

# **On the Indian Sect of the Jainas eBook**

## **On the Indian Sect of the Jainas by Georg Bühler**

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## THE INDIAN SECT OF THE JAINAS.

The *Jaina* sect is a religious society of modern India, at variance to Brahmanism, and possesses undoubted claims on the interest of all friends of Indian history. This claim is based partly on the peculiarities of their doctrines and customs, which present several resemblances to those of Buddhism, but, above all, on the fact that it was founded in the same period as the latter.

Larger and smaller communities of *Jainas* or *Arhata*,—that is followers of the prophet, who is generally called simply the *Jina*—'the conqueror of the world',—or the *Arhat*—'the holy one',—are to be found in almost every important Indian town, particularly among the merchant class. In some provinces of the West and North-west, in Gujarat, Rajputana, and the Panjab, as also in the Dravidian districts in the south,—especially in Kanara,—they are numerous; and, owing to the influence of their wealth, they take a prominent place. They do not, however, present a compact mass, but are divided into two rival branches—the *Digambara* and [*S*]vetambara [Footnote: In notes on the Jainas, one often finds the view expressed, that the *Digambaras* belong only to the south, and the [*S*]vetambaras to the north. This is by no means the case. The former in the Panjab, in eastern Rajputana and in the North West Provinces, are just as numerous, if not more so, than the latter, and also appear here and there in western Rajputana and Gujarat: see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, p. 28.]—each of which is split up into several subdivisions. The *Digambara*, that is, "those whose robe is the atmosphere," owe their name to the circumstance that they regard absolute nudity as the indispensable sign of holiness, [Footnote: The ascetics of lower rank, now called Pa[n.][d.]it, now-a-days wear the costume of the country. The Bha[t.][t.]araka, the heads of the sect, usually wrap themselves in a large cloth (*chadr*). They lay it off during meals. A disciple then rings a bell as a sign that entrance is forbidden (*Ind. Ant. loc. cit.*). When the present custom first arose cannot be ascertained. From the description of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang (St. Julien, *Vie.* p. 224), who calls them Li-hi, it appears that they were still faithful to their principles in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. "The Li-hi (Nirgranthis) distinguish themselves by leaving their bodies naked and pulling out their hair. Their skin is all cracked, their feet are hard and chapped: like rotting trees that one sees near rivers."]—though the advance of civilization has compelled them to depart from the practice of their theory. The [*S*]vetambara, that is, "they who are clothed in white"—do not claim this doctrine, but hold it as possible that the holy ones, who clothe themselves, may also attain the highest goal. They allow, however, that the

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founder of the Jaina religion and his first disciples disdained to wear clothes. They are divided, not only by this quarrel, but also by differences about dogmas and by a different literature. The separation must therefore be of old standing. Tradition, too, upholds this—though the dates given do not coincide. From inscriptions it is certain that the split occurred before the first century of our era. [Footnote: See below p. 44.] Their opposing opinions are manifested in the fact that they do not allow each other the right of intermarriage or of eating at the same table,—the two chief marks of social equality. In spite of the age of the schism, and the enmity that divides the two branches, they are at one as regards the arrangement of their communities, doctrine, discipline, and cult,—at least in the more important points; and, thus, one can always speak of the Jaina religion as a whole.

The characteristic feature of this religion is its claim to universality, which it holds in common with Buddhism, and in opposition to Brahmanism. It also declares its object to be to lead all men to salvation, and to open its arms—not only to the noble Aryan, but also to the low-born [S]udra and even to the alien, deeply despised in India, the Mlechcha. [Footnote: In the stereotyped introductions to the sermons of Jina it is always pointed out that they are addressed to the Aryan and non-Aryan. Thus in the *Aupapatika Sutra* Sec. 56. (Leumann) it runs as follows: *tesī[m] savvesī[m] a[r.]jiyamanariyana[m] agilae dhammat[m] aikkhai* “to all these, Aryans and non-Aryans, he taught the law untiringly”. In accordance with this principle, conversions of people of low caste, such as gardeners, dyers, etc., are not uncommon even at the present day. Muhammadans too, regarded as Mlechcha, are still received among the Jaina communities. Some cases of the kind were communicated to me in A[h.]madabad in the year 1876, as great triumphs of the Jainas. Tales of the conversion of the emperor Akbar, through the patriarch Hiravijaya (*Ind. Antiq.* Vol. XI, p. 256), and of the spread of the Digambara sect in an island Jainabhadri, in the Indian Ocean (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII, p. 28) and in Arabia, shew that the Jainas are familiar with the idea of the conversion of non-Indians. Hiuen Tsiang’s note on the appearance of the Nirgrantha or Digambara in Kiapishi (Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. I, p. 55), points apparently to the fact that they had, in the North West at least, spread their missionary activity beyond the borders of India.] As their doctrine, like Buddha’s, is originally a philosophical ethical system intended for ascetics, the disciples, like the Buddhists, are, divided into ecclesiastics and laity. At the head stands an order of ascetics, originally Nirgrantha “they, who are freed from all bands,” now usually called Yatis—“Ascetics”, or Sadhus—“Holy”, which, among the [S]vetambara also admits women, [Footnote:

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Even the canonical works of the [’S]vetambara, as for example, the *Achara[n]ga* (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXII, p. 88-186) contain directions for nuns. It seems, however, that they have never played such an important part as in Buddhism. At the present time, the few female orders among the [’S]vetambara consist entirely of virgin widows, whose husbands have died in childhood, before the beginning of their life together. It is not necessary to look upon the admission of nuns among the [’S]vetambara as an imitation of Buddhist teaching, as women were received into some of the old Brahmanical orders; see my note to *Manu*, VIII, 363, (*Sac. Bks. of the East*, Vol. XXV, p. 317). Among the Digambaras, exclusion of women was demanded from causes not far to seek. They give as their reason for it, the doctrine that women are not capable of attaining *Nirva[n]ja*; see Peterson, *Second Report*, in *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVII, p. 84.] and under them the general community of the Upasaka “the Worshippers”, or the [’S]ravaka, “the hearers”.

The ascetics alone are able to penetrate into the truths which Jina teaches, to follow his rules and to attain to the highest reward which he promises. The laity, however, who do not dedicate themselves to the search after truth, and cannot renounce the life of the world, still find a refuge in Jainism. It is allowed to them as hearers to share its principles, and to undertake duties, which are a faint copy of the demands made on the ascetics. Their reward is naturally less. He who remains in the world cannot reach the highest goal, but he can still tread the way which leads to it. Like all religions of the Hindus founded on philosophical speculation, Jainism sees this highest goal in *Nirvana* or *Moksha*, the setting free of the individual from the *Sa[m]sara*,—the revolution of birth and death. The means of reaching it are to it, as to Buddhism, the three Jewels—the right Faith, the right Knowledge, and the right Walk. By the right Faith it understands the full surrender of himself to the teacher, the Jina, the firm conviction that he alone has found the way of salvation, and only with him is protection and refuge to be found. Ask who Jina is, and the Jaina will give exactly the same answer as the Buddhist with respect to Buddha. He is originally an erring man, bound with the bonds of the world, who,—not by the help of a teacher, nor by the revelation of the Vedas—which, he declares, are corrupt—but by his own power, has attained to omniscience and freedom, and out of pity for suffering mankind preaches and declares the way of salvation, which he has found. Because he has conquered the world and the enemies in the human heart, he is called Jina “the Victor”, Mahavira, “the great hero”; because he possesses the highest knowledge, he is called Sarvajna or Kevalin, the “omniscient”, Buddha, the “enlightened”; because he has freed himself

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from the world he receives the names of Mukta “the delivered one”, Siddha and Tathagata, “the perfected”, Arhat “the holy one”; and as the proclaimer of the doctrine, he is the Tirthakara “the finder of the ford”, through the ocean of the *Sa[m]sara*. In these epithets, applied to the founder of their doctrine, the Jainas agree almost entirely with the Buddhists, as the likeness of his character to that of Buddha would lead us to expect. They prefer, however, to use the names Jina and Arhat, while the Buddhists prefer to speak of Buddha as Tathagata or Sugata. The title Tirthakara is peculiar to the Jainas. Among the Buddhists it is a designation for false teachers. [Footnote: The titles Siddha, Buddha and Mukta are certainly borrowed by both sects from the terminology of the Brahma[n.]s, which they used, even in olden times, to describe those saved during their lifetimes and used in the [’S]aivite doctrine to describe a consecrated one who is on the way to redemption. An Arhat, among the Brahma[n.]s, is a man distinguished for his knowledge and pious life (comp. for example Apastamba, *Dharmasutra*. I, 13, 13; II, 10, 1.) and this idea is so near that of the Buddhists and the Jainas that it may well be looked upon as the foundation of the latter. The meaning of Tirthakara “prophet, founder of religion”, is derived from the Brahmanic use of *tirtha* in the sense of “doctrine”. Comp. also H. Jacobi’s Article on the Title of Buddha and Jina, *Sac. Books of the East*. Vol. XXII, pp. xix, xx.]

The Jaina says further, however, that there was more than one Jina. Four and twenty have, at long intervals, appeared and have again and again restored to their original purity the doctrines darkened by evil influences. They all spring from noble, warlike tribes. Only in such, not among the low Brahma[n.]s, can a Jina see the light of the world. The first Jina [R.][.]ishabha,—more than 100 billion oceans of years ago,—periods of unimaginable length, [Footnote: A Sagara or Sagaropama of years is == 100,000,000,000,000 Palya or Palyopama. A Palya is a period in which a well, of one or, according to some, a hundred *yojana*, i.e. of one or a hundred geographical square miles, stuffed full of fine hairs, can be emptied, if one hair is pulled out every hundred years: Wilson, *Select. Works*, Vol. I, p. 309; Colebrooke, *Essays*, Vol. II, p. 194. ed. Cowell.]—was born as the son of a king of Ayodhya and lived eight million four hundred thousand years. The intervals between his successors and the durations of their lives became shorter and shorter. Between the twenty third, Par[’s]va and the twenty fourth Vardhamana, were only 250 years, and the age of the latter is given as only seventy-two years. He appeared, according to some, in the last half of the sixth century, according to others in the first half of the fifth century B.C. He is of course the true, historical prophet of the Jainas



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and it is in his doctrine, that the Jainas should believe. The dating back of the origin of the Jaina religion again, agrees with the pretensions of the Buddhists, who recognise twenty-five Buddhas who taught the same system one after the other. Even with Brahmanism, it seems to be in some distant manner connected, for the latter teaches in its cosmogony, the successive appearance of Demiurges, and wise men—the fourteen Manus, who, at various periods helped to complete the work of creation and proclaimed the Brahmanical law. These Brahmanical ideas may possibly have given rise to the doctrines of the twenty-five Buddhas and twenty-four Jinas, [Footnote: For the list of these Jinas, see below.] which, certainly, are later additions in both systems.

The undoubted and absolutely correct comprehension of the nine truths which the Jina gives expression to, or of the philosophical system which the Jina taught, represents the second Jewel—the true Knowledge. Its principal features are shortly as follows.

[Footnote: More complete representations are to be found in Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*. Vol. I, pp. 404, 413, with Cowell's Appendix p. 444-452; Vol. II, pp. 194, 196, 198-201; H. H. Wilson's *Select Works*, Vol. I, pp. 297-302, 305-317; J. Stevenson, *Kalpasutra*, pp. xix-xxv; A. Barth, *Religions de l'Inde*, pp. 84-91.]

The world (by which we are to understand, not only the visible, but also imaginary continents depicted with the most extravagant fancy, heavens and hells of the Brahmanical Cosmology, extended by new discoveries) is uncreated. It exists, without ruler, only by the power of its elements, and is everlasting. The elements of the world are six substances—souls, *Dharma* or moral merit, *Adharma* or sin, space, time, particles of matter. From the union of the latter spring four elements—earth, fire, water, wind—and further, bodies and all other appearances of the world of sense and of the supernatural worlds. The forms of the appearances are mostly unchangeable. Only the bodies of men and their age increase or decrease in consequence of the greater or less influence of sin or merit, during immeasurably long periods,—the *Avasarpī[n.]ji* and the *Utsarpī[n.]ji*. Souls are, each by itself, independent, real existences whose foundation is pure intelligence, and who possess an impulse to action. In the world they are always chained to bodies. The reason of this confinement is that they give themselves up to the stress of activity, to passions, to influences of the senses and objects of the mind, or attach themselves to a false belief. The deeds which they perform in the bodies are *Karman*, merit and sin. This drives them—when one body has passed away, according to the conditions of its existence—into another, whose quality depends on the character of the *Karman*, and will be determined especially by the last thoughts springing from it before death. Virtue leads to

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the heavens of the gods or to birth among men in pure and noble races. Sin consigns the souls to the lower regions, in the bodies of animals, in plants, even into masses of lifeless matter. For—according to the Jaina doctrine—souls exist not only in organic structures, but also in apparently dead masses, in stones, in lumps of earth, in drops of water, in fire and in wind. Through union with bodies the nature of the soul is affected. In the mass of matter the light of its intelligence is completely concealed; it loses consciousness, is immovable, and large or small, according to the dimensions of its abode. In organic structures it is always conscious; it depends however, on the nature of the same, whether it is movable or immovable and possessed of five, four, three, two, or one organ of sense.

