolve. Seeing Jambu unmoved they submitted a compromise formula that Jambu should first lead a normal life of a householder, enjoy marital pleasures and then become a monk. Against this proposal of the parents, Jambu narrated the story of a monkey who being fond of amorous pleasures met with a tragic death getting stuck into the bitumen. Seeing Jambu unbudging in the stand he had taken, the parents thought it wise to inform the parents of the eight brides namely Samudraṣṭri, Sindhumati and others with whom Jambu was earlier engaged. The brides through their parents conveyed that Jambu's resolve was their resolve because they have given over their hearts to him. As the marriage

did not now come into conflict with his vow of celibacy, Jambu went in for it. The marriage was celebrated with pomp and grandeur on an auspicious day and at an auspicious moment.

Just at this time, there lived a man named Prabhava who happened to be the son, well-versed in arts and sciences, of a king called Vindhya of Jaipur. Being enraged with his father who gave away the kingdom to his younger brother, Prabhu, he used to pass his life in the foot of the mountain, Vindhya, looting and plundering with the assistance of thieves and robbers. This Prabhava who got the news of Jambu's marriage and the costly dowry, entered the city at night along with five hundred fellow thieves to rob Jambu.

Applying the two magical formulae, Prabhava who, first of all, threw open the locks and send all the inmates into deep sleep began to remove the valuables from the bodies of the inmates. Seeing this, Jambu on whom the power of magical formulae did not work uttered a stern warning not to touch the bodies of the invitees. Hearing these words, the thieves became standstill. Acquainting Jambu about him, Prabhava made an offer to exchange the two magical formulae which he knew for those such as Stambhini and Mochani which Jambu knew. Jambu replied that he had no use for the worldly magical formulae. He knew only that lore which extricated the people from the bondage of the world and added that he would be leaving the world tomorrow morning. Prabhava, who was surprised to hear this, admonished Jambu not to renounce this world at such a young age. But Jambu did not give way to him also giving an illustration of the "Man in the well" to bring home to him the futility of the enjoyment of worldly pleasures. Again, Jambu, on being asked by Prabhava about the reason that goaded him to part company with his kith and kind so immediately and so early, told him that the intensity of immeasurable misery and tormentation which the would-be child experiences in the womb has made him resort to a line of action that eventually puts a stop to taking birth and cited in support of his stand an example popularly known as Lalitāṅgakathā.

In order to enlighten Prabhava on the point of the worthlessness of the world, Jambu narrated to him a number of stories especially the story of Kuberadatta and Kuberadattā proving the futility of worldly relationships, that of Maheshwaradatta emphasizing the inconsistency of the popular custom of giving oblation to the manes, that of a Bania who forfeited everything he had for the sake of a cowrie stressing the untenability of the comparison between worldly happiness and the bliss of emancipation, that of a cowherd boy conveying the lesson of the good use to which money can be put etc. etc. Hearing these stories, Prabhava became converted. In the morning Jambu made an exit for the big goal to which he had set himself. Anādhiya, the ruling diety of Jambudvip celebrated the occasion. Jambu was baptized and Sudharma named Prabhava as his pupil. Jambu's mother and wives joined him in his undertaking. In a very brief time Jambu became Śrutakevali.

After some time Sudharma in course of his peregrinations came to Campā with his retinue of monks and fixed up his headquarters in the temple, Purnabhadra. Kuṇika came to pay his obeissance and there seeing the penance practised by Jambu as also his charitable disposition, munificence and character, he asked for more information about him. Thereupon, Sudharma wished him to listen attentively to a story which was told to his father, Śreṇik, in the past by Mahāvīra and which is now being narrated presently to him by him. With these prefatory remarks, Sudharma described into details the narrative of Prasannacandra to Kuṇika. Mahāvīra on being further requested continued. Śreṇika disclosed that Vidyunmālī who had come to pay regards to him will be born as a human being on this earth and related a story justifying Vidyunmālī's achievement of such an extraordinary brilliance. That story I am repeating to you, oh Kuṇika! which you hear – said Sudharma and he began.

“In this very country, in a village called Sugrāma, there dwelt a chieftain named Āryava who had a wife named Revatī. They had two sons, Bhavadatta and Bhavadeva. The elder, Bhavadatta, accepted monkhood even when he was young. After some time, a community of monks, during their wanderings, came over to the very village. The monk, Bhavadatta, seeking his Guru's permission, came to Bhavadeva with a view to Enlightening him. Bhavadeva was a married man at that time and in accordanc with the family traditions and customs he was, at that time, engaged in decorating Nāgilā, his wife. Learning that his brother had come, he came out leaving Nāgilā half decorated. Bhavadatta, having finished his meal there at his brother's, left the home, giving back the vessel full of ghee to his brother, Bhavadeva. Bhavadeva accompanied Bhavadatta who had come to him to specially enlighten him. After a long time, Bhavadatta went to heaven having embraced death with a calm and cool mind.

Bhavadeva who had become a monk observed celibacy but with the thoughts of his wife. Once when the community of monks came to his own former village, he went in the direction of his house without seeking the Guru's permission and sat to take rest in the temple outside. At that time, his former wife, Nāgilā, emaciated due to observance of vows etc. came to offer worship to gods in the very temple accompanied with one Brāhmin lady. Bhavadeva could not recognize her and he asked her only about his parents and wife to see whom he expressed his desire. Nāgilā at once recognized him and acquainted him about her. She brought him round citing an example of a Brahmin's son who had to take birth as a he-buffalo because of his craving for carnal desires. Just when Nāgilā was enlightening him, a son of the Brahmin woman who had accompanied her came to the mother and asked for a vessel in which he wanted to vomit the rice-pudding which he had eaten because he had got an invitation for dinner from some other place, his desire being to store the vomitted rice-pudding for the next day. It was explained to the boy that it was a bad proposal and he will not be allowed to implement it. Even Bhavadeda joined her in dissuading the boy whereupon Nāgilā retorted that he also

was no better than the boy in expressing a desire to enjoy sexual pleasures with her who has been abandoned once for all. Bhavadeva was thus brought back to monkhood.

Afterwards, Bhavadeva practised hard penance and went to heaven having fasted unto death. Having finished his life as a god, Bhavadatta also, was born as a son, named Sagaradatta, to a sovereign monarch, Vajradanta by his queen, Yaśodharā, in a city called Puṇḍarikinī in the country, named, Puṣkalāvati. Once seeing a massive cloud disappearing in the sky and taking it as a pointer to the transitoriness Sagaradatta left the world and took to monkhood even when he was young. Bhavadeva also was born as a son named Śivakumāra to a king Padmaratha by his queen, Vanamālā in the same country but in a different city called Vitaśokā, having lived the full span of life as a god in the heaven. He was later married with many royal brides and passed his life in pleasures and comforts.

Monk Sagaradatta along with a party of monks came over in course of his rambles once to Vitaśokā. Seeing him, a huge wave of intense love and affection arose in the heart of Śivakumāra. When he asked Sagaradatta the reason of this, he described to him the two previous births in which they both were related to each other as Bhavadatta and Bhavadeva and as gods. This created in him an uncontrollable feeling of disaffection for the world in the heart of Śivakumāra who, as he was not allowed by his parents to accept monkhood, practised austerities subsisting on frugal food for twelve years under the supervision of Dṛḥadharmā, minister's son turned monk and died in a pious frame of mind. As a result of this he was born as a god named Vidyunmālī. After seven days from today, Vidyunmālī's life as a god will come to an end will be born as a son to Rṣabhadatta by his wife Dhāriṇī in Rājagṛha. Hearing this, Anāḍhiya, the ruling god of Jambudvīpa, began to dance. Śreṇika asked the reason of this and revered Mahāvira thus began :

In this very city, there dwelt a merchant's son, named Guptimati who had two sons of the names of Rṣabhadatta and Jinadāsa, the former being virtuous while the latter wicked. This urged Rṣabhadatta to dissociate himself from Jinadāsa. Once Jinadāsa who was playing gambling with the army commander tried some underhand tricks on account of which he was severely punished by him so much so that the news of this event, when Rṣabhadeva got, forced him to run to the succour of Jinadāsa. This obligation on an unworthy person like himself made Jinadāsa fully repentant. A transformation came over him who abandoned everything, undertook fast unto death, and went to heaven having died a religious death. This Anāḍhiya is the soul of that very Jinadāsa—revealed Mahāvira to Śreṇika. Out of extreme joy, he is dancing, added Mahāvira, knowing that the prestige of his family will be heightened by the birth of the last omniscient in the family. Having heard this, Anāḍhiya went back to heaven and so also Vidyunmālī. Afterwards, the four goddess wives put a question to the omniscient sage, Prasannacandra whereupon he prophesied that they will become separated from Vidyunmālī and having been born as the four brides of the merchants, will become united with Vidyunmālī when he

will be born as Jambu and they will be born as gods as a logical outcome of ascetism which they will undertake alongwith Jambu. The four goddess wives then left.

We have another theory also different from that found in Vasudevahiṇḍi which is detailed above. Uttarapurāṇa of Guṇabhadra who flourished in 897 A.D. is its source. The story of Jambu is outlined there in the 76th Parvan beginning from the 1st stanza right upto 213. Its summary is given below :

Once upon a time, Mahāvira came over to Rājagṛha in course of his peregrinations and settled on the mountain, Vipulācala, with a party of his pupils. King Śreṇika as was usual with him went out to pay his regards to Mahāvira and he did the same thing to Gautama also. To the latter, Śreṇika put a question about the reason of the distorted expression that was visible on the face of monk Dharmaruci¹⁵ even though he was absorbed outwardly in the religious meditation and whom he saw as such on the way when he was coming to him. Gautama described to Śreṇika the whole account of Dharmaruci as he knew and commanded him to go back to him and quell the rising tempo of his wicked thoughts. The king did as he was ordered and came back to Gautama. Some moments after, Dharmaruci got omniscience. Indra came down from the heaven to offer worships to Dharmaruci and so did Śreṇika also. Śreṇika again came back to Mahāvira and Gautama and put a question as to who would be the next omniscient sage after Dharmaruci? Just at this very moment, god Vidyumālī along with his four goddess wives came over there, bowed to them and took his seat. Pointing to Vidyumālī, Gautama answered to Śreṇika that he (Vidyumālī) would be the next omniscient being. On the seventh day from today he will end up as a god and will be born in the womb of Jinadāsī, the wife of Āsāddās in this very city but before conceiving him, she will see five dreams in her sleep, namely, the dream of elephant, lake, a field of corn, smokeless fire with flames moving upward and jujube fruits Jambu will be the name given to him who will be lustrous, lucky, proficient and passionless. I for my part will come back again on this very mountain, Vipula, with Sudharma. Kuṇika, the son of Cillaṇā and the king of this city, Rājagṛhī, will come to hear the religious sermon and Jambu having heard lecture on religious instructions will desire to take initiation but will not be able to do so due to the importunity of his dear and near ones. Jambu's marriage with the four brides of Sāgardatta and others will be regularly solemnized. He will stay, thereafter, with his wives in the residential palace but without any sexual desire. In order to know whether Jambu has persuaded himself to love his wives or not, his mother will hide herself in his residential palace. Just at this time, a thief named Vidyutprabha, the son of Vimalamati by Vidyutrāj of Potanpur, who knew many mystical lores such as those of becoming invisible etc. etc. will come to the house of Arhaddāsa to loot. Seeing Jambu's mother keeping awake for so long at night there, the thief having introduced himself will ask her the reason for doing so. Having been impressed by the mother's narration of the whole story, the thief who will be penitent for his nefarious activities and appreciative of Jambu's marvellous character will undertake to visit the bed chamber of Jambu with

a view to bringing him round to accept worldly life. In order to carry out his mission he will come to the bed chamber and see Jambu unaffected by passion or any such worldly desire and surrounded by his newly married wives. The thief will try to stress on his mind that if he did not make up his mind for the enjoyment of worldly pleasures and banked upon heavenly ones, he will meet with the same fate as that camel which died after having eaten sweet grass. In order to silence him Jambu told a counter-story of a bania afflicted with a burning fever. Finally, by the sound arguments of Jambu, the thief will lose the battle and become converted to Jambu's point of view. So also will the wives and mother of Jambu. Knowing Jambu's fully developed detachment, his relatives, king Kuṇika with his army and god Aṇadhiya - all - will come to celebrate Jambu's initiation ceremony. Then, seated in a divine vehicle, Jambu will come over to me on this very mountain while Vidyutprabha and his 500 fellow thieves will go to Sudharma. After passing a period of 12 years of omniscience, I shall achieve emancipation and Sudharma will get omniscience. After twelve years Sudharma will get emancipation and Jambu, omniscience. For 40 years Jambu will move about preaching and enlightening. Hearing this narration which is in a way an eulogy of his own family, god Aṇadhiya got up and began to dance. On being requested by Śreṇika, Gautam briefly outlined the previous births of Aṇadhiya. Arhaddāsa's brother, Jinadāsa, ruined himself due to addictions but as he repented afterwards he got godhood.

Having heard these things, Śreṇika expressed his desire to hear something about the previous lives of the god, Vidyunmālī and they were told.

Now, the whole narrative told before, births of Śivakumāra, Sāgardatta, Bhavadatta, Bhavadeva-and that concerning the four goddesses who would become the four wives of Jambu in the birth to come follows closely the account found in the Vasudevahiṇḍī, the only difference being one of the proper nouns e.g. the village Vṛddha, the village chieftain Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the wife Nāgaśrī. The additional character of the nun to enlighten Bhavadeva is also there.

Besides the Vasudevahiṇḍī and Uttarapurāṇa, the story which is found in the ninth chapter of Haribhadra's Samarāiccakahā resembles in structure the story dealing with the last birth of Jambu. It is as follows :

Prince Samarāditya, according to the Samarāiccakahā, was brilliant, learned, brave, and courageous. But he developed aversion to the pleasures of the world from his very infancy due to the effect of the Karmas done in the previous births. As the parents insisted, he had to go in for marriage with two very beautiful brides. But instead of falling into the trap of their amorous gestures and all that, the prince started talking with the two female friends of the brides at whom he did not even care so much as to look. On the contrary, the prince who thought of putting the two brides on the right track, told them the story the motif of which was illicit love that was formed between Rati and Śubhaṅkarakumāra just analogous to that which the queen Vibhramā had for Lalitaṅga in the Jambusāmicariu.

Being influenced by the story told by Śubhaṅkara, the two wives retraced from the pleasures of the sex and senses, while Śubhaṅkara earned superhuman knowledge even remaining in the home because of intensely auspicious meditation. Thus prince Samarāicca, who showed to the parents the right course to be adopted by them through the description of such and the other stories, ultimately took initiation into the Jain order. The gods celebrated the occasion. In a brief period after this, Samarāicca, through hard austerities and penance, secured omniscience and finally emancipation also. This story and Jambu's story are obviously identical.

In the Dharmopadeśamālāvivarāṇa written by Jayasīṃha,¹⁶ the stories of Nūpurapaṇḍita, Madhubindu-kūpa-narakathā and of Dhansārthavāha are found in their entirety. Probably, these very stories of the Dharmopadeśamālāvivarāṇa have formed the basis of the stories found in Guṇapāla's Jambucariyam (JC).¹⁷ The story of Jambu is very briefly referred to in this work.¹⁸

So far as Jambu's story is concerned, Guṇapāla's Jambucariyam comes next after the three works discussed before, namely, the Vasudevahiṇḍi, Uttarapurāṇa, and Dharmopadeśamālāvivarāṇa. This Jambucariyam of Guṇapāla is an excellent work abounding in literary flavour, written in prose and verse, just like a necklace of pearls studded in between with gems of great value. Though the date of its composition is not finally settled, its editor veteran scholar Muni Jinavijayaji has put it somewhere in the 11th century or even before it of the Vikrama era. Paṇḍita Nemicandraji has tried to assign the 9th century V.S. to it, two centuries earlier than Jinavijayaji's suggested date.¹⁹ A comparative study of both Jambucariyam and Jambusāmicariu of Vira will help us to settle with greater certainty the problem of the date of Guṇapāla's Jambucariyam. We will be very near due truth if we say that Jambucariyam must have been composed a little earlier than Jambusāmicariu, that is to say, in 1096 (V.S.). Being drawn towards it due to its unquestioned prestige and popularity at that time, Vira must have studied it seriously in all its aspects and from all points of view and perhaps seeing Jambucariyam written in a difficult language in a prosaic style abounding in religious sermons and moral exhortations at every stage and on any opportunity and breeding boredom due to a staggering number of symbolic parables and illustrative examples to bring home a minor point, Vira would have thought of trying his hand at writing a unique work, having Jambu's story as its subject in the people's language such as the Apabhraṃṣa in a simple unsophisticated style making it as enchanting and attractive as possible.

When we study Jambucariyam keeping in view Vasudevahiṇḍi and Uttarapurāṇa, from the view-point of its presentation of the main story and the conception of various sub-stories we find that it has an original, excellent, and extra-ordinary theme to offer. In the first two Uddeśyas we come across in it a fourfold division of the stories such as Dharmakathā, Arthakathā, Kāmakathā and Saṅkīrṇakathā just as we find in the Samarāiccakathā. The author, Guṇapāla, then proceeds with the narration of

the main story but not before mentioning that it is the Dharmakathā and that only which brings good to the man and therefore he also has set before him the goal of writing a work based on it. The work proper then starts.

In the island called Jambudvīpa and there in the city named Rājagṛha, there rules king Śreṇika who had a queen named Cillaṅgā. Once on the mountain, Vipulācala, revered Lord Mahāvīra came with the assemblage of his pupils. King Śreṇika, hearing it, started with his retinue to pay his regards to Mahāvīra. On the way, he saw mook Prasannacandra in meditation but his facial expression betrayed the struggle of thoughts which was going on in his mind with intensity. Reaching his destination, Śreṇika out of sheer curiosity put a question to Mahāvīra about what he had seen regarding monk, Prasannacandra. Mahāvīra told the whole account. Just at this time, Prasannacandra got omniscience to celebrate which the gods descended from the heaven. To the question "who would be next and the last omniscient sage after Prasannacandra?" put by Śreṇika to Mahāvīra, the latter replied that Vidyunmāli who has come to pay respects to Prasannacandra with his four goddess wives will be the next and the last omniscient sage after Prasannacandra. The revered Mahāvīra narrated the story of Vidyunmāli beginning from his first birth when he was asked questions about that as also about the lustrousness of Vidyunmāli. In the village, Sugrāma, two brothers having the names of Bhavadatta and Bhavadeva lived. Doing inspired by the contact and religious sermon of a monk named Susthita, Bhavadatta became detached and took to renunciation. After sometime, the monk, Bhavadatta, once came back to his own village in the company of his brother-monks, and came to his old home with a view to inspiring his brother to take a monkhood. He drew Bhavadeva to the party of the monks by a trick when he was actually taking circumbulations round the fire during the marriage ceremony. He could not resist Bhavadatta and anyhow became a monk ruminating over the past enjoyments. After Bhavadatta's demise, Bhavadeva monk threw off monkhood and returned in the direction of his home. On his way, outside his home-town, in the temple of Jina, he met Nāgīlā who enlightened him through the two parables in the first of which she said how a person who was a victim of sensual pleasures was born as a he-buffalo and in the second she said how a Brahmin's boy who wanted to eat back the vomitted food was prevented from doing so. The Bhavadeva, having practised hard penance, was born as a god in the heaven. Bhavadatta having finished his life as a god becomes Sāgaradatta and Bhavadeva is born in the form of prince Śivakumāra. By the sight of a contact with Sāgaradatta, Śivakumāra had recollections of his previous birth and became dejected. Not being able to disobey his parents, he remained as a householder practising hard austerities (Romantic relationship between Śivakumāra and Kanakavati is, indeed, entertaining and interesting). Monk Sāgaradatta in course of time secured salvation and Śivakumāra became Vidyunmāli with four very loving goddess wives. This Vidyunmāli, after seven days, will be conceived in the womb of Dhāriṇī, the wife of Rṣabhaddatta and will be born in course of time as a son who will be with the passage of time very popular and famous. At the age of bare sixteen he will be

baptised into the order and will eventually be the last omniscient. These four goddesses will be his wives and in addition he will marry other four wives also. A brief narrative of Anadhya was also told in this context.

Jambu was born in normal course. Sudharma's sermons engendered in him feelings of aversion towards the world. Parents dissuaded him from undertaking asceticism but he was unshakeable. Then a compromise was arrived at in the form that Jambu should at least marry the brides with whom he was engaged before detachment so that they can feast their eyes on their married son at least temporarily. Jambu accepted. On the very first day of his marriage, when he was sitting unperturbed and with his vow of celibacy unbroken in the company of his eight married wives, the notorious thief, Prabhava, with 500 accomplices, came over there to loot and plunder ascertaining that all were fast asleep. But finding Jambu fully awake, he entered into conversation with Jambu. In order to stress the dangerous nature of the sensuous pleasures of the world on the mind of Prabhava, Jambu cited parables such as that of Madhubindu and of Maheśvaradattā. The sound of the talk which took place between Jambu and Prabhava awakened the newly married eight wives. Now follows a very interesting and edifying interlude. As many as eighteen parables and counterparables were advanced for calm and impartial consideration by both the parties, Jambu on one side and all the eight wives on the other side, the first pointing to the insignificance of the mundane life of pleasures and enjoyments and the other proving that a bird in hand is worth two in the bush, that is to say, the worldly pleasures must be enjoyed to the full. The parables and the counter-parables are as follows :

(1) Foolish Farmer; (2) Crow; (3) A couple of Monkeys; (4) Fuel-carrier; (5) Nūrapaṇḍitā; (6) Megharatha-Vidyumālī; (7) Conch-blower; (8) The Leader of the Monkeys (9) Buddhi-Siddhi; (10) Noble Steed; (11) Village Chieftain's son; (12) Mare-Master; (13) Mā-Śāhasa Bird; (14) Three Friends; (15) Clever Brahmin Girl; (16) Queen Lalitā; (17) Bania and Diggers; (18) Dravyatva-Bhāvatva. The last three parables are from the mouth of Jambu.

Jambu scored his point. All got light removing darkness of ignorance. Kuṇika celebrated with pomp and grandour the initiation ceremony of Jambu. Jambu's parents, eight wives, their parents, Prabhava the Thief and his five hundred co-thieves—all joined Jambu in undertaking initiation.

Sudharma got omniscience and emancipation. Jambu became the chief pontiff and in course of time he also earned emancipation. All the other co-religionists practised hard penance and went to heaven after death. Thus ends Guṇapāla's Jambucariyam (JC).

A close look over the design of the original story of Jambu and the employment of the intervening parables occurring in Guṇapāla's Jambucariyam (JC) will make it immediately clear that Vira, the author of Jambusāmicariu has largely kept Jambucariyam as his model in many respects while giving to his Jambusāmicariu a shape and colour justifying it as a Mahākāvya and including in it additional features characterizing it as such. Of course, it must be straightway admitted that Vira has drawn

on Guṇabhadra's Uttarapurāṇa material as much as it was necessary. Moreover, five of the intervening parables which are there in Vira's Jambusāmicariu are nowhere to be found except in Guṇapāla's Jambucariyaṁ. This leads us to the only probable conclusion that Guṇapāla seems to have come into possession of these five parables from the commentarial literature on the Ardhamāgadhī canon or perhaps from oral transmission of the literary traditions. Be that as it may, we do not know about any other previous source from which they would have come down to Guṇapāla. This is all the more supported by the perusal of all the parables found in all the works of Jambu in all the languages. It is a unique phenomenon confined to Guṇapāla's Jambucariyaṁ only. In conclusion, we are in a position to state from the previous discussion that the upper limit of the date of composition of Guṇapāla's Jambucariyaṁ should be 1076 of the Vikram Samvat which is the date of composition of Vira's Jambusāmicariu.

Let me also note that the biographical notices of Jambu are also found in the 100th Sandhi of the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Mahāpurāṇa of Mahākavi Puṣpadanta titled Jambusāmidikkhavaṇṇana, besides the works of the earlier writers mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, though Puṣpandanta, it is clear, had for his model, the 76th Parva of Guṇabhadra's Uttarapurāṇa.

In point of time, Vira's Jambusāmicariu so far as the story of Jambu is concerned, comes after Vasudavahinī, Uttarapurāṇa and Jambucariyaṁ. In Digāmbara literature there are two more works of the two authors, Jinadāsa and Rājamalla who have written Jambusvāmicaritra in Sanskrit verse based on Vira's Jambusāmicariu. They are, no doubt, excellent treatises standing on their own merits but more or less they are Sanskrit renderings of Vira's said work. There are many more in vernacular languages also.

In the literature of the Śvetāmbara Jains, the traditional transmission of the story of Jambu has continued non-stop. It has found concrete form in four principal works, namely, Bhadrēśvara's Prakṛit Kathāvalī (the 1st half of the 12th century V.S.), Nemicandrasūri's Prakṛit Ākhyānakamaṇikoṣa (1229 V.S. only two intervening stories, that of Prasannacandra and of Nūpurapaṇḍitā is found); Hemceandra's Sanskrit Pariśiṣṭaparvan (1229 V.S.) and Udayaprabha's Dharmābhyudaya Mahā-Kāvya in Sanskrit (1279-1290 V.S.) etc.

Notes

- 1 Doctor Hirajal Jain : Bhāratīya Saṁskṛitimen Jaina-Dharmkā Yogadāna, pp. 25-56; Pandit Kailasachandraji : Jaina Sāhitaya Aur Itihāsa Pūrva-piṭhikā, pp. 287-330.
- 2 According to Digāmbara tradition 62, years (12+12+38).
- 3 See his 'Tiloyapannatti' (Jivarāj Jain Granthmālā Sholapur, nos. 1 and 2. [V.S. 2000, 2007].
- 4 See his "Dhavalā" commentary.

- 5 See his “*Gommatasāra*”.
- 6 See his “*Uttarapurāna*” (of Guṇabhadra, trans. Pannālāl Sāhityācārya, Bhāratīya Jānanapīṭh, Banaras, 1954.
- 7 See his “*Mahāpurāṇa*”.
- 8 See “*Buddhadharmake 2500 years*”.
- 9 Pandit K. C. Shastri; Jain Sāhityakā Itihāsā, Preface : pp. 303–312., Digambar Jain Granthmālā, Vārānasi.
- 10 *Mahāpurāna* : pp. 300–302.
- 11 *Āya* : 1, 1, 1 : *Sāya*, (Jaina Sāhitya Samiti, Ujjain; *Sāya*, by Puppha Bhikkhu.)
- 12 *Sāya*. 5, 1, 1–2 (op. cit.).
- 13 2nd–3rd Century A. D.
- 14 There is one curious statement in *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* that of all the omniscient sages, Śrīdhara was the last. 4. 1479.
- 15 In *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, the name is Prasannacandra. Jaina Atmānanda Sabhā, Phavnagar.
- 16 V. S. 915.
- 17 Before at least the 11th century of the Vikrama era.
- 18 सुपुरिसचेद्दु ददुद्धं बुज्जंते न्ण कूरकम्मा, मुण्णिज्जुदंसणाओ चिंलाय-प्रमवा जहा बुद्धा ॥
(Dharmopadesamālāvivarāṇa, Singhi Jaina Granthamālā).
19. Prakrit bhāṣā aur Sāhityakā Ālocanātmaka Itihāsa (Tara Prakāshan. Benares).

*

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE TRADITIONS RELATING TO JĀMBU AND THE STORIES ABOUT HIM *

It is now clear that according to the Vasudevahiṇḍī the story of Jambu starts right from his conception, birth, youth, Guru's exhortation, detachment, marriage with eight brides because of parents' insistence, Prabhava's arrival for looting, intervening sub-stories told by Jambu and the wives to the enlightenment of all ending in initiation. Till now the story has proceeded further but now it takes a backward turn as Kuṇika expressed his desire to know something about the previous birth of Jambu. Thus we come across the story of Vidyunmālī and going still downward the stories of Bhavadatta-Bhavadeva, and Sāgardatta-Śivakumāra are told. The account of Jambu in Vasudevahiṇḍī ends here.

In Guṇabhādra's Uttarapurāṇa also, the story of Jambu, as above in Vasudevahiṇḍī, starts with Jambu himself and then to provide a logical metaphysical ground for his life as such the stories of his earlier births are recounted in the order of Vidyunmālī, Sāgardatta-Śivakumāra, Bhavadatta-Bhavadeva. The story comes to a stop when Bhavadeva, returns home and undertakes hard purificatory penance seeing the wretched condition due to poverty, his wife, Nagaśrī was reduced to.

The difference between the two versions as found above in the two works, namely, Vasudevahiṇḍī and Uttarapurāṇa, is almost negligible except in the constitution of the two works as well as the employment of the intervening stories and their size which varies without any specific reason.

The earliest traces of the story of Jambu are no doubt there in the canon. It then went on being transmitted according to the common phenomenon applying to all literatures. Thus in course of time it become crystalised in semi-legendary, semi-mythological literature and this particular form was taken as basic by Vasudevahiṇḍī and Uttarapurāṇa, though the form was too crude to be woven into a well-knit fabric. Even casually looking at both these works, it becomes immediately clear that there is no real connection between the story of the last birth and those of the previous births where and in the shape they are referred to in the works. Merely, the relevance of the story of Vidyunmālī is somewhat, not much, visible. The readers' curiosity to know more about Jambu's previous births diminishes after having

* The contents of this article have been collected from the Introduction, besides other sources, of Vīra's Jāmbusāmicariu (edited by Dr. Vimalaprakash Jain, Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭh Prakāśan, No. 7, 1968) the relevant portion of which, as on pages 37 to 39 is reproduced here in English.

heard the story of Jambu proper. The curiosity is kept alive through the story of Vidyunmālī and thus, through it, about other birth also to a very little extent.

The narrative relating to Prasannacandra and Dharmaruci which is found in these works, has no bearing on the central theme—the story of Jambu.

It is clearly obvious that the stories of Śivakumāra-Sāgardatta, Bhavadeva-Bhavaddatta, look like super-imposed because the desire of knowing more about Jambu's previous lives takes leave after having known about his present life. In other words it appears that there is no appreciable connection between the stories of the five births and that, on the contrary, they have been taken from different sources and and have been somehow or other fitted in with the brief and main story of Jambu.

