Jaina Community

A SOCIAL SURVEY
JAINA COMMUNITY
A SOCIAL SURVEY

16790

by

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New Delhi

POPULAR BOOK DEPOT, BOMBAY, 7.
DEDICATED
TO
MY 'GURU'
Dr. G. S. GHURYE
PREFACE

The Jaina community is one of the very ancient communities of India; and from hoary antiquity to the present day, it is scattered throughout the length and breadth of India. Jainism being an independent religion its followers have got their own and vast sacred literature, distinct philosophy and outlook on life, and special ethical rules of conduct based on the fundamental principle of Ahimsā. Though the Jainas constitute a small community they have contributed a great deal to the development of art and architecture, logic and philosophy, languages and literature, education and learning, charitable and public institutions and political, material and spiritual welfare of the people of different regions of India. Apart from these contributions, which seem to be substantial in relation to the meagre number of its members, the Jaina community is known for another reason. After the decline of Buddhism in India the Jainas remained as the only representatives of Śramaṇa culture in India and hence we find that there are significant differences between Jainas and Hindus in their religious practices and social customs and manners. In spite of these basic differences the Jainas have for so many centuries maintained very close relations with the Hindus and this continued intimate relationship is a distinguishing feature of the minority community of Jainas in India.

It is, therefore, obvious that the Jaina community occupies an important place among the religious communities in India. But a systematic study of the social institutions, customs and manners prevalent among the Jainas was not carried out even though there was adequate information available about their religion and philosophy due to the publication of their sacred books in different languages and the researches carried out by Western and Indian scholars in Jainology in recent years. With a view to meet this need a sociological research project entitled
'Jaina Community—A Social Survey' was undertaken by me in July, 1944 and the Thesis based on it was submitted to the University of Bombay in April, 1950. The Thesis was approved by the University in October, 1950 for the degree of Ph.D. in Sociology and the same Thesis is now published here. No substantial alteration has been made in the Thesis while presenting it in a book form as there has been no significant change in social conditions of the Jainas during the last nine years. Only the 1951 Census Report furnished some additional information about the Jaina population and an account based on it has been given in Appendix A, added to the book.

It may be pointed out here that the names of Provinces and States used in this book refer to the old British Provinces and Indian States and not to the present States which have been formed after Reorganisation of States in 1956. The use of old names was inevitable because the Census Reports have been based on the old arrangement of Provinces and States and the census figures about Jaina population according to reorganised States are not available. It is needless to add that the term "India" used in Census Reports upto 1941 and used while discussing the conditions of Jainas in the past, refers to India before Partition.

I had the good fortune and a rare privilege to carry out my research work for a period of six years under Dr. G. S. Ghurye, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab), Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology, University of Bombay, Bombay. Without his inspiring contact, constant supervision, thought-provoking discussions and unusual knack of exacting rigorous work from his students, it would not have been possible for me to present a scientific account, the first of its kind, of social conditions prevailing among the Jainas in India. Words fail to express my deep sense of gratitude to him for the able guidance given to me and for the personal interest he has been taking in my career as a teacher of Sociology.

I am highly indebted to the well-known authority on Jainology Prof. Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M.A., D.Litt., Kolhapur, for every kind of help he so readily gave to me during the preparation of the Thesis and also in the publication of this book. I am also indebted to Pandit Nathuramji Premi, Bombay, Muni Jinavijayaji, Ahmedabad,
Pandit Sukhalalji Sanghavi, Ahmedabad, Dr. Hiralal Jain, Muzaftarpur, Shri Kamta Prasad Jain, Aliganj and Pandit Dalasukhaji Malavaniya, Banaras, the research scholars of long standing in Jainology, for their encouragement and help extended to me from time to time.

The extensive bibliography given at the end of the book will show the names of authors I have consulted in the course of my studies and I hereby express my sincere gratitude to them. My thanks are due also to the prominent Jaina leaders and the editors of Jaina newspapers for extending their whole-hearted support to carry out a “Social Survey of Jaina Community” on scientific lines and to the persons who so readily sent their replies to the Questionnaire (see appendix B) issued in this connexion. I am also grateful to the authorities of Seth H. G. Jain Boarding, Bombay, for the facilities given by them.

I acknowledge my indebtedness to the University of Bombay for the grant-in-aid received by me from the University towards the cost of publication of this book.

I must offer my thanks to Shri V. Y. Jathar, General Manager of Samyukta Karnatak Press, Hubli, for the neat printing work executed by him and to Shri Krishna Potdar, Proprietor of Shrinivas & Co., Dharwar, for providing blocks used in this book.

I would be failing in my duty if I forget to offer my sincere thanks to my several friends who rendered to me timely help in one form or another.

Rajaram College, Kolhapur
REPUBLIC DAY
January 26, 1959

Vilas Adinath Sangave
DIACRITICAL MARKS ADOPTED IN THIS BOOK

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<td>A. S.</td>
<td>Ātmānusāsana</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. Su.</td>
<td>Āchārāṅga Sūtra</td>
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<tr>
<td>B. G.</td>
<td>Bombay Gazetteer</td>
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<tr>
<td>C. H. I.</td>
<td>Cambridge History of India</td>
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<td>C. P.</td>
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<td>Cul. H. I.</td>
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<td>D. S.</td>
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<td>E. R. E.</td>
<td>Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Edited by Hastings (14th Edition)</td>
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<td>J. B. B. R. A. S.</td>
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<td>J. G.</td>
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<td>K. S.</td>
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<td>M. D. J. G.</td>
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U. P.  United Provinces
U. S.  Uttarādhyayana Sūtra
V. S.  Vikrama Sāṃvat
JAINA COMMUNITY

A SOCIAL SURVEY
MAP OF INDIA
SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF JAINAS
1941 CENSUS

REFERENCES
NUMBER OF JAINAS
PER 10,000 POPULATION

UNDER 13,
13 - 19,
45 - 76,
124 - 164,
247 - 327,
434 AND OVER

ANDAMAN ISLANDS

[Map of India showing the distribution of Jains in 1941 census]
CHAPTER ONE

POPULATION

1. TOTAL JAINA POPULATION

The Jaina population in India according to the 1941 census is only 14,49,286. It was 12,21,896 in 1881. This means that the Jaina population has increased only by 19% in the last 60 years. The growth was not steadily maintained but it has varied from decade to decade. The figures of percentage increase of Jaina population are as follows:

<table>
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<td>1881-1891</td>
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<td>1891-1901</td>
<td>-5.8%</td>
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<td>1901-1911</td>
<td>-6.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1911-1921</td>
<td>-5.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1921-1931</td>
<td>+6.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1941</td>
<td>+15.8%</td>
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These figures do not, however, portray the real facts since all Jainas have not been enumerated as Jainas. In the case of Jainism it is doubtful whether any student of comparative religion could possibly class Jainism as a sect of Hinduism. Yet, it is a fact that many Jainas regard themselves and are regarded as Hindus. That is why instructions were issued to the census enumerators that Jainas should be entered as "Jainas and not as Hindus, even though they themselves regard themselves as such." This fact that the Jainas regard themselves and are regarded as Hindus necessarily vitiates the census figures and obscures the increase or decrease of the Jaina population from census to census. On some occasions more and on others less Jainas will be incorrectly returned as Hindus. It is not likely that the converse case of Hindus returned as Jainas would ever extremely occur. Incorrect enumeration thus lurks as a dominant factor in the census figures of Jainas. This tendency among Jainas to regard themselves as Hindus is very prominently noticeable from the beginning of this century and that is why there appears a continuous decrease in the Jaina population. Since the last 15-20 years this tendency
has been largely overcome by various methods adopted by the Jainas to reorganize their community. This is clearly visible in the figures of 1931 and 1941 census reports. There would have been a considerable change in the 1931 census figures if there would not have been non-co-operation movement in the form of boycotting the census operations which affected the Jaina community to a very large extent. Many discrepancies in the figures relating to the Jainas even in the 1941 census report have been brought to light by various organisations in the Jaina community. But due to the communal awakening, which is clearly noticeable all over India, it can be hoped that the Jaina figures will, in future, be more authentic and reliable.

Taking the figures as they stand, we can safely say that the Jaina community is gradually decreasing in number proportionately to the population of the country as a whole. The Jaina community now stands at 0·37 per cent of the population of India instead of the 0·48 per cent of 1881. From the statement showing the number of Jainas per 10,000 of the whole population at the last seven censuses, it will be seen that the proportion of Jainas in the total population is gradually decreasing in almost all Provinces. Taking into consideration the more or less settled nature of the Jaina community the rate at which the population is decreasing is apt to cause alarm. There are many causes to which this gradual decline has been attributed. “This (gradual decrease) is probably due in part to the practice of child marriage and the prohibition of widow remarriage, and partly also to the small size of the community which, attracting as it does no adherents from outside, cannot increase at the same rate as much larger ones. Dr. Guha suggests with some force that the Jainas have a lowered fertility and an increased infant mortality rate on account of their division into small endogamous groups, some of which in Ahmedabad do not exceed 500 souls.” The relative significance of these causes for the decline of Jaina population

1. Vide Appendix I—Statement showing the distribution of Jaina population and Appendix II—Diagram showing the variation of Jaina population.

will be discussed at a greater length later on. But let it be mentioned here that this continuous downfall, if not properly checked at this stage, will undoubtedly result in effacing the Jaina community from the surface of the earth, in not too distant a future.

2. DISTRIBUTION OF JAINA POPULATION

The Jaina community is spread all over India—right from Kashmir to Travancore and from Sind to Bengal. The Jainas seem to have preferred States and Agencies to Provinces as their permanent abodes. According to 1941 figures, 60 per cent of the Jainas live in States and only 40 per cent are in the Provinces. The similar figures for 1901 census stand at 64 per cent and 36 per cent respectively. Even though the Jainas have dispersed over a wide area, they show signs of concentration in certain localities. Out of the total Jaina population more than 40 per cent are found in the Bombay Province and its Native States including Baroda, nearly 25 per cent live in Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara, about 8 per cent are seen in the Central India Agency and 7 per cent in the United Provinces. The rest are scattered over other parts of India and are most numerous in the Central Provinces and Berar, the Punjab, Mysore, Madras, Hyderabad and Delhi. It will be seen from the accompanying map that the Jainas are proportionately most numerous in the Western India States, Rajputana, Ajmer-Merwara and Deccan and Kolhapur States. This distribution brings out one fact clearly that the Jainas are concentrated in the Hindu dominated areas and are very sparsely populated in the areas dominated by the Muslims. Jainism is more nearer to Hinduism than to any other religion in India and this might have resulted in the Jainas choosing the Hindus as their neighbours. The sudden disappearance of the Jaina population in the direction of Sind is somewhat remarkable and so also is the fact that

1. Vide Chapter VII.
2. Vide Appendix III—Diagram showing the Jaina population by Province or State according to 1941 census and Appendix IV—Statement showing the distribution of Jaina population at the last four censuses.
there are no Jainas among the indigenous inhabitants of Bengal, Bihar, where the Jaina religion had its origin, and Orissa where the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri bear witness to its popularity in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is really surprising to note that the Jainas are most scarce in the land where their Lord Mahāvīra flourished. The predominance of the Jaina population in the eastern part of India could be seen from the Sārāks of Western Bengal, Chhota Nagpur and Orissa who are the Hinduised remnants of the early Jaina people to whom local legends ascribe the ruined temples, defaced images, and even the abandoned copper mines of that part of Bengal. Their name is a variant of (‘Śrāvaka’, Sanskrit ‘hearer’) the designation of the Jaina laity. But it seems that the Jaina religion was not in a position to wield a continuous hold on the population and later on with the advent of Muslim predominance in that part of the country even the lay Jainas had no course open but to migrate to other areas.

The relative absence of the Jainas in Madras and their comparative insignificance in Mysore are noteworthy factors in the distribution of the Jaina population. The Jainas reigned supreme in the South India for a considerable period and there are ample evidences to show that in every walk of life their influence was felt by all people. In many places, the Jaina religion was the State religion and numerous villages and towns seem to have been occupied by Jainas only, as can be seen from the names of villages or places like ‘Samana-halli’ or the village of the Śramaṇas, ‘Śravaṇa-Belgola’ or the white pond of the Śramaṇas and Sāvanoor, Savanadurga, etc. But now only the temples and colossal statues of Gommatesvara bear witness to its popularity. This sudden disappearance of the Jaina population from the land where they had a continuous hold for a long time can, it seems, be attributed to the vigorous prosecutionist policy followed by the non-Jainas against the Jainas.

The Jaina community being composed mainly of traders and merchants is essentially urban in character. Taking India as a whole we find that in 1941, 41-4 per cent of the Jaina population

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lived in towns, and in Provinces the urban Jaina population was 48.9 per cent and in States and Agencies it was 36.5 per cent. The corresponding figures for all religions are 12.9 per cent, 12.7 per cent and 13.4 per cent. There is a continuous increase in the Jaina urban population in almost all Provinces and States. In India it increased by 11.4 per cent during the last four decades, while in Provinces the increase was 17.3 per cent and in States and Agencies 8.9 per cent. From the Statement showing urban Jaina population per cent of the total Jaina population in 1941, it will be seen that the Jainas are more urban in localities, where they are less in number and more rural in areas where they are numerous. That is why in Cochin, Travancore, Madras and Orissa States all Jaina people are urban and in the Western India States, Rajputana Agency and Deccan and Kolhapur States, they are mainly rural. This is due to the fact that in any region with a pronounced majority of one religion it will be found that persons not of that religion are mainly to be seen in the towns. A Parsi or a Christian, unless by an accident brought up in a village, will not find himself at home in rural conditions. This sort of phenomenon is common all over the world. Everywhere the country is homogeneous and native, the town heterogeneous and cosmopolitan. All minorities thus find their way to and flourish in towns and that is why the Jaina community is essentially urban in character.

3. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF JAINA POPULATION

According to Sundbarg a normal population has about one half of its total between the ages of 15–50 and the proportion of those above that age group to those below it indicates whether the population is increasing, decreasing or stationary. The youngest of the three population groups must be double the eldest if the population is to continue to grow, just short of that point it may be stationary and if the elder continues to exceed the younger,

1. See Appendix V—Statement showing the number per 1,000 of the Jaina population who live in towns.
2. Vide Appendix VI.
the population must be regressive or decreasing. These Sundarbarg’s categories need readjustment before they can be satisfactorily applied to the Indian conditions as the epidemics and other causes affect the older population more in this country and the average age is lower than what it is in other countries. The distribution of the Jaina population according to the Sundarbarg’s categories is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage of Jaina population aged</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This clearly shows that the Jaina community has been progressive for all these years. Figures for the age distribution of the population are not available in the 1941 census report. But from the figures available upto 1931, it will be seen that the working population (15-50 years age group) of Jainas decreased in the 1921 census and showed a very slight increase in the 1931 census. But unless we know 1941 figures, no conclusion can be drawn from the above figures. Even though the Jaina community is progressive it is the least progressive when compared with the other communities in India. The table given below shows the population of different communities arranged in order of progressiveness as determined from the 1931 census returns.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Percentage of population aged</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jew</td>
<td>37.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikh</td>
<td>39.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaina</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsi2</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. The Parsi population is stationary.
It would be interesting to see the age distribution of the Jaina and other communities. This is required not because there is any inherent connection between a man's religious beliefs and the number of years he lives. But in the social conditions of India religion is a real cleavage of peoples. It is due to the fact that in the social organization of Indian life each religion is associated with several customs and practices of its own which have a very important effect upon age. From the age distribution of all communities in the Bombay Presidency in 1931, it is marked that there is a very little difference in the age groupings of Hindus and Muslims, either for males or females. Jainas have fewer persons in the age groups from 0–20 years than have either Hindus or Muslims.\(^1\) On the other hand Jainas have more persons in the ages above 40. In this respect, the Jainas resemble the Zoroastrians, who exhibit in an extreme form a lopsidedness in age distribution. Up to the age 20, the Jaina distribution is the same as that of the Christian. This tendency in the Jaina community to have less persons in the age-group 0–20 years and more in the age-group above 40 years as compared with other communities is observed all over India as can be seen from the mean age of the Jainas which is higher than that of Hindus, Muslims and other people. This is evident from the statement\(^2\) showing the mean ages by sex for all religions according to the 1931 census.\(^3\) Moreover, the above tendency appears to be persistent in the Jaina community as is clear from the statement showing age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in the Jaina Community in the Bombay Presidency from 1881–1931.\(^4\)

---

2. Vide Appendix VII.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>1881 Male</th>
<th>1881 Female</th>
<th>1891 Male</th>
<th>1891 Female</th>
<th>1901 Male</th>
<th>1901 Female</th>
<th>1911 Male</th>
<th>1911 Female</th>
<th>1921 Male</th>
<th>1921 Female</th>
<th>1931 Male</th>
<th>1931 Female</th>
<th>1941 Male</th>
<th>1941 Female</th>
<th>1951 Male</th>
<th>1951 Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>1205</td>
<td>1004</td>
<td>1314</td>
<td>1074</td>
<td>1249</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>1230</td>
<td>1101</td>
<td>1123</td>
<td>1123</td>
<td>1199</td>
<td>1147</td>
<td>1178</td>
<td>1172</td>
<td>1014</td>
<td>1104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>1211</td>
<td>1102</td>
<td>1211</td>
<td>1070</td>
<td>1249</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>1230</td>
<td>1101</td>
<td>1123</td>
<td>1123</td>
<td>1199</td>
<td>1147</td>
<td>1178</td>
<td>1172</td>
<td>1014</td>
<td>1104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-15</td>
<td>1085</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>956</td>
<td>795</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>823</td>
<td>979</td>
<td>979</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>904</td>
<td>81.5</td>
<td>904</td>
<td>81.5</td>
<td>904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-20</td>
<td>3342</td>
<td>3342</td>
<td>3326</td>
<td>3273</td>
<td>3281</td>
<td>3281</td>
<td>3273</td>
<td>3281</td>
<td>3281</td>
<td>3281</td>
<td>3326</td>
<td>3326</td>
<td>3326</td>
<td>3326</td>
<td>3326</td>
<td>3326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-40</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-60</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. SEX COMPOSITION OF JAINAS

The sex composition of the Jainas reveals a clear deficiency of females. There are only 930 females per 1,000 males in the Jaina community. This ratio is varying from census to census. In 1901, there were 929 Jaina females per 1,000 Jaina males, in 1911 the proportion was 940, in 1921, 931, and in 1931, 940.1 No definite tendency is revealed by these figures and the alternate variation seems to be the result of incorrect enumeration of females. Compared with other communities the ratio of females to males in the Jaina community is too low.2 There are 972 females per 1,000 males among Parsis, 969 among Scheduled Castes, 968 among Indian Christians, 961 among Jews, 939 among other Hindus and 935 among all communities. Even among the Jainas there is a wide variation in the sex composition from Province to Province. From the diagram3 showing the number of females per 1000 males among the Jaina population by Province or State according to 1941 census, it will be noticed that while in Western India States the number is 1,111, it is only 533 in Bengal. The proportion appears to be comparatively better in areas where the Jainas are sufficient in number e.g. in Western India States, Rajputana State, Baroda State, etc., and very meagre in areas where the Jainas are less in number e.g., in Sind, Bihar, Assam and Bengal. This means that the Jaina population in outlying Provinces like Sind, Bengal, Assam etc., is mainly composed of males who appear to have gone there for trading purposes and who do not, it seems, wish to settle there permanently.

A comparative statement showing the number of females per 1000 males in the Jaina community and all communities together by Province or State according to 1941 census is given below.

1. See Appendix VIII—Diagram showing the number of females per 1000 males among Jaina population, 1901–1941.
2. See Appendix IX—Diagram showing the number of females per 1000 males in all communities in India, 1941.
3. Vide Appendix X.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province or State</th>
<th>Jaina Community</th>
<th>All Communities</th>
<th>Province or State</th>
<th>Jaina Community</th>
<th>All Communities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. I. States</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>979</td>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>898</td>
<td>1009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajputana</td>
<td>1016</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>Ajmer and</td>
<td>884</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States &amp; Agencies</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>941</td>
<td>Merwar</td>
<td>866</td>
<td>947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujrat States</td>
<td>984</td>
<td>931</td>
<td>C. I. States</td>
<td>United Provinces</td>
<td>865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baroda State</td>
<td>974</td>
<td>931</td>
<td>Mysore State</td>
<td>Gwalior State</td>
<td>852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>881</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>Provinces</td>
<td>846</td>
<td>933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab States</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>839</td>
<td>715</td>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>801</td>
<td>818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIA</td>
<td>930</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. P. &amp; Berar</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deccan &amp; Kolhapur States</td>
<td>905</td>
<td>982</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>899</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above table it will be noticed that the proportion of females among the Jainas is greater than that of all communities together in the States and Agencies, especially in Western India States, Rajputana Agency, Gujrat States and Baroda State and Provinces of Punjab and Delhi. It may be recalled that these are the areas where the Jainas are concentrated and are proportionately more numerous in the whole population. Conversely, in the areas where the Jaina population is small in number, the proportion of females in the Jaina community is less than that of all communities together, e.g., Provinces like Sind, Bihar, Assam and Bengal. This disproportion in the sex composition of the Jaina community in the various localities clearly brings home the fact that the Jainas appear to be centred in and attached to the part of India bounded by Western India States and even though they are found in the outlying Provinces there does not seem to be any desire on their part to settle there permanently.
There are various causes which contribute to the deficiency of females, viz., (i) concealment of females, (ii) excess of males at birth, (iii) female infanticide, (iv) neglect of female children, (v) higher female mortality and (vi) religious conversion of males. It is very difficult to say which of these factors are responsible for creating the disparity among males and females in the Jaina community. The Jaina population being literate and intelligent would not indulge in concealing the females at the time of the census. Since the exact figures of sex of children at birth are not available we cannot say whether there is any excess of males at birth in the Jaina community. The Jainas are sufficiently advanced and as such there could not be any possibility of practising female infanticide by them. It is true that in a society where the female children are considered to be a burden, they are liable to be neglected. But this neglect perhaps arises out of the economic condition of parents and as economic condition of the Jaina community is comparatively well, there are very less chances of females being neglected. Female mortality is different at various age-periods. The death rate among females is higher than that of males in the 5-10 years age-group. This is due to the neglect of female children which varies to some extent with economic circumstances and, as said above, female mortality on this account must be low in the Jaina community. A study of specific death rate shows that after the age of 5, only in the 40 and over age-groups, the female death rate is lower than that of male. This means that the female death rate is higher in age-period 5-40. If the female ratio for any community is declining it might be due to the fact that the mortality amongst women aged between 5 and 40 might be more than offsetting the female superiority in the age-groups 1 to 5 years and over 60 years. There is every probability that female death rate between the age-period 5-40 might be higher in the Jaina community as many Jaina females are married at an early age and are called upon to bear children too early and possibly too often. But, due to the lack of figures of female death rate at various age-periods it is difficult to pronounce to what extent the high female mortality is responsible for the deficiency of females in the Jaina community. No religious conversion is resorted to
by the Jaina community and we should not, on this account, assume the excess of males among the Jainas.

With all these factors operating to reduce the number of females, the female wastage in the Jaina community is considerably low as compared with that in other communities. The table below shows the female ratio in the first year of life as compared to that at all ages censused in 1931, indicating the comparative wastage of female life from whatever causes.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Females per 1,000 males (of population returned by age)</th>
<th>Variation per cent between columns 2 and 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aged 0-1</td>
<td>All ages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikh</td>
<td>947</td>
<td>784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>999</td>
<td>904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIA</td>
<td>1013</td>
<td>941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>1017</td>
<td>953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>1002</td>
<td>952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsi</td>
<td>981</td>
<td>940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaina</td>
<td>972</td>
<td>941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal</td>
<td>1045</td>
<td>1009</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The continuous deficiency of females has resulted in stunting the growth of the Jaina community. The figures of Jaina population for the Bombay Presidency from 1881 to 1931 are given below:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>British Districts</th>
<th>Bombay States</th>
<th>Total for Bombay Presidency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>2,40,436</td>
<td>1,00,631</td>
<td>3,41,047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>2,27,530</td>
<td>98,106</td>
<td>3,25,636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>2,12,074</td>
<td>79,013</td>
<td>2,91,087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>2,14,401</td>
<td>77,331</td>
<td>2,91,732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>1,99,814</td>
<td>87,353</td>
<td>2,87,167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Bombay Presidency, the number of Jainia females to 1000 males of the population at the last five censuses is as follows:—

\[
\begin{align*}
1901: & \quad 876; \quad 1911: \quad 841; \quad 1921: \quad 821; \\
1931: & \quad 847; \quad 1941: \quad 830^3.
\end{align*}
\]

In consequence of the difficulty which arises from this disproportion of males to females, as the Census Reporter observes, brides are both difficult to find and costly to secure. Marriage, therefore, can only be undertaken when the potential bridegroom has gathered together the necessary funds. This disparity gets still more intensified as the whole community has been divided and sub-divided into various small endogamous groups where marriage with outside the group is strictly forbidden by the caste rules. As regards the improvement in the decade 1921–1931 the Census Superintendent remarks that the improvement is primarily due to the revolt of the younger generation, which has initiated the practice of securing brides from outside the Presidency, generally from the Northern and Central India and even, in rare cases, from outside the Jainia community. Though the improvement has not been maintained in the succeeding decade (1931–1941), the innovation started by the younger generation will gain ground if the restrictions on choosing the bride are not loosened and no permission is given to convert the brides from other communities to Jainism. Since the community as a whole is in affluent circumstances, and the general level of intelligence is high, it is not unlikely that the schism will end in the acceptance, by the seniors, of the innovations introduced by the juniors, more particularly as the alternative may quite possibly be a drift towards Hinduism and the total rejection of Jainism. The movement is in its infancy and clearer indications are necessary for the formations of definite conclusions.

It is generally recognised that the ratio of females to males increases inversely with social standing among Hindus.² This is well illustrated by figures in Bombay Presidency where the whole Hindu population has been divided up according to education

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1. Includes Sind.
and social status into advanced, intermediate, backward and depressed classes. For the advanced classes, the ratio of women to men is 878 per 1000, for intermediate it is 935 per 1000, for the aboriginal tribes it is 956 per 1000, for other backward classes 953 per 1000, while for the depressed classes it rises to 982 per 1000 males. The Jainas (excepting Chaturtha, Pañchama and Śetavala sub-castes thereof) have been classified in Bombay into advanced class. It will be interesting to note the ratio of females to males in each of the sub-castes in the Jaina community and to verify whether the contention that the ratio of females to males varies inversely according to social status is true also in the case of various sub-castes of the Jaina community. The population figures of several castes in the Jaina community are not readily available and special efforts will have to be made to ascertain the sex composition of these castes.

5. FERTILITY AND LONGEVITY OF JAINAS

As an indication of comparative fertility, the proportion borne by children 0–10 to married females of 15–40 may be examined and the table below gives figures for some communities.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Number aged 0–10</th>
<th>Number of married women aged 15–40</th>
<th>Number of children 0–10 to each married woman aged 15–40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tribal</td>
<td>24,43,237</td>
<td>12,47,270</td>
<td>1.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>17,60,983</td>
<td>9,08,570</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikh</td>
<td>11,94,247</td>
<td>6,21,095</td>
<td>1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>2,29,72,076</td>
<td>1,28,70,165</td>
<td>1.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaina</td>
<td>3,19,953</td>
<td>1,95,063</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>6,61,77,624</td>
<td>4,03,78,332</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsi</td>
<td>19,404</td>
<td>12,142</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even though the fertility of Jaina women is low as compared with that of Christian, Sikh, and Muslim women, it is showing signs of improvement as seen from the table given below:

### POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number aged 0-10</th>
<th>Number of married women aged 15-40</th>
<th>Number of children 0-10 to each married woman aged 15-40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>3,19,953</td>
<td>1,95,063</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>2,79,748</td>
<td>1,71,458</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>2,93,714</td>
<td>1,96,754</td>
<td>1.49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly the proportion of persons aged 60 and over to those aged 15 to 40 is an indication of comparative longevity. Such figures\(^1\) for some communities according to 1931 census are given below in the ascending order of comparative longevity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Number aged 60 and over</th>
<th>Number aged 15-40</th>
<th>Percentage of those aged 60 and over on those aged 15-40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tribal</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1,23,846</td>
<td>14,55,660</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1,39,208</td>
<td>15,29,419</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>47,82,296</td>
<td>5,00,89,524</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>50,44,122</td>
<td>4,83,54,902</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>15,47,638</td>
<td>1,61,79,065</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>12,77,130</td>
<td>1,50,11,484</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaina</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>28,276</td>
<td>2,66,275</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>30,340</td>
<td>2,46,619</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikh</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1,47,828</td>
<td>9,63,229</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1,06,023</td>
<td>7,19,448</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsi</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3,957</td>
<td>24,150</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3,730</td>
<td>23,348</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The comparison of figures of fertility and longevity suggests that fertility and longevity, though not quite in inverse ratio, approach such a position. Moreover, from the figures of longevity given above, it will be seen that only among the Tribal, Hindu and Jaina communities the longevity is more among females than what is among males and that the difference is more marked among the Jainas. From the following table showing the longe-

---

vity figures of Jaina males and females from 1911 to 1931 it will
be noticed that no definite conclusions or tendencies can be drawn
from them except the fact that the marked difference between the
longevity of males and females remains unaltered.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Number aged 60 and over</th>
<th>Number aged 15 to 40</th>
<th>Percentage of those aged 60 and over on those aged 15-40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>28,276</td>
<td>2,66,275</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>30,340</td>
<td>2,46,619</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>31,498</td>
<td>2,51,201</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>35,499</td>
<td>2,25,803</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>29,747</td>
<td>2,79,635</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>35,177</td>
<td>2,53,854</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. PROPORTION OF UNMARRIED, MARRIED AND WIDOWED AMONG JAINAS

Before discussing the distribution of the Jaina population
according to the three well-known categories of civil condition,
viz. unmarried, married and widowed, let us see what is the
effective period of marriage of Jaina females. As observed above,
in our social organisation, each religion has got a separate set of
rules of behaviour and customs regarding the marital relations
among the community by the observance of which the age of
marriage is fixed and thereby the effective period of marriage is
determined. Naturally, this period will be different in each
community but broadly we can divide the communities into two
groups:—(i) communities other than the Parsis and (ii) Parsi
community. The effective period of marriage or period of poten-
tial maternity has been fixed as follows:—(i) for communities
other than Parsis 15 to 37\(\frac{1}{2}\) and (ii) for Parsi community 17\(\frac{1}{2}\) to
42\(\frac{1}{2}\). Moreover, the inner period of effective marriage for all
communities has been taken as 17\(\frac{1}{2}\) to 37\(\frac{1}{2}\).

The areas of potential maternity, especially when the inner
period, 17\(\frac{1}{2}\) to 37\(\frac{1}{2}\), alone is considered, show three different
types:
(i) In the case of Christians and Muslims, the individuals in this period are evenly spread over it, the weight being in the centre from $22\frac{1}{2}$ to $32\frac{1}{2}$, and the values of the two other portions low.

(ii) In the case of Hindus and still more of Jains, the weight is all towards the early period.

(iii) In the case of Parsis, the weight is all towards the late periods.

This means that the majority of children among Muslims and Christians should be born to mothers between the ages of $22\frac{1}{2}$ and $32\frac{1}{2}$; among Hindus to mothers between the ages of $17\frac{1}{2}$ to $32\frac{1}{2}$; among Jains to mothers between the ages of $17\frac{1}{2}$ to $27\frac{1}{2}$; and among Parsis to mothers between the ages of $27\frac{1}{2}$ to $37\frac{1}{2}$. It clearly reveals the fact that of all females, the Jain females are required to bear the incidence of child birth at a comparatively early age which has considerably told upon their health and finally resulted in high rate of female mortality.

Let us now turn to the question of the distribution of Jain population according to civil conditions. The distribution of 1,000 of each sex of various communities according to 1931 census is given below\(^1\):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Unmarried</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Widowed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDIA</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaina</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikh</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. For the diagram see Appendix XI.
This shows that the Hindus, except the Muslims, have got the highest number of females married and the lowest number of females unmarried. The Jainas have fewer unmarried females except the Hindus, fewer married females and more widowed, both male and female, than the general figures. The proportion of unmarried females is nearly the same in the Hindu and Jaina communities, but the difference arises in the disparate proportions of married females and widows, on account of the high proportion of widows amongst the Jainas. This unusually high proportion of widowed, especially among the females, seems to be the predominant feature of the Jaina community for all these years as seen from the statement given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Unmarried</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Widowed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDIA</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajputana</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. See appendix XII diagram showing distribution of Jaina persons by civil conditions.
The proportion of widows has continued to increase up to 1921 and has suddenly fallen in 1931. This does not show that the situation has improved but is the result of comparatively more increase in the proportion of married persons due to the fear of the Sarda Act. The 1941 figures of civil conditions are not available but they will clearly reveal a distinct increase in the proportion of widows, if not in 1941 at least in 1951, since the proportion of married females aged 0–15 which was declining all the while has risen in 1931 for the reason mentioned above. This will be evident from the statement given below showing the number of females per 1,000 aged 0–15 who were returned as married for the six decades.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Married females aged 0–15 per 1000 females of that age.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaina</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikh</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The increase during 1921–31 in the proportion of married females aged 0–15 in the case of Jaina community is comparatively less than what it is in the Hindu and Muslim communities. This means that the Sarda Act did affect the Jainas but not to a great extent.

From the statement\(^1\) showing the distribution by main age-periods of the 10,000 unmarried, married and widowed in the five main religions and all religions together for 1931 in the Bombay Presidency, it will be seen that the Jainas have 497 females per 10,000 married under 5 years of age, Hindus have 360, Christians 294, Muslims 166 and Zoroastrians 36. In the 5–10 years age-group, Hindus have 2,498 females married, Jainas 1,925, Christians 1,085, Muslims 985 and Zoroastrians 67. Between the

---

\(^1\) Vide Appendix XIII.
ages of 10–15, Hindus have 4,613 females married, Jainas 3,998, Muslims 2,637, Christians 1,756 and Zoroastrians 185. Thus, it will appear that the Jainas have the highest number of infant girls married and that both Hindus and Jainas have very high figures for marriages of girls under the age of 15.

The highest proportion of married persons is found for all religions in the 40 to 60 age-group for males (8,094 per 10,000) and in the 15 to 20 age-group for females (8,604 per 10,000). In the case of Jainas the highest proportion of married persons is found in the 20–40 age-group for males (7,421 per 10,000) and in the 15–20 age-group for females (8,650 per 10,000).

The difference in the proportion of males and females in the last age-group in respect of civil conditions are considerable in the various communities. Of 10,000 males aged 60 and over, 866 Parsis are unmarried, 496 Christians, 331 Jainas and 297 Muslims as against only 186 Hindus. Of widows aged 60 years and over, there are 8,954 per 10,000 amongst Jainas, 8,434 amongst Hindus, 8,037 amongst Muslims, 7,605 amongst Christians and 6,308 amongst Parsis. In every community the majority of males in the 60 and over age-group are married, and the majority of the females are widows. The disproportion between the married men and widowers in the last age-group is least in the case of Jainas, who have 5,497 married males as against 4,172 widowers.

Apart from the fact that the Jainas are an early marrying community one can expect that due to impact of Western ideas, there should not have been married persons upto the age of 10. But from the statement showing the distribution of Jaina population in the Bombay Presidency by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex and main age periods from 1881–1931, it will be seen that there are persons married as well as widowed in the early age-groups and moreover their number has not been appreciably reduced as was expected in the case of the Jaina community which is considered to be more advanced, well placed in the economic life and having a high proportion of literate population. Unless

1. Vide Appendix XIV.
a concentrated effort is made by the community to stop the prevalence of early marriages, no improvement can be possible in the near future. So is the case with the problem of widows. The Jainas are continuing to top the list of widows and if the things are allowed to take their own course, no definite improvement can be expected. But on the contrary situation will go from bad to worse. Even now in Rajaputana, where 25 per cent of the Jaina-population is concentrated, there are 247 widows per 1,000 females. This means that out of four females one female is necessarily a widow. Due to this unusually high proportion of widows, who are effectively debarred from marrying again, the sex composition of the community becomes very unbalanced. The ban on widow remarriage considerably reduces the proportion of females in the reproductive period. The relative shortage of females in the age-period 15–45 as compared with males in the age-group 20–50 in some communities is given in the following table.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Increase per cent 1921–1931</th>
<th>Females 15–45 per 1000 males 20–50</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1,080</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1,026</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>After exclusion of widows.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaina</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>After exclusion of widows.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikh</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>848</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this it will be seen that in the case of Hindus there are in fact 1,059 females in the reproductive period to every 1,000 males. But the factor of the ban on the widow remarriage is important and when the widows in the reproductive period are excluded, the female excess is reduced to a deficiency of over 10 per cent of females in the reproductive period. In the case of the Jainas there are 2,81,517 females of the reproductive ages to 2,75,463 males, an excess of 6,054 females or 1,022 females to every 1,000 males in the reproductive period. But there are

58,289 widows in the reproductive ages and when these are excluded the female excess is reduced to a deficiency of nearly 20 per cent, i.e., leaving only 810 females per 1,000 males in the reproductive period. Sikhs have an actual deficiency of over 15 per cent of females at the reproductive period in any case, and though a considerable number of their potentially reproductive males remain unmarried in consequence, they are, compared to Hindus and Jainas, a late marrying community, while the remarriage of widows is not banned. In the case of the Muslims there is an excess of females (1,026 per 1,000 males) at the reproductive period, in spite of the fact that the female ratio for the whole Muslim population is only 901 per 1,000 males. The Christians have a still greater excess of females at the reproductive ages, having 1,080 females per 1,000 males of that period.

It seems likely that these proportions have some definite bearing on the rates of increase in the different communities. It offers an explanation of the particularly small rate of increase of Jainas, and a reason why Hindus have increased at a slower rate than Muslims. The comparative rate of Hindus’ increase would be lower still, were it not for the large additions received from Tribal communities. The exceptionally high Christian rate of increase is of course similarly affected by the inclusion of converts. But the sex ratio is probably contributive. In the case of Jainas, there is no possibility of increase by additions of newcomers to the religion as conversion is never resorted to by Jainas. On the contrary there are indications of Jainas being converted to other religions. Thus, if conversion is not practised, the removal of ban on widow remarriage appears to be the most pressing and urgent need for the growth of the community.

7. PROPORTION OF LITERACY IN THE JAINA COMMUNITY

The Jaina community, being mainly a trading community, for whom literacy is essential, has got a fairly high percentage of literacy. From the diagram showing in the descending order the number per mille literate in each sex in different main communities

1. Vide Appendix XV.
in 1931, it will be seen that the Jainas are next to Parsis and Jews in the spread of literacy. The striking feature of literacy among Jainas is that the males are comparatively very advanced than the females. Even though the proportion of literacy among Jainas is relatively high than what it is in other communities, it appears that the efforts are being made by the Jainas to increase their literacy as can be seen from the table given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sikh</td>
<td>+23</td>
<td>+31</td>
<td>+13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaina</td>
<td>+12</td>
<td>+7</td>
<td>+19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>+11</td>
<td>+14</td>
<td>+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>+9</td>
<td>+14</td>
<td>+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsi</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-9</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows the variations in the descending order of the total increase of literacy in the decade 1921–31. It will be noticed that this order is not always retained if the sexes are taken separately. Thus the Jainas, although only second in the rate of growth of general literacy, come first in the growth of literacy among females, but are behind both Hindus and Muslims in the growth of literacy among males.

The table given below shows the growth of literacy per mille (all ages) of the total Jaina population during 1901–1931:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Vide Appendix XVI diagram showing literacy among Jainas by sex and locality, as also Appendices XVII and XVIII.
3. Vide also Appendix XIX.
From this it will be seen that the progress has been well maintained among the females and among the males there is a slight decrease. This might possibly be due to the boycott of census operations which affected the Jaina community to a very great extent.

The literacy in English is comparatively less in the Jaina community and it stands next to the Parsis, Jews and Christians. The Parsis have 5,041, Jews 2,636, Christians 919, Jainas 306, Sikhs 151, Indian Buddhists 119, Hindus 113, Muslims 92 and Tribal 4 persons literate in English per 10,000 of their population aged 5 and over. Literacy in English is generally high in cities on account of the greater opportunities for its acquisition and its greater economic value in use. The table given below shows the growth of literacy in English in the Jaina community per 10,000 of the population (all ages) during 1901–1931.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>106</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that there is a rapid progress in literacy in English especially for males. The figures for females are exceedingly low and those for males are far from satisfactory taking into consideration the fact that the Jainas are mainly an urban community.

From the diagram showing literacy among Jainas by sex and locality, it will be seen that among males the literacy is highest in the Baroda State (849 per 1,000) and among females in the Jammu and Kashmir States (386 per 1,000). In the Western India States and Rajputana Agency, where the Jaina population is concentrated, the proportion of literacy is comparatively low. The lowest literacy among females is found in

1. See Appendix XX also.
2. See Appendix XV.
Rajputana where the number of females is greater than that of males.

**APPENDIX I**

*The statement showing distribution of Jain Population*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province or State</th>
<th>Number per 10,000 of the population who are Jainas</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Provinces</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. P.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. P. and Berar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmer-Merwara</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panth Piploda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States &amp; Agencies</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central India</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deccan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwalior</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir &amp; Feudatories</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Mysore</td>
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<td>Western India</td>
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</table>

1. Includes Sind.
2. Includes Delhi.
APPENDIX II

Graph showing the variation since 1881 of the Jaina Population per 10,000 of the whole population in main Provinces and States

REFERENCES:

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<th>MYSORE</th>
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<tr>
<td>STATES &amp; AGENCIES</td>
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<td>RAJPUTANA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BARODA</td>
<td>WESTERN INDIA STATES</td>
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APPENDIX III

Diagram showing Jaina Population by Provinces or States according to 1941 census

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<td>Western India States</td>
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<td>Deccan and Kolhapur States</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mysore</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>50,000</td>
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<td>Bengal</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab States</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
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<td>Bihar</td>
<td>50,000</td>
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APPENDIX IV

The statement showing distribution of Jaina Population according to Provinces or States

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Province or State</th>
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<th>1931</th>
<th>1941</th>
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<td>4,55,855</td>
<td>4,53,569</td>
<td>5,78,372</td>
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<tr>
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<td>29,995</td>
<td>25,493</td>
<td>31,206</td>
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<td>2,10,725</td>
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<td>75,427</td>
<td>67,887</td>
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<td>35,284</td>
<td>38,233</td>
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<td>4,282</td>
<td>4,213</td>
<td>3,626</td>
<td>4,602</td>
</tr>
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<td>C. P. &amp; Berar</td>
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<td>68,286</td>
<td>77,895</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>108</td>
<td>139</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
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<td>1,534</td>
<td>1,144</td>
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<td>19,497</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
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<td>43,462</td>
<td>43,223</td>
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<td>502</td>
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<td>101</td>
<td>210</td>
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<td>—</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>52,714</td>
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## POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province or State</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1941</th>
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<td>18,584</td>
<td>21,543</td>
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<td>345</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>910</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>17,630</td>
<td>20,732</td>
<td>29,613</td>
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<td>N. W. F. P.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
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<td>6,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab Hill</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travancore</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>62</td>
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<td>U. P.</td>
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<td>214</td>
<td>210</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<td>31</td>
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## APPENDIX V.

The statement showing number per 1,000 of the Jaina Population who live in towns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province or State</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1901</th>
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<td>339</td>
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<td>373</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>316</td>
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<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>322&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>419&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>369&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>316</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
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<td>616</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>545</td>
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<td>458</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>271</td>
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<tr>
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<td>770</td>
<td>613</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>543&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>520</td>
<td>496&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>312&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>378&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. P. &amp; Berar</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>C. P. 260</td>
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</table>

Berar 349

<sup>1</sup> Includes Sind.
<sup>2</sup> Includes N. W. F. P.
<sup>3</sup> Includes Orissa.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province or State</th>
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<th>1921</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1901</th>
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<td>421</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>446</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>711</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>351</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>435</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>302</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>995</td>
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<td>992</td>
<td>1,000</td>
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<td>Deccan ( &amp; Kolhapur )</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
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<tr>
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<td>348</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>229</td>
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<tr>
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<td>882</td>
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<td>994</td>
<td>977</td>
<td>991</td>
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<td>1,000</td>
<td>927</td>
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<td>252</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
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<td>Orissa</td>
<td>1,000</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>507</td>
<td>464</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>C. P. States</td>
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<td>495</td>
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<td>Punjab State Agency</td>
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### APPENDIX VI

Statement showing urban population per cent in the total Jaina Population, 1941

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<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Province or State</th>
<th>Total Jaina population</th>
<th>Urban Jaina population</th>
<th>Urban population per cent in total population</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Cochin, Travancore, Madras, Orissa States</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>537</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Assam States &amp; Sind</td>
<td>201 &amp; 3,687</td>
<td>189 &amp; 3,480</td>
<td>94-0</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Bengal States</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>87-5</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>United Provinces States</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>83-3</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>11,126</td>
<td>8,836</td>
<td>79-4</td>
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<td>7.</td>
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<td>449</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>78-2</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>38,233</td>
<td>29,434</td>
<td>77-0</td>
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<td>Gujarati States</td>
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<td>3,932</td>
<td>71-0</td>
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<td>Coorg</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>1,259</td>
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<td>Punjab States</td>
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<td>3,875</td>
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<td>1,25,513</td>
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<td>18,827</td>
<td>8,719</td>
<td>46-3</td>
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<td>43-5</td>
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### APPENDIX VII

Statement showing the Mean Ages by sex for the different Provinces and States and for religions according to 1931 census

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<th>Province or State</th>
<th>All Religions Males</th>
<th>All Religions Females</th>
<th>Hindu Males</th>
<th>Hindu Females</th>
<th>Jaina Males</th>
<th>Jaina Females</th>
<th>Muslim Males</th>
<th>Muslim Females</th>
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<td>23.5 23.3</td>
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<td>22.0 20.1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>23.4 24.0</td>
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<td>22.6 23.0</td>
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<td>24.9 23.7</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
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<td>24.2 24.3</td>
<td>25.0 25.1</td>
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<td>23.8 22.7</td>
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<td>U. P.</td>
<td>24.5 24.5</td>
<td>24.1* 24.3*</td>
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<td>23.8 23.3</td>
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<td>25.2 25.8</td>
<td>24.0 23.9</td>
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<td>26.1 25.7</td>
<td>24.3 23.4</td>
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<td>23.6 22.9</td>
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<td>22.2 21.6</td>
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<td>23.9 21.9</td>
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<td>24.8 25.8</td>
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<td>—</td>
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</table>

— Figure unavailable or unimportant.
* Brahmanic Hindus only.
APPENDIX VIII

Diagram showing number of Females per 1,000 Males among Jaina Population, 1901-1941

NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1000 MALES

YEARS

1901 1911 1921 1931 1941

950 940 950 920 910 900
APPENDIX IX

Diagram showing number of Females per 1,000 Males in all Communities in India, 1941

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<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
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<th>9</th>
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## APPENDIX X

*Diagram showing number of Females per 1,000 Males among Jaina Population by Province or State according to 1941 Census*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S No</th>
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<th>700</th>
<th>800</th>
<th>900</th>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Rajputana</td>
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<td>States and Agencies</td>
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APPENDIX XI

Diagram showing distribution of 1,000 persons by Civil Condition according to 1931 Census
Appendix XII

Diagram showing Distribution of 1,000 Jaina Persons by Civil Conditions.
# APPENDIX XIII

The statement showing distribution by Main Age-periods and Civil Condition of 10,000 of each sex and religion in the Bombay Presidency according to 1931 Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age and sex</th>
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## APPENDIX XIV

Statement showing distribution of Jaina Population in the Bombay Presidency by Civil Condition of 1,000 of each sex and main age-period from 1881-1931

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<th>1911 Females</th>
<th>1901 Males</th>
<th>1901 Females</th>
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APPENDIX XV

Diagram showing Literacy per mille of the Population aged five and over in Main Communities, 1931.

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## APPENDIX XVI

Diagram showing Literacy among Jainas by Sex and Locality, 1931.

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## APPENDIX XVII

Statement showing number per 1,000 Jainas who are literate according to Provinces and States

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<th>1931 Females</th>
<th>1921 Males</th>
<th>1921 Females</th>
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</table>

* Including States.

† Including N. W. F. P.

‡ Only Kashmir.
APPENDIX XVIII

Diagram showing changes in Jaina Population in various respects.
APPENDIX XIX

Diagram showing Growth of Literacy per mille of Jaina Population, 1901-1931.
CHAPTER TWO
DIVISIONS IN THE JAINA COMMUNITY
RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS

1. EARLY HISTORY OF JAINA RELIGION

"Jainism" is a religion propounded by Jīna, i.e., one who has conquered the worldly passions and Jainas are the followers of Jīna. According to the Jain tradition Lord Rśabhadeva was the first Jīna of the present age who was born in very primitive times when people were illiterate and did not know any art. It is believed that Rśabhadeva was the first person to initiate the people into various arts and crafts like cooking, writing, making pottery, painting and sculpture and to establish the social institutions like marriage, family, Varna or class, education, etc. He taught the people how to behave in society, introduced social customs and manners and showed the way of performing religious practices. He was also known as the first Tīrthaṅkara, i.e., one who guides the people to attain liberation. Rśabhadeva was followed by 23 Tīrthaṅkaras and they tried to reform the society and preach the religion as handed over to them from the times of Rśabhadeva.

Even though, according to the above tradition, the Jainas claim to have a hoary antiquity, it should be remembered that so far no historical evidence has been brought forward to establish beyond doubt the real existence of the first 22 Tīrthaṅkaras. The last two Tīrthaṅkaras, viz., Pārśvanātha, the 23rd, and Mahāvīra, the 24th, are proved as historical personages.¹ There are various literary evidences in the Jaina and Buddhist texts which presuppose the existence of a Nirgrantha Order headed by Pārśvanātha before the advent of Mahāvīra and, therefore, it can be said that there is much truth in the Jaina tradition that Mahāvīra was no more than promulgator of an older Nirgrantha Order.²

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² Jain J. C.: Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jain Canons, p. 22.
Parśvanātha flourished towards the end of the ninth century B.C., i.e., 250 years before Mahāvīra. He was a religious teacher of great eminence and had to fight against the Brahmanic tyranny of caste system and the preponderance of ‘hiṃsā’ (i.e. killing) of animals in Vedic sacrifices which was gradually filtering into the East from the Western part of India. He, therefore, threw open the doors of his religion to all persons without any distinction of caste, creed or sex. Both males and females could enter the Order of Parśvanātha on the basis of equality. He preached the four great vows, i.e., ‘Ahiṃsā’ (i.e. non-injury), ‘Satya’ (i.e. truth), ‘Asteya’ (i.e. abstinence from stealing) and ‘Aparigraha’ (i.e. non-attachment to worldly things) and emphasised the necessity of observing strict asceticism as a means for the attainment of salvation. Moreover, Parśvanātha divided the followers of Jaina religion into four categories according to sex and the strictness with which the members practise the injunctions laid down by the Jaina religion, viz., (i) Yatis or Sādhus or Munis, i.e., male ascetics; (ii) Arjikās or Sādhwīs, i.e., female ascetics; (iii) Śrāvakas’ i.e. male laity and (iv) Śrāvikās, i.e., female laity. This foundation of four orders in the community with their leaders to look after and supervise the conduct of members comprising the order shows that there was a pretty good arrangement to govern and organise the Jaina community from the earliest times. In fact, this is one of the important reasons put forward for the survival of Jainism in India as against its rival Buddhism.1

After Parśvanātha, Mahāvīra became the leader of the Jaina church. The religion preached by Mahāvīra was substantially the same as preached by his predecessor Parśvanātha. It is said that Mahāvīra added ‘Brahmacharya’ (i.e. chastity, perhaps already included in Aparigraha) as the fifth great vow to the four great vows already preached by Parśvanātha.2 Mahāvīra continued further the practice of fourfold division of the community and it is stated that at the time of his death there were 14000 Yatis, 36,000 Sādhwīs, 1,59,000 Śrāvakas and 3,18,000 Śrāvikās.3 Mahāvīra

1. Vide Chapter VII.
had in all eleven Gaṇadhāras. They were all religious teachers well-
versed in Jaina scriptures. After the nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, the
fifth Gaṇadhāra Sudharman became the head of the Jaina Church,
others either having attained salvation or ‘Kevalinship’ (i.e.,
omniscience) before the death of Mahāvīra. Sudharman is said
to have narrated the Jaina Canon to his disciple Jambuśvāmī in
the manner he had heard from his Master. The Nirgrantha śramaṇas of the present time are all spiritual descendants of the
monk Ārya Sudharman, the rest of the Gaṇadhāras having left no
descendants.¹

From the history of Jaina religion upto Mahāvīra it appears
that sects and sub-sects had not arisen till that time. But later on,
we find that various schisms arose in the Jaina community as a
result of which Jainism was divided into several sects and
sub-sects. There were various reasons which contributed to the
splitting of Jainism in small sects and sub-sects. In the first place
it may be mentioned that during the lifetime of Mahāvīra the
spread of Jainism was limited and Jainism did not seem generally
to have crossed the boundaries of the kingdoms of Aṅga and
Magadha, comprising modern Bihar, Orissa and Western Bengal,
where the Teacher mainly lived and concentrated his attention,
but after the death of Mahāvīra, his successors and followers
succeeded to a large extent in popularising the faith throughout the
length and breadth of India, so that it did not fail to enlist for a
long period the support of kings as well as of commoners. As the
number of adherents to the Jaina religion fast increased and as
they were scattered practically in all parts of the country, the
Gaṇadhāras and religious pontiffs must have found it very difficult
to look after and organise their followers. Naturally, different
conditions, customs, manners and ways of life prevailing in
different parts of the country in different periods might have
influenced in giving rise to various religious practices which might
have ultimately resulted in creating factions among the followers
of Jainism. Secondly, the religious doctrines, principles and tenets
as they were enunciated and taught by Mahāvīra were not

committed to writing during the lifetime of Mahāvīra or immediately after his death. The religious teachings of Mahāvīra were memorised by his immediate successors and they were thus handed down from one generation to another till they were canonised at the Council of Pātaliputra in the early part of the 3rd century B.C. By this time much water had flown down the Ganges and what was canonised was not acceptable to all, who vigorously maintained that the canon did not contain the actual teachings of Mahāvīra. Again, there was the question of interpreting what had been canonised. As time passed on, differences of opinion regarding the interpretation of many doctrines arose and those who differed established a separate school of thought and formed themselves into a sect or sub-sect. Thirdly, it may be maintained that sects and sub-sects arise as a direct result of the revolt against the actions and policy of ruling priests or heads of the Church. Those who are at the helm of religious affairs are likely to swerve from their prescribed path and debase themselves or they are likely to be too strict in maintaining and preserving the religious practices in a manner they think it proper, without taking into account the needs of the changing conditions. In both the cases natural indignation is bound to occur on the part of the thinking population and there should not be any surprise if this accumulated indignation and discontent take a turn in formulating and organising a separate sect. Martin Luther revolted against the high-handed policy of Popes and priests in the Christian religion and founded the section of Protestants in that religion.

2. THE GREAT SCHISM

The history of the Jaina Church is full of references to the various schisms that had taken place from time to time and some of these schisms contributed to the rise of sects and sub-sects in the Jaina religion. There is no unity of opinion on the manner and nature of such schisms. According to Śvetāmbaras, there were eight schisms, of which the first was caused by Mahāvīra’s son-in-law, Jamāli; and eighth, occurring in 83 A.D., gave rise to the Digambara sect. But the Digambaras seem to be ignorant of the
earlier schisms.  
As the first seven schisms were comparatively unimportant, we may deal with only the eighth schism which ultimately split the community into two rival sects. In this connection it should be remembered that in order to prove the antiquity of their sect both the sects have put forward their own theories regarding the origin of the other sect.  
As regards the origin of the Digambīra sect, it is ascribed by the Śvetāmbaras to Śiva-bhūti, who started the heretical sect of the Bhotikas in 83 A.D. This report is denied by the Digambīras; they maintain that they have preserved the original practices, but that, under the 8th successor of Mahāvīra, Bhadrābāhu, a sect with laxer principles arose, and that this sect, which was called that of the Ardha-phālakas, developed into the present sect of Śvetāmbaras in 80 A.D.  
Recent researches in Jaina history tend to prove the real existence of Ardha-phālaka sect and to consider the Ardha-phālakas as forerunners of the Śvetāmbaras.  
Really speaking, one cannot arrive at any definite conclusion from all these mutually conflicting traditions, and hence, it is almost impossible to fix an exact date for this great schism in the Jaina community. The main point of difference between the two sects was the question of considering whether the practice of nudity was an absolute necessity for achieving salvation. Taking into

   (ii) Glasenapp: Jainism, pages 354 - 356.  
2. For description of these 7 Schisms vide:  
   (i) Vaidya P. L.: Jaina Dharma āpi Vāṅgmayā, pp. 51 - 54.  
4. For the story of Śivabhūti vide S. Stevensen: Heart of Jainism, p.79.  
consideration these facts it seems probable that the separation of
the sections of the Jaina Church took place gradually, an individual
development going on in both the groups living at a great distance
from one another, and that they became aware of their mutual
difference about the end of the 1st century A. D.¹ In view of this,
it can safely be asserted that the origin of the two sects cannot be
attributed to any specific incident² which instantly divided the
community into two opposite camps.

3. THE TWO MAIN SECTS

It is now necessary to see what is the exact difference between
these two sects. Literally Digambara means 'sky-clad' and
Śvetāmbara means 'white-robed', i.e., the monks of the
Digambaras are naked while those of the Śvetāmbaras wear white
clothes. In fact there is very little difference between the two
branches as regards the essentials of doctrine. For example, the
most authoritative book of the Digambaras, viz., Tattvārthādhi-
gama Sūtra by Umāsvātī, is one of the standard books also of the
Śvetāmbaras. However, there are some major as well as minor
tenets on which the two sections are opposed to one another. The
major points of difference between the Digambaras and
Śvetāmbaras are as follows:—

(i) While the Digambaras believe that a monk who owns any
property, i.e., wears clothes, cannot attain salvation: the Śvetāmbaras assert that the practice of complete
nudity is not essential to attain liberation.

(ii) The Digambaras hold the view that a woman is not
entitled to Moksha in this life. On the contrary the
Śvetāmbaras believe that woman can reach Nirvāṇa in
this life.

(iii) According to the Digambaras, once a saint had attained
'Kevala Jñāna' i.e., omniscience, needed no food, but

². Vide the article "On the Śrāvakas or Jains" by Major Delamaine in
Transactions of the R. A. S. of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. I,
(1827), P. 416.
could sustain life without eating. This view is not acceptable to the Śvetāmbaras.

Leaving aside the trivial differences in rituals, customs and manners, the following are some of the minor points on which the two sects do not agree:—

(i) The Digambaras maintain that the embryo of Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṅkara, was not removed from the womb of Devanandā, a Brahmin lady, to that of Triśalā or Priyakāriṇī, a Kshatriya lady, as the Śvetāmbaras contend.

(ii) The Digambaras believe in the complete disappearance of the ancient sacred literature of the Jainas and as such disown the canonical books of the Śvetāmbaras.

(iii) The Digambaras assert that Mahāvīra never married but according to the Śvetāmbaras Mahāvīra married Yasodā and had a daughter from her by name Anojjā or Priyadarśanā.