The bondage of souls, if they inhabit a human body, can be abolished by the suppression of the causes which lead to their confinement and by the destruction of the *Karman*. The suppression of the causes is accomplished by overcoming the inclination to be active and the passions, by the control of the senses, and by steadfastly holding to the right faith. In this way will be hindered the addition of new *Karman*, new merit or new guilt. The destruction of *Karman* remaining from previous existences can be brought about either spontaneously by the exhaustion of the supply or by asceticism. In the latter case the final state is the attainment to a knowledge which penetrates the universe, to *Kevala*, *Jnana* and *Nirva[n.]a* or *Moksha*: full deliverance from all bonds. These goals may be reached even while the soul is still in its body. If however the body is destroyed then the soul wanders into the “No-World” (*aloka*) as the Jain says, *i.e.* into the heaven of Jina ‘the delivered’, lying outside the world. [Footnote: On the Jaina Paradise see below. Dr. Buehler seems here to have confounded the *Aloka* or Non-world, ‘the space where only things without life are found’, with the heaven of the Siddhas; but these are living beings who have crossed the boundary] There it continues eternally in its pure intellectual nature. Its condition is that of perfect rest which nothing disturbs. These fundamental ideas are carried out in the particulars with a subtilness and fantasy unexampled, even in subtle and fantastic India, in a scholarly style, and defended by the *syadvada*—the doctrine of “It may be so”,—a mode of reasoning which makes it possible to assert and deny the existence of one and the same thing. If this be compared with the other Indian systems, it stands nearer the Brahma[n.] than the Buddhist, with which it has the acceptance in common of only four, not five elements. Jainism touches all the Brahma[n.] religions and Buddhism in its cosmology and ideas of periods, and it agrees entirely with regard to the doctrines of *Karman*, of the bondage, and the deliverance of souls. Atheism, the view

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that the world was not created, is common to it with Buddhism and the Sa[n]khya philosophy. Its psychology approaches that of the latter in that both believe in the existence of innumerable independent souls. But the doctrine of the activity of souls and their distribution into masses of matter is in accordance with the Vedanta, according to which the principle of the soul penetrates every thing existing. In the further development of the soul doctrine, the conceptions 'individual soul' and 'living being' to which the Jaina and the Brahma[n.] give the same name,—*jiva*, seem to become confounded. The Jaina idea of space and time as real substances is also found in the Vai[s]eshika system. In placing *Dharma* and *Adharma* among substances Jainism stands alone.

The third jewel, the right Walk which the Jaina ethics contains, has its kernel in the five great oaths which the Jaina ascetic takes on his entrance into the order. He promises, just as the Brahma[n.] penitent, and almost in the same words, not to hurt, not to speak untruth, to appropriate nothing to himself without permission, to preserve chastity, and to practice self-sacrifice. The contents of these simple rules become most extraordinarily extended on the part of the Jainas by the insertion of five clauses, in each of which are three separate active instruments of sin, in special relation to thoughts, words, and deeds. Thus, concerning the oath not to hurt, on which the Jaina lays the greatest emphasis: it includes not only the intentional killing or hurting of living beings, plants, or the souls existing in dead matter, it requires also the utmost carefulness in the whole manner of life, in all movements, a watchfulness over all functions of the body by which anything living might be hurt. [Footnote: The Digambara sect, at least in southern India, do not seem to be all quite so punctiliously careful in this as the [S]vetambara of western India.—Ed.] It demands finally strict watch over the heart and tongue, and the avoidance of all thoughts and words which might lead to dispute and quarrel and thereby to harm. In like manner the rule of sacrifice means not only that the ascetic has no house or possessions, it teaches also that a complete unconcern toward agreeable and disagreeable impressions is necessary, as also the sacrifice of every attachment to anything living or dead. [Footnote: On the five great vows see the *Achara[n]ga Sutra*, II, 15: *S.B.E.* Vol. XXII, pp. 202-210. The Sanskrit terms of the Jains are: 1. *ahi[m]sa*, 2. *sunrita*, 3. *asteya*, 4. *brahmacharya*, 5. *aparigraha*; those of the Brahmanical ascetics: 1. *ahi[m]sa*, 2. *satya*, 3. *asteya*, 4. *brahmacharya*, 5. *tyaga*.]

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Beside the conscientious observance of these rules, Tapas—Asceticism, is most important for the right walk of those, who strive to attain *Nirva[n.]a*. Asceticism is inward as well as outward. The former is concerned with self-discipline, the cleansing and purifying of the mind. It embraces repentance of sin, confession of the same to the teacher, and penance done for it, humility before teachers and all virtuous ones, and the service of the same, the study and teaching of the faith or holy writing, pious meditations on the misery of the world, the impurity of the body, *etc.* and lastly, the stripping off of every thing pertaining to the world. On the other hand, under the head of exterior Asceticism, the Jaina understands temperance, begging, giving up all savoury food, different kinds of self-mortification such as sitting in unnatural and wearying positions, hindering the action of the organs, especially by fasts, which, under certain circumstances may be continued to starvation. Voluntary death by the withdrawal of nourishment is, according to the strict doctrine of the Digambara, necessary for all ascetics, who have reached the highest step of knowledge. The Kevalin, they say, eats no longer. The milder [‘S]vetambara do not demand this absolutely, but regard it, as a sure entrance to *Nirva[n.]a*. In order, however, that this death may bear its fruits, the ascetic must keep closely to the directions for it, otherwise he merely lengthens the number of rebirths. [Footnote: With reference to asceticism, comp. Leumann, *Aupapatika Sutra* Sec. 30. The death of the wise ones by starvation is described, Weber, *Bhagavati Sutra*, II, 266-267; Hoernle *Upasakada[’s]a Sutra*, pp. 44-62; *Achara[n]ga Sutra*, in *S.B.E.* Vol. XXII, pp. 70-73. Among the Digambara the heads of schools still, as a rule, fall victims to this fate. Even among the [‘S]vetambara, cases of this kind occur, see K. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, Vol. II, pp. 331-332, or 2nd ed. pp. 610-611.]

From these general rules follow numerous special ones, regarding the life of the disciple of Jina. The duty of sacrifice forces him, on entrance into the order, to give up his possessions and wander homeless in strange lands, alms-vessel in hand, and, if no other duty interferes, never to stay longer than one night in the same place. The rule of wounding nothing means that he must carry three articles with him, a straining cloth, for his drinking water, a broom, and a veil before his mouth, in order to avoid killing insects. It also commands him to avoid all cleansing and washing, and to rest in the four months of the rainy season, in which animal and plant life displays itself most abundantly. In order to practice asceticism, it is the rule to make this time of rest a period of strictest fasts, most diligent study of the holy writings, and deepest meditation. This duty also necessitates the ascetic to pluck out in the most painful manner his hair which, according to oriental custom, he must do away with at his consecration—a peculiar custom of the Jainas, which is not found among other penitents of India.

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Like the five great vows, most of the special directions for the discipline of the Jain ascetic are copies, and often exaggerated copies, of the Brahmanic rules for penitents. The outward marks of the order closely resemble those of the Sannyasin. The life of wandering during eight months and the rest during the rainy season agree exactly; and in many other points, for example in the use of confession, they agree with the Buddhists. They agree with Brahma[n.]s alone in ascetic self-torture, which Buddhism rejects; and specially characteristic is the fact that ancient Brahmanism recommends starvation to its penitents as beneficial. [Footnote: An example may be found in Jacobi's careful comparison of the customs of the Brahmanic and Jaina ascetics, in the beginning of his translation of the *Achara[n]ga Sutra*, S.B.E., Vol. XXII, pp. xxi—xxix. In relation to the death by starvation of Brahmanical hermits and Sannyasin, see Apastamba, *Dharmasutra*, in S.B.E. Vol. II, pp. 154, 156, where (IT, 22, 4 and II, 23, 2) it, says of the penitents who have reached the highest grade of asceticism: "Next he shall live on water (then) on air, then on ether".]

The doctrine of the right way for the Jaina laity differs from that for the ascetics. In place of the five great vows appear mere echoes. He vows to avoid only serious injury to living beings, *i.e.* men and animals; only the grosser forms of untruth—direct lies; only the most flagrant forms of taking, what is not given, that is, theft and robbery. In place of the oath of chastity there is that of conjugal fidelity. In place of that of self-denial, the promise is not greedily to accumulate possessions and to be contented. To these copies are added seven other vows, the miscellaneous contents of which correspond to the special directions for the discipline of ascetics. Their object is, partly to bring the outward life of the laity into accordance with the Jaina teaching, especially with regard to the protection of living creatures from harm, and partly to point the heart to the highest goal. Some contain prohibitions against certain drinks, such as spirits; or meats, such as flesh, fresh butter, honey, which cannot be enjoyed without breaking the vow of preservation of animal life. Others limit the choice of businesses which the laity may enter; for example, agriculture is forbidden, as it involves the tearing up of the ground and the death of many animals, as Brahmanism also holds. Others have to do with mercy and charitableness, with the preserving of inward peace, or with the necessity of neither clinging too much to life and its joys nor longing for death as the end of suffering. To the laity, however, voluntary starvation is also recommended as meritorious. These directions (as might be expected from the likeness of the circumstances) resemble in many points the Buddhist directions for the laity, and indeed are often identical with regard to the language used. Much is however specially

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in accordance with Brahmanic doctrines. [Footnote: The *Upasakada[’s]a Sutra* treats of the right life of the laity, Hoernle, pp. 11-37 (Bibl. Ind.), and Hemachandra, *Yogasutra*, Prakasa ii and iii; Windisch, *Zeitschrift der Deutsch Morg. Ges.* Bd. XXVIII, pp. 226-246. Both scholars have pointed out in the notes to their translations, the relationship between the precepts and terms, of the Jainas and Buddhists. The Jainas have borrowed a large number of rules directly from the law books of the Brahma[n.]s. The occupations forbidden to the Jaina laity are almost all those forbidden by the Brahmanic law to the Brahma[n.], who in time of need lives like a Va[=i][’s]ya. Hemachandra, *Yoga[’s]astra*, III, 98—112 and *Upasakada[’s]a Sutra*, pp. 29-30, may be compared with Manu, X, 83-89, XI, 64 and 65, and the parallel passages quoted in the synopsis to my translation (S.B.E. Vol. XXV).] In practical life Jainism makes of its laity earnest men who exhibit a stronger trait of resignation than other Indians and excel in an exceptional willingness to sacrifice anything for their religion. It makes them also fanatics for the protection of animal life. Wherever they gain influence, there is an end of bloody sacrifices and of slaughtering and killing the larger animals.

The union of the laity with the order of ascetics has, naturally, exercised a powerful reaction on the former and its development, as well as on its teaching, and is followed by similar results in Jainism and Buddhism. Then, as regards the changes in the teaching, it is no doubt to be ascribed to the influence of the laity that the atheistic Jaina system, as well as the Buddhist, has been endowed with a cult. The ascetic, in his striving for *Nirva[n.]a*, endeavours to suppress the natural desire of man to worship higher powers. In the worldly hearer, who does not strive after this goal exclusively, this could not succeed. Since the doctrine gave no other support, the religious feeling of the laity clung to the founder of it: Jina, and with him his mythical predecessors, became gods. Monuments and temples ornamented with their statues were built, especially at those places, where the prophets, according to legends, had reached their goal. To this is added a kind of worship, consisting of offerings of flowers and incense to Jina, of adoration by songs of praise in celebration of their entrance into *Nirva[n.]a*, of which the Jaina makes a great festival by solemn processions and pilgrimages to the places where it has been attained. [Footnote: For the Jaina ritual, see *Indian Antiquary*. Vol. XIII, pp. 191-196. The principal sacred places or Tirthas are—Sameta [’S]ikhara in Western Bengal, where twenty of the Jinas are said to have attained Nirva[n.]a; [’S]atrunjaya and Girnar in Kathiawa[d.] sacred respectively to [R.]ishabhanatha and Neminatha; Chandrapuri where Vasupujya died; and Pawa in Bengal at which Vardhamana died.—Ed.] This influence



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of the laity has become, in course of time, of great importance to Indian art, and India is indebted to it for a number of its most beautiful architectural monuments, such as the splendid temples of Abu, Girnar and [S]atrunjaya in Gujarat. It has also brought about a change in the mind of the ascetics. In many of their hymns in honour of Jina, they appeal to him with as much fervour as the Brahma[n.] to his gods; and there are often expressions in them, contrary, to the original teaching, ascribing to Jina a creative power. Indeed a Jaina description of the six principal systems goes so far as to number Jainism—as also Buddhism—among the theistic religions. [Footnote: The latter assertion is to be found In the *Sha[d.]dar[’s]anasamuchchaya* Vers. 45, 77-78. A creative activity is attributed to the Jinas even in the Kuhaon inscription which is dated 460-461 A.D. (*Ind. Antiq.* Vol. X, p. 126). There they are called *adikartri* the 'original creators'. The cause of the development of a worship among the Jainas was first rightly recognised by Jacobi, *S.B.E.* Vol. XXII, p. xxi. The Jaina worship differs in one important point from that of the Buddhists. It recognised no worship of relics.]

But in other respects also the admission of the laity has produced decisive changes in the life of the clergy. In the education of worldly communities, the ascetic—whose rules of indifference toward all and every thing, make him a being concentrated entirely upon himself and his goal—is united again to humanity and its interests. The duty of educating the layman and watching over his life, must of necessity change the wandering penitents into settled monks—who dedicate themselves to the care of souls, missionary activity, and the acquisition of knowledge, and who only now and again fulfil the duty of changing their place of residence. The needs of the lay communities required the continual presence of teachers. Even should these desire to change from time to time, it was yet necessary to provide a shelter for them. Thus the Upa[’s]raya or places of refuge, the Jaina monasteries came into existence, which exactly correspond to the Buddhist Sangharama. With the monasteries and the fixed residence in them appeared a fixed membership of the order, which, on account of the Jaina principle of unconditional obedience toward the teacher, proved to be much stricter than in Buddhism. On the development of the order and the leisure of monastic life, there followed further, the commencement of a literary and scientific activity. The oldest attempt, in this respect, limited itself to bringing their doctrine into fixed forms. Their results were, besides other lost works, the so-called *A[n]ga*,—the members of the body of the law, which was perhaps originally produced in the third century B.C. Of the *A[n]ga* eleven are no doubt preserved among the [S]vetambaras from a late edition of the fifth or sixth century

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A.D. These works are not written in Sanskrit, but in a popular Prakrit dialect: for the Jina, like Buddha, used the language of the people when teaching. They contain partly legends about the prophet and his activity as a teacher, partly fragments of a doctrine or attempts at systematic representations of the same. Though the dialect is different they present, in the form of the tales and in the manner of expression, a wonderful resemblance to the sacred writings of the Buddhists. [Footnote: A complete review of the *A[n]ga* and the canonical works which were joined to it later, is to be found in A. Weber's fundamental treatise on the sacred writings of the Jainas in the *Indische Studien*, Bd. XVI, SS. 211-479 and Bd. XVIII, SS. 1-90. The *Achara[n]ga* and the *Kalpasutra* are translated by H. Jacobi in the *S.B.E* Vol. XXII, and a part of the *Upasakadasa Sutra* by R. Hoernle in the *Bibl. Ind.* In the estimates of the age of the *A[n]ga* I follow H. Jacobi, who has thoroughly discussed the question *S.B.E* Vol. XXII, pp. xxxix-xlvii.] The Digambaras, on the other hand, have preserved nothing of the *A[n]ga* but the names. They put in their place later systematic works, also in Prakrit, and assert, in vindication of their different teaching, that the canon of their rivals is corrupted. In the further course of history, however, both branches of the Jainas have, like the Buddhists, in their continual battles with the Brahma[n.]s, found it necessary to make themselves acquainted with the ancient language of the culture of the latter. First the Digambara and later the ['S]vetambara began to use Sanskrit. They did not rest content with explaining their own teaching in Sanskrit works: they turned also to the secular sciences of the Brahma[n.]s. They have accomplished so much of importance, in grammar, in astronomy, as well as in some branches of letters, that they have won respect even from their enemies, and some of their works are still of importance to European science. In southern India, where they worked among the Dravi[d.]ian tribes, they also advanced the development of these languages. The Kanarese literary language and the Tamil and Telugu rest on the foundations laid by the Jaina monks. This activity led them, indeed, far from their proper goal, but it created for them an important position in the history of literature and culture.