In both the works, the order also is not uniform. In Vasudevahiṇḍī, first comes Jambu, then Vidyunmālī, then Bhavadatta-Bhavadeva, and ultimately having said the stories of Sāgardatta-Śivakumāra, the connection between Jambu and Vidyunmālī is shown. In Uttarapurāṇa, the order is even more strange. First comes god Vidyunmālī, then follows the account of Jambu's life after this the account of Śivakumāra-Sāgardatta's life as a previous birth of Vidyunmālī and in this very birth the narrative of the previous life of Bhavadatta-Bhavadeva is told through the mouth of Sāgardatta. Thus some looseness in the story is evident and on account of this the reader's interest suffers.

In Uttarapurāṇa, Bhavadeva is enlightened, not by deserted wife but by the nun. This is a flaw.

No account of the previous lives of eight or four brides of Jambu is given.

No relationship between Sudharama and Jambu pertaining to their previous lives is shown. Nothing more is found besides the relationship existing between an elder and a younger brother in the birth of Bhavadatta-Bhavadeva as besides the accidental love due to association in the previous birth and the resulting recollection of previous lives.

The authors of the above mentioned two works, Vasudevahiṇḍī and Uttarapurāṇa, have not seen to it that the nature of Jambu as a hero must be clearly brought out. They have seized no opportunity to do this.

Thinking over all these above points it becomes very clear that there is no inseparable link between the main story and the intervening stories in the other. Therefore, all these—the main story and the sub-stories taken together do not deserve to be called a coherent, well-designed and well-executed, biography of Jambu but they have been utilized with the only purpose of telling some story. At best, they are like short tales found together in a book.

One very important historical fact is available in these works, namely the absence of any sign pointing to the schism between the two sects, Śvetāmbara and Digāmbara, so far as pure literature, not the canonical, is concerned. This has additional proof also in Vimalsūri's Paumacariyam and Jinasena's Padmapurāṇa representing Śvetāmbara line of thought and Digāmbara respectively.

Now let us see what Guṇapāla's Jambucariyam has to say on these points.

Guṇapāla has reversed the order entirely. He has begun with Vidyumālī and goes describing the previous births of Bhavadatta-Bhavadeva, Devagati and Sāgaradatta-Śivakumāra. He has related Sāgaradatta as getting emancipation and Śivakumāra as being born as god, Vidyumālī. From these onwards, the narrative proper dealing with Jambu takes its start and it strikes a superior note as it is couched in interesting and erudite language and told in a style which is coherent and well-constituted. This puts it on a par with any highly rated Mahākāvya.

Guṇapāla's also has not been able to extricate himself from the compulsions of tradition as he also has referred in detail to the story of Prasannacandra Rājarsi in his Jambucariyam.

He has so incorporated the stories of Śivakumāra-Sāgaradatta and Bhavadeva-Bhavadatta that they easily become the integral part of the work and enhance as well as elucidate the motif. The romantic of dialogue between Śivakumāra and Kanakāvati is sufficiently stimulating and is a special feature of Guṇapāla's Jambucariyam only. The basis and model of this episode seems to be the love story of Simhaku-māra and Kanakāvati occurring in the second Bhava of Haribhadra's Samarajcakahā.

The whole story in Guṇapāla's Jambucariyam is well presented that the sequence does not seem to be, even for a moment, illogical and out of place. This makes the reading pleasant and understanding easy.

Bhavadeva is brought back to the right path by his abandoned wife, Nāgilā, as in Vasudevahiṇḍi.

The narration of the previous births of all the eight wives of Jambu is not thought proper to be treated in this work also.

No relationship between Sudharma and Jambu during their previous births is established in this work by Guṇapāla also.

No episodes, proving the heroic mettle and merits of the main character Jambu, have been introduced or invented in this work.

From all the above observations, a legitimate conclusion can easily be drawn that Vīra's Jambusāmicariu was designed after the pattern of Guṇapāla's Jambucariyam which in its turn took the form and colour from the two previous works, namely, Vasudevahiṇḍi and Uttarapurāṇa. Some alterations and innovations have no doubt been made by every one of the three authors in order to make a display, good or bad, of their power of imagination and depiction. The striking ability of both, Guṇapāla and Vīra, becomes manifest when they make every conscious effort to prevent the reader's interest from flagging. It has also been secured through co-ordinated presentation in both, Guṇapāla's Jambucariyam no doubt suffers from an indiscriminate use of religious sermonising as also from his visible effort to attach a symbolic significance to every intervening story which generally becomes boring and thus defeats its own purpose. Guṇapāla's mistake has become a lesson for Vīra who has weeded out these unproductive elements from his work.

In accordance with the past tradition, Guṇapāla has not gone beyond the third birth of Bhavadatta-Bhavadeva in which he, born as Sāgaradatta, has been described as acquiring emancipation. But Vīra stretched the fabric upto the fifth birth in which he made Sudharma related in brief all the four earlier births, thus maintaining connection without a break that had started from the first birth. Similarly, Vīra has, in pursuance of artistic standards, tried to show that the four goddess wives of Vidyunmālī were born as the four brides given in marriage to Jāmbu, justifying the rebirths on the ground of meritorious lives they all four lived when they were goddesses. Just as other previous writers, Vīra has not painted, his hero, Jāmbu, as given over to dejection and detachment but he has invested him with all the qualities and characteristics which a hero normally possesses or should possess in order to be true to his being a hero. In Vīra's Jāmbusāmicariu, we see Jāmbu moving about freely and enjoying pleasures in the company of his friends with ladies in the swimming pool, though of course without any tinge of passion or amorousness. Jāmbu is also presented here in Jāmbusāmicariu as having patience, strength, courage, boldness and all such strong points as a hero should have. In order to illustrate the presence of this potentiality in Jāmbu, the author, Vīra, has invented episodes and events in which an infuriated elephant is brought to book by Jāmbu without much or special efforts as also the war in Keral. These are author's own innovations but they have been so nicely mixed up with the central theme that they do not appear as isolated. On the contrary, they have become part and parcel of the main subject. Short narratives such as those of Prasannacandra (or Dharmaruci) have been dropped by Vīra and their place is given to other fresh and fitting talks. The long stories of a treacherous queen and the daughter-in-law of Bania which, consisting of two stories but presented as one, has been curtailed and cut so as to appear as believable and untiresome.

In sum, Saṅghadāsa, Guṇabhadra and Guṇapāla appear at best as preachers who have to say something religious to the people and while doing so they have sacrificed pure art to compelling exigency but Vīra has followed strictly the principal of Art for the sake of Art only and not for any purpose. The first three are preachers pure and simple while Vīra is a poet of outstanding ability and a genius.

GUNAPĀLA AND HIS JAMBUCARIYAM (JC) *

The edition of Jambucariyam which I have used for this article is based on the only palm-leaf Manuscript which its learned editor Ācārya Jinavijayji Muni came across in the Bhāṇḍāra at Jesalmere during his stay there from December 1942 to April 1943 occasioned by a zeal for search of Manuscripts.

The life of Jambu which is the central theme of the *Jambucariyam* has always been a source of perennial inspiration in Jaina literature. There is a great number of Manuscripts available in the Bhāṇḍāras narrating Jambu's life. Not only is there a vast number of published works, big and small, written in ancient and modern languages of the Indo-Aryan family such as Prākṛit, Sanskrit, Apabhraṃṣa, Old Hindi, Gujarātī, Rājasthānī, etc. but also is there a good number of them available in the Drāvidian languages such as Kannaḍ and Tāmil.

According to the history of Jainism, Jambu who was a chief pupil of Ārya Sudharma, himself a distinguished dignitary and a religious heir of Mahāvira, was a historical personage. He occupies a front rank position in the Jaina hierarchy, being a leader of the Order of Monks after Mahāvira, the last Tirthaṅkara of the Jainas. Of the thousands of Mahāvira's monks, Jambu is the last patriarch to obtain omniscience and salvation. It is traditionally accepted that none got them after him. Jambu got salvation sixtyfour years after Mahāvira's and thus he is considered the acknowledged and authoritative recipient and interpreter of Mahāvira's teachings constituting the present Jaina canon which has come down to us through an unbroken succession of his pupils.

Soon after Mahāvira's salvation, Jainism got divided into two sects one of which came to be known as Śvetāmbara and the other as Digāmbara. In both these, Jambu is equally accepted and respected. Writers belonging to both these sects have fully utilized the theme of Jambu for a variety of their literary writings. In the canon of the Śvetāmbara Jains, Jambu is constantly mentioned. Jambu had no accepted initiation into the monk's order during Mahāvira's life time but he did so at the hands of Sudharma after Mahāvira's Nivāṇa (Salvation). Mahāvira's teachings and the substance of what he said, meant and practised was conveyed verbatim to Jambu by Sudharma and this is why we come across very often the names of these two as the hearer and the speaker respectively.

* This article contains, in addition to other things, the verbatim translation of the entire preface written by Ācārya Jinavijayji and attached to his edition of the Jambucariyam, No. 44 of the Singhi Jaina Series.

Mahāvira had eleven Pontiffs, technically called Gaṇadhara. Of these eleven, nine had passed away during his lifetime leaving only two, the first and the fifth, Indra-būti and Sudharma respectively, who were living when the Prophet breathed his last. Indrabhāti, more commonly known as Gautama, got emancipation soon after the Master's final exit from the stage of the world. Thus the reins of managing, administering, supervising and guiding the Monk's Order fell into the hands of Sudharma, the only surviving pupil. Jāmbu, a princely son of very wealthy merchant named Rābhadatta, an inhabitant of the historic, celebrated city of Rājagrhi became the pupil of this Sudharma when he had only entered the prime of his life. The entire story of Jāmbu's initiation is throbbing with thrill and is so much inspiring and enlightening and the lesson of his amazing asceticism and sublime self-control, especially when his youth was in full bloom, was so telling that he soon became the apple of people's eyes. It was but meet that such an illustrious dignitary should be put in the charge of the whole Order and he was put, indeed.

Sudharma carried the burden of leadership for full twelve years after the Master's final exists from the scene due to death. During this period, Jāmbu became the pupil of Sudharma. By sheer dint of character, strict observance of rules and regulations and penetrating, through knowledge, he slowly but firmly established himself in the minds and hearts of the people. He was proving worthy of the leadership that was about to come to him. Sudharma became the pupil of Mahāvira at the age of fifty. He served him in this state for thirty years. Twelve years after the Lord's passing away, he got omniscience in which condition he lived for eight years, thus dying at the ripe old age of full one hundred years.

Sudharma died twenty years after Mahāvira's death and Jāmbu's death followed fortyfour years after Sudharma's. According to this calculation, Jāmbu occupied the the Pontifical chair for fiftytwo years. There is no evidence available pointing to the total duration of Jāmbu's life. But it can be inferred that he must have lived for about eightytwo to eightyfour years. Jāmbu was placed in charge of the Monk's Order when Sudharma got omniscience just twelve years after Mahāvira's death. Supposedly it can be the tenth year of his initiation and he should be at least twenty years old when he took initiation leading to renunciation are not possible in an age younger than this. This brings us to the conclusion that he must have lived for about eightytwo to eightyfour years as stated above just now.

Earliest references to the narrative account of Jāmbu's life are available in a voluminous Prakrit work named *Vasudevahindī* by a Jaina writer of the Śvetāmbara sect. Some independent works in Prākrit bearing the titled of *Jāmbujjhayana*, *Jāmbupainnaya* etc. etc. are also there but nothing can be decisively stated about the probable dates of their composition. Guṇapāla's *Jāmbucariyam* is a big Prākrit work dealing with the account of Jāmbu's life and possessing distinct features of its own. Guṇapāla, a Jaina Monk, was the pupil or the grand-pupil of one Virabhadra belonging to the Nāilagaccha of the Śvetāmbara sect. Though there is no significant

mention of the exact date of its composition in the entire work, it can be surmised from its style etc. that he must have been composed at least in the eleventh century of the Vikram era or even before that. A look at the palm-leaf Manuscript of the *Jambucariyam* which is there in the Bhāṇḍāra at Jesalmere makes it clear that the Manuscript belongs to a period not later than the fourteenth century of the Vikram era at most.

The form and style of the *Jambucariyam* are very similar to those of the famous *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotana. Description also has close resemblance. It is just possible that Guṇapāla must have been well aware of the wide popularity of the *Kuvalayamālā* when he was attempting the composition of the *Jambucariyam*. Udyotana learnt the canon from a certain Ācārya named Vīrabhadra whom he has described as another wish-yielding tree (one is in the heaven) that gives fruits as desired according to this line दिन्नत्रहिच्छिद्यफलो अथावरो कव्वरुखो व्व । which is found in the *Kuvalayamālā*. Guṇapāla describes Pradyumnasūri, his guru, as the pupil of Vīrabhadra, in his *Jambucariyam*. Now the line परिव्रितियदिन्नफलो आसी सो कव्वरुखो ति । which is found in it used with reference to him agrees almost fully in letter and spirit with the line in the *Kuvalayamālā* cited above. It is to be considered and tested with fresh evidence whether we are correct in framing a hypothesis that Vīrabhadra Ācārya of the *Kuvalayamālā* and Vīrabhadrasūri of the *Jambucariyam* were one and the same person. If this comes out to be true, Guṇapāla, the author of *Jambucariyam* should have flourished at the end of the ninth century of the Vikrama era. This accounts to a certain extent for the striking likeness between the *Kuvalayamālā* and the *Jambucariyam* so far as form, style, and narration are concerned. This tentative conclusion has got to be substantiated with a further corroborative proof which has not been so far available.

As stated above, Guṇapāla belonged to Nāilagaccha which is one of the old names as referred to in the ancient Sthavīrā alis. Though Guṇapāla is silent in the *Jambucariyam* regarding this Gaccha to which he belonged, it is clear from another excellent work written by him in Prakrit in addition to present work.

There is a well-preserved palm-leaf Manuscript of the *Risidastā-cariyam* by Guṇapāla in the Government collection housed in the Bhāṇḍārkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona. This seems to have been obtained from one of the Bhāṇḍārs either at Pāṭaṇ or Jesalmere and housed here. During his stay at Jesalmere, Ācārya Jinavijayaji Muni came across a mutilated copy of this. Some of the opening and concluding portion of this *Risidastā-cariyam* which was copied by him from the said palm-leaf Manuscript at Poona is given below. There are about one hundred fifty-seven palm leaves of this Manuscript at Poona the last three of which are in a part destroyed condition responsible for the breaks, gaps and lacunae here and there in the concluding portion.

Beginning

नमिळण चलणजुयलं पढमजिणिंदस्य भुवननाहसस ।
 अवसरिपणीए धम्मो पयासिओ जेण इह पढमं ॥
 बालत्तणमि जेणं सुमेहसिहरेऽभिसेयकालंमि ।
 वामचलणंशुलीए लीलाए डोलिया पुहवी ॥
 तं वरकमलदलच्छं जिणचंदं मत्तपीलुगइगमणं ।
 नमिळण महावीरं सुरगणसयसंथुयं वीरं ॥
 सेसे वि य बावीसे नमिळणं नट्टरागमयमोहे ।
 सुरमणुयासुरमहिए जीवाइपयत्थओब्भासे ॥
 नमिळं अणाइनिहणे सिद्धिगए अट्टकम्ममलमुक्के ।
 सिद्धे सासयनाणे अक्वावाहं सुहं [पत्र-२, B] पत्ते ॥
 वरकमलसरिसवयणा कमलदलच्छी य चासकमलकरा ।
 वियसियकमलनिसण्णा सुयमयदेवी नमिळणं ॥
 आयरिएउवज्झाए साहुजणं गुरुजणं च नमिळणं ।
 ।
 जइ वि हु एयं बहुसो अणेषसाहुहिं आगमे भणियं ।
 तह वि य फुडवियइत्थं संखेवेणं अहं भणिमो ॥
 सुयणो सोऊण इमं गुणगहूणं कुणइ जइ वि ते नत्तिण ।
 गुणभूसिए वि कव्वे दोसे गिण्हइ खलो चेव ॥
 सुयणाण किं न नमिहह जे वि य दोसे वि[पत्र २, A]
 पेच्छहिं गुणोहे ।
 पिथज्जणविरहे जह कोइ पिअयणं पेच्छइ वणं पि ॥
 न हु निम्मला वि किरणा रविणो पेच्छइ कोसिओ तमसे ।
 तह चेव गुणा इह दुज्जणो वि पेच्छेइ विवरीए ॥
 जइ वि हु बोहामि अहं खलाण एमेव तह वि कुवियाण ।
 तह वि महंतं वसणं नो तीरइ छडियं एयं ॥
 अह वा जो च्चिय एक्कस्य खलो सो च्चिय अण्णस्स सउज्जणो होइ ।
 कह सुयणहुज्जणाणं पसंसनिदा अहं करिमो ? ॥
 जेण भणियं :—
 रत्ता पेच्छंति गुणा दोसा पेच्छंति जे विरजंति ।
 मज्झत्था पुण पुरिसा[पत्र २, B] दोसे य गुणे य पेच्छंति ॥
 ता मज्झत्था तुम्हे दोसे परिहरह तह वि दट्ठुयं ।
 गिण्हइ विरळे वि गुणे सुयणसहावं पि मा सुयह ॥

एत्थ य चारि कहाओ पणसाओ जिणेहिं सवेहिं ।
 अत्थकहा कामकहा धम्मकहा मीसकहा य ॥
 अत्थकहाए अत्थो कामो तह चैव कामुकहाए ।
 भण्णइ धम्मकहाए चउत्विहो होइ जह धम्मो ॥
 सो पुण एसो भणिओ जिणेहिं जियरागदोस[पत्र ३, A]मोहेहिं ।
 तव-सील-दाणभावणभेएणं होइ चउहाओ ॥
 अणसणमाई य तवो सीलं पुण होई चरण-करणं तु ।
 जीवदथाई दाणं अधुयाई भावणा हुंति ॥
 धम्मो अत्थो कामो भण्णइ मोक्खो वि मीसकहाए ।
 एसा सा मीसकहा भणाभि हं जिणवरे नमिउं ॥२०॥

END

इय रिसिदत्ताचरिए पवरकखरविरइ[पत्र २५४, A]ए वरे रम्मे ।
 गुणपालविरइयमिमं पंचमपव्वं सम्मतं ति ॥
 जह सेणियपुदठेणं जगगुरुणा साहियं ति वीरेणं ।
 तह किं पि समासेणं मए वि किल साहियं एयं ॥
 सोळ्ळण तुमं एयं पालह जिणवीरभासियं वयणं ।
 पावेह जेण अइरा कम्मं उहिल्लण मोक्खं ति ॥
 इय कुणमाणेण इमं पत्तं जं किं पि एत्थ मे पुण्णं ।
 पुण्णेण तेण भानह तुम्हे अयरामरं ठणं ।।
 इय वीरभइसूरी नाइलव्वंसं [पत्र १५४, B]

The Right hand half of the folio No. 155 of this palm-leaf Manuscript is mutilated. The left hand half has got on the front part the broken lines mentioned below in the following order :

- पंक्ति १ [गुणपा०]लेणं विरइयं ति ॥
 संसारि भंमत्तेणं जिणवयणं पाविळ्ळण एयं नु ।
 दुक्खदुएण रइ
- पंक्ति २ ० वहीणेण तह य लंकारवज्जिएण मह ।
 किल किं पि मए रइयं जिणपवयणम ॥
- पंक्ति ३ ० जेण किं पि चिवरीयं ।
 तं खमियव्वं मह सुयहरेहिं सुययणकल्लिएहिं ॥
- पंक्ति ४ जिणपवयणं ताव ।
 वरपउमपत्तरयणा पड . . .

On the reverses of the left hand half of this folio the following broken lines are found :

- पंक्ति १ नम नाथे ॥
 हाइयउरंभि नथरे वासारत्तमि विरुइयं एयं ? ।]
 पंक्ति २ . . . तीसाए अहियाइं माहृगेणं तु बारससयाइ, ।
 एयाइं जो निमुणइ सो पावइ ॥
 पंक्ति ३ संवत् १२८८ बबे^६ अयेह श्रीमदणहिलपाटके श्रीभीमदेवराज्ये प्रवर्त्तमाने *

Guṇapāla's authorship of the *Risidattācariyam* becomes immediately known from these mutilated lines even of this palm-leaf Manuscript of which the opening and the closing portion especially are in a fragmentary condition as noticed above. References to Vṛabhadrasūri and Nālagaccha are also found there. In addition to this, there is also a reference to a city named Hāiyapura where, during the stay in monsoon, this *Risidattācariyam* was composed.

This makes this inference possible that the mention of the data of the composition also must have been there in the mutilated portion of the Manuscript because this was almost always the practice with the Jaina writers of this age as will be seen from the fact that Udyotanasūri in his *Kuvalayamālākathā*, Siddharṣi in his *Upamitibhavaprapaṇcakathā* and Jayasimhasūri in his *Dharmopadeśamālākathāsamgraha*

* On the last folio of this palm-leaf Manuscript, there is a panegyric of ten stanzas in Sanskrit giving details of the family etc. of that man who gave money to have this palm-leaf Manuscript of the *Risidattācariyam* written. This panegyric, which also is in a mutilated condition because half of the right-hand portion of this last folio is in a fragmentary condition, runs as under :

- पंक्ति १ A प्रभोः पान्तु नखेन्दुद्युतयोऽमलाः, प्रणणज्जन्तुसंघातं कर्मतापमयात् भृशम् ॥१॥
 प्राग्वाटवेशमणिभयं पंक्ति २ A वणिक् सीलुकानामतस्तस्य पत्नी शीलमुणावृता ॥२॥ तत्पुत्री
 वस्तिणिर्नाम रावणप्रियपत्न्यभूत् दय पंक्ति ३ A जज्ञेऽपत्ययुग्मं मनोहरम् ॥३॥
 चाचामिधः सुतः श्रेयान् विद्यते विपुलशयः । देहच्छायेव वशगा प्रिया त पंक्ति ४ A
 लक्ष्मणी ॥४॥ पुत्रिका मोहिनिर्नाम, तयोऽनुष्ठानतत्परा । दयादाक्षिण्यदानादिगुणरत्नैरलं-
 कृता ॥५॥ पंक्ति १ B अन्येद्युश्चित्रगामास, श्रीमती साऽप्यनित्यता । संसारे शाश्वतं नास्ति, विना
 धर्मं जिनोदितम् ॥६॥ पंक्ति २ B समाख्यातः श्रुतचरित्रभेदेतः ।
 श्रुतं हि दीप्तं प्रायो । वस्तुतत्त्वावलोकने ॥७॥ विवं श्री पार्श्वनाथस्य स्व पंक्ति ३नु
 विवेकलोचना[व] ह्यात्वा जीर्णदारे महत्फलम् ॥८॥ अस्य च लेखयामास मोहिनिः श्राविकोत्तमा ।
 वरितं रिषिश्चायाः पुस्तकं सुमनोहरम् ॥९॥ पंक्ति ४ B श्री नेमिचन्द्रसूरेर्विनेय ॥१०॥

A Jain lady named Mohini who was the daughter of Rāvaṇi by his wife Bastini belonging to the Prāgvaṭ community of the Jainas had got this copy made at the instructions of Nemicantrasūri in order to make good use of her money. This is the substance of all the ten stanzas comprising the Panegyric. It is also added there that this copy was got made in the year 1288 of the Vikrama era at Aṇahilpur Pāṭaṇ when Bhimadeva ruled over it.

have made unambiguous mention of the dates of their compositions, But this can be decided without any doubt only if a complete Manuscript of the *Risidattacaritam* comes to our notice from some Jaina Bhāṇḍāra.

The serial no. of the palm-leaf Manuscript of the *Jambucariyam* which is there in a big Bhāṇḍār at Jesalmere is 245 according to the catalogue of the palm-leaf Manuscripts in the Jaina Bhāṇḍāras at Jesalmere compiled by Puṇyavijayaji. It has got according to it, the total number of 326 palm-leaves. The length and breadth of each palm-leaf is thirteen and two inches respectively. At some places, some lines have become illegible due to deterioration in the quality of ink with the passage of time. These places have been indicated with dots such as on pages 98 and 180 etc.

As the editor, Ācārya Jinavijayji Muni, says in the Preface, some errors have crept in the printed text because the transcribed copy could not be carefully tallied with the original Manuscript due to want of time and also because the copy could not be compared with it before rushing it to the Press. The only relief is that they have been shown in the errata of which the reader is advised to make use while reading the book.

The story of Jambu is famous and familiar in Jaina literature. A great number of compositions written in Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa, Rājasthānī, Hindi and Gujarātī is available. Of these, many have been published as said before.

There is a detailed biographical account of Jambu in the first four cantos of an excellent composition, named *Sthavirāvalicarita* in the form of *Parīṣiṣṭaparva* appended to *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣa* written in the purāṇic style by a renowned writer named Hemacandra. Here the account follows substantially the present *Jambucariyam*. This *Sthavirāvalicarita* has been published by the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. Critically edited by a very great Sanskrit Scholar of international reputation named Dr. Jacobi who has also included in it lengthy English translation of the substance of the account of Jambu's life and tried to show therein where and in what form the intervening stories, in the account of Jambu's life, as found in the *Sthavirāvalicarita* occur. From the viewpoint of the comparative study of these intervening stories, Dr. Jacobi's said edition is indispensable.

On account of the distinct feature of its critical value and importance, Dr. Johannes Hertel, an international scholar of equal stature and fame, has translated in appropriate German language these intervening stories and has produced a deep study incorporating results based on more extensive and varied comparisons which deserve the critical attention of each and every student and scholar. *

* The full title of this book by Johannes Hertel is "Ausgewahete Erzählungen aus Hemacandra's Parīṣiṣṭaparvan Deutschmit Einalaitung- und Anmerkungen Von Johannes Hertel, Leipzig, 1908. The first three chapters of the Preface to this book consist respectively of the biographical account of Hemacandra, Hemacandra's Parīṣiṣṭaparva and the mission of Jaina Saṃpradāya. These are followed by a chapterwise summary of the Parīṣiṣṭaparva. At the end of the Preface is found a comparative study of the intervening stories characterised by a mention of the parallel references to the stories found in the Jaina, Buddha, and Frāhmin works as well as in a variety of literatures of Europe.

It is a problem of research as to when and how these intervening stories came to be associated with the main story of Jambu. How many earliest stories of the biographical account of Jambu are there and how many intervening stories made way into the main story and when? these are the problems and exhaustive study of which is possible only if a comparative assessment of all the stories regarding the life of Jambu is made available and a thorough examination into the background of the history of their growth is undertaken.

When Prof. Jacobi brought out his edition of the *Parīṣiṣṭaparva*, he had, perhaps not complete information about a huge member of Manuscripts mostly unpublished, dealing with the life of Jambu. This accounts for the fact that he has focussed his attention on those intervening stories only which occur in the biographical account of Jambu that is described and dealt with in the *Parīṣiṣṭaparva* of Hemacandra. It is not a bold presumption if it is said that the biographical account of Jambu in the *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* is designed on the model of Gunaṭāla's *Jambucariyaṃ*.

The language employed in Gunaṭāla's *Jambucariyaṃ* is easy and elegant and the style forceful and fascinating. It is in prose and verse. Narration runs on fluently and forcefully and the description is accurate and unaffected. The author does not miss a single opportunity to enunciate and elaborate the principles of Jainism even when he is preoccupied with the main topic. He fulfils his religious mission effectively and impartially. The transitoriness of the life, the worthlessness of the world and the commendability of the moral and ethical behaviour form the refrain of all his didactic, outpourings, exhortations and sermons.

The publication of this *Jambucariyaṃ* of Gunaṭāla is one step forward in the direction of the Narrative literature of the Jainas in Prakrit published so far.

*

**RELIGIOUS AND MORAL ELEMENT IN *
GUNAPĀLA'S JAMBUCARIYĀM**

Principles of Jainism, especially the principles of Jaina ethics, have been described and discussed by Guṇapāla on so many occasions and at so much length in Jambucariyam (JC) that it can aptly be called an epitome of Jaina Ethics. "Art with a purpose" had been the primary aim of all the Jaina writers of secular literature. Their outlook and approach being this, they essentially differed from the non-Jaina writers. Any excuse, even flimsy, was sufficient to arouse in them a sense of moral values which found vent into lengthy sermons and exhortations sometimes out of proportion and even context. Take any work of the Jaina writers of secular literature and you will find the didactic undertone running right from the beginning to the end. But this was not unintentional and accidental. This was deliberate and purposeful. Their goal of life was not this world but the world beyond. Their attention was wholly fixed on the permanent and not on the ephemeral. Nothing which did not contribute to the cultivation of moral habits and elevation of the spirit had a room in their mental make-up. Now this being a question of one's aim—and the aim is, indeed, good—we have no right to adversely criticise the want of artistic sense in them, as alleged by some. They merely gave different direction to their talent as was contingent to their being spiritual teachers, first and last. They were capable and qualified. Gorgeous descriptions of cities, mountains, and rivers; of harems and royal assemblies; of kings and queens; of natural scene and scenery; of men and women, of monks and nuns; of merchants and moneyed men; of battles and wars; of army and weapons; of arts and sciences showed that they were masters of the language in which they wrote. These happened to be 'boring and dry as dust' as the descriptions were fused with moral substance and they harped on the same string for a pretty long time in order to plant the truth in the minds of the readers. Their style suffered only because of this.

Now in this background let us try to see what Guṇapāla has to say regarding Jaina ethics in the JC.

N.B.—First figure in the brackets indicates the number of the Uddeśa and the second points to that of the stanza. The edition used is the one brought out by Acharya Jinavijayaji in the Bhavan's Singhi Jaina Series as No. 44.

