

A STUDY OF TATTVĀRTHASŪTRA WITH BHĀṢYA

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO AUTHORSHIP AND DATE

L. D. SERIES 86
GENERAL EDITORS
DALSUKH MALVANIA
NAGIN J. SHAH

By
SUZUKO OHIRA



L. D. INSTITUTE OF INDOLOGY, AHMEDABAD-9

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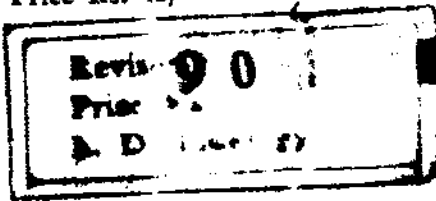
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FOREWORD

The L. D. Institute of Indology has great pleasure in publishing *A study of the Tattvārthasūtra with Bhāṣya with special reference to the Authorship and Date* by Dr. Suzuko Ohira. The work embodies results of her deep and strenuous research which she carried out successfully for her Doctorate.

Tattvārthadhigamasūtra is accepted as an authoritative text in the Śvetāmbara as well as Digambara tradition. And both the traditions agree that its author is Vācaka Umāsvāti(mī). But the Śvetāmbaras maintain that he belonged to their tradition while the Digambaras maintain that he belonged to theirs. Again the Śvetāmbaras contend that he himself is the author of the *Bhāṣya* while the Digambaras strongly uphold that the *Bhāṣya* is not his work. Moreover, Śvetāmbara and Digambara scholars assign him to different periods of time. Hence the problem of the authorship and date of *Tattvārthasūtra* with *Bhāṣya* needed serious study and research which Dr. Suzuko Ohira undertook and accomplished very successfully. To arrive at almost correct conclusions she has explored, analysed and studied all the necessary sources, viz. the praśasti of the *Bhāṣya*, inscriptions, *paṭṭāvalis*, commentaries of Śvetāmbara canonical texts, Digambara texts, especially the *Sarvārthasiddhi*, and the works of modern scholars. She has traced the development of certain concepts in order to assign the *Tattvārthasūtra* with *Bhāṣya* to a particular period of time. The historical evaluation of the *Tattvārthasūtra* deserves special attention of scholars. In this connection she has competently dealt with the topics of the Migration of Jaina Communities and the Great Schism in the Gupta Age. Dr. Ohira rightly deserves our congratulations for the present study. We extend our heart-felt thanks to her for allowing us to publish her research work in our L. D. Series.

I am sure this publication will prove useful to all those interested in Jaina Studies.

Nagin J. Shah.

Director

L. D. Institute of Indology
Ahmedabad-9

30-3-82

INTRODUCTION

The *Tattvārthādhigamaśūtra* (abbreviated hereafter as *T. S.*) of Umāsvāti holds a unique position in the literary history of the Jainas. Since when it gained an authoritative position in the two traditions, it has occupied the heart of the Jainas, lay or clerical, as the Bible of their religion and as the essential work of their doctrinal axioms. The *T. S.* is a compendium of the theoretical contents of the canon expressed in terms of seven tattvas, having mokṣamārga as its guiding theme. This prakaraṇa in some 350 sūtras (the Śvetāmbara Version counts 344 and the Digambara Version 357) along with its *Bhāṣya* was composed by Umāsvāti sometime in the late middle of the 5th century A. D. at Pāṭaliputra, imbibing the current philosophical problems of the non-Jaina systems of thought. The Gupta period to which the author belonged was one of the darkest ages for the Jainas, wherein the then socio-economic impact forced them to migrate from the North to the West and the South, which caused, together with the fatally accidental calamity of a long famine and the consequent call of the Canonical Convention at Valabhī, the division of the Jaina church into the present day Śvetāmbara and Digambara. The *T. S.* that was carried down by the emigrants to the South met a necessary revision thereby, and established itself as a pro-canonical text of the Digambaras. The present problem of the authorship of the *T. S.* which is claimed by the two camps has thus cropped up.

The assignment of this thesis is to testify whether or not the *T. S.* accompanied by its *Svopajñabhāṣya* was composed by Umāsvāti. This issue is somewhat odd in a way, because a mention that Umāsvāti or Umāsvāmi is the author of the *T. S.* which is unanimously accepted by the two sects is found in the praśasti of the *Bhāṣya* alone in the earlier literature of both traditions. However the Digambara Version lacks the entire *Bhāṣya* portions, and the abundant epigraphical evidences in the South record that Umāsvāmi alias Grddhapiccha is a Digambara author of the *T. S.*¹ On the other hand, none of the autobiographical document in the praśasti has been yet proved of its historicity, and no early inscriptional evidence remains in the North and the West to prove that Umāsvāti belonged to the canonical tradition in the North. The problem thus remains to be investigated. The present day academic circle is divided into three groups as to which party Umāsvāti belonged to, i. e., the Āgamic tradition which the Śvetāmbaras uphold whole-heartedly, the Digambara tradition which came to compile its own pro-canonical texts, and the Yāpanīya tradition which was later absorbed into the Digambara fold and is no more existent.² As the codices in the Western stock reveal, the lay Jainas did least bother about nor even distinguished which version of the text belonged to which tradition. This problem was raised and became controversial among the academic circles in this present century when the *T. S.* study came to attract the scholars' serious attention.

Undoubtedly this is a touchy problem involving sectarian sentiments. Leaving them aside for the historical pursuit of the problem itself, the verification of the authorship of the *Sabhāṣya T. S.* involving the determination of its date³ has its own significance and importance. The *T. S.* stood at the end of the canonical period. The Third Canonical Convention was held at Valabhī in the latter half of the 5th century A. D., and the great schism split the Jainas into the two camps. The canonical age was succeeded by the commentarial period in the Śvetāmbara side and by the prakaraṇa period in the Digambara side, and the age of logic commenced in both camps at the same time. The *T. S.* thus stood at the point of intersection in the history of the Jainas in the two traditions, to the literary activities of which it exerted unfathomable influences. An ascertainment of the position of the *T. S.* in the literary history of the Jainas as such is only possible when the problems of its authorship and its date are decisively solved and when its historical background is brought to light.

The problems proposed in this thesis are of three categories (1) Testification of the authorship of the *Sabhāṣya T. S.*, (2) Ascertainment of its date, and (3) Its historical evaluation. The first two problems that are the original assignment of this thesis are indisputably fundamental, which however have not yet been settled successfully by the modern scholarship. The major reasons for it seem to lie in the scholars' attitudes towards the problems coloured by the sectarian considerations and in their methods of handling the limited materials. Conscious attention is therefore paid to the matter of methodology which would save us from falling in the pitfalls. The literary materials involving theoretical discussion are handled by adopting the comparative method and the method of conceptual evolution, for which my indebtedness goes to *Pt. Sukhlalji's Commentary on Tattvārthaśāstra of Vācaka Umāsvāti* and *Jaina Ontology* by Dr. K. K. Dixit. Ample opportunities are hence provided to conduct independent inquiries into the specific problems. The external source materials including MSS, archaeological and literary materials are used as far as available mainly adopting the text-historical method and the historical method. For this type of inquiry, all these methods are required to achieve a warrantable result and the emphasis on any one of which would ensue a danger.

The first proposal to verify the authorship of the *Sabhāṣya T. S.* involves three problems : (1) Which version of the text is the original ?, (2) Was the *Bhāṣya* composed by the aphorist himself ?, and (3) Was the *Sabhāṣya T. S.* composed by Umāsvāti? A series of these interrelated problems is attempted to be tackled in the first two chapters step by step in the sequence shown in the table of contents. The last problem of the verification of praśasti to determine the authorship of the *T. S.* is approached by the method of a critical analysis of the existing paṭṭāvalis, and the testimony vouches for the fact that the *Sabhāṣya T. S.* is the original text composed by Umāsvāti.

The second proposal to ascertain the date of the text (thereby the date of Umāsvāti in approximation) is handled in Ch.III, Sec.IV, pt.2. This is a vexing problem because the dates of the relevant authors or texts, both Jaina and non-Jaina, have

not yet been definitely settled down in the present day academic circles, upon which depends the final assignment of the date of our text. However, the date of the *T. S.* sometime in the late middle of the 5th century A. D. arrived at from the available external and internal evidences would be the closest approximation in the present state of progress in research. Also on the more reliable epigraphical evidences the traditional date of the Third Valabhi Council based on the date of Mahāvīra's nirvāṇa and the currently accepted date of Bhadrabāhu II based on the traditional legend (see also Ch. III. Sec. IV, Pt. 1, (3)) are proposed to be reassigned, even though the final assignment of their decisive dates has to be suspended for the want of further evidences which may turn out in the future.

The third proposal is taken up in the final chapter. A historical evaluation of the *T. S.* must be assessed on the basis of 1) Umāsvāti's performance in composing the *T. S.*, 2) Its capacity of influencing the post-Umāsvāti authors, and 3) Its position held in the literary history of the Jainas in the two traditions. The first problem is dealt with in Sec. I while analyzing the mechanism of the *T. S.*, i. e., its structure, source materials and their organization. This clarifies what kinds of problems were in what way posited by Umāsvāti to bring out the innovation of the Āgamic concepts and the formulation of new concepts. The second problem becomes self-evident to a great extent while making a survey of the factors of reaction raised to the *T. S.* in the commentarial works on the canon in Sec. II, and while tracing the further development of certain theoretical problem proposed by Umāsvāti in Sec. III. A series of independent discussions conducted in Sec. III with a view to finding how certain concepts had gone through the stages of evolution by the time of Umāsvāti, how these concepts were handled by Umāsvāti, and how they took the course of development in the immediate post-Umāsvāti period in both traditions. In so doing, the obscure imports of certain aphorisms and their *Bhāṣya* expositions come to be clarified. Since the problems raised in the *T. S.* are many and the concerned literary materials are inexhaustible, the inquiries made in Secs. II-III within a limited scope are impossible to cover them all, of which improvement is left wide open to the future. The third problem is treated in the final section by way of clarifying the historical background of the Jainas in the Gupta age involving their literary activities. The history of the Jainas in the Gupta age has been so far buried in oblivion, which is attempted to be brought to light in order to explain the background and the cause of the great schism, that enables us to place the *T. S.* in the clear-cut position in the literary history of the two Jaina traditions.

The problems proposed in the last category are particularly of challenging nature, however they are indeed difficult as they involve many technical and historical problems yet unsolved. Nevertheless this thesis is hoped to be able to contribute to the research activities in this direction, and any constructive suggestions for its improvement will be appreciated. The *Bhāṣya* which was composed by the aphorist himself and the *Sarvārthasiddhi* which is the oldest extant Digambara commentary

on the *T. S.* composed by Pūjyapāda are directly involved with the problems in question, however the rest of numerous commentaries including the great commentaries such as *Rājavārtika* and *Śloka-vārtika* are excluded from the scope of major treatment. The *Sabhāṣya T. S.* is based on the *Tattvārthadhigamasūtram* (Calcutta, 1903) ed. by K. P. Mody, the text of the *Sarvārthasiddhi* is based on the edition made by Phulcandra (Banaras, 1971, 2nd ed.), and the canonical texts are based on the *Sutāgame* (Bombay, 1953-54) in two volumes ed. by Pappabhaikkhu, unless otherwise specified. In this thesis, we are distinguishing the two recensions of the text i. e., the text of the *Bhāṣya* and the text of Pūjyapāda by Śvetāmbara and Digambara according to the current practice, of which the latter expression is appropriate, but not the former as it belongs to the period prior to the schism. This convention should be allowed here for the sake of the brevity of expression, but not for any other purposes. Some portions of this thesis were already published in the current journals.

The subject matter of the present thesis which is submitted for the Ph. D. degree to the Gujarat University was originally assigned to an introductory chapter to my English translation of Bhāskaranandi's *Tattvārthavṛtti* by late Dr. A. N. Upadhye, University of Mysore, which has developed into this shape and was completed under the guidance of Pt. D. D. Malvania, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad. Both of my guiding scholars, who were good friends and have been the leading heads of the academic circles of the two rival traditions, are of unusual personality in showing extraordinary patience to the immature student without whose proper direction, encouragement and assistance it was impossible for me to fulfill this difficult task. Also Dr. K. K. Dixit, the former research officer at L. D. Institute of Indology, has kindly stood by me for long in the capacity of a consultant, by whom my historical attitude towards problems was molded. I cannot adequately express my sense of gratitude to all of my teachers, to whom this thesis is humbly dedicated.

I would also like to express my sincere appreciation for the kind cooperation to many friends, to the librarians and staff members of the following institutions : L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad (and Dr. Nagin J. Shah) : Department of Jainology and Prakrits, University of Mysore, Mysore : University of Mysore Library, Mysore : Indian Government Epigraphy Office, Mysore (and Dr. G. S. Gai) : Oriental Research Institute, Mysore : Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona : Dr. A. N. Upadhye's private library, Kolhapur (and his family) : Rajaram College Library, Kolhapur : Hemacandra-carya Jñāna Mandir, Pattan (and Mr. Sarabhai M. Shah and Mr. Babubhai P. Dave, Pattan).

— Suzuko Ohira

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A STUDY OF TATTVĀRTHASŪTRA WITH BHĀṢYA

CHAPTER I

WHICH VERSION OF THE TEXT IS THE ORIGINAL?

Sec. 1. MSS OF THE T.S.

Since numerous MSS of the *T.S.* are available (the *Jinaratnakosā* counts 39 entries), it is incumbent upon us to begin with their survey with a view to finding if any external evidences can be therefrom established to solve our problem, "Which version of the text is the original?" To make a general remark of the MSS condition of the *T.S.*, the Digambara text as well as the Śvetāmbara text accompanied by the *Bhāṣya* are well preserved in the codices without damage, however curiously enough, the Śvetāmbara copies unaccompanied by the *Bhāṣya* so far consulted are without exception polluted by the Digambara aphorisms. Does it at all imply that the Digambara recension of the text was the archetype from which the Śvetāmbara recension was derived? And how did this strange phenomenon come to occur? These questions remain to be explained.

Investigated below are the codices of the Western version of the *T.S.* with and without the *Bhāṣya* (the Southern version is excluded from consultation as it is generally well preserved) located in the following institutions : L. D. Institute of Indology (LDII), Ahmedabad; Hemacandrācārya Jñāna Mandir (HJM), Pattan; Saṅghavi Pāḍā (SP), Pattan; Limbadi Jaina Jñāna Bhandar (LJJB), Limdi (MSS were sent therefrom); and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (BORI), Poona. Those examined include two palm leaf MS^s, one of which is dated 1303 V. S. (no. 8) and the other (no. 9) appearing to be another copy of the same, which lacks the first folio and remains in the worst possible condition that it may fall into pieces sooner or later. The rest are the paper MSS ranging from the 16th to the 20th century V. S. Those in Gujarat area mainly consist of the Śvetāmbara versions and those at Poona mostly of the Digambara versions.

The aphorisms of the *T. S.* were likely not numbered originally, because they frequently exhibit themselves without an indication of the sequential number in the codices, the phenomenon of which is commonly observed in the texts of Siddhasena and Haribhadra, and in the text *Sarvārthasiddhi*. When enumerated, the aphorisms are often misnumbered, deliberately or otherwise, for instance, sometimes

numbering is skipped, sometimes the same number is assigned to the two different sūtras, sometimes one sūtra is counted as two, sometimes maṅgalācaraṇa (which belongs to the *Sarvārthasiddhi*) is reckoned, sometimes praśasti is enumerated in continuation of the upasaṃhāra-kārikā (up. kārikā), and so on.

The following table may reflect a general feature of the MSS of the T.S. preserved in Śvetāmbara tradition so far consulted. The description of each chapter of the *Sabhaṣya* T.S. is omitted because the text has evaded transformation at maximum being accompanied by its *Bhāṣya* (a slight change is however observed, for instance, in Limdi copy of no. 1090, ser. no. 17, sūtra I:27 of the Śvetāmbara text is replaced by the Digambara sūtra, and sūtra I:26 of the Digambar text is exchanged with the Śvetāmbara aphorism). In order to see how far the MSS in the Śvetāmbara stock are contaminated by the Digambara edition, the examination was made by way of spot checking the following sūtras which exhibit gross disagreements between the two recensions due to the linguistic change, omission-cum-commission or matabheda : I : 21-22(21), 27(26), 34-35(33). II : 13-14, 13-14), 23(22), 31(30), 49(49). III : (12-32). IV:20(19), 29-37(28-31), 48-53(40-42). V : (29), 38(39). VI : 18(17-18), (21). VII : (4-8). VIII : 7(6), 14(13), 26(25-26). IX : 27-28(27), 32-33(31-32), 37(36). X: (7-8). Those in parentheses indicate the Digambara aphorisms. If a chapter contains more than one Digambara aphorism, it is indicated by "S/D". If it consists of the Śvetāmbara aphorisms alone it is marked by "S" and the contrary case by "D". The survey here conducted is thus neither meticulous nor exhaustive, however it is hoped to be enough to have a general view of the MSS condition of the T.S. handed down in the western tradition.

Ser. no.	Place	Cat./Acc. no. ¹	Date (V.S.)	Maṅgala Śloka	S. Kārikā Text (Chapters)		
					1	2	3
1	LDII	cat. 3474, acc. 5917	c.1950		1-31		
2	„	cat. 3467, acc. 3198	c.1550		S	S/D	S/D
3	HJM	1501	20th c.		S	S/D	S
4	BORI	1076/of 1891-95			S	S	D
5	LDII	cat. 3466, acc. 3911	c 1650		1-9	S	S/D
6	HJM	1053			„	S	S
7	„	1054			„	„	„
8	SP	cat. 227, box 179	1303		1-9	S	S
9	„	cat. 322, box 91			„	„	„

Sec. 1. MSS. OF THE T.S.

10	HJM	14111	19th c.	x	S	S/D	S
11	LDH	10597	19th c.	x	S	S	D
12	„	11192	c. 18th c.	x	S	S/D	D
13	„	cat. 3472, acc. 3799	c. 1850	x	S	D	D
14	HJM	14022	1810	1-31	...	...	...
15	LDH	15106	17th c.	(1) x	...	...	...
				(2)	1-31	...	...
16	HJM	799		(1) x	...	...	...
				(2)	1-31	...	...
17	LJJB	1090		(1) x	...	...	...
				(2)	1-31	...	...
Ser no.	Text (Chapters)				Up. Kārikās	Praśasti	Other Appendices
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1							
2	S	S	S	S	S/D	S/D	S
3	S	S/D	S	S	S	S/D	S
4	S	S/D	S/D	Missing	S/D	D	D
5	S	S	S	S	S/D	S/D	D
6	S	S	S	S	S/D	S	D
7	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
8	S	S	S	S	S	S	1-32 (numbered
9	„	„	„	„	„	„	as 33-35)
10	S	S	S	Missing	S	S	D
11	S	S	S/D	D	D	D	D
12	Ille- gible	D	D	D	D	S	D
13	D	S/D	S/D	D	D	D	D
						21 kārikās	1-31/1-32 (S.K.) (up k.) 1-9 s. kārikās
14	Numbered text with the Bhāṣya					1-6	

15	Unnumbered Digambara text	
	Numbered Śvetāmbara text with the <i>Bhāṣya</i> ...	1-6
16	as above	
	as above	1-6
17	as above	
	(must be as above, latter half unchecked)	

The forms of entry are various : (no. 1) sambandhakārikā (s. kārikā) alone; (nos 2-3) text alone; (nos. 5-7) 1-9 s. kārikās + text; (nos. 8-9) 1-9 s. kārikās + text + up. kārikā + 4-6 praśasti verses; (nos. 10-11) maṅgalācaraṇa + text; (no.12) maṅgalācaraṇa + text + s. kārikā + up. kārikā; (no. 13) maṅgalācaraṇa + text + 21 up. kārikās + 1-9 s. kārikās (these 21 up. kārikās include the original verses 1-14, 16-21 and 23; the original verse 18 which is numbered in the MS as 21 comes after the original verse 20); (no.14) *Sabhāṣya T.S.*: and (nos.15-17) Digambara text + *Sabhāṣya T.S.* The MS B (1532 V.S.) and MS D (1467 V. S.) which were used for the edition of the T. S. by K. P. Mody appear to have come from the same source of our MSS nos. 15-17 above. He notes down that the MS K used by him further adds Siddhasena's commentary on it. Puṣpikās vary sometimes : (no. 10) *iti tattvārthādhigame'jīva-nirūpaṇo nāma pañcamo'dhyāyaḥ/iti tattvārthādhigame'srava-nirūpaṇo nāma ṣaṣṭho'dhyāyaḥ/* (no.15) *tattvārthādhigame'ṛhad-vacana-saṅgrāhe bhāṣyato daśa-mādhyaḥ samāptah/* (no 16) *tattvārthādhigame jīva-vacana-saṅgrāhe bhāṣyato daśamo'dhyāyaḥ samāptah/* (no.17) *tattvārthādhigame bhāṣyataḥ dvītiyo'dhyāyaḥ/*

The Śvetāmbara copies unaccompanied by the *Bhāṣya* are thus in all the cases defiled by the Digambara sūtras. And pollution is the worst in the cases of Chs. III and X which underwent a thorough revision in the South. Serial nos. 10-13 are accompanied by the well known verse of benediction, '*mokṣamārgasya netāram....*', which belongs to the *Sarvārthasiddhi*. Nos. 12-13 push back the s. kārikā to the end of the text as this maṅgala verse is prefixed at the outset; and strangely enough, a majority of the chapters of these two copies consists of the Digambara sūtras. No. 13 is said to have been copied by Bhimajī, pupil of Mahimāprabhasūri of Pūrṇimāpakṣa, therefore it allegedly belongs to the Śvetāmbara side. The copyists of these MSS seem to be least bothered about whether the text is a Śvetāmbara version or Digambara version. They tore up the *Sabhāṣya T.S.* into pieces, mixed the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sūtras, and produced their own versions in effect. They even bound the Digambara text with the *Sabhāṣya T.S.*, of which practice seems to date back, judging from the MSS used by K. P. Mody, as early as or much earlier than 1467 V. S.

The palm leaf MS of 1303 V. S. preserved at Saṅghavi Pādā, Pattan, is again a peculiar copy; an obvious attempt was made here to rearrange the third chapter which is the only chapter in this copy consisting of the Digambara aphorisms. The order of the Digambara sūtras rearranged in this chapter is as follows : 1-10/ 20-30

Sec. 1. MSS. OF THE T.S.

(24 slightly altered; 27–28 missing)/ *eka-dvi-tri-gavyuto sthita-mānuṣyāḥ/ tat...?*
naḍbhyāḥ/ 27/ tri-palyopamoṭkṛṣṭa-sthitiḥ/ 31/ 28/ 11–14/ 17 (altered)/ 19/ 15/ 18
(altered)/ 16/ 32–39// Since the rearranged sequence does not improve the original reading but disturbs the context confusingly, it is difficult to see the intention behind this performance. Some copysts, who might have been monks or professional copysts, behaved thus quite freely in altering the original text, which suggests that the rules and regulations in scribing copies were loose, had they been established at all

The *Bhāṣya* was used by Pūjyapāda in his *Sarvārthasiddhi*, Akalaṅka in his *Rājavārtika* and Virasena in his *Dhavalā*, but after them it is difficult to know if any serious attention was paid to it in the South. We are not at all sure whether the *Bhāṣya* was in front of Vidyānandi or not. Bhāskaranandi who belonged to the 12th century A. D. does not refer to the *Bhāṣya* at all, neither Śrutasāgara of the 16th century. Virasena of the 9th century refers to the T.S. of Gr̥ddhapiccha, and the epigraphical evidence at Śraṇabelgoḷa in the 12th century onwards indicate that people believed that Gr̥ddhapiccha alias Umāsvāti was the author of the T.S.³ It is most likely therefore that the *Sabhāṣya* T.S. gradually receded into background in the South after Virasena's time, having given an authoritative position to the revised version of the T.S. accompanied by its important commentaries, and the authorship of the T.S. was then passed over to Gr̥ddhapiccha Ācārya alias Umāsvāti.

The convention of scribing the text portion alone was perhaps followed after the model of the Digambara version. Amṛtacandra, although he is suspected to have resided in the West, might have very well quoted the up. kārikā from the *Rājavārtika*.³ The practice of attaching the up. kārikā completely or partially to the text portion alone might have again started after the model of the *Rājavārtika*. Likewise the copysts prefixed the first nine s. kārikās to the Śvetāmbara text most probably after the Digambara version wherein the famous maṅgala verse is usually prefixed. Although the density of pollution must have gone worse with the march of time, the corruption likely began at an earlier stage when the Digambara recension became very popular. Soon after the T.S. was brought down to the South by the emigrants, it underwent a thorough revision particularly of its linguistic aspects. This refined version seems to have attracted those people in the western tradition, and influenced them to transform the copies of their own text to the extent that they have almost lost their identity to be the Śvetāmbara recensions.

Since this explains the reason for the defiled phenomena of the Śvetāmbara text by the Digambara aphorisms, and since the Śvetāmbara recension of the text accompanied by the *Bhāṣya* has been well preserved, a doubt raised at the outset that the Digambara edition might be the original on the ground of the MSS evidences disappears. The critical edition of the *Sabhāṣya* T.S. ought to be based on Siddhasena's

Bhāṣyānusāriṇī which has preserved the reading and meaning of the text as well as its autocommentary.⁴ The authenticity of either recension of the *T.S.* must be therefore testified upon the ground of the internal evidence alone, which shall be taken up in the following sections.

Sec. 2. LINGUISTIC CHANGES

Which version of the text is the archetype is to be testified in the 2nd through the 4th sections. This is indeed an irritating problem, for it is pretty difficult to find the crucial keys for its solution. An attempt is made here to approach the problem from the following three different angles: Sec. 2) Linguistic changes, Sec. 3) Omissions and commissions, and Sec. 4) Matabhedas. To give a conclusion first, the problem is best tackled by the second and the third methods which logically seem to be most barren in bringing out a fruitful answer, and the linguistic approach which is expected to produce a most fruitful result has turned out to be miserably barren.

We shall begin with the survey of linguistic changes evinced in the two recensions of the *T.S.* In dealing with the problem, the relevant aphorisms, which are grouped together under certain peculiarities, are going to be rated upon the basis of the evidence wherein the clarity of an aphorism, that is the vital concern of the aphorist to convey, is considered to be better achieved in the given context. The numbr at the end of each group indicates a positive point. When the cases are difficult to evaluate, the number of the occurrences as such is given in brackets. The Digambara sūtras are always indicated in parentheses. Thus "2. (0), [1]" means that the clarity of the import of an aphorism is positively better achieved in the Śvetāmbara version in two cases discussed in this group, nil in the case of the Digambara recension, and one instance therein is difficult to be rated upon this criterion as either recension has its own positive ground. The data collected here is by all means not attempted to be exhaustive, but is expected to be sufficient to have a warantable result.

1. The order of words and aphorisms

- | | | |
|------|-------|--------------------|
| (1) | I:22 | ... nārake-devānām |
| (21) | | ... deva-nārakānām |
| | II:35 | nāraka-devānām... |
| (34) | | deva-nārakānām... |

The Āgamic description of the four gatis as a rule begins with the lowest order and ends with the highest, inasmuch as the description of the three worlds is made in the ascending order. The Śvetāmbara reading shows conformity with the canonical description, while the Digambara reading grammatical.

0, (0) [2]

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- (2) VI:6 *avrata-kaṣāyendriya-kriyā* ...
 (5) *indriya-kaṣāyāvratā-kriyāḥ*
 VI:7 ... *bhāva vīryādhikarāṇa* ...
 (6) ... *bhāvādhikarāṇa-vīrya* ...
 VIII:10 ... *kaṣāya-nokaṣāya* ...
 (9) ... *akaṣāya-kaṣāya* ...

The word order of VI:(5) appears to be based on the psychical process in the sequence of cause and effect, or stress is laid on *indriya* as the most important cause of *sāmparāyika āsrava*. In the canonical codes such as *Sthāna* 5.2.517 and *Samavāya* 16, *āsravadvāra* is mentioned as of five, i.e., *mithyādraśīna*, *avirati*, *pramāda*, *kaṣāya* and *yoga*, which are enunciated to be the causes of *bandha* in VIII:1. *Pramāda* therein is generally included in the other items, i.e., *avirati* or *kaṣāya*, in the later works. The aphorist of VI:6 seems to have thus followed the Āgamic tradition. VI:7 expresses it rightly, firstly because *bhāva* and *vīrya* constitute here a pair of psychical and physical factors of *kriyā* and secondly because *adhikarāṇa* meets its exposition in the immediately succeeding aphorism. The Śvetāmbara reading of VIII:10 exhibits grammatical accuracy. *Nokaṣāya* is a technical term used by the karma specialists, and *akaṣāya* in Sanskrit rendering may tend to mislead the meaning.

2, (0) [1]

- (3) IX:31(32) *vedanāyaś-ca*
 32(31) *viparītaṃ manojñasya*
 IX:31(32) pertains to *amanojñā*, therefore the Southern version does

not make sense.

1, (0), [0]

2 Compoundization

- V:22 *vartanā parināmaḥ kriyā* ...
 (22) *vartanā-parināma-kriyāḥ* ...
 VI:13 *bhūta-vraty-anukampā dānaṃ sarāgasamyama* ...
 (12) *bhūta-vraty-anukampā-dāna-sarāgasamyama* ...

The compoundisation of these words, even though it impresses us with its seemingly neater expression, weakens emphasis on each individual important concept, thus the Śvetāmbara reading is preferred.

2, (0), [0]

3. Dictions

- (1) VI:16 *bahv-ārambha-parigrahaṭvaṃ ca narakasyāyusaḥ*
 (15) " " " *narakasyāyusaḥ*
 VII:4 ... *ihāmutra ca* ...

- (9) ... *ihāmutra* ...
 VII:7 ... *svabhāvau ca saṃvega* ...
 (12) ... „ *vā* „ ...

The conjunction *ca* in VI:16 and VII:4 is not needed, however the word *ca* is preferred to *vā* in VII:7(12).

1, (2), [0]

- (2) I:27 ... *sarva-dravyeṣv-asarva-paryāyeṣu* [V: 2Bh. *uktaṃ*
hi ... dravyeṣv-asarva-paryāyeṣu ...]
 (26) ... *dravyeṣv-asarva-paryāyeṣu*
 II:5 ... *dānādi-labdhas'* ...
 (5) ... *labdhayaś'* ...
 II:7 *jīva-bhavyābhavyatvādinī ca*
 (7) ... *jīva-bhavyābhavyatvāni ca*
 II:21 ... *śabdās-teṣām-arthāḥ*
 (20) ... *śabdās-tad-arthāḥ*
 III:1 ... *'dho'dhaḥ prthutarāḥ* [Bh. *ratnaprabhā ...*
sapta adho'dhaḥ]
 (1) ... *'dho'dhaḥ*
 IV:9 ... *pravācārāḥ dvayor-dvayoḥ*
 (8) ... *pravācārāḥ*
 IV:13 ... *sūryāś'-candramaso ...*
 (12) ... *sūryā-candramasau ...*
 IV:52 ... *jaghanyā tv-aṣṭa-bhāgaḥ*
 (41) ... *tad-aṣṭa-bhāgo'parā*
 VI:15 ... *tivrātma-parināmas'* ...
 (14) ... *tivra-parināmas'*
 VI:23 ... *saṅgha-sādhu-samādhir ...*
 (24) ... *sādhu-samādhir ...*
 VII:29 ... *ādāna-nikṣepa ...*
 (34) ... *ādāna ...*
 VII:32 ... *nidāna-karaṇāni*
 (37) ... *nidānāni*
 x:6 ... *parināmāc-ca tad-gatiḥ*
 (6) ... *parināmāc-ca*

The addition of the word *sarve* to I:(26) saves it from giving way to ambiguity. The word *labdhī* is used in the other senses also, therefore *dānādi* is required in II:(5). The word *ādini* in II:7 includes various characteristics of the *jīva* not referred to in the previous aphorisms, e.g., *kartrtva*, *bhoktrtva*, etc. of which senses cannot be expressed by the conjunction *ca* which can be referable to the common nature of

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dravya such as *astitva*, *guṇavattva*, etc. Therefore the inclusion of *ādini* is herein required. The word *tad* in II:(20) evinces ambiguity. The Jaina view of the construction of the lower world is explicitly conveyed by supplying the word *prthutarāḥ* to III:(1). The Śvetāmbara reading of IV:9 clarifies the meaning better. IV:13 offers the clear-cut Jaina view of the plurality of the sun and the moon. As to the aphorism IV:52(41), the precise meaning is attained by the Śvetāmbara reading. The word *pariṇāma*, *leśyā-pariṇāma*, *yoga-pariṇāma*, etc. therefore *ātma-pariṇāma* in VI:15 expresses the purport more exactly. *Samgha* is an independent concept, which is required to be in the sūtra VI:(24). *Ādāna-nikṣepa* is a technical term, which is better to be retained as it is in VII:29[34]. Regarding the sūtra VII:32 (37), the reading on *nidāna-karaṇāni* is preferred because all the rest of the compounds are made out of nouns and verbs. *Tad-gati* is the subject matter under consideration in x:6(6), therefore it is in this context necessary to be stated.

13, (0), [0]

- (3) I:23 *yathokta-nimittah...* [Bh. *yathokta-nimittah*
kṣayopaśama-nimittah ity-arthaḥ]
 (22) *kṣayopaśama-nimittah...*
 II:38 *teṣāṃ paraṃparaṃ sūkṣmam*
 (37) *paraṃparaṃ sūkṣmam*
 III:10 *tatra bharata...*
 (10) *bharata...*
 VI:22 *viparītaṃ śubhasya*
 (23) *tad-viparītaṃ śubhasya*
 VII:6 *maitrī-pramōda-kārunya—mādhyasthāni sattva-guṇa...*
 (11) " " " " *ca sattva-guṇa ..*
 VIII:7 *maty-ādinām*
 (6) *matī-śrutāvadhi-manaḥparyaya-kevalānām*
 VIII:14 *dānādinām* [Bh. *antarāyāḥ pañcavidhaḥ / tad-yathā —*
dānasyāntarāyāḥ, lābhasyāntarāyāḥ...]
 (13) *dāna-lābha-bhogopabhoga-vīryānām*

The Digambara sūtras here convey the purport of the text more exactly either by adding the explanatory words used in the *Bhāṣya*, by dropping the unnecessary wording from or by supplying the minimum wording to the Śvetāmbara readings. VIII:7 and 14 have to refer way back to I:9 and II:4 for the word *ādi*.

0, (7), [0]

- (4) III:2 *tāsu narakāḥ* [Bh. *ratnaprabhāyāṃ naraka-vāsānāṃ*
triṃśac-chatasahasrāṇi/ śeṣāsu pañcaviṃśatiḥ
... narakaśatasahasram-ity-ā ṣaṣṭhyāḥ]
 (2) *tāsu triṃśat-pañcaviṃśati ...yathākramam*

- VII:27 ... *opabhogādhikativāni*
 (32) ... *opabhoga-paribhogānarthakyāni*
 VIII:8 ... *styānagṛddha-vedanīyāni ca*
 (7) ... *styānagṛddhayaś-ca*

These belong to a miscellaneous category, of which divergence in reading is difficult to be rated. By adding the word *vedanīya* to each type of sleep in VIII:8, its positive sense of experience is conveyed. However dropping this word from the sūtra does not harm its import.

0, (0) [3]

Subtotal 19, (9), [6] — 34

4. Two sūtras expressed by a single sūtra in either text.

(1) Two Digambara sūtras found in one in the Śvetāmbara recension

- V:2 *dravyāni jivāś-ca*
 (2-3) *dravyāni/ jivāś-ca*
 VI:18 *alpārambha-parigrahatvaṃ svabhāva-mārdavārjavam ca mānuṣasya*
 (17-18) *alpārambha-parigrahatvaṃ mānuṣasya/ svabhāva-mārdavam ca*

The division of the sūtra V:2 into (2) and (3) is justifiable in this context. VI:18 which adds *ārjava* is all right as it is, for the difference of the two concepts, i. e., *alpārambha*, etc., and *svabhāva-mārdava*, etc., is not so great.

0, (1), [1]

(2) Two Śvetāmbara sūtras found in one in the Digambara recension

- I:21-22 *dvi-vidho'vadhiḥ / bhava-pratyayo nāka-devānām*
 (21) *bhava-pratyayo'vadhir-deva-nārakānām*
 V:7-8 *asaṅkhyeyāḥ pradeśā dharmādharmayoḥ / jivasya*
 (8) *asaṅkhyeyāḥ pradeśā dharmādharmaika-jivānām*
 VI:3-4 *śubhaḥ puṇyasya / aśubhaḥ pāpasya*
 (3) *śubhaḥ puṇyasyaśubhaḥ pāpasya*
 VIII:2-3 *sakaśāyatvāi jivah... pudgalān-ādatte / sa bandhaḥ*
 (2) *sakaśāyatvāj-jivah .. pudgalān-ādatte sa bandhaḥ*
 IX:27-28 ... *dhyaṇam / ā muhūrtāt*
 (27) ... *dhyaṇam-āntarmuhūrtāt*
 X:2-3 *bandha-heṭv-abhāva-nirjarābhyām / kṛtsna-karma kṣayo*
mokṣaḥ
 (2) *bandha... nirjarābhyām kṛtsna-karma-vipramokṣo*
mokṣaḥ

The Digambara sūtras in this group exhibit an attempt to combine two aphorisms dealing with the same topic. I : 21-22 impart the meaning more lucidly. The Śvetāmbara reading of V : 7-8 is better, because *dharmā-adharma* and *jiva* belong to two

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different categories. VI : 3-4 which are possibly made in two sūtras for the sake of emphasis can be also combined into one. In case when the beginning word is a pronoun *sa*, it signalizes in the text that a new sūtra begins, i. e., II : 8-9 (8-9), VI : 1-2 (1-2), VIII : 22-23 (22-23), and IX : 1-2 (1-2), which is obviously the aphorist's style of writing. The same style is naturally expected to be kept here also. The aphorisms IX : 27-28 or IX : (27) include the definitions of *dhyātā*, *dhyāna* and its duration, which consist of three different concepts that ought to have been treated each independently. As such, neither reading of the two is appropriate. The Śvetāmbara sūtra X : 2 does not make sense. For from the *Bhāṣya* on X : 2, it is evident that this sūtra 2 is intended to go with X : 1 as the cause of *jīvan-mukti*. The cause of the manifestation of *kevala jñāna* which is already mentioned in X : 1 is sufficient to explain the cause of *jīvan-mukti* state, therefore the addition of X : 2 creates redundancy. Besides it invites a contradiction. Threefold yogas subsist throughout the penultimate stage of a *sayoga kevali*, therefore herein still exists the cause of *bandha* called *īryāpathika*, even though its duration is very short. The statement of '*bandhahetv-abhāvāt*' as the cause of the rise of *sayoga-kevalihood* is thus not correct. The *Bhāṣya* on the sūtra X:3 reads, '*hetv-abhāvāc-cottarasypāprādurbhāvaḥ*,' wherein '*hetv-abhāvāt*' must mean '*bandhahetv-abhāvāt*,' which seems to suggest that the sūtra 2 is also considered to be the cause of the *videha-mukti*. The sūtra 2 thus stands in an ambiguous position. The Digambara reading which clearly expresses the Jaina position is hence justified.

3, (1), [2]

subtotal 3, (2), [3] — 8

grand total 22, (11), [9] — 42

Out of forty-two cases of the analysis of linguistic changes evinced in the texts of the two traditions, twenty-two cases in the Śvetāmbara recension exhibit better in clarifying the purport of the text, while the favourable instances in the Digambara edition is only eleven, and nine cases remain indeterminate. The text of Pūjyapāda obviously demonstrates an effort made to improve the aphorisms from the grammatical and phraseological viewpoints, i.e., 1) by grouping the homogeneous ideas together by way of compoundization and combining two sūtras into one, 2) by adjusting the sequence of words, and 3) by dropping the redundant words and supplementing the minimum words needed for clarification. In so doing, many mistakes were committed on the technical level, which brought out ambiguity in conveying the precise meaning of the aphorisms. The revision of the text must have been made not too long after the happening of the great schism which shall become clear in the later chapter, hence the same Āgamic heritage allegedly existed in the South at that time. Therefore the technical mistakes committed here cannot be due to the lack of Āgamic tradition in the South. It is likely due to overemphasis laid on the linguistic refinement of the

original text. At any rate, this survey tangibly shows that the linguistic method has failed to offer a ground to prove which version was the archetype from which the other edition was originated, because we can argue on the basis of the positive result above that the Śvetāmbara recension made an improvement upon the other from the viewpoint of the technicalities involved with the canon.

Sec. 3. OMISSIONS AND COMMISSIONS

1. The aphorisms missing in the Digambara version

- II:19 *upayogaḥ sparśādiṣu*
 IV:49-51 *grahānām-ekam/ nakṣatrāṇām-ardham/ tārakānām caturbhūgaḥ*
 IV:53 *catur-bhūgaḥ śeṣānām*
 V:42-44 *anādir-ādimāṁś-ca/ rūpiṣv-ādimān/ yogopayogau jiveṣu*
 IX:38 *upaśānta-kṣīṇakaṣāyayoś-ca*

A remark is made by K.P. Mody that the MS K used by him for his edition of the *T.S.* has a marginal note saying that some regard sūtra II:19 as a part of the *Bhāṣya* but Siddhasena treats it as a sūtra. The Digambara version dropped it perhaps considering it to be a part of the *Bhāṣya*. IV:49-51 and 53 are of minor nature, the exclusion of which does not affect the context. The concept of pariṇāma expressed in V:42-44 is defective and its elimination is quite proper, the discussion of which has been already advanced by Sukhlal in his commentary on the *T.S.* The removal of IX:38 involves a different view held by the Southern author of the *T.S.*, which shall be touched upon in Ch. III, Sec. III, Pt.3. The Śvetāmbara text is thus substantially well preserved in the Digambara version, however this does not testify that the Śvetāmbara version is the original which met an improvement in the South, because a later recension can also degenerate the earlier one instead of improving it.

2. The aphorisms missing in the Śvetāmbara version

- (1) IV:(42) *laukāntikānām-aṣṭau sāgaropamāni sarveṣām*
 VI:(21) *samyaktvaṁ ca*
 (2) II:(48) *taijasam-api* [49Bh. *taijasam-api śarīram*
labdhi-pratyayaṁ bhavati]
 II:(52) *śeṣās-tri-vedāḥ* [51Bh. *pāriśeṣyāc-ca gamyante*
jarāyva-aṇḍa-potajās-trividhā bhavanti--
striyaḥ pumāṁso napuṁsakāniti]

VII : (4-8) [Bhāvanās are explained in the *Bhāṣya* on sūtra 3, although there is a slight disagreement between the two texts.]

VIII : (26) *ato'nyat-pāpam* [26Bh. *ato'nyat-pāpam*]

X: (7) *āviddha-kulāla-cakravād-vyapagata-lepālābuvad*
eraṇḍa-bijavad-agni-śikhāvac-ca [These are traceable in X:7 up-]

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kārikās 10-12 and 14 rather than in 6Bh of, which illustrations for the 2nd and 4th causes of the ascendance of a soul are somewhat confused.]

X:(8) *dharmāstikāyābhāvāt* [6Bh. and up. kārikā 22
dharmāstikāyābhāvāt]

(3) III : (12-32) [Description of Jambūdvīpa. The Digambara sūtra (24),

*'Bharataḥ śaḍviṃśati-pañca-yojana-śata-vistārah
śaḍ-caikona viṃśati-bhāgā yojanasya',* and (25),
*'tad-dviguṇa-dviguṇa-vistārā varṣadhara-varṣā
videhāntāḥ',* are found in III:11Bh., *'tatra pañca
yojana-śatāni śaḍviṃśāni śaṭ-caikona-viṃśati-bhāgā
bhārata-viṣkambhuḥ sa dvir-dvir-himavad-dhaimavatādīnām
ā videhebhyaḥ'. Sūtra (27), 'bharatairāvatayor
vṛddhi-hrāsau śaṭ-samayābhyām-utsarpīṇy-avasarpīṇibhyām',
is located in IV:15Bh., 'tā anuloma-pratīlomā
avasarpīṇy-utsarpīṇyau bharatairāvateṣv-anādy-anantaṃ
parivartante'ho-rātravat'.]*

(4) V:(29) *śaḍ-dravya-lakṣaṇam*

The aphorisms in the first group are of minor nature, the exclusion of which does not upset the major context of the work. The Digambara aphorisms in the second series are all found in the *Bhāṣya*, some in exact agreement in wording. Prior to the exposition of bhāvanās, VII:3 (3) reads, *'tat sthūryārthaṃ bhāvanāḥ pañca pañca.'* The word yathākramam accompanying the numerical subdivisions of the categorical items is the author's idiomatic expression, meaning "in the enumerated order as immediately explained as follows." VII:3(3) is not accompanied by the word yathākramam, therefore the further exposition of bhāvanās is not expected to be made. This attests that the Digambara sūtra VII:(3) is not the original, which is likewise with the case of the aforementioned sūtra III:(2) that does not further expound narakas enumerated therein (see Sec. II, 3.4).

As to the 3rd series, the Digambara sūtras III:(12-32), that is, twenty-one, aphorisms out of thirty-nine in Ch.III, are lacking in the Śvetāmbara text, among which three aphorisms, i.e., III:(24-5, 27) are found in the *Bhāṣya* on III:11 and IV:15, although their wording is not in exact agreement. The number of missing sūtras here is very large in proportion, thus in the Śvetāmbara text the description of Jambūdvīpa is strikingly short in comparison with that of the upperworld. These additional aphorisms include:(1) Description of Jambūdvīpa as to the mountains, lakes, rivers and size of the regions (12-26), (2) Mode of time in the different regions affected by the descending and ascending time cycle, and the lifetime of human beings

(27-31), and (3) width of Bharata calculated as 1/190 of that of Jambūdvīpa (32). The first group helps us to formulate a graphic idea of the geographical feature of Jambūdvīpa, which is described by way of outlining the regions and mountains in the other recension. The second and the third groups are of comparative importance, of which crucial sūtras are all found in the *Bhāṣya*. As a whole, these are of positive value as the MSS in the western tradition exhibit a mass pollution of this chapter by these Digambara aphorisms. The *Jambūdvīpa samāsa*, another prakaraṇa attributed to Umāsvāti, depicts the geography of six regions and six mountains in due order, excluding the central four regions of Kurus and Videhas which are treated in the 2nd āhnikā. Its sketch of Mt. Himavan includes the colour of the mountain which corresponds to III:(12), the name of the lake on top of it (cf.(14)), its size (cf. (15-16)), one yojana lotus in it (cf. (17)), the name of a goddess residing in it (cf. (19)), the names of a pair of rivers flowing from it (cf.(20)), and their directions (cf. (21-22)). The description of each varādhara-parvata refers to its colour, the names of the lake, goddess and rivers, and the directions of the rivers. The colour of Mt. Śikhari is said in the *T.S.* hemā, which is mentioned tapaniya in the *Jambūdvīpasamāsa*. III:(16) is also found in the 4th āhnikā, 'vāpi-kunḍāhiraḍā daśāvagāhāḥ'. Similarly, III:(26) and (32) can be traced in the same āhnikā, 'merūtārāsu viparyayaḥ' and 'rūpādi dvigunārāśiguno dvīpavyāso navati śata-vibhakti bharaṭādiṣu viṣkambhaḥ'.

The above examination reveals that the composition of the Digambara sūtras III : (12-32) was made by drawing materials from the *Bhāṣya* and the *Jambūdvīpa-samāsa*. Logically speaking, however, an argument in reverse case is also possible that the *Bhāṣya* as well as the *Jambūdvīpasamāsa* drew materials from the Digambara recension of the *T.S.* From the inquiry so far made into the contents of the missing sūtras in the Śvetāmbara edition in the series 1-3, there is a tangible evidence that the Śvetāmbara text is the archetype on the ground of idiomatic usage of the word yathākramam, but the case is too minor to justify the whole thesis. Generally speaking, the omission or commission of words and aphorisms cannot decisively determine the authenticity of one text from which the other is derived. Thus our attempt has not yet achieved its end.

The 4th series remains to be investigated. The Śvetāmbara recension lacks V:(29) 'sad-dravya-lakṣaṇam' which is present in the Digambara version immediately preceding the sūtra 'utpāda-vyaya-dhrauṇya-yuktaṁ sat (29(30))'. Now, in what context the problem of sat is posited? It is posited in the domain of pudgala, i.e., V:23-36, of which 25-28 and 32-36 pertain to the matter of aṇu-skandhas as follows:

Aṇu-skandhas	25-28	25	Aṇu-skandhas as the components of pudgala
		26-27	Origination of aṇu-skandhas
		28	Cause of the visibility of skandhas
	32-36		Process of atomic combination

Sec. 3. OMISSIONS AND COMMISSIONS

Sat-nityatva	29	Threefold nature of sat
	30	Nityatva
	31	Justification of 29-30
(Dravya	37-44	Guṇa-paryāya-pariṇāma, kāla)

The arrangement of these sūtras strikes us to wonder why V:29-31 are inserted in the strange context of aṇu-skandhas instead of properly placed in the context of dravya. This must be explained in order to solve the present problem, whether V:(29) is a later accretion or not.

The *Bhāṣya* on V:28 reads, '*dharmādini santiti katham gṛhyata iti/atrocyate/lakṣa-nataḥ*'. It does not say explicitly that dravya is sat in the sense of the *Sarvārthasiddhi* to V:(29), '*sat-sat-tad dravyamity-arthaḥ*' but implies it. The *Bhāṣya* proposes here that one can establish the existence of these dravyas form the nature of existence itself, which makes an introduction to the next sūtra. An inferential method as such in proving the existence of things is foreign to the thinking pattern of the Jaina canon, and its source must be sought in the non-Jaina literature available at the time of Umāsvāti. The *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* text of Candraṇanda, Chapter IV āhika 1 reads, '*sad-akāraṇavat tan-nityam* [1] *tasya kāryam liṅgam* [2] *kāranābhāvād-dhi kāryābhāvaḥ* [3] *anityam-iti ca viśeṣa-pratiśedha-bhāvaḥ* [4] *mahaty-aneka-dravyavattivāt-rūpāc-copalabdhiḥ* [6] *adravya-vattivāt paramāṇu-anupalabdhiḥ* [7] *saṅkhyāḥ paramāṇāni pṛthaktvaṃ samyoga-vibhāga-paratvāparatve karma ca rūpidravya samivāyāt cākṣuṣāni* [12] *arūpiṣv-acākṣuṣatvāt* [13]. Here the existence of a paramāṇu which is nitya and invisible is inferred from its kārya. Perception arises in the case of a mahat because it has many dravyas and it is possessed of a form. Things become perceptible to the eyes due to the inseparable relation of rūpi-dravya with various guṇas such as saṅkhyā. That which is sat and without cause is said to be nitya. Thus the problems of sat-nityatva, aṇu-skandha and cākṣuṣa-acākṣuṣa are herein posed, and it is exactly in this milieu of paramāṇu-mahat that our topic of satsāmānya is taken up. In another word, the quest for sat-nityatva of V:29-31 is made in relation to the origination and perceptibility of aṇu-skandha, that is, within the framework of 'puḍgala', but not in the context discussing the ontological nature of sat in relation to dravya itself. If the latter were the prime interest of the aphorist, the same question should have been posited in the context of dravya as so done in the *Piṇḍastikāya* 1:8-10, but it is not the case here. '*sad-dravya-lakṣaṇam*' does not therefore fit in the context here at work, thus it is justified to be the later interpolation. This Digambara aphorism is too important to be missed, and the supposition in the reverse case that it was the original sūtra unquoted by the Śvetāmbara recension is improbable. This testifies that the aphorism V:(29) does not belong to the original text of the T.S.

As to the four categories considered under "Omissions and Commissions" the Digambara text exhibits an improvement made on the Śvetāmbara recension by excluding the defective pariṇāma account of V:42-44 (group 1), by promoting the important

bhāvanā items of VII:3Bh. to the sūtra proper (group 2), and by supplementing sūtras III:(12-32) (group 3) and V:(29) (group 4), which are all of positive value. But the decisive clue that can corroborate the authenticity of the Śvetāmbara version was offered by the sūtra V:(29) alone, to which we may add the case of the author's idiomatic usage evinced in VII:3(3) in relation to VII:(4-8) as a minor but positive evidence.

Sec. 4. MATABHEDAS

Part 1 Matabhedas

The following eight cases and two polemical instances which are going to be discussed independently in pts. 2-3 are concerned with the major matabhedas, which include the doctrinal discordances maintained in the two traditions and the different views held in the two recensions of the *T.S* we shall begin with the eight cases of matabhedas found in the two texts.

- (1) I:34-35 Nayas are of five kinds, i. e., naigama, saṅgraha, vyavahāra, rjusūtra and śabde.

—The source supporting the view : *Āvaśyakaniryukti* 144

- (33) They are of seven kinds, adding samabhirūḍha and evaṃbhūta to the above five.

—*Amyogadvāra* 953, *Āvaśyakaniryukti* 754

Six nayas are also upheld by Siddhasena Divākara, but the majority of the authors in both traditions accept sevenfold nayas, Therefore the divergence as such which must have arisen at the different stages of development cannot be really speaking called a matabheda.

- (2) II:13-14 The sthāvaras are of three kinds, i. e., prthivī, ap, and vanaspati. Tejas and vāyu are the trasas.

— *Sthāna* 3. 3. 215, *Jivājivābhigama* 1. 22, etc.,
Uttarādhyayana 36. 60-73, etc.

- (13) The sthāvaras are of five kinds, i. e., prthivī through vanaspati.

— *sthāna* 5. 1. 488, *Praśamarati* 192

- (3) II:31 The jīva's anābhāra in transit path is up to three instants.

— *Bhagavati* 7. 1. 259, *Sūtrakṛtaniryukti* 147.

- (30) It is up to two instants.

— *Prajñāpanā* 1175 a (Dixit : *Jaina Ontology*, p. 87)

- (4) II:49 Āhāraka śarīra belongs to a caturdaśa pūrvadhara.

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(49) It belongs to a pramatta saṃyata.

— *Prajñāpanā* 21. 575.

This is again not a matabheda but an interpretational difference, because the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras believe that it belongs to a fourteen pūrvadhara alone, and at the time of using it, he is necessarily a pramatta saṃyata. Both sects believe that all the pramatta saṃyata do not possess ābhāraka śarīras.

(5) IV:2 Jyotiṣkas are of tejo leśyā, and Bhavanavāsis and Vyantaras of four leśyās, i. e., kṛṣṇa through tejas.

Sthāna 1.72.

(2) Four leśyās apply to three deva nikāyas, i. e., Bhavanavāsis, Vyantaras and Jyotiṣkas.

(6) IV:3, 20 Twelve kalpas.

— The Āgama unanimously maintains 12 kalpas, e. g.,

Prajñāpanā 5.243, *Uttarādhyayana* 36.211-12.