The resemblance between the Jainas and the Buddhists, which I have had so often cause to bring forward, suggests the question, whether they are to be regarded as a branch of the latter, or whether they resemble the Buddhists merely because, as their tradition asserts, [Footnote: The later tradition of the Jainas gives for the death of their prophet the dates 545, 527 and 467 B.C. (see Jacobi, *Kalpasutra* introd. pp. vii—ix and xxx). None of the sources in which these announcements appear are older than the twelfth century A.D. The latest is found in



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Hemachandra who died in the year 1172 A.D. The last is certainly false if the assertion, accepted by most authorities, that Buddha's death falls between the years 482 and 472 B.C. is correct. For the Buddhist tradition maintains that the last Jaina Tirthakara died during Buddha's lifetime (see p. 34).] they sprang from the same period and the same religious movement in opposition to Brahmanism. This question, was formerly, and is still sometimes, answered in agreement with the first theory, pointing out the undoubted defects in it, to justify the rejection of the Jaina tradition, and even declaring it to be a late and intentional fabrication. In spite of this the second explanation is the right one, because the Buddhists themselves confirm the statements of the Jainas about their prophet. Old historical traditions and inscriptions prove the independent existence of the sect of the Jainas even during the first five centuries after Buddha's death, and among the inscriptions are some which clear the Jaina tradition not only from the suspicion of fraud but bear powerful witness to its honesty. [Footnote: Apart from the ill-supported supposition of Colebrooke, Stevenson and Thomas, according to which Buddha was a disloyal disciple of the founder of the Jainas, there is the view held by H. H. Wilson, A. Weber, and Lassen, and generally accepted till twenty-five years ago, that the Jainas are an old sect of the Buddhists. This was based, on the one hand, upon the resemblance of the Jaina doctrines, writings, and traditions to those of the Buddhists, on the other, on the fact that the canonical works of the Jainas show a more modern dialect than those of the Buddhists, and that authentic historical proofs of their early existence are wanting. I was myself formerly persuaded of the correctness of this view and even thought I recognised the Jainas in the Buddhist school of the Sammatiya. On a more particular examination of Jaina literature, to which I was forced on account of the collection undertaken for the English Government in the seventies, I found that the Jainas had changed their name and were always, in more ancient times, called Nirgrantha or Niga[n.][t.]ha. The observation that the Buddhists recognise the Niga[n.][t.]ha and relate of their head and founder, that he was a rival of Buddha's and died at Pava where the last Tirthakara is said to have attained *Nirva[n.]a*, caused me to accept the view that the Jainas and the Buddhists sprang from the same religious movement. My supposition was confirmed by Jacobi, who reached the like view by another course, independently of mine (see *Zeitschrift der Deutsch Morg. Ges.* Bd. XXXV, S. 669. Note 1), pointing out that the last Tirthakara in the Jaina canon bears the same name as among the Buddhists. Since the publication of our results in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII, p. 143 and in Jacobi's introduction to his edition of the *Kalpasutra*, which have been further verified by Jacobi with great penetration,

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views on this question have been divided. Oldenberg, Kern, Hoernle, and others have accepted this new view without hesitation, while A Weber (*Indische Studien* Bd. XVI, S. 240) and Barth (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, tom. III, p. 90) keep to their former standpoint. The latter do not trust the Jaina tradition and believe it probable that the statements in the same are falsified. There are certainly great difficulties in the way of accepting such a position especially the improbability that the Buddhists should have forgotten the fact of the defection of their hated enemy. Meanwhile, this is not absolutely impossible as the oldest preserved Jaina canon had its first authentic edition only in the fifth or sixth century of our era, and as yet the proof is wanting that the Jainas, in ancient times, possessed a fixed tradition. The belief that I am able to insert this missing link in the chain of argument and the hope of removing the doubts of my two honoured friends has caused me to attempt a connected statement of the whole question although this necessitates the repetition of much that has already been said, and is in the first part almost entirely a recapitulation of the results of Jacobi's researches.]

The oldest canonical books of the Jaina, apart from some mythological additions and evident exaggerations, contain the following important notes on the life of their last prophet. [Footnote: The statement that Vardhamana's father was a mighty king belongs to the manifest exaggerations. This assertion is refuted by other statements of the Jainas themselves. See Jacobi, *S.B.E.* Vol. XXII, pp. xi-xii.] Vardhamana was the younger son of Siddhartha a nobleman who belonged to the Kshatriya race, called in Sanskrit Jnati or Jnata, in Prakrit Naya, and, according to the old custom of the Indian warrior caste, bore the name of a Brahmanic family the Ka[s]yapa. His mother, who was called Tri[s]jala, belonged to the family of the governors of Videha. Siddhartha's residence was Ku[n.][d.]apura, the Basukund of to-day, a suburb of the wealthy town of Vai[s]ali, the modern Besarh, in Videha or Tirhut. [Footnote: Dr. Buehler by a slip had here "Magadha oder Bihar".—J. B.] Siddhartha was son-in-law to the king of Vai[s]ali. Thirty years, it seems, Vardhamana led a worldly life in his parents' house. He married, and his wife Ya[s]oda bore him a daughter Anojja, who was married to a noble of the name of Jamali, and in her turn had a daughter. In his thirty-first year his parents died. As they were followers of Par[s]va the twenty-third Jina, they chose, according to the custom of the Jainas, the death of the wise by starvation. Immediately after this Vardhamana determined to renounce the world. He got permission to take this step from his elder brother Nandivardhana, and the ruler of his land divided his possessions and became a homeless ascetic. He wandered more than twelve years, only resting during the rainy season, in the lands of the La[d.]ha, in

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Vajjabhumi and Subbhabhumi, the Rarh of to-day in Bengal, and learned to bear with equanimity great hardships and cruel ill treatment at the hands of the inhabitants of those districts. Besides these he imposed upon himself the severest mortifications; after the first year he discarded clothes and devoted himself to the deepest meditation. In the thirteenth year of this wandering life he believed he had attained to the highest knowledge and to the dignity of a holy one. He then appeared as a prophet, taught the Nirgrantha doctrine, a modification of the religion of Par[’s]va, and organised the order of the Nirgrantha ascetics. From that time he bore the name of the venerable ascetic Mahavira. His career as a teacher lasted not quite thirty years, during which he travelled about, as formerly, all over the country, except during the rainy seasons. He won for himself numerous followers, both of the clergy and the lay class, among whom, however, in the fourteenth year of his period of teaching, a split arose—caused by his son-in-law Jamali.

The extent of his sphere of influence almost corresponds with that of the kingdoms of Sravasti or Kosala, Vidcha, Magadha, and A[n]ga,—the modern Oudh, and the provinces of Tirhut and Bihar in Western Bengal. Very frequently he spent the rainy season in his native place Vai[’s]ali and in Rajag[r.]iha. Among his contemporaries were, a rival teacher Gosala the son of Ma[m]khali—whom he defeated in a dispute, the King of Videha—Bhambhasara or Bibbhisara called Sre[n.]jika, and his sons Abhayakumara and the parricide Ajata[’s]atru or Ku[n.]jika, who protected him or accepted his doctrine, and also the nobles of the Lichchhavi and Mallaki races. The town of Papa or Pava, the modern Padraona [Footnote: This is General Cunningham’s identification and a probable one.—Ed.] is given as the place of his death, where he dwelt during the rainy season of the last year of his life, in the house of the scribe of king Hastipala. Immediately after his death, a second split took place in his community. [Footnote: Notes on Mahavira’s life are to be found especially in *Achara[n]ga Sutra* in *S.B.E.* Vol. XXII, pp. 84-87, 189-202; *Kalpasutra*, *ibid.* pp. 217-270. The above may be compared with Jacobi’s representation, *ibid.* pp. x-xviii. where most of the identifications of the places named are given, and *Kalpasutra* introd. p. ii. We have to thank Dr. Hoernle for the important information that Vardhamana’s birthplace Ku[n.][d.]apura is still called Vasukund: *Upasakada[’s]a Sutra* p. 4. Note 3. The information on the schisms of the Jainas is collected by Lemmann in the *Indische Studien*, Bd. XVII, S. 95 ff.]

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On consideration of this information, it immediately strikes one, that the scene of Vardhamana's activity is laid in the same part of India as Buddha laboured in, and that several of the personalities which play a part in the history of Buddha also appear in the Jaina legend. It is through the kingdoms of Kosala, Videha and Magadha, that Buddha is said to have wandered preaching, and their capitals ['S]ravasti and Rajag[r.]iha are just the places named, where he founded the largest communities. It is also told of the inhabitants of Vai['s]ali that many turned to his doctrine. Many legends are told of his intercourse and friendship with Bimbisara or ['S]re[n.]ika, king of Videha, also of the murder of the latter by his son Ajata['s]atru, who, tortured with remorse, afterwards approached Buddha; mention is also made of his brother Abhayakumara, likewise Makkhali Gosala is mentioned among Buddha's opponents and rivals. It is thus clear that the oldest Jaina legend makes Vardhamana a fellow countryman and contemporary of Buddha, and search might be suggested in the writings of the Buddhists for confirmation of these assumptions. Such indeed are to be found in no small number.

Even the oldest works of the Singalese Canon,—which date apparently from the beginning of the second century after Buddha's death, or the fourth century B.C., and which at any rate had their final edition in the third,—frequently mention an opposing sect of ascetics, the Niga[n.][t.]ha, which the northern texts, written in Sanskrit, recognise among the opponents of Buddha, under the name Nirgrantha, whom an old *Sutra* [Footnote: The *Mahaparinibba[n.]a Sutta*, in *S.B.E.* Vol. XI, p. 106.] describes as “heads of companies of disciples and students, teachers of students, well known, renowned, founders of schools of doctrine, esteemed as good men by the multitude”. Their leader is also named; he is called in Pali Nataputta, in Sanskrit Jnatiputra, that is the son of Jnati or Nata. The similarity between these words and the names of the family Jnati, Jnata or Naya, to which Vardhamana belonged is apparent. Now since in older Buddhist literature, the title ‘the son of the man of the family N. N.’ is very often used instead of the individual's name, as for example, ‘the son of the Sakiya’ is put for Buddha-Sakiyaputta, so that it is difficult not to suppose that Nataputta or Jnatiputra, the leader of the Niga[n.][t.]ha or Nirgrantha sect, is the same person as Vardhamana, the descendant of the Jnati family and founder of the Nirgrantha or Jaina sect. If we follow up this idea, and gather together the different remarks of the Buddhists about the opponents of Buddha, then it is apparent that his identity with Vardhamana is certain. A number of rules of doctrine are ascribed to him, which are also found among the Jainas, and some events in his life, which we have already found in the accounts of the life of Vardhamana, are related.

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In one place in the oldest part of the Singalese canon, the assertion is put into the mouth of Niga[n.][t.]ha Nataputta, that the *Kiriyavada*—the doctrine of activity, separates his system from Buddha's teaching. We shall certainly recognise in this doctrine, the rule of the *Kiriya*, the activity of souls, upon which Jainism places so great importance. [Footnote: Jacobi, *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morg. Ges.* Bd. XXXIV, S. 187; *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. IX, p. 159.] Two other rules from the doctrine of souls are quoted in a later work, not canonical: there it is stated, in a collection of false doctrines which Buddha's rivals taught, that Niga[n.][t.]ha asserts that cold water was living. Little drops of water contained small souls, large drops, large souls. Therefore he forbade his followers, the use of cold water. It is not difficult, in these curious rules to recognise the Jaina dogma, which asserts the existence of souls, even in the mass of lifeless elements of earth, water, fire, and wind. This also proves, that the Niga[n.][t.]ha admitted the classification of souls, so often ridiculed by the Brahma[n.]s, which distinguishes between great and small. This work, like others, ascribes to Niga[n.][t.]ha the assertion, that the so-called three *da[n.][d.]a*—the three instruments by which man can cause injury to creatures—thought, word, and body, are separate active causes of sin. The Jaina doctrine agrees also in this case, which always specially represents the three and prescribes for each a special control. [Footnote: Jacobi, *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. IX, p. 159.]

Besides these rules, which perfectly agree with one another, there are still two doctrines of the Niga[n.][t.]ha to be referred to which seem to, or really do, contradict the Jainas; namely, it is stated that Nataputta demanded from his disciples the taking of four, not as in Vardhamana's case, of five great vows. Although this difficulty may seem very important at first glance, it is, however, set aside by an oft repeated assertion in the Jaina works. They repeatedly say that Par[s]va, the twenty-third Jina only recognised four vows, and Vardhamana added the fifth. The Buddhists have therefore handed down a dogma which Jainism recognises. The question is merely whether they or the Jainas are the more to be trusted. If the latter, and it is accepted that Vardhamana was merely the reformer of an old religion, then the Buddhists must be taxed with an easily possible confusion between the earlier and later teachers. If, on the other hand, the Jaina accounts of their twenty-third prophet are regarded as mythical, and Vardhamana is looked upon as the true founder of the sect,—then the doctrine of the four vows must be ascribed to the latter, and we must accept as a fact that he had changed his views on this point. In any case, however, the Buddhist statement speaks for, rather than against, the identity of Niga[n.][t.]ha with Jina. [Footnote: Jacobi, *loc. cit.* p. 160, and Leumann, *Actes du Vlieme Congres Int. des Or. Sect. Ary.* p. 505. As the Jaina accounts of the teaching of Par[s]va and the existence of communities of his disciples, sound trustworthy, we may perhaps accept, with Jacobi, that they rest on a historical foundation.]