(1) World

The world is large and unfordable like an ocean. The only fence against the world is a thorough and real knowledge of it and this can be had from the Jaina

* Bhāratīya Vidyā, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 1 to 4, 1969.

scriptures only. Wealth, woman, youth, sensual pleasures, relatives, friends, body and all the other things of this world and in this world are as transitory as the flash of a lighting or the drop of a dew. The only thing that saves a man from getting lost into it is non-attachment the maximum fruit of which is emancipation. (5. 28-36). All the beings in this world—the father, the mother, the brother, the son, the wife the relatives and the friends—are tied with each other through affection which is the result of the Karmas only. This affection serves only as the fetter. Death follows a man wherever he goes. Nothing shields him from death. He encounters bereavements and separations every moment. The world being such should be shunned (8. 41-62), Also never entertain a fascination for the world in which the beings are overpowered with diseases, privations and penury. (4. page 21 lines 3-11). He should on the contrary hanker after a place in the eternal abode which one can reach if he takes upon himself to practise the five vows and the religion of a monk having first of all acquired the Right Faith which results as perverted belief, sinful activities, ignorance, the three fold operation of mind, speech and body and a quaternary of passions are avoided. So long as the eightfold Karmas are not completely annihilated, the wanderings in this world never end. (6. 25-52),

(2) Body

Having accepted the world as a necessary evil the author proceeds to enlighten the reader about the real nature of the body according to the Jaina scriptures. The body is a mere liability if it is not put to the use and benefit of others. It is evanescent like the dew-drop. Sometimes it appears promising while at other times it looks disappointing. Deprivation and disease are the usual attendants. It is beautiful outside and ugly inside. Its internal foulness is simply frightening. It is but dust. It is a bag of bones and blood, fat and flesh. How can you have love for such a body from which filth flows constantly? A paste which is fragrant becomes foul-smelling when it comes into contact with the body. Youthfulness is a sheer delusion. It vanishes when the body becomes old. The head shakes, the hands tremble and the nose exudes a stinking fluid. Hairs which were once pitchy black turn grey. The eyes which were formerly lotus-like ooze incessantly. Ears which were sharp become deaf and teeth become sparse and shaky. The same is the case with tongue, feet and mouth. As the body is such, one should make the best of a bad bargain. That is to say, it should be so used that it can become the cause of a better life hereafter (16. 302, 303, 304; 16. 308-336). Howsoever much, the body is condemned in Jainism, it has also given some credit to it in the sense that it can be turned into a vehicle for performing piety and religious practices. Thus a streak of goodness is not wholly denied to it. For its upkeep, pure and innocent food is also allowed. It is the cause, though remote, of final liberation. This is the *raison d'être* of the body. (5. 250-251).

(3) Four Requisites

Four things enriching the existence and difficult to be obtained are in order of

excellence, human existence, scriptural knowledge, faith and capacity for self-control (16. 545-555). These four should be fully made use of knowing well that this life is as fleeting as foam, as momentary as lightning, as decaying as a ripe fruit and as melting as a dew-drop (3. 112).

Religion can best invest the life with meaning and purpose. It is constituted of cessation from injury to any living being, avoidance of falsehood, of stealing, of sexual contact and of possession. To these constituents, taking supper at night, eating meat and honey and drinking wine are also added. The reverse of this is irreligion (3. 24; 4. 12, 13, 14). Moreover, the so-called worldly pleasures, comforts and amenities which one gets in this world are also solely due to his having practised religion in the past. This provides him with all the more justification for further religious practices in this world so that he may get a greater amount and variety of them. But this is nothing compared with the bliss it brings (4. 43-56). It is with very great difficulty that a human existence is obtained and even after obtaining it, it is with increasing difficulty that its various concomitants such as good and noble country, community, family, perfect body, inclination to the religion of the Jainas, ideal teacher, faith and capacity for self-control, etc. etc. are got (3. 79-92).

(4) *Religious Practices*

Referring to the fruits derived from the practices of religion and irreligion, Guṇapāla gives various examples of the persons who have got all sorts of comforts and pleasures and who have not got, showing that the seeds of disparity lay in the moral and immoral practices done in the previous births. Some are wealthy, while some are not. Some are in the position to satisfy the needs of their dear and near, while some themselves have to go begging. Some move about in vehicles, while some have no shoes even. Some indulge in the use of scents and perfumes, while some are happy by only putting a forehead-mark of saffron. This being due to the unchecked play of the Karmas, one should practise the religion of the Jina which only is efficient in destroying the various Karmas. Because one did not adopt the religion of the Jina, one had to wander through the cycles of births and deaths for times without number. Of all the religions, Jaina religion only is the panacea for all ills to which human flesh is heir. But here also it is difficult for human beings who are in the clutches of wrong and perverted belief, to distinguish the right and ideal religion—which, of course Jaina religion is—from the wrong and misleading one. Due to this fundamental error, one adopts a religion which eventually degrades him instead of elevating him. He thus takes to eating meat and drinking wine. He gives in charities those things which involve him in a number of bad karmas. Really speaking he is a high-souled man who is trying to put an end to the karmas and who is free from love and hatred. Worship to such a savants is emancipating while to others it imprisons the being. Denouncing the charities as given by the followers of other religious systems, such as gold, ground, cow, etc. etc. Guṇapāla states that a promise or an act of security to those who are in danger of their lives as also

things bereft of living organisms are best forms of charity according to the Jaina scriptures. Condemning the worship of the gods of inferior type, Guṇapāla pleads that those ordinary, unideal gods who themselves are not free can never teach others lessons on freedom. The Tīrthaṅkaras, who have cut off the knots of love and hatred, are in a position to give gifts and charities in the form of emancipation. Worship to them only and to none else is the only worship, ideal and fruitful and climaxing into final release, (16. 87-160).

(5) Faith

As is the flower before the fruit, so is faith before good works. Belief is power. It is not reason's labour but repose. There is no obligation that can be returned to those who have generated faith in us. In other words, it cannot be adequately and sufficiently returned. Hellish and animal life are stalled and emancipation is brought near (1. 35-37). It is a boat carrying one safely to the shore (2. lines 1 to 4). Having obtained this priceless jewel one should cultivate response and receptivity for the religious stories eulogizing the merits and achievements of the Jaina pontiffs, patriarchs and seers.

(6) Duty and Discipline

Non-injury, Truth, Non-stealing, continence and possessionlessness are the five vows. Forgiveness, protection of mind, speech and body, tenderness, straight-forwardness, freedom from greed, penance, self-control, truth, voluntary poverty and continence constitute the monk's religion. Desisting from five fold Karmic influx, control of five senses, victory over passions, cessation from bad employment of mind, speech, and body are collectively called self-control. Offering food and drink to the monks is named 'service'. There are nine hedges protecting continence. The correct knowledge of thing as it is Right Knowledge. Unquestioned belief is Right Faith. Conduct means practice which is both permissive and prohibitive. Penance is classified into two, external and internal. Each of the two is again sub-divided into six. Tapa gets its name because it heats the eightfold Karmas into destruction. Passion is categorized into four, to wit, Anger, Ego, Deceit and Greed. Monks should beg for pure alms, which it is, if it is devoid of forty two faults usually attending it. Fivefold carefulness relating to walking, speaking etc. must always be observed. A monk should brood over twelve basic ideal reflections such as the transitory nature of the things in the world, his own helplessness, the physical impurity etc. etc. New Karmas should not be incurred and the old ones should be liquidated. This can be achieved by stopping the Karmic flow as also by exhausting those which are accumulated. A monk should also observe twelve special vows, technically called Paḍimās (5. 176-247; 12. 51-61). It is not destined for the unlucky to come across and get a jewel in the form of self-control. Even if it is, per chance, obtained it is further difficult to develop strength sufficient for its practice. The long and short of the whole discussion on 'Duty and Discipline' is that one should not hesitate in putting forth

his best effort in doing what is good, pious and noble and avoiding what is bad, impious and ignoble. Twofold penance is the indispensable requisite. Desist from sinful activities and be absorbed in the acquisition of Right Knowledge and faith. Meditate and do not neglect even the smallest details of bona fide conduct. Observe the five Samitis and three Guptis. Undertake five major Vows, cultivate Self-control, and brood over twelve ideal Reflections. Notwithstanding its complicated nature, put into practice the whole ethical code with all your might and thus work out complete annihilation of the Karmic forest which comes in the way of your entry into city supreme (16, 574-593).

(7) *Futility of material prosperity*

Fascination for things that are worldly blocks the path leading to righteous conduct. Referring to this Guṇapāla says that wealth and unions with relatives are as flitting as the autumnal cloud, that love is like a dream and beauty resembles lightning. Youth is as swift as the mountain river and life is as vanishing as the rainbow. Sensual pleasures are like Kimpāka fruits, sweet in taste but deadly in effect. Wife is a prison-house and the children are fetters. Relatives are as good as bondages and the friends are no more than thieves. The body is a veritable house for the diseases and life is always in danger of death. Human birth is difficult to be obtained and untold suffering awaits a being in the hell. The world as said before is untraversable. It is only through good luck that knowledge of Jaina scriptures can be had. Abstinence from sinful activities is like a wish-yielding jewel which people of meagre luck cannot have. None of the dear and near can give shelter to those who are about to go to hells. Neither the elephants nor the horses can save one who is consigned to hells. Gold, jewels and pearls cannot stop one who is already booked for hells. Bath and drinking of holy water holds out no promise to one who is destined to hells. It is wonder, Guṇapāla concludes, that one does not realize that the possession of material prosperity is not worth even a straw. Pursuit after pleasures culminates only in one's forfeiting this birth and also the next. Pleasure must have a warrant that it is without sin. But, is it possible? Guṇapāla gives emphatic 'no'. And what is the use of having that pleasure that bites tomorrow? It is no exaggeration that pleasure's couch is virtue's grave. Pleasures are bought for the heavy price of virtue. Who will do this bad business, unprofitable and foolish? Only, he who is under the spell of delusion (Moha). (5. 37 to 50 and 8. 56 to 61). This lust for sensual pleasures lands one into troubles. An aspirant should set not store by body, wealth, relatives and dear ones (4. 41-42). In this connection Guṇapāla brings in the topic of woman. Compared with other religions, Jainism is less charitable to woman. It is due to woman's innate power to attract and entrap a man and this comes in the way of his acquiring right knowledge and also of developing right conduct. Therefore, Jainism is unsparing in its tirade against woman. According to it, the female of the species is more deadly than the male. Woman's love is writ in water and her faith is traced in sand. They have been condemned

as badnatured. They can conveniently be hard-hearted and also soft. They are frailty incarnate. Theirs minds cannot be known and heart cannot be comprehended. For the sake of satisfying their carnal desires, they will go to any length. (11. 13 to 41 and 48; 16. 8).

(8) *Disparity explained*

One dwells in a palatial building while the other has no hut even. One passes the night in the company of his beloved playing pranks, cutting jokes and in amorous enjoyments while the other has neither the beloved nor even the bare amenities of life. One has costly ornaments to adorn his body, while the other has no shoes even. One is in a position to satisfy all the desires of his kith and kin, while the other cannot fill his belly even by begging. One has eternal festivity in his house, while the other has all the seven days in a week for weeping. One is awakened with panegyrics, while the other with abuses and rebukes. Drawing the moral, Guṇapāla says that this disparity is due to Karmas and therefore one should so behave that he becomes free for ever (16. 87-103).

(9) *Vow of Even-mindedness (Samāyika)*

Having established the conclusion that the Karmas are responsible for what we experience or enjoy, Guṇapāla proceeds to define and elaborate the rationale of Samāyika by undertaking and observing which one can effectively put a stop to Karmic flow. Samāyika is even-mindedness and also includes the abstention from all types of activities which are sinful. It is an item of daily spiritual programme to be carried out by one and all alike. One of this disposition is not dejected in adversity nor elated in prosperity. If one dies while in the process of performance of this vow, he attains godhood of a higher type. One should observe it without committing transgressions numbering five, if one wants to harvest a rich crop of good luck therefrom. With this vow in hand, if one thinks of worldly things, he forfeits the dues of luck accruing from it. The performance of this vow loses much of its sanctity, if one who has undertaken it brings it to a close much before the due time. (16. 697-720).

(10) *Four Passions*

Equilibrium of mind just referred to is disturbed if one is swayed by four passions, namely, Anger, Egoism, Deceit and Greed. To rule over anger is good but to prevent it is better. When passion is on the throne, reason is out of doors. The fire kindled for the enemy burns himself more than the enemy. The wealth of luck collected with care and effort through penance, self-control and austerities is lost in a moment under the evil effect of anger (3. 83, 84, 85). Egoism destroys knowledge and those devoid of knowledge walk with their heads in the sky like animals of the forest. They are like empty vessels having no water and still making more noise. (3. 86), A hypocrite is a saint abroad and a devil at home. A serpent may not bite but produces fright when seen. A hypocrite is like such a serpent (3. 87). A greedy man loses discrimination and puts on shelf the duty and discipline. He risks his life even, to gain only a trifle. Greed increases with the increasing pile of gold. Poverty

wants some things, luxury many, avarice all things. (3; 88). There is no enemy greater and no foe more fierce than these four passions each of which even destroys the aspirant's initiative and ardour to bring out fully his spiritual potentiality and property—concludes Guṇapāla.

(11) Six Entities and Nine Categories

Guṇapāla, in accordance with the Jaina scriptures, states that there are nine categories, namely, Soul (*jīva*), Non-Soul (*ajīva*), Merit (*puṇya*), Demerit (*pāpa*), Karmic Influx (*āsrava*), Karmic Stoppage (*saṃvara*), Karmic Shedding (*nirjarā*), Bondage (*bandha*) and Liberation (*mokṣa*). Jīvas are classified into liberated and mundane. The mundane are again subdivided into many classes and species. Consciousness (*upayoga*) is the distinguishing characteristic of the Jīvas. Principle of Motion (*dharma*), Principle of Stability (*adharmā*), Matter, soul, Time and Ether are the six Entities (16 772-783).

(12) Time

There are six epochs in an aeon of decrease such as the epoch of Total Happiness (*susamasusama*); of Happiness (*susama*); of Happiness mixed with Unhappiness (*susamadusama*), of Unhappiness mixed with Happiness (*dusamasusama*), of Unhappiness (*dusama*) and of Total Unhappiness (*dusamadusama*). Happiness reigns supreme in the first and goes on decreasing till in the last there is only total unhappiness (6, page 72; lines 5 to 23).

Summary

Right Faith is the *sine qua non* of emancipation which should be the aim and end of all beings. This Right Faith means that the life, birth, death, world, body, sensual pleasures etc. etc. instead of serving any one in any way, only block the path leading to salvation, that they have got to be completely dispensed with and that one should remain absorbed in his own soul which is an abode of bliss, pure and perennial. All souls have an equal claim on emancipation. There is no denial to this. There is no distinction of caste, colour, and creed. One may get it early while the other late, this being dependent on one's own Karmic store. His progress is regulated by his spiritual potentialities. Anyhow the Karmic flow is to be stopped and the old Karmas are to be annihilated. The balance restored after this is emancipation. Thus it is upto one whether he wants to be doomed or delivered. It has been shown in the preceding paragraphs how one should discipline himself so that his hands may be strengthened. Right Faith, Right Knowledge and Right conduct are the three jewels which if once procured and preserved with care will enrich and equip the soul with unfailing spiritual armoury with which to fight and finish his Karmic enemies

The above is the outline of the religious and moral element as enunciated and emphasized by Guṇapāla in the Jambucariyam (JC).

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SUBHĀṢITAS IN GUṆAPĀLA'S JAMBUCARIYAM *

I have given in this article some selected Subhāṣitas employed by Munivara Guṇapāla in his Jambucariyam (JC) which is a Prākṛit work, in prose and verse, having sixteen Uddeṣas and giving a narrative account of the life of Jambu, the first patriarch of Jaina church after the last Tirthaṅkara Mahāvira. The work, which is No. 44 of the Bhavan's Singhī Jain Series, was for the first time brought out by Acharya Jinavijayaji Muni in 1959. Guṇapāla flourished, tentatively, in the eleventh century of the Vikram Era or even before that and was the pupil of Pradyumna Suri, who was himself the pupil of Vīrabhadra Suri of the Nāīla Gaṇeḥa.

The Subhāṣitas employed in the JC are like short sayings of wise and good men, and therefore they are of great value. They are portable wisdom, the quint-essence of thought and feeling. They are so pointed that they hit harder and stick longer in the memory. Their excellence is particularly due to the comprehension of some useful truth in few words rather than to the expression of some rare or abstruse sentiment. A perusal of the Subhāṣitas given here in this article will immediately make it clear that they have got in them the germs of morals which can be developed further and to a large extent and that they are deep in significance as they are wide in range. There may be some exceptions but most of them, as will be seen, are drawn from experience itself which is, indeed, the mother of all sciences. If noble actions are the substance of life, good sayings are its ornament and guide. This is amply illustrated by the Subhāṣitas given here.

N.B. The first figure indicates the number of the Uddeṣa and the second stands for that of the stanza.

अन्नाण (Ignorance)

१ अन्नाणंधो जीवो, जत्थ भवे तत्थ सुग्गए सरुणं ।

अग्निं कीडपर्यगा, पडंति अन्नाणदोस्सेणं ॥ (८.६८)

1. A person blinded with ignorance asks for shelter or help wherever there is fear. It is only out of ignorance that the insects and butterflies fall into fire. (8. 68.)

असत्ति (Inability)

२ तिणमेत्त पि हु कज्जं, गिरिवरसरिसं असत्तिमंताणं ।

होइ गिरिं वि तिणसमो, अहिओगसककसे पुरिसे ॥ (५.७)

2. For a person who is unable, a work which is as insignificant as a blade of grass appears as big as a mountain, while for a person who is intensely persistent, even the mountain is as trifling as a blade of grass. (5. 7).

* Bhāṣatiya Vidya, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 1 to 4, 1968 and Vol. XXXI Nos. 1-4

कापुरिस (Coward)

- ३ वंसि चडंति, धुणंति करा, धूलीघोया हुंति ।
पोइह कारणि कापुरिसा कं कं जं न कुणंति ॥ (४.६७)

3. The cowards climb a pole, shake the hands, and become soiled with dust. What is it that they do not do for the sake of their bellies? (4. 67).

कोह (Anger)

- ४ धम्माधम्म न याणइ, कज्जाकज्जं च सुकयदुकयं वा ।
कोहघ(घ)त्थो पुरिसो भक्खाभक्खं च कुसलो वि ॥

4. A person, though wise, but possessed with anger cannot distinguish between religion and irreligion, a good deed and a bad deed and good behaviour and bad behaviour. (3; 82).

खल (Villain)

- ५ दोजीहं वक्कगइं, परछिहालोयणंमि तल्लिच्छं ।
बहुकोहं भयजणं, पिसुणभुयंगं व संठविउं ॥
- ६ संते नासेइ गुणे, आरोवइ भवगुणे असंते वि ।
विहि विलसियस्स व खलस्स पुमो किल को न बोदेइ ॥
- ७ खणरत्तखणविरत्तं, खणेण मम्मणि तह य भग्गंत्तं ।
दुट्ठकलत्तं व खलं, विवज्जणीयं सयाकालं ॥
- ८ सुग्गेज्जा मत्तगया, भुयगा सीहा य तह य वग्घा य ।
मम्मनेसणपउणं, दुग्गेज्जं चेव खलहिययं ॥
- ९ सायरजलपरिमाणं सुरगिरिमाणं च भुयणसम्भावं ।
जाणंति बुद्धिमंता, खलस्स हिययं न याणंति ॥ (१.८-१२)

5. A villain is like a serpent as he is double-tongued, is moving in a zigzag manner, is intent upon looking at the loopholes in others, is prone to much anger, is producing fright, and is difficult to be pacified,

6. Like the wanton movement of Fate, who is not afraid of a villain who destroys the merits whichever may be there and acquires the demerits which are not there ?

7. A villain who is pleased at one moment and displeased at another and cuts the vital parts in an instant, is, like a bad wife, always to be abandoned.

8. One can understand the (working of) wild elephants, snakes, lion and tigers, but one cannot understand the villain's heart engaged in finding out the weak points (in others).

9. The intelligent people can know the quantity of the waters of the ocean, the dimension of the mountain Meru and the nature of the people of the whole world even. But they cannot comprehend the heart of the villain. (1; 8-12).

गरुय (Great)

१० जाव न दिंति हियं, गरुया विह्वंति ताव कज्जाइं ।
अवदिन्नं चिय हियं, गुटु पि कज्जं परिसमतं ॥ (५.३)

10 The works do not get accomplished so long as the mind of the great is not applied (to them). The work, even big, is finished, (the moment their) mind is devoted (to it). (5; 6).

गुणि (Virtuous)

११ वियरंति जत्थ गुणिणो, पसरं न लहंति निग्गुणा तत्थ ।
सुरंस्सणं सुरओ, खज्जओ कुणउ किं वराओ ? ॥
१२ अहवा गुणवंताणं, मग्गच्चारेण होइ गुणनियरो ।
रविसंणेण पजायइ, कसिणं पि हु निम्मलं गयणं ॥ (१.४४-४५)

11. Persons, devoid of virtues, do not get any notice or attention where the persons, full of virtues, move about. For what does an insignificant sword stand in front of sun's rays ?

12. Or a multitude of virtues develops on following the path of the virtuous. A dark sky becomes clean when it comes into contact with the sun. (1. 44-45).

जुवई (Woman)

१३ अथिराहं च चलाइं, असंठियाइं सम्भावनेहरहियाइं ।
जुवईण हिययाइं, खणे खणे होंति अन्नाइं ॥ (८; १९५)

13. The hearts of the young ladies are unstable, fickle and inconstant. They are devoid of good intentions and affection. They change every moment. (8. 105).

दुक्कय-सुकय (Bad Deed, Good Deed)

१४ सकका सीहस्स वणा, पलाइउं हत्थिणो य भत्तस्स ।
सुकयस्स दुक्कयस्स व, भण कत्थ पलाइउं सकका ? ॥
१५ त्रं जेण पावियव्वं, सुहं व दुक्खं व जीवलयंमि ।
अप्पाणेण य वच्चइ, निज्जइ य बल्ल कयंतेण ॥ (११.४)

14. The elephants are able to run away from the forest of the intoxicated lions. But tell (me) where are the people able to run away to from (the effect of) the good and the bad deeds ?

15. Whatever happiness or misery is to be obtained (by one) in the world goes along with the soul as it is led forcibly by the god of death. (11. 44-45).

दुल्लह (Rare)

१६ अकए व्व कए व्व पिए पियकारे ता जर्णमि दीसंति ।
कयविपिए पियं जे, करेति दुल्लहा होति ॥ (७.३३)

16. Those who do good (to others), even though good has not been done or done (to them), are found amongst people. But those people are rare who do good (to others) even though bad is done (to them). (7; 33).

धुव-अधुव (Certain; Uncertain)

१७ संसइयस्स कए णं, निस्संसइयं कहुं इमं वयसि ? ।
सूढो तुममच्चत्थं, न मुणसि कज्जं अकज्जं वा ॥
१८ ता जह सो संतत्तो, पच्छायावेण तह तुमं पेच्छि ।
संतमसंतस्स कए, वयमाणो नाह । तप्पिहिसि ॥ (९.५-६)
१९ मंसं चइऊण धुवं अधुवं पत्थेसि कोल्लुया । मीणं ।
धुवमधुवाणं चुक्को, अप्पमइ एत्थ तं मुद्ध ॥ (११.५५)

17. Why dost thou throw away this (thing) which is certain for the sake of a thing which is uncertain? Thou art exceedingly stupid as thou dost not know what is fit to be done and what is not fit to be done.

18. Therefore, just as he was aggrieved with remorse, thou wilt also, oh! lord! as thou hast seen, be aggrieved with remorse, abandoning a thing which is existing, for a thing which is not existing. (9. 5-6).

19. Giving up this piece of mutton which is certain, thou art oh! jackal! hankering after a fish which is not certain, Thou wilt be proving thyself, oh! fool! of meagre intellect as thou wilt thereby be deprived of both the certain and uncertain things. (11. 55).

परदार (Other's Wife)

२० परदारं विय अइसीमविसमदोसायरं महापाव' ।
उमओवक्खदुहयरं, भवनिग्गमवज्जपायारं ॥ (१६.७०)

20. (Contact with) other's wife is a mine of very terrific and varied vices, is highly sinful, is a cause of unhappiness for both the parties and is part of adamant (blocking the way) to get out of existence. (16. 70).

पियजण (Dear One)

२१ ताव च्चिय होइ सुहं, जाव न कीरइ पियओ जणो को वि
पियसंगो जेण कओ, दुक्खाण समसप्पिओ अप्पवा ॥ (१६.१)

21. One remains happy so long as one does not make any one dear to himself or herself. One who has established contact with one who is dear to himself or herself, hands over himself or herself to miseries. (16. 66).

पिसुण (Backbiter)

२२ पुरओ जंघइ अन्नं, अन्नं पट्टिए हिययए अन्नं ।
वेसायणो व पिसुणो, न सन्नहा जाइ सम्भावं ॥ (१.१३)

22. A backbiter speaks one thing in the presence, another behind back and thinks of a third thing in the mind. He, like a prostitute, is never well-intentioned, (1. 13).

पुत्तहीणपिया (Sonless father)

२६ जस्स किर नत्थि पुत्तो, विज्जाविककमधणस्स पुरिसस्स ।
सो तह कुसुमसमिद्धो, फलरहिओ पाक्वो चेव ॥ (५.८)

23. A man who has learning, valour and wealth but has no son, is, indeed, like a tree which, abounding in flowers has no fruits. (5. 8).

बाल and विद्ध (Child and Old Man)

२४ बालो वि सुइसयन्नो, आएओ होइ बुद्धिमंताण ।
विद्धो वि होइ देओ, सत्थत्थविवज्जिओ पुरिसो ॥ (१३.५)

24. A child even is respectable for the intelligent if he is well versed in hundreds of scriptures, while an old man, having no knowledge of the meaning of the scriptures, is fit to be left well alone. (16. 5).

मच्छर (Malice)

२५ न य मच्छरेण गहियस्स, पाणिणो किं पि अत्थिऽवत्तव्वं ।
साहिज्जेते य फुट्ठे, न को वि दोसो इहं दिट्ठो ॥ (१३.१६)

25. There is nothing that cannot be said to a person who is in the clutches of malice; therefore, there is no fault if such a person is told what is clear. (13. 16).

महिलिया (Woman)

२६ विसमसहावो मयणो, विसमसहावाओ महिलियाओ य ।
सुराणम्वसणाओ, क्खज्जाकज्जे न याणंति ॥
२७ रोर्विति क्खवावंति य, अल्लियं जंघंति, पित्तयावंति ।
क्वण्णेण य खंति विसं, मरंति, नो जंति सम्भावं ॥ (११. १८-१९)

26-27. Cupid is crooked by nature and so are women. They do not know what is a deed and what is a misdeed, being blinded in their minds due to intense passion. They weep and also make others weep. They tell lies and also produce confidence (in others). They eat poison but of deceit. They die but never entertain good thoughts (about others). (11. 18-19).

- २८ छडति जणणिजणए, भत्तारं तह कुलं च सीलं च ।
न मुणति सुकयदुकयं, मयणपसत्ताओ महिलाओ ॥
- २९ लंघति फुल्लिसयसंकुलाओ, अडवीओ सीहपउराओ ।
रत्तिं दियहे नूणं, कायाण वि हुंति भीयाओ ॥
- ३० मयणानलतवियाओ, निच्चं परपुरिसबद्धरागाओ ।
लंघति जलनिहिं पि य, दीसति य मुद्धवयणाओ ॥
- ३१ गिरिसिहरे दुग्गमकंदरे य लंघति मयणमूढाओ ।
बिसमं पि कयग्घाओ, मन्तंति समं सकज्जंमि ॥
- ३२ अह करिमइंदसप्पे, फुल्लिपिसाए य चोरवंद्रे य ।
न गणति महारुदडे, नारीओ अन्नसत्ताओ ॥ (११.२०-२४)

28. Women, attached to cupid, abandon mother and father, husband, family, and character. They do not know, what is a good and what is a bad deed.

29. They (are able to) cross, by night, the forest abounding in hundreds of demons (?) and full of lions, while by day, they are afraid of the crows even.

30. Heated by the fire of passion and attracted to men other than their husbands, they (are able to) cross ocean and (at the same time) they wear innocent faces also.

31. These ungrateful women, deprived of their senses due to passion, (are able to) cross the summits of mountains and the unenterable caves even. So far as their own purpose is concerned, they take difficult (work) to be easy (work.)

32. Women attached to others do not care for highly angry elephants, lords of lions, serpents, expanded (?) devils and multitudes of thieves. (II. 20-24),

- ३३ इंधणरहिया महिला, नूनं जालावली सुपज्जलिया ।
सत्थं च सल्लहोणं, पंको घणसमयपरिहीणो ॥
- ३४ कसणिरहिया भुयंगी, विज्जुनिवाओ य जलहरविहीणो ।
गोत्तिं व्व अणवराहा, विल्लोही खग्घारा य ॥
- ३५ महिलाण असंगयसीलाण अन्नान्निदिन्नहिययाण ।
अन्ने कुणति तत्ति, अन्ने पुण वल्लहा हुंति ॥
- ३६ वेपपह जलंमि मच्छो, पक्खी गयणंमि, विज्झए राहा ।
गहियं पि विहडइ च्चिय, दुग्गेज्जं महिलियाहिययं ॥
- ३७ वेसं पि सिणेहेण व, रसंति अहवल्लहं पि निन्नेहा ।
कारणवसेण नेहं, करिंति निक्कारणे नेय ॥
- ३८ रमयंति विरूवं पि हु, रूवं पुण परिहरंति दूरेण ।
रुयविरूयवियप्पो, किं हियए होज्ज एयाण ? ॥

- ३९ दुग्ज्जमेत्तीओ इव, जाओ निच्चं पि वंचणपराओ ।
 लंघियनियमज्जाओ, संज्झाराउव्व अधिराओ ॥
- ४० मयणपिगपलित्ताओ, जाओ निच्चं पि कलुसियमणाओ ।
 बहुमायाभरियाओ, कुललंछणदाणपउणाओ ॥
- ४१ बुद्धिमया पुरिसेणं, ताओ निच्चं पि वज्जणीयाओ ।
 जो पुण न बज्जइ च्चिय, णं सो वज्जिज्जइ इमाहिं ॥
- ४२ इय दिट्ठनदट्ठाडिविसियाण निच्चं पि अधिरायाण ।
 महिलानं को गच्छइ, सम्भावं वंचणपराण ? ॥ (११. २५-३४)

33-34. Woman is, indeed, a well-lit flame of fire without fuel; a weapon without point or spike mud without the rainy season; a female serpent without a fang (?); the fall of lightning without cloud; a prison house without crime; a sword without iron.