(iv) The Śvetāmbaras consider Mallinātha, the 19th Tīrthaṅkara, as a female but the Digambaras state that Mallinātha was a male.

(v) According to Digambaras, the Tīrthaṅkaras must be represented as nude and unadorned, and with downcast eyes. This need not be so according to Śvetāmbaras.²

4. THE MAJOR AND MINOR SUB-SECTS

The division of the Jaina Church into two sects mentioned


2. In this connection I am informed by Prof. Dalasuka Malavaniya that in the beginning the idols worshipped by Śvetāmbaras used to be made like those worshipped by Digambaras. But later on this practice gave rise to quarrels between Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras over the possession of temples. Hence, with a view to put an end to such incessant and troublesome quarrels, Śvetāmbaras began, probably from the 12th or 13th century A.D., to put on clothes on their idols.
above was only the beginning of splitting the religion into various sects. Each of the two great divisions again got sub-divided into different major and minor sub-sects according to the difference in acknowledging or interpreting the religious texts. These major and minor sub-sects gradually sprang up for the most part on account of different interpretations the pontiffs put on the canonical texts from time to time.

The Digambaras are divided into following sub-sects:

(a) Major sub-sects:
   (i) Bīsapanthi.
   (ii) Terāpanthī.
   (iii) Tāraṇaṇapānthi or Samaiyāpanthī.

(b) Minor sub-sects:
   (i) Gumānapanthī.
   (ii) Tobāpanthī.

The Bīsapanthīs worship the idols with flowers, fruits and sweatmeats. In their temples they keep the idols of Kṣetrapāla, Bhairava and other deities along with the idols of Tīrthaṅkaras. They perform ‘Ārati’ (i.e. waiving lights over the idol) and offer sweatmeats (i.e. Prasāda) in the temple even at night. While worshipping they sit and do not stand. They consider Bhaṭṭārakas (i.e. ascetics below the order of Yatis or monks) as their religious teachers (i.e. Dharma-gurus), and heads of the religion (i.e. Āchāryas).

Terāpanthīs worship the idols not with flowers, fruits and other green vegetables (known as Sachitta things), but with sacred rice called ‘Akshata’, cloves, sandal, almonds, dry cocoanuts, dates, etc.¹ In their temples they do not maintain the idols of Kṣetrapāla, Bhairava and other deities. They neither perform ‘Ārati’ nor offer sweatmeats in the temple. While worshipping they stand and do not sit. They do not treat Bhaṭṭārakas as their religious teachers or heads. The last characteristic of Terāpanthīs, i.e., non-recognition of the Bhaṭṭāraka system is the main and important difference from Bīsapanthīs. From this it is clear that

the Terāpanthīs appear to be reformers. They oppose to various religious practices, as according to them these are not real Jaina religious practices. Digambara Terāpanthīs have no connection with Śvetāmbara Terāpanthīs. Among the Digambaras Bīspanthīs and Terāpanthīs are so proud of their practices that they do not visit the temples of other Panthas or sects. Bīspanthīs are more in Marwara and Gujrattha and Terāpanthīs in Marwara, U. P. and C. P. Terāpanthā arose in 1683 V. S. as a revolt against the loose conduct of Bhāṭṭarākhas and now it claims practically two-third members of the Digambara sect as its followers. Terāpanthā had performed a valuable task of rescuing Digambara sect from the clutches of Bhāṭṭarākhas and hence the Terāpanthīs occupy a peculiar position in the Digambara Jaina community.

The sub-sect Tāraṇāpanthā is known after its founder Tāraṇā Svāmī or Tarāpa Tāraṇa Svāmī. This sub-sect is also called Samaiyāpanthā because its followers worship Samaya, i.e., sacred books. The population of Tāraṇāpanthīs is nearly 10,000 and they are mainly found in the Central Provinces, Central Indian States and some parts of Khandesha District. Members from the following six castes, viz., Paravāra, Asaiti, Golālare, Charanāgare, Ajudhyābāsi and Dosakhe Paravāra, are the followers of this sub-sect. Tāraṇāsvāmī (1505–1552 V. S.) founded the sub-sect in the latter part of the 16th century of the Vikrama Era. He died at Malhāragarh, in Gwalior State, and this is the central place of pilgrimage of Tāraṇāpanthīs. They do not worship the idols but they do worship their own sacred books. Even though at present there are six castes among the Tāraṇāpanthīs, they were really against the caste distinctions. Tāraṇāsvāmī was looking with equanimity towards all persons and in fact he threw open the doors of his sub-sect to Muslims and low caste people. Ruiramaṇa, one of the main disciples of Tāraṇāsvāmī, was a Muslim. Further, Tāraṇāpanthīs gave more importance to spiritual values and the study of sacred literature. That is why we find a complete absence of outward

religious practices among them. These three main traits of Târaṇapantās, viz., hatred of idol-worship, ban on caste distinctions and removal of outward religious practices, were evolved as a revolt against the religious practices and beliefs then prevailing in the Digâmbara Jaina Church and it appears that Târaṇasvâmi might have formulated these principles under the direct influence of Islamic doctrines and teachings of Loṅkâsâha, the founder of non-idolatrous sub-sect among the Śvētâmbaras.\(^1\)

Gumânapanthâs and Totâpanthâs are not so important and very little is known about them. Gumânapantha flourished of late in the 18th century A.D. and was so called from the name of its founder Gumâna Râma.

Like Digâmbaras, the Śvētâmbaras are also split up into following sub-sects:—

(i) Pujeâ or Mûrtipûjaka or Derâvâsi or Mandiramârgi,
(ii) Dhuṇḍiyâ or Bistolâ or Sthânakavâsi or Sâdhumârgi.
(iii) Terâpanthî.

The original stock is now known as Mûrtipûjaka Śvētâmbaras, as they are the thorough worshippers of idols. They offer fruits, flowers and saffron etc. to their idols and adorn them with rich clothes and ornaments. Their ascetics cover their mouth with strips of cloth while speaking, otherwise they keep them in their hands. Again their ascetics have no objection to wearing yellow clothes.

The Sthânakavâsis do not believe in idol-worship at all. Their ascetics cover their mouths with strips of cloth for all the time and they do not use the cloth of yellow or any other colour (of course, except white). The Sthânakavâsis arose not directly from the Śvētâmbaras but as reformers of an older reforming sect, viz., Loṅkâ sect. The Loṅkâ sect was founded in about 1474 A.D. by Loṅkâsâha, a rich and well-read merchant of Ahmedabad, and the main principle of this sect was not to practise idol-worship. Later on, some of the members of the Loṅkâ sect disapproved of the lives of their ascetics, declaring that they lived less strictly than

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1. For a detailed and critical account of Târaṇapantâs vide, Nathuram Premi; Jaina Hitâisâhi, vol. 8, pages 290-303, 549-557; Vol. 9, pages 33-38; 198-206 and 532-539.
Mahâvîra would have wished. A Loṅkâ sect layman, Viraśi of Surat, received initiation as a Yatî and won great admiration on account of the strictness of his life. Many people of the Loṅkâ sect joined this reformer and they took the name of Sthânakavâśi (i.e. those who do not live in temples but in Apâsara) whilst their enemies called them Dhuṇḍhiyâ (i.e. Searchers. This title has grown to be quite an honourable one.)¹ Except on the crucial point of idol worship, Sthânakavâśis do not differ much from other Śvetâmbara Jainas ² and nowadays they invariably call themselves as Śvetâmbara Sthânakavâśis.

It is interesting to note that the two non-idolatrous sub-sects—Târapâpanthiś among Digaṃbaras and Sthânakavâśis among Śvetâmbaras—came very late in the history of the Jaina Church and to some extent it can safely be said that the Muhammedan influence on the religious mind of India was greatly responsible for their rise. In this connection Mrs. S. Stevenson observes: “If one effect of the Muhammedan conquest, however, was to drive many of the Jainas into closer union with their fellow idol-worshippers in the face of iconoclasts, another effect was to drive others away from idolatry altogether. No oriental could hear a fellow oriental’s passionate out-cry against idolatry without doubts as to the righteousness of the practice entering his mind. Naturally enough it is in Ahmedabad, the city of Gujerat that was most under Muhammedan influence, that we can first trace the stirring of these doubts. About 1452 A.D.³ the Loṅkâ sect, the first of the non-idolatrous Jaina sects, arose and was followed by the Dhuṇḍhiyâ or Sthânakavâśi sect about 1653 A.D., dates

   There is another version regarding the meaning of Dhuṇḍhiyâ. “They are so called because its followers were persecuted by the orthodox and compelled to take refuge in ruins (Dhuṇḍa).” Vide M. Millett: “Some Modern Jaina Sects—Hindu Antipathy to Jainas”, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXV (1895), page 147.


3. There is a slight difference in date. At other place the writer gives the date as 1474 A.D.

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which coincide strikingly with the Lutheran and Puritan movements in Europe."  

The foundation of Terāpanthī sub-sector was laid by Svāmī Bhikṣhukhanajī Mahārāja in V. S. 1817. He was formerly a Sthānakavāśī and when he perceived some difference in the religious practices of Sthānakavāśī ascetics, he began to convert the people to his own views. As he laid stress on the thirteen religious principles, viz., five Mahāvrataś, five Samītis and three Guptīs, his sub-sector was known as the Terāpanthī sub-sector. About 150 male ascetics, 300 female ascetics and one lakh ordinary laymen are the followers of Terāpanthī sub-sector. Terāpanthīs are non-idolatrous and are very finely organised by their Āchārya (i.e. religious head) and every year on the 7th day of the bright half of the month of Māgha a festival known as ‘Maryādā Mahotsava’ is celebrated when all ascetics and lay disciples, male and female, meet together and discuss the various problems of Terāpanthīs. The penance of Terāpanthīs is considered to be very severe.  

4. RISE OF SECTIONS AND SUB-SECTIONS

Apart from the splitting of the Jaina Church into various sects and sub-sects, we find that every main sect was further divided into several sections and sub-sections like Saṃgha, Gaṇa, Gachchha and Śākhā. In the Dīgambara sect, there arose a number of Saṃghas, viz., Mūla (i.e. original) Saṃgha, and others like Drāvida Saṃgha, Kāshṭhā Saṃgha, Māthura Saṃgha, etc. The Mūla Saṃgha was further split up into four small Saṃghas for very trivial reasons. On this subject the following stanzas occur in the ‘Nitisāra’, a work of Indranārādam:-

अहृदयी गुरुवरके संवत्सरदृष्ट्रधर्म परम् || ६ ||
सिद्धांतों नंदिणव: सेनसेनो महाप्रम: ||
देवसंव इति रूपरे स्वानसिध्विविद्वेषत: || ७ ||

   (ii) History of Osavālas, p. 234-238.
The Guru Arhadbalin effected the excellent organisation of Samghas: the Simha Samgha, the Na mdi Samgha, the famous Sena Samgha and the Deva Samgha were well-known as they were distinguished by the places of their establishment. Thus those who used to keep their rainy season’s retreat in the den of a lion formed into a Simha Samgha, those in the lower part of a tree of the Na mdi species, Na mdi Samgha, those under the bushes, Sena Samgha and those in the house of a courtesan named Devadatta, Deva Samgha. Further, in the Samghas there were small sections like Gapas and Gachchhas, e.g., the Na mdi Samgha had Balatkara Gapa and Parijata Gachchha.

Even though there were sections and sub-sections among the Digambaras, really there was no difference in them regarding religious practices and beliefs and it should be remembered that this fact was impressed on lay disciples. In this connection ‘Nitisara’ observes that:

गणगृहात्यक्तलोकयो जातास्ते परलोक्यदयः ।
न तत्र भेदः कोडयक्ति प्रमृणयादितु कर्मसु ||१८ ||
चतुःसंगेन नरे यस्तू कुश्ते भेदभावनाम् ।
स सम्पूर्णात्मानाति: संसारे संवर्त्यवरम् || १२ ||
न तत्र प्रतिमाभेदो न प्रायद्वितकर्मम्: ।
नाचारवाचनापवाचनाम् विशेषतः: || १२ ||

The Gapas, Gachchhas and others that have arisen from them, are the grantors of eternal bliss. There is between them no difference whatever in their monastic and other practices. If a man imagines any difference in the four Samghas, he has travelled beyond the truth and is gone completely into the world. In them there is no difference of images nor of penitential observances, nor is there any distinction in their rules and readings.¹

A number of Gachchhas came into being in the Svetambara sect also. They originated from the different Jaina teachers, who assumed themselves as heads of their own Gachchhas, alleging

differences in religious practices and holding different interpretations of the texts of the Śūtras, i.e., holy scriptures. The literature of Śvetāmbara sect has preserved the list of the Śūris or hierarchs, right from Ārya Sudharman, Mahāvīra’s successor as head of Jaina Church, noting down the important events during their time. Therein, we find that after Udyotana Śūri, his eighty-four disciples started eighty-four Gachchhas as all of them were created Āchāryas¹ by him. This happened in 937 A.D. at a place named Teli near the famous Mount Abu. The following is a list of the names of the Gachchhas² commonly found and most of them have become now extinct.

1. Āgama  2. Añchala  3. Anpuri
34. Ghaṁghodharā  35. Ghogerhā  36. Ghoshavāla
40. Jalori  41. Jarṅgorhā  42. Javāharaka
43. Jheraṁtiyā  44. Jīrāvalā  45. Chhapaṇa

¹ For the names of these 84 Āchāryas vide Vidhipaksha (Añchala) Gachchhīya Mboṭı Paṭṭāvali, p. 70–74.
² For the names of 84 Gachchhas please see the following:
   (iii) Vidhipaksha (Añchala) Gachchhīya Mboṭı Paṭṭāvali, p. 70–74.
   It is interesting to note that these lists do not agree in various respects.
58. Kuchorā 59. Kutubapura 60. Lumbāka
64. Mandovara 65. Manghosha 66. Maladhora
67. Masena 68. Māthura 69. Muhasorarha
70. Muraṃdavala 71. Nadola 72. Nagadraha
73. Nagarakaṭa 74. Nagaravala 75. Nāgemdra
76. Nagori 77. Nāgapura 78. Nanavala
82. Pālanapura 83. Pallikiya 84. Pallivala
85. Pañchabahali 86. Pārvvachandra 87. Pippalakā
88. Pūrnatalla 89. Pūrma 90. Rāmasena
91. Raṅgavijaya 92. Revati 93. Rudrapalliya
94. Sāgara 95. Sañchara 96. Sāmderaka
97. Sañjāta 98. Sarasvati 99. Saravala
100. Sārdhapunamīya 101. Sevantara 102. Siddhāṅṭa
103. Siddhapura 104. Soraṭha 105. Surana
106. Tanavala 107. Tapā 108. Thambhana
109. Treṅgaliyā 110. Tribhaviyā 111. Upakesa
112. Ustavala 113. Utabiya

Like Mārtipūjakas, the Sthānakavāsī Svetāmbaras also have been sub-divided into 32 Gachchhas.  

6. ATTEMPTS OF RECONCILIATION

From the above discussion it will be seen that the Jaina Church which was one and undivided at the time of Mahāvira has now been split up into sects, sub-sects, Saṅghas, Gaṇas, Gachchhas, etc. Apart from the religious divisions existing at present there might have been other divisions in the past. Such divisions must have flourished in the past but it appears that they could not survive up to the present day for want of followers or some other

1. Nahar and Ghosh: Epitome of Jainism, p. 668-670. It is regretted that the original source does not use diacritical marks for the names of Gachchhas.
reasons. As an instance the name of ‘Yāpanīya’ or ‘Yāpya’ Saṅgha can be cited. This Saṅgha was established by Śri Kalaśa Āchārya at Kalyāṇa town in Gulbarga District. Like Svetāmbaras, it recognised the existence of sacred books and believed that women could attain salvation and saints could take food after attaining omniscience; but at the same time it was, like Digambaras, against using clothes and it followed the rules and regulations of Digambara ascetics. Neither its literature nor any of its followers is existing today. It appears that this Saṅgha was a connecting link between the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras or probably it was a solution to iron out the differences between the two sects. But this solution was not, it seems, accepted by the people and as such it had to remain as a separate Saṅgha and vanish within a short period for want of following. Afterwards no attempt worth the name was made in the long history of the Jaina Church to cement the outstanding differences between the sects and among the sub-sects within a sect. On the contrary it is a pity that more importance was attached to small differences of practice and this ultimately gave rise to various Saṅghas, Gachchhas, etc. The main difference between the Mūla Saṅgha and Kāśthā Saṅgha of Digambaras lies in the fact that while the ascetics of the former use the bunch of peacock feathers for warding off insects, those of the latter use a tuft of cow’s tail’s hair. There was a third section which did away with the use of a bunch or tuft and hence it was called ‘Nīhpichchhika Saṅgha’. Even though the differences were meagre, the Mūla Saṅgha declared the other two Saṅghas as Jainābhāsa, i.e., false Jaina Saṅghas. Exactly on the same lines various Gachchhas like Kharatara, Aṇḍhal, Paṇḍimīyaka, Kaṭuka, etc. arose among the Śvetāmbaras due to little differences and there was practically constant rivalry among them. Books like Kupakshakauśikasaha-


2. It may, however, be noted that Śāktaśāyana alias Pālyakārti is described as a Yāpanīya, and three works, namely, a Sanskrit grammar, a treatise on Strimukti and another on Kevalibhukti are attributed to him.
srakiraṇa, Tapomatakuaṭṭna, Aṇḍālamatadalana, indicate this spirit of rivalry.\(^1\) Thus it will be found that there is nothing like unity in the Jaina Church but on the contrary there is a vivid tendency to magnify the differences and to split up the Jaina Church into small sections spread all over India. Moreover there was not during the last 2000 years even a single powerful personality in the Jaina community who could iron out the differences between the two main sects which insist more on their mutual differences. It goes without saying that this unusually large number of religious sections or divisions in a small Jaina community can hardly serve as an incentive for unity in that community.

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1. Nathuram Premi; Jaina Religion and Its Sects.
   Ātmananda Birth Centenary Commemoration Volume, p. 197-201.
CHAPTER THREE

DIVISIONS IN THE JAINA COMMUNITY

Social Divisions

1. INTRODUCTION

Just as there is an unusually large number of divisions in the religious sphere of a small Jain community, we witness the same phenomenon, possibly in an aggravated form, in the social sphere of that community. We have seen that these religious divisions have created rival sections and sub-sections in the community to such an extent that sectarian feelings get an upper hand and make their adherents to forget the important fact that the Jaina Church was one and undivided up to the time of Lord Mahāvīra. Further we have noticed that various sub-sects arose very late in the history of the Jaina Church and that in many cases their rise was inevitable in the sense that they were created with a view to meet the demands of the changing conditions in different parts of the country and to correct the laxity in the religious practices of serval religious heads and pontiffs. Moreover, the influence of teachings of other important religions on the religious practices and behaviour of the Jainas was but natural and cannot be over-looked; and in this connection we find that the Islamic doctrines were more or less responsible for creating the non-idolatrous sub-sections in the two main sects of the Jaina Church. It is proposed in this Chapter to show the manner in which the Jaina community got itself divided and sub-divided in the social field.

2. JAINA CONCEPTION OF VARNAS OR CLASSES

During the Vedic period (2000 B.C. to 300 B.C.) Pārśva-nātha was the first person to launch a successful attack against the religious beliefs and practices of Brahmanism and the same policy was vigorously followed by Mahāvīra. The latter succeeded in getting a large number of followers whom he organised into
a compact social order quite distinct from that of the Brahmanic social order of the Vedic period.

The Vedic society was composed of four classes, viz., Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. They are said to have come from the mouth, the arms, the thighs and the feet of the Creator. The particular limbs ascribed as the origins of these divisions and the order in which they are mentioned probably indicate their status in the society of the time. The fact that the four classes are described as of divine origin could be taken as a sufficient indication that they were of long duration and very well defined.¹ Not only the four classes were distinct and separate, but they were also affected by the spirit of rivalry among themselves. Even in early Ṛgvedic times the Brahmanical profession had begun to set up claims of superiority or sacredness for itself and accordingly we find that different rules were prescribed for different classes. Thus the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa lays down different modes of address for the four castes, differing in degrees of politeness, as ēhi, āgachchha, adrava and adhava. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa recommends the spring season to the Brahmins for the performance of sacrifices, the summer to the Kshatriyas, and the autumn to the Vaiśyas. The Atharva Veda proclaims in the strongest language sin, peril and ruinous consequences of insulting Brahmins and robbing them of their property.² This inordinate extension of the pretensions and prerogatives of the sacerdotal class naturally created cleavages in the society. The Kshatriyas were assigned a position next to Brahmins, and Vaiśyas and Śūdras were comparatively neglected.

The Ṛgvedic people, including the Brahmins, were fond of meat-eating and practically all the important ceremonies and sacrifices were attended with the slaughter of animals. The principle of ‘Ahitāṁśā’ or non-injury to animals was then unknown to the Rṣhis or ascetics. Offerings of flesh were frequently made to the gods, and the worshippers, including the priests, ate the offerings. The meat of cows and bulls does not seem to have been excluded.

It was a custom to entertain a distinguished guest with the meat of a bull or a barren cow. At the wedding ceremonies oxen were slain, evidently for the feeding of the invited guests. From the Brāhmanas we learn that the sage Agastya slaughtered one hundred bulls at a sacrifice. In fact, the sacrifice of cows and bulls was not only optional as in the case of the arrival of a guest, the Ashtaka sacrifices offered to the Fathers, and marriage, but compulsory on certain occasions and ceremonies. At Śrāddhas, or periodical oblations to the manes, the sacrifice of cows is recommended, as substances like rice, barley, sesame, fruits, etc. keep the manes satisfied for a month, the flesh of goats for six months, while beef satisfies them for a year.\(^1\) Meat was almost compulsory at the Annaprāśana (or first feeding with solid food) ceremony of a child and from then till death and cremation, sacrificing of animals was necessary on most of the ceremonial occasions of life.

In the latter part of the Vedic period women had practically been reduced to the status of Śūdras. Like the latter, they were debarred from the right of initiation and investment with the sacred thread. They were considered to have no business with sacred texts. In many passages we find that woman and Śūdra were bracketed together. The sight of women was considered as inauspicious and people were asked to avoid seeing women, Śūdras, dead bodies, etc.\(^2\) From this it appears that woman had practically no place in the religious life of the society and as such she was neglected and degraded by the people.

Thus the Vedic society was class-ridden in the sense that unusual importance was given to the Brahmin class to the detriment of other classes and nobody was allowed to change his class. People widely indulged in meat-eating and the sacrificical rites were the main religious rites. Women were completely excluded from the religious field. Against these glaring draw-backs of the Vedic society, so far as the historical period is concerned, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra had to fight. They recognised the division of society into four classes but based them on activities and not on birth. They gave full freedom to one and all, including women and

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Sūdras, to observe religious practices and admitted them into their religious order. They launched an attack against meat-eating and the performance of sacrificial rites. In this connection Dr. N. K. Dutt observes: “Animal sacrifice had been of so long standing among the Aryans and such was the respect for the authority of the Vedas which made it obligatory to sacrifice with flesh offerings, that the abolition of sacrifices, even of cows, became a very slow process, affecting only a very small minority, the intellectual section of the people, and might not have succeeded at all if Jainism and Buddhism had not over-whelmed the country and the mass of the people with the teachings of Ahiṃsā and inefficacy of sacrificial rites.” The doors of Jainism were thrown open to all and equal opportunity was given to everybody to practise religion according to his capacity. Those who followed religion as house-holders were known as Śrāvakas and Śrāvikās and those who observed it fully by leaving their houses were called as Śādhus and Śādhvis.

After Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, various Jaina Āchāryas made no distinction whatsoever among people in the matter of following religion and conceived that the Varṇa system, that is, the division of society into four Varṇas or classes, is based upon differences in professions. In their view birth played no part in determining the class or Varṇa of a particular person. As regards the division of the society-into four Varṇas Jinasena Āchārya states in the following manner.

मनुष्यजातितिर्थ साध्वानमोदयोद्रवः ||
ब्रजभेदः हि तद्भभेदः चातुर्विचित्यभिस्वते ||
ब्राह्मणं ब्रतसंस्कारात् क्षत्रियः: शक्तिवर्णात् ||
वर्णोपथर्जिनान्त्ययात् शालो न्यग्रिहितसंस्क्रयात् ||

The whole mankind came into existence due to the rise of Jātis Nāma-Karma; and the mankind was divided into four categories of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Sūdra according to the

3. Ādi Purāṇa, Parva 38, 45-46.
differences in the vocations they followed for their livelihood. Those who observed ‘Vratas’ (i.e. religious injunctions to a greater degree) were known as Brāhmaṇas, those who carried weapons as Kshatriyas, those who acquired wealth by just means as Vaiśyas and those who maintained by resorting to low professions as Śūdras.

In the same way Āchārya Ravishena asserts¹ that it is not birth but activities that determine one’s class in the society.

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चित्र्कृत गृहद्विकानां च मानवानां प्रकृतिपरते 
क्राहण्यं कुणयोगोऽनं त्रु तथोनिसमवात् ||
न जातिस्मिः तत्त्वां काविन्द्र गुणा: कल्पणाकारणम् ||
वृत्तधिपि चाण्डालं तं देवाभास्किं चाहास्खं विद्वः ||
चाँदुवंशम यथान्यह्म चाण्डालादिविशेषणम् ||
सर्वासारसनेडैन प्रसिद्धं शुभं गतम् ||
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The Brāhmaṇahood of best ascetics as well as of ordinary people is considered on their actions and not on their birth in the Brāhmaṇa class. No class has been despised. The actions alone lead to good prosperity. Gods regard a Chāṇḍāla, i.e., an outcast, as a Brāhmaṇa if he follows religious mode of life. The epithets of classes and Chāṇḍāla which are applied to mankind are famous in this world due to the difference in their ways of life.

Āchārya Amitagati also attaches no importance to birth and considers one’s mode of life as the determinant of one’s class.²

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आचारायामेवेवते जातीनां मेकलपयनम् ||
न जातिराज्जव Yi नीता कापिलितिरिक तिः ||
मानवश्रीतिवादीनां च गुणमेव परततः ||
एकैव मानवी जातिराचरण विभण्यते ||
शीतयथम गतः स्वर्गं नीचजातिभवा अपि ||
कुर्सीतं न एव प्रात्ता: शीतसेषमन्तिन: ||
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1. Padma Purana, prava XI, 200, 203 and 205.
2. Dharma-pariksha; Parichocheda XVII; 24–25, 31–33.
The idea of differentiation of classes comes in only because of differences in the ways of life. No single class has been settled as that of the true or real Brahmin class. Really there is only one class of four divisions, viz., Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiyās and Śūdras, and that is the class of human beings. They have been divided because of differences in the ways of life. People of good conduct had attained heaven even though they were born in low families and on the contrary men devoid of good conduct and restraint had gone to hell in spite of the fact that they had taken birth in high families. A class is formed by following a particular mode of life and it perishes when that mode is left and that is why wise people should respect ways of life only. The good people should not have pride in any class as it leads to degradation but they should observe good conduct which might give them high position.  

It is clear that the Jaina religion as such is not concerned in dividing the society into classes. The division was effected by the people with a view to facilitate their living. The classes were not hereditary but they were based on the ways of life. It naturally follows that as a class is composed of persons observing a particular mode of life, if that mode is changed a person has automatically to change his class. There was no restriction to change the class. On the contrary it was for each person to decide in what class to enter. Jainism has enjoined upon a person to perform fifty-three rites (i.e. Kriyas) in his life and among those the 18th rite is that of Varṇa-lābha, i.e., getting into a class. After completing his education and marriage ceremony, a person

1. For a similar denouncement of the division of society into four classes based on birth and for the necessity of considering all people on the same level see Varāngancharita, XXV, 2-11.

2. Ādi Purāṇa, Parva 38, Stanzas 55-62 and Parva 39, Stanzas 61-71. Also see Chapter V, section (12).
should approach some leading members of the class and request them to admit him into their class. The leaders also reciprocate his wishes and allow him to get into their class. Thus admitted he attains the same status as that of the others.¹ This is what is known as Varṇa-lābha Kriyā.

From the above discussion it will be seen that the society as envisaged by Pārśvaṇātha, Mahāvīra and other Āchāryas was a society wherein classes were not watertight compartments and complete freedom was granted to the people to change to the class of their own aptitude. The society was not divided into distinct separate sections and no differentiation was made in the status of the classes. All were considered as different ways of life and utmost importance was attached to individual character and mode of behaviour. There was no room for anybody to feel that he was neglected or degraded as he was free enough to follow any profession he liked and he could observe all religious rites and practices along with others. It is important to note that Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra were the main divisions and nowhere in ancient literature even a mention has been made of the castes existing as at present in the Jaina community. The caste system is a comparatively later development in the Jaia community and it appears that the castes might have arisen from the former four classes.² It is stated that the persistent Brahmanical tendency to give a hereditary character to occupational instincts by birthright led to the formation of castes and castes within castes. Even though the early records of the Jainas, along with those of the Buddhists, reveal a powerful movement of thought counteracting this rapidly increasing tendency,³ still it is a fact that later on the Jainas formed in their community a large number of castes and sub-castes.

We now turn to the discussion of castes in the Jaina community.

¹. Ādi Purāṇa, Parva 39, Stanz 71.
³. Law, B. C.: India as Depicted in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 143.
3. SOME IMPORTANT THINGS ABOUT JAINA CASTES

At the outset we should remember some important things about castes in the Jaina community. In the first place, the exact number of Jaina castes is not available. Proverbially it is said that there are eighty-four castes in the Jaina community. As regards the number 84 it is believed that once a rich Jaina of Padmāvatī town invited at his place members of the Jaina community from all places to consider the possibility of establishing one Vaiśya-Mahāsabhā (i.e. Central Association of Traders) and in response to this invitation Jaina representatives from 84 places participated in the function. From that time representatives of different places were considered as belonging to different castes and as the representatives came from 84 places there became 84 castes in the Jaina community. The names of these castes and the places from which they originated are given in Appendix I.1 There is another list of 84 original castes in the Jaina community and they are entered in Appendix II.2 If we compare the names of castes included in the two Appendices, it will be found that the first 26 caste names are common to both and the remaining names of castes in the one are not found in the other. This means that the number 84 cannot be relied upon. Moreover these two lists are not exhaustive. There is a prayer in the name of 84 castes known as ‘Chavaryāṃśi-Jñāti-Jayamālā’3 and many of the caste names mentioned in this prayer are not found in the lists given either in Appendix I or Appendix II, for example, Kūmbaḍa, Rohiniṇīḍa, Vāyaḍa, Bhāṭerā, Ayavāla, Mahalavāla, Saharu, etc. Again a list of names of 84 Jaina castes is given by Prof. H. H. Wilson4 (Appendix III) and it will be noticed that many of the castes from this list are not found in the lists mentioned above. Further, it is believed that in the original 84 castes in the Jaina community as a whole, other groups of Jainas were admitted as separate castes

3. From Dharmasārārasamgraha or Daśalakṣaṇapādipūjā.
according to circumstances in different provinces, and in this way some provinces came to have their own 84 Jaina Castes. The Appendix IV and Appendix V give the names of Jaina castes from Gujaratha and Deccan respectively. Similarly a long list of Jaina castes in Gujaratha and Marwar is given by Lt. Col. William Miles. All this shows that several castes arose in the Jaina community in various parts of the country.

Secondly, apart from exclusive Jaina castes (i.e. castes in which all members are Jainas) we find that there are Jaina sections or divisions in several Hindu castes. These are mainly occupational castes some members of which happen to follow the Jaina religion and as such they form into distinct groups or sub-castes in those castes. It cannot be definitely said whether these small sections were converted to Jainism or they continued to follow the Jaina religion while the rest of the caste members changed their religion. In any case it appears that these sections are of sufficiently long standing and they have a fixed mode of behaviour with other sections of the same caste. Among the Devāṃgas, also known as Haṭṭakaras, Koshīs or Śālīs, there are 33 endogamous divisions of which the 10th is a Jaina division. Jaina Guravas, an endogamous division of Guravas, resemble local Brahmins in matters of religion and custom. They abstain from flesh and liquor and do not take food and water from any Hindu caste, even from Brahmins. They are mainly servants in village temples which, though dedicated to Brahmanic gods, have still by their sides broken remains of Jaina images. This, and the fact that most of the temple land grants date from a time when Jainism was the state religion, support the theory that the Jaina Guravas are probably Jaina temple servants who have come under the influence partly of Limāyāta religion and partly of Brahmanism. They are found mainly in Malvan Taluka of the Ratnagiri District.

In the north Gujarātha a few Mālis are Jainas and form a separate division of Jaina Mālis. 1 In the United Provinces there are Jaina sections among Rajputs and Unai or Unaya caste. 2 According to the 1911 census there are more than 125 Hindu and other castes among whom there are Jaina followers. 3 Thus we find Agaravālas among Jainas, Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists and Mussalmans. Moreover some Jaina castes completely merge into Hindus and consider themselves as Hindus. There was a sub-caste of Jaina Kalāras in the Central Provinces, but they are said to have gone to Hinduism. 4

Thirdly, as a small Jaina community is divided into more than 100 castes, we find that each caste forms a very small group. Excepting a few castes like Osavāla, Śrīmāla, Agaravāla, Khaṇḍelavāla, Saitavāla, Paravāra, Chaturtha, and Pañchama, the rest claim a meagre strength. Since all these small castes are endogamous, many have necessarily to remain unmarried and as such their population is fastly declining. There are nearly sixty castes whose population is less than one hundred. There are seventeen castes which are on the way of being wiped out. The population of ‘Disavāla’ caste according to 1901 census was 971, it fell to 355 in 1911 and by this time it might have possibly ceased to exist. There was ‘Kukēkāri’ caste in Berar but now there is not even a single person belonging to that caste. The same is the story of ‘Baṇjārā’ caste. 5 It seems that this is the reason why many castes mentioned in the lists are not found at present. There are, no doubt, new castes which are not found in the list mentioned above and their rise in recent times is explained by the fact that as the practice of re-admitting ex-communicated members into the caste after some sort of fine or penance has fallen into disuse, such out-cast persons, finding no other way, join together and form into a separate group. 6 Lādagā or Pañchā Śrīmālis,

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3. Census of India, 1911, Vol. II.

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Chau Sake Paravāras are instances in point.

Fourthly, along with the decline of population of Jaina castes we find the assimilation of one caste into another. Various causes can be attributed to the assimilation of one caste into another but the main reason seems to be to save the persons of declining castes from joining another religion. The present Athasake Paravāra caste might be a combination of two castes, viz., Ashta-Śākhā and Paravāra. The Ashta-Śākhā caste is not existing at present but there are historical evidences which go to show the prior existence of that caste. It is likely that for some reason both the castes might have mixed together and formed a new caste of 'Ashta-Śākhā Paravāra.' ¹ In the year 1906 of Vikrama Era the Simhapura caste was incorporated into the Narasimhapurā caste.² Seeing the declining population of “Bijāvarī” caste, the Khaṇḍelavālas incorporated them into their own caste. At times even non-Jainas were converted to Jainism and assimilated into another caste. When members of 'Padmāvatī Poravāla' caste found that Vaishnavas Brahmins were not ready to perform their marriage rites, they converted Gauda Brahmins to Jainism and maintained close relationships with them, by resorting to inter-dining and inter-marrying with them. Recently there was a proposal of incorporating ‘Budhelā’ caste into ‘Padmāvatī Poravāla’ caste. Some scholars think that in the social history of the Jaina community there might have been many instances of such assimilation.³ But at present the assimilation is not resorted to. On the contrary any such proposal is resented. The move of assimilating Pañchabisās into Golālāres was turned down.⁴

Fifthly, Jaina religion as such does not recognise the castes in the Jaina community. They were not found in the Jaina community from the very beginning. They are comparatively of a recent growth. If they were existing, they would have been men-

tioned by the Jaina Āchāryas in their biographical or other works. But it is a fact that no mention is made of them by the Jaina Āchāryas. The Jaina books do not give more importance to them than to consider them as a social practice. The castes are therefore not ancient at all; and it is most likely that they might have been formed during the last one thousand years.\textsuperscript{4} This is the view of Digambara Jainas. In response to a question whether the castes following the Jaina religion are according to the Jaina sacred books or not, when they were formed, Svāmī Ātmānanda, a Śvetāmbara Jaina ascetic, declared that the Jaina castes were organised by the Jaina Āchāryas of their own accord and that they were not found formerly at all.\textsuperscript{2} The Sthānakavāśī Jaina ascetics also made it clear that the caste-system was not sanctioned by the Jaina religion.\textsuperscript{3}

Sixthly, it is interesting to note that only a few castes like Osavāla, Poravāda, Humbaḍa, Narasimgapurā and Nemā are common to both the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras. There are as many as 87 castes and sub-castes recorded among the Digambaras\textsuperscript{4} and 38 among the Śvetāmbaras.\textsuperscript{5} When a small community is divided into several sections, naturally the latter are composed of a very few members. According to the Digambara Jaina Directory, out of 87 castes there are 41 whose population is less than 500, 12 whose population is between 500 and 1000, 20 whose population is between 1000 and 5000 and there are only 15 castes whose population is more than 5000. There are some castes whose population is merely 2, 3, 4, 8, 16, 20, etc. The same is the case with the Śvetāmbaras. Excepting the castes of Śrīmāla, Osavāla, Poravāda, Nīmā, Bhāvasāra and Bhojaka, all the remaining castes have a population less than 500 in Gujarātha, where the Śvetāmbaras are mainly con-

\textsuperscript{1} ( i ) J. H., Vol. IX, p. 413 and Vol XI, p. 627.
\textsuperscript{2} ( ii ) Jain, P. D.; Vijāṭiya Vivāha Mīmāṃsā, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{3} ( iii ) Jain Hirālal; Jaina Itihāsa-ki Pūrva Pīṭhikā aura Hamārā Abhyutthāna, Part II, p. 42.
\textsuperscript{4} 4. Vide Digambara Jaina Directory.
\textsuperscript{5} 5. Vide Śvetāmbara Jaina Directory.
centrated, and there are several castes whose population is merely 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 15, 16, 21, etc. The names of castes and sub-castes with their population figures as given by the Digambara and Śvetāmbaraśtras are entered in Appendices VI and VII respectively. As many castes in the Jaina community are engaged in commercial activities, they are spread over a wide area, especially in big commercial towns and ports. In cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Nagpur, etc., nearly fifty Jaina castes can be easily found. As regards the names of different castes found in each Province, Appendix VIII gives the names of the Digambara Jaina castes with their population according to Provinces.¹ Even though castes have spread over a wide area, yet there are different places where different castes have been concentrated. Thus Śrimālīs will be found mainly in Gujarātha and Kathiawar, Osavālas in Gujarātha and Marwar, Khaṇḍelavālas in Marwar and Maḷava, Agaravālas in the U. P. and Delhi, Humbādas in Marwar, Paravāras in Bundelakhaṇḍa, Saitavālas in the C. P. and Berar, Chaturthas and Pañchamas in Karnātaka and Deccan States. This is the reason how they could keep up their identity up till now.

4. Jaina Caste System

We have seen that the caste-system among the Jainas is a social, and not religious, institution. Jainism does not recognise castes as such and at the same time the Jaina books do not specifically obstruct the observance of caste rules by the members of the Jaina community. The attitude of Jainism towards caste is that it is one of the social practices, unconnected with religion, observed by people; and it was none of its business to regulate the working of the caste system. Naturally the Jainas evolved a caste system of their own which is more or less similar to the caste system found in the Hindu society. This was bound to occur sooner or later because the Jainas were surrounded on all sides by the Hindus, and at times they were recruited from the Hindus, and as such they could not escape from copying the most important characteristic of the Hindu society, viz., its caste system. Practi-

¹ Such figures for Śvetāmbaraśtras are not available.
cally all noteworthy features of the caste-system among the Hindus found a place, to more or less extent, in the caste system among the Jainas. It is therefore necessary to see what are the prominent features of the Hindu caste system and to what extent they are discernible in the Jaina caste system.

Uptil now many efforts have been made by various scholars to give a workable definition of caste with a view to present its all remarkable aspects. But the system is such a peculiar and complex thing that no satisfactory definition, it seems, is possible and no unanimity on the subject could be expected. Senart states that a caste is a close corporation, exclusive and in theory, at any rate, rigorously hereditary. It is equipped with a certain traditional and independent organisation, including a chief and a council; meeting on occasions in assemblies endowed with more or less full authority. Often united in the celebration of certain festivals, it is further bound together by a common occupation and by the practice of common customs which relate more particularly to marriage, food and questions of ceremonial pollution. Finally, it rules its members by the exercise of a jurisdiction the extent of which is fairly wide and which by the sanction of certain penalties, especially of exclusion, either absolute or revocable, from the group, succeeds in enforcing the authority of the community.¹ According to Sir H. Risley, a caste may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name; claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine; and regarded by those who are competent to give opinion as forming a single homogeneous community. The name generally denotes or is associated with a specific occupation. A caste is almost invariably endogamous in the sense that a member of the large circle denoted by the common name may not marry outside that circle, but within the circle there are usually a number of smaller circles each of which is also endogamous.² Sir E. A. Gait observes that the main characteristics of a caste are the belief in a common origin held by all the members and the possession of the traditional occupation. It may be defined as an endogamous group

¹ Senart, E.; Caste in India, p. 20.
² Risly, H. H.; People of India, p. 68.
or collection of such groups bearing a common name, having the same traditional occupation, claiming descent from the same source, and commonly regarded as forming a single homogeneous community. Dr. S. V. Ketkar considers caste as a social group having two characteristics:— (i) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born; (ii) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group. Each one of such groups has a special name by which it is called. Several of such small aggregates are grouped together under a common name, while these larger groups are but sub-divisions of groups still larger which have independent names. Without attempting to make a comprehensive definition Dr. N. K. Dutt states that the most apparent features of the present day caste system are that the members of the different castes cannot have matrimonial connections with any but persons of their own caste; that there are restrictions, though not so rigid as in the matter of marriage, about a member of one caste eating and drinking with that of a different caste; that in many cases there are fixed occupations for different castes; that there is some hierarchical gradation among the castes, the most recognised position being that of the Brāhmāṇas at the top; that birth alone decides a man’s connection with his caste for life, unless expelled for violation of his caste rules, and that transition from one caste to another, high or low, is not possible. The prestige of the Brāhmāṇa class is the corner-stone of the whole organisation. Taking into account the views expressed by various scholars, the outstanding features of the Hindu society when it was ruled by the social philosophy of caste, unaffected by the modern ideas of rights and duties, are discerned by Dr. G. S. Ghurye to be six, viz., (1) Segmental division of society; (ii) Hierarchy; (iii) Restrictions on feeding and social intercourse; (iv) Civil and religious disabilities and privileges of the different sections; (v) Lack of choice of occupation; and (vi) Restrictions on marriage.

By segmental division of society it is meant that a society is divided into a number of social groups known as castes. Unlike other social associations, membership of a caste depends not on social position or calling or wealth or aptitude for a particular art etc. but on birth alone. A person automatically becomes a member of a caste when he is born in it. These castes have regular standing councils known as Pañchāyatas for dealing with offences committed by their members. Such offences cover a wide range of subjects like behaving against the established religious practices, violating marriage rules, refusing to act up to caste-customs, non-payment of debt, etc. Punishment is meted out to defaulters and it generally consists of ex-communication, temporary or permanent, or fine or both. As far as these matters are concerned members of a caste cease to be members of the community of which they form a part. Thus in this caste-bound society, community-feeling is restricted as the members owe moral allegiance first to the caste and then to the community. It is but natural that due to diversities in laws administered by different castes, different moral standards are set up in various castes, and distinct segments are formed in a community. We find the same process in the Jaina community. The community is divided into a large number of castes, each having its own Pañchāyata regulating the life of its members according to its established rules and practices.¹ There is a vast difference in the moral standards adopted by various castes. Generally speaking while the Jaina castes in the North did not allow widow remarriage, some of those in the Deccan allowed and practised it. There are particularly different rules and regulations for each caste regarding birth, marriage, death and other ceremonies. Whether it is a question of marriage or of disposal of dead, the help of caste fellows alone is sought. In this way what is known as a cultural gulf is formed between the castes. Śrīmālīs, Agaravālas, Paravaras, Saitavālas and others differ very widely in their caste customs. Thus the Jaina castes have created segmental divisions in the Jaina community.

One of the principal characteristics of caste society among

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¹ Glasenappa, H. V.: Jainism, pp. 326-327.
the Hindus is the hierarchy of the groups. The Hindu castes can be arranged in a more or less definite order of social precedence with Brahmins as the head of the hierarchy. The highest position given to the Brahmin caste is considered as the corner stone of the caste organisation in the Hindu society. It was against this supremacy of Brahmins, Jainism, as we have seen, rose in revolt and therefore in the Jaina community we find that even though there are numerous castes, no prominent position is assigned to any caste, not even to the Jaina Brāhmaṇas. As the highest rung of the ladder is not fixed, naturally the question of arranging castes in an order of social precedence does not arise. All castes are treated on a footing of equality by the community and no differentiation is accepted between castes as regards social prestige. But among some Jaina castes we find a feeling of superiority over other castes or particular divisions of a caste due to differences in moral standards, social practices, customs and manners. Thus the castes which do not allow widow marriage consider themselves as superior to those which allow and practise widow marriage. In some castes like Śrimālis, Poravādas, Humbaṇas and others there are sub-divisions like Visā, Dasā, Pāṇchā and Adhichā; and these are treated in a descending order of social respectability. Among the six castes of Terāpanthis, the Charanāgare caste is considered respectable as many religious and learned men happened to be from this caste.1 Similarly in the former Nizams Dominions Śrāvagis are regarded as superior in rank to the Poravādas because of the great regard the former entertain for animal life.2 In a small Lamechā caste there are two divisions, viz. Uṇchā and Nichā which suggest that a sense of high and low is present in them.3 There are three divisions of the Jaina in the North Kanara District, viz., the Chaturthas, the Tāgara-Bogāras, and the Priests. But the Chaturthas and Paśchamahas hold along from the Tāgara-Bogāras, whom they look upon as inferiors though they do not differ from them in religion.4 It should be remembered that all these are trivial and

individual differences mainly found within a caste or between a few castes and there is nothing like even a faint plea of arrangement of castes as a whole according to social precedence in the Jaina community.

Among the Hindu castes there are minute rules as to what sort of food or drink can be accepted by a person and from what castes. For this purpose all food is divided into two classes, 'Kachchā' and 'Pakkā', the former being any food in the cooking of which water has been used, and the latter all food cooked in clarified butter without the addition of water. In general a man of higher caste cannot accept 'Kachchā' food from one of the lower, though the latter may regale himself with similar food offered by a member of one of the castes accepted to be higher than his own. 1 These restrictions, strictly speaking, have no place in the Jaina community for the simple reason that in it there is no hierarchical organisation of castes and as such there is no ban on dining with any other member of the Jaina community irrespective of his caste. Recently Svāmi Ātmānanda declared that as Jainism considers all its followers as equals there should be no objection in taking food from any Jaina and in fact this was practised in the past. 2 From the inscription at Śravaṇa-Belagola in Mysore it appears that even though there were several castes, only a slight difference existed in reality between them in the 14th century of our era. 3 But later on, the Jaina, possibly due to the influence of the Hindus with whom they were closely in touch, introduced restrictions on feeding as a result of which inter-dining is prohibited in many castes. 4 Even now when caste feasts are given members from other castes are generally not invited.

Along with the restrictions on feeding there are also restrictions on social inter-course based on the plea of transmission of impurity by even the touch of a low caste person. Believing in this idea certain inhibitions were put by Hindus on Śūdras and other low caste people. Theoretically, the touch of a member of any caste lower than one’s own defiles a person of the higher caste. This belief was not copied by Jainas from Hindus and in the Jaina community there are no restrictions whatsoever as regards social inter-course between members of several castes. This might possibly be due to the fact that majority of the Jainas consider themselves as Vaiśyas and there are practically no Śūdras among Jainas.

When once the castes were graded according to degrees of respectability, certain restrictions, social as well as religious, were put on, and certain privileges were granted to different castes in the society. Amongst Hindus we find that some low castes are segregated and made to stay outside the villages. At times castes have been allotted distinct quarters of the village and called by the name of the caste, for example, Brāhmaṇa-āḷī, Sonāra-āḷī, etc. This tendency is not marked among Jainas. When Jainas were populous in the past it is not known whether they reserved some localities for particular castes among them. Most probably they must not have done this because castes are comparatively of a recent growth among them; and they do not accept the hierarchical order. However from the ancient Jaina literature it appears that some groups of people were despised and isolated from the civilised castes of the people. Amongst them are mentioned the peacock-tamers, acrobates, hunters, pole-dancers, fishermen, cobblers, etc.¹ These names suggest that the despised people were mainly flesheaters and as such they might have been isolated from the rest.

The religious disabilities among Hindus centred round in denying some religious rites to certain castes. The Vedic ritual was meant for high castes and the Purānic for low castes. The Śūdras were not allowed to study the most sacred literature. The innermost recesses of temples were reserved only for the Brahmins and no caste could employ any other priests than the Brahmins. In spite

of the fact that Jainism allows any person to follow the Jaina religion and to observe it religious practices, in reality we find that many persons have been debarred from practising certain religious rites. In some castes which have been divided into Visās and Dasās, at certain places the latter are not allowed even at present to perform worship in the temples. The ascetics decline to take food at the hands of people who practise widow remarriage. According to the Digambara sect the Śudras cannot give food to the Jaina ascetics, they are not entitled to Moksha (i.e. liberation), they cannot become ascetics of high order and they are possibly not allowed to worship.¹

Considering the importance attached to the Brahmins and the prominent position they occupied in the Hindu society, many privileges were granted to them. They were made to be respected by others, exempted from capital punishment and paying taxes, allowed to use some services free of charge, could get their lands assessed at distinctly lower rates and could avail themselves of lenient treatment when imprisoned. Even though the superiority of the Brahmins over other people is not recognised by the Jainas and generally the primary position is supposed to be assigned to the Kshatriyas instead of the Brahmins, the latter were still held in respect and esteem by the people. King Bharata is said to have fed them daily and distinguished them from others by putting the mark of Kaikañ—the jewel on their person. They were receiving gifts from the kings. Other people also gave away charity to them. Besides, the Brahmins enjoyed certain other privileges, such as immunity from paying taxes and capital punishment.²

Along with civil and religious restrictions there were restrictions on the choice of occupations. Members of a particular caste were not allowed to follow any calling they liked. Occupations were considered as hereditary and it was not proper for a person to abandon his occupation in favour of another, even though the latter may be more profitable. Like castes occupations were also graded as high and low and naturally members of high

castes were barred from following low occupations for fear of degradation of the whole caste. It was not only the moral restraint and the social check of one's caste-fellows that acted as a restraint on the choice of one's occupation, but also the restrictions put by other castes, which did not allow members other than those of their own caste to follow their callings. ¹ We have seen that the Jaina castes were named mainly after the places of their origin. Śrīmālis were so called because they came from Śrīmāla; Osavālas from Osia, Agaravālas from Agrohā, Khaṇḍelavālas from Khaṇḍelā, etc. In the circumstances no particular occupation can be assigned to these castes as hereditary occupation. The Jaina castes were not occupational in character. Members of a caste were allowed complete freedom to follow any occupation they liked. Later on when some members of a caste followed a particular occupation, divisions or sub-castes named after that occupation were formed in that caste. Among Dāsa Śrīmālis there is a division by name ‘Chaṇāpahuā’ ² which suggests that its members might be following in the past the occupation of selling grains and parched rice. Moreover, there are a few castes among the Śvetāmbaras which are known after their occupations, viz., Kaṇḍvi (sweet-meat sellers), Sutāra (carpenter), Darji (tailor), Moḍha-ghāṅchī (oil-crusher), Kachhiā (vegetable dealer), etc.

One of the important restrictions observed by members of a caste is regarding the extent to which the members are allowed to contract their matrimonial alliances. For this purpose generally a caste is divided into smaller groups known as sub-castes and members were enjoined to choose their partners from their own sub-castes. This is what is known as the rule of endogamy and if this rule is violated expulsion from the membership of the group is generally the penalty which the offending parties have to suffer. Thus the Brahmins from Mahārāṣṭra are divided into Deśastha, Koṅkaṇastha, Karhādā, etc. Brahmins and as a rule a Deśastha person cannot marry a Koṅkaṇastha lady and so on. Among the Jainas the castes are endogamous where there are no subdivisions

in the caste. Saitavālas, Chaturthas, Pañchamās, Khaṇḍelavālas, etc. marry among themselves. In other castes there are subdivisions which are treated as endogamous groups. Practically every important Jaina caste in the Gujarāthā is divided into Visā and Dasā and some are even further sub-divided. Thus the Śrīmālīs are divided into Visā Śrīmālīs, Dasā Śrīmālīs and Lādava Śrīmālīs. Among the Visā Śrīmālīs there are seven minor divisions and among the Dasā Śrīmālīs there are three. The three main divisions with their sub-divisions do not inter-marry.\(^1\) Further, among the Visā and Dasā Śrīmālīs territorial limits have been put for contracting matrimonial alliances. To illustrate, in the constitution of the Visā Śrīmālī sub-caste from Saurāshṭra (i. e. mainly from Junagadh, Dhoraji, Vanathali, and Jetapura Talukas) it is laid down that their members should keep matrimonial relations with the Visā Śrīmālīs living up to Bhavanagar, Veraval, Porbunder, Jamanagar and Mangrol and not beyond this limit even though the other party may be a Visā Śrīmālī. Moreover a bride-groom from Bhavanagar and other places must be below 25 years, a condition which is not applicable to the bridegrooms from proper Saurāshṭra.\(^2\)

From the above discussion it will be noticed that excepting a few features of the Hindu caste system all other features were more or less present in the Jaina caste-system. Among the Jainas the castes were not arranged in a hierarchical order of respectability, no restrictions were put on social intercourse between different caste members and there was no lack of choice of occupation. In all other respects we can perceive and gauge the influence of the Hindus on the Jaina caste system. The caste system is deeply rooted in the social organisation of the Jainas and in consequence a small Jaina community spread throughout the length and breadth of India is divided and sub-divided into water-tight compartments. So long as the rules of endogamy are going to be observed by the Jainas, these segmental divisions will perpetuate, a cultural gulf will be created between them and caste and sub-caste feeling

2. 'Śrī Saurāshṭra Visā Śrīmālī Jāätino Dharo', p. 39.
instead of community feeling will be prominent. All the drawbacks of caste-system are present among the Jainas. Social effects of this caste system are described later on. It will suffice for the present to state that caste system exists in the Jaina community in a more or less old form and all its important features are discernible even now.

The number of castes in the Jaina community is so large that their investigation in detail will form a separate subject matter for research. Therefore the general information about some important Jaina castes in all parts of India is given below.

5. Jaina CASTES IN THE NORTH

(i) Agaravāla or Agravāla

The Agaravāla is one of the most important castes of Dīgambara Jainas. The Agravālas are found mainly in the United Provinces, the Punjab, Rajputana and Malwa. There are Agaravālas among Hindus also and are mostly Vaishṇavas. As the Vaishṇavas are vegetarians and in custom and manners agree with Jaina Agaravālas, inter-marriage between the two sections of Agaravālas is allowed and the wife adopts the religion of her husband. In this connection Mr. Risley observes that "Owing perhaps, to this uniformity of practice in matters of diet, these differences of religious belief do not operate as a bar to inter-marriage, and when a marriage takes place between persons of different religions, the standard Hindu ritual is observed. When husband and wife belong to different sects, the wife is formally admitted into her husband's sect and must in future have her own food cooked separately when staying in her mother's house." 3

There are various explanations regarding the origin of Agaravālas and they do not agree on all points. 4 Generally it is

1. See Chapter VII, Section 5 (c).
believed that Agaravālas are the descendants of King Agra Sena of Champāvatī in North India. He had 18 sons who were married to 18 daughters of a Nāga (i.e. Scythian) King. When Agra Sena died his 18 sons established a town Agrohā in the Punjab and they were called Agravālas from that time after their father. After the names of 18 sons, 18 gotras or exogamous sections were formed. For some reason the last gotra is considered as a half gotra and thus there are 17½ gotras among Agravālas. There are considerable differences in the enumeration of these gotras. Messrs Crooke, 1 Risley, 2 Sherring, 3 P. D. Jain 4 and Rāmalālaji 5 give different lists. As the names given by Mr. Risley and Mr. Bhāratendu Hariśchandra, the author of the History of Agaravālas, correspond to each other they are given below and the rest will be found in Appendix IX: (1) Garga, (2) Goila, (3) Gāvāla, (4) Batsila, (5) Kāsila, (6) Siṃghalā, (7) Maṃgala, (8) Bhaddala, (9) Tiṅgala, (10) Airāna, (11) Tairāna, (12) Tiṅgala, (13) Tittala, (14) Mittala, (15) Tundala, (16) Tāyala, (17) Gobhila, (17½) Goina.

Agaravālas again have the divisions of Dasā and Visā, the 'tens' and the 'twenties' like other Baniyā castes. One account of their origin is that when the daughters of Nāga king married the sons of King Agra Sena, they each brought a hand maid with them and their descendants are the Dasās. 6 A third division has now come into existence in the Central Provinces, known as the 'Pāṃchā' or 'Fives'; these are apparently of still more doubtful origin than the Dasās. 7 All these sections do not inter-dine or inter-marry. But if a man of the Visā and Dasā cannot obtain a wife from his own group he will sometimes marry in a lower group.

Agaravālas are considered to be converted to Jainism by Śrī Lohāchāryaśī between 27 and 77 years of Vikram Era. They were originally Kshatriyas but after taking to commercial activities they are regarded as Vaiśyas. They are one of the most respectable and enterprising of mercantile tribes. They are bankers, money-lenders and landholders. The greatness of Agrohā, their original settlement, is commemorated in the legend told by Dr. Buchanan that when any firm failed in the city, each of the others contributed a brick and five rupees which formed a stock sufficient for the merchant to recommence trade with advantage.¹ Two of Akbar’s famous ministers are said to have been Agaravālas, viz., Toḍara Malla, who first introduced an assessment of land revenue based on the measurement and survey of land, and Madhusāha, who introduced ‘Madhusāhi’ pice.²

(ii) Osavāla:

Osavāla is one of the well-known castes of Jainas. Osavālas are concentrated in Rajputana States, Malwa, Gujarathā and Kutch. Being adventurous they will be found in every important city of India. There are Osavālas among the Hindus also, but Osavālas are mostly Jainas and that too Śvetāmbara Jainas. Even though marriages between the Jaina and Hindu Osavālas are allowed by custom, they are not popular, and marriages are generally contracted among Jaina Osavālas only.