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Vardhamana's system, on the other hand, is quite irreconcilable with Nataputta's assertion that virtue as well as sin, happiness as well as unhappiness is unalterably fixed for men by fate, and nothing in their destiny can be altered by the carrying out of the holy law. It is, however, just as irreconcilable with the other Buddhist accounts of the teaching of their opponent; because it is absolutely unimaginable, that the same man, who lays vows upon his followers, the object of which is to avoid sin, could nevertheless make virtue and sin purely dependent upon the disposition of fate, and preach the uselessness of carrying out the law. The accusation that Nataputta embraced fatalism must therefore be regarded as an invention and an outcome of sect hatred as well as of the wish to throw discredit on their opponents. [Footnote: Jacobi *loc. cit.* p. 159-160.]

The Buddhist remarks on the personality and life of Nataputta are still more remarkable. They say repeatedly that he laid claim to the dignity of an Arhat and to omniscience which the Jainas also claim for their prophet, whom they prefer simply to call 'the Arhat' and who possesses the universe-embracing 'Kevala' knowledge. [Footnote: See for example the account in the *Chullavagga*, in *S.B.E.* Vol. XX. p. 78-79; *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. VIII, p. 313.] A history of conversions, tells us further that Nataputta and his disciples disdained to cover their bodies; we are told just the same of Vardhamana. [Footnote: Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 225.] A story in the oldest part of the Singalese canon gives an interesting and important instance of his activity in teaching. Buddha, so the legend runs, once came to the town Vai[s]ali, the seat of the Kshatriya of the Lichchhavi race. His name, his law, his community were highly praised by the nobles of the Lichchhavi in the senate-house. Siha, their general, who was a follower of the Niga[n.][t.]ha, became anxious to know the great teacher. He went to his master Nataputta, who happened to be staying in Vai[s]ali just then, and asked permission to pay the visit. Twice Nataputta refused him. Then Siha determined to disobey him. He sought Buddha out, heard his teaching and was converted by him. In order to show his attachment to his new teacher he invited Buddha and his disciples to eat with him. On the acceptance of the invitation, Siha commanded his servants to provide flesh in honour of the occasion. This fact came to the ears of the followers of the Niga[n.][t.]ha. Glad to have found an occasion to damage Buddha, they hurried in great numbers through the town, crying out, that Siha had caused a great ox to be killed for Buddha's entertainment; that Buddha had eaten of the flesh of the animal although he knew it had been killed on his account, and was, therefore guilty of the death of the animal. The accusation was brought to Siha's notice and was declared by him to be a calumny. Buddha, however preached a sermon after



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the meal, in which he forbade his disciples to partake of the flesh of such animals as had been killed on their account. The legend also corroborates the account in the Jaina works, according to which Vardhamana often resided in Vai[s]ali and had a strong following in that town. It is probably related to show that his sect was stricter, as regards the eating of flesh, than the Buddhists, a point, which again agrees with the statutes of the Jinas. [Footnote: *S.B.E.* Vol. XVII, pp. 108-117.]

The account of Nataputta's death is still more important. "Thus I heard it", says an old book of the Singalese canon, the *Samagama Sutta*, "once the Venerable one lived in Samagama in the land of the Sakya. At that time, however, certainly the Niga[n.][t.]ha Nataputta had died in Pava. After his death the Niga[n.][t.]ha wandered about disunited, separate, quarrelling, fighting, wounding each other with words." [Footnote: The passage is given in the original by Oldenberg, *Leitsch. der D. Morg. Ges.* Bd. XXXIV, S. 749. Its significance in connection with the Jaina tradition as to their schisms has been overlooked until now. It has also been unnoticed that the assertion, that Vardhamana died during Buddha's lifetime, proves that the latest account of this occurrence given by traditions 467 B.C. is false: Later Buddhist legends (Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 266-271) treat of Nataputta's death in more detail. In a lengthy account they give as the cause of the same the apostacy of one of his disciples, Upali who was converted by Buddha. After going over to Buddhism, Upali treated his former master with scorn, and presumed to relate a parable which should prove the foolishness of those who believed in false doctrines. Thereupon the Niga[n.][t.]ha fell into despair. He declared his alms-vessel was broken, his existence destroyed, went to Pava, and died there. Naturally no importance is to be given to this account and its details. They are apparently the outcome of sect-hatred.] Here we have complete confirmation of the statement of the Jaina canon as to the place where Vardhamana entered *Nirva[n.]a*, as well as of the statement that a schism occurred immediately after his death.

The harmony between the Buddhist and Jaina tradition, as to the person of the head of the Nirgrantha is meanwhile imperfect. It is disturbed by the description of Nataputta as a member of the Brahmanic sect of the Agnive[s]yayana, whilst Vardhamana belonged to the Ka[s]yapa. The point is however so insignificant, that an error on the part of the Buddhists is easily possible. [Footnote: According to Jacobi's supposition, *S.B.E.* Vol. XXII, p. xvi, the error was caused, by the only disciple of Vardhamana, who outlived his master, Sudharman being an Agnive[s]yayana.] It is quite to be understood that perfect exactness is not to be expected among the Buddhists or any other sect in describing the person of a hated enemy. Enmity and scorn, always present, forbid that. The most that one can expect is that the majority and most important of the facts given may agree.

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This condition is undoubtedly fulfilled in the case on hand. It cannot, therefore be denied, that, in spite of this difference, in spite also of the absurdity of one article of the creed ascribed to him, Vardhamana Jnatiputra, the founder of the Nirgrantha—or Jaina community is none other than Buddha's rival. From Buddhist accounts in their canonical works as well as in other books, it may be seen that this rival was a dangerous and influential one, and that even in Buddha's time his teaching had spread considerably. Their legends about conversions from other sects very often make mention of Nirgrantha sectarians, whom Buddha's teaching or that of his disciples had alienated from their faith. Also they say in their descriptions of other rivals of Buddha, that these, in order to gain esteem, copied the Nirgrantha and went unclothed, or that they were looked upon by the people as Nirgrantha holy ones, because they happened to have lost their clothes. Such expressions would be inexplicable if Vardhamana's community had not become of great importance. [Footnote: See for the history of Siha related above, Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 226, 266, and Jacobi, *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. VIII, p. 161]

This agrees with several remarks in the Buddhist chronicles, which assert the existence of the Jainas in different districts of India during the first century after Buddha's death. In the memoirs of the Chinese Buddhist and pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who visited India in the beginning of the seventh century of our era, is to be found an extract from the ancient annals of Magadha, which proves the existence of the Nirgrantha or Jainas in their original home from a very early time. [Footnote: Beal, *Si-yu-ki*. Vol. II, p. 168.] This extract relates to the building of the great monastery at Nalanda, the high school of Buddhism in eastern India, which was founded shortly after Buddha's *Nirva[n.]a*, and mentions incidentally that a Nirgrantha who was a great astrologer and prophet had prophesied the future success of the new building. At almost as early a period the *Mahava[=n]sa*, composed in the fifth century A.D., fixes the appearance of the Nirgrantha in the island of Ceylon. It is said that the king Pa[n.][d.]ukabhaya, who ruled in the beginning of the second century after Buddha, from 367-307 B.C. built a temple and a monastery for two Nirgranthas. The monastery is again mentioned in the same work in the account of the reign of a later king Va[t.][t.]agamini, cir. 38-10 B.C. It is related that Va[t.][t.]agamini being offended by the inhabitants, caused it to be destroyed after it had existed during the reigns of twenty one kings, and erected a Buddhist *Sa[n.]gharama* in its place. The latter piece of information is found also in the *Dipava[=n]sa* of more than a century earlier. [Footnote: Turnour, *Mahava[n.]sa*, pp. 66-67 and p. 203, 206: *Dipava[=n]sa* XIX 14; comp. also Kern, *Buddhismus*, Bd. I, S. 422. In the first passage in the *Mahava[n.]sa*, three Nigha[n.][t.]as are introduced by name, Jotiya, Giri, and Kumbha[n.][d.]a. The translation incorrectly makes the first a Brahma[n.] and chief engineer.]



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None of these works can indeed be looked upon as a truly historical source. There are, even in those paragraphs which treat of the oldest history after Buddha's death, proofs enough that they simply hand down a faulty historical tradition. In spite of this, their statements on the Nirgrantha, cannot be denied a certain weight, because they are closely connected on the one side with the Buddhist canon, and on the other they agree with the indisputable sources of history, which relate to a slightly later period.

The first authentic information on Vardhamana's sect is given by our oldest inscriptions, the religious edicts of the Maurya king A[s]oka, who, according to tradition was anointed in the year 219 after Buddha's death, and—as the reference to his Grecian contemporaries, Antiochos, Magas, Alexander, Ptolemaeus and Antigonas confirms,—ruled, during the second half of the third century B.C. over the whole of India with the exception of the Dekhan. This prince interested himself not only in Buddhism, which he professed in his later years, but he took care, in a fatherly way, as he repeatedly relates, of all other religious sects in his vast kingdom. In the fourteenth year of his reign, he appointed officials, called law-superintendents, whose duty it was to watch over the life of the different communities, to settle their quarrels, to control the distribution of their legacies and pious gifts. He says of them in the second part of the seventh 'pillar' edict, which he issued in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, "My superintendents are occupied with various charitable matters, they are also engaged with all sects of ascetics and householders; I have so arranged that they will also be occupied with the affairs of the Sa[m]gha; likewise I have arranged that they will be occupied with the Ajivika Brahma[n]s; I have arranged it that they will also be occupied with the Niga[n.][t.]ha". [Footnote: See Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, tom. II, p. 82. Ed. VIII, l. 4. My translation differs from Senart's in some points especially in relation to the construction. Conf. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, pp. 272f.] The word Sa[m]gha serves here as usual for the Buddhist monks. The Ajivikas, whose name completely disappears later, are often named in the sacred writings of the Buddhists and the Jainas as an influential sect. They enjoyed the special favour of A[s]oka, who, as other inscriptions testify, caused several caves at Barabar to be made into dwellings for their ascetics. [Footnote: See *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. XX, pp. 361 ff.] As in the still older writings of the Buddhist canon, the name Niga[n.][t.]ha here can refer only to the followers of Vardhamana. As they are here, along with the other two favourites, counted worthy of special mention, we may certainly conclude that they were of no small importance at the time. Had they been without influence and of small numbers A[s]oka would hardly have known of them, or at least would not have singled them out from the other numerous nameless sects of which he often speaks. It may also be supposed that they were specially numerous in their old home, as A[s]oka's capital Pa[t.]aliputra lay in this land. Whether they spread far over these boundaries, cannot be ascertained.

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On the other hand we possess two documents from the middle of the next century which prove that they advanced into south-eastern India as far as Kali[n]ga. These are the inscriptions at Kha[n].[d.]agiri in Orissa, of the great King Kharavela and his first wife, who governed the east coast of India from the year 152 to 165 of the Maurya era that is, in the first half of second century B.C.

The larger inscription, unfortunately very much disfigured, contains an account of the life of Kharavela from his childhood till the thirteenth year of his reign. It begins with an appeal to the Arhat and Siddha, which corresponds to the beginning of the five-fold form of homage still used among the Jainas, and mentions the building of temples in honour of the Arhat as well as an image of the first Jina, which was taken away by a hostile king. The second and smaller inscription asserts that Kharavela's wife caused a cave to be prepared for the ascetics of Kalinga, "who believed on the Arhat." [Footnote: The meaning of these inscriptions, which were formerly believed to be Buddhist, was first made clear by Dr. Bhangvanlal's Indrajī's careful discussion in the *Actes du Vlieme Congres Internat. des Orientalistes* Sect. Ary. pp. 135-159. H; first recognised the true names of the King Kharavela and his predecessors and shewed that Kharavela and his wife were patrons of the Jainas. We have to thank him for the information that the inscription contains a date in the Maurya Era. I have thoroughly discussed his excellent article in the *Oesterreichischen Monatsschrift*, Bd. X, S. 231 ff. and have there given my reasons for differing from him on an important point, namely, the date of the beginning of the Maurya Era, which, according to his view begins with the conquest of Kali[n]ga by A[s]oka about 255 B. C. Even yet I find it impossible to accept that the expression, "in the hundred and sixty fifth year of the era of the Maurya Kings", can mean anything else than that 164 years have passed between the thirteenth year of the rule of Kharavela and the anointing of the first Maurya King Chandrugupta. Unfortunately it is impossible to fix the year of the latter occurrence, or to say more than that it took place between the years 322 and 312 B.C. The date given in Kharavela's inscription cannot therefore be more closely fixed than that it lies between 156 and 147 B.C. I now add to my former remarks—that appeals to the Arhat and Siddha appear also in Jaina inscriptions from Mathura and may be taken as a certain mark of the sect. Thus it is worthy of note that even in Hiuen Tsiang's time, (Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II, p. 205) Kalinga was one of the chief seats of the Jainas.]

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From a somewhat later period, as the characters show, from the first century B.C. comes a dedicatory inscription which has been found far to the west of the original home of the Jainas, in Mathura on the Jamna. It tells of the erection of a small temple in honour of the Arhat Vardhamana, also of the dedication of seats for the teachers, a cistern, and a stone table. The little temple, it says, stood beside the temple of the guild of tradesmen, and this remark proves, that Mathura, which, according to the tradition of the Jainas, was one of the chief seats of their religion, possessed a community of Jainas even before the time of this inscription. [Footnote: This inscription also was first made known by Dr Bhagwanlal Indiaji, *loc. cit.* p. 143.]