35. The women, who are of inconsistent behaviour and who are devoted at a time to many in their hearts have some as the objects of talk only while they have others as objects of love.

36. A fish in a lake can be angled and a bird in the sky can also be caught. Even a revolving doll can also be pierced. But the heart of a woman, which is captured at one time goes off at another. Thus it is difficult to be understood.

37. Women play lovingly with one who is fit only to be hated while with one who was (formerly) the object of their love, they behave as if they have no affection for him. They love only when there is a cause (to do so) and they do not, when no reason exists.

38. They dance and dally with the ugly and avoid the handsome from a distance. How can there be a distinction between the ugly and the handsome in the hearts of these women ?

39. Like the friendship of the wicked, they are always intent on deceiving others and cross the bounds. They are as changing as the colour of the twilight.

40. Inflamed as they are with the fire of passion, they are always of impure minds and fully filled with deceit. They are able only to cast slur and slander on their families.

41. They should always be bidden goodbye by an intelligent man. One who cannot be trapped at all, is trapped by these (women).

42. Who can go to (the very root of) real nature of these women who are given to cheating and who are of unstable love like the the movements of lightning which appears and disappears ? (11. 25-34).

- ४३ एकं गिण्हुति इमा, अन्नं मुचंति तह रमतन्नं ।
अन्नेण समं नेहो, पयडंति य तह अन्नेण ॥
- ४४ मारिंति नियपइं पि य, अन्नस्स कए मूढहिययाओ ।
तै पि य अन्नस्स कए, अन्नं पुण अन्नकउजेण ॥
- ४५ मारेवं भतारं, मरंति तह अप्पणा पुणो चेव ।
चरिये न याणिमो च्चिय, एसि कह निम्मियं विहिणा ॥
- ४६ मारिंति पइं पुत्तं, पियरं तह भायरं च मायं च ।
अत्ताणं च परं चिय, विसयाण कएण मूढाओ ॥
- ४७ इय वंके वंके चिय, चरियं महिलान सप्पमइसरिसं ।
हिययं इदवज्जसमं, महुत्तं किं पि वायाए । (११.३७-४१)

43. These (women) catch hold of one, leave the other and dally with the third. They avow affection for one and practise it with the other.

44. For the sake of other, these deluded in their minds, do away with their husbands. They kill that very man for the sake of the third man whom also they finish off under different pretext.

45. Having killed their husbands, they themselves also die. We do not know what type of character of these women has been made by the Fate.

46. These women of stupid minds kill, for the sake of passions, their husbands, son, fathers, brothers, mother, their own selves and also others.

47. The character of (these) women is exceedingly as crooked as the movements of the serpents. their hearts are as hard as adamants, while sweetness resides (only) in their speech. (11. 37-41).

४८ एगत्थ कह व पडिमोइया विं अन्नत्थ लगइ खणेण ।

दूरेण होउ सुहिया !, महिला कंधारिसाह व्व ॥ (११.४८)

48. Like the branch of the Krnthari tree. the women clings to the other when she is left by one. Oh! friend! be away from her. (11. 48).

४९ निव्वत्तर्यंति जं चिय, तं चिय नेच्छंति नूण महिलाओ ।

वंकें पि वंकेचरियं, दुल्लक्खव्वं होइ नारीणं ॥ (१.९८)

49. The woman do not want him whom they have formerly made their own. The most crooked character of the women is difficult to be detected. (16. 8)

माण (Egoism)

५० मन्नइ य तणसमाणं, पि परिह्वं मेधमंदरसरिच्छं ।

को वि जणो माणघणो, अवरं अवरो च्चिय वराओ ॥

५१ अवि उद्धं चिय फुट्ठंति, माणियो न य सइति अवमाणं

अत्थमणे विय रविणो, किरणा उडं चिय फुरंति ॥ (७.१८-१९)

50. One, whose wealth is self-respect considers the insult as resembling the mountains Meru though it may be as slight as a blade of grass; the wretched man considers it otherwise.

51. The self-respecting people would brust upwards rather than put up with the insult. The rays of sun rise upwards even when the sun is setting. (7. 18-19).

मित्र (Friend)

५२ सो अत्थो जो वृत्थे, तं मित्रं जं निरंतरं वसणे ।
तं स्वं जत्य गुणा, तं विन्नाणं जहि धम्मो ॥

५३ असदहियभो सलज्जो, सुसहावो धच्छलो कथन्नू य ।
विहलुद्धरणणो वि हु, मित्रो इह होइ धन्नाणं ॥ (१५, २६-२७)

52. That is (real) wealth which is at hand; that is a (real) friend who always stands (by one's side) in adversity; that is (real) beauty where there are virtues, and that is (real) knowledge where there is religion.

53. Only the lucky get such a friend who is innocent in heart, is bashful, is good-natured, is affectionate, is grateful and who has got wealth for merly uplifting the destitute. (15. 26-27).

रायणीह (Politics)

५४ तुरमारोहि न सका, अत्थो विज्जा य रायल्ल्छी य ।
हियइच्छिया य भज्जा, विपियकरणं च सत्तणं ॥ (१३, ३१)

54. Wealth, learning, kingship and the desired wife cannot be got by those who are in haste (always). Nor can they do any harm to the enemies, (13.31).

वंक्या (Crookedness)

५५ उवसारसहस्सेहि वि, वंकं को तरइ उप्पुयंकाउ ।
सीसेण वि बुब्भंतो, हरेण वंको विय मयंको ॥ (१५, ३४)

55. Even through thousands of obligations, who is able to convert a crooked person into a straightforward one? The moon is always curved even though it is carried no his head by god Śiva. (15.34)

वसण (Adversity)

५६ अत्थो हीइ अणत्थो, सयणे वि य परजणो, हियं अहियं
मिचं पि हवइ सत्तु आसन्ने वसणकालंभि ॥ (६, १४)

56. At the time of adversity, money is (the cause of) harm; a kinsman becomes stranger; a well-wisher turns out to be injurious; and a friend assumes hostility. (6.94)

५७ वसणावडिओ वि नरो, मञ्जुमुहुदसणविवरपत्तो वि ।
पुन्नापुन्नाण फलं, पावइ अहरेण सव्वो वि ॥ (८.६६)

57. Every person, even at the time when he is overtaken by adversity and has fallen into the mouth of death, full of teeth, gets soon the fruits of his own merit or demerit. (8. 66).

विहि (Fate)

५८ अन्नह परिचित्तिज्जइ, सहसिकदुज्जुएण हियएण ।
परिणमइ अन्नह च्चिय, कज्जारंभो विहि वसेण ॥ (६.६६) (७.३)

58. The beginning of any activity, which might have been thought of in a particular manner by one with a heart impelled by enthusiasm, results in a different manner due to Destiny. (6. 66) and (7.3).

सज्जण (Good Man)

५९ चइउं दोससमूहं, विरलं पिय गुणलवं पि गिण्हंति ।
सुयणा सहावउ च्चिय, परदोसपरम्महा जेण ॥
६० सुयणो न रुसइ च्चिय, अह रुसइ मंगुलं न चित्तेइ ।
अह चित्तेइ न जंपइ, अह जंपइ लज्जिओ होइ ॥
६१ अलमेत्थ वित्थरेणं, पज्जत्तं सज्जणोहिं सव्वं वि ।
जेण गुणगिण्हणरया, वेरीण वि नियसहावउ ॥ (११.१८-२०)

59. Leaving aside vices, the good men receive even a modicum of virtue, though rare, because they are, by nature, averse to the vices in others.

60. A good man does not get angry; if he gets angry, he does not think ill (of others): if he thinks ill, he does not speak (about it); and if (at all) he speaks, he feels ashamed of it.

61. Enough of prolixity here. Everything (that is there) has been obtained by good men, because they are, by nature, intent on acquiring virtues even from the enemies. (1. 18, 19, 20).

६२ वसणविउओ इयरो वि, उज्झउं नेय तीरइ भडाण ।
कि पुण सहोयरो वल्लो य जेदो पियातुल्लो ॥
६३ सुयणस्स विहल्लियस्स वि, पुणो वि सुयणेण हो[इ] उदरणं ।
पंकपु(प)डियं गहं दं, को कइइ वरमयं मोत्तुं ? ॥ (५.२९३-२९४)

62. It is not good for good men to leave aside the other person in adversity. Then, what to talk of that person who is his own brother, loving, elderly and fatherlike ?

63. A helpless good man can be uplifted by a good man only. Excepting a more powerful elephant who is able to drag out a powerful elephant that has stuck to the mud? (5. 293, 294),

६४ सुयणो सुद्वसहावो, अणुसासिञ्जं तो वि दुज्जणजणेण ।
छारेण दुप्पणो इव, अहिययरं निम्मलो जाओ ॥ (७.३४)

64. A good man of a pure nature, being ruled by a wicked man, becomes all the more pure like a mirror rubbed with ashes. (7. 34)

६५ दुज्जणजणवदणकिलामिओ वि पयइं न सज्जणो सुयइ ।
पञ्जरइ राहुमुहसंठिओ वि अमयं चिय मयंको ॥ (७.३५)

65. A good man does not give up his (good) nature though afflicted by the words of a wicked man, just like a moon which sheds nectar even though it is engulfed in the mouth by Rāhu. (7, 35).

६६ सुयणो सरलसहावो, अप्पाणं पि व परं पि मन्नेइ ।
न सुणइ कुळिलं पि मणं परस्स नियसच्छहावेण ॥

६७ सुयणो न याणइं च्चिच्च, खलस्स हिययाइं हुंति विसमाइं ।
अत्ताणहिययसुद्वत्तणेण हिययं समप्पेइ ॥ (१३.३५-३६)

66. A good man of pure nature takes the other as he takes himself. Due to his own good nature, he is not able to detect the crooked mind of the other.

67. A good man does not know that the hearts of the villains are not straight. On account of the purity of his own heart, he dedicates it to others. (13. 35-36).

सुयजन्म (Son's birth)

६८ जह य पईवो भयउइ, सयलं पि वरोयरं सुपज्जलिओ ।
तह किर कुलमुज्जांयइ, सुयज्जम्मो एत्थ लोमंमि ॥ (९.४)

68. The birth of a son brings lustre to family here in this world just as a well-lit lamp illumines the whole interior of the house. (9. 4).

पइण्ण (Miscellaneous)

६९ जीयं जलबिंदुसमं, संपत्तीओ तरंगलोलाओ ।
सुमिणयसमं च पेम्मं, जं जाणह तं कुणिज्जाह ॥ (८.५६)

69. Life is like a drop of water and the wealth as transient as the waving waves. Love resembles dream. Behave (then) in the light of your knowledge. (8. 56)

७० मच्चुसुहतिक्खदाढासमूहकोडीविवरध्पडियं पि ।
जइं रक्खिज्जईं पुरिसं नूणं जावाउयं दीहं ॥

७१ अणुपुंखमावहंता, [य] अणत्था तस्स बहुगुणा हुंति ।
सुहदुक्खकच्छपुडओ, जस्स कयंतो वहइ पक्खं ॥ (११.४२-३)

70. A man is saved if he has a long life, even though he might have fallen into crores of pits resembling the mouth of the god of death having sharp teeth.

71. Evils, following one after the other, turn out as good things in the case of one whose side is supported by the god of death who keeps with him both happiness and misery? (11. 42-43)

७२ पंथसमा नत्थि जरा, दारिद्र्यसमो पराभवो नत्थि ।
मरणसमं नत्थि भयं, बुधासमा वेद्यणा नत्थि ॥ (१५.२८)

72. There is no old age worse than a long way: no humiliation worse than death; and no pain worse than hunger. (15. 28)

७३ रुद्धेण किं गुणवरसम्पन्नवज्जिण, अत्येण किं किञ्चिण्हृत्थगण एण ।
ताणेण किं बहुजणाणुवगारण, मित्तेण किं वसणकज्जपरमुद्देण ? ॥ (१६.२१८)

73. Of what use is that beauty which is not accompanied with merits and valour? What is the good in (this) world of that wealth which is in the hands of a miser? Of what advantage is that knowledge which does not do any benefit to many people? And what is the meaning of having such a friend as is averse to duty at the time of adversity? (16. 218).

अपुण्यया (Ill Luck)

७४ वल्लभं अत्थ अपुण्यो, अदन्ति दारिं गुहं समुद्दं वा ।
पावहं तर्हि तर्हि सी, पुन्नेहिं विणा परिकिलेसं ॥ (४.७६)

74. An unlucky person meets with trouble, due to lack of luck, wherever he goes either to the forest, or to the den or to the cave or to the sea. (4. 76).

आसाबंध (Hope's Bondage)

७५ इययवेसपरिसंठियस्स संगमं पियसंगमं महंतस्स ।
आसाबंधो निचय माणुसस्स परिरक्खए जीयं ॥ (४.२८)

75. It is only the Hope's bondage that sustains the life of a man who has gone to a distant country and hankers after the union with his own dear and near. (4. 28).

कर्म (Action)

७६ पुण्यकयकम्मकं दुल्लएण, जं जस्स किं पि उक्खिस्सिं ।
नियथनिदाणे सुक्खं, सुहं व तं तेण भोत्तव्वं ॥ (८.६५)

76. Whatever misery or happiness is writ on (the plank of) one's forehead with a pen in the form of deeds done in the past, is, indeed, to be experienced by him (8. 67).

गुणसुद्विय-गुणहीण (Virtuous & Vicious)

७७ गुणसुद्वियस्स वयणं, महुषयसित्तो व्व पावसो भग्गं ।
गुणहीणस्स न सोह्मं, नेह्विहुणो जह पईवो ॥ (२.२२)

77. The words of a virtuous person are like rice-pudding mixed with honey and ghee while those of a vicious person are like a lamp without oil. (2. 22)

जिनवचन (Jina's words)

७८ लुत्तिस्त्रमं च त्रयणं कोहकसाय्याश्सुडणं परमं ।
हिंसाद्दोसरद्वियं परमपयविक्षेवणं गुज्जलं ॥ (१६.२६९)

78. The words of a Jina are logical; are (in effect) the destroyer of the passion such as anger etc.; are devoid of the fault of injury to any living organisms; are able to goad one on to the highest abode (salvation) and are mystical in significance (16. 269)

तप (Penance)

७९ सो य तपो कायव्वो, जेण मणो मंगुलं न नित्तेह ।
जेण य न इंदियहाणी, जेण य जोगा न स्वीयति ॥ (१६.७२०)

79. That penance should be practised due to which the mind does not harbour (any) bad thoughts; due to which the strength of sense-organs does not decrease and due to which the activities are not adversely affected. (16. 728)

दुल्लह (Rare)

८० उक्कल्लिण कवयं दिम्मं कम्मेण त्तिमसनाहस्स ।
सप्पुरिसपत्थणा जे कस्सिंति ते दुल्लहा हुंति ॥ (१५.४९)

80. Taking off his own armour, Karna gave it to the lord of the gods. Those who grant the request of the good are rare. (15. 49)

धम्म (Religion; Duty)

८१ धम्मो व्विचय चारमडो वेत्तव्वो पंडिण पुरिसेण ।
जो ठाह अगओ पासओ य वासे पयासे य ॥ (१५.६३)

81. A wise man should undertake religion which is as if it were a man of arm who stands in front, and by his side and when he is in his residence or is on a travel. (15. 63)

धीर (Brave man)

८२ ववसाउ च्विय धम्माण होइ एसो न चेव्वह्व्वाणं ।
ता धीर ! उज्जमिज्जउ, इमेण चवलेण देहेण ॥ (५.६९)

82. This is the activity of the lucky only. It cannot be of those who are never destined to get emancipation. Therefore, oh! brave man! do as much religious activity as you can with this body which is (after all) frail. (5. 64).

- ८३ पवणाहयजलकल्लोलसच्छहं विहवसंपयं ददुहं ।
धीरच्चियं कैइ कुणंति एत्थ पुननज्जणं पुरिसा ॥ (६६)
- ८४ खरपवणविहुयतामरसंचलं जीवियं कटेकण ।
धीरं च्चियं सुहविमुहं करेति तवसंजमुज्जायं ॥ (६७)
- ८५ पवणुद्धयजलहितरं गमं गुं जो घणं पि नाकणं ।
न हु धीरयरहिया उच्छहंति तवमरधुठवहणे ॥ (६८)
- ८६ घणविवरं तरखणदिट्टनट्टविज्जुसमंमि सयणंमि ।
रज्जंति न सप्पुरिसा परलोयकएण जे धीरा ॥ ६९ ॥
- ८७ कुसकोडिबिंदुतंठियसुचंचलं हवसंपयं नाउं ।
धीरा गिणहंति जए विरहैरयणं अणग्घेयं ॥ ७० ॥
- ८८ इय जीवियघणजोक्कणसयणसमागमकयाइं सोक्खाइं ।
मनंति असारहैं धीरं च्चियं संजमभिमुहा ॥ ७१ ॥ (५. ६४; ५. ६६-७१)

83. Seeing the prosperity and wealth as resembling the waves of water thrown above by the (breezes of) wind, it is only the brave persons who (try to) earn merit on this earth. (66).

84. Considering life as transient as the flower shaken by a strong gale, it is only the brave persons who make effort for penance and self-control becoming averse to happiness (67).

85. Knowing the youth to be as fleeting as the waves of the ocean pushed up by the blasts of the wind, the persons who are devoid of bravery do not become enthusiastic for carrying the yoke in the form of the burden of penance. (68).

86. Good persons who are brave do not become attached, for the sake of the next world, to the relatives who are as fickle as the lightning which becomes visible and invisible by turns every moment as it is seen in the interior of the clouds. (69).

87. Taking the abundance of beauty to be as evanescent as the drop of water resting on the tip of the blade of Durva grass, the brave persons accept the priceless jewel in the form of nonattachment. (70).

88. Thus the brave persons who have become inclined to self-control consider as worthless all the forms of happiness accruing from life, wealth, youth and the association with the the relatives. (71). (5. 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71).

नाण (Knowledge)

- ९० न य नाणदीवरहिओ कज्जाकज्जाइं जाणई पुरिसो ।
सो तस्स जाणणत्थं पढमं नाणं विद्याणेज्जा ॥ (२.३)

90. A man who has no lamp of knowledge, does not distinguish between a deed and a misdeed. Therefore, one must get the knowledge in order to know this, (2,3).

पारद्व (Fate)

९१ जं जेण जत्थ जइया, सुहं व दुक्खं व जीवलोयमि ।
तं सोऽवस्सं पावह. जइ वि सयं देवराओ ति ॥ (११.५४)

91. Whatever amount of happiness or misery one is destined to get in this world, he gets only that though he himself may be the lord of gods. (11. 54)

९२ रत्तं तथवल्लपमहसल्लियमूमंगतरल्लताराइं ।
मयणाइं गलेति विहिवसेण जरल्लज्जगेह व ॥ (१६.३१७)

92. Such eyes as are bright and tremulous; as have knitted eye-brows and amorous gestures; as are white and bushy and the ending parts of which are red, even ooze, due to fate, like a house having dilapidated ceiling. (16. 317)

पेम्म (Love)

९३ परिरुंभईं सोत्तपहे वलेइं हिययं जणेइं मइमोहं ।
पेम्मं विसं वयंतं विसं व दंतंतरनिहितं ॥ (१६.१३)

93. When love looses harmony, it blocks the ears, makes the heart spasmodic and produces delusion in the mind like poison placed between the teeth. (16. 13).

बंधुविरह (Bereavement from a relative)

९४ अल्लउट्टा अणुणागमपरभवसंकमणजणियसंतावो ।
सुमणे वि बंधुविरहो सुदुस्सहो होइ लोमि ॥ (६.२०२)

94. The bereavement from a relative even in dream is immensely unbearable in this world. What to talk, then of that grief which is brought about when (the bereaved) one has gone to the other world from which there is no coming back? (6. 202)

९५ धणिय कुलिणी वरि सरइं अन्नु भुणणि जसु पडहु वज्जइ ।
एत्थ समण्यइ मोक्खसुहुं, मोक्खि सोकखु किं कवलेहि खज्जइ ॥ ? (१५.१५)

95. The bliss of emancipation is realized here in toto in this world even, if and when an extremely noble housewife moves about in the house and fame is drummed about in the other world also. Why then should the bliss of emancipation be enjoyed by morsels (by stages)? Or can the bliss of emancipation be ever enjoyed in stages or at intervals! (15. 15).

राग दोस (Love & Hatred)

९६ रामाओ दोसाओ म्मेहाओ वा मणेइं अल्लियाइं ।
जस्स व एए दोसा मण अल्लिए तस्स को ओगो ? (१६.२६८)

96. One tells lies because of love, hatred, or infatuation. If one has not got these faults, where is the occasion for lies, tell? (16. 268).

विलंब (Delay)

९७ जं कलके कायम्बं अज्जं खियं तं करोहं तुरमाणा ।

बहुविम्बो च मुहुतो, मा अवरणहं पडिक्खेह ॥ (६.२०४)

97. Quickly do today what is to be done tomorrow. A good occasion is beset with many obstacles. Do not wait for the latter half of the day. (6. 204).

वेसा (Prostitute)

९८ चोण्डयं (?) भसिमंडियं पि रामंति अत्थलुद्धाओ ।

सिरिवच्छं कियवच्छं मुहाए विण्हं पि नेच्चंति ॥

९९ अदधत्स कारणद्वा मुहाइं जुबंति वंकरिसाइं ।

अणा णो च्चियं वेसो क्खं ताणं पिओ परो होउ ॥

१०० अन्नेण गहियमुक्का वज्जियनेहा पणट्टसम्भावा ।

उच्चिद्दुत्तलिं पिव भणं को वेसं समल्लियइ ? ॥

१०१ को नाम नरा जुंवे वेसामुत्तपं कयं मणि(ण)सिरामं ।

जुयकरचेडेत्तकरनरभडनिद्दहणं (निद्दवणं) मल्लं व ॥ (१४.२५-२८)

98. (The Prostitutes) who are greedy of money, play or dally with a man whose face is besmeared with grease and tarnished with jet. But they do not, even in mistake, desire Viṣṇu who has a bosom adorned with Śirivatsa.

99. For the sake of wealth, they kiss the faces which are crooked and unlikable. How can others be the object of love, when they have got to love their own self only ?

100. Tell, who would like to go near to a prostitute who is accepted and then abandoned, who is bereft of love and noble intentions as if she were a doll which is given up having been played with ?

101. What man would like to kiss the face of a prostitute, which, though lotus like and pleasing to the mind, is not fit for being spitted at by a gambler, servant, thief and sepoy even ? (14'25-28)

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SOME INTERVENING STORIES IN GUNAPĀLA'S JAMBUCARIYAM *

Boxing a tale into tale has been the practice with the Jaina writers whether of secular or religious literature. Sometimes it so happens that the main narrative recedes in the background and the intervening story or the illustrative parable becomes all in all as for example in Dhaneṣvara's *Surasundaricariyam*. This, of course, offends the artistic sense and sensibility but the Jaina writers are not worried about this. Even when they write, they preach and the role of a preacher cannot normally fall in line with that of an artist, pure and simple. Nothing which did not contribute to the cultivation of moral habits and elevation of the spirit could be accommodated in the dormitory of their mind and soul. Therefore, they allowed their moral muse to run her own course and sometimes she ran unfettered. But we should never forget that their goal in writing as in life was to enlighten, not to entertain; was to edify, not to amuse. Viewed as such, their literary works shone, despite the contrary opinions of the purists, as rich ornaments embellished with fine jewels and gems of intervening stories and illustrative parables fitted in with finesse at places where they should. They merely gave different direction to their talent as was contingent to their being spiritual teachers, first and last. Otherwise they were capable and qualified as artists nonpareil. This is evident in their very works from the gorgeous descriptions of cities, mountains, and rivers; of harems and royal courts; of natural scenes and sceneries; of man, women and children; of monks and nuns; of merchants and moneyed men; of battles and wars; of army and armaments; of arts and sciences and of parks and pavillions.

Guṇapāla's *Jambucariyam* edited for the first time by Acharya Jinavijayaji Muni in 1959 and published in the Bhavan's Singhi Jaina Series as No. 44 has got a number of illustrative stories and parables—as many as twentyfour. They are much more instructive than real history and also the most effective means of presenting and impressing both truth and duty. Though they are drawn from the passing scenes of life, Guṇapāla's genius is seen at its best in the judicious selection and effective employment of these small tales and parables. What would have been achieved by walking, has been achieved in strides. Guṇapāla flourished, almost certainly, in the eighth decade of the eleventh century of the Vikram Era. His *Jambucariyam* is a Prakrit Dharmakathā, in prose and verse, having sixteen uddeśas and giving a narrative account of the life of Jambu, the first patriarch of Jain Church after the last and the twenty-fourth Tirthamkara, Mahāvira.

* *Bhāratiya Vidya*, Vol. XXX, 1970.

Though not a prince, Jambu was princely in form and figure. He was handsome and attractive, symmetrical and proportionate. He was a standard for everything good and noble. His loveliness and grace were not unaccompanied by virtue. Thus he was a symbol of charm within and charm without. Hearing Sudharman's religious sermon, he makes up his mind to renounce the world and declares his determination to his parents who become simply stunned and stupefied. Parents' arguments and entreaties follow but they have no effect on Jambu who stands in his resolve as firm as a rock. Ultimately, the parents and the son meet half way. The parents propose that they would be satisfied and would not be further insistent if at least Jambu marries for a day even. Jambu agrees but at the same time announces in unmistakeable terms that he would renounce the world soon after the marriage and without breaking the vow of celibacy. Eight brides—all of matchless beauty are selected. Marriage takes place and soon after it is over Jambu makes ready for the final exit as planned. Now all eight wives, one by one, put forward pleas through parables dissuading Jambu from taking the contemplated step. Jambu puts forward arguments in defence of his decision to quit through an opposite set of parables. Thus a feast of parables, differing in contents and consequence, but on the whole, relishable, is served to us and we do enjoy. Ultimately Jambu has his own way and he starts on a soul's pilgrimage, accompanied by his wives who are convinced and converted his point of view and also by others. The whole episode, throbbing with thrill, is over by the night's end.

The parables which I have given below from Guṇapāla's Jambucariyam are, though found elsewhere afterwards, not found in any of the two works, so far, namely Vasudevahiṇḍi and Uttarapurāṇa which also deal with the account of Jambu's life and are earlier than Guṇapāla's Jambucariyam. The fact that they have been employed by Guṇapāla in his Jambucariyam for the first time is significant from more than one point of view though they have been availed of by the subsequent writers.

And now the stories :

(1) *The story of a Foolish Farmer*

Sindhumatī, the first of the eight wives, come forward and warned Jambu against thoughtlessly renouncing the world lest he might come to grief like the farmer.

As Jambu wanted to know about the farmer, Sindhumatī began to relate the story as under :

There was in bygone days an excellent city named Nandana in the country, called Magaha. There dwelt in that city a very poor farmer having a devoted wife. In course of time, he had a son by this wife. They both were extremely delighted at having a son as they both hoped that he would be a reliable prop in their old age. As the farmer's bad luck would have it, his wife died making the farmer and the son very unhappy. As there was none to look after the household affairs, the son requested the father to go in for a second marriage. But no one came forward to offer him a daughter firstly as it was feared that the farmer being well advanced in

age will not be able to procreate a son and secondly the farmer's son was a young man and so the daughter, if given in marriage, had no prospects to be happy at all.

The farmer wrongly thought that it was his son who blocked his way to second marriage. He, therefore, planned to do away with him so that no one would find a hitch to come forward to offer him his daughter. He fancied that he would, then, have a son by her.

As the farmer was preoccupied, while tilling the field, with the thoughts of killing his son, he, out of absentmindedness, cleared by ploughing that portion of the field also where the grains had already been sown. Seeing this senseless act of the father, the son mildly rebuked him saying "You have destroyed, father! what was already there for the sake of what is not there at all" and cited a stanza, in support of what he said, the meaning and significance of which was that one should not throw away what is already in hand in the hope of what is not in hand. A bird in hand is worth two in the bush—the son meant to say.

The farmer suspected that he was found out by his son because what the son said by way of mere observation had a veiled hint at what was passing in his mind at that time. He just collected himself and began to think with coolheadedness when he saw the field and found that he had, indeed, committed a mistake in ploughing that part of the field which was already sown with the seeds.

The farmer thanked his son in his mind for indirectly bringing him to his senses inasmuch as he now dropped the devilish design of putting an end to his son's life. The farmer thought wisely now that he would prove himself a fool by bargaining for a thing that was not existing at all in exchange for a thing which was already there in hand.

Sindhumi concluded advising Jambu that he should not veto the present happiness, promised by a conjugal life which is a dead certainty for the sake of a future happiness of the next world which is problematic. (JC, Uddesa. 9; pp. 96-197).

(2) *The Story of a Mindless Monkey*

Dattasiri, the second of the eight wives, hearing Jambu's plea for renunciation, sounds a warning to him that he would meet the fate of the miserable monkey if he throws away what is in hand for a thing which is uncertain.

On hearing Dattasiri, Jambu became curious and asked her to relate the story of the mindless monkey to illustrate what she meant.

She, then said :

There was a river, overflowing with water, named Bhāgīrahī on one of the banks of which there was a big cane tree. On one of its branches, a couple of monkeys was sporting.

Somehow due to inadvertence, the male monkey fell down in the river and was soon transformed into a very handsome young man due to the magical virtue of the river's waters.

Seeing this miracle, the female monkey who also wanted to take the chance, jumped into the river and was transformed instantly as before into a beautiful young lady as if proving the virtue of the waters correct.

Not satisfied with what he has got already, the mindless monkey gambled second time to get a better deal but failed. After a second jump, he was reduced to his original condition of a monkey instead of getting a godhood for which he had aspired while making a second bid.

The king who was on a hunting expedition chanced to come across the beautiful young lady (the female monkey) whom he took away and made her his queen.

Having forfeited the human existence which he has so luckily got and having also lost his wife, the only object of his happiness and solace, the monkey began to beat bosom and weep and wail his lonely sorry plight to which he was by his own shortsightedness and folly consigned.