The name Osavāla is derived from the town of Osiyā or Osiyānagara in Mārvār. According to one traditional legend³ of their origin the Rājā of Osiyānagara had no son and obtained one through the promise of a Jaina ascetic. The people then drove the ascetic from the town, feeling that the Rājā would become a Jaina; but Osadevi, the guardian goddess of the place, told the ascetic, Śrī Ratnaprabha Sūri, to convert the Rājā by a miracle. So she

   (ii) Jain, B. L.: Agravāla Itihāsa, p. 21.
3. (i) Jñanasundararājī: Jaina Jāti Mahodaye, Chapter IV. Appx. I.
   (iii) Śripālanandarājī: Jaina Sampradāya Śīkṣā, pp. 607–620.
took a small hank (punī) of cotton and passed it along the back of the saint, when it immediately became a snake and bit Jayachanda, the son of the Rājā, in the toe, while he was asleep beside his wife. Every means was tried to save his life, but he died. As his corpse was about to be burnt, the ascetic sent one of his disciples and stopped the cremation. Then the Rājā came with the body of his son and stood with hands clasped before the saṅt. He ordered that it was to be taken back to the place where the prince had been bitten, and that the princess was to lie down beside it as before. At night the snake returned and licked the bite, when the prince was restored to life. Then the Rājā, with all his court and people, adopted the Jaina religion and those who were thus converted were known as Osavālas. Another version of the story of Osavālas' origin is that the Śrīmāla King Desala allowed none but millionaires to live inside his city walls. One of the lucky citizens, a Śrīmāli Baniyā named Ruada, had a brother named Sāada, whose fortune did not come up to the Chief's standard of wealth. Sāada asked his brother to help him to make up the required million; but as he met with no encouragement he and Jayachanda, a discontented son of the king of Śrīmāla, and many Śrīmālis, Rajputs and others left Śrīmāla and settling in the town of Mandovada, called it Osa or the frontier. Among the settlers were Śrīmāli Baniyas, Bhaṭṭī, Chohāna, Gheloṭa, Goḍa, Gohila, Paramāra, Rāṭhoḍa and Thara Rajputs, all devout worshippers of Śiva. Ratna Sūrī, a Jaina ascetic, by working miracles, converted Jayachanda, their king, and all the settlers and calling them Osavālas, formed them into one caste. The first story is believed to have happened in the 400th year before Vikrama Era and the second in 222 of Vikrama Era. But recent researches in the origin of Osavālas do not accept these dates and now it is stated and generally accepted that the Osavāla caste was formed probably between 500 to 1000 years of Vikrama Era.¹

According to Col. James Tod Osavālas are all of pure Rajput

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descent, of no single tribe, but chiefly Pañvaras, Solaṅkis and Bhājas. From the legends mentioned above and the fact that their head-quarters are in Rajaputana, it may safely be asserted that the Osavālas are of Rajput origin. When these Rajputs were converted they were divided into 18 gotras or exogamous sections, viz. 1. Tātāhaḍa, 2. Baṇḍa, 3. Karnāṭa, 4. Balaharā, 5. Morāksha, 6. Kūlahaṭa, 7. Birahaṭa, 8. Śrīśrimāla, 9. Śresṭhi, 10. Suchinti, 11. Āichapāṅga (or Ādityanāma), 12. Bhūri (or Bhaṭevarā), 13. Bhādra, 14. Chihaṭa, 15. Kumbhatha, 16. Dīndū, 17. Kanoja, 18. Laghu-Śresṭhi. Later on due to further additions made to Osavālas by conversion, the original 18 gotras were split up into 498 sub-gotras and afterwards the number was still more expanded. It is believed that there are 1444 gotras or sub-gotras among Osavālas. From the lists of available gotra names we can find certain principles on which they were formed. Some gotras were named after birds and animals (viz. Śiḷāla, Kāga, Garuḍa, Hiraṇa, Bakara, etc.), some after places of residence (viz. Rāmapuriyā, Chitauḍa, Bhopāla, Pātaṇi, etc.), some after professions (viz. Bhaṇḍāri, Koṭhāri, Khajāṅchī, Kānuṅga, Daftari, etc.) and some after occupations (viz. Ghiyā, Teliyā, Kesāriyā, Gāndhī, Sarāfa, etc.). It seems that some gotras are prevalent in certain localities and some in other localities. The names of 84 gotras found among Osavālas of the U. P. are given by Crooke, W.

Like other Baniyā castes Osavālas are divided into Visā and Dasā. The common story of the origin of the division is that an Osavāla widow, contrary to the rule against widow marriages, lived with a Jaina priest and had two sons by him. The sons grew rich and hit upon the following plan for forcing their caste-

   (ii) Rāmalālājī : Mahājāna-vamsa-muktāvali, pp. 140-146.
   (iii) Śripālandhrajī : Jaina Sampradāya Śikṣā, pp. 620 and 656-661.
fellows to overlook their illegitimate descent. At the town of Raya, they made grand preparations for a dinner and asked the Osavālas, who, not knowing that the hosts were of illegitimate birth, attended the party in large numbers. A widow told her son the history of the men who were giving the feast. And he went before the assembled Osavālas and begged of them to allow his mother to remarry. They asked why he had come there to make his request and he told them the story of the birth of the two brothers who had invited them to dinner. On hearing that their hosts were outcasts there was a sudden confusion among the guests. Those who had touched the food became the followers of the two brothers and came to be called Dasās, while those who had not touched the food and remained pure were called Visās. The use of Visā and Dasā as names of caste sub-divisions is common. The terms seem to mean Visā or twenty in the score, i.e., pure blood, and Dasā, or ten in the score, i.e., half-caste.

Along with Visā and Dasā there are other divisions like Pāñchā, Adhaiyā, etc. according to, it appears, the purity of their lineage and there are different restrictions in different places regarding inter-marriage and inter-dining between these divisions. Generally speaking these are hypergamous divisions. The Pāñchā sub-caste permits the remarriage of widows and those degraded from Pāñchā are taken into Adhaiyā. Moreover difference of religion or sect is no bar to marriage among Osavālas, as, for example, a Digambari Osavāla can marry a Śvetāmbarī girl, or a Jaina Osavāla boy can marry a Vaishnavā Osavāla girl or vice versa. Further Osavālas can marry with other good Baniyā sub-castes so long as both the parties are Jainas. Thus in Bombay, Dasā Osavālas intermarry with the Dasā groups of Śrimali and Poravāḍa Baniyās.¹

Osavāla is the most prominent trading caste in Rajputana. As they are derived from the Rajput stock, there were several generals of repute among Osavālas up to the advent of the British in India.² They have also frequently held high offices, such as Divāna or Minister and Pay-master in Rajputana states.³ In

Jodhpur, which is their strong-hold, there were nearly 100 ministers in the last 450 years. By their statesmanship and valour they helped various kingdoms loyally and faithfully in the days of prosperity as well as in the times of decline. The history of Jodhpur, Bikaner, Udaipur, Indore, Kishengarh States, among others, stands as testimony for their unswerving devotion to public duty. The following description of an Osavāla Jaina by Col. Tod deserves reproduction. “Ram Singh Mehta (an Osavāla Jaina Mahājana) was a fine specimen of the non-militant class of these countries, and although he had seldom passed the boundaries of Mevar, no country could produce a better specimen of a courteous gentleman; his figure tall, deportment easy, features regular and handsome, complexion fair with a fine slightly curbed beard and mustachios jet back........ He is of the Jaina faith and of the tribe of Osi, which now reckons 1,00,000 families all of Rajput origin, and descended from the Agnikula stock.”

{ iii } Sṛimāli:—

Sṛimāli is a well-known caste of Jaina Baniyās. Sṛimālis are concentrated in Gujaratha, Kathiavar and Rajputana. They are found among Hindus also but they are mostly Jainas and especially Śvetāmbara Jainas. According to the Śvetāmbara Jaina Directory Sṛimālis claim the largest number of members among the castes following the Śvetāmbara sect.

The name Sṛimāli is derived from Sṛimāla (modern Bhimāla) a place situated in Rajputana on the border line of Marwar. Two accounts are told about the origin of this caste. According to one, about 400 years before Vikrama Era Āchārya Svayamprabha Sūri converted a large number of the Hindu families to Jainism at Sṛimāla. Other Āchāryas thereafter converted more families and grouped them with the former converts. This process went on for


a considerable time and the persons so converted were formed into the Srimāla caste. ¹ According to another mythical account, at Srimāla Lord Vishnu created, to please Lakshmī, 90,000 Baniyās to maintain 45,000 Brahmins. The Baniyās were created out of her garland, according to one account, and out of his thigh according to another. ² Of the two stories the first seems to be more plausible. Later on 135 gotras or exogamous sections were formed the names of which are given in Appendix IX. ³

The Srimālis are divided into Visās, Dasās and Laḍavās. About the origin of the Visās and Dasās three stories are told. According to one, those Srimālis who had first settled after wandering through four quarters (Vidiśā) were called Visā and those who settled after wandering the four directions (Diśā) were called Dasā. ⁴ According to another story, those Srimālis who sprang from the right side of Mahālakshmī’s garland were called Visās and those from the left Dasās. According to a third, the Visās or twenties came to be so called because they are twice as high as Dasās or tens. The Laḍvā Srimālis were so called because they lived in the old Lāṭa Desā or South Gujurātha. Visā Srimālis are mainly Jainas and Dasā Srimālis Vaishñavas. Among the Visā Srimālis there are seven minor divisions, viz., (i) Ahamadābādis, (ii) Kaṭhāriyās, (iii) Pālhaṇapuriyās, (iv) Pāṭanis, (v) Soraṇṭhiyās, (vi) Talabadas and (vii) Tharadiyās; and among the Dasā Srimālis there are three, viz., (i) Horasathā, (ii) Chapāpahuā and (iii) Idadiyā. The Laḍavā Srimālis have no minor divisions. The three main divisions with their sub-divisions eat together but do not inter-marry. In some parts Dasā Srimāli Jainas marry with Dasā Srimāli Vaishñavas or with Dasā Osavāla and Dasā Poravāda Jainas.⁵

Because of their great number among Svetāmbaras, Srimālis occupy a prominent position. They are great merchant princes

¹ Jānansundarāji : Jaina Jāti Mahodaya, Chapter IV. Appendix II, pp. 92-100.
² Doshi, C. M. : Dasā Srimāli Jaina Baniyās of Kathiavār, pp. 41-42.
⁴ Doshi, C. M. : Dasā Srimāli Jaina Baniyās of Kathiavār, p. 54.
and take a keen interest in social activities.

(iv) **Poravāda**:

Poravāda is one of the important castes of Baniyā Jainas. Poravādas are found mainly in Marvar, Gujarātha, Kathiawar and Cutch. There are Poravādas among the Hindus and the relations between the Hindu Poravādas (known as Meśri Poravādas) and the Jaina Poravādas (known as Śrāvaka Poravādas) are cordial. Among the Jainas they are found in both the sects, viz., Dīgaṁbaraś and Śvetāmbaraś but they are mostly Śvetāmbaras.


In the beginning there were three sections among Poravādas, viz., (i) Pure Poravādas, (ii) Soraṇṭhiya Poravādas and (iii)
Kapola Poravādās.¹ Later on the Poravādās were divided into Visā, Dasā and Pāţchā Poravādās according to the degree of respectability. The Visā and Dasā divisions were constituted from the days of Vastupāla and Tejapāla in the 13th century A. D. and the same story like that of division of Osavālas is told. Vastupāla and Tejapāla were sons of a Poravāda father who had married a young Srīmālī widow. Those who dined with Vastupāla and Tejapāla were known as Dasā and those who refused to dine with them as Visā.² Visā Poravādās are mainly Jainas and Dasā Poravādās mainly Vaishpavas. Visā and Dasā Poravādās eat together but do not intermarry. Dasā Poravādās have begun to marry with Dasā Srīmālis and Dasā Osavālas but the old practice of inter-dining and inter-marriage between Jaina and Vaishnava Poravādās has of late fallen into disuse.³ Along with religious awakening this might possibly be due to the fact that while Vaishnava Poravādās live mainly in Gujaratha, Jaina Poravādās are in Cutch, Kathiawar, Marwar and Gujaratha. Further, the Poravādās are sub-divided according to their places of residence, e. g., in Gujaratha they are known as Surāṭī, Ahamadābādī, Bharuchī, Kapaḍavaṇji, etc. and in Kathiawar as Bhāvanagarī, Jāmanagarī, Maṅgrolī, Porabandarī, etc. and there are hardly any relations between them. Practically all these divisions are found in Bombay City but there also they live as separate groups. Widow remarriage is not practised at present but it seems that it was allowed in the past, for Asarājā married Kumāraidevi, a young widow, from whom he had two sons, viz., Vastupāla and Tejapāla. Poravādās claim to have produced very capable persons most prominent among them are Vimala Śāha and Vastupāla, and Tejapāla, the well-known ministers of King Vira Dhavala in the 13th century A. D.

(v) Khaṇḍelavāla:—

Khaṇḍelavāla is another important caste of the Jainas. Khaṇ-

1. Jñānasundarajī: op. cit, Chapt. IV, Appendix II.
devālas are found among the Hindus also but they are mostly Jainas. They are all Dīgāṃbara Jainas and it is peculiar that practically there are no Svētāmbaras among Khaṇḍēlavālas. They are spread in Rajputana, Malwa, Bombay, United Provinces, Central Provinces and Bihar but more than three-fourth are concentrated in Rajputana and Malwa.

Khaṇḍēlavālas take their name from Khaṇḍēlā, a capital town in Jaipur territory, ruled by king Khaṇḍēlagīra of Chavhāna dynasty. There were 84 towns under the sovereignty of Khaṇḍēlā and they were governed by Rajputs of various dynasties like Sūryavarmśa, Somavarmśa, Hemavarmśa, etc. In the year 1 of Vikrama Era cholera broke out in a virulent form and with a view to subside it the King, under the influence of Brahmins, performed human sacrifice in which a Jaina ascetic was sacrificed. The epidemic, instead of lessening, grew in intensity. At that time a Jaina ascetic by name Jinasena Āchārya was on his tour in that province and the King enquired from him the reason of epidemic. The ascetic replied that it was due to sacrificing a Jaina ascetic and advised him to accept Jainism. Accordingly the King and the inhabitants of all 84 places embraced Jainism. Jinasena Āchārya formed a caste of them, named it as Khaṇḍēlavāla after the capital town Khaṇḍēlā and created 84 gotras out of 84 towns. A list of these gotras, towns, dynasties and their family deities will be found in Appendix XI. ¹ According to another account there were four brothers who were soldiers. One day they went out hunting and killed a favourite deer belonging to a hermit. He was about to destroy them by curse, when they promised to abandon soldiering and hunting. From them the present Khaṇḍēlavālas are descended.²

From the above account it appears that Khaṇḍēlavālas were originally Kshatriyas but later on became Vaiśyas by taking to commercial activities. They form an important section of

Digambara Jainas. It is interesting to note that like other Baniyā castes they are not divided into Visā and Dasā sections. They are big bankers, commercial magnates and land-holders.

(vi) Paravāra:

Paravāra is one of the well-known castes among the Jainas. Paravāras are found among the Hindus also but they are mostly Jainas. They are mainly Digambara Jainas and practically there are no Śvetāmbara Paravāras. They are spread over a wide area, viz., the Central Provinces, United Provinces, Rajputana, Malwa, Bihar and Bombay but they are concentrated in the Central Provinces where more than half of their population resides. Even in the Central Provinces Paravāras are found almost entirely in Saugar, Damoha and Jubbalpore Districts.

The origin of the Paravāras and of their name is not known, but there is some reason to suppose that they are from Rajputana. It seems likely that the Paravāras may be identical with Poravādas in which case they belong to Rajputana.1

Among the Paravāras Charanāgare or Samaiyā form a separate sectarian Jaina group. The Charanāgares reside principally in the Damoh and Chhindawara Districts of the Central Provinces. Charanāgare is one of the six castes following Tāraṇa-pantha or Samaiyā-pantha, a sub-sect of Digambaras. Charanāgares were formerly giving their daughters in marriage to Para-
vāras but this practice is said to have stopped. Like other Baniyā sub-castes Charanāgares are divided into Visā and Dasā. Intermarriage between the two sections occasionally occurs and the Dasā will take food from the Visā section, but the latter will not reciprocate except at caste feasts.2

The Paravāras themselves are divided into two endogamous sections, viz., Aṭha Sake Paravāras and Chau Sake Paravāras. The former will not permit the marriage of persons related more nearly than eight degrees, while the latter permit it after four degrees. The Aṭha Sake have the higher position and if one of them marries a Chau Sake he is degraded to that group. Besides


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this the Paravāras have an inferior division called Binaikiyā, which consists of the offspring of irregular unions and of widows who have remarried. Persons who have committed a caste-offence and cannot pay the fine imposed on them for it also are relegated to this sub-caste of Paravāras. There is a village by name Binaikā in the Saugor District but it is not known whether Binaikiyās are called after that place. What stigma is attached to Dasās in other castes, the same is implied by the name Binaikiyā. To use an honourable word this sub-caste is also known as Laharisena or Laghuśreṇī. The Binaikiyās themselves are distributed into four groups of varying degrees of respectability of which two are well-known, viz., Purāne Binaikiyās and Naye Binaikiyās. There are nearly 250 families in Purāne Binaikiyās and it cannot be said when they were degraded from Paravāras and had to form this sub-caste. Unlike Purāne Binaikiyās, the Naye Binaikiyās have more than 2000 families and every year its number increases by absorbing degraded people not only from Chau Sake Paravāras and Purāne Binaikiyās but also from castes like Sunāvāra, Golāpūraba, etc. In this way Naye Binaikiyās are rapidly increasing in strength and along with it are gaining social estimation. Now they are not specifically looked down upon. Formerly they were not allowed to enter the temples but of late they have constructed their own temples. If this process continues, it can be hoped that Binaikiyās will be assimilated with Paravāras in not too distant a future. On the contrary, Paravāras will have to request the Binaikiyās to enter in their fold because in view of their increasing strength and absence of former social stigma the Binaikiyās are recently asserting that they keep with the Paravāras relations only of Pakkī and not of Kāchhi.¹

(vii) Hūṁbāḍa or Hummāḍa:

Hūṁbāḍas are found both in the Jainas and the Hindus but they are mostly Jainas. There are Digambara as well as Śvetāmbara Jaina Hummāḍas but they are principally Digambaras. They are spread only in Rajputana, Malwa, Gujaratha and some districts of the Deccan.

As regards their origin it is stated that when the incessant quarrels between Bhūpatismīha and Bhavānisimīha, the two princes of Pātañā, were set at right by a famous Jaina ascetic Mānantuṅga Āchārya, Bhūpatismīha was pleased with the Āchārya and waiving his claim over the throne became his devotee. He once said to his guru "Hūṇ Baḍa Hūṇ" (हूण बड़ा हूण) and from that time his ‘guru’ named his caste as Humbaḍa. Humbaḍas are divided into the following 18 exogamous gotras:— 1. Kheraja, 2. Kamalesvara, 3. Kākaḍēśvara, 4. Utreśvara, 5. Mātreśvara, 6. Bhīmeśvara, 7. Bhadreśvara, 8. Viśvesvara, 9. Saṅkheśvara, 10. Gaṅgeśvara, 11. Aṃbeśvara, 12. Māmaneśvara, 13. Someśvara, 14. Rajiyāna, 15. Laliteśvara, 16. Rūgeśvara, 17. Kāśyapeśvara, 18. Budheśvara. According to another account they are said to take their name from Humaḍa, the guru or spiritual head who established the caste. They are also called Vāgadiya, from the Vāgada or wild country including Dungarpur, Partapgarh and Sagvd in Rajaputana where considerable members are still settled.

The Humbaḍas, like other Baniyā castes, are divided into Visā and Dasā. The sub-caste Dasā Hummaḍa was formed, like that of Binaikiyās, by people who were degraded or outcasted from the Hummaḍa caste. But steadily the strength of Dasā Hummaḍas increased and now they are ten times more than Visā Hummaḍas. The Dasās amassed wealth, built temples, rose in social estimation; and now—in consequence there is very little difference between the Visā and Dasā Hummaḍas. Inter-dining is allowed and recently instances of inter-marriage between the two sections have occurred. This is a fine example of how a degraded section regains its social position.

6. JAINA CASTES IN THE DECCAN

The important Jaina castes described above are mainly found in the Northern India, including Gujaratha, Kathiawar and upper districts of the Central Provinces. These castes nowadays

1. Rāmalālīji; op. cit., pp., 112-114.
are found in the Deccan and South India, but they have migrated there from the North for commercial purposes. The Jaina castes in the Daccan differ in many respects from those in the North. In the first place, there are only four main castes in the Deccan, viz., Saitavāla, Chaturtha, Pañchama and Bogāra, and three small castes, viz., Upādhyāya,1 Kāmbhoja2 and Harada.3 In the North we find a large number of big and small castes. The major castes have been already described and among the small castes a mention may be made of Golāpūraba,4 Golālāre,5 Asāthi,6 Ajudhyābāsi,7 Nemā,8 Narasipurā,9 Jaisavāla,10 Lohiyā,11 Pallivāla,12 etc. Secondly, many castes in the North have their counterparts in other communities. Thus Agaravālas, Osvālas, Śrīmālis, etc. are found among the Hindus also. But in the Deccan the names of the Jaina castes are not found in other communities. There are no Saitavālas, Chaturthas or Pañchamas among the Hindus. Thirdly, while in the North in some Jaina castes Digambara and Śvetāmbara divisions are found, in the Deccan there are no such divisions as the members of the Jaina castes in the Deccan belong to the Digambara sect only. We find that Osvālas, Śrīmālis, Poravādas, etc. are in Digambaras as well as in Śvetāmbaras but there are no Saitavālas, Chaturthas, or Pañchamas in Śvetāmbaras. Fourthly, we have seen that a large number of Northern castes have been divided into Visās and Dasās and sometimes further into Pañchās

and Ādhaiyās, but it will be noticed that in the Deccan castes there are no such divisions. It will be remembered that the Visā and Dasā divisions arose mainly on the point of widow remarriage; and those who practised widow remarriage were relegated to the Dasā section. No necessity of dividing the castes on the basis of allowing or not of widow re-marriage was felt in the Deccan. \(^1\) This is the main point of difference between the Northern and the Deccan Jaina castes. Fifthly, it can be mentioned that while Jainas in the North are rich and follow commercial activities on a big scale, those in the Deccan are comparatively poor and are mostly agriculturists and petty traders. Sixthly, Jaina castes in the Deccan have their own Jaina priests, and they do not employ the Hindu Brahmins for ceremonial purposes as is done by many Jaina castes in the North. \(^2\) Seventhly: each of the four castes in the Deccan has its own Bhaṭṭāraka or religious head or Svāmī who has final power to fine or excommunicate any caste-member. \(^3\) The general information about the important Jaina castes in the Deccan is given below.

\(( i )\) Śetavāla or Saitavāla:

Śetavālas are spread over a wide area, viz., Southern Districts of the Central Provinces, Berar, Hyderabad State and Bombay Presidency. As they speak Marāṭhī, they are concentrated in the Marāṭhī speaking Districts of the above Provinces.

Another name for Śetavāla is Svahitavāla or Sahitavāla. \(^4\) It is said that the Svahitavālas are divided into two sub-castes, viz., (i) Svahitavāla and (ii) Śetavāla, based on the difference of occupation. The latter weave bodice cloth, and are cloth merchants, shop-keepers and money-lenders. The former are

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1. See (i) Pragati āgni Jīnavijaya, dated the 14-12-1931
(ii) Jain Jagat, Vol. VIII, No. 5, p. 27.
4. Manuscript No. 1149 at Balātkārāgaṇa Temple at Kāraṇjā (Berar).
tailors. These distinctions are not observed now and all are termed as Śetavālas.

As regards their origin many accounts are told. According to one account the Śetavālas are considered as the descendants of the Kshatriyas who came to the Deccan for the protection of the Jaina sages and places of pilgrimage from fiercer sort of people, whose leaders were called Bhairavas. The places where the sages resided and where religion was specially practised were called Kshetras or holy places. The people who had been entrusted with the sacred duty of protecting religion and religious places came to be called Kshetrapālas or protectors of holy places. The Prākrit form of the Sanskrit word Kshetrapāla is Chhettavāla from which the Marāṭhī word Śetavāla is derived. From this it appears that the Śetavālas came from the North and settled in the Deccan. Mr. Russel also mentions that Saitavāla is one of the castes which came into the Central Provinces from Rajputana. As regards Śetavālas in the Bombay Province it is stated that they seem to have come from Marwar in search of work, though when they came is not known. They have many rustic customs and ways, but signs remain which support their claim to have a strain of Kshatriya blood. According to another account, the Śetavālas appear to have been originally a body of hundred families excommunicated for some unknown reason; and now forming a caste by themselves. They were formerly known as Śatavālas or the hundred families. This seems to be wrong for obvious reasons. According to the third, the word Śetavāla is derived from a Marāṭhī word 'Śeta' i.e., a farm, and Śetavālas are those who subsist on farming.

There are supposed to be many gotras among Śetavālas but

   (ii) Pragati ādi Jinavijaya, Vol. 46, No. 3.
the names of 44 gotras only are available, viz., Bāhu; Abhaya-
kumāra; Sahasrabāhu; Maghava; Vijayamitra; Mahābāhu; Bhūvalabha; Hariketu; Vijaya; Dhanapati; Simharatha; Vidyā-
śakti; Supratishtha; Meghavāhana; Prthvīpāla; Vajradanta; Ratnāyudha; Anantavijaya; Dharma; Prajñāpāla; Yugandhara; Lokapāla; Harischandra; Sūryaputra; Yaśapāla; Minaketu; 
Surendra-datta; Puṇḍarika; Dhanaratha; Dhātrivāhana; Susheṇa; Šubhachandra; Purvabāhu; Maṇimālā; Ĵitaśatru; Vajrāyudha; 
Satyasruti; Jayandhara; Narmadā; Vimalavāhana; Surakīrti; 
Vimalakīrti; Srishenā and Chakrāyudha.¹ But these gotras are 
not taken into account for purposes of marriage. Šetavālas regu-
late their marriages by family surnames and inter-marriages 
within the same section are avoided.² Widows are allowed to 
marry and divorce is recognised. Both widows and divorced 
wives marry by inferior rites, in which the garments of the bridal 
couple are knotted together and a feast is furnished to the rela-
tives.³ Šetavālas have their own Bhaṭṭāraka or religious head 
by name Viśālakīrti at Lātūr, a place in the Osmanabad District. 
Minor caste disputes are generally settled by caste Paṃchāyatatas 
but graver ones are referred to the Bhaṭṭāraka in which case his 
decision is final. Formerly some members of this caste were ex-
communicated and were known as Vādodakara Šetavālas, but 
they have been recently admitted into the main caste. As compar-
ed with other Jaina castes, Šetavālas are financially very poor and 
as such do not get respect from other castes.

(ii) Chaturtha:

According to the All India Digambara Jaina Directory, the 
Chaturtha caste is the first among the Digambara Jaina castes in 
respect of its numerical strength. There are nearly 70,000 
Chaturthas and unlike other castes, Chaturthas are not spread 
over a wide area but they are mainly concentrated in the Bombay 
Karnāṭaka.

It is not known how the word Chaturtha is derived. Many conjectures have been put forward. According to one story, in the Jainas there were formerly four divisions, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaśyās and Śūdras. The Jaina Kshatriyas have disappeared but the Jaina Brahmins, Vaśyās and Śūdras remain. Jaina Śūdras are also called Jaina Chaturthas, that is, the fourth estate.¹ According to another, Chaturthas are originally 'Charodas' of the Goanese Native Christians who have three caste divisions.² Thirdly, it is stated that Chaturthas are the same as Śetavālas on the ground that the same Prākrit word Chhettavāla becomes Śetavāla in Marāṭhi and Chhattaru or Chattar, i. e., Chaturtha in the Kannada language.³ Fourthly, it is considered that Chaturtha denotes Kshatriyas as the Sanskrit word Kṣhatriya or Kṣhātra or Kshatra takes the form of Kshatraru or Chattaru, i. e., Chaturtha, in Kannada.⁴

The Chaturthas are mostly agriculturists and therefore live in villages. This is the only caste among the Jainas which follows agriculture as the main occupation. Except some of the larger land-holders, who keep farm servants, the others, with the help of their women, do all sorts of field work with their own hands. They are the hardest working husbandmen, making use of every advantage of soil and situation. Strict Jainas object to tillage because of the loss of life which it cannot help causing. Yet they do not carry their objection to the length of refusing to have social relations with the Jaina husbandmen.⁵ Widow remarriage is allowed and practised among the poorer families. Marriage is regulated by family surnames. The religious teacher or Bhatāraka by name Jinaseṇa of Chaturthas has his headquarters at Nāndsāṇī near Kolhapur.⁶

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¹. B. G., Vol. XXII, p. 117.
⁶. B. G., Vol. XXI, p. 103, mentions the name of place as Kurundavad which is not correct.
(iii) Pañchama:

The Pañchama is one of the important castes in the Deccan. In population it stands next to the Chaturtha caste in the Deccan. Pañchamas are spread over the Kannaḍa speaking Districts of Bombay, Mysore, Madras and Hyderabad Dominion but about ⅛th of them are concentrated in the Bombay Karnāṭaka.

Many interpretations are given for the meaning of word Pañchama and the origin of Pañchama caste. It is asserted that the word Pañchama was used by the Vedic Brahmins during the 9th and 15th centuries A. D. to denote the Digambara Jainas in the Deccan as outside the pale of Chāturvarṇa, i.e., four Varṇas. Jainas also accepted this appellation and called themselves as Pañchama. During this time there were no distinctions of castes among Jainas. Later on during the 16th Century castes like Chaturtha, Śetavāla and Bogāra arose from the Pañchamas, and they were mainly created by the then Bhaṭṭārakas with a view to have continuous following for them. And for this purpose restrictions on inter-dining and inter-marriage among the four castes were put on by the Bhaṭṭārakas.¹ According to another account Pañchamas are the fifth or the lowest class of Jainas whom all who marry widows have to join.² It is maintained that with a view to avoid this degrading position Pañchama Jainas joined Vīraśaivism and formed a group of Pañchamasāli Liṅgāyatas, who have a higher position among Liṅgāyatas. Liṅgāyatas belong to two main divisions, laymen and clergy. The clergy who are generally called Jaṅgamas, are divided into two classes, the Viraktas, who are unmarried and the Gurusthalas who are married. The 31 divisions of lay Liṅgāyatas may be arranged under three groups, (i) 4 classes of True or Pure Liṅgāyatas, (ii) 16 classes of Affiliated Liṅgāyatas and (iii) 11 classes of Half Liṅgāyatas. The four classes of Pure or Original Liṅgāyatas are Dhūlapāvaḍas, Śīlavantas, Baṇajīgas and Pañchamasālis. Thus we find that Pañchamasālis were assigned a place among True.

². B. G., Vol. XXII, p. 117.
Liṅgāyatas. Moreover, in this connection it is stated that the resemblance between the Jaina and the Liṅgāyata rules about eating and drinking, about tenderness for life, and about the non-return of the spirits of the dead suggest that many Liṅgāyatas represent converts from Jainism. This view finds support in the fact that the strength of the Liṅgāyatas is in Baṇajīga class who were formerly chiefly Jainas, and that the Pañchamas or Pañchamasālīs, another leading branch of the Liṅgāyatas, appear to take their name from and to represent the fifth or lowest class of Jainas, a despised community to which all widow-marrying Jainas are degraded. It was natural that Pañchamas should take to a religion that did not hold widow-marriage an offence.\(^2\)

The economic condition of Pañchamas is bit better than that of either Śetavālas or Chaturthas. Some Pañchamas are agriculturists no doubt, but many are petty merchants and traders dealing chiefly in jewellery, cotton, cloth and grain. Compared with other Hindu castes in the Deccan, Śetavālas, Chaturthas and Pañchamas lag behind in education, economic position and social uplift in general, and that is why they have been included in the Intermediate Castes by the Bombay Government. As a class they are orderly and law-abiding and seldom appear in criminal courts. For more than a thousand years Jainism was either a State religion or enjoyed a pre-eminent position in the state. During these years Jainas proved their merit in every walk of life.\(^3\) Even now in spite of political changes many are hereditary village and district officers.\(^4\) The Teacher or Guru of Pañchamas is Lakshmisena Svāmī and he lives in Kolhapur.\(^4\) There are no sub-divisions among Pañchamas and marriages are regulated by family surnames.

(iv) Bogāra:

In Kannada language Bogāra means one who deals in brass or copper vessels. In Marāṭhī language the same meaning is

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2. For achievements of Jainas in the South, vide Chapter VII.
conveyed by the word Kāsāra. Thus Bogāras are known as Kāsāras in Mahārāshtra. The Kāsāras are found among Hindus also and they are known as Hindu or Tvashṭā Kāsāras in contrast to Jaina Kāsāras. Bogāras are spread over Kannaḍa speaking districts of Bombay, Madras, Mysore and Hyderabad State.

Bogāras claim to have originally been Kshatriyas, but were doomed by their patron goddess Kālikā to the low occupation of a Kāsāra. Marriages are governed by exogamous sections of family names which are mostly of the territorial and titular type. A man is prohibited from marrying outside the sub-caste, or inside the exogamous section, to which he belongs. He may marry the daughters of his maternal uncle, paternal aunt or elder sister. He may also marry two sisters. In some cases widows are allowed to marry again, and divorce is permitted on the ground of the wife’s unchastity, barrenness or ill-temper. Divorced wives remarry by the same rites as widows.¹

It is an enterprising caste and mostly controls the trade of bangles and brass and copper vessels in the Karnāṭaka. Their Teacher or Guru lives at Mālakheḍa in the Nizam’s Dominions.² From the ‘Kālikā-purāṇa’ written by Devendra Kīrti, the Bogāra Guru of Mālakheḍa, it appears that this caste was not found before the 17th century A.D.³ There seems to be a section of Bogāras known as Tāgara–Bogāras in the North Kanara District.⁴

(v) Upādhyāya:

The Upādhyāya is a caste of Jaina priests. Such a caste is not found in the North as the Northern Jainas themselves perform religious ceremonies or employ Brahmins for that purpose. The Upādhyāya caste is therefore found only in the Deccan and Southern India.

To every Jaina temple one or more priests or Upādhyāyas

are attached. The priests constitute an hereditary religious class who are expected to know the various religious ceremonies, to serve the temples and to conduct marriages of Jainas according to Jaina ritual. Priests are supported by the Jaina community by allowing them to take the rice and other offerings, cloth and money presents which are made to the gods and goddesses. Priests are usually chosen from among the learned Pañchamās or Chaturthas subject to the recognition of their principal Svāmīs or head priests called ‘ Paṭṭāchārya Svāmīs’. A layman by learning the profession can become a priest; and a priest can, if he so desires, give up his profession and become a layman. But marriages between priests and laymen cannot take place. 1 There is no objection for a Jaina priest to eat food from any of the other Jaina caste fellows. But he cannot have inter-marriage relations with them. Jaina priests give their daughters in marriage to no one but priests and do not accept girls from any other caste. When the other Jaina castes in the Deccan allow and practice widow-marriage, it is neither allowed nor practised by Upādhyāyas. 2

Besides the temple priests every village which has a considerable number of Jainas has an hereditary village priest called ‘ Grāmopādhyāya’ who conducts their ceremonies and is paid either in cash or in grain. These village priests, who are married and in whose families the office of priest is hereditary, are under a high priest called ‘Dharmādhikārī’, i.e., religious head, or ascetic by whom they are appointed and who has power to turn out any priest who breaks religious rules or caste customs. The village priest keeps a register of all marriages and thread-girdings in the village and the high priest whose head-quarters are at Nāṇḍanā about 18 miles east of Kolhapur and whose authority extends over all Kolhapur

1. Some priests are Chaturtha and majority Pañchamā in Karnāṭaka and round about. The Chaturtha priests, at present, can have marriages with other nonpriestly Chaturthas.
   " XXIII, p. 281.  
   " XXIV, pp. 135 and 144.  
   " XXV, pp. 229-231.
Jainas, makes a yearly circuit for gathering contributions, or sends an agent to collect subscriptions from the persons named in the village priests’ lists. The office of high priest is selective. The high priest chooses his successor from among his favourite disciples.¹

It should be remembered that like priestly caste among Hindus no high position is assigned to the Jaina Upādhyāyas, and the latter mix freely with other caste-fellows even taking food at their hands. It has not been enjoined upon laymen to give presents to Upādhyāyas.

7. JAINA CASTES IN THE SOUTH

When we go to the South India we find that there are no indigenous Śvetāmbaras. The Śvetāmbaras living in the South have come from the North and generally Northern Jainas, whether Dīgāṃbara or Śvetāmbara, do not keep intimate social relations with indigenous Jaina members of the South. The indigenous Jainas of South are all Dīgāṃbara Jainas. We will now turn to the social divisions existing among Dīgāṃbara Jainas of Mysore and of Madras.

The social divisions among Jainas of Mysore are practically the same as those of Deccan and Karnāṭaka with the only exception of Śetavāla caste. But the remaining four castes, viz., Chaturtha, Pañchama, Bogāra and Upādhyāya are arranged in the manner of Hindu Varṇa system. The four divisions of Jainas are stated as follows:

(i) Indras or priests, who are Brāhmaṇas (Karnāṭaka, Dṛāviḍa or Kaula),
(ii) Bogāras, who are Kshatriyas and who engage themselves as traders in vessels,
(iii) Pañchamas, who are Vaiśyas and are of good conduct, observing the moral tenets, and
(iv) Chaturthas, who are styled Sat-śūdras (good Śūdras) and are mostly cultivators.

These four castes are said to correspond to the four main

castes of the Hindus. The members of first caste call themselves Jaina Brāhmaṇas, study the Jaina scriptures and become ‘Archakas’, or priests. They are styled Indras. The priesthood is hereditary and co-exists with family-life, that is, Gṛhausthāsrāma. The priests live on the offerings made to temple gods and goddesses and income from their teaching. They preside over all auspicious and inauspicious ceremonies. There are astronomers and astrologers among them. They form an intermediate class between the Yatis or ascetics and the Śrāvakas or laymen. Though they may eat with laymen, they do not inter-marry with them. The priests find it difficult to get suitable brides for their sons and they therefore pay a bride-price.¹ There is another important difference between priests and laymen. The former practise the ‘makkal-śantāna’, i.e., the inheritance through the sons and the latter ‘āliya santāna’, i.e., the inheritance through the nephews.²

To the south of Madras the Jainas have four sub-divisions, viz., the ordinary laymen and the the three priestly classes. Of the latter, the most numerous are the Archakas. They do worship in the temples. An ordinary layman cannot become an Archaka; it is a class apart. An Archaka can, however, rise to the next higher stage of the priestly classes, and become what is called an Annama or Anuvrati, who is allowed to marry but has to live according to certain special rules of conduct. These Annamas can again rise to the highest of the three classes, and become Munis or monks who lead a celibate life apart from the world. There is also a sisterhood of nuns, called ‘Āryāṅganais’ who are sometimes maidens, and sometimes women who have left their husbands (with their permission) but must in either case take a vow of chastity. The monks and nuns are maintained at the cost of the rest of the community.

The laymen among the Jainas will not inter-marry, though they will dine, with the Archakas and the latter consequently have the greatest trouble in procuring brides for their sons.

Otherwise there are no marriage sub-divisions among the community, all Jainas south of Madras freely inter-marry. Widows are not allowed to remarry.

There is a high priest at Sittāmur in the South Arcot District. This high priest, who is called 'Maṭhāḍhipati', is elected by representatives from the chief Jaina villages. The high priest has supreme authority over all Jainas south of Madras, but not over those of Mysore or South Kanara with whom the former have no relations. He travels round in a palanquin with a suite of followers to the chief centres,— his expenses being paid by the communities he visits—settles caste disputes and fines and excommunicates the erring. His control over his people is very real.

As regards the three classes of priests it should be remembered that the last two classes, viz., Aṇuvratis and Munis, are open to all Digambaras. Jainas according to their scriptures irrespective of the fact whether they stay in the North or in the South. When we exclude these two classes, there remain only two divisions, viz., those of priests and laymen, among the Jainas south of Madras. It is worthy to note that there are no sub-divisions among the laymen like those in the Mysore, Deccan or North. In this respect and the fact that they do not allow widow-marriage they differ from the Jainas of the Deccan.

APPENDIX I.

Names of 84 castes in the Jaina Community with places of their origin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Name of Caste</th>
<th>Place of Origin</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Śrīmāla</td>
<td>Bhīnamāla.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Śrīśrīmāla</td>
<td>Hastināpura.</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Agaravāla</td>
<td>Agarohā.</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Osavāla</td>
<td>Osiyā.</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Kaṭanerā</td>
<td>Kaṭanera.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Serial No.</td>
<td>Name of Caste</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Chitāuda</td>
<td>Chitauḍagadha.</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Nāgarā</td>
<td>Nāgarachāla.</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>Pallivāla</td>
<td>Pālī.</td>
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<td>22.</td>
<td>Medatavāla</td>
<td>Medatā.</td>
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<td>23.</td>
<td>Lavechū</td>
<td>Lāvā-nagara.</td>
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<td>Chāvanḍśīya.</td>
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### APPENDIX II

Names of 84 castes in the Jaina Community as given by Mr. Jain, P. D.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
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<th>Name of Caste</th>
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<td>Pallivāla.</td>
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<td>Nānāvāla.</td>
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SOCIAL DIVISIONS IN THE JAINA COMMUNITY

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<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Name of Caste</th>
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<td>Sārathī Poravāra.</td>
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<td>Yavapaḍā.</td>
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<td>Jāṅgarā Poravāla.</td>
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APPENDIX III

Names of 84 castes in the Jaina Community as given by Prof. H. H. Wilson.

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<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Name of Caste</th>
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<td>------------------------</td>
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<td>9</td>
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### SOCIAL DIVISIONS IN THE JAINA COMMUNITY

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<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Name of Caste</th>
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<td>Sachore.</td>
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### APPENDIX IV

Names of 84 castes in the Jaina Community from Gujarātha.

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<td>Name of Caste</td>
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<td>Mehavāḍā.</td>
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</table>

**APPENDIX V**

Names of castes in the Jaina Community from the Deccan.

<table>
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<th>Serial No.</th>
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**APPENDIX VI**

The names of castes with their population figures as given by All India Digambara Jaina Directory, 1914.

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Note: Anyadharma includes "Baḍhai Jaina" and "Pokara Jaina".
### APPENDIX VII

The names of castes and sub-castes in Gujarâtha with their population figures as given by Śvetâmbara Jaina Directory, 1909.

<table>
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**APPENDIX VIII**

Names of Digambara Jaina castes and sub-castes with their population according to Provinces (1914).

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## Social Divisions in the Jaina Community

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### Bengal–Bihar

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### Rajaputana–Malwa

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## SOCIAL DIVISIONS IN THE JAINA COMMUNITY

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### Punjab

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### Central Provinces

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<td>5.</td>
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</table>

**Total** 58,864.

**Bombay**

1. Khapdelavāla 4,814
2. Agravāla 596
3. Jaisavāla 1,068
4. Osavāla 383
5. Paravāra 48
6. Chaughale 160
7. Padmāvati Paravāra 12
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J-17
### Jaina Community—A Social Survey

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**Total** 1,38,957

### Madras-Mysore

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**Total** 41,216
### Appendix IX

Names of ‘Gotras’ found among Agaravāla Jainas as given by various authors.

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<th>Rāmalālājī</th>
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<td>Garga</td>
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### Appendix X

Names of ‘Gotras’ found in the Śrīmālā caste of Jainas.

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### APPENDIX XI

A List showing Gotras, Dynasties, Places of Origin and Family Deities found in the Khandelavāla Caste.

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CHAPTER FOURTH

MARRIAGE AND POSITION OF WOMAN

1. WHAT IS MARRIAGE?

It is a significant fact about man that when he wants to act, he does so in co-operation with others and not individually. He always tries to associate with others while performing a particular act and he has to act from the very beginning of his life for the satisfaction of his elemental needs or impulses. By elemental impulses we mean those impulses which are original in human nature, in the sense that there are no peoples known to have failed to take account of them. Such impulsions are hunger, love, vanity and fear¹ and for their realisation man has evolved different massive social institutions. The social institutions of marriage and family arise out of the efforts made by mankind to adjust their activities with a view to satisfy their primordial appetite for sex-love. The institution of marriage thus tries to regulate the sexual acts of persons living in a group. The control of sex-impulse is the primary function performed by the institution of marriage. But marriage is something more than a regulated sexual behaviour. It is quite different from ordinary sexual union in the sense that marriage is more or less durable, it is recognised by custom or law, it requires some formality to celebrate the union and it gives rise to certain rights and duties both in the case of the parties entering the union and in the case of the children born of it.² As the marriage determines the exact nature of relations of the parties constituting a union, it not only regulates their sexual relations but also settles the problems of descent, inheritance and succession which arise out of marital union. Sometimes, the latter function is considered more significant than the mere regulation of sexual behaviour.³ Because of these characteristics of marriage which distinguish it effectively from ordinary

sexual union, the institution of marriage occupies an important place in the life of a society.

The institution of marriage is based on sex-impulse. This sex-impulse is universal among all sorts of people, its intensity has got immense range and it is continuous with the people unlike animals. Because of these qualities it is quite essential to regulate sex-impulse in the interests of individual and society. As the satisfaction of sex-impulse is attended with good as well as bad results, it cannot be left unchecked on the ground that it is a natural urge. Taking into account the necessity of societal control on the free play of sex-impulse mankind has evolved many ways to achieve that aim. It is proposed in this Chapter to discuss the methods adopted by the Jain community to control the elemental impulse of love.

2. THE OBJECT OF MARRIAGE

The object of marriage in Jain community is definitely not the securing of satisfaction derived from sexual acts alone, though it may form a small part of the object. The main purpose of marriage is best explained by Pāṇḍita Āśādharaji in the following manner:—

धर्मसंस्कारिकाण्यं रत्नं ब्रजकुलोकतिम्
देवदितस्ताति चेष्ट्यनं सत्कार्यं यतनो वरेत् ॥

A person should marry a girl endowed with good virtues if he wishes to have legitimate children, to get unperterbed sexual satisfaction, to enhance the conduct and prosperity of the family and to honour God, preceptor and other revered things. It is pertinent to note that in these objectives put before a married person, the first place has been given to begetting children and a subordinate position has been assigned to securing sexual pleasure. With a view to give more prominence to this aim of marriage, Āchārya Jinasena has ordained that संतानार्थसृतावेति कामसेवां मियो निष्ठु ॥ i.e., one should indulge in sex activity for the specific purpose of getting children and that too during the ovulation

1. S. D. II. 60.
2. Āchārya Jinasena: Adi Purāṇa, 38, 135.
period. He has reiterated the same purpose in the following stanzas:

त्वामादिपूर्वः इन्द्रः लोकर्वोवे प्रतितताम् ।
भवेतां मार्गंवतिनयः प्रजा: सुप्रजाः हामः ॥
ततः कलामनोदते परिषेतुं मन: कुरु ॥
प्रजासंविनिते हि नोच्छेतस्यतिः विद्वानव ॥
प्रजासंविनितविच्छेदे ततुते धर्मसंबंधः ।
मनुष्य मानवं धर्मं ततो देवमनुष्यत ॥
देवेन्द्र मृत्ति च च च बिद्रि दारपरिश्रामः ।
संतानक्षणेऽयत्नः कायं हि गृहीठविनामः ॥

This shows that it is the duty of householders to get married. The householders should strive to beget children and to protect them. Due to marriage continuity of the society is maintained and the Rule of Law (Dharma) is spread. The society is composed of individuals and the society will expand when there will be an increase in the number of individuals comprising that community. That is why the main aim of marriage is to get legitimate children out of the wedlock.

Thus among the Jainas, the main purpose of marriage is to maintain the continuity of human race by getting legitimate children. Here the institution of marriage is viewed clearly in its social aspect. There is no religious motive whatsoever in the contracting of marriage as such. The necessity of marriage arises to provide a legitimate outlet to sexual feelings and to maintain the continuity of human race. Both purposes are served by regulating the sexual behaviour of people through the institution of marriage. That is why among the Jainas, like Hindus, Vivāha or marriage is generally considered as obligatory for every person and it is included in the Śāṅcīsāṁskāras (i.e., sacraments sanctifying the body) through which every man and woman must pass at the proper age and time.

Though Jainas and Hindus regard marriage as obligatory for every person, there is a great difference in their outlook in regard—

1. Ibid, 15, 61-64.
-ing so. While Jainas look at the problem from a purely social point of view, Hindus treat it from a religious point of view. Among the Hindus marriage is made compulsory for every person because the birth of a son is said to enable one to obtain Moksha. Again, it is believed by Hindus that one’s progeny is considerably connected with and instrumental to happiness both in this world as well as hereafter. Moreover, the birth of a son is conceived by Hindus to be specially contributory towards helping the father to execute his obligations due to the departed ancestors—one of the three debts or obligations which every Hindu is bound to discharge.¹ A Hindu has to marry and to get a male child with a view to avoid eternal damnation in hell after his death. According to Hindus, there is an intimate connection between marriage and the ultimate object in life, viz., Moksha. As marriage has something to do with the emancipation of soul, marriage and religion are very closely connected with one another in Hindu Society. Thus, the institution of marriage among Hindus loses its entirely social character, gets mixed up with religious behaviour of the people and becomes a religious act as such.

In the Jaina religion, on the contrary, marriage is not treated as a religious duty but is considered as a purely social act. It is regarded more in the nature of a civil contract than of a religious ceremony.² Its object is to maintain the continuity of human race and not to obtain salvation by securing male offspring. Marriages are entered into for purely practical reasons and religion has nothing to order in this respect. It is not ordained in Jaina religion to marry for emancipation of soul. Marriage is not concerned with life hereafter. When no offerings are to be made to the forefathers, the question of discharging obligations due to departed ancestors does not arise. Jaina-scriptures do not lay down elaborate rules and regulations regarding marriage. Marriage is completely based on customs of people designed to adjust the life of persons in this world as it is not concerned with the happiness of persons hereafter. If marriage among Jainas would have been

1. Valavalkar: Hindu Social Institutions, pp. 149-150.
based on their Ágamas (i.e. basic religious books), it would have been practically the same throughout many centuries and there would not have been a great diversity of customs regarding various aspects of marriage throughout the country. Since marriage practices of Jainas differ to a considerable extent, it is clear that the institution of marriage is based on local customs and not on holy scriptures. From this it need not be inferred that the Jaina holy books do not refer to marriage at all. They do discuss the subject of marriage but in this respect their basic stand is that a lawful wife is necessary for a man for the successful completion of his house-holder’s life. They do not prescribe any rules regarding the matters like her age, qualifications, gotra, caste, race, etc., as these are based on local customs. There is practically little relation between marriage customs and Jaina scriptures. It is true that sometimes we notice that in Jaina books while narrating particular events, references are made and opinions given on the marriage customs connected with the events. But we cannot accept such opinions as applicable for all places and times since such opinions were given by taking into account, marriage customs prevailing at that time. This means that marriage customs referred to in Jaina books are not binding on Jainas for all time to come and they are free to devise their own customs according to local conditions.

In Hinduism there is a direct connection between marriage and religion. In Jainism, however, there is an indirect connection between marriage, like any other custom, and religion. For Jainas the ultimate object in life is the attainment of Moksha, i.e., liberation of soul from worldly bondage. The best way, according to Jainism, to achieve this aim is to perform right action along with right faith and right knowledge. The right action includes proper channelising of sexual practices with a view to lead an useful life which serves as a stepping stone for getting salvation. Moreover, religion depends for its existence on the number of its

followers. The strength of the followers can be rightfully maintained through the procreation of legitimate children. Taking into account these considerations it can be stated that the object of marriage in Jainism is twofold, viz., (1) to give a legitimate outlet to sexual feelings so that the human being may rightly live a useful life, enjoying the fruits of Dharma, Artha and Kāma, and thus be entitled to attain the great object—the Moksha; and (2) to promote the cause of Dharma (Law) by generating righteous and chivalrous sons and daughters. It is a duty of the householder to be contended with his own life and to contrive for the continuance of the human race.

3. NORMALITY OF MARRIAGE

Though marriage, according to Jainas, is more in the nature of a civil contract than of a religious ceremony, it is enjoined upon every person to effect that contract. The Jaina philosophy no doubt gives more importance to the policy of renunciation. The strict observation of celibacy throughout whole life is definitely more valued than indulgence in sensual pleasures. But it would be a mistake to suppose from this that Jainism is against marriage. Persons who lead a complete celibate life are highly appreciated, yet those who cannot follow that path are not denounced. There are many people who cannot practise the strict life of renunciation and such persons are advised to get married as the next best course. That is why marriage has been included in the Śarirasamśkrāras (i.e. sacraments that sanctify the body) through which every Jaina must pass at the proper age and time. This arrangement, if not the fear of eternal damnation, as in the case of Hindus, makes it obligatory for every Jaina to get married. Moreover, it is enjoined upon every householder to give of his own accord his daughters in marriage before they attain puberty. Further, it has been ordained that those persons who will keep their grown-up daughters in their homes without marry-

1. Vide. न चयो गामिनिर्विन्ना।

-ing them would fall from religion. In view of these injunctions, parents rush in to contract the marriages of their children and as a result we find that in the Jaina community child-marriage was the order of the day until a few years ago.

4. FORMS OF MARRIAGE

The term ‘forms of marriage’ is generally applied to denote the various types of marriage unions according to the number of partners entering the union. Such accepted forms of marriage are four in number, viz., monogamy, polygyny, polyandry and group-marriage. But in the Jaina community, as in the Hindu community, the forms of marriage are devised according to the method of contracting a marriage union. The forms of marriage are divided into eight categories, viz., the Brāhma, the Daiva, the Ārsha, the Prātāpatya, the Āsura, the Gāndharva, the Rākshasa and the Pāiśācha. The main features of these forms are as follows:

(i) *The Brāhma (or Brāhmya) form:*

In this form of marriage the daughter is given by the father to a bridegroom, who is learned and well-behaved, after calling him (to one’s place) and decorating him as well as the bride with valuable ornaments.

(ii) *The Daiva form:*

The marrying of one’s daughter at the conclusion of a big Pūjā or ceremonious worship of the holy Tirthāṅkara to the

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2. Vide व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द व द
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4. Vide (i) अ न द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब द ब

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Director of ceremonies who has officiated at the Pūjā is termed as Daiva marriage. Here the daughter is given as a gift to the bridegroom.¹

(iii) The Ārsha form:

Here the father gives his daughter in marriage to the bridegroom, after accepting from him a small gift of a suit or two of the wearing apparel or a cow and a bull. The gift is received by the father in accordance with requirements of Dharma and the marriage ceremony is performed according to the prescribed mode.²

(iv) The Prājāpatya form:

The giving away of the girl as a gift by the father with a mere blessing “You may together engage yourselves in the performance of Dharma” is the Prājāpatya marriage.³ Probably in this from the bridegroom applies for the hand of the bride, and perhaps, it is also not necessary that he should be unmarried.⁴

(v) The Āsura form:

Obtaining the bride by paying for her an adequate sum of money to her father and the like is the Āsura marriage.⁵

1. Vide (i) यस्ये तु वितते समयुक्त जिमावाचार्यक्षेत्रं करते । अलंकार विखुदान्ते दैवी धम्मः प्रचक्ष्यते ॥ T.V.A., XI, 72.
(ii) स दैवो विवाहो यथा यज्ञार्धस्तुतिजः कन्याप्रदानमेव दक्षिणा ।
N.V., 31, 5.

2. Vide (i) एकं वषयुगं हृ वा वरादाय धम्मः । कन्याप्रदानं विविष्यंधर्मः स उच्चते ॥ T.V.A., XI, 73.
(ii) गोमिष्ठापनसंसरं कन्याप्रदानार् । N.V., 3, 6.

3. Vide (i) सहीन्द्र चरतां धम्ममिति ते वाचुभाष्य हु । कन्याप्रदानममस्थतः मातापत्यो विविचः स्मृतः ॥ T.V.A., XI, 74.
(ii) विनिश्चिते कन्याप्रदानात्मानापत्यः । N.V., 31, 7.


5. Vide (i) सत्तिमयो द्रविणं दशा कन्यायैर्चैव सहीतः । कन्याप्रदाने यथिक्ष्यते चामुरोधयमेव दक्षिणा ॥ T.V.A., XI, 75.
(ii) प्रणवर्तने कन्याप्रदानादेशः । N.V., 31, 10.
(vi) The Gândharva form:

The union of the bride and the bridegroom due to their mutual love and consent and without the permission of their parents and brothers is the Gândharva marriage.¹

(vii) The Râkshasa form:

Carrying away by force after the killing (of parents etc.), of a weeping and crying girl is the Râkshasa marriage.²

(viii) The Paisâcha form:

Violating a senseless, helpless and sleeping girl and marrying her is the Paisâcha form.³

Though forms of marriage have been divided into eight categories, all of them have not been approved as right types of marriages to be practised by the people. Out of these, the first four are termed Dharmya or Ārya (i.e. meritorious or approved) marriages and the last four are considered Adharmya or Pāpa (i.e. sinful) marriages.⁴ The first four are commended because such marriages are contracted with the mutual consent of the parents of the bride and the bridegroom and the bride is given by her father as a gift to the bridegroom in accordance with the prescribed mode of marriage at the time. The last four forms of marriage are denounced for obvious reasons. In the Āsura marriage money is actually paid to the bride's father. No doubt, in the Ārsha form the bride's father receives something from the

1. Vide (i) स्वेच्छायाम्योऽन्यसंयोगः कन्यायां वर्षयच्।
नांतथः: स्तु विनेव्यो मैत्रयेवः कामसंख्येऽऽ:। T.V.A., XI, 76.
(ii) मात्रतु: पितृ: बृहस्पतिः चाप्रामाण्याः तस्यस्वपराशग्नेव सियः। समवायाः

2. Vide (i) हस्तवच भिष्ट्रा च चिक्षु वा क्रोधान्तः स्मर्या चूहात्।
प्रसन्न कन्यायां राजसो विविधहृन्तेऽऽ:। T.V.A., XI, 77.
(ii) कन्यायः: प्रलक्ष्यायां राजसः। N.V., 31, 12.

3. Vide (i) स्वस्त मात्रा प्रमतां वा रहीं व्यापराष्ट्रः।
स पापिभो विवाहानां वैश्यां। कयिष्ठोऽहमः। T.V.A., XI, 78.
(ii) स्वस्तमयादेवावायामां वैश्या। N.V., 31, 11.

bridegroom but here the father does so according to the requirements of Dharma and not with a view to sell his daughter. The Gándharva marriage is contracted completely without the consent of the parents. The Rákshasa marriage involves the forcible abduction of a girl after committing acts of violence against the kinsmen of the bride. The Paisācha marriage intentionally perpetrates violence on a girl who is placed in a very helpless condition, and that is why sometimes it is considered as the worst of all marriages. As these four forms of marriage are sinful, no fixed mode is prescribed by Āchāryas for contracting such marriages.

There is a difference of opinion as regards the most prevalent form of marriage at present in the Jaina community. According to Āchāradinakara, the only form of marriage that can be practised at present is the Prājāpatya marriage as the other three of the approved forms of marriage, viz., Brāhma, Daiva and Ārsha cannot exist in the present Kali age. On the other hand, Mr. C. R. Jain thinks that nowadays only the Brāhma form of marriage can be said to be prevalent as the rest have all become obsolete. Since the Daiva and Ārsha forms of marriage are not definitely practised now, it matters little whether the most prevalent form of marriage is called as either Brāhma or Prājāpatya.