A large number of dedicatory inscriptions have come to light, which are dated from the year 5 to 98 of the era of the Indo-Skythian kings, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasudeva (Bazodeo) and therefore belong at latest to the end of the first and to the second century A.D. They are all on the pedestals of statues, which are recognisable partly by the special mention of the names of Vardhamana and the Arhat Mahavira, partly by absolute nudity and other marks. They show, that the Jaina community continued to flourish in Mathura and give besides extraordinarily important information, as I found in a renewed research into the ancient history of the sect. In a number of them, the dedicators of the statues give not only their own names, but also those of the religious teachers to whose communities they belonged. Further, they give these teachers their official titles, still used among the Jainas: *vachaka*, 'teacher', and *ga[n.]jin*, 'head of a school'. Lastly they specify the names of the schools to which the teachers belonged, and those of their subdivisions. The schools are called, *ga[n.]ja*, 'companies'; the subdivisions, *kula*, 'families' and *[s]akha*, 'branches'. Exactly the same division into *ga[n.]ja*, *[s]akha*, and *kula* is found in a list in one of the canonical works, of the [S]vetambaras, the *Kalpasutra*, which gives the number of the patriarchs and of the schools founded by them, and it is of the highest importance, that, in spite of mutilation and faulty reproduction of the inscriptions, nine of the names, which appear in the *Kalpasutra* are recognisable in them, of which part agree exactly, part, through the fault of the stone-mason or wrong reading by the copyist, are somewhat defaced. According to the *Kalpasutra*, Sushita, the ninth successor to Vardhamana in the position of patriarch, together with his companion Supratibuddha, founded the 'Ko[d.]jiya' or 'Kautika *ga[n.]ja*, which split up into four 'sakha, and four 'kula'. Inscription No. 4. which is dated in the year 9 of the king Kanishka or 87. A.D. (?) gives us a somewhat ancient form of the name of the *ga[n.]ja Ko[t.]jiya* and that of one of its branches exactly corresponding

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to the *Vairi* ['s]akha. Mutilated or wrongly written, the first word occurs also in inscriptions Nos. 2, 6 and 9 as *koto-*, *ke[t.]t.]iya*, and *ka* ..., the second in No. 6 as *Vora*. One of the families of this *ga[n.]a*, the *Va[n.]iya kula* is mentioned in No. 6, and perhaps in No. 4. The name of a second, the *Pra['s]navaha[n.]aka*, seems to have appeared in No. 19. The last inscription mentions also another branch of the *Ko[t.]iya ga[n.]a*, the *Majhima sakha*, which, according to the *Kalpasutra*, was founded by Priyagantha the second disciple of Susthita. Two still older schools which, according to tradition, sprang from the fourth disciple of the eighth patriarch, along with some of their divisions appear in inscriptions Nos. 20 and 10. These are the *Aryya-Udehikiya ga[n.]a*, called the school of the *Arya-Roha[n.]a* in the *Kalpasutra*, to which belonged the *Parihasaka kula* and the *Purnapatrika* ['s]akha, as also the *Chara[n.]a ga[n.]a* with the *Pritidharmika kula*. Each of these names is, however, somewhat mutilated by one or more errata in writing. [Footnote: Dr. Buehler's long note (p. 48) on these inscriptions was afterwards expanded in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* Bd. I, S. 165-180; Bd. II, S. 141-146. Bd. III, S. 233-240; and Bd. IV, S. 169-173. The argument of these papers is summarised in. Appendix. A, pp. 48 ff.—Ed.] The statements in the inscriptions about the teachers and their schools are of no small importance in themselves for the history of the Jainas. If, at the end of the first century A.D.(?) many separate schools of Jaina ascetics existed, a great age and lively activity, as well as great care as regards the traditions of the sect, may be inferred. The agreement of the inscriptions with the *Kalpasutra* leads still further however: it proves on the one side that the Jainas of Mathura were ['S]vetambara, and that the schism, which split the sect into two rival branches occurred long before the beginning of our era. On the other hand it proves that the tradition of the Svetambara really contains ancient historic elements, and by no means deserves to be looked upon with distrust. It is quite probable that, like all traditions, it is not altogether free from error. But it can no longer be declared to be the result of a later intentional misrepresentation, made in order to conceal the dependence of Jainism on Buddhism. It is no longer possible to dispute its authenticity with regard to those points which are confirmed by independent statements of other sects, and to assert, for example, that the Jaina account of the life of Vardhamana, which agrees with the statements of the Buddhists, proves nothing as regards the age of Jainism because in the late fixing of the canon of the ['S]vetambaras in the sixth century after Christ it may have been drawn from Buddhist works. Such an assertion which, under all circumstances, is a bold one, becomes entirely untenable when it is found that the tradition in question states correctly facts which lie not quite three centuries distant from Vardhamana's time, and that the sect, long before the first century of our era kept strict account of their internal affairs. [Footnote: See Weber's and Barth's opinions quoted above in note I, p. 23.]

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Unfortunately the testimony to the ancient history of the Jainas, so far as made known by means of inscriptions, terminates here. Interesting as it would be to follow the traces of their communities in the later inscriptions, which become so numerous from the fifth century A.D. onwards and in the description of his travels by Hiuen Tsiang, who found them spread through the whole of India and even beyond its boundaries, it would be apart from our purpose. The documents quoted suffice, however, to confirm the assertion that during the first five centuries after Buddha's death both the statements of Buddhist tradition and real historical sources give evidence to the existence of the Jainas as an important religious community independent of Buddhism, and that there are among the historical sources some which entirely clear away the suspicion that the tradition of the Jainas themselves is intentionally falsified.

The advantage gained for Indian history from the conclusion that Jainism and Buddhism are two contemporary sects—having arisen in the same district,—is no small one. First, this conclusion shows that the religious movement of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. in eastern India must have been a profound one. If not only one, but certainly two, and perhaps more reformers, appeared at the same time, preaching teachers, who opposed the existing circumstances in the same manner, and each of whom gained no small number of followers for their doctrines, the desire to overthrow the Brahmanical order of things must have been generally and deeply felt. This conclusion shows then that the transformation of the religious life in India was not merely the work of a religious community. Many strove to attain this object although separated from one another. It is now recognisable, though preliminarily, in one point only, that the religious history of India from the fifth century B.C. to the eighth or ninth A.D. was not made up of the fight between Brahmanism and Buddhism alone. This conclusion allows us, lastly, to hope that the thorough investigation of the oldest writings of the Jainas and their relations with Buddhism on the one hand and with Brahmanism on the other will afford many important ways of access to a more exact knowledge concerning the religious ideas which prevailed in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., and to the establishment of the boundaries of originality between the different systems.

## APPENDIX A.

Copies of the mutilated inscriptions referred to, were published by General Sir A. Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. III, plates xiii-xv. Unfortunately they have been presented from 'copies' and are therefore full of errors, which are due for the most part, doubtless, to the copyist and not to the sculptor. It is not difficult, however, in most cases under consideration here, to restore the correct reading. Usually only vowel signs are omitted or misread and, here, and there, consonants closely resembling one another as *va* and *cha*, *va*, and *dha*, *ga* and [*'s*]a, *la* and *na* are interchanged.

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The formulae of the inscriptions are almost universally the same. First comes the date, then follows the name of a reverend teacher, next, the mention of the school and the subdivision of it to which he belonged. Then the persons, who dedicated the statues are named (mostly women), and who belonged to the community of the said teacher. The description of the gift forms the conclusion. The dialect of the inscriptions shows that curious mixture of Sansk[r.]i]t and Prak[r.]i]t which is found in almost all documents of the Indo-Skythian kings, and which as Dr. Hoernle was the first to recognise—was one of the literary languages of northern and northwestern India during the first centuries before and after the commencement of our era.

In the calculation of dates, I use the favourite starting point for the era of the Indo-Skythian kings, which unfortunately, is not certainly determined, and assume that it is identical with the Saka era of 78-1/4 A.D. The rule of these princes could not have fallen later: in my opinion it was somewhat earlier. [Footnote: What follows is from the author's later and fuller paper in *Wiener Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. I, S. 170 f., but abridged.—Ed.] I give here transcripts and restorations of such inscriptions as mention Jaina schools or titles.

1. The inscription which is the most important for my purpose and at the same time one of the best preserved, is Sir A. Cunningham's No. 6, plate xiii, which was found on the base of a Jaina image (*Arch. Sur. Rep.* vol. III, p. 31). The copy compared with a rubbing gives the following reading, (the letters within parentheses are damaged):

L. 1. *Siddha[m] sa[m] 20 grama 1 di 10 + 5 ko([t.]i)yato ga[n.]ato*  
*(Va)[n.]iyato kulato V(ai)r(i)to ['s]akato ['S]irikato*

2. *(bha)ttito vachakasya Aryya-Sa[n.]ghasihasya nir(v)varttana[m]*  
*Dattilasya.... Vi.-*

3. *lasya ko([t.]hu)bi(ki)ya Jayavalasya Devadasasya Nagadinasya cha*  
*Nagadinaye cha (ma)tu.*

4. *['s]ra(vi)kaye (D)i-*

5. *(na)ye dana[m]. i*

6. *Varddhamana pra-*

7. *ti ma|*

The lacuna in line 2, after *Dattilasya*, probably contained the word *duhituye* or *dhutuye* and part of a male name of which only the letter *vi* is visible. In l. 3, possibly *ko[t.]habinaye* is to be read instead of *ko[t.]hubikiye*. As there is room for one more letter

at the end of the line, I propose to read *matuye*. In l. 5, *Dinaye* would stand for *Dattaya[h.]* and be the genitive of a female name *Dinna* or *Datta*, which has been shortened *bhamavat*. There can be no doubt that the word *[ʼs]ri*, or *[ʼs]iri*, which is required, has stood before *Vardhamana*. With these restorations the translation is as follows:



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“Success! The year 20, summer (*month*) 1, day 15. An image of glorious Vardhamana, the gift of the female lay-disciple Dina [*i. e.* Dinna or Datta], the [*daughter*] of Attila, the wife of Vi..la, the mother of Jayavala [Jayapala], of Devadasa and Nagadina [*i. e.* Nagadinna or Nagadatta] and of Nagadina [*i. e.* of Nagadinna or Nagadatta]—(*this statue being*) the *nirvartana* [Footnote: The word *nirvartana* has the meaning of ‘in obedience to the order’, or ‘in consequence of the request’. It occurs again in the Prakrit form *nivatana*[.m] below, in No. 10 (pl. xiv) and it has stood in No. 4, and at the end of l. 2 of No. 7, where the rubbing has *nirva*. It is also found in the next: *Arch. Sur. Rep.* vol. XX, pl. v, No. 6.] of the preacher Aryya-Sa[n]ghasiha [*i. e.* Arya-Sa[n]ghasi[.m]ha], out of the Ko[t.]iya school, the Vaniya race, the Vairi branch, the [‘S]irika division”.

The inscription given *Arch. Sur. Rep.* vol. XX, plate v, No. 6 reads, according to an excellent rubbing:

L. 1. *Namo Araha[.m]tanain namo Siddhana sa[.m]* 60 [Footnote: In reading the first figure as 60, I follow Sir A. Cunningham. I have never seen the sign, in another inscription. The characters of the inscription are so archaic that this date may refer to an earlier epoch than the Indo-Skythian.] + 2

2. *gra 3 di 5 etaye purvaye Rarakasya Aryakakasaghastasya*

3. [*s*]ishya Atapikogahabaryasya nirvartana chatnuvarnasya sa[.m]ghasya

4. *ya dinna pa[t.]ibha[bho?]ga 1 (?) | (?) Vaihikaya datti*

“Adoration to the Arhats, adoration to the Siddhas! The year 62, the summer (*month*) 3, the day 5; on the above date a *ya*. was given to the community, which includes four classes, as an enjoyment (*or* one share for each) (*this being*) the *nirvartana* of Atapikogahabarya, the pupil of Arya-Kakasaghasta (Arya-Karka[‘s]agharshita), a native of Rara (Ra[d.]ha). The gift of Vaihika (*or*, Vaihita).”

2. With the inscription No. 6 of the year 20, No. 4 (plate xiii) agrees; it was also found on a Jaina pedestal. With better readings from a rubbing of the first side only, I propose for the other portions, of which I have no rubbings, the following emendations,—l. 1, *Vaniyato kulato, sakhato*; l. 2, *ku[t.]umbimye*; I also note that the lacuna in line 2, 3th and 4th sides, would be filled exactly by *ye* [*s*]ri-Vardhamanasya pratima karita sarvasattva. The former existence of the first and last seven letters may be considered certain. My restoration of the whole is,—



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L. 1 (1st side) *Siddha[m] maharajasya Kanishkasya rajye sa[m]vatsare navame* [Footnote: *Sac. Bks. East*, vol. XXII p. 292.] (2nd side).. *masc pratha 1 divase 5 a-(3rd)[sya[m]] purvvaye Ko[t.]iyato ga[n.]ato Vaniya[to]* (4th) *[ku]llato Vairito [ʼs]akato vachaka-2.* (1st side) *[sya] [N]agana[m.]disa ni[rva]r[ta]na[m.] Brah[ma] ... [dhu-(2nd)tuye] Bha[t.][t.]umitasa ku[t.]u[.m]]bi[n]i[ye] Vika[t.]a-(3rd)[ye [ʼs]ri Vardhamanasya pratima karita sarva-(4th) satva]na[m.] hita-*

3. *[sukhaye];*

and the translation:—

“Success! During the reign of the great king Kanishka, in the ninth year, 9, in the first month, 1, of ..., on the day 5,—on the above date [an image of glorious Vardhamana has been caused to be made] for the welfare [and happiness] of [all created beings] by Vikata, the house-wife of Bha[t.][t.]imita (Bhat[t.]imitra) and [daughter of] Brahma ...— (this statue being) the *nirvartana* of the preacher Nagana[m.]idi, out of the Ko[t.]iya school (*ga[n.]a*), the Va[n.]iya line (*kula*), (and) the Vairi branch (*[ʼs]akha*).”

If we now turn to the *Kalpasastra*, we find that Su[t.][t.]hiya or Susthita, the eighth successor of Vardhamana, founded the Kau[t.]ika or Ko[d.]iya *ga[n.]a*, which split up into four [ʼs]akhas and four kulas. The third of the former was the Vajri or Vairi, and the third of the latter was the Va[n.]iya or Va[n.]ijja. It is evident that the names of the *ga[n.]a*, *kula*, and *[ʼs]akha* agree with those mentioned in the two inscriptions, Ko[t.]iya being a somewhat older form of Ko[d.]iya. But it is interesting to note that the further subdivision of the Vairi [ʼs]akha—the [ʼS]irika bhakti (Srika bhakti) which inscription No. 6 mentions, is not known to the *Kalpasastra*. This is a gap such as may be expected to occur in a list handed down by oral tradition.

3. The Ko[t.]ika *ga[n.]a* is again mentioned in the badly mutilated inscription No. 19, plate xv. A complete restoration is impossible.