Dattasiri pointedly drew the attention of Jambu not to throw away to winds the present promising life which is a dead certainly for the sake of a better life hereafter in the foolish manner of the mindless monkey of the story. The monkey, she summed up, was not content with what he has already got and staked, for a hypothetical better life which existed in imagination only.

So my dear ! may you also not go to monkey's way and fare ill as that-remonstrated Dattasiri. (JC, Uddesa, 10, pp. 99, 100).

(3) *The story of a Monkey and the Bitumen*

Jambu did not budge an inch even from the stand he had taken. Sindhumai, Dattasiri, Paumasiri and Paumaseṇā reiterated their views and arguments about the untenability of Jambu's resolve and cited illustrative parables to bring home to Jambu the fact of the matter.

Jambu sticking to his angle of thought with unshakeable faith rejoined forcefully that he was not as senseless, to be caught up into the snare of worldly pleasures, as that monkey who got his face, hands, and feet, one by one, immersed into the bitumen.

As Paumaseṇā requested Jambu to explain in details the significance of what he said, Jambu began :

In the Vindhya mountain, there lived a very strong monkey which alone enjoyed with female monkeys driving away other male rivals. Once a young and a strong monkey came over there who proved more than a match to the old one. A battle royal ensued between them both with the result that the former was routed away. Resigning to his fate, the old monkey fled away exhausted and wounded. He came over to a cave in the mountain thicket and there on one of the rocks he found bitumen (Silājatu) oozing which he mistook as water and began to lick it to allay his thirst. Bitumen clung stickily to his face which he could not remove. He tried to remove it with his hands and feet but they too got stuck up. Finally he met his doom being inextricably involved in the bitumen.

I am not stupid like that monkey, oh lady ! who ultimately got irretrievably lost in that liquid—affirmed Jambu. Good bye to the sensual pleasures once and for all ! (JC, Uddesa, 12; pp 120–121).

Concluding I would like to point out again that these illustrative parables are not found in the Vasudevahiṇḍī of Saṅghadāsa and Uttarapurāṇa of Guṇabhadra. They are also not found in any other works previous to Guṇapāla's Jambucariyam (JC). The source of Guṇapāla thus remaining untraceable, the only possible inference is that he might have availed himself of the vast canonical and commentarial literature as also the Nijjuttis, Cūṇḍis and Bhāṣas.

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SOMETHING ABOUT ARDHAMĀGADHI *

According to the Ceylonese tradition, Māgadhi was the language in which Buddha conversed his preachings and teachings. Māgadhi, one of the Aryan group of languages, was the language of Magadha. It had provincialisms in it and was developed from the language of the Ṛgveda which also had a number of varieties. Not only was it used by Buddha, but by Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra also.

Though Buddha and Mahāvīra employed Māgadhi, it is a little difficult to state what exact form of Māgadhi, they both used for their purposes. According to the general consensus of opinions among scholars, the Pāli Tripiṭakas represented the oldest form of the language of Magadha. But here also it is open to doubt as to how far the Pāli of the Tripiṭakas was the spoken language of one and all in Magadha. Buddha's religious wanderings were mainly confined to the central part of Magadha (where he orally conveyed his message. Buddha's pupils belonged to various castes, communities, and creeds before they were attracted to him. They came from different places and naturally enough they spoke different languages characterized with provincialisms. This phenomenon led to one inevitable result that the language employed by Buddha himself lost its original form and colour in course of time. This process of change went a step farther when the Bhikkhus assembled after about three centuries after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha to compile the preachings of Buddha. The compilation took its final shape in the reign of Aśoka and it is this very compilation that marched forth to Ceylon.

The preachings of Pārśva and Mahāvīra also fared almost the same fate. According to Jaina, the words of the Āpta are the Canon and this Āpta of the Jainas is none other than the omniscient Jina, the Conqueror, par excellence, of love and hatred. In other words, the words of the canon, pure and simple. This is the broad definition and it, therefore, refers exclusively to the spirit and not to the form. Though there are statements in the canon itself that Mahāvīra preached and conveyed his Gospel in Ardhamāgadhi, the statements are to be strictly figuratively interpreted in the light of the most un-orthodox character of the language he used.

Now, there are, as we saw above, two traditions. One is the Buddha and the other, the Jaina. According to the first, the Pāli of the Tripiṭakas and according to the second, the Ardhamāgadhi of the Jaina canon, is the real representative of the original language of Magadha. It is obvious that both cannot be true. Let us examine the point.

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Mahāvira's preachings went down unchanged to Sudharma and then to Jambu and lastly in this fashion to Svaymbhava. The first Vācanā took place in Pātali-putra after one hundred sixty years after Mahāvira's Nirvāṇa. It put the canon in an orderly form. Sthūlabhadra was the last of the pontiffs to preserve this form of the canon particularly. He died in about two hundred fifteen years after Mahāvira's Nirvāṇa, that is to say, in about three hundred twelve years before Christ. Till his death, the canon remained almost unchanged. Vikrama Samvat year, five hundred and ten, witnessed the last redaction of the canon at Valabhi.

Buddha's preachings received a final shape in the reign of Aśoka, in about three hundred and seven years before Christ. Regarding this tradition, there is some difference among scholars and even if we discount this tradition, there are two other proofs also which are historical. One is Aśoka's Inscriptions the language of which is Pāli and the date of which is uncontraversially fixed. The other is Vaṭṭagāmani Abhaya in whose time, one century before Christ, the Tripiṭakas were subjected to writing in a Pali language in Ceylon. There is no proof available about the antiquity of the Ardhamāgadhi language used in the Jaina canon as much as it is found about that of the Pali language used in the Tripiṭakas or even in Aśoka's Inscriptions. On the strength of the form of the Ardhamāgadhi language found used in the Jaina Canon, what most we can say is that it is a developed form of the Pāli. Nothing more than this is warranted. There are, indeed similarities between the two in some respects but this cannot entitle us to postulate a theory that Ardhamāgadhi is prior to Pāli. On the contrary, the reverse is the truth.

At the same time, Pāli also was not the national language of the whole of Magadha really speaking, Pāli sprang up from the provincial language spoken in the central part of Magadha. This very provincial language, the mother of the Pāli, in which Tripiṭakas are found written, was chosen by Buddha as a medium of his message. This is exactly what should be named as Māgadhi whose more developed form is the Māgadhi of Aśoka's Inscriptions which is also styled as Pāli. This Pāli had the honour of being employed as a national language in the reigns of the Nandas and the Mauryas as well as a language of the Bauddha scriptures and literature.

The conclusion is that Ardhamāgadhi is later and not older than Pāli.

Some of the facts leading us to the above conclusion can be briefly stated as follows :

- (1) Both Pāli and Ardhamāgadhi can be called by the general name "Prakrit"
- (2) Both Pāli and Ardhamāgadhi have their roots in the language called "Māgadhi" which was, at the time of both Buddha and Mahāvira, the spoken language of Magadha
- (3) Both Pāli and Ardhamāgadhi had in them the provincialisms of their own;
- (4) Both can be supposed to be connected through Māgadhi with the Ṛgveda;
- (5) Pāli was employed as a medium by Buddha and Ardhamāgadhi by Mahāvira;

- (6) Ardhamāgadhī got its name because it was either the spoken language of half of the Māgadhā or it had in it an admixture of Māgadhī, half to half;
- (7) Tripitakas were subjected to writing before the Jaina Canon was subjected to writing;
- (8) therefore, Pālī of the Tripitakas is older than Ardhamāgadhī of the Jaina Canon.

Both the languages have their own Grammars, Lexicons, and vast literatures both sacred and secular. In assessing the value of Aryan culture and civilization, the study of these two languages also is as indispensable as that of Sanskrit.

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A NOTE ON PRĀKRITS, APABHRAMŚA AND GUJARĀTĪ

The Indo-Aryan languages can be conveniently classified into three categories, namely, ancient, medieval and modern. The language that was spoken during the old Indo-Aryan period is represented by the languages of the Ṛgveda and also of the later Vedic literature. The language of the Epics, the language of Pāṇini and Patañjali as also the languages used by Kālidāsa and the writers who followed him took their shape after the various vernaculars spoken in this period.

Middle Indo-Aryan period is represented by Pāli and Prākṛit which appeared on the stage from the time marked by phonetic and grammatical changes which, occurring as usual with the passage of time, produced a language which was not essentially different from the language of the aforesaid old Indo-Aryan period. These Pāli and Prākṛits sustained its continuance upto about 1100 A.D. When, due to the natural phenomenon of phonetic and grammatical transformations, this time almost complete, a new type of language was born. It was just similar to the language of the modern vernaculars. For our knowledge of these Prākṛit of the Middle Indo-Aryan periods we are, more or less, dependent on the records, in the form of the Inscriptions and literary works, preserved at different times and places and chiefly consisting of Aśokan Edicts, Pāli canon of the Hinayāna Buddhists, Prākṛit canon of the Jains, Prākṛita of the plays, and the Prākṛita grammars.

It is difficult to trace the beginning of the third or modern period. However it can be assumed with some reason that it lay roughly somewhere between the latest form of Prākṛita, named Apabhramśa by Hemcandra (twelfth century A.D.), and the earliest poetry of the Old Vernaculars.

The middle Indo-Aryan period consists of three stages : (1) Old Prākṛta; (2) Middle Prākṛta; (3) Late Prākṛta or Apabhramśa. The Inscriptions from the 3rd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D., Pāli of the Hinayana cannon, the Jātakas, the canon of the Jainas and the Prākṛita of the early plays of Aśvaghōṣa, form the planks of the Old Prākṛta stage, with the dialects varying only in form in accordance with time and place. We know of the Middle Prākṛta stage as consisting of Māhāraṣṭrī, the language of the lyrics of the Deccan, the Dramatic Prākṛits, namely, Śaurasenī, Māgadhi etc. found in the plays of Kālidāsa and his successors as also in the Prākṛta Grammars, the dialect of the post-canonical Jaina works and of Paiśāci employed in the Bhṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, and lastly of the Apabhramśas standing for the old colloquial speech that supplanted the Prākṛta type of speech used in the plays as it had become already archaic.

We use the word 'Prākṛt' to mean two things. One is that which is derived from or belongs to 'Prakṛti'. This is its primary meaning and is exactly opposed to 'Vikṛti'. The other is that which is 'common', 'unpolished'. This is its secondary meaning and hence it has a loose sense. It is possible that it is in this second and loose sense that the Śauraseni work 'pāuda' and the Māhārāṣṭri word 'pāua' were first used to indicate the ordinary common speech which is distinctly different from *Samskṛta* which, as we know, means highly polished and perfected language.

But the main question was "What is or should be called 'Prakṛti'?" The Grammarians of the later days took 'Prakṛti' to mean 'Samskṛta'. This meaning of theirs, though historically untenable, is perfectly understandable on the ground that they trace Prākṛit forms to Sanskrit forms. But the Āryan form suggested to explain a Prākṛit form is not found in Sanskrit at all or is found in a work of a later origin where it becomes immediately and also abundantly clear that it had been directly borrowed from Prākṛit.

If we mean by Sanskrit the Vedic language and all the dialects of the old Indo-Aryan period, we are more than justified in saying that all the Prākṛits have their origin ultimately in Sanskrit. But on the other hand if it is meant that Sanskrit stands here only for the classical Sanskrit we are hopelessly wrong in hazarding such a hypothesis.

The early grammarians and rhetoricians as also the modern scholars no doubt compared the Prākṛit word with the Sanskrit word. In doing so, their only intention was to draw our attention to the striking similarity existing between both. They never meant thereby that Prākṛit originated from Sanskrit.

Considering that the word Prākṛit has been used to mean a natural spoken language, quite distinct from the literary learned language, some writers have classified it into three divisions, namely, Primary, Secondary and Tertiary and all these together mean the natural spoken dialects of the three great periods, referred to above.

The Oldest Prākṛit recorded is found in the Inscriptions of Aṣoka. Pāli originally meaning a "line" was applied to the canon of the Hīnayāna Buddhists. Thence it is used of the language of that canon and is found in some non-canoncial books also. It retains more of the old grammatical system than Ardhamāgadhī. The *ātmanepada* is commoner and Aorists abound. The Buddha was supposed by tradition to have preached in Māgadhī. Therefore, Pāli should be Māgadhī. As a matter of fact it is not. The Nom. Sing. in 'O' and the presence of *sa, ra, ja* show this clearly. Whatever may be the truth, it is clear that Pāli contains several different strands in its composition the oldest being what is seen in the Gāthas.

The Dramatic Prākṛits, namely, Māhārāṣṭri, Śauraseni and Māgadhī as also the Prākṛits of the Jaina canon, namely, Ardhamāgadhī, Jaina Māhārāṣṭri and Jains Śauraseni as well as the Late Prākṛit also called Apabhraṃṣa are more important literary Prākṛits.

Māhārāṣṭrī is regarded as the Prakrit par excellence. Prakrit Grammarians formulated rules for this Prakrit, first. For others, they made special *sūtras* and then said 'The rest is like the Māhārāṣṭrī'. The lyrical poetry written in this Prakrit became famous even beyond the limits of Māhārāṣṭra. This Prakrit carries farther than other Prakrits the general rule of omitting single consonants between vowels. This Prakrit is not the mere invention of the poets but it is based on its predecessors, the old spoken language of the country lying round about the river, Godāvāri. The origin of the peculiarities of the modern Marāṭhī can be found in this Prakrit. It was employed in Prakrit epics such as the *Gauḍavaho* as well as in *Setubandha*, *Gāthā-Saptasatī*, *Kumārapālacarita* and such other works.

Śauraseni got its name from Śurasena, the country round about Mathurā in the Madhyadeśa and is used as an ordinary Prakrit in the Sanskrit drama by the ladies and the jester and in *Karpūramañjarī* even by the king. It should be noted that this Prakrit is the nearest to Classical Sanskrit. Its habitat is the same country and is, therefore, the direct descendent of the spoken language on which Classical Sanskrit was generally based. It is thus an intermediate stage coming between Sanskrit and western Hindi on which Literary Hindi is based. It has been referred to by Rhetoricians like Daṇḍin, Rudraṭa. Vāgbhata and others and examples illustrating it are found in the Prakrita Grammars of Vararuci, Hemacandra, Kramadīvara. Lakṣmidhara and Mārkaṇḍeya.

Māgadhi is the Prakrit of the East. It hails from ancient Magadha not far from the land of modern Māgahī, a variation of Bihāri. It is usually employed by the low characters in the plays. Dhakkī is a variety of Māgadhi occurring in the *Mṛcchakaṭīka*. Special phonetic changes mark it out from other Prakrits. ञ is substituted by ञ and र by ञ. Usually ञ remains and the nominative singular of—*a* stems ends almost in —*e*.

Ardhamāgadhi is a variety of Prakrits based on the dialect spoken between Śurasena and Magadha. The oldest available Jaina canon is written in this Prakrit. Its phonetic character is similar to that of Māgadhi in certain respects. Traces of old grammar are detected more in it than in Śauraseni and its independence from Sanskrit is much more marked. The name of this language is explained as having half the nature of Māgadhi or also as current in half the country of Magadha. Both are equally probable. Hemacandra calls this language as *Ārṣa* which means 'belonging to the sages'. The main distinguishing features of this Prakrit are that it preserves like Māgadhi, at least in its older phase as far as it can be ascertained, the change of *r* to *l* and the Nom. Sing. in—*e*, Hemacandra's *Kumārapālacarita* and *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* as also *Hammiramadamardana* and Ṣaḍbhāṣāstotras have got specimens of this Prakrit in them.

The non-canonical books of the Śvetāmbara Jains were written in a form of Māhārāṣṭrī that has been termed Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī. Vast literature dealing with the lines of the lives of the Tīrthakṛaras, stories, logic, philosophy, metaphysics and even

geography is found written in this Prākṛit. While referring to this Jain Māhārāṣṭrī by name, the old Grammarians did not mean to say that it was a different Prākṛit but it was the modern scholars who differentiated it from the Māhārāṣṭrī in the sense that there was found a little change in the Māhārāṣṭrī used in the Śvetāmbara Jain works and this justified them to give it the name of Jain Māhārāṣṭrī. *Paumacariya*, *Upadeśa-mālā*, *Samarāiccakahā* and *Supasaṅhacariya* are some of the Jain works written in this Prākṛit.

The language of the works of the *Digāmbara* Jains is Jain Śauraseni. *Pravacanasāra*, *Dravyasaṅgraha* etc. are written in this Prākṛit. It has got mixed characteristics of Ardhamāgadhī employed in the Śvetāmbara Jain canon and Śauraseni referred to by Prākṛit Grammarians.

Apabhraṁṣa has been used in India for anything differing from Sanskrit as the standard of correct speech or for spoken languages as distinct from literary Prākṛit, with Āryan as well as Non-Āryan languages included or as a literary form of any such vernacular. Apabhraṁṣa was used as a medium for bardic poetry from Bengal in the East to Rājputānā in the West. Voluminous epics such as *Mahāpurāṇa* etc. are available in Apabhraṁṣa. It would be a mistake to believe that there was no secular literature in Apabhraṁṣa as is now proved by the publication of the *Sandesa-rāsaka*. Its regional varieties are seen in the *Rāsas* in western India and in the works of Vidyāpati in the east. It is this Apabhraṁṣa language wherein lies concealed the key to the origin and development of mediaeval languages. Indications of its use are found in the dramas such as *Vikramoryaṣīya*, *Dharmābhayudaya* etc; in *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, *Paumacariya* and others and in *Bhavissayaṣṭakahā*, *Karakaṇḍucariyam* etc., etc. Earlier authorities recognize these varieties of Apabhraṁṣa, namely, Vṛācaḍa, Nāgara and Upanāgara. The only literary Apabhraṁṣa described in detail by the grammarians is the Nāgara which appears to have belonged to Gujarat. *Vṛācaḍa* which is generally associated with Sindh, was comparatively more archaic. Hemacandra has preserved many quotations from the Apabhraṁṣa literature of the earlier centuries. A perusal of them makes it clear that the literature of the time was mythological, religious, didactic, erotic and heroic.

As stated by the late Dr. K. M. Munshi in his "Gujarat and Its Literature", "Old Gujarātī is the language spoken in Gujarāta since 1088 A.D. as we find the earliest reference to it in Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*. Hemacandra had it in mind too when in *Kāvyaṅuśāsana* he mentioned the *grāmya* or the vulgar variety possessing literature of its own as distinguished from Apabhraṁṣa proper. Its earliest available literature which dates back to the twelfth century clearly indicates pre-existing literature. Old Gujarātī exhibits a progressive tendency to become analytic. It develops a phonetic change by which a double consonant is simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened. The indistinctly pronounced vowel at the beginning of a word is dropped. A positive tendency to substitute the Apabhraṁṣa form of words by its Sanskrit equivalent comes into existence pointing out that Old Gujarātī was developing into

a literary language. *Bharateśvarabāhubali Rāsa*, *Jambusvāmicarita*, *Revantagiri Rāsa* are some of the earliest available typical works written in Old Gujarātī. *Mugdhavabodha*, a text-book of Sanskrit Grammar with explanations in Old Gujarātī and belonging to the first decade of second half of the 14th century deserves special mention. The earliest folk literature of the Indo-Aryans was associated with the dance called *Rāsa*. The *Saptakṣetrirāsa*, an Old Gujarātī work of 1271 refers to two kinds of *Rāsa*, namely, *Tāla Rāsa* and *Lakṣa Rāsa*. The *Rāsa* sung in the spring festival describing its glories was called *Phāga*. The earliest available *Phāga* is the *Sthulibhadraphaga* of 1324. A love poem, set to popular tunes, was another poetic form, the earliest specimen of which is *Nemināthacatuspadikā* (C. 1269). Somasundara, a Jain Sādhu of great literary eminence (1374-1446) wrote one *Rāngasāgara Nemiphāga* which is a charming poem. This was followed by *Raṇamallachāṇḍa* of Śrīdhara (C. 1390) which celebrates the heroic deeds of Raṇamalla of Iḍar and *Kāṇhāḍadeprabhandha* (C. 1456) of Padmanābha of Visalanagar and a poet-laureate of Akherāj which deals with the struggle which Gujarāt made for self-preservation, in a style, though not as elegant as Bhālaṇ's and which maintains a high level of expressiveness. This was later on followed by the *Ākhyāna* literature of which Bhālaṇ may be called the father. The *Kādambarī* is perhaps the best of his works. In the fourteenth century, the classics and the philosophies receded in the background and the cult of *Bhakti* became the most potent factor. This *Bhakti* was invested with all the attributes of earthly love. It spread from Vrāṇḍāvan into Gujarāt in the sixteenth century and perhaps the two greatest poets Mīrā and Narasiṃha were influenced by the Sādhus and Bhaktas of this sect. Mīrā is claimed by Gujarāt, Rajputanā and the whole of the Mathurā region and recently by the Hindi-speaking world as a Hindi Poet. But during the century in which she lived there was only one language in these parts, Old Gujarātī or Old Western Rājasthānī, and it is no wonder that her *padas* are now found in all the different present day varieties of that language. In the sixteenth century, Narasiṃha Mahetā voices the new impulse of *Bhakti* in Gujarāt. His *padas* and *prabhasiās* are too well known. This was followed by Popular Fiction at which many noted amongst whom are Lāvāṇyasamaya and Nayasuṇḍara, tried their hands. In the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries restricted life drove restive minds to harp upon the worthlessness of the world. Akho voiced this gospel through his *chappās* and other philosophical works. His *Akhegītā* expounds the Advaita philosophy in a telling manner. He did not claim to be a poet but a *Jñāni*, a student of philosophy. This class of Cheerless literature of which he is the recognized representative consists of monotonous *padas*, mostly on *Jñāna* and *Vairāgya* praising other-worldliness and despising the joys of life. The beginning of the seventeenth century witnessed a new literary tradition in which the form, the expression and the technique together with its framework were made a medium for a realistic treatment of life. Premānand is the greatest literary figure of the age. His *Okhāharāṇa*, *Māmeruṇ* and *Nalākhyāna* are the typical examples. The sect of Svāminārāyaṇ greatly influenced the life as it was lived in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The speciality of the literature

produced in this century lay in its antagonism to epicurianism. Weariness was its predominant note. This was later removed by Dayarām (1767), a genuine poet whose wings were unclipped by convention and who roared high in search of real art and emotion. His genius was lyrical and found a suitable vehicle in the garabīs in which he has so arranged his words that sense and sound and meaning blended in harmony to express one brief experience with perfect art. With him practically comes to a close the period of Old Gujarati.

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MUNI JINAVIJAYAJI—MY TRIBUTE AND REMINISCENCES *

Ācārya Muni Jinavijayaji breathed his last in the early hours of Thursday, the 3rd June, 1976 at the ripe age of about eighty-nine, in Ahmedabad, in his own bungalow, named Amekānta Viṭar. He left this mortal body, only to become immortal.

He was a *kṣatriya* by caste and belonged to a famous Rājput clan of farmers of Rājasthān. His original name was Kishan Singh and the names of his mother and father were Rājkomari and Vṛddhisimbaji respectively. He was born in 1888 A.D. in the small village called Rupāhali in Mewār in the erstwhile Udayapur State. He lost his father at the tender age of eleven. A certain Yati, Devisimbaji knew from his external physical signs that the boy was going to be extraordinary and this prompted him to put up a demand to Kisan's father that he be offered to him as pupil. This contact with the old, experienced Yati who was well-versed in Āyurveda and Astrology planted in the mind of Kisan the seeds of detachment which naturally drove him to join the sect of the naked Bābā who was the head of a holy place which was in those days known as Sukhānandji. In course of time, he came across a Mārwarī Jain monk whom he eventually accepted as his Guru leaving the Bābā in the hope that he would thereby be able to quench his thirst for knowledge. But it proved to be his delusion because the restraints of tradition turned out to be too unbearable and in one of his crucial moments he decided to bid goodbye to the customary costume of a Jain monk and he actually threw it away in the ruins on the banks of the river Kāṣṭhā round about Ujjain. After this, he became a free bird and wandering here and there he came over to Gujarat. From here, he again went back to Mārwar and accepted initiation at the hands of Muni Sundervijayaji, a Jain monk, at Pāth, who named him as Jinavijayaji. Since he lost his father, his pursuit for knowledge went on unabated and with full vigour during all his wanderings from one place to another. He read as much as he could also committed to memory as much as he could. Without wasting one moment even, his worship of Goddess of Learning continued non-stop with faith, devotion and interest. From here onwards he developed and maintained throughout the zest for research and editing. This devotee of learning was able and lucky enough to get in full measure, the co-operation and good will of such savants as Pandit Sukhāṅgi and Muni Kānti Vijayaji. Those are, indeed, fortunate who have seen Panditji and Muniji, the two stalwarts in their own lines, talking, laughing and cracking jokes and relishing them. Titan is only one, but here we see two. Muniji's struggle and strenuous

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effort to satisfy his great hunger for knowledge are such as can well match with those of Rāhulji and Kosāmbiji and it is gladdening to note that all the three achieved as much as they aspired. Jain Monks are forbidden to read at night but Muniji thought that if he followed this prohibitory order in its letter and spirit, it is he who will be the worst sufferer and loser. So he found a way out to read at night with the help of a battery keeping it concealed under the cover of a blanket with which he wrapped himself at night when other co-pupils who were sleeping by the side did not even get a glimpse of it. And who supplied such a battery to a beggar monk ? It was none other but Pandit Sukhlalji who is noted for his balanced reformist views. We realize that there is no limit to labour and human endeavour, when we see the photo of Muniji taken at a time when he came out with a beard and no hair-cut, adding dignity and majesty to his frail frame, from the Bhāṇḍār at Jesalmer where he had gone to see the manuscripts and to make notes therefrom which he did sustaining himself throughout with bread and tea. During the period of monk-hood, when he came to Pāṭaṇ in course of his wanderings, not a single manuscript from the Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭaṇ was left out uninspected. Other scholars had to depend on Aufrecht's catalogus catalogorum for the information about the manuscripts such as the date, author and subject while we, his pupils, found in him a living Aufrecht in body and soul. From Pāṭaṇ, Muniji went to Baroda where he read out and made notes from all relevant books which were available to him from the Central Library and others also. From Baroda he came over to Bombay and then to Poona where he met Tilak and Gandhiji for the first time. It was here that the views were exchanged between Gandhiji and Muniji about the opening, in the Gujarāt Vidyā-piṭh, of a department of Oriental Studies and Antiquities (Purātattva) the charge of which he ultimately had to take. As he had to undergo a number of hardships and handicaps which a monk as faithful and conscientious as Muniji has to without a grumble, he decided once for all to give up the costume, paraphernalia and the way of a monk's life. Ultimately reason prevailed on sentiments and he had perhaps with great hesitation a divorce from external monkhood, remaining a real monk at heart, and got wedded with research. From here he went to Ahmedabad, not on foot but by train for the first time, to see Gandhiji on his invitation in connection with the opening of and managing the aforesaid department of Oriental Studies and Antiquities. This change-over from the life of a Jain monk to that of a Jain layman was not occasioned out of any disgust for or disregard to monkhood but merely out of genuine devotion to research and literary activities which he has subsequently and abundantly proved beyond doubt, living every moment of his life for the cause and even dying for it. From this moment till the end, his worship to the Goddess of Learning was total as nothing-literally nothing-could deflect him from the path he had chosen. During the period of about eight years here, he edited and published eight very important and original works. His fame spread far and wide, in and outside India. In about 1928, he left the shores of India for Germany, in response to an invitation which he had the good luck to get from Dr. Herman Jacobi, an internationally reputed scholar of Jainism. With a

plenty of material bearing on problems of research which he had the good and great opportunity to collect and having fully exploited the situation for giving a scientific form and colour for which German scholarship is noted to his knowledge and experience about research, when he came back to India, he heard the irresistible clarion call of Gandhiji to participate in his march to Dāṇḍi. He then at once decided to join it and also went to jail. After this he went to Shanti Niketan on Tagore's invitation which he was very much pleased to accept. Here Muniji was asked by Tagore to lay the foundation of the Institute of Oriental Studies as a part of Shanti Niketan which was named as Jain Jñānapīṭh. He also availed himself here of enriching his knowledge and experience by constant contact with such giants in research as Vidhushekhar Bhāṅgāchārya and Kshitimohan Sen. Just at this time K. M. Munshiji was thinking to found an institution for Post-graduate research and studies in Bombay on an all-India basis. Munshiji found in Muniji the only appropriate person for implementing his gigantic scheme. Moreover, they had been earlier known to each other. So Munshiji immediately sent an invitation full of love and regard to Muniji who soon rushed to Bombay and laid the foundation of the present Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan in 1938 in an atmosphere of very high hopes which, we are in a position to say, have been fully fulfilled. Remaining throughout his stay here as its Hon. Director and the Head of the Department of Jain Studies, Muniji carried out in full swing the work of publishing as editor very bulky and important volumes relating mainly to Jainology under the auspices of unique Singhi Jain Series which forms an integral part of the Bhavan so far as its publishing activities are concerned. Muniji left nothing undone to be of use and assistance to Munshiji in building up and consolidating the reputation of the Bhavan. Muniji had always cherished a desire to do something of everlasting value in his native place. The urge was becoming keener day by day and as he was never in the habit of sticking to one place for ever, he went to Jaipur from here at the request of the then Chief Minister, Shri Hirālaji Shāstri, to found yet another Institute of Research there. He planned and put it on a sound basis and remained till his end its virtual head. He, thereafter, went to Chanderia in Chittor and founded Sarvodaya Sādhanā Āshram. At Chittor he laid the foundation of Bhāṅgāshā Bhāratī Bhavan and the Kīrtimandir of Haribhadra Suri, thereby discharging his debt to Haribhadra Suri who was a symbol of love and regard to him throughout his life. With the Sarvodaya Sādhanā Āshram he was so much identified that while dying at Ahmedabad he had expressed his desire that his funeral rites should be performed and he should be laid to rest at Chanderia. Muniji was instrumental in establishing for the preservation, progress and propagation of Oriental learning and literature, four centres at Ahmedabad, Shanti Niketan, Bombay and Jodhpur in the manner of Ādi Shankarācharya who did so for the preservation of Hinduism in East, West, South and North. He brought thousands of books, valuable and rare, in donations for the Oriental Institute at Poona and Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan at Bombay. To the scholars of future generations, he provided ample material

for research by editing and publishing, single-handed, very big, original and important volumes as many as hundred. A lone, lanky man named Muniji did this stupendous work without any assistance from anywhere which no Institute would have been able to do in course of twenty-five years even and with the assistance of a dozen scholars.