If we compare the forms of marriage as conceived by Jainas with those of Hindus, it would be found that not only the number and names of forms are exactly the same but they do not differ in their contents also. Yet there is a significant difference between their view-points regarding the consideration of lawful and unlawful forms of marriage. According to the Hindus, the (i) Brāhma, (ii) Daiva, (iii) Ārsha, (iv) Prājāpatya, (vi) Gándharva and (vii) Rákshasa, are lawful marriages, while the remaining two forms, viz, (v) Asura and (viii) Paisācha are unlawful and

2. Śri Jaina Samskārvidhi, p. 87.
3. It is an authoritative work of Śvetāmbara Jaina.
4. Śri Jaina Samskārvidhi, p. 87.
should never be practised. The Jainas, on the other hand, recommend only the first four forms, viz., the (i) Brāhma, (ii) Daiva, (iii) Arsha, and (iv) Prājāpatya, as approved forms of marriage.

In the approved forms of marriage the most important point to note is that the bride is always given by her father as a gift to the bridegroom. In the absence of the father the question arises regarding the competent person to give the maiden in marriage. In this connection a descending order of maiden's near relatives is fixed and it is enjoined on them to undertake, in the order given, the responsibility of contracting marriage. The specified order is as follows: - The father, the grand-father, the brother, the uncle, a person of the same gotra, the preceptor, the maternal grand-father, and the maternal uncle. It is further made clear that in the absence of all these relatives who are asked to give a maiden in marriage, she may do Svayamvara, i. e., choose her partner according to her own will; but this can be done only in the case of extreme trouble.

5. QUALIFICATION OF PARTIES TO THE UNION

Various qualifications and disqualifications to be noted in the bride and bridegroom before the marriage is contracted are mentioned at a great length in Jaina books. It is stated that the following nine things should be marked in a bride-groom before giving a daughter to him in marriage, viz., caste, absence of disease, age, character, education, bodily stature, wealth, parents and members of the family. In general the bridegroom should be gentle, healthy, of noble descent, endowed with long life and

2. Vide पितापितामहों भ्राता पित्यों मोर्यों गुणोऽयो मुः:।
   मातामहों मातृलों वा कन्यायां जीवन्तः कमातुः।
   पिताविद्वारायें तु कन्या कुष्टवथंवर्यस्।
   इत्येव कृतोद्भावायोः प्रातुमेङ्टि संहते T. V. A., XI, 82-83.
3. Vide स्वाभिक्षष्यमरम्बस्य वयः शीर्ष शुद्र वनुः।
   कश्च्छ: पश्च: परिवारो वरे नव मुणाः: स्मृता:। अदिपुराणा, 62, 64.
moral qualities and handsome. A person should not be accepted as a bridegroom if he is found wanting in some limbs, impotent, diseased, of bad family, full of vices, always sad and of a very low position.

As regards the attributes of a bride it has been laid down that one should marry a girl who is of one's own caste, but not of the same gotra and who is endowed with indications of long life, excellent virtues and other accomplishments such as learning etc. Along with the caste, gotra and other accomplishments it should be seen that the girl suitable for marriage should be beautiful, younger and smaller than the bridegroom and coming from a family comprising many members. A long list of disqualifications pertaining to a girl has been given and it has been enjoined not to marry a maiden possessing all or some of these disqualifications. As a guiding principle it is stated that a maiden should be avoided like a tigress if she is sinful, diseased, unchaste, shameless or immodest, and having leucoderma.

In the accomplishments to be found in the bride and bridegroom, it would be seen that, more prominence has been given to their family position and their individual character, especially their pre-marital sexual behaviour. The bride to be selected for marriage must, in the first instance, be pure. While denouncing pre-marital licence it has been laid down that it is better to marry


2. Vide अन्यायोगजातिविद्रोणी कृष्णमर्यादिनिहनि व्यसनात् तु पति ते कत्यं प्रयथानं || Pt. Phattelalaji op. cit. p. 2.


4. Vide रुपयाति स्वरुपातिया स्वते सर्वप्रपातिया || मोहे मोहेश्वरं गोष्ठया कत्या श्रुताहुक्कुतार्थं || T.V.A., XI, 36.


6. Vide कुटिलानि पापिणिन् ते गुरुणां उःशीलां च ववालिनां || व्यायामिन च तां कत्यं दूरत्य परिवर्त्येवत् ||
a prostitute than to marry an unchaste maiden.¹ This demand for virginity in the girl to be married is found among Hindus² and others. It would be a double standard of morality if pre-marital chastity is expected only from the female side. This is avoided by prescribing the same rules for males also. It has been emphatically stated that the death of a maiden is preferable to giving her in a family of doubtful character.⁵

6. AGE OF MARRIAGE

Rules regarding the proper age of marriage vary with different kinds of people. It is natural that that age should be prescribed as the suitable age for marriage for both males and females when they get their sexual maturity. This is necessary because marriage partners have to undertake a life of sex-experience. Taking this fact into account the Jaina books prescribe that the consummation of marriage should take place soon after the marriage ceremony,⁴ which means that the parties to marital union must have attained sexual maturity. As in Jaina literature we come across many instances of marriages contracted according to Gandharva or Svayamvara systems, it can be presumed that marriage partners were sufficiently grown up at the time of marriage.⁵ From the words ‘जोवणगमणमणुपत्ता’ (i.e. having attained youth) occurring in Jaina books it can be seen that marriage is recommended only for grown-up ladies. In ‘Pravachanasárrodhdhara’ it has been mentioned that the progeny born of a couple, wherein the mother’s age is 16 years, and the father’s 25 years, is bound to be strong.⁶ Moreover, it is the solemn duty of a father not to keep a grown-up daughter without marriage as it would mean falling from the path of religion.⁷ A popular saying in ancient India

⁴. See Śri Jaina Samskrāvidhi, pp. 87-111.
stated that, if after the attainment of puberty of a maiden, her guardians fail to arrange for her marriage, they go to hell. From this it appears that child-marriages as well as late marriages were denounced by Jainas. Of course opinions differed as to when males and females attained puberty. According to Somadeva a girl of 12 years and a boy of 16 years become competent for sex-action, and this can be regarded as the proper age of marriage recommended for adoption by the Jainas. In view of this we can safely say that the prevalence of child-marriage system among Jainas until recent times was not sanctioned by religion. The practice of child-marriages has at present become obsolete due to the effect of passing of Sarda Act and the general awakening among Jainas as a result of spread of modern education.

As regards the proper difference of age between the two partners of marital union it has been specifically mentioned that if the bridegroom is older than the bride by two years, he is the best bridegroom; if he is older by 5 years, he is a good bride-groom or he can be tolerated and if he is older by more than ten years, he is a worst bridegroom. It has been further stated that in any case the bride should not be more in age than the bridegroom as such a lady is regarded like the mother.

7. CHOICE OF PARTNERS

By choice of partners we mean the latitude of freedom given to the parties to the marital union to choose their partners. The choice of partners constitutes an important part in the institution of marriage. Complete liberty in the choice of partners is never

2. दृष्टिवाच्यां गृह पौलग्रामय: दृष्टिवाच्यां पौलग्रामयां भवत: || दृष्टिवाच्यां पौलग्रामयां भवत: || N. V. 31, 1.
   This opinion is considered to be influenced by the conditions prevailing in India during the Muslim Period. Vide Jain, K. P.: Marriage in Jaina Literature, I. H. Q., Vol. IV., p. 161.
3. कन्यावपेशग्रामणेन दिव्यांकित बनम: ||
   पंचवतोषकोषी मध्यो दिव्यवतोषकोषीम: || Phattelalaji : op. cit. p. 2.
4. स्वायत्तोपिण्यां ववर्जनता वा शरीरं तत: ||
   गुरुद्वरी बस्तम ततुत्त्वरित्सितात || T. V. A., XI, 40
given to the members who wish to enter the marital union. On the contrary, rules and regulations are made with a view to limit the field from which the choice of partners can be effected. The broadest set of restrictions as to who shall or shall not marry whom concerns itself with prohibiting marriage without or within a given group, and thus prescribing endogamy (in-marriage) or exogamy (out-marriage).¹ The endogamous rules forbid the members of a particular group to marry any one who is not a member of the group, and exogamous rules forbid the members of a particular group to marry any one who is a member of the group. These two sets of rules are by no means contradictory in so far as they refer to different groups.² Let us see the nature and extent of endogamous and exogamous rules in the Jaina community.

In the Jaina community full freedom was given to the people in the choice of their partners from the very beginning. No restrictions regarding race, religion, caste, creed, etc. were placed. The choice was relegated to the sweet will of the people. In fact the most prevalent form of marriage was Svayamvara wherein the maiden selected her lover according to her own will, and there was no question whether the lover belonged to a high or a low family.³ Because of this latitude of freedom given in Svayamvara, it has been considered as the most ancient form in the sacred literature and it is regarded as the best among various forms of marriage.⁴

Due to the prevalence of Svayamvara form of marriage the field of selection was very wide. In the beginning Jaina community was divided into four Varṇas, or classes, viz., Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras and it would be found from Jaina

² Rivers: Social Organisation, P. 40.
³ Vide स्वयंवरगता कण्या स्वप्नार्थ हितरूपे वर्।
कुलीनमकुलीनं वा क्रमे नास्ति स्वयंवरे॥
Harivamśa Purāṇa, 31, 53.
⁴ Vide सनातनोत्सर्व मगार्षैर्युपस्तृतितुभाषितः।
विवाहनित्यपेदशु वरुक्तो हि स्वयंवरः॥
Ādī Purāṇa, 44, 32.
Purāṇas that these classes did not create barriers in whatever way in the choice of partners. Marriages among the people of different Varṇas have been divided into two categories, viz., Savarṇa Marriage and Asavarṇa Marriage. In the Savarṇa Marriage a member of a particular Varṇa marries within the same Varṇa. The Asavarṇa Marriage occurs when the parties belong to different Varṇas. The Asavarṇa Marriage has been further divided into two sub-categories, viz., Anuloma and Pratiloma Marriage. In the Anuloma Marriage a bridegroom chooses his bride from a Varṇa which is lower than that of his own Varṇa; and in the Pratiloma Marriage the bridegroom belongs to a Varṇa lower than that of the bride. Though Savarṇa Marriage was generally preferred to Asavarṇa Marriage, still in Jaina literature we come across both the types of Asavarṇa Marriage along with the Savarṇa Marriage. Vasudeva, who was a Kṣhatriya, married a Brāhmaṇa girl Somaśrī by name. Though Śrī Kṛṣṇa was a Kṣhatriya he arranged the marriage of his brother Gajakumāra with a Brāhmin girl Somā. Guṇavatī, the daughter of a Kṣhatriya King Śreṇika, was married to Dhanyakumāra, a Vaiśya of Ujjayani. Similarly, we hear of the minister Teyaliputta who married a goldsmith's daughter; Gayasukumala, a Kṣhatriya, was betrothed to a Brāhmaṇa girl; King Jayasattu married a painter's daughter, and Bhambhadatta married the girls from the Brāhmaṇa and the merchant families.

The field of marriage was not limited to the followers of Jaina religion alone. The non-Jainas also were considered suitable for marriage purposes. When there was not much hostility between the followers of various religions in India, the marriages were freely contracted between them. There are many instances where marriages were contracted not only among the Jainas themselves, but also among parties, of which either was a non-Jainā or a convert to Jainism. Chelanā, the daughter of a Jaina King Cheṭaka of Vaiśali, was married to the Buddhist King Bimbisāra. King Dhanasena of Kausāmbi followed the Vedic religion, but his

queen Dhanaśrī professed Jainism. Vasumitra, the merchant, paid reverence to the Jaina preceptors; but his wife Dhanaśrī was a non-Jaina. The Jaina poet Dhanañjaya and the famous Buddhist lexicographer Amarasiṃha had their wives from among Buddhists and Jainas respectively.¹

Further, in ancient times marriages were contracted by Jainas with people, who were either not of the Aryan stock and were called Mlechchhas or who resided in foreign countries. Such marriages were contracted by persons occupying high positions and Jaina literature gives numerous examples of such marriages. Vasudeva married 'Jarā', the daughter of a Mlechchha, and their son Jaratkumāra later on took the vow of a Jaina ascetic. King Upaśrenika, the father of King Śreṇīka of Rājagṛha, married a Mlechchha maiden by name Tilakasundari. Emperor Chandragupta Maurya, who was a disciple of a Jaina ascetic Bhadrabahu, accepted the daughter of Seleukos, the King of Syria. King Bharata, the son of the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Ādi-nātha, had a large number of Mlechchha wives.² Śālibhadra, a Jaina merchant, had been to foreign countries and was married to foreign ladies. Śāntinātha, the 16th Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, had many thousand Mlechchha wives.³ Jinadatta, the founder of the Santāra line in Mysore, is said to have married a Nāga virgin.⁴ The prince Rājādhirāja of Cholas, who professed Jaina religion, is said to have bravely gone down into a cavern, and by his radiant beauty won the hand of noble daughter of the Nāga race.⁵

Besides these we find that among ancient Jainas it was not thought unnatural to marry a befitting girl from any position. There are many instances in the Jaina literature which testify to the fact that marriages were freely contracted with prostitutes and with illegitimate children. Sētha Chārudatta, a merchant, was married to Vasantasenā, a famous harlot. Prince Chāruchandra, the son of King Amoghadārsana, accepted in marriage a prosti-

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³ Jain, P. D.: op. cit. pp. 164 and 166.
tute by name Kāmapatākā. Nāgakumāra had married Kinnarī and Manoharī, the two daughters of a prostitute Pañchasugandhī. Vasudeva accepted Priyaṅgusundarī whose father Aniputra was an illegitimate son of Śilāyudha and Rishidattā, an unmarried forest girl. The example of Dushyanta and Śakuntalā is well-known.

From the above discussion it is clear that in the early stages of Jaina community the field of marriage was kept open for all. This was in fact due to conception of society as envisaged by Jaina Āchāryas. The whole mankind was treated as one unit and it was divided into four Varnas merely according to the differences in the avocations they followed for their livelihood. When there was no difference between man and man, it was but natural that full liberty was given to the Jainas in the field of choosing their partners.

This practice of complete freedom in respect of choice of partners did not hold the field continuously. Later on, new rules were prepared to suit the changing conditions from time to time. In the first place though the Asavarpa Marriage was allowed, the Pratiloma system of it was discarded and it was enjoined upon the Jainas to adopt the Anuloma system. Jināsenāchārya recommended the Anuloma form in the specific manner as follows:—

शूद्र शूलेण योद्ध्या नान्या स्वां तां च नैगमः ।
वेदेःस्वां ते च राजन्य: स्वां द्विजन्मा कश्चिद् ता: ॥

A Śūdra should marry the daughter of a Śūdra and not of any other Varna. A Vaiśya can marry a daughter of Vaiśya or Śūdra; a Kshatriya of Kshatriya, Vaiśya or Śūdra; a Brahmin of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaiśya or Śūdra. In the same strain Somadeva states that

आनुसूचयैं चतुर्भिस्मित्विवन्ध: कल्यामाजना: ब्राह्मणस्त्रियविविषा: ॥

3. Iloc. p. 67 ante.
According to the Anuloma manner Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya and Vaiśya can legitimately marry respectively the daughters from four, three and two Varnas. This shows that a person can marry a girl of a lower Varṇa but not of a higher Varṇa than that of his own. Thus, a Brāhmaṇa can have wives from all the four Varnas, the Kshatriya from three, the Vaiśya from two and the Śūdra from only one, i.e., a woman of his own Varṇa. This marriage rule seems to have been widely practised by Jainas as it is evident from the sections of Jaina Law Books on partition pertaining to the question of division amongst the children of wives of different Varnas.¹

Even this freedom of marriage among the four Varnas was not allowed for a long time. Subsequently Śūdras were cast outside from the rest of the Varnas. The first three Varnas, viz., Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, were allowed the freedom of having inter-marriage and inter-dining relations among themselves and not with the Śūdras who were asked to have dining and marriage relations with Śūdras alone.²

We have already seen that the Jaina community was originally divided into four classes only, viz., Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra, and that the modern Jaina castes developed gradually out of these four classes.³ We have further noticed that the Hindu caste system considerably influenced the Jaina caste-system and that its prominent features are discernible in the Jaina community even now.⁴

The invariable characteristic of the caste system in India is its endogamous nature and its observance of certain rules restricting the choice of mates.⁵ It was but natural that these characteristics were accepted in toto by the Jaina castes when they were formed. Though there were a few instances of inter-marriages between

¹ Jain, C. R.; Jain Law, pp. 60-64.
² See परस्परः विचारणां विवाहः 'किभोज्ञमूः। कशः न च शूद्रसुः शूद्राणां शूद्रके; मह ॥।' Medhāvī: Dharmaṣaṅgṛaha Śrāvakāchāra, 256.
³ See p. 70 ante.
⁴ See p. 85 ante.
⁵ Huttōn, J. H.; Caste in India, p. 56.
different Jaina castes, yet the general rule was to marry in one's own caste or sub-caste only. The same rule is adhered to even now. Along with this came in turn other restrictions which virtually limited the field of selection. According to the nature of restrictions limiting the field of selection, following types of endogamy are found in the Jaina community at present.

(1) Caste or Sub-caste Endogamy:

The first restriction was that both the parties to the marital union must belong to the same caste. For marital purposes a sub-caste acts like a caste and the sub-caste virtually forms an endogamous group. Thus, castes like Saitavâla, Khândelavâla, Chaturtha, etc. which have no sub-divisions among them practise caste-endogamy. The Śrimâlî caste in Gujarâtha has been divided into sub-castes and these sub-castes form their own endogamous groups.

(2) Religious or Sectional Endogamy:

There are many castes in Jaina society which have got their counterparts in other societies. There are Agravâlas, Śrimâlîs, Poravâdas, etc. both among Hindus and Jains and marital relations exist between them though they follow different religions. It is explained that all such castes formerly followed Jainism and though later on some of their members embraced other religion, the former marital relations were continued. But nowadays this practice is looked down upon and responsible and prominent associations like All India Śvetâmbara Jaina Conference are advising people to contract marriages within the Jaina members of their caste. In the Paravâra caste some are the followers of Târaṇapantha and the others of different sub-sects of Digâmbara sect. Formerly, Paravâras were contracting marriages among themselves irrespective of religious differences. Recently, this has stopped and Târaṇapanthi and other Digâmbara Paravâras have

formed their own endogamous groups. The same is the case with Tanaṇapanthī Golālāre and other Golālāre, i.e., Golālāre following other sub-sects of Digambara sect. This can be called as religious or sectional endogamy.

(3) Place or Local Endogamy:

When members of a particular caste are spread over a wide area, their internal contact gets slackened as a result of which marriages are not freely contracted by the members of the same caste if they reside in distant places. This gives rise to place or local endogamy. Hummaḍas are dispersed in Rājasthāna, Gujārātha and Mahārāṣṭhra and there are hardly any marital relations between them. Saitavālas are found in the Central Provinces and Berar, Hyderabad State and Mahārāṣṭhra but each part has been formed into an endogamous group. Jainas residing in the Ahem-
edabad City do not give their daughters in marriage to the non-
residents of Ahmedabad. In the constitution of Visā Śrīmālī sub-caste of Saurāṣṭhra (i.e. mainly from Junagadh, Dhoraji, Vanthali and Jetpur Talukas) it has been laid down that their members should keep matrimonial relations with Visā Śrīmālīs residing up to Bhavanagar, Veraval, Porbander, Jamanagar, and Mangrol and not beyond this limit even though the other party may be a Visā Śrīmālī.

(4) Factional or Group Endogamy:

Due to difference of opinion on certain questions factions arise within the members of a caste or a sub-caste and sometimes such factions are regarded as barriers for the purpose of contracting matrimonial alliances. This can be termed as factional or group endogamy. In the Hummaḍa caste of Sholapur City there were, some years back, two groups led by important persons and generally there was absence of marriage relations between the groups. Over the question of accepting Bhaṭṭārakas as gurus, Saitavālas have been split up into two groups and these groups

are practically endogamous. In the Kaira District there are such endogamous groups among Śvetāmbara Jainas.1

From these various types of endogamy existing at present in the Jaina community it is clear that the field of selection has been limited to a very great extent. The multiplicity of castes and sub-castes, their distribution over a wide area, and their divisions into different religions and groups, have indeed resulted in creating a stage in which practically no choice is left to the people in selecting their marriage partners.

According to the rules of exogamy a person cannot marry within the members of a particular group. There are several such exogamous groups within an endogamous group and people have to select their marriage partners from outside the exogamous group and within the endogamous group. The exogamous group is generally known as Gotra and it has been enjoined upon the Jainas not to marry a girl from the same Gotra. The Gotras of the bride and bridegroom should be different (at the time of marriage).2 This means that Sagotra Marriage, i.e., marriages between the members of the same Gotra, is forbidden and that is why Gotra forms one of the important considerations in contracting a marriage. Therefore, the following facts in respect of Jaina Gotras may be noted.

In the first place the exact number of Gotras prevailing in the Jaina community is not known. Generally they are considered to be 84 in number.3 From the published and unpublished works Dr. A. N. Upadhye has compiled a list of 140 Jaina Gotras.4 But these lists are not comprehensive in the sense that they do not mention the names of all Jaina Gotras known at present. There is a large number of such Gotras. The Agravālas have got 17½

2. Vide (i) अन्यगोष्ठमें फल्यं नालंका संध्यानिक ।
   अधुपालां गुणाधिकायं च पितृदत्वं वरेतुहर्ष:॥ T. V. A., 31, 3.
   (ii) समविभावादिनोः असमगोष्ठार्थ विवाहासंभवः:।

Gotras, Osavālas 1444, Khaṇḍelavālas 84, Śrīmālīs 135, Poravādas 24, Hummaḍas 18, Saitavālas 44, etc. It is said that in Mysore there are 130 Gotras among Jainas but only 24 are chiefly found to be in vogue at present.

Secondly, there is no fixed rule among the Jainas regarding the number of Gotras to be avoided in contracting a marriage. This depends on customs prevailing in different castes. Among the Paravāras at some places 16 Gotras are avoided and at other places either 8 or 4 or only 2 Gotras are avoided. The Saitavālas are supposed to possess many Gotras of which the names of only 44 Gotras are available at present, but they regulate their marriages by the custom of family surnames, i.e., inter-marriages within the people having the same surname are avoided. Among the Padmāvati Paravāras there are no Gotras at all and the question of avoiding Gotras does not arise.

Thirdly, though Gotras refer to names of personages from mythological lists, the word ‘Gotra’ has sufficiently technical sense according to Jaina tradition. It has its place in the famous Karma Theory, and it occurs in the scriptures as one of the Eight Karmas. According to the scriptures, Gotra signifies the conduct of the soul coming down from generation to generation. There are distinctions of high and low Gotras according as the standard of conduct is high or low. It is this Karma that determines the high or low family for the birth of soul. This is the technical meaning attached to the term ‘Gotra’ by Jaina authors. But it is surprising to find that hundreds of Jaina Gotras prevalent in the Jaina community are quite different from the above meaning, there are no high or low Gotras and people are not distinguished as high or low according to their Gotras.

1. Vide Chapter III.
4. (i) Hassan; op. cit, p. 203.
Fourthly, from the history of origin of these Gotras it will be seen that they are not primordial, they were formed in different times for different reasons and likewise they might probably be discarded in future due to special reasons. There is no underlying principle in the formation of these Gotras. The Agravâlas are descendants of Râjâ Agrasena but instead of following the Gotra of Agrasena, they instituted 18 new Gotras after the names of the princes.¹ When the inhabitants of 84 towns were converted to Jainism by Jinasena Āchârya, they were named as Khaṇḍelavâlas and 84 new Gotras were created out of 84 towns. As the Gotras were named after the towns, the Khaṇḍelavâlas of each town were formed into a separate new exogamous group.² Śrî Ratnaprabha Sûrî converted the Rajputs to Jainism, formed them into one caste of Osâvâlas and divided them into 18 Gotras. Later on, due to further additions made to Osâvâlas by conversion, original Gotras were split up and new Gotras were created. Out of these some were named after birds and animals, some after places of residence, some after professions, some after occupations, some after names of persons and some after specific reasons of valour, wisdom, etc.³ It shows that creation of Gotras was artificial and that Gotras can be changed from time to time. In the circumstances persons cannot claim any considerable antiquity for a particular Gotra as Gotras are liable to be discarded, changed or newly created.

The rules of exogamy are devised mainly with the purpose of prohibiting marriages between near relatives. The family constitutes a group of near relatives and it was ordained that members of a family should have marital relations outside the family. The word ‘Gotra’ literally means ‘an enclosure for cows’ but gradually it came to mean a family. That is why Gotra was considered as a limit within which marriage relations were denounced. But later on, Gotra assumed different meanings and new rules cropped up to avoid many Gotras instead of one in contracting marriages. This resulted in effective encroachment

¹ See page 87 ante.
² See page 96 ante.
³ (i) See page 90 ante.
on the freedom of choice of mates. By various types of endogamy the field for selection has already been restricted and with increase in the extent of exogamy the field has assumed a small dimension.

As regards marriage with near relatives following instructions have been given:

\[ \text{सतां पितामहसुक्तव निजमातुलक्ष्यकाम्} \]
\[ \text{स्वसारं निजभार्याया: परिणेता न पापभाक्} \]
\[ \text{पुत्री मातृभगिन्यायां स्वगीत्रज्ञितां} \]
\[ \text{वि} \]
\[ \text{खंभस्वसा} \]
\[ \text{तथेतासा वरीता पातकी स्मृत:} \]

It is stated that he who marries his paternal aunt's daughter, the daughter of his mother's brother, or his wife's sister commits no sin. But if he marries the daughter of his mother's sister, a girl of his own Gotra, or sister of the mother-in-law, he commits sin thereby. The fact that marriage with father's sister's daughter or mother's brother's daughter was allowed and that marriage with mother's sister's daughter or father's brother's daughter (i.e. a girl from the same Gotra) was not allowed, shows that marriage between cross-cousins was prescribed but marriage between parallel cousins was forbidden. In actual practice this rule is controlled by local usage at the present time. That is why it has been laid down that marriage with maternal uncle's daughter is governed by the customs of the place and the time. Accordingly, the cross-cousin marriage is neither allowed nor practised by Jainas in the Northern India but in the Deccan and Karnātaka the cross-cousin marriage is not only allowed but preferred also. Moreover, among the Jainas in the Karnātaka the maternal uncle-niece marriage is practised, i.e., the daughter is given to her maternal


2. This custom of marrying maternal uncle's daughter was prevalent in ancient India in some of the royal families and certain ruling clans. Prince Siddhārtha married Rāhulamātā who was his maternal uncle's daughter, (Vide Law, B. C.: India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 168). From this it may appear that this practice might have been observed by ancient Jainas also.


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uncle. This is a unique feature of the marriage system of Karnāṭaka only and it is obtainable in almost all the castes of Karnāṭaka including the Jainas, the Brahmans and the Liṅgāyatas.\(^1\) Irrespective of these rules there are some examples, no doubt, of marriages between very near relatives but they are very few and far between. Devakī was married to her father’s cousin-brother, Vasudeva. King Agrasena’s grandsons and grand-daughters married among themselves and their progeny is known as Agravālas.\(^2\) According to Jaina mythology, sister marriage was prevalent at the time of Usabha (i.e., Ṛshabha, the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkara), who married his own sister. There is another case of sister marriage when king Pupphaketu allowed his son to marry his own sister.\(^3\) Further, it is interpreted that Lord Ṛshabha married his two daughters, Brāhmī and Sundarī, to his two sons, Bāhubali and Bharata, respectively.\(^4\)

8. MARRIAGE PRELIMINARIES AND CEREMONIES

The institution of marriage, like any other social institution, develops out of restrictions imposed upon the conduct of people. These limitations restrict the freedom of people but they are necessary for the proper growth of societal life. Up till now we have examined the inhibitions concerning the ‘who’ of marriage, i.e., regulations determining who may or may not marry whom. It comprises the rules of endogamy and exogamy. Now we have to see the ‘how’ of marriage which covers all the proceedings which initiate the status and culminate in the wedding and attendant ceremonies. Since the institution of marriage regulates the sexual behaviour and determines the questions of descent, inheritance and succession, the whole society is intimately concerned with all aspects of marriage. The societal interest is not over by prescribing rules regarding the choice of partners but it regulates the manner in which a bride is secured, the union is settled and the marriage ceremony is performed.

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1. (i) Desai, M. N.; Rural Karnāṭaka, p. 196.
   (ii) Jain, J. C.; op. cit, p. 160.
The ways of procuring a bride are generally divided into four
categories, viz., marriage by capture, purchase, service and
consent.\(^1\) A high value was attached to woman in the primitive
times by reason of the fact that she served as a working force and
a child-producer. Naturally, she became one of the chief forms
of booty sought in predatory raids. This forcible seizure of
woman is known as marriage by capture.\(^2\) It was the most
prevalent method in ancient times and the Jainas could not be an
exception to this. Among the Jainas the Rakshasa form of
marriage was practised in which a weeping and crying girl is
forcibly abducted possibly after a fight with her near relatives
and this is nothing but marriage by capture. We have already
noted that even though the Rakshasa form of marriage is practised
by both Jainas and Hindus, the former, unlike the latter, do not
approve it as a right type of marriage to be practised by the
people.\(^3\) Marriage by exchange and purchase are better adjust-
ments than marriage by capture. Marriages are arranged in
exchange for giving one's own sister in marriage. We read about
the marriage of Devadatta, who married the sister of Dhana-
datta and in exchange gave his sister in marriage to him.\(^4\)
Marriage by exchange is still practised on a very small scale in
the Jaina community and it is not favoured as it goes against the
interests of the girl.\(^5\) In marriage by purchase a wife is obtained
for money paid to her father's family by the husband or his
father. There are several instances which sufficiently testify to
the prevalence of the practice of giving daughter in marriage in
exchange of money.\(^6\) Among the eight forms of marriage men-
tioned above there is an Asura form of marriage in which a
bride is obtained by paying for her an adequate sum of money to
her relatives. The Jaina Law-givers do not approve this method
as a right form of marriage to be practised by the people.\(^7\) At

\(^3\) See page 186 ante.
\(^6\) Jain, J. C.: op. cit, p. 156.
\(^7\) See page 147 ante.
present marriage by purchase is resorted to by low class Jainas and in cases where it is difficult to secure a bride by ordinary methods. Along with the bride-price there is the custom of dowry in which something is given to the receivers of the bride. By a series of transitional practices wife-purchase passes into what looks very like husband-purchase. It then becomes a duty of a right-minded man, instead of collecting a price for daughter or sister, to exert himself to the utmost in providing her with the dowry which alone will make her marriage proper and honourable.¹ There are several instances which show the prevalence of dowry system in Jaina community from ancient times. We hear of a King Vānarasī who gave away 1000 villages, 100 elephants, plenty of treasure, 1,00,000 of foot soldiers and 10,000 horses to his son-in-law in marriage.² Though there has been a continuous propaganda against the dowry-system in Jaina community, even now dowry is taken in one form or another. In the method of marriage by service a bride is obtained by the bridegroom after serving in her house for a prescribed period. This practice is observed by the people who are in low stages of civilisation. We do not find in Jaina literature any reference to marriage by service and it is not resorted to at all by the Jainas. In the case of marriage by consent the parties enter the marital union with their mutual consent. There is complete freedom given to both the parties in selecting their partners. In the Svayamvara form of marriage a young lady chooses her life-mate according to her sweet will and without any interference from the elders. We have already noted that because of this attitude of freedom given in Svayamvara, it has been considered by the Jaina Āchāryas as the most ancient and best form of marriage.³ This shows that more importance was given to the factor of consent in marriage in the Jaina community. Along with the consent of parties entering the union, there is a necessity of group-consent. Society has got interest in the sexual unions of its members and therefore consent

3. See page 151 ante.
of the group is usually given through the approval of its representatives. It is one of the important duties of Jain caste pañcāyatas to approve the proposed marital unions of its members and the latter are enjoined, with penalty of excommunication, not to contract marriages without the previous consent of the caste pañcāyatas.

Ceremonial surrounds all the events of life which seem important to men. Marriage is on all counts one of them and naturally elaborate rites are performed at the time of the marriage ceremony. At present, though the rites and customs of marriage among the Jainas vary according to the influences of the province in which they live, yet they can still be regarded as the same in their main features as in ancient times. Such features are betrothal, going of the bridegroom to the bride's place, visit to the Jain temple and performance of worship by all relatives, placing garland by the bride round the bridegroom’s neck on the appointed auspicious day and again performance of worship and rejoicings. Around these main features various rites and customs have grown up according to the conditions prevailing in different provinces. Hence marriage ceremony among the Jainas is not of the same kind throughout India. Still the Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jaina Āchāryas have tried to give uniformity to the rites to be performed at the time of the marriage ceremony so far as their followers are concerned. In this way the prominent rites of marriage ceremony are practically the same among Śvetāmbaras all over India and the same is true about the Digambaras also. According to Śvetāmbaras there are 16 main rites in their marriage ceremony as follows:

1. Māṭrākāsthāpana
2. Saptakulakarasthāpana
3. Varaghoḍāno Šāntimantra
4. Hastamelāpa
5. Agnisthāpana
6. Homa
7. Prathamābhisheka
8. Gotrochchāra
9. Manḍapavedipratishṭhā
10. Torapapratishṭhā
11. Agnipradakshipā
12. Kanyādāna

15. Karamochana  16. Āśirvāda

For Digambaras the following twenty rites are prescribed as a part of their marriage ceremony, viz.,

1. Vāgdāna  2. Vinayakavidhāna
5. Toranavidhi  6. Vivahavidhi
7. Parasparamukhāvalokana  8. Varamālā
11. Devasāstragurupājā  12. Homāhuti
15. Saptapadi  16. Puṇyāhavāchana
17. Sāntimana  18. Āśirvāda

Even though these twenty items are included in the Digambara marriage ceremony, the following five are considered to be the main parts of the marriage ceremony, viz., Vāgdāna, Pradāna, Varaṇa, Pānipidana and Saptapadi. Vāgdāna is the engagement which takes place generally one month before the marriage ceremony. In this rite the bride’s father makes an offer to the bridegroom’s father in the presence of relatives and friends of both the parties and the latter accepts the offer. It constitutes an open pledge by both the parties. Pradāna means the presentation of ornaments by the bridegroom’s father to the bride sometime before the actual marriage ceremony. Varaṇa is the Kanyādāna, i.e., the gift of the bride by her father. At the time of the marriage ceremony both the bridegroom and the bride’s father ask permission of the assembled persons to give their consent to the proposed union. When the group consent is received, the Varaṇa rite is completed. Pānipidana or Pāniprāhaṇa is the join-

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1. See Jaina Samskāravidhi, p. 89 onwards.
2. (i) बार्टिवं च प्रदानं च वरणं पाणिपदनम्।

   सत्तपदीति पंचायो विवाह: परिकीतितः॥ T. V. A., XI, 41.

   (ii) Lalarama Shastri; Shodaṣa Samskāra, pp. 95–114.
ing of the hands together of bride and bridegroom. In this rite the bride's father giving the right hand of the bride into the right hand of the bridegroom asks a promise from him that he would protect her by Dharma, Artha and Kāma and the bridegroom gives that promise. Saptapadi is the circum-ambulation of the sacred fire. The Saptapadi must necessarily be performed in the marriage ceremony, because unless the Saptapadi is performed, marriage cannot be said to be complete.1 The Saptapadi has been considered so essential that the girl assumes the title of wife only when all the seven rounds are completed.2 The Saptapadi is the culmination of the marriage ceremony in the sense that even after Pānīpiḍana, i.e., joining of the hands, the Saptapadi has not taken place and some defect is discovered in the bridegroom, the father of the girl can marry her to another person.3 When the bridal pair does the circum-ambulation of sacred fire seven times, each time both the bride and the bridegroom have to desire that they will attain in succession, the Saptaparamasthāna, i.e., the seven high states in life, viz., (1) Sajjātīva, good society; (2) Sadgrasthatva, good household state; (3) Sādhvatva, ascetic state; (4) Indratva, Indra state; (5) Chakravartitva, emperor state; (6) Jinavaratva, the state of Lord Jina, i.e., one who has conquered all enemies; and (7) Nirvāṇa, complete salvation.4 Before the marriage ceremony is over, the husband was required to promise, as a part of the nuptial contract, that he would not engage in fun and frolic with other woman; that he would not visit immoral women's abodes; that he would not gamble; that he would provide for and protect the bride by earning an honourable living; that he would not oppose her visiting suitable and proper places, such as a place of pilgrimage, temple, etc.; that

1. ताब्रम्भिवाहां नैव स्वादू यावस्मसपदी भवेत्।
   तस्मात्समपदी कार्यं विवाहं मुनिनिप्रमुनयत। ॥

2. यावस्मसपदिकाण न स्यात् सम्मा। ताब्रुत्वत्तांम।
   कन्यात्ति नासम पत्थरं जायेति नामस्मागिनी॥

3. चतुर्थीमय्ये शाब्दे दोषा यदि वर्त्य चेतु।
   विभासमपि बुन्दयात् विविहानिमुनयं विदुरुङ्ग। ॥

he would have no secrets from her; and, lastly, that he would not reveal her secrets to any one. The wife also was required to make the following seven promises: that she would respect and honour and serve his parents; that she would not disobey him (in all the really serious matters of life); that she would refrain from bitter and harsh speech; that she would not be sullen or sulk when visited by Holy Men and Women; that she would not go to another man's house at night, nor get mixed up with a crowd of men, and that she would not go to the houses of drunkards and immoral persons. Sometimes these promises are made after the sixth round and before the seventh round of the circum-ambulation of the sacred fire.

Let us now compare the Jaina and Hindu rites and ceremonies performed at the 'vivāha', i.e., actual marriage ceremony. (i) In describing the ceremonies and rituals connected with the 'vivāha', all the Hindu texts concerned refer to the bride as being given away by the father or her guardian in the family, who invites the bridegroom. The bridegroom goes to the bride's home where the 'vivāha' is to take place. The Jainas consider that a bride must be given by her father to a bridegroom. It is in the nature of a gift or dāna. We have seen that the most prevalent forms of marriage among the Jainas at present are Brāhma and Prājāpatya and in both these forms a bride is given as a gift to the bridegroom by her father. Further, marriage ceremony is to be performed by the Jainas at the bride's place and after the ceremony is over, the bride is brought by the bridegroom to his own house.

(ii) Among the Hindus, like the Jainas, there are variations in the observation of wedding rites with peoples of different regions and villages. Of these rites, the commonly accepted by all are

4. See page 147 ante.
as follows:— The Kanyâdâna, the Vivâhahoma, the Pâñigrahaṇa, the Agniparîṇayana, the Aśmârohaṇa, the Lâjâhoma and the Saptapadi. According to Hindu Vivâha system a marriage is not regarded as complete unless and until the rites of Pâñigrahaṇa and the Saptapadi are performed.1 Though the Jaina system of marriage varies from region to region, we have noted the commonly followed rites among the Śvetâmbaras and Digambaras and it may be observed that both the sections of Jainas regard the rites of Pâñigrahaṇa (or Hastamilâpa) and Saptapadi (or Agniprâdakshiṇâ) as the indispensable rites in the marriage ceremony. Both the rites are meant to impress upon the minds of the bridal pair the ultimate aim of marriage. The spectacular observance of Saptapadi is something which participants cannot be expected to forget while they live. Here a physical fire is used as a symbol of an inner fire, the fire of renunciation, that sanctifies and makes holy. When the wedding couple go round the Sacred Fire, in circumambulation, they are required to impress it on their minds that not pleasure seeking, but salvation, through renunciation, is the ideal of life. The officiating Priest is required to address the bridal pair at this time and has to impress upon their minds that the aim of life is not the wasting of it in the joys and thrills of sense–gratification, but the burning up of the seed of sin by the Fire of Renunciation.2

9. CONSUMMATION OF MARRIAGE

When the institution of marriage is designed to regulate the sexual behaviour of people, it is but natural that certain provision will have to be made regarding the time when that behaviour should be followed by the married couple. This freedom is not given to the couple before marriage even though betrothal has taken place. Strict virginity is expected from both the parties before the marriage and as such no elaborate restrictions are levied on their sexual freedom after the marriage ceremony. Generally, the bridal pair is allowed to have the consummation of marriage within a week after the marriage ceremony. The Hindu texts enjoin on the

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newly wedded couple to observe strict celibacy for three days after grha-praveśa, i.e., the last rite of the marriage ceremony, is over and to mate on the fourth day after certain rites known as the foetus-laying rites are performed. Among the Śvetāmbara Jainas, the newly married pair departs for consummation of marriage on the same day on which Āśirvacha or Āśirvāda, i.e., the last marriage ceremony is performed. According to the Digambara Jainas, the bride and bridgroom should observe the vow of celibacy for seven days after the marriage ceremony; thereafter they should proceed on pilgrimage to some sacred place and then perform the honeymoon joyfully in their own place.

10. POLYGyny

One of the important questions connected with the institution of marriage is the number of partners entering the union. Marriage need not necessarily be a two-partner marriage; it can be a many-partner marriage. Sometimes forms of marriage are devised according to the number of partners entering the union. In a Group Marriage there are many men and many women; in Polyandry, one woman and many men; in Polygyny, one man and many women; and in Monogamy, one man and one woman only. Group-marriage is unknown to Jainas and even though polyandrous marriage is adopted by certain Hindu and other castes in some parts of India it is not found at all among the Jainas. Polygyny is allowed and practised in Jaina society. As a general rule in ancient times people were monogamous, and polygyny was a fashion among the rich and the ruling sections. The kings and princes con-

2. Śri Jaina Sarsakīrāvidhi, pp. 110-111.
3. पाणिग्रहणसंस्कारं नियुक्तं तथुपूर्वरम्।
अतिषाहं परेशुचक्रतं इत्यात्प्रसारित्तिलक्षणम्॥
कामव्यवस्थितां भूतिं संयोगभूमिविहस्त ।
स्वरूपं प्रतिवेदू भूतां पर्या तथूपूर्वरम॥
बिस्मकांस्क्रं श्यातस्वरूपं स्वरूपिणम् ।
अपिदाय तथा कांडे भगाक्लेश्वपलावितम॥

Ādi-purāṇa, 38, 131-133.

sidered it a privilege to have a crowded harem, which strengthened their political power by contracting numerous but judicious matrimonial alliances. The rich people regarded plurality of wives as a proof of their wealth, reputation and social position. References to polygyny are numerous in the Jaina texts. In this connection the names of king Bharata, King Vikkamajasa, King Seniya and that of Gahavai Mahasaya may be mentioned. Until very recently polygyny was the most widespread custom among Jainas and as a result there were many married females than married males and there was an unusually large proportion of widows in the Jaina society. The caste-pañchāyatas which used to limit the freedom of its members in other respects, did not restrict the members from marrying and having many wives. Further, there is no religious injunction against the custom of plurality of wives. Under the Jaina Law a man may marry more than one wife, that is to say, he may marry again in the presence of one wife. For doing so certain rules have been prescribed. It is ordained that one may marry a second time after ten years if the first wife is childless, after twelve years if she has only daughters, after 15 years if her children die after birth, and immediately if she is unlovable. At the same time certain consideration is shown to the first wife. Among the Jaina Baniyās of the Central Province it is generally the rule that a man must obtain the consent of his first wife before taking a second one. In the absence of this precaution for her happiness, parents will refuse to give him their daughter. It has been prescribed that in the presence of a wife

1. Ādi Purāṇa, 37, 35-36.
7. अथां दशमे वर्षे ब्राह्मण ह्यां स्त्रीयां ज्योतिष तयाः।
   मृत्युपर्य चक्षुर्विद्याप्राप्तिनिमित्ते || T. V. A., XI, 197.
who is beautiful, fruitful, the cause of good luck, beloved and who joins in the performance of religious observances, one should not marry a second time.\(^1\) That the second wife is not viewed with regard will be seen from the fact that the first wife of a man is termed Dharmapati, the wife of status, or righteousness and the second wife Bhogapati, i.e., the wife of pleasure.\(^2\) This shows that more importance was attached to the first wife than the subsequent wives and that the monogamous marriage was preferred to the polygynous one. At present according to the state law bigamous marriages are prohibited in certain provinces and where such a law does not prevail, monogamy is the rule and polygyny the exception in the Jaina Community.

Though polygyny was allowed and practised by both Hindus and Jainas, there is a great difference in their outlook towards polygyny. From the point of view of the Hindu, beatitude, which is the main aim of man in this life, is obtainable through sons and grandsons and therefore a man should marry more than once in case the first marriage fails to promote its true object of begetting a male offspring.\(^3\) This main idea underlying the polygynous system among the Hindus is completely absent among the Jainas as the salvation, which is the main aim of a Jaina in this life, does not depend, according to Jainism, on having sons and grandsons. Hindus practise polygyny as it is sanctioned or ordained by religion; while in the practic of polygyny among the Jainas there is no religious motive at all. The religious element in marriage and therefore the necessity of having a male issue were so strong among the Hindus that, besides adoption, they followed the practice of appointing a widow to a relative with a view to beget a son for the deceased.\(^4\) To die without a son was regarded as a great spiritual calamity, and it was the sacred duty

1. सहस्रे सुभ्रमण्य सच्च सुभ्रमाण्यम् प्रियाम्।
   वर्मोधवरिणी भायि न व्यमेश्वरिसूद्रवति॥

of a brother to see that a son was raised on his sister-in-law to perpetuate his brother's memory and to ensure him a seat in heaven. ¹ This custom of allowing a sonless widow to have a son from a near relative of her deceased husband was known as Niyoga (or levirate). As male issues do not count at all for the salvation of a Jaina, it is obvious that the custom of Niyoga was not observed by the Jainas in ancient times.

11. DISSOLUTION OF WEDLOCK

When the parties enter the marital union they do so with a view to remain in it for a considerable period of time. The marital relations are regarded more or less durable and this durability really distinguished marital relations from other ordinary sexual relations. The ideal of marriage in India is that the marital bond should of necessity be permanent and that the dissolution of wedlock should not be allowed. Marriage means constant adjustment of relations between husband and wife and it is likely that the expected compatibility between the partners may not be realised in full or in part during the marital life. Though marriage is conceived as a permanent union, still after entering the union certain circumstances arise which go against the purpose of marriage and thus some provisions have to be made to dissolve the wedlock under specific conditions. The Jaina scriptures declare that if after the marriage has taken place either of the couple finds any defect in the other within the time prescribed for honeymoon and complains of it, then that marriage is null and void and the bride is free to marry again.² Further, it has been ordained by the Jaina law-givers that a wife is allowed to marry another person under the following five circumstances and after taking the consent of the Caste Pañchāyata (i. e. elderly people) and of the government, viz., if the husband becomes a sinner, or an ascetic, or an impotent person, if he dies, and if no information is available regarding his where-

¹ Altekar, A. S.; Position of Woman in Hindu Civilisation, P. 169.
abouts. Similarly, according to the Hindus there are five cases of legal necessity wherein the wife is allowed to marry a second husband; she may take a second husband, if the first is lost or dead or becomes an ascetic or is impotent or is expelled from the caste.

Female chastity is the key-note of marriage in India and hence a woman is expected to preserve her chastity not only during the life-time of her husband but even after his death. That is why the marriage of widows was not generally favoured in ancient India. The remarriage of widows is in general not accepted by Hindus in their Smṛitis, and widow re-marriages disappeared almost completely from Hindu society from about 1,100 A.D. In earlier Jain literature not a single instance of widow marriage can be traced. But from the medieval times widow-marriage was allowed and practised by the Jainas in South India. In this connection Mr. C. R. Jain observes that though there is no instance to be found of widow-remarriage in the Jaina Purāṇas, still no clear direction is found in the scriptures in this matter, either sanctioning or prohibiting such marriages. In the Trivarnikāchāra certain observances are made which suggest that there might have been in existence the practice of widow-remarriage among Jainas. It is stated that a woman whose middle toe does not touch the ground, will not go to any third person after two; and that the girl whose Anāmikā, i.e., the toe next to the little toe, does not touch the ground, will

2. नढे गुदीं स्नानिते बढ़ीवे च पतिते पत्नी।
   पंचन्त्रापद्ध नारीणां पतिर्रम्यो विचर्यते॥
devour two husbands. The Conference of Svetâmbara Sthânā-
kvâsi Jaina ascetics held on 7–4-1933 declared that Jaina religion
is not concerned with the question of widow-remarriage and the
caste customs determine whether to allow widow-remarriage
or not. From these it can be concluded that the question
concerning the validity of the re-marriage of a widow can only
be decided according to the local custom. Among the Jainas of
Gujarâtha widow remarriage is in general neither allowed nor
practised at present. But during the 13th century it might have
been generally observed as the King Aśvarâja was married to a
child-widow, Kumâradevi, and out of this wedlock were born the
two famous Gujarâtha ministers, viz., Vastupâla and Tejapâla.
Among the Jaina Baniyâs of the C. P. the remarriage of widows
is nominally prohibited, but frequently occurs, and remarried
widows are relegated to the inferior social groups in each sub-
caste. In the Hyderabad Dominion only some members of Saita-
vâla and Bogâra castes allow widows to marry again and such
marriages are attended by inferior rites. It is learnt that in
South Kanara one Bhaṭṭâraka, i.e., religious head of the Jainas,
started the practice of widow-remarriage and now it is followed by
some Jainas without any fear of ex-communication. In poorer
sections of the Chaturtha, Paṅchama, Kâsâra and Saitavâla castes
of Jainas in the Deccan widow-remarriage is the prevalent custom.
In the Southern India a Jaina woman marries only once in life and
if her husband dies when she is young, she must remain a widow
as long as she lives.

1. पदार्थपि मध्यमा यश्यः श्रेष्ठिः न स्पृश्चाति यदि।
हौ युर्द्वाधितक्रमं सा उत्तर्ये न गच्छति॥
यश्यास्त्रव्यावहिन्द्रम् न्यस्तवा तां विदुः कलहष्यमायम्।

7. Jaina Jagat, Vol. 8, No. 5, p. 27.
The question of divorce is intimately connected with that of dissolution of wedlock. Divorce is the demand by one of the partners to the marital union to be allowed to break the bond of marriage. All things cannot be foreseen before marriage and there is considerable element of chance. Hence the demand to cut asunder the marital tie is more commonly put forward when people do not find their mates in the relation that they had thought or imagined that they would be.\(^1\) As the possibility of marital relations getting strained always remains, it is the duty of social law-givers to make provision of divorce under specific conditions so that maximum of conjugal happiness could be ensured for every person. Though like early Christianity, Hinduism also held that the marriage union was indissoluble, still if we carefully examine the earlier Dharma-śāstra literature, we find that divorces were permitted under certain well defined circumstances. Kautilya, while giving detailed rules of divorce for the couples who found it impossible to live with each other, expressly declares that marriages consecrated according to the Brāhma, Daiva, Ārsha and Prājāpatya forms cannot be dissolved at all.\(^2\) It has been noticed above that Hindus have given permission to a wife to re-marry under the five cases of legal necessity and it can be said that this permission clearly presupposes the possibility of divorce from the earlier marriage.\(^3\) As the same circumstances are prescribed by Jaina law-givers for remarriage of a woman, it appears that divorce was allowed by the Jainas under specific conditions. It should be remembered that as the Jaina religion is not concerned with marriage, like other customs connected with the institution of marriage, the rules regarding divorce are governed by local customs. It can be said that in general the custom of granting divorce is not observed under any circumstances by practically all Jaina castes except to a little extent by the castes of Bogārā and Saitavāla. Divorce is permitted among the Bogārās on the ground of the wife’s unchastity, barrenness

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or ill-temper. Such divorced wives remarry by the same rites as widows. Divorce is recognised among the Saitavālas and divorced wives marry by inferior rites. 1

12. THE POSITION OF WOMAN

The general attitude of men towards women was not consistent in its approach. In Jaina literature we come across several statements which either denounce or praise the female sex. Naturally in each case a certain view is expressed about women after taking into account their actions in particular circumstances and accordingly a generalisation is made about their good or bad character and their healthy or evil influence and the extent to which freedom may be given to them in various sorts of activities. Thus it is said about the women that they are faithless, ungrateful, treacherous, untrustworthy and strict control must be kept over them. In the voice of Manu the Jaina texts state that a woman, when a child must be kept under the control of her father, when married under her husband and when a widow under her son; thus a woman is never allowed to live independently. 2 In connection with the thoughts of a woman the Pārśvanātha Charitra of Bhāvadeva Sūrī says that 'the wise ones know how much sand there is in the Ganges, and how much water in the ocean, they know the dimensions of a great mountain,—but the thoughts of a woman they cannot fathom'. 3 Free and careless association with the inmates of the harem is considered to be a source of danger to the king. It is stated that the entrance of a king into the house of a woman is like the entrance of a frog into a serpent's hole. 4 Several instances are given to illustrate how kings are sometimes assassinated by women with devices of their own. 5 As regards the duty of men towards women the former are advised

that it is always risky to educate the latter too much.\footnote{Vide, नातीय लिखः: शैवपाद्वीया: स्वभाववायुमणोश्च: स्वात्मोपादेशः
श्रीपु, श्रीपु श्रवणीन्तर्भ इत्य विपत्तां स्वात्मतः प्रतिपाले। N. V., 24, 43}
Further, we are told that women may have freedom as much as they like in the discharge of their duties towards their husbands and children, but must not interfere in matters which properly belong to men's sphere, their minds being extremely fickle and superficial, like a drop of water on a lotus leaf. No one who accepts the participation of woman in activities other than domestic duties can thrive for long, being like a tree fallen into the current of a river. And it is under a man's control that a woman achieves her desired end, like a sword in the grip of a man.\footnote{Handiqui, K. K. : Op. cit., p. 105. Similar statements are made by the same author, Ächārya Somadeva, in his Nītīvākyāmṛtām,
"अप्रयोगः गृहकृत्योऽदितः परोऽप्राप्तः। श्रवणस्याः स्वात्मतः स्वात्मतः।" 24, 39.
"श्रीश्रवणश्च न दीर्घतिर्मय्यते। द्वष; न च निरहऽन्ति।" 24, 41.
"श्रवणश्च न दीर्घतिर्मय्यते। द्वष; न च निरहऽन्ति।" 24, 42}
Ächārya Amitagati's Subhāshitataratnasandoha, which is considered important from the point of view of Jaina ethics, treats the female body as a sum of all impurity and hence in its opinion the woman is 'the treasury of all sufferings,' 'the bolt barring the city of heaven, the path to the dwelling of hell,' 'the axe for the pleasant grove of piety, the hoar-frost for the lotus of virtues, the root of the tree of sins, the soil for the creeper of deceit,' etc.\footnote{Winternitz : Op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 562-563.}
In contradiction to the above statements we also find that a woman is counted among fourteen jewels of a Chakravarti. Many stories of devoted and chaste wives are told. Women were highly regarded and it is prescribed that at the time of difficulty such as caused by water, fire, robbers or famine, a woman must be rescued first.\footnote{Jain, J. C.: Op. cit., p. 154.}
While comparing the physical and intellectual qualities of men and women it has been declared in emphatic terms that women are superior to men in intellectual activity.\footnote{Handiqui, K. K.: Op. cit., p. 106.} As regards the relative

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{Vide, नातीय लिखः: शैवपाद्वीया: स्वभाववायुमणोश्च: स्वात्मोपादेशः
श्रीपु, श्रीपु श्रवणीन्तर्भ इत्य विपत्तां स्वात्मतः प्रतिपाले। N. V., 24, 43

\item Handiqui, K. K.: Op. cit., p. 105. Similar statements are made by the same author, Ächārya Somadeva, in his Nītīvākyāmṛtām,
"अप्रयोगः गृहकृत्योऽदितः परोऽप्राप्तः। श्रवणस्याः स्वात्मतः स्वात्मतः।" 24, 39.
"श्रीश्रवणश्च न दीर्घतिर्मय्यते। द्वष; न च निरहऽन्ति।" 24, 41.
"श्रवणश्च न दीर्घतिर्मय्यते। द्वष; न च निरहऽन्ति।" 24, 42


\end{itemize}
characteristics of women, Āchārya Somadeva, as a practical thinker, gives his judgement in Nītivākyāmṛtam that women are neither good nor bad: they are, like the cream of milk, the source of poison as well as nectar, and that women have neither any innate merit nor blemish, but become just like their husbands, as rivers assume the character of the ocean when they are merged therein. This view is, it seems, more balanced and depicts the real position in society. In connection with the various harsh remarks made about women it should, however, be noted that such remarks do not find general acceptance in society and they are made with a view to blacken the character of women in order to warn the lustful monks to keep aloof from feminine charms that might overcome their reason. That is why remarks like "Striyo hi vishamam Visham", i.e., women are indeed the worst of poisons, are made while advising the ascetics to abstain from the desire of women. Moreover the injunctions given to the Kings to avoid company of women should be considered in relation to what is called Rājarakṣā or protection of Kings and they appear to be in keeping with the precautions against familiarity with women recommended as a measure of self-defence. With these ideas about women let us see their religious, social, political and legal position.

Religious Position:

We have already seen that the followers of Jaina religion have been divided into four categories, viz., Sādhūs, Sādhvis,

1. "सत्तां: खियः झीर्वूः सव्रव। हव विषमुस्तक्षानम्।" ।
   "न झीर्यं सहजं गुणीं दुःशो वासित
   कित्वु नयं: सम्ब्रमितं यातृं गतिम्
   आमूदित तांनुपती नवासित खियः।" । 24, 10 and 25.
3. See क्रज्ञुः कान्तिकोवर्धी शम्मो: किमपि नाकरोऽत
   लोकपि दन्त्यते झीर्यः: खियः हि विषम् विप्रम्।
Srāvakas and Srāvikās. 1 Sādhvīs are female ascetics who follow the five great vows in a very strict manner. This shows that complete freedom was given to women to enter the ascetic order. Female sex was no bar to the practice of asceticism. The Jaina Āchāryas were extremely sympathetic in their attitude to women and admitted them freely into their order, no matter whether the candidates for admission were royal consorts, members of the aristocracy, and women belonging to the common run of society. 2 It is but natural that many ladies availed themselves of this opportunity of achieving their salvation by entering into the ascetic order. We read in the Kalpa Sūtra that 3,000 female ascetics realised the goal of emancipation under the inspiration of Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara, and later during the days of Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara, as many as 20,000 nuns obtained the supreme state of liberation whereas only 1,000 male ascetics in the same time were entitled to that exalted position. 3 The number of female ascetics gradually went on increasing and we find that in the time of Mahāvīra, the 24th Tīrthaṅkara, the number of Sādhvīs was 36,000. 4 Though the females were given a place along with the males in the ascetic order of Jaina community, uniform rules were not imposed upon both the sexes during different stages of ascetic order. So far as the preparatory period of the monastic life was concerned, women were not denied any particular privilege enjoyed by men. Female and male ascetics had to follow the same rules of conduct in matters like begging, wandering, sleeping, offering prayers, etc. 5 But in general we notice that nuns were placed under a more rigorous discipline than monks. They are prohibited to study the chapters of Mahāparījñā and Aruṇopapāta and the Drśṭivāda. It is stated that the Drśṭivāda deals with the magical formulae and as women are not strong enough but fickle-minded, they are

1. See page 48 ante.
4. See page 48 ante.
not allowed to study the above mentioned scripture. The climax is reached in the rules which lay down that a monk of 3 years’ practice can become a teacher of a nun of 30 years’ practice and a monk of 5 years’ practice can become an Āchārya of a nun of 60 years’ practice.¹ In this connection it may be observed that Jainism was not alone to place nuns under a more rigorous discipline than monks. Buddhism also levied strict restrictions on nuns as compared with the monks. Thus the admission of a new nun was to be sanctioned by a joint meeting of the monks and nuns; new monks, however, could be admitted without consulting the nuns at all. Nuns were to go out to beg only when led by an experienced matron. Further, it has been laid down that a nun, though 100 years old, must stand in reverence before a monk though he may be just initiated in the Church.² Though rigorous discipline was imposed by Jainism, along with Buddhism, still all rules were, however, not followed in practice. According to rules nuns could under no circumstances preach to monks but we know that Sadhvi Rājimātī delivered a stirring sermon to Rathānemī, when the latter had lost self-control under the influence of tempting circumstances.³ Thus we can say that the religious status of a Jaina woman was not inferior to that of a Jaina man. Jainism declared that womanhood was no bar to salvation. A woman could attain the highest religious state, i.e., Tīrthaṅkarahood in exceptional circumstances; for the Jainas believe that very few women indeed have sufficient strength of mind and body to endure the hard life of an ascetic. They say that while not more than 20 women in the old days used to attain perfection, 108 males used to do so. Mallī, although a woman, we are told, rose to the status of a Tīrthaṅkara. Further, we hear of a large number of women in the history of Jainas who distinguished themselves as teachers and preachers.⁴

³ ibid, p. 248.
Social Status:

Religion and society are closely bound together in Indian life, and the former influences the social life of a people to a great extent. The religious independence given to Jaina women had its repercussions in the social field also. Equality of opportunity accorded to women in the religious sphere was manifest in several social spheres of action. In ancient times almost in all patriarchal societies the birth of a girl was an unwelcome event and this gave rise to practices like the female infanticide and neglect of female children. The custom of infanticide of girls crept into some sections of Hindu society during the medieval period and at the time of the advent of the British rule in India the evil custom was confined to a microscopic minority in Hindu society.\(^1\) As the whole Jaina philosophy is based on the main principle of Ahimsā or non-injury to living beings, it could not be expected at all that female infanticide might have been practised in Jaina society at any time. Similarly, we do not find that female children were purposefully neglected even though they might have been regarded as a burden on the family. We have already seen that the female wastage in the Jaina community is considerably low as compared with the female wastage from whatever causes in other communities.\(^2\) According to Jaina Law the unmarried daughters and

\(^{\text{iii}}\) Stevenson, S.: Heart of Jainism, p. 169.