L. 1. *Sa[m]valsare 90 va...sya ku[t.]ubani. vadanasya vodhuya...*

2. *K[o[t.]iyato| ga[n.]ato |Pra[ʼs]na|vaha|na|kato kulato Majhamato [ʼs]akhato...sa nikaye bhati galae thabani...*

It may, however, be inferred from the fragments of the first line that the dedication was made by a woman who was described as the wife (*ku[t.]umbini*) of one person and as the daughter-in-law (*vadhu*) of another. The first part of line 2, restored as above gives —“in the congregation of ... out of the Ko[t.]iya school, the Pra[ʼs]navahanaka line and the Majhama branch....” The restoration of the two names Ko[t.]iya and Pra[ʼs]navahanaka seems to me absolutely certain, because they exactly fill the blanks in the inscription, and because the information in the *Kalpasastra* (S. B. E. vol. XXII, p. 293) regarding the Madhyama[ʼs]akha points in that direction. The latter work tells us

that Priyagantha, the second pupil of Susthita and Supratibuddha, founded a ['s]akha, called Madhyama or Majhima.

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As our inscriptions show that Professor Jacobi's explanation of the terms *ga[n.]a*, *kula* and *['s]akha* [Footnote: S. B. E. vol. XXII, p. 288, note 2.] is correct and that the first denotes the school, the second the line of teachers, and the third a branch which separated from such a line, it follows that the *['s]akhas* named in the *Kalpasutra* without the mention of a *ga[n.]a* and *kula*, must belong to the last preceding *ga[n.]a* and derive their origin from one of its *kulas*. Hence the Madhyama *['s]akha* doubtless was included in the Kau[t.]ika *ga[n.]a*, and an offshoot of one of its *kulas*, the fourth of which is called Pra<sup>['s]</sup>navahanaka or Pa[n.]havaha[n.]aya. The correctness of these inferences is proved by Raja<sup>['s]</sup>ckhara's statement regarding his spiritual descent at the end of the *Prabandha kosha*, which he composed in Vik. sa[m] 1405. He informs us that he belonged to the Ko[t.]ika *ga[n.]a*, the Pra<sup>['s]</sup>navahana *kula*, the Madhyama *['s]akha*, the Harshapuriya *gachha* and the Maladhari *samtana*, founded by the illustrious Abhayasuri.

For the last words of l. 2 I do not dare to propose an emendation; I merely note that the gift seems to have consisted of pillars, *thabani*, i. e. *stambha[h.]*.

4. The Ko[t.]iya *ga[n.]a* seems finally to be mentioned in pl. xiii, No. 2, where the copy of line 1, 2nd side may be corrected as,—

*Siddha—sa 5 he 1 di 10 + 2 asya purvvaye Ko[t.](iya).*

5. Names of an older *ga[n.]a* and of one of its *kulas* occur in No. 10 plate xiv, where the copy, which is faulty, may allow the following partial restoration,—

L. 1. *Sa 40 + 7 gra 2 di 20 etasya purvvaye  
Vara[n.]je ga[n.]je Petidhamikakulavachakasya Rohanadisya  
sisasya Senasya nivatanam savaka-Da*

2. *...\_pasha[n.]javadhaya Giha..ka.bha..  
prapa [di]na..ma ta\_...*

which I translate—

“The year 47, the summer (month) 2, the day 20,—on the above date a drinking fountain was given by ..., the ... of the lay-disciple Da ... (this being) the *nivatana* of Sena the pupil of Rohanadi (Rohanandi) and preacher of the Petidhamika (Praitidharmika) line, in the *Vara[n.]a* school.”

*Varane* must be a mistake for the very similar word *Charane*. The second *kula* of this *ga[n.]a* which, according to the *Kalpasutra* (S.B.E. vol. XXII, p. 291) was founded by *['S]rigupta*, the fifth pupil of Arya Suhastin, is the Pritidharmika (p. 292). It is easy to see that a similar name is hidden in the compound *Petivamikakutavachakasya* ‘of the preacher of the Petivamika line’; and an inscription excavated by Dr. Fuhrer at Mathura

mentions the Petivamika (*kula*) of the Varana *ga[n.ja*. With the second line little can be done: if the letters *prapa* are correct and form a word, one of the objects dedicated must have been a drinking fountain.

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6. The inscription No. 20, plate xv offers likewise slightly corrupt and mutilated names of a *ga[n.]ja*, a *kula* and a *sakha*, mentioned in the *Kalpasutra*. In the lithographed copy lines 3-7 are hopeless and there is no rubbing to help. The word *thitu* 'of a daughter' in line 6, and the following *ma.uya* which is probably a misreading of *matuye* 'of the mother' show that this dedication also was made by a female. The last four syllables *vato maho* are probably the remnant of another namaskara—*namo bhagavato Mahavirasya*. As regards the proper names, Aryya Rehiniya is an impossible form; but on comparison with the next inscription to be mentioned, it is evident that the stone must have read *Aryvodchikiyato* or *Aryyadehikiyato ga[n.]ja[to]*. [Footnote: *Wiener Zeitshe. f. d. Kunde der Morgenl.*, Bd. II, S. 142 f.] According to the *Kalpasutra* (S.B.E. vol. XXII, p. 291) Arya-Roha[n.]ja was the first pupil of Arya Suhastin and founded the Uddeha *ga[n.]ja*. The latter split up into four ['s]akhas and into six kulas. The name of its fourth ['s]akha, *Pur[n.]apatrika*, closely resembles—especially in its consonantal elements—that of the inscription, *Petaputrika*, and I do not hesitate in correcting the latter to *Ponapatrika* which would be the equivalent of Sansk. *Paur[n.]apatrika*. Among the six kulas is the *Parihasaka*, and considering the other agreements, I believe it probable that the mutilated name read as *Puridha.ka* is a misreading of *Parihaka*, We may emend the first two times and read as follows,—

L. 1. *Siddha|m/ namo arahato Mahavir|a/sya devana['s]asya  
/ rajna Vasudevasya sa[.m]vatsare 90 + 8  
varshamase + divase 10 | 1 etasya.*

2. *purvv|a/y/e/ Aryyo-D|e/h/i/kiyato ga[n.]ja/to/  
P|a/vi/hasa|k/a/kula/to/ P|ou/ap|a/trikat/o/ ['s]akato ga[n.]/i/sya  
Aryya-Devadatta/sya/ na... ..*

3. *ryya-Kshemasya*

4. *prakagiri[n.]e*

5. *kihadiye praja*

6. *tasya Pravarakasya dhitu Vara[n.]asya gatvakasya  
ma|t|uya Mitra(?)sa ...datta ga*

7. *ye..|namo bhaga|vato mah|avirasya|*

and the translation (so far) will be,—

“Success! Adoration to the Arhat Mahavira, the destroyer(?) of the gods. In the year of king Vasudeva, 98, in the month 4 of the rainy season, on the day 11—on the above

date ... of the chief of the school (*ga[n.jin*) Aryya-Devadata (Devadatta) out of the school (*ga[n.ja*) of the Aryya-Udehikiya (Arya-Uddehikiya), out of the Parihasaka line (*kula*), out of the Ponapatrika (Paur[n.]apatrika) branch (*[ʼs]akha*)." [Footnote: At a later date Dr. Buehler added other proofs from inscriptions of the authenticity of the Jaina tradition, in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. II, pp. 141-146; vol. III, pp. 233-240; vol. IV, pp. 169-173, 313-318;

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vol. V, pp. 175-180; and in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I pp. 371-397; vol. II, pp. 195-212, 311. The paragraphs given above are chiefly from his first paper in the *Vienna Oriental Journal* (vol. I, pp. 165-180), which appears to be an extended revision of the long footnote in the original paper on the Jainas, but it is here corrected in places from readings in his later papers.—J. B.]

These and many other statements in the inscriptions, about the teachers and their schools are of no small importance in themselves for the early history of the Jainas. The agreement of the above with the *Kalpasutra* can best be shown by placing the statements in question against one another. The inscriptions prove the actual existence of twenty of the subdivisions mentioned in the Sthaviravali of the *Kalpasutra*. Among its eight ga[n.]as we can certainly trace three, possibly four—the Uddchika, Vara[n.]a, Ve[’s]ava[d.]iya(?) and Ko[d.]iya.

Inscriptions:—

1. Ko[t.][t.]iya (Ko[d.]iya) Gana

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Bramadasika kula	Uchchenagari [’s]akha
Thaniya kula	Vairi, Vairiya [’s]akha
P[a[n.]ha]vahu[[n.]aya]ku[la]	Majhama [’s]akha

The Sthaviravali of the *Kalpasutra* (*Sac. Bks. of the East*, vol. XXII, p. 292) states that Sus[t.]hita and Supratibuddha founded the—

Ko[t.]iya or Kau[t.]aka Ga[n.]a

|

-----.

kulas	[’s]akhas
1. <i>Bambhalijja</i>	1. <i>Uchchanagari</i>
2. <i>Vachchhalijja</i>	2. <i>Vijjahari</i>
3. <i>Va[n.]iya</i> or <i>Va[n.]ijja</i>	3. <i>Vajri</i>
4. <i>Panhavahanaya</i>	4. <i>Majjhimaka</i>
or <i>Pra[’s]navahanaka</i>	5. <i>Majjhima</i>
(scholar of the two teachers.	
founded by	



Priyagantha the second)

Inscriptions:—

2. Vara[n.]a Ga[n.]a

|

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|

kulas

[’s]akhas

Petivamika

Vajanagari

Aryya Ha[t.]ikiya

Haritamalaka[d.]hi

Pu[’s]yamitriya

Aryya-Che[t.]iya

Kaniyasika

The *Kalpasutra* states that [’S]rigupta of the Haritagotra founded the Chara[n.]a ga[n.]a, which was divided into four [’s]akhas and into seven *kulas*:

Chara[n.]a-ga[n.]a

|

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|

kulas

[’s]akhas

1. Vachchhalijja

Sa[.m]ka[’s]ika

2. *Pidhammiya*

3. *Halijja*

*Vajjanagari*

4. *Pusamittijja*

Gavedhuka

5. Malijja

6. *Arya-Che[d.]aya*

*Hariyamalagari*

7. *Ka[n.]hasaha*

Inscriptions:—

3. Aryya-Udekiya Ga[n.]a

|

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|

kulas

|

Nagabhatikiya

Petaputrika [’s]akha.

Puridha..



**The Kalpasutra says Arya-Rohana of the Ka[’s]yapa  
gotra founded the**



# Uddeha Gana

\_\_\_\_\_

1

[ˈs]akhas

# Udumbarijjiya

Masapurika

## Matipatrika

*Pu[n.][n.]apattiya*

*Pu[n.][n.]apattiya*

*Pu[n.][n.]apattiya*

4. [Ve['s]avadiya Ga[n.]a]

[Me]hika kula

[Footnote: *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, pp. 382, 388.]

The *Kalpāsutra*:—Kamarddhi of the Ku[n.][d.]alagotra founded the Ve[ʼs]ava[t.]jika ga[n.]a which was divided into four [ʼs]akhas, and into four kulas:—

Ve[’s]ava[t.]ika Ga[n.]a

\_\_\_\_\_

[ˈs]akhas

[ 'S ] ravastika

Rajjapaliya

## Antarijjiya

# Khemalijjiya

[Footnote: For the above lists see *Wiener Zeitschi.* Bd. IV, S. 316 ff. and *Kalpāsutra* in *S. B. E.* vol. XXII, pp. 290 f.]

The resemblance of most of these names is so complete that no explanation is necessary.

## JAINA MYTHOLOGY.

The mythology of the Jainas, whilst including many of the Hindu divinities, to which it accords very inferior positions, is altogether different in composition. It has all the appearance of a purely constructed system. The gods are classified and subdivided into orders, genera, and species; all are mortal, have their ages fixed, as well as their abodes, and are mostly distinguished by cognizances *chihnas* or *la[n]chha[n].jas*. Their Tirthakaras, Tirthamkaras, or perfected saints, are usually known as twenty-four belonging to the present age. But the mythology takes account also of a past and a future age or renovation of the world, and to each of these aeons are assigned twenty-four Tirthakaras. But this is not all: in their cosmogony they lay down other continents besides Jambudvipa-Bharata or that which we dwell in. These are separated from Jambudvipa by impassable seas, but exactly like it in every respect and are called Dhatuki-kanda and Pushkararddha; and of each of these there are eastern, and western Bharata and Airavata regions, whilst of Jambudvipa there is also a Bharata and an Airavata region: these make the following ten regions or worlds:—

1. Jambudvipa-bharata-kshetra.
2. Dhatuki-kha[n.][d.]a purva-bharata.
3. Dhatuki-kha[n.][d.]a pa['s]chima-bharata.
4. Pushkararddha purva-bharata.
5. Pushkaravaradvipa pa['s]chima-bharata.
6. Jambudvipa airavata-kshetra.
7. Dhatuki-kha[n.][d.]a purva-airavata.
8. Dhatuki-kha[n.][d.]a pa['s]chima-airavata.
9. Pushkarardhadvipa purva-airavata.
10. Puskararddha pa['s]chima-airavata.

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To each of these is allotted twenty four past, present and future Atits or Jinas,—making in all 720 of this class, for which they have invented names: but they are only names.

[Footnote: See *Ratnasagara*, bh. II, pp. 696—705.]

Of the Tirthakaras of the present age or *avasarpini* in the Bharata-varsha of Jambudvipa, however, we are supplied with minute details:—their names, parents, stations, reputed ages, complexions, attendants, cognizances (*chihna*) or characteristics, *etc.* and these details are useful for the explanation of the iconography we meet with in the shrines of Jaina temples. There the images of the Tirthakaras are placed on highly sculptured thrones and surrounded by other smaller attendant figures. In temples of the ['S]vetambara sect the images are generally of marble—white in most cases, but often black for images of the 19th, 20th, 22nd and 23rd Jinas. On the front of the throne or *asana* are usually carved three small figures: at the proper right of the Jina is a male figure representing the Yaksha attendant or servant of that particular Jina; at the left end of the throne is the corresponding female—or Yakshini, Yakshi or ['S]asanadevi; whilst in a panel in the middle there is often another devi. At the base of the seat also, are placed nine very small figures representing the *navagraha* or nine planets; that is the sun, moon, five planets, and ascending and descending nodes.