As I was his close associate, I had a number of occasions to see him with my own eyes working in the chair, with proof-reading or making a copy of the original manuscript or consulting books or looking into the manuscript with the help of a magnifying glass or settling the variants of the manuscripts, weighing pros and cons in his mind. If he found even a small mistake of a comma or a colon, he would run to the Press and take the people in charge to task, but would not be satisfied by doing this on 'phone'. If he saw that there was an error in the printed form, he would sometimes cancel the whole printed form without minding the additional expenses. Such was his definition of perfection, punctiliousness or conscientiousness, whatever we may call it!

Muniji had throughout been the chief Editor of a Gujarati quarterly, named Purātattva dealing with Indology and started by the Gujarāt Vidyāpiṭh and also a Hindi quarterly named Bhāratīya Vidyā, instituted by the Bhavan. We come across references to Muniji's earlier contribution which consisted of the publication of about twenty-two works beginning from Jain Tattva Sāra to Prabandha Kośa according to the volume in the series called Grantha Ane Granthakāra brought out by the Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā. Besides having published most authoritative literature on and about Rājarsi Kumārapāla, which is the last word, he had been either the author or the editor of a hundred and odd bulky and indispensable volumes such as 'Purātattva Saṃśodhaka Pūrva 'Itihās', 'Haribhadraçāryasya Samayanirṇaya' in Sanskrit (this was eloquently praised by Herman Jacobi who took it as a reliable basis to settle the chronology of the 8th and 9th century), Prabandha Kośa, Prabhāvaka Caritra, Vijñapti, Triveṇi, Bharateśvara Bāhubali Rāsa, Sandeśa Rāsaka, Kuvalāyamālā, Bhoja's Śṅgāramānjari, the unavailable commentary of Yogghama on Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, etc. etc. It should also be noted that most of Muniji's publications have seen the light of the day for the first time. It was Muniji who employed his will, skill and zeal for publishing important Pāguṣ and Rāsas which contain unavoidably useful material that can help us in reconstructing the history of the medieval Gujarāt from the viewpoints of linguistics and philosophy.

In order to increase and enrich his knowledge and methodology of research he tried to get the working knowledge of German language as much of fundamental and original research in Jainology has been done by the German scholars. He was a co-worker of such distinguished scholar as Kosambiji, Kalkar and Kripalaniji in the Gujarāt Vidyāpiṭh and a very intimate friend of Pandit Sukhlalji (who died recently), Pandit Becherdasji, Ramnarayan Pathak and Rasiklal Parikh. It was at his hands that a number of pupils like myself were trained.

Under the auspices of Thakkar Vasanti Madhavji Vyakhyānamāṅga, he had delivered a series of lectures at the invitation of the Bombay University. He was awarded Padmaśrī by the Government of India in 1963. He had the rare honour of presiding over the Religion and Philosophy section in the conference organized by the Gujarat Sahitya Parishad and held under the Presidentship of Gandhiji. He conducted ably the proceedings of the Gujarat Itihāsa Parishad as its honoured President. But the greatest honour ever done to an Indian was given to him by the German Oriental Society by nominating him as its member when the seat fell vacant by the demise of the previous member. The society has thirty members selected from different countries holding worldwide reputation as scholars who have outstanding contributions to their credit and they are nominated by a panel unanimously when the demise of a member occurs and the seat falls vacant. Being his close associate, pupil and assistant, I was the first recipient of this information from him which while giving, he had tears of gratitude and joy in his eyes, I fully remember.

Muniji was requested by the late Shri Bahadur Sinhji Singhi to be in sole charge of the Singhi Jain Series which was inaugurated at Muniji's suggestion to commemorate the sacred memory of his departed pious father, Shri Dalchandji Singhi. The late Babu Bahadur Sinhji who was generous beyond limit not only never asked Muniji to submit an account but on the contrary, he insisted and permitted him to spend as much as he liked for the betterment of the Series.

Muniji used to tell me a number of personal anecdotes and experiences interspersed here and there with the events and episodes of his life when we sat together in the evening, in a relaxed mood, after the day's work was over. He became suddenly so silent and did not utter even a syllable for a moment as he was so overpowered with emotion when he referred to the supremely munificent and enlightened nature of the late Babu Bahadur Sinhji. Field of research would not have so excellently developed had Muniji a gifted scholar of eminence and an indefatigable worker and Babuji, [an abridged edition of Ford and Rockefeller in India not been combined together by the benign and benevolent Destiny just in the manner of Jupiter and Moon a combination of which augurs well for the native in astrological terms.

Muniji's exteriors fully matched his royal interior. He had inspiring, dignified and respectable outside as he had pure, emotional and forgiving inside. He was six feet and a little more in height and was neither fat nor lean though, of course he had a tilt towards lankiness. He could be fully seen only if we raised our head a little skyward. He wore a Khaddar dhoti going fairly beyond his knees but not reaching the ankles. He put on usually a silken Kafni but very rarely a shirt also. He wore black glasses having a fine frame, which enhanced his majesty. With advancing age he had introduced two more things; one, a woollen Jawahar jacket or some-

thing like a Bandi and the other, a Mujjhafferpuri cane. The footwear (chappals) was simple but while taking a stroll in the house black-coloured Mojadis adorned his feet. When he suffered from cold or cough he protected his head, in the manner of Vinobaji, with something like a wollen scarf that hung over his shoulders and applied Mentholatum Balm (and none other) to his nostrils and inhaled down deep. He was so much in love with this balm that he strongly and often recommended it to me. My habit of using it till today is a relic of his sincere feelings for me. Powdered Quinine Hydrochloride (not tablets and that also of P. D. & Co.) was always there in his pocket. He told me that it was the only drug that was a panacea for all his physical ills and ailments. While going out he put a little change of money in his pocket, but not more. He was very fond, I may be excused if I say, rather mad after fine fountain pens and furniture. Fountain pens with fine nibs, finer nibs, still finer nibs filled with inks of different colours always adorned his writing table. Red and blue pencils well mended were ready on the stand to serve him when he wanted. He called the carpenter at his place, gave him measurements to an inch of the articles of furniture to be made and saw to it that they were fully carried out. Even then if anything went against his want and wish he had them remade and the process went on three or four times. When the furniture was finally made to his requirements, there was a glow on his face which cannot be described in words. He was truly inspired in his literary activities when he used the tools and articles of his choice. He was simple, if anything, inside and outside. He gave up monkhood not because he wanted to live a luxurious life but because he wanted certain concessions and latitude without which no one can do any literary activity worth the name. I had never seen him sleeping on a cotton bed. A bare wooden cot in which a cotton sheet was spread, was sufficient. I had never seen him spending more than necessary for himself, though he was liberal in giving to others. Thus we are justified in saying that he remained a monk at heart though he abandoned monkhood which is formal and external.

He was very fond of tea and the powder he used was superfine. The manner of preparing it was also artistic. Many a time he offered tea to me prepared by himself saying "Gopaniji! take it." I remember these words ringing in my ears and it brings tears in my eyes even when I am writing these words. It was, indeed, very kind of him that he always addressed me as "Gopaniji" and not bare "Gopani" even though I was an assistant under him, younger in age and many times inferior to him so far as research and art of editing are concerned and even otherwise. What a tender and soft heart he had! He was every inch royal, cultured and forgiving. One could go easily and fearlessly to Muniji. With Pandit Sukhlalji the case was different. Before going to Panditji one had to prepare one's self. To Muniji, one could do so even offhand. This is not meant to imply anything but temperamental peculiarity. Muniji was emotional, Panditji rational.

Once Muniji was travelling in a local train in Bombay. Passengers surrounding him began to talk amongst themselves that he was Rajaji. Some expressed a doubt arguing that Rajaji was in jail. Muniji overheard this talk, and said with a laugh that he was, indeed, Rajaji, but only externally as he was tall, lean with black spectacles and wearing khadar Dhoti and a Kurta like Rajaji. While narrating this incident to me he laughed so heartily that even at this moment I have not forgotten it. He was as quickly reconciled as he was excited. He could never tolerate non-sense when hard facts of research and history were concerned. He had no axe to grind nor had he a partisan attitude in purely historical matters. To him truth was, truth once and for ever. If any one distorted or twisted it, he would erupt like a volcano without caring who the other person was. But he would clam down the next moment with words : "Oh ! it is not that but it is like this".

The first occasion on which I had the good luck of meeting Muniji occurred at Ahmedabad when I was staying just in the vicinity of Bharati Nivas Society where he stayed. I was reading at that time for my M.A., I had many occasions since then to go to Pandit Sukhlaji and Muniji both of whom stayed together in the same bungalow. I used to read English books on philosophy to Panditji who wanted to get a smattering knowledge of English this way. I was really surprised at the phenomenal memory of Panditji who, without any schooling, any tuition, and knowledge of grammar etc. etc. picked up so much in such a short time that he was able to understand any book in English after six months. This paved the way for me to almost become an inmate of their household. It was a sight for the god even to see when our late Rashtrapati, Dr. Radhakrishnan and the late Dr. A. B. Dhruva came to see Panditji with a view to getting some decisive clarifications on knotty philosophical problems. I was an eye-witness to this. It was indeed, soul-stirring.

In June, 1939, I came to Bombay on an advice from Muniji to join him as his assistant, leaving Rajkot where I was serving in the Dharmendra Sinhji Arts College and it was here under him that I got my Ph.D. It was he who initiated me into the intricacies of research and the art of editing himself being a past master in both these. The seeds of my future academic career were sown here at this time by Muniji. My contact and association with him has a ring of intimacy which was maintained till his death. I am not able to discharge even a fraction of the deep debt of obligation which he conferred on me. In my rise and fall, happiness and misery, prosperity and adversity, he always stood by my side sharing in my joy and sustaining in my sorrow. His affectionate regard and sympathy for me are the plus side of my life. Today he is no more and I feel helpless and orphaned. There cannot be a greater tragedy and also a greater fun played by providence. But life is like that and we have to face it with courage and confidence.

My thousands of salutations to Muniji who created a band of workers like myself ! My thousands of obeissance to Muniji who gave without stint to his pupils what he possessed, who worshipped and adored the goddess of learning till he permanently closed his eyes ! But the mourning disappears before the indescribable feelling of joy which we experience when we take into account his colossal output, his unflinching and uninterrupted devotion to the goddess of learning, his generosity, culture and adherence to truth and nothing but truth. His whole life was a saga of sacrifice at the altar of scholarship, erupition and learning. He was a mobile institution by himself and created one wherever he went. Death has made him deathless. My Praṇāmas to him !

*

FEMALE EDUCATION AS EVIDENCED IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE *

In every respect, the period of Buddhism is marked with allround development. Buddhistic philosophy and theology had something quite conspicuous and specific in it that gave impetus and encouragement to education. It furnished a dynamic force which is so essential for any civilization if it wants to establish supremacy and gain ground.

We are dumbfound while reading the accounts of Universities like those of Vikramaśilā, Ajantā, Saranātha, Nālandā and the last but not the least Taxilā,¹ which poured out a colossal force of Buddhistic culture and civilization. These Universities were so generously conducted that not only Indians but the peoples of Asia and Europe also received instruction on all the branches of literature, art and science, namely, philosophy, politics, painting, rhetoric, medicine, astrology, archery, architecture, and also alchemy.

Besides Taxilā and Nālandā, Chinese travellers in their travel accounts have mentioned quite a number of minor institutions which shaped and circulated Aryan Culture and civilization, far and wide. These were exclusively financed by the rich and the reigning princes of India. The most noteworthy feature quite characteristic of India's catholicity was that they imparted tuition free of charge to all and alike without observing distinction in caste, colour, and creed

Prasenajit, the king of Kosala, and Jivaka² received instruction sitting together, A prince and a pauper were treated alike. It is written in one of the Jātakagranthas named Mahāsūtasoma that hundreds of princes were instructed in the uses of weapons and missiles on the lines of strict equality. All these accounts and the historical records lead us to the conclusion that there were very big Universities in Buddhistic times, which provided ample scope for education to males : but they are comparatively and teasingly silent as regards female education. To get an adequate idea on the point we will have to fall back upon the Buddhist Canon and the works allied to it because we are not at all prepared to believe that the nuns who wandered in the nook and corner of the country, leaving aside Lakṣmī and luxury to scatter the seeds of Buddhism, with a fanatic's zeal, were almost illiterate.

On the contrary, the splendid missionary work which they have so ably put forth is itself a good and reliable commentary on the broad outlook, clear vision, practical wisdom, unflinching foresight, intellectual width and what not. These and a train of merits did neither come to them as mere windfalls, nor were they Nature's

* New Indian Antiquary, Vol. III, No. 11, February, 1941

bounties conferred so lavishly and thoughtlessly on them; but they were the outcome of the closest application and the unflinching devotion to the Goddess of Learning. Let us see in the following paragraphs what light we get and gather in this connection from the Buddhistic Literature. It cannot of course, be definitely asserted whether they received education after the fashion of the present day girls going to the educational institutions or by way of private tuition. This much can be culled that they got first-rate training, both academic and spiritual.

It is now an admitted fact that the gāthās of the work styled *Therīgāthā*⁵ were composed by nuns of those times.⁴ Religious sermons of Sukkā and philosophic discussion of Dhammādinna and Kṣemā entitle us to hypothesize that they were given a technical training regarding those subjects. We come across a reference of a learned lady named Sukkā in *Sāṅguttanikāya*. She was a nun and had delivered an illuminating lecture in a great assemblage at Rājagṛha. This lecture of Sukkā was so impressive that a certain man of Yakṣa caste wandered in every street and proclaimed to the effect that every one should go and hear her nectarine words. A nun named Kṣemā was very famous for reciting Vinayagrathas. She had crammed the Vinayagrathas and her melodious recital of those granthas was simply engaging.

It was considered a privilege to her here singing. Her erudition also is brought out in high relief by the dialogue about the theory of rebirth between her and the king Prasenajit who was so convinced by her brief, bold and cogent arguments that there was not a single vestige of doubt left in his mind when he departed. Another brilliant star in the person of Kuntalakeśā shines resplendent in the whole galaxy. In Logic, she was discomfited only by one Sāriputta and none else. She ruled supreme in the intellectual world of those days. We get an account in *Vimānavatthu* of one of the learned nuns named Latā who had mastered the art of magic. She had a wonderful command on Vinayapīṭakas, which she taught according to *Dīpavama* not only to nuns in Anurādhāpura but to monks also. Estimate of her scholarship will remain incomplete if we neglect to take into consideration the fact that she had a chance to bring out masterly edition of some of the Pīṭakagrathas. Uttarā had undertaken to teach seven works bearing upon Vinaya Sutta, and Abhidhamma in the University of Anurādhāpura. Anjali had gone to Anurādhāpura taking sixteen thousand monks with her, to teach especially the Tripitakas. Is it not a privilege to lord over monks as large in number as sixteen thousands? And is not a glorious achievement for a man (what to talk of a woman) to be appointed as the senior professor in a University like that of Anurādhāpura, Nālandā and Taxilā which is decidedly ten times bigger than any of the present day Universities of the world. It was considered red letter day in the History of India on which Sir Radhakrishnan's appointment as Spalding Professor of Eastern Philosophy in the Oxford University was announced. It was considered the highest pinnacle for which an Indian can aspire in an academic line. What to talk of those times then, in which even the ladies ruled the academic world? It means there is a long history of female education which has still got to

be constructed out of the fragments lying hither and thither in Vedic, Buddhistic and Jainistic literatures. This proves that female education was not only in vogue in those days but was appreciated and encouraged. It is also true that it was imparted on a more solid and sound basis because it could produce scholars of intrinsic worth and deep study. It is also manifest from the foregoing pages that female education was of a diverse character including instructions on magic, sculpture etc. Latā mastered the art of magic and Nanduttarā and Vidyā were adepts in the art of sculpture. This is also evident that it was considered more a duty rather than a matter of pride to educate the females because we have seen above that it was open to all. Besides those mentioned above, there is quite a good number of other ladies also no less superior. Their worthy names are Kālī, Channā, Sayallā, Uālī, Revatī, Sivalā, Mahāruhā, Culabhāgā, Dhannā, Sonā, Mahatissā, Culasumanā, Mahāsumanā and Hemā. It will be a long list of the female professors who actually worked in the University of Anurādhāpura⁵ which also like Nālandā fulfilled the dictum of Carlyle that a true University is a collection of books as well as that of Newman that it is a school of Universal learning, the alma mater of a host of distinguished logicians, grammarians and philosophers. I leave it to the scholars to find out whether there were separate institutions for female education or there was a system of co-education or they were privately tutored.

Notes

- 1 In the North and North-West of India there were great centres of learning such as the Universities of Nālandā and Taxilā where for hundreds of years not only all branches of secular knowledge, especially, medicine, but also the philosophical and theological literature of Buddhism, were cultivated with great zeal. Chinese pilgrims like Heuen Tsang learned Sanskrit at Nālandā and translated Buddhist texts into Chinese. See Phanindra Nath BOSE : *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*.
- 2 Jivaka was the son of courtesan, named Sālavatī. *Mahavagga* VIII, 1.
- 3 *Therīgāthā* forms part of the Khuddaka Nikāya which is again included in Suttapitaka. See OLDENBERG : *Literatur des alten Indien*, Page 101.



SATYASAMHITĀ AND GANDHIJI'S HOROSCOPE *

I. *The Satyasamhitā and Satyācārya :*

The *Satyasamhitā* is a stupendous work consisting of 125 volumes. Each volume in its turn, has got 300 palm-leaves. It is in Sanskrit and written in a Tāmil script called Grantham. One Madraṣi Pandit named Srinivasacharya IYENGAR has got it.

The work deals with the predictive portion of Astrology. Its reputed author is Satyācārya who, as he says in the text of the *Satyasamhitā* attached at the end of the article, was one of the many stars that shone in the court of one Vikramāditya.¹ At the latter's repeated request Satyācārya described the futures of all the people, living on the earth. Thus it is legitimate to hope that every one's future is mirrored in this huge work.

Nothing can be said regarding the historicity of this marvellous work and its divine author. But looking to the fact that such words as *Nyāyavādi* and *Nyāyadarśi*² are used to denote modern distinctions existing between an Advocate and a Solicitor as well as the words like *Samācārayantra*³ and *Kalāsālā*⁴ for Press and College respectively, I am inclined not to attach much antiquity to this work as its extraordinary divine nature would tempt me to. A part of the work may be genuine and there are certain elements with the flavour of the Moslem age interpolations.

I would not have put faith at all in this work as I know there are, now-a-days so many counterfeit *Samhitās* afloat in the market. But the reading of GANDHIJI'S horoscope as published, according to it, in the December issue of *Gujarat* 1931, refers to such incidents and episodes of GANDHIJI'S life as actually took place in years later than 1931,⁵ I am encouraged to make a scientific study of this work which is decidedly on a higher level and which requires a reasonable explanation, though I must admit that my researches have not yielded sufficiently satisfactory results on account of the fact that I do not claim to be the regular student of Astrology as other Śāstris, who have learnt at the feet of the master* this occult science.

II. *Argument :*

In this work, the *Lagna* is described as consisting of 150 *Amśas*; and 150 predictions, all different in details, are allotted to each *Lagna*. Each prediction is divided into two main groups, namely, *Prathama Bhava* and *Dvādaśa Bhava*. It takes some

* Published in the Bhāratya Vidyā (Bhāratya Vidyā Bhavan, Kulpati Munshi Mārg, Bombay-7) Vol. IV. Pl. I and II.

A part of the text of the *Satyasamhitā* containing the reading of Gandhiji's life is attached at the end of the article.

time in ascertaining a particular *Amśa* in which the native might have been born. That *Amśa* which gives approximately correct description of the previous history of the native's life should be considered his *Amśa*. The first group named *Prathama Bhāva* sketches the native's life only in bold outlines while the second group enters into every possible details. I draw the attention of the readers to this special feature that the predictions contained in this work are not merely based on the author's knowledge of astrology but also on his yogic powers.⁶ Different technical names are given to different *Amśas*. They are not known to any recognized books on astrology. The *Amśa* in which GANDHIJI was born is styled *Kuñjarāmśa* of the *Tulā Lagna* by the author.⁷

III. Summary :

The following is a summary of the reading of GANDHIJI'S horoscope according to *Satyasambitā*.

The native will be born in a holy city situated on the coast of the ocean⁸ His father will be a Devān and he himself will be a part of Viṣṇu born on this earth.⁹ At the age of 20, he will go to a foreign country.¹⁰ At 32 he will be a lawyer.¹¹ He will consider the whole world as his family¹²; will always speak the truth¹³ and will be pure-hearted.¹⁴ He will himself put and will also make others put on cloths manufactured in his own country.¹⁵ He will be friendly to all.¹⁶ Pride and arrogance will not touch him.¹⁷ There will be no distinction, whatsoever, between his thoughts, words and deeds.¹⁸ While living as a house-holder, he will live as a hermit at heart.¹⁹ He will many times go to prison, especially before 45 and 55.²⁰ At 62, he will be very unhappy, when running through the direction of *Rāhu*.²¹ At 66 he will fare well and shall achieve some success in his mission.²² He will resort to fast for the good of the world²³ and will live above 70.²⁴ Before 65, he will profitably meet the Emperor of the white people.²⁵ His father will have more than one wife; and he will be born of the last wife.²⁶ His mother will die at 22 in his absence when he will be away from his native land.²⁷ His father will die when he is 16.²⁸ He will have four sons three of whom will be engaged, like himself, in the service of the country and the fourth will be so so.²⁹ He will marry at 13.³⁰

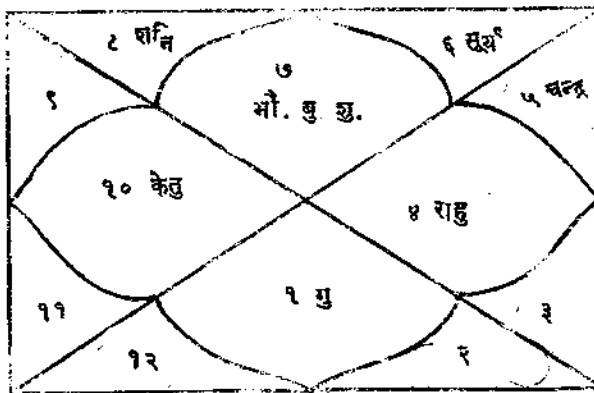
IV. Some Observations ;

No knowledge is perfect. It is a continual process of development which sometimes slows down and other times speeds up with the ever-varying needs of times. A thing that is decisively proved to-day is shaken down the other day from its very foundation. Thus every branch of human knowledge has got its own market value which goes up or down on account of certain specific reasons. So also with respect to astrology which is not at all a perfect science.³¹ Still however it should be said in fairness to every empirical science that it does not easily prove false if it has the experience of thousands of years to back. When I make these remarks I have those people in my mind who are out and out governed and guided by astrological

predictions, even in the minutest detail of their lives from shaving to shopping. In fact this is a misapplication of the science in question. The ultimate result of this is fatalism which is not wanted. On the contrary its judicious use consists in taking its help where it can reasonably give, because it reveals but a part of the truth which is infinite. There are a thousand and one pitfalls. Its mathematics is incomparably complex. In the hands of amateurs there is more possibility for mistakes rather than accuracy. It is so very flexible that it can be bent any way. To harmonize a variety of the seemingly conflicting theories requires a disinterested, balanced fortune-teller who is not only a master of his subject but an equally practical man who only has the right to interpret this holy science of the planetary movements in terms of good or bad for us—the human beings below. In short it is but a partial manifestation of the supreme cosmic law which is in operation in this universe and which is bound to remain unknowable as a whole. Thus it is not merely blasphemous but also unprofitable to put unwarranted faith on its forecasts. It is permissible and also better to prognosticate the appearance of a comet and its possible effect because it will surely do no bad if no good. Thus I have always seen that mundane astrology rather than horary has a better chance to be rightly used—at least in this age.

Satyasamhitā is a mystic work. It is less human and more divine. GANDHIJI'S horoscope like others' can be astrologically explained, as shown above, but the graphic delineation of Gandhiji's mental and spiritual characteristics, fact of time and place, robust outpourings regarding his life, mission and achievements evincing majestic self-confidence are such that they simply fall far beyond even extraordinary human intelligence.

V. Gandhiji's Horoscope³² and its reading according to Orthodox School :



Mars in the first in *Libra* aspected by Jupiter has given GANDHIJI tenacity of purpose. It is also responsible for his appendicular operation.³³ Venus in the first in *Libra* aspected by Jupiter has made him fond of sexual pleasure and women's company.³⁴ It has given him health and long life also.³⁵ His innocent humour, legal acumen and exceptional persuasive power are all due to Mercury in the first

in *Libra* aspected by Jupiter.³⁰ His spiritualism is largely on account of a conjunction of Mercury and Venus in the first aspected by Jupiter and no other malefics. This *Yoga* is, to a certain extent, marred by Mars with them in the first. His disease of blood-pressure is the effect of Mars in the first;³⁷ while his getting away soon from it, by his sheer self-control, is the result of the aspect of Jupiter which holds it in leash. Saturn in the second in *Scorpio* has made him a slow but steady speaker and has made him travel far and wide. Saturn in the second and sun in the twelfth have made him short-sighted.³⁸ This Saturn is making a *Viśayoga* by its aspect on Moon in the eleventh. It comes in the way of his achieving the ends. This *Viśayoga* is counterbalanced by Moon's being in *Leo*, under the benign influence of Jupiter which makes with it a *Navapañcamayoga* responsible for his being known to the whole world. Mars aspecting Jupiter in the seventh in *Aries*, his own *Rāśi*, has made him an uncrowned king. Jupiter in the seventh has given him an intensely devoted wife. *Rāhu* in the tenth in *Cancer* has made him a superb *Sthitaprajña*.³⁹ Moon in the eleventh in *Leo* accounts for his blind love for parents and Sun in the twelfth has created enemies and killed them.⁴⁰ This also explains his imprisonment. The lord of the second in the first with the *Lagneśa* and Mercury aspected by Jupiter have placed the country's wealth at his feet.⁴¹ He has cars at his disposal because Saturn aspects Ketu in the fourth in *Capricorn* which is his own *Rāśi*.

VI. Criticism :

Had I not known that it is GANDHIJI'S horoscope, I would have differently interpreted it. Why? The reason is obvious. Astrological knowledge does not make its possessor an omniscient being. More persons than one are born at one and the same time in this world. Still no two are alike. For the most part they turn out fundamentally different. Take the example of twins. Thus astrology cannot probe deep. Its claims should not be exaggerated. As it has its origin in human experience and observations, it has its own crudities and limitations.

Mars in the first in GANDHIJI'S horoscope could have as well produced a scar on the forehead⁴² and Saturn would have made the native quarrelsome.⁴³ He could not have cherished a dying love for his parents, with Ketu and *Rāhu* in the fourth and tenth respectively. Jupiter in the seventh ought to have rather given him a wife of distinguished academic qualifications. With Moon in the eleventh he would naturally have more daughters than sons⁴⁴ He would not have been able to make two ends meet with Sun in the twelfth inclined to declination.⁴⁵ But we see it is not so. I do not mean to say that no astrological reasons can be attached. On the contrary, astrology can be made to support and justify the *Satyasamhitā* reading of GANDHIJI'S horoscope. But here the vital question is that of foretelling and not of supporting or justifying.

VII. Conclusion :

I have therefore come to believe that *Satyasamhitā* is not a work of purely

astrological character. It shows its author has a vision which sees objects beyond time and space,⁴⁶ though the *Satysamhitā* reading also is inaccurate at times.⁴⁷ Or there is another conclusion also possible. And it is this that there was in ancient times a plenty of *Samhitā* literature with an elaborate technique which gave only the results leaving to the orthodox school of astrology to explain. In other words, the *Samhitās* were supplementary, and not antagonistic, to *Jātakas* and *Siddhāntas* of the established schools of astrology. The principles on which these *Samhitās* might be ultimately resting, cannot be found out by merely comparing different readings of only one *Samhitā*. For that, one should collect different *Samhitā* readings of one and the same horoscope and study them. Then and then only their stand can be rightly understood. Normally these *Samhitā* works are found in the Deccan. I have heard of the *Bhadraṅghusamhitā*, *Bhṛṅgusamhitā* and *Satysamhitā*, but I have also heard that there are still more *Nāḍigranthas*. I am sure an attempt to unearth these *Samhitās* will yield rich results.