\(^{\text{iv}}\) Salestree, B. A.: Medieval Jainism, Chap. V. Women as Defenders of the Faith.

\(^{\text{v}}\) Jain, K. P.: Some Historical Jain Kings & Heroes, Chap. 16 Jain Heroines.


The Digambaras, however, do not share this belief. That maintain that a woman can reach moksha but not in this life. For they she will have to take rebirth as a man. Accordingly the Digambaras maintain that Mallinātha, the 19th Tīrthaṅkara, was a man and not a woman. For the reason why Digambaras definitely closed the doors of salvation against women please refer to Sharma; Jainism and Karnataka Culture, p. 138.


2. See page 12 ante.
sisters are entitled to maintenance out of the family property and
the expenditure on their marriage must be met from the same
source. Further, in the absence of the father, the guardianship
of the younger sisters upto the time of their marriage devolves on
their elder brothers.\(^1\) The females were not only spiritually and
physically not neglected, but in education also they were given
equal treatment with the males from the very beginning. During
the period of the ascendency of the Jainas in India, it is patent
that the family, the church, the school and the state served as
powerful agents for the spread of education among women.\(^2\)
The first Tirthaṅkara, Lord Rṣabhadēva, realised the utmost
importance of imparting education to females and advised his two
young daughters, Brāhmi and Sundari, that “only when you would
adorn yourself with education your life would be fruitful because
just as a learned man is held in high esteem by educated persons,
a learned lady also occupies the highest position in the female
world.”\(^3\) Both the girls were first initiated to writing by their
father and later on with the help of teachers they studied all
branches of knowledge to such an extent that they could be
regarded as incarnations of Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning.\(^4\)
According to Jaina works a woman is expected to know 64 arts
like dancing, painting, music, aesthetics, medicine, domestic
science, etc.\(^5\) As a result of this high type of education received
by women, many women used to enter the teaching profession and
to remain unmarried throughout the life in order to carry on

3. ॥ वदे वपुवंशवेद्यमिदं श्रीमाणीवः ॥ विद्याया चतुर्वप्पित सकं जन्म वालिदम ॥
   विद्यावान्वूरव्यः टोके सम्माति याति कोविदेः ॥ नारी च तद्ददि चते स्त्रीमुद्धरिग्नं
   पद्मेऽः ॥ Ādi Pūrāṇa, XVI, 97-98.
4. (i) अधैनयो: पद्मानादीपिकाभि: प्रकाशितात: ॥ कठाविद्यां निःश्च: स्वयं
   पारिणाति यथ: ॥
   इति। नाथधितानिश्चेष्यविषे ते सुनेतधयसतोऽः बाग्नेवतावताराय करस्ये पार्थतमीन्यतुः ॥
   Ādi Pūrāṇa, XVI, 116-117.
their spiritual experiments unhampered. The Jaina tradition has preserved the memory of Jayanti, a daughter of king Sahasrāṃika of Kausāmbi, who remained unmarried out of her love for religion and philosophy. When Mahāvīra first visited Kausāmbi, she discussed with him several abstruse metaphysical questions and eventually became a nun. It is a fact that the cause of women's education in India suffered a good deal after about 300 B.C. on account of the new fashion of child-marriage that then began to come into vogue. Accordingly, the female education among Jainas declined and at present the male literacy is five times than the female literacy in the Jaina community. Still the position of the Jaina females is decidedly better than that of the females as a whole in India and in the extent of literacy Jaina ladies stand next to Parsee, Jew and Christian ladies. The Jaina women not only kept up the pace of female education but at times made original contribution to literature. Along with men Jaina women also added to Kannāda literature. The greatest name among them was Kāntī who, along with Abhinava Pāmpa, was one of the gems that adorned the Court of Hoysala King Ballāla I (A.D. 1100–1106). She was a redoubtable orator and a poet who completed the unfinished poems of Abhinava Pāmpa in the open court of that ruler. Similarly, a Jaina lady Avvaiyāra, 'the Venerable Matron’, was one of the most admired amongst the Tamil poets.

Of all the important events in the life of a woman, marriage is the most singular one. When a woman enters the institution of marriage she is called upon, in course of time, to rear and bring up the next generation. This makes her condition more precarious and of necessity she has to depend for the time being on the help

2. Ibid., p. 18.
3. See page 23 ante.
and co-operation of her partner. Inequality of sex is the most obvious fact of the societal situation and the weaker sex has to adjust itself with the stronger one. The fate of a woman is, therefore, determined by her position in various aspects of marriage. A well devised marriage will give her the desired protection, otherwise there is every possibility that her life would be ruined. Marriage, thus, occupies an important place in the consideration of the social status of women. Though marriage, according to Jainas, is more in the nature of a civil contract and completely bereft of religious necessity, yet it was made obligatory for all persons, men and women, by the Jaina law-givers. Those who do not wish to follow the life of renunciation and asceticism from an early age were advised to get married. Marriage was made equally compulsory for both women and men. Out of the eight forms of marriage the most prevalent forms of marriage in Jaina community at present are the Brāhma or Prājāpatya. There is no marked distinction between these two forms of marriage and they can perhaps be considered one and the same. It has been observed that this marriage is contracted without any exchange of money and the bride is given by her father as a gift to the bridegroom. To give away a daughter to the best available bridegroom out of sole regard for her happiness without receiving any consideration whatsoever recorded a marked ethical advance and definitely helped in making the status of both the parties equal. As regards the age of marriage in Jaina community we have noticed that in ancient times marriage was recommended only for grown-up persons; that the age-limit was lowered in medieval times and that at present adult marriage is the order of the day. In this respect it can be said that these are the very stages through which the Hindus also have passed. The part to be played by a bride in the settlement of her marriage depends on the age of the bride at the time of marriage. As the child-marriage was not favoured by Jaina law-givers, it could be maintained that the brides have a more or less effective voice, in the selection of their partners in life. That is why the

Svayamvara form of marriage was considered as the ancient and the best form of marriage. While determining the qualifications of parties to the marital union utmost care was taken to see that a bride was given to a person who was free from all sorts of bodily deformities and diseases and endowed with virtues and good family connections. In the married life sufficient importance is given to the wife for the valuable role she plays in bringing family happiness. A wife is regarded as the keystone of the arch of the happiness of the home. It is emphatically said that a compound of brick and mortar does not make a home but the wife who follows the family traditions constitutes a home. In the domestic sphere she wielded all powers and was regarded as the presiding mistress of the house. It will be noticed from Mahāpurāṇa, Śāntipurāṇa, Padmapurāṇa, Harivaṃśapurāṇa and other Purāṇas that when the queens used to visit the Durbars, the kings themselves used to welcome them by standing and to allow them to sit by their side on the thrones. Even though polygyny was allowed, monogamy was the rule and polygyny the exception. As only a small, rich and ruling section of the society followed polygyny, there was no general deterioration in the position of a woman. With a view to counteract illicit relations complete fidelity between husband and wife was regarded as the ideal of married life and for that purpose at the time of entering the householder’s stage both the husband and wife have to take a vow of not keeping extra conjugal sexual relations. In spite of the various precautions, if the married life does not become successful, the dissolution of wedlock is permitted under specific circumstances and the wife is allowed to contract another marriage. This means that divorce was allowed under

1. See page 151 ante.
2. Vide, (i) गृह हि गृहिणीपात्रेः कुप्पकसंस्थात्। S. D., 2,59.
   (ii) गृहिणी गुरुमुख्यस्ते न पुनः कुप्पकसंस्थात्। N. V., 31,31.
4. Mukhtar, J K.; Vivāhakah Uddeśya, p 6. This vow is known as Svadārasantosha or Svabhārtrasantushti.
certain conditions. In fact the practices of divorce and widow remarriage were governed by local customs and to that extent the position of woman in this respect varied from place to place. When a woman becomes a widow, she is placed in a precarious condition and the treatment accorded to her has an important bearing on her social position. The lot of the widow helps to find out the attitude of society towards women as a class. The first question to be dealt in connection with a widow was whether she was allowed to survive her husband, or she was compelled to die with him. Hindus adopted the policy of sacrificing the wife at the husband’s death right from 300 B. C. upto 1829 A. D. when the custom of sati was prohibited by law. Contrary to this we do not find any instance of self-immolation or the custom of sati in Jain texts. There is only one stray reference in the Mahānīśihā where a widowed daughter of a certain king wanted to perform sati, but she refrained from doing so as that custom was not in vogue in her father’s family. From the Epigraphia Carnatica, we find that there were 41 cases of Satīs during the period of 1400 to 1600 A. D. and out of these two belonged to the Jainas. This shows that some Jainas had by that time begun to feel that they ought not to lag behind the Hindus in this matter, but it is clear that this feeling did not find general acceptance in the Jaina community as the number of Jaina satīs was far low than that of Hindu satīs. Apart from self-immolation there were three courses open for widows in ancient times. They could either pass their remaining life in widowhood, or have some children by levirate (niyoga), or remarry regularly. The second course was not prescribed by the Jainas; the third course was regulated by local customs and in all probability was adopted by a very small section and, therefore, the first course, which was considered more honourable, was open to the Jaina widows. As the full religious freedom was allowed to females, widow could devote their time for their spiritual upliftment and thus carves out

a respectable position for them in their family and in the minds of people in general. It will be presently shown that her legal position was better because she inherited the property of her deceased husband and hence could pass her widowhood without any serious economic difficulty. Further, Jaina widows were free from the ugly custom of tonsure followed by the Hindu widows from about 1200 A. D. Among Jainas only nuns are used to be shaved and it is suggested that this practice might have given rise to the custom of the tonsure of widows in the Hindu society.¹

The above discussion is sufficient for giving us a general idea of the social position of a Jaina woman. In conclusion it can be said that in spite of traditional practices of early marriage and widowhood persisting in the Jaina community, the granting of religious independence to women had very healthy repercussions on their social status. Thus, they commanded voice in their family affairs and wielded uncommon influence in the shaping of their children's destiny. Moreover, they enjoyed many legal rights of inheritance and possession of property and had ample opportunity of managing their domestic business independently.²

Political Status:

The question whether women were allowed to take part in political activities depends on the question whether women could come out in public and move freely in society. From the Jaina texts we find that women appeared in the public without any restriction. They could go out to visit their friends and relations. Many women are seen going to shrines for worship and gathering on the occasion of various festivals.³ There was nothing like Purdah system among ancient Jaina women. The Purdah system was generally adopted by the Hindu community after the advent of Muslim rule. This was more in vogue in the Northern than in the Southern India and now it is found only in some rich and aristocratic families especially in Rajputana. The same can be said about the Jaina community. Even at present the ladies of Osava³

caste necessarily observe the Purdah and high position is accorded to families according to the strictness with which they follow the Purdah system.¹

In ancient times women were never thought fit for any other sphere than the household life and the intricate questions of administration and government were held to be beyond their comprehension.² But it could be seen that in times of need women did rise to the occasion and held important positions in the political sphere from the very beginning.³ We find similar instances in the history of Jaina community also. In ancient Jaina texts we come across women dressed in man’s attire, putting on armour, equipped with weapons, arms, shields, bows and arrows and there are examples when women actually fought battles.⁴ In the first quarter of the 10th century A. D. figures a remarkable Jaina woman administrator, Jakkiyabbe, and it is stated that she was skilled in ability for good government, and protected the Nāgarakhaṇḍa 70 ( a name of a place ).⁵ It is recorded that a Jaina lady Saviyabbe accompanied her husband on horse-back to the battlefield and fell fighting in the battle of Bagiyur.⁶ It appears from Epigraphia Carnatica that the office of Nādagaṇḍa, an important rural official, was held by a Jaina women. An inscription dated 918 A.D. shows that a Jaina widow was a Nādagaṇḍa and was distinguished for the skill and ability of her management. It states that though a woman she well protected her charge, with pride in her own heroic bravery.⁷ In the 16th century A.D. when the Jaina queen Bhairavadevi, while ruling over the kingdom of Gerosoppe, was attacked by the neighbouring Śaiva Saradāra, she faced the enemy bravely and defeated him in the battle.⁸

¹ Vide Osavāla Jātikā Itihāsa, Appendix, p. 7.
⁶ Hiralal: Jaina-Śilālekha-Samgraha, p. 146.
Legal Status:

Under the Jaina Law not only men but women also have always had their maintenance and property rights. A Jaina person's regard for the female sex does not admit of his sending out the female members of his family to work among men. All women fall in one of the two categories—daughters and wives. They are either born in the family, and are its daughters, or have been brought into it by marriage, in which case they are wives. Maintenance must always be provided for both classes of women by the male members of the family; and it must be adequate and ample. A woman is allowed to have her special property known as Strīdhana. Strīdhana thus denotes property over which a woman is allowed to have her own more or less absolute sway in normal times. According to Jaina Law the following kinds of property are termed Strīdhana.

1. The Adhyagnikṛta (whatever is given in the presence of the sacred fire) i.e. to say ornaments, etc. which are received by a girl from her parents at the time of her marriage.

2. The Adhyāhavanika (that which is brought) is what the young bride brings from her father's house in the presence of her father and brothers.

3. The Pritidāna (given with affection) i.e. things given by the father-in-law and the mother-in-law at the time of marriage.

4. The Audāyika (or Saudāyika) i.e. whatever is received after the marriage from the parents or the husband.

5. The Anvādheya comprising things received from the ladies of her own or of the husband's house-hold at the time of marriage.

Briefly put, whatever is received at the time of the marriage by the bride is all her Strīdhana. And after the marriage all the clothes and ornaments given to her by her own people or the members of her father-in-law's family are also regarded as Strīdhana. The Strīdhana is not liable to division at a partition.

like the ancestral property and except during a famine or for religious necessities nobody can take the Stridhana, not even the husband.\textsuperscript{1} Hindu jurists also have expressly declared that the husband has no right to lay his hands upon the Stridhana of his wife except in times of great distress (with a view) to tide over the difficulty.\textsuperscript{2}

As a daughter also, a Jaina woman enjoyed ample proprietary rights. If a man had only a daughter and other male issue was non-existent, that daughter became the sole owner of the wealth of her father. For the daughter, like a son, is one’s own self. The mother’s property also went to the daughter whether she was married or unmarried. In the event of her father’s death, daughter as a uterine sister of her brothers was entitled to a fourth part of the share of each brother. The share of a married daughter, however, in the property of the father in the presence of her brothers was nothing. Whatever the father gave her at the time of marriage, that only belonged to her.\textsuperscript{3}

According to Jaina Law on the death of a person without a son, his widow takes her property, as an absolute owner, whether it be divided or undivided. Further, she takes the husband’s share as an absolute owner even if there be a son.\textsuperscript{4} Herein lies the important difference between the Hindu Law and the Jaina Law. In accordance with the Hindu Law the son inherits the property of his deceased father and the widow is shown no consideration at all. The right of the widow to inherit her husband’s property is not recognised by Hindu jurists.\textsuperscript{5} On the contrary a Jaina widow becomes the direct heir to the property of her deceased husband regardless of the fact whether she has got a son or not. The cause for showing favour to a widow in preference to her son in Jaina Law is not far to seek. The soul of the law of

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   \hspace{1em} ( ii ) Jaini, J. L.: Jain Law, pp. 50-52.
   \hspace{1em} ( ii ) Jaini, J. L.: Jain Law, pp. 35-37.
\end{flushleft}
Hindu inheritance is the 'Pinda' or offering of oblations by sons to their manes. Son, therefore, is the most important legal entity in the Hindu jurisprudence. That is why in all Hindu law books, son has been accorded a prior position to his widowed mother. In fact, male descendants have been treated with greater favour than female ones throughout the legal literature of the Hindus. On the other hand, the presence or absence of a son does not make a Jaina person spiritually meritorious or otherwise. Many of the Jaina Tirthankaras were son-less and yet they attained to the highest and the most supreme status; and many people descended into hells although they had sons. It is not the teaching of Jainism that a person can benefit the soul of another after his death by his own actions and presents. This knocks away the spiritual basis upon which the high position of the first son rests in the Hindu theory. Thus the first son as such has no exclusive or first right of succession in the Jaina Law. This is why a Jaina widow is acknowledged even as a preferential heir to her own son and is given the absolute ownership of the property left by her deceased husband.¹

Further, a Jaina widow, after acquiring the property of her husband, has more or less absolute and unrestricted power of enjoyment and disposition of that property. It has been stated that for her own maintenance as well as for making expenditure towards religious purposes and for the purposes of her community, a widow has power to spend her husband's wealth and also to sell his property.² She is at liberty to give her inherited property to any one she likes and cannot be stopped by any one except as regards the maintenance of small children. The son is left to amuse himself any way he pleases. This peculiarity of the Jaina Law is calculated to have a wonderful effect on the community. The son has got to please the mother, if he is to get anything from the paternal or maternal estate; for she excludes him from inheritance altogether, except as an heir to herself. She is further

   (iii) Jaini, J. L. pp. 116-117.
empowered to make a will, and may also dispose of her property, by nontestamentary gifts, in her life--time. The son has, thus, got to think for himself, and learn how to earn, and to acquire pleasing manners, to captivate the heart of the mother. 1 This resulted in producing a very healthy effect on the character of sons. To invest the son with absolute ownership is to silence the mother’s controlling voice effectively. The insignificant percentage of criminals among the Jainas,—the lowest as compared with other communities—is a glaring tribute to the wisdom of the Jaina Legislator. 2

In short it can be maintained that so far as social and political position of woman was concerned, no material change occurred among Jaina women as compared with their Hindu sisters. As regards religious position of woman we can say with confidence that a yeoman service was rendered by Jaina Achāryas towards the suffering half of humanity by declaring open to it, all portals of the supreme spiritual domain and admitting it equally with the other half to the religious order for asceticism. In the sphere of law as well, they made definite contribution to the amelioration of the intolerable lot of bereaved widows who must have found some solace in the precepts of Jaina faith which gave them, to a certain extent, a place of honour and self-respect. 3

CHAPTER FIVE
Jaina Ethics and Miscellaneous Customs and Manners

1. Introductory

In this chapter we propose to discuss the religious life of Jainas with special reference to its social aspect. Religion and social behaviour are so closely bound together that social life, customs and manners of a community could not be properly understood unless we take into account the religious beliefs held by that community. Religion not only states the highest goal to be achieved by its followers but lays down elaborate rules of conduct by observance of which the desired objective may be reached without fail. Philosophy and ethics are two important and significant aspects of religion. There is always a close relation between these two aspects in the sense that philosophy determines the nature of ethics and ethics tries to accomplish the basic principles enunciated by philosophy. In view of this intimate inter-relation between philosophy and ethics, we will first state in brief the main outlines of Jaina philosophy before we discuss the Jaina ethics in detail.

2. Meaning of Jainism

Jainism is a religion propounded by a ‘Jina’. Principles enunciated by a ‘Jina’ constitute Jainism. A ‘Jina’ is not a supernatural being nor an incarnation of an all powerful God. A ‘Jina’ means a conqueror, that is, one who has conquered the worldly passions by one’s own strenuous efforts. Human beings are entitled to become ‘Jinas’ and as such ‘Jinas’ are persons of this world who have attained supreme knowledge, subjugated their passions and are free from any sort of attachment. Jainism is nothing but a set of principles preached by such persons. Hence Jainism is not an Apaurusheya religion, i.e., a religion propounded by a non-human being or based on a sacred book of non-human
origin. On the contrary, it is a religion of purely human origin and it has emanated from the mouth of a dignitary who has secured the omniscience and self-control by his own personal efforts. In short, Jainism is the substance of preachings of dignitaries who have attained the state of 'Jinas'.

3. FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF JAINISM

The fundamental principles of Jainism are considered to be as follows:

(i) The first fundamental principle of Jainism is that man's personality is dual, that is, material and spiritual. Jaina philosophy regards that every mundane soul is bound by subtle particles of matter known as Karma from the very beginning. It considers that just as gold is found in an alloyed form in the mines, in the same way mundane souls are found along with the Karma-bondage from time eternal. The impurity of the mundane soul is thus treated as an existing condition.

(ii) The second principle that man is not perfect is based on the first. The imperfectness in man is attributed to the existence of Karma in his soul. The human soul is in a position to attain perfection and in that true and eternal state it is endowed with four characteristics, viz., Anantadarśana, Anantajñāna, Anantarūpya and Anantasukha, i.e., infinite perception or faith, infinite knowledge, infinite power and infinite bliss.

(iii) Even though man is not perfect, the third principle states that by his spiritual nature man can and must control his material nature. It is only after the entire subjugation of matter that the soul attains perfection, freedom and happiness. It is emphatically maintained that man will be able to sail across the ocean of births and achieve perfection through the control of senses and thought.

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(iv) The last basic principle stresses that it is only each individual that can scientifically separate his own soul and the matter combined with it. The separation cannot be effected by any other person. This means that man himself, and he alone, is responsible for all that is good or bad in his life. He cannot absolve himself from the responsibility of experiencing the fruits of his actions. This principle distinguishes Jainism from other religions, e.g., Christianity, Islam and Hinduism. No God, nor His prophet or deputy or beloved can interfere with human life. The soul, and that alone, is directly and necessarily responsible for all that it does. God is regarded as completely unconcerned with creation of the universe or with any happening in the universe. The universe goes on of its own accord. Because of this attitude towards God Jainism is accused of being atheistic. It is true in the sense that Jainism does not attribute the creation of universe to God. But at the same time Jainism cannot be labelled as atheistic because it believes in Godhood, in innumerable gods, in Puṇya and Papa, i.e., merit and demerit, in religious practices, etc. According to Jainism the emancipated soul is considered as God.¹

4. JAINA PHILOSOPHY

We have seen that every soul is capable of attaining perfection if it willfully exerts in that direction. From time eternal the soul is bound with matter and it is the aim of every person to get the soul rid of matter so that soul can assume its true state. This spiritual emancipation requires the knowledge of the beatific condition and of the causes which stand in the way of its attain-

(iv) H. Warren: *Jainism, Not Atheism*.
(v) Bhattacharya, H.: *Divinity in Jainism*, pp. 1–14,
24–25, 35 and 46.
ment. To find out these causes it is necessary to understand what
are the existing elements or substances of nature and mode of
their interaction. Jainism believes that the whole universe can be
divided into two categories, viz., jīva, i. e., soul and ajīva, i. e.,
non-soul. These two exhaust between them all that exists in the
universe and Jaina philosophy is based on the nature and inter-
action of these two elements. It can be said in short that the
living and the non-living, by coming into contact with each other,
forge certain energies which bring about birth, death and various
experiences of life: this process could be stopped, and the
energies already forged destroyed, by a course of discipline leading
to salvation. A close analysis of this brief statement shows that it
involves seven propositions: firstly, that there is something called
the living; secondly, that there is something called the non-
living; thirdly, that the two come into contact with each other;
fourthly, that the contact leads to the production of some energies;
fifthly, that the process of contact could be stopped; sixthly, that
the existing energies could also be exhausted; and lastly, that
salvation could be achieved. These seven propositions are called
the seven tattvas or realities by the Jainas.¹ These tattvas are
termed as follows:—

1. Jīva (living substance),
2. Ajīva (matter or non-living substance),
3. Āśrava (the influx of Karmic matter into the soul),
4. Bandha (bondage of soul by Karmic matter),
5. Saṁvara (the stopping of Āśrava),
6. Nirjarā (the gradual removal of Karmic matter), and
7. Moksha (the attainment of perfect freedom).

It is clear that the first two of the tattvas deal with the nature and
e numeration of the eternal substances of nature, and the remaining
five with the interaction between these two substances, viz., spirit
and matter.² Much importance has been given to these tattvas as
every would be aspirant for Moksha has to understand the nature
of these tattvas. Out of these seven tattvas the substances are

(ii) H. Warren: Jainism, p. 51.
really two: soul and non-soul. Non-soul is all that is not soul, devoid of sentiency. Therefore the really sentient object is the soul.

(I) Jīva:

There is an infinite number of souls; the whole world is literally filled with them. The souls are substances and as such are eternal. Their characteristic mark is intelligence, which can never be destroyed. The soul is ever all perfect, all powerful. By ignorance it identifies itself with matter and hence all its troubles and degradation. Souls are of two kinds: mundane (Sāṁsārin) and liberated (Siddha or Mukta). Mundane souls are the embodied souls of living beings in the world and still subject to the Cycle of Birth; liberated souls will be embodied no more; they have accomplished absolute purity; they dwell in the state of perfection at the top of the universe and have no more to do with worldly affairs; they have reached Nirvāṇa (Nirvṛtti or Mukti). In their pure condition they have four enjoyments; those of unlimited perception, perfect knowledge, infinite power and unbounded happiness. Metaphysically the difference between the mundane and the liberated soul consists in this, that the former is permeated with subtle matter, while the latter is absolutely pure and free from any material alloy. In the impure state nine properties of the soul may be mentioned:—

(i) Jīvāḥ: It lived in the past, is living now and shall live for ever.
(ii) Upayogamayaḥ: It has perception and knowledge.
(iii) Amūrti: It is immaterial, that is, has no touch, taste, smell or colour.
(iv) Kartā: It is the only responsible agent of all its actions.
(v) Svadehaparimāṇaḥ: It completely fills the body which it occupies for example that of an ant or an elephant.
(vi) Bhokta: It enjoys the fruits of all its Karmas.
(vii) Sāṁsārasthaḥ: It wanders in Sāṁsāra.
(viii) Siddhaḥ: It can become in its perfect condition Siddha.
(ix) Urdhvagatiḥ: It has the tendency to go upwards.1

The mundane or embodied souls are living beings, the classification of which is a subject not only of theoretical but also of great practical interest to the Jainas. As their highest duty is not to injure any living beings, it becomes incumbent on them to know the various forms which life may assume. The mundane souls are of two kinds: (i) ‘Samanaska’ those who have a mind, i.e., the faculty of distinguishing right or wrong and (ii) ‘Amanaska’ those who have no mind.¹

The mundane souls are of two kinds from another point of view: (A) Sthāvara, the immobile or one–sensed souls, that is, having only the sense of touch; and (B) Trasa, the mobile, many–sensed souls, that is, having a body with more than one sense. Mobile souls are those which being in fear have the capacity of moving away from the object of fear. Immobile souls do not have this capacity. The immobile or one–sensed souls are of five kinds:

  (i) Pṛthvīkāya, i.e., earth–bodied;
  (ii) Apkāya, i.e., water–bodied;
  (iii) Tejaḥkāya, i.e., fire–bodied;
  (iv) Vāyuṇkāya, i.e., air–bodied; and
  (v) Vanaspatikāya, i.e., vegetable–bodied.

This Jain belief that ‘nearly everything is possessed of a soul’ has been characterised as animistic or hylozoistic by some scholars and therefore they regarded Jainism as a very primitive religion. But a careful study of Jaina scriptures shows that Jainism is not an animistic faith. As Jainism makes a clear distinction between soul and non–soul, it cannot be labelled as animism in the sense that ‘every–thing is possessed of a soul’.²

There are in all five senses of touch, taste, smell, sight and hearing and therefore the mobile or many–sensed souls are classified accordingly into four classes: namely, into

  (i) those which have first two senses of touch and taste, for example, worms, etc.

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(ii) those which have first three senses of touch, taste and smell, for example, ants, etc.

(iii) those which have first four senses of touch, taste, smell and sight, for example, bumble-bee, etc.

(iv) those which have five senses of touch, taste, smell, sight and hearing, for example, man, etc.

Thus each class has one sense more than the one preceding it.¹

From another point of view mundane beings are divided into four grades according to the place where they are born or their condition of existence. The forms of existence or ‘Gatis’ are of four kinds:

(i) Narakagati, that is, hellish form,

(ii) Tiryag-gati, that is, sub-human form,

(iii) Manushyagati, that is, human form,

(iv) Devagati, that is, celestial form.

Mundane beings are born in these four Gatis according to their merits or demerits. Jainism believes that for complete salvation, birth in the human form is essential and that those in other forms will attain salvation only after taking birth in the human form.²

(II) Ajīva:

Jaina philosophy starts with a perfect division of the universe into living and non-living substances, Jīva and Ajīva. The non-soul substances are of five kinds, namely, Pudgala, matter; Dharma, medium of motion; Adharma, medium of rest; Ākāśa, space; and Kāla, time. These six substances are called Dravyas in Jaina Philosophy. A Dravya has got three characteristics. First, Dravya has the quality of existence. Secondly, it has the quality of permanence through origination and destruction. Thirdly, it is the substratum of attributes and modes. The Dravya is thus uncreated and undestructible; its essential qualities


Glasenapp: Jainism, p. 218.
remain the same and it is only its Paryāya or mode or condition, that can and does change. Whatever is perceived by the senses, the sense organs themselves, the various kinds of bodies of Jīvas, the mind, the Karmas, and the other material objects—all these are known as Pudgala or matter. Dharma is the principle of motion, the accompanying circumstance or cause which makes motion possible. Just as water itself, being indifferent or neutral, is the condition of movement of fishes, so Dharma, itself non-motive, is the sine qua non of motion of Jīvas and Pudgalas. Dharma is conterminous with the universe and is one only unlike Jīva and Pudgala which are innumerable. Adharma or the principle of rest has all the characteristics associated with Dharma. But it is like the earth the sine qua non of rest for things in motion. What contains or accommodates completely all Jīvas and Pudgalas and the remaining Dravyās in the universe is termed as Ākāśa or space.¹ That which is the cause or circumstance of the modification of the soul and other Dravyas is Kāla, that is, time. It is immaterial and it has the peculiar attribute of helping the modification of the other substances. Dharma, Adharma and Ākāśa are each a single Dravya, whereas Jīva, Pudgala and Kāla are held to be innumerable Dravyas.²

(III) Āśrava:

The third principle Āśrava signifies the influx of Karmic matter, into the constitution of the soul. Combination of Karmic matter with Jīva is due to Yoga. Yoga is the activity of mind, speech and body. Thus yoga is the channel of Āśrava. The physical matter which is actually drawn to the soul cannot be perceived by the senses as it is very fine.³

(IV) Bandha:

When the Karmic matter enters the soul, both get imper-

1. In Jaina philosophy the term Ākāśa means space and not Ether as it is very often interpreted in other systems of Indian Philosophy.
   (ii) S. B. J., Vol. II, T. S., Chapter V.
ceptibly mixed with each other. *Bandha* or bondage is the assimilation of matter which is fit to form Karmas by the soul as it is associated with passions. The union of spirit and matter does not imply a complete annihilation of their natural properties, but only a suspension of their functions, in varying degree, according to the quality and quantity of the material absorbed. Thus, the effect of the fusion of the spirit and matter is manifested in the form of a compound personality which partakes of the nature of both, without actually destroying either. The causes of *Bandha* are as follows:—

1. *Mithyādarśana*, i. e., wrong belief or faith,
2. *Avirati*, i. e., vowlessness or non-renunciation,
3. *Pramāda*, i. e., carelessness,
4. *Kashāya*, i. e., passions, and
5. *Yoga*, i. e., vibrations in the soul through mind, speech and body.

This bondage is of four kinds according to (i) *Prakṛti*, that is, nature of Karmic matter which has invested the soul; (ii) *Sthiti*, that is, duration of the attachment of Karmic matter to the soul; (iii) *Anubhāga*, that is, the intensity or the character—strong or mild—of the actual fruition of the Karmic matter; and (iv) *Pradesa*, that is, the number of Karmic molecules which attach to the soul.¹

(V) *Saṁvara*:

Effective states of desire and aversion, and activity of thought, speech or body are the conditions that attract Karmas, good and bad, towards the soul. When those conditions are removed there will be no Karmas approaching the *Jīva*; that is complete *Saṁvara*—a sort of protective wall shutting out all the Karmas is established round the self. Thus *Saṁvara* is the stoppage of inflow of Karmic matter into the soul. There are several ways through which the stoppage could be effected.²

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(VI) **Nirjarā:**

*Nirjarā* means the falling away of Karmic matter from the soul. The soul will be rendered free by the automatic falling out of the Karmas when they become ripe. But this is a lengthy process. The falling away may be deliberately brought through the practice of austerities. Thus *Nirjarā* is of two kinds. The natural maturing of a Karma and its separation from the soul is called *Savipāka Nirjarā* and inducing a Karma to leave the soul, before it gets ripened by means of ascetic practices is called *Avipāka Nirjarā*.1

(VII) **Moksha:**

*Moksha* or liberation is the freedom from all Karmic matter, owing to the non-existence of the cause of bondage and the shedding of all the Karmas. Thus complete freedom of the soul from Karmic matter is called *Moksha*. It is attained when the soul and matter are separated from each other. The separation is effected when all the Karmas have left the soul, and no more Karmic matter can be attracted towards it.2

5. **THE THEORY OF KARMA**

The first basic principle of Jainism states that mundane souls exist in the world from time eternal in association with matter. Of course, the character of the bondage is freely and constantly being changed; but the fact and condition of the bondage of the soul by matter persists through all these changes. This association leads to further contact and so the cycle goes on till the association is severed in such a manner as to avoid any fresh contact. The contact takes place in the following way: The soul is surrounded by a large volume of fine matter called Karma. When the soul tries to do anything, then instantly the surrounding particles of matter cling to it just as the particles of dust stick to the body besmeared with oil. Like water in milk these particles

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of matter get completely assimilated with soul and remain in this
c-condition throughout life as well as in its migrations from one body
to another. The connection of soul and matter is real; otherwise
in a pure state the soul would have flown to the highest point in
the universe as the soul is the lightest of all substances. As this
connection or bondage is effected by the Karma or deed or activity
of the soul, the subtle matter which combines with the soul is
termed as Karma.¹ The Karma, then, is something material, which
produces in the soul certain conditions, even as a medical pill,
which when introduced into the body, produces therein manifold
effects.

The Karmas are divided into eight main divisions and 148
sub-divisions according to the nature of Karmic matter. The main
eight Karmas are:—

(1) Jñanavaraniya, that is, the Knowledge-obscuring,
(2) Darshanavaraniya, that is, the Conation-obscuring,
(3) Vedaniya, that is, the Feeling,
(4) Mohaniya, that is, the Deluding,
(5) Ayu, that is, the Age,
(6) Nama, that is, the Body-making,
(7) Gotra, that is, the Family—determining,
(8) Antaraya, that is, the Obstructive.

The first obscures the inborn right knowledge of the soul and
thereby produces different degrees of knowledge. The second
obscures the conation attribute of the soul. The third produces
pleasure and pain and thereby obscures the bliss-nature of the
soul. The fourth disturbs the right attitude of the soul with
regard to faith, conduct, etc. and produces passions and various
mental states. The fifth determines the length of life of an indi-
vidual. The sixth assigns everything that is associated with
personality, that is, the kind of body, senses, health and com-
plexion and the like. The seventh determines the nationality,
caste, family, social standing, etc. of an individual at birth. The

1. (i) Glasenapp: Jainism, p. 160.
   (ii) Kailasachandraji; op. cit., p. 140.
   (iii) Glasenapp: Doctrine of Karman in Jain Philosophy, p. 3.
eighth obstructs the inborn energy of the soul and thereby prevents the doing of a good action when there is a desire to do it.

The eight kinds of Karmas are divided into two main types the ghātiyā and the aghātiyā, that is, the destructive and non-destructive. The former comprises the Knowledge-obscuring, the Conation-obscuring, the Deluding and the Obstructive Karmas; and the latter comprises the remaining four. The reason for the distinction lies in the fact that while the former destroy the manifestations of the real attributes of the soul, the latter are mainly concerned with its environments, surroundings and bodies.¹

The Theory of Karma is the keystone in the arch of Jaina ideology. It tries to explain the reasons lying behind or causes leading to effects. It maintains that every happening is the result of antecedent causes. As the soul is regarded as the doer of actions, really the soul is made responsible for all differences in people's conditions. Whatever actions are performed by the soul, it must bear the consequences thereof sooner or later. There is no way out of it. The responsibility of consequences cannot be shifted nor exemption from the consequences be given. The soul has to enjoy the fruits of the Karmas in this life or in subsequent lives. There is no salvation until the soul stops the influx of Karmas and gets rid of existing Karmas and this it will have to do by its own deliberate efforts without expecting any help from an outside agency. There is no use in asking the favour of God or His representative because Jainism neither invests Gods with the power of determining the consequences of the Karmas nor bestows on them the authority to forgive people from future consequences of past actions. Jainism denies both intermediation and forgiveness on the part of God; of what we have done we must bear the consequences. It is not fate, nor even predestination, but it is the ever continuous balancing of the different accounts that we keep with the forces of life. The Karmas constitute the Karmic body; and it drags the soul into various forms of existence till the Karmic

   (ii) Jain, C. R.: Key of Knowledge, p. 625.
body bids good-bye to the soul. This Karma Theory is an original and integral part of the Jaina system. As it lays full stress on individual action and completely denies the existence of divine dispensation, it is clear that the ethics and asceticism of the Jainas are the logical consequences of this Theory of Karma.¹ In the words of Dr. Krause, “Jainism does not torpify its followers by the terrors of Karma, nor does it make them languish in unhealthy, effeminate fatalism, as many people think all Oriental religions do: but on the contrary, it trains the individual to become a true hero on the battlefield of self-conquest.”²

6. MOKSHA MĀRGĀ OR WAY TO SALVATION

From the basic principles of Jainism, it is evident that the inherent powers of the soul are crippled by its association with Karmic matter and that is why we find every person in an imperfect state. The real and everlasting happiness will be obtained by a person only when the Karmas are completely removed from the soul and Jainism firmly believes that even though man is imperfect at present, it is quite possible for him to rid himself of the Karmas by his own personal efforts without any help from an outside agency. The highest happiness is to escape from the Cycle of Births and Deaths and be a liberated soul, that is, to obtain Moksha. This world is full of sorrow and trouble and it is quite necessary to achieve the aim of transcendental bliss by a sure method. When the goal has been fixed the next question arises regarding the way how to achieve that objective. To this question Jainism has a definite answer. It emphatically states that Samyag–dārśana, i.e., right belief, Samyag–jñāna, i.e., right knowledge and Samyak–chāritra, i.e., right conduct together constitute the path to salvation.³ Right belief, right knowledge and

¹ (i) B. Kailasabchandraji: op. cit., pp. 143-146.

² Krause, O.: Heritage of the Last Arhat, P. 7.

right conduct are called Ratnatraya or the three jewels in Jaina works. These three are not different paths but form together a single path. These three must be present together to constitute the path to salvation. Since all the three are emphasised equally, and since the Mokshamarga is impossible without the comprehension of all the three, it is obvious that Jainism is not prepared to admit anyone of these three in isolation as means of salvation. There are religious schools in Hinduism which lay all the emphasis on Bhakti or faith, on Jñāna or knowledge, on Karma or moral conduct. The Bhāgavatas mostly emphasize the bhakti aspect. The Advaita Vedāntins the jñāna aspect and the Pūrva Mīmāṃsākas the karma aspect. But according to Jainism no such one-sided emphasis can be accepted as the correct path.¹ To attain liberation all the three must be simultaneously pursued. It is contended that to effect a cure of a malady, faith in the efficacy of a medicine, knowledge of its use, and actual taking of it: these three together are essential, so also to get emancipation, faith in the efficacy of Jainism, its knowledge and actual practising of it: these three are quite indispensoble.² The path is compared to a ladder with its two side poles and the central rungs forming the steps. The side poles are right belief and right knowledge and the rungs or steps the gradual stages of right conduct. It is possible to ascend the ladder only when all the three are sound. The absence of one makes the ascent impossible. Thus a simultaneous pursuit of right belief, right knowledge and right conduct is enjoined upon the people. As the ethical code, both for the householders and the monks, is based on this path, let us see the characteristics of these three jewels which constitute that path.

(1) Right Belief:

Of the three jewels, right belief comes first and forms the basis upon which the other two rest. One must, by all possible

means, first attain right belief or the basic conviction on the fundamentals; because only on its acquisition, knowledge and conduct become right. Right belief means true and firm conviction in the seven principles or tattvas of Jainism as they are and without any perverse notions. The belief that the Jaina Tirthankaras are the true Gods, the Jaina Sāstras the true Scripture, and the Jaina Saints the true Preceptors, is called right belief. Such right faith should have eight requirements (Aṅga) and should be free from the three types of superstitious ignorance and the eight kinds of pride or arrogance. The eight Aṅgas or requirements or pillars which support the right belief are:—

(i) Niḥkankita, that is, freedom from doubt,
(ii) Nishkāṅkshita, that is, freedom from desire for worldly comforts,
(iii) Nirvichikitsita, that is, freedom from aversion to or regard for the body,
(iv) Amūḍhadṛṣṭī, that is, freedom from inclination for the wrong path,
(v) Upagūhana, that is, redeeming the defects of ineffective believers,
(vi) Sthitikaranā, that is, sustaining souls in right convictions,
(vii) Vātsalya, that is, loving regard for pious persons, and
(viii) Prabhāvanā, that is, publishing the greatness of Jaina doctrines.

The three types of superstitious ignorance, mūḍhas, from which a true believer must be free, are—(i) loka-mūḍha, (ii) deva-mūḍha and (iii) pāshaṇḍhī-mūḍha. The first refers to the superstition regarding attachment of sanctity to certain places of belief like; a bath in the Ganges will wash off the sins. The second accepts the efficacy of village gods and goddesses who are endowed with ordinary human qualities and attempts to propitiate them. The third shows regard for false ascetics and considers their teaching as gospel truth. Freedom from these three types of superstitions is the essential condition of right faith.
Along with these there must be freedom from eight kinds of pride. The eight kinds are

pride in (i) learning (Jñāna), (ii) worship (Pūjā), (iii) family (kula), (iv) caste (jāti), (v) power (bala), (vi) affluence or accomplishments (ṛddhi), (vii) religious austerities (tapa) and (viii) person (vapu).

The Jaina works describe at length the glory of right faith and enumerate the benefits which can be accrued by a person possessing right faith. They go to the extent of declaring that asceticism without faith is definitely inferior to faith without asceticism and that even a low caste man possessing right faith can be considered as a divine being. The right faith is, in short, given precedence over right knowledge and conduct, because it acts as a pilot in guiding the soul towards Moksha.¹

(II) Right Knowledge:

On attaining right belief it is considered desirable to strive after right knowledge. Although right belief and right knowledge are contemporaneous there is yet a clear relation of cause and effect between them, just as there is between a lamp and its light. Right knowledge is that which reveals the nature of things neither insufficiently, nor with exaggeration, nor falsely, but exactly as it is and that too with certainty. Such knowledge must be free from doubt, perversity and vagueness. Jainism insists that right knowledge cannot be attained, unless belief of any kind in its opposite, that is, in wrong knowledge is banished. Knowledge is of five kinds:

(i) Mati-jñāna (Sense-knowledge):
Knowledge of the self and non-self by means of the senses and the mind,

(ii) Šruta-jñāna (Scriptural knowledge):
Knowledge derived from the reading or hearing of scriptures,

(ii) S. B. J., Vol. IV, P. S., Chap. II
(iii) B. S., Part I.
( iii ) *Avadhi-jñāna* (Clairvoyant knowledge):
Knowledge of the distant time or place,

( iv ) *MANAPARYĀYAYA-JÑĀNA* (Mental knowledge):
Knowledge of the thoughts and feelings of others, and

( v ) *KEVALA-JÑĀNA* (Perfect knowledge or Omniscience):
Full or perfect knowledge without the limitations of time and space, which is the soul's characteristic in its pure and undefiled condition.

Like right belief, right knowledge also has got eight pillars or requirements as follows:

1. *GraNtha*: Correct use of the words,
2. *Artha*: Full understanding of their meanings,
3. *Udbhaya*: Combination of *GraNtha* and *Artha*,
4. *Kāla*: Observance of regularity and propriety of time,
5. *Vinaya*: Reverent attitude,
6. *Sopadhāna*: Propriety of behaviour,
7. *Bahumāna*: Zeal, and
8. *Aninhava*: Without concealment of knowledge or of its sources.¹

( III ) *Right Conduct*:

Right conduct includes the rules of discipline which restrain all censurable movements of speech, body and mind, weaken and destory all passionate activity and lead to non-attachment and purity. Right conduct presupposes the presence of right knowledge which presupposes right belief. Therefore it is enjoined upon the persons who have secured right belief and right knowledge to observe the rules of right conduct as the destruction of Karmic matter can be accomplished only through the right conduct. Right conduct is of two kinds: *Sakala*, perfect or unqualified and *Vikala*, imperfect or qualified, and of these two kinds the unqualified is observed by ascetics who have renounced worldly

(iv) R. S., 42.
ties and the qualified by layman still entangled in the world. As ethics is mainly concerned with the several rules of conduct prescribed both for layman and ascetics, let us see them in detail to grasp the proper meaning of Jaina Ethics.

7. JAINA ETHICS

The rules of conduct are always designed to achieve the main aim or object in life. The goal according to Jainism is to obtain Moksha, that is, freedom from the continuous cycle of births and deaths. The soul achieves real and everlasting happiness only when it can escape from saṁsāra or transmigration of the soul which is always fraught with sorrows and trouble. The sole reason of movement of soul from one life to another is the fact that the soul is in contact with the Karmic matter from time eternal and the way to salvation lies in the destruction of Karmas. We have seen that the saṁvara of the āśravas and the nirjarā lead to Moksha. This means that the necessary conditions to gain Moksha are saṁvara and nirjarā, that is, the stoppage of influx of Karmic matter and the falling away of existing Karmic matter from the soul. Thus saṁvara and nirjarā are the two important milestones on the path to liberation and naturally the principles of right conduct by Jainas are shaped with a view to accomplish saṁvara and nirjarā as early as possible. Therefore let us see the way chalked out by Jainas to attain saṁvara and nirjarā.

(A) Way to Saṁvara:

Saṁvara is the stoppage of influx of Karmic matter into the soul and the stoppage is effected by:

(a) three kinds of Gupti, that is, control of mind, speech and body,
(b) five kinds of Samiti, that is, carefulness,
(c) ten kinds of Dharma, that is, observances or virtues,
(d) twelve kinds of Anuprekshā, that is, meditations or reflections,

(ii) R.S., 50
(e) twenty-two kinds of Parishaha-jaya, that is, subdual of sufferings, and
(f) five kinds of Chāritra, that is, conduct.¹

(a) The three Guptis:-The three guptis are regulations with reference to controlling one's inner nature, that is, they are dictated by the principles of self-control. The first of them is Mano-gupti by which the mind is to be controlled in the shape of giving room only to pure thoughts. The second Gupti is Vāg-gupti, that is, regulation of speech and it consists in observing silence for a particular period or in speaking only as much as is absolutely necessary. The third is Kāya-gupti, that is, regulation of one's bodily activity.²

(b) The five Samitis are designed with a view to cultivate the habit of carefulness in accordance with the principle of non-injury. The Samitis are prescriptions for the regulation of the movements of the body and are as follows:-

(i) The Iryā Samiti aims at regulation of walking, so as not to injure any living being.
(ii) The Bhāshā Samiti regulates the mode of speech with a view to avoid the hurting of others' feelings by use of offensive words.
(iii) The Eshaṇa Samiti regulates seeking or eating food so as not to cause any injury to any living being.
(iv) The Ādāna-Nikshepa Samiti regulates the actions of taking or using, and of putting away, anything whatsoever.
(v) The Utsarga Samiti regulates the movements connected with the answering of call of nature etc.

All the five Samitis, though they can be strictly observed only by ascetics, are of some influence also in the daily life of Śrāvakas or laymen. A devoted layman will, for example, avoid treading on growing plants, he will never leave a vessel filled

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   (iii) S.B.J., Vol. IX, N.S., 66-68.
with a liquid substance uncovered, nor will he ever use an open light, lest insects might rush into it and be killed.

Both the three Guptis and five Samitis are sometimes grouped together under the name of "Ashṭa-Pravachana-Mātā", that is, "The Eight Mothers of the Creed", on account of their fundamental character.¹

(c) The Ten observances or Dakalakshaṇa Dharma are:

(i) Uttama-Kshamā, i.e., Supreme forgiveness,
(ii) Uttama-Mārdava, i.e., Supreme tenderness,
(iii) Uttama-Arjaya, i.e., Supreme straight-forwardness or honesty,
(iv) Uttama-Saucha, i.e., Supreme contentment or purity,
(v) Uttama-Satyā, i.e., Supreme truth,
(vi) Uttama-Saṁyama, i.e., Supreme self-restraint,
(vii) Uttama-Tapa, i.e., Supreme austerities,
(viii) Uttama-Tyāga, i.e., Supreme renunciation,
(ix) Uttama-Ākiṁchanya, i.e., Supreme non-attachment or not taking the non-self for one's own self,
(x) Uttama-Brahmacharya, i.e., Supreme chastity.²

(d) The twelve Anuprekshās or meditations or reflections should be meditated upon again and again. They are:—

(i) Anitya anuprekshā, i.e., everything is subject to change or is transitory.
(ii) Aśaraṇa anuprekshā, i.e., Unprotectiveness or helplessness. The feeling that soul is unprotected from fruition of Karmas, for example, death, etc.
(iii) Swaṁsāra anuprekshā, i.e., Mundaneness. Soul moves in the cycle of existences and cannot attain true happiness till it is cut off.
(iv) Ekatva anuprekhsā, i.e., Loneliness. I am alone,

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³ S. B. J., Vol. IV, P. S., 204.
the doer of my actions and the enjoyer of the fruits of them.

(v) Anyatva anuprekṣhā, i.e., Separateness. The world, my relation and friends, my body and mind, they are all distinct and separate from my real self.

(vi) Āsucī anuprekṣhā, i.e., Impurity. The body is impure and dirty.

(vii) Āśrava anuprekṣhā, i.e., Inflow. The inflow of Karmas is the cause of my mundane existence and it is the product of passions.

(viii) Sāṁvara anuprekṣhā, i.e., Stoppage. The inflow of Karma must be stopped.

(ix) Nirjarā anuprekṣhā, i.e., Shedding. Karmic matter must be shed from or shaken out of the soul.

(x) Loka anuprekṣhā, i.e., Universe. The nature of the universe and its constituent elements in all their vast variety proving the insignificance and miserable nothingness of man in time and space.

(xi) Bodhi-durlabhā anuprekṣhā, i.e., Rarity of religious knowledge. It is difficult to attain right belief, knowledge and conduct.

(xii) Dharma anuprekṣhā, i.e., Reflection on the nature of religious path as preached by the conquerors, namely, the true nature of the three-fold path of liberation.¹

Sometimes Anuprekṣhās are termed as Bhāvanās also.

(e) The twentytwo Sufferings:

For the sake of non-falling off from the path of Liberation and for the shedding of Karmic matter, whatever hardships are undergone, are called the Parishahas or sufferings. They are:

(i) Kshut, i.e., Hunger,

(ii) Pīpāsā i.e., Thirst,

(iii) Śīta, i.e., Cold,

(iv) Uṣṇa i.e., Heat,

(v) Darśikāmaśaka, i.e., Insect–bite,

(vi) Nāgnya, i.e., Nakedness,
(vii) Arati, i.e., Ennui or disagreeable surroundings,
(viii) Strī, i.e., Sex-passion,
(ix) Charyā, i.e., Walking too much,
(x) Nishadyā, i.e., Continuous sitting in one posture,
(xi) Sayyā, i.e., Resting on hard earth,
(xii) Ākrośa, i.e., Abuse,
(xiii) Vadha, i.e., Beating,
(xiv) Yāchanā, i.e., Begging,
(xv) Alābha, i.e., Disappointment from getting no food,
(xvi) Roga, i.e., Disease,
(xvii) Tranasparsa, i.e., Thorn-pricks,
(xviii) Mala, i.e., Bodhi dirt and impurities,
(xix) Satkārapuraskāra, i.e., Disrespect shown by men,
(xx) Prajñā, i.e., Non-appreciation of learning,
(xxi) Ajñāna, i.e., Persistence of ignorance,
(xxii) Adarkana, i.e., Slack-belief, for example on failure
to attain supernatural powers even after great piety
and austerities to begin to doubt the truth of
Jainism and its teachings.

These should be ever endured without any feeling of vexation,
by one who desires to get rid of all cause for pain.¹

(f) The five Chāritras:

The five kinds of right conduct are:

(i) Sāmāyika, i.e., Equanimity,
(ii) Chhedopasthāpanā, i.e., Recovery of equanimity
after a fall from it,
(iii) Parihāra-Vikuddhi, i.e., Pure and absolute non-injury,
(iv) Sūkshma-Sāmparāya, i.e., All but entire freedom
from passion, and
(v) Yathākhyāta, i.e., Ideal and passionless conduct.²

Way to *Nirjarā*:

The main way to *Nirjarā* or shedding of Karmas is the observance of austerities which is included in the right conduct. The Jaina Scriptures distinguish twelve kinds of austerities, as the expedients of *Nirjarā*, grouped together under the two headings of *Bāhya Tapa*, that is, external austerities and *Abhyantara Tapa*, that is, internal austerities.

The six External Austerities are:

1. *Anaśana*, i.e., Fasting,
2. *Avamodarya*, i.e., Eating less than one has appetite for,
3. *Vṛti-parisaṅkhyaṇa*, i.e., Putting restrictions in regard to food, for example, to accept food only if a certain condition is fulfilled,
4. *Rasa-parityāga*, i.e., Daily renunciation of one or more of six kinds of delicacies, namely, ghee, milk, curds, sugar, salt and oil.
5. *Vivikta-sayyāsana*, i.e., Sitting and sleeping in a lonely place, devoid of animate beings, and
6. *Kāyakleśa*, i.e., Mortification of the body so long as the mind is not disturbed.

The six Internal Austerities are:

1. *Prāyaśchitta*, i.e., Expiation,
2. *Vinaya*, i.e., Reverence,
3. *Vaiyāvṛtya*, i.e., Service of the saints or worthy people,
4. *Svādhyaṇya*, i.e., Study,
5. *Vyutsarga*, i.e., Giving up attachment to the body, etc.,
6. *Dhyāna*, i.e., Concentration of mind.¹

Apart from the general instructions mentioned above for the shedding of Karmas, the definite rules of conduct have been

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¹ For a detailed discussion of rules of expiation, see Jain, C. R.: *Jaina Penance.*
prescribed for the followers of Jainism. All these rules are directed towards the main aim of achieving freedom of the soul from the Karmic matter. The rules of conduct have been so designed that all members of the community will be in a position to follow them. Accordingly the rules of conduct have been divided into categories, namely, Sāgāradharma, that is, those prescribed for laymen and Anagāradharma, that is, those prescribed for ascetics. It is obvious that the rules for laity are less rigid than those for saints because the laymen have not renounced worldly activities for eking out their livelihood. Let us see in brief what the prescribed rules of conduct are.

(I) Rules of Conduct for Laymen:

The rules prescribed for laymen are divided into

(A) Twelve Vratas or vows,
(B) Eleven Pratimās or stages in householder’s life,
(C) Six daily duties, and
(D) Thirty-five rules of good conduct.

The layman begins with the avoidance of the five atichāras, i.e., short-comings of faith, namely,

(i) Śaṅkā, i.e., Doubt or scepticism,
(ii) Kānkshā, i.e., Desire of sense pleasures,
(iii) Vichikitsā, i.e., Disgust of anything, for example, with a sick person,
(iv) Anyadrśhti-prakāṁsā, i.e., Thinking admiringly of wrong believers, and
(v) Anyadrśhti-Saṁstava, i.e., Praising wrong believers.

This will enable a layman to observe the vows which mark the first stage of right conduct.¹

(A) The Twelve Vows:

The main five vows of Jainas are as follows:—

(i) Ahiṁsā, i.e., to be free from injury,
(ii) Satya, i.e., to be free from falsehood,

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(iii) Asteya, i.e., to be free from theft,
(iv) Brahmacharya, i.e., to be free from unchastity, and
(v) Aparigraha, i.e., to be free from worldly attachment.

If these vows are very strictly observed they are known as Mahāvrataṣ or great vows and naturally these are meant for the ascetics. Laymen, however, cannot observe the vows so strictly and therefore they are allowed to practise them so far as their conditions permit. The same vows when partially observed are termed as Anuvrataṣ or small vows. For the fixing of these five vows in the mind, there are five kinds of Bhāvanās or attendant meditations for each of the vows and every Jaina is expected to think over them again and again. Further, he must meditate that the five faults meant to be avoided in the vows are pain personified and are of dangerous and censurable character in this as well as in the next world. Moreover, he must meditate upon the following four virtues which are based upon the observance of these five vows.

(i) Maitrī, i.e., Friendship with all living beings,
(ii) Pramoda, i.e., Delight at the sight of beings, better qualified or more advanced than ourselves on the path of liberation,
(iii) Kāruṇya, i.e., Compassion for the afflicted and
(iv) Mādhyastha, i.e., Tolerance or indifference to those who are uncivil or ill-behaved.¹

Along with the five main vows or vrataṣ, there are seven Śīlavrataṣ or supplementary vows. Just as the encircling walls guard towns, so do supplementary vows protect Anuvrataṣ. Therefore in order to practise the main vrataṣ or vows, the Śīlavrataṣ also must be practised by the householders.