(3, 19) IV:(3) accepts 12 kalpas, but (19) enumerates 16 kalpas.

(7) V: 38 A certain ācārya says that time is also a substance.

(39) Time is also a substance.

The Āgamic tradition explains the metaphysical world by way of the five astikāyas or by way of six dravyas. Kāla is treated as an independent dravya by the latter view, e.g. *Uttarādhyayana* 28.7-8. In view of the former, kāla is either excluded totally from five astikāyas or included in them as the paryāya of jīva and ajīva. Therefore this case is not considered to be a doctrinal discordance.

(8) VIII : 26 Inclusion of saṃyaktva, hāsyā, rati, and puruṣaveda in puṇya karmas.

(25) Their exclusion from puṇya karmas.

Siddhasenagaṇi is critical about the inclusion of these four karmas in the puṇya group, but he quotes kārīkās which support both views.

Out of these eight cases, both views in three cases are supported by the Āgamic tradition, i.e., 2, 3, and 8, three cases are strictly speaking not matabhedas, i.e. 1, 4, and 7, the last two cases of nos. 5 and 6 are of minor importance in nature. Conspicuous matabhedas did not thus yet take the form of expression in the revised text, which suggests that the revision was made soon after the occurrence of the schism. After all, these divergent views maintained in the texts of the two traditions cannot offer us a solution to ascertain which of the two is the original text. We shall now try to examine the last two polemical cases one by one. These are: Pt.2) Rules of atomic combination, and Pt. 3) pariśahas.

Part 2 Rules of atomic combination

— V : 34 (35) 'guṇa-sāmye sadṛśānām'—

The theory of atomic combination is treated in V:32-36 (33-37) as follows :

- 32 (33) *snigdha-rūkṣatvād-bandhaḥ*
 33 (34) *na jaghanya-guṇānām*
 34 (35) *guṇa-sāmye sadṛśānām*
 35 (36) *dvy-adhikādi-guṇānām tu*
 36 *bandhe samādhikau pārīṇāmikau*
 (37) *bandhe adhikau pārīṇāmikau ca*

These aphorisms are the same in both recensions of the text with the exception of a slight difference in the case of sūtra 36(37). V:33-35(34-36) which lay down the rules of fusion by the degrees of atoms in both similar and dissimilar cases are commonly shared by the two traditions without any alteration in reading, but the concept of these aphorisms elucidated by the commentarial works in the two traditions displays a marked discordance, which is shown in the following table (quoted from *Pt. Sukhlalji's Commentary on Tattvārthasūtra*, p. 217) :

Degrees	Śv. commentaries		Dig. commentaries	
	similar	dissimilar	similar	dissimilar
1. M(inimum) + M.	No	No	No	No
2. M. + 1 degree	No	Yes	No	No
3. M. + 2 degrees	Yes	Yes	No	No
4. M. + 3 degrees, etc.	Yes	Yes	No	No
5. Non-M. + Non-M. of equal degrees	No	Yes	No	No
6. Non-M. + Non-M. of 1 degree	No	Yes	No	No
7. Non-M. + Non-M. of 2 degrees	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
8. Non-M. + Non-M. of 3 degrees, etc.	Yes	Yes	No	No

It is indeed strange that the same aphorisms can impart such a striking disagreement in effect. By examining the possibility and impossibility of combination in all these eight different instances against the rules of atomic combination stated in the sūtras 33-35 (34-36), it becomes patent at once that these sūtras are in accordance

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with the contents of the table in the Śvetāmbara tradition, but are in discordance with those in the Digambara tradition. The *Bhāṣya* to these sūtras does not explain more than what the aphorisms say, although it adds a few illustrations to facilitate understanding. And really speaking, the commentarial elucidation is not much required to these sūtras 33–35, because their meanings are quite lucid by themselves. Then, how could the Digambara commentaries have produced such a remarkably different result from the same sūtras? An investigation shall be made on this point below according to the exposition of the *Sarvārthasiddhi*, because the *Rā'avārtika* and *Ślokavārtika* do not say beyond what has been covered by Pūjyapāda.

Pūjyapāda defines the word *sadrśānām* in V:(35) as *tulya-jātiya*, which shows no discrepancy with the Śvetāmbara definition of this term. The purport of this sūtra (35) which bans combination between the similar atoms with the same degrees is illustrated as follows (s – snigdha or smooth, r – rūkṣa or rough) :

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------|
| (1) Dissimilar | 2s + 2r; 3s + 3r. |
| (2) Similar | 2s + 2s
2r + 2r |

Here the rule of prohibition is extended to the dissimilar cases also, which certainly contradicts the sūtra statement. Therefore a question is raised, 'yady-evam *sadrśa-grahanam kim-artham?*' to which a reply is made, 'guṇa-vaiśamye *sadrśānām-api bandha-pratipatty-artham sadrśa-grahanam kriyate*' which is obviously drawn from the *Bhāṣya* on V:34. An inquiry into the obscure position of 'sadrśānām' is not further pursued in the *Sarvārthasiddhi*. According to Pūjyapāda, atomic combination is thus prevented or proceeded in the following cases :

- | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-------|
| (1) Same degrees | (a) between the similar atoms | (No) |
| | (b) between the dissimilar atoms | (No) |
| (2) Different degrees | (a) between the similar atoms | (Yes) |
| | (b) between the dissimilar atoms | (Yes) |

The last case, i.e., (2) (b), is not herein discussed, but the probability of their combination is positive from the succeeding sūtra. As the commentator himself admits the word *sadrśānām* in the sūtra has no meaning in this context; nay, it is unwanted as it misleads what is desired to be conveyed of the Digambara theory of the coalition of atoms.

The sūtra (36) lays down a rule for permitting the combination between atoms with the difference of two degrees. The word *dvya-adhikādi* is said to mean here *dvya-adhikatā*. The purport of this sūtra in permitting combination is illustrated by Pūjyapāda as follows :

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| (1) Similar kinds | 2s + 4s; 3s + 5s; 4s + 6s ...
2r + 4r; likewise |
|-------------------|--|

(2) Dissimilar kinds 2s + 4r; likewise

According to the commentary on the sūtra (36), the atomic combination is thus allowed or banned in the following cases :

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|-------|
| (1) Difference by 2 degrees | (a) between the similar atoms | (Yes) |
| | (b) between the dissimilar atoms | (Yes) |
| (2) In all other degrees | (a) between the similar atoms | (No) |
| | (b) between the dissimilar atoms | (No) |

These rules imparted in the sūtra (36) invalidate the statement of the sūtra (35) which is utterly insignificant and unwanted. Pūjyapāda quotes a verse from the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* 5. 6. 36 in testifying the Digambara concept of the rules of atomic combination, 'niddhassa niddheṇa durādhieṇa lukkhassa lukkheṇa durādhieṇa | niddhassa lukkheṇa havadī bamhī jhaṇṇavajje visame same vā'. The formulae pronounced here include :

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| (1) Combination takes place when there is | |
| difference by two degrees | (a) between the similar atoms |
| | (b) between the dissimilar atoms |
| (2) This rule excludes the case of | |
| minimum degree | (a) between the similar atoms |
| | (b) between the dissimilar atoms |

These rules which lucidly explain the previous table of atomic combination conceived in the Digambara fold correspond to those enunciated in the sūtras (34) and (35), which indisputably proves that the sūtra (35) is undesirable. Since 'guṇa-sāmye' in V:(35) has no position in the Digambara concept of atomic combination, the word sama has to be dropped from V:36, thereby a slight difference in reading is ensued between V:36 and V: (37). Likewise 'sadrśānān' in V: (35) has no place in these rules, which clearly explains why the explanation of this word is so bewildering in the *Sarvārthasiddhi*. The defective nature of the sūtra (35) which does not convey but upsets the Digambara theory of atomic combination demonstrates that these concerned aphorisms in the text of the *Sarvārthasiddhi* are not the original.

It is difficult to have a clear-cut view of the Digambara theory of atomic combination from these aphorisms alone which are reproduced from the original text with a minor change. Neither Pūjyapāda's exposition elucidates it. The earliest source that tangibly exhibits its Digambara position is the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, of which authority Pūjyapāda admits. The revisor of the text obviously followed the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* without fully realizing the undesired nature of the aphorism V: (35), which is clearly reflected in Pūjyapāda's performance in the *Sarvārthasiddhi*. This tends to suggest that the revisor of the text was Pūjyapāda himself. The revision of the T.S. must have been made in the South not too long after the great schism. It means that many minor

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doctrinal differences could not have yet existed as so evinced in the previous discussion. This leads us to suspect that Pūjyapāda is here trying to establish this concept of the *Śaṅkhaṇḍāgama* as the Digambara position of the theory of atomic combination to strike a difference from their rivals' position.

Part 3 Pariśahas

— IX : 11 (11) 'ekādaśa jine' —

Sūtra IX:11(11) reads, 'ekādaśa jine' that to a jina occur eleven pariśahas due to vedanīya karmas, i. e., kṣut, pipāsā, śīta, uṣṇa, damśa-maśaka, caryā, śayyā, vadha, roga, trāṇa-sparśa and mala. It is not clear here if the word jine which is expressed in locative singular signifies a sayoga kevali alone or a sayoga kevali as well as an ayoga kevali. Its commentaries, i.e., the *Bhāṣya* and the *Sarvārthasiddhi* down to Śrutasaṅgāra's vṛtti, are all silent about it. The *Bhagavati* 8. 8. 342 mentions that these eleven pariśahas occur to both stages of kevalihood. However an ayoga kevali whose duration lasts only for a fraction of a muhūrta is absolutely devoid of yoga, therefore pariśahas as such have no opportunity to occur to him. Hence the word jine should be considered to be applicable to a sayoga kevali alone.

This aphorism IX:11(11) is commonly shared by the text of the two schools. The Śvetāmbaras are of the view that a sayoga kevali is subject to the effects of vedanīya karmas inasmuch as to the effects of the other three types of aghātikas, therefore what is stated in the above aphorism is in perfect harmony with their concept. As for the Digambaras, the content of the same sūtra is however not the same but reverse, or only acceptable with a proviso of 'upacāra.' The Digambaras argue that pariśahas such as hunger cannot arise to a jina because mohaniya karmas which are the concomitant causes (sahāya) for the rise of asātā-vedanā are absent in him even though these vedanīya karmas in the form of dravya are present. In another word, vedanīya karmas in the form of dravya exist in him, but those in the form of bhāva do not exist, thus no asātā-vedanā arises to him. The *Sarvārthasiddhi* proposes a limited clause of 'upacāra' upon which it concedes to accept the logical ground of this aphorism, 'nanu ca mohaniyodaya-sahāyābhāvāt-kṣud-ādi vedanābhāve pariśahavyapadeśa n i yukt iḥ? s i ty am- evam- etat-vedanābhāve' pi dravyakarma-sad-bhāvāpekṣayā pariśahopacārah kṛtyate, niravāśeṣa-nirasta-jñānavarane yugapatsukatapadārthābhāsikevalijñānātisāye cintā-nirodhābhāve' pi tat-phala-karma-nirharana-phalāpekṣayā dhyānopacāraḥ. The rest of the Digambara commentators follow and develop Pūjyapāda's explanation. This discordance of the view on the same sūtra is needless to say generated by the dogmatic divergence between the two sects as to admitting or otherwise of a kevali's kavalāhāra. And according to the Digambaras, this sūtra cannot be tolerated in the way as it stands. In fact the sūtra should be better read with the word of negation as the *Sarvārthasiddhi* comments, 'athavā—ekādaśa jine "na santi" iti vākya-śeṣaḥ kalpanīyaḥ; sopaskāratvāt-sūtrāṇam.'

Then how the proviso of 'upacāra' or a figurative viewpoint should be understood in this context? Pūjyapāda proposes a thesis that pariśahas are non-pariśahas to a jina because the meaning of pariśaha as hardship does not apply to him as there is no rise of bhāva-vedanīya-karmas (asātā-vedanā) in the absence of mohaniya karmas, but these are figuratively called pariśahas because dravya-vedanīya-karmas are present in him: just so sūkṣmakriyā and samucchinakriyā are non-dhyānas because the definition of dhyāna as cintā-nirodha does not apply to them, but these are figuratively called dhyānas because the effect of karma-nirharāṇa is present. Sūkṣmakriyā and samucchinakriyā are the last two divisions of śukla dhyāna which are so acknowledged by the two traditions. Therefore if these are admitted to be a part of dhyāna, one is compelled to accept, Pūjyapāda seems to urge, the Digambara position of pariśahas upon the basis of the same logic.

Now, it is quite doubtful that these two final divisions of śukla dhyāna are called dhyānas on the ground that they yield karmic destruction, for the Jaina dhyāna includes ārta and raudra dhyānas which cause inauspicious karmic inflow. The middle term herein is thus vitiated, hence Pūjyapāda's thesis does not work. Sūkṣmakriyā and samucchinakriyā are loosely called dhyānas possibly in the conventional sense in relation to mokṣa, because in most religious schools liberation is believed to be achieved by means of dhyāna or samāhi. In real sense, the definition of dhyāna does not apply to a sayoga kevali who performs sūkṣmakriyā dhyāna at his final stage with subtle kāya-yoga alone and to an ayoga kevali who is released from all the three-fold activities. At any rate, since the basis of upacāra is vitiated, the proposer's attempt of bringing in this dhyāna illustration to corroborate his view has failed.

The proposition says that bhāva-vedanīya-karmas are absent in a jina in the absence of mohaniya karmas. However mohaniya karmas and vedanīya karmas belong to the two separate divisions of karmas which independently yield different efficacies of their own and whose nature and functions cannot be mixed up, otherwise a chaos is invited pertaining to the distinction of the karmic divisions. So if the above thesis is allowed, the same logic must be extended to the other aghātikas, e. g., "Bhāva-gotra-karmas do not arise to a jina, because the concurrent mohaniya karmas are already exhausted in him." Then Pūjyapāda insists that bhāvavedanīya-karmas are absent in a jina, but dravya-vedanīya-karmas are present in him. This is absolutely illogical because the same karma is discussed from the two viewpoints of dravya and bhāva, therefore wherever there is one, there is the other together. Otherwise the same logic must be similarly applied to the other aghātikas, e. g., "Dravya-audārika-śarīra-nāna-karma is present in a jina, but its bhāva-karma is absent in him." These views are certainly irrational, but the dogmatical belief in tradition does not often go with the theoretical accuracy as it involves itself with the religious sentiments. The Digambaras could not tolerate to acknowledge the presence of bhāva-vedanīya-karmas in a

Sec. 4. MATABHEDAS

jina, but they could not deny the presence of dravya-vedanīya-karmas in him. For this reason, the revisor of the text seems to have conceded to accept the sūtra 11(11) without alteration, of which purport had to be however amended by the commentary in accordance with their dogmatic belief. Pūjyapāda tried to amend it by employing the dialectics of upacāra so that the positive sense of this aphorism would not be entirely spoilt at least, in which he failed. This testifies that the aphorism IX:11(11) did not originally belong to the Digambara tradition. And the fact that this Digambara aphorism cannot be comprehended without its commentary decisively demonstrates that the revisor of the text was Pūjyapāda himself.

CONCLUSION

The last two cases discussed in Sec. IV, Pts. 2-3, which involve doctrinal discordances in the two traditions, are crucial to determine the authenticity of either version of the T.S. It is impossible to tackle the problem from the scrutiny of the concerned aphorisms alone, and it is absolutely needed to mobilize the expositions of the commentarial works which have concealed the key for its solution. There may be still some other similar instances as such. However these two cases relevant to matabhedas along with the case of V:(29) discussed in Sec.III, 2.4) are enough to establish the evidences to testify that the text preserved in the Śvetāmbara camp is the archetype from which the Digambara recension is derived. In addition to them, we may count the case of the author's idiomatic usage of 'yathākramam' (Sec. III, 2.2)) and the case of his style of writing wherein a pronoun *sa* always opens a new aphorism (Sec. II, 4.2)) as the minor evidences in proving the same. Then the question raised in reference to the revision of the Chapter III, whether the Digambara text drew these materials from the *Bhāṣya* and the *Jambūdvīpasamāsa* or vice versa (see Sec.III, 2.3)), is automatically answered.

CHAPTER II

IS THE *BHĀṢYA* AN AUTOCOMMENTARY OR NOT

Sec. 1. MSS EVIDENCES

The original text is accompanied by the *Svopajñabhāṣya*. The word *Bhāṣya* in a broad sense applies collectively to all the depending portions attached to the text and in a narrow sense to the textual commentary alone. We are using the word *Bhāṣya* in both senses (inasmuch as the title *T.S.* is used in both senses, i. e., the text in two recensions and the *Sābhāṣya T.S.*), which should be distinguished in the given context. This term was foreign to the author himself, which became conventionalized in the course of time inasmuch as the word *sūtra* designated in the title. For the *Bhāṣya* clearly mentions that the title of the text is *Tattvārthādhigama-śāstra* (praśasti 5), which is sometimes called *Tattvārthādhigama* (praśasti 6) or *Tattvārtha saṅgraha* (puṣpikā to Chs. 4-5). The textual commentary refers to the text as *śāstra* (e. g., I:1Bh.) and *sūtra* (e. g., I:11Bh.) as well. Thus the term *sūtra* likely became customary after the *sūtra* text of the Digambaras won its popularity in the South. The *Bhāṣya* consists of the sambandhakārikā (s. kārikā), praśasti and textual commentary, which are annexed to the text at the beginning, end, and middle, respectively. S. kārikā or an introductory verse conveys what the text is and why it was written. Praśasti or a colophon informs us who the author is. *Bhāṣya* or a textual commentary is made for and arranged after each *sūtra*, and each chapter is appended by a *puṣpikā* indicating its end. The physical outlook of the work is thus well planned and even modern. The s. kārikā praśasti are composed in verse in āryā metre, the text in *sūtra* style, and its commentary in prose.

Do all these appendices belong to the same author of the text or not? This somewhat odd question, as the praśasti registers the author's name, must have arisen due to the reason that the Southern version is not accompanied by the *Bhāṣya*. Even when the Western version of the text has been proved to be the original, the same doubt does not seem to disappear so easily for various reasons, e. g., due to the unconventional format of the work accompanied by an introductory verse and a colophon which is new in the olden days, due to the mastery competence in Sanskrit

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displayed in the s. *kārikā* which is again the earliest specimen in the extant Jaina literature, and due to the yet unverified strange name and gotra of the author and his background recorded in the *praśasti*. The problems involved here are of two kinds :1) whether the *Bhāṣya* is an autocommentary or not ?, and 2) whether the *sabhāṣya T. S.* was composed by Umāsvāti or not ? These are the interrelated problems and the first question cannot be ultimately answered without solving the second problem. Nevertheless we shall proceed our quest according to the order of the arrangement of the *Bhāṣya* components, and the second problem pertaining to the verification of *praśasti* which establishes the authorship of *T. S.* shall be handled in the last section of this chapter.

Let us begin with the examination of the printed edition of the *Bhāṣya* against the testimony of the codices reported in Ch. I, Sec. I, with a view to finding whether any new evidence to solve the problem is derived therefrom or not. The printed edition of the *Sabhāṣya T. S.* consists of thirty-one s. *kārikās*, the text accompanied by its commentary, and six couplets of *praśasti* verses in due order. Is this construction of the *T. S.* invariable in the MSS corpus ? Diverse forms of this work in the codices have been already reported. The text accompanied by the *Bhāṣya* has escaped alteration, but that unaccompanied by it underwent monstrous transformations. Ms. no. 1 located at L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, is a copy of the s. *kārikā* alone. Does it then imply that it was originally an independent poem ? First of all, the intrinsic evidence that the s. *kārikā* is an introduction to the body of text which cannot stand alone as an independent poem vitiates the ground of this suspicion. Secondly and extrinsically, the archetype of this copy can be traced in the separate text upon which Devagupta commented, that is bound together with Siddhasena's *Bhāṣyānusārīnī*.¹ It is unknown why Devagupta commented on the s. *kārikā* alone, however his benediction evinces that his original intention was to compose '*tattvārthasya... śikā*',² which was obviously not fulfilled for some reason or the other. The *Bhāṣyānusārīnī* reproduces the entire work of the *Sabhāṣya T. S.* minus s. *kārikā*, of which brief commentary he made is no more than a supplement to Devagupta's exegetic exposition. It is therefore evident that Siddhasena attached Devagupta's commentary along with its text at the outset and used them as a part of the *Bhāṣyānusārīnī*. Hence the doubt raised regarding the Ms. no 1. has been removed.

The palm leaf MSS (nos. 8-9) at Saṅghavi Pāḍā, Pattan, copy only the latter half of the *praśasti*, i. e., verses 4-6, which records the author's name, title of the work and its purpose. The former half of the *praśasti*, i. e., verses 1-3, talks about the lineage of his teachers, his parents, the place of his birth, and the place where the *T. S.* was composed. Theoretically speaking these lines can be added or dropped at any time, by which the context of the rest of couplets are least disturbed. Does it suggest then that the verses 4-6 alone were authentic to which the rest were accrued

later by someone else ? We are here reminded of the independable nature of these palm leaf MSS which made a crazy revision over the third chapter of the Digambara text. These three couplets of praśasti are furthermore numbered as 33-35 in continuation of thirty-two upasamhāra kārīkās (up. kārīkās), and the enumeration as such is an obvious conflation, for both poems do not belong to the same category. For these reasons, it is difficult to assess much reliability to these MSS. What actually happened here seems to be that only the latter half of praśasti which is of more informative value than the former half was copied in order to adjust the space left on the last page.

Likewise some MSS extract the first nine s. kārīkās alone at random and attach them to the text. And some others copy the text along with the maṅgalācaraṇa which belongs to the *Sarvārthasiddhi*. As we have already described, various versions of the *T. S.* as such have been derived by the athetisation, amplification and conflation of the transmitted text. Then it does not change the authentic position of the printed text, which must be primarily based on Siddhasena's *Bhāṣyānusārīnī*, the oldest commentary on the *Sabdhāṣya T. S.* Siddhasena never raised a doubt about the common authorship of the text and its *Bhāṣya*. Therefore the statement that Umāsvāti was believed to be the author of the *Sabdhāṣya T. S.* is correct within the time-limit of the *Bhāṣyānusārīnī*, more than which we cannot draw any conclusion on this problem from the existing codices. Then, a testimony of the common authorship of the text and its *Bhāṣya* must be again made on the basis of the internal evidences alone, which shall be taken up in the following sections.

Sec. 2. SAMBANDHAKĀRIKĀ

Some scholars are of the view that the s. kārīkā, praśasti and puṣpikā must have been composed by Umāsvāti himself because these portions are left uncommented in the *Sabdhāṣya T. S.* and because a puṣpikā is appended at the end of each chapter referring to both text and its commentary. Their opinion may be true from the viewpoint of literary practice in tradition, however it cannot prove the point in question, because theoretically speaking, their interpolations in such a way can be made at any time.

To give a conclusion first, it is impossible to attest that they were composed by the same aphorist from these separate *Bhāṣya* portions alone. Our study in the previous chapter has revealed that for a decisive testification of the authenticity of either version of the text, it requires the commentaries on the text of both versions. In another word, in order to prove that Text A is the original from which Text A' is derived we need the existence of the *Svopajñābhāṣya*, i.e., B/A, and the *Sarvārthasiddhi*, i.e., B/A'. This is precisely so due to the unmistakable reason that A cannot be comprehended without B/A as both were derived from the same pen, and A' cannot be understood without B/A' as both were derived from the same pen on the basis of A and B/A.

We should at present forget about the theorization of this formula, because we are in the position to demonstrate that A and B/A were composed by the same hand. Therefore in order to testify that Text A and its Commentary B/A inclusive of all the portions were composed by the same hand, it would require the existence of Text A' and its Commentary B/A' inclusive of all the counterportions. Among the *Bhāṣya* components, the textual commentry alone satisfies this condition for its testimony. The ultimate proof of the common authorship in respect of the textual commentary is therefore expected to be arrived at, however it is expected to be difficult for us to testify the same in respect of the other *Bhāṣya* portion which lack their counterparts in the other tradition.

The common authorship of the praśasti can be established if the textual commentary were proved to have been written by the same aphorist and if the biographical accounts in the praśasti were verified to be authentic, because the fact that Umāsvāti or Umāsvāmi is the author of the T.S. as so unanimously admitted by the two schools is found in the praśasti alone in their earlier records. Only then, the same authorship of the s.kārikā can be accepted so long as there are enough positive evidence for it within itself and in relation to the text, textual commentary and praśasti. The puṣpikā as such which can be easily interpolated at any time by any person can never be proved of its authenticity after all, which must be taken for granted on the basis of the MSS evidence within its capacity and on the basis of the literary practice in tradition as so suggested by the other scholars. In this section, therefore, we shall concentrate ourselves to find the positive evidences for the joint authorship that the s.kārikā exhibits within itself and in relation to the text, textual commentary and praśasti.

The s.kārikā consists of two major portions, i.e., the former 2/3 relevant to the life of Lord Mahāvīra and the latter 1/3 relevant to the information of the work. The latter portion includes the following topics: (1) Salutation to Lord Mahāvīra (21) and an introduction of the nature of the text (22); 2) Difficulty of the task in composing the Compendium of the canon (23-26) and reasons for its achievement (27-30); and 3) Mokṣamārga as the theme of the work (31). Kāriks 21-22 and 31 alone are herein essential, which satisfy the primary requirements for a maṅgalācaraṇa consisting of the indication of the subject matter, purpose, relation and the dedicated. It is therefore suspected that these three verses were originally composed as the benedictory verses in the body of the text as the conventional practice goes, to which the middle portion of verses 23-30 were inserted, while augmenting the former 2/3 portion relevant to Lord Mahāvīra to the kāriā 21, and thus it turned out to shape up the present form. The former portion contains the following topics: 1) The Jainas' ideal way of life (1-3); 2) Classification of man (4-6); 3) Nature and cause of the tīrthakara (7-10); and 4) Life of Lord Mahāvīra (11-23). All the first three topics herein are the under-

plots leading to the theme of Lord Mahāvīra, for whose biography's sake 1/3 of the total kārikās is spared.

The essential three kārikās read, 'kṛtvā tri-karāṇa-śuddham tasmai parama-ṛṣaye namaskārm/ pūjyatamāya bhagavate virāya vilīnamohāya//21// tattvārthādhigamā'khyam bahv-artham saṅgraham laghu-grantham/ vakṣyāmi śiṣya-hitam-imam-arhad-vacanaikadeśa'ya//22// na ṛte ca mokṣamārgād-dhitopadeśo'sti jagati kṛtsne'smin/ tasmāt-param-imam-eveṇ mokṣamārgam pravakṣyāmi //31//. The first kārikā is a verse of salutation, while the rest convey us the first-hand information of the work as to its nature and theme. The nature of the work is said here to be bahv-artham saṅgraha of arhad-vacanaikadeśa, which echoes in the puṣpikā at the end of each chapter (excepting Ch. III), 'tattvārthādhigame'rhat-pravacana-saṅgraha' and in the similar expressions. The real task attempted and accomplished by the author of the *T. S.* is to summarize the contents of the canon within the scheme of seven tattvas, for which mokṣamārga is used as a guiding theme. Since the *Bhāṣya* portions are altogether dropped from the Digambara version, Pūjyapāda and the following commentators on the *T. S.* in the South, even though having duly emphasized the theme of mokṣamārga, paid least attention to the *T. S.* as such. Actually there was no need for them to emphasize this aspect, because since the beginning of their literary activities, the *T. S.* was received in the South in the capacity as such replacing the contents of the canonical texts redacted at the Third Valabhi Convention. At any event, the exact nature of the work attempted by the author is expressed in the s. kārikā and puṣpikā alone in the *Sabhāṣya T. S.* but in no other place.

The author of the s. kārikā utters a desperate outcry that the task he has begun is such a difficult kind (23-26), nevertheless he is somehow encouraging himself to get over with it in order to gain benefit for himself and for the other from the achievement of this work (27-30). This portion of kārikā expressing the author's private world is worthy, because this is an exceptional place in *Sabhāṣya T. S.* where his inner struggle in fulfilling the task is so vividly conveyed with a tone of unrestrained emotional flow that the readers can meet him person to person. Umāsvāti wrote the *T. S.* in the Gupta age when all the rest of the philosophical schools had come to possess their own standard texts. The Jainas could not have been left behind, and the *T. S.* was the need of hour. With this historical background, we can well understand the position of the author here who imposed this difficult task upon himself. This portion enables us to appreciate the motivation and purpose of author in composing the work, otherwise it is utterly an unnecessary part in the context, for it does not help to comprehend the nature and content of the work itself. As such, this portion would not have existed if the s. kārikā were written by someone other than the author himself. Neither the genuine nature of this expression can be imitated or composed by the others.

Sec. 2. SAMBANDHAKĀRIKĀ

Samyagdarśana which is the basic condition to be a Jaina is sung at the very outset. The Jaina way of life, the classification of man, and the nature as well as the cause of tirthakara (1-20) are stated in view of mokṣa, of which underlying tone is the logical assertion of the karma theory of Jainism which distinguishes it from the other religions in its ethical outlook. These topics, some of which are the modifications in the Āgama, are in fact too self-evident and too familiar accounts to be communicated to the Jainas themselves in this place of introduction. What the author seems to be aiming at here is to distinguish the Jaina position of these religious and theological issues from that of the other schools, the conscious attempt of which is persistently maintained throughout the composition of the text and its commentary. The *T.S.* was composed in the darkest age for the Jainas when they were migrating to the other parts of India from Mathurā. The kārīkākāra seems to be loudly appealing to the then Jaina communities for the common objective of transmitting the tradition of Mahāvira, the motivation of which is likewise reflected in the kārīkā 28 and praśasti 4-5. The historical circumstances as such perhaps made the author more particular about in declaring these Jaina positions at the outset to be demarcated from those of the others. The reference to these topics at the very beginning of an introductory section does not otherwise make much sense.

Praśasti verses 4-5 deliver the purpose of the composition of the work in two ways: 1) For the sake of upholding the teachings of Arhats handed down by the worthy preceptors through generations, and 2) Due to compassion for the beings upon having observed the world afflicted with pains and snagged by the thoughts of wrong Āgamas. The second message seems, rather than to be a stereotyped expression, to convey the then historical circumstances of the religious struggles in the Gupta age when the new religions such as Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism came into power in the florescence of the Hindu revival movement, which finally drove the Jainas away from Mathurā. The first message is obviously announced to the then Jaina communities, a similar aspiration of which is sung in the s.kārīkā 28, '*tasmāt-tat-prāmānyāt samāsato vyāsataś-ca jina-vacanam/ śreya īti nirvicāram grāhyaṃ dhūryaṃ ca vācyaṃ ca*'. Being the arthat-pravacana-saṅgraha, the *T.S.* is no other than the jina-vacana itself. In another word, the *T.S.* was composed for the sake of facilitating the transmission of the legacy of the Jaina canon, the fact of which has passed the test of time. At any rate, we can point out in the s.kārīkā and praśasti a coherent spirit for the ultimate aim in composing the work.

Thus all these kārīkās which are inessential or do not have much relevancy to the information of the work itself become meaningful and comprehensible in the historical context wherein the author was placed. It means that it would have been very difficult for a later interpolator if at all there were any to compose these portions unless he shared the same historical background. Pūjyapāla dropped from the *Sarvārthasiddhi* all these

inessential portions in the s.kārikā for these did not mean much in the context of his time, and replaced the s. kārikā by the mṅgalāśaraṇa which was directly derived from the kārikās 21 and 31. We have thus collected in this section sufficient data which may not establish themselves as decisive evidences, but are positive enough in accepting the joint authorship of the s.kārikā if the testimonies of the other *Bhāṣya* portions were produced.

Sec. 3. TEXTUAL COMMENTARY

Part 1 Treatment of citations

The problem, whether or not the textual commentary was composed by the same aphorist, is going to be handled in the first three parts of this section: Pt. 1) Treatment of citations, Pt. 2) Modes of elucidation, and Pt. 3) Polemical aphorisms and their expositions. Here again a decisive testimony comes from the independent inquiries into the controversial sūtras and their expositions made in Part 3, and the ample positive evidences alleged in the first two parts serve in the capacity of fortifying the same testimony.

The sūtra V:38, 'kālaś-ceṣy-ekē', suggests that there were two views on kāla in the canon in respect of its dravyatva. As is evinced in the quest for matabbedas, the Jaina canon preserves many conflicting views as to one and the same concept which have arisen in the long course of time. The aphorist is therefore necessarily constrained to represent a selected view on it according to his own judgment, or he may simply juxtapose the different views in tradition by reserving his personal justification. The sūtra V:38 is made in the sense of the latter. The *Bhāṣya* contains several similar cases as such which quotes the opinions of the others by way of indefinite pronouns such as 'keci' 'ekācārya', 'eka', and the like, as follows :

I:5 *nāma-sihāpanā-dravya-bhāvatat-tan-nyāsaḥ*

Bh. *keciḥ-apy-āhur-yad-dravyato dravyam bhavati tac-ca pudgala-dravyam-eveṇi pratyetyavyam*

I:6 *pramāṇa-nayair-adhigamaḥ*

Bh. *tatra pramāṇam dvi-vidham . . . catur-vidham-ity-ekē*

—Fourfold pramāṇas are enumerated in the *Anyogadvāra* 131, 'pamāṇe cau-vvihe paṇṇatte/ tam-jahā- nā na-ppamāṇe thavaṇa-ppamāṇe dāvva-ppamāṇe bhāva-ppamāṇe/, which are likewise recorded in the *Sihāna* 4.1.321. The *Bhagavati* 5 4 192 reads, 'pamāṇe cau-vvihe p-o tam-jahā-paccakkhe aṇumāṇe o amme āgame . . .' which reflects an influence made by the *Nyāyasūtra* 1.1.3.

I:31 *ekāḍini bhāṣiyāṇi yugapad-ekasminnā caturbhyah*

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Bh. *atha kevalajñānasya pūrvair-matijñānādibhiḥ kiṃ saha-bhāvo bhavati nety ucyate/ kecid-ācāryā vyācakṣate/nābhāvaḥ/ kiṃ tu tad-abhibhūtatvād-akṣ-
mait-karāṇi bhavantiindriyavat.../ kecid-apy-āhuḥ/ apāya-adravyatayā
matijñānam tat-pūrvakam śrutajñānam-avadhijñāna-manahparyāyajñāne
ca rūpi-dravya-viśaye tasmān-naitāni kevalinah santiti/*

II:43 *sarvasya*

Bh. *eke tv-ācāryā nayavādāpekṣam vyācakṣate/ kārmanam evaikam-anādi
sambandham/ tenaivaikena jīvyānādiḥ sambandho bhavati/ taijasam tu
labdhy-apekṣam bhavati/ sā ea taijasa-labdhir-na sarvasya, kasya-cid-
eva bhavati/*

— The *Bhagavati* 8.9.349-50 hold that both are anādibaddha.

A majority of these views quoted in the *Bhāṣya* does not speak in support of the positions of the text but goes against them. The commentator refers to these conflicting views without any critical attitude. An attitude as such primarily belongs to the saṅgrahakāra as so demonstrated in the sūtra V:38, wherein he attempts to give a fair representation of the then available views. The *Sarvārthasiddhi* ignores all these citations made in the *Bhāṣya*. Pūjyapāda stands in a commentator's position, who accepts the viewpoints established in the text. Once the established viewpoints are received, juxtaposition of the contrary cases loses its meaning for it least helps to clarify the purport of the text. Pūjyapāda likely dropped these citations as they are not competent in serving for his purpose. This lends probability to the joint authorship of the textual commentary.

Part 2. Modes of elucidation

(1) Exposition of the technical terms

I:13 explains matijñāna by way of its synonyms, 'matih smṛtiḥ sañjñā ciniābhini-bodha ity-anarthāntaram', which is an Āgamic method of exposition called ekārthikā-nuyoga.³ The same method of explaining words by way of their equivalents occurs consistently in the *Bhāṣya*, e.g., nisarga (I:3), avagraha, ihā, apāya and dhāraṇā (I:15), naya (I:35), vighraha (II:29), apara (IV:39), upagraha (V:17), himā (VII:8), krodha, māna, māyā and lobha (VIII:10), kṣamā (IX:6), and so on. Some of these synonymous terms may represent the canonical usage, for the equivalents of mati are traced in the *Nandi* 80 and *Āvaśyaka nirukti* 12. This is the major method of explaining words in the *Bhāṣya* which rarely adopts the nirukti method of derivation, and the case is reverse in the *Sarvārthasiddhi* wherein the latter method is predominant.

The different approaches of these two commentators in explaining words seem to have been derived from the different backgrounds of their ages where they belonged

rather than from their different personal styles. The Āgamic literature which does not yet know how to define a concept adopts the method of its exposition by way of synonymous terms, which is followed by the *Bhāṣya* as so done in the sūtra I:13, whereas the *Sarvārthasiddhi* knows how to define a concept, and the key words among those listed above are all clearly explained by Pūjyapāda. The *T. S.* employs various anuyoga methods in approaching problems, for instance, five jñānas in the first chapter are merely distinguished or classified one after the other by way of anuyogadvāras such as karaṇa, adhikaraṇa, kāla, svāmi, alpabahutva, kṣetra, tath-ājñāna-atathājñāna, etc. The *T.S.* also tries to define certain concepts and succeeded in it, e.g., samyagdarśana in I:2(2), sat in V:29(30), guṇa-dravya in V:37(38), and 40(41), āsrava in VI:1-2(1-2), and so on. However many of them were born in the cross current with the non-Jaina thoughts wherein the aphorist was compelled to define them in order to distinguish the Jaina positions from those of the others, but such method of defining terms was never adopted by the bhāṣyakāra in elucidating aphorisms.

The explanation of technical terms in the *Bhāṣya* is often insufficient, like those occurring in I:13(18), II:1(1), 8(9), 26(25), VI:1(1), 5-6(4-5), IX:9(9), etc. which are well explained by the *Sarvārthasiddhi*. On the other hand, the *Bhāṣya* sometimes gets into over detailed explication of the technical terms e.g., those in VIII:10, IX:6, and so on. Thus the exposition of terms in the *Bhāṣya* is as a whole unbalanced, which is duly improved in the *Sarvārthasiddhi*. These evidences well suggest the later position of the *Sarvārthasiddhi*.

(2) Exposition of the aphorisms

Whether the purport of an aphorism that he composed is correctly conveyed to the readers or not— this must be the vital concern of the aphorist. Therefore if he himself were to draft a commentary on his own sūtra, he would first of all impart its general import which is the vital message he wants to convey. For an ordinary commentator, it would not be necessarily the first step to take, but to start with exegesis or word by word explanation is more an effective method to achieve the clarification of the entire purport as it has been so done in tradition. The difference in the mode of elucidation as such is clearly displayed in the *Bhāṣya* and the *Sarvārthasiddhi*, of which illustration shall be given below:

I:1 *samyag-darśana-jñāna-cāritrāṇi mokṣa-mārgaḥ*

Bhāṣya:

General import of the sūtra (*samyag-darśanam samyag-jñānam samyag-cāritramity-eṣa tri-vidho mokṣa-mārgaḥ*)—their definition and subdivisions are to be given later (*taṃ purastāt-laṅghyato vidhāyataś-ca vistareṇopadekṣyāmaḥ śāstrānupūrvi-vinyāsārtham tūldeśa-mātram-īdam-ucyate*) three pathways together constitute mokṣamārga (*etāni*

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ca samastāni mokṣa-sādhanaṇi / ekatarābhāve'py - asādhanaṇity - atas - trayānām grahaṇam — their order is made according to the causal sequence (*eṣām ca pūrva-lābhe bhajaniyam-uttaram / uttara lābhe tu niyataḥ pūrva-lābhaḥ*) — the modifier *samyak* is explained (*tatra samyag iti praśamsārtho nīpātaḥ, samāñcater-vā bhāvah*) — explanation of the words *darśana* and *samyag-darśana* (*darśanam-iti/ dīṣer - avyabhicāriṇi sarvendriyānindriyārtha prāptiretat samyag-darśanam/ praśastaṁ darśanam samyag-darśanam/ saṅgatam vā darśanam samyag-darśanam*) — application should be likewise extended to the rest (*evam jñāna-cāritrayor-api*).

Sarvārthasiddhi :

Explanation of the word *samyak* (*samyag-iti/ avyutpannaḥ śabdo vyutpanno vā/ añcateḥ kvau samāñcatīti samyag-iti/ asyārthaḥ praśamsā*) — three pathways modified by the word *samyak* — their brief explanation, of which detailed definition and subdivisions are to be followed later (*eteṣām sva-rūpaṁ lakṣaṇato vidhānataś-ca purastād-vistareṇ nirdekṣyāmaḥ/ uddeśa-mātram tv-idam-ucyate*) — their etymological derivations — their arrangement made according to the causal sequence (*jñānasya samyag-vyapadeśa - hetuvāt/ cāritrāt-pūrvam jñānam prayuktaṁ, tat-pūrvakatvāc-cāritrasya*) — exposition of *mokṣa* and *mārga* — general purport of the sūtra (*ataḥ samyag tat-pūrvakatvāc-cāritrasya*) — exposition of *mokṣa* and *mārga* — general purport of the sūtra (*ataḥ samyag-darśanam samyag-jñānam samyak-cāritram-ity etat tritayam samudītam mokṣasya sākṣūn-mārgo veditavyaḥ*) — introduction to the next aphorism.

The example above is at random picked up from the first aphorism of the first chapter, but both the *Bhāṣya* and the *Sarvārthasiddhi* throughout maintain each unique pattern of the mode of exposition as such. The *bhāṣyakāra*'s exposition begins with the more important messages and ends with the less important ones in terms of the desired intention of the aphorist, while *Pūjyapāda*'s method of exposition takes almost a reverse step which is made in view of the audience. This again lends plausibility to the fact that the text and the *Bhāṣya* were composed by the same hand.

We shall now turn ourselves to the independent inquiries into the following polemical aphorisms and their expositions : (1) I : 23 (22), (2) V : 31 (32), and (3) IX : 27 (27).

Part 3 (1)

I:23 'yathokta-nimittah ṣaḍ-vikalpah 'śeṣānām'

I:(22) 'kṣayopaśama-nimittah ṣaḍ-vikalpah 'śeṣānām'

Aphorisms I:21-23 discuss two types of *avadhi jñāna* generated by two different causes, which read, 'dvi-vidho'vadhiḥ||21|| bhava-pratyayo nāraka-devānām ||22||

yathokta-nimittah śaḍ-vikalpah śeṣāṇām [23/]. 'yathokta-nimittah' mentioned in the sūtra 23 is impossible to be understood from these aphorisms alone. The *Bhāṣya* on the aphorisms 21 comments, '*bhāva-pratyayaḥ kṣayopāśama-nimittas-ca*', and the *Bhāṣya* on the aphorism 23 elucidates the point, '*yathokta-nimittah kṣayopāśama nimitta ity-arthaḥ*'. The said phrase, 'yathokta-nimittah', in the sūtra 23 indisputably refers to the *Bhāṣya* on the sūtra 21, which proves that Umāsvāti was composing this text portion along with its commentary. This bears witness to the fact that the concerned aphorisms and their *Bhāṣya* expositions were written by the same hand. The same sūtra is read in the text of Pūjyapāda, '*kṣayopāśama-nimittah śaḍ-vikalpah śeṣāṇām* (I: 22)', an improvement of which reading could not have been made without referring to the *Bhāṣya* on the sūtras 21 and 23.

Incidentally, it became unquestionable in this context that the author first drafted the text side by side taking down necessary commentarial notes, upon which the further details of exposition were made later.

V:31 (32) '*arpitānarpita-siddheḥ*'

It has been previously examined that the anomalous arrangement of V:29-31 relevant to sat-nityatva was derived in the context of the topics discussed in the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* 4.1. These sūtras read, '*utpāda-vyaya-dhruvya-yuktaṃ sat* (29), '*tad-bhāvavyayaṃ nityam* (30),' and '*arpitānarpita-siddheḥ* (31)'. The concept expressed in the aphorism 29 does not yet occur in the extant canonical corpus. Sūtra 30 is directly derived from the concept expressed in the sūtra 29.⁴ V:31 offers the ground of reasoning for the sūtras 29-30 that the existence which is eternal is at the same time characterized by the mutually contradictory characteristics. Arpita-anarpita, expressing a theory of relativity, are included in ten dravyānuyogas listed in the *Sthāna* 10 972,⁵ which are made in actual use, for instance, in the *Uttarādhyayana nirukti* 49, '*āeso puṇa du-viho appiya-vavahāra aṇṇṇṇo ceva/ ikk-ikkṇ puṇa ti-viho atṭṭāṇa pare tad-ubhae ya*' (three characteristics here denote kṣāyika, aupāśmika and kṣāyopāśmika).

Umāsvāti posited the problem of sat-nityatva in the context of pudgala wherein the matter substance is discussed from the standpoint of bhāva as to its nature (23-24), dravya as to its components (25-27), kṣetra as to its perceptibility (28), and bhāva as to the process of combination (32-36) and a similar method of approach is likewise observed in handling the rest of the topics, i. e., dravya-guṇa-paryāya and pariṇāma, as these can be treated from the standpoint of bhāva (37,40-44). [The topic of kāla expressed in the aphorisms 38-39 is absolutely misarranged in this context]

The *Nyāyasūtra* 4.1.10 takes up the topic of rebirth, and in this connection examined and refuted in 4.1.11-24 are the theories of the origination of things upheld by

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various schools. The *Nyāyasūtra* 4.1.25-40 then investigate various views on the nature of things, 'sarvaⁿ-anityaⁿ-utpatti-vināśa-dharmakatvāt (25)', 'sarva^m nitya^m pañca-bhūta-nityatvāt (29)', 'sarva^m prthag-bhāva-lakṣaṇa-prthaktvāt (34)', and 'sarva^m-abhāvob hāveṣy itaretarābhāva-siddheḥ (37),' which represent the positions of the Kṣāṇikavāda, Brahmnism, Sautrāntika-Vaiśvāśika and Śūnyavāda respectively. The first two schools herein assume the nature of things to be anitya or nitya on the basis of utpatti-vināśa-dharmakatva or pañca-bhūta-nityatva. The *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* 1.2.18 (text of Candrānanda) refers to the nature of sat that it has no specific mark of its own, 'sat-līṅgavtīśeṣād-viśeṣa-līṅgābhāvāc-caiko bhāvaḥ iti'.

The Āgamic authors posited problems from various points of inquiry. From the viewpoint of dravya, pudgala is ultimately conceived in terms of atoms, and from the viewpoint of bhāva it is understood in terms of its properties. The *Bhagavati* 14.4.511 discusses that an atom is everlasting from the standpoint of dravya, but everchanging from the aspect of bhāva, 'paramāṇu-poggale ṇaṁ bhaṁte: kim sāsae asāsae ? goyamā: siya sāsae siya asāsae, se keṇa-ttheṇaṁ bhaṁte: evaṁ vuccai siya sāsae siya asāsae ? goyamā: dāvva-tṭhayāe sāsae, vanna-pajjavehiṁ jāva phāsa-pajjavehiṁ asāsae, se teṇa-ttheṇaṁ jāva siya sāsae siya asāsae.' Neither the Kṣāṇikavāda's view of sarve-anityatva nor Brahmanvāda's view of sarva-nityatva expressed in the *Nyāyasūtra* above are acceptable to the Jainas. Umāsvāti thus caught hold of the causes of anityatva upheld by the Kṣāṇikavāda, i. e., utpatti-vināśa,⁶ and the Brahmanvāda's nityatva which can be expressed in terms of dhrauvya and proposed the Jaina view of sat from the standpoint of dravya-cum-bhāva that existence can be simultaneously qualified by these three mutually differing characteristics, which clearly distinguishes itself from the Vaiśeṣika assertion that the existence has no specific mark of its own. The idea of pariṇāma-nityatā is already implied in the *Uttarādhyayana* 28.6 wherein the definition of and the relation held among dravya-guṇa-paryāya are expressed, 'guṇāṇaṁ āsao dāvvaṁ, ega-dāvva-ssiyā guṇā / lakṣhaṇaṁ pajjavāṇaṁ tu, ubhao assiyā bhare.' And in this very context of the *Nyāyasūtra* discussion of the nature of things, Umāsvāti proposed the Jaina view of nityatva to be pariṇāma-nityatā in the sūtra 30, that is, the state of the existence in these three forms is everlasting. The concept of sat-nityatva was thus grasped and expressed by Umāsvāti primarily in the context of pudgala.

Then the aphorism 31 proposes arpita-anarpita theory to be the reasoning ground of the concepts expressed in the previous two aphorisms. The *Bhāṣya* says that threefold natures of sat and the twofold natures of nitya, the latter of which remains without explanation, are established by the viewpoints of arpitavyāvahārika and anarpitavyāvahārika. It then shows how these viewpoints are to be applied to four kinds of sat as follows:

Viewed from arpita-anarpita stand-
points in respect of three numbers,

<i>Kinds of sat</i>	<i>i.e., singular, dual and plural.</i>	<i>predication by sat and asat</i>
(1) dravya	dravya	is
(2) mārka	mārka	is
	amārka	is not
(3) utpanna	utpanna	is
	anutpanna	is not
(4) paryāya	sad-bhāva paryāya	is
	asad-bhāva paryāya	is not
	tad-ubhaya paryāya	avaktavya

What is expressed here is more obscure than cryptic. The *Bhāṣya* does not first of all explain the technical term arpita-anarpita, which are understood to be viśeṣa-aviśeṣa in the canon. Secondly, aphorism 31 is offering the theorization of the concept of three different natures of sat expressed in the sūtra 29 about which no exposition is made, instead the *Bhāṣya* strangely brings in an inferior list of the fourfold characteristics of sat about which alone the discussion is furthered. Thirdly, in discussing the matter, an application of arpita-anarpita viewpoints is considered in respect of each individual nature of sat in four forms, but not in respect of mutually differing threefold characteristics of sat which is the very point to be explained. Finally, an explanation of the theory of these two viewpoints is totally neglected regarding the nature of nityatva. The *Bhāṣya* is thus out of tune here in every respect.

The *Sarvārthasiddhi* defines the terms arpita-anarpita, then briefly and clearly elucidates the purport of the sūtra V: 31 (32) with an appropriate illustration. Modern scholars follow the *Sarvārthasiddhi* in explaining this sūtra, solely giving up the obscure exposition offered by the *Bhāṣya*. The later commentator like Siddhasenagaṇi says that the bhāṣyakāra is elucidating the aphorism by way of the nayavāda consisting of dravyāstika and paryāyāstika and by way of the syādvāda. This is farfetching, because this sūtra does not pertain to the theory of knowledge, and the first chapter wherein these ought to be dealt with does not refer to them at all. The concepts of these two principal divisions of nayavāda and saptabhaṅgī are not yet clearly grasped by the canonical authors nor by Umāsvāti, otherwise the exposition of nayas made in I:34-35Bh. should have been altogether different. As a matter of fact, until these aphorisms V: 29-31 were formulated, the concept of the anekāntavāda could not have been developed. These sūtras themselves provided the basis for the immediate arrival of the age of logic. Then, what does this sudden appearance of the list of fourfold natures of sat mean in relation to its threefold characteristics in question?

The *Sthāna* 4.2.372 reads, 'cattāri ekka pa. taṃ. davie-ekkae māu-ekkae pajjae-ekkae saṃgaha-ekkae, cattāri kaī p. taṃ. daviya-kaī māuya-kaī pajjava-kaī saṃ-

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gaha-kai, cattāri savvā p. tam. nāma savvae thavaṇa-savve āesa-savvae niravasesa-savvae. This is obviously made up with two different topics, which are assembled together under the heading of number, i.e., one, many and all, of which the first topic alone we are now concerned. Likewise the *Daśavaikālika niryukti* 8.7 reads, '*nāmam thavaṇaṁ davie māugapada samgahekkāe ceva/ pajjava bhāva ya taḥā sattete ekkagā bhaniyā*'. [Its *cūṇi* explains *mātrkapada* by *utpāda*, *dhruva* and *vigama* as the concept existed in the *Dṛṣṭivāda*, which is of course impossible] *Sangrahapada* here is replaced by *utpanna* in the *Bhāṣya*. From the way the *Bhāṣya* explains each content of *sat* by the three numbers of singular, dual and plural, it seems that the commentator deduced these fourfold kinds of *sat* directly from the *Sihāna* above by making the said alteration as to *sangrahapada*.

The canonical authors used to posit problems from various points of investigation such as *dravya*, *ksetra*, *kāla* and *bhāva*, and the canon exhibits the concept that *guṇa* is always found in *dravya* but *pariyāya* is found in both. However, these four items in the *Sihāna*, i.e., *dravya*, *mātrka*, *utpanna* and *pariyāya* which are said in the *Daśavaikālika niryukti* to be the contents of *sat*, constitute the closest concept to threefold natures of *sat* formulated by *Umāsvāti*, i.e., *utpāda*, *vyaya* and *dhrauvya*.

The commentator's performance as examined above is indeed a strange kind, bringing in the inferior Āgamic classification of *sat* and imparting the application of *arpita-anarpita* viewpoints to them instead of to the threefold natures of *sat* in question. Such performance is inconceivable unless we assume that the commentator is here attempting to justify that the concept of the *sūtras* 29-30 which were formulated by the author himself in the context of the non-Jaina views are the authoritative Jaina views in the light of the canonical code. He seems to be thus attesting that the Jaina concept of *sat* in threefold natures and its consequent theory of *pariṇāma-nityatā* are all found in the canon in the closest form of expression as such. The commentator here appears to have been much involved with this proof establishment as the aphorist, and seems to have neglected his primary duty of explaining the meaning of the technical terms and elucidating the purport of the *sūtra*. He is doubtlessly writing this commentary from the standpoint of the aphorist, but not from that of the commentator. The irrelevant nature of this commentary is otherwise difficult to be explained.

IX : 27 (27) '*... ekāgra-cintā-nirodho dhyānam*'

IX : 27-28, '*uttama-saṃhananasyaikāgra-cintā-nirodho dhyānam/ ā muhūrtāt,*' are made in one *sūtra* in the text of *Pūjyapāda*, '*uttama-saṃhananasyaikāgra-cintā-nirodho dhyānam ā antarmuhūrtāt* (27).' Herein *dhyāna* is defined as '*ekāgra-cintā-nirodhaḥ*,' which is explained to denote two different contents in the *Bhāṣya*, '*ekāgra-cintā-nirodhaś-ca*,' but is commented to denote one content by all the other commentarial works on the *T. S.* in both traditions. *Pūjyapāda* explains it, '*nānārthāvalambanena cintā parispaṇḍavati, tasyā anyāśeṣa-mukhyebhyo vyāvartya ekasminn-agre niyama ekāgra-cintā-nirodha ity-ucyate.*' As the examination of *Umāsvāti*'s treatment of

dhyāna made in Ch. III, Sec. III, pt. 3 evinces, it denotes two different contents, i. e., *ekāgra-cintā* and (kāya-)yoga-nirodha, of which the former defines dhyāna of those in chandmastha and the latter of kevalis. This is the concept of dhyāna maintained in the Āgamic tradition, of which position is also clearly reflected in the argument on this matter exhibited in the immediate post-Umāsvāti literature in the Śvetāmbara tradition. It is difficult to read the definition of dhyāna as of two different contents from the sūtra text proper, and the aphorist's commentary alone elucidates it as such, which corroborates the joint authorship of the sūtra and its commentary. In fact, the aphorism should have been expressed in dual ending, '*ekāgra-cintā-nirodhai*,'⁷ then the said obscurity would not have arisen.