(१)

सत्यसंहितोत्पत्तिः⁴⁸

उज्जयिन्यां महाराजः पूर्वं शत्रुविशोधनः ।
विक्रमादित्यभूपालो भूम्यां शक्र इवापरः ॥१॥

दाने कर्णो गुणैः पूर्णो गाम्भीर्ये चार्णवोपमः ।
पण्डितानाञ्च पोषी स्यात् पूर्वभाषी प्रियंवदः ॥२॥

काम्यनाटकवेत्ता च महाकविरपि स्वयम् ।
मोदवान् गुणवान् लोके शास्त्रज्ञानविनोदवान् ॥३॥

चतुःषष्टिबलाभूमिः सर्वभूमिपसेवितः ।
राजनीतिमहादक्षो रिपुराजसुशिक्षणः ॥४॥

गुणवान् गुणपक्षी च श्रितरक्षां विवेद यः ।
तत्सभायां सभातारा बहवश्च तदाऽभवन् ॥५॥

कुशाप्रधिषणः प्राज्ञो विषणेन समो भुवि ।
गणितज्ञो महाप्राज्ञो ज्योतिःशास्त्रविशारदः ॥६॥

तेज्ज्वकोऽभून्महाबुद्धिः सत्याचार्य इति श्रुतः ।
नामातन्त्रेषु कुशलो ज्योतिःशास्त्रविचक्षणः ॥७॥

महायोगी महाज्ञानी देवतागुरुभक्तिमान् ।
सर्वसिद्धान्तवेत्ता च तत्त्ववित्त्वबोधकः ॥८॥

भुतं भाव्यं वर्तमानं प्रत्यक्षं वेत्ति बुद्धिमान् ।
 सखा कविर्महामन्त्री पण्डितो हितबोधकः ॥१॥

सत्याचार्यो महामेधाः तस्य राजस्तदाऽभवत् ।
 विक्रमार्कमहीपस्य सर्वं भावीफलन्तदा ॥१०॥

करामलकवत् प्राज्ञो दर्शयामास सत्तमः ।
 अभिमानप्रदं राज्ञा तन्मूलात्स तु पण्डितः ॥११॥

एवं बहुतिथे काले समतीति कदाचन ।
 भाविनाम्भ मनुष्याणां सर्वजातिजुषामपि ॥१२॥

सर्ववृत्तं विजानासि तन्मे ब्रूहि महामते ।
 विक्रमार्के विनीते च श्रद्धया परिपृच्छति ॥१३॥

सत्याचार्यो महामेधाः प्रत्युवाच शुचिस्मितः ।
 भृगुर्गुर्गर्हाः सर्वे चन्द्रसूर्याग्रयोऽनिलः ॥१४॥

हरो हरिस्तथा सृष्टा नैव ते विफलं विदुः ।
 अतीत्येतान्मवेद्ब्रह्मः त्वदधीनं जगदभवेत् ॥१५॥

तस्यानुग्रहमूलेन यस्य कस्यापि सम्भवेत् ।
 तव प्रीत्या विवक्ष्येऽहं धम यद्बुद्धिगोचरम् ॥१६॥

सत्याचार्यो महामेधा अवकाशे दिने दिने ।
 विक्रमार्कमहीपस्य शास्त्रमेतज्जगौ पुरा ॥१७॥

ज्योतिःशास्त्रतरोर्बीजं लोकज्ञानस्य जन्मभूः ।
 उद्योतिर्विदाश्च जीवातुः कवीनां विश्रमस्थलम् ॥१८॥

अर्थार्जिने सहायश्च आपदणोविधिण्लवः ।
 सत्याचार्यवचो हित्वा किमन्यदभुवि विद्यते ॥१९॥

होरामूलात् कवचिद्ज्ञानं गणितादिनाम्भ मूलतः ।
 योगप्रभावमूलेन शास्त्रमेतद्विनिश्चितम् ॥२०॥

(२)

प्रथमभावः

श्रीपतीं प्रणिपत्याहं प्रणम्य च नवग्रहान् ।
 लोकानामुपकाराय वक्ष्येऽहं सत्यसंहिताम् ॥२१॥

कुश्रांशो पूर्वभागे तुलालग्नस्य जातके ।
 वैश्यज-५) भवेज्जातः विष्णुभक्तमताश्रयी ॥२२॥
 पश्चिमप्रान्तगे देशे धर्मवप्रान्तदेशगे ।
 पुण्यनगरे जननं पुण्यक्षेत्रे भविष्यति ॥२३॥
 स्वपिता सुखजीवी च राजमन्त्री भवेदपि ।
 माता गुणवती साध्वी मध्यायुष्का भविष्यति ॥२४॥
 जातकः सुन्दराङ्गश्च किञ्चित्स्यामशरीरवान् ।
 सात्त्विको भविता जातः सदाचारी भविष्यति ॥२५॥
 लोकानां हितकारी च स्वकार्येषु परित्यजेत् ।
 जन्मभूमिं परित्यज्य नातिदूरे निवासवान् ॥२६॥
 महाभदीतीरभूमौ सुखवासी भविष्यति ।
 विशपूर्वोपरिकाले विदेशे पठनं भवेत् ॥२७॥
 नीतिशास्त्रप्रसङ्गादौ बुद्धिमेति पदे पदे ।
 द्वात्रिंशो वत्सरे काले द्वीपान्तरनिवासवान् ॥२८॥
 न्यायदर्शी च भविता प्रसिद्धश्च भविष्यति ।
 विद्यावान् भविता जातो नानाविद्याविशारदः ॥२९॥
 पूर्वभाषी च भविता मृदुभाषी भविष्यति ।
 सर्वा भूमिः कुटुम्बेषु लोकानां हितमाचरेत् ॥३०॥
 सत्यभाषी यशस्वी च सर्वैश्चादरणीयवाक् ।
 सर्वे जनाः बभूवुश्च अत्यैव वचने स्थिताः ॥३१॥
 स्वदेशवस्त्रधारी च अन्यान्पि धारयेत् ।
 महाजनसभामध्ये मृदुभाषी प्रियंवदः ॥३२॥
 न गवीं नाभिमानी च सुगुणी च भवेन्नरः ।
 विष्णोरंशो भवेज्जातो रक्षणार्थं भुवं गतः ॥३३॥
 बहुमैत्री च जायते जगन्मित्रं भवेदयम् ।
 बहिरन्तःसमाकारो विशुद्धोऽयं भविष्यति ॥३४॥
 विशालहृदयो जातो विशुद्धहृदयस्तथा ।
 ॥३५॥

देवांशो यो भवेज्जातस्तन्निकृत्यै भविष्यति ।
गृहस्थाश्रमवासी च आश्रमे प्रीतिमान् भवेत् ॥३६॥

न तथा सौख्यभाग् जातो जगदर्थे च कष्टभाक् ।
कारागारनिवेशादि बहुवारं भविष्यति ॥३७॥

पञ्चचत्वारिके पूर्वे पञ्चपञ्चाक्षते पुरा ।
कारागारप्रवेशश्च ज्वरपीडा भविष्यति ॥३८॥

द्विषष्टौ राहुदाये च बहुकष्टञ्च जायते ।
पट्षष्टौ वत्सरे याते यत्नकार्यानुकूलनम् ॥३९॥

राज्ये सौकर्यमादेश्यं स्वातन्त्र्यं कुत्रचिद् भवेत् ।
यत्नकार्ये सिद्धकल्पो जातकस्य भविष्यति ॥४०॥

ज्ञानमार्गे प्रवृत्तिश्च नीतिमार्गे प्रवृत्तिमान् ।
जगदर्थे कष्टभाग् च उपवासञ्च चरेदपि ॥४१॥

दीर्घजीवी भविता सप्तत्यतीतं परं वयः ।
षष्टिपूर्वे कष्टता च जातकस्य भविष्यति ॥४२॥

सप्ततौ वत्सरे पूर्वे महान्गण्डश्च जायते ।
महामृत्युञ्जयजापं तस्मिन्काले समाचरेत् ॥४३॥

जनभारविनम्रा च भूमिर्विष्णुसुपेयुषी ।
..... ॥४४॥

गच्छ क्षीणं मर्माशेन तव स्वास्थ्यं करोमि च ।
पञ्चचत्वारिके पश्चाद् स्वदेशे वासवान् भवेत् ॥४५॥

जगद्धितार्थे कार्यञ्च वर्षे वर्षे भविष्यति ।
पञ्चषष्टौ मते काले यत्नकार्यस्य सिद्धिमान् ॥४६॥

तत्पूर्वं विघ्नमादेश्यं मनसि क्लेशवान् भवेत् ।
राजपक्षे स्वपक्षे च विरोधश्च भविष्यति ॥४७॥

..... ।
एकषष्टौ तदा वर्षे विरोधश्च महान्भवेत् ॥४८॥

द्विषष्टौ वत्सरे काले किञ्चिद् शमनमादिशेत् ।
किञ्चिद् स्वातन्त्र्यमादेश्यमस्वस्थश्च भवेन्नरः ॥४९॥

विदेशगमनञ्चैव पञ्चषष्टिकपूर्वके ।
 ऋतेतप्रभुः सार्वभौमस्तस्य दर्शनमादिशेत् ॥५०॥

तस्य मूलात्कार्यसिद्धिर्जातकस्य भविष्यति ।
 पश्चात्स्वदेशवासी च आश्रमे वासवान् भवेत् ॥५१॥

ज्ञानमार्गप्रवृत्तिश्च जातकस्य भविष्यति ।
 सप्ततिवत्सरे पूर्वे योगसिद्धिश्च जायते ॥५२॥

नसश्रवकलिसंख्ये शुक्लवर्षे च सूर्ये
 मत्तवति ललनांशे मन्द्वारे मघाभे ।

भवति च तुललने जायमानश्च जातः
 भवति च गुणशाली भाग्यवान् वैश्यजातिः ॥५३॥

कालदेशविपर्यासान्म्यूनाधिकफलमिदम् ।
 को वक्ता तारतम्यस्य तमेकं वेधसं बिना ॥५४॥

(३)

द्वादशभावफलं लिख्यते

श्रीपतीं प्रणीपत्याहं प्रणम्य च नवग्रहान् ।
 लोकानामुपकाराय वक्ष्येऽहं सत्यसंहिताम् ॥५५॥

बुधे भृगौ भूमिसूते च लग्ने मन्देऽलिगे मेघगते सुरेज्ये ।
 कन्यादिनेशे भृगुनाथचन्द्रे राहौ कुलीरे तुललग्नजातः ॥५६॥
 (कुण्डलिकाश्लोकः)

कुञ्जरांशे पूर्वभागे तुललग्नस्य जातके ।
 वैश्यजन्मः सुखी जातो विष्णुभक्तो मताश्रयी ॥५७॥

नानाजातिजनाकीर्णे पश्चिमप्रान्तदेशगे ।
 नगरे जनतञ्चैव पुण्यक्षेत्रे भविष्यति ॥५८॥

जातको दीर्घजीवी च प्रसन्नमुखनेत्रवात् ।
 समंशः समदेही च किञ्चित्त्रयामशरीरवान् ॥५९॥

सात्त्विको धर्मशाली च साक्षात्सत्त्वं शरीरभाक् ।
 जन्मावर्नि परित्यज्य द्वित्रिस्थलनिवासवान् ॥६०॥

विंशत्यब्दे परे काले विदेशे वासमादिशेत् ।
कष्टभाग् भविता जातो लोकार्ये बहुकष्टकृत् ॥६१॥

देशभाषादेवभाषा.....भाषाविशारदः ।
मृदुभाषी सत्यभाषी सारभाषी भवेन्नरः ॥६२॥

तस्य वाक्यानुसारी च लोको लोकहितैषिणः ।
स्वदेशबन्धुभारी च सर्वानपि च धारयेत् ॥६३॥

बहुभार्यापतिः स्यात् पश्चाद्भार्यासमुद्भवः ।
स्वप्राबल्यविशेषेण लोके प्रख्यातकीर्तिमान् ॥६४॥

क्षमी क्षीली च भविता न कदापि च कोपवान् ।
वस्त्रालङ्कारसौख्यश्च न तथा वचिमान् भवेत् ॥६५॥

जगन्मित्रं भवेज्जातो जगतामुपकारकृत् ।
माता गुणवती साध्वी मध्यायुष्यवती भवेत् ॥६६॥

विदेशवासे जातस्य परोक्षे मातृनाशकृत् ।
नेत्रे नेत्रे तदा वर्षे मातृकष्टम्ब जायते ॥६७॥

स्वपिता राजसूत्री च राजन्यजनमित्रवान् ।
षोडशाब्दे तदा काले पितृनाशश्च जायते ॥६८॥

विशुद्धहृदयो जातो विशालहृदयस्तथा ।
बहिरन्तःसमाकारः सज्जनो भविता गुणी ॥६९॥

थदेव हृदये तिष्ठेत् तत्तदेवाचरेत् सुधीः ।
लोकमान्यो भवेद्धन्यो नेहृशोऽन्यो जनिष्यति ॥७०॥

निस्समाभ्यधिको जातो देवांशोऽयं भविष्यति ।
लोककल्याणहेतुश्च देवोऽयं मर्त्यरूपतः ७१॥

गुणबाहुल्यपात्रञ्च मणितुं नैव शक्यते ।
यथा ताराश्च गगने तथा मर्त्ये गुणाः स्थिताः ॥७२॥

वेदपुत्राश्च जायेरन् तेऽपि लोकहितैषिणः ।
पुत्रवर्गे भवेदेको मध्यवृत्तिश्च जायते ॥७३॥

न गर्वी नाभिमानो च विनयी सुनयी नरः ।
बुद्धिमान् भविता जातः सन्मार्गोऽयं प्रवृत्तिभाक् ॥७४॥

आगामिसूचनाबुद्धिः परेषां बुद्धिदायकः ।
धीरः साहसवान् जातः कार्याकार्यविवेकवान् ॥७५॥

महाविष्णे च सम्प्राप्ते स्वकार्यं न परित्यजेत् ।
असाध्यमपि कार्यञ्च स्वबुद्ध्या साधयेदपि ॥७६॥

अनृणो भविता जातः सुखजीवी भवेन्नरः ।
मध्ये मध्ये कापि पीडा दशानाथस्य शान्तिकृत् ॥७७॥

दीर्घजीवी च भविता इति सत्यस्य सम्मतम् ।
बाणे रसे पुरा पश्चात् कष्टभाग् मृत्युहोमकृत् ॥७८॥

भार्यैका भविता साध्वी रूपशीलगुणान्विता ।
पतिव्रता महाभागा छायेवानुगता सदा ॥७९॥

जातकठे कष्टभागा जातसौख्ये सुखान्विता ।
बाल्ये विवाहसिद्धिश्च त्रयोदशकवत्सरे ॥८०॥

भानुतुल्यपरक्लोकः एकपत्निव्रतञ्चरेत् ।
भाग्यवान् भविता जातो न तथा भूरिभाग्यवान् ॥८१॥

मध्ये मध्ये कष्टभाग् च भाग्यभङ्गश्च जायते ।
धर्मं मार्गं मतिश्चैव साक्षाद्गुर्म इवापरः ॥८२॥

सुकर्मा मानवान् जातः कर्मकौशल्यवान् भवेत् ।
न्यायदर्शी न्यायवादी द्वीपान्तरनिवासवान् ॥८३॥

जनोपकारकरणो वन्धनादिककष्टभाक् ॥८४॥

पञ्चचत्वारिके वर्षे स्वदेशागमनं भवेत् ।
देशसेवी भवेज्जातो देशानामुपकारकृत् ॥८५॥

राज्ञा सह विरोधश्च राजभीतिञ्च जायते ।
कारागारनिवेशादिबहुकष्टं भविष्यति ॥८६॥

बयोऽन्ते ज्ञानशाली च देवतागुरुभक्तिमान् ।
योगानुष्ठानकुशलो योगसिद्धिश्च जायते ॥८७॥

धनत्यागो विशेषेण धर्ममार्गे व्यथो भवेत् ।
पञ्चमे वत्सरे पूर्वे पितामातासुखावहः ॥८८॥

दशमाब्दे परे काले सुखदाये तदा पुनः ।
विद्याभ्यासञ्च कुर्वीत पठिष्यति ॥८९॥

विंशत्यब्दे पूर्वकाले भार्यासौख्यसुखोद्भवः ।
विदेशगमनं वासो नीतिशास्त्रप्रसङ्गकृत् ॥९०॥

त्रिंशत्पूर्वे तु ज्ञातश्च नीतिशास्त्रविशारदः ।
स्वदेशागमनं जातं न हि सौकर्यजीवनम् ॥९१॥

अश्वाद् द्वीपान्तरे वासो द्वित्रिस्थलनिवासवान् ।
चत्वारिवत्सरे पूर्वे न्यायदर्शी प्रसिद्धिमान् ॥९२॥

पश्चाद् विसर्जनञ्चैव देशसेवादिमूलतः ।
बहुकष्टञ्च जायते चतुश्चत्वारिके पुरा ॥९३॥

पञ्चत्वारिके काले स्वदेशागमनं भवेत् ।
देशानां हितकारी च बहूनामुपदेशकृत् ॥९४॥

कारागारनिवेशादिबहुकष्टञ्च जायते ।
यत्नकार्ये महाबन्धनो राजभीतिर्महत्तपि ॥९५॥

बन्धनं मरणञ्चैव बहूनाश्च भविष्यति ।
पञ्चषष्टौ तदा काले जातकस्य तदा परे ॥९६॥

एकषष्टौ वत्सरे च विरोधञ्च महान् भवेत् ।
द्विषष्टौ वत्सरे काले विदेशगमनं भवेत् ॥९७॥

श्वेतप्रभुं सर्वभौमस्तस्यदर्शनमादिशेत् ।
तन्मूलात्कार्यसिद्धिञ्च जातकस्य क्वचिद्भवेत् ॥९८॥

देवांशोऽयं भवेज्जातो मानुषं रूपमास्थितः ।
विष्णोरंशञ्च जायते इति सत्यस्य सम्मतम् ॥९९॥

पश्चादपि च जातञ्च ज्ञानमार्गे प्रवृत्तिकृत् ।
कृष्णदेवे च भक्तिञ्च विरक्तिञ्च भविष्यति ॥१००॥

कृते नृसिंहरूपेण त्रेतायां रघुरूपतः ।
द्वापरे कृष्णरूपेण कलावंशेन जायते ॥१०१॥

आदौ केतुदशा पिता च सुखवान् शुके च विद्यापटुः
वैवाहादिशुभञ्च पुत्रजननं पित्रोर्विनष्टं भवेत् ।

सूर्ये शीतकरे गुणी सममुखी भौमे स्वदेशे वसेत्
राहौ यत्नविरोधनश्च विमना अन्ते भवेत् सिद्धिगः ॥१०२॥

इदशानाम्च महतां विरलं जन्म जायते ।
पञ्चसाहस्रिके पूर्वे कलौ वर्षे भवन्ति च ॥१०३॥

यथा नभसि ताराश्च नद्यां वै सिकता यथा ।
एवं गुणगणांस्तस्य गणितुं नैव शक्यते ॥१०४॥

गुणारामे यथा रामे प्रजा आसन्कृते युगे ।
कलावपि गुणान्मोक्षौ तत्र च ॥१०५॥

कालदेशविपर्यासान्म्यूनाधिकफलमिदम् ।
कां वक्ता तारतम्यस्य तमेकं वेधसं विना ॥१०६॥

इति सत्यसंहितायां तुलात्मनजातके कुम्भजरांशफलं । शुभं भूयान् ॥

Recapitulation

I had already made a statement to the effect that the Satyasamhitā was not a work of purely astrological nature but that its author, Satyācārya, had a divine vision which also helped him in his predictions.⁴⁹ This statement though warranted by Satyasamhitā itself⁵⁰ has an obvious danger of being misinterpreted in the sense that one should not be enthusiastic about undertaking the scientific studies of the horoscopes interpreted according to the Satyasamhitā. The main purpose of this article is to remove such a misunderstanding and to inspire those interested to justify, on purely astrological grounds, the readings of the horoscopes done by Satyācārya in his Satyasamhitā. This attitude towards the Satyasamhitā will at least have a sure practical advantage of intensifying our studies and making them as comprehensive as possible. I admit, I had somewhat underrated, in the former part of this article, the serious character of the Satyasamhitā.⁵¹ But after dispassionate study of the problem of Samhitā branch of the Jyotish literature, I find I will have to revise my judgment.

The subject of the studies which I have presented here in this article is furnished by the Satyasamhitā reading of the horoscope given below. With a view to forming an impartial estimate of the Satyasamhitā, I intend to discuss it here in the light of my knowledge and experience as regards Predictive Astrology.

A plea for Astrology

The question of questions is whether life is an accident or it is governed, shaped and regulated by laws? Suppose we grant that life is ordered, what about its bewildering intricacies and complications? Man has been always attempting to find out

some semblance of government behind this strange drama, though every time he really did nothing more than look at the infinite through a minute hole in the wall. It is a paradox that sciences must make mistakes, must have pitfalls, must grope in the darkness and still must persistently go on. Discoveries and speculations; errors and corrections; formulations and revisions—these must eternally go on.

No one is wise enough to criticise or comment. Time is not still ripe to compare that results of various sciences and if astrology has anything to say on the point, let us not discard it.

Law of Causation is the Law of laws. There is cosmos, order. Our knowledge of the universe bears testimony to the facts that it is a whole and that there is an amazing co-ordination between its various parts. The Solar system also is no exception to this and the Earth we live on is controlled and conditioned by the actions and interactions. Thus there is complete rhythm between our affairs on this earth and the movements of the planets in the Solar system. These coincidences were fully investigated and the rules were deduced. They enable us to forecast events and occurrences. Inasmuch as we are parts and parcels of the Earth, these laws apply to us also. This establishes the only conclusion that our life can pass without any hitch so long as it moves in unison with the universe. It is the claim of Astrology to find out rules and laws that can help us in achieving this uniformity, call it co-ordination, rhythm or harmony.

Astrology is a science and not an art. This is my main deduction in this article as opposed to one assayed in the former part of this article. I am sure this will not find ready acceptance from some who still maintain, as I formerly did, that the practice of Astrology depends upon the possession of supernatural powers and that only on this account it should better remain a sealed book to those not privileged. Satyācārya himself has stated that he has based his prediction partly on Yoga. I deny this claim and try to pursue the subject with a more scientific precision and thoroughness. It is now my conviction—and all will agree that it is a right one—that any subject which does not stand scientific scrutiny should not be deemed worthy of even a moment's thought at least in this age.

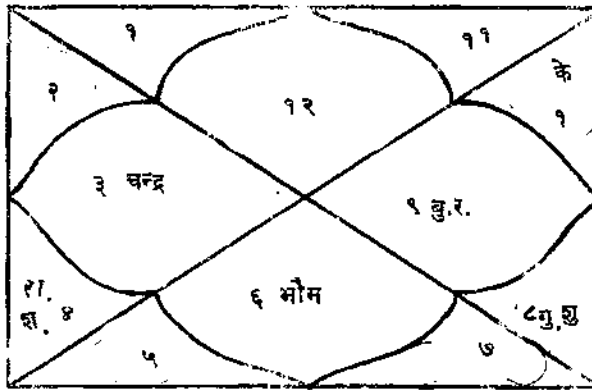
The talk about the origin and development of this science is bound to be idle and uninteresting. We should be modest to admit that such a fullfledged science has its roots in pre-historic times. It is not out of place to quote here the opinion of Dr. Richard Garnett, the famous director of the British Museum, who once declared regarding the precision of Astrology that "Astrology, with the single exception of Astronomy, as regards the certainty of its data, is the most exact science."

At the same time it also must be cleared that Astrology is not a cent per cent correct science. Like other sister sciences it has also a leeway of error. Astrologers have a great distance still to cover. Test of actual experience weighs in favour of Astrology the claim of which is more than answered by a demand, increasing day by day that it should, because it can, make forecasts and estimates.

Its scope and limitations

It is with the involuntary settling of the individual frame, called Birth, that we are concerned here. Thus the much-needed requirement is a chart in Astrology : the Natal chart. There are other kinds of charts, analogous in appearance but differing in objects because Astrology is not merely concerned with the man; it endeavours to legislate for all men. There are actually five principal divisions and many more subsidiary ones. Natal Astrology is confined with the Individual. Horary Astrology is concerned with the answering of questions of immediate interest and import. Mundane Astrology is devoted to communities, races and nations. Astro-meteorology deals with weather problems and Astro-Therapeutics with medical science.

The horoscope⁵² and the Summary of the Satyasamhitā reading



Summary

The native is born in the Druvāṅśa of the Minalagna in a city which is situated on the bank of a river. He will be a Brahmin by birth and a devotee of Hari and Shankar. His birth will be a cause of happiness to his parents. He will be white-complexioned and skilled in the knowledge of the ways of the world. He will neither be very fat nor very lean. He will settle in a very big town (See the फलदेश appended at the end, Sts. 1-7).

He will be a multi-millionaire because Mars, the lord of the second is in Virgo in the seventh and the Dhanēṣa is in the Kendra and the Lagneṣa is in the ninth. From twenty-fifth onwards he will begin to earn and his average annual income will then be nearly a lac. He will be raising the status of Sanskrit and the vernaculars. His family members and dependants will always be protected by him. He will be adept in the art of debates and a first-rate literary man and the second house is aspected by its lord (Sts. 8-14).

Because Venus, the lord of the third, is in Scorpio, he will have no brothers though he will have two sisters, one elder and the other, younger. He will be enterprising, bold and shrewd and will be occasionally angry also but his actions will never be activated by anger. He will be virtuous, patriotic, will serve the country,

will have kings and king like people as his friends and will be of wide fame (Sts. 15-21).

His mother will be meritorious and long lived as Mercury, the lord of the fourth is in Sagittarius in the Ukṣāṃṣa. He will be associated with his maternal uncle and be happy through him. When he will be passing through the direction of Mercury, he will have bungalows, good gardens, cars etc. and will also fly in aeroplanes. He will be broad-minded, pure-hearted and generous; will mean what he thinks and will act as he thinks. He will not be surpassed by any members of his family (Sts. 22-26).

He will have a plenty of sons and daughters, six in all, as Moon, the lord of the fifth, is in Gemini in the Kumbhāṃṣa. Two sons and three daughters will survive; the rest will die while passing through the directions of the wicked planets (Sts. 27-31).

He will get occasional sicknesses but will have no enemies as Sun, the lord of the sixth, is in Sagittarius (St. 32).

The lord of the seventh which is in the Kendra and Mars which is in the seventh indicate that he will have two wives, one from his own caste and the other from the other. The second wife will be a learned and a famous lady. Both will have children. He will marry the second wife after the death of the first (Sts. 33-36).

The native will neither be short-lived nor long-lived as Venus, the lord of the seventh, is in Scorpio with Jupiter. He will get abscess at the age of sixty when running through the direction of Mercury. At about the age of fifty also, he will be attacked with illness (Sts. 37-40).

As Jupiter is in the ninth, he will be cent per cent lucky. His fate, which will begin to operate after twenty-five, will go on progressing thence forth. He will be religious-minded, merciful and will possess some knowledge of clairvoyances (Sts. 41-42).

He will be a solicitor or a barrister (or an advocate) or a magistrate; will devote himself to doing good deeds for the country and will be instrumental in removing troubles and tribulations of the country (Sts. 43-44).

He will live within his means (Sts. 45-47).

He will be born when the direction of Rāhu had six years and four months to complete. In this Daṣā, he will be somewhat afflicted with illness; will have one sister and will be put to school (Sts. 48-50).

The direction of Jupiter will be marked by his progress in studies at school, marriage, father's death in the sub-period of Ketu followed later by his son's death in the sub-period of Rāhu (Sts. 51-56).

In the direction of Saturn, he will be well-versed in नीतिशास्त्र at twenty-two; will

study law at twenty-five and before thirty he will be a famous advocate. He will get monetary benefits, bungalows and cars and will enjoy life like anything. He will get sons and daughters, fame and leadership and become a very flourishing advocate in the sub-periods of Mercury and Ketu. In the sub-period of Rāhu, his wife will die while in delivery. He will take to second marriage very soon (Sts. 57-67).

Following events will take place in his life when he will be running through the Daśā of Mercury :

- (a) Before forty-five in the sub-period of Ketu his wife will get illness.
- (b) He will be suddenly thrown in prison as a result of his taking part in the national movement.
- (c) When running through the sub-periods of Venus, Sun and Moon, he, his wife and children will all be happy.
- (d) Before fifty-two when he will be passing through the sub-periods of Mars and Rāhu and when Jupiter will be in Aquarius or Pisces, he will be made a Minister of Law and Order.
- (e) Before fifty-five he will again be a minister.
- (f) Before sixty, he will get a son.
- (g) After sixty he will take to हानमार्ग. (Sts. 68-85).

His Rāhudaśā will be good for his parents; in Gurudaśā, he will show strong aptitude for arts and literature and get happiness of his wife. In Śauidaśā, there will be all round prosperity and in Buddhadaśā there will be happiness and unhappiness both (Sts. 86 and 87).

Basis

I have analysed below the Satyasambhitā reading given above and have deduced the following basic principles which are generally true and which I have divided into planetary and directional :

(a) Planetary

- (1) The Dhruvāṁśa of the Mīnalagna makes the native happy, generally.
- (2) The lord of the first, if it be Jupiter in the Kanyāṁśa situated in the ninth, makes the native attractive in outward appearance.
- (3) One gets a plenty of wealth if Mars be in Virgo in the seventh in his horoscope. Moreover, if the lord of the second be in a Kendra or a Koṇa and the lord of the first be in a Koṇa, the native is bound to be a multi-millionaire.
- (4) If the lord of the third be Venus in Scorpio in the ninth, the native has no brothers, elder or younger.
- (5) If the lord of the fourth be Mercury in Sagittarius in the Ukṣāṁśa, the native has a virtuous mother, who is usually long-lived. He is under compliments of his maternal uncle. This also indicates him pure-hearted.

(6) He will have six issues out of which sons will be two and daughters, three. One will die. The Yoga responsible for this is Moon in Gemini in the Kumbhāṁga.

(7) There will be no enemies if Sun is the lord of sixth and if it is in Sagittarius, though diseases he will have.

(8) If the lord of seventh is in a Kendra and Mars in the seventh, the phenomenon results in two wives, the first, सजाति and the second विजाति.

(9) The native is neither short-lived nor long-lived if the lord of the eight is Venus in Scorpio.

(10) If the ninth house be occupied by Jupiter, the native has a superfine luck which begins to bloom from after twenty-five.

(b) Directional

(1) The Daśā of Rāhu in the case of this native will become a source of happiness for parents and get occasional illnesses in childhood.

(2) The Daśā of Jupiter will arrange for education and marriage and bring about his father's death in the sub-period of Ketu and his son's death in that of Rāhu.

(3) The Daśā of Saturn in the case of this native, shall procure abundant wealth and enviable status. The native will realize his dreams. There will be only one unhappy incident in the form of his wife's death in the sub-period of Rāhu.

(4) The Daśā of Mercury, so far as this native is concerned, will be of a mixed character. He will court imprisonment while working for the nation. He will be a Minister of Law and Order and will get a son in the sub-period of Jupiter.

(5) The Daśā of Ketu will prove fatal for this native.

Reading according to Orthodox School

If at a birth time, Meena be the Lagna, the person will have a proportionate and a lustrous body. He will be fond of his wife⁵⁵ and fortunate.⁵⁴ The aspect of Mars on the Lagna gives courage, combative spirit, energy and vigour. Jupiter, the ruler of the first, aspecting his own house, indicates long life with good health.