The supplementary vows are:-

(i) Digvṛata, i.e., Taking a lifelong vow to limit his worldly activity to fixed points in all directions,
(ii) Dekavṛata, i.e., Taking a vow to limit the above also for a limited area,

(iii) Anarthadānḍa-vrata, i.e., Taking a vow not to commit purposeless sins,

(iv) Sāmāyika, i.e., Taking a vow to devote particular time everyday to contemplation of the self for spiritual advancement,

(v) Proshadhopavāsa, i.e., Taking a vow to fast on four days of the month, namely, the two 8th and the two 14th days of the fortnight,

(vi) Upabhoga-paribhoga-parimāṇa, i.e., Taking a vow everyday limiting one’s enjoyment of consumable and non-consumable things, and

(vii) Atithi-saṁvibhāga, i.e., Taking a vow to take one’s food only after feeding the ascetics, or, in their absence, the pious householders.

Out of these seven Śīlavratas, the first three are called Guṇa-vratas or multiplicative vows because they raise the value of the five main vows; and the remaining four are called Śikshāvrataś or disciplinary vows, because they are preparatory for the discipline of an ascetic life. Thus the five Anuvratas, the three Guṇa-vratas and the four Śikshāvrataś constitute the twelve vows of a layman. There are five atichāras, i.e., defects or partial transgressions for each of these twelve vows and they are to be avoided by the observers of these vows.¹

In addition to the above twelve vows a householder is expected to practise in the last moment of his life the process of Sallekhanā or peaceful death. Sallekhanā is described as the giving up of the body on the arrival of unavoidable calamity, distress, old age and disease, with a view to increase spiritual merit. This Sallekhanā is added to as an extra vow to the existing twelve vows of a householder. Like other vows, Sallekhanā has also got five partial transgressions which are to be avoided by a householder.²

The observance of the five anuvratas and refraining from the

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   (ii) R. S., Chapter V.
use of wine, flesh and honey are regarded as *mūlaguṇas* or the eight basic or primary virtues of a householder. For minimizing injury to living beings, complete abstinence of wine, flesh and honey is advocated and every householder must necessarily possess these eight fundamental virtues.¹

(B) *The Eleven Pratimās:*

The householder’s life has been divided into eleven stages or *pratimās*. These *pratimās* form a series of duties and performances, the standard and duration of which rises periodically and which finally culminates in an attitude resembling monkhood. Thus the *pratimās* rise by degrees and every stage includes all the virtues practised in those preceding it. The conception of eleven *pratimās* appears to be the best way of exhibiting the rules of conduct prescribed for the Jaina laymen. The eleven *pratimās* are as follows:

(1) *Darśana pratimā*, i.e., Possessing the perfect, intelligent and well-reasoned faith in Jainism, that is, having a sound knowledge of its doctrines and their applications in life.

(2) *Vrata pratimā*, i.e., Keeping up the twelve vows and the extra vow of *Sallekhana*.

(3) *Sāmāyika pratimā*, i.e., Worshipping regularly, in general for forty-two minutes, three times daily. Worship means self-contemplation and purifying one’s ideas and emotions.

(4) *Proshadhopāsa pratimā*, i.e., Fasting regularly, as a rule, twice a fortnight in each lunar month.

(5) *Sachitta-tyāgapratimā*, i.e., Refraining from eating uncooked vegetables, plucking fruits from a tree and the like.

(6) *Rātri-bhukta-tyāga pratimā*, i.e., Abstaining from food after sunset.

(7) *Brahmacharya pratimā*, i.e., Maintaining sexual

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¹ R. S., 66.

(ii) For a controversy regarding the nature and number of *mūlaguṇas*, please see, Jain, C. R., *Householder’s Dharma*, pp. 77-85.
purity now assuming the stricter aspect of celibacy and also not decorating one's person.

(viii) 
\textit{Araṁbha-tyāga pratimā}, i.e., Abandonment of merely worldly engagements and occupations.

(ix) 
\textit{Parigraha-tyāga pratimā}, i.e., Divesting oneself of wealth by dividing one's property among one's heirs and training oneself generally to bear the hardships incidental to a life of asceticism.

(x) 
\textit{Anumati-tyāga pratimā}, i.e., Increasing the rigour of living in the direction of asceticism and refrain ing even from giving advice on matters relating to family honour, business and the like.

(xi) 
\textit{Uddishā-tyāga pratimā}, i.e., After renunciation of householder's life, retiring into forest and adopting the rules laid down for the guidance of ascetics.²

The householders are advised to ascend these stages step by step. Those who have attained the eleven stages are given special importance by the Dīgambara Jainas while Śvetāmbaras consider them like ascetics.²

(C) \textit{Six Daily Duties:}

About the six daily duties of a layman there is a difference of opinion among different authors. According to one source they are:

(i) 
\textit{Deva-pūjā}, i.e., Worship of the God,

(ii) 
\textit{Gurupāsti}, i.e., Worship of the preceptor,

(iii) 
\textit{Svādhyāya}, i.e., Study of scriptures,

(iv) 
\textit{Samyama}, i.e., Practice of self-control,

(v) 
\textit{Tapā}, i.e., Practice of austerities, and

(vi) 
\textit{Dāna}, i.e., Giving gifts.³

(iii) For a slightly different order of stages vide Glasenapp:
Jainism, pp. 207-208.


A second set of six Āryakaras, that is, daily duties is as follows:

(i) Sāmāyika, i.e., Meditation,
(ii) Chaturvīṁśati-Jina-Stuti, i.e., Praise of the twenty-four Jinas or Gods who are the religious ideals of all Jainas,
(iii) Vandanā, i.e., The ceremonial and humble greeting of the spiritual teacher,
(iv) Pratikramaṇa, i.e., Repentance of all transgressions,
(v) Kāyotsarga, i.e., Austerity performed by standing motionless in a specific posture, and
(vi) Pratyākhyāna, i.e., A formal vow taken in the presence of a teacher with reference to any kind of restriction or renunciation to be performed.¹

The main reason for the constant performance of these daily duties seems to keep up always the eagerness and enthusiasm of householders.²

(D) Thirty-five Rules of Good Conduct:

The thirty-five rules of good conduct enjoined on a Jaina householder are, in brief, as follows:- He should follow some kind of business which is not of an ignoble nature and that too in a just and honest way. He should marry a person of like culture. He should avoid dangerous pursuits like gambling and others. He should control the enjoyments of sense pleasures. He should avoid places of difficulties and dangers. He should live in a country where he would get adequate protection. He should get the company of virtuous people like saints. His house should be in a decent locality. He should not dress extravagantly. His expenses should be in proportion to his income. He should follow the main regional customs if they do not go against the principles of Jainism. He should avoid undesirable habits. He

1. (i) J. Glaseonnapp: Jainism, p. 410.
(ii) Krause: An Interpretation of Jain Ethics, pp. 33–35.

should not libel or slander anybody. He should not keep the company of bad persons, must respect the parents, should not create unnecessary ill-feeling in the minds of others, should maintain his dependants, render service to the deserving persons, give up excessive eating and drinking, take proper medicine when required, avoid travelling in unprotected areas, live in peace with other persons, impress the lower people by his higher life, abstain from too much intimacy, establish relationships with right kind of people, try to achieve fourfold objectives of life, consider his strength before undertaking anything, attempt to rise higher and higher, do proper things at proper times, read everyday the scripture, give up obstinacy in all things, be partial to virtues and should develop critical attitude towards religion and get his doubts solved.1

As regards the rules of conduct for laymen it can be said in general that if the householder would carefully observe these rules of conduct, he would come into the possession of the following twenty-one qualities which every true gentleman should possess. He would be serious in demeanour, clean as regards both his clothes and person, good tempered, popular, merciful, afraid of sinning, straightforward, wise, modest, kind, moderate, gentle, careful in speech, sociable, cautious, studious, reverent both to old age and ancient customs, humble, grateful, benevolent, and attentive to business.2

(II) Rules of Conduct for Ascetics:

When a layman consistently observes the rules of conduct prescribed for the householders and especially attains all pratimās, he is qualified to become an ascetic. The admission into the order of monks is accompanied by the impressive ceremony known as Dīkṣā or initiation ceremony. This ceremony makes the layman a member of the order of ascetics. The order of ascetics (includ-

2. (i) Stevenson: Heart of Jainism, p. 224.
ing nuns) is one of the two main orders in which Jaina community has been divided from the very beginning and the other order is that of laymen (including lay-women). There is a close connection between these two orders and the stage of a laymen has been one preliminary and, in many cases, preparatory to the state of monks. Because of this intimate relationship we find that the rules prescribed for laymen and ascetics do not differ in kind but in degree. The same rules of conduct observed by laymen are to be followed by ascetics with only difference that while laymen practise them partially or less rigorously, ascetics have to observe them fully and more rigorously. That is why we have seen that the main five vows of householders are known as Anuvratas or small vows and the same become Mahāvratas or great vows when practised by ascetics. This is obvious because the ascetic stage signifies absolute renunciation of the world and the only objective in this stage is to concentrate energy on the attainment of Moksha. Asceticism is a higher course in spiritual training and it is in this stage real efforts are made for the stoppage of influx of Karmas and the shedding of existing Karmas with a view to attain Liberation. Therefore very minute rules of conduct are prescribed for the ascetics and the latter have to observe them without any fault or transgression. We do not propose to go into the rules of conduct for ascetics. A detailed account of them would be found in the following works:—

(i) ‘Anagāradharmāmṛtām’ written by Paṇḍita Āsādharajī,¹
(ii) ‘Āchārāṅga-Sūtra’ translated by Dr. H. Jacobi,² and
(iii) ‘Sannyāsa Dharma’ by Jain C. R.

The ascetics are divided into different classes according to the strictness with which they observe the rules for ascetic life and their standing or position in the order of monks. Ascetics who observe those rules in their strictest form, and without ever having recourse to exceptions, are called “Jinakalpi” sādhus and those who keep the ascetic prescriptions in a milder form are known

1. It is published by M. D. J. G. Bombay, as its Vol. No, XIV.
2. The translation would be found in Vol. XXII of the S. B. E.
as "Sthavirakalpi" sādhus. Further, the heads of the groups of saints are called Āchāryas, those who are in charge of instruction are termed as Upādhyāyas and the rest of the ascetics are known as mere Sādhus. There are different grades in ascetics according to the approved stages through which the rigour of ascetic life is increased. Thus among Digambaras the grades in the ascending order are Kshullaka, Aillaka and Nirgrantha and among Śvetāmbaras are Yatis, Sādhus and Āchāryas. It is prescribed that a Sādhu according to the Digambara texts, must possess the following twenty-eight mūla-guṇas, that is, the basic or primary attributes or virtues, the rigour of which is increased stages by stages.

1–5. The five great vows,
6–10. The five Samitis,
11–15. Controlling of five senses,
16–21. Six necessary observances,
22. Pulling out the hair,
23. Nudity,
24. Non-bathing,
25. Sleeping on hard ground,
26. Refraining from cleansing the mouth,
27. Taking food standing, and
28. Eating not more than once a day.

The above virtues are termed root-virtues, because in their absence other saintly virtues cannot be acquired.

8. CRITICISM OF JAINA ETHICS

An examination of an outline of Jaina ethics given above will bring out its certain outstanding features. In the first place, it will be seen that the whole course of Jaina ethics has been divided into stages and it is enjoined on every person to put into practice the

3. For a detailed description of the Śvetāmbara grades of Sādhus, Vide J. Burgess' article on "Papers on Śatruñjaya and the Jains", Section VII, I. A., Vol. XIII.
rules of conduct step by step. The whole life of an individual, in some of the later works, has been divided into four śramas, that is, stages, namely,

(i) Brahmacharya, i.e., the period of study,

(ii) Gṛhastha, i.e., the period devoted to household life, civic duties, and the like,

(iii) Vānaprastha, i.e., the period of retirement from worldly activities, and

(iv) Sannyāsa, i.e., the period of absolute renunciation.

The first is the stage of study when the pupil must acquire knowledge, religious as well as secular, and build up a character that will rule supreme in after life. In this period he is to form the right convictions regarding the real nature of the soul and the world. After terminating his studies he enters the second stage. He is expected to marry and settle down to a pious householder’s life. In this stage he tries to realise the first three of the four ideals or objectives in life, namely, Dharma (i.e. religious merit), Artha (i.e. wealth, position, worldly prosperity, etc.), Kāma, (i.e. pleasure) and Moksha (i.e. salvation). But while realising dharma, artha, and kāma, he must subordinate artha and kāma to dharma. The householder, who aspires for moksha in the long run, knows that it cannot be attained except by severe self-discipline of a type which is not attainable by him as a layman. He, therefore, only aspires to perfect himself in the first instance, in his own duties, so that he may reach sannyāsa in due course of time.¹ Even though he is the main support of people in other three stages, he is to prepare himself bit by bit for entering the subsequent stages. In the third stage he retires from worldly activities, abandons efforts for attaining the ideals of artha and kāma and concentrates his attention on the first ideal of dharma. After successfully crossing the third stage an individual enters the fourth stage which is marked by a sense of absolute renunciation and in this stage he aspires for the last and important ideal of moksha.² In this way we find that different rules of conduct are

prescribed for different stages in life so that an individual may gradually attain the final aim in life. Even in one stage the rules of conduct are divided into several grades, for example, the eleven *pratimās* in the householder’s stage. This makes the progress on spiritual path very easy and a person readily understands what his position is on that path. This scheme is intended for the protection of the individual in the sense that he is prepared step by step to achieve the real purpose in life. It should, however, be remembered that the householder’s stage was given equal importance with the ascetic stage. For the gift of supernatural vision was vouchsafed even to a householder—to one who resided in his own house but conformed himself to the rule of religious life as laid down by the great teacher Mahāvīra. The gift of supernatural vision was no monopoly of any order or caste or sex.

The second thing worth noting regarding the ethical code prescribed by the Jainas is the importance given to the five main vows in the life not only of an ascetic but also of a householder. These five vows form the basis on which the superstructure of Jaina ethics has been raised. They give a definite outlook on life and create a particular type of mental attitude. The very essence of Jaina philosophy is transformed into action in the shape of observance of these five vows. Though the vows on their face appear to be mere abstentions from injury, falsehood, theft, unchastity and worldly attachments, their implications are really extensive and they permeate the entire social life of the community. Three things are enjoined in the matter of avoidance of the five faults of injury, falsehood, theft, etc. In the first place, he should not commit any fault personally, secondly, he should not incite others to commit such an act and thirdly, he should not even approve of it subsequent to its commission by others. *Hīṃsā* or injury has been defined as hurting of the vitalities caused through want of proper care and caution. But the meaning is not limited to this definition alone. Piercing,


binding, causing pain, overloading and starving or not feeding at proper times, are forms of *himså* and as such must be avoided. Falsehood, in simple terms, is to speak hurtful words. But spreading false doctrines, revealing the secrets and deformities of others, backbiting, making false documents and breach of trust are all forms of falsehood and should be abstained from. Theft is to take anything which is not given. Imparting instruction on the method of committing theft, receiving stolen property, evading the injunction of the law (for example, by selling things at inordinate prices), adulteration, and keeping false weights and measures are all forms of theft and one must guard oneself against them. Unchastity is also of several forms. Match-making (i.e., bringing about marriages, as a hobby), unnatural gratification, indulging in voluptuous speech, and visiting immoral married and unmarried women are all forms of unchastity and should be avoided. The fault of *parigraha* or worldly attachments consists in desiring more than what is needed by an individual. Accumulating even necessary articles in large numbers, expressing wonder at the prosperity of another, excessive greed and changing the proportions of existing possessions are all forms of *parigraha* and should be discarded.¹ The last vow is noteworthy as it indirectly aims at economic equalisation by peacefully preventing undue accumulation of capital in individual hands. It recommends that a householder should fix, beforehand, the limit of his maximum belongings, and should, in no case, exceed it. If he ever happens to earn more than that, he must spend it away in charities, the best and recognised forms of which are distribution of medicines, spread of knowledge, provision for saving the lives of people in danger, and feeding the hungry and the poor. Obviously, these vows are of a great social value as they accord a religious sanction to some of the most important public and private interests and rights which are, in modern times, safeguarded by the laws of the state.² A due observance of them, for example, would save a man from application to him of almost any of the

sections of the Indian Penal Code.\textsuperscript{1} This is borne out by the fact that the proportion of jail-going (for non-political reasons) population in the Jaina community was definitely less than that of any other community in the Bombay Presidency.\textsuperscript{2}

A charge is generally laid against the system of Jaina ethics to the effect that it fosters the self-centred attitude, and does not take care of the society and therefore social element in Jaina ethics is not strong.\textsuperscript{3} It is true that the main aim of Jainism is to attain freedom from the transmigration of soul and the whole Jaina ethics has been based on this foundation. All rules of conduct are so designed as to secure the aim as early as possible. As there is no outside agency to help the individual in his efforts to secure salvation, it is natural that more importance was given to the individual. But this does not mean that ethics was confined to individuals alone. On the contrary, the ethical code was evolved for the whole society.\textsuperscript{4} Jaina ethics took pains to provide for the welfare of both the society and the individual. It recognised the need for taking care of the society, and also aspired to bring the highest conceivable form of good within the individual’s reach.\textsuperscript{5} The social aspect of individual’s life was never ignored. An individual was never conceived as separated from the society and social life. He was enjoined to achieve his goal while leading the worldly life which necessarily involves relations with other members of the society. All the Tīrthāṅkaras, whom the Jainas worship, did lead a social life and did attain salvation at the end. It is clear that social life was never considered as an impediment to one’s spiritual progress if necessary precautions are taken. These precautions are included in the twelve vows of a layman. These vows play a good part in the life of a single Jaina as well

\begin{enumerate}
\item (i) Latthe, A. B.: An Introduction to Jainism, pp. 65-69.
\quad (ii) Jain C. R.: Jain Culture, p. 28.
\item Latthe, A. B.: An Introduction to Jainism, pp. 63-64.
\item (i) Stevenson, S.: Heart of Jainism, p. 297.
\item Sanghavi, S.: Jaina Samakṛtikā Hṛdaya, p. 15.
\item Jain, C. R.: Jain Culture, p. 5.
\end{enumerate}
as that of the whole community. The layman who adopts the twelve vows, or some of them, is left ample freedom to fulfil all his worldly duties, and to remain in fullest concordance with worldly propriety and etiquette even if he happens to occupy any responsible post which requires energetic and violent acting, in the interest of the state.\(^1\) Jaina ethical rules are meant for men of all positions—for kings, warriors, traders, artisans, agriculturists, and indeed for men and women in every walk of life. Do your duty and do it as humanely as you can—this, in brief, is the primary principle of Jainism.\(^2\) It is evident that social element in Jaina ethics is not neglected. Further, Jaina ethics includes the negative as well as positive rules of conduct. These prescribed rules of conduct are not limited for practising within the members of Jaina community. Jaina ethics embraces not only followers of Jainism but in a true sense all living beings. It is obvious that Jaina ethics tries to regulate the mutual relations of human beings and for that purpose twelve vows and ten meditations or reflections are laid down. Among them the five main vows are more important from the point of social relations. It is contended from a detailed analysis of the five main vows that Jaina ethics solves the individual problem of attaining spiritual merit and at the same time shows the way of solving all outstanding social and world problems.\(^3\)

The third prominent fact about Jaina ethics is the utmost importance given to \textit{Ahimsa} or avoidance of \textit{Hiimsa}, that is, injury. The noble principle of \textit{Ahimsa} has been recognised by practically all religions but Jainism alone preaches the full significance of \textit{Ahimsa} to such an extent that Jainism and \textit{Ahimsa} have become synonymous terms. Jainas always say that "\textit{Ahimsa Paramo Dharmah}", that is, \textit{Ahimsa} is the highest religion. The philosophy of Jainism and its rules of conduct are based on the foundations of \textit{Ahimsa} which has been consistently followed to its logical

\(^1\) Krause, C.: Interpretation of Jain Ethics, pp. 21–22.
\(^2\) Smith, V. A.: History of India, p. 53.
\(^3\) (i) Beniprasad: World Problems and Jain Ethics, pp. 2–17.
conclusion. That is why among the five main vows first place has been given to the observance of Ahimsa. Ahimsa is regarded as the principal vow and the other four vows are considered to be merely details of the first vow. Hiṃsā has been defined as injury to the vitalities through passioned activity of mind, speech and body.\(^1\) The Jaina scriptures always maintain that the appearance of attachment and other passions is Hiṃsā and their non-appearance is Ahimsa, because under the influence of passion, the person first injures the self, through the self, whether there is subsequently an injury caused to another being or not. Thus whatever is done under the influence of passion, that is through Pramāda Yoga meaning careless activity of mind, speech and body, and without any caution is included under Hiṃsā.\(^2\) Wherever any wrong statement is made through Pramāda Yoga, it is certainly known as falsehood. As Pramāda Yoga, the chief cause of Hiṃsā, is present in all such statements, Hiṃsā occurs in falsehood also.\(^3\) The taking, by Pramāda Yoga, of objects which have not been given, is deemed as theft and that is Hiṃsā because it is the cause of injury to the self in the form of a moral fall and to the person deprived of. There is no exclusivity between Hiṃsā and theft. Hiṃsā is inherent in thefts, for in taking what belongs to another, there is Pramāda Yoga. Thus all theft, like all falsehood, is included in Hiṃsā.\(^4\) Indulgence in self-passion always brings about Hiṃsā because it originates out of desire.\(^5\) Hence Abraham or sexual impurity is a form of Hiṃsā. Parigraha or possession of worldly goods is of two kinds, external and internal. The renunciation of Parigraha of both sorts is Ahimsa and their appropriation is Hiṃsā. Internal Parigraha, that is, the desire for worldly objects, prejudicially affects the purity of the soul, and this injury to the pure nature of the soul constitutes Hiṃsā.

4. Ibid, 102 and 104.
External Parigraha, that is, the actual possession of worldly objects, creates attraction and love for them, which defiles purity of the soul and therefore amounts to Himsâ.\footnote{Ibid, 115, 118 and 119.} Thus it is evident that as Himsâ is included in falsehood, theft, sexual impurity and possession of goods, all the main five vows of Jainas are based on the principle of Ahimsâ. That is why it is enjoined upon every Jaina to avoid Himsâ under any pretexts.\footnote{For a list of pretexts under which it is wrongly believed that Himsâ is admissible, vide S. B. J., Vol. IV, P. S., 70-90.}

The fourth important thing connected with Jaina ethics is the question of its practicability. Jaina ethics lays down very elaborate rules of conduct—both for laymen and ascetics. As prescribed rules of conduct are described even to the minutest details, it is feared that it would be difficult to put them into practice. But from a close examination it will be seen that the fear is unfounded. It has already been noted that even though the rules of conduct are same for all people, they are to be followed stages by stages. Accordingly the vows have been divided into two categories: Anuvratas or small vows and Mahāvratas or great vows. The householders have to practise the former and the ascetics the latter. Similar is the case with other observances. Moderation is the key-note of householders’ life and severity of saintly discipline. The important hallmark of Jaina ethics is the fact that a graduated course is prescribed with a view to make it possible for every person to observe all rules of conduct by tolerably easy gradations. Further it is not enjoined upon a person to observe all rules of conduct pertaining to a particular stage in life. It has been specifically mentioned that the three-fold path of liberation, consisting of right belief, right knowledge and right conduct, is to be constantly followed according to one’s capacity. It is always stressed that the severity of rules of conduct is to be adjusted after taking into account one’s own status and capacity. It matters little whether the rules are followed fully or partially and what is more important is the fact that one should not deviate from the path of liberation.\footnote{S. B. J., Vol. IV, P. S., 20, 197, 200 and 209.} This means that a person can take all the
vows or can make a selection of some of them. The aspect of practicability of Jaina ethics can be best explained by showing the way of observing the basic rule of conduct, namely, *Ahimsā*.

*Ahimsā* is abstention from *Himsā*. The renunciation of *Himsā* may be either complete or partial. The complete renunciation (known as *Autsargikī Nivṛtti*) is accomplished in nine ways, by self, through agent, or by approbation, and in each case through mind, body or speech. That which is not complete, is partial renunciation (known as *Apavādikī Nivṛtti*). For a householder it is not possible to practise complete renunciation, and therefore he is recommended to discharge his worldly responsibilities with the minimum injury to others. For giving more practical guidance in this matter *Himsā* has been analysed, according to the mental attitude of the individual, into four kinds, namely, *Gṛhāraṁbhī* or accidental, *Udyāmī* or occupational, *Virodhi* or protective, and *Saṁkalpī* or intentional. *Gṛhāraṁbhī* *Himsā* is that which is unavoidably committed in the performance of necessary domestic duties, such as preparation of food, keeping the things clean, construction of buildings, wells, etc. *Himsā* performed in the exercise of one’s profession whether of a soldier, or an agriculturist, or a trader, or an industrialist is *Udyāmī Himsā*. *Virodhi Himsā* is that which is unavoidably committed in the defence of person and property against assailants and enemies. *Saṁkalpī Himsā* is that which is committed intentionally or knowingly, for example, hunting, offering sacrifices, killing for food, amusement or decoration, etc. One who has renounced the life of a householder certainly avoids all four kinds of *Himsā*. It is significant to note that it is enjoined upon a householder to abstain from *Saṁkalpī Himsā* or intentional injury and not from the accidental, occupational and protective *Himsā* as it is not possible to do so while living in the householder’s stage. However, a householder has been advised to try his best to avoid as far as possible the first three kinds of injury as well and a householder has to make a steady progress in such an endeavour. Thus a householder’s vow of *Ahimsā* means abstention from intentional hurting and it

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1. S.B.J., Vol. IV., P.S., 70:

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can be easily put into practice.\footnote{1}

The last significant fact about Jain ethics is the prescription of one ethical code to all people irrespective of their position and stage in life. The rules of conduct are exactly the same both for laymen and ascetics with the only obvious difference that while the former observe them partially the latter have to observe them strictly. The ascetic life is thus a continuation of householder's life and this has fostered intimate relationship between the two main divisions of the Jaina community. As the ascetics are not generally recruited directly from outside but are taken from the Śrāvakas or householders, a feeling of oneness is created so far as the spiritual enterprise of the people is concerned. Since spiritual upliftment was the main aim of people, common practices in spiritual enterprise brought the laymen and monks together and this was the prime factor in the survival of Jainism as compared with other religions. It cannot be doubted that this close union between the laymen and monks brought about by the similarity of their religious duties, differing not in kind, but in degree, has enabled Jainism to avoid fundamental changes within, and to resist dangers from without for more than two thousand years, while Buddhism, being less exacting as regards the laymen, underwent the most extraordinary evolutions and finally disappeared in the country of its origin.\footnote{2} Thus the ethical code was in a way responsible for the continuity of Jaina community in India for such a long time in spite of oppositions from other faiths.

9. Jaina Worship

(I) Objects of Worship:

Generally, the object of worship is the Being who is believed to have created this world and who is considered responsible for the happiness and sorrow in this world. Jainism does not believe

\footnote{1}{S. B. J., Vol. IV, P. S., Introduction, pp. 25-30.}


in any creator of this world and hence the question of worshipping him does not arise. Further, in Jainism the individual soul is regarded responsible for its happiness or sorrow. Infinite happiness is the natural quality of the soul and every soul is capable of attaining that stage of happiness after making it free from the Karmic bondage. As the aim of every Jaina is to obtain that pure condition of the soul after completely conquering all the Karmas, naturally the objects of worship are those who have attained or are on the way of attaining the supreme purity of the soul endowed with the qualities of infinite perception, infinite knowledge, infinite happiness and infinite power. Such a person with infinite qualities is known as Jina and he serves as the ideal to be aimed at by all persons who desire to escape from the cycle of births and deaths. The beings who have attained that ideal or have considerably advanced on the way to that ideal are termed as Parameswthins, that is, supreme ones. There are five such Para-

meswthins and they are the objects of worship in Jainism.

The first one is known as the Siddha Parameswthin. An omniscient being who has conquered saṁsāra, that is, the cycle of births and deaths, and has realised the true nature is called the Siddha Parameswthin. He represents the highest Being. Next in order comes the Arhat (or Tīrthāṅkara) Parameswthin. This represents a lower stage than the Siddha Parameswthin, in as much as it is not the final stage in liberation. Arhats are embodied souls which have attained omniscience, but have not yet discarded the last vestments of human body. Nevertheless, in some respects, the stage of Arhat should be considered, from the human point of view, more important and therefore generally enumerated as the first, because it is in this stage of Arhat-hood that the Tīrthāṅkara reveals for the benefit of the world the path to salvation, and all the various scriptures describing such a path. There appeared twenty-four such Tīrthāṅkaras in the modern world period. The remaining three Parameswthins are the Āchārya Parameswthin, Upādhyāya Parameswthin and Sādhu Parameswthin. These three do not represent the stage of complete liberation from saṁsāra but nevertheless represent important stages towards that goal. Āchārya Parameswthin is the head of saints and he wholeheartedly
devotes himself to perform various duties regarding the propagation of religion. Next in rank comes the Upādhyāya Parameshṭhin. His duties are much more modest. He has no authority to initiate people into Jaina religion or to organise Jaina Saṅgha, (that is, organisation). He is a teaching saint. The last comes the Sādhu Parameshṭhins, that is, all those great souls who do not have any definite function either of authority or of instruction but still illustrate through their conduct the great path to salvation. All these five constitute the Pañcha-Parameshṭhins, the five supreme ones, worshipped by Jainas as representing the ideal in life at different stages of realisation.1

Apart from Pañcha Parameshṭhins, which are the proper objects of worship, Jainas extend their reverence, if not worship, to other beings also. Along with human beings like Parameshṭhins Jainas worship spirits or superhuman beings but the latter are not accorded as much reverence as it is given to the former. Among superhuman beings foremost place is reserved for Yakshas and Śāsanadevatās who attended on Tīrthaṅkaras.2 The names of attendant spirits, both male and female, resemble names of Hindu gods or goddesses and some names are even common to both. At the time of worshipping Tīrthaṅkaras, their respective Yakshas and Śāsanadevatās are also invoked. Jainas, especially Śvetāmbaras, have their own sixteen goddesses of learning. Jainas revere Indras or kings of gods.3 Besides, they have a pantheon of their own, in which they reckon four classes of superhuman beings, namely, Residential or Bhavanapatis, Peripatetic or Vyantaras, Stellar or Jyotishkas, and Heavenly or Vaimānikas.4 Further,

   (ii) Jaini, J. I.; Outlines of Jainism, pp. 2-4.
   (iii) S. B. J., Vol. IX, N. S., 71-75.

2. For a list of attendant spirits vide Buhler : Indian Sect of the Jainas, pp. 66-71.


(Continued)
many Jinas according to local customs, allow the existence of Hindu gods and goddesses, worship them and sometimes keep their idols in Jaina temples. The Hindu gods who have here and there secured a share in Jaina worship are Gaṇeśa, Skanda, Bhairava and Hanumāna. We get various accounts of Jaina reverence towards Hindu gods and goddesses in several District Gazetteers. Ksetrapāla, the god of cities, is worshipped in the same way as the Grāma-devatās are worshipped by the Hindus. Among the Hindu goddesses six are more honoured by Jinas. They also revere Sarasvatī, the Hindu goddess of learning and several Mātās. It has to be remembered that in Jainism these deities have even different associations. Further, every caste and family has got its own caste-deity and family-deity and caste-deity are at times found in Jaina temples. In general it can be said that in Śvetāmbara temples we find far more evidence of the influence of Hinduism than in the Digambara temples. Lastly, sacred animals, trees, places, and emblems and temples, idols and


3. Vidya especially B.G., Vol. IX,XXII,XXIV.
5. Mātā is a type of Hindu goddess. For the importance given to the Hindu Goddess Ambikā by the Jains, see J.U.B., Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 147.
scriptures are considered as worthy of reverence by Jainas. Even though we find the custom of worshipping superhuman beings, and Hindu gods and goddesses prevalent among Jainas, it must be remembered that Jainism, really speaking, allows the worship only of *Parameshṭhins*, that is, ideal human beings. The worship of Hindu gods and goddesses is certainly against the spirit of Jainism. Really speaking such gods are regarded as false gods in Jainism and right faith excludes belief in the existence or efficacy of such gods. It appears that Jainas might have started this practice in imitation of Hindus. But now-a-days with the spread of Jaina education and revival of interest and better understanding in Jaina religion, faithful Jainas strongly oppose these irreligious practices.

Even in past the Jaina Āchāryas have emphatically denounced the worship of non-Jaina deities and directed the attention of the Jainas to real and faultless gods of Jainism.

(II) *Intention of Worship* :

Jainas worship only those beings who have achieved salvation in this life by their own efforts or are on the way of liberation. Such human beings are known as *Parameshṭhins* and are worshipped by the Jainas as representing the ideal in life at different stages of realisation. We have seen that among the *Pañcha Parameshṭhins*, Śrīthānkaras are considered more important from human point of view because they reveal the path of salvation for the benefit of mankind. This Śrīthāṅkara worship is undertaken only for spiritual reasons and not for getting any worldly benefit out of it. In fact, a Śrīthāṅkara does not desire to be prayed at all, nor can he do any favour to his devotee, because he is not concerned with events in this world as he has left it for good. Since a Śrīthāṅkara is not endowed with the act of creation and regulation of this world, the question of asking favours in worldly matters does not arise. A Śrīthāṅkara is, therefore,

4. For example vide Varāṅgacharitam, XXV, 74-78.
worshipped as an ideal to be aimed at by all persons who desire salvation. Hence the intention of Jaina worship is very pure and it is undertaken with a view to spiritual advance in the direction of that ideal.\(^1\) The attitude of a Jaina devotee is best expressed in the following stanza which is commonly repeated while performing Jaina worship:

\[
\begin{align*}
मोक्षमागवस्य नेतारेन मेतारेन कामभूस्वताम् \\
झातारेन विश्वत्सवाना वन्दे तद्गुणाल्पये
\end{align*}
\]

"Him who is the leader of the path to Liberation, who is the crusher of mountains of Karmas, and who is the knower of all reality, Him I worship in order that I may realise those very qualities of His." Nothing is ever offered to Tīrthaṅkaras to obtain any boons from them. They are the model of Perfection for unemancipated beings, having been men themselves at one time in the past.\(^2\)

But it is a fact that this ideology behind the Jaina worship is not accepted in its real sense by many Jainas. An ordinary Jaina is not satisfied with getting internal purity by worship. He considers a Tīrthaṅkara as a king, opens his heart before him and intensely desires to have his kind help in all his difficulties, small or great. When this element of favour by an outside agency is introduced, it is natural that Tīrthaṅkaras are worshipped in the same manner as Hindu gods are worshipped. While surrendering something to the Tīrthaṅkara, a corresponding favour is expected in return.\(^3\) In many of the hymns composed in honour of Jīna, the Jainas appeal to him with as much favour as the Brāhmaṇa to his gods; and there are often expressions in them which ascribe to Jīna a creative power.\(^4\) A more favourable interpretation of these terms is possible and it is evident that such beliefs and practices are contrary to the real spirit of Jaina

\(^{1}\) Bhattacharyya, H. : Divinity in Jainism, p. 45.
\(^{3}\) For examples of belief in divine grace among Jainas, see Sharma, S. R. : Jainism and Karnāṭaka Culture, pp. 142-146.
worryship. They are considered to be result of false knowledge and as such true Jainas, who have obtained right faith, do not approve them.¹

(III) The Manner of Worship:

According to Jainism knowledge may be derived by considering four aspects of the thing known, namely, nāma, sthāpanā, dravya, and bhāva or its name, representation, substance and nature.² Similarly from these four aspects, we get the four kinds of Tīrthaṇkara worship. Nāma-worship is uttering or hearing the name of a Tīrthaṇkara. Worshipping the material representation like picture, image, statue, etc. of a Tīrthaṇkara is Sthāpanā-worship. Dravya connotes the thing or person which is to become in the future and hence Dravya-worship means adoring the souls which are to become Tīrthaṇkaras in the future. Bhāva suggests the thing or person in its actual nature and therefore the type of reverence accorded to a Tīrthaṇkara, when he was living on this earth as an omniscient being, by his contemporaries, is known as Bhāva-Worship.³

Among these four ways by which a Tīrthaṇkara can be worshipped, the second form namely idol-worship is more prevalent among the Jainas. Majority of Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras are in favour of idol-worship but Tāraṇapanthīs among the former and Sthānakaśās among the latter strongly oppose it. It is needless here to enter into the merits and demerits of idol-worship advanced by the contending parties and into the controversy regarding the antiquity of image-worship among the Jainas.⁴ We shall see in brief the manner of worship of both the sections, namely, those who practise and those who do not practise idol-worship.

The idols are intended to give a view of the all knowing beings in their concentrated posture and they remind the people

¹ Glassenapp : Jainism, p. 370.
³ Glassenapp : Jainism, p. 375.
⁴ For a detailed discussion, vide Glassenapp : Jainism, pp. 397-401.
of their virtues. Idol-worship is thus not the worship of the stone or metal of which the images are made but of the virtues they represent. The Digambara and Śvetāmbara idols differ in certain respects. The Digambara images are either in sitting or erect postures and the postures are called Padmāsana or Kāyotsarga respectively. The erect image has its feet close to each other, the hands left straight down and the half closed eyes pointed to the end of the nose. In the sitting attitude, the eyes are in the same position but the feet are twined into each other and the up-turned palms of the hands are placed together in the centre of the folded feet. Neither cloth nor ornament has any place on the images. It is, in fact, an embodiment of a perfectly dispassionate mind in complete self-concentration.¹ In contrast to the simple, unadorned Digambara figures, the Śvetāmbara images are given staring glass eyes, are adorned with golden ornaments and jewels, and are represented as wearing loin clothes.² The self-contemplation mood characteristic of Digambara images is thus absent in Śvetāmbara images.³ The images of all Tīrthaṅkaras are practically of the same type and they can be identified only with the help of their respective Chinhas or cognizances which are always inscribed below the idols.⁴ The householder worships the images with eight classes of things while ascetics only offer salutations to them. The eight-fold worship is as follows:-

(i) *Jala Pūjā* is bathing the image with water;
(ii) *Chandana Pūjā* is marking or sprinkling the idol with chandana, that is, sandal-wood paste and Kesāra, that is, saffron;
(iii) *Pushpa Pūjā* is offering flowers before the image or garlanding it;
(iv) *Dhūpa Pūjā* is waving of a lighted incense stick before the image or burning incense;

4. For the main characteristics and different varieties of Jaina Images vide, Bhattacharya, B. C. : Jain Iconography, Lahore, 1939.
(v) Dipa Pujä is keeping or waving up a light near the image;
(vi) Akshata Pujä is offering rice in front;
(vii) Naivedya Pujä is offering sweetmeats; and
(viii) Phala Pujä is the offering of fruits and nuts of all kinds.¹

These eight types of worship need not be performed in any particular order and at times even some of them could be performed. There are different hymns to be sung in offering each of these things. The offerings are called Nirmålya and they are not to be taken for use or eaten by the offerer, if not by any Jain. It is said to be a great sin to do so.²

The idol-worshippers are known as Mandiramårgi, that is, those who go to temples for their spiritual upliftment and non-idol-worshippers are termed as Sådhumårgi, that is, those who follow the saints for the same reason. The Sådhumårgis maintain that idol-worship has not been prescribed by the Tirthaṅkaras, that the references of idol-worship in Jaina books are later interpolations, that idol-worship is against the Bhāvanå or spirit of Jaina religion and that it has been introduced in the Jaina religion by priests for their selfish ends.³ Since the Sådhumårgis abhor the very idea of idols, the question of a detailed ritual for their worship does not arise. Instead they go to their religious houses and there perform their daily religious duties. The religious house of Sthânakavâsi Jainas is known as an Upâśraya or Upâsaro and the six Åvasyakas (i.e. daily duties), namely, Sâmâyika, Chaturvihśati-Jinastuti, Vandanå, Prati-krmaṇa, Kâyotsarga and Pratyâkhyaṇa, are performed there only.⁴

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1. For the significance of these eight articles used in worship, vide Jain, K.P.: “Såstrokta Jaina Pujâ Vidhâna,” Digambara Jaina, Vol. XXII, pp. 401-408.
   (ii) Lattke, A.B.: An Introduction to Jainism, P. 47.
Among the Tārāṇapānthis, the religious building is known as Chaityālaya which, according to them, means Granthālaya, that is, house of sacred books. The Tārāṇapānthis visit the Chaityālaya and do their religious duties especially Sāmāyika, Jinastutī and Vandana there.¹

(IV) Places of Worship:

(A) Temples:

The idol-worshippers necessarily require temples for performing their worship. Jainas have lavished an enormous amount of money on the construction of temples throughout India from ancient times. Among Jainas temples the most old are the cave temples. Near the cave temples are the caves meant for the monks to live and sleep in. The most famous of all Jainas caves and cave temples are those found at Udayagiri in Orissa, at Badami in the Bijapur District of Mysore State (formerly in Bomaby State) and at Ellora in the Aurangabad District of Bombay State.² But more beautiful than the cave temples are the ground temples. The best of such temples are often found in very remote spots, and it is suggested that they were built at times when the Jainas had to hide in such places to avoid Hindu persecution.³ Each temple has an open porch (mandapa), a closed hall of assembly (sabhā mandapa) and an inner shrine or cell (garbha-grha) in which the idol is kept. In front of many Jainas temples we find pillars (mānastambhas) on which idols are placed. There is a considerable difference in the construction of Jainas temples in Northern and Southern India.⁴ Temples are constructed out of donations and wherever Jainas are there we come across Jainas temples. The vast number of Jainas temples can be explained by the fact that the Jainas religion considers the construction of new temples or rebuilding of old, dilapidated temples as a meritorious act. The

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Jaina Āchāryas in their literature glorify the act of building temples, and their religious-minded followers faithfully carry it out. In some places the number of Jaina temples is more than necessary and in many places several temples are constructed so near each other that temple-cities are formed. The most famous temple-cities are on Mount Abu in Rajputana, on mounts Giranāra and Satruñjaya in Kathiawar, at Kunthalagiri in Osmanabad District and at Śravaṇabelgoḷa in Mysore State. Temples are always clean and maintained and they have become proverbial for their neatness. One gets a deep and calm impression when one enters a Jaina temple and sees the Jaina idol in a self-contemplation mood. In a temple there is the main idol of a particular Tirthaṅkara and other idols of other Tirthaṅkaras. In some temples are also placed images of Hindu gods and goddesses below the idol of the principal Tirthaṅkara in the temple, in other niches or shrines or upper storeys. A temple priest or a pujārī is appointed by the community. In the Dīgaṁbara temples the pujārī is always a Jaina and in the Śvetāmbara temples he is generally a Hindu, and is either a Māli (gardener) or a Kaṇapī (farmer) or a Bārota (bard) by caste. Further, in Śvetāmbara temples the pujārī eats himself the offerings made to the idol while in Dīgaṁbara temples the pujārī, if he is not a temple priest, leaves it for the temple servants. The Jaina will ordinarily visit a temple and see the Tirthaṅkara every morning before taking his food, and his wife often goes with him. If there is no temple in their own town or village, Jainas will go to another, provided that

1. For example see Varāṅgacharitaṃ, XXII, 47.
2. Krause, C: An Interpretation of Jain Ethics, P. 15.

In this connection it is reported by Prof. DalasukhMalavaniya that among Śvetāmbaras also Bhojaka Brāhmaṇas are appointed as Pujārīs at some places and that these Bhojaka priests are really Jainas though they are termed as Brāhmaṇas. The number of these Bhojaka Brāhmaṇas is very meagre and now they refuse to work as Pujārīs. That is why other Hindus are kept as Pujārīs in Śvetāmbara temples.
it is within a practicable distance.\(^1\) In the daily temple worship the image is bathed by the temple priest in milk and on special days in the five nectars or \(\text{panchamrita}\). The priest repeats sacred verses, sandal paste is marked at certain places of the image and it is decked with flowers.\(^2\)

\(B\) \(\text{Upasrayas:}\)

\text{Upasrayas} are separate buildings erected by each sect for their monks and nuns. \text{Upasrayas} are mostly two—storeyed buildings and there is no outstanding difference between them and the houses of laymen. There is always a lecture hall in an \text{Upasraya} and it is here that the monks preach or explain sacred texts to laymen who come to visit them. In \text{Upasraya} alone monks and nuns give advice to their followers and accept or make them to do \text{Pratikrama}na, that is, repentance of all transgressions. \text{Upasraya} is the central place of the community and its construction and maintenance charges are borne by the laymen.\(^3\) As the Sth\(\text{hana-kavas\=is} do not have temples, they perform their religious duties generally in \text{Upasrayas}.\(^4\)

\(C\) \(\text{Chaityalayas:}\)

\text{Chaityalayas} are the places where the religious duties are performed by T\(\text{ara}n\)apanth\(\text{\=i}\), the followers of a non-idolatrous subsect of Digam\(\text{\=baras}\). The meaning of \text{Chaityalaya}, according to them, is \text{Granthalaya}, that is, the library. In the middle of the \text{Chaityalaya} is erected a pulpit and on it the fourteen books of T\(\text{ara}n\)asv\(\text{\=ami}\), the founder of T\(\text{ara}n\)apannya, are placed. Since T\(\text{ara}n\)apannya do not have temples, \text{Chaityalaya} serves as their central place.\(^5\)

10. \text{FESTIVALS AND FASTS}

Many festivals and fasts are observed by the Jains. Festivals

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2. For a detailed account of Abhisheka (bathing of the idol) ceremony, vide, Jain, C. R.: \text{Change of Heart}, pp. 134-142.
are performed to commemorate the important events of the past and the fasts are undertaken for self-purification. Both festivals and fasts are intended to divert the attention of laymen from their worldly activities to their ultimate goal. They serve to strengthen the devotion of laymen to spiritual uplift. Just as visits to the sacred places create a deep impression on the minds of people, similarly the observance of various festivals and fasts reminds the people of their main objective in life. The festivals and fasts are observed mainly as religious ceremonies. According to Jainism the religious ceremonies are to be performed at the proper time and place which are determined through the help of astronomy. The knowledge of astronomy is one of the principal accomplishments of a Jaina priest and it is the duty of a Jaina priest to ascertain the proper time and place for all religious ceremonies.\(^1\) The number of Jaina festivals and fasts is quite large and hence we shall describe in brief the most important of them.

(i) Paryûshaṇa, or Daśalakṣaṇa Parva:

It has already been noticed that in Jaina religion more significance has been attached to the practice of austerities and fasting is one of the main ways of performing austerities. Various fasts have been prescribed for Jainas and among them the fast of Paryûshaṇa is the most sacred. Even though both Digâmbaras and Śvetâmbaras observe it with great enthusiasm there is a difference in the time and way in which they observe it.

According to Digâmbaras the Paryûshaṇa lasts every year for ten days from the fifth to the fourteenth day (both days inclusive) of the bright half of the month of Bhâdrapada.\(^2\) On these days early in the morning all people assemble in the temple and perform the eight-fold worship on a large scale. After the worship, on every day, one chapter out of the ten chapters of the Tattvârtha-

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2. The statements made by Mrs. Stevenson (Notes on Modern Jainism, p. 107) and Mr. Enthooven, R. V. (T. C. B., Vol. III, p. 434) that paryûshaṇa lasts for 15 days among the Digambaras are not correct.
Sūtra, the Bible of the Jainas, is read and explained to the people and further people are enlightened on the value of one of the ten Dharmas or reflections. Because special attention is devoted to the importance of Daśadharma, that is, ten reflections, during these ten days, the Paryūṣhaṇa is also known as Daśalakṣaṇa Parva. In these days practically all men and women perform fast according to their capacity. A few observe fasts for all ten days without taking any food whatsoever, while many take food once a day during this period. The last day of Paryūṣhaṇa, known as Anantachaturdāśi, is considered as particularly sacred and is observed by performing special ceremonies. Generally on this day all people observe fast and spend their whole day in a temple.¹

Among the Śvetāmbaras, the Paryūṣhaṇa begins with the twelfth of the dark half of Śrāvana and ends with the fifth of the bright half of Bhūḍrapada. Thus it lasts for eight days. The special object with which they keep Paryūṣhaṇa is to obtain pardon for the sins of the year. The people observe the fast with varying strictness. While some fast for the whole eight days, many fast on every other day (and eat specially dainty food on the alternate days) and all fast on the last day. People go to the Upāśrayas, where special services of reading scriptures and others are held for them, as often as they can, and some of them spend the whole day there. Further, for gaining special merit, people are enjoined to do Poshadha, that is, to behave like an ascetic for twenty-four hours while remaining in an Upāśraya. The last day of Paryūṣhaṇa, known as Saṁvatsarī, is the most solemn day of all. Apart from fasting, people greet each other and ask forgiveness for any injuries inflicted during the past year, and letters are written to friends at a distance asking their forgiveness also.² In many towns, on the third day of the Paryūṣhaṇa, the Śvetāmbaras organise a procession in honour of the Kalpa-Sūtra,³ a scripture which they hold in great reverence. Lord Mahāvīra's

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2. Among the Digambaras this is done on the first day of the dark half of Aśvina, vide Kailashachandra: Jainadharma, p. 310.
3. Kalpa-Sūtra has been translated into English by Dr. H. Jacobi vide S.B.E., Vol. XXII.
birth-day is conventionally celebrated on the fifth day of Paryūshaṇa even though it really falls on the thirteenth day of the bright half of Chaitra. The Śvetāṁbaras organise a cradle procession in honour of the day.¹

The Jainas are specially zealous during Paryūshaṇa to prevent any animal life being taken. In many places they have prevailed on respective local authorities to prohibit slaughter of animals during these days. In other places they try to stop, if necessary by payment of money, slaughter of animals at least on the last day.²

(ii) Siddhachakra Pājā or Saint-wheel Worship:

This is performed only by Śvetāṁbara Jainas twice a year in Chaitra and Aśvina and lasts for nine days beginning on the seventh and ending on the full-moon day. It ranks next in importance to Paryūshaṇa.³ In every Śvetāṁbara temple there is a Saint-wheel, or Siddhachakra,—a little eight-sided plate made of either brass or silver with five tiny figures. These figures represent the Pañcha Parameshṭhins. Between the figures are written the names of the three jewels of the Jaina faith and also the word 'tapa', i.e., austerity. This plate, which thus bears on its surface a complete summary of Jainism, is regarded as of such importance that no Śvetāṁbara temple is without it. Once during the days of worship people take the Saint-wheel in procession out of the town and bathe it in water. This little pilgrimage is known as Jalayūṭrā.⁴

(iii) Ashtānhika:

The fast of Ashtānhika is regarded next in importance to Paryūshaṇa. Only Digāṁbaras observe this fast. It is performed

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   The statement made by Stevenson that the worship lasts for eight days is wrong. It lasts for nine days.
thrice a year during the week beginning from the lunar eighth in the months of Kārtika, Phālguna and Āshāḍha. In these days, like in Paryūṣhaṇa, the fast is observed with varying strictness.¹

(iv) Mahāvīra Jayanti:

The birth-day anniversary of Lord Mahāvīra falls on the thirteenth day of the bright half of Chaitra and this is celebrated with great pomp and enthusiasm throughout India by all Jainas. Processions are taken, meetings are held and the message of Lord Mahāvīra is explained to Jainas and non-Jainas alike. In some states and provinces this day is declared as a public holiday. This is the only festival commonly celebrated by all sections of the Jaina community.

(v) Vīraśāsana Jayanti:

This is celebrated mainly by Digambara Jainas every year on the first day of the dark half of Śrāvana. The day is important because on this very day Lord Mahāvīra, after gaining omniscience delivered his first religious discourse on the Vipulāchala mountain near Rājagṛha in the country of Magadha.²

(vi) Śruta-Pañchamī:

Śruta-pañchamī falls on the fifth day of the bright half of Jyeshthā. On this day, according to Digambaras, their two saints Pushpadanta and Bhūtabali, completed the writing of the sacred book Shatkhandaṅgama and it was then worshipped by all members of the Jaina community. In remembrance of that event every year on that day the Digambaras worship their sacred books and remove dust and insects from them.³ The Śvetāmbaras do the same thing on the fifth day of the bright half of Kārtika. They call this day as Jñāna-pañchamī instead of Śruta-pañchamī.⁴

1. (i) Kailashachandra : Jainadharma, P. 312.

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The institution of this festival has been of incalculable use in preserving Jaina literature, for not only are the books worshipped but all the volumes in Jaina treasure-houses are supposed to be dusted, freed from insects and rearranged on this day.¹

(vii) *Days of Abstinence:*

In addition to the special days like the above, many Śvetāmbara Jaines observe as fasts, with more or less strictness, twelve days in every month. These days are the two second, the two fifth, the two eighth, the two eleventh, the two fourteenth and the bright and dark fifteenth of each month.² The Digambaras, however, observe as fasts ten days in every month of the year, that is, the second, the fifth, the eighth, the eleventh and the fourteenth days of both the bright and dark halves of the month.³ Those who cannot do these throughout the year, do it only during Chāturmāsa, that is, the four months of rain from Āshādha to Kārtika.⁴ Less devout Jaines among the Śvetāmbaras observe only five days of abstinence, namely, the two eighth, the two fourteenth and the fifteenth of the bright half of the month,⁵ but among the Digambaras only four days, namely, the two eighth and the two fourteenth days, are observed.⁶ Moreover, four full-moon days during the year are observed as special fasts by the Śvetāmbara Jaines. These full-moon days are in the months of Kārtika, Phālguna, Chaitra and Āshādha. People fast on these days, decorate their temples with lamps, and go to the temples to worship. The Kārtika and Chaitra full-moon days are considered more important and on these two days people try to go on pilgrimage to any sacred place, especially to hills of Śatruñjaya in Kathiawar. If they cannot go, they still manage to acquire some merit by

² Ibid, P. 878.
³ B. G., Vol. XXII, P. 118.
worshipping a map or photograph of Śatruñjaya.¹

(viii) *The Bathing of Gommaṭeśvara*:

The bathing of Gommaṭeśvara at Sravaṇabelgola in Mysore State is one of the rare festivals of the Digambara Jainas as it is done after an interval of so many years. The last two festivals were held in 1940 and in 1953 A. D. The idol of Gommaṭeśvara (i.e., of Bāhubali, the son of the first Tīrthaṅkara, Lord Rshabhanātha) was carved by about 983 A. D.² and it is regarded as one of the wonders of the world since nowhere else we come across such a fine, well proportioned, colossal statue of 57 feet in height carved out of one stone only. It is but natural that utmost importance is attached by the Digambara Jainas in visiting and seeing the bathing ceremony of the idol of Gommaṭeśvara.³

(ix) *Diwāli or Dīpāvalī*:

Apart from the festivals and fasts described above, which are observed only by the Jainas, there are other festivals which are observed by Jainas along with Hindus. Among such festivals that of Diwāli is most important, as well as most sacred. But there is a difference in the reasons for observing this festival between the Jainas and the Hindus. According to Jainas when their last Tīrthaṅkara Lord Mahāvīra achieved Moksha or salvation in the early hours of the last day of the month of Aśvin in the year 527 B. C. the celestial and other beings who were present at that time worshipped him and instituted an illumination saying that “Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make

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The statements made by Mrs. Stevenson that Digambaras also observe these four full-moon fasts (vide Notes on Modern Jainism, p. 109) and that Digambaras observe the two full-moon fasts in the months of Phālguna and Ashāḍha are not correct.

2. Rice, B.L.: Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, P. 47.

an illumination of material matter. From that time the followers of Mahāvīra celebrate every 
year the festival of lamps in honour of his achieving 
liberation. Their year, known as Viśva Nirvāṇa Samvat, also begins from this date. On this day 
early in the morning people visit the temple and worship the idol of Lord Mahāvīra with sweet balls known as Nirvāṇalāḍū. Because of the happy event of gaining salvation by their Lord, people prepare special sweet dishes on that and subsequent days. The other ceremonies like Lakshmi-pūjana and Bhāu-Bīja attached to Divāḷī have no religious significance and are performed by the Jainas according to the local Hindu customs.

(x) Rakṣābandhana:

Another great festival which is observed by the Jainas, especially by the Digambara Jainas, in common with the Hindus, is that of Rakṣābandhana. It teaches the spirit of affection towards the co-religionists. The Jainas observe it on the full moon day of Śrāvana because on this day their ascetic Viśnukumāra saved through his own spiritual powers the lives of seven hundred Jaina monks from the clutches of human-sacrifice organised by Bali, the King of Hastināpura. In honour of this event the Jainas every year on that day worship the great sage Viśnukumāra and the seven hundred monks. The significance of this festival is that just as Viśnukumāra removed the danger over the Jaina community by his own efforts, similarly the Jainas should bear in mind that they should also try to protect in times of distress any aggression against their idols, temples, ascetics, institutions, etc.

(xi) Akṣhayatṛīyā:

Like Divāḷī and Rakṣābandhana, the Akṣhayatṛīyā is also

2. The Hindus observe this day as a Gala Day without any religious significance. See Gupto, B. A.; Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials, P. 173.
3. For a full story, vide Kailashachandrajī; Jainadharma, pp. 317-320.
celebrated by both Hindus and Jainas. *Akshayatītyā* falls on the third day of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* and it is considered as one of the most auspicious and sacred days by the Jainas. According to them on this day Lord Rśabhadeva, the first *Tīrthaṅkara*, received in accordance with the religious ritual the food in the form of sugar-cane juice for the first time after his continuous fast of six months from the hands of Śreyāṁsa, the king of Hastināpura, and hence the sanctity of the day. On this day Lord Rśabhadeva is worshipped and his idol is bathed in sugar-cane juice. The celebration of this day is intended to inspire people to extend gifts—of whatever value they might be—to right persons and thus to secure merit for them in the way by which king Śreyāṁsa secured indestructible merit (*Akshaya Puṇya*) by giving gift of even sugar-cane juice to Lord Rśabhadeva. 

From the description of Jaina festivals and fasts it is evident that the Jainas have their own festivals and fasts and that some of them are peculiar to only certain sections of the community. Further, they observe some festivals in common with the Hindus but they attach different significance for their celebration. Again, in certain parts they have adopted the local Hindu festivals after giving them a new colouring to suit their religion. The Karnāṭaka Jainas, for example, worship on the *Ganeśa-Chaturthī* day the sage Gautama under the name Gaṇāḍhipa instead of worshipping the Hindu god Gaṇapati and instead of worshipping Veṅkataramaṇa like local Brahmins, they worship Bharatarāja, their ancient king. In addition to these, the Jainas follow a number of Hindu festivals, like *Dasarā*, *Madhavāsakāṛīnta* and others, which have no connection with their religion. This might be due to the close proximity between Jainas and Hindus. But it should be noted that only the Hindu festivals are observed by the Jainas not with the view of gaining any religious merit.

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but as a part of their social life with the Hindus. No doubt for some time past the Gujerath Jaina women were worshiping the goddess of small-pox on the Śītalā-saaptami day along with the Hindu women,¹ but such practices are being discontinued as they go against the Jaina religion.² At the same time it should not be lost sight of that the Hindu festivals and fasts which are mainly religious like Rāmanavami, Gokulāśṭami, Mahāśivarātra, etc. are not observed by the Jainas. It can, therefore, be said in conclusion that the Hindu festivals with a distinctly religious tinge of their own are not celebrated by the true Jainas.