Part 4 Siddhasena's criticism

That the textual commentary was made by the same aphorist has been thus decisively established on the strength of the independent quests made in part 3, to which we may add another proof alleged in the inquiry into the controversial sūtra V:28(28) and its commentary pertaining to the perceptibility of things which is conducted in Ch. III, Sec. III, Pt.2. The positive evidences for it attested in the first two parts fortify the same conclusion.

Siddhasenagani and the following commentators on the *Sabhāṣya T.S.* never suspected that it was composed by Umāsvāti. However Siddhasena raised bitter criticisms against the *Bhāṣya* in his *Bhāṣyānusāṅgi*, most of which were likewise reproduced by Haribhadrāsūri and his disciples in the *Laghvīṭikā*. As such, even though these controversial issues advanced by him do not have much to do with our problem under consideration, it would not be out of place here to take up this topic in order to clarify the nature of his condemnation. His criticisms are made against the *Bhāṣya* on the following aphorisms :⁸

- 1) II:17Bh. The twofold divisions of upakaraṇendriya mentioned by Umāsvāti are not supported by the Āgama.
- 2) III:3Bh. "The height of the bodies of nairayika in Ratnaprabhā is seven dhanus, three hastas and six aṅgulas, which is doubled for those in other bhūmis." This statement finds no mention in the canon.

—*Jivāvivābhigama* 3. 2. 86 endorses the description made in the *Bhāṣya*.

- 3) III:9Bh. "Between Nandanavana and Saumanasavana, the circumferential decrease of the space-units of Mt. Meru occurs at every 1/11 unit as it ascends." The decrease of pradeśa occurs even within the measure of one aṅgula, therefore the statement of "pradeśa paribāpi at every 1/11 unit" is out of sense. Also Umāsvāti does not mention its occurrence below and above these vanas.

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— Umāsvāti must have given here a mathematical formula of the *pradeśa parihāṇi* of Mt. Meru, therefore Siddhasena's criticism does not make much sense. The space between these two vanas alone was likely mentioned for the sake of an illustration, it is otherwise difficult to understand it.

- 4) III:15Bb. Umāsvāti counts altogether fifty-six antaradvīpas at Mt. Himavan and Mt. Sikhari, but some sources count ninety-six. However since fifty-six antaradvīpas are also mentioned in the *Jivājivābhigama*, etc. Siddhasena concedes a point that the source used by Umāsvāti might have been lost.

— *Prajñāpanā* 2.105 also counts fifty-six antaradvīpas.

- 5) IV:26, sūtra & Bh. The divisions of Lokāntika which are told as of eight by Umāsvāti are counted as nine in the canon.

— *Sthāna* 8.790 enumerates eight, but its 9.894 lists nine. The nature of difference here is interpretational, whether to count the central *Ṛstavimāna* or not.

- 6) VIII:12Bh. The name of the second samhanana is vajranārāca as so called in the *Karmaprakṛti*, but not ardhavajrasabhanārāca.

— *Sthāna* 6.572 calls it usabhanārāya, likewise *Samavāya* 242, *Jivājivābhigama* 1.38 and *Prajñāpanā* 23.615.

- 7) IX:6Bh. Caturdaśa and ekaviṃśati rātrikyā pratimās of ascetics are called in the canon under the name of dvitīyā saptarātrikī and tṛtīyā saptarātrikī.

— *Samavāya* 42 and *Daśāśrutaskandha* 7 use the terms paḍhamā sattarāṃḍiyā, doccā sattarāṃḍiyā and taccā sattarāṃḍiyā.

All these points raised by Siddhasena are of minor importance, which are better called complaints rather than criticisms. The 4th is not even a complaint, which can be dropped from the list. Two issues, i.e., 1 and 3, fail to find their sources in the canon of which the 3rd can be dropped off as it does not make much sense. The 2nd statement made by the *Bhāṣya* is alleged in the canon, and both pros and cons of the 5th issue are supported by the *Āgama*. The 6th finds another name in the canon which does not support both Umāsvāti and Siddhasena. Siddhasena's assertion of the 7th issue is endorsed in the canon. Pūjyapāda agrees with Umāsvāti as to 1, 2, and 5, but goes with the side of Siddhasena as to 6, while he describes 4 differently from the *Bhāṣya* and drops references altogether as to the 3rd and 7th issues. Thus Siddhasena's complaints as to 1 through 6 have no claim, and the 7th issue is too minor to be argued about. The controversial issues created by Siddhasenagaṇi are thus worth for nothing, least contributing to the positive improvement of the *Bhāṣya*.

Part 5 The *Bhāṣya* and the *Sarvārthasiddhi*

Before we proceed to the suspending problem of the verification of praśasti, it would not be idle to reflect upon the nature of improvement made by the *Sarvārthasiddhi* on the *Bhāṣya* even though this topic is again of an appending nature in the context of our assignment. The chronological priority of the *Bhāṣya* to the *Sarvārthasiddhi* is self-evident, and in front of Pūjyapāda was the *Bhāṣya* from which he drew most of his materials to write the *Sarvārthasiddhi* as evinced in the modes of elucidation of the two commentaries. Let us study below what kinds of improvements Pūjyapāda made upon the *Bhāṣya* with a view to appraising the position of the *Sarvārthasiddhi*.

The language of the *Bhāṣya* is archaic, which is changed in the *Sarvārthasiddhi* into the classical Sanskrit that we are familiar with. The *Sarvārthasiddhi* improved the method of explaining terms by giving their definitions or by conferring their precise meanings, which was done in the *Bhāṣya* by way of the Āgamic method of equation by synonyms. The unbalanced exposition of words in the *Bhāṣya*, often left without explanation (they are most likely considered to be self-evident) but sometimes overdetailed, is balanced up in the *Sarvārthasiddhi*. The untimely expositions made in the awkward places in the former find the proper places in the latter, for instance, Pūjyapāda explains five śarīras under II: (36) which Umāsvāti does in II:49Bh. Then the *Sarvārthasiddhi* adds sufficient grammatical expositions to achieve clarity of the meanings of words and passages, which are generally lacking in the *Bhāṣya*. The citations of the current views on the controversial issues and the recapitulating verses, etc., in the *Bhāṣya* which are not essential in elucidating the purport of the text are all curtailed in the *Sarvārthasiddhi*. Instead, the latter adds ample illustrative examples to facilitate understanding. The concept of pariṇāma which is defective in the original sūtras V: 42-44 and thereby dropped from the Digambara version is lucidly expounded under the sūtra V: (42), and likewise the confused exposition of V: 31 (32) is duly improved by Pūjyapāda. Pūjyapāda was able to make all these improvements, firstly because he had the *Bhāṣya* beside him upon which he could work over critically from the standpoint of a commentator, and secondly because he was a Sanskrit grammarian who was competent in expressing himself in the plain style of Sanskrit.

The factor of time gave him a greater advantage in elucidating the text more systematically from the advanced level of technicalities and dialectics. Having come after the *Saṅkhaṇḍāgam*, Pūjyapāda knew 14 guṇasthānas, 14 mārgaṇasthānas and 14 jīvasamāsas which Umāsvāti was not fully acquainted with. Aphorism I: (8) is systematically expounded from the technicality of these sthānās. Having come in the age of logic which was propelled by Siddhasena Divākara, Jinabhadra, Kundakunda, Samantabhadra, and so on, he could explain nayavāda (I: (6)) clearly with further penetration from the dicto-

Sec. 3. TEXTUAL COMMENTARY

tomous standpoint of dravyārthike and paryāyārthika. Kāla in V: (22) is elucidated from the mukhya-vyāvahārika viewpoints. A dichotomous anuyoga couplet of dravya-bhāva, which is taken into account in the T.S. in explaining indriya (II : 17-18(17-18)), adhikaraṇa (VI : 8 (7)) and samvara (IX : 1 (1)), is furthered in the *Sarvārthasiddhi* wherein its application is extended to manas (II (11), leśyā (II : (6); vāc (V : (19), etc. (Later work like the *Dravyasaṅgraha* applies it to all the tattvas.)

On the other hand, Pūjyapāda failed in clarifying the import of certain aphorisms as we have already discussed. In company with all the rest of commentators, he had difficulty in comprehending the sūtra V : 28 (28) pertaining to the perceptibility of things (see Ch. III, Sec. III, Pt.2) and IX : 27(27) pertaining to the definition of dhyāna. He overlooked the unwanted nature of the sūtra V : (35), thereby his exposition of the aphorisms V : (35-36) is ambiguous and confused. He likewise failed in clarifying the Digambara position of pariśahas occurring to a jina in IX : (11), and his exposition of the sūtras IX : (36-37) pertaining to dharma dhyātās and their guṇasthānas is puzzling. IV : (19) which enumerates sixteen kalpas is in conflict with IV : (3) which counts kalpopapannas as of twelve subdivisions. The *Sarvārthasiddhi* does not offer any logical explanation for this chaotic coordination of the number of kalpas involved with the Digambara position. Almost all of these blemishes were handed down as they are to the later commentators, who neither attempted to improve them.

Another distinct feature noted in the *Sarvārthasiddhi* is its open attitude in attacking the non-Jaina views and defending those of the Jinas, which was gradually getting to be the common atmosphere of the days. Umāsvāti refers to the non-Jaina systems by way of the generic term tantrāntariya, for instance, in I : 35 Bb (non-Jainas in general), III : 1Bh, (Buddhists), V : 22Bh. (Buddhists), etc., against whom no critical attitude is held. Pūjyapāda challenges them by naming the opponents or otherwise, for instance, pertaining to mokṣamārga in utthānikā, pertaining to pramāṇa in I : (10), pertaining to pratyakṣa in I : (12), and so on. He defends the Jaina position in respect of the material nature of karma in V : (19), in respect of the nature of saṅkṣāṇā as non-suicide in VII : (22), etc.

We have already pointed out a few instances which suggest or demonstrate that Pūjyapāda was the revisor of the text. Also the facts that the linguistic refinement of the original text is the main feature of the revision of the text and that the *Jainendravākyaṅgama* was composed prior to the *Sarvārthasiddhi*⁹ again lend support to the above testimony that the revisor of the text was the grammarian Pūjyapāda himself.¹⁰ As the revisor of the text, Pūjyapāda rather tried to preserve the original text as much possible as it is. However he composed the *Sarvārthasiddhi* primarily from the Digambara point of view. His sectarian viewpoints are noted in the exposition of aṅgabāhya (I : (20)), atomic combination (V : (34-36)), kevalī kavalāhāra (VI : (13)), pariśaha (IX : (11)), distinction of siddhas by liṅga (X : (9)), and so on.

The prime contribution of the *Sarvārthasiddhi* is that it revised and improved the *Bhāṣya* by way of clearly elucidating its general contents in the current language and concept of the time. Time demanded a proper revision of the *Bhāṣya*. And for the Jainas in the South who refused to acknowledge the authority of the canonical list made at the Third Valabhī Council, an improvement of the *Bhāṣya* was the call of time along with a revision of the original text. Pūjyapāda performed this task commendably well. And since he wrote a new commentary on the *T.S.*, the rest of the *Bhāṣya* portions, i. e., s.kārikā and praśasti, disappeared also. The revised version of the *T. S.* came to be circulated popularly along with the *Sarvārthasiddhi* in the South, thereby the latter prepared the ground for the arrival of the *Rājavārtika* and *Śloka-vārtika* which would not have been derived immediately from the *Bhāṣya*. The contribution made by Pūjyapāda should be evaluated highly in this historical context. Pūjyapāda's date is somehow fixed by the scholars in the beginning of the 6th century A. D.¹¹ And considering all the circumstances, it may be proper to assume at least half a century of a temporal distance between Umāsvāti and Pūjyapāda.

Sec. 4. VERIFICATION OF PRAŚASTI

—AUTHORSHIP OF THE *T. S.*—

The testification of the authorship of the *Sabbhāṣya T. S.* solely depends upon the verification of the praśasti document, which has not yet been performed successfully by the modern scholarship. The verification of the praśasti record not only enables us to testify the common authorship of the praśasti itself, but also that of the s.kārikā of which positive data for it have been sufficiently well produced in the foregoing section. This problem has to be therefore tackled by all means. The colophon¹² records his biography as follows :

1. Preceptor for initiation: Ghoṣanandikṣamaṇa (ekādeśāṅgavid)
 Grand-preceptor : Śivaśrī (vācakamukhya)
 Preceptor for education : Mūla (vācakācārya)
 Grand-preceptor : Muṇḍapādakṣamaṇa (mahāvācaka)
2. Father : Svāti of Kaubhīṣaṇa gotra
 Mother: Vatsī (Siddhasena comments that his mother's name was Umā and her gotra Vatsa)
 place of birth: Nyagrodhikā
3. Author: Umāsvāti
 Position: Uccairnāgara Vācaka
 Title of the work: *Tattvārthādhigamaśāstra*
 Place of its composition: Kusumapura

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None of other works ascribed to him even bears his name. Also the practice of attaching such a colophon with full information of the author to this extent, even though the date is excluded, was not conventionalized in the classical period. His name sounds peculiar and his gotra Kaubhīṣaṇa which finds no mention in the *Gotrapravaramaṇjari* appears equally strange. Thus there are enough reasons to suspect that this colophon might be a later interpolation.

Unfortunately much of what is told about himself in the praśasti has ever been sealed to us because its testifial sources, either literary or epigraphical, are inaccessible. Then we are not able to establish a full testimony to the said account. What we can do at the most under the circumstances is to try to prove the historicity of any items mentioned above if possible, by which the rest of whole account could be authentic. As it shall be duly clarified in the third chapter, Umāsvāti refers to or distinguishes the Jaina concepts from those of the non-Jainas expressed in the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra*, *Nyāyasūtra*, *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, *Yogasūtra* and *Abhidharmakośa*. All the works up to the *Yogasūtra* are known to have been composed before the date of Vasubandhu. Thus it is certain that Umāsvāti's date falls between Vasubandhu and Pūjyapāda, that is, approximately the 5th – 6th centuries A.D. Also from the scope of the source materials represented in the T. S. which shall be again dealt with in the following chapter there is no doubt that he belonged to the Āgamic tradition in the North. If therefore there are any early resources around this period onwards in the Śvetāmbara tradition which refer to Umāsvāti and/or which bear witness to any praśasti statement, e. g., the name of his teacher, parent, gotra, śākhā, work, etc., they are extremely valuable for us to tackle our present problem.

Fortunately we are in possession of such materials. The *Kalpasūtra* therāvalī records Uccairnāgara śākhā which is according to the praśasti the legitimate śākhā of our author, but it is silent about Umāsvāti as it lists the gurus' lineage up to Skandila, president of the Second Canonical Convention. The *Nandisūtra* therāvalī speaks of Svāti as a descendant of Hārīta gotra which is followed by many other paṭṭāvalīs, however this gotra is denied by his autobiography. The biographical record claimed by himself and the one offered by the *Nandisūtra* thus shows a conflict. This *Nandi* paṭṭāvalī is however the oldest source available to us in relation to our problem, of which important nature should not be overlooked. We ought to therefore carefully examine the relevant contents expressed in this text and explain the nature of this conflict with a view to establishing the historicity of the praśasti document.

Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushan dynasty have confirmed the general trustworthiness of the sthavirāvalī recorded in the *Kalpasūtra*, for nearly 1/3 of the gaṇas, kulas and śākhās mentioned in the latter are identified by the former, by which some of the readings in the *Kalpasūtra* were improved and the actual relation of a particular śākhā to the particular kula and gaṇa which is not coordinated in the *Kalpa* therāvalī became

patent.¹³ On behalf of this historical authenticity, we shall be allowed to use this *Kalpasūtra* as a criterion to measure the reliability of the other paṭṭāvalis which are as a rule distorted with a view to establishing the authority of a particular patriarchal order concerned.

Uccairnāgarī (variously spelled in the inscriptions of the mixed dialect of Prakrit and Sanskrit as Uccanagarī, Uccenāgarī, Ucenāgarī, Uccenakarī, etc.), which is a śākhā belonging to Brahmadāsika kula of Koṭika (Kotṭiya) gaṇa as so endorsed by the *Kalpasūtra*, enters at least ten times the stage of Mathurā inscriptions during the reigns of Kanishka and Huvishka, i.e., 2nd century A.D.¹⁴ It appears that Koṭika gaṇa was one of the most influential parties in those days, of which name is said by Bühler to have survived in the 14th century A.D.¹⁵ A few other kulas and śākhās in this gaṇa are listed in the inscriptions, and its Vidyādhari śākhā makes its appearance again in the Mathurā inscription of 432 A.D. The inscriptions were made by the lay Jains mostly in memory of the donation of images, which as a rule register the names of their preceptors in the above gaṇa, kula and śākhā in due order. Once it happens, however, that Brahmadāsika kula is mentioned together with Uccairnāgarī śākhā¹⁶ and twice Uccairnāgarī śākhā alone.¹⁷ All these belong to the period of king Huvishka. This may suggest that the larger divisions of gaṇa and kula were already on the way to be expressed by the smaller division of śākhā, which is exactly so found in the case of Uccairnāgarī śākhā recorded in our praśasti. Uccairnāgarī is the name of a śākhā, and Uccairnāgara a member of the śākhā, thus "Uccairnāgarā vācaka" signifies a reciter of Uccairnāgarī śākhā. Furthermore Uccairnagara is identified with a place name which is also known as Varaṇā, modern Bulandashahar (Baran or Bannu) in U.P.¹⁸

It is interesting to note in this connection that 1/4 of the names of these three units of gaṇa-kula-śākhā listed in the *Kalpasūtra* are derived from the place names of Northern India ranging from Bengal through Rājasthān as follows: Antarañjikā (Atranji-khera, on the Kālinadī), Bhadariyakā (Bhaddilapura, identified with Bhadia, Hazaribagh Dt.), Bhrahmadāsika* (Bambhalijja, Bambhadivā, island, unlocatable), Dāśikhabaṭikā (Bengal), Indrapuraka (Indore, Bulandashahar Dt.), Kākandikā (Kākandī, Kākan, Monghyr Dt.), Kamiyakā (Kampilapura ? a city on the bank of the Ganges), Kauśambikā (Kosam, Allahabad), Koṭivarṇiya (Dinajpur, Bengal), Madhyamikā* (Nāgarī, Rājasthān), Māsapūrikā (Māsapuri, the capital of Purivaṭṭa, not identifiable), Puṇḍravardhaniya (Mahāsthāna, Bogra Dt., Bengal), Śrāvastikā (Sravasti, U. P.), Tāmraliptikā (Tamaluk, Midnapore Dt., Bengal), Vāniya* (Vāniyagāma, a city near Veśālī), Vāraṇa* (Varaṇā, or Varuṇā, Bulandashahar, U. P.), Vātsaliya* (Vaccha).¹⁹ Those with an asterisk appear in the Mathurā inscriptions, which are likewise distributed over the same geographical area. It means that the Jains at Mathurā had come from all these places, attesting that Mathurā likely became the centre of the Jains by the 2nd century A. D. in the North.

Sec. 4. VERIFICATION OF PRĀṢASTI

According to the *Kalpasūtra*, Uccairnāgarī śākhā was founded by Ārya Śāntisenika, a disciple of Ārya Datta. Koṭika gaṇa to which Uccairnāgarī śākhā belongs was instituted by Sūsthiṭa and Supratibuddha. Umsvāti is not referred to in the *Kalpasūtra* therāvalī, a brief table of which pertaining to the later discussion is provided below (based on the *Kalpasūtra* in the *S.B.E.*, v.22) :

- ... 8. i Mahāgiri 1. Uttara } Founder of Uttarabalissaha gaṇa from which Candanāgarī śākhā derived.
2. Balissaha }
- ii Suhasti
9. 5. Śogupta of Harita gotra } Founder of Vāraṇa gaṇa from which Vajranāgarī śākhā derived.
7. Sūsthiṭa } Founder of Koṭika gaṇa from which Uccairnāgarī śākhā derived.
8. Supratibuddha }
10. Indradatta
11. Datta
12. Śāntisenika Founder of Uccairnāgarī śākhā
25. Kālaka
33. Śāṇḍilya ...

The following paṭṭavahs speak of our author (unless the source is specified, those indicated with pages refer to the *Paṭṭāvalisamuccaya*, v. 1, ed. by Darśanavijaya) :

- I. 1. i. *Nandisūtra* paṭṭāvalī 980 V. N. (453 A. D.) p. 12

... Mahāgiri – Suhatthi

Bahulassa sarivvaya (Balissaha: Kosia)

Sāi (Hāriya)

Sāmajja (Hāriya)

Sanḍilla ...

- ii. *Nandisūtra cūṇi*

(*Nandisūtra cūṇi* with *Haribhadra's vṛtti*, pub. by Kṣabhaddevaḥi Keśarimalaḥi Śvetāmbara Sansibā, pp. 6-7)

... Mahāgiri – Suhatthi

Sūsthiṭa-Suppadibadha

Mahāgiri
|
Balissaha (Kāsava)
|
Sāi (Hāriya)
|
Sāmajja (Hāriya)
|
Saṃdilla (Kosita) ...

iii. *Haribhadra's vṛtti on Nandisūtra* (ibid. pp. 14-15)

... Mahāgiri
|
Balissaha (Kauśika)
|
Svāti (Hārīta)
|
Śyāmācārya (Hārīta)
|
Śāṇḍilya (Kauśika) ...

iv. *Malayagiri's ũkā on Nandisūtra* (Rāya Dhanapati Siṃha Bahādurakā :
Āgama saṅgraha, v. 45)

... Mahāgiri
|
Balissaha (Kauśika)
|
Svāti (Hārīta)
|
Śyāmācārya (Hārīta)
|
Śāṇḍilya (Kauśika) ...

1. 2. *Dharmasāgaragaṇi : Tapāgaccha paṭṭāvali*. 1646 V. S. (1589 A. D.) p. 46

... Mahāgiri
|
(his disciple) Balissaha
|
(his disciple) Svāti, author of the texts such as *Tattvārtha*
|
(his disciple) Śyāmācārya, author of *Prajñāpanā* (d. 376 V. N.)
|
(his disciple) Śāṇḍilya ...

3. *Śrīguru paṭṭāvali* author and date unknown. p. 165

... Mahāgiri – Suhasti
|
{ Sushita – Supratibuddha of Koṭika gaccha
|
{ (etad-vārake) Paḷ'ssaha
|

Sec. 4. VERIFICATION OF PRAṢASTI

(his disciple) Svāti Vācaka of *Tattvārthasaṅgraha*

(his disciple) Kālakācārya of *Prajñāpanā* (d. 376 V. N.)

Indradīpa ...

II. 4. Dharmaghoṣasūri : *Duḥṣamākāla śramaṇa saṅgha stavḥ*. c. 1300 V. S.

p. 23 Prathamodaya yugapradhānas

... Mahāgiri

Suhasti

Ghaṇasundara

Śyāmācārya

Skandila

Revatimitra ...

p. 24 Dvītiyodaya yugapradhānas

... Revatimitra

Simhasūri

Hālila

Jinabhadra

Umāsvāti

Puṣpamitra ...

P. 24 also offers the account of Umāsvāti's life: grhāvāsa 20 years, vrataparyāya 15 years, yugapradhāna 75 years, total age 110 years, 2 months and 2 days.

Avacūri p. 17

... Revatimitra

Āryamuṅgu

Svāmi (Svāti)

Hārīna Śyāmārya

Śāṇḍilya ...

p. 18

. Hārila 54 (yugapradhāna)

(Here a verse is inserted, 'pamcasae panasie vikkamakālā
udda(jha)tti atthamīo haribhaddasūri sūro, bhaviānam
disae kallānam')

Jinabhadra 60

Umāsvāti 75

Puṣyatiṣya 60 ...

II. 5. Vinayavijayagaṇi : Śrīyugapradhāna. 1651 A. D. p. 140

Lokaprukāṣa sarga 34.

These repeat the accounts of prathamodaya and dvitrayodaya yugapradhānas as above.

III. 6. Ravivardhanagaṇi : Paṭṭāvalīśāroddhāra. 1682 A. D. p. 152

... Yākinisūro Haribhaddrasūri

Viraprabhasūri

Umāsvāti (yugapradhāna, 1190 V. N. or 663 A. D.)

Jinabhadragāṇi ...

7. Jinavijaya : Kharataragaccha paṭṭāvalī saṅgraha (pub. by Bābū
Purāṇacandra Vāhar)

p. 9

... Devaśūdhigāṇi kṣamāśramagaṇi (900 V. N. or 373 A. D.)

Govinda vācaka

Umāsvāti vācaka, author of *Pracēdmarāṇi*

Devinda vācaka

Jinabhadragāṇi kṣamāśramagaṇi (980 V. N. or 453 A. D.) ...

p. 26

... Govinda

Sambhūtidinna

Laubhityamuni

Pausyamukhya

Umāsvāti vācaka (bhāṣyādyesu vidhāyakam munivara)

Jinabhadrasūri ...

Sec. 4. VERIFICATION OF PRAŚASTI

The genealogical tables of these paṭṭāvalis pertaining to Umāsvāti disagree one another to a great extent, and we cannot rely upon any one of them immediately. These are classified into three groups above so that their internal relationship can be easily traced. The paṭṭāvalis in the Group I unanimously place Svāti before Śyāmācārya, those in the Group II after Jinabhadra, and those in the Group III before Jinabhadra. Svāti is thus spoken in close connection with Śyāmācārya and Jinabhadra. Group II offers the genealogies of prathamodaya and dvitīyodaya yugapradhānas. Herein the lineage of prathamodaya yugapradhānas follows the table of the Group I, which refers to Śyāmācārya but drops a mention of Svāti (Svāti is mentioned in its avacūri p. 17), and the lineage of dvitīyodaya yugapradhānas places Umāsvāti after Jinabhadra. Group II is evidently attempting to shift Umāsvāti's chronological position to the later period. In III. 6, Umāsvāti comes much later than Haribhadrāsūri of the 8th century A. D., of which impossible occasion seems to have happened due to the effect of the verse inserted before the turn of Jinabhadra in II.4, avacūri p. 18. It seems therefore that the last group was likely influenced by the table of the second group which was obviously derived from the first group. Then the materials in the first group alone deserve further investigation.

The paṭṭāvalis in the first group consists of (1) *Nandi* paṭṭāvali and its commentaries, and (2) two independent texts. A glance over these genealogies makes it patent that the *Nandisūtra* is the archetype of the rest of the works. Svāti who has no place in the *Kalpasūtra* finds a seat in the *Nandisūtra* onwards bearing Hārīta gotra. Two characteristic features are noticed in the mode of his entry in these archives, namely, his gotra and his relative position in the genealogy. We shall examine these points below against the record of the *Kalpa* therāvali.

(1) Gotra

The *Nandisūtra* and its commentaries ascribe Hārīta gotra to Svāti as well as to Śyāmācārya, while the other two paṭṭāvalis do not refer to it. Umāsvāti speaks of his gotra as Kaubhīṣaṇa. Śyāmācārya, if he is identified with Kālakācārya, is said in the *Kalpasūtra* as of Gotama gotra. The *Kalpa* therāvali assigns Hārīta gotra to Śrīgupta alone, who is the founder of the Vāraṇa gaṇa (said to be Cāraṇa in the *Kalpa-sūtra*, which has been corrected into Vāraṇa by Bühler on the inscriptional evidences.)

(2) Relative position

(a) Predecessors

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| (1) | { | Mahāgiri ——— Balissaha ——— [Svāti] all except I. 3 |
| | | Suhasti |
| (2) | { | Mahāgiri ——— Balissaha ——— [Svāti] I. 3 (<i>Śrīguru paṭṭāvali</i>) |
| | | |
| | | [etad vārake] |
| | | |
| | | Suhasti ——— Susthita-Supratibuddha |

Svāti is interpolated after Balissaha to the list of the *Kalpa* genealogy. The second table is essentially the same with the first one, excepting that it brings in Susthita — Supratibuddha of suhasti line against Balissaha as the rivals.

(b) Successors

The *Nandisūtra* is doubtlessly responsible for formulating the lineage of [Svāti]—Śyāma—Śāṇḍilya, to which the rest of the texts take recourse.

The tradition ascribes Mahāgiri and Suhasti to be the contemporaries of Samp-rati, which may be an open question. Even then, Svāti's position assigned herein as his grand-disciple is an improbable fact. Also his position as the predecessor of Śyāma, author of the *Prajñāpanā*, is incredible, for the content of the *T. S.* cannot be succeeded by that of the *Prajñāpanā*. Śāṇḍilya whom Jacobi identifies with Skandila can neither be acceptable as the grand-disciple of Vācaka, for the content of the *T. S.* stands later than the period of the Canonical Convention at Mathurā. His relative chronological position in relation to his predecessors and successors cannot be therefore acceptable as it is. Before we get into an inquiry why this could have happened so, we would like to examine the curious fact here first, i. e., why Svāti's first entry in the archive was made in this particular place in relation to Balissaha with the assignment of a foreign gotra, because to be the disciple of Balissaha is an obvious interpolation to the *Kalpa* genealogy, and to have Hārīta gotra comes into conflict the praśasti record. So we shall go back to the *Kalpasūtra* and review how the ācāryas involved in this scene are informed of themselves :

- (1) Balissaha (his gotra not mentioned)—the founder of Uttarabalissaha gaṇa, from which Candanāgarī śākhā derived.
- (2) Susthita and Supratibuddha (of Vyāghrāpatya gotra—the founder of koṭika gaṇa, from which Uccairnāgarī śākhā derived.
- (3) Śrigupta of Hārīta gotra—the founder of Vāraṇa gaṇa, from which Vajra-nāgarī śākhā derived.

It strikes us to find that the ācāryas coming in this scene are all related in one way or the other to the śākhā called Nāgarī, i. e., Candanāgarī, Vajranāgarī and Uccairnāgarī, to the last of which our author claims to belong. It appears that his entry in the *Nandisūtra*, after which the rest of the texts followed, was made in some connection with these three Nāgarī śākhās which are the only śākhās bearing the name Nāgarī in the *Kalpasūtra*. Then what is the probable reason that the *Nandi* allowed his entry in relation to Nāgarī śākhā? We shall speculate on this point with regard to his gotra and his relation to Balissaha.

(1) Gotra

The *Nandi cūṛṇī* and the other commentaries do not raise any doubt as to why the *Nandisūtra* assigned Hārīta gotra to Svāti. We shall propose a probable archival

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error occurred in the *Nandisūtra* in the following way. Uccairnagara is, as already mentioned, known also as Varanā, an ancient kingdom which is counted as one of the twenty-five and a half Aryan countries of the Jains. The *Nandi* author likely confused Uccairnagara with its another name Varanā as the place of śākhā where Svāti belonged. Svāti was then assigned to belong to Vārāṇa gaṇa which was founded by Śrigupta of Hārīta gotra. Thus by the second confusion of the place name and gaṇa, Vācaka's gotra came to be fatally recorded as Hārīta, which was likewise extended to Śyāmācārya. The confusion seems to have thus happened accidentally.

(2) Relation to Balissaha

The *Nandi* verses 25-26 read,

'elāvaccasa-gottam vaṃtāmi mahāgiriṃ suhatthiṃ ca/
tatto kosia-gottam bahulassa sariv-vayaṃ vaṃde//
hāriya-guttam sāṃ ca vaṃdimo hāriyaṃ ca sāmajjaṃ/
vande kosiya-gottam saṃtillam ajja-ñiyadharaṃ//'

(Bahula's twin brother is Balissaha)

It is patent from the *Kalpa therāvali* that Balissaha is the direct disciple of Mahāgiri, from the line of which Suhasti's line differs. The *Nandi* verses above do not clearly distinguish their relation, which however is elucidated by its cūṇi. And in this *Nandi cūṇi*, Svāti is plainly stated as the pupil of Balissaha, '*balissahassa aṃtevaṣi sāti hāriyassagotte*.' The cūṇi author least bothers about our problem, why Svāti's seat was all of a sudden allotted under Balissaha. But why did the *Nandisūtra* reckon Svāti after Balissaha?

In the previous genealogical table of the *Kalpasūtra* it is noted that all the three Nāgari śākhās are derived from the gaṇas established by the disciples of Mahāgiri and Suhasti alone. Also it has just been suggested that Umāsvāti's identity to be an Uccairnāgara was likely muddled with a Vajranāgara (whose śākhā branched off from vārāṇa gaṇa) in connection with the assignment of his foreign gotra. This tends to support a surmise that he was popularly identified with the Vācaka of Nāgari śākhā who might have been known to people as Nāgara Vācaka.²⁰ If his specific Nāgari śākhā were already confused with the other or forgotten, but if he were popularly identified with Nāgara Vācaka, it is most desirable for him to be placed in the spot wherein some way all these three Nāgari śākhās are conveniently found together in the established patriarchal lineage. And sure enough, such a spot is ready in the *Kalpa therāvali* in the circle of Mahāgiri-Suhasti whose disciples are responsible for branching off of all these Nāgari śākhās. Then this is the exact place where Nāgara Vācaka ought to be assigned — under one of the organizers of the three gaṇas who are each responsible for the origination of their own Nāgari śākhā. It appears that this is the picture how Svāti came to be allotted under one of the disciples of Mahāgiri-Suhasti. It is

not known why the *Nandī* author proposed Balissaha as the predecessor of Svāti instead of Śrīgupta or Susthita-Supratibuddha. It may be that the Nāgarī śākhā which branched off from Balissaha's gaṇa was more well known than the other two. It is neither known whether it was so done intentionally or accidentally.

The *Śrīguru paṭṭāvalī* enters Balissaha and Susthita-Supratibuddha as the rivals (vāraka: hostile, opposing). The addition of this abrupt information seems to have an intriguing attempt to assert that Svāti does not belong to Susthita-Supratibuddha line, namely, Uccairnāgarī śākhā, for this party is said to have stood hostile against Balissaha party of which Svāti is placed as a member. It may allude to a fact that there were some prestige struggles for the prerogative over our eminent Vācaka among the Nāgarī śākhās. This *paṭṭāvalī* is undated, but from the manner of its description it may stand close to the period of the *Tapāgaccha paṭṭāvalī* of Dharmasāgaragaṇi, i. e., 16th century A. D. This tradition could be an old one, but it cannot be so old, for it essentially follows the interpretation of the *Nandī* commentaries. It can certainly not be older than the *cūṛṇī* which comments upon the *Nandīsūtra*. Then the implication made in the *Śrīguru paṭṭāvalī* should not be counted seriously for the consideration of our problem.

It is sufficiently convincing that the *Nandī* author created a seat for Svāti in the genealogy of the *Kalpasūtra* wherein all the Nāgarī śākhās branched off from the disciples of Mahāgiri-Suhasti. Ārya Śāntisenika, the founder of Uccairnāgarī śākhā, was totally forgotten in the context because he stood outside this Mahāgiri-Suhasti circle. A doubt may arise as to how his gotra Hārīta could have escaped a criticism expected from Haribhadra and Malayagiri who are said to have commented upon the *T. S.* The author of the *Nandī vṛtti* was not likely the same Haribhadra who wrote a commentary on the *T. S.* after the *Bhāṣyānusārīṇī*. Malayagiri's commentary on the *T. S.* does not exist, and we are not sure if he composed it at all. Thus this doubt shall be dismissed.

Although much remains still in darkness, yet foregoing discussion sufficiently well explains that Svāti referred to in the *Nandīsūtra* is identical with Umāsvāti who belonged to one of the three Nāgarī śākhās recorded in the *Kalpasūtra*, and that the *Nandī* record of his gotra was likely derived by the confusion of the place names. The *Nandī* author seems to have attempted to justify his interpolation of Svāti after Balissaha by way of bringing in the line of Śyāma-Śāṇḍilya who belonged to much earlier date than Umāsvāti. The modes of such manipulation suggest that this interpolation was made in a considerably later time when the position of the *T. S.* came to be well recognized in the Jaina circle. The later authors of the *paṭṭāvalīs* in the Groups II and III faced difficulty in accepting Umāsvāti's chronological position created by the *Nandīsūtra* and attempted to adjust it by pushing him further down. This is enough to ascertain that the *Nandīsūtra*, although it is accompanied by the

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archival errors, is the oldest valid source to verify the autobiographical account of Umāsvāti. Then it suffices to prove that the praśasti is the authentic document written by the author himself.

Our task is not fully over yet. We have not yet raised a question — what is this Nāgarī śākhā? Mathurā inscriptions list all the three Nāgarī śākhās recorded in the *Kalpāsūtra*. The seat of Uccairnāgarī śākhā is Bulandashahar, U. P. Vajranāgarī (Pk. Vajjanāgarī) should be, according to Bühler's proposal, corrected into Vrijināgarī which is derived from Vrji country of Bihar.²¹ The location of Candanāgarī śākhā is not traceable. It is likely that a Nāgarī śākhā means the śākhā derived from a place name bearing the word 'nagara'²² inasmuch as the later Nāgara gaccha was derived from Vaḍanagara. The relation between the Nāgara caste of Brahmanical system and the Jaina Nāgara sect is denied by the scholars.²³

His gotra 'Kaubhīṣaṇa' is not listed in the *Gotrapravaramaṇīari*. Its possible forms of corruption are also difficult to be traceable therein. Bhiṣaṇa meaning terrifying, frightening and horrible, is the name of Śiva,²⁴ to which 'ku' is affixed. In all probability, Vācaka Svāti was a descendant of the Śaiva Brahmin.²⁵ His proficiency in Sanskrit and his interest in and knowledge of the non-Jaina thoughts which are all unusual for the Jains in the classical age also support a conjecture that he was likely a convert from the Brahmanical faith. Naming a child by giving the names of his parents was a common practice in ancient India. Umā-Svāti certainly sounds peculiar, and he seems to have been called Svāti after his father in the olden days as the earlier paṭṭāvalī report. Nyagrodhikā, the birth place of author, is difficult to identify, which might have probably been in U. P. not far away from Uccairnagara or Bulandashahar. Kusumapura must be identified with Pāṭaliputra, the ancient capital of the Nandas through the Guptas, where the First Jaina Canonical Conference was held. Umāsvāti seems to have preferred the classical name 'Kusuma' to 'Pāṭali' for the usage of the latter violates the metrics of the poem which is composed in Āryā metre.

We have thus somehow achieved in justifying and attesting the fact that the praśasti, which was believed by Siddhasenagani to have been written by the author himself, is the authentic record of Umāsvāti in the light of the *Nandīsūtra* paṭṭāvalī with the help of the *Kalpa* therāvalī. This clears up the pending problem of the authorship of the s.kārikā. We have thus duly demonstrated that the *Sabhāṣya T. S.* was composed by Umāsvāti himself.

CHAPTER III

A HISTORICAL EVALUATION OF THE T. S.

Sec. 1. SOURCE MATERIALS OF THE T. S. AND THEIR ORGANIZATION

A historical evaluation of the *T. S.* must be assessed on the basis of 1) Umāsvāti's performance in composing the *T. S.*, 2) Its capacity of influencing the post-Umāsvāti authors, and 3) Its position held in the literary history of the Jains. The first problem is taken up in Sec. I — Source materials of the *T. S.* and their organization. The second category of problem becomes self-evident while handling the relevant problems in in Sec.II–III, even though the exhaustive inquiries into this matter are not possible within the limited scope of this study — Sec.II — References to the *T. S.* in the Āgamic commentaries up to the 10th century A. D. : Sec.III — Some problems in the *T. S.* The third problem is handled in Sec. IV — Historical position of the *T. S.*

That the *T. S.* is a compendium of seven tattvas derived by way of epitomizing the canonical contents as so pronounced in the s.kārikā 22 has been already endorsed by Ātmārāma in his *Tattvārthasūtra jaināgamasamanvaya*, wherein he traced the Digambara recension of the *T. S.* sūtra by sūtra in the canonical body. The *T. S.* has stood the test of time as the standard work of Jaina philosophy, as it inclusively represents the essential Jaina doctrines peculiar to this system so far developed in the canon, which are lucidly discerned from those of the non-Jaina systems and which are presented in the concisely organized form. In view of this and with a view to evaluating his performance in composing the *T. S.*, an attempt is made in this section to examine the mechanism of the organization of its source materials, both Jaina and non-Jaina, used for the composition of each chapter of the *T. S.*, in order to clarify which concepts were in what way derived from the Āgama, which concepts were in what way distinguished from those of the other schools, which concepts were in what way improved or formulated by Umāsvāti, and how these were put together in the text. Some important concepts proposed by him are further discussed independently in Sec. III.

Introductory Sūtras I : 1-4

The beginning four aphorisms lay down the basic plan of the T. S., which read, 'samyag-darśana-jñāna-cāritrāṇi mokṣa-mārgaḥ| tattvārtha-śraddhānam samyag-darśanam| tan-nisargād-adhigamād vā| jivātivāsrava-bandha-saṃvara-nirjarā-mokṣās-tattvam.' That mokṣamārga consists of threefold pathways is propounded in the *Uttarādhyayana* 23.33 wherein Gautama replies to Kesi, 'aha bhava painnā u, mokkh-sabbhūya-sāhaṇā/ nāṇaṃ ca dāsaṇaṃ ceva, caritaṃ ceva nicchae.' Likewise the *Rṣibhāṣitam*, which is enumerated as one of the aṅgabāhya texts in the T.S. I:20Bh., refers to the same concept in its Ch. 24, 'tanhā'dhuvam asāsatam-inam saṃsāre savva-jivāṇaṃ saṃsati-karaṇam iti naccā nāṇa-dāsaṇa-caritāṇi sevissāmi, nāṇa-dāsaṇa-caritāṇi sevittā anādiyaṃ jāva kaniārom vūtiatittā siyam acala jāva thāṇaṃ abbhuvagata ciṭṭhiṣāmi.' That having faith in nine tattvas constitute the content of samyaktva is again known to the *Uttarādhyayana* 28. 15. The *Sthāna* 2.1.102 lists samyagdarśana in two divisions by nisargaja and abhigamaja.

As widely accepted, the *Uttarādhyayana* 28 entitled *Mokha-maggagā* provides the materials for Umāsvāti in outlining the composition of the T. S., of which contents are as follows : (1) *Introduction*: 1-3, jñāna-darśana-cāritra-tapas as constituting mokṣamārga; (2) *Jñāna*: 4. five jñānas— 5-6. dravya-guṇa-paryāya— 7-13. six dravyas and their functions; (3) *Darśana*: 14. nine tattvas—15. samyaktva or having faith in nine tattvas as a believer's qualification—16-27. ten types of devotees including nisargaruci and abhigama-ruci—28. right faith is attainable by praising tattvas, devotion to the knowers of tattvas, and avoidance of wrong tenets— 29-30. there is no jñāna and cāritra without darśana, there is no cāritra without jñāna. and without cāritra-guṇa there is no mokṣa— 31. eight aṅgas of samyagdr̥ṣṭi; (4) *Cāritra*: 32-33. fivefold cāritras such as sāmāyika; (5) *Tapas*: 34. tapas in two divisions accompanied by six subdivisions each; (6) *Conclusion*: 35-36. fruits of fourfold pathways to liberation.

Umāsvāti improved ninefold tattvas here into seventold tattvas because puṇya-pāpa can be logically absorbed in āsrava and bandha tattvas.¹ The popular sequence of nine tattvas is jiva-ajiva, puṇya-pāpa, āsrava-saṃvara-nirjarā, and bandha-mokṣa, as so found in the *Sthāna* 9.867, *Praśamarati* 189, *Pañcāstikāya* 116, *Mūlācāra* 5.6 and so on. The *Uttarādhyayana* 28.14 separates bandha tattva from mokṣa, i. e., jiva-ajiva, bandha, puṇya-pāpa, āsrava-saṃvara-nirjarā-mokṣa. The T. S. I:4 modifies them once again according to the causal sequence towards mokṣa, i. e., jiva-ajiva-āsrava-bandha-saṃvara-nirjarā-mokṣa. Fourfold paths to liberation in the *Uttarādhyayana* 28 are also replaced by the then known threefold pathways because tapas can be logically included in cāritra. This triplet was prevalent in the canonical literature in relation to various concepts such as ārādhana, of which order usually appears in the sequence of jñāna-darśana-cāritra, as so expressed in the *Uttarādhyayana* 23. 33. The *Uttarādhyayana* 28. 29-30 attach importance to their causal sequence towards

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mokṣa in the order of darśana-jñāna-cāritra, after which Umāsvāti followed, in addition, attributing the word samyak to them in the fashion of “four noble truths” as pointed out by many scholars.

Even though the T. S. thus utilized the materials of the *Uttarādhyaṇa* 28, the structure of these two prakaraṇas are fundamentally different. The *Uttarādhyaṇa* 28 is based on the doctrine of fourfold mokṣamārgas wherein tattvas constitute the content of darśanamārga, while the T. S. is based on the doctrine of tattvas for which mokṣamārga plays a role of the guiding theme.

An exposition of mokṣamārga by way of the doctrine of tattvas that by which the entire teachings in the Āgama can be known never occurred in the pre-Umāsvāti period. In fact it was possibly the first attempt in this direction made in the philosophical systems in India, after which appeared similar works such as *Daśapadārtha-śāstra* of Candramati and *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha* of Praśastapāda in the Vaiśeṣika system. Tattvas, either nine or seven, succinctly express the principles of Jainism based on the law of causality inasmuch as the twelve interdependent originations do for Buddhism. Tattvas constitute primarily the ontological principles expressing the process of a soul's contact with karmas up to their total removal from it, upon which the ethico-religious doctrines and practices of the Jinas have been developed. The doctrine of tattvas is thus the product of the late canonical period brought about in the context of the Karma theory. Umāsvāti caught hold of the *Uttarādhyaṇa* passage stating that having faith in nine tattvas constitutes the content of samyaktva, and planned to systematize the essential contents of the canon known to him within the framework of seven tattvas. Although the doctrine of seven tattvas alone expresses mokṣamārga, these belong fundamentally to the ontological category. Umāsvāti therefore made use of the doctrine of threefold mokṣamārga as the guiding theme of this prakaraṇa, which allowed him to express the ontological principles of āsrava up to mokṣa tattvas in terms of ethical context, and which allowed him to discuss about the theory of knowledge that was coming to be current in the later canonical stage.

Seven tattvas are thus distributed in the second through the tenth chapters in the T. S., wherein jñānamimāṃsā is dealt with in the first five chapters consisting of jñāna and jñeyas, and cāritramimāṃsā in the rest of chapters, then having faith in the entire work of which is assumed to be darśanācāra. Jñāna is treated in the first chapter, firstly because it does not fit in the category of tattvas, and secondly because it serves as an introduction to the rest of chapters as the means of tattvārthādhigama. Ch II is relevant to the theory of souls, Chs. III-IV fall in the fields of cosmography and mythology, Ch. V conducts a discussion of ontology, Chs. VI-IX pertain to the subject of ethics and disciplinary codes, and Ch. X deals with the theological topics of liberation and siddhahood. Thus virtually all the branches of knowledge developed

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in the Āgamic period are attempted to be organized in this scheme of seven tattvas guided by the theme of threefold pathways to liberation.

Chapter I

Umāsvāti discusses the following topics on the theory of knowledge : (1) 4. seven tattvas as prameya; (2) 5-6. three methods of knowledge, i. e., nikṣepa, pramāṇa and naya; and (3) their exposition: 7-8. the other anuyogadvāra — 9-33. pramāṇa — 34-35. naya.

All these methods of knowledge minus naming five knowledges as pramāṇa were in vogue in the later Āgamic texts, e. g., the *Nandī*, *Anuyogadvāra*, etc. The *Uttarādhyaṇa* 28.24 lists pramāṇa and naya as the methods of cognition of all the nature of dravya, and its 28.4-5 say that fivefold jñānas are the methods of cognizing dravya, guṇa and all paryāyas. Pramāṇa mentioned in the *Uttarādhyaṇa* 28.24 therefore must denote no other than these fivefold knowledges, even though it is not explicitly so identified. The T.S. made this point clear for the first time,² obviously to distinguish its Jaina position from that of the non-Jaina schools. Nikṣepa continues to be the primary method of anuyoga in the niryukti literature, and sat-saṅkhyā, etc., of anuyogadvāras are employed in the *Samtāparūvaṇasuttāni* 7 of the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*. Seven nayas are likewise treated in the *Anuyogadvāra* and *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, although Umāsvāti resorts to five nayas which is referred to in the *Āvaśyaka niryukti* 144.

Over 2/3 of this chapter is spared for the exposition of pramāṇa, and the topics dealt with in this connection are : five jñānas as pramāṇa (9-10)—its two major divisions, i. e., parokṣa and pratyakṣa (11-12)—exposition of each knowledge by way of its subdivision, cause, possessor, place of operation, etc. (13-30)—number of knowledge possible to occur to a soul simultaneously (31)—viparyaya jñāna (32-33). A majority of these materials is deduced from the classification of knowledge worked out in the *Sthāna* 2.1.103, and also from the *Nandī* and *Anuyogadvāra*. The definition of jñāna stated in the sūtra 33 finds no mention in the canon, which was probably formulated by Umāsvāti on the line of the *Yogasūtra* 1. 8, 'viparyayo mithyāiñānam-atad-rūpa-pratiṣṭham'. Umāsvāti takes the position of yugapadvāda of kevali's upayogas in I:31Bh. against the canonical position of kramavāda, of which discussion shall be made separately in Sec. III, Pt. I.

The *Nyāyasūtra* II.2.2 says that aitiḥya is included in śabda, and arthāpatti, sambhava and abhāva in anumāna. In counteracting, the T. S. I:12Bh. defends the Jaina position that anumāna, upamāna, āgama, arthāpatti, sambhava and abhāva are all included in mati and śruta, as these are caused by the sannikarṣa of indriyas with their arthas. The *Nyāyasūtra* I.1.4 defines pratyakṣa as indriya-sannikarṣotpanna, from which the Jaina position is discerned in the sūtras 18-19 by negating sannikarṣa between the eyes and their objects. I:35Bh. emphatically articulates that naya is an independent method of knowledge peculiar to the Jaina school alone.

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Chapter II-IV

Although Chs. III and IV pertain to Jaina cosmography and mythology which are distinctly called *Lokaprajñapti* and *Devagatipradarśana* in the respective puṣpikā, these chapters are better handled here together with Ch. II in view of their source materials and their common category coming under the jīva tattva. Ch. II conducts a theoretical discussion of Jaina concept of the jīva in general, i.e., its states in relation to karmas, its nature, classification, transmigration, birth and physical body. Its peculiar characteristics and its further divisions and sub-divisions in each form of existence as so embodied in saṃsāra are taken up in the succeeding two chapters. These three chapters are thus relevant to the saṃsāri jīvas, and the siddhas are treated in the final chapter.

The contents of these chapters are as follows : *Ch. II*. 1-9. states and nature of the soul — 10-25. its classification — 26-31. transit to next birth — 32-36. mode of birth — 37-52. śarīra, līṅga and anapavarty-āyus. *Ch. III Lower world* : 1-6. seven earths and narakas, their residents and lifetime; *Middle world* : 8. ring-shaped construction of continents and oceans — 9-11. Jambūdvīpa with Mt. Meru in the middle, its size, regions and boundary mountains — 12-16. human regions and classification of human beings — 17-18. lifetime of human beings and animals. *Ch. IV Upper world* : 1-53. hierarchy of devas, their abodes, leśyās, sexual behaviours and lifetime.

The materials contained in these three chapters are mostly provided in the *Jivāivābhigama*, which is a catalogue of the classification of jīvas based on two kinds up to ten kinds, of which investigation is made by way of various anuyogadvāras such as śarīra, kaśāya, leśyā, indriya, sañjñā, veda, dr̥ṣṭi, darśana, jñāna, yoga, upayoga, āhāra, upapāda, sthiti, gati, and so on. Its third chapter describes the three worlds in relation to the classification of jīvas by gatidvāra. Some other materials are supplemented to it from the *Prajñāpanā*, *Sthāna* and *Jambūdvīpaprājñapti*.

As to the contents of Ch. II, the number of physical sense organs and the object of senses (20-21) as well as three kinds of sex (40Bh.) are generally so acknowledged by the other philosophical systems likewise. Also the modes of birth and the types of uterus birth etc. (32, 34-36), the varieties of bodies (37) and the kinds of sex of the beings in various gatis (50-51Bh.) are to a certain extent commonly shared by the other schools, for these are derived from the same traditional stock, of which slightly different positions held by the Jainas are lucidly expressed in the relevant aphorisms.

The other concepts discussed in this chapter are peculiar to the Jainas. The idea of the beginning seven sūtras which classify the soul in terms of the technicalities of karma doctrine is new.³ These five states of a soul were undeniably the then prevalent categorical items, which occur in 1:8Bh. as the divisions of bhāva anuyogadvāra. The *Sthāna* 6.649 and *Anuyogadvāra* 127 enumerate six types of bhāva including sānnipātika,

which is excluded from the T. S. possibly because it fails to be an essential part. (The *Praśūnaratī* 196-97 count the sixth.) Their subtypes were obviously born by way of systematizing those enumerated in the *Anuyogadvāra* 127, and particularly noteworthy here is Umāsvāti's performance in determining the subtypes of pāriṇāmika bhāva. The construction of the T. S. is based on the doctrine of tattvas. Umāsvāti therefore seems to have caught hold of the then popular concept of bhāva anuyogadāra, and began his exposition of seven tattvas with the Jaina concept of the soul in terms of karma doctrine. The subtypes of the soul's fivefold states became standardized in the later karma works. The presence of karma, yoga and the activity of āhāra involving the soul's transmigratory passage are again stated in view of the karma theory. Likewise anapavartyāyus expressed in the last aphorism is a technical term in the karma doctrine. It should not be lost sight of that the canonical classification of the five sensed-beings by jalacara, etc., found in the *Prajñāpanā* 1 and in the other canonical texts met a reclassification by Umāsvāti in II:34Bh. in accordance with their modes of birth such as jarāyuja, possibly under the sway of the non-Jaina classification. He quotes the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.2.93 for explaining the term indriya in II:15Bh., and Vyāsa's commentary on the *Yogasūtra* III:22 in II:52Bh.⁴

The description of the worlds made in Chs.III-IV is no more than a skillful reproduction of the Āgamic cosmography. It had been developed in the traditional Indian soil, and many of its aspects are commonly shared by the other schools likewise. Therefore in describing the loka, Umāsvāti is conscious in discriminating the Jaina position from that of the others, for instance, he notes in III:1Bh., '*api ca tantrāntariyā asaṅkhyeyeṣu loka-dhātusv-asaṅkhyeyāḥ pṛthivī-prastūrā ity-adhyavasitāḥ/tat-pratiṣeddhārtham ca sapta-grahaṇam-iti*', which must refer, as Siddhasena points out, to the Buddhist view expressed in the *Abhidharmakośa* 3.3.Bh. Haribhadrāsūri refers to a purāṇic view also, '*... tantrāntariyāḥ śākyādayaḥ asaṅkhyeyeṣu loka-dhātusv... , aneka brahmāṇḍopalakṣaṇam-etad, tat-pratiṣeddhārtham...*'. The standard of measurement and time is mentioned in the *Abhidharmakośa*, and the T.S. IV:15Bh. also refers to the Jaina standard of time.