The ruler of the second house is Mars which is located in a Kendra and aspects his own Rāṣi. It gives rise to a षयोन which is lessened to some extent by the aspect of Saturn. Ordinarily, Mars in Virgo alone is good so far as wealth is concerned.

The lord of the third is Venus which is in the ninth in Scorpio in conjunction with Jupiter. In view of this Yoga, the native must have brother and sisters both younger and elder. The aspect of Venus on his own house strengthened by that of Jupiter inspires the native to take to a legal career which turns out immensely flourishing. It also makes the native highly cultured and a literary man of exceptional power.

Moon in the fourth promises extreme happiness.⁵⁵ It may be in the form of bungalows and cars. The effect is intensified to a very great degree by the aspect of its own lord over it.

The conjunction of Saturn and Rāha in the fifth in an inimical sign is undisputedly bad. The only saving grace so far as this house is concerned is the Jupiter's aspect over it. The malefics must have, however, produced obstacles in the ways of native's prosecuting his studies. They also signify feeble digestion. The Navapañcama Yoga formed by Jupiter and Saturn is clearly responsible for the native's selecting a lawyer's career⁵⁶. The Yoga would have been quite a perfect Yoga had any of the two planets been in Aries, Gemini, Leo, Libra, Sagittarius or Aquarius.

The ruler of the sixth, being in a Kendra, creates enemies but the native effectively brings them round as it is Sun in Sagittarius aspected by Moon.

Mars in the seventh aspected by Saturn positively makes अनेकभायायोग.⁵⁷ As Venus is in conjunction with Jupiter in the ninth, there is romantic attachment and a possibility of marriage with a genius and an original character⁵⁸. Mars in the seventh may create hindrances in realizing dreams of conjugal happiness. This Mars is in a way responsible for occasionally causing loss of esteem through precipitate or aggressive actions. It also accounts for frequent clashes with people.

If the ruler of the first, eighth and tenth be in a Kendra or a Kona, the Yoga produced is one of दीर्घायु.⁵⁹ According to the Jaiminisūtra it is अहमनुययोग.⁶⁰

The conjunction of Jupiter and Venus in the ninth is a strong indicator of excellent luck.⁶¹ A powerful Jupiter in the ninth makes the native a minister.⁶² Moreover, Jupiter in the ninth is an ideal position for philosophic thoughts; it gives genuine intuition, and is favourable for legal and philanthropic affairs; the native realizes his dreams and enjoys a very peaceful condition of the higher mind. Venus in the ninth stands for a very refined and artistic mind and endows the native with a power of appreciating culture. It also makes the native very sympathetic and humane though its value is somewhat lessened by its being the ruler of the eighth and at the same time this bad effect is more than compensated by its being in conjunction with Jupiter—a benefic of the highest order.

Sun in the tenth is powerful by its very position and shines all the more resplendently as it is in Sagittarius. It brings success and honour, power and governmental position.⁶³ It is in conjunction with Mercury which has given the native eloquence, literary abilities, versatility and a keen sense of humor.⁶⁴ It also makes him generous, ambitious and even religious. It is noted for giving great freedom of speech and ability for undertaking several things at a time. It is also responsible for giving wonderful suppleness, a clear vision and a fertile imagination. If the ruler of the tenth is in the ninth, it shows that the native will have a wide circle of very famous friends as well as a mother of noble and truth-speaking nature.⁶⁵ The lunar opposition with the sun, according to Western school of Astrology, creates hitches, makes delays, shows low vitality and a want of recuperative powers; while, according to Eastern School of Astrology, it heightens the good effect.

The ruler of the eleventh which is Saturn in Cancer in a Kona and aspects its own house, promises a plenty of wealth and riches.

Saturn is also a lord of the twelfth as of the eleventh and hence a regulator of income and expenditure, both. It works out imprisonments though no bad will follow therefrom as Jupiter fully aspects Saturn. At the basis of these imprisonments, there will always be good actions, say, services in the cause of country.

Discussion

On comparison it is obvious that, there is no essential difference between the two readings. The reason is not far to seek. What has been categorically stated by Satyācārya can also be rationally explained. Scientific approach is the only thing required. Satyācārya has merely given the results without reasons which are there and which are left to us to find out. So the scientific approach to which I have just now referred consists of the following fundamentals of a correct prediction :

(i) The key of a horoscope lies in finding out the predominant *Yoga* which governs the life of the native throughout. All other considerations are merely subsidiary. There is a very great number of *Yogas*⁶⁶ incidentally discussed in any standard work on Astrology. Thus, to illustrate my point, if a प्रवृत्तयोग is taking place in the horoscope of a particular person, all other considerations have got to be made in view of this main point; so also in the case of a woman if a वैश्वयोग be taking place in her horoscope. With regard to the horoscope under study, the main *Yoga* taking place is the प्रभूतकीर्तियोग which will get fulfilled, whatever good activities the native may take to. It is, no doubt, true that the *Yoga* gets more scope to be fulfilled if the *Dakṣa* and the *Bhakti* are favourable; and less, if not. The present rotation also affects it to a certain degree, this way or that way. This प्रभूतकीर्तियोग of the orthodox school tallies cent per cent with the prophetic predictions of Satyācārya regarding the horoscope under review.

I am sorry to admit my inability to fully grasp the point of आयुः because Satyācārya has predicted the मध्यमायुर्योग while according to the reading given by me based on the recognized principles, it is दीर्घायुर्योग.⁶⁷ There is also another interesting thing which requires some explanation and it is the question of the caste of the two wives. Satyācārya definitely lays down that the first wife will be सजाति and the second will be विजाति. It is really beyond comprehension though I am glad to state that the *Manasāgarī* also says the same thing.⁶⁸ Mars aspected by Saturn clearly shows conjugal unhappiness which may be in the form of the native's having more than one wife or of mutual discord or of the native's getting a sickly or a deformed wife or a wife, more masculine than feminine. There is another consideration also and that is of the well-placed Venus which is a कारकग्रह of the wife. It is, moreover, in combination with Jupiter—a benefic and a रत्नेश as well as a दशमेश. This must give extreme happiness of a married life. Thus, to sum up, it can be predicted that

the native will not be so happy by his first wife as he is destined to be by his second wife. Whether his first wife will make him happy or the second is principally dependant on what planets influencing the seventh are more powerful—malefics or benefics. The question of the जाति of the wives is beyond my power to understand, though the verdict of the *Mānasāgari*, a respected book of the orthodox school, should not be ignored. One more point equally important and elusive is that of the native's becoming a Minister of Law and Order. The horoscope is, indeed, a first-rate horoscope. The position of Jupiter and Venus in the ninth warrants, more than sufficiently, conclusion that the native will be a minister. But to say that he will be a minister of Law and Order requires a more searching and accurate study. The reason, I think, is that the martial planet, namely, Sun in the tenth in Sigtarius aspected by Mars outweighs Jupiter and Venus in the ninth. Had it not been so, the native would have been a minister of Education. Thus this last factor is somewhat more explicable than the preceding two mentioned just now.

(2) The next important fundamental is the ascertainment of the बलबल of the planets. It can be estimated through a number of ways, namely, the दशवर्गबल, दीप्तादि-अवस्था, उच्चरश्मि, अष्टकवर्ग, स्थानबल, अयनबल, द्विबल, राशिबल, दशा, भुक्ति, गोचर etc. Of all these, I have found the दशवर्गबल to be more weighty. The fact that a particular planet is powerful only in the Natal Chart does not enable us to predict correctly only on that consideration because I have seen a beggar's natal chart containing exalted Jupiter and an Emperor's having nothing extraordinary in it.¹⁰ In the horoscope under consideration, there is no exalted planet, no svagrahi planet. Still, however, the horoscope is superfine because the planets excepting Rāhu and, to a certain extent, Saturn, are all powerful in most of the other nine charts. This is a consideration that should preclude a professional from risking prediction simply from the natal chart as it is unsafe and it is only by chance that it comes out true.

Conclusion

Some predictions might not have come true and some may not come also, but we could see from the above discussion that a reconciliation between the reading of the orthodox school and that of the Samhitā can be satisfactorily effected. The phrase योगप्रभावमूलेन¹¹ used by Satyācārya is to be taken in a figurative sense, meaning thereby, that an astrologer should attempt a forecast only with the deepest knowledge and also keeping देश and काल in view.

फलादेशः¹²

सुरासुरेज्यौ यदि कोणयातौ दिनाधिपे सोमसुते धनुष्ये ।
 वधूधराजे मिथुने शशाङ्के मंदे कुलीरे जषलप्रजातः ॥
 ग्रहरववसुशशाङ्के याति शाके च वर्षे
 दिवकृतिगतचापे पूर्णिमायां तिथौ च ।

भृशुसुतदिवसे वै मीनलम्बने प्रजातः
 बहुधनबहुभोगी न्यायदर्शी समर्थः ॥
 श्रोपतिं प्रणिपत्याहं प्रणम्य च नवग्रहान् ।
 लोकानामुपकाराय वक्ष्येऽहं सत्यसंहिताम् ॥

भावफलम्

ध्रुवांशे तु परे भावे मीनलम्बस्य जातके ।
 विप्रजन्मा सुखी जातः हरिशंकरभक्तिमान् ॥१॥
 नदीतीरे च नगरे नानाजातिजनान्विते ।
 जननं जातकस्याहुः पितृमातृसुखावहः ॥२॥
 पूर्वभागे तु संभूतः वैश्यजातिश्च धार्मिकः ।
 नानाव्यापारकार्याणि बहुलक्षधनी भवेत् ॥३॥

प्रथमो भावः ॥

तनुनाथे सुरपूज्ये भाग्ये कन्याशमागते ।
 जातकः सुंदरांगश्च सुसुखश्च सुलोचनः ॥४॥
 गौरवर्णशरीरश्च लोकरीतिविक्षणः ।
 सर्वाकृतिश्च जायेत सर्वेषामुपकारवान् ॥५॥
 नातिस्थूलो नातिकृशः मध्यगात्रो भविष्यति ।
 सास्त्रिकप्रकृतिर्जातो राजसप्रकृतिः कश्चित् ॥६॥
 जन्मभूमिं परित्यज्य महानगरवासकृत् ।
 सुखजीवी च भविता व्यापारी प्रभुः... ॥७॥

द्वितीयो भावः

धनस्थानाधिपे भौमे कन्यासप्तमकेन्द्रगे ।
 धनवान् भविता जातः इति सत्यस्य विश्वयः ॥८॥
 धनेशे केन्द्रकोणस्थे लग्नेशे यदि कोणगे ।
 बहुलक्षधनी जातः भविष्यति न संशयः ॥९॥
 पित्राजितं क्वचिच्छेति स्वार्जितं धनमश्नुते ।
 पञ्चविंशं समारभ्य वर्षे वर्षे च लक्षभाक् ॥१०॥
 विद्यावान् भविता जातः नीचविद्याविशारदः ।
 देशभाषादेवभाषाद्वित्रिभाषाभिर्वृद्धिकृत् ॥११॥

सर्वा भूमिः कुटुम्बं च कुटुम्बीश्रितरक्षकः ।
 स्पष्टोच्चारव.....साहित्ये सारविद् भवेत् ॥१२॥

वाक्ये वाक्यपहृष्टे च वाक्ये गौरवमादिशेत् ।
 महाजनसभामध्ये वाग्मी पटुतरो भवेत् ॥१३॥

..... ।
 भुक्तिसौकर्यवान् जातः काले मुक्तिं समाचरेत् ॥१४॥

तृतीयो भावः

भ्रातृस्थानाधिपे शुक्ले क्रीटस्थाने स्थिते यदि ।
 एक एव सुतो मातुः न भ्राता विद्यतेऽपि च ॥१५॥

स्वसा ज्येष्ठा च भविता पश्चादेका स्वसा भवेत् ।
 पराक्रमी पटुर्जातः धीरः साहसवान् भवेत् ॥१६॥

कार्याकार्यं च जानाति सम्यक् कार्यं करोति च ।
 यदि कोपी भवेत्कचांतो न कोपफलकर्मकृत् ॥१७॥

वस्त्रालंकारसौख्यं च जातकस्य भविष्यति ।
 देशाभिमानो जायेत देशसेवो सुनीतिमान् ॥१८॥

विद्याविनोदी जायेत लेखकस्य विचक्षणः ।
 स्वकार्यं च परित्यज्य परकार्ये प्रयत्नमाक् ॥१९॥

बहुमैत्री च जायेत राजन्यजनमित्रवान् ।
 व्यापारिप्रभुणा सक्रमं धनलाभश्च जायते ॥२०॥

गौराकृतिर्बहुधनी वचने पटुत्वं
 भ्राता न कोऽपि भगिनी सुखिनी च पश्चात् ।

नित्यं धनी सुनयनी सुखभोजनी च
 मानी गुणी च भविता दिशि दिव्यकीर्तिः ॥२१॥

चतुर्थो भावः

मातृस्थानाधिपे सौम्ये चापे उक्षांसमागते ।
 माता गुणवती चैव बहुकालं च जीवति ॥२२॥

मातुलादियुतो जातः मातृबंधुवशात्सुखम् ।
 गृहवाहादिसौख्यं च विविमृष्टहवासकृत् ॥२३॥

बुधदाये तदाकाले विचित्रारामवासवान् ।
विशेषवाहादिसौख्यं च विमानादिषु संचरेत् ॥२४॥

विशुद्धहृदयो जातः विशलहृदयस्तथा ।
बहिरंतःसमाकारः सतद्वी साशुशीलवान् ॥२५॥

उदारोऽयं भवेज्जातः न कार्पण्यं भजेदपि ।
न भूतो न भावी च स्वजाती इदृशः पुमान् ॥२६॥

पञ्चमो भावः ॥

पुत्रस्थानाधिपे चन्द्रे मिथुने कुंभांशमागते ।
पुत्रपुत्रीविशुद्धिश्च जातकस्य भविष्यति ॥२७॥

रससंख्या च संतानं पुत्रपुत्रीसुखावहं ।
पुत्रनेत्रं गुणं सौख्यं पुत्रीगुणमुदीरयेत् ॥२८॥

शेषं नष्टं न जायेत क्रूरगोचरकालके ।
पुत्रप्राप्त्यभ्यादेश्य राजद्वारे महत्सुखं ॥२९॥

तस्य जातकविस्तारः तत्र तत्र प्रदर्शयेत् ।
बुद्धिमान् नीतिमान् जातः दयायुक्तो भविष्यति ॥३०॥

मंत्रालोचनकार्ये च महामंत्रीपदं लभेत् ।
भागामिसूचिनी बुद्धिः परेषां बुद्धिदायकः ॥३१॥

षष्ठो भावः

शत्रुस्थानाधिपे सूर्ये चापे स्थाने स्थिते यदि ।
शत्रुबुद्धिविहीनश्च रोगपीडा क्वचिदभवेत् ॥३२॥

सप्तमो भावः

दारपत्नी केन्द्रगते दारस्थानं धरासुते ।
दारद्वयी भवित्री च भविता दारोऽनुदारश्च ॥३३॥

सजातिश्च विजातिश्च भार्याद्वयमुदीरयेत् ।
पूर्वभार्या संसताना परा भार्या संसतती ॥३४॥

विद्याकीर्तिमती चैव परा भार्या भविष्यति ।
... .. ॥३५॥

पूर्वभार्या विनष्टा च परा भार्या भविष्यति ।
... .. ॥३६॥

अष्टमो भावः

आयुःस्थानाधिपे शुक्ले कीटे गुरुसमन्विते ।
 मध्यजीवी च भविता सुखजीवी भवेन्नरः ॥३७॥
 केतुदायातिमे काले कीर्तिशेषो भविष्यति ।
 बुधदाये गंडता च षष्ठीवर्षे पुरापरे ॥३८॥
 महाशुत्युजय जापं तस्मिन् काले समाचरेत् ।
 पञ्चाशद्द्वत्सरे पूर्वे क्वापि पीडा च जायते ॥३९॥
 साधूनामन्नदानं च तस्मिन् काले समाचरेत् ।
 रसे रसे तदा काले कीर्तिशेषो भवेन्नरः ॥४०॥

नवमो भावः

भाग्ये गुरुसमायोगे संपूर्णभाग्यमादिशेत् ।
 पञ्चविंशद्भास्यवृद्धिः उपयुं परि वृद्धिमान् ॥४१॥
 धर्ममार्गे मतिश्चैव दाता दीनदयापरः ।
 अदृष्टशाली भविता स्वकुले योगवान् भवेत् ॥४२॥
 धर्मकार्यं च कुर्वीत धर्ममार्गे प्रवृत्तिमान् ।
 सुकर्मा मानवान् जातः कर्मकौशलवान् भवेत् ॥४३॥
 न्यायदर्शो न्यायवादी न्यायाधीशो भविष्यति ।
 देशोपकारकरणः देशोपद्रवतोदनः ॥४४॥
 बयोऽन्ते ज्ञानशाली च देवतागुरुभक्तिभाक् ।
 विविक्तसेवी भविता सदाचारो भविष्यति ॥४५॥
 गेहं च बाहनमुखं भविता समोहा-
 तीतं सुखं च भविता तनयाभिवृद्धिः ॥४६॥
 नार्णं च पूर्णविभवः बहुभाग्यशाली ।
 धर्मं मतिश्च भविताऽऽयसमव्ययी च ॥४७॥
 इत्थं द्वादशभावानां फलमुक्तं समासतः ।
 दशाभुक्तिप्रकारस्तु दिङ्मात्रमिह सूच्यते ॥४७॥

आर्द्राक्षत्रे जन्म ॥ राहु वशा ॥

रसवर्षाद्दशाशेषः वेदमासश्च जायते ।
 तद्दशायां च जातस्य पितामातासुखावहम् ॥४८॥
 बाल्यपीडा च जायेत पश्चात्सौख्यं च जायते ।
 पश्चात् स्वसा च जायेत जातकस्य सुखं तथा ॥४९॥
 अक्षरारंभसिद्धिश्च जातकस्य भविष्यति ।
॥५०॥

गुरुदशा

ऋषिवर्षे समारभ्य गुरुदाये समागते ।
 दशमे वत्सरे पूर्वे विद्याभ्यासं च कारयेत् ॥५१॥
 सौम्यभुक्तौ द्वादशाब्दे विवाहादिशुभं भवेत् ।
 विद्याभ्यासश्च जायेत वृद्धिमेति पदे पदे ॥५२॥
 केतुभुक्तौ पितुर्नष्टं पंचपक्षतौ तदा पुनः ।
 पितृरिष्टात् परं नैव मातृबन्धुवशात् सुखम् ॥५३॥
 षोडशाब्दे पूर्वकाले विद्याभ्यासश्च जायते ।
 शुक्रसूर्याभ्यङ्गकाले तु विशद्वर्षपूर्वके ॥५४॥
 विद्याभ्यासो विशेषेण नीचविद्याविवृद्धिकृत् ।
 ॥५५॥
 स्थानान्तरनिवासी च विद्याभ्यासविशारदः ।
 भार्यया सह सौख्यं च पुत्रसंतानवष्टकृत् ॥५६॥

शनिदशा

द्वाविंशे वत्सरे काले नीतिशास्त्रप्रसंगकृत् ।
 पंचविंशे तदा काले न्यायस्थाने गतागतिः ॥५७॥
 न्यायदर्शी समर्थश्च व्यवहारसमर्थकः ।
 त्रिंशदूर्णे सौम्यकेतौ न्यायदर्शी प्रसिद्धिमान् ॥५८॥
 विशेषाद् धनलाभश्च गृहवाहादिसौख्यवान् ।
 भार्यया सह सौख्यं च भोगभोग्यं महत्सुखं ॥५९॥

पुत्रपुत्रीविवृद्धिश्च दिशायां दिव्यकीर्तिभाक् ।
पुरे गणयत्वाम्नोति व्यापारिजनसख्यकृत् ॥६०॥

क्वापि पीडा च जायेत हरिगेहे प्रदीपकृत् ।
शुकसूर्याब्जकाले तु पञ्चत्रिंशत्पूर्वके ॥६१॥

न्यायदर्शी समर्थश्च व्यवहारसमर्थकः ।
धनलाभश्च जायेत राजन्यजनमैत्रीवान् ॥६२॥

सहस्रलक्षधनी जातः गृहवाहादिसौख्यकृत् ।
पञ्चत्रिंशे तदा काले पुत्रीवृद्धिश्च जायते ॥६३॥

सूतिदोषवशाच्चेति मर्या नष्टं च जायते ।
अचिरेणैवकालेन पुनरुद्धाहयोगवान् ॥६४॥

क्वापि कष्टं मनःकष्टं सुत्रद्वय्याभिषेककृत् ।
... .. ॥६५॥

वसुरामे राहुमुक्तौ पुत्रवृद्धिश्च जायते ।
दशान्ते च महत्सौख्यं पुत्रपुत्रीसुखावहम् ॥६६॥

... .. ।
भार्यया सह सौख्यं च न्यायदर्शी प्रसिद्धिमान् ॥६७॥

बुधदशा

द्विचत्वारिककाले तु सौम्यदाये समागते ।
सौम्यकेतौ तदा काले पञ्चचत्वारिके पुरा ॥६८॥

संतानादिविवृद्धिश्च पुत्रीपुत्रसुखावहम् ।
कञ्चित्पीडा कुटुम्बे च भार्यया सह कष्टकृत् ॥६९॥

न तथा धनलाभश्च व्ययाधिक्यं च जायते ।
अकस्माद् बंधनं कष्टं देशसेवाविशेषतः ॥७०॥

पञ्चान्मोचनमादेशयं धनलाभः क्वचिद्भवेत् ।
मंडलं हरिसेवां च विष्णुसाहस्रकं जपेत् ॥७१॥

पुत्रपुत्रीसुखी भोगी दिशायां दिव्यकीर्तिभाक् ।
शुकसूर्याब्जकाले तु पंचाशद्वत्सरे पुरा ॥७२॥

देशानां हितकारी च सौकर्यं कुत्रचिद्भवेत् ।
भार्यादीनां सुखं चैव संतानादिविवृद्धिकृत् ॥७३॥

वर्षे वर्षे धनं चैव गृहवाहादिवृद्धिमान् ।
 गेहे च शुभकार्याणि शुभकार्ये व्ययो महान् ॥७४॥
 गौरवी भविता जातो देशे प्रख्यातकीर्तिमान् ।
 यत्नकार्यालुकूलं च जातकस्य भविष्यति ॥७५॥
 अकस्मात् पीडनं कष्टं कुटुम्बे पीडनं भवेत् ।
 कुर्वात् सूर्यनमस्कारं द्वादशादित्यपूजनम् ॥७६॥
 पञ्चपञ्चाशके पूर्वे कुजे राहौ तदा पुनः ।
 बहूनां सहायमूलेन स्वैतराजन्यसख्यतः ॥७७॥
 महाराजसमामध्ये न्यायदंडाधिकारवान् ।
 द्विपञ्चाशककाले वा कुम्भे वा मीनगे गुरौ ॥७८॥
 राजन्यजनसहाय्यं च बहुगौरवमेयिवान् ।
 सुतदारारामपीडा च रक्तवस्त्रान्नदानकृत् ॥७९॥
 विचित्रारामवासी च विचित्रशकटीगतिः ।
 पंचपञ्चाशके काले प्रधानत्वं च विदते ॥८०॥
 मंत्रालोचनकार्यं च शुभाशुभफलं तदा ।
 विशेषसुखभाग् जातः राजन्यजनमैत्रीवान् ॥८१॥
 षष्टिपूर्वं सुखी जातः राजकार्यं करोति च ।
 पुत्रप्राबल्ययोगश्च राजद्वारे महत्सुखम् ॥८२॥
 षष्टिवर्षात् परं चैव ज्ञानमार्गे प्रवृत्तिमान् ।
 देशानां हितकारी च जातकस्य भविष्यति ॥८३॥
 षष्टिपूर्वं देहकष्टं मृत्युहोमादि कारयेत् ।
 पञ्चषष्ठी गते काले कीर्तिशेषो भवेन्नरः ॥८४॥
 यावत्कालं स्थिरां कीर्तिः जातकस्य भविष्यति ।
 अनायासात् कीर्तिशेषः पुत्रपुत्रीसमीपगे ॥८५॥
 आदौ राहुदशा पितुः सुखकरी पाश्चात्भवेत् सोदरो
 जीवे चैव कलारतिः पटुमतिः भार्यासुखं जायते ।
 मंदे भाग्यविवर्धनं बहुधनं संतानसंवर्धनं
 सौम्ये स्वाच्च सुखासुखं च मिलिते जातौ भवेत् कीर्तिमान् ॥८६॥
 कालदेशवियर्थासान्मन्यनाधिकफलमिदम् ।
 को वक्ता तारतम्यस्थ तन्नेकं वेधसं विना ॥८७॥
 ॥ इति शुभम् ॥

Notes

- 1 See the text of the *Satyasamhitā* (SS), attached at the end of the article, stanza 1.
- 2 SS, stanzas 29, 83, and 92.
- 3 This word is found used in the *Satyasamhitā* reading of a certain well-known journalist.
- 4 This word is found used in the *Satyasamhitā* reading of a highly qualified Professor.
- 5 SS, sts. 50 and 51.
- 6 SS, st. 20. 7 SS, st. 22. 8 SS, sts, 23 and 58. 9 SS, st. 33. 10 SS, st. 27.
- 11 SS, st. 29. 12 SS, st. 34. 13 SS, st. 31. 14 SS, st. 35. 15 SS, st. 32.
- 16 SS, st. 34. 17 SS, st. 33. 18 SS, st. 34. 19 SS, st. 36. 20 SS, st. 38.
- 21 SS, st. 39. 22 SS, st. 39. 23 SS, st. 41. 24 SS, st. 42. 25 SS, sts 50 and 51.
- 26 SS, st. 64. 27 SS, st. 67. 28 SS, st. 68. 29 SS, st. 73. 30 SS, st. 80.
- 31 Cf. SS, st 54.
- 32 SS, st. 56. The *Iṣṭaghaṭikā* of GANDHIJI'S horoscope is not known to me. I have cast the horoscope according to the *Kuṇḍalika Śloka* (st. 56) of the *Satyasamhitā* and it is the generally accepted horoscope of GANDHIJI.
- 33 *Mānasāgari Paddhati*, Pub. Khemraj Shrikrishnadas, Vyankateshvar Press, Bombay, 1961 (V.S.), p. 20, *Bhaumaphalam*, śloka 1.
- 34 *Bhaviṣya Bhāva Phala*, Pub. Talakchand Shirachand, Roopal, 2nd edition, 1932, p. 208, śl. 6.
- 35 *Sarvārthacintāmaṇi*, Pub. Khemraj Shrikrishandas, Vyankateshvar Press, Bombay, 1961 (v.s.) p. 11, śl. 69.
- 36 *Bhaviṣya Bhāva Phala* (cited above), p. 207, śl. 4.
- 37 *Camatkāracintāmaṇi*, Pub. Khemraj Shrikrishandas, Vyankateshvar Press, Bombay, 1995 (v.s.) p. 23, śl. 1.
- 38 *Op. cit.*, p. 14, śl. 12.
- 39 *Mānasāgari Paddhati* (cited above), p. 23, *Rahuphalam*, śl. 10.
- 40 *Bhaviṣya Bhāva Phala* (cited above), p. 262, śl. 1.
- 42 *Mānasāgari Paddhati* (cited above), p. 28, *Dvitiyabhavanēśaphalam*, śl. 1.
- 43 *Mānasāgari Paddhati* (cited above) p. 41, śl. 8.
- 44 *Bhaviṣya Bhāva Phala* (cited above), p. 251, śl. 2; p. 307, śl. 2.
- 45 *Mānasāgari Paddhati* (cited above), p. 31, śl. 12.
- 46 SS, st. 20. 47 Cf. SS, st. 52.
- 48 I have taken this from the December issue of the *Gujarat*, 1931 a now defunct monthly magazine in Gujarati—edited by Shri K. M. MUNSHI, President of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.
- To give just the correct idea of the nature and characteristics of the Samhitā text, no attempt at emendation has been made. It is, doubtless, incorrect materially, metrically, grammatically at more places than one. The stanzas are so simple that even a layman can understand them at the first reading.
- 49 See pp. 174.
- 50 See p. 175, St. 20. 51 See p. 170.
- 52 This is the horoscope of one who is one of the makers of the modern Gujarat as well as a luminary in a legal profession and the literary field. He is also one of the first-rate political leader. The date of birth is 30-12-1887 and the time of birth is 12.7 noon (Madras Time).
- 53 *Mantreśvara's Phaladīpikā*, (Ed. V. Subrahmanya SHASTRI, Bangalore, 1937) 9, 12.
- 54 Mahādeva SHARMĀ'S *Jātakatvatam*, (Pup. Rutlam, 1937), p. 102.

- 55 *Op. cit.* p. 183. 60 *Op. cit.* p. 196.
 56 *Op. cit.* p. 252. 61 *Op. cit.* p. 256.
 57 *Op. cit.* pp. 275 and 282. 62 *Op. cit.* p. 278.
 58 *Op. cit.* p. 337. 63 *Op. cit.* p. 354.
 59 *Op. cit.* p. 366. 64 *Op. cit.* p. 390,
 65. *Op. cit.* p. 401.
 66. There are many Yogas namely, तामस Yoga, सुनका Yoga, अनका Yoga, वेशी Yoga, चंद्र Yoga etc. etc. Moreover, there is quite a good number of Yogas produced by the positions of the planets, their aspects, conjunctions etc. etc.
 67. See footnote 57 above.
 68. *Mānasāgaripaddhati* (Pub. Bombay, 1939), 3, 9
 69. See the horoscopes printed at the end of *Jyotiṣkalpataru* and discussed incidentally in the *Sulabhajātaka*.
 70. See footnote 50 above.
 71. The text is corrupt, indeed. It must be so on account of scribal errors. I have not emended it as the meaning is clear even without it; I also admit that it is somewhat unwarranted to deduce any conclusions regarding the Satyasamhitā and its nature on a scanty evidence of half a dozen readings.
 72 Lacunas of this type are placed here as they are found in the original,

*