In the Jaina *Puranas*, legends are given to account for the connexion of the Yakshas and Yakshis with their respective Tirthakaras: thus, in the case of Par['s]vanatha, we have a story of two brothers Marubhuti and Kama[t.]ha, who in eight successive incarnations were always enemies, and were finally born as Par['s]vanatha and Sambaradeva respectively. A Pasha[n.][d.]a or unbeliever, engaged in the *panchagni* rite, when felling a tree for his fire, against the remonstrance of Par['s]vanatha, cut in pieces two snakes that were in it; the Jina, however restored them to life by means of the *panchamantra*. They were then re-born in Patala-loka as Dhara[n.]endra or Nagendra-Yaksha and Padmavati-Yakshi[n.]i. When Sambaradeva or Meghakumara afterwards attacked the Arbat with a great storm, whilst he was engaged in the *Kayotsarga* austerity—standing immovable, exposed to the weather—much in the way that Mara attacked ['S]akya Buddha at Bodh-gaya, Dhara[n.]endra's throne in Patala thereupon shook, and the Naga or Yaksha with his consort at once sped to the protection of his former benefactor. Dhara[n.]endra spread his many hoods over the head of the Arhata and the Yaksh[n.]i Padmavati held a white umbrella (*['s]veta chhatra*) over him for protection. Ever after they became his constant attendants, just as ['S]akra was to Buddha. The legend is often represented in old-sculptures, in the cave-temples at Badami, Elura, *etc.*, and the figure of Par['s]va is generally carved with

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the snake-hoods ([ʼS]eshapha[n.]i) over him. [Footnote: *Cave Temples*, pp. 491, 496; *Arch. Sur. Westn. India*, vol. I, p. 25 and pl. xxxvii; vol. V, p. 49; *Transactions, R. As. Soc.*, vol. I, p. 435. At Ranpur in Godwar, in the temple of Rishabhanatha is a finely carved slab representing Par[ʼs]vanatha in the Kayotsarga position, attended by snake divinities,—*Archit. and Scenery in Gujarat and Rajputana*, p. 21. The story has variants: conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. XXX, p. 302.]

Other legends account for the attachment of each pair of [ʼS]asanadevatas to their respective Jinas.

The [ʼS]vetambaras and Digambaras agree generally in the details respecting the different Tirthakaras; but, from information furnished from Maisur, they seem to differ as to the names of the Yakshi[n.]is attached to the several Tirthakaras, except the first and last two; they differ also in the names of several of the Jinas of the past and the future aeons. The Digambaras enlist most of the sixteen Vidyadevis or goddesses of knowledge among the Yakshi[n.]is, whilst the other sect include scarcely a third of them.

These Vidyadevis, as given by Hemachandra, are—(1) Rohi[n.]i; (2) Prajnapti; (3) Vajras[r.]i[ʼn]khala; (4) Kuli[ʼs]anku[ʼs]ca—probably the Anku[ʼs]a-Yakshi of the [ʼS]vetambara fourteenth Jina; (5) Chakre[ʼs]vari; (6) Naradatta or Purushadatta; (7) Kali or Kalika; (8) Mahakali; (9) Gauri; (10) Gandhari; (11) Sarvastramahajvala; (12) Manavi; (13) Vairo[t.]ya; (14) Achchhupta; (15) Manasi; and (16) Mahamanasika.

The images of the Tirthakaras are always represented seated with their legs crossed in front—the toes of one foot resting close upon the knee of the other; and the right hand lies over the left in the lap. All are represented exactly alike except that Par[ʼs]vanatha, the twenty-third, has the snake-hoods over him; and, with the Digambaras, Supar[ʼs]va—the seventh, has also a smaller group of snake hoods. The Digambara images are all quite nude; those of the [ʼS]vetambaras are represented as clothed, and they decorate them with crowns and ornaments. They are distinguished from one another by their attendant *Yakshas* and *Yakshi[n.]is* as well as by their respective *chihnas* or cognizances which are carved on the cushion of the throne.

All the Jinas are ascribed to the Ikshvaku family (*kula*) except the twentieth Munisuvrata and twenty-second Neminatha, who were of the Hariva[m.]i[ʼs]a race.

All received *diksha* or consecration at their native places; and all obtained *j[ʼn]ana* or complete enlightenment at the same, except [R.]ishabha who became a *Kevalin* at Purimatala, Nemi at Girnar, and Mahavira at the Rijupaluka river; and twenty of them died or obtained *moksha* (deliverance in bliss) on Sameta-[ʼS]ikhara or Mount Par[ʼs]vanatha in the west of Bengal. But [R.]ishabha, the first, died on Ash[t.]apada—

supposed to be ['S]atrunljaya in Gujarat; Vasupujya died at Champapuri in north Bengal; Neminatha on mount Girnar; and Mahavira, the last, at Pavapur.

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Twenty-one of the Tirthakaras are said to have attained Moksha in the Kayotsarga (Guj. *Kauesagga*) posture, and [R.]ishabha, Nemi, and Mahavira on the *padmasana* or lotus throne.

For sake of brevity the following particulars for each Arhat are given below in serial order *viz.*:—

- (1) The *vimana* or *vahana* (heaven) from which he descended for incarnation.
- (2) Birthplace, and place of consecration or *diksha*.
- (3) Names of father and mother.
- (4) Complexion.
- (5) Cognizance—*chihna* or *lanchha[n.]a*.
- (6) Height; and
- (7) Age.
- (8) Diksha-vriksha or Bodhi tree.
- (9) Yaksha and Yakshi[n.]i, or attendant spirits.
- (10) First Ganadhara or leading disciple, and first Arya or leader of the female converts.

I. [R.]ishabhadeva, V[r.]ishabha, Adintha or Adi['s]vara Bhagavan:—(1) Sarvarthasiddha; (2) Vinittanagari in Ko['s]ala and Purimatala; (3) Nabhiraja by Marudeva; (4) golden—*var[n.]a*-, (5) the bull,—*v[r.]isha*, *balada*; (6) 500 poles or *dhanusha*; (7) 8,400,000 purva or great years; (8) the Va[t.]a or banyan tree; (9) Gomukha and Chakre['s]vari; (10) Pundarika and Brahmi.

II. Ajitanatha: (1) Vijayavimana; (2) Ayodhya; (3) Jita['s]atru by Vijayamata; (4) golden; (5) the elephant—*gaja* or *hasti*; (6) 450 poles; (7) 7,200,000 purva years; (8) ['S]ala—the Shorea robusta; (9) Mahayaksha and Ajitabala: with the Digambaras, the Yakshi[n.]i is Rohi[n.]i-yakshi; (10) ['S]i[m]hasena and Phalgu.

III. Sambhavanatha: (1) Uvarimagraiveka; (2) Savathi or ['S]ravasti; (3) Jitari by Senamata; (4) golden; (5) the horse,—*a['s]va*, *gho[d.]a*; (6) 400 poles; (7) 6,000,000 purva years; (8) the Prayala—*Buchanania latifolia*; (9) Trimukha and Duritari (Digambara—*Prajnapati*); (10) Charu and ['S]yama.



IV. Abhinandana: (1) Jayantavimana; (2) Ayodhya; (3) Sambararaja by Siddhartha; (4) golden; (5) the ape,—*plavaga*, *vanara* or *kapi*; (6) 350 poles; (7) 5,000,000 purva years; (8) the Priya[n.]gu or *Panicum italicum*; (9) Nayaka and Kalika, and Digambara—Yakshe['s]vara and Vajra['s][r.]i[n.]khala; (10) Vajranabha and Ajita.

V. Sumatinatha: (1) Jayantavimana; (2) Ayodhya; (3) Megharaja by Ma[.n]gala; (4) golden; (5) the curlew,—*krau[.n]cha*, (Dig. *chakravakapaksha*—the Brahmani or red goose); (6) 300 poles; (7) 4,000,000 purva years; (8) ['S]ala tree; (9) Tu[.m]buru and Mahakali (Dig. Purushadatta); (10) Charama and Ka['s]yapi.

VI. Padmaprabha: (1) Uvarimagraiveka; (2) Kau['s]ambi; (3) ['S]ridhara by Susima; (4) red (*rakta*); (5) a lotus bud—*padma*, *abja*, or *kamala*; (6) 250 poles; (7) 3,000,000 purva years; (8) the Chhatra —(Anethum sowa?); (9) Kusuma and ['S]yama (Dig. Manovega or Manogupti); (10) Pradyotana and Rati.



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VII. Supar[ʼs]vanatha: (1) Madhyamagraiveka; (2) Vara[n.]a[ʼs]i; (3) Pratish[t.]haraja by P[r.]ithvi; (4) golden; [Footnote: The Digambara describe the colours of the seventh and twenty-first Jinas as *marakada* or emerald coloured.] (5) the swastika symbol; (6) 200 poles; (7) 2,000,000 purva years; (8) the [ʼS]irisha or Acacia sirisha; (9) Mata[n.]ga and [ʼS]anta;—Digambara, Varanandi and Kali; (10) Vidirbha and Soma.

VIII. Chandraprabha: (1) Vijayanta; (2) Chandrapura; (3) Mahasenaraja by Lakshma[n.]a; (4) white—*dhavala*, [ʼs]ubhra; (5) the moon—*chandra* or [ʼs]a[ʼs]i; (6) 150 poles; (7) 1,000,000 purva years; (8) the Naga tree; (9) Vijaya and Bh[r.]iku[t.]i: Digambara—[ʼS]yama or Vijaya and Jvalamalini; (10) Dinna and Sumana.

IX. Suvidhinatha or Pushpadanta: (1) Anatadevaloka; (2) Kana[n.][d.]inagari; (3) Sugrivaraja by Ramara[n.]i; (4) white; (5) the Makara (Dig. the crab—*e[d.]i*); (6) 100 poles; (7) 200,000 purva years; (8) the [ʼS]ali; (9) Ajita and Sutaraka: Digambara—Ajita and Mahakali or Ajita; (10) Varahaka and Varu[n.]i.

X. [ʼS]italanatha: (1) Achyutadevaloka; (2) Bhadrapura or Bhadilapura; (3) D[r.][.]i[ʼd.]haratha-*raja* by Nanda; (4) golden; (5) the [ʼS]rivatsa figure: (Dig. [ʼS]ri-vriksha the ficus religiosa); (6) 90 poles; (7) 100,000 purva years; (8) the Priya[n.]gu tree; (9) Brahma and A[ʼs]joka (Dig. Manavi); (10) Nanda and Sujasa.

XI. [ʼS]reya[m][ʼs]anatha or [ʼS]reyasa: (1) Achyutadevaloka; (2) Si[m.]hapuri; (3) Vish[n.]uraja by Vish[n.]a; (4) golden; (5) the rhinoceros—*kha[d.]ga*, *ge[n.]d.]a*: (Dig. Garu[d.]a); (6) 80 poles; (7) 8,400,000 common years; (8) the Ta[n.][d.]juka tree; (9) Yakshe[t.] and Manavi: Digambara—I[ʼs]vara and Gauri; (10) Ka[ʼs]yapa and Dhara[n.]i.

XII. Vasupujya: (1) Pra[n.]atadevaloka; (2) Champapuri; (3) Vasupujya by Jaya; (4) ruddy—*rakta*, Guj. *ratu[n.]*; (5) the female buffalo—*mahishi*, *pada*; (6) 70 poles; (7) 7,200,000 common years; (8) the Pa[t.]ala or Bignonia suaveolens; (9) Kumara and Cha[n.][d.]a (Dig. Gandhari); (10) Subhuma and Dhara[n.]i.

XIII. Vimalanatha: (1) Mahasaradevaloka; (2) Kampilyapura; (3) K[r.][.]i[ʼt.]avarmaraja by [ʼS]yama; (4) golden; (5) a boar—[ʼs]akara, *varaha*; (6) 60 poles; (7) 6,000,000 years; (8) the Jambu or Eugenia jambolana; (9) Sha[n.]mukha and Vidita (Dig. Vairo[t.]i); (10) Mandara and Dhara.

XIV. Anantanatha or Anantajit: (1) Pra[n.]atadevaloka; (2) Ayodhya; (3) Si[m.]hasena by Suya[ʼs]a[h.] or Sujasa; (4) golden; (5) a falcon—[ʼs]yena (Dig. *bhalluka* a bear); (6) 50 poles; (7) 3,000,000 years; (8) the A[ʼs]joka or Jonesia asoka; (9) Patala and Anku[ʼs]a (Dig. Anantamati); (10) Jasa and Padma.

XV. Dharmanatha: (1) Vijayavimana; (2) Ratnapuri; (3) Bhanuraja by Suvrita; (4) golden; (5) the thunderbolt—*vajra*; (6) 45 poles; (7) 1,000,000 years; (8) Dadhipar[n.]a

tree (*Clitoria ternatea?*); (9) Kinnara and Kandarpa (Dig. Manasi); (10) Arish[t.]a and Artha['s]jiva.

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XVI. ['S]antinatha: (1) Sarvarthasiddha; (2) Gajapura or Hastinapuri; (3) Vi['s]vasena by Achira; (4) golden; (5) an antelope—*m[r.]jiga*, *hara[n.]ja*, *hull[de]*, (6) 40 poles; (7) 100,000 years; (8) the Nandi or Cedrela toona; (9) Garu[d.]ja and Nirva[n.]ji (Dig. Kimpurusha and Mahamanasi); (10) Chakrayuddha and Suchi.

XVII. Kunthtinatha: (1) Sarvarthasiddha; (2) Gajapura; (3) Suraraja by ['S]rirani; (4) golden; (5) a goat—*chhaga* or *aja*; (6) 35 poles; (7) 95,000 years; (8) the Bhilaka tree; (9) Gandharva and Bala (Dig. Vijaya); (10) Samba and Damini.

XVIII. Aranatha: (1) Sarvarthasiddha; (2) Gajapura; (3) Sudar['s]ana by Devira[n.]ji; (4) golden; (5) the Nandyavarta diagram, (Dig. *Mina*—the zodiacal Pisces); (6) 30 poles; (7) 84,000 years; (8) Amba or Mango tree; (9) Yakshe[t.]ja and Dha[n.]ja (Dig. Kendra and Ajita); (10) Kumbha and Rakshita.

XIX. Mallinatha: (1) Jayantadevaloka; (2) Mathura; (3) Kumbharaja by Prabhavati; (4) blue—*nila*; (5) a jar—*kumbham*, *kala['s]a* or *gha[t.]ja*; (6) 25 poles; (7) 55,000 years; (8) A['s]joka tree; (9) Kubera and Dhara[n.]japriya (Dig. Aparajita); (10) Abhikshaka and Bandhumati.