The *Abhidharmakośa* Ch III entitled *Lokanirdeśa* carries the similar topics discussed in the T. S. Chs.III-IV as pointed out by many scholars, of which contents are as follows : 1-7. three dhātus, i. e., kāmā, rūpā and ārūpya, situated one above the other, and five gatis therein (i. e., nāraka, preta, tiryāṇca, manuṣya and deva) — 8-18. modes of birth (i. e., andaja, jarāyuja, saṃsvedaja and upapādjaka), the antarābhava and the birth of sattvas in five gatis — 19-44. bhavacakra explained in terms of twelve pratīyasamutpāda — *Middle world* 45-52. vāyu-jala-kañcana-maṇḍalas—Mt. Meru, its surroundings, formation and size, four concentric continents and oceans — 53-57. Jambūdvīpa, its size, shape, regions and rivers — *Lower world* : 58-59. nāraka by its divisions — *Upper world*: 60-77. heavenly bodies, their sizes, time divisions created by,

the motion of the Sun, divisions of the upper world, residents, their sexual behaviours and sizes of bodies — 78-84. lifetime of saṃsaris — 85-102. standard of measurement and time, etc.

The outline and contents here must have been carefully studied by Umāsvāti in order to clearly explain the Jaina position of cosmography and mythology. The Buddhist treatment of indriya expressed in the *Abhidharmakośa* Chs. I-II differs greatly from that of the Jainas, which is likewise elucidated in the T.S. Ch. II mainly drawing materials from the *Prajñāpanā* 2.

Chapter V

The 5th chapter pertaining to the Jaina ontology consists of two parts, i. e., (1) 1-16. five astikāyas; and (2) 17-44. six dravyas. The canonical tradition explains the metaphysical world by way of these two different principles, which Umāsvāti also adopted. The first portion relevant to the nature of five astikāyas is no more than a reproduction of the Āgamic materials, for instance the *Bhagavati* 2.10. The second part explains the function of six dravyas (17-22), the nature of pudgala (23-36), and the nature of dravya (37-44). These topics are offered in the *Uttarādhyayana* 28.7 in respect of the lakṣaṇa of six dravyas, the *Uttarādhyayana* 36 in respect of pudgala and dravya, the *Prajñāpanā* 13.418 in respect of the theory of atomic combination.

Sūtras V:17-22 examine the upakāra of six dravyas, e.g., 'gati-sṭhity-upagrahau dharmādharmayor-upakārah (17)', which is made after the canonical works, e. g., the *Sthāna* 5.3.530, *Uttarādhyayana* 28.9. etc. Upakāra is explained in V:17Bh. to be the equivalent of prayojana, guṇa and artha; and upagraha to be the synonym of nimitta, apeksā, karaṇa and hetu. The mode of exposition made in the T. S. is inferential, inferring the existence of an imperceptible substance from its perceptible attribute. An inferential thinking pattern as such which is foreign to the Āgama was doubtlessly introduced from the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*, wherein the 2nd and 3rd chapters attempt to establish the existence of dravyas from their guṇas, for instance, 'niṣkramaṇaṃ praveśanam ity-ākāśasya līṅgaṃ (2. 1. 20),' 'aparasmīn param yugapad-ayugapad-ciraṃ kṣipram-iti kāla-līṅgaṇi (2. 2. 6),' 'prāṇāpāna-nimeṣonmeṣa-jīvana-mano-gatīndriyāntaravikārāḥ sukha-duḥkhecchā-dveṣau prayatnās-cātmāno līṅgaṇi (3. 2. 4),' and so on. The Vaiśeṣika definition of kāla obviously gave some influence for the formulation of the aphorism V:22.⁵

The *Bhāṣya* on V:22 explains paratva-aparatva as of three kinds, i. e., praśamsā-kṛta, kṣātra-kṛta and kāla-kṛta, the first two of which are irrelevant to kāla as the bhāṣyakāra admits. The latter two occur in the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* 7.2.25, which were both reproduced by Umāsvāti along with an additional illogical pair of anuyoga items, i. e., praśasta-apraśasta. Another strange notion which strikes us in this context of ontology is the nature of jīva stated as of mutual assistance (V:21) (which is used as a catchphrase by the present day Jainas). It is looked at from the common sense

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moralistic viewpoint that finds no mention in the canonical texts, which must have been formulated by the author himself. The *Prasamarati* replaces it by the Āgamic concept of samyaktv-jñāna-cāritra-vīrya-śikṣā.

The Buddhist usage of the term pudgala differs from that of the Jainas. It has been already discussed that the treatment of pudgala was born in the context of the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* Ch. 4 and that the concept of sat in threefold characteristics was also derived in the milieu of the *Nyāyasūtra* 4. 1. 11-40. The Jainas do not sanction four or five mahābhūtas as the constituents of the matter, but believe śabda, etc., to be its modifications. In the sūtras 23-24, this point is carefully discriminated from the concepts held by the other systems. The *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* refers to the nature of aṇu to be sat-akāraṇavat-nitya (4. 1. 1), adravyavat-anupalabdhī (4. 1. 7) and parimaṇḍala (7. 1. 26). The T. S. V:25Bh. quotes a passage in this regard, 'kāraṇam-eva tad-antyaṃ sūkṣmo nityaś-ca bhavati paramāṇuḥ / eka-rasa-gandha-varṇo dvī-sparśaḥ kārya-līṅgaś-ca.' This citation fails to find its source at present, however it sufficiently well distinguishes the Jaina concept of aṇu from that of the other schools. The law of perceptibility of things which shall be separately dealt with in Sec.III, Pt.2 was formulated by Umāsvāti to clarify its Jaina position. The theory of atomic combination is taken up in V:32-36, which are disturbed in the middle by the aphorisms on satsāmānya. The nature of dravya is treated at the end in relation to guṇa, paryāya and pariṇāma. Kāla is reclaimed as a dravya in this context, which is certainly out of tune having lost its proper place, which should have been introduced right after the exposition of five astikāyas. Dravya and guṇa are defined in the sūtras 37 and 40, of which concepts were derived by way of improving the same in the *Uttarādhyayana* 28.6 with the help of the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* 1.1.15-16.⁶

Umāsvāti introduced and innovated some important concepts in this chapter by facing the relevant non-Jaina concepts, but having been likely carried away by the topics in which he was engrossed, the general arrangement of these topics here is undeniably disorganized.

Chapter VI

The treatment of āsrava includes the following topics: (1) 1-2. definition; (2) divisions and subdivisions: 3-4. by puṇya and pāpa — 5. by sāmprāyika and iryāpatha — 6-10. subdivisions of sāmprāyika by causes and by various categorical topics; and (3) 11-26. causes of āsrava binding eight mūla prakṛtis.

There is no convenient Āgamic source which readily provides en bloc the materials used in this chapter to facilitate its composition. The *Tattvārthasūtra jainā-gamasamanvaya* most frequently refers to the *Bhagavati* passages in its śatakas 1, 6, 8 and 9, and less frequently to the *Sihāna* and *Uttarādhyayana*. The sources of these materials

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are widely dispersed in the canonical corpus, and this chapter is outlined according to Umāsvāti's original plan and scheme.

This chapter displays an inventory of *kriyā* belonging to various categories which had been worked out independently in the long Āgamic period, thereby exhibiting occasional reiterations of the same concept, for instance, four *kaṣāyas* occur again as the subdivision of *jivādhikaraṇa*, and *ārambha* is reckoned both in *jivādhikaraṇa* and in twenty-five *kriyās*. The third topic of *kriyā*, either good or bad, as the cause of *āsrava* in binding *mūla prakṛtis* is directly concerned with the subject matter of Ch.VIII.

It should not be lost sight of that Umāsvāti changed the traditional sequence of three *yogas*, i.e., *manas*, *vāc* and *kāya*, into *kāya*, *vāc* and *manas*, probably because he attached more importance to *kāyikakriyā* which had been repeatedly denounced in tradition in relation to *prāṇtipāta*. The definition of *āsrava* was for the first time stated by Umāsvāti. Yoga in threefold divisions is the fundamental cause of *āsrava*, or yoga itself is conceived by him to be *āsrava*. Yoga is classified here into *śubha* and *aśubha*, the former of which ensuing *īryāpatha āsrava* belongs to those without *kaṣāyas* and the latter ensuing *sāmparāyika āsrava* belongs to those with *kaṣāyas*. It should be noted down that Umāsvāti deems yoga, which theoretically belongs to a neutral category, in terms of *śubha-aśubha* on the basis of the absence and presence of *kaṣāyas*. Umāsvāti seems to have formulated this concept with the help of the *Kaṣāyaprābhṛta* Ch. VII, wherein Guṇadhara conceives *kaṣāyas* in terms of *upayoga* which is altogether a new concept in that age. Threefold *yogas* are consciously or unconsciously derived by the operation of the soul's nature, *upayoga*. Therefore *śubha upayoga* necessarily ensues *śubha yoga* and *aśubha upayoga* does *aśubha yoga*. *Śubha yoga* then activates *puṇya āsrava* which brings forth *puṇya bandha*, and *aśubha yoga* prompts *pāpa āsrava* which brings forth *pāpa bandha*.

The canonical texts such as *Sihāna* 5.2.517 and *Samavāya* 16 list fivefold *āsravadvāras*, i.e., *mithyādarśana*, *avirati*, *pramāda*, *kaṣāya* and *yoga*, which are enumerated as *bandhaavāras* in the T.S. VIII:1. Theoretically speaking, there is no difference between *āsrava* and *bandha* as to their root causes, because *bandha* is the logical consequence of *āsrava* prompted by the same causes. Threefold *yogas* are universally present in all those on the stages of thirteen *guṇasthānas* with or without *kaṣāyas*, therefore Umāsvāti justified yoga to be the root cause of *āsrava*, meanwhile classifying it into *śubha* and *aśubha*, in the latter of which he included all the rest of the four kinds of *āsravadvāras* reckoned in the canon. For among the four subdivisions of *sāmparāyika āsrava*, i.e., *avrata*, *kaṣāya*, *indriya* and *kriyā*, *indriya* is explained in the *Bhāṣya* on VI:6, '*pañca pramattasyendriyāṇi*', and *mithyātva* is included in twenty-five *kriyās*. *Kriyā* had repeatedly been propounded in the early canonical works to be the cause directly inviting *āsrava*, so Umāsvāti must have wanted to lay emphasis on it by

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counting twenty-five in all in the place of mithyātva which is just a part of them. Fivefold āsravadvāras in tradition are thus in theory further systematized by Umāsvāti.

All these five causes of āsrava are therefore enumerated as the causes of bondage in VIII:1, which is certainly logical. However, he defines bandha in VIII:2, 'sakaṣāyatvāt...', which creates difficulty involving the treatment of iryāpathika bandha that is logically ensued by iryāpatha āsrava as so puṇya karmas are reckoned in VIII:26. Umāsvāti obviously excluded here sayoga kevalis who are free from kaṣāyas from the object of the treatment of bandha, perhaps due to the supposition that the duration of iryāpathika bandha is practically too short to be counted as bandha. The same assumption of Umāsvāti in respect of this point is again endorsed in the *Prāsaṃmarati* 142, 'granthaḥ karmāṣṭa-vidhaṃ mithyātvāvirati-duṣṭayogāś-ca'. For this reason, he does not refer to prakṛti and pradeśa bandhas of iryāpathika type, which are surely noted down in the *Sarvārthasiddhi* under the sūtra VII: (3). This bizarre performance of Umāsvāti regarding the treatment of iryāpathika bandha well explains the contradiction exhibited in the aphorism X.2 which has been discussed in the first chapter (see its Sec. II, 4.2)). His definition of bandha thus creates a logical contradiction in relation to sūtras VI:1-5 and VIII:26.⁷

Chapter VII

Three topics are of major concern in this chapter, i. e., vratas, vratīs and the code of lay conduct: (1) 1-2. five vratas — 3-7. their bhāvanās and the other augmentary observances — 8-12. definition of five vows; (2) 13-14. vratīs consisting of ascetics and laymen; and (3) 15. five anuvratas — 16. seven śīlas — 17. saṃlekhanā — 18-32. aticāras — 33-34. dāna.

In the canonical sources, the five vratas and their bhāvanās are treated in the *Ācārāṅga* II. 15 and *Prāśnavyākaraṇa* II, and twelve vows of laity and their aticāras are discussed in the *Upāsakadaśā* 1 and *Śrāvakaśāyaka*, the latter of which also refers to saṃlekhanā.

The *Yogasūtra* enumerates five yamas called mahāvratas in II:30-31, niyamas and their bhāvanās in II:32-34, and their phalas in the succeeding sūtras. The sūtras VII:5 and 6 are considered to be the modifications of the *Yogasūtra* I:33 and II:15.⁸

The definition of dāna made in VII:33 is not traceable in the canon, which seems to have been conceived after the *Abhidharmakośa* 4.113-4 'diyate yena tad-dānaṃ pūñiānugraha kāmvyā/kāya-vāk-karma sotthānaṃ [tan-mahābhogavat-phalam] //113// sva-parārthohhayaārthāya nobhayaārthāya diyate / tad-viśeṣo dānapati-vastu-kṣetra viśeṣataḥ //114// The content expressed in the *Bhagavati* 7.1.263 could have been also

consulted in this connection. The divisions of dāna stated in the sūtra 34 are vidhi, dravya, dātr and pātra, which are drawn from the *Bhagavati* 15. 540.

The condition of vratis as niḥśālya does not find a mention in the canonical literature wherein threefold śālyas, i. e., māyā, nidāna and mithyādarśana, are frequently talked about. It seems that Umāsvāti laid down this condition on the ground that samyaktva is the primary proviso to be a vrati as so articulated in the dialogues in the Āgama and as so emphasized in the beginning sūtras of the T. S. Mithyādarśana śālya is reckoned as the last one among eighteen vices and as one of five kriyās.

As to the list of bhāvanās, those of asteya conspicuously differ between the two recensions of the T. S. Umāsvāti's list in VII:3Bh. agrees with that of the *Acārāṅga* II.15. 1043-1044 in content but differs in sequence. The *Samavāya* 82 and *Mūlācāra* 5.142 belong to the same group with some variations. On the other hand, the Digambara sūtra VII:6 and Kundakunda's *Cārtrapāhuḍa* 34 broadly agree with the list made in the *Praśnavyākaraṇa* (v. 1, p. 1230-31).⁹ These indicate that there were two major trends in the practice of bhāvanās in the Jaina communities prior to the schism.

As already noted, Ch.VI is directly related to the subject matter of Ch.VIII, and a smooth flow of discussion from Ch. VI (āsrava) to Ch. VIII (bandha) in the sequence of tattvas is disturbed by the insertion of Ch. VII in the middle. This chapter deals with mahāvratas which fall in samvara tattva and anuvratas which fall in āsrava tattva. Umāsvāti's logical reduction of puṇya-pāpa from nine tattvas in tradition ensued difficulty in arranging in his scheme of seven tattvas the topics of anuvratas which promise rebirth in svarga loka for laymen in the consequence of their good actions, thereby this chapter had to be created. And this chapter relevant to puṇya āsrava as so Pūjyapāda conceives it was needed to be arranged immediately before the chapter of bandha tattva in order to explain the puṇya karmas derived therefrom. This problem has been fully discussed in the translator's introduction to *Pt. Sukalji's Commentary on Tattvārthasūtra*.

Chapter VIII

This chapter outlines the classification of karmas so far developed in the Āgamic period: (1) 1-3. causes and definition of bondage; (2) 4. four divisions of karmas — 5-14. prakṛti bandha — 15-21. sthiti bandha — 22-24. anubhāga bandha — 25. pradeśa bandha; and (3) 26. puṇya karmas.

The *Uttarādhyayana* 33 called *Kammappayāḍi* deals with the same topics: 1-5. eight mūla prakṛtis and their subdivisions — 16. their bondage by pradeśa kṣetra and bhāva — 17-18. pradeśa bandha — 19-23. sthiti bandha — 24-25. anubhāga bandha.

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Chapter VIII is thus directly derived from the *Uttarādhyayana* 33 by slightly improving its structure and contents, to which the first three sūtras and the last aphorism are added at both ends. We have already referred to Umāsvāti's formulation of the definition of bandha that it pertains to those with kaṣāyas alone, which is not at all satisfactory. The latter portion of its definition, i. e., '*jīvaḥ karmaṇo योगान् pudgalāṇ-ādatte*', which tersely expresses the Jaina concept of bondage, was likely formulated by the author himself, for its definition in this form of expression does not occur in the canonical texts. The last sūtra regarding puṇya karmas is mentioned in the sequel of the reduction of puṇya-pāpa tattvas, of which pāpa karmas are mentioned in the *Bhāṣya*. Corresponding to pāpa āsrava stated in VI:4. pāpa karmas should have been also mentioned in the sūtra proper. The Southern version of the text duly improved this point.

Chapter IX

Here discussed is the disciplinary code of ascetics, which covers saṃvara and nirjarā tattvas: (1) 1-2. definition of saṃvara and sixfold saṃvaradvāras — 3. tapas as the cause of saṃvara and nirjarā; (2) their expositon: 4-18. saṃvara — 19-46. tapas— 47. process of nirjarā; and (3) 48-49. classification of nirgranthas.

Saṃvara is not defined in the canonical body in the fashion as expressed in the aphorism 1. The term saṃvara and the term āsrava are used by the Buddhists as well, therefore it was incumbent upon the author to confer the clear-cut Jaina definition of these terms. Sixfold saṃvaradvāras consisting of gupti, samiti, dharma, anuprekṣā, parīṣahajaya and cāritra do not occur as a set category in the canon. Tenfold dharmas, which are listed in the *Sthāna* 10.145 and *Samavāya* 10, and twelvefold anuprekṣās do not quite fit in the context bearing the other older items; and it must be Umāsvāti himself who formulated these six kinds of saṃvaradvāras by excluding mahāvratas and their bhāvanās which are dealt with in Ch. VII. Needless to say, mahāvratas constitutes an important saṃvaradvāra as Umāsvāti counts it in saṃvarānuprekṣā in IX:7Bh. Cāritra is said to denote five stages of samyama such as sāmāyika, which finds a mention in the *Bhagavati* 25.7. *Uttarādhyayana* 28.32-33, and so on. The problem of cāritra shall be considered separately in Sec. III, pt. 5.

Anuprekṣās are partially enumerated in the canonical texts, for instance, in the *Bhagavati* 25.8.802, *Sthāna* 4.1.308 and *Aupapātika* 19, wherein ekatva, anitya, aśaraṇa and saṃsāra belong to dharma dhyāna, and anantavartī, vipariṇāma, aśubha and apāya to śukla dhyāna. Aśaraṇa, anitya and ekatva bhāvanās are mentioned in the *Ācārāṅga* I already, so these items had developed into the preliminary observances to these two types of dhyāna by the time of Umāsvāti. The *Abhidharmakośa* Ch. 6 entitled *Mārgapudgalanirdeśa* deals with ārya satya and bhāvanā mārga, of which kārīkā 6.1 reads, '*kleśa-prahāṇam-ākhyātam satyadarśana-bhāvanāt | dvivīdho bhāvanā-*

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mārgo, darśanākhyās-iv-anāsravaḥ and its 6.5. explains, 'vṛtta-sthāḥ śruta-cintrāṇ bhāvanāyām prayujyate.' Its svopajñabhāṣya on 6.17 expounds sixteenfold dharmas—smṛty-upasthānābhyaṣas, i.e., duḥkha-drṣṭi — duḥkham, anityam, śūnyam, anātmakam; samudaya-drṣṭi — samudaya, prabhava, hetu, pratyaya; nirodha-drṣṭi—nirodha, śāntam, praṇītam, niḥsaraṇam; and mārga-drṣṭi mārga, nyāya, pratipati, nairyaṇīkam. It seems that Umāsvāti formulated anuprekṣā items of āsrava through bodhidurlabha in the context of samudaya-drṣṭi through mārga-drṣṭi above, because duḥkha-drṣṭi is somewhat covered by the items present in the Āgama. Anyatva sounds to have been derived from anātmaka; āsuci occurs in the śukla dhyāna anuprekṣā as āśubha; the concept of loka is well suggested by the items anantavartī and viparīṇāma therein; and āsrava, saṃvara, nirjarā and bodhidurlabha (occurring in the *Sūtrakṛta* I.15.624, *Uttarādhyayana* 3.8, etc.) are comparable to the Buddhist items such as hetu, pratyaya, nirodha, mārga, nyāya and pratipati. Thus it appears that Umāsvāti expanded and systematized the Jaina concept of anuprekṣā in the context of the relevant Buddhist concept. He treated anuprekṣā as an independent saṃvaradvāra because his list of enlarged items deviated from the canonical list, and because these twelvefold items were conceived in the context of 'kleśa-prahāṇam-ākhvātam satyadarśana-bhāvanāt' of the *Abhidharma-kośa* 6.1 which is comparable to the saṃvaradvāra of the Jainas. The *Praśamaratī* calls them twelve bhāvanās.

Parīṣahajaya is an old topic occurring in the Āgama since its genesis, however it is a stray subject there treated somewhat independently. For instance, the *Ācārāṅga* I. 9. 3 talks about parīṣahas in relation to Lord Mahāvīra's wandering life at Lāḍha, and the *Sūtrakṛta* I.3.1 describes mental and physical hardships which a novice is to be prepared to face in his path. The *Uttarādhyayana* 2 is an independent chapter devoted to parīṣaha and the *Bhagavati* 8.8.342 deals with it independently in relation to karmic bondage. In a broad sense, parīṣahajaya sounds to fall in the category of tapas for both are effective for nirjarā, however the distinction of the two seems to lie in whether it is a performance based on the endurance of what has fallen on an aspirant's path or a planned out regular practice based on the prescriptions in the canon. The *Rājavārtika* explains it under the sūtra IX : (19), 'buddhi-pūrvō hi kāya-kleśa ity-uccyate, yadyecchayopanipāte parīṣahaḥ. Possibly for the same reason, Umāsvāti gave a definition, 'mūrgācyavana-nirjarārtham parīṣoḍhavyāḥ parīṣahāḥ, and classed this stray item in the category of saṃvaradvāra together with the two other relatively new items, i.e., dharma and anuprekṣā. But then, the aphorism 3, 'tapasā nirjarā ca, suffers, for the same concept is applicable to parīṣahajaya, too. The 22nd parīṣaha listed in the *Uttarādhyayana* 2 is darśana parīṣaha, which is replaced by adarśana parīṣaha in the T. S. The *Bhagavati* 8.8.342 brings into discussion how many parīṣahas occur at once, and how many of them occur to sarāga chadmasthas, vitarāga chadmasthas, sayoga kevalis and ayoga kevalis, which are likewise taken into consideration in the T. S.

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The materials for tapas are readily available en bloc in the canon, for instance, in the *Bhagavati* 25.7. 891-3, *Uttarādhyayana* 30 and *Aupapātika* 17-19.¹⁰ Among twelve-fold Āgamic subdivisions of tapas, dhyāna meets quite a different treatment in the T.S. which shall be discussed independently in the later section. The source of the classification of nirgranthas can be traced in the canon, for instance, in the *Bhagavati* 25.6.

Chapter X

Mokṣa tattva is discussed in respect of the following topics : 1-4. two types of mokṣa, i.e., jīvan mukti and videha mukti— 5-6. ascendance of the liberated souls to siddha loka— 7. maintenance of siddhas' individualities. This chapter is short and the guide-line of its content could have been suggested by the *Prajñāpanā* 36. *Aupapātika* 41-43, etc. However, the treatment of mokṣapada here is made on the theoretical line, and the *Tattvārthasūtra* jaināgamasamanvaya refers for its sources to various texts such as the *Bhagavati*, *Uttarādhyayana*, *Prajñāpanā*, etc.

The concept of mokṣa differs among various schools, and its Jaina concept has to be clarified that liberation is the state of a soul released from its entire karmas. The rise of kevalajñāna in the penultimate stage to mokṣa is admitted likewise by the Sāṅkhyas as expressed in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 64, 'evaṃ tattvādhyāsān-nāsmi na me nāham-ity-aparīṣeṣaṃ aviparyayād-viśuddhaṃ kevalam-utpadyate jñānam'. Its kārikās 67-68 describe the states of jīvan mukti and videha mukti, 'sanyag-jñānādhiḡgamād-dharmādinām-akāraṇa-prāptau tiṣṭati samskāra-vaśāc-cakra-bhramavad-dhṛta-śarīrah|| prāpte śarīra-bhede caritārthatvāt-pradhāna-vinivṛttau ekāntikam-ātyantikam-ubhayaṃ kaivalyam-āpnotti||'. Discussion has been already advanced as to the obscure position of the T.S. X :2 (see Ch. I, Sec. II, 4.2)).

The idea that the liberated souls ascend to siddha loka is peculiar to Jainism, which is aphorized along with its theoretical reasons for support. The reason of siddhas' refusal into aloka ākāśa due to the absence of dharmāstikāya expressed in X:6Bh. is new to the age,¹¹ for the *Bhagavati* which is familiar with the concept of five astikāyas argues in its 16.8.585 that a deva cannot move his limbs in the aloka ākāśa for no jīva-ajīva exist therein, because motion is elsewhere incurred when a jīva tries to fetch matters to nourish his body. Likewise the *Sthāna* 10.931 says that motion occurs only when jīvas and matters exist, therefore jīvas cannot go beyond the loka ākāśa wherein no matter exists. The Southern version duly aphorized this *Bhāṣya* exposition.

The maintenance of siddhas' individualities is insisted upon in the T.S. probably with a view to distinguishing the Jaina position from that of the Sāṅkhyas, because according to the latter, pluralism of souls which is likewise acclaimed by them meets a contradiction, for the individualities of prakṛis reflected in puruṣas disappear once for all when kaivalyahood is attained. The *Nandī* 21, *prajñāpanā* 1.7.7-10 and *Jīvā-jivābhigama* 1.7 classify the emancipated souls into two types i.e., anantara siddhas and parampara siddhas, who are examined in terms of anuyogadvāras such as tīrtha,

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pratyekabuddha-bodhita, liṅga and saṅkhyā. Umāsvāti employs here twelve anuyogadvāras, and speaks of anantara siddhas and parampara siddhas in terms of naya, i.e., pūrva-bhāva-prajñāpaniya-naya and pratyutpanna-bhāva-prajñāpaniya-naya.

The *Bhāṣya* to X:7 mentions a yogi's rddhi which is generally accepted by the rest of schools as expressed in the *Yogasūtras*, *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, *Abhidharmakośa*, etc. Up.kārikās 24-27 classify sukha into four kinds, i.e., by viśaya, vedanā-bhāva, vipāka and mokṣa, which seem to have been conceived in the fashion of duḥkhatrayas referred to in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* I that are known as ādhyātmika, ādhibhautika and ādhidaivika.

CONCLUSION

The greatest achievement of the T. S. thereby its philosophical meaning of this text, lies in its systematization of the philosophical contents of the Jaina canon in terms of seven tattvas, and in its innovation of certain traditional concepts as well as the formulation of certain new concepts which are largely made in the cross current with the non-Jaina thoughts. The success of this work is doubtlessly due to the personal capacity of the author, however its achievement was not possible without the existence of the later canonical texts (the texts most heavily used are : *Bhagavati*, *Uttarādhyayana*, *Prajñāpanā*, *Jivāvivābhigama*, *Nandī*, *Anuyogadvāra* and *Sthāna*) which had in majority gone through the process of systematization to a greater extent and stood in the position to be ready to offer their en bloc for the composition of the T. S. and without materials the existence of the non-Jain standard texts from which Umāsvāti imbibed the wider philosophical vision that enabled him to discern sharply the Jaina concepts from theirs and that enabled him to cover most of the universal problems at current.

As to the distribution of the subject matters to ten chapters the allotment of the topic of jīvas to Chs. II-IV is likely suggested by the *Jivāvivābhigama*, of which broad outline might have been hinted at by that of the *Abhidharmakośa* III and that of the rest of chapters are automatically regulated by the themes of seven tattvas and three jewels. And as to the construction of each chapter, most of them must have been derived from the outlines made in the readily systematized portions of the Āgamic works, with the sole exception of Ch. VI which was drafted by Umāsvāti on the independent line. Ch.X is made much under the sway of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*.

The non-Jaina standard works, such as *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*, *Nyāyasūtra*, *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, *Yogasūtra* and *Abhidharmakośa*, must have been thoroughly studied by the author not only to master the skill in composing the text in sūtra style in Sanskrit which did not exist in the then Jaina practice, but also in order to distinguish clearly the Jaina tenets from theirs. Here he learnt how to define a concept which was foreign to the Āgamic authors, and introduced some different types of thought pattern such as inferential method of approach into Jainism. Also it should not be forgotten that he took a good advantage of the rational thinking pattern of the then karma specialists, who came to be active in the later Āgamic stage.

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Various important traditional concepts were improved or innovated by him, for instance, concept of seven tattvas (Ch.I), identification of five knowledges with pramāṇa (Ch. I), Yūgadvāda of kevala jñāna-darśana (Ch. I), five states of souls in relation to karmas (Ch.II), reclassification of five-sensed beings according to the modes of birth (Ch.II), definition of dravya-guṇa-pārjāya (Ch. V), definition of kāla (Ch.V), definition of āsrava (Ch VI), formulation of sixfold samvaradvāras (Ch.IX), formulation of twelve anuprekṣās (Ch. IX), concept of dhyāna (Ch.IX), concept of sukha (Ch.X), etc; many of which were derived while discriminating the Jain positions from those of the non-Jaina schools. Likewise the concept of sat (Ch.V), law of perceptibility of things (Ch.V), definition of dāna (Ch.VII), niḥśālya as the proviso of vratis (Ch. VII) etc., were formulated by Umāsvāti in the same background. These concepts proposed by him are distributed to all the chapters excluding Chs. III-IV and VIII of which materials he merely reproduced from the then existing canonical works. Most of these concepts came to be standardized in the post-Umāsvāti period, and particularly the Southern authors followed the categorical concepts standardized by Umāsvāti. Some of them met improvements, and some of them became the sources of further development, among which the most important is the concept of sat that came to provide the ground for the immediate arrival of the age of logic in the two traditions.

While organizing the legacy of the tradition quite faithfully at large, he did it much in his own way. His contribution in inclusively representing the fundamental Āgamic subjects in all branches of knowledge in the concisely organized form, coupled with his innovation and formulation of numerous concepts by absorbing the outside philosophies, made the T. S. worthy to be the standard text of the Jainas for nourishing their thought world and worthy to be an epoch-making source for the further conceptual development in various fields including ontology, epistemology and logic, and so on.

All these demonstrate that Umāsvāti was an excellent thinker of the days that the then Jainas could have produced, besides that he had a genius competence in organizing the canonical contents without losing the point. Certainly, the T. S. has its own deficiency. Umāsvāti's systematization of the canonical contents of jñāna (Ch. I.)¹² and of kriyā (Ch.VI) is loose with redundant items, his presentation of the topics in Ch.V is disorganized, and equally unsatisfactory, are the definitions of pariṇāma (Ch. V), bandha (Ch. VIII), dhyāna (Ch. IX), and so on. Likewise the *Bhāṣya* expositions of naya (Ch. I) and arpiṭa-anarpiṭa theory (Ch. V) are obscure. Umāsvāti himself improved some minor points in his *Prasamarati* and the Southern recension of the T. S. and the *Sarvārthasiddhi* made a major improvement on the deficiencies exhibited in the *Sabhāṣya* T. S. Admitting all these defects, we could still count them as the minor points in comparison with the amount and the quality of task accomplished by Umāsvāti, who since remained unrivalled in this attempt.

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The T.S. found and established its position in the South from the very beginning of the literary activities therein, which shall become evident in our later study. But how did it come to be received in the Śvetāmbara fold? As we have just observed, while systematically organizing the canonical contents, Umāsvāti introduced some new concepts into Jainism and made radical improvements on certain traditional concepts, many of which were born in the context of the current theoretical problems of the other philosophical systems. Besides he wrote it in Sanskrit, which would have hardly escaped a strong resistance in the Śvetāmbara tradition wherein Sanskrit had been deemed as a profane language as easily surmised from Śiddhasena Divākara's anecdote that he was penalized to take prāñcika prāyaścitta for having planned to translate the Prākṛit texts into Sanskrit.¹³ The following survey is conducted with a view to finding what kinds of reactions were advanced to the T.S. in the medieval Śvetāmbara camp in order to make an appraisal of its position therein.

Since the bulk of materials to be examined is too vast, our inquiry is confined to collect the citations from and references to the T.S. made in the commentarial literature on the canon up to the 10th century A.D., for it is evident that the position of the T.S. became well established after the 10th century A.D. in the West from the frequent references to it by naming the author in the commentarial literature on the Āgama thenceforth. The works examined, which are listed in Bibliography II, include niryuktis, bhāṣyas, crūrṇis and vṛttis that are available at L. D. Institute of Indology in the printed form during the period of this research. Ten *Prakīrṇakas* are added to them as these are known as of later composition.

This survey has its own limitation and defects. Firstly, since its major attempt is to collect the express references to the contents of the T.S., it could not catch hold of the inexpress references but important concepts derived under the sway of the T.S. such as the anekāntavāda, of which rapid and forcible development in the post-Umāsvāti period was impossible without comprehending the nature of sat as so expressed in V:29 and its two succeeding sūtras. Secondly, all the independent prakaraṇas composed by various authors, e.g., Siddhasena Divākara, Jinabhadra, Mallavādi, etc., are excluded together with the works in the various other branches falling outside the Āgamic commentaries. Thirdly, a commentary A-2 on A-1 and A-1 on A generally repeat the contents expressed by the latter, hence the citations from the T.S. made by the former tend to overlap with those made by the latter. Lastly, the examination of the available materials was performed somewhat hastily, thereby many references and quotations must have escaped the sight.

In view of all these dissatisfactory nature, the present survey is not expected to obtain the exhaustive data of the influences roused by the T.S. on the post-Umāsvāti literature in the medieval West, but is hoped to be enough to grasp the general trend of its reactions. The superficial presentation of these citations in a tabular form by way of numerical series can hardly do a fair justice to the high potency that the

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T. S. actually possessed in influencing the later thoughts. The deficiency of this section is hoped to be supplemented in the next section wherein some controversial aphorisms evinced in this survey are going to be independently discussed with further penetration along with some other problems involved with the *T.S.*

The following table indicates the references to or the citations from the *T. S.* recorded in the examined works. Those texts which do not display any as such are not herein reckoned. The sequence of these works roughly follows the chronological order,¹⁴ however the relative chronology of the various *Prakīrṇakas* may fall later. Some works of unknown authors which are ascribed to certain authors by some or by tradition are grouped under the ascribed authors. Many of the *niryukti gāthās* and *bhāṣya gāthās* are indistinguishably mixed in the cases of the *Bṛhatkalpa* and *Vyavahāra*. In this table, the chapter and aphorism of the *T. S.* referred to are indicated first, which is followed by a citation made in the examined text by indicating *gāthā* number or page number, when a citation is made by the word *iti*, *uktam*, etc., it is marked by a single asterisk; in case a quotation is made by the title work, i. e., *T. S.*, it is marked by double asterisks.

PRAKĪRṆAKAS (after the 6th century A.D.)

Maṇasamādhī

I:1 15

NIRYUKTIS

Bhadrabāhu (the later 5th century A.D.)

Āvaśyaka (based on *Āvaśyakasūtra-niryukter-avacūṛṇih*)

I:1 91c, 1082

I:31Bh. 979

IX:27 1477ff.

Sūtrakṛta

I:1 112

NIRYUKTIS

Ascribed to Bhadrabāhu

Pinḍa

I:1 69-70

Ogha

I:1 740

BHĀṢYAS

Saṅghadāsa

Bṛhatkalpa

I:1 1323

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Ascribed to Saṅghadāsa

Vyavahāra

I:1

405 (v. 9, p.69)

Jinabhadra (c. 650 V.S.)

Viśeṣāvaśyaka with svopajñāvṛtti (exclude Koṭṭhācārya's vṛtti)

I:1

1036, 1050, 4003; vṛtti on 1002*, 1171*

I:20

vṛtti on 76*, 107, etc.

I:31Bh.

3709 ff.

I:33

3374; vṛtti on 114*, 317

V:29

754, 2298, 2420, 4101, etc.

V:31

2642

VIII:26, 26Bh.

2401

IX:27

366 ff.

X:6

2299, 3760

X:6Bh. (illustrations of X:6) 3761

X:6Bh. (*dharmāstikāyābhāvāt*) 23: 5, 3782

CŪRNIS

Agastyasimha (the 6th century A. D.)

Daśavaikālika

I:1

pp. 1*, 193

I:13

p. 16**

V:29

pp. 10, 18

VII:4-5, 5Bh.

p.85

IX:3

p.19*

IX:27

p.16*

Jinadāsa (650-750 V. S.)

Nandī

I:1

p.11

I:2

p.8

I:31Bh.

pp.46-47

Anuyogadvāra

I:1

p.86

V:29

p.29

Daśavaikālika

I:1

p. 215

V:29

p.16

IX:27

p.29ff

REFERENCES TO THE 700 S IN THE ĀGAMIC COMMENTARIES UP TO THE 10TH C. A.D.

Uttarārdhyayana

I:1	pp. 181, 222, 229, 265
VII:12	p.67 *

Sūtrakya

I:1	pp. 240, 403 *
I:32	p.60 *
I:33	pp.322, 398
V:26	p. 12
V:29-30	p. 404

Niṣīkha

I:1	v.3, pp.60, 354, v.4, p.251
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VĀTTIS

Haribhadra (705-775 A.D.)

Nānā

I:2	p.9
I:31Bḥ.	pp.47-50
I:33	p.53 *
II:17-18	p.23 *
VI:1	p. 43 *

Anuyogadvāra

I:28	p. 103 *
VIII:4	p. 122 *

Daśavaikūṭika

I:1	pp. 179, 194, 233
V:29	p. 39
V:30	p.127

Āvaśvaka

I:1	pp. 68 *, 527 **, 531 *, etc.
I:2	p.810
I:2Bḥ.	p.838 *
I:4	p.816
II:9	p.600 *
II:27	p. 17 *
V:29	p. 598 *
V:37	p. 590 *
VII:18	p.591 *
VIII:15-21	p.73 **

REFERENCES TO THE T. S. IN THE ĀGAMIC COMMENTARIES UP TO THE 10TH

VIII:26, 26Bh.	p.252 *
IX:8	p.656 *
IX:27	p.773 *, etc.
IX:36	p.587 *

VṚTTIS

Koṭṭācārya

Viśeṣāraśyakabhāṣya vrtti by Koṭṭācārya. gāthā 2319 onwards

I:1	p.788, etc.
I:31	p. 746 *
I:31Bh.	p. 740 ff.
II:7	p. 479 *
IV:2	p. 623
V:18	p. 480 *
V:22	p. 462
V:29	p. 442, etc.
V:31	p. 505 *
VI:3-4	p. 431 *
VI:9	p. 431 *
VII:12	pp.586 *, 589
VII:33	p. 787 *
VIII:1	p. 436 *
IX:27	p. 370 ff.
IX:36	p. 588
X:6	p. 407
X:6Bh. (illustrations of X:6)	p. 754
X:6Bh. (<i>dharmāstikāyābhāvāt</i>)	p. 408

VṚTTIS

Śilāṅka (862 or 872 A.D.)

Ācārāṅga

I:1	pp.42, 131, 178, 203 *, etc.
I:2	pp. 177, 179
I:4	pp. 17, 178, 181
II:27	p. 74 *
II:32	p. 70 *
V:37	p. 84
V:40	p. 84
V:42-43, 42-43Bh.	p. 87
VII:12	p. 134*
VIII:1	p. 178
IX:18	p. 68

Sūtrakṛā

I:1	v.1, pp. 1, 9, 77, 91, 170, etc.; v.2, pp.42, 66, 131, etc.
I:2	v.2, p. 119
II:1-7	v.1, p. 122
II:31	v.2, p.88 *
III:4	v.1, p. 123 *
V:26	v.1, p.3
V:29	v.1, p.2. * ; v. 2, pp 83, 120, 154 *
V:30	v.1, p.51; v.2, p. 119
VII:6	v.2, p. 133 *
IX:18	v.2, p.119

These references are made to the sūtra text, *Bhāṣya*, or to both. The citations accompanied by the word *iti*, etc., increase in accordance with the progress of time which may be an indication of the process of gaining a recognized position of the T.S. in this tradition. Still Agastyaśiṃha alone quotes a sūtra by title only once. The following table exhibits a distribution of the referred sūtras in each chapter. A sūtra with a single asterisk indicates that the concerned sūtra was directly derived from the Āgamic text in its original form or with a slight modification. A sūtra bearing double asterisks indicates that it is a succinct and systematic presentation of the canonical concept which is originally expressed in the elaborate and prolix passages. A sūtra bearing no mark involves a disputable problem.

Chapters

Aphorisms

I	1, 2, 2Bh.*, 4, 13*, 20*, 28*, 31*, 31Bh., 32*, 33
II	1-7, 8*, 9*, 17-18*, 21**, 31*, 32*, 38-39 * *
III	4 * *
IV	2*
V	18*, 22, 26, 29, 30, 31, 37, 40, 32-43 & 42-43Bh.
VI	1 *, 3-4, 9 * *
VII	4-5 & 5Bh. * *, 6, 12 *, 18 *, 33
VIII	1, 4 *, 15-21 *, 26 & 26Bh.
IX	3 *, 8, 18, 27, 36 *
X	6 * *, 6 Bh. (illustrations of X:6) * *, 6Bh. (<i>dharmāstikāyābhāvāt</i>) (* 20, * * 7, 23 — total cases 50)

The aphorisms referred to in these works are thus distributed in all the chapters. Heavy references are made from Chs. I, II and V among which Chs. I and V contain many aphorisms involving disputable problems. Chs. III and IV are the descriptive summaries of the Jaina cosmography and mythology which had been already rounded off in the canonical period, thus they are barren to produce problems

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for further development. These post-Umāsvāti authors frequently quote the sūtras from the *T. S.* instead of from the canonical passages even though the original forms of these aphorisms are readily available in the canon itself, which suggests that the *T. S.* came to be well accredited in this tradition. The final table below shows a distribution of these debatable sūtras according to the authors who referred to them.

Authors/ Aphorisms	I			II			V		
	1	2	4	31 Bh.	33	1-7	22	26	29 30 31
Prakīrṇakas	x								
Bhadrabāhu	x			x					
Saṅghadāsa	x								
Jinabhadra	x			x	x				x
Agastyaśiṃha	x								x
Jinadāsa	x	x		x	x			x	x
Haribhadra	x	x		x	x				x
Koṭṭācārya	x			x		x	x		x
Śikāṅka	x	x	x			x		x	x
	V			VI			VIII		
	37	40	42-43	3-4	6 33	1	26	8 18	27 6Bh.
			& Bh.				& Bh.		
Prakīrṇakas									
Bhadrabāhu									x
Saṅghadāsa									
Jinabhadra							x		
Agastyaśiṃha									x
Jinadāsa									
Haribhadra							x	x	
Koṭṭācārya					x	x			x
Śikāṅka		x	x	x		x		x	

The table above forcibly speaks that the sūtra I:1 on threefold pathways to liberation (although the concept was not formulated by Umāsvāti himself) gave an immediate and profound influence over the post-Umāsvāti authors who commented on the canonical texts which generally advocate fourfold pathways to the final release. IX:27 on the definition of dhyāna also soon invited reactionary arguments on it. V:29, although herein referred to after Jinabhadra onwards, must have roused an instantaneous effect in the fields of ontology and logic. Likewise Yugapadvāda of kevala jñāna-darśana opined by Umāsvāti in I:31Bh. provoked further hot argumentation in the post-Umāsvāti period. These are considered to be the immediate and important reactions to the *T. S.*, which are pregnant with problems for further development.

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As for the rest, the function of *kāla* stated in V:22 is an improvement made by Umāsvāti on the canonical concept by way of introducing the Vaiśeṣika concept, which is likewise with the case of the definitions of *dravya-guṇa* in V:37 and 40. VII:6 was formulated by Umāsvāti in the context of the *Yogasūtra*. We have already discussed about the definition of *samyagdarśana* expressed in I:2, the defective nature of the sūtras V:42-43 and 42-43 Bh., and the problem of VIII:1 involving the cause of *bandha*. Discussion has been also advanced as to the definition of a *jñāna* in I:33, the definition of *dāna* in VII:33 and the definition of *pariśaha* in IX:8, which were formulated by Umāsvāti. '*Dharmāstikāyābhāvāt*' in X:6Bh. was still new to the age and the five states of souls in II:1-7 were explained by him in the context of karma theory. A reference to seven *tattvas* enumerated in I:4 makes its appearance in the works of Haribhadra and Śīlāṅka. It should be however noted that Haribhadra defends the canonical position of nine *tattvas* in his *Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya*,¹⁵ and Śīlāṅka refers to nine *padārthas* while enumerating seven *tattvas*. VIII:26 with its *Bhāṣya* pertaining to eightfold *punya* karmas is accepted by Jinabhadra and Haribhadra, even though it involves itself with a remark made by Siddhasenagaṇi (see Ch. I, Sec. IV, Pt. 1, 8). V:26 concerning the production of *skandhas* involves a problem relevant to the perceptibility of things in V:28. V:30-31 pertain to the problem of V:29, and IX:18 shares a problem with the aphorism I:1 regarding the content of *cāritra*.

As this cursory analysis of these disputable sūtras evinces, their citations made in the post-Umāsvāti literature well reflect the important and controversial concepts brought about by Umāsvāti. It should be also taken note of that some defective aphorisms in the T. S. continued to be referred to in the commentarial literature as they are without receiving proper improvements. Quotations from the *Praśamaratī* are found in Jinadāsa's *Niśītha cūṛṇi* (v. 3, pp. 5-6 from P. R. 145), in Haribhadra's *Āvaśyaka vṛtti* (p. 63 from P. R. 151) and in Koṭṭācārya's *Viśeṣāvaśyaka vṛtti* (p. 454 from P. R. 238). Among the works examined, Jinabhadra (in his *svopajñāvṛtti* to *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*) and vṛttikāras wrote in Sanskrit. Quotations from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are frequent in Agastyaśiṃha's *cūṛṇi* and in the vṛttis composed by various authors. It took some generations after Umāsvāti to see the establishment of the medium of writing in Sanskrit. The examination of the non-Jaina doctrines and the attack on them began with Jinabhadra mainly with the vigorous tool of the *anekāntavāda*, which became severer as time went on. Likewise the exposition of karma doctrine became further elaborate in the course of time. These are some salient features noticed in these commentarial works.

It is not sure if the T.S. was consciously reckoned by the Śvetāmbaras as the standard text of Jaina philosophy by the 10th century A.D., however it quarts evident from the above data that its accredited position was by that time well

established. We should also remember that Siddhasena took liberty in criticizing the *Bhāṣya*. After the 10th century, the commentators such as Śāntisūri, Abhayadeva and Malayagiri frequently quote the T.S. passages by citing the name of the author or the title of his positions, Vācaka. And Hemacandra's famous and well said illustration of Umāsvāti as '*upamāsvātiṃ saṅgrahitārāḥ*' under '*utkṛṣṭe'nūpena*' in his *Siddhahema* 2.2.39 positively confirms that the public recognition of his authoritative position became immovable in the West by that time.

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This section consists of the following independent articles on the problems involved with the T. S. Pt. 1) kevala jñāna and darśana, Pt. 2) Perceptibility of things, Pt. 3) Treatment of dhyāna, Pt. 4) jivasamāsa mārgaṇāsthāna and guṇasthāna, and Pt. 5.) Treatment of cāritra in mokṣamārga. The intention of the separate treatment of these problems here is twofold, i.e., firstly to supplement the foregoing study made in the previous two sections by penetrating into the deeper strata of the problems, and secondly to provide for the sake of the succeeding section the internal data that the Digambara literature is in all cases the post-Umāsvāti product with the sole exception of the *kaṣāyaprabhīta* on the basis of the development of certain concepts under consideration. The relevant problems are therefore examined in relation to the canon and the immediate post-Umāsvāti literature of the two traditions as far as possible.

Part 1 Kevala jñāna and darśana

In I:31Bh. Umāsvāti proposes an understanding that a kevali's jñāna and darśana manifest themselves simultaneously (yugapadvāda) due to the simultaneous destruction of these two āvaraṇīya karmas, '*kṛm cānyat / matjñānādiṣu catvṛṣu parvāyēnopayogo bhavati na yugapat / sambhāva-jñāna-darśanaṣya tu bhāgavataḥ kevalino yugapat-sarva-bhāva-grāhake nirapekṣe kevalajñāne kevaladarśane cānusamayam upayogo bhavati*[/kṛm cānyat/ kṣayopaśanu-jāni catvāri jñānāni pūrvāṇi kṣayād eva kevalam/ tasmān-na kevalinaḥ śeṣāṇi śāntiḥ.]' His proposal came to be accepted unanimously by the Digambaras who do not shoulder the burden of the canonical literature. The yugapadvāda immediately invited another view represented by Siddhasena Divākara in his *Saṃmatī* II that jñāna and darśana are identical in the case of a kevali (abhedavāda) on the ground that both upayogas can distinctly cognize all the objects at the same time. The *Bhagavati* 18.8.640 and *Prajñāpanā* 30.663 maintain that a kevali's upayogas occur in successive order (kramavāda), upon which ground the *Āvāśyaka nirvṛkti* 979 disapproves the yugapadvāda. Jinabhadra defends the canonical position in his *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* 3709-55 and *Viśeṣanavati* 186-244 that the two upayogas are neither identical in nature nor manifestable at the same time. Yaśovijaya

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in the modern time offers a synthetic solution to this problem that all these views represent the different nayavādas. Umāsvāti's proposal thus invited a wider range of reactions both in time and space.

Umāsvāti seems to have contributed here in effect in stimulating an epistemological interest as exhibited by Siddhasena Divākara in his attempts of defining darśana. These three positions differ pertaining to the nature and temporal manifestation of a kevali's upayogas. And each ground held for their different theses seems to be sound in its own way logically or by scriptural authority, which suggests that this problem involves itself with the canonical stages wherein the relevant rules and concepts were formulated. The following is an attempt to understand this problem from this angle.

The Jains claim as much as non-Jains that avadhi, manahpariyaya and kevala jñānas are due to yogic labdhi, for instance, in the *Daśāśrutaskandha* Ch.v, and the successive occurrence of darśana after jñāna as expressed in 'jñānai pāsai' in the earlier texts as well as in the Buddhist piṭakas must have been derived from the common background of yogic practice.¹⁶ In the earliest texts such as the *Ācārāṅga* I and *Sūtrakṛta* I, when jñāna and darśana are mentioned in the same passage (which are mostly pertaining to Lord Mahāvīra), their order occurs generally jñāna first and darśana second, for instance, in the *Ācārāṅga* I.2.2.79, I.5.6.329, I. 9. 1. 472, etc., and the *Sūtrakṛta* I. 2. 3. 22, I. 4. 1. 4. 1. 6.2, I. 6. 3, I.9.24, etc., wherein the *Ācārāṅga* I.9.1.472 is said in relation to meditation, and the *Sūtrakṛta* I.2.3.22 refers to anuttara-nāṇī and anuttara-dāmsī, its I. 6. 3 and I.9.24 to ananta-nāṇī and ananta-dāmsī. The *Sūtrakṛta* I.6.5 mentions savva-dāmsī and abhibhūva-nāṇī in due order, and its I.15.1 reads, 'jam-aiaṃ paḍuppannaṃ āgamiṣṣaṃ ca nāyaṃ/ savvaṃ manai tam tāi dāmsānāvaranantae', which if darśana is taken in the sense of nirvikalpa cognition, the order of the occurrence must have been conceived as darśana first and jñāna second. The later canonical texts do not seem to have paid much attention to the order of their occurrence, for instance, the *Bhagavati* 18.8.640 reads, '...evaṃ vuccai paramāhohie naṃ manūse paramāṇu-poggalaṃ jam samavaṃ jānai no tam samayaṃ pāsai, jam samayaṃ pāsai no tam samayaṃ jānai? goyamā sāgāre se nāne bhavai, anāgāre se dāmsāne bhavai, se teṇaṭṭheṇaṃ jāva na tam samayaṃ jānai, evaṃ jāva ananta-paesiyaṃ! kevali naṃ bhaṃte ! manusse paramāṇu-poggalaṃ jahā paramāhohie tahā kevali-vi jāva ananta-paesiyaṃ! sevaṃ bhaṃte sevaṃ bhaṃte! iti.' The *Prajñāpanā* 30.663 reads, '...haṃtā goyamā: kevali naṃ imaṃ raya-ṇappabhaṃ puḍhaviṃ anāgārehiṃ jāva pāsai na jānai se keṇaṭṭheṇaṃ bhaṃte ! evaṃ vuccai — 'kevali naṃ imaṃ ravaṇappabhaṃ puḍhaviṃ anāgārehiṃ jāve pāsai na jānai? goyamā ! anāgāre se dāmsāne bhavai, sāgāre se nāne bhavai, se teṇaṭṭheṇaṃ evaṃ vuccai...'.¹⁷

The canonical authors insist here that the two upayogas of ordinary beings as well as kevalis cannot occur simultaneously due to their different nature or function, i. e., anākāra and sākāra. Jñāna or sākāra cognition necessarily follows darśana or anākāra cognition in the case of an ordinary man's cognition. A kevali's cognition is not generated by the sense organs and mind, therefore this order is not possible to him. These passages are curiously silent about which cognition occurs first to a kevali. However the *Daśīśrutaskandha* 5.116-117 vindicate that a kevali's upayogas take place in the successive order of jñāna-darśana, upon the destruction of the relevant āvaraṇa karmas. Also the later work like the *Karmagrantha* clearly mentions in its svopajñāṭikā 1.3 (Jaina Ātmānanda Sabhā, v.1, p.5) that a kevali's jñāna precedes darśana, *anyae-ca yasmīn samye sakala-karma-vinirmukto jīvaḥ sañjāyate tasmīn samye jñānopayogopayuktah eva, na darśanopayogopayuktah, darśanopayogasya dvitīya-samaye bhāvāt...*. Therefore a reverse order of occurrence in the case of a kevali's upayogas, i. e., jñāna-darśana, was clearly understood by some, however it seems like that the canonical authors were in general not serious in giving consideration to the problem regarding which cognition occurs first to a kevali.¹⁷

The Jainas had a peculiar notion about jīvas such as the water beings and fire beings since the very beginning of their history, and it is not difficult to see that they soon came to grasp the world phenomena in terms of jīva-ajīva or jīva-karma. Upayoga (upa-+yuj) is the differentia of the jīva from the ajīva, but the usage of this technical term does not appear in the earliest strata of the canon, i. e., *Ācārāṅga* I and *Sūtrakṛta* I. It makes its appearance in the *Bhagavati* side by side the other anuyoga items such as jñāna, darśana and samjñā, for instance, in its 12.10.466, 19.8.658, 20.3.664, 25.6, 26.1 etc., and the *Prajñāpanā* 29 is devoted to the exposition of upayoga, of which 30th pada takes up paśyattā and 31st samjñā, each independently. The *Bhagavati* 2.10.119 which mentions, '*...upaoga-lakkhaṇe puṇ jīve...*', fully enumerates eightfold jñānas (five jñānas plus three ajñānas) and fourfold darśanas. The *Bhagavati* 19.8.658 and 20.3.664 express upayoga in terms of sākāra and anākāra. The *Prajñāpanā* 29 classifies upayoga into two, i. e., sākāra and anākāra, which are explained by way of eightfold jñānas and fourfold darśanas. As already taken note of the *Sūtrakṛta* 1.15.1 refers to darśanāvaraṇa, wherein the origin of the concept of darśanāvaraṇīya karma may be traced. It seems therefore that the concept of jñāna-darśana along with their āvaraṇīya karmas evolved independently from the concept of upayoga which consists of sākāra and anākāra types (which might have been derived by the non-Jaina influence), then they likely came to be coalesced into one category because of their identical nature. Possibly for this reason, upayoga came to be dropped from the list of 14 mārgaṇāsthānas which include the items of jñāna and darśana.