11. JAINA SUPERSTITIONS

Along with the Hindus the Jainas also believe that there are superhuman beings who can influence the fate of individuals as well as of groups of individuals in good and bad manner. Jainas further contend that even though such beings have limited power and are governed by the doctrines of Karma, still they can exert good or bad influence on fate of human beings because of their (superhuman beings') position which is the direct result of their actions in the past births. Naturally these superhuman beings cannot do anything to the liberated beings but they can, to some extent, extend happiness to, or inflict sorrow on, the ordinary beings. That is why, it is argued, human beings have to strive to please and secure favour from the superhuman beings.³ Hence we find that most of the Jainas have a firm belief in magic and charms, and they pacify evil spirits, ghosts, and witches, in the same way as other Hindu castes do.⁴

The Jainas believe in spirit possession and call their family spirits 'pitrād' or fathers. Though they profess not to believe that infants are attacked by spirits they perform the ceremonies observed by Brahmanic Hindus in honour of Mothers Fifth and Sixth. When children suffer from Bālagraha, a form of convul-

² Jaina Śvētāmbara Directory, Vols. I and II, pp. 93, 132-133, 290-291, 327-328, etc.
³ Glaseroppp ; Jainism, pp. 414-415.
⁴ Hassan ; T. C. N. D., P. 269.
sion, Jaina women think that it is the work of spirits. Jainas profess not to hold the ordinary Brahmanic belief that the first wife comes back and plagues the second wife. Still they hold in great terror Jákhhins, that is, the ghosts of women who die with unfulfilled wishes. Among Jainas, as among other Hindus, Jákhhins plague the living by attacking children with lingering diseases. When a child is wasting away Jaina parents make the Jákhin a vow that if the child recovers, Jákhin’s image shall be placed with their family gods. After the recovery of the child, the image is daily worshipped with the house gods with great reverence. This Jákhin worship is said to be common among the local Jainas.¹

In some places Jainas of all classes believe in sorcerers, witches, and soothsayers and consult them in cases of sickness or other misfortune. But they have no professional exorcists or charmers chiefly because their place is filled by the Jaina priests. When sickness is believed to be caused by spirit possession the priest is consulted. The priest tries various methods in succession. He gives the tīrtha or holy water to the sick person to drink. He rubs anigāra or ash on the brow of the sick person. He asks the members of his family to start Jákhin worship. He ties the tāita or charmed casket round the sick person’s arm or neck. Lastly, he starts anushṭhāna or god pleasing ceremony. When all remedies are of no avail Jainas sometimes take the sick to a holy place called Stavanidhi, and the sick or some relation on his behalf worships the spirit-scaring Brahmanidhi until the patient is cured. The Jainas profess to have no sacred pools, animals, or trees that have a power of spirit-scaring.² In certain places in South Kanara a regular worship of Bhūtas or devils is undertaken by the Jainas.³

Unlike most Brahmanic Hindus, Jainas do not believe that a woman in her monthly sickness is specially liable to spirit attacks. In their opinion a woman runs most risk of being possessed when

¹ B. G., Vol. XXIV, P. 139.
² (i) B. G., Vol. XXII, P. 118.
   (ii) B. G., Vol. XXIV, P. 140.
she has just bathed and her colour is heightened by turmeric, when her hair is loose, and when she is gaily dressed, and happens to go to a lonely well or river bank at noon or sunset. Boys are also apt to be possessed when they are all well-dressed or fine looking or when they are unusually sharp and clever.¹

Orthodox Jainas who object to the early or direct form of spirit action believe in the more refined dyštā or evil eye as a cause of sickness. According to the popular Jaina belief all eyes have not the blessing power of the evil eye. Various reasons are given for those who possess an evil eye. For example, it is believed that if at the time of cutting the child’s naval any of the blood enters the child’s eyes, their glance is sure to have a blasting or evil power.² Further, they fear perfect happiness, and whenever they see it, they believe that an evil eye will harm the happy one through jealousy. It is considered that anything dark or bitter will avert this, and so, if new jewellery is worn, a black thread is tied on to it; if a new house is built, a black earthen vessel is placed outside; and if a beautiful child is taken out, its cheek is marked with a black smear. In the same way at a wedding a lemon is tied in the turban of the bridegroom and in the dress of the bride, so that something sour may safeguard the sweetness of their lot. When illness occurs, it is also put down to the influence of an evil eye and to remove it a detailed process known as ‘Najara bandhī’ is undergone. Again, another method of removing the influence of an evil eye from a sick person is to wave a loaf of millet bread round his head and then give it to a black dog; if the animal eats it, it is believed that the influence of the evil eye passes into the dog.³

Apart from the beliefs mentioned above Jainas in certain places have many other superstitions. On the fifth day of Śrāvana many Jaina women worship serpents, apparently to propitiate the spirits of their ancestors. In the days of plague or cholera

3. (i) Stevenson, S.: Heart of Jainism, pp. 264–266.
   (ii) Glaserapp: Jainism, P. 417.
offerings are made according to the advice of the Brāhmaṇā priests. During the epidemic of small-pox, Jaina women take certain vows before Śītalā Mātā, the goddess of small-pox. Again, Jaina women often go to Hindu or Jaina temples and promise to offer something if only a son may be born to them. Further, it is believed that the dreams can foretell the good or bad future and many examples are noted in Jaina literature where the dreams had suggested the occurrence of both the happy and unhappy events. Moreover, the Jainas have a faith in both the auspicious and inauspicious signs and the Jaina books give a long list of such signs especially to be noted at the time of starting on a journey. Further, magic occupies an important place in the Jaina literature. It ranges from the gross and crude practices to avert the evil eye for affording protection against malignant men and spirits to the subtle process of discovering one’s thoughts, or inducing a magic sleep, going through the air, causing invisibility and compelling obedience of human and divine beings, by means of the dreadful black art. The Jainas of Rajputana were considered as magicians and were supposed to have possessed supernatural skill. They were, therefore, known as Vidyāvān or Magi (that is, the Man of Secrets) of Rajasthan. Similarly, a few Mysore Jainas, are skilled magicians and others have attained yogic life. They also believe in the efficacy of the mantrams. It is stated that Manadeva, the spiritual leader of Jainas, even suppressed the plague of Taxilla by composing the Śāntistotra which contained many mantras.

In this connection it should be noted that the superstitions mentioned above have no religious sanction at all. Jainism has

3. Śrīpālachandraji: Jaina Sampradāya Śikṣā, pp. 751-756.

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never enjoined upon its followers to accept such beliefs because they go against its basic principle, namely, non-existence of divine grace. Jaina saints had visualised that the people, who are much after securing personal favour from gods, are prone to believe in and abide by such superstitions. According to Jainism Samyag-darśana or Right Faith is the primary condition expected in its followers. Right faith, as we have already noted, means a firm belief in the principle of Jainism. It is important to observe that among other things this right faith must be free from the three types of superstitious ignorance,¹ and all superstitions described above come under these three categories of superstitious ignorance. Hence the true believers and followers of Jainism do not approve of these superstitions and the Bombay Gazetteer has also admitted this fact.² From the fact that the Jaina superstitions have no religious basis and that they are just like Hindu superstitions, it is evident that the Jainas might have adopted them from the Hindus.

12. JAINA SAMSKĀRAS

The life of a Jaina layman is regulated by various ceremonies through which he has to pass right from his conception up to his death. These ceremonies are prescribed by religion with a view that a layman would lead a life in accordance with the religious principles and attain the main aim of final liberation. Since religion wants that the ceremonies should be performed at proper times, they are known as Samskāras or Sacraments. Such ceremonies are not uniform in the main sects of the Jainas and further many of them differ in their details from province to province. Without going deep into the differences we shall observe, in brief, their main features.

The two principal sects of the Jainas, namely the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras, prescribe different ceremonies for their adherents even though their main aim is the same. According to the Digambaras, a Śrāvaka, that is, a layman, has to pass

1. See page 208 ante.
through the fifty-three ceremonies mentioned in their sacred book Ādi-purāṇa. They are as follows:-

(1) Ādhāna or Garbhādhāna: i.e., conception-ceremony, is performed before a woman conceives. When a woman attains puberty, she and her husband should go to the temple and perform worship in the prescribed manner. After this Ādhāna ceremony the pair should cohabit at night only for the sake of progeny and not for sexual attachment.

(2) Pṛiti: is performed in the third month after the conception. In this worship, music, etc. should be performed to keep the pregnant woman delightful.

(3) Suprīti: The above ceremonies should be performed in the fifth month after conception.

(4) Dhṛti: The same should be performed, in the seventh month, for the sake of the child to be born.

(5) Moda: It consists in the writing of the primary letters अ इ आ ए ऐ on the body of the pregnant woman in the ninth month.

(6) Priyādbhava: It consists in worship, etc., at the birth of a child.

(7) Nāmakarma: The child should be given a name on any auspicious day after twelve days from its birth. It should be done with due worship and the name should be one from the 1008 names of Jina.

(8) Bahiryāna: After two, three or four months the child should be taken out of the house on a convenient auspicious day.

(9) Nishadyā: Then the child should be made to sit after duly performing the worship.

(10) Annaprāśana: It is feeding the child after doing worship in the eighth month or so.

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1. Ādi Purāṇa, XXXVIII, 55-62, and 70-312.
(11) Vyushṭi: It is the first anniversary to be performed with worship as usual and with fasts.

(12) Keśavāpa: It is the ceremony of keeping hairs after shaving for the first time.

(13) Lipisāṅkhyānasāṅgraha: It means that in the fifth year the child should be taught to write at the hands of a learned layman after performing worship.

(14) Upanīti: It is the initiation ceremony and it is performed in a Jaina temple in the eighth year of the child. After this the child wears the sacred thread as a sign of having taken the five small vows and is known as a Brahmachārī or a celibate. Now he has to maintain himself on begging alms.

(15) Vratacharyā: Leading a strict celibate and single life, the boy should keep the vows and should study various subjects from his teacher.

(16) Vratāvatarana: It is to be performed in the 12th or 16th year after completing his studies. The boy should take leave of his preceptor and adopt any of the prescribed ways of livelihood. Now he need not be very strict in his life but will have to maintain celibacy till he gets married.

(17) Vivāha: On the advice of the teacher, the boy should be married to a girl from a good family in accordance with the prescribed rules. After marriage the pair should go on a pilgrimage for seven days and then should cohabit in the ovulation period only for the sake of progeny.

(18) Varṇalābha: Uptil now the son was in the house of his father. After worshipping God the father gives a part of his property to his son in the presence of other persons and asks his son to make a separate household and to lead a good life.

(19) Kulacharyā: He should now perform the six daily duties of a householder.
(20) *Gṛhīṣītā*: Excellence in layman's duties should be attained through wisdom, character, etc. with a view to become superior to others.

(21) *Praśānti*: Quietude should be got by assigning family-affairs to the care of the sons.

(22) *Gṛhatyāga*: When a person feels that he has satisfactorily fulfilled the duties of a householder, he should leave the house after handing over, in the presence of his friends, all his property to his sons, and advising the eldest son to continue the family tradition.

(23) *Dīkṣādyā*: After leaving the house he should take up to the pre-ascetic life.

(24) *Jinarūpatā*: It consists in the throwing up of the clothes and taking on the life of an ascetic without any bondage.

(25) *Maunādhyayanavṛtti*: Concentrated study should now begin when there should be no talk on anything but study.

(26) *Tīrthakṛdbhāvanā*: After full study he should think again and again on the sixteen reflections of a Tīrthaṅkara.

(27) *Gurusthānābhupagama*: With the consent of his preceptor he should accept the post of teaching ascetic and begin to teach others.

(28) *Gaṇopagrahaṇa*: By his preaching and actions he should try to protect all members of the Jaina community.

(29) *Svagurusthānāvāpti*: After transferring all his duties to his worthy disciple, he should assume the position of an Ācārya, i.e., the head of the ascetics.

(30) *Nīhaṅgatvātmabhāvanā*: Relying on his disciple he should devote his time to self-meditation only.

(31) *Yoganirvāṇasaṁprāpti*: By following supreme austeri-
ties he should concentrate only on the nature of the self.

(32) Yoganirvānasādhana: Discarding food and care of the body, he should aim at total concentration.

(33) Indrōpapāda: After death he goes to the status of an Indra, i.e., the king of gods, by virtue of his merits.

(34) Indrābhīsheka: Gods then consecrate him as an Indra.

(35 & 36) Vidhidāna and Sukhodaya: Having ascended the throne of Indra, he enjoys the happiness in the heaven.

(37) Indratyāga: He then abandons the pleasures of heaven.

(38) Avasāra: He descends down from the heaven to the earth to become a Tīrthaṅkara.

(39) Hiranyajanmatā: Then the soul enters the embryo of a lady who is to give birth to a Tīrthaṅkara.

(40) Mandarendrābhīsheka: When he is born, Indra worships him on the Meru mountain.

(41) Gurupādana: Indra worships this to be Tīrthaṅkara in childhood.

(42) Yauvarājya: He gets the position of an heir-apparent in his young age.

(43) Svarājya: He secures the power over whole empire.

(44) Chakralābha: He acquires the chakra, that is, the nine stores and the fourteen jewels.

(45) Digvijaya: He starts for the conquest of the whole universe.

(46) Chakrābhīsheka: The conquest is celebrated.

(47) Sāmrājya: He guides the subsidiary kings in their duties towards their subjects.

(48) Nishkrānti: He then gives his empire to the eldest son and becomes an ascetic.

(49) Yogasāṁmaha: He gets the power due to omniscience and austerities.

(50) Ārhatya: He attains the status of an Arhat.
(51) **Vihāra:** The Arhat or Tīrthaṅkara preached the truth to all people.

(52) **Yogatyāga:** Then he draws the soul into itself.

(53) **Agranirvṛti:** Then he achieves final deliverance.

These fifty-three ceremonies describe the progress of a layman to Moksha or final liberation. But from the nature of the ceremonies it is clear that no individual in this age can possibly pass through all of them. The number of ceremonies for an ordinary householder will therefore have to be limited for practical purposes and we find that the Digambaras have tried to curtail them. But it is surprising that they have not arrived at a fixed number of ceremonies. The late Brahmachārī Śītalaprasādaji has prescribed¹ for the householders the first twenty-six of the above mentioned fifty-three ceremonies and in addition that of Antyakarma, that is, death ceremony. Pañḍita Lālārāma Śāstrī in his book² ‘Shoḍaśa Saṁskāra’ (i.e. sixteen Sacraments) really prescribes in all eighteen ceremonies, namely, the first seventeen of the fifty-three ceremonies referred to above and death ceremony.

The Śvetāmbaras do not accept the ceremonies given by the Digambaras. On the contrary they have evolved their own ceremonies. According to them layman has to pass through sixteen ceremonies prescribed in their sacred book “Āchāradinakara”³. The ceremonies, in brief, are as follows:

(1) **Garbhādhāna:** It is performed in the fifth month after conception. The Brāhmaṇa priest, who is specially invited, chants sacred hymns and blesses the couple. This is done with a view to ensure the protection of the mother and the child in the embryo from various kinds of fears.

(2) **Puṁsavana:** It is done in the eighth month after conception with a desire to get a male issue. On any

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1. Vide Śītalaprasāda: Grhaśṭhadharma, Bombay, 1913.
2. It is published by Jinaṇāṇi Prachāraka Karyālaya, Calcutta, 1924.
auspicious day very early in the morning the pregnant woman is made to sit under an open sky. The preceptor sprinkles holy water on her, chants ‘mantras’ or hymns and gives her blessing that she may have delivery without difficulty.

(3) *Janma*: This is the birth ceremony. When the child is born, its naval cord is cut, the mother and child are given a bath and the astrologer is asked to prepare its horoscope. The preceptor is called and he ties the amulet round the child’s hand after chanting hymns to Goddess Ambikā with an intention that she may protect the new-born child.

(4) *Sūryendudārśana*: It means bowing to the sun and the moon. On the third day after the birth of the child, the preceptor, after due worship of the idol of Jina and the image of the sun, makes the mother and the child to bow down to the sun and at the same time recites ‘mantras’. In the evening the same process is performed in connection with bowing down to the moon.

(5) *Kshīrāśana*: On the same day the preceptor sprinkles the sanctified water on the child and then the mother’s milk is given to the child. Through his ‘mantras’ the preceptor blesses the child to the effect that it may be endowed with perfect health and long life.

(6) *Shashṭhī*: At night on the sixth day after the birth of the child, the preceptor worships the eight goddesses of protection (i.e., Rakshaṇadevi), namely, Brahmāṇī, Māheśvari, Kaumārī, Vaishnava, Vārāhi, Indrāṇi, Chāmuṇḍā, and Tripurā, and goddess Shashṭhī or Aṃbā. On the next day morning the preceptor sprinkles the sanctified water on the child and blesses it with ‘mantras’.

(7) *Suchikarma*: As the mother is considered to have become impure because of delivery, she is purified by the preceptor after the lapse of a certain period which varies according to classes. The Brahmins are puri-
fied after a period of ten days, the Kshatriyas twelve days, the Vaiśyas sixteen days and the Śūdras one month. This purification is known as Suchikarma.

(8) **Nāmakarma**: It means giving name to the child. It is performed on the same day on which the ‘Suchikarma’ is performed; or sometimes it is performed on the second or third day after the ‘Suchikarma’. In the presence of all members of the family, the atsrologer reads the child’s horoscope prepared by him and the preceptor conducts the worship of vital planets. Then they all proceed to the Jaina temple where after the worship of Tīrthaṅkara a name is given to the child by its paternal aunt.

(9) **Annaprāśana**: It means the giving of food to the child for the first time. This is performed on any auspicious day during the sixth month in the case of a male child, and during the fifth month in the case of a female child. After the worship to be performed by the preceptor is over, the mother feeds the child from the food offered to the family deity.

(10) **Karaṇavedha**: This is piercing the lobes of ears of the child when it becomes three, five or seven years old. At this time the preceptor duly performs the worship of Mātās or Hindu goddesses and chants certain ‘mantras’.

(11) **Kshaurakarma or Chūḍākarma**: Then on any auspicious day this tonsure ceremony is performed. The preceptor worships the Mātās and then the barber of the family shaves the child. In the case of the upper three classes a tuft of hair is kept on the crown of the head and in the case of a Śūdra the head is shaven completely.

(12) **Upanayana**: This initiation ceremony is allowed only for the first three classes and that too at a specific time, namely, for the Brahmins during the eighth year,
the Kshatriyas during the eleventh year and the Vaiśyas during the twelfth year. Śūdras are not entitled to have this ceremony. On an auspicious day the preceptor after performing the worship of a Jaina idol in front of the house, chants certain hymns and gives the sacred thread to the boy. Then he communicates three times the ‘Pañcha Paramesṭhī Mantra’ in the boy’s ears and making him a Brahmachārī the preceptor teaches him the vows to be followed by him. At last the boy is required to go and beg from Jaina houses.

(13) Vidyāraṃbha: It means the commencement of study. On an auspicious day the preceptor thrice recites the ‘mantra’ of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, into the right ear of the boy and then the pupil is taken in a procession to his teacher.

(14) Vivāha: This is the most important ceremony in the life of a layman. We have already described in detail the marriage ceremony in the previous chapter.

(15) Vratāropa: This is the ceremony of taking vows and it is considered specially significant because it is believed that a person acting according to vows is alone entitled to happiness in this world and to a good place in the next birth. Unlike the preceding ceremonies, this ceremony is performed by any Jaina ascetic. The ceremony consists of taking one or more of the twelve vows of a layman.

(16) Antakarma: When a person is on the death-bed, he offers final prayers, does repentance for the past misdeeds, distributes some amount in charity, leaves solid or liquid food on the verge of death and lastly dies with his mind contemplating the Pañcha Paramesṭhin. The dead body, after giving it a bath and wearing it new clothes, is taken to a cremation ground in a procession. The people return home from the cremation ground when the body is completely burnt.
On the third day, after throwing the ashes into a river, all the relatives go to a temple and perform worship there. Then they all visit the Upāśraya where the ascetic lectures to them on the transitory nature of this worldly life and impresses on them the necessity of performing religious duties. The near relatives are considered unclean for ten days and no days in honour of the dead are observed.

Even though the Digambara and Svetāmbara sacred books have given in detail the ceremonies to be performed by their followers, it is a fact that all the ceremonies are not observed by the Jainas and that those ceremonies, which are observed, are not necessarily performed according to the strict rules laid down in the religious books. On the contrary, in many respects they resemble the corresponding Hindu ceremonies. The Jaina sacred books which prescribe these ceremonies are not very old. The Digambara's Ādi-purāṇa was written in the ninth century A. D.\(^1\) and Āchāra-dinakara was written in Saṅvat year 1468. Thus as the ceremonies are prescribed sufficiently late, it is likely that the Jaina ceremonies might have been designed after the Hindu ceremonies. Whatever might be in theory, in practice at least the Jaina ceremonies look like the Hindu ceremonies.\(^2\) It is stated about the Deccan and Karnātaka Jainas that of the sixteen sacraments, which are nearly the same as the sixteen Brāhmaṇa sacraments, they perform thread-girding, marriage, puberty, and death, and that their rites do not differ from those performed by the Brahmins.\(^3\) The same is said about the Gujarātha Jainas.\(^4\) Regarding the Daśā Śrimālī Jainas of Kathiawar, who form a bulk of the Jaina population, it has been remarked that many Jaina ceremonies are not performed at all by them, and most of the ceremonies observed by them are in accordance with

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the Vedic rites. The domestic ceremonies, such as those of birth, marriage, death and so on, of the Jainas of Southern India resemble generally those of the Brähmaṇas. In spite of their revolt against Brahmanism, the Mysore Jainas observe many of the Brähmaṇa customs. In respect of rules and customs, such as initiation, marriage and death, of the Jaina laity of the Central Provinces it is stated that there is comparatively little to distinguish the Jaina from the Hindus. Thus it is clear that the Jaina ceremonies in general resemble the corresponding Hindu ceremonies in various parts of India.

In this connection it may be further noted that the Jaina ceremonies themselves are not practised in a uniform manner all over India. Though the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras have different ceremonies, still neither the Digambaras nor the Śvetāmbaras observe their own ceremonies in the same manner throughout India. There are obvious differences from province to province. As a rule the Jainas in South India wear a sacred thread. The sacred thread is worn by the Jainas in Mysore, and in the Deccan after going through a detailed ceremony. In the South Arcot District in the Madras Province though Jaina girls never wear a sacred thread, they are taught the threadwearing mantram, amid all the ceremonies usual in the case of boys, when they are about eight years old. On the contrary, in the Gujarātha the Jainas do not wear a sacred thread at all. Therefore the question of thread-girding ceremony does not arise at all. And where the sacred thread is worn, the thread-girding ceremony is not considered essential. In the Central Provinces Jaina boys are invested with a sacred thread on the occasion of

1. Doshi, C.M.: DaśŚrīmālī Jaina Banias of Kathiawar, Chapter VI.
their wedding or at 21 or 22 if they are still unmarried at that age.  
As regards this great diversity in the practice of wearing sacred thread it is contended by Paññāta Nāthūrāma Premī, the noted Jaina scholar, that this practice is not referred to at all in the old Jaina literature and is prescribed by later Jaina works with a view to stem the tide of widespread persecution of Jainas by the Śaivas especially in the Karnāṭaka and Southern India. Whatsoever may be the reason, the fact is there that there is a great diversity in the practice of wearing a sacred thread among the Jainas from province to province. The same can be safely asserted in respect of another important ceremony, namely, that of marriage. There is, indeed, little in common among the detailed marriage rites of Mysore, Deccan, and Gujarātha. Even the marriage ceremony of all the Saitavāla Jainas, the members of one caste, is not similar. In many respects the Saitavāla Jainas of Ahmednagar District in the Bombay Province and of the Hyderabad state differ from each other in their marriage ceremony. Like marriage the funeral ceremony also is not performed by the Jainas in the same fashion in all provinces. While in the Karnāṭaka no words are uttered in the funeral procession, in Gujarātha the words Rāma, Rāma are uttered. The Karnāṭaka Jainas observe impurity for ten days but the Gujarātha Jainas from five to ten days. The Gujarātha Jainas neither perform memorial or Śrāddha ceremony between the tenth and the thirteenth days nor do they keep

monthly or yearly memorial days. But in the Karnāṭaka, Śrāddha ceremony is performed every month for one year.¹ Though the keeping of days in memory of the dead is against the tenets of Jainism, yet many adhere to this rule and we find its traces in some places. The Bogāras of the Hyderabad state ² and the Saitavālas of Ahmednagar District³ do observe Śrāddha ceremony like Karnāṭaka Jainas. It appears that only Osavāla Jainas do not gather the ashes of the dead.⁴ Thus it is clear that there is no uniformity in the practice of Jainah ceremonies.

13. JAINA TĪRHĀKSHETRAS OR PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE

All Hindus believe that visits to holy places will bring special merit to them and dispel their demerits. That is why they have been advised to make a pilgrimage to their sacred places known as Tīrthas. According to the Hindus a Tīrtha is a place which is considered holy for certain specific reasons. The rivers near some famous temples have been attributed with the power of destroying demerit and gaining merit and such places are known as Tīrthas. Similarly the place where a lady had gone as satī, i.e., had ascended the funeral pyre of her husband, is regarded as a Tīrtha or holy place by the Hindus. But the Jainas do not accept these meanings as they go against their religious beliefs.⁵ The Jainas attribute only one meaning to the word Tīrtha and that is the Tīrtha is a place which shows the way how to cross the ocean of Sāṁsāra. Just as an idol reminds us of the virtues and qualities of a great personage whom it represents, similarly a Tīrtha reveals the nature of life led on this place by great personages. As Tīrthas are connected with the lives of great persons who have achieved liberation, it is natural that they are helpful in creating Atmahājāṛti, that is, self-enlightenment in the minds of people who visit them. That is why Jaina laymen have been advised to visit

5. R. S., I, 22.
Tīrthakshetras for purifying their faith in Jainism.

The Jainas regard the following places as their Tīrthakshetras:

(i) The places where the Tīrthaṅkaras were born, for example, like Kupḍalapura which is the birth place of Lord Mahāvira, Rājagṛha, the birth place of the 20th Tīrthaṅkara Lord Munisūvra, Banārasa, the birth place of the 7th and 23rd Tīrthaṅkaras, Lord Supārśva-nātha and Lord Pārśvanātha, etc.

(ii) the places where the Tīrthaṅkaras first renounced the Sāṁsāra and initiated into a religious life, for example, Kamplā in the U. P. where the 13th Tīrthaṅkara Lord Vimalanātha took to religious life, etc.

(iii) the places where the Tīrthaṅkaras practised great austerities, for example, Prayāga for the austerities of the first Tīrthaṅkara Lord Rshabhanātha, etc.

(iv) the places where the Tīrthaṅkaras achieved Kevala-jñāna or omniscience, for example, Hastināpura where the 16th, 17th and 18th Tīrthaṅkaras, namely, Lord Śāntinātha, Lord Kunthunatha and Lord Aranātha achieved omniscience, etc.

(v) the places where the Tīrthaṅkaras realised emancipation, for example, Sammedasikhara, for salvation of twenty Tīrthaṅkaras, etc.

(vi) the places where the great ascetics lived and achieved liberation, for example, Śatruṇḍa in Kathiawar, Gajapantha, Māṅgītungī in Bombay Province, Kunthalagiri in Hyderabad State, etc.

(vii) the places famous for their beautiful temples or wonderful idols, for example, Abu mountain in Rajputana, Śravaṇabelgoḍa in Mysore State, etc.

The Jainas divide their Tīrthakshetras into two broad categories, namely, the Siddhakshetras or Nirvāṇakshetras, that is, the places from where either the Tīrthaṅkaras or other great

1. Vide स्थूलकेशी: किवादीयावादीयावादी दृश्यार्थेवः। S. D., II, 84.
ascetics realised their liberation, and the *Atiśayakshetras*, that is, the places which are sacred for other reasons.\(^1\) Thus the places mentioned under (v) and (vi) above come under the category of *Siddhakshetras* and the remaining under that of *Atiśayakshetras*. At times the idols in certain places are believed to bestow great favours on their devotees. Hence such places are also considered as *Atiśayakshetras* and their number is increasing even now. Recently Mahāvīraji and Padmapuri in Jaipur State are added to this type of *Atiśayakshetras*.\(^2\)

The number of Jaina *Tīrthankhetras* is great. Because of the downfall of Jainism, many Jaina *Tīrthas* have been forgotten and not a few have been appropriated by other religionists. The Jaina idol of Lord Pārśvanātha at the Badrinātha Tīrtha has been turned by the Hindus into that of Badrīśāla and it is worshipped by the Hindus in that form.\(^3\) The Jains maintain that the famous temple of Viṭḥobā at Paṇḍharapura in Maharāshtra, the biggest place of pilgrimage of the Hindus, once belonged to the Jinas but the Brāhmaṇas forcibly converted their idol of Lord Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara, into that of the Hindu God Viṭḥobā.\(^4\) The same plea is made by the Jains regarding the Hindu temples of Aṃbābāi and Vīṣṇu at Kolhapur. Kolhapur is an *Atiśayakshetra* of Jinas and their temples, according to them, have been converted by force into Hindu temples.\(^5\) In this way even though the Jains had to lose their *Tīrthankhetras*, still at present they have quite a large number of them which are

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4. For detailed reasons, vide,
   (iii) Chopard: Paṇḍharapuracā Viṭḥobā.
situated in most lovely places throughout the length and breadth of India. The strength of Digâmbara Jaina Tîrthakshetras is about one hundred and twenty-five\(^1\) all over India and the number of Śvetâmbara Jaina Tîrthakshetras may come to that figure.\(^2\)

The rift between the Digâmbara and Śvetâmbara is evident in the matter of Tîrthakshetras also. There are few Tîrthakshetras like Sammedasikhara, Pāvapura, Giranāra, Šatruņjaya, etc. which are accepted by both the sects. But there are many others which are accepted by either of the two sects. The Digâmbaras alone approve the Tîrthakshetras like Gajapantha, Kunthalagiri, Mâṅgituṅgi, Baḍavâni, Śravaṇabelgola, etc. while Śvetâmbaras have their own Tîrthakshetras like Abu mountain, Saṅkheśvara, Kulpāka, etc. The division has not only stopped with this. In respect of the Tîrthakshetras of common allegiance both the sects vociferously put forward their claims of ownership and right to worship according to their own rituals, and crores of rupees have been spent up till now by them in legally establishing their respective claims. As a result in some places fixed time is allowed to both the sects to worship according to their own practices. Thus at the Tîrthakshetra of Antariksha Pârśvanâtha in Berar the Śvetâmbaras have to worship from 6 a. m. to 9 a. m. and from 12 a. m. to 3 p. m. and the Digâmbaras from 9 a. m. to 12 a. m. and from 3 p. m. to 6 p. m.\(^3\)

As the Jaina Tîrthakshetras are famous for their beauty and grandeur all over India, we shall describe, in brief, only a few of the most outstanding Tîrthakshetras.\(^4\)

(1) Sammeda śikhara:

It is the most ancient and sacred place of pilgrimage of all Jainas. Every true Jaina considers himself fortunate if he visits

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1. Jain, K. P: Jaina Tîrtha aura Unakî Yâtra, P. 30
2. Only in Gujarât Śvetâmbaras have sixteen Tîrthakshetras, Vide Jaina Śvetâmbara Directory, Vols. I and II.
4. For a detailed description of ancient Jaina sacred places, see, Nâthûrâma Premi: Jaina Sâhîtya aura Itihāsa, pp. 188 238.
the place at least once in his life. The Sammeda śikhara mountain is situated in the Hazaribagh District of Bihar Province. Excluding Lord Rśabhadeva, Vāsupājya, Neminātha and Mahāvīra, the remaining twenty Tīrthaṅkaras realised emancipation on this mountain. In honour of the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, Lord Pārśvanātha, the place is known as 'Pārasanātha Hills' also. On the different summits of the mountain twenty temples containing the foot-prints of the twenty Tīrthaṅkaras have been erected to commemorate their memories. One has to travel nearly twenty miles to go round these temples.

(2) Pāvāpura:

As the last Tīrthaṅkara Lord Mahāvīra attained liberation at Pāvāpura, it is the sacred place of all Jainas. It is situated in the Patna District of Bihar Province. There is a tank in the place, in the midst of which stands the temple known as Jalamandira. The foot-prints of Lord Mahāvīra and those of his two disciples, namely, Gautamasvāmī and Sudharmasvāmī, are inscribed there. Thousands of people assemble here on the last day of Aśvina, that is, the day on which Lord Mahāvīra attained emancipation.¹

(3) Giranāra:

Giranāra is a group of hills situated in Kathiawar. On the

¹ Recently some scholars have begun to contend that the town Pāvāpura, venerated by all Jainas, is not the real place of Mahāvīra's liberation. They have suggested other localities in this connection, e.g. (i) Dr. Rājabali Pāṇḍeya considers that Pāvānagara must lie in the ruins of Sāthiyaṇa-phājilanagara situated 9 miles away in south-eastern direction of Kūsinagara, the place of Buddha's nirvāṇa. (ii) Mr. Cunningham is of opinion that the modern Paḍaraunā in Duvariya district must be the real pāvā. (iii) Paṇḍita Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana regards Papaura (पपपर) near Rāmakolā Station as the ancient Pāvā. These are all conjectures and it may be noted that so long as excavations are not carried out in Pāvāpura, venerated by the Jainas, no definite opinion can be given in this controversy. For detailed discussion vide Rājabali Pāṇḍeya: "Bhagavāna Mahāvīrakī Nirvāṇabhāmī Pāvākī Śēhīti", Śrī Mahāvīra Commemoration Volume, vols. I & II, pp. 45-48.
peaks of hills several beautiful Jaina temples have been erected. Here, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, Lord Neminātha, practised austerities, preached religion and attained Moksha. Pradyumna-kumāra, Gajakumāra, Gaṇadhara Varadatta and innumerous ascetics attained liberation on this place. That is why it is the most sacred place for all Jainas. Moreover, the antiquity of the place is traced to the time of Lord Rshabhadeva, the first Tīrthaṅkara, and it was the scene of various important events in the history of Jaina community.¹

(4) Satruñjaya Hills:

Satruñjaya or Siddhagiri is a celebrated place of pilgrimage at Pāliṭāna in Kathiawar. On the hills there are nearly three and a half thousand Śvetāmbara Jaina temples and only one Digāmbara Jaina temple. That is why the Śvetāmbaras consider this as the most sacred of all sacred places. From here three Pāṇḍuputras and several ascetics attained Moksha. This city of temples is considered by J. Burgess as without a match in the world.²

(5) Mount Abu:

The Mount Abu in Rajaputana is wellknown for the world famous Jaina temples at Dilwara. Col. Tod says that, “Beyond controversy this is the most superb of all the temples in India and there is not an edifice besides the Taj Mahal, that can approach it.” There are one Digāmbara and five Śvetāmbara Jaina temples. Out of the five one was constructed by Vimala Śāha, a merchant and banker of Gujarātha, at a cost of eighteen crores and fifty-three lacs of rupees in 1031 A. D. Another was constructed by Vastupāla and Tejapāla, the brother ministers of King Viradhavala of Gujarātha, in 1231 A. D. at the cost of twelve crores and fifty-three lacs of rupees. These are built of white marble and are very widely known for delicacy of carving, beauty of details and magnificent ornamentation.³

(6) Śravaṇabelagola:

Śravaṇabelagola is the ancient and beautiful Tīrthakshetra of Digambara Jainas and its importance can be gauged from the fact that it is known as “Jainabadrī” or “Jaina Kāśi”. It is situated in the Hassan District of Mysore State. It comprises two hills, namely, Chandragiri and Vindhyagiri, and a white pond in between. As Śramaṇas or Jaina ascetics used to live in large numbers, the place was named as Śravaṇabelagola—or white pond of the Śramaṇas. The Emperor Chandragupta Maurya came here along with his preceptor Bhadrabāhu, stayed here for many years as an ascetic and breathed his last according to the Jaina fashion, namely that of Sallekhanā. On the Chandragiri mountain there are caves for the residence of ascetics and fourteen large temples. The foot-prints of Bhadrabāhu Svāmī are kept in one of the caves. On the Vindhyagiri mountain there are in all ten temples and the exquisitely beautiful statue of Gommaṭesvara. In the words of Fergusson, “Nothing grandeur or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt and even there, no known statue surpasses it in height or excels it in the perfection of art it exhibits.” Thousands of Jaina pilgrims assemble here at the time of the grand festival of the bathing of the statue. The importance of Śravaṇabelagola is further enhanced by the existence of several ancient inscriptions of great historical value.

From the above description it is evident that as Jainism attaches more value for going on a pilgrimage, various Tīrthakshetras have been built and maintained by the Jainas. It is enjoined on every Jaina, whether a householder or an ascetic, to

2. (i) Smith, V. A.: Early History of India, pp. 151 & 418.
   (ii) Rico, B. L.: Mysore & Co. rg from Inscriptions, pp. 4–8.
4. Vide Page 251 ante.
   For its secular importance vide,
   Saleatore, R. A.: “Śravaṇabelgola—Its Secular Importance”, J. A.,
   March, 1940.
visit a Tīrthakshetra and he does gain merit even if he dies on the way.\(^1\) Those who are not in a position to go on pilgrimage can also get the benefit of pilgrimage, if they can render any help to persons who are on their way to Tīrthakshetras. Moreover, it is said that persons going on a pilgrimage will gain additional merit if they will bear the expenses of their fellow-pilgrims. In Jaina literature we come across many examples where Jaina Kings or Ministers have led a saṅgha or a large group of people to the places of pilgrimage.\(^2\) Even now rich Jainas lead such Jaina saṅghas to Tīrthakshetras and in commemoration of this act they are given the honorific title of Saṅghapati, Saṅghavi, Saṅghai or saṅghave by the Jainas.

14. OCCUPATIONS AND PROFESSIONS

From the present state of Jainas it appears that a predominantly large majority of them is engaged in some kind of business. They are known as Baniyās or Vāniyās and are included under the Vaiśyas. The predominance of Vaiśyas is, historically speaking, a comparatively recent development because in ancient times Jainas were found in all classes and especially among the Kshatriiyas. But due to various reasons the number of Jainas in other classes gradually dwindled and in consequence we now notice that the followers of Jainism are mainly Vaiśyas.\(^3\)

The very first rule of the thirty-five rules of conduct for laymen lays down that a person should follow some kind of business or profession in a just and honest way for the maintenance of his family. The only restriction he has to observe in the choice of his avocation is that it must not be of an ignoble or degrading nature in the sense that it should not involve wholesale destruction of life. The prohibited businesses are those of butchers, fishermen, brewers, wine-merchants, gun-makers and the like.\(^4\) The Jaina

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1. S. D., II, 84 and VIII, 30. 31.
Scriptures mention fifteen varieties of business enterprises which involve great injury to living beings and hence the Jaina laymen are required to avoid them. They are such as those involving great use of fire, cutting of trees or plants, castrating bullocks, clearing of jungles by employment of fire, drying up lakes, rivers, etc. This does not mean that a butcher or brewer cannot be a Jaina; he can be a Jaina but he will be in the vowless stage of soul’s evolution.

It is generally believed that the main principle of Jainism, namely, *Ahimsā* or not hurting any living being, bars the Jainas from becoming the agriculturists or soldiers. But this is not the case. The first Tīrthaṅkara Lord Rāshabhadeva asked the people to follow six kinds of professions for their maintenance and both the professions of an agriculturist and of a soldier were included in them. Apart from this, we come across numerous references pertaining to agriculture in Jaina literature from which it could be seen that in general agriculture was not forbidden to Jainas. At present the main occupation of the Jainas in Karnātaka is that of agriculture. In regard to them it is stated that except some of the larger landholders who keep farm-servants the Jaina landholders, with the help of their women, do all parts of field work with their own hands. They are considered as the hardest working husbandmen who make use of every advantage of soil and situation. Even in Gujarātha where the Jainas are mainly traders and industrialists, there are some Jainas whose occupation is only agriculture. From the fact that even in the days of Lord

4. अहिम्सपि: कृतिविधा वाणिज्य शिल्पन्येव थ। कर्मचायामानि योद्धाः प्रजाजीवमिहेते। A. P., XVI, 179.
Rshabha, the first Tirthaṅkara, rules were made, among other things, regarding politics, warfare and archery.¹ shows that the Jainas were not averse to fighting as such. In the past many Jainas were in the fighting forces of the state as can be seen from a large number of Jaina generals and warriors,² and even now some are employed in the defence forces of India. It has already been explained how the principle of Ahiṃsā does not come in the way of following any profession by a Jaina.³

The Jainas follow practically all sorts of avocations but they are mainly money-lenders, bankers, jewellers, cloth-merchants, grocers and recently industrialists. As they hold the key positions in all these occupations, it is no wonder that a large proportion of mercantile wealth of India passes through their hands. Apart from occupations, Jainas have taken to professions also. They are found mainly in legal, medical and teaching professions and nowadays many Jainas are holding important responsible positions in various departments of the Central, Provincial and State Governments.

15. FOOD AND DRINK

The Jainas are very particular regarding their food and drink. Since the ethical code of the Jainas is based on the main principle of Ahiṃsā, we find its thorough application in the matters of food and drink also. While dealing with the rules of conduct for a layman we have noticed that every householder is required to possess Ashta Mūlagūnas or eight fundamental virtues which are the observance of the five anusvratas and abstinence from the use of flesh, wine and honey.⁴ The injunction against eating flesh of any living being is quite obvious. The Jainas do not take food which involves the slaughter of animals, fishes, birds, or anything

². (i) Saleotore, B.A.: Medieval Jainism, pp. 101-183,
³. Vide page 233 ante.
⁴. Vide page 220 ante.
that has five or less sense-organs. That is why they have to abstain from eating *Kandamūlas*, that is, underground stems and roots like potatoes, onions, garlic, reddish, turnip, carrot, beet-root, etc. which are supposed to contain a multitude of small insects. Similarly, they must not eat fruits of Gular, Anjeer, Pipal, Pakar and Banyan which are the birth places of mobile beings.1 Further, it is necessary for a Jaina to take his meals during day-time because *Hiṃsā* is inevitable when food is prepared or taken in the absence of sunlight.2 Therefore the Jainas have to renounce night-eating throughout the year and those who cannot do so all the time, at least do it during the *Chāturmāsa* or the four months of rainy season when there is a large growth of insects. Again, the Jainas are required to wipe most carefully anything that is to be used for food, with a view to exclude as tenderly as possible any of the tiny living creatures which might be found in or on it. In the same way as a precautionary measure in avoiding injury to very small living beings, the Jainas have been enjoined to strain or filter water, milk, juice, or any liquid drink before use.3 It must be said to the credit of the Jainas that they do observe very scrupulously all these rules regarding food. It is the outstanding feature of Jainas throughout India that they are strictly vegetarians, never eat at night, and always use strained water. It is said that when a Jaina traveller wishes to quench his thirst at a tank or a stream, he covers his mouth with a cloth, stoops down, and thus drinks by suction. This cleanly custom is highly recommended for use everywhere.4

Along with flesh, wine and all kinds of intoxicants, or even stimulants, are prohibited. They are not considered necessary for the life and well-being of the body. Wine is the birth place of many beings which are generated in liquor and hence those who are addicted to wine, necessarily commit *Hiṃsā*. Further, it is stated that wine stupifies the mind, one whose mind

is stupified forgets piety; and the person who forgets piety commits *Himsā* without hesitation. Similarly, pride, fear, disgust, ridicule, ennui, grief, sex-passion, anger, etc. are all forms of *Himsā* and all these are concomitants of wine.¹ Like wine, honey is also prohibited because it is considered that even the smallest drop of honey very often represents the death of bees. If one uses honey which has been obtained by some trick from honey-comb, or which has itself dropped down from it, one necessarily commits *Himsā* in this case also, because of the destruction of creatures of spontaneous birth born there.² In the same strain the Jainas have been advised not to use stale butter as after a lapse of some time the butter becomes a birth-place of small beings due to extreme fermentation.³

As regards the question of food and drink one thing must be remembered. Jainism admits that only liberated souls are in a position to observe complete non-injury and that mundane souls have to commit *Himsā* for their maintenance as life thrives only on life. Though *Himsā* is unavoidable in the sustenance of life, Jainism, by rules of conduct, tries to limit it for essential purposes only. The rules of conduct never sanction injury, but they try to restrict it to the lowest possible minimum, by taking into account the gradations of injured living beings. The higher the stage of development of the injured being is, (i.e., the closer it has approached the state of perfection), the heavier the sin of the injury committed is considered to be. Thus, from the practical point of view, the sin of hurting a plant is smaller than that of hurting an animal, the sin of hurting an animal is smaller than that on hurting a human being, etc. From this standpoint, it can be understood why Jainism forbids flesh-eating, and, on the other hand, objects little to the eating of vegetables.⁴ Therefore, what is enjoined on Jainas is simply this: "Do not destroy life, unless

   (ii) S.D., II, 12.

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it is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of a higher kind of life.\textsuperscript{1}

16. DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The Jainas are required to pursue the path of \textit{Ahiṃsā} in the matter of dress also. They have not to wear the furs and the plumes that are obtained by torturing their owners—animals and birds.\textsuperscript{2} For the same reason the use of silken and woollen garments is prohibited for all Jainas.\textsuperscript{3} Here we can mark the difference between the Hindus and the Jainas. The Hindus do not consider silk as impure and they use silken garments at the time of worshipping or taking their meals. It is necessary for Jainas to restrict the use of leather goods to the minimum. They have to avoid all leather articles meant for decoration, for example, tiger-skin, deer-skin, etc. and are required to use substitutes for leather goods wherever it is possible, for example, belts, purses, straps for watches, etc. Where the use of leather goods is unavoidable they have to see that leather is procured from naturally dead animals and not from slaughtered animals.

One of the rules of conduct meant for laymen lays down that a Jaina should dress according to his means, and if he has the means to dress extravagantly, still he should not do so.\textsuperscript{4} This means that Jainas should not care much for their dress with a view to look more beautiful. According to them the clothes should be sobre, though not sombre, and they should not aim at displaying bodily contour, to excite the passions of the beholder.\textsuperscript{5}

At present there is no particular standard dress of Jainas all over India. They dress according to local customs and usages. The native Jainas of a province are hardly distinguishable in the matter of dress from the other people of their standard of living. Thus there is little in common in regard to dress among the Jainas

\begin{enumerate}
\item Jaini, J. L. : Outlines of Jainism, P. 71.
\item Jain, C. R. : Jain Culture, P. 47.
\item Warren, H. : Jainism, P. 81.
\item Jain, C. R. : Jain Culture, P. 49.
\end{enumerate}
of different provinces. Many Jainas, especially from Māravāda and Gujarātha, have settled in other provinces for commercial reasons but they have not fully adopted the dresses of respective provinces where they have settled. But there is a marked tendency among such Jainas to use the dress of the province of their adoption, especially among those who have settled permanently there and have severed all their connections with their home province. Thus the Hummaḍa Jainas of Mahārashṭra, who have practically no relations with Hummaḍas of Gujarātha or Māravāda, have adopted the Mahārashṭrian dress completely. It is natural that this tendency is more discernible in the case of men than that of women.

What applies to dress is also true in the case of ornaments. There are no particular ornaments of the Jainas. They wear the ornaments which are commonly used by the people of the region. As the Jainas are a comparatively rich community and as they deal in gold, jewels and precious stones, they put on various kinds of ornaments. Like other women, Jaina women also are more fond of ornaments than men. In ancient Jaina literature fourteen kinds of ornaments are mentioned. 1

17. LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The Jainas have no particular language of their own like the Muslims, Sikhs and other minority community members. The Jainas always use the language of the region. As the Jainas are distributed throughout the length and breadth of India and are staying there for hundreds of years, they not only use various languages but have successfully contributed to the growth of these languages. 2 Lord Mahāvīra preached in Ardhamāgadhī language and many ancient sacred books are written in that language. Naturally Ardhamāgadhī is more dear to Jainas and to understand their sacred texts, they learn that language. Later, many Jaina works were written in Sanskrit and therefore Jainas show equal respect to Sanskrit also. It is asserted that the Jaina literature

was responsible for giving birth to the Hindi language and that the Jainas have enriched it from time to time. Gujarāṭha is the stronghold of Jainas at present and even in the past they wielded an enormous influence on all activities of Gujarāṭha. Gujarāṭi, therefore, claims more Jaina adherents than any other language and the Jainas have, in proportion to their number, taken a large share in enriching the language and literature of Gujarāṭha. Strangely enough Mahārāṣṭra does not figure prominently in the history of Jainism in India and as a result Jainas could not contribute much to Marāṭhi language. Marāṭhi Jaina literature is comparatively very recent and much of it is adopted from other languages. The Marāṭhi literature itself did not exist before the tenth century A.D. and in fact it is suggested that the main reason for no output of Marāṭhi literature before the 10th century A.D. is that Jainism was not strong in Mahārāṣṭra. If Jainism would have flourished in Mahārāṣṭra, it would have given an impetus to the Marāṭhi literature as it so ably did in case of Kannāḍa literature. It may, however, be noted that the earliest composition in Marāṭhi is found in the Jaina inscription on the Gommatēsvara statue at Sravaṇabelgola. If there is any language for which the Jainas could be proud of it is the Kannāḍa language. The history of Jainism in Southern India is primarily the history of that religion in Karnāṭaka where it held sway for a continuous period of not less than eleven centuries from the early days of Christian era. It was during the Golden Age of Jainism under the Gaṅgas that Kannāḍa literature got considerable patronage and impetus, and throughout this

   (ii) Tomar, R.: “Jaina-Sāhitya ki Hindi Sāhitya ko Dena”  

2. Vide (i) Desai, M. D.: Jaina Sāhityano Itihāsa,  
   (ii) Desai M. D.: Jaina Gurjara Kaviyo.

3. For a detailed list of Jaina literature in Marāṭhi, vide, Shah, R. N.:  
   “Marāṭhi mea Jaina Sāhitya aura Sāhityika”, Premī Abhinandana Grantha, pp. 530-537.


period and even afterwards the Jainas were predominant in enriching the Kannada language and literature by every possible means. The names of Jaina writers like Paśpa, Ponna and Ranna have become immortal in Kannada literature. In the extant Jaina literature both published and unpublished in various provincial languages, the Kannada Jaina literature by far occupies the foremost position. Jainism played a great part in the history of the Tamil and Telugu land during the medieval period and here also, like in the Karnâṭaka, the Jainas did not lag behind in enriching the Tamil and Telugu literature. In this connection Dr. Saletore observes that, “One of the best claims of Jainism at the hands of posterity is that it contributed to the literature of all the three provinces. The Jaina teachers as the intellectual custodians of the Āndhradeśa, the Tamil land, and Karnāṭaka most assiduously cultivated the vernaculars of the people, and wrote in them great works of abiding value to the country. Purism was the keynote of their compositions, although almost all the early Jaina writers were profound Sanskrit scholars. With them originated some of the most renowned classics in Tamil, Telugu and Kannāḍa. It has been rightly opined that the Jainas gave to the Tamil people their didactic classics like the Kural and the Nāladiyāra, major and minor Kavyas, and quite a number of other works as well. To the Āndhradeśa and Karnāṭaka, among other precious gifts, the Jainas gave the Chaṇḍu Kavyas or poems in a variety of composite metres interspersed with paragraphs in prose.” Thus it will be evident that the Jainas have no language of their own but they have identified themselves completely to the language of the province where they reside. This indentification has gone to such an extent that in the present demand of redistribution of provinces on the linguistic basis the Jainas are taking prominent part in their respective provinces. Further, being

   (iii) Rico, E.P.: History of Kannarese Literature, Chapters II & III.

mainly a commercial community, the Jainas are linguists in the sense that they can successfully use more than one language.

Apart from the contributions of the Jainas to the literature in various provincial languages, the Jainas possess a vast amount of their sacred literature written by their veteran Āchāryas or teachers in the Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa languages. There is a division in the sacred literature also. The Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras have their separate sacred books and there are very few books like Umāsvāti’s Tattvārthadīghigama-sūtra which are revered by both the sects.\(^1\) In face of severe opposition from other religionists the Jainas have preserved with great care a considerable portion of their literature. Many of these works are still lying in the manuscript form and comparatively a few of them have been published in the modern book form. Along with religion and ethics, the Jaina works deal with various kinds of subjects like grammar, prosody, glossary, mathematics, medicine, astrology, etc. The Jaina authors have used several forms of literature like prose, poetry, story, sūtra, etc. Further, it is maintained that the Jaina literature contains a huge amount of historical material dispersed in various kinds of works and that their thorough and scientific investigation will throw a new light on ancient Indian history.\(^2\)

**18. JAINA INSTITUTIONS**

Though the Jaina community is a small community of fourteen lacs population which is spread throughout India and has been split up into various sects, sub-sects, castes, sub-castes, language groups, etc., still we find that the Jainas are conducting from the last so many years a good number of institutions for the benefit of both their community members and other people in general. Their institutions can be broadly divided into two categories,

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1. For a detailed description of Jaina sacred and other literature, vide.
   (i) Glasenapp: Jainism, Chapter III.

namely, charitable and other institutions meant for the Jainas and non-Jainas alike and institutions run exclusively for the upliftment and welfare of the Jainas. It is obvious that the Jainas are in a position to maintain a large number of institutions of both the types because they can afford to do so. By conducting the institutions of the first type they have secured good-will from others and through the institutions of the second type they have tried to protect their religion and stabilise their community for all these years. The Jainas are inclined to start charitable institutions for the benefit of all people irrespective of religion, caste or creed because Jainism has enjoined upon its followers to show compassion to all living beings and especially to the needy. Further, it is one of the six daily duties of a Jaina layman to give something in gift to others. The gifts have been classified into four kinds, namely, gifts of food, protection, medicine and learning to the people who require it. These are known as āhāra-dāna, abhaya-dāna, aushadha-dāna and śāstra-dāna. Let us see some of the representative or typical institutions of both the types conducted by the Jaina community at present.

In the institutions of the first type the foremost place is secured by the Dharmaśālās or Rest Houses. Practically in every big town and at the places of pilgrimage we come across the rest houses built and maintained by the Jainas. All rest houses, with the exception of a very few ones, are made available to all people free of charge. Some of them have been equipped with utensils, beddings, etc. which are given to the travellers on a nominal hire charge. The exact number of Jaina rest houses in India is not available but their large number can be imagined from the fact that only in Gujarātha there are as many as two hundred and sixty-six rest houses run by the Śvetāmbara Jainas. In giving shelter or protection, the Jainas do not distinguish between men or animals and they have extended their helping hand to animals also by maintaining what is known as Panjarāpolas at several places. Various kinds of animals and birds are looked after in the Panjarāpolas. Persons send their crippled or useless animals to the Panjarāpolas and sometimes animals

are purchased with a view to save them from the clutches of butchers. The sick animals are given medicine and at certain places veterinary doctors are also employed. Some Pāñjarāpolas maintain insect-houses where insects collected from the streets are kept and neatly fed.¹ So far as Gujawrātha is concerned there are sixty-five such Pāñjarāpolas.² Along with other Hindus, the Jainas have established associations like Jivadayā Jñānaprasāraka Manḍalā for the propogation of use of vegetarian food and for the prevention of slaughter of animals at the time of sacrifices.

Further, the Jainas try to alleviate the pains of suffering people by arranging to give medicine free or at nominal charges. For this purpose the Jainas have opened dispensaries and hospitals for the benefit of the general public. In majority of the cases the medical treatment given is Āyurvedic. Wherever the Jainas are concentrated in a good number and are in a good financial position, they open such dispensaries. For example, in Sholapur city only the Digāmbara Jainas conduct two free dispensaries and one well-equipped eye-hospital. This custom is of long standing and from some Jaina inscriptions it appears that the provision of medicine, along with food and learning, was made in the Jaina Mathas.³

Moreover, many educational institutions like schools, colleges and libraries are financed by the Jainas but are thrown open to the general public. Where they could not start them of their own accord, they help such projects by constructing buildings for them or by giving substantial donations to them. For other general purposes the Jainas have not lagged behind to give their support. The Jainas have contributed liberally and unsparingly to relieve mankind from famines.⁴ There is no humanitarian cause which does not get sympathetic help from the Jainas.

In the second category of Jaina institutions, those of a religious nature get prominence over those of social or educational

character. In the Jaina institutions of a religious character the first place will have to be assigned to the *Grantha-Bhāṇḍāras* or Bookhouses. The Jainas possess a very large number of books written on paper or on palm-leaves. These have been assiduously preserved by the Jainas for the last so many centuries. At the centres like Mūḍabidri in South Kanara District, Kāraṇjā in Berar, Pāṭaṇa in Gujarātha and Jessalamira in Rājputānā hundreds of books are preserved. Recently only catalogues of the manuscripts lying at these places have been published, and it is not known when these will be edited and published in book forms. Only in Gujarātha there are fifty-six *Grantha-Bhāṇḍāras* of Śvetāmbara Jainas, and in the whole of India their number must be sufficiently large because practically every big Jaina temple possesses a *Grantha-Bhāṇḍāra*.

Though the Jainas have carefully preserved such a vast amount of literature, yet it must be admitted that they failed in their ultimate purpose of preserving the manuscript in the sense that for a long time they neither allowed the people to see them nor they got them published. In fact in early years of this century the Jainas vehemently opposed to the printing of their sacred books, did not allow to bring the printed books in temples and the persons responsible for printing such books were boycotted. Slowly they changed their ideas and with a view to propagate and popularise their literature they started their own institutions at various Jaina centres. The institutions like the Central Jaina Publishing House at Arrah in Bihar, the Māṇikachanda Digambara Jaina Granthamālā, Bombay, Śrī Jaina Ātmānanda Sabha and Śrī Jaina Dharma Prasāraka Sabha, Bhavanagar, Ágamodaya Samiti, Surat, Devachanda Lālabhāi Pustakoddhāraka Fund, Surat, and the Jaina Siddhānta Prakāśīṇī Samīsthā, Calcutta did a great pioneer work in editing and publishing the important

Jaina books. Realising the value of this work from the point of spread of Jainism, a host of Jaina institutions like publishing houses and libraries were started all over India. No other community of fifteen lacs population would have given donations for publishing its literature such as done by the Jaina community. In spite of this the net result is not satisfactory. The original enthusiasm dwindled and due to absence of persistent endeavour, the former progress is not maintained at all.¹ At present a few institutions like Siṅghī Jaina Granthamālā, Bombay, the Bhāratīya Jñānapitha, Benaras, and the Parishada Publishing House, Delhi are doing some good work in the field but in general it can be said that still much remains to be done in this direction. It is stated that the numerous unknown manuscripts are lying in Grantha-Bhāṇḍāras and if they are not edited and published by Jaina scholars, they are likely to be lost for ever.²

Just as the work of publishing Jaina books is considered as a religious act, in the same way the imparting of religious education is regarded as a religious duty. The sacred books would be of no avail if there are no persons who could understand them thoroughly. Thus with a view to prepare learned men well-versed in all branches of Jaina literature and to impart religious education to laymen, institutions like Pāṭhasālās or religious schools and Examination Boards were established by the Jainas at several places all over India. As the Dīgambaras and the Śvetāmbaras have separate literature, they have their own Pāṭhasālās and Examination Boards. Nowadays as people do not take much interest in religious education, such institutions are not thriving but still there are institutions like Śrī Syādvāda Dīgambara Jaina Mahāvidyālaya, Benares, which impart higher religious education.