XX. Munisuvrata, Suvrata or Muni: (1) Aparajita-devaloka; (2) R[a`]jag[r.]iha; (3) Sumitrar[a`]ja by Padmavati; (4) black—*['s]yama*, *asita*; (5) a tortoise—*kurma*; (6) 20 poles; (7) 30,000 years; (8) the Champaka, *Michelia champaka*; (9) Varu[n.]ja and Naradatta, (Dig. Bahurupi[n.]ji); (10) Malli and Pushpavati.

XXI. Naminatha, Nimi or Nime['s]vara: (1) Pra[n.]atadevaloka; (2) Mathura; (3) Vijayaraja by Viprara[n.]ji; (4) yellow; (5) the blue water-lily—*nilotpala*, with the Digambaras, sometimes the A['s]joka tree; (6) 15 poles; (7) 10,000 years; (8) the Bakula or *Mimusops elengi*; (9) Bh[r.]iku[t.]ji and Gandhari, (Dig. Chamu[n.][d.]ji); (10) ['S]ubha and Anila.

XXII. Neminatha or Arish[t.]anemi: (1) Aparajita; (2) Sauripura (Prakrit—Soriyapura) and Ujjinta or Mount Girnar; (3) Samudravijaya by ['S]ivadevi; (4) black—*['s]yama*; (5) a conch,—*['s]a[n]kha*; (6) 10 poles; (7) 1000 years; (8) the Ve[t.]asa; (9) Gomedha and Ambika: with the Digambaras, Sarvah[n.]ja and Kushma[n.][d.]jini; (10) Varadatta and Yakshadinna.

XXIII. Par['s]vanatha: (1) Pra[n.]atadevaloka; (2) Vara[n.]jasi and Sameta-['S]ikhara; (3) A['s]vasenaraja by Vamadevi; (4) blue—*nila*; (5) a serpent—*sarpa*; (6) 9 hands; (7) 100 years; (8) the Dhataki or *Grislea tomentosa*; (9) Par['s]vayaksha or Dhara[n.]endra and Padmavati; (10) Aryadinna and Pushpachu[d.]ja.

XXIV. ['S]ri-Mahavira, Vardhamana or Vira, the ['S]rama[n.]ja: (1) Pra[n.]atadevaloka; (2) Ku[n.][d.]agrama or Chitraku[t.]ja, and [R.]ijupaluka; (3) Siddhartharaja, ['S]reyan['s]a or Ya['s]asvin by Tri['s]ala Vidchadinna or Priyakari[n.]ji; (4) yellow; (5) a lion—*ke['s]jari-*

*simha*; (6) 7 hands or cubits; (7) 72 years; (8) the [*s*]ala or teak tree; (9) Mata[.m]ga and Siddhayika; (10) Indrabhuti and Chandrabala.

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The Tirthakuras may be regarded as the *dii majores* of the Jainas, [Footnote: For an account of the ritual of the Svetambara sect of Jainas, see my account in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, pp. 191-196.] though, having become Siddhas, emancipated from all concern, they can have no interest in mundane affairs. They and such beings as are supposed to have reached perfection are divided into fifteen species:

1. Tirthakarasiddhas;
2. Atirthakarasiddhas;
3. Tirthasiddhas;
4. Svali[.n]gasiddhas;
5. Anyali[.n]gasiddhas;
6. Strili[.n]gasiddhas;
7. Purushali[.n]gasiddhas;
8. Napu[.m]sakali[.n]gasiddhas;
9. G[r.]ihali[.n]gasiddhas;
10. Tirthavyavachchhedasiddhas;
11. Pratyekabuddhasiddhas;
12. Svayambuddhasiddhas;
13. Ekasiddhas;
14. Anekasiddhas;
15. Buddhabodhietasiddhas.

[Footnote: *Jour. Asiat.* IXme Ser. tom. XIX, p. 260.]

But the gods are divided into four classes, and each class into several orders: the four classes are:—

I. Bhavanadhipatis, Bhavanavasins or Bhaumeyikas, of which there are ten orders, viz.—

1. Asurakumaras;
2. Nagakumaras;
3. Ta[d.]itkumaras or Vidyutkumaras;
4. Suvar[n.]a- or Suparnaka-kumaras;
5. Agnikumaras;
6. Dvipakumaras (Divakumaras);
7. Udadhikumaras;
8. Dikkumaras;
9. Pavana- or Vata-kumaras;
10. Gha[n.]ika- or Sanitakumaras.

II. Vyantaras or Va[n.]amantaras, who live in woods are of eight classes:—



1. Pi[ʼs]achas; 2. Bhutas; 3. Yakshas; 4. Rakshasas; 5. Kimnaras; 6. Kimpurushas;
7. Mahoragas; 8. Gandharvas.

III. The Jyotishkas are the inhabitants of;

1. Chandras or the moons;
2. Suryas or the suns;
3. Grahas or the planets;
4. Nakshatras or the constellations;
5. Taras or the hosts of stars.

And IV. The Vaimanika gods are of two orders: (1) the Kalpabhavas, who are born in the heavenly Kalpas; and (2) the Kalpatitas, born in the regions above the Kalpas.

(1) The Kalpabhavas again are subdivided into twelve genera who live in the Kalpas after which they are named; viz,—

1. Saudharma;
2. I[ʼs]ana;
3. Sanatkumara;
4. Mahendra;
5. Brahmaloaka;
6. Lantaka;
7. [ʼS]ukra or Maha[ʼs]ukla;
8. Sahasrara;
9. Anata (A[n.]aya);
10. Pra[n.]ata (Pa[n.]aya);
11. Ara[n.]a;
12. Achyuta.

(2) The Kalpatitas are subdivided into—(a) the Graiveyakas, living on the upper part of the universe; and (b) the Anuttaras or those above whom there are no others.

(a) The Graiveyakas are of nine species, viz.—

1. Sudarsa[n.]as; 2. Supratipandhas; 3. Ma[n.]oramas; 4. Sarvabhadras; 5. Suvi[ʼs]alas; 6. Soma[n.]asas; 7. Suma[n.]kasas; 8. Priya[n.]karas; 9. Adityas or Nandikaras.

(b) the Anuttara gods are of five orders: viz.—

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1. Vijayas; 2. Vaijayantas; 3. Jayantas; 4. Aparajitas; and 5. Sarvarthasiddhas.

[Footnote: Conf. *Ratnasagara*, bh. II, pp. 616, 617; *Jour. Asiat.* IXme Ser. tome XIX, p. 259; *Sac. Bks. E.* vol. XLV, p. 226 f. See also *Rev. de l'Histoire des Relig.* tom. XLVII, pp. 34-50, which has appeared since the above was written, for "La doctrine des etres vivants dans la Religion Jaina".]

These Anuttara gods inhabit the highest heavens where they live for varying lengths of time as the heavens ascend; and in the fifth or highest—the great Vimana called Sarvarthasiddha—they all live thirty-three Sagaropamas or periods of unimagiable duration. Still all the gods are mortal or belong to the *sa[m]sara*.

Above these is the paradise of the Siddhas or perfected souls, and the *Uttaradhyana Sutra* gives the following details of this realm of the perfected, or the paradise of the Jainas:—[Footnote: See *ante*, p. 11, note 10; The following extract is from *Sac. Books of the East*, vol. XLV, pp. 211-213.]

"The perfected souls are those of women, men, hermaphrodites, of orthodox, heterodox, and householders. Perfection is reached by people of the greatest, smallest and middle size; [Footnote: The greatest size—*ogaha[n.]a*—of men is 500 dhanush or 2000 cubits, the smallest is one cubit.] on high places, underground, on the surface of the earth, in the ocean, and in waters (of rivers, etc.).

"Ten hermaphrodites reach perfection at the same time, twenty women, one hundred and eight men; four householders, ten heterodox, and one hundred and eight orthodox monks.

"Two individuals of the greatest size reach perfection (simultaneously), four of the smallest size, and one hundred and eight of the middle size. Four individuals reach perfection (simultaneously) on high places, two in the ocean, three in water, twenty underground; and where do they go on reaching perfection? Perfected souls are debarred from the non-world (Aloka); they reside on the top of the world; they leave their bodies here (below) and go there, on reaching perfection. "Twelve *yojanas* above the (Vimana) Sarvartha is the place called Ishatpragbhara, which has the form of an umbrella; (there the perfected souls go). It is forty-five hundred thousand *yojanas* long, and as many broad, and it is somewhat more than three times as many in circumference. Its thickness is eight *yojanas*, it is greatest in the middle, and decreases towards the margin, till it is thinner than the wing of a fly. This place, by nature pure, consisting of white gold, resembles in form an open umbrella, as has been said by the best of Jinas. "(Above it) is a pure blessed place (called ['S]ita), which is white like a conch-shell, the *anka*-stone, and Kunda-flowers; [Footnote:

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The gourd *Lagenaria vulgaris*.] a *yojana* thence is the end of the world. The perfected souls penetrate the sixth part of the uppermost *kro[ʼs]a* of the (above-mentioned) *yojana*. There, at the top of the world reside the blessed perfected souls, rid of all transmigration, and arrived at the excellent state of perfection. The dimension of a perfected soul is two-thirds of the height which the individual had in his last existence. “The perfected souls considered singly—*egatte[n.]a* (as individuals)—have a beginning but no end, considered collectively—*puhutte[n.]a* (as a class)—they have neither a beginning nor an end. They have no (visible) form, they consist of life throughout, they are developed into knowledge and faith, they have crossed the boundary of the *Sa[m]sara*, and reached the excellent state of perfection.”

\* \* \* \* \*

Like both the *Brahma[n.]s* and Buddhists, the Jainas have a series of hells—*Narakas*, numbering even which they name—

1. *Ratnaprabha*; 2. *[ʼS]arkaraprabha*; 3. *Valukaprabha*; 4. *Pa[n.]kaprabha*; 5. *Dhumaprabha*; 6. *Tamaprabha*; 7. *Tamatamaprabha*.

[Footnote: *Ratnasagara*, bh. II, p. 607; *Jour. As. u.s.* p. 263.]

Those who inhabit the seventh hell have a stature of 500 poles, and in each above that they are half the height of the one below it.

Everything in the system as to stature of gods and living beings, their ages and periods of transmigration is reduced to artificial numbers.

The Jaina Gachhas.

About the middle of the tenth century there flourished a Jaina high priest named *Uddyotana*, with whose pupils the eighty four gachhas originated. This number is still spoken of by the Jainas, but the lists that have been hitherto published are very discordant. The following was obtained from a member of the sect as being their recognised list,—and allowing for differences of spelling, nearly every name may be recognised in those previously published by Mr. H. G. Briggs or Colonel Miles.

The Eighty four Gachchhas of the Jainas. [Footnote: Those names marked [A] are found in Col. Miles's list *Tr. R. A. S.* vol. III, pp. 358 f. 363, 365, 370. Those marked [B] are included in H. G. Brigg's list,—*Cities of Gujarashtra*, p. 339.]

- |                          |                                   |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. ? [A][B]              | 43. <i>Sopariya</i> [A][B]        |
| 2. <i>Osvala</i> [A][B]  | 44. <i>Ma[n.][d.]aliya</i> [A][B] |
| 3. <i>A[n.]chala</i> [A] | 45. <i>Kochhipana</i> [A][B]      |





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|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 4. Jiravala[A][B]            | 46. Jaga[.m]na[A][B]        |
| 5. Kha[d.]atara or Kharatara | 47. Laparavala[A][B]        |
| 6. Lonka or Richmati[A][B]   | 48. Vosara[d.]a[A][B]       |
| 7. Tapa[A][B]                | 49. Dueiva[.n]daniya[A][B]  |
| 8. Ga[.m]ge['s]vara[A][B]    | 50. Chitravala[A][B]        |
| 9. Kora[n.][t.]avala[B]      | 51. Vega[d.]a               |
| 10. Anandapura[B]            | 52. Vapa[d.]a               |
| 11. Bharavali                | 53. Vijahara, Vijhara[A][B] |

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|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 12. U[d.]haviya[A][B]        | 54. Kauepuri[B]            |
| 13. Gudava[A][B]             | 55. Kachala                |
| 14. Dekauupa or Dekawa[A][B] | 56. Ha[.m]daliya[B]        |
| 15. Bh nmala[B]              | 57. Mahukara[B]            |
| 16. Mahu[d.]iya[A][B]        | 58. Putaliya[A][B]         |
| 17. Gachhapala[A][B]         | 59. Ka[.m]narisey[B]       |
| 18. Goshavala[B]             | 60. Revar[d.][.]iya[A][B]  |
| 19. Magatragagada[B]         | 61. Dhandhuka[B]           |
| 20. V[r.]ihmaniya[B]         | 62. Tha[.m]bhanipa[n.]a[A] |
| 21. Talara[A][B]             | 63. Pa[.m]chivala[B]       |
| 22. Vika[d.]iya[A][B]        | 64. Pala[n.]pura[A]        |
| 23. Munjhiya[A][B]           | 65. Ga[.m]dhariya[A][B]    |
| 24. Chitro[d.]a[B]           | 66. Veliya[B]              |
| 25. Sachora[A][B]            | 67. Sa[d.]hapunamiya       |
| 26. Jacha[n.][d.]iya[B]      | 68. Nagarako[t.]iya[A][B]  |
| 27. Sidhalava[A][B]          | 69. Hasora[A][B]           |
| 28. Miya[n.][n.]iya          | 70. Bha[t.]anera[A][B]     |
| 29. Agamiya[B]               | 71. Ja[n.]ahara[A][B]      |
| 30. Maladhari[A][B]          | 72. Jagayana[A]            |
| 31. Bhavariya[B]             | 73. Bhimasena[A][B]        |
| 32. Palivala[A][B]           | 74. Taka[d.]iya[B]         |
| 33. Nagadige['s]vara[B]      | 75. Ka[.m]boja[A][B]       |
| 34. Dharmaghosha[B]          | 76. Senata[B]              |
| 35. Nagapura[A][B]           | 77. Vaghera[A][B]          |
| 36. Uchatavala[B]            | 78. Vahe[d.]iya[A]         |
| 37. Na[n.][n.]avala[A][B]    | 79. Siddhapura[A][B]       |
| 38. Sa[d.]era[A][B]          | 80. Ghoghari[A][B]         |
| 39. Ma[n.][d.]ovara[A][B]    | 81. Nigamiya               |
| 40. ['S]ura[n.]i[A][B]       | 82. Punamiya               |
| 41. Kha[.m]bhavati[A][B]     | 83. Varha[d.]iya[B]        |
| 42. Paecha[.m]da             | 84. Namila.[B]             |