The *Kaṣṭhāprabhīta* is devoted to examine fourfold kaṣṭhas in the context of karma doctrine, the exclusive treatment of which finds no place in the canonical

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literature. Guṇadhara takes up kaṣāyas in the 7th chapter as constituting upayoga, which is again a new concept. Upayoga is already explained as the characteristic nature of the soul in the canon. The *Bhagvati* 12.10.466 reckons the ātmā as of eight kinds, i.e., dravya, kaṣāyā, yoga, upayoga, jñāna, darśana, cāritra and vīrya. Guṇadhara seems to have caught hold of this concept of kaṣāya ātmā as the characteristic nature of the saṃsārī jīva, and expressed kaṣāyas in terms of upayoga, the characteristic nature of the soul. Kundakunda follows the *Kaṣāyaprabhṛta* on this matter, as he explains, for instance, in the *Pravacanasāra* II. 63ff. that kaṣāyas constitute aśuddha upayoga. And the later Digambara authors including Kundakunda seem to have widened the content of upayoga as the source of the conscious activities of which expressions take place in the form of threefold yogas of mind, speech and body. In another word, it came to be conceived as the source of cognitive, volitional, emotional and physical activities, or as the source of both conscious and subconscious activities, thus it came to include in its content the psychic attention and the sense reactions of the lower beings.

The canonical literature speaks of upayoga invariably in terms of sākāra-anākāra that are identical with jñāna-darśana, which is considered to be the characteristic nature of the soul. The *T. S.* II : 8-9 represent this canonical concept of upayoga. The karma specialists understood that jñānāvaraṇīya karma categorically differs from darśanāvaraṇīya karma on the basis of their different nature. However, curiously enough, they did not establish darśanamohaniya karma and cāritramohaniya karma as the two independent categories in the class of mūla prakṛtis. These two mohaniya karmas distinctly differ by nature inasmuch as jñānāvaraṇīya karma and darśanāvaraṇīya karma do, and the former two are related within the context of mohaniya category inasmuch as the latter two are interdependent in the context of upayoga. Nay, the latter two types of cognition share much closer mutual relation than the former two types of delusion because darśana (faith) and cāritra belong to entirely different categories. They could have in fact formulated a single category of upayogāvaraṇīya karma accompanied by the two subdivisions of jñāna and darśana inasmuch as they did for mohaniya karma. The later karma specialists abstracted kṣāyika samyaktva as a siddha's guṇa in the sequel of the eradication of mohaniya karmas. Likewise they could have abstracted ananta upayoga by the destruction of upayogāvaraṇīya karmas. Jñāna and darśana are identical-cum-different within the category of upayoga consisting of sākāra and anākāra types. Therefore if these two āvaraṇīya karmas were made in one in the form of upayogāvaraṇīya karma, our problem in question would not have cropped up. The abhedavāda expressed by Siddhasena Divākasa seems to be perfectly logical in grasping the nature of the problem.

A catalogue of karma prakṛtis was completed by the time of Umāsvāti. And the table of the gaṇasthāna was nearing to completion by the end of the Āgamic age.

The list of karmas by itself does not mean much unless it finds its expression in a soul as the content of his life phenomena. Karmas thus came to be expressed through the medium of guṇasthāna. A rule was established at a certain time that one necessarily attains sayoga kevalihood when his jñānāvaraṇīya, darśanāvaraṇīya and antarāya karmas are simultaneously annihilated. The idea that a sayoga kevali is possessed of kevala jñāna and darśana at the same time was in all probability derived from the earlier texts wherein Mahāvīra is described to have been endowed with ananta jñāna and ananta darśana at the same time during his preaching period, which must have been meant originally as all knowing and all seeing or a supreme knower and a supreme seer (anuttara-nāpī and anuttara-darśī) by way of epithet. And it is important to note that this statement was made when the karma doctrine was not yet developed. The later canonical authors enunciated various rules and formulated various concepts on the basis of the earlier scriptural passages, which was incumbent upon them to do so, as these stood for them qua holy utterances.

The scheme of the karma theory works mechanically like mathematical computation according to the established rules without leaving any ambiguity. Karmas are the matters. And the doctrine of karma is maintained on an understanding that the removal of karmas reveals the transcendental nature of the soul at once like a lamp light stripped off its lamp shade. Therefore according to this doctrine, it is difficult to accept the position that the capacity of jñāna-darśana can be manifested to a kevali simultaneously upon the destruction of these karmas but their function operates in successive order, because the soul's illuminating capacity of jñāna-darśana is no other than the soul's function or nature of jñāna-darśana itself. This position does not therefore go with the concept of karma theory itself. A kevali is possessed of the lower kinds of jñāna-darśana which function through the sense organs and mind. But he does not need to use them for cognizing the objects. When he uses kevala jñāna-darśana, the rest of the lower types of jñāna-darśana do not occur. And according to the karma theory, all the objects are illumined to him at the time when he employs his ātmā for cognition. The yugapadvāda expressed by Umāsvāti is perfectly sound according to the doctrine of karma.

If the kramavāda were insisted upon irrespective of the karma doctrine in the original sense of the earliest canon that anuttara darśana follows anuttara jñāna in the context of dhyāna, it certainly makes sense. And the kramavāda likely took its ground when the theory of karma was not yet developed. But the problem in question is discussed in the context of karma doctrine. Or if a rule were established by the karma specialists that sayoga kevalihood reveals itself by the gradual removal of jñānāvaraṇīya, darśanāvaraṇīya and antarāya karmas, the kramavāda expressed in the canon takes the upper hand. However in this case, the successive order of the manifestation of jñāna-darśana takes place to a kevali only once, which cannot be repeated again,

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because once these two āvaraṇiya karmas are annihilated, two cognitions should be functioning to him constantly according to the theory of karma. The kramavāda faces thus difficulty in maintaining its position.

Umāsvāti posed this problem in the context of karma theory developed in the later canonical age. The canonical authors likely maintained the kramavāda based on its earlier position, which cannot be insisted upon in the advanced stage of karma doctrine. And as long as jñāna-jarṣana are identified with sūkāra-anākāra upayogas as so useful in the canon, both are identical-cum-different. Siddhasena Divākara seems to offer therefore the most appropriate explanation on this matter which is expected from the doctrine of the Jainas developed in that period.

Part 2 Perceptibility of things

The Jaina atomists in the Āgamic age discussed about their theory of atomic combination inasmuch as the non-Jaina atomists did, however unlike the non-Jainas the Jainas never bothered about inquiring into the cause of visibility of a thing, possibly because the aspect of pradeśa by which the theory of atomic combination is also viewed self-evidently explains it away. The non-Jaina theoreticians like the Vaiśeṣikas posit the problem of perceptibility of things. Umāsvāti introduced this problem into Jainism and laid down a rule of the cause of perceptibility of skandhas in the T. S. V:28(28), '*bheda-saṅghātābhyāṃ cākṣuṣāḥ*'. The *Bhāṣya* imparts a brief exposition on this sūtra, '*acākṣuṣāstu yathoktāt saṅghātāt bhedaḥ saṅghāta-bheda-ceti*', which denies as the cause of visibility the rule of the production of skandhas stated in the aphorism 26 (26), '*bheda-saṅghātebhyā utpadyante*'. This sūtra 28 in relation to the sūtra 25 is difficult to be comprehended by the later students of Jainism who are not acquainted with the Āgamic method of approaching problems. Nay, all the commentators on the T.S. who were well acquainted with the Āgamic method of approach, in fact, failed to explain this sūtra and its exposition, possibly because the problem posited here itself was not fully comprehended by them for the question as such did never have a place in the Jaina way of thinking.

For instance, under the sūtra (27), Pūjyapāda gives an introductory remark on the sūtra (28), '*āha, saṅghātā-eva skandhānām-āmalābhe siddhe bheda-saṅghāta-grahṇan-anarthakam-iti tad-grāhya-pratyajana-pratipādanārtham-idam-ucyate*'. He seems to understand that the palpability of a thing arises by the saṅghāta method mentioned in the production of skandhas and by the bheda-cum-saṅghāta method discussed in the aphorism (28), but not by bheda nor by saṅghāta-cum-bheda as he comments on the sūtra (28), '*...atra yo' cākṣuṣaḥ sa katham cākṣuṣo bhavati cedacyate — bheda-saṅghātābhyāṃ cākṣuṣaḥ/na bhedaḥ-iti/ kātropapattir-iti cet? brūmah-sūcsmi-praṇānīya skandhasya bhede saukṣmyāparityāgād-acākṣuṣatvam-eva/ saukṣmya-*

parinataḥ punar-aparah saty-api tad-bhede'nya saṅghāṭāntara-samyogāt-saukṣmya-pari nāmoparame sthaulyotpattau cākṣuṣo bhavati'. However, the saṅghāta method of skandha formation is plainly negated by the *Bhāṣya* from being the cause of its palpability. Besides sūtra 28 reads it in dual ending, therefore it is difficult to take it in the sense of simultaneous process of bheda-cum-saṅghāta. Thus his explanation is not at all convincing. This aphorism is not only difficult to understand but also the problem raised by Umāsvāti here is important in view of the Jaina concept of pudgala, therefore we shall attempt to tackle the problem to see what Umāsvāti exactly meant to say in this aphorism.

The theory of atomic combination is taken up prominently in the *Bhagavati* and *Prajñāpanā* in the canon. The Jaina theoreticians in the Āgamic age developed a peculiar method of approaching a problem by way of certain anuyogadvāras or the points of inquiry, among which the most common set consists of dravya, kṣetra, kāla and bhāva. In discussing a certain problem, the Jaina theoreticians as a rule specify which kind of anuyogadvāra is applied to the problem in question, and go on to say that this problem is considered in this way from this point of view but it is considered in the other way from the other point of view. In dealing with the subject of atomic combination, they likewise posited or must have posited the problem by way of the anuyoga method, which is usually expressly mentioned but sometimes not at all mentioned particularly in some *Bhagavati* passages wherein the discussion of atomic combination falls. Among these four viewpoints of inquiry, the aspect by kāla is not directly concerned with our problem under consideration. Thus from the aspect of dravya, the theory of atomic combination can be discussed as to the composition and decomposition of the paramāṇus and skandhas. From the viewpoint of kṣetra, the problem can be discussed as to the union and disunion of pradeśas. And from the aspect of bhāva, it can be dealt with in relation to the transformation of the degrees of properties of the atoms and composites. Sometimes avagāhanā anuyogadvāra is added to these three, but we can at present neglect this viewpoint in the context of our problem. We shall see below how the canonical authors handled the matter from these three standpoints, i.e., by dravya, kṣetra and bhāva.

Firstly, from the viewpoint of dravya, the *Bhagavati* 12.4.444 (which develops the subject matter treated in 1.10.80) exhibits how many paramāṇus are combined into what kinds of skandhas, and how such skandhas are to be decomposed into what kinds of constituents by way of arithmetic computation as follows :

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Number of loose atoms	Combination	Division	
	Number of atoms in one composite	Number divisions	Mode of reduction
2	2	2	1 + 1
3	3	2	1 + 2
		3	1 + 1 + 1
4	4	2	1 + 3; 2 + 2
		3	1 + 1 + 2
		4	1 + 1 + 1 + 1
5	5	2	1 + 4; 2 + 3
		3	1 + 1 + 3; 1 + 2 + 2
		4	1 + 1 + 1 + 2
		5	1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1

(Likewise up to the cases of saṅkhyeya, asaṅkhyeya and ananta atoms.)

From the point of inquiry by kṣetra, the *Bhagavati* 5.7.214 discusses that an atom has no half, no middle and no pradeśa, that a composite of two atoms along with even numbered atoms has no middle but has halves and pradeśas, that a composite of three atoms along with odd numbered atoms has no half but has middle and pradeśas, and that a composite of saṅkhyeya through ananta atoms has pradeśas but may or may not have halves and middle. Thus a concept is deduced that an atom (one pradeśin) has no part, no parts, but has a whole, and that a composite of two atoms (two pradeśin) has no parts, but has a part and a whole, and that a composite of three atoms onwards (three pradeśin onwards) has a part, parts and a whole. And the *Bhagavati* 5.7.215 tries to show how the nine possible types of combination of pradeśins (e. g., 1 pradeśin + 1 pradeśin) exhibit what kind or kinds of the mode of spatial combination considered in the nine possible ways (e. g., 'part + part' meaning 'by a part, a part is touched,' and 'part + parts' meaning 'by a part, parts are touched.' X indicates the occurrence of combination. pt-part, pts-parts, and w-whole) as follows :

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	pt+pt	pt+pts	pt+w	pts+pt	pts+pts	pts+w	w+pt	w+pts	w+w
1 1 + 1									x
2 1 + 2							x		x
3 1 + 3 up to ananta							x	x	x
4 2 + 1			x						x
5 2 + 2	x		x				x		x
6 2 + 3 up to ananta	x	x	x				x	x	x
7 3 + 1			x			x			x
8 3 + 2	x		x	x		x	x		x
9 3 + 3 up to ananta	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

The *Prajñāpanā* Chs. 3 and 5 handle the problem of pradeśins in order to express the relative numerical strength of the concerned substances made up of paramāṇus and pradeśas. It should not be lost sight of that the *Bhagavati* 5.7.212 and 25.4 touch upon the motion and rest occurring in the atoms and composites as to their part, parts and whole (5.7.212) and by way of their fourfold aspects, i. e., dravya, kṣetra, kāla and bhāva (25.4). Then it is communicated in the *Bhagavati* 5.8.220 that an atom (*davvao appadese*) is necessarily one pradeśin (*khettao niyamā appadese*), that a composite of two atoms onwards (*davvao sapadese*) may be one pradeśin or two pradeśins onwards (*khettao siya sapadese siya appadese*), and that the one pradeśin substance (*khettao appadese*) may consist of an atom or a composite with two atoms onwards (*davvao siya sapadese siya appadese*).

From the standpoint of bhāva, the *Bhagavati* 8.9.345 discerns three kinds of sādī visrasā bandha, i.e., bandhana, bhājana and pariṇāma, the first of which is explained to be caused by the various degrees of snigdha and rūkṣa guṇas. The degrees of guṇas such as snigdha are said, for instance, in the *Prajñāpanā* 5 to go through infinitesimal transformations. The *Bhagavati* 20.5.667-668 show the possible modes of combination of the properties of skandhas by sūkṣma (which include the case of paramāṇu also) and by bāhara. Likewise the *Bhagavati* 25.4 and *Prajñāpanā* 3.7 discuss about the numerical strength of guṇas possessed by the paramāṇus and skandhas. The *Prajñāpanā* 13.418 then enunciates a rule of atomic combination, 'baṁdhaṇa-pariṇāme naṁ bhaṁte/ kai-vihe pannate/ goyamā/ du-vihe pannatte/ taṁ-jahā—niddha-baṁdhaṇa-pariṇāme, lukkha-baṁdhaṇa-pariṇāme ya/ sama-niddhayāe baṁdho na hoi sama-lukkhayāe vi na hoi/ vemāya-niddha-lukkhattaṇeṇa baṁdho u khaṁdhānaṁ/ niddhassa niddheṇa dayāhie naṁ lukkhassa lukkheṇa duyāhie naṁ/ niddhassa lukkheṇa uve/ baṁdho jahaṇṇavajjo visamo samo vā', from which the rule of combination expressed in the T.S. V:32-36 was deduced.

The atomists in the canonical age thus expressed the concept of atomic combination and division by the number of atoms by way of arithmetic computation from the viewpoint of dravya. For instance, three discrete atoms are combined into one composite, which can be decomposed in two ways, i. e., either into three discrete atoms or one loose atom plus one composite with two atoms. However the same composite consisting of three atoms is viewed differently from the aspect of kṣetra, for it can be one pradeśin, two pradeśins or three pradeśins. And when the composite is one pradeśin it is invisible as it is the size of an atom, and visibility arises in the case of a composite with two pradeśins onwards. From the aspect of bhāva, an atom and a composite with one pradeśin (called a sūkṣma pariṇāta skandha) are allowed to have the properties of one colour, one smell, one taste and two touches (either one of snigdha-rūkṣa and either one of śīta-uṣṇa), of which degrees can be one up to infinite each. A composite with two pradeśins onwards (called a bāhara pariṇāta skandha) has full

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properties, namely, five colours, two smells, five tastes and eight touches, of which degrees can be likewise one up to infinite each. And the atomic combination proceeds according to the rule pronounced in the *Prajñāpanā* 13.418 above, for which the degrees of snigdha-rūkṣa guṇas play an important role.

In this relation, Abhayadeva quotes certain gāthās in his commentary on the *Bhagavati* 5.7.217, 'saṃkoca-vikoṇa va, uvaramiṇe' vagāhaṇāe-vi/ tattiya-mittāṇaṃ ca, ciraṃ-pi davvāna' vatthāṇaṃ/ saṃṣhāya-bheyao vā, davvovarama puṇāi saṃkhitte/ niamā tad-davvogāhaṇāe nāso na saṃdeho/ ogāhaddhā davve, saṃkoca-vikoyao a avabaddhā/ na u davvaṃ saṃkoṇa-vikoca-mittāṇi sambaddham'. In commenting the first and the last gāthās above, Ratnasimhasūri explains the concept of saṃkoca-vikoca stated therein in the *Paramānukhaṇḍaṣaṭṭhimsikā* (Ātmānanda Sabbhā p. 4), 'vivakṣita-kṣetra-pradeśa-vyāpitaṃ nāma paramānūnāṃ-avagāhaṇā, tebhyo' lpatareṣu bahutareṣu ca kṣetra-pradeśeṣu tāvatāṃ-eva pudgalānāṃ sūkṣmi-bhavanam saṃkocaḥ, sphāri-bhavanam vikocāḥ/ tataś-ca saṃkoca-vikocābhyām-avagāhaṇāyā uparamo bhavati/... saṃkocād-vikocāc-ca paramānūnāṃ sūkṣma-pariṇāmatayā 'nyonyānupraveśaḥ saṃkocaḥ sūkṣma-pariṇāma-pariṇatānāṃ tu bādara-pariṇāmatayā bhavanam vikocāḥ, tau saṃkoca-vikocau samāśrityety-arthaḥ'.

We can interpret the concept stated herein in the following way. Ten atoms, for instance, can be combined together in one up to ten pradeśas, but not in more than ten pradeśas. When these ten atoms are combined in one pradeśa, the mode of their spatial interpenetration is called sūkṣma pariṇāma, wherein the entire spatial unit of each atom is penetrated by the entire spatial unit of the other atoms as so described in the *Bhagavati* 5.7.215. This mode of spatial interpenetration is expressed in terms of saṃkoca. When the same ten atoms are combined in two to ten skandha pradeśas, the mode of their spatial diffusion, in a skandha is called bādara pariṇāma, which is expressed in terms of Vikoca. Various modes of their spatial diffusion have been already shown in the foregoing table of the same *Bhagavati* passage. In another word, X number of atoms can be combined in two ways from the standpoint of kṣetra, i. e., (1) X atoms are combined in one pradeśa and (2) X atoms are combined in two to X pradeśas. X atoms are invisible in the former type of combination as the mode of their spatial combination is subtle, but they are visible in the latter type as the mode of their spatial combination is gross.

The Jain canon is curiously silent about the function of śīta-uṣṇa guṇas, either one of which is pronounced to be present in an atom along with either one of snigdha-rūkṣa guṇas. It seems that śīta-uṣṇa guṇas play an important role in the theory of atomic combination of the Jainas as the causes of saṃkoca-vikoca or interpenetration-diffusion of the spatial units of the atoms and composites, inasmuch as snigdha-

rūkṣa guṇas serve here as the causes of the mutual attraction and actual coming together of the atoms and composites. It is not difficult to postulate that motion or vibration may occur to the atoms and composites when they are combined together to go through interpenetration or diffusion of their spatial units, which is assumed to be happening constantly in the natural phenomena. The foregoing *Bhagavati* statement of the motion and rest pertaining to the atoms and composites seems to be expressing the concept as such.

Now going back to our problem, proper, Umāsvāti discusses the problem of atomic combination in the content of pudgala as follows :

V : 23-24	nature of pudgala	(viewed from the aspect of bhāva)
25-28	components	
25	aṇu-skandha as components	(dravya)
26	method of skandha formation	(dravya)
27	method of aṇu formation	(dravya)
28	cause of the perceptibility of skandha	(kṣetra)
32-36	process of atomic combination	(bhāva)

It is indisputable that Umāsvāti posited the problem in the same manner as the Āgamic theoreticians did. Thus from the standpoint of dravya, pudgala is considered in terms of its components, namely, atoms and composites. And the production of the atoms and composites is logically posited from the same standpoint of dravya. Therefore the atoms are produced by the division of a composite, and the matter composites are produced by the combination of atoms, by the division of composites, and by the combination-cum-division of both atoms and composites. However, the perceptibility of a thing depends solely upon the number of its pradeśas with which the number of atoms constituting a composite has nothing to do. This is the standpoint of kṣetra, upon which ground Umāsvāti clarified in the *Bhāṣya* that the three methods of skandha formation do not apply to the law of the visibility of a thing. To explain the account further, the one pradeśi skandha is necessarily invisible. So the one pradeśi skandha consisting of two to infinite atoms does not have the capacity of raising palpability to the eye. Therefore, saṅghāta, bheda, and saṅghāra-bheda of two to ananta atoms taken place within one pradeśi is barren as to its potency of imparting perceptibility. Perceptibility arises in the two pradeśi skandha onwards, thus only the number of pradeśas of a composite is responsible for the rise of the palpability or the dimension of a thing. In another words, the sūtra V:28, '*bheda-saṅghatābhyāṃ cākṣuṣāḥ*,' has to be understood in the sense that the visibility of a thing arises due to the division and combination of the pradeśi components, i. e., atoms and composites. The union or disunion of the pradeśas of matter components alone is competent to manifest the visibility of a skandha to the eye. It is significant that the simultaneous process of

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saṅghāta-cum-bheda in skandha formation is dropped here, because from the viewpoint of kṣetra it is looked at as the two phenomena of saṅghāta and bheda.

The canonical authors treated one and the same problem from the entirely different angles of dravya, kṣetra, bhāva and kāla. And since the view point of kṣetra itself gives a solution to the problem of the origination of the palpability of a thing, they did not need to bother about positing this problem. But Umāsvāti (who was considerably affected in arranging the topics on pudgala and satsāmānya by the contents discussed in the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* 4.1) obviously considered it worthwhile to be aphorized in order to distinguish its Jaina view from that of the non-Jainas, for instance, the Vaiśeṣika view which maintains, 'saṅkhyāḥ parimāṇāni pṛthaktvaṃ saṃyogavibhāgaḥ paratvāparatve kṛmā ca rūpi-dravya-samavāyāt cākṣuṣāni' (*Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* 4.1.12).⁷ Neither the number of atoms nor their size have the capacity to produce visibility of a thing according to the Jainas. And such a way of positing a problem, i.e., by dravya, kṣetra, etc., must have been taken for granted as to any types of problems in the canonical tradition, and perhaps for this reason Umāsvāti did not feel the need of further exposition on this matter and thereby imparted a very brief commentary on it. All the commentators on the T.S. failed in their attempt of comprehending this aphorism and its exposition, because the need of positing the problem in such a way did not exist in the thinking pattern of the Jainas. This sūtra V:28 is impossible to be understood without its *Bhāṣya* exposition, which demonstrates that it was composed by the same aphorist.

Part 3 Treatment of dhyāna

The role of dhyāna is weighty in the Jaina monastic praxis, because liberation is said to be impossible to be achieved without it, however having been subordinated to tapas it never gained an independent position in the monastic conduct of the Jainas in the canonical stage. This is precisely so because of the ontological ground of Jainism consisting of the two principles of the soul and the matter, wherein the disintegration of them aimed at for mokṣa is assumed to be achieved mainly by the rigorous practice of tapas, for which the last two stages of śukla dhyāna constitute a part, and dharma dhyāna and the first two subdivisions of śukla dhyāna are the mere aids. The auxiliary position of dhyāna in the ascetic practice of Jainism thus differs greatly from its position held in Buddhism wherein the original teachings of Buddha of duḥkha-kṣaya were formulated on the ground of the way of meditation practice.

The dependent position of dhyāna to tapas in the canon was likewise received by Umāsvāti. However he spared nearly 1/3 of the total aphorisms in Ch. IX for the exposition of dhyāna, and while bringing this subject matter into prominence, he added to it certain features which were previously unknown, i.e., the definition of dhyāna and the dhyātās' gradation in the scheme of guṇasthāna. He did it in order to

discriminate the Jaina concept of dhyāna from that maintained by the other systems, and in so doing he introduced these new features into the Jaina system. A treatment on dhyāna made in the T.S. immediately attracted his successors, who made further efforts to develop what was worked out by Umāsvāti to the effect that Jaina yoga came to be established as an independent branch by the end of the medieval period. In view of this, his treatment of dhyāna requires a critical examination, which is going to be attempted in the following.

The Jaina canon classifies dhyāna into four types, i. e., āṛta, raudra, dharma and śukla, which are each subdivided into four kinds. The first two types are excluded from the consideration of dhyāna in the non-Jaina systems, and the last two subdivisions of śukla dhyāna i. e., sūkṣmakriyā and samucchinna-kriyā, which aim at the total karmic destruction by way of yoga-nirodha are peculiar to the Jainas alone, that do not again fall in the category of dhyāna in the normal usage of its term. Samucchinna-kriyā is the state of dhyāna revealed in the immediate sequel of sūkṣmakriyā, therefore it is called dhyāna in the nominal sense alone, which does not involve in essence any effort for its performance. The content of Jaina dhyāna is thus very peculiar by itself jumbling together the non-dhyāna elements in its ordinary sense of term. The first two subdivisions of śukla dhyāna, i. e., pṛthaktva vitarka and ekatva vitarka, correspond to the beginning stages of samprajñāta samādhi in the Yoga system and to the rudimentary stages of the first dhyāna of the Buddhists. This indicates that the Jainas did not attach that much importance to the practice of dhyāna in the Āgamic period in comparison with the non-Jainas who developed the elaborate methods of meditation scheme.

It is not impossible to trace how these contents stated above came to be established under the category of dhyāna in the canon. The *Sūtrakṛta* I. II. 26-28 read, 'te ya biyodagam ceva tam-uddissā ya jaṃ kaḍaṃ| bhoccā jhānaṃ jhiyāyaṃti akheyānnāsamāhiyā| jahā dhamkā ya kamkā ya kulalā maggukā sihi| macchesaṇaṃ jhiyāyaṃti jhānaṃ te kaluṣādhamaṃ|| evedaṃ tu samaṇā ege micchaddiṭṭhi añāriyā| visaesaṇaṃ jhiyāyaṃti kamkā va kaluṣāhamā.' The mental activity of a sinful kind is here already expressed by the term dhyāna, which denotes nothing more than a manoyoga in the later term. This soon prepared the rise of raudra and āṛta classes in the *Sūtrakṛta* II.2.9, 'ahāvare aṭṭhame kiriya-ṭṭhāne ajjhatṭha-vattie tti āhijjai| se jahā-nāmae kei purise natthi naṃ kei kiṃ-ci viśaṃvādeḷ sayam-eva hiṇe diṇe dutṭhe dummaṇe ohaya-maṇa-samkappe cintā-soga-sāgara-sampavittṭhe karayala-palhattha-muhe aṭṭa-jjhānovagae bhūmigaya-diṭṭhie jhiyāi...' In the course of time, these two dhyānas came to be considered in relation to avratas, and mental activity brooding over the objects of parigraha and abrahma came to be called āṛta dhyāna, and that over the objects of the first four avratas came to be called raudra dhyāna as their subdivisions evince.

Suśukla-śukla dhyāna practised by Mahāvīra is described in the *Sūtrakṛta* I. 6. 16-17 in connection with the total destruction of karmas, 'anuttaraṃ dhammaṃ-uiraitṭa

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anuttaram jhāṇa-varam jhiyāi/susukka-sukkaṃ apagandā-sukkaṃ saṃkh-imdu-egantavādāya-sukkaṃ! *anuttaraggam paramam mahesi asesa-kammam sa visohaittā/siddhim gae sāim-ayān'a-patte nāṇṇa sileṇ ya dāmsaṇṇa.* Here is hovering a traditional belief that the fire of pure meditation burns up the last karmas without residue, and the concept of the last two stages of śukla dhyāna must have been developed from these passages. Mahāvira adopted dhyāna praxis along with the other severe penances, which were the common practices pursued in the then śramanic circles, and he is often narrated to have been engaged in contemplation in the earliest part of the canon, for instance, in the *Ācārāṅga* I. 9. 512 and 520. And when dhyāna or yoga came to be sanctioned as the direct method of achieving mokṣa in the other religious systems, the *Sūtrakṛta* passages above must have won an invariable position in the Jaina scheme of dhyāna as the immediate cause for the final release.

Jumbling these elements together, the Jainas also developed their own classification of dhyāna. The fourfold divisions of dhyāna accompanied by the fourfold subdivisions each are enumerated in the *Bhagavati* 25.8.802, *Sthāna* 4.1.308 and *Aupāpatika* 19, the contents of the former two texts of which are exactly identical. These texts talk about lakṣaṇa regarding the subdivisions of āṛta and raudra dhyānas, and lakṣaṇa, ālambana and anupreksā regarding the subdivisions of dharma and śukla dhyānas, which are disregarded in the treatment of dhyāna in the T.S. On the other hand, the T.S. adds in contribution two main new features, namely, the definition of dhyāna and the dhyātās' gradation in the scheme of guṇasthānas.

Dhyāna is defined in IX:27, '*uttama-saṃhananasyaikāgra-cintā-nirodho dhyānam*', of which duration is stated in the succeeding sūtra 28, '*ā muhūrtāt*'. These two aphorisms are combined into one in the text of Pūjyapāda, '*uttama-saṃhananasyaikāgra-cintā-nirodho dhyānam ā antarmuhūrtāt* (27)'. The definition of dhyāna offered by Umāsvāti thus includes three different categories, i.e. its definition proper, the physical prerequisite of a dhyātā and the duration of dhyāna. The source of its time duration is difficult to be traced in the canonical code, and it was likely formulated by Umāsvāti against the different views held by the other schools. The requirement of the best joints for dhyātās is likewise absent in the Āgamic source, which must have been again offered by Umāsvāti with the dhyātās of the highest stages in mind. The *Bhāṣya* understands '*uttama-saṃhanana*' to mean the first two divisions of joints, i.e., vajra-rābha-nārāca and ardha-vajra-nārāca, which is extended to the third division of joints called nārāca in the *Sarvārthasiddhi*. Dhyāna is defined as '*ekāgra-cintā-nirodhaḥ*' which is said in the *Bhāṣya* to denote two separate contents, i. e., ekāgra-cintā and nirodha, but to denote one content in all the other commentaries on the T. S. in both traditions¹⁸. We shall see how this definition of dhyāna was formulated by Umāsvāti.

The *Uttarādhyayana* 29.25 reads, 'egagga-maṇa-saṃnivesaṇayāe naṃ bhaṃte : jive kiṃ jaṇayai ? egagga-maṇa-saṃnivesaṇayāe naṃ cittanirohaṃ kareī'. Its 29.56-58 then say, 'maṇa-samāhāraṇayāe naṃ bhaṃte ! jive kiṃ jaṇayai ? maṇa-samāhāraṇayāe naṃ jive egaggaṃ jṇayai | egaggaṃ jaṇaittā nāṇa paṇṇave jaṇayai | nāṇa-paṇṇave jaṇaittā sammattam viṣohei, micchattam ca nijjarei ||56|| vaya-samāhāraṇayāe jive kiṃ jaṇayai ? vaya-samāhāraṇayāe naṃ jive vaya-sāhāraṇa-daṃsaṇa-paṇṇave viṣohei | vaya-sāhāraṇa-daṃsaṇa-paṇṇave viṣohittā sulaha-bodhiyattam niyyattei, dullaha-bohiyattam nijjarei ||57|| kāya-samāhāraṇayāe naṃ bhaṃte ! jive kiṃ jaṇayai ? kāya-samāhāraṇayāe naṃ jive caritta-paṇṇave viṣohei | caritta-paṇṇave viṣohittā ahakkhāya-carittam viṣohei | ahakkhāya-carittam viṣohettā cattāri kevali-kammamse khavei | tao pacchā sijjai bujjhai muccai parinivvāyai sava-dukkhāṇaṃ-aṃtam kareī ||58|| These passages say that kāya-samāhāra or the collection of physical activities alone leads to mokṣa but not the collection of mental and vocal activities.

Then, sūksmakriyā and samucchinnakriyā dhyānas are described in the *Uttarādhyayana* 29.71-72, *kevala-nāṇa-daṃsaṇaṃ samuppāḍei | jāva sayogi bhavai ||71|| aha āyuyam pālittā aṃtomuhutt-addhavesasē joga - nirohaṃ kareṃāṇe-suhumakiriyaṃ appaḍivāṃ sukkhajjhāṇaṃ jhāyamāṇe tap-paḍhamayāe maṇa-jogam nirumbhai vai-jogam nirumbhai, kāya-jogam nirumbhai, āṇapāṇa-nirohaṃ kareī | isi-paṇica-rahass-akkhar-uccāraṇadddhāe ya naṃ aṇṇāre samucchinnakiriyaṃ aṇiyatṭi-sukkaṇṇajjhāṇaṃ jhiyāyamāṇe veyanijjaṃ āyuyam nāmaṃ gottam ca ee cattāri kammamse jugavam khavei ||72|| Here the performance of a sayogi kevali and ayoga kevali is identified with that of the last two stages of śukla dhyāna, which had never been so done in the other canonical texts such as *Prajñāpāṇā* 36 and *Aupapātika* that describe the final performance of these kevalis approaching towards the final release. The *Uttarādhyayana* 29.72 above describes sūksmakriyā dhyāna as involving the performance of bringing the threefold yogas into cessation.*

Two contents of dhyāna offered by Umāsvāti are 'ekāgra-cintā' and 'nirodha'. The *Yogasūtra* 1.2 defines yoga, 'yogaś-citta-vṛtti-nirodhaḥ,' from which the Jaina concept of dhyāna greatly differs. According to the Āgamic classification of dhyāna, the last two stages of śukla pertain to kevalis' yoga-nirodha, while the rest involve themselves with various mental activities, sinful or otherwise. Umāsvāti therefore discerned these two types of dhyāna in tradition, and offered the definition of 'ekāgre-cintā' to the āṛta through the first two stages of śukla, and 'nirodha' to the last two stages of śukla. 'Ekāgra-cintā' was apparently derived from the *Uttarādhyayana* passage of 'egagga-maṇa-saṃnivesaṇa' or 'maṇa-samāhāra' while replacing maṇas by cintā.

Then, 'nirodha' which is meant as the definition of kevalis' dhyāna was derived from the *Uttarādhyayana* 29.28 and 29.72. In the T.S. IX:42, Umāsvāti specifies that sūksmakriyā is performed by a kevali possessed of kāya-yoga and samucchinnakriyā by an ayoga kevali. Samucchinnakriyā is the stage wherein manifested is the state

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of an ayoga kevali who has just accomplished videha-mukti or the final release. Therefore the statement that its dhyānā is an ayoga kevali precisely represents the canonical view of this dhyāna, which involves no problem. However the concept of sūksmakriyā expressed by Umāsvāti that it is the preformance of kāya-yoga-nirodha comes into conflict with the *Uttarādhyayana* 29.72 which says that it is the performance of yoga-nirodha in three forms. While formulating his own idea or sūksmakriyā dhyāna, Umāsvāti seems to have taken recourse to the *Uttarādhyayana* passage of 'kāya-samāhāraṇa' saying that collection of kāyayoga alone leads one to mokṣa but not the collection of mental and vocal activities (29.55-58). It should be reminded here that Umāsvāti altered the order of threefold yogas into kāya-vān-manas in the T.S. VI:1 from the usual order of mano-vāk-kāya. It is however difficult to widen the said concept of kāya-yoga-nirodha as inclusively expressive of the nirodha of all the threefold yogas beginning with kāyayoga, because it invites technical difficulties involved with the other established concepts in this connection. According to Umāsvāti, a sayoga kevali thus performs the third stage of śukla dhyāna immediately after completing the process of bringing his subtle activities of mind and speech into cessation which takes place after the performance of samudghāta.

The *Uttarādhyayana* 30.35 reads, 'aṭṭa-ruddhāni vajjittā, jhāṇjā susamāhīe/dhamma-sukkāni jhāṇāmi, jhāṇam tam tu bhūvā vae', which finds an expression in the T.S. IX:30 (29) that the last two dhyānas alone are the causes of mokṣa. And since dhyāna which is a part of tapas is here taken up in the context of saṃvara and nirjarā, āṛta and raudra dhyānas do not fall in the context in question. The definition of dhyāna offered in IX:27-28 which contains three different categories, i.e. the dhyānās' physical prerequisite of the best joints, the definition of dhyāna proper and the duration of dhyāna, must be therefore primarily formulated in view of mokṣamārga. But here he brought in all the four types of dhyāna in the canon, perhaps in order to distinguish the Jaina concept of dhyāna from that of the other schools. This invited ambiguity by leaving an impression that the said definition is applicable to all the types of dhyāna. Or as we have previously understood and as so also understood by the later authors on dhyāna, Umāsvāti might have desired to extend the said blanket definition to them all, because 'ekāgra-cintā' surely applies to āṛta and raudra dhyānas also. And even if we exclude these two lower types from the said definition of dhyāna, the proviso of uttama-saṃhānana (which certainly is over too narrow to be applied to the two lower types) is over narrow to be applied to the class of dhrama dhyāna, which led Pūjyapāda to expand its content up to the third division of joints. Neither Umāsvāti lucidly expresses that 'ekāgra-cintā' is applicable to those in chadmastha and 'kāya-nirodha' to kevalis, as these are aphorized in one compound in singular ending. This obscure expression invited a misunderstanding as so evinced in the commentaries on the T. S. in both traditions. These unhappy points are therefore bound to face improvements, of which task was vested in his successors.

In the *Āvaśyaka niryukti* 1477, Bhadrabāhu offers a definition of dhyāna in chadmastha after Umāsvāti by dropping the proviso of the best joints, 'amtomuhuttakālam cittass-egaggayā havai jhānam|taṃ puṇa attam ruddam dhammam sukkam ca nāyavvam.' In its gāthā 1481 onwards, however, he expresses a dissatisfaction about Umāsvāti's idea of sūksmakriyā dhyāna to be the performance of kāya-yoga-nirodha in three kinds, 'tattha u bhāṇijja koi jhānam jo māṇaso pariṇāmo| taṃ na havai jina-dittham jhānam tivihe-vi jogammi||1481|| kāe-vi-ya ajjhappam vāyāi maṇassa ceva jaha hoi| kāya-vaya-māno-juttam tiviham ajjhappam-āhamvu||.484|| jai egaggam cittam dhārayao vā nirumbhato vā-vi|jhānam hoiṇaṇu tahā iaresu-vi dāsu em-eva||1485||. He emphatically explains then that vāg-yoga-nirodha also falls in the domain of dhyāna. His criticism in the first half of the gāthā 1481 is obviously directed against Patañjali's definition of yoga, and a similar criticism against it pervades in the works of his successors.

Bhadrabāhu is quite right in proposing this amendment by representing the canonical view described in the *Uttarādhyayana* 29.72. It is interesting to see however that his proposal faces a doom to be turned down by Jinabhadra who offers a full support to Umāsvāti's view in his *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*, 'sudaḍha-ppayatta-vāyāraṇam nirodho va vijjamāṇaṇam| jhānam karaṇaṇa mataṃ na tu citta-nirodha-mettā yaṃ||3669|| hojja na maṇomāyāṃ vāyiyāṃ va jhānam jīṇassa tad-abhāve| kāya-nirodha-payattassa bhāvam-iha ka nivāreti? ||3670|| āha'bhāve maṇaso chatumatthass-eva taṃ na jhānam se| adha tad-abhāve vi mataṃ jhānam to kiṇṇa sutassa||3672|| juttam jaṃ chatumatthassa-karaṇa-mettā' nūṣāri-nāṇassa| tad-abhāvammi payattābhāvo na jīṇassa so jutto||3675|| chatumatthassa māno-matta-vihitajattassa jati mataṃ jhānam|kidha taṃ na jīṇassa mataṃ kevala-vihita-ppayattassa||3676|| Jinabhadra explains this point again in his *Jhānajjhayaṇa* 83-34, 'nivāra-gaṃṇa-kāle, kevalino dara-niruddha-jogassa suhumakiriya' niaṭṭim, taiṇam tanukāya-kiriyaṇa|| tass-eva ya selesim gayassa selesu va nippakaṇpassa|vucchinakiriya-appaḍi-vāim jhānam parama-sukkam.' Also he attempts to remove the ambiguity created by Umāsvāti, thus he says in the *Jhānajjhayaṇa* 2-3 in his own words that 'ekāgra-cintā' applies to chadmasthas and 'nirodha' to kevalis, 'jaṃ tthirani-ajjhavasāe, taṃ jhānam jaṃ calam tayaṃ cūtam| taṃ hujja bhāvaṇā vā, anupehā vā have cimtā|| amomānuttam-mittam cittavattāṇam-ega-vattummi| chaumatthāṇam jhānam, joga-niroho jīṇam tu.' He followed Bhadrabāhu in removing the proviso of uttama-saṃphanana, and the definition of dhyāna thus improved by Jinabhadra came to be generally accepted by the later Jaina authors.

Yet here is Agastyaśiṃha who wants to say something about the *Jhānajjhayaṇa* treatment of dhyāna, because his cūṇi on the *Daśavaikālika* (Prākṛit Text Society ed., p.16) reads, 'idāṇim jhānam|tassa imam sāmāṇam lakkaṇam-egagg-cimtā-niroho jhānam ...egaggassa cimtā egagga-cimtā, etaṃ jhānam chaumatthassa; niroho kevaliṇo jogassa, cimtā nūṭhi tti kevaliṇo tan-niroho na sambhavati" tti keti, taṃ na, davvamaṇa-niroho tassa bhāṇito, jati egagg-cimtā jhānam tato joga-niggaho sutarām-eva| je puṇa

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bhāṇanti- "egaggo-cintā-niroho jhāṇam" ti etaṃ na ghaḍate kevalino, ābhinihoḥiya-bhedo cintā tti, tamhā "daḍham-ajjhivatsāṇam jhāṇam"-iti, te avidita-viggaha-bhedā sutta-dūsaṇeṇaṃ buddhi-māhappam-abhīlasamī, paripheggu jampiyam, daḍham-ajjhavasāo etaṃ viśesena cintā-rūpam, ko etassa ajjhavasāo? yad-uttamā kā cintā? takkādato savve ābhinihoḥiya-nāṇa-bhedā paḍhitā tattvārthe/ kāla-nirohi ā mahuttāto....' The point of Agastyasimha's criticism on the *Jhāṇajjhāyana* is not quite clear, but from the way of his argument that kevali's yoga-nirodha involves dravya-mano-nirodha, he seems to suggest that sūksmakriyā is the performance of yoga-nirodha in three kinds (because their cessation proceeds in the order of mind, speech and body). This he seems to be insisting on in support of Umāsvāti's position. In that case, his understanding of the T.S. treatment of sūksmakriyā is confused. Also it is strange that Agastyasimha understand cintā in the sense of the synonym of ābhinibodhika jñāna by way of quoting the T. S.

These are the immediate reactions expressed by the post-Umāsvāti authors to the obscure definition of dhyāna proposed by Umāsvāti and its improvement made by Jinabhadra came to be generally welcomed by his successors. The proviso of uttama-samphanana was naturally removed from its definition, but the time duration of antarmuhūrta was generally retained. These authors unanimously accepted the traditional classification of the four kinds of dhyāna after Umāsvāti, and gave the definition of 'ekāgra-cintā' to ārta and raudra dhyānas as well. Hemacandra was the first author who removed these two types from the category of dhyāna in his *Yogaśāstra*, which is a sure improvement on Umāsvāti's treatment that has been waited for too long.

The non-Jaina schools provide the stages of dhyāna or samādhi, for instance, the *Yogasūtra* lists fourfold samprajñāta samādhis and asamprajñāta samādhi, and the *Abhidharmakośa* enumerates upapatti and samāpatti of which steps and stages are therein elaborately worked out. The Āgamic classification and subclassification of dhyāna are made on the basis of the objects of concentration, excluding the case of śukla dhyāna wherein the first two stages are arranged in the progressive order towards the advancement of mental concentration, and the last two stages are arranged in the progressive order towards mokṣa. Perhaps for this reason, a necessity was felt by Umāsvāti to arrange them according to the stages of the progress of meditation as so done in the non-Jaina schools, and guṇasthāna was seized for this purpose. As already mentioned, the *Uttarādhyayana* 29.72 already identifies the dhyātās of the last two stages of śukla dhyāna with the sayoga kevali and the ayoga kevali who are the saints in the last two guṇasthānas. This was so done because of the peculiarities of these dhyānas known to be performed by kevalis alone, but not due to the conscious attempt to arrange the meditators of these dhyānas in their specific guṇasthānas. Umāsvāti performed this task of assigning the meditators of fourfold dhyānas to the proper guṇasthānas by drawing the existent materials in the Āgama as we see below.

We have earlier mentioned that the *Bhagavati*, *Sthāna* and *Aupapātika* to uchupon the lakṣaṇas of dhyāna subdivisions, which are dropped from Umāsvāti's treatment of dhyāna. These are as follows ; 1) āṛta : kāmḍaṇayā, soyaṇayā, tippanayā, paridevaṇayā, 2) raudra : oṣanna-dose, bahula-d., annāṇa-d., āmaraṇaṇa-d., 3) dharma : āṇā-ruī, nisagga-r., sutta-r., ogēdha-r., and 4) śukla:avvahe, asammohe, vivege, viussagge. The *Prajñāpanā* 1.74 classifies sarāga-damśanāriyās into ten types, i. e. nisagga-ruī, uvaesa-r., āṇā-r., sutta-r., biya-r., abhigama-r., vitthāra-r., kiriya-r., samkheva-r., and dhamma-r. The first three lakṣaṇas of dharma dhyāna find their corresponding types here in the classification of sarāga-darśana-āryas. The 4th lakṣaṇa called avagāṇi-ruci meaning inclination towards the deep study of scriptures may correspond to type of ārya called abhigama-ruci above.

The *Prajñāpanā* 1.75 further classifies viyarāya-damśanāriyā into two, i.e., uvasaṇṇa-kasāya and khīṇa-kasāya, of which the latter is further divided into two i.e., chaumattha-khīṇakasāya and kavali-kṣīṇakasāya. Herein chaumattha-khīṇakasāya is again of two types, i.e., sayambuddha and buddha-bohiya; and kevali-khīṇakasāya is also of two types, i.e., sayogi-kevali and ayogi-kevali. The four lakṣaṇas of śukla dhyāna enumerated in the texts such as *Bhagavati* do not find here the corresponding four types in vitarāga-darśana-āryas, nevertheless these lakṣaṇas are self-explanatory that these belong to the class of vitarāga-darśana-āryas alone, but to no others. The *Prajñāpanā* 1.76 continues to say that sarāga-cāritra-āryas are of two types, i.e., sūkṣma-samparāya and bādara-samparāya, who belong to the 10th and 9th guṇasthāna in the list of 14 stages. Summing up all these accounts, the performers of dharma dhyāna according to these Āgamic texts fall in the 9th and 10th stages, and those of śukla dhyāna in the 11th stage onwards.

The compass of the stages of dharma dhyāna above does not exactly agree with that offered by Umāsvāti who might have used some other materials which escaped our sight or which are no more available to us. The source materials used for allotting the stages of āṛta and raudra dhyātās are difficult to be traced, but these are logically assignable with the basic knowledge of avratas and guṇasthānas. Systematizing the, Āgamic literature on this subject, Umāsvāti assigns the meditators of raudra dhyāna to the 1st through the 5th stages, those of āṛta to the 1st through the 6th stages those of dharma to the 7th through the 12th stages, and those of śukla to the 11th through the 14th stages, of which the performers of the first two subdivisions to the 11th and the 12th stages, those of the 3rd subdivision to the 13th stage, and those of the 4th subdivision to the 14th stage. The 11th and 12th guṇasthānas are thus shared by the meditators of dharma dhyāna and by the meditators of the first two stages of śukla dhyāna, who are necessarily the pūrvavids. (Umāsvāti does not know the full list of 14 stages, neither he calls them in terms of numerical series, therefore the corresponding stages of meditators expressed here for the sake of convenience and clarification).

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The text of Pūjyapāda drops the portion of dhyātā from the sūtra 37 along with the succeeding sūtra 38 of the Śvetāmbara recension. Consequently, no statement is made in the Digambara text as to the authorized performers of dharmya dhyāna, of which explanation must be supplied by the commentaries. The *Sarvārthasiddhi* on the aphorisms (36-37) explains that the meditators of dharmya dhyāna belong to the 4th through the 7th stages prior to the ascendance of śreṇis. Here arises a discordance between the two recensions of text, which however does not mean the doctrinal divergence between the two traditions, because the *Dhavalā* 13/5.4.26/14/10 is in perfect agreement with the view held by the Śvetāmbara tradition.¹⁹ Pūjyapāda, who is thoroughly familiar with 14 guṇasthānas and the concept of kārāṇas involving two śreṇis, insists that dharmya dhyāna cannot be performed in the stages beyond the ascendance of śreṇis. However it is not at all clear what is the exact reason underlying this rule of prohibition, because commenting the sūtra (37) he permits the performance of dharmya dhyāna to the possessors of the pūrvās in the 11th and 12th stages, "ca' śabdēna dharmyamapi samucciyate/ tatra "vyākhyānato viśeṣa-partipattih" iti śreṇy-ārohaṇt-prāg-dharmyam, śreṇyoḥ śukle iti vyākhyāyate." His statement is doubtlessly confused and contradicted. His position is defended by Akalaṅka under the sūtra (36), 'kaścid - āha- upaśānta-kṣiṇamoha-kaṣāyayoś-ca dharmyam dhyānam bhavati na pūrveṣāṃ eveti; tan-na; kim kārāṇam? śuklābhāva-prasaṅgāt/14/ syād-eta- ubhayaṃ dharmyam śuklam copāśānta-kṣiṇakaṣāyayor-astīti? tan-na; kim kārāṇam? pūrvasyāniṣṭatvāt / pūrvam hi dharmyam dhyānam śreṇyor-neṣyate ārṣe, pūrveṣu ceṣyate /15/ (36).' The defence is made in a miserably poor manner. This obviously explains that Akalaṅka was also unable here to find a logical reason for the creation of the border line of śreṇis beyond which belongs to the domain of śukla dhyātās.

Umsāvāti utilized the existing canonical materials and systematically arranged the respective dhyātās in the corresponding guṇasthānas after the model of the treatment of dhyāna made in the non-Jaina circles. His table can impart a general idea as to which type of dhyātās falls in approximately which collective stages of guṇasthāna. However, the canonical classification and subclassification of dhyāna are on the whole schemed according to the objects of meditation, therefore the gradation of dhyānas and dhyātās in the orderly stages as so worked out by the non-Jainas requires the total reclassification of dhyāna itself in the canon. Haribhadra approached this problem from the entirely different angle and established his own scheme of the stages of dhyātās under the influence of the non-Jaina yoga. Some authors solved this problem by way of introducing the four steps of pada, piṇḍa, rūpa, and arūpa to dharmya dhyāna under the influence of the Śaiva yoga.²⁰ The treatment of the stages of dhyāna thus gave rise to new approaches in the post-Umsāvāti period.

As we have observed in the texts like the *Bhagavati* dhyāna had already met a semi-systematic treatment regarding its lakṣaṇa, ālambana and anuprekṣā in the later Āgamic stage, which Umsāvāti did not adopt. Jinabhadra revived this canonical

treatment of ālambāna to dharma dhyāna in his *Jhāṇajjhayāna*, the first elaborate prakāra on the Jaina dhyāna, which initiated its further development. This subject matter attracted the Jainas in both traditions, which continued to develop while much assimilating the non-Jaina elements until it finally established itself as the scheme of Jaina yoga which is represented by the works of Haribhadra, Śubhacandra, Hemacandra, and so on. The theoretical development of the concept of yoga must have given a considerable impact on the actual methods of yoga practice. Umāsvāti's treatment of dhyāna made in the T.S. prepared for this direction, and his performance, even though exhibiting some defective treatments, should be evaluated as a whole highly meritorious in this historical purview.

Part 4 Jīvasamāsa, mārgaṇāsthāna and guṇasthāna

14 jīvasamāsas, 14 mārgaṇāsthānas and 14 guṇasthānas by which media the karma doctrine is expounded make their first appearance in the *Śaṅkhaṇḍāgama* in the standardized form. These three sthānas are reckoned at the outset of its first book called *Santapāraṇāsuttāni* which are planned to be explained in the beginning several books from the viewpoint of eight anuyogadvāras, i. e., sat, dravya (sāṅkhyā), kṣetra, sparśana, kāla, antara, bhāva and alpabahutva. Umāsvāti does not know the designations of these three sthānas nor is he acquainted with their complete lists. However the T.S. exhibits a good knowledge of them, and it may not be idle to inquire how far these 14 sthānas had been developed by the time of Umāsvāti in order to estimate the temporal distance between the T.S. and the *Śaṅkhaṇḍāgama* (and between the *Kaṣāyaprabhīta* and the T.S. at the same time).

Jīvasamāsa is a classification of saṃsārī jīvas who are arranged from the lowest order to the highest according to the number of their sense organs. The list thus consists of the subtle one-sensed beings (1), gross one-sensed beings (2), two to four-sensed beings (3-5), five-sensed beings without mind (6), and five-sensed beings with mind (7), who are each classified into the underdeveloped and the developed. The classes of jīvas as such are known to the later Āgamic texts, for instance, the *Jīvājīvaḥigama*, wherein the crystallization in this form is not yet attained. The T.S. Ch. II shows a similar classification of jīvas, which however does not adopt paryāpta-aparyāpta divisions that are extensively used in the canon. Umāsvāti must have represented in T.S. the then most advanced and prevalent classification method of the beings, from which the final formulation into 14 jīvasamāsas expressed in the *Śaṅkhaṇḍāgama* is a matter of time.

The T.S. I:8 Bh. enumerates 13 mārgaṇāsthānas which are called by the name of anuyogadvāras, i. e., gati (1), indriya (2), kāya (3) yoga (4), kaṣāya (6), veda (5), kṣyā (10), samyaktva (12), jñāna (7), darśana (9), cāritra (8), āhāra (14), and upayoga

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(13). Bhavya or the 11th mārganāsthāna is missing in this list, and upayoga or the 13th sthāna here is replaced by samjñā in the *Śaṅkhaṇḍāgama*. Umāsvāti's list is thus short of the 11th sthāna and exhibits some difference in the arrangement of items. The T. S. I:8 counts eight anuyogadvāras which are employed in the beginning books of the *Śaṅkhaṇḍāgama* in the same order (*Anuyogadvāra* 102 counts nine with the addition of bhāga). Umāsvāti directs the readers to apply these thirteen mārganāsthānas to samyagdarśana from the standpoint of these eight anuyogadvāras, of which exposition is called sabbhūtapadaprārūpaṇādi inasmuch as the *Śaṅkhaṇḍāgama* designates it samīparūvaṇa and so on. It is thus undeniable that the crystallization of 14 mārganāsthānas took place well-nigh soon after the completion of the T. S.

It has been already shown that Umāsvāti employed guṇasthānas in order to express the gradation of the stages of dhyātās as so done in the non-Jaina circles. This is a sure indication that the concept of guṇasthāna had been well developed by that time, even though its designation and the numerical identification of its stages were not yet known. Guṇasthānas are reckoned in the T. S. in relation to pariśabajaya, dhyāna and nirjarā of karmas. IX: 10-12, 35-38 and 40 count the following stages: avirata (4), deśavirata (5), pramattasamyata (6), bādarasamparāya (9), śūksmasamparāya (10), upasāntakaśāya (11), kṣīṇakaśāya (12), (also chadmasthavitarāga, 11-12), kevali or jina (13-14). IX: 47 lists samyagdr̥ṣṭi (4), śrāvaka (5), virata (6-7), anāntanubandhi-ivijojaka (4-8), darśanamohakṣapaka (8-10) mohopaśamaks (8-10, 11; on the śreṇi), upasāntamoha (11), mohakṣapaka (8-10, 12; on the śreṇi), kṣīṇamoha (12) and jino (13-14), wherein karmic purge is said to increase by innumerable times more in each stage in comparison with that in the preceding one. The *Kaṣāyaprabhṛta* 1.14 lists; samyaktva, deśavirati, samyāna, darśanamohopaśamana, cāritramohopaśamana (i. e., bādararāga and śūksmasamparāya, 14.121-122), darśanamohakṣapana and cāritramohakṣapana. This clearly demonstrates the proximity of distance between this text and the T. S.

The first stage of mithyārva and the third stage of samyagmithyātva had since long existed in the canon. However the 2nd stage of sāsavadana was perhaps not at all known to Umāsvāti together with certain karaṇas involving śreṇis such as the antara karaṇa. Saṅkramaṇa which involves the concept of śreṇis is mentioned in the T. S. Thus excluding sāsavadana stage, all the rest of the guṇasthānas must have been known to Umāsvāti. The *Samavāya* 14.48 imparts a full list of 14 items, i. e., micchaditṭhi, sāsāyanasammadditṭhi, sammāmicchaditṭhi, avirayasammadditṭhi, virayāviraye, pamattasamjñae, appamattasamjñae, niṭṭhibāyare, aniyatṭhibāyare, suhumasamparāe, (uvasāmae or, khavae or), uvasamtamohae, khīṇamohae, sajogikevali and ajogikevali.

Stages 1-7 excluding the 2nd are found in the Āgama like the *Bhagavati*, for instance, its 18.1.6 lists samyagdr̥ṣṭi (4), mithyādr̥ṣṭi (1) and samyagmithyādr̥ṣṭi (3). Its 18.1.7 has the list of samyata (6-7), asamyata (4) and samyatasamyata (5), and

its 1.1.16 *asamyata* or *avirati*, *pramattasamyata* (6) and *apramattasamyata* (7). These classifications are based on the types of *darśana* and *samyama*, both of which are the important ethical topics discussed since the time of the *Ācārāṅga* I and the *Sūtrākṛta* I. The *Prajāñāpanā* 1.65-77 impart a full classification of *āriyas* as follows:

देरिये

1. iddhipattāriyā arahamā, cakkavaṭṭi, baladevā, vāsudevā, cāraṇā, vijjāharā
2. aṇḍhipattāriyā kbettāriyā, jāīariyā, kulāriyā, kammāriyā, sippāriyā,
bbāsāriyā, nēṇāriyā, dāmsanāriyā, carittāriyā

damśāṇāriya

1. sarāga d. nisaggaruñ, uvaesa r., āpā r., sutta r., biya r., abhigama r.,
vitthāra r., kiriyā r., samkheva r., dhamma r.

2. viyarāga d.

1. *uvasaṃtakasāya v.* by time division : (1) *paḍhamasamaya u. v.*, *apaḍhamasamaya u. v.*, (2) *cārimasamaya u. v.*, *acārimasamaya u. v.*

2. khīṇakasāya v.

1. chaumattha k. v.

1. sayambuddha e. k. v.

each by two time divisions.

2. buddhabohiya c. k. v.

2. kevali k. v.

1. Sayogi k. k. v.

each by two time divisions.

2. ayogi k. k, v.

carittāriyā

- (1) 1. sarāgacarittāriyā

1. *bāyarasamparāya* s. c. [9th stage] (1) by two time divisions.

- (2) paḍivāī, āpaḍivāī

2. subumasamparāya s. c. [10th] (1) by two time divisions.

- (?) saṃkīḷissamāṇā, viśuddhamāṇā

2. vlyarāgacarittāriyā

1. uvasamtakasāya v. c. [11th)

by two time divisions.

2. *khiṇakasāya* v. c.

1. chaumattha k. v. c. [12th]

- I. sayambuddha c. k. v. c.

each by two time divisions.

2. buddhabohiya c. k. v. c.

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2. kevali k. v. c.

1. sayogi k. k. v. c. [13th]

each by two time divisions.

2. ayogi k. k. v. c. [14th]

- (2) 1. sāmāyiacarittāriyā ittariya s. c., āvakahiya s. c.
2. chedovatthāvaṇiya c. sāyāra c. c., nirayāra c. c.
3. parihāraṇisuddhiya c. nivissamāṇa p. c., nivittṭhakāya p. c.
4. subumasamparāya c. saṃkilissamāṇa s. c., visujjhamāṇa s. c.
5. ahakkhāya c. chaumattha a. c., kevali a. c.

The classification of these two types of āryas is primarily based on the modes of eliminating rāga or kaṣāya. The classification of viyarāgacarittāriyā which is identical with that of viyarāgadamsaṇāriyā contains the guṇasthānas 11–14, and sarāgacarittāriyā are expressed in terms of the 9th and 10th guṇasthānas. This indicates that by the time of the *Prajñāpanā* all the stages excluding the 2nd and 8th (apūrvakaraṇa) were ready. And the subclassification of the 9th stage by paḍvāi and apaḍvāi and that of the 10th stage by saṃkilissamāṇa and visujjhamāṇa adumbrate the direction towards the formulation of the concept of śreṇis. It is curious to note here that carittāriyā are explained by way of the two different types of classification, namely, by guṇasthānas and by the stages of saṃyama. These five stages of saṃyama or cāritra later came to constitute the 8th mārgaṇāsibhāna together with asaṃyama and deśasaṃyama. The *Bhagavati* 25.7 is devoted to the exposition of these five types of saṃyatas in terms of thirty-seven anuyogadvāras. And in company with the *Uttarādhyaṇa* 28, Umāsvāti refers for the content of cāritramārga to these five types of saṃyama. This classification of āryas based on these fivefold saṃyatas seems to have been developed when these items were taken up in the *Chedasūtras*. For instance, the *Bṛhatkalpa* 6 enumerates six types of kalpa, i.e., sāmāyika-saṃyata, chedopasthāpaniya-saṃyata, nirviṣṭamāṇa, nirviṣṭakāyika, jina and sthavira; and the *Vyavahāra* 1 discusses about cheda and parihārae in relation to the monks' performance of prāyaścitta. And it is likely that these five types of āryas came to stand in the capacity of monks' guṇasthāna in the later monastic disciplinary jurisprudence.

The Buddhists were also ready with the classification of āryas known by the name of eight ārya pudgalas. It is informed that only four śrāmaṇya phalas were discussed in the old text like the *Samyuttanikāya*, i.e., srotāpanna, sakṛdāgāmi, anāgāmi and arhat. It is said that each of these four stages of āryas came to be considered later in terms of those who are on the way to the stage and those who have arrived at the stage, thus furnishing the eight classes of āryas.²¹ Attention has been early drawn to the resemblance of this Buddhist concept of the śrāmaṇya phalas and the Jaina concept of guṇasthānas.²² It may be worth while to summarize here the essential features of their resemblance. Firstly, the stages in both systems

are primarily based on the classification of āryas arranged in the ascending order towards liberation. Secondly, the order of these stages in both systems imparts the conceptual indication of the stages of spiritual attainment, but not the empirically chronological one. Thirdly, in both systems the beginning stages are concerned with the attainment of darśana (śrotāpatti or the stage prior to śrotāpanna in Buddhism) and the rest of the stages pertain to the attainment of cāritra by way of the removal of mohaniyakarmas or kleśas. Fourthly, both schemes provide a chance of death in the deva loka in order to take up a spiritual stage once again (sakkāgāmi in Buddhism and the 11th stage in Jainism). The *Abhidharmakośa* I Ch. 6 called *Mārgapudgalaṇirdeśa* is devoted to this classification of āryas, which was certainly known to the *Vibhāṣā* authors.

It appears that the Jainas had been since long attempting to classify the āryas into the ascending stages towards liberation, one of which classification based on the modes of eliminating kaṣāyas (*Prajñāpanā* above) developed into scheme of 14 guṇasthānas by way of assimilating the old standing classification based on darśana and saṃyama (e. g., *Bhagavati* 18.1.6–7 and 1.1.16), and thereby the other kind of classification based on the five types of saṃyama was set aside and came to be absorbed in to the list of 14 mārgaṇasthānas. And the early karma specialists are doubtlessly responsible for the final formulation of the schemes of these 14 sthānas.

The stages of aspirants are provided in the other schools also in conformity with their own dogmas. Guṇasthāna likewise represents an ethical feature typical of the Jains based on their karma theory. The *Prajñāpanā* classification of these stages of carittāriyā is worked out in terms of the removal of mohaniya karmas. It suggests that this classification belongs to the period when kaṣāyas became the point of focus in the field of karma doctrine. Between the time of the *Prajñāpanā* and the T.S., the concept of two śreṇi involving the 8th stage of apūrvakaraṇa must have evolved, and the 2nd stage of sāsvalāna must have been formulated in the post-Umāsvāti period.

The provision of śreṇis, a fall from upaśama śreṇi and a device of sāsvalāna stage for the falling aspirants to the bottom — these are the peculiar features in the concept of guṇasthāna. The concept of bhāva anuyogadvāra in five or six types (five plus sānuipātika) may be a comparatively later product as it is located in the *Anuyogadvāra* 127. However the concept of a soul's operation called kṣaya (kammaṃ khaveti occurs in the *Sūtrakṛta* 1.2.1. 15) and upaśama must belong to much older period. The idea of kṣaya sounds to be an ontologically logical deduction, while that of upaśama appears to be an empirical deduction. If their combined operation called kṣayopaśama is considered to be much impurer than the upaśama operation, it is quite logical to assume that upaśama and kṣaya types alone can advance an aspirant to the further spiritual ascendance, of which paths are expressed in the forms of two śreṇis. And since the total eradication of karmas alone can lead him to the final release according to the Jainas, it is imperative to postulate that kṣapaka śreṇi alone is competent to achieve his end. Then it is again imperative to assume that the ascendant on upaśama śreṇi

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must sometime fall by the end of this śreṇi in order to take up the ladder of the kṣapakas. This also fits in explaining the empirical phenomena in the actual practice wherein the monks often relax in the middle and fail in their spiritual paths. A similar idea likewise prevails in the Buddhist texts as evinced by their frequent usage of the term avinivartaniya in the antonymous sense. The karma specialists regulated the time limit of his stay at the end of the śreṇi within one samaya up to antarmuhūrta, and gave two choices for his mode of departure from this śreṇi, namely, either by way of death or by way of fall. By way of death, he is destined to be an Anuttarasura deva, of which idea is comparable to that of sakṛdāgāmi in Buddhism. By way of fall, he is destined to fall below the 6th stage of pramattasamyata due to the rise of karmas. A creation of sāvādāna stage was possibly made on the basis of a logical assumption that the saint on the 11th stage cannot fall straightway to the bottom stage of mithyātva. It thus seems that the concept of guṇasthāna was on the whole worked out on the rational ground.

The above examinations evince that jīvasamāsa and mārgaṇasthāna were crystallized soon after Umāsvāti's time, more than the time of which must have been required for the final formulation of guṇasthāna. The classification of karmas shown in the T.S. Ch. VIII is no more than the deduction from the canon, for instance, from the *Uttarāṅghayana* 33. Following suit of the canonical authors, Umāsvāti engages himself here in the discussion of karmic bondage alone, while the *Śaṅkhaṇḍagāma* further takes up the problems of vedanā in its Books 10-12, which is considered from the viewpoint of nikṣepas. Its Book 9, touches upon karaṇas such as upakrama, saṅkrama, niddhatti and nikacana, a mention of which also occurs in the gāthā to the *Bhagavati* 1.1.12. Umāsvāti refers to karaṇas such as saṅkramaṇa (VIII : 22Bh.) and apavartana (II : 52Bh.), and explains anubhāva in terms of udaya. Taking all these into consideration, the temporal distance between the T.S. and the *Śaṅkhaṇḍagāma* is not too far away, say, at the most ten years.

The list of guṇasthānas reckoned in the *Kaṣāyaprabhṛta* and the T. S. is quite alike. Likewise the classification of kaṣāyas into four types with subdivisions made in the *Kaṣāyaprabhṛta* Ch. 8 is located in the *Prajñāpana* Ch. 14 and the T.S. VIII : 10Bh. The synonyms of these four kaṣāyas enumerated in the T.S. VIII : 10Bh., and those of rāga-dveṣa listed in the *Praśamartai* 18-19, which are dispersed in the canonical texts and not provided in one place en block, are again located at large in the *Kaṣāyaprabhṛta* Ch. 9. Its fifth chapter takes up the concept of saṅkramaṇa from the standpoint of various anuyogadvāras, and it is also taken up in most of the later chapters which are arranged according to the guṇasthānas. The concept of saṅkramaṇa likely came to the focus of the then karma specialists' attention, of which discussion is however conspicuously absent in the canonical texts. As already taken note of, Umāsvāti likely took a help of the *Kaṣāyaprabhṛta* in formulating the concept of yoga

as śubha and aśubha. Naya in the *Kaśāyaprabhṛta* is explained by Yativṛṣabha as of five kinds. In all probability, the *Kaśāyaprabhṛta* was in front of Umāsvāti. And it appears that the relevant concepts of karma doctrine were formulated and developed by the group of these early karma specialists who began to be active in the later classical period.

Part 5 Treatment of cāritra in mokṣamārga

The concept of the threefold pathways to liberation, i. e., darśana, jñāna and cāritra, may be even traced in the *Sūtrakṛta* I.6.17 which reads, 'anuttaraggam paramam mahesi asesā-kamunam sa visohaitta/ siddhim gae sāim-aṇanta-patte nāṇeṇa silēṇa ya dāṣaṇeṇa', and the *Sūtrakṛta* II.7. 812, '...āgamitā nāṇam dāṣaṇam āgamitā caritāṇa pāvāṇam kamnīṇa akaraṇīyāṇe se khala para-loka-palimamhāitāṇe ciṭṭhai...' However the conscious attempt of discussing mokṣamārga in threefold ways (*Uttarādhyayana* 23.33 and *Rṣibhāṣita* n. 21) or fourfold ways, i. e., triplet plus tapas (*Uttarādhyayana* 28), came in a considerably later canonical stage, to which Vaṭṭakera augmented virya (which was a prevalent category in the context of ācāras or guṇas in the later Āgamic age) as the fifth pathway in his *Mūlācāra*. The monastic conduct or cāritra is as old the theme as the history of the sect, but the concept of cāritra in the context of mokṣamārga is thus a new problem arisen in the later classical period.

The T.S. is a prakaraṇa which represents the contents of the canon within the scheme of seven tattvas guided by the theme of mokṣamārga. Therefore, even though tattva essentially express the ontological principles, the first five chapters of the T.S. can be considered in the sense of jñānamimāṃsā, the last five chapters in terms of cāritramimāṃsā, and the belief in the entire tattvas in terms of darśanamimāṃsā. Among the last five tattvas, bandha (Ch. VIII) is purely an ontological item and mokṣa (Ch. x) is merely manifestation of the accomplished state of a soul, by which the actual disciplinary code of ascetics is not expressed. Āsrava tattva (Ch. VIII) represents the householders' discipline. Umāsvāti opens up the topic of mahāvraata in this seventh chapter while discussing anuvraata, which was better if it were handled in the section of samvara tattva because the ascetics, conduct is necessarily directed towards mokṣa whether it is attainable or not in this life. (Mokṣa is not attainable without the knowledge of the fourteen *Pūrvvas*, thus no one after Jambū is said to be capable of attaining it. When I visited nuns at Rukḍi near Bahubali at Kolhapur Dist., Pūjyaśrī Ajitamati Amṇā replied in reference to this problem that one can be born in mahāvīdeha to achieve mokṣa in the future. Svarga is attainable even by remaining as a layman, therefore a serious initiation into an ascetic's carrier must be necessarily based on the faith that at certain future birth, he is able to be released from saṃsāra.) Thus in the scheme of tattvas, samvara-nirjarā represent the disciplinary code of ascetics, that must constitute the content of cāritramārga. However Umāsvāti,

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following suit of the *Uttarādhyayana* 28.32-33, identifies cāritra with samyama in five types, i. e., sāmāyika, cchedopasthāpanā parihāraśuddhi, sūksmasamparāya and yathākhyāna. Besides he formulated sixfold samvaradvāras excluding mahāvīra. Umāsvāti's performance as such exhibits that many concepts relevant to cāritramārga were yet taking the course of development in the late canonical stage. The following is an attempt to understand how the relevant concepts of cāritramārga came to evolve in the canonical period, how they were handled by Umāsvāti and how they were treated in the immediate post-Umāsvāti authors in the two traditions.

The categorical items of jñāna-darśana-cāritra occur in the canon in reference to various concepts such as ārādhana (*Bhagavati* 8.10.354), virādhana pratikramana (*Āvaśyaka* 4.6), jīva guṇa (*Anuvogaadvāra* 145), bodhi and buddhi (*Sthāna* 3.2.207), prajñāpanā (*Sthāna* 3.4.255), samkkaśa (*Sthāna* 3.4.258), prāyścitta (*Sthāna* 3.4.264), gaṇi riddhi (*Sthāna* 3.4.277), and so on. This set category also occurs in various contexts in the Āgamic texts, for instance, as one of the guṇas of Lord Mahāvīra (*Bhagavati* 2.5.107), as one of the properties of amā (*Bhagavati* 12.10.466), as one of the subdivisions of nirgranthas (*Bhagavati* 25.6.4), as one of the subdivisions of ārya (*Prajñāpanā* 1.1.72-77), as one of the subdivisions of vinaya (*Aupapātika* 19), as one of the divisions of jīva pariṇāna (*Prajñāpanā* 13.4.14-15), and so on. It appears that this triplet had originally been conceived in reference to an ideal monk's virtuous qualities, which later came to be applied to many other concepts including mokṣamārga. The *Bhagavati* 8.10.354 above classifies three kinds of ārādhana in threefold degrees each, i. e., the highest, medium and lowest, and shows the possible modes of their combinations. The highest degree of cāritra is said necessarily to go with the highest degree of darśana ārādhana. It then discusses three grades of each ārādhana in relation to rebirth, and says that he who is possessed of the highest degree of each ārādhana attains liberation or rebirth in kulpāṭita, from which the deduction of the concept of the threefold pathways to liberation is a matter of time. We should also remember the aforementioned passages of the *Sūtrakṛta* I.6.17 and II.7.812 as the possible sources of the threefold paths to liberation. The designation of them as triratna is a post-Umāsvāti phenomenon, which occurs, for instance, in the *Tandulavāicārīka* 118, but not yet in the niryukti literature.

A description of Lord Mahāvīra and his elder disciples often ends with such an idiomatic expression as stated in the *Bhagavati* 1.1.7, '...samjamenam tavaśā appānam bhāvenāṇe viharai? The *Bhagavati* 2.5.111 reads, '...paccakkhāne kim phale? samjama-phale, se naṇ bhāṇe! samjame kim phale? aṇṇhaya-phale, evaṇ aṇṇhae tava-phale, tave volūya-phale, volūṇe akiriya-phale, se naṇ bhāṇe! akiriya kim phala? siddhi-pajjāvasāṇi-phalaṇi paṇṇitā geyāṇi? These passages discern samyama from tapas. The Jainas in tradition thus seem to have expressed the ascetic conduct as a whole in

terms of *saṃyamī-tapas*. Therefore when the *Daśavaikalika* 6.1 says, 'nāṇa-damsaṇa-sampannaṃ saṃiame ya tava rayam/ gaṇim āgama-sampannaṃ, ujjānammi samosaḍham' it must be conveying the picture of a monk endowed with ideal guṇas. And mokṣa-mārga in fourfold pathways expressed in the *Uttarādhyayana* 28 must have been directly derived from this traditional concept.

The *Sthāna* 2.3 120 reads, 'duvihe āyāre p-o tam-o nāṇāyāre ceva ṇoṇāṇāyāre ceva, ṇoṇāṇāyāre duvihe p-o tam-o dāmsaṇāyāre ceva, ṇodāmsaṇāyāre ceva, ṇodāmsaṇāyāre duvihe paṇṇatte, caritāyāre ceva, ṇocaritāyāre ceva, ṇocaritāyāre duvihe p-o tam-o tavāyāre ceva, viriyāyāre ceva.' Again the *Sthāna* 5. 3. 526 enumerates fivefold ācāras, i.e., jñāna darśana, cāritra, tapas and vīrya. The *Uttarādhyayana* 29.59 discerns cāritra from tapas and vinaya, 'nāṇā-vinaya-tava-caritta-jogae sampāṇai, sasamaya-parasamaya-visārae ya asaṃghāyaṇijje bhavai.' Since vinaya is a part of internal tapas, its separate enumeration is rather strange. But it likely gained an important position as an independent category of ācāra or guṇa in the later canonical stage, for its subdivisions include jñāna-Jarṣana-cāritra. Vīrya which is a quality required for the performance of tapas is said as of twofold in the *Sūtrakṛta* 18.1-2, 'duhā veyam suyakkhayāyam viriyam ti pavuccai/ kiṃ nu viraṣa vīratam kaḥam ceyam pavuccai/ kammam-ge Pavedenti akammaṃ vā vi suvayā/ ehiṃ dohi ṭhāṇehiṃ jehiṃ disanti macciya.' The *Bhagavatt* 1.8.70-71 also touch upon this matter, and the *Uttarādhyayana* 3. 10 says that vīrya is difficult to obtain. These independent categories, i.e., vinaya and vīrya came to be added to fourfold guṇas or ācāras of ascetics expressed in the canonical texts and in the *Niryuktis*, from which five-fold pathways to mokṣa (basic four plus vīrya) of the *Mūlācāra* must have been derived.

In the earliest strata of the canon wherein the main focus of discourse falls in prāṇātipāta and parigraha, saṃyama is used in terms of the control of senses or indriyasamvara including samiti and gupti. For instance, saṃyama is discussed in reference to himsā in the *Ācārāṅga* 1. 5. 3. 298 and the *Sūtrakṛta* I. 7. 389, in reference to parigraha in the *Sūtrakṛta* I. 10. 474, in reference to apramatta in the *Ācārāṅga* I. 1.4. 30, in reference to mādhyaṣṭha in the *Sūtrakṛta* I. 2. 87, in reference to the threefold yogas in the *Sūtrakṛta* I. 8. 486, in reference to kriyā in the *Sūtrakṛta* I.10. 489, and in reference to five vows in the *Sūtrakṛta* I. 3. 4. 232. Gupti is taken up, for instance, in reference to vāc in the *Ācārāṅga* I. 8. 2. 409, *Sūtrakṛta* I. 2. 2. 122 and 10. 487, in reference to ātmā in the *Sūtrakṛta* I. 3. 8. 431, 11. 512 and 520, and in reference to samiti in the *Sūtrakṛta* I. 14. 584. The usage of samiti occurs, for instance, in reference to sparśa, etc., in the *Ācārāṅga* I. 6. 4. 354, 9. 2. 492 and 498, in reference to pañca-samvara-samvude in the *Sūtrakṛta* I. 2. 1. 88, in reference to eṣaṇā in the *Sūtrakṛta* I. 11. 509 and in reference to gupti in the *Sūtrakṛta* I. 14. 584. The concept of gupti (manas. vāc and kāya) and samiti

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(iriyā, bhāsā, eṣṇā, ādānanikṣepa, and utsarga) are herein not yet distinguished. And the *Bhagavati* 2. 1. 91 also exhibits the stage wherein gupti and samiti are on the way for discernment, 'tae naṃ se khamāde kaccāyaṇassa-gotte aṇagāre jāte iriyāsamie bhāsāsamie eṣṇāsamie āyāna-bhāṇḍa-mutta-nikkhevaṇāsamie uccāra-pāsavaṇā-khela-simghāra-julla-paṭṭhāvaṇiyāsamie māṇasāsamie vayasāsamie kāyasāsamie maṇagutte vaigutte kāyagutte gutte guttimālie gutta-bambhayāri . . .'

Samyama is classified into four kinds, i. e., manas-vāk-kāya-upakaraṇa, in the *Sthāna* 4. 2. 385, five kinds, i. e., the earth-being through the plant-being, in the *Sthāna* 5. 2. 524; seven kinds, i. e., sthāvaras, trasas and ajivakāya, in the *Sthāna* 7. 706; ten kinds, i. e., the five one sensed beings up to the five-sensed beings plus ajivakāya, in the *Sthāna* 10.937; and seventeen kinds, i. e., ten kind plus 'pehāsāsamie uvehāsāsamie avahattusamjame pamajjānāsāsamie māṇasāsamie vāisāsamie kāyasāsamie' in the *Samavāya* 57. These items cover the domain of indriyasamvara, samiti and gupti.

Samvara is classified in to five kinds, i. e., mithyātva, avirati, pramāda, kaṣāya and yoga in the *Sthāna* 5. 2. 517; six kinds, i. e., śruta up to sparśa plus no-indriya, in the *Sthāna* 6.553; eight kinds, i. e., śruta up to sparśa plus manas-vāk-kāya in the *Sthāna* 8. 759; and ten kinds, i. e., eight plus upakaraṇa and sūcikuṣāgra, in the *Sthāna* 10.939. The categorical items listed in the *Sthāna* 5. 2. 517 is relevant to vrata, indriyasamvara, gupti and samiti, those in the *Sthāna* 6.558 to indriya-samvara, and the rest to indriyasamvara and gupti.

Thus the concept of samyama which includes samiti-gupti and indriyasamvara connotes the concept of samvara which is primarily an ontological term. It seems therefore that a concept-couple of samyama-tapas which represents the monastic code of conduct came to be expressed by an ontological concept-couple of samvara-nirjarā when the doctrine of tattvas came into vogue. Indriyasamvara denotes the control of senses over their objects and gupti-samiti denote the means of control as such. Thus the latter concepts which specify the methods as such while covering the concept of the former likely came to remain as the content of samyama and the former was destined to disappear in the later time.

Samiti-gupti and indriyasamvara, which constitute the content of samyama and samvara, are the antidotes of himsā and parigraha as so clearly indicated by their bhāvanās. The category of fivefold vratas (i. e., ahimsā, satya, asteya, brahma and aparigraha) is dealt with in the *Uttarādhyayana* 30. 2 as the cause of anāsrava along with rātri-bhojanavirati (its 30.3 mentions samiti-gupti to be the same cause), in the *Samavāya* 16 as one of the fivefold anāsravadvāras or samvaradvāras and in the same *Samavāya* 16 as nirjarāsthāna. And fivefold avratas are treated in the *Prajñāpanā* 22. 584 and 594 in relation to kriyās (of which 22. 585 and 595 take up ahimsā and ahimsā-satya respectively in reference to karma bandha). The *Ācārāṅga* II. 15 takes up the

topic of five vratas independently along with their bhāvanās, and likewise the *Daṣaṣaī-kālika* 4.5-10 offer an independent treatment of it along with rātri-bhojanavirati

This evinces that the category of five vows, among which ahimsā and aparigraha (which is used in the sense of a synonym of ahimsā in the *Ācārāṅga* I and *Sūtrakṛta* I) must have evolved first (as these constitute the integral part of the Jaina doctrine),²³ had occupied an independent position apart from the other ethical principles, which came to be later recognized as one of the anāsravadvāras or samvaradvāras when these ontological categories became prevalent. Umāsvāti includes mahāvratā in the category of samvara in IX : 7Bh. which pertains to samvarānupreksā, *saṃvarāṃś-ca mahāvratādi-gupty-ādi-paripālunāś-guṇatāś-cintayet . . .*. However he discusses the topic of mahāvratā in the context of āsrava in Ch. VII, possibly because he found it more convenient to handle it together with aṇuvratā for he was likely constrained by the compact form of composition in sūtra style. Vrata seems to have thus occupied no clear-cut position in the context of samyama in the canonical period even though the aforementioned *Sūtrakṛta* I.3.4.32 talks about samyama in reference to five vows. The post-canonical author like Kundakunda expressly places vrata in the category of samyama, for instance, in the *Cārītrapāhuda* 27, *pañca-īmḍiya-samvaranām pañca-ī-vayā pañcavimsa-kiriyāsu/pañca-samidi taya-ḥuṇi samjama-caranām nirāyāram*, and in the *Bārasāṃvekkhā* 75, *‘vadā-samidi-pālanae damḍaccāna imliya-jaeṇa/pariṇamaṇāssa paṇo samjama-dhammo have niyamā’*. Likewise the *Mūlācāra* V counts vrata, samiti and gupti as constituting of the content of cārītramārga.

The *Sihāna* 5.2.524 above enumerates another list of fivefold samyamas, i. e., sāmāyika, chedopasthāpanā, piriḥāravāsuddhi, sūksmasamparāya and yathākhyāna, which are called samyamas as well as cārītras in *Bhagavati* 8. 2. 319, 25.6 and 25. 7.785. They should be compared with six kalpas expressed in the *Bṛhatkalpa* 6, i. e., sāṇyāka-samjāta, chedopasthāpaniṇiā-samjāta, nirv.śamāna, nirvīṣṭakāyika, jina and sthavira. It is evident that the content of cārītra was formulated after the composition of the *Chedasūtras*. These five stages of cārītra were later absorbed in the 8th mārgaṇāsthāna, however they were likely in full swing in the capacity of guṇasthāna in the monastic practice, under the authority of the *Chedasūtras*. Cārītra is therefore clearly discerned from the concept-couple of samyama-tapas in the *Bhagavati* 1. 1. 17, *‘goyamā ! iha-bhavi cārīte, no para-bhavi carite no tad-ubhayacaritte/ evaṃ tave samjame’*. Likewise when the *Sihāna* 2. 3. 120, etc., distinguish cārītra from tapas, cārītra must have denoted samyama in five stages in as much as it denotes so in the *Uttarādhyayana* 28, for the term samyama used in a concept-couple of samyama-tapas seems to have never been called by the name of cārītra. The term cārītra was likely preferred to samyama in this context by the later Āgamic authors in order to avoid ambiguity.

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In the context of fourfold mokṣamārgas, the ascetic conduct is expressed by cāritra-tapas which ought to be equivalent to samyama-tapas in terms of ethical conduct or samvara-nirjarā in terms of karma theory. However the *Uttarādhyayana* author identifies cāritra with samyama in five types such as sāmāyika. This category of cāritra which represents the pragmatic stages or types of ascetic conduct belongs to a different category from samyama-tapas (i. e., equivalent of samvara-nirjarā) which represent the general theory and practice of ascetic conduct. Therefore when cāritra in the former sense which necessarily embraces the disciplinary code of samyama-tapas within its practice is coupled with tapomārga, it doesn't make much sense. It seems that the *Uttarādhyayana* author identified cāritramārga with its equivalent samyama in five stages much under the sway of the circumstances in the monastic praxis. Umāsvāti followed its suit as he says in the T.S. 1: 33Bh., '*Uktaṃ jñānam/ cāritram navame'dhyāye vakṣyāmaḥ*', which the *Paśāmaratī* 228-229 articulate in more precise expression.

It is as clear as crystal however that cāritramārga is equivalent to samvara-nirjarā in the scheme of tattvas. Moreover he formulated sixfold samvaradvāras which consist of gupti, samiti, dharma, anuprekṣā, pariśahajaya and cāritra. Samyama in tradition does not generally include in its content dharma, anuprekṣā and pariśahajaya, among which pariśahajaya is an old stray item since the time of the *Ācārāṅga* I. Umāsvāti perhaps thought that since these are the important items they should also find a place in the disciplinary code of the Jaina ascetics. Then samvaradvāra is the only category that can absorb these items in the scheme of seven tattvas. Mahāvratā is invariably an important samvaradvāra as Umāsvāti counts it as a part of the content of samvara anuprekṣā, however its treatment was unfortunately made in the seventh chapter, and he did not even take a trouble of recounting it in this particular context, which he could have done.

Now, let us see how the post-Umāsvāti authors handled these problems raised in the T.S. (The following order of the post-Umāsvāti authors is not necessarily chronological.) Siddhasenagaṇi follows Umāsvāti's exposition that cāritramārga denotes sāmāyika, etc., of five stages, which is clear also from his explanation of samyakecāritra made on 1:1Bh. (c. f. Kapadia's edition, v.1., p.26). The commentators of the Āgamic literature generally follow the themes and concepts expressed in the concerned canonical texts, therefore cāritramārga continues long to be explained in terms of the fivefold stages of samyama, for instance, in the *Vīṣeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* 1257-1277, 3159, etc. and the *Sūtrakṛtāṅgarīti* II 5.1. Bhadrabāhu follows fourfold mokṣamārgas in dealing with the *Uttarādhyayana* (cf. *Niryukti* gāthā 499), however the position of threefold mokṣamārgas is upheld in his *Āvaśyaka niryukti* 910. He explains cāritra dharma in terms of samyama-tapas in the *Daśavaikālika niryukti* 45-48, and takes recourse to the same concept-couple of samyama-tapas in explaining the aspirants' practice toward mokṣa, for instance, in

the *Daśavaikālika niryukti* 344 and *Āvaśyaka niryukti* 1081. The content of samyama is to be indriyasamvara in the *Daśavaikālika niryukti* 45-46, and samiti-gupti in its gāthā 185. Bhadrabāhu seems to be in support of including samyama-tapas under the category of cāritramārga, however his performance here is traditional and it is difficult to see if he were at all conscious about the problem under consideration.

In the *Daśavaikālika niryukti* 181 (the chapter is called *Kṣudrakācāra*), Bhadrabāhu enumerates the fivefold categories consisting of tapas and vīrya in addition to three jewels. Also he touches upon another set of the five guṇas of monks wherein vīrya is replaced by vinaya, for instance in the *Āvaśyaka niryukti* 207 and *Daśāśrutaskandha niryukti* 2.8. These set items of five already exist in the canon, which are reckoned irrespective of mokṣamārga in both canonical and niryukti literature. Bhadrabāhu calls fivefold vinayas by the name of mokṣavinayas in the *Daśavaikālika niryukti* 314, possibly on the analogy of mokṣamārga for they contain jñāna-darśana-cāritra vinayas. And it seems that emphasis laid by Bhadrabāhu on these set items of five influenced the southern authors to utilize them in the context of mokṣamārga, because the *Mūlācāra V* takes up fivefold mokṣamārgas including vīrya, and the *Mūlārādhana* spares pages for the exposition of vinaya.

As aforementioned, Kundakunda identifies samyama with vrata, samiti, gupti, etc. Pūjyapāla seems to have recognized Umāsvāti's unsatisfactory identification of cāritramārga with samyama in five stages, because the *Bhāṣya* exposition on the sūtra 1:33 in question completely disappears from the *Sarvārthasiddhi*. Unfortunately, he did not come out with a positive amendment of this *Bhāṣya* statement. The *Rājavātika* does not substantially add much to the *Sarvārthasiddhi* on this matter.

The *Mūlācāra V* entitled *Pañcācārādhikāra* outlines mokṣamārga by way of fivefold ācāras, i.e., darśana, jñāna, cāritra, tapas and vīrya, of which content is as follows: (1) *Introduction*: 1-2. maṅgala verse and enumeration of five ācāras: (2) *Darśana*: 3-4. eight aṅgas of darśana - 5. mārga and mārgaphala - 6-51. nine padārthas as the objects of faith and their exposition - 52-54. threefold kāṅkṣās - 55-58. twofold vicikitsās (twenty-two parīṣahajayas are counted as its bhāva type) - 59-63. fourfold dṛṣṭimohas - 64-67. darśana śuddha - 68. definition of samyagdārśana: (3) *Jñāna*: 69. jñāna ācāra for the destruction of eightfold karmas - 70-71. definition of jñāna - 72-89. exposition of svādhyāya in eight divisions: (4) *Cāritra*: 90-97. exposition of five vratas - 98-99. abstinence from rātri bhojana - 100-139. exposition of five samitis and three guptis - 140-146. bhāvanās of five vratas: (5) *Tapas*: 147-214. exposition of twofold tapas with six subdivisions each: (6) *Vīrya*: 215-220. definitions and exposition: and (7) *Conclusion*: 221. five ācāras leading to the attainment of siddhahood.

The overall construction of this chapter is based on that of the *Uttarādhyaṇa* 28. Cāritramārga includes in its content five vratas plus rātri-bhakti-virati along with their bhāvanās and eight mātṛkās. While utilizing the structure of the *Uttarādhyaṇa*

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28, Vaṭṭakera did not follow the *Uttarādhyayana* author in explaining the content of cāritramārga; he explained it by the concept of saṃyama in terms of the earlier canonical tradition. This is an amendment made on the *Uttarādhyayana* 28. Then, against the enlarged content of sixfold saṃvaradvāras formulated by Umāsvāti, Vaṭṭakera came out with a proposal to the effect that the content of saṃvaradvāra should be confined within the domain of saṃyama by clarifying it to include vrata, samiti and gupti. Possibly he followed after Kundakunda on this matter. Since Vaṭṭakera revived the canonical treatment of saṃvaradvāra by including vrata, samiti and gupti as its content, pariśahajaya, anuprekṣā and dharma which were absorbed by Umāsvāti in this category had to go astray again. In consequence, Vaṭṭakera classed pariśahajaya under the category of darśana as the bhāva type of vicikitsā, which in effect sounds more strange than what Umāsvāti actually did. The five items of anuprekṣās, i. e., ekatva, anitya, aśaraṇa, saṃsāra, and aśuci, are enumerated in the Āgama as the observances of dharma dhyāna (the first four items) and śukla dhyāna (aśuci which appears in the canon as aśubha). In addition to them, Umāsvāti formulated the rest of the seven anuprekṣā items after the model of the subdivisions of dharma-smṛty-upasthānābhyāsas in the *Abhidharmakośa* VI, and treated these twelve items as an independent saṃvaradvāra (for the details, see Ch. III, Sec. 1). Vaṭṭakera again took recourse to the Āgamic treatment of anuprekṣās and placed all of them under the last subdivision of dharma dhyāna. The nature of these anuprekṣās is predominantly conformable with the observance of dharma dhyāna, therefore Vaṭṭakera's performance is quite reasonable and commendable, thus it became standardized in the later works on dhyāna and yoga. (We should however note that the *Mūlācāra* VIII takes up twelve anuprekṣās as an independent category.) Tenfold dharmas are totally ignored in the *Mūlācāra* V (which appear in its Ch. X called *Śīlaguṇādhikāra*). The *Mūlācāra* V thus offered certain positive amendments on the treatment of cāritra made by the *Uttarādhyayana* 28 and the *T. S.*

Unlike the *Mūlācāra* which is a compendium of the Jaina ethical doctrines possibly composed by plural authors, Śivakoṭi's *Mūlārādhana* is a detailed expository work on Jaina ethics made by a single hand. Vīrya which is the quality required for karmic destruction in the performance of tapas is a redundant item in the context of mokṣamārga, and probably for this reason Śivakoṭi resorted to the traditional position of fourfold paths to liberation. In dealing with the concept of mokṣamārga, however, Śivakoṭi advances a step further in theory by saying that jñāna is included in darśana and tapas in cāritra (verses 3-6), of which the former is ultimately reduced to the latter category of cāritra (verses 8, 11, 14, etc.). The traces of the concept as such are not impossible in the canonical tradition, for instance, the inclusion of jñāna in darśana is adumbrated in the *Āvaśyaka niryukti* 1179, *daṃsaṇa-pakkho sāvaya carita-bhaṭṭhe ya maṃda-dhamme ya/ daṃsaṇa-caritta-pakkho samaṇe paraloga-kamkhammi.* That cāritra is the direct cause of mokṣa is also expressed in the *Āvaśyaka niryukti* 1178,

'*sutthū-vi sammaddiṭṭhi na sijjhaṭ caraṇa-karaṇa-parihitṇo/ jaṃ ceva siddhi-mūḍho taṃ ceva nārei.*' The *Uttarāṭṭiyāna* 29.59-61 likewise read, '*...nāṇa-saṃpannayāe naṃ jive saṃve-bhāvāhigamaṃ jaṇayai/ nāṇa-saṃpanne naṃ jive cāur-aṃte saṃsāra-kamṭāre na viṇassai/...damsaṇa-saṃpannayāe naṃ jive bhava-micchatta-cheyaṇaṃ kareṭi, paraṃ na vijjhāyai ...caritta-saṃpannayāe naṃ jive selesi-bhāvaṃ jaṇayai/selesim paḍivanne ya anagāre cattāri kevali-kummaṃse kṛavei/taṃ pacchā sijjhaṭ bujjhaṭ muccai parinivvāyat savvaduḷḷhāṇa-amaṇaṃ kareṭi.*' Herein tapas is embraced in the category of cāritra. However the express statement of Śivakoṭi that darsana and cāritra constitute the primary pathways to liberation which can be finally represented by cāritramārga alone is never found in the previous literature. This logical abstraction seems to have been made in the context of guṇasthāna which begins with the stage of darśana and ends with cāritra.

Lastly, Kundakunda is also an early Digambara author who composed his prakaraṇas by adopting the theme of mokṣamārga. He receives the traditional threefold mokṣamārgas, sometimes along with tapas and vīrya, and spares pages for the exposition of cāritra, for instance, in the *Pravacanasāra* III, *Niyamasāra* and *Śaṭprābhṛta*. However his treatment of this subject matter as a whole deviates from the trail of the Jaina tradition due to his peculiar viewpoint. In the *Pañcāstikāya* he persistently pursues the theme of dravya-guṇa-paryāya and satsāmānya expressed in the T.S. while analyzing the contents of jñāna and jñeyas, in view of ascertaining what is the transcendental nature of the soul and what is not, which are epistemologically established by him in the form of niśchaya and vyavahāra nayas. In consequence, he arrives at conclusion that since śuddha upayoga, the transcendental nature of a soul, cannot subject itself to destruction by nature, various pathways enunciated in tradition stand in the position of vyavahāra alone, which the *Samayasāra* 294 expresses, '*āyārādi-nāṇaṃ jivādi-damsaṇaṃ ca viṇṇeyaṃ lehaṇ-jivāṇaṃ rakkhā bhavaṇḍi caritaṃ tu vavahāro.*' From the corollary of his analysis, despite of his attempt in laying emphasis on the traditional pathways to the final release, jñānamārga alone is deduced to be the sole road to mokṣa inasmuch as certain non-Jaina authors maintain. Ethically helpful is therefore the way to strengthen the soul's purity. For this reason, the treatment of dhyāna is brought out on the front stage in the *Niyamasāra* and *Śaṭprābhṛta*, which is intended for the sake of the soul's purification and for the purpose of discriminating the self from the non-self by meditating upon the paramātmā, but not for the purpose of yoga-nirodha. It is not that Kundakunda as a Jaina does not accept the traditional concept of getting rid of karmas by śukla dhyāna as he discusses it, but he does not much bother about this aspect. For the same purpose of promoting ātma-śuddhi, the *Niyamasāra* proposes the practice of pratikramṇa, pratyākhyāna, prāyaścitta and sāmāyika. Kundakunda adopts the theme of mokṣamārga propounded in tradition, but he does it rather in the fashion of formality, and the road to liberation that he vindicates is in essence jñānamārga alone. He looks at cāritramārga from vyavahāra standpoint, which certainly went away from the main course of the tradition.

SÉC. IV HISTORICAL POSITION OF THE T. S.

Part 1 The Jainas in Gupta age

The following are the topics included in the final section of our study : Pt. 1) The Jainas in the Gupta age, Pt. 2) Umāsvāti's date and works, and Pt. 3) Historical position of the T. S.

As the foregoing analysis of the T. S. evinces, Umāsvāti belonged to the 5th century, sometime after the *Abhidharmakośa*, and sometime before the *Niryuktis*, *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* and *Sarvārthasiddhi*. The Gupta age to which Umāsvāti belonged maintained long stabilized peace and prosperity, thereby it brought out the most creative period in the history of India in all the fields of its cultural activities as often called the golden age of the Hindus. However, for the Jainas the Gupta age was one of the most unhappy periods, wherein the social impact of the days drove them to the other parts of India from the North, which ultimately became, together with the accidental factor of the natural calamity of long famine inviting the call of the Third Valabhī Council, the cause of the great schism into the present day Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras.

In order to ascertain the historical position for the T. S. in the two traditions, it is incumbent upon us to have a clear-cut view of the history of the Jainas in the Gupta age involving their literary activities. In view of this, we shall make inquiries into the following historical account in the first part of this section : (1) Historical background of the Gupta age, (2) Migration of Jaina communities, and (3) Great schism. The first introductory portion summarizes the cultural history of the Gupta age, which is expected to shed some light on the problems relevant to the T. S. The descriptive accounts here are made, unless specified, on the basis of Majumdar's *The History and Culture of the Indian People* v. 3, in consultation with *The History of Ancient India* v. 2 by Nakamura and *Life in the Gupta Age* by Sastore.

(1) Historical background of the Gupta age

The Gupta empire was established by Chandragupta I (320 A. D. accession to the throne), and expanded by his son Samudragupta (330 A. D. acc.) and his grandson Chandragupta II (330 A. D. acc.) The empire stretched from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea, and under its strong political unity and prosperity the golden age of the Hindus blossomed. The Gupta dynasty of the 5th century (Kumārāgupta I, 415 A. D. acc.—Purugupta, 455 A. D. acc. — Skandagupta, 455 A. D. acc.—Budhagupta, 477 acc.—495 A. D.) saw and enjoyed the consolidation of the empire, which however was gradually advancing towards decline at the end of this century. For we are told that King Kumārāgupta I who performed the aśvamedha sacrifice already met an invasion led by Paśyāmitra of an unknown race whom he defeated, and another led by

Toramāṇa of the Hūṇas whose conquest was entrusted to his son Skandagupta. When Skandagupta returned from his victorious war, King Kumāraguṭa I was dead and his legitimate son Purugupta was on the throne, thereby the former likely usurped the seat of the latter. Skandagupta was then succeeded by the sons of Purugupta, i. e., Budhagupta and Narasimhagupta. This civil war of the struggle for the throne is explained by the historians to be the main cause which invited the later disintegration of the empire, because soon we learn that the suzerain states in the remote district such as Valabhi were on the way to set up independent kingdoms. Meanwhile the Hūṇas whose advancement was once checked by Skandagupta enhanced their power as they just defeated Persia, and advanced to the heart of the Gupta empire, Pāṭaliputra. It was around 500 A. D.,²¹ and with the destruction of this capital, the empire passed away in effect, even though the dynasty still lingered on.

Fa Hien who travelled around the Gupta empire during 405-411 A. D. briefly gives us an idea of the general peace, prosperity and contentment of people prevailed in the country. Currency was controlled by the central Government and the unit of gold was *dināra* which corresponded to *denarius* of Rome, suggesting a huge international economic block established in this hemisphere. No doubt the former half of the 5th century enjoyed the political unity and economic prosperity, which however gradually went downwards as it is corroborated by the numismatic evidence that the gold coins issued in the later part of this century suffered deterioration.

The Guptas patronized Sanskrit learning, which brought out the florescent age of the Sanskrit literature in all its branches. Sanskrit was established as the official language, making a striking contrast to the previous Mauryan and Kushan periods wherein the inscriptional documents spoke themselves in Prakrit or in the mixed dialect of Prakrit and Sanskrit. Responding to the social needs, the Buddhists had already adjusted themselves in writing in Sanskrit whereas the Jainas still continued to write in Prakrit. Umāsvāti's adoption of the Sanskrit language was doubtlessly a response to the call of time. North India in this age produced Kālidāsa in literature, Varāhamihira and Buddhagupta in astronomy, and Āryabhaṭa in mathematics. The purāṇas are mostly the products of this period, deliberately attempting to achieve reconciliation of the then flourishing heterodox cults such as Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism with the orthodox Vedic rituals. The manner of displaying the long genealogies of kings and dynasties as elsewhere noted in the purāṇas was not observed in the previous age, with which probably goes the practice of attaching a *praśasti* to the literary work as so done by Umāsvāti for the first time in the literary history of the Jainas. The caste system based on heredity began to be rooted in during this Gupta age, and the commentarial activities on the *Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra* were welcomed with a view to standardizing the social order on the basis of their principles.

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Under the long standing peace and strong patronage of learning, various philosophical systems which had long cumulated their own sacred literature and developed their thoughts into maturity, entered the stage of systematization. The *Nyāyasūtra*, *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, *Brahmasūtra*, *Yogasūtra*, *Abhidharmakośa* (which were all composed before the T.S.) and *Prāśastapādabhāṣya* were all brought out in this period. The commentarial works such as Vyās's *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* (which is a pre-Umāsvāti work), Śabarasvāmī's *Mīmāṃsāsūtrabhāṣya* and Uddyotakara's *Nyāyavārttika* belong to this dynasty also. The organizing activities of the doctrinal tenets of a school in order to transmit the bulk of its literary legacy and the succeeding commentarial activities were therefore the common phenomena evinced in the then systems of thought. And the Jainas could not remain behind without possessing their own standard text which the other philosophical schools had come to possess by the time of Umāsvāti. The need of the T.S. for the Jainas was hence the call of time, which was allegedly a product of this historical trend.

Vaiṣṇavism was the official religion of the Guptas, therefore the Buddhists and the Jainas must have most suffered from the loss of royal patronage which they had enjoyed in the Mauryan and Kushan dynasties. However the kings of this dynasty are said to have taken a tolerant policy towards all the religions. During this period, the Buddhists were quite active in exchanging scholars with China, inviting Fa Hien and the others from China and sending Kumārajīva, Paramārtha and many other Kashmirian Buddhist scholars to China. Fa Hien who saw countless Buddhist monks and monasteries on the way to Mathurā tells us that the kings paid due respect to the Buddhist monks and some of the kings offered land grants to them for the maintenance of their monasteries. According to him Hinayāna Buddhism was still holding its sway all over North India and Mahāyānism was just rearing its head here and there.

Vasubandhu was an outstanding figure among the Buddhists in the 5th century in the North. An account is told that Vinḍhyavāsa of the Sāṅkhya system challenged disputants of all the schools at Ayodhya, against whom Buddhamitra was invited by king Vikramāditya to challenge, for his disciples Manoratha and Vasubandhu were out of station. He was defeated. Having heard of this humiliating news, Vasubandhu refuted the Sāṅkhya view by composing the *Paramārthasaptati*, thereby he won the favour of the king, who then entrusted to him the education of his crown prince Bālāditya. The same story is related by Hiuen Tsiang in a modified way; it is said that Vikramāditya lost his kingdom soon after this debate, and was succeeded by a monarch who widely patronized those distinguished in literary merits, under whom Vasubandhu defeated his rival. Sinha identifies this King Vikramāditya of Ayodhya with Purugupta, Bālāditya with Nṛasiṃhagupta, and the monarch succeeded by Vikramāditya with Skandagupta (475 acc.496 A. D. according to Sinha's proposal) on the numismatic

evidence, while Majumdar places Buddhagupta (477 acc.- 495 A. D.) prior to Narasimhagupta. Vasubandhu is said by Paramārtha to have died at the age of eighty. Exactly when the *Abhidharmakośa* was written is not yet known.

Royal favour if not patronage that the Buddhists enjoyed during this dynasty is not recorded as to the Jainas. Fa Hien refers to the nirgranthas in Kapīṣa, Lanpo and Simhapura (700 miles from Taxilā), but does not record as to the area of North India proper. Hiuen Tsiang who came to India in the middle of the 7th century saw numerous nirgranthas in the North, e. g., Mt. Vipula in Magadha, Vārāṇasī, Vaiśālī, Puṇḍravardhana and Sanatāṣṭa in Bengal.²⁵ Not many Jaina inscriptions during the Gupta age are available, for instance, we have only a few belonging to the 5th century which record the activities of the Jainas in the North: 1) Udayagiri cave (near Sanchi) inscription of 426 A. D. mentioning the erection of a statue of Pārśva,²⁶ 2) Mathurā inscription of 432 A. D. made by a lay disciple of Koṭīka gāṁ Vidyādhari śikhī registering a dedication to an image of Jina²⁷ 3) Kahāum pillar inscription of 460-61 A. D. referring to the dedication of five images of Tīrthaṅkaras, and] 4) A copper-plate inscription of 478-79 A. D. at Pahārpur Rajshahi Dist. of Bengal) stating a Brahmin couple's land donation for the sake of maintaining worship in a Jaina vihāra.²⁸ This phenomenon of the paucity of inscriptions in the Gupta age is contrasting to the previous Kushan dynasty wherein the Jaina inscriptions at Mathurā are abundant. What does this phenomenon signify and how did it happen? These questions remain to be investigated.

(2) Migration of Jaina communities

Behind the seeming silence of the Jaina activitiesevinced by the paucity of inscriptions during the Gupta age, a monumental series of the historical events seems to have taken place—the gradual mass migration of the Jainas from the North to the South and the West, and the great schism into the present day Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras. These are the vital issues in the history of the Jainas, however the existent literature and inscriptions of both traditions do not speak of them in clarity which have thus sunken into oblivion and been buried in darkness. The following is an attempt to explain and reconstruct these historical events from the available archaeological and literary evidences in the background of the Gupta age.

The migration of the Jainas to the South must go back to a considerably ancient time, for instance, the Aśokan period, if śramaṇa mentioned in Kaṣī Rock Edict XIII at Maṭakālmuru, Mysore, is taken in the sense of both Buddhist and Jaina monks.²⁹ A tradition also exists in the West that Samprati, grandson of Aśoka, sent the Jaina missionaries to the non-Aryan countries meaning to the South.³⁰ Hāthigumphā inscriptions of Khāravla, the 2nd century B. C., reveal that the king was an adherent of Jainism.³¹ Kaṭugumalai hill inscription

of the 2nd-1st century B. C. records the dedication of monasteries to a monk Kaṇi Nautā by lay Jainas, one of whom is Kāṇitika, son of Antai and the merchant prince of a mercantile guild (nigama) of Veṅṅarai.³² Muttupatti cave inscription at Madurai, goes back to the 1st century B. C.,³³ and the cave inscriptions near Pāṇa Poona belongs to the 2nd century B. C.³⁴ However the succeeding historical records of the Jainas after these early inscriptions are dead blank in all these areas until the 4th-6th centuries A.D., which shows that the prominent activities of the Jainas did not continue until the next stage. From the 4th-6th centuries onwards, the Jaina activities came to be continuously recorded in the inscriptions in most of these areas which went on increasing in number with the march of time, and side by side their literary activities came to be dynamic up to the present day. We shall see below when and how the early references to the Jainas make their appearance after the long blank period in various parts of India from the available data at present.

The earliest reference to the Jainas in Karnataka area is found in the Kudlur plate of Mārasimha, in which it is said that Koṅṅunivarman or Mādhava I (c. 350-400 A. D.), the founder of the Western Ganga dynasty, "obtained great power by favour of the doctrine of Arhad-bhaṭṭāraka," and it is added that "by favour of Simhanandi Ācārya he (obtained) strength of arm and valour."³⁵ Mādhava II (c. 400-435 A. D.) made a donation to Viradeva Ācārya in favour of a Dīgambara [Nirgrantha ?] temple.³⁶ Most of the Ganga kings patronized the Jainas, including Avinīta (c. 500-540 A.D.) and Durvinīta (c. 540-600 A.D.).³⁷ The earliest Kadamba inscription referring to the Jainas is of Kākusthavarman (c. 405-435 A.D.), grandfather of Mr̥ṅṅavarman (c. 475-490 A.D.), registering a land grant to a Jaina Ācārya called Śrutakīrti.³⁸ Three copper plate charters of Mr̥ṅṅavarman of the Kadamba dynasty are available to us, which record is land donation to the Arhats for the purpose of abhiṣeka, pūjā etc., in his 3rd regnal year (c. 477 A.D.),³⁹ to the holy Arhat, the Śvetapaṭas and Nirgranthas in the 4th regnal year (c. 478 A.D.)⁴⁰ and to the Yāpaniyas, Nirgranthas and Kūrcakas in the 8th regnal year (c. 482 A.D.), along with an ordinance of the construction of a Jaina temple.⁴¹ The Kadamba kings continued to donate lands to the Jainas. Early Chāḷukya king Jayasimha, grandfather of Pulakeśin I (c. 535-566 A. D.) also seems to have patronized the Jainas.⁴² Śravaṇabelgoḷa inscription begins with the year Śaka c. 522 (c. 600 A.D.) recording the history of the migrated sangha and the samādhi maraṇa of Praohācandra.⁴³ Śravaṇabelgoḷa inscriptions in the 7th century mostly pertain to the death fast of ascetics.⁴⁴ Many kings of various dynasties in Mysore during the 6th to the 12th centuries patronized the Jainas, of which inscriptions are numerous, however the earliest epigraphical evidence of the Jainas does not go beyond the latter half of the 4th century A.D.⁴⁵ By the beginning of the 6th century A.D., dynamic literary activities seem to have commenced.

A cavern inscription in Tamil on the Ārunāṭṭār hill, Karur Taluk, Tirucchirappalli Dist., of the 3-4th centuries A.D., registers the order of a stone abode to be built for a Jaina monk Ceṅkayapaṇ by Ilan̄kaṭuṅkō, son of King Peruṅkaṭuṅkōṇ son of Ātaṇ Cellirun̄paṇai.⁴⁵ Simhaśīl composed the *Lokavibhāga* after Sarvaṇandi's Prakrit work written in Śaka 380/455 (458/538 A.D.) which is not available to us. The *Lokavibhāga* quotes from the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* and the latter from the former, therefore it is assumed that both were derived from Sarvaṇandi's work.⁴⁷ Pallāṅkōvil copper-plate charter (Kanchi) of Siṃhavarman, father of Siṃhaviṣṇu (c. 560 A. D.) documents a land grant to Vajranandi of Nandi saṅgha. At Singavaram, Gingee Taluk, South Arcot, remains a record of sallekhanā of Candiranandi Āśirigar in the 6th century A. D. Mahendravarman I (c. 600-625 A. D.) is known as a Jaina adherent, and Hiuen Tsiang who visited Kanchi around 640 A. D. says that the Jaina monks were numerous there. Jaina epigraphs in Tamil land increase in bulk after the 8th century A. D.⁴⁸ As to the date of the *Maṇimekalai* and *Śilappadikāram* which are well acquainted with Jainism, opinion is divided from the 2nd century to the 8th century A. D.⁴⁹ Keralan inscriptions pertaining to the Jainas are said to be found during the 9th to the 11th centuries, and Jainism there is suspected to have been spread from Tamilnadu.⁵⁰ In Andhra, the earliest inscription seems to begin with the 7th century A. D., which records a land grant of Ayyaṇa Mohādevī, queen of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, to a Jaina ācārya,⁵¹ thenceforth Jaina inscriptions increase in number.

East Indian archaeological finds of the Jainas in the Gupta period are reported to be very poor. Bihar owns two rock-cut caves of the 4th century A. D. at Rajgir, one of which came to be requisitioned by the votaries of Viṣṇu. (Likewise a Jaina monastery at Paharpur was converted into a Buddhist vihāra by Dharmapāla in the 8th century).⁵² Paharpur copper-plate inscription of 479 A. D. refers to Nirgrantha Ācārya Guhanandi. And some stone and metal images of Gupta era are available from Rajgir and Chause. North Bihar likely became the deserted area for the Jainas after the destruction of Pāṭaliputra, however Hiuen Tsiang of the 8th century informs us that the Nirgranthas are numerous in Bihar, West Bengal as well as in Orissa⁵³, Mahārāja Rājāhīrāja Dharmadhara of the 3rd century A. D. whose gold coin was found at Sisupalagarh, Orissa, is suspected to have been a Jaina king of Mathura family, which, however appears to be a mere speculation. In the *Dātta vaṃśa* it is stated that Guhaśiva of c. 400 A. D. was converted to Buddhism from Jainism.⁵⁴

No report seem to have been made as to the pre-Guptan archaeological remains of the Jainas in Central India. Three Tirthankara images during Rāmagupta's reign, the 4th century, were discovered at Durjanpur, Vidiśā Dist., M. P., and some more Jaina images during his reign are available. Also Udayagiri caves near Vidiśā record the setting up an image of Pārśva in the period of Kumāragupta I. A group of Jaina sculptures in the Gupta period is available from Sira Pahari, Panna Dist.,

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M. P., and two rock-cut reliefs at Gwalior are said to belong to the end of this period. The Jaina specimens of art and architecture continue to exist in the succeeding ages.⁵⁶ A tradition maintains that Vaira, Mahāgiri, Subhatthi, Camḍarudda, Rakkhiya, Bhaddagutta, Kālaga and Āsāḍha visited Ujjain which was the capital of King Samprati. Siddhasena Divākara's legend of breakaing śiva lingam is said to have occurred in this city.⁵⁶

A bronze image of Pārśvanātha preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, is from West India, which is said to be assignable to the 2nd century A. D. by a scholar and not later than c. 100 B. C. by the others.⁵⁷ Caves of Bāwā-Pyāra's maṭh near Girnar belongs to the period of the grandson of Jayadāman, the 2nd century A. D., where Ācārya Dharasena taught, according to the *Dhavalā*, scriptures to Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali. No Jaina antiquities of the 3rd-4th centuries are reported to have been known yet. Dhoti clad Jaina bronzes began to be available after the late 5th century A. D. onwards from Akota and Valabhi.⁵⁸ The dated inscription in Rajasthan seems to begin with 687 A. D. which is incised on a pair of the images of Rābha at Basantagaḍha. Jaina temples must have existed at Akota, Valabhi, Vasantagaḍha and Bhīlamāla during the 6-7th centuries, for the Jaina images were discovered at these sites. After the 8th century onwards kings in various dynasties in West India patronized the Jainas in constructing or endowing temples.⁵⁹ Two Canonical Conventions were held at Valabhi during the 4th and 5th centuries. Valabhi, Bhīlamāla, Mālavā were the centres of culture and commerce in those days.⁶⁰ Śyāmācārya, author of the *Prajñāpanā*, and Āryarakṣita, author of the *Anuyogadvāra*, belonged to Mālavā, likewise Jinabhadra seems to have engaged in composition in Saurāṣṭra.⁶¹ As narrated in the *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotana (779 A. D.), a tradition maintains that Ācārya Harigupta was the preceptor of Toramāṇa. After the Gupta age, West India became the stronghold of the Śvetāmbara Jainas.

All the Jaina antiquities in North India are reported from Mathurā, the ancient cosmopolitan city and dynamic centre of commerce, which was at the junction of the trade routes from Pāṭaliputra to Taxilā. Mathurā inscriptions of the Jainas which commence with 150 B. C. arrive at a peak in the Kushan dynasty, particularly during the reigns of Kanishka and Huviṣka who were the adherents of Buddhism. A number of Jaina inscriptions exist during Vasudeva's reign also. And it is reported that out of 159 inscriptions from Mathurā listed by Lüders in his *List of brahmi Inscriptions*, 87 are Jaina, 55 Buddhist and the remaining 17 non-sectarian, from which it is inferred that the Jaina community was likely larger than the Buddhist community during that period.⁶² The Jainas at Mathurā were, as we have previously observed, from all over the Northern parts of India including East, West and Central India, which suggests that the majority of the Jainas in those days had already migrated to Mathurā, Mathurā inscriptions were largely made by the lay Jainas including many women,

mostly in memory of the dedication of images. Among them, it is reported, there is a class of the late Kushan and post-Kushan Tirthankara image identified with Neminātha who is flanked by Balarāma and Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa holding a plough, mace and wheel.⁶³

With the advent of the Guptas in the 4th century, the number of Jaina sculptures [at Mathurā suddenly decreases. Archaeological Museum at Mathurā, and State Museum at Lucknow which house the bulk of Mathurā antiquities possess only 38 and 21 Jaina sculptures of the Gupta age respectively. Not a single Jaina architectural piece of any interest in this age is said to be existent in the Museum at Mathurā and Lucknow, nor are there any Guptan terracotta figures. Mathurā inscriptions similarly decrease by number with the entry in the Gupta age. Also Jaina monuments and sculptures in North India including Mathurā are reported to be very scarce during 600 to 1000 A.D.⁶⁴ We should also note that the *Vyavahārasūtrabhāṣya* refers to a quarrel among the Jainas and the Buddhists about the ownership of a stūpa which was likely constructed in the considerably earlier time,⁶⁵ and that the *Āvaśyakacūṛṇi* informs us about the marital relation of a Mathurā merchant made with the other at Southren Mathurā.⁶⁶

All these data evince that the Jaina activities at Mathurā which had been continuously recorded since the 2nd century B. C. suffered a sudden blow with the entry in the Gupta era beginning with the 4th century A. D., and that the places of their activities suddenly shifted thenceforth to various parts of India, the South and the West in the main, which have continued to be the centres of Jainism up to the present age. This powerfully speaks that the Jaina communities, both ascetic and lay, migrated en masse to all these places from Mathurā with the advent of the Guptas.

No record in both Jaina and non-Jaina sources seems to exist as to how and why the migration of the Jainas took place during this period, that has to be explained on the basis of these data. Notable characteristics found in the above data are as follows: Mathurā inscriptions mostly register the donation of images made by the lay Jainas who were engaged in various trades and commerce. A majority of the Southern inscriptions of the 4-6th centuries documents the land grants of the rulers to the Jainas and the samādhi maraṇa of ascetics. And a majority of the Jaina archaeological specimens during this period in the Eastern, Central, Northern and western parts of India which were under the control of the Gupta empire consists of the Jaina images. Literary activities began remarkable by the beginning of the 6th century in the south, which commenced with Second Valabhai Council in the 4th Century in the West. And many cities to which the Jainas, both monks and householders, emigrated were the well-known commercial centres of the days. Now what are these facts speaking of themselves?

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The lay Jains generally belong today and also belonged in the past to the business class which consisted of śreṣṭhis (bankers), sārthavāhas (traders) and kulikas (merchants). They organized guilds (śreṇis or nigamas) which functions as banks, courts and as the administrative centres of the social and communal activities such as constructing temples, aiding the poor, and so forth. Beside śreṇis which were the guilds of craftsmen and merchants, there existed the other corporate bodies such as pūgas which consisted of different castes and occupations in the same area and gaṇis which functioned as the local political governmental bodies of a popular type. The representatives of guilds were co-active in the higher hierarchy of these administrative bodies in the towns and cities, therefore they must have exerted an influential power over the municipal affairs. The Gupta kings administered, in order to maintain the stabilized peace of this huge empire, a strong central government control over the economic, political and social matters after the policies advised in the *Arthaśāstra* and *Dharmaśāstra*. It is reported however that in the *Smṛtis* of the Gupta age, there is no trace of the strict official control or political exploitation of śreṇis and saṅghas as such evinced in the *Arthaśāstra*, but on the contrary, there is a remarkable tendency to safeguard the property and strengthen the constitution of these bodies.⁶⁷ Taxes paid by the guilds were counted as one of the most important sources of kings' revenue. And during this age of economic prosperity and peace, the guild and corporations seem to be gradually growing into a larger system like a trust organisation pacing with the rooting in of the caste system which grew into complexity in the course of time. This is the general picture of the corporate bodies in the Gupta age, that of which in the Kushan period seems to be not clearly known yet, however it must have been advancing towards the same stage described above. Then the position of the huge and prosperous Jaina communities at Mathurā was likely most powerful over the other castes during the reigns of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva.

The Gupta rulers who were the Vaiṣṇavas and supported the Hindu activities in all respects are known to have taken a tolerant policy to the Śaivas and non-Hindus as well. However Mathurā where a majority of the Jains had likely settled down by this time is the birth place of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Hence in the florescence of Hindu revival movement, the city was probably soon handed over to the Vaiṣṇavas wherein the Buddhists seem to have survived better than the Jains. The Jaina inscriptions at Mathurā are still available in number during the reign of the Hindu King Vāsudeva (202-226 A. D.: he was likely a Śaiva despite of his name) in the Kushan dynasty. And as we have aforementioned, here appears a class of the late Kushan and post-Kushan image of Neminātha attended by Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa theme creeps in the canonical texts such as *Uttarādhyaṇa* 22, *Antakṛddāśa*, *Natadharmakathā*

16, *Vahniśāśa* 1 and *Dakṣavalkālika*. The theme of twelve cakravartis including Vasudeva and Baladeva also occurs in the *Sthāna* and *saṃavāya*, for instance.

Some features of Kṛṣṇa stories in the Jaina canon are reported as follows (1) Only a part of the Kṛṣṇa story is incorporated in the form of an inserted tale to serve as an illustration in explaining the Jaina doctrines such as the principle of transmigration, (2) Kṛṣṇa, no doubt a mighty king, figures as a secondary personality in the biography of Neminātha, (3) He is not a divinity but a person who suffers karmic consequences, and (4) A mention is made about the exodus of the Pāṇḍavas, their populating Pāṇḍu-Mathurā in the South and their perishing on the Śatruñjaya hill by sallekhanā.⁶⁸ The last feature herein must be speaking of the migration of the Jinas from Mathurā to the South. It is also remarked that the name of Nemi and Ariṣṭanemi appear in the *Yajurveda* as well as the *Prabhāsa purāṇa*, who are however not at all relevant to Tīrthāṅkara Neminātha. The Hindu purāṇas describe Ṛṣabha to some extent but not Nemi who appears in the *Harivaṃśa* (also the name Ariṣṭanemi, occurs) that Dakṣa gave four daughters to Ariṣṭanemi, who gave birth to sixteen sons.⁶⁹ By the time of the composition of these canonical texts, therefore, the Jainas began to adopt Kṛṣṇa theme which was gaining general popularity among the Hindus. The Jaina purāṇas in the post-canonical stage fully took an advantage of the Hindu epics to propagate the Jaina dogmatics.

The *Mahābhārata* which tells the story of Kṛṣṇa is suspected to have existed in the present form by the 4th century A. D., of which original form is speculated to go back to the 4th century B. C. And it is also postulated that there were several traditional Kṛṣṇas who were merged into one deity in the later time.⁷⁰ The early Paraśurāma worship in western India is indicated by an inscription of the 2nd century A.D., and avatāra worship is amply attested by the growing number of the relevant epigraphic evidences during the 4th through 8th centuries.⁷¹ The Hindu purāṇas of the Gupta age began to accept Buddha as an avatāra of Viṣṇu. And by absorbing the Buddhist doctrines of ahimsā, vegetarianism, etc., which are more sternly upheld by the Jainas, the Vaiṣṇavas attempted to attract the masses of the followers of Buddhism, that is considered to have played a substantial role for the decline of Buddhism.⁷² The purāṇas like the *Bhāgavata* likewise absorbed the first Jaina Tīrthāṅkara Ṛṣabha as one of Viṣṇu's avatāras. And it should be also remembered that a Rajgir cave of the 4th century A. D. came to be requisitioned by the Vaiṣṇava votaries.

All these suggest that during the late canonical and post canonical periods there were aggressive propagation and counterpropagation among the Hindu and the non-Hindu sects including the Jaina school to dominate over the other in order to absorb the followers of the other or in order to defend their own followers to be enticed by the other. The Buddhist adoption of Kṛṣṇa theme is, it is remarked, rather

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insignificant.⁷³ However the case of the Jainas' counterattack against the Vaiṣṇavas took a persistent and vigorous course, probably because it involved with the survival of the heavy Jaina communities at Mathurā.

The history of the late Kushan dynasty is still in darkness, but it is said that it was fastly changing into Hindunization in contrast to the florescence of Buddhism in the cosmopolitan atmosphere at the beginning period of this dynasty. We do not know when Kṛṣṇa worship began to gain power. However avatāra worship is already attested in the epigraphical sources from the 2nd century onwards, and the mechanism of the theory of avatāra can easily absorb the deities of the other religions. The Vaiṣṇavas must have therefore started to absorb the deities of the other religions including the first Tīrthānkara of the Jainas. The Jainas who were leading the power at Mathurā must have faced this new religious movement with the sense of disgust, but since its growing popularity centred round Mathurā became innegligible, they likely retorted them in turn by subordinating Kṛṣṇa to Neminātha. However this religious fight did not stop there, grew into the socio-economic struggle of the Jaina communities at Mathurā, which became decisive by the turnover of the dynasty. For with the advent of the Guptas, the city must have become the centre of the Hindu revival movement, particularly of the Vaiṣṇavas, which went on accelerating into the intensive and large scaled force patronized by the then rulers. The Jainas must have resisted at best to maintain their position at Mathurā, however they could not stand out for too long.

The arrival of the age of eclipse for the Jainas must have been sensed by the alert businessmen already at the early stage of social change, and gradually they started to desert Mathurā to the places where such social pressures would be less and where their business activities would be more promising. It is thus plausible that the structure of the huge Jaina business communities which constituted a hierarchy or some hierarchies of corporate bodies came to be shaken up and confronted a menacing socio-economic set-back. This must have further accelerated their migration until the majority of the Jaina communities vacated the city. The exodus of the lay Jaina communities from Mathurā naturally caused the migration of the ascetic saṅghas as well, because the latter had to depend on the former for their material needs. The change of the power structure at Mathurā seems to have thus taken place during the Gupta period. The Jaina purāṇas in the post-canonical period kept on developing Kṛṣṇa theme in the Jaina context, which was perhaps the continuation of the persistent counterattack against the Vaiṣṇava movement which drove the Jainas away from Mathurā as symbolized in the pāṇḍavas' migration to the Southern Mathurā.

It appears therefore that the lay Jainas began to desert Mathurā at the beginning of the Gupta age and migrated to the West and the South. The Western area was

under the suzerains of the Guptas, and the South was completely outside the hand of the Gupta empire. Ujjain, Valabhī, Kānchī, Madurā, etc., were well known for the then commercial centres; and Surat in Gujarat and Mangalore in Mysore were famous for the international trades with Egypt, Rome, China and Southeast Asian countries during this period; also Kolar gold mine in Mysore is suspected to have been exploited around this time.⁷⁴ The internal trade routes for caravans had been well developed by this time, and the overland route through Ujjain, Paithan, Tamil land to Kashi, and the sea routes between Surāṣṭra and Madurā were well known.⁷⁵ It is not at all surprising therefore that the lay Jainas at Mathurā who were well acquainted with these business worlds chose, guided by their keen business sense, and migrated to these promising trade centres as their futur ehomelands.

It is evident from Mathurā inscriptions wherein lay donors inscribed the names of their preceptors along with their gaṇa, kula, etc., that the laymen or lay communities were under the guidance of the particular spiritual teachers. In another word, monks came to have stood by this time for the lay Jainas as their spiritual guides, who in turn depended for their material needs on the lay communities. Corroborating this fact, Kaṭugumalai hill inscription of the 2nd to the 1st century B. C. records that the Jaina merchants donated monasteries to a Jaina monk. The canonical texts themselves which prescribe the householders' duties attest this strong tie-up of the lay and the ascetic saṅghas in those days. Where the ascetic saṅghas moved, there they were likely followed by the lay votaries in the earlier period. However the migrated Jainas, both lay and ascetic, from Mathurā in the Gupta age chose the commercial cities for their future homelands. This alludes to the fact that the lay communities invited their preceptors for their spiritual guidance after their migration and that the ascetic saṅghas which could not go without their support welcomed it and joined them.

The Jaina antiquities under the dominion of the Gupta empire mostly consist of the images of Jinas inasmuch as Mathurā antiquities of the Jainas in the Kushan age do. This implies that the donors were mostly the wealthy merchants who likely constructed temples at the sites of their finds. The Jaina emigrants to the West did not seem to have enjoyed an imperial support at their beginning stage. On the contrary, those migrated to the South were backed up by the rulers as the early Southern inscriptions of the 4-6th centuries attest. This alludes to the fact that these migrated Jainas who previously enjoyed the highly organized corporate life at Mathurā and were well acquainted with the know-how in organizing business communities immediately commenced to invite the royal favour in order to settle down in these new places. The total absence of the record of an image donation in the epigraphical sources indicates that they did not yet possess or just began to construct their own temples which functioned as the centres for community activities. Lands granted by kings were free of taxes. Therefore, for the sake of establishing a community centre

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with a view to beginning a new settlement life, the wisest step to take was to win the royal patronage, for which the capable monks endowed with scholarship and excelled conduct were indispensable. The lay communities had to thus invite the ascetic saṅghas not only for their spiritual guidance but also for gaining the imperial favour. The record of Śimhanandi Ācārya's assistance of Māhava I (c. 350-400 A.D.) in founding the Ganga dynasty, which is the earliest Jain epigraphy available in Karnataka, clearly evinces that the Jain monk was attempting to win an influence over the king.⁷⁶ Likewise Śrutakīrti who is called *senāpati* in the inscription⁷⁷ obviously assisted Kākusthavarma in founding the Kadamba dynasty.

Lay communities thus required the assistance of ascetic saṅghas and ascetic saṅghas also needed the support of lay communities. And the monks practising nudity must have naturally preferred to go to the South, and those wearing clothes likely migrated to the West at large. The waves of the mass exodus of the Jain communities from Mathurā to all these places seem to have thus happened. Therefore Śaurasēṭī became the language of composition in the South; whereas the 3rd Valabhī Convention redacted the Mathurā version instead of the Valabhī version of the previous century, which was likely due to the strength of monks newly emigrated from Mathurā. Then the Mathurā *vācanā* is expected to show the characteristic features of Śaurasēṭī, however the present Āgama is characterized by the Mahārāṣṭrī elements. No doubt, some canonical texts were composed in the West, the number of which is however small. This phenomenon must be largely due to the gradual change of the language of the canon in the process of the adjustment of the language of the authors into Mahārāṣṭrī in the West, because the recension of the canonical texts used by the *cūṇī* authors is said to show the archaic Mahārāṣṭrī, while that used by the Sanskrit commentators shows the classical Mahārāṣṭrī.⁷⁸ (As to this point, the linguistic analysis of the canonical recensions used by the *cūṇī* and *vṛtti* authors is urgently awaited.)

In the 4th century, the Canonical Convention was held at Mathurā and Valabhī. This indicates that a number of monks still remained at Mathurā, but a number of monks had already moved to Valabhī. In the 5th century, the Convention was held at Valabhī, which signifies that Valabhī became the centre of the Jains in the West. Śravaṇabelgoḷa inscription no. 1 of c. 600 A.D. which is so far the earliest available Jain epigraphy therein tells that Bhadrabāhusvāmī, of the lineage of Gautama, Lobhārya Bhadrabāhu, Viśākha Buddhila and the other teachers, predicted a twelve years' famine at Ujjain, therefore the entire saṅgha set out from the North to the South and reached a country filled with happy people, wealth, gold, corn and domestic animals; then Prabhācandra Ācārya, separating himself from the saṅgha fasted to death attended by a single disciple on the Kaṭavapura mountain; and in the course of time 700 *ṛṣis* accomplished *saṃādhi maraṇa* likewise. The inscriptions at

Śravaṇabelgoḷa during the 7th century mostly record the death fast of ascetics. This saṅgha likely migrated to Śravaṇabelgoḷa in much earlier time than 600 A. D. and its members gradually demised by this time.

All these evince that the mass migration of the Jaina communities, both lay and ascetic, took place gradually during the Gupta period beginning with the 4th century A. D. Sporadic migrations must have occurred from time to time in the pre-Guptan era as apparent from the foregoing data, which however did not at all become a force to change the geography of the Jainas. The waves of the mass exodus of the Jaina communities in the Gupta age from Mathurā to all these places which are concentrated in the South and the West had largely determined the geography of the present day Jainas, that was a monumental event in the Jaina history.

The seemingly silent activities of the Jainas in the North during the Gupta age can be thus well explained by their gradual mass migration, who were spending their energy for the settlement in the new places. The schism took place around the time when the Canonical Council was held at Valabhī, thenceforth notable literary activities began in the South, and the unbroken canonical tradition continued in the West. Thus despite of this revolutionary change of the Jaina communities caused by the social impact of the days, the literary activities of the Jaina monks seem to have continued from the previous period in a flow without a break in both Southern and Western India. Ascetic Saṅghas owe for it to the constant care and support of the laity, to whom the former likewise amply responded by taking up the role of spiritual leadership.

(3) Great schism

When and how the great schism into the present day Svētāmbaras and Digambaras came into being is shrouded in mist. The absence of the essential doctrinal discordances between these two major schools however suggests that the schism arose in the comparatively recent time. Had the schism occurred in the 3rd century B. C., for instance, both schools would have developed substantially different doctrinal systems, event not to the extent of Mahāyānaism and Hīnayānaism in the Buddhist schools. However the fact stands that the Jaina dogmatic concepts which evolved since Mahāvīra's time up to the 5th century A. D. and were represented in the T. S. in essence were basically received by the two sects. This implies that the schism took place after the stage when the Āgamic concepts grew into a full maturity.

The *Viśeṣavaśyakabhāṣya* 3032-3092 refer to Śivabhūti's niḥnava which is not mentioned in the previous literature in the Āgamic tradition. The story goes that Śivabhūti, who was unhappy about his guru's disapproval of his possessing an ornamented shawl donated by a king on the ground of parigraha, quarreled with him about the matter of parigraha as to the jina-kulpa's possession of upadhi, i. e., a broom stick and a

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mouth-piece, thus he finally left his guru by establishing his own party of naked monks. This nihnava is called the Boṭika (Digambara) issue. The cardinal claims of the Digambaras are three,⁷⁹ that nudity alone leads to mokṣa, that women are thereby not eligible to attain mokṣa, and that a kevali does not eat food through his mouth. These points are accounted in the *Sarvārthasiddhi*, therefore Pūjyapāda was a Digambara, before whom the schism must have occurred. Pūjyapāda and Jinabhabra belong to the 6th century A. D., therefore both traditions agree in asserting that the schism took place sometime before their time.

The aforementioned copper-plate inscriptions of Mṛgeśavarman (c. 475–490 A. D.) register land grants made to 1) the Śvetapaṭas and Nirgranthas (c. 478 A. D.), and Yāpanīyas, Nirgranthas and Kūrcakas (c. 482 A. D.). This vindicates that among the migrated ascetics to the South by the end of the 5th century, there were at least four different communities, i. e., the Śvetapaṭa, Nirgrantha, Yāpanīya and Kūrcaka. The designation of Śvetāmbara–Digambara seems to be of a later origin, and they were likely calling themselves the Śvetapaṭas and the Nirgranthas at the beginning period in the South. Pūjyapāda also describes Umāsvāti as Nirgrantha Ācārya in the *Sarvārthasiddhi*. Since these four saṅghas were called by those distinct names, the schism must have occurred before c. 478 A. D. The Yāpanīyas practised nudity but maintained the Āgamic tradition by admitting strīmukti and kevalibhukti. Numerous inscriptions referring to the Yāpanīya saṅgha exist from the 5th century up to the 14th century, which was however absorbed later into the Digambara fold.⁸⁰ Not much is known yet about the Kūrcaka saṅgha which does not have many inscriptions, nor has left us so far any literary works.⁸¹

Harisena gives the earliest Digambara explanation of the schism account in his *Bṛhatsamhitā*, Sec. 131 called *Bhadrabāhukathānaka*. According to him, Bhadrabāhu in the reign of Candragupta at Ujjain predicted a famine lasting for twelve years. Upon hearing this, Candragupta received dīkṣā from Bhadrabāhu, who soon became the head of all saṅghas and called by name Viśākha Ācārya. By the order of Bhadrabāhu, Viśākha led the saṅgha to Punnāṭa kingdom in the South, while Bhadrabāhu and the others led their saṅghas to Sindhu. In the course of time when they returned to Ujjain, the famine was still persisting though less severe, wherein monks were allowed to use a piece of garment for alms collection. After the famine was over, these monks did not stop this robe wearing practice even though advised by the elders. The schism started thence onwards. A prevalent belief of the later day Digambaras is that the schism occurred at the time of Bhadrabāhu I who led the saṅgha along with Candragupta Maurya to Śravaṇabelgoḷa due to the twelve years' famine in the North. Upon their return to the North after the end of the famine they found that the monks who had remained there slackened in discipline by wearing

robber, therefore they left them and established the saṅgha according to the orthodox tradition of nudity.

These legends along with the others told in the later time⁸² were derived undeniably from the aforeintroduced Śravaṇabelgoḷa inscription no. 1 of c. 600 A. D. This inscription clearly informs us that Bhadrabāhusvāmi who predicted the twelve years' famine at Ujjain is a different saint from Bhadrabāhu I whose immediate disciple is recorded as Viśākha. The inscription is totally silent about the migration of this certain nimittajña Bhadrabāhu, which must mean that he did not at all come to the South. Prabhācandra whose death fast was followed by many other saints in the course of time was likely an outstanding figure in the migrated saṅgha, but he had nothing to do with Candragupta Maurya.

Yativrābha (between 473 and 609 A. D.) mentions about Candragupta in his *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* 4.1481 that he was initiated into the Jain faith. Verse 4.1482 then speaks about five śrutakevalis including Bhadrabāhu, which therefore suggests that Candragupta referred to above is identical with the Maurya King by this name. Śravaṇabelgoḷa inscription no. 31 (17-18) of c. 650 A. D. refers to Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta, who are however not at all said to have visited here⁸³ This Bhadrabāhu-Candragupta theme then developed into the existence of their foot-prints impressed on the summit of the Candragiri around 900 A. D.⁸⁴ Harisēṇa (931-932 A. D.) tells that Candragupta alias Viśākha led the saṅgha to the South. Since Viśākha Ācārya is the direct disciple of Bhadrabāhu I, Harisēṇa identifies him with Candragupta Maurya.

From this it is apparent that Bhadrabāhu I - Candragupta Maurya legend gradually got into shape on the basis of the mention of Bhadrabāhusvāmi and Prabhācandra in the Śravaṇabelgoḷa inscription, which fatally determined the pontifical lineage of the Digambaras. This Śravaṇabelgoḷa inscription no. 1 which record in Kannada script the past history of the migrated saṅgha was likely made when the saṅgha came to be firmly rooted in this area, because the inscription at Śravaṇabelgoḷa went on increasing thenceforth indicating that it became the stronghold of the Jainas in the South. The inscription is completely silent about the schism which must have occurred before c. 478 A. D., the date of the copper-plate ordinance of Mṛgeśavarman. The recorded content of this inscription is that the saṅgha migrated to this place from the North due to the twelve years' famine predicted by Bhadrabāhu at Ujjain. This is a matter of fact history known to this migrated saṅgha. A twelve years' famine is reported in the Jain source in reference to the cause of the Third⁸⁵ Valabhī Council held in 453 or 465 A. D. but no record of a long famine during the 6th century A. D. in the North seems to be found in the Jain source. Also it is quite reasonable to assume that over a century of time was required for this migrated saṅgha to establish itself as the centre of the Jainas in the South. It is therefore

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not unreasonable to infer that this saṅgha migrated from the North before the date of the schism, Then the content of this memorial inscription which is not obsessed by the schism issue involving sectarian claims should be treated as a valuable common historical document of the Jainas of the two traditions.

Bhadrabāhu at Ujjain who foretold the twelve years' famine was undoubtedly excelled in nimittavidyā. The *Āvaśyaka niryukti* 778 alleges the occurrence of seven niṇnavas in the past, "bahuraya paesa avvatta-samucchā-duga-tiga-abaddhiyā ceva/ sattee niṇhagā khalu tiṭṭhammi u vaddhamāṇassa", while its gāthā 781 adds Rathavīrapurā as the place of the eighth niṇnava, 'sāvattī usabhapuraṃ seyaviyā mihila ullugātiraṃ/ purimamtarāmi dasapura rahavirapuram ca nagarāṃ.' Admittedly here is a confusion in statement. The *Uttarādhyayana niryukti* 164 Likewise enumerates seven niṇnavas, 'bahuraya-paesa-avvatta-samuccha duga-tiga-abaddhiga ceva/ eesiṃ niggamaṇaṃ vucchāmi ahāṇupuvvie', wherein 'sattee' of the *Āvaśyaka niryukti* 778 is obscurely stated by way of 'eesiṃ'. The *Āvaśyaka niryukti* gāthā 781 is dropped from the *Uttarādhyayana niryukti* which inserts the *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* 3034 as its niryukti gāthā 178, 'rahavirapuram nayaraṃ divagam-ujjāṇa ajjakaṇhe a/ sivabhūiss-uvahimmi pucchā therānakahaṇā ya.' These *Niryuktis* were originally acquainted with seven niṇnava issues alone, to which the account of the eighth issue was interpolated obviously by Jinabhadra himself.⁸⁵ *Niryuktikāra* Bhadrabāhu II thus does not seem to know anything about the schism yet. This suggests us to reassign the date of Bhadrabāhu II prior to the date of the schism, if this niryuktikāra is identical with nimittajña Bhadrabāhu.

Bhadrabāhu II, author of the *Niryuktis* and nimittajña, has been assigned to c. 500-600 V. S. on the basis of the traditional belief that he was the brother of Varāhamihira (505-587 A. D.) who was born near Ujjain.⁸⁶ The authenticity of this legend is dubious, because niryuktikāra Bhadrabāhu II was an orthodox Jaina who was not at all likely a Brahmin convert from the contents of the *Niryuktis* and Varāhamihira was a staunch Hindu. In all probability, the later Jainas made up a story of Bhadrabāhu at Ujjain who was excelled in nimittavidyā in relation to Varāhamihira, a celebrated astronomer and astrologer. Neither the ground of the assignment of his date, c. 500-600 V. S., on the basis of the date of Varāhamihira, 505-587 A. D., is at all clear. Suppose his date is accepted as of c. 500-600 A. D. on the basis of Varāhamihira's date, it invites difficulty pertaining to the dates of the authors such as Siddhasena Divākara, Pūjyapāda and Jinabhadra who are assigned in the 6th century A. D., because a good temporal distance exists between the *Niryuktis* and the *Sūnati-Sarvāṭhāsīlī-Visēṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*. It is better therefore to reassign the date of Bhadrabāhu II before and around the time of the famine which was followed by the great schism. A twelve years' famine can be interpreted as a long years' famine which was severe enough to take away many persons' lives, and surmising from the present day condition of natural disasters, even a few years' duration of a

horrible famine would make it. It is difficult to say if niryuktikāra Bhadrabāhu and nimittajña Bhadrabāhu were the same person or not. But since both Bhadrabāhus do not know the schism, they must have belonged to the same period. Then we can still retain the accepted view that these two Bhadrabāhus are the same person, unless and until strong evidences against it are produced.

The Digambara legend that the schism came into being due to the slackened practice of robe wearing of those who remained in the North during the famine is difficult to accept, because the two types of monks, i. e., acelaka and sacelaka had been existing side by side since Mahāvīra's lifetime as so evinced in the *Ācārāṅga* I. Likewise the niḥnava issue described by Jinabhadra is hardly acceptable as the cause of this great schism. All these claims agree in one point that the vital issue of the schism involves the matter of robe wearing or not. From the archaeological evidences we learn that the first known dhoti clad Tirthankara image makes its appearance in the late 5th century A. D. From the inscriptional sources we learn that the schism took place before the 4th regnal year of Mrgeśavarman, c. 475-490 A. D. The schism must have thus occurred sometime by this time, trusting that the date of Mrgeśavarman (assigned in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, v. 3) is reliable. Then a certain grave event which was crucial enough to divide the Jaina church into two must have taken place before this time. And sure enough, the Third Valabhī Canonical Council took place in 453 or 465 A. D. according to tradition. Then we have to examine the relevant materials and explain how this Canonical Council came to be the cause of the great schism.

According to the *Dhavalā* (v. 1, pp. 65-67), the complete knowledge of the aṅgas and pūrvas was lost by the time of Dattisena, teacher of Paśpadanta and Bhūtabali. The Digambaras nevertheless accept the twelve aṅgas as their sacred literature. The *Sarvārthasiddhi* explains "*Daśavaikālīka*, etc." as the content of the aṅgabāhyas under the sūtra I : (2), and the *Rājivṛtika* propounds "*Uttarādhyaṇa*, etc." as such, while the *Dhavalā* enumerates 14 texts (i. e., *Sāmāyīya*, *Cauvisatthao*, *Vandana*, *Paḍikkamaṇa*, *Veṇaiya*, *Kidiyamma*, *Dasaveyāliya*, *Uttarajjhayana*, *Kappavavahāro*, *Kappākappiya*, *Mahākappiya*, *Pumḍariya*, *Mahāpumḍariya*, *Nisihaya*) which likely constituted the common heritage of the aṅgabāhyas in the Āgamic tradition before the split of the church.⁸⁷ The later Digambaras count the *Kaṣāyaparābhṛta* of Guṇadhara, the *Saṅkhyadāgama* of Paśpadanta and Bhūtabali and the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* of Yativṛsabha (author of the *Cūrṇisūtra* on the *Kaṣāyaprābhṛta*) as their aṅgabāhya texts, which were, excluding the first named text, directly derived from the later canonical tradition in the immediate post-Umāsvāmi period. Their pro-canon is classified into four types : 1) Prathamānuṃyoga, namely, *Paḍnapurāṇa*, *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, *Mahāpurāṇa* and *Uttarapurāṇa* which are the works of the 7th to the 9th century A. D.; 2) Karaṇānuṃyoga, namely, *Jayadhavalā* of the 9th century, including the

Sūryaprajñapti and *Candraprajñapti* which seem to be derived from the upāṅgas by these names⁸⁸ : 3) *Dravyānuyoga*, namely, the works by Kundakunda, the revised version of the T. S. and *Āptamīmāṃsā*, which are the post-Umāsvāti products, and 4) *Caranānuyoga*, namely, *Mūlācāra* and *Trivarnācāra* of Vaṭṭakera, *Ratnakaraṇḍa śrāvakaśāra* of Samantabhadra and *Bhagavati āraḍhanā* of Śivakoṭi, which again belong to the post-Umāsvāti period.⁸⁹ The works other than the twelve aṅgas, 14 aṅgabāhyas and the *Kaṣṭhāpaprābhīṭa* are the post-Umāsvāti products extending up to the 9th century, therefore the present pro-canonical list must have been formulated after the 9th century A. D.

The Digambara list of the sacred literature clearly evinces that they did not disapprove the Āgamic tradition but they flatly refused to accept the later canonical texts redacted at Valabhī. And the Digambara literature as well as the Śvetāmbara literature after the Valabhī Council patently exhibit that there was a free flow of materials between these schools. Curiously enough, the *Mūlācāra*, *Bhagavati āraḍhanā*, etc., which are suspected to be of the Yāpanīyas are sanctioned as the authoritative texts inspite of their nature coming into conflict with their basic creeds, because the Yāpanīyas upheld the Āgamic tradition in all respects. The Digambaras were obviously against the robe wearing monks alone and took the side of the non-robe wearing Yāpanīyas who were in the fold of the Śvetāmbaras by creeds. The Yāpanīyas were, as alleged by their inscriptions, in the South in majority together with Nirgranthas, while only a minority of the Śvetapaṭas settled down in the South. Thus a majority of robe wearing monks must have moved to the West. The cause of the schism is thus entangled with the nature of the Third Canonical Convention at Valabhī which was likely held by the robe wearing monks.

We are informed that Devarddhigaṇi presided over the Council at Valubhī in 453 or 466 A. D. immediately after the ending of the twelve years' famine in fear of the further loss of the sacred texts which had been handed down through the memory of monks. According to tradition, the previous Canonical Councils were convened under the similar condition that the monks who memorized the sacred scriptures were expiring due to long famines. It is said that a twelve years' famine occurred at the time of Bhadrabāhu, Āryasuhasi and Vajrasvāmi respectively. The first famine was terrible, which caused all the munis except Bhadrabāhu to forget the *Drṣṭivāda*, thus the First Canonical Council was called. The other two famines did not seem to have affected the knowledge of the Jaina scriptures memorized by the survivors. A twelve years' famine occurred again at the time of Skandila, and it happened that all the principal anuyogadharas except Skandila died in the North. So he summoned a council of Jaina monks at Mathurā and redacted the canon by taking notes of whatever could be gathered from them. A similar attempt was made by Nāgārjuna at Valabhī almost simultaneously.⁹⁰

The traditional accounts above convey us that the Canonical Councils were summoned under a critical condition in peril of the loss of the sacred knowledge due to long famines, but not under a normal peaceful condition. And under such circumstances, the Councils were held immediately by the survivors who gathered around the same area. The Second Council was thus summoned both at Mathurā and Valabhī at the same time, and under a critical condition no attempt was made to hold a joint council of all Jaina monks. In another word, there existed no conventional practice of calling a Canonical Convention attended by the entire Jaina monks.

The schism did not arise at the Second Canonical Councils held at Mathurā and Valabhī in the 4th century. It must mean that these Councils were or at least Mathurā Council was attended by both robe wearing and naked monks. The Third Valabhī Convention was called under the similar critical condition. By this time, however, the majority of monks practising nudity had already been migrated to the South, and the geography of the Jainas was largely divided into the South and the West. The Convention must have been therefore held by the robe wearing monks in majority. And since it was the customary practice in the history of the Jainas to hold a Canonical Council by the survivors who gathered around the area hit by the famine, Devarddhī and the others who summoned the meeting under emergency would not have thought about extending an announcement of this matter to the Southern bretheren. Thus the Council immediately took place according to the past rule by those who remained at Valabhī. And the Southern Jainas came to know about it sooner or later.

A Canonical Convention is a vital concern for any co-religionists, for the basic canonical texts are authorised thereby, according to the holy utterance of which their religious activities are directed. Therefore when the Council announced the final redaction of the texts without the consent of those in the South, they were not at all happy. They were not affected by the famine, and many migrated saints must have carried a good number of canonical texts with them including the *Kaṣāyaprabhṛta*, *ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* and *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (which was likely finalized in the 6th century A. D.) which the bretheren in the West did not possess. They thus came out with a decision to disclaim the authority of the canonical list made at Valabhī by saying that the complete knowledge of the sacred texts had been already lost before the time of the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, and upon organizing the Nirgrantha sect they attempted to compile their own canonical texts inasmuch as the Śvetapāṭas did. If the Śvetapāṭas' action were legitimate, the Nirgranthas' action should be likewise legitimate, inasmuch as the two Canonical Conventions were authorized in the 4th century A. D. The Nirgranthas thus came out with the principal three creeds in order to distinguish themselves from the Śvetapāṭas. The later Digambaras then attempted to build up their history by

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bringing in Bhadrabāhu I and Candragupta Maurya, the theme developed from the Sravaṇabelgoḷa inscription no. 1, for the sake of establishing the authority of their tradition. (Likewise the Digambaras' claim that the *Kaṣāyaprābhṛta*, T. S. etc., are derived from the *Drṣṭivāda* is obviously concocted in relation to Bhadrabāhu I who alone is said to have memorized the *Drṣṭivāda*.)

If the migration of the Jaina ascetic communities had not divided the robe wearers in the West and the naked ascetics in the South, the Third Valabhī Council must have escaped to be the cause of the schism. The great schism thus came into being because time had played a fatal role for it by changing the map of the Jainas into the South and the West. Unaware of this fact, the Western groups of monks performed their duty of preserving the sacred knowledge by summoning the Convention according to the past rule. This invited an emotional issue of the Southern brethren. Their attempt of compiling their own canonical texts is quite legitimate inasmuch as the two Canonical Councils were accepted in the past century. Also the *Kaṣāyaprābhṛta*, etc., which were obviously studied by and handed down to the groups of early karma specialists who happened to have migrated to the South, should have their places in the final list of the canon. Therefore the Southern monks' protest against the list of the canon made at Valabhī is not at all unreasonable. Unfortunately, between these two remote areas there seems to have existed no attempt to have a following-up joint meeting for reconciliation or adjustment of the Valabhī redaction before they decisively split into the two church organizations.

Since the mobility of the Jainas in the Gupta age was as such, the news that the Valabhī Council redacted the final list of the canon must have reached the South rather soon. However how soon the Southern monks responded to the Western monks by organizing an independent sect is difficult to know. No record exists that all the Southern monks met at one place together to discuss about this matter. Mrgaśivarman's copper-plate charter refers to the Śvetapaṭas in c. 478 A. D. and at least one dhoti wearing Akota bronze of the late 5th century A. D. is available. It seems therefore that the atmosphere of general dissatisfaction with the Valabhī decision soon came to prevail among the naked monks who were spread in various parts of the South, wherein the robe wearing monks were just a minority. Grouping into the Śvetapaṭas and the Nirgranthas seems to have occurred under some heavy pressure of this awkward and obscure atmosphere, which was soon conveyed to the Western monks, who retorted the South by producing the dhoti clad Tīrthaṅkara images.

Among the basic creeds of the Digambaras, the proviso of nakedness for liberation must have been therefore declared at once. Women's ineligibility for liberation is its logical consequence. However the claim of the refusal of a kevalī's kavalāhāra must have been gradually developed by the time of the *Sarvārthasiddhi*, because the Digambara recension of the T. S. which accepts the Śvetāmbara reading

of the sūtra IX : 11(11) evinces an obscure position regarding this matter. Pūjyapāda could have revised this sūtra, which somehow he hesitated to do. Under the circumstances, the Digambaras had to likewise establish some other minor matabhedas to strike differences from the Śvetāmbara positions. For instance, Kundakunda follows the *Kaṣāyaprabhṛta* as to the concept of upayoga. Pūjyapāda follows the *Śaṭkhaṇḍagama* as to the theory of atomic combination. Vaṭṭakera takes the *Niryukti* position as to the treatment of ācāra. From these pro-canonical authors' performance, it appears that they attempted to compose their texts from the following traditional sources : 1) Twelve aṅgas, 2) Aṅgabāhyas belonging to the old tradition prior to the schism, e. g., those listed in the *Dhavaṭā*, 3) *T. S.*, *Niryuktis*, etc., which are by nature outside the category of the canon, and 4) *Kaṣāyaprabhṛta*, *Śaṭkhaṇḍagama*, etc., which were handed down to those who migrated to the South.

This list excludes the later canonical texts redacted by the final Valabhī Convention. Since the *Kaṣāyaprabhṛta*, etc., which happened to have gone to the South together with the circle of karma specialists, are worthy to be included in the list of the later canonical texts, the leading monks in this circle in particular must have felt strong discontentment with the recent Valabhī list. Therefore the Southern Jainas came out with a decision to count them as their aṅgabāhyas and rejected the later canonical texts authorized by the Western groups. Hence, by the time of the composition of the pro-canonical texts, a certain agreement seems to have been made among the leading Southern monks that they should compose their own pro-canonical texts representing all and every branch of knowledge from the common traditional Āgamic sources above, which include the *Kaṣāyaprabhṛta*, etc., and which exclude the later canonical texts redacted in the West. This seems to have determined the position of the pro-canonical authors, thereby minor doctrinal disagreements came to be born. It thus likely took for some time until the Digambaras came to be prepared with their own characteristic features.

The schism came into being among the communities of monks, which had nothing to do with the lay society. Nor the ascetic saṅghas of both schools probably stood in the sharp antagonistic positions towards each other at the very beginning. Therefore it is not at all surprising from the content of the inscription of Mṛgeśavarman that the same image of Arhat in the village was likely worshipped by both the Nirgranthas and the Śvetapaṭas even though they lived in the different quarters.⁹¹ The situation was likely the same in the West at the beginning stage of the schism.

Unlike the Buddhists, the Jainas seem to have taken a closed-door policy and maintained a strong tie among themselves as a minority group in India throughout the history; and even though various nihnavas and dissentient events must have happened in the long course of time, they did not become explosive forces to split the church. The schism came into being fatally due to the migration of the Jainas of the South and the West where the naked monks and the robe wearing monks were largely divided, coupled with the accidental factor of a long famine which invited the call of the Canonical Convention at Valabhī. The cause of the great schism has long been shrouled in mist, because the history of the Jainas in the Gupta age was in darkness.

Sec. 3. SOME PROBLEMS IN THE T. S.

Part 2

Umāsvāti's date and works

(1) His date

Among the works cited by Umāsvāti, the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*, *Nyāyasūtrā*, *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* and *Yogasūtra* were composed before the *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* and *Abhidharmakośa*. And it is clear from the above study that the T.S. precedes the date of the *Niryuktis* and *Saṅkhaṇḍagāma*. A distance between the T.S. and the *Saṅkhaṇḍagāma* is pretty close, and we have also proposed that at least half a century of a temporal distance should be allowed between the T.S. and the *Sarvārthasiddhi*. Umāsvāti's date has to be thus determined somewhere between Vasubandhu, Vyāsa and Bhadrabāhu II.

Bhadrabāhu II foretold a long years' famine at Ujjain, after which the Third Valabhī Council and the great schism took place in succession. The tradition assigns the date of the Third Canonical Council in 453/466 A. D. (980/693 V.N.) on the basis of Mahāvīra's nirvāṇa which accepted as of 527 B.C. by both traditions. His date of nirvāṇa is in conflict with the established fact that he was a contemporary of Buddha whose date of nirvāṇa is widely accepted in 487-477 B.C.⁹²

As aforementioned, Mrgeśavarman, c. 475-490 A.D., donated lands to the Śvetapaṭas and Nirgranthas. Since this is the first inscriptional evidence available in relation to the schism, and since Mrgeśavarman's date is established on the basis of the Southern local history which has nothing to do with the Jaina tradition, this inscriptional document is of highly historical value. This copper-plate charter discovered in Dharwar Dist, registers that Mrgeśavarman in his 4th regnal year, c. 478 A.D., divided the village of Kālavaṅgā into three portions and granted them to 1) the holy Arhat and the great god Jinendra, who inhabit in the supreme and excellent place (called) "the hall of the Arhat", 2) the Śvetapaṭa sect, and 3) the Nirgrantha sect. The same temple was likely shared by these two sects, which clearly indicates that the ordinance was made not too long after the division of the church. In the previous year, c. 477 A.D., Mrgeśavarman gave a land to holy Arhats for the purpose of worship, and in c. 482 A.D. he ordered to construct a temple in devotion for his dead father Śāntivarman, and donated lands to the Yāpanīyas, Kūrcakas and Nirgranthas. His grandfather Kākusthavarman (c. 405-435 A.D.) donated a land to a Jaina ācārya, but no inscription pertaining to the Jains seems to exist as to his father. We are not sure when and how the Yāpanīyas and Kūrcakas originated. However since the royal land grants were made to these distinctly independent sects, we have to be convinced that the schism had already occurred sometime before c. 478 A. D.

The tradition claim that the Second Canonical Councils were synchronically convened at Mithurā and Valabhī in 300/313 A.D. (827/840 V.N.) and that the

Third Council was summoned in 453/466 A.D. (980/993 V.N.). We do not know in what way the Jainas kept the calendar after the death of Mahāvīra and what kinds of efforts were made to maintain its accuracy. Neither do we know in what way the difference of 153 years between the Second and the Third Canonical Councils was memorized. Unfortunately, these dates seem to be untraceable in the external sources. Also the Hindu purāṇas and astronomical sources do not expressly record the dates of long famines occurred in the 4th and the 5th centuries, which are neither locatable in the inscriptions of this period.

The traditional date of Mahāvīra's death comes into conflict with the widely accepted date of Buddha's death. Also not until the Guptas came into the stage fully supporting the Hindu revival movement, the Vaiṣṇava movement would have become that much intensive force to be able to drive the huge Jaina communities away from Mathurā. And the Jaina inscriptions and archaeological remains endorse this fact by showing a sudden decline of their number with the entry in the Gupta period and by evincing their sudden appearance in the various places of the migration of the Jainas which began after the middle of the 4th century A.D. Candragupta I came to the throne in 320 A.D. and Samudragupta in 330 A.D., Some Jainas might have migrated earlier than that time, but their number cannot be large. And since the Jainas must have been skilled in administering business matters and organizing business communities they had likely enjoyed highly organized corporate systems at Mathurā, they could have embarked in their business enterprises (which they might have even well planned previously) immediately after their migration to the new places. Under the historical circumstances as such, both dates of the Second Canonical Councils in tradition are difficult to accept, which must have taken place allegedly after 320 A.D. Then we can likewise doubt about the accuracy of the traditional date of the Third Valabhī council which must have occurred before c. 478 A.D.

Since Mrgśīvarman's inscription evinces that it was made in the comparatively early stage of the schism, the traditional date of the Valabhī Convention as of 453 A.D. is too far away and improbable. We may at present propose here a wider possible range of the date of the Third Canonical council as of c. 466-478 A.D. until some other historical evidences are discovered in the future to determine it accurately. A long famine which Bhadrabāhu II predicted might have been a matter of a few to several years. Then Bhadrabāhu's date falls in sometime before c.460-472 A.D., which can be taken as the lower limit of the date of the T. S. From his reactions advanced to the T.S., a temporal distance between the T.S. and the *Niryuktis* is pretty short.

The upper limit of the date of the T.S. is to be determined by the dates of the *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* and the *Abhidharmakośa*. Vyāsa's date is not at all settled down

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among the scholars yet, for instance, the 4th century A.D. is held by Radhakrishnan, 400 A.D. by Dasgupta, c.450 A.D. by Uī (*History of Indian Philosophy*), c. 500 A.D. by Kanakura and Nakamura (*History of Ancient India*, v. 2), 650-850 A.D. by Woods, and the 7th century A.D. by Strauss.⁹³ It is thus difficult for us to utilize his date for assigning the upper limit of the date of the T.S.

Vasubandhu's date is likewise still controversial, for instance, 283-360 A.D. maintained by Smith, 320-400 A.D. by Uī, 400-480 A.D. by Higata, 420-500 A.D. by Takakusu, 320-400 A.D. as of Mahāyānist Vasubandhu and 400-480 A.D. as of the author of the *Abhidharmakośa* by Frauwallner, and 470-500 A.D. by Dasgupta.⁹⁴ However from the foregoing description of the historical accounts involving Vasubandhu, it is evident that he was flourishing in the middle of the 5th century A.D. The date of the composition of the *Abhidharmakośa* is unknown, which however comes before his conversion to Mahāyānism that took place in his later time.

Considering all these relevant factors, we may under the circumstances, assign the date of the T.S. somewhere in the late middle of the 5th century A.D. It was composed sometime after the completion of the *Abhidharmakośa* and sometime before the date of the *Niryuktis*. Vasubandhu, Umāsvāti and Bhadrabāhu II were thus contemporaries in the 5th century.

(2) His works

The tradition informs us that Umāsvāti composed five hundred prakaraṇas (for instance, Haribhadrasūri mentions it in his commentary on the *Praśamaratī*) He seems to have written more than a few texts handed down to us because it is pointed out that what the later work like the *Uttarādhyayanavṛtti* of Bhāṇavijaya says that Vācaka said so and so is not traceable in his extant works.⁹⁵ The *Praśamaratī*, *Jambūdvīpasamāsa*, *Pūṭīaprakaraṇa* and *Sāvayapannavṛtti* are ascribed to him in tradition, of which the first two are generally accepted to be his works, but not the last two. None of them bears his name. It seems that he imposed upon himself the composition of the T. S. alone to be his prime task in life. The nature of these works shall be briefly discussed below.

The *Praśamaratī* takes up the theme of rāga-dveṣa (rāga defined as mama-kāra of which content is said to be māyā-lobha, and dveṣa as ahaṃkāra of which content is said to be krodha-māna) as the causes of the karmic bondage in saṃsāra and their vairāgyamārgas which consist of five vratas, twelve anupreksās (said as bhāvanās), ten dharma, threefold pathways to liberation and dhyāna. Unlike the T. S. which is a stiff philosophical treatise, the *Praśamaratī* is an ethical verse of more popular nature addressed to the monks and laymen, of which content does not go much beyond what is covered by the T. S. The parallel lines between the T. S. and the *Praśamaratī* are found as follows :

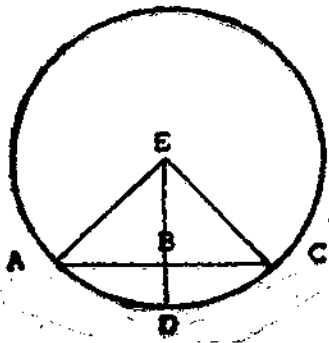
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<i>T. S.</i>	<i>Praśamarati</i>
I:1, 1Bh.	230-231
2-3, 3Bh.	222-223
I:4	189
10-13, 11Bh., 12Bh.	224-225
31-32	226-227
II:1	196-197
8-9, 9Bh.	194-195
10, 12-15	190-192
28, 28Bh.	287
III:1	212
IV:20	212
V:1-4	207
5-6, 5Bh.	214
9Bh.	213
11	208
17-18	215
19-20	217
21-22	218
23-24	216
29-31	204-206
VI:3-4	220
24	100
VII:16	303-304
VIII:1	33, 56, 142, 157
4	36
5-6	34-35
26, 26Bh.	219
IX:1-2	220
3	159
6, 6Bh.	167-178
7, 7Bh	149-162
18	228
37	246
X:5	287
6	294
7Bh.	296-301

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Instead of seven tattvas, nine tattvas are expounded in verse 189 onwards in the *Praśamaratī*, thereby it adds the topic of a promise for laymen to attain svarga loka in reward of their good conduct in this life (verses 302–308). Also the process of kevali samudghāta up to sūkṣmakriyā dbyāna which is not explained in the *T. S.* is described (verses 273–282). Certain minor improvements are also made on the *T. S.*, for instance, the sthāvaras are counted here as of five kinds (verses 190–192 against *T. S.* II:13–14) and samyaktva, jñāna, cāritra, vīrya and śikṣā are enumerated to be the jīva lakṣaṇas (verse 218 against *T. S.* V:21). The *Praśamaratī* 3–4 read, 'yady-apy-ananta-gama-paryayārtha-heṭu-naya-śabda-ratnāḍhyam/ sarvajña-śāsana-puraṃ praveṣṭum-abahuśrutair-duḥkham/ śruta-buddhi-vibhava-parihīnakas-tathā'py-aham-aśaktim-avcīntya/dramaka ivāvayavoñchakam-anveṣṭum tat-praveṣeṣuḥ', which echo the s. kārīkā 23–26 expressing a difficulty in epitomizing the canon. The *Praśamaratī* is doubtlessly a post-*T. S.* product, for it quotes the concept like saṁsāra which was formulated in the particular context in composing the *T. S.*

The *Jambūdvīpasamāsa* is a systematic treatise on Jambūdvīpa, of which first two āhnikas describe the geography of Jambūdvīpa, the third explains the world oceans and continents, and the fourth discusses about mensuration formulae and recapitulates the characteristic features of Jambūdvīpa. The Digambara edition of the *T. S.* revised its third chapter largely based on this work, 'probably with a view to attaining the validity of revision based on the original author's text. The names of antatradvīpas listed in the *T. S.* III:15Bh. are identical with those in the third āhnika,⁹⁶ which so far do not exactly coincide with the other lists, either Āgamic or non-Āgamic. These speak in support of the traditional belief that the *Jambūdvīpasamāsa* was composed by Umāsvāti. In its 4th āhnika and the *T. S.* III: 11Bh. imparted are the mensuration formulae to find out the chord, arrow of an arc, arc, and diameter in a segment of a circle, which are all identical in both texts excluding the method of measuring the arrow of an arc (the 4th series below) as follows:



$$AC = \text{arc} = a$$

$$AC = \text{chord} = c$$

$$BD = \text{height or arrow} = h$$

$$EA = EC = ED = d/2$$

T. S. III:11Bh. formulae

- (1) $C = \sqrt{10d^2}$
- (2) $A = 1/4 Cd$
- (3) $c = \sqrt{4h(d-h)}$
- (4) $h = 1/2(d - \sqrt{d^2 - c^2})$
- (5) $a = \sqrt{6h^2 + c^2}$
- (6) $d = (h^2 + c^2/4) / h$

In the place of series 4, the *Jambūdvīpasamāsa* gives a formula $h = \sqrt{(d^2 - c^2)/6}$, which is based on approximations and does not yield a correct result.⁹⁷ Umāsvāti improved this formula in the T. S. This demonstrates that the *Jambūdvīpasamāsa* was composed sometime before the T. S., most likely as a provisional preparation for the composition of its third chapter called *Lokaprajñapti*. Perhaps for this reason, the third chapter of the T. S. turned out to be extremely summaritical and short.

The *Pūjāprakaraṇa* in nineteen verses describes twenty-one methods of Pūjā for the laity. The *Prasamaratī* 305 refers to pūjā by enumerating gandha, mālya, adhvāsa, dhūpa, pradīpa, etc., but not more than that. The mention of such an elaborate ritual has no place in the known works of Umāsvāti, which makes it doubtful to be his composition. It is also remarked that the methods of pūjā described here are almost identical with those noted by Cāritrasundara in his *Ācāropadeśa*, and the work is speculated to be scarcely older than the 14th century A. D.⁹⁸

The *Sāvayapaṇṇatti* is a prakrit work which expounds twelve śrāvaka dharmas (guṇa-śikṣā vratas) along with their aticāras and the other relevant duties. The verses quoting the passages from the T. S. are as follows : 64—II:10-14, 69—II:31, 74—II:52, 79—VI:1-4, 80—VIII:2-3 and 81-82—IX:1-3. The essential subject matter treated in this *Sāvayapaṇṇatti* is found in the T. S. Ch.VII, however the former differs from the latter as to the major treatment of twelve guṇa-śikṣā vratas and their aticāras, which go with the tradition of the *Upāsakadaśū* but not with the T. S. The methods applied for distinguishing siddhas in verses 76-77 correspond to those of the *Prajñāpanā* 1.7.7-10 but not to those of the T. S. Besides the *Sāvayapaṇṇatti* is composed in Prakrit. These points make difficult to ascribe it to Umāsvāti, and many scholars are of opinion that Haribhadra is likely its original author.⁹⁹

The *Jambūdvīpasamāsa* and *Prasamaratī* are the minor works of Umāsvāti. The T. S. is certainly not a work possible to be completed within a year or two. A considerable length of time must have been consumed for the critical examination of the source materials, both Jaina and non-Jaina, and for their systematic organization. And it is quite plausible that Umāsvāti composed some more provisional works for the T. S. on the line of the *Jambūdvīpasamāsa*.

Part 3 Historical position of the T. S.

Vacaka Ācārya Umāsvāti composed the T. S. at Pataliputra sometime in the late middle of the 5th century A. D. when the migration of the Jainas to the South and the West was nearing to the end. About his personal background, we know no more than what he informs of himself in the praśasti. Pūjyapāda in his *Sarvārthasiddhi* delineates him as a saintly figure in a lonely āśrama attended by the order of monks. The tradition invented a legend that Umāsvāti, a wandering mendicant, composed the T.S. by the entriety of a layman. The Southern Jainas in the later age invented another story that when Umāsvāti was flying in the air to Videha by his miraculous power, his peacock-feather-bunch fell down, so he caught hold of the feathers of a vulture flying in sky, thus he came to be known as Grddhāpiccha Ācārya.¹⁰⁰ No anecdote is otherwise known to us about him. He was no doubt an orthodox Jaina ācārya, but was never a rigid and narrow-minded man of tradition. Being a free and mature thinker, he could posit the essential problems of Jainism with insight from the wider philosophical vision of the days, without falling from the middle path in dealing with the pros and cons of the Jaina and non-Jaina views. Experiencing the depression of the Jainas amidst the florescence of the Hindus, Umāsvāti seems to have firmly determined to complete the T. S. and calmly devoted to this task.

The T. S. or the essential outline of tattvas is the standard text of Jaina philosophy. It was born in response to the internal need that demanded further organization of the contents of the canonical texts which had already to a large extent gone through the process of systematization. The same trend was commonly happening to all the then other systems of thought, and each of them had come to possess its own standard text by the time of Umāsvāti. The standard work of Jainism was thus the need of hour urged by the internal and external call of time, and fortunately the Jainas had a genius capable of accomplishing this task.

Umāsvāti was a pioneer who was keenly aware of the circumstances at current. Being fully conscious of the social change wherein Sanskrit became the common language of the days, he tried to respond to this call of time, in which he was probably confident as he was likely from the Brahmanical background. Non-Jaina standard texts must have undergone the gradual stages of systematization until they were finally crystallized in the present form. For instance, Vasubandhu had Dharma-trāta's *Abhiṭṭharmahydayasāstra* before him, upon which he could develop his own treatise. Umāsvāti seems to have had none as such. He therefore took a full advantage of the readily available non-Jaina standard works that are composed in prakaraṇa form in sūtra style, of which contents, structure and concepts he must have scrutinized with a view to representing in the T. S. the clear-cut Jaina positions relevant to all the philosophical problems at current in the best organized form. He

was thus able to achieve his aim of composing the standard text for the Jainas, which in quality and value falls behind none of the other schools. The existence of these non-Jaina texts thus played an important role for the birth of the *T. S.*, which would not have been derived immediately from the semi-systematized canonical works of the later age alone. The Āgamic texts he used were obviously the Mathurā versions which came to be soon penned down in the Third Valabhī Council.

As the migration of the Jaina communities was still on the way in the middle of the 5th century, the *T. S.* must have been carried by the emigrants and disseminated to the places of migration soon after it was completed. Bhadrabāhu II immediately reacted to some problems raised in the *T. S.*, and the scholastic information as such likely reached quickly the academic circles diffused in various places. Due to the mobility of the Jaina saṅghas in this age, the events occurred in one place must have spread to the others in a good speed. And by the time of the Third Canonical Council at Valabhī, the geography of the Jainas was largely divided in the South and the West.

In the sequel of the schism, the Southern Jainas had to face to compile their own pro-canonical texts. Under the circumstances, the *T. S.* evidently came to the focus of the Southern scholars' attention as the first-hand source book of Jainism in the capacity of the later Āgamic texts which they refused to accept. It therefore had to go through a revision in order to meet the quality to be a pro-canonical text, upon which the *Sarvārthasiddhi* was composed from the Digambara point of view. The pro-canonical authors drew their materials from the Āgamic stock which excludes the later canonical texts authorized in the West and which includes the *Kaṣāyaprabhṛta*, *T. S.*, *Niryuktis*, etc. The *T. S.* thus stood as one of the fundamental sources for the composition of the pro-canonical works, and the revised version of the *T. S.* came to stand in the position of the standard work of Jainism since the beginning stage of the literary activities in the South. The categorical concepts established by Umāsvāti thus came to be generally received and standardized. Many Digambara authors early adopted to write in Sanskrit in the form of Prakaraṇa often accompanied by a svopajñābhāṣya after the model of the *T. S.*, of which form was obviously more suitable for the purpose of composing the pro-canonical texts, and of which language was not only the need of the days but also effective in showing the point of departure from the practice in the West.

Pūjyapāda revised *T. S.* at the beginning of the 6th century A. D., however it is difficult to say anything definite about it without a thorough study regarding the relative chronology of the pro-canonical authors involving Pūjyapāda. Kundakunda's name makes its appearance in the inscriptions in the late 11th century, i. e., 1075 A. D. (Śaka 997)¹⁰¹ onwards, even though Kundakundānvaya is recorded in 466 A. D. (Śaka 388) in Merkara copper-plate, of which script is however said to belong

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to the 9th century A. D.¹⁰² Kundakundānvaya is then recorded in 797 A. D. (Śaka 718)¹⁰³ onwards. Kundakunda's style of writing is surely archaic, and 'sad-dravya-lakṣaṇam' (V: (29)) which is added to the text of Pūjyapāda and appears in the *Pañcāstikāya* I.10 can be well born in the context of the *Pañcāstikāya* I.8-9 wherein he analyzes the nature of sat in relation to dravya.¹⁰⁴ Pūjyapāda's revision of the T. S. clearly reveals his mastery skill in editorship, thus this sūtra V: (29) must have been drawn from the other source, namely, the *Pañcāstikāya*. Pūjyapāda was thus acquainted with the *Pañcāstikāya* at least, even if not with his later works such as *Samayasāra*. So Kundakunda and Pūjyapāda were likely the contemporaries. The Southern inscriptions generally record the lineage of Kundakunda-Umāsvāti-Pūjyapāda. Since the later Southern Jainas believed Umāsvāti to be the author of the revised version of the T. S., this sequence is not insensible. Samantabhadra quotes maṅgalācaraṇa of Pūjyapāda in his *Āptamimāṃsā*, and Pūjyapāda refers to Samantabhadra in the *Jainendravṛkkaṇa* while enunciating a rule, 'catuṣṭayaṃ samantabhadrasya' (5.4.140) which refers to 'jhayo haḥ' (5.4.136) and which does not exist in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Therefore both authors are speculated to have been the contemporaries.¹⁰⁵ Samantabhadra indeed wrote in proficient Sanskrit, however it can be suspected if this logician was the same grammarian or not. His name occurs in the epigraphical sources after 1074 A. D. (Śaka 996)¹⁰⁶ onwards. At present we are not getting into the ascertainment of the relative chronology of these early Southern authors including Vaṭṭkera and Śivakoṭi, which is a big problem by itself. However from the fact that all these pro-canonical authors were well acquainted with the Āgamic tradition, they cannot belong to too late period. They must have lived in the earlier period after the schism, before the Āgamic tradition started to fade away in the South. And their late registration in the epigraphical records does not offer a decisive clue for the determination of their chronological sequence as is evinced in the case of the relevant inscriptions of the T. S. which make their appearance only after 1077 A. D.¹⁰⁷ Pūjyapāda's name occurs after 729 A. D. (Śaka 651)¹⁰⁸ in the inscriptions.

After the finalization of the canon at the Third Valabhī Council, the Western Jainas entered the stage of the commentarial period in continuation of the niryukti literature. Niryuktis, which likely had existed side by side the canonical texts prior to Bhadrabāhu II,¹⁰⁹ pinpoint only the important concepts in the canon by the method of anayogadvāras and therefore differ from the so-called canonical commentaries in nature. The commentarial authors in the medieval period well responded to problems raised in the T. S. by way of criticisms and affirmations. And the T. S. gradually came to win an authoritative position by the time of Hemacandra in the West wherein the canonical tradition continued to subsist. Sanskrit came to be adopted after Harihadrā, although writing in a prakaraṇa form accompanied by a svopajñabhāṣya commenced earlier.

The adoption of the Sanskrit language started by Umāsvāti was the call of time, which ensued the Jainas to open their closed door to the other systems of thought. Likewise the adoption of the prakaraṇa form of composition started by Umāsvāti created a lively academic atmosphere which never happened in the canonical period. For unlike the commentarial composition, the prakaraṇa composition is a form of a systematic treatise guided by a definite theme and plan,¹¹⁰ wherein required are the author's initiative judgment upon and critical attitude towards the pros and cons of the general knowledge of the concerned subject matters, along with his original capacity in methodically leading the public to convince his thesis. Siddhasena's *Saṃmiti*, Jinabhadra's *Jhāṇijhāṇa*, Mallavādi's *Nayacakra*, etc, in the West, and the procanonical works by Kundakunda, Samantabhadra and the others in the South are the prakaraṇas which came out with various original problems and proposals to stimulate the academic interests and to contribute to the later conceptual development. In the South particularly, while engaging in the composition of the procanonical texts, the Digambara authors were compelled to concretize and systematize the so far developed traditional concepts, which ensued in effect in producing many doctrinal innovations and formulations, as for instance, in the case of śrāvakācāra.¹¹¹

Another important contribution that Umāsvāti made to the literary history of the Jainas is that he provided the basis for the immediate arrival of the age of logic which commenced after the Third canonical Convention in both traditions. He did it firstly by representing pramāṇa and naya as the Jaina theory of knowledge so far developed in the later canonical stage, secondly by revising the Āgamic concept of dravya-guṇa-paryāya, and thirdly by enunciating the non-conflict theory in simultaneously predicating the nature of sat with its mutually contradictory characteristics in three kinds. The anekāntavāda is based on the theoretical understanding, both ontological and epistemological, that reality consists of mutually contradictory elements at the same time (V : 29), that the nature of reality as such is constant (V : 30), and that the different characteristics of reality arise by arpita-anarpita viewpoints (V : 31). These theoretical formulae were soon developed into the nayavāda and saptabhaṅgi by Siddhasena Divākara and Jinabhadra in the West, and by Kundakunda and Samantabhadra in the South. The Jaina theory of knowledge came into maturity by the efforts of the succeeding logicians such as Mallavādi and Haribhadra in the West, and Akalaṅka and Vidyānandi in the South. It is noteworthy that the titanic logicians such as Akalaṅka and Vidyānandi, to whom the Western tradition owes for its later development of logic, were the commentators of the T. S. Anekānta dialectics came to be the sole tool for the Jainas to challenge the rival schools in the medieval period, wherein an atmosphere open to the other philosophical tenets came to prevail in their literature, which never happened in the classical age.¹¹²

Śaṅkara in the 8th century came out with criticisms on the Jaina doctrines with which he was probably acquainted through the T. S. and Mādhava in the 14th century

Sec. 4. HISTORICAL POSITION OF THE *T.S.*

wrote the section of Jainism in his *Sarvadarśanaśaṅgraha* on the basis of the *T. S.* The dissemination of Jaina philosophy to the non-Jainas started earlier in the South much owing to the existence of the *T. S.* and its commentaries which were composed in the common language of Sanskrit.

The *T. S.* thus stood at an intersecting point in the literary history of the two traditions which began immediately after the canonical period. Here the South began with the prakaraṇa period and the West entered the commentarial period, and the age of logic commenced in both traditions. The *T. S.* thus contributed itself as one of the substantial works for the composition of the pro-canonical texts in the South, and it contributed to preparing for the arrival of the age of logic in the history of the Jainas. Its value in the context of the Jaina literary history would become self-evident if we reflect upon the case of its absence. If Umāsvāti did not compose the *T. S.* at the end of the classical age, the literary activities of the Jainas would have taken a different course: the arrival of the age of logic in both schools would have been much delayed, and the composition of the pro-canonical works in the South would have greatly suffered. And if Umāsvāti wrote the *T. S.* in Prakrit in the form of composition other than a prakaraṇa by merely epitomizing the contents of canon without consulting the non-Jaina texts, its value and position in the literary history of the Jainas would have been totally different.

The basic value of the *T. S.* remains in its nature as the standard text of Jaina philosophy, which is ever capable of nourishing and developing the thought-world of the students of Jainism. As such it has caused the Jainas in both traditions throughout ages to write numerous commentaries on it, and as such it has attracted the religious minds of the Jainas as their Bible.

APPENDIX I

NOTES

Introduction

1. The earliest mention of the *T. S.* in the South appears in the inscription made in 1077 A. D., of which author is said to be Āryadeva (*E. C.* VIII, Nagar II. no. 35), Umāsvāti or Grddhapiçcha (also spelled as Grdhrapiçcha, etc.) qua 'padārtha-vedi' which suggests him to be the author of the *T.S.* occurs in the Śravaṇabelgoḷa inscriptions of the 12th century A. D. onwards (*J. S. L. S.*, v. 1, nos. 40, 42, 43, 47, 50, etc.). Umāsvāti alias Grddhapiçcha is mentioned as the author of the *T.S.* in the Śravaṇabelgoḷa inscription no. 105 of 1398 A. D., and Umāsvāti as the author of the *T.S.* occurs in the epigraphy of c. 1530 A.D. (*E. C.* VIII, no. 46), Śravaṇabelgoḷa inscriptions of the 12th century and 1398 A.D. record that Umāsvāti alias Grddhapiçcha was a disciple of Koṇḍakunda. Grddhapiçcha as the author of the *T.S.* is mentioned in the *Dhavalā* of the 9th century A. D. in the literary source. The name Umāsvāmi appears in the Digambara source after Śrutasāgara's commentary on the *T.S.* in the 16th century A. D. (See also Jugalkishor's "Purāṇi vātom kā khoja" in *Anekānta*, varṣa 1, kirāṇa 5)
2. Premi : *Jaina sāhitya aur itihāsa*, pp. 521-547
3. Various dates of Umāsvāti are suggested as follows :
Pre-Christian age : Datta (c. 150 B. C.)
1-2 century A. D. Phulcandra (100 A. D.)
2-3 J. L. Jaini (135-219 A. D.)
3-4 Premi
3-5 Sukhlal
6 Woods (later than 500 A. D.)

Chapter I

1. MSS catalogue no. should be referred to the following works excluding that of B. O. R. I. which is not yet published :
Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts, Munirāja Śrī Puṇyavijayaji's Collection, pt. 1
Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan.
Catalogue of Manuscripts in Shri Hemachandrāchārya Jain Jñānamandira, Pattan, pt. 1.
Limbadī Jaina Jñāna Bhaṇḍāraṁ Hastalikhita Pratiṇam Sūcipatra.

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2. See Introduction, n. 1
3. Pannālāl suggests that Amṛtacandra and many post-Akalanāka authors drew their materials specifically from Akalanāka's *Rājavārtikā*. See his introduction to the *Tattvārthasāra* of Amṛtacandra, p. 7
4. Haribhadra's *Laghvīṭikā*, of which latter half was completed by his disciples, does not serve for the reconstruction of the original text of the T. S. as it preserves the text as well as the *Bhāṣya* imperfectly. For instance, the *Laghvīṭikā* cuts off the aphorisms IV :24-26 and 36-39, with which their *Bhāṣya* expositions are totally lost. (See also a remark made in Ch. II, n. 4) To give a cursory observation of the *Laghvīṭikā*, its first six chapters are devoted to the summaritical exposition of the major purport of the *Bhāṣya* but not its exegetic explication, some portions of which are the total or the partial duplication of Siddhasena's *Ṭikā*, and the rest of the chapters show virtually the total duplication of the *Bhāṣyānusārīṇi*. As such, the *Laghvīṭikā* must have been produced from the *Bhāṣyānusārīṇi*, but not vice versa. (See also remark made in Pt. Sukhlalji's *Commentary on Tattvārthasūtra*, Introduction, pp. 60 ff.) Hence the restoration of the *Sabbhāṣya* T.S. must be made from the *Bhāṣyānusārīṇi*.

Chapter II

1. Siddhasena's commentary on the s.kārikā begins with, 'śrī vardhamāna-svāmine namaḥ/ aṭha śrī siddhasenagaṇi-praṇitā dvitīyā ṭikā prārabhyate', and ends with, 'iti svopajñā-sambandhakārikāḥ ṭikā-dvaya-sameṭāḥ samāptāḥ'.
2. *vīraṃ praṇamya sarvajñam, tattvārthasya vidhiyate/ ṭikā saṃkṣepataḥ spaṣṭā, mānda-buddhi-vibodhini//*
3. *Naṃdisuttam* and *Aṇugaddārāṇi*, Introduction by D. D. Malvania, p.54 (English)
4. In this connection it should be mentioned that the bracketed portion of V:29Bh. in K.P. Mody's edition (also in the Bombay edition of Rāyacandra śāstra mālā) which appears in Haribhadra's *Laghvī tattvārthaṭikā* cannot be the original paragraph, but the later accretion. Its teleological reasoning in support of the threefold natures of sat does not go with the ontological proof attempted in V: 31 Bh. Neither its dialectical tone is congenial with the writing of the *Bhāṣya*.
5. *Sihāna* 10.972. *dasa-viṭhe daviyāṇuoge p-o taṇ-o daviyāṇuoge māuyāṇuoge egaṭṭhiyāṇuoge kar.ṇāṇuoge appiyaṇappi bhāviyābhāvie bāhirābāhire sāsaya-sāsae taṇāṇe aṭaṇāṇe //*

6. All the three characteristics of sat enumerated by Umāsvāti make their appearance in Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakāśāstra* 7.33 in the totally different context, '*upāda-sthiti-bhāṅgānām-asiddher-nāsti saṃskṛtaṃ*', and it is not likely the source of Umāsvāti's formulation of the nature of reality. Similar concept seems to be traceable in the *Aṅguttara nīkāya* I. for which refer to N. J. Shah: *Akalanāka's Criticism of Dharmakīrti's Philosophy*, p. 4, n. 8
7. This is opined by D. D. Malvania.
8. See also Ch. I, Sec. IV, Pt. 1, 8)
9. See Birwē's introduction to the *Śākaīyānāvyaṅgaṇa*, pp. 35 ff.
10. Some scholars maintain that the Digambara version of the T. S. existed before Pūjyapāda's time as he notes some variant readings in the *Sarvārthasiddhi*. Pūjyapāda notes two variants, i. e., 'kṣipraṇiḥṣṛta' for the reading 'kṣiprāṇiḥṣṛta' in I : (16), and 'caramadehā' for 'caramottama-dehā' in II : (53). The original text reads them, 'kṣiprāṇiḥṣṛta' in I:16 and 'carama-dehottama-puruṣa' in II:52. I:16(16) has many other variants, and II:52 shows redundancy in statement which therefore can be improved at any time. Since these two variant readings occur in the original aphorisms, it is difficult to support the thesis proposed by these scholars.
11. Various dates suggested for Pūjyapāda are :

3rd century A. D.	Motilal Ladha (308 V. S.)
4th.	J. L. Jaini (before 308 Śaka)
5th	Sukhlal, Jugalkishor, Kailascandra
Latter half of the 5th	
to the latter half of	
the 6th century V. S.	Phulecandra
7th century A. D.	Birwē (after 661 A.D.), Bhāndarkar (678 A.D.)

See also A.N. Upādhye : *Śrī Kundakundācārya's Pravacanasāra*, Introduction p. 21, n. 1; Winternitz: *History of Indian Literature*, v. 2, p. 478 & n. 3
12. Praśasti reads as follows :

vācaka-mukhyasya śivaśriyaḥ prakāśa-yaśasaḥ praśiṣyena /
śiṣyena ghoṣanandi-kṣamaṇasya ikādaśāṅgavidāḥ || 1
vācanayā ca mahāvācaka-kṣamaṇa-muṇḍapāda-śiṣyasya /
śiṣyena vācakācārya-mūla-nāmaṇaḥ prathita-kirtaḥ || 2
nyagrodhikā-prasūtena viharatā pura-vare kusuma-nāmaṇi /
kaubhiṣaṇinā svāti-tanayena vātsi-sutenārghyam || 3
arhad-vācānam sāmyag-guru-kraṇaṇāgataṃ samupadhārya /
duḥkhhārtam ca durāgama-vihita-matiṃ lokam avalokya || 4

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*idam uccairnāgara-vācakena sattvānukampayā dṛḍham /
tattvārthādhigamākhyam spaṣṭam umāsvatīnā śāstram || 5
yas-tattvādhigamākhyam jñāsyati ca kariṣyate ca tatroktam /
so'vyābādha-sukhākhyam prāpsyaty-acireṇa paramārtham || 6*

13. Bühler's Introduction to *E. I.*, v. 1, XLIII and v. 2, XIV; also his *Indian Sect of Jainas*, pp. 46-47; S. B. Deo : *History of Jaina Monachism from Inscriptions and Literature*, p. 515 ff.
14. *E. I.*, v. 1, XLIII, Nos. 1, 4-5, 13-14, 16; v. 2, XIV, nos. 34, 37, *I. A.*, XXXIII, Nos. 5, 14. Bühler notes that the name occurs four times in A. Cunningham's Collection and once perhaps twice in A. Führer's Collection of 1889. (*E. I.*, v. 1, p. 379)
15. *E. I.*, v. 1, XLIII, Introduction, f. 32
16. *I. A.*, XXXIII, no. 14
17. *E. I.*, v. 1, XLIII, no. 13; v. 2, XIV, no. 34
18. J. C. Jain : *Life in Ancient India*, p. 345 and p. 352; A. Cunningham : *Archaeological Survey of India, Report*, v. 14, p. 147
19. J. C. Jain : *ibid.*, "Geographical lexicon"
20. That Umāsvatī is known by name Nāgara Vācaka is mentioned by C. J. Shah in his *Jainism in North India*, p. 240 and by B. C. Law in his *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, p. 157, n. 1. Their sources for it are not mentioned, which must have been taken from tradition.
21. *E. I.*, v. 1, p. 378
22. See also Pt. Sukhlalji's *Commentary on Tattvārthasūtra*, Introduction, p. 19, n. 1
23. This is according to the views of R. N. Mehta and A. N. Jani of Baroda.
24. Monier-Williams : *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*
25. Guṇākarasūri expresses the same idea that Umāsvatī was a convert from Śaivism in his *Bhaktāmarastotravṛtti* composed in 1426 V. S. (Śrī Jinadattasūri Jñānabhaṇḍāra, pp. 11-12), 'tato'nyatra śivādaḥ virakto jina-dharma-darśanāsakto'bhūd-umāsvatīr-dvija-sūnur-āta-vratāḥ sūri-padam āpa, kramāt-pūrvagata-vetā vācako'bhavat.

Chapter III

1. As to the evolution of the concept of tattvas, see K. K. Dixit : "Evolution of the Jaina treatment of Ethical problems", pp. 28 ff.; also his *Jaina Ontology*, pp. 5-6

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2. K. K. Dixit : *Jaina Ontology*, p.7
3. K. K. Dixit : *ibid.*, p.7 and p.85
4. J. H. Woods : *The Yoga System of Patañjali* Introduction, p. 19; *Pt. Sukhlalji's Commentary on Tattvārthasūtra*, Introduction, pp.27-28
5. *Pt. Sukhlalji's Commentary on Tattvārthasūtra*, Introduction, p.26
6. *ibid.*, p.25
7. For the discussion of this matter, see also K. K. Dixit's introduction to *Pt. Sukhlalji's Commentary on Tattvārthasūtra*
8. Jacobi : "Eine Jaina-Dogmatik", p.523
9. Asteya bhāvanās :
Bhāṣya — anuvīcy-avagraha-yācana, abhikṣṇa-a.-y., etāvad-ity-a.-dhāraṇa, samāna-dharmikebhya-a.-y., anujñāpita-pāna-bhojana
Ācārāṅga — anuvī-miuggaṇṇ-jāi, uggahamṣi uggahamṣi abhikkhaṇa, etāvatāva uggahaṇa-sīlā, sāhammiesu anuvī-mitoggaha-jāi, aṇuṇṇaviya-pāna-bhojana
Samvāya — uggahāṇuṇṇaviya, uggaha-simajāṇaṇi, sayam-eva uggaham aṇuṇṇaviya, sāhammiya-uggaham aṇuṇṇaviya paribhumjaṇa, sāmāraṇa-bhatta-pāṇam aṇuṇṇaviya padibhumjaṇa
Mūlācāra — jāyana-pādisavī, samāṇuṇṇāmaṇa-p., aṇuṇṇabhāva-p., sādhhammi-ovakaraṇissa-ṇuvīci-sevaṇa, catta-p.
Praśnavyākaraṇa — vivitta-vāsa-vasabi, uggaha-s., sejjā-s., vinaya as to sāhammi, uvakaraṇa . . . , sāmāraṇa-piṇḍa-vāya-lābhe-s.
Sarvārthasiddhi and *Cāritrapāhuḍa* | sūnyagāra-vāsa, vimocitāvāsa, paroparodhā-karaṇa, sādhammāvisamvāda, bhaikṣya-śuddhi
10. See also Schubring's discussion on this subject in his *Doctrine of the Jainas* Secs. 178-180
11. K. K. Dixit : *Jaina Ontology* pp. 27-28
12. Kinakura : "A Study of the Jaina Theory of knowledge — on Matijñāna in the *Sūbhāṣya Tattvārthadhigamasūtra*"
13. See Sukhlal's introduction to *Sanmatarka*
14. It is based on : *Jain śāhitya bhāṣit itihāsa* v. 3; Schubring *The Doctrine of the Jainas*; Winternitz : *History of Indian Literature* v. 2; and introductions to the works examined,
15. Haribhādra : *Sarvadarśanasamuccaya*, under kārīkā 47

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tārhi puṇya-pāpāsravādinām-api tataḥ pṛthag-upādānaṃ na yukti-pradhānaṃ syāt, rāṣi-dvayena sarvasya vyāptatvād-iti cet| na puṇyādinām vipratipattinirāsārthatvāt, āsravādinām sakāraṇa-saṃsāra-mukti-pratipādana-paratvād-vā pṛthag--upādānasyaādusṣatā| yathā ca saṃvara-nirjarayor-mokṣa-hetutā āsravasya ½ bandhana-nibandhanatvaṃ-puṇyāpuṇya-dvi-bheda-bandhasya ca saṃsāra-hetutvaṃ tathāgamāt-pratipattavyam||

16. N. J. Shah "Some Reflection on the Problem of Jñāna-Darśana"
17. See also N. J. Shah. *ibid.*
18. This point has been early brought to attention by D. D. Malvania.
See *Pt. Sukhlalji's Commentary on Tattvārthasūtra*, p. 345, n. 1
19. *Dhavalā* 13/5.4.26/14/10 (*Jainendra siddhānta kośa*, v. 2, p. 481)
asaṃjadasammādiṭṭhi-saṃjadasaṃjada-pamattasamjāda-appamattasamjāda -- apuvvasamjāda-anīyattisaṃjāda-suhumasāmparāiya-khavagovāsāmaesu dhammajjhānassa pavutti hodi tti jīṇovadesādo |
20. A. N. Upadhye considers that these four *sthas* such as *pada* were imported from the Śaiva yoga, and brings our attention to Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* X. 241, etc.
21. *Dictionary of Buddhology (Bukkyōgaku jiten)*, Kyoto, Hōzokan, 1961, pp. 189-190
22. Sukhlal: *Cauthā karmagrantha*, Introduction, pp.53-55; Malvania: "Jaina guṇasthāna aur bodhicaryābhūmi"
23. K. K. Dixit "The Problems of Ethics and Karma Doctrine as Treated in the *Bhagavati Sūtra*", pp. 3 ff.
24. Sinha: *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 106
25. S. Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World*
26. *I. A.*, X, p. 125
27. *E. I.*, v. 2, no. 39, p. 210
28. *E. I.*, v.20, p.61
29. *Aśoka Inscriptions*, p.47 (*J*), as referred to by S. R. Sharma in his *Jainism and Karnataka Culture*, pp.6-7
30. *Bṛhalkalpabhāṣya* III 3275-3289; also *I. A.*, XI, p.246
31. *E. I.*, v.20, pp.71 ff.; *Jaina śīlā lekha saṅgraha (JSLs)*, v.2, no.2
32. K. V. Ramesh: "Jaina Epigraphs in Tamil" Appendix to A. Chakravarti's *Jaina Literature in Tamil*, pp.139-141, nos.1-3
33. *J. S. L. S.*, v.5, p.4, no.2

34. *ibid.*, v.5, p.3, no.1
35. Krishna Rao: "Kudlur Plates of Mārasimha" in *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1921, pp.19 and 16, as referred to by S. R. Sharma, *ibid.*, p.15, n.54
36. Seshagiri Rao: *Studies in South Indian Jainism* II, pp.87-88. The original source is not mentioned here to recheck the content of this statement. The word "Digambara" used here cannot be probable.
37. See *J. S. L. S.*, v.2, nos.90, 94, 95, etc.
38. *J. S. L. S.* v.2, no.96; *I. A.* VI, no.20
39. *ibid.*, v.2, no.97; *I. A.*, VII, no.36
40. *ibid.*, v.2, no.98; *I. A.*, VII, no.37
41. *ibid.*, v.2, no.99; *I. A.*, VI, no.21
42. S. R. Sharma, *ibid.*, pp.21-22
43. *J. S. L. S.*, v.1, no. 1; *E. C.* II, pp.35 ff., pp.70-71, pp.1-2(translation)
44. *ibid.*, v.1, no.2 onwards
45. For Karnataka inscriptions, see *J. S. L. S.* vols.1-3; S. R. Sharma: *Jainism and Karnataka Culture*; K. V. Ramesh: "Jaina Art and Architecture of Tuḷunāḍu", in *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*; etc.
46. K. V. Ramesh : "Jaina Epigraphs in Tamil", p.142, no.4
47. A. N. Upadhye's introduction to *Tiloyapannatti*, pt.II
48. For Tamilnadu inscriptions, see L. G. Krishnan : "Jaina Monuments of Tamil Nāḍu"; R. Nagaswamy : "Jaina Art and Architecture under Pallavas" K. V. Soundara Rajan: "Jaina Art and Architecture in Tamilnāḍu"; These articles are all in *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*. Also see P. B. Desai: *Jainism in South India*; T. N. Subramanian: "Paḷḷankōvil Jaina Copper Plate Grant of Early Pallava Period"
49. A. Ghosh, ed. : *Jaina Art and Architecture*, v.1, ch.9, p.95
50. H. Sarkar: "Jaina Art and Architecture in Kerala", in *Aspect of Jaina Art and Architecture*
51. P. B. Desai : *Jainism in South India*, p.19
52. A. Ghosh, ed.: *ibid.*, ch.11
53. For East Indian archaeological evidences, see A. Ghosh, ed. : *ibid.*, chs.7, 11, 15; U. Takhur : *Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithila*, pp.97-98, 146; B. C. Sen : *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, p.xiii, no.7; etc.
54. *Jain Journal* III, 4, pp. 170-171

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55. For Central Indian archaeological evidences, see A. Ghosh, ed.: *ibid.*, *ibid.*, chs. 12, 16; G. S. Gai: "Three Inscriptions of Rāmagupta"; R. C. Agrawala: "Newly Discovered sculptures from Vidiśa"
56. *Prakrit Proper Names*, pt. I, p. 113, 'ujjeṇī'
57. A. Ghosh, ed.: *ibid.*, ch. 8, pp. 87-88
58. U. P. Shah: "A Unique Jaina Image or Jīvantasvāmī"; his "An old Jaina Image from Kheḍ-brahmā (North Gujarat)"; and his 'Age of Differentiation of Digambara and Śvetāmbara Images.'
59. For West Indian archaeological evidences, see A. Ghosh, ed.: *ibid.*, chs. 8, 13, 17; K. C. Jain: *Jainism in Rajasthan*; etc.
60. K. M. Munshi: "Ancient Gurjaradeśa and Its Literature"
61. *Naṃdisuttam and Anugaddārām*, Introduction by D. D. Malvania. pp. 17-18 (English)
62. G. S. Gai: "Mathurā Jaina Inscriptions of the Kuśāṇa Period — A Fresh Study", in *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*
63. The image described here belongs to the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā (no. 2502). See A. Ghosh, ed.; *ibid.*, ch. 6, p. 66
64. For North Indian and Mathurā archaeological evidences, see A. Ghosh, ed.: *ibid.*, chs. 6; 10, 14
65. *Jain Journal* III, 4, p. 186
66. *Prakrit Proper Names*, pt. II, p. 590, "mahurā"
67. *Cultural Heritage of India*, v. 2, p. 673. For the economic and political background in the pre-Guptan and Gupta ages, see Mookerji: *Local Government in Ancient India*; R. C. Majumdar: *Corporate Life in Ancient India*; R. N. Sastore: *Life in the Gupta Age*; S. K. Maity: *Economic Life of Northern India in the Gupta Period*; etc.
68. M. K. Vaishakhiya: "Kṛṣṇa in the Jaina Canon"; A. N. Upadhye "Krishna Theme in Jaina Literature"
69. M. K. Vaishakhiya: *ibid.*
70. M. Winternitz; *History of Indian Literature*, v. 1. 455 ff.
71. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, v. 3, pp. 416 ff.
72. P. V. Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra*, v. 5, pt. 2, sec. 5
73. M. K. Vaishakhiya; *ibid.*
74. S. K. Maity; *ibid.*, pp. 124, 130, etc.

75. Motichandra; *Sārthavāha* chs. 8-10
76. The popular legend seems to convey that Simhanandi came across Padma-nātha's two young princes who were sent away to the South for the sake of safety from the attack of Mahipāla, ruler of Ujjain. Simhanandi sympathized with them and took them under his protection, educated them, and procured a kingdom for them by his miraculous power. See M. S. Ramaswami Ayyangar : *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, pt.1, p.109.
77. *J. A.*, VI, no.20. His account in highly praising term appears also in the inscription no.22
78. *Namdisuttam and Anugaddārām*, Introduction by D. D. Malvania, pp.18 ff (English)
79. For the further minor claims developed in the later time, see Darśanavijay *Śvetāmbara-digambara*
80. For the Yāpanīya saṅgha, see A. N. Upadhye : "Yāpanīya saṅgha — A Jain Sect"; and his "More Light on Yāpanīya saṅgha; A Jain Sect"; N. Premi : Yāpanīyom kā sāhitya", in his *Jaina sāhitya aur itihāsa*, pp. 56-73; Śākaṭāyana : *Strimukti-kevalibhukti-prakarana*, bound with *Śākaṭāyana-vyākaraṇam*
81. N. Premi : "Kūrcakom kā sampradāya", in his *Jaina sāhitya aur itihāsa*, pp. 559-563
82. For more legends and discussion on this matter, see R. Narasimhachar's introduction to *E. C.*, II, pp. 35 ff.
83. *E. C.*, II, no. 31 (17-18)
84. *E. C.*, III, Serigepatan 147 and 148, as referred to in the introduction to *E. C.*, II, p. 36.
85. D. D. Malvania is of this view.
86. Caturvijaya and Punyavijaya, ed. : *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*, v. 6, Introduction; M. Mehta : *Jaina sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa*, v. 3, pp. 68 ff.
87. *Namdisuttam and Anugaddārām*, Introduction by D. D. Malvania, pp. 21-22 (English)
88. The nature of the *Sūryaprajñapti* and the *Candraprajñapti* which are said to have been derived from the *Dṛṣṭivādu* is not at all clear. See *Jaina sāhitya kā bṛhad itihāsa*, v. 1, Introduction, p. 53; *Jainendra siddhānta kośa* v. 4, p. 68, (2) and p. 70, (2)
89. The list of the Digambara canon and pro-canonical texts is based on Winternitz; *History of Indian Literature*, v. 2, pp. 473 ff, and A. N. Upadhye : *Bṛhatkathākośa*, Introduction, p. 33.

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90. Kapadia : *The Canonical literature of the Jainas*, pp. 61-62
91. *I. A.*, VII, no. 37; U. P. Shah : "Age of differentiation of Digambara and Śvetāmbara images . . .", pp. 4-5
92. For various views regarding the dates of nirvāṇa of Mahāvira and Buddha, see Winternitz : *History of Indian Literature*, v. 2, Appendices 1 and 6; H. L. Jain and A. N. Upadhye : *Mahāvira : His Times and His Philosophy of Life* (portion of *His Times* by H. L. Jain). H. Nakamura assumes Buddha's date as of 443-383 B. C. in his *Ancient History of India*, v. 2, p. 429. ff.
93. Information here is cited, unless specified, from Kanakura's *History of Indian philosophy*, p. 124, n. 3
94. Information from Kanakura : *ibid.*, p. 91, n. 2
95. Kapadia : *Tattvārthādhigamaśāstra*, v.1, Introduction, pp. 20 ff.
96. *T. S.* III :15Bh., 'gajamukhānāṃ vyāghramukhānāṃ-ādarśamukhānāṃ gomukhānāṃ-iti', has another reading, 'ādarśana-meṣa-haya-gajamukha-nāmānaḥ'. The *Jambūdvīpasamāsa* agrees with the latter reading.
97. I am indebted to Mr. Ramesh D. Malvania in understanding the technicalities involved with these formulae. For the mathematical interpretation of these formulae, see Bibhutibhusan Datta : "The Jaina School of Mathematics", pp.124-25.
98. R. Williams : *Jaina Yoga*, pp.14, 219.
99. For instance, V. K. Premchand suggests Haribhadra or Umāsvāti to be its author (*Sāvaṃyapaṇṇatti*, Introduction ; Haribhadra is suggested to be its author by H. D. Velankar (*Jinaratnakosā*, p.393) and by H. L. Jain (Bhargava : *Jaina ethics*, pp.241-242); another Umāsvāti in the Śvetāmbara tradition is assumed to be its author by R. Williams (*Jaina Yoga*, pp. 2-3. Williams postulates the author of the *T. S.* as a Digambara).
100. A. N. Upadhye remarks that this tradition is of a doubtful nature because of its indiscriminative attribution to Kundakunda, Umāsvāti and Pūjyapāda. See his *Śrī KundaKundācārya's Pravacanasāra*, Introduction, p. 8.
101. *J. S. L. S.*, v. 2, no. 209
102. *E. C.*, I, no. 1
103. *E. C.*, IX, no. 60
104. *Pañcāstikāya* I

8 satta savva-payatīhā savissa-rūvā aṇanta-pajjāyā /
bhaṃg-uppāda-dhuvattā sappadīpakkhā bhavadī ekkā //

- 9 *daviyadi gacchadi tāiṃ tāiṃ sabbhāva-pajjayāiṃ jaṃ /
daviyaṃ taṃ bhaṇṇaṃti aṇṇaṇṇa-bhūdaṃ tu sattādo //*
- 10 *davvaṃ sal-lakkhaṇiyaṃ uppāda-vvaya-dhuvatta-saṃjuttaṃ /
guṇa-pajjayā sayāṃ vā jaṃ taṃ bhaṇṇaṃti savvaṇhū //*

105. Premi : *Jaina sāhitya aur itihāsa*, pp. 44–45
106. *J. S. L. S.*, v. 2, no. 207
107. See Introduction, n. 1
108. *E. I.*, VI, p. 81; *I. A.*, VII, p. 112, no. 39
109. *Naṃdisuttaṃ and Anuogaddārāiṃ*, Introduction by D. D. Malvania, p. 41 (English)
110. Schutring : *The Doctrine of the Jainas*, pp. 58 ff.
111. See R. Williams : *Jaina Yoga*, Introduction, p. 18
112. For the development of the concepts and evaluation of the works in the age of logic, see K. K. Dixit : *Jaina Ontology*, Ch. 3.

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20 (20)			

ERRATA

[Figures before the point refer to pages,
and figures after the point refer to lines]

INCORRECT	CORRECT
1.30 text	text of
7.20 IX : 31 (32)	IX : 32 (32)
7.21 32 (31)	33 (31)
7.22 IX : 31(32)	IX : 32(32)
9.6 The word par-	The word pariṇāma is used in
9.25 „ „ „ „ ca sattva-guṇa....	the senses of kaśāya-par- māitri-pramoda-kārunya- mādhyaśthāni ca sattva-guṇa....
11.28 is	are
16.27 36.60-73, etc.	36.69-70, etc.
16.31 147	174
After 17.15	- Tiloyapaṇṇatti 8.114 counts 52 kalpas.
21.31-32 <i>kriyate, niravaśeṣa-nirasta- jñānāvarāṇe yugapat- sakalapadārthābhāsikevala- jñānātīśaye</i>	<i>kriyate, niravaśeṣa-nirasta- jñānātīśaye</i>
24.22 praśasti	and praśasti
28.38 be imitated	be easily imitated
33.18-19 <i>samyag tat purvakatvāc cārītrasya</i> - exposition of mokṣa and mārga- general purport of the sūtra (<i>ataḥ samyag-darśanam</i>)	<i>samyag-darśanam</i>
33.20 <i>sākṣān</i>	<i>mokṣān</i>
38.29 doubled for those in other bhūmis."	double the height of those in the preceding bhūmi in the other earths."
43.12 authentic.	induced to be authentic.
46.25 <i>paṭṭāvali</i> author	<i>paṭṭāvali</i> . Author
48.4 <i>disae</i>	<i>disau</i>
49.9 Svāti	Svāmi
179	

50.20	conflict	conflict with
56.5	are	is
57.27	jñāna	ajñāna
59.9	karma, yoga	karma yoga
60.13	han at	than a
63.33	VII : 33 is not traceable in the canon, which	VII : 33
68.19	their	their materials
68.20	without materials	without
71.14	number when	number. When
72.13	366 ff.	3669 ff.
72.16	235	2305
75.25	21**	27**
75.28	32-43	42-43

76.6-28 Authors	Chapters Aphorisms	I			II	V				
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Bhadrabāhu		x			x					
Saṅghadāsa		x								
Jinabbhadra		x			x	x			x	x
Agastyaśiṃha		x							x	
Jinadāsa		x	x		x	x			x	x x
Haribhadra		x	x		x	x				x x
Koṭṭācārya		x			x		x	x	x	x
Śīlāṅka		x	x	x			x		x	x x

ERRATA

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	& Bh.					& Bh.		
Prakīrṇakas								
Bhadrabāhu							x	
Saṅghadāsa								
Jinabhadra						x	x	x
Agastyasimha							x	
Jinadāsa								
Haribhadra						x	x	
Koṭṭhacārya				x	x	x	x	x
Śīlāṅka	x	x	x		x		x	

77.37	it quarts	it is quite
86.19	3. 7	3.27
90.25	<i>Sūtrakṛta</i> I. II. 26-28	<i>Sūtrakṛta</i> I. 11. 26-28
92.35	'maṇa-samāhāṇa'	'maṇa-samāhāṇa'
92.37	29.28	29.58
94.29	have	a have
95.7	seems to	seems to be
96.39	here	here is
104.10	nāṇaṃ	nāṇaṃ āgamitta
104.29	ascetics,	ascetics'
105.18	13.414-15	13.414-15
105.36	vdoṇe	vdoṇe
106.30	<i>Sūtrakṛta</i> I.8.486	<i>Sūtrakṛta</i> I.8.416
107.16	6.55	6.558
110.2	to be	said to be
112.1	siddhi-mūḍho	siddhi-mūlaṃ mūḍho
115.25	band	head
116.14	dedication to	dedication of
117.3	mercantile	mercantile
117.25	record is	record his
118.19	Mohādevī	Mahādevī
118.29	Orissa ⁸⁶	Orissa ⁸³
118.31	Mathura	Murunda

118.38	up an	up of an
121.3	functions	functioned
122.1	<i>Vahnidaśa</i>	<i>Vṛṣṇidaśa</i>
123.15	grew	but grew
126.29	event	even
127.11	Yāpanīyas,	2) the Yāpanīyas,
127.11	vindicates	indicates
135.10	Vasubandhu, Vyāsa	Vasubandhu-Vyāsa
135.13	(980/693 V. N.)	(980/993 V. N.)
135.14	which	which is
137.6	283–360 A. D.	280–360 A. D. is
140.8	h=	h=
153.13	<i>miuggahaṇaṃ</i>	<i>miuggahaṇaṃ</i>
150.35	<i>Sarvadarśanasamuccaya</i>	<i>Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya</i>