Another important Jaina institution of a mainly religious character is that of a Bhāttāraka. The Bhāttāraka is a religious preceptor of a Saṅgha or Gachchha, i.e., of a group of Jainas. The institution, which is found in the Dīgambara Jainas only, was established in the mediaeval period. It was first established

at Delhi and later on at several places all over India. Some of the important places were Gwalior, Jaipur, and Dungarpura in Rajputana; Idara and Sojitra in Gujaratha; Nagpur and Karanji in the Central Provinces and Berar, Latura and Malakheeda in the Hyderabad State; Kolhapur; Mughabidi and Karakala in South Kanara District; SravanaBelgoa in Mysore State, and Penugonda and Karinch in South India. In some of the places even now we come across the Bhattacharakas who are having a sufficient hold over their followers in spite of the fact that the institution as such is in a decadent condition. As regards the origin of the institution nothing definite is known. But it is maintained that when day by day the Digambara Jaina ascetics became lax in their conduct, the practice of nudity by Jainas was looked down upon by the Muslim rulers, and the community was on its way of disintegration due to uncertainty and insecurity prevailing at that time, the institution of Bhattacharakas was constituted to save the religion and its followers from utter destruction. The Bhattachak was placed above the laymen and below the ascetics. His duties were religious as well as social. He used to be the keeper of the conscience of the Jaina community within his local jurisdiction. He administered to all their wants, temporal and spiritual. He officiated, superintended, or directed the celebration of domestic rites like birth, marriage and death and he was their physician, astrologer, adviser and father-confessor. He also officiated to all the religious ceremonies, consecration of temples and images, worship, and devotional meetings and delivered religious discourses to all.1 Thus, the Bhattachaka served a very useful purpose. Through his own learning and behaviour and with the help of his trained disciples, he not only spread the message of Jainism but also unified the disintegrated Jaina community. Without the introduction of the Bhattachakas the Digambara sect would have hardly survived. But later on the institution degenerated to such an extent that instead of serving as a force of integration it hastened the disintegration of its adherents. The Bhattachaka became worldly minded, tried to

amass wealth and to raise his position by means both fair or foul, and utterly neglected his religious and social duties. Instead of catering to the needs of Jainas in general, he restricted his field of activity to a particular caste of Jainas only. As a result we find that in the Deccan each principal Jaina caste came to have a separate Bhattāraka who controlled the social and religious life of that caste. Naturally, this widened the gulf between various Jaina castes. Further, many Digambara Jainas, seeing the perverted behaviour of the Bhattārakas, revolted against the very institution and founded what is known as the Terāpantha sub-sect of the Digambara sect in the latter part of the 17th century of the Vikrama Era. Thus on the issue of Bhattāraka the Digambara sect has been split up into two equal sections, the Bīsapanthis, who are the followers of the Bhattārakas and the Terāpanthis who do not believe in the Bhattārakas. In recent years the condition of Bhattārakas has not improved at all and hence at present there is a question before the Digambara Jainas whether to discard the institution altogether or to retain it by giving it a new shape to suit the changed circumstances. The general opinion seems to be in favour of retaining the institution because a religious preceptor is considered necessary to look after the spiritual life of the people. It is suggested that if the Bhattārakas, who are well-educated, who wish to renounce life after fulfilling their worldly desires, are appointed and recognised not as the heads of particular castes but as organisers, propagators and preceptors of the Digambara Jaina sect, then not only the Digambaras would be united by closing their rift between the Bīsapanthis and Terāpanthis but also they would be benefitted in the long run by diverting the large estates of the Bhattārakas to various social and religious purposes.  

The Jainas have started various institutions of a social

1. Vide Page 101 ante.

character for the betterment of their community. In the first place, they have organised a large number of associations with a view to bring the members together and to solve several social problems. A majority of such associations are formed by the members of a particular caste or gachchha. The associations like Khaḍḍelavāla Jaina Mahāsabhā, Śvetavāla Jaina Mahāsabhā, etc. deal with the problems of their caste only. Sometimes the associations are confined to the particular caste or gachchha members hailing from a certain locality. Thus Śrī Bombay Lokāgachchha Jaina Saṅghā is restricted to the followers of the Lokāgachchha residing in Bombay and the members must belong to the families hailing from Maṅgrola, Porabandara or Verāvala in Kathiawar. At times the associations like the Dakshiṇa Mahārāṣṭra Jaina Sabha, Mahārāṣṭriya Jaina Sabha, etc., are formed on a provincial basis which are technically open to all Jainas of that province but in reality they are dominated and run by the members of one sect. Thus the Dakshiṇa Mahārāṣṭra Jaina Sabha is predominantly of the Dīgambaras and the Mahārāṣṭriya Jaina Sabha is of the Śvetāmbaras. There are other provincial associations like Mumbai Prāntika Dīgambara Jaina Sabha which are avowedly meant for the members of one sect only. Further, both the sects and practically all the subsects have their associations of an all-India character. Of these the All India Śvetāmbara Jaina Conference and All India Sthānakavāśi Jaina Conference are well organised and have their headquarters at Bombay. The Dīgambaras have three, so to say, rival associations of an all-India character but in fact their field of activity is confined to Northern India only. There are a few noteworthy associations of a local character like Bombay Jaina Yuvaka Saṅgha and of an all-India character like Bhārata Jaina Mahāmaṇḍala which embrace all sections and sub-sections of the Jaina community. All these small and big associations have tried and to a considerable extent succeeded in eradicating the irreligious and bad practices of their members. Mainly due to their efforts we see that the worship of Hindu gods has practically lessened, the observance of Hindu festivals like Holi and Śītalā-saptami is discontinued, the performance of Śrāddha ceremony from religious motive is
declining, and bad practices like bride-price, child-marriage, extra expenditure on ceremonies connected with pregnancy and death, beating the breasts while crying over the death of a person, etc. are going out of vogue. Further, they have created interest in the Jaina religion, history, literature, culture, etc. as a result of which it is found that generally people are marrying among the Jainas only and the marriage ceremonies are performed according to Jaina rites and that the Jainas are inclined to take religious education and to observe Jaina practices day by day. But these associations have not created a sense of one-ness among all Jainas. On the contrary they have fostered separatist tendencies. Practically all associations are confined to a caste or to a sect or a sub-sect and those which are free to all persons irrespective of caste or sect are very few, without influence and have not as yet become popular.

Along with associations the Jainas also started newspapers or journals with a view to educate the people in the principles of Jainism, to safeguard Jainism from the attacks of other religionists and to solve the social problems confronting the society from time to time. These journals are mostly conducted by the Jaina associations and as such the traits of Jaina associations are clearly visible in Jaina journals also. There are caste and sub-caste journals like Osavâla, Osavâla Navayuvaka, Kachchî Dasâ Osavâla Prakâśa, Khaḍḍelavâla Hitechchhnu, etc.; sect and sub-sect journals like Sthânakavâśi Jaina, Digâmbara Jaina, Târaṇapânta Digâmbara Jaina, etc.; provincial journals like Pragati âni Jina-vijaya, Jaina-Bandhu, the official organs of the Dakshiṇa Mahârâṣṭra Jaina Sabhâ and the Mahârâṣṭrîya Jaina Sabhâ, etc.; and the all-India papers like Vîra, Jaina Sandesâ and Jaina Gazette (Hindi), the official organs of the three all India Digâmbara Jaina associations, Jaina Prakâśa, the organ of all-India Sthânakavâśi Jaina Conference, etc. A very few papers like Jaina Gazette and Jaina Jagat, which are the official organs of Bhârata Jaina Mahâmaṇḍala, are concerned with all Jainas. Again, Jaina Mahilâdârsa, Jaina Mahilâ and other papers are mainly devoted to the problems of Jaina women and are mostly conducted by Jaina ladies. The papers are published in English, Hindi, Guja-
raṭhi, Marāṭhi, and Kannada languages and many papers use two languages in the same issue or in the alternate issues. Magazines like Jaina Antiquary, Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, and Anekānta are mainly devoted to research in Jainism and have established a good reputation. There are also orthodox papers like Jaina Bodhaka and progressive ones like Jaina Gazette (English). As all Jaina papers are considered as agencies for the propagation of Jaina religion, it will be seen that the Jaina community conducts a large number of papers hardly run by any other community of fifteen lacs population. There is a considerable infant-mortality among Jaina papers and a very few papers are self-supporting. As the papers have to depend on the charities for their existence, naturally they die out early. Among the existing Jaina papers the oldest is the Jaina Bodhaka (estd. in 1884 A. D.) from Sholapur. The papers like Jaina Divākara (estd. in V. S. 1932), Jaina Sudhārasa (estd. in V. S. 1933), etc. were started earlier than the Jaina Bodhaka but could not be continued. The exact number of Jaina papers, past and present, is not known but it is estimated that before 1938 there were as many as one hundred and sixteen Jaina papers conducted for a short or long period and in 1938 the number of Jaina papers was sixty-five. The number might have possibly increased now. The papers have no doubt created interest in the minds of the people regarding Jaina religion and helped to remove the bad social customs and irreligious practices. But they hardly maintain and put forward views concerning the undivided Jaina community. On the contrary, the sectional and caste papers foster narrow visions. The absence of broad outlook in the Jaina community can, to a large extent, be attributed to these sectarian papers.

Like members of other communities the Jainas have recently launched some co-operative institutions for their benefit. The main form of co-operation is in the field of housing. The co-operative housing societies exist in Bombay and Ahmedabad. Through them residential accommodation at moderate or cheap rates is offered to the Jainas. But such institutions are not open

to all Jainas. The societies are restricted generally to the members of a particular sect or caste or at times only to the members coming from a particular locality. Thus the Pāṭaṇa Jaina Maṇḍāla in Bombay offers accommodation to the Jaina families hailing from Pāṭaṇa only. Some years back the Jaina Sahakāri Bank was established in Bombay and the Bank is running a shop on co-operative basis. As compared with other communities the Jainas do not seem to take more interest in conducting co-operative institutions of various types on a large scale.

In the category of institutions started by the Jainas for their benefit the educational institutions receive considerable attention. Along with religious education, the secular education also is brought within the reach of all members of the Jaina community by various means. The Jainas prefer to impart to the students religious and secular education at the same time. For that purpose they have started residential schools and colleges known as Gurukulas where students are prepared for various university courses but at the same time care is taken that they lead a strictly religious life. This Gurukula system is becoming popular because the students trained by them remain religious minded throughout their life and are in a position to maintain themselves. The Mahāvīra Brahmacaryāśrama (or Gurukula) at Kāraṇjā in Berar and the Yaśovijayajī Jaina Gurukula at Pāṭiṭāṇa in Gujarātha are notable institutions in this regard. The number of such Gurukulas is small as too much expenditure has to be incurred on them because a majority of the students is admitted without any charges. Where Gurukulas could not be established, Boarding Houses or Hostels have been started at practically all big places and centres of education throughout India. Here residential accommodation is given to the Jaina students free of rent or after paying nominal charges. The students residing in such hostels are free to join any institution for their education but they are compulsorily required to take some elementary religious education, for which provision is made by the authorities, and to lead a religious life, that is, to visit the temple daily, to refrain from eating at night and eating prohibited things, etc. The poor and deserving hostel students are
sometimes given financial help in one form or another. With a view to accelerate the spread of education Funds are constituted to give scholarships or loans to deserving students wherever they may be. Generally the scholarship amount is given on the condition that the receiver has to refund it by instalments when he completes his education and is settled in life. In awarding the scholarships preference is shown to those who wish to prosecute higher studies in Jainism or desire to take specialised subjects. In giving scholarships it is necessarily seen that the student is religious minded. It can be said without any exaggeration that the spread of higher education among the Jainas is mainly due to the help rendered to them through the means mentioned above. Such institutions are really a boon to the poor students as they are helped in a critical period of their life. But like other institutions these institutions of an educational character also are purely sectarian. While the Mahâvîra Brahmacaryâśrama is meant for the Digâmbaras, the Yaśovijaya Jaina Gurukula is for the Śvetâmbaras only. The Boarding Houses and Scholarship Funds are reserved for members of one or the other sect or sub-sect. In the case of scholarship funds even further divisions are made. The scholarships are sometimes exclusively earmarked for students of a particular caste or sub-caste coming from a certain locality only. It is but natural that the separatist tendency is created in the minds of the students as they are made to feel that they belong to a certain section or sub-section. The Mahâvîra Jaina Vidyâlaya of Bombay is probably the biggest Jaina institution giving residential accommodation and scholarships to the students, but it is exclusively reserved for the Mûrtipûjaka Śvetâmbara Jainas only. In educational centres like Bombay and Poona there are separate Boarding Houses for the Digâmbara, Śvetâmbara, and Sthânaka-vâsî Jaina students and even though they are situated very near each other, still there is hardly any communication among them. As the students trained in this atmosphere become the active members in the community, it is no wonder that they perpetuate the same separatist policies. In Bombay City the population of Jainas is not less than 33,000 but there is not even a single educational institution which is open to all Jainas irrespective of sect
or caste. At present there is a move to start a Hostel for all Jaina
students in Bombay but, judging from past experiences and
present tendencies, it cannot be said when the project would
materialise.\footnote{Recently small beginnings have been made to start Boarding Houses
giving accommodation to Jainas of all sects, \textit{e.g.}, "The United Jaina
Home" in Bombay is open to all Jainas and in Benaras "The Pārvavā-
nātha Vidyāśrāma" is open to Jainas and non-Jainas alike.}
CHAPTER SIX

THE WORKING MODEL

1. INTRODUCTION

Jainism, being mainly concerned with the spiritual progress of the soul, naturally devoted more attention to the questions relating to the soul in all its aspects. According to Jainism, the utmost care of the soul must be taken by every body because it is firmly believed that the soul is in contact with the matter (i.e. Karma) from the time immemorial and unless the soul is completely freed from the Karmic matter, it will not obtain its natural position. In its natural condition the soul possesses the four important attributes of infinite perception, infinite knowledge, infinite happiness and infinite power. To obtain this position is the aim of every true Jaina and it is the primary duty of Jainism to show clearly the way to achieve that position. The main burden of Jaina literature is to delineate the path of salvation in unambiguous terms so that anybody can follow the path with full conviction about its ultimate success. Since an enormous amount of emphasis was laid on the question of the liberation of soul, it is but natural that the Jaina literature concentrated its attention more on this problem than on any other. If we casually notice the vast amount of secular and sacred Jaina literature, it will be manifest that the Jaina writers have, throughout these centuries, portrayed the philosophical side of their life very prominently as compared with the other sides. In the domain of serious literature the Jaina writers have produced far too many treatises upon the philosophical beliefs of their religion and hardly any good ones on its sociological and cultural convictions. Whenever Jaina writers felt persuaded to write on non-philosophical subjects, they turned to traditional and learned pursuits like the writing of books on grammar, prosody, astronomy, mathematics, or books of fiction, epics and stories, sometimes—
but only sometimes and always indirectly and impliedly — embodying materials of a sociological character.¹

From these circumstances it is clear that the material available in the various kinds of Jaina literature is comparatively very meagre for the purposes of a social survey of the Jaina community. For a full social survey of the Jaina community detailed information is required about the conditions relating to the social institutions like marriage, family, caste, religion, etc. and the miscellaneous social customs and manners. Such a type of information is not readily found in Jaina literature. In the previous chapters an attempt has been made to utilise whatever information is readily available.

It is evident that for several reasons the information available in Jaina literature is quite insufficient for our purposes. The material is not only scanty but it is also scattered at different places. Generally a specific social problem is not dealt with in all its aspects. Many a time only stray references are made to social conditions prevailing at a particular time. Obviously, such references are applicable to certain parts of the country. Further, in many cases it appears that the information cited might have been obtained from indirect sources. As a cumulative effect of all these factors it goes very difficult to have a complete picture of the social conditions of the Jaina community. It is not that the information is of no use at all. It definitely serves the purpose of at least providing the rough background existing in the past regarding various social conditions. What is needed is to supplement the information available in ancient Jaina literature by the information gathered in various ways in more recent times.

Of late, social surveys of various communities have been carried out by communal or non-communal bodies. But up to now no such survey has been made about the social conditions prevailing in the Jaina community at a particular time. When the Census Reports and District Gazetteers were compiled for the first time information regarding the social conditions of the Jainas in several parts of the country was collected. It can be asserted

¹ Dr. Bool Chand: Jaina Cultural Studies, P. 6.
that the information so collected was not complete in many ways. As the Jainas formed a very small proportion of the total population of India and as they were scattered over practically all parts of India, it appears that much attention was not paid to note down and discuss their various institutions and customs and manners. Naturally little information is available on all these points. It has already been stated that formerly many Jainas regarded themselves as Hindus and hence it is likely that, in spite of instructions to the contrary, Jainas might have been included among Hindus by the census enumerators. Further, in the census operations of 1931, the Jainas, being more involved in the non-co-operation movement, did not purposefully furnish information about them. As the names of authorities from which the information was collected for the District Gazetteers are not mentioned, it is difficult to say anything about authenticity of the sources of their information. Apart from these facts we have to rely upon the Census Reports and District Gazetteers, for at no other place such a type of information is available and that is why they have been profusely referred to in previous chapters.

In recent years—and especially after the compilation of District Gazetteers—the Jainas have commenced to take more interest in their various social problems. With a view to tackle these problems and to suggest their solutions, they have written some books based on the information collected by them. Such books are mainly concerned with the problems of marriage and of giving rights to certain sections of the community which are considered low born and degraded by other sections. It must, however, be borne in mind that these books have been written with a particular aim in view. Leaving aside the propagandist aspect of them such books provide a fund of information on the

1. (i) Jain, P. D.: Vijātiya Vivāha Mimāmsā.
   (ii) Koṭhāri, M.G.: Jāti, Varṇa aura Vivāha.
   (iii) Mukhyāra, J. K.: Vivāha-Kaheṣṭra-Prakāśa.
   (iv) Mukhyāra, J. K.: Vivāhuñkā Uddesya,
   (v) Savyasāchī: Jaina Dharma aura Vidhavā Vivāha.
   (vi) Sphulīṅga: Dassā Pujādhihikāra-Viehāra.
   (vii) Mukhyāra, J. K.: Jinapujādhihikāra-mimāmsā.
social problems concerned. Moreover, the Jaina authors, especially the Jaina ascetics, have recently put in black and white the traditions and different sorts of available information regarding several castes and sub-castes found in the Jaina community. It is needless to add that these books furnish us with valuable information because these have been written by disinterested persons and that too without any ulterior motive. Further, with the rise of caste consciousness and the development of loyalty to the caste, many Jaina castes, in imitation of Hindu castes, arranged to get their histories written down either through the committees specially constituted for the purpose or by individual persons. Their main concern was to show the antiquity of their castes and to narrate the achievements of their important castemen. Such books do serve their purpose because investigation is carried with so much zeal that every available information is tried to be included. Again, in recent times the Jaines have started a large number of newspapers—especially weeklies and monthlies—devoted to the many-sided development of the community. But, it must be admitted that a majority of these journals is concerned with religious and philosophical questions. They hardly discuss any social problem in all its aspects and try to collect all available information on certain problems which clamour for solution. Excepting a few journals like Jaina Hitaihi, Jaina Antiquary, Anekanta and Jaina Gazette, no other possesses that broad outlook which is so essential to view the social problems in a comprehensive manner. It is but natural that the Jaina journals do not directly contribute to provide us all possible information on a particular question. Nevertheless, their value as indirect source of information for certain social conditions cannot be minimised. All these different types of Jaina works have, as far as possible, been consulted and made use of in the foregoing chapters.

1. (i) Yati Śripālachandraji: Jaina Sampadāya Śikha.  
(ii) Muni Jānasundararajī: Jaina Jāti Mahodaya.  
(iii) Paṇḍita Rāmalalājī: Mahājana Varnī Muktāvali.

2. (i) Osavāla Jātikā Itihāsa.  
(ii) Jain, B. L.: Agravāla Itihāsa.  
(iii) Zammanālālajī: Lamechu Samājakā Saṅkshipta Parichaya.
On the basis of information so received from several types of works mentioned above an effort has been made to present the available information on some important social institutions, customs and manners in a systematic way. But it cannot be ignored that a large number of such works and especially the District Gazetteers were published during the last two decades of the last century and the first three decades of the present century and as such have become out of date to some extent. Due to the spread of education and the activities of various social organisations in the past few decades, there has been a consequent change in the social customs and manners of the Jainas. With a view to find out in what spheres and in what measure the changes have taken place it was undoubtedly necessary to note down the social conditions prevailing in the Jaina community at present. As a comparatively small community of Jainas has been spread over the length and breadth of India, it was not possible to get the requisite information personally. Therefore, a detailed questionnaire was prepared and its copies were sent to leading Jainas all over India. The scientific investigation of social conditions of Jainas was, I suppose, not undertaken up till now and it was thought necessary that an appeal should be made to the members of the Jaina community to furnish the requisite information. Accordingly, the questionnaire was fully endorsed by twelve influential and leading members of the Jaina community. These signatories to the endorsement were so chosen that they included not only the representatives of important Jaina associations and institutions from different parts of the country, but also the most learned and respected personalities of the community. Again, copies of the questionnaire were sent to the editors of various Jaina journals representing the views of different sects, sections, schools of thought and associations of the community with a request to give publicity to the scheme of a social survey of the Jaina community and to ask their readers to send their answers to the questionnaire as early as possible. It is gratifying to note that many journals, in their editorial comments, expressed the necessity of having such a

1. A copy of the questionnaire will be found at the end of the Book.
scientific survey of social conditions prevailing in the Jaina community at present and urged upon the members to send their replies as a part of their social duty. Some papers even translated and published the full text of the questionnaire and appealed to the Jaina leaders and associations of different places that realising the importance of such a survey from the point of view of Jaina society, they should arrange to get as large a number of replies as possible. In addition to this, I attended the annual sessions of some important Jaina associations and personally requested the members, after explaining the importance of the scheme, to answer the questionnaire. I also visited several places of Jaina centres, saw the leading members there, and extended to them the same request. Thus, more than one thousand copies were distributed to the educated and responsible members of the Jaina community all over India and as a result of appeals, requests and repeated reminders one hundred and fifty-four replies were received. Though the number of replies received is comparatively meagre, yet it serves our purpose because the replies are received from important sections of the community from practically every part of the country—right from Amritsar and Calcutta in the North to Tanjore and Trichonopoly in the South—and they are really valuable as many of them have come from very well educated persons occupying responsible positions in the society. Based on the information received from these replies a present-day picture of social conditions found in the Jaina community is given in this chapter.

The questionnaire consists of fifty questions; drawn with a view to elicit information on the different aspects of Jaina social life. The questions can be conveniently divided into four broad categories. The first six questions are meant to get general information about the persons answering the questionnaire. As the question numbers 7 to 28 deal with the social institutions of caste and marriage they form the second category. The institution of Bhaṭṭāraka is confined to certain castes among Jaines and hence the question about it has been included in this section only. The

third category consists of question numbers 29 to 33 which are concerned with the institutions of the family. The remaining questions form the fourth category and they ask information about some miscellaneous social customs and manners as well as individual opinions on certain topics of social interest. In addition to the answers to these questions, the persons were requested to make special remarks, if any, regarding any matter of social importance.

2. NAMES AND SURNAMES

The question numbers 1 and 2 are concerned with the full name and address of the person to whom the questionnaire is addressed. From the replies received it will be evident that the Jainas have no particular surnames which are common all over India and that their surnames differ in different provinces. In Western India or Gujarâtha the surnames commonly found among the Jainas are Shah, Gandhi, Mehta, Doshi, Patel, Parikh, Sanghavi, Kapadia, Kothari, Vora, Zaveri, etc.; in Northern India they are Jain, Nahata, Daddha, Chopra, Singh, Kashlival, Gangaval, Sarupria, etc.; in Central India they are Jain, Singhai, Mogha, etc. in Hindî Districts and Mahajan, Junankar, Belokar, Vaidya, Chavare, etc., in Marâthi Districts; in Mahârâshâtra and Karnâtaka they are Sangave, Chaugule, Magdum, Patil, Gunjal, Tukol, Upadhye, etc. and in South India they are Shetty, Jain, Shastri, Shaligram, Chakravarti, etc. Further, the surnames and names of the Jainas of a particular province are generally like those current in that province. The names and surnames of Jainas like Kamata Prasada Jain from North India, Chimanlal Chikubhai Shah from Western India, Laxman Anaji Phaltane from Mahârâshâtra, Tamanna Kuberappâ Tukol from Karnâtaka and Y. J. Padmarâjiah from South India are in accordance with the general practices of the respective provinces. In South India the common practice of writing a name of a person is in the order of first the name of the native place, then the name of his father and then his name. Accordingly, Y. J. Padmarajiah stands for Yelekya-thanahalli Jinadattappa Padmarajiah. The Northern Indians observe the practice of not mentioning the father's name while
writing their names. That is why the name Kamata Prasada Jain does not include father’s name. Again, there are very few names which are peculiar to Jainas only and such names are the names of Jaina Gods, Saints and Goddesses like Ādinātha, Ajitānātha, Padmanātha, Śantinātha, Neminātha, Pārasanātha, Vardhamāna, Mahāvīra, Bharata, Bāhubali, Gautama and Padmāvatī. Along with these a large number of Hindu names like Śaṅkara, GAPāpata, Paraśurāma, Ātmārāma, Sadasiva, etc., are also commonly used by the Jainas. From the above facts it can be stated that in awarding and writing the names the Jainas follow the customs prevalent in the respective provinces. Only in few cases the Jainas adopt peculiarly Jaina names as their names and ‘Jain’ as their surname. The absence of any difference in the nomenclature of Jainas and others, particularly Hindus, is obviously due to the reason that the Jainas are the permanent residents of their provinces from the very beginning. That is why Jainas from Gujarātha and Māravāḍa who have for some time settled in other provinces for commercial purposes can be easily distinguished from the native Jainas from their names. Of course nowadays the difference in names (and not the surnames) between the native and the non-native Jainas of a province is dwindling because there is a noticeable tendency among all Jainas to adopt modern, popular and national names such as Vasant, Vilas, Ramesh, Subhash, Bharat, Mandakini, Sarojini, Rajani, Prema, etc. If this tendency is accelerated it is likely that both the native and foreign Jainas of a province would come closer to each other and there will be only a slight difference between all Jainas and other residents of that province so far as the system of awarding names is concerned.

3. OCCUPATIONS AND PROFESSIONS

The question No. 3 deals with the occupations and professions of the Jainas answering the questionnaire. Though the questionnaire was sent to persons following different avocations and professions, the persons in specific occupations and professions only have sent their replies. Out of 154 persons who have sent their replies, 47 are from the legal profession including pleaders,
solicitors, barristers and Judges, 28 are from teaching profession including school teachers, college professors, Śastris and research scholars, 25 are businessmen, 21 are doctors, 19 are in different services, mainly Government and business service, 5 are editors, 5 are social workers, 2 are landlords and 2 are engineers. From this it is evident that the well-educated persons in various lines have cared more to send their replies than the businessmen who by far form the largest proportion of Jaina population. Besides, it appears that the Jains seem to prefer the legal, teaching and medical professions to other professions.

4. SECTS AND SUB-SECTS

The question No. 4 asks the information about sect and sub-sect of the person concerned. Among 154 persons who have replied to the questionnaire, 84 and 46 belong to the main Digambara and Śvetāmbara sects of Jainism respectively, while 22 and 2 belong to the Sthānakaśāśī and Terāpanthī sub-sects of the main Śvetāmbara sect respectively. The replies of the Digambaras are by a great majority from the South India, Karnāṭaka, Mahārāṣṭra and Central India, while those of the Śvetāmbaras are from Gujarātha and Bombay and those of the Sthānakaśāśīs are from Rājasthāna; and this is quite in accordance with the concentration of the main sects and sub-sects of Jains in the different parts of India.

5. GOTRA

The question No. 5 is concerned with the Gotra or any other division which is considered for marriage purpose. From the replies received it is abundantly clear that there is a great divergence in the observance of the gotra system among the Digambara and Śvetāmbara Jains. The names of gotras mentioned by the Digambara Jains from the different parts of India are as follows:

*Western India and Bombay City:*

Lākṣī, Atreyā, Vāmullā, Kasāva, Nāgara, Bhārilla, Koṇḍala, and Haḍasola.
Northern India:
Kāśyapa, Jindala, Gārga, Pāṭaṇī, Gaṅgavāla, Ajamerā, Kamalesvara, Koṭhiyā and Ṭhākura.

Central India:
Kochhala, Bālamūra, Gohilla, Bajjhala, Bāsala, Koṭhiyā, Rauḷa, Chavare and Khaṭoḍa.

Mahārāṣṭra and Karnāṭaka:
Puṇḍariṇa, Bhārgava, Vimalakirti, Devālaya, Udbhayaketu, Buddhēśvara, Kherajeśvara, Raziana and Uttareśvara.

Southern India:
Kāśyapa, Kūra, Supratishṭha, Devadatta, Gautama, Srīvatsa and Satyakirti.

Excepting the Kāśyapa gotra which is found in both Northern and Southern India, no other single gotra is prevalent in more than one part of the country. Thus, Degambaras seem to possess different gotras in different parts of the country. Further, if we consider the relation of these gotras with the castes, it will be noticed that each gotra, except the Kāśyapa gotra, is found in some particular castes only. The names of castes and the above mentioned gotras found therein are as follows:—

Hummaṇḍa: Lākki, Atreya, Kamalesvara, Buddhēśvara, Kherajeśvara, Uttareśvara and Raziana.

Pallivāla: Kāśava.

Narasimgapurā: Nāgara and Haḍasolā.

Kathānerā: Koṇḍala.

Paravāra: Vāmulla, Bhārilla, Kochhala, Bālamūra, Gohilla, Bajjhala and Bāsala.

Buḍhelānvai: Kāśyapa.

Agravāla: Jindala, Gārga and Goyala.

Khaṇḍelavāla: Pāṭaṇī, Vaidya, Gaṅgavāla and Ajamerā.

Golāpūrva: Koṭhiyā.

Jaisavāla: Ṭhākura.

Nevi: Rauḷa.

Bagheravāla: Chavare and Khaṭoḍa.
Saitavāla: Puṇḍarīka.
Pañchama: Bhārgava, Vimalakīrti, Devālaya, Satyakīrti and Gautama.
Bogāra: Ubhayaketu and Supratishṭha.
Naināra: Devadatta.
Vaiśya: Kāśyapa and Śrīvatsa.
Kshatriya: Kāśyapa.

Thus, the Kāśyapa gotra alone is found in three castes, namely, Buḍhelānvayi from Northern India, and Vaiśya and Kshatriya castes from Southern India. We have already noted the names of gotras found in various Jaina castes and it will be observed that the names of gotras for example, in Agravāla and Khaṇḍelavālā castes, mentioned in the replies are already there. Only in the case of gotras among Hummaḍas mentioned in the replies, the first two gotras, namely, Lākki and Atreya, are not traceable in the list of gotras already noted. These two gotras have been mentioned by two persons belonging to the Visā Hummaḍa Mevāḍa caste from Gujarātha and it is not known how these two have come into the Hummaḍas.

In general these gotras are exogamous groups and as such have necessarily to be avoided in contracting marriages. But it appears that this gotra system is not prevalent in all Digambara Jaina castes and in some cases even though it is existing, it is not considered for marriage purposes. It is stated that in the Bannore caste there are no gotras at all and that in the Śetavāla caste the gotras are not given prominence in contracting marriages but their place is taken by the surnames.

As against a large number of gotras among the Digambaras, the Śvetāmbaras have mentioned only a few gotras, namely, Kāśyapa, Hariśchandra, Āṃbesara, Dhaḍḍhā, Nāhaṭa, and Naulākha. It has been stated that there are no gotras in the Visā Śrimāla sub-caste and this may be the condition in other castes.

1. Vide Chapter III.
2. Vide Appendix IX and Appendix XI attached to Chapter III. (Vide pages 131 and 134-136 ante)
also. In any case the gotra rarely plays any role at all in fixing the marriages because only the caste and locality are taken into account. Sometimes at the most surnames are avoided in contracting marriages and this seems to be the practice among the Śvetāmbara Terāpanthī Osavālas. It has been specifically asserted on behalf of the Sthānakavāśi Jainas that there are no gotras among them. Like Śvetāmbaras they observe the limitations of caste and locality only. But it appears that they do take into consideration the surnames like Mālavāniyā, Muṭhā, Khimvasarā, etc. for purposes of marriage.

6. SANGHA, GANA, GACHCHHA AND ŚAKHĀ

We have already noted that the Jaina community was undivided up to the first century A. D. and that later on it was split up into several religious divisions and sub-divisions. The Jaina community from the early times consisted of four sections, namely, Sādhus, Sādhiṣ, Śrāvakas and Śrāvikās, that is, Male Ascetics, Female Ascetics, Male Laity and Female Laity. Afterwards for various reasons the divisions of Saṅgha, Gaṅa, Gachchha and Śākha and of Gachchha alone, arose among the Digambara and Śvetāmbara ascetics respectively and as a consequence the lay followers of these ascetics were also split up into such divisions. With a view to know whether the Jainas are still having such divisions or not and if so, to find out their names, the question number 6 regarding the Saṅgha, Gaṅa, Gachchha and Śākhā, was asked. From the replies it will be observed that nearly half of them do not mention anything at all and among the persons who do not know about their divisions the Digambaras form a larger proportion than the Śvetāmbaras. Besides, it has been stated that there are no such divisions among the Digambaras at present. Further, there are many Digambaras who have mentioned either the Saṅgha or the Gaṅa only. Hence it appears that the religious divisions of Saṅgha, Gaṅa, Gachchha and Śākhā are not so prevalent among the Digambaras now as they were formerly. Nevertheless, the following names of these divisions have been mentioned by the Digambaras.

1. Vide Chapter II.
Saṅgha: Mūla and Kāśṭhā.
Gaṇa: Balātkāra, Sena, Vidyā and Deśiya.
Gachchha: Sarasvatī, Pustaka, Nanditāta and Bhāratī.
Śākha: Prathamānuyoga, Charaṇānuyoga and Prābhṛtaka.

Thus Mr. Śāntirāja Śāstrī from Mysore belongs to Mūla Saṅgha, Deśiya Gaṇa, Pustaka Gachchha and Charaṇānuyoga Śākha. The most popular grouping of these divisions seems to be the Mūla Saṅgha, Balātkāra Gaṇa and Sarasvatī Gachchha as this grouping is found among the Dīgambaras from different parts of India.

The Śvetāmbaras, excepting a few, have mentioned the following Gachchhas to which they belong: Tapā, Vijaya-Tapā, Bhṛat-Tapā, Loṅkā, Afchala and Kharatara. The names of the Śvetāmbara Gachchhas referred to in their books are one hundred and thirteen but it appears that only few are prevalent among the Śvetāmbaras at present. So far as Sthānakavāsīs are concerned it seems from their replies that a majority of them do not know or observe the Gachchha system. The names of two Gachchhas only have been mentioned by them, namely, Loṅkā Gachchha and Upakesā Gachchha. On the contrary they have mentioned that they follow Limbaḍi Saṃpradāya and Bāvīsa Saṃpradāya, the two comparatively new religious divisions, instead of the Gachchha system.

7. THE CASTES AND SUB-CASTES

The questions from numbers 7 to 28 deal with the institution of caste and allied matters. The question number 7 is concerned with the names of castes and sub-castes. We have already noted that the Jaina castes are many in number and this is also shown from the replies received. The 154 replies mention not less than 30 castes and sub-castes. If we co-relate the castes and sects, it will be found that the Dīgambaras possess a preponderantly large number of castes than the Śvetāmbaras. Out of the

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2. Vide P. 71 ante.
above 30 castes as many as 23 are referred to by the Digambaras and only 7 by the Śvetāmbaras. Further, the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras have distinct castes of their own and excepting the Agravāla caste no other caste is common to both the sections. On the basis of the names of castes given by the Digambara and Śvetāmbara Jaina Directories we have already stated that only Osavāla, Poravāda, Hummaḍa, Marasiṅgapūra and Nemā castes are found in both the sections and now the name of Agravāla caste will have to be added to this list.

8. POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF CASTES

The exact figures regarding the total population of Jaina castes and their distribution all over India are not available. As many Jaina castes have their organisations of an All India character—for example, Akhila Bhāratīya Paravāra Jaina Mahāsabha, Akhila Bhāratīya Saitavāla Jaina Mahāsabha, etc.—, it was thought that they might be having definite information on the above points. With a view to get this information the question No. 8 was asked. But unfortunately nobody has furnished exact information about the number and geographical distribution of his caste people. It appears that the caste organisations have not as yet paid any attention to this matter. However, from the replies, which did mention the approximate population of the castes concerned, it may be stated that only a few castes claim a strength of more than 50,000 and the rest are very small ones. The Osavāla, Śrimāli and Poravāda castes among the Śvetāmbaras and the Agravāla, Khāndelavāla, Paravāra, Hummaḍa, Chaturtha, Paṅchama and Saitavāla castes among the Digambaras possess more than 50,000 members each. The remaining castes are small ones. There is a large number of castes like Pallīvāla, Bagheravāla, Dhākaḍa and Naraśiṅgapūra among the Digambaras and Nemā, Mesari Bhāvasāra and Bāvanagāma Bhāvasāra among the Śvetāmbaras whose members number about 5,000 each. It is surprising to find that still there are Jaina castes having a population of less than 1,000. According to the statements of their own members the approxi-

1. Vide Chapter III, P. 75 ante.
mate population of castes like Bannore, and Nevi among the Digambaras and Levā Paṭidāra among the Śvetāmbaras is about 1,000 each and Buḍhelānvai and Kathanerā among the Digambaras only about 900 and 300 respectively. Thus there is not only a large number of castes in a small community but also the strength of their members is very uneven in the sense that while there are only a few castes having a somewhat decent number of members, the many remaining castes possess an undoubtedly meagre number of population.

As regards the geographical distribution of the Jaina castes it can be said from the replies that even though representatives of many Jaina castes are found, for obvious reasons, in practically all big cities and commercial centres, still different castes are located in different parts of the country. In general the Śvetāmbara castes are concentrated in Gujarātha, Kathiawar and Rajputana while the Digambara castes are spread all over India. Thus among the Śvetāmbaras the castes like Śrīmālī, Osavāla, Poravāda, Nemā, Bhāvasāra, Levā Paṭidāra, etc. are found mainly in Gujarātha, Kathiawar and Rajputana; among the Digambaras the castes like Agravāla, Khaṇḍelavāla, Jaisavāla, and Buḍhelānvai are found mainly in the United Provinces of India and Rajputana; the Paravāra, Pallīvāla, Kaṭhaṇerā, Gola-pūrva, Bagheravāla, Bannore, Nevi and Dhākaḍa in the Central Provinces and Berar and Central India; the Saitavāla, Chaturtha, Pāṇchama and Bogāra in Mahārāṣṭra and Karnāṭaka; and the Upādhyāya, Vaśya, Kshatriya and Naināra in South India.

9. INTER-RELATIONS OF CASTES

As the Jaina community is divided into a large number of castes and sub-castes it is necessary to know the nature of relations among these castes especially with reference to inter-dining and inter-marriage. With this aim in view the question No. 9 was asked and from the replies it appears that at present practically all Jaina castes can dine with all members of the Jaina community. Even though this freedom is given it is not regularly availed of. In general the sub-castes or castes have dining relations among themselves only. Thus the Jaisavālas and Khaṇḍela-
vālas among the Digambaras state that they practically do not dine with the other castes. Similarly, the Mesarī Bhāvasāras and Bīsā Agrāvālas among the Śvetāmbaras do not dine with even other castes of Jainas and the Levā Paṭidāras have recently started to dine with other Baniyā Jaina castes. This might be due to the fact that the marital relations are necessarily confined to members of their castes only. But there is a marked tendency to extend the dining relations to all Jainas. In this respect the Digambaras seem to be more conservative than the Śvetāmbaras. Among the Digambaras the Hummaḍa and Khaṇḍelavāla castes observe that they maintain dining relations with the Digambara Jainas and the Buḍhelānvayī caste states that it has no objection to dine with the Visā Jainas. On the contrary, many Śvetāmbara Jaina castes assert that they not only dine with all Jainas but also with all Baniyā castes some of which are not followers of Jainism. Further, a new development is seen in both the main sections of the Jainas. Formerly many castes were not dining with some castes mainly for the reason that the latter were observing the practice of widow-remarriage. Nowadays this is not followed. Thus the Nevi among the Digambaras now dine with the Saitavālas and excepting some very few persons all the Śrīmāls among the Śvetāmbaras dine with the members of Paṭidāra and Bhāvasāra castes.

As regards the marital relations between the several castes and sub-castes of the Jainas it may be pointed out that in general there is no inter-marriage between the persons belonging to different castes or to different sub-castes of the same caste. The caste or the sub-caste, as the case may be, is considered as a strict endogamous group. Thus even the very small castes like Kaṭhaṇerā, Buḍhelānvayī and Nevi among the Digambaras and the Levā Paṭidāra and Mesarī Bhāvasāra among the Śvetāmbaras do not maintain marital relations with the other Jaina castes. Along with the sub-caste a further restriction of geographical locality is generally taken into account. This is observed more meticulously by the Śvetāmbaras than by the Digambaras. Among the Digambaras there is no rule as such that the members of a particular subcaste residing in a certain locality alone should marry among
THE WORKING MODEL

themselves, but this is observed for all practical purposes because the members of a sub-caste are spread over a vast area. As the Dāsā Hummaḍas and Visā Hummaḍas are found in Rājaputānā, Gujāratā and Mahārāṣṭra naturally there are practically no marital relations between the Dāsā or Visā Hummaḍas of these provinces. The same is the case with the Saitavālas of the Bombay Province and those of the Central Provinces and Berar. On the contrary it has been specifically laid down by the Śvetāmbaras that marriages should be contracted between the persons of a sub-caste residing in a particular locality only. Such a locality is called a 'ghola' and along with the sub-caste the 'ghola' is also taken into account for the purpose of marital relations. This rule is strictly enforced; and at times a girl can be brought from outside the 'ghola' but in no case a girl can be given outside the 'ghola' to which she belongs. Thus the Visā Śrīmālīs of Gohila-

vāḍa (which is a district in Kāthiavāḍa) or the Visā Osavālas of Cutch marry among themselves only. A further complication arises in this arrangement because of the fact that the members of a sub-caste or a caste belong to different sects of the same religion or to different religions altogether. In such cases marriages are freely contracted between the persons of a particular sub-caste and a 'ghola' even though they are the followers of different sects or religions. In spite of this freedom, a preference is always given to a marriage between the persons of the same sect or religion. Thus the Dāsā Śrīmālīs of Zālavāḍa—a district in Kāthiavāḍa—are divided into the Mūrtipujaka Śvetāṁbaras Jainas, Sthānakavāṣī Śvetāṁbaras Jainas and Vaishṇavas and irrespective of the fact that marriages can take place between the Zālavāḍī Dāsā Śrīmālīs of any sect or religion, marriages between these members of one sect or religion are definitely preferred. In this way, for example, the Zālavāḍī Dāsā Śrīmālī Sthānakavāṣī Jainas form an endogamous group and nowadays there is a growing tendency to take sect or religion into account while settling the marriages. Moreover, it must be observed that recently very small beginnings have been made by both the Dīgambaras and the Śvetāmbaras to ignore the barriers of caste and locality. No doubt this is restricted to a few castes only but it has got its
value as a noticeable change for the better. It has been stated that the members of the Bannore caste in the Central Provinces and Berar have started keeping marital relations with the members of the Bagheravâla, Padmâvati Poravâla and Saitavâla castes of the same province. In the Karnâṭaka recently marriages take place among the members of the Chaturtha, Paṅchama, Bogāra and Ḍarada castes. Similarly, it has been mentioned that among the Śvetâmbaras inter-marriages have started between the Śrîmâlîs and the Osavâlas.

10. HIERARCHICAL ORGANISATION OF CASTES

Among the Hindus castes are generally arranged in an hierarchical order so that some castes are superior to other castes. The question number 10 was asked so as to know whether the Jainas believe in hierarchy of caste organisation in their community. From the replies it is clear that not even a single person accepts the hierarchical organisation. It has been specifically stated that Jainism enjoins no caste system and therefore the question of arranging them in an order of respectability does not arise at all. Nevertheless, it is admitted that there is something like caste pride and due to it many castes consider themselves superior to others. In general the castes in which the practice of widow-remarriage is observed are considered inferior to other castes where that practice is not followed. That is why some of the Saitavâlas, Chaturthas and Paṅchamas among the Digâmbaras and the Bhâvasâras among the Śvetâmbaras are looked down upon. Further, there are many castes, especially in Gujarâtha and Northern India, which have been divided into Visâ or Bisâ and Dasâ or Dassâ and the Visâ (or pure) Jainas of every caste consider themselves better than the Dassâ (or degenerated) Jainas who have been outcasted for some fault of theirs or their forefathers. Sometimes the castes are divided into Visâ, Dasâ, Paṅchâ and Aḍhiyâ divisions and these are regarded to be in the descending order of respectability. This feature is common both for the Digâmbaras and the Śvetâmbaras. Apart from this there are some Digâmbaras who regard Diganâbharas as superior and Śvetâmbaras as inferior. Such views are held by some Śvetâmbaras
also. Though such views are found in the Jaina community they are not given much importance and it has been expressed by many persons that these things must be removed as early as possible.

11. CASTE PANCHĀYATAS

Under the caste system generally every caste possesses a Pañchāyata or a Council of Elders to supervise and control the various relations of its members. The Pañchāyata has got its own constitution, is required to perform certain functions and is given some powers. With a view to know these facts about the caste Pañchāyatas among the Jainas the question number 11 was asked. From the replies it may be noted that the Pañchāyata seems to be the most common feature of a caste among the Jainas. It has, however, been reported that castes like Golapārvavā, Bannore, Bagheravāla, Bogāra and Vaishya are not having caste Pañchāyatas; but it appears that as their present population is small they might be having regular caste Pañchāyatas formerly because there are many castes at present possessing Pañchāyatas only in name.

Generally speaking there seems to be no constitution for these Pañchāyatas. These are all old organisations and are not formed now. They are of a hereditary character in the sense that in general the office-bearers as well as the members are succeeded by their sons. The Pañchāyata of a place consists of a general body and a small committee of a few members. All adult caste members or only eldest members of families of that place constitute the general body and the leading persons of the caste form the small committee. Sometimes both the general body and the small committee are presided over by an influential person known as Śētha in Gujarātha, Sarapañcha in Māhrāshṭra and Yajamāna in South India. The office of the Śētha is always hereditary and his opinion counts much in deciding the matters. In some places the caste-organisation is known by the name Saṅgha instead of by Pañchāyata. At times instead of having a separate Saṅgha for each place, a Saṅgha is formed to comprise a Ghola, that is, a particular locality and therefore all places coming under the jurisdiction of that Ghola have a common Saṅgha. Further, it is stated that among the Cutchi
Dasā Osavāla Mūrtipūjaka Śvetāmbara Jainas there is a new caste-organisation known as ‘Mahājana’. Every thirty adult members, including ladies, elect one representative and such elected representatives of Cutchi Dasā Osavāla Mūrtipūjaka Śvetāmbara Jainas residing in any part of India constitute the Central Mahājana. There are also provincial and local Mahājanas which have to work under the direction of the Central Mahājana.

The duties, which are enjoined upon the caste Pañchāyatas to perform, are not many. In general their duties can be divided into two broad categories, namely, religious and social. In the first category are included the duties like the repairs and maintenance of temples owned by the caste and making necessary arrangements for the celebration of various religious festivals. They are also required to see whether the important religious injunctions are strictly observed by their members. The social duties are concerned mainly with the settlement of caste-disputes arising especially out of various marriage restrictions imposed by the caste upon its members. All questions regarding marriage like the number and choice of partners, age of marriage, way of marriage-ceremony, widow-remarriage, divorce, adultery, etc. are dealt with by the Pañchāyata and this forms the main part of its duties.

There is no fixed rule regarding the ways of raising the funds required for the performance of the duties mentioned above. The funds are collected either through big grants or small voluntary contributions. At many places regular compulsory contributions from members are not taken and where such contributions are levied they are nominal. The contributions vary from Re. 1/- to Rs. 5/- per family per year and only at a few places it is collected at the rate of Re. 1/- per married person. Another source of income is that of fines collected from its members but it seems that the amount so collected is generally very negligible.

As regards the powers of Pañchāyatas it can be said that they are empowered to inflict various sorts of punishments upon the defaulters. Generally they give repeated warnings and if the warnings fail they take recourse to fines which in many cases are symbolic. Then the punishments of a religious nature are availed
of. The defaulters are asked either to give donations to religious institutions, or to perform religious worship, or to go on a religious pilgrimage. Many a time the defaulters are ordered to give a special feast to all members of the caste. As a last resort the defaulters are outcasted. The excommunication may be either partial or complete. In the first case the defaulters are not allowed only to enter the temple and in the second the caste-members are asked not to dine and marry with the defaulters. Regarding the use of these powers a general charge is made against caste Pañchāyatas to the effect that the punishments are given according to whims and in giving punishments discrimination is usually made between the rich and the poor. Naturally this could not be tolerated for a long time and due to the efforts of younger people we find that the above powers hardly used by many Pañchāyatas during the last twenty-five years. At present in several places the caste Pañchāyatas have become defunct bodies and where they have got a semblance of existence they are not respected and cared by vast majority of their members.

As the social conditions have changed to a great extent, the Jainas are not satisfied with the working of caste Pañchāyūtas during the last few decades. But at the same time they have not taken any action in the matter. They have neither reorganised the caste Pañchāyatas on modern lines nor have they abolished them and established new organisations in their places. With a view to ascertain the opinion of Jainas with reference to the problem of ending one way or the other this state of indecision, the question No. 12 was asked and from the replies it will be noticed that still the opinion is equally divided. While they accept the fact that it is undesirable to maintain the Pañchāyatas in the old form, they have, it seems, not, as yet, made up their minds regarding the new form the Pañchāyatas should assume. The persons in favour of abolition or reorganisation of caste Pañchāyatas are practically equal in number. Those in favour of abolition contend that the Pañchāyatas of the old rigid type cannot be welcomed because they tend to create a feeling of segregation from other Jaina castes in social affairs. Besides it is thought that the Pañchāyatas will automatically cease to exist with the
removal of marriage restrictions. In any case they wish that at every place there should be an organised or well-represented institution so that the Jainas may remain united. That is why they suggest that instead of organising the Jaina community on a caste-basis, the Jainas should be organised on an all-India basis with its provincial, district, taluka, city or village branches and the social, religious, educational and other activities of the community should be carried out by these institutions. However, there are a few persons who think that this arrangement should be applied to the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras separately. On the other hand, there are persons who believe that the caste-organisation cannot be removed so long as the caste system remains. They feel that as small units for self-amelioration, the Pañchāyatas are useful bodies. Hence they suggest that the institution of Pañchāyatas should be retained in a new form. The hereditary character of the Pañchāyatas must be removed and they must be formed on an election basis so that learned and impartial men can control the affairs of the caste. Many persons think that the working of the Pañchāyatas could be regularised if they are given a legal form and so it is suggested that the Pañchāyatas should be run as registered societies. Again, some propose that the castes or subcastes should organise themselves on a provincial or on all-India basis. Thus it is suggested that the Dasā Śrīmāli Jainas of Gujarātha should have one organisation and that instead of the Saitavāla caste Pañchāyatas at various places, there should be only one organisation like All India Saitavāla Jaina Mahā-sabhā.

12. CASTE FEASTS

It is a widespread custom among many castes to give feasts to their members on certain occasions. Jaina castes cannot be an exception to this. With a view to know whether caste dinners are given and if so, on what occasions, the question No. 13 was asked and from the replies it will be observed that it is customary with practically all Jaina castes to give dinners on specific occasions. The most common occasions are marriages, death and religious ceremonies. Among the religious ceremonies may be
included the occasions like Paryūshaṇa, that is, completion of the Paryūshaṇa festival; Vratodyāpana, that is, conclusion of a religious vow; Pratishṭhā, that is, ceremonial installation of an idol in a temple; and Yātra, that is, returning safely from a pilgrimage. The custom of Maraṇabhoja, that is, giving a dinner on the 12th or 13th day after the death of a person, though practised by many Jaina castes all over India, is against the tenets of Jainism. That is why with the general awakening of Jainas in recent times the death feasts are not only becoming rare but also are completely discontinued by many castes, at several places. The popularity of caste feasts as such is dwindling and no regular caste feasts are given. When the feasts are given, nowadays there is a tendency to limit it to one’s friendly circle and relatives instead of inviting all members of the caste. Even this has stopped due to the introduction of rationing of food. Thus from the last few years the caste feasts are not given at all.

13. JAINA AND HINDU CASTES

As the Jainas, Hindus and others are living side by side in this country from the last so many centuries and as the proselytising activities were formerly carried on with zeal and vigour by Jainism, Hinduism or other religions, it is likely that certain social relations may exist between the Jaina community and other communities through the agency of some social institutions. To ascertain the nature of such relations coming under the system of castes question number 14 was asked, and from the replies it may be noted that among both Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras there are castes all over India which are found in other communities also but there are practically no relations, either of food or of marriage, with them. In North India the castes of Agravāla, Khāṇḍelavāla and Jaisavāla are found among the Hindus—and especially among the Vaishṇavas—but only Agravālas maintain inter-marital relations and the Jaina Khāṇḍelavālas and Jaisavālas have no relations at all with the Vaishṇava Khāṇḍelavālas and Jaisavālas. It is stated that even the gotras of Hindu Khāṇḍelavālas are different from those of the Jaina Khāṇḍelavālas. In Central India Bagheravāla (or Lāḍa), Pallivāla and Golāpūrva
castes are seen among Vaishnava Hindus and Jains but there is a complete absence of relation between them. In Western India the Dasā Śrīmālī caste is found among Svetāmbara and Sthānaka-
vāśī sub-sects of Jainism and among Śaiva, Vaishnava and Svāmi-
nārāyaṇa sub-sects of Hinduism, but it is mentioned that though forty years back marriages used to take place freely between the Dasā Śrīmālīs, irrespective of the sect to which they belonged, the position is not so at present. Now the Jaina Dasā Śrīmālīs have no relations with Hindu Dasā Śrīmālīs and among the former the Svetāmbaras and Sthānakaśās do not possess inter-marital relations. Similarly the Jaina Poravādas and Nemās have discontinued their practice—which was current only 60 years back—of marrying with the Hindu Poravādas and Nemās respectively. It seems that only Jaina Levā Pāṭidāras even now dine and marry with the Hindu Levā Pāṭidāras and that among the Jaina and non-Jaina members of the Bāvanagāma Bhāvāsāra caste, inter-dining and inter-marital relations are kept without any restrictions. In South India like Pañchama Jainas there are Pañchamasālīs among the Liṅgāyatas and Pañchamas among the Hindus but the Jaina Pañchamas have no relations with the other Pañchamas. The same is the case with the Upādhyāyas from the Jaina and the Hindu Brahmins. Similarly like Jaina Vaiśyas there are Bāṭṭas among the Hindus of South Kanara but there are hardly any relations between them. It is stated that the Vellālas of Śaiva sect of Hindus from Tanjore District were followers of Jainism upto the 10th century A. D. and now they have no relations with any Jainas of that District.

14. RULES OF ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

The question number 15 is concerned with the rules of endogamy and exogamy, their observance and the possible improvements therein. The rules of endogamy of the Jaina community at present, as revealed from the replies, are such that while contracting marriages the caste or sub-caste, the sect or sub-sect and the geographical locality are generally taken into consideration. This means that the persons belonging to the same sub-sect or sub-caste and geographical locality alone can have marital rela-
tions among themselves and their relations with outsiders are strictly forbidden. Thus, in general the Jainas observe the following forms of endogamy, namely, the caste or sub-caste endogamy, religious or sectional endogamy and local or place endogamy which is in Gujarâtha known as Gholâ. As regards the rules of exogamy it can be said that among the castes in which the gotra system exists, the gotras are necessarily avoided for the purpose of marriage. There is no fixed rule as to how many gotras are to be avoided and the number of gotras to be avoided differs from caste to caste. While the Paravâras avoid four gotras, the Khapdelavâlas avoid two or four gotras, and the Golâpurvas avoid any two gotras. A 'Sagotra' marriage is never approved. There are many castes among the Digâmbaras, Svetâmbaras and Sthânakavâsîs where the gotra system is not prevalent. In such cases marriages are contracted outside one's own family. In many places the surnames are considered to denote families and as such marriages of persons bearing the same surname are not allowed. Further, there is no common rule regarding the degree of blood-relationship within which marriage is forbidden. While in the Karnâtaka marriage with a sister's daughter is not only allowed but also preferred, in North India this custom is not followed at all.

The above rules of endogamy and exogamy are generally observed by the members of the Jaina community. No doubt in recent times some cases have been reported where the rules of endogamy have been broken but no punishment was meted out to the defaulters. At times members are allowed to bring girls from outside but in no circumstance they can give their daughters outside their group. Though these lapses in the rules of endogamy are ignored, still such marriages are not favoured and are looked down.

As a result of the observance of caste, sect and local endogamy, the field for choice of partners becomes very limited and the gulf between the castes is perpetuated. With a view to give more freedom in the selection of partners the question regarding inter-caste marriage was asked and from the replies it will be observed that, except ten persons, all the remaining are in favour
of inter-caste marriages. But they are not agreed on the extent of such inter-caste marriages. Some go to the limit of marrying with even non-Jainas but suggest that they should be invariably vegetarians. Those who do not go so far wish to point out that there should be no objection if Jainas marry with the Hindus of higher castes. A great majority of persons approves of marriages among all Jainas irrespective of caste or sect but only after taking into consideration the language, education, economic conditions, ways of living, customs, manners, etc. of the partners. This means that they suggest the marriages of Jainas living in a linguistic province and having the same economic and cultural status. In this some do wish to make distinction between the main sects and think that the Digambaras and Svetambaras should marry among themselves only. As a step in this direction it is suggested that in the first instance there should be marriages between the sub-castes and then between the castes found in a particular locality. In this light it is pointed out that as a first step the Bagheravâla, Bannore, Gaṅgeravâla, Nevi, Dhâkada and Paravâra castes of Digambara Jainas from Central India should combine for purposes of marriage.

Thus in general it appears that the Jainas seem to accept inter-caste marriages in the beginning among the various Digambara castes or among the various Svetambara castes of a province and not between the Digambara and Svetambara castes.

15. CASTES AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS

It is evident that the Jaina community has been divided into a large number of castes and sub-castes and that the latter have been further sub-divided on the basis of sect or sub-sect and locality. As these divisions and sub-divisions are generally endogamous groups, there are very few chances left for the various castes and sub-castes to have closer relations among themselves. This has created a gulf between the castes or sub-castes and it is necessary to find out whether there are other agencies which perpetuate and, if possible, widen the distance between these castes or sub-castes. That is why the question number 16 was asked to get information regarding the several types of charitable institutions
which are exclusively reserved for the members of a particular caste or sub-caste. From the replies it will be noticed that the Jainas are conducting charitable institutions for the benefit of members of a certain caste or sub-caste who follow a particular sect or subsect and who reside in or come from some fixed locality. Among such institutions the foremost place will have to be accorded to the Scholarship Funds, Funds for the relief of the poor and the destitutes and Housing Societies and a secondary place to the Students’ Boarding Houses which are generally reserved for members of a particular sect or subsect rather than for those of a caste or sub-caste.

Though the institutions of reserved type had been started by both the Digambara and Śvetāmbara castes, like Cutchi Visā Osavāla, Cutchi Dasā Osavāla, Visā Śrīmālī, Dasā Śrīmālī Śvetāmbara, Dasā Śrīmālī Sthānakavāsi, Lāḍa Śrīmālī, Visā Poravāda, Visā Nemā, Dasā Narasiṅgapurā, Visā Mevādā, Bhāvasāra Bāvanagāma, Jaisavāla, Bannore, Dhākaḍā, Bagheravāla, Saitavāla, etc., it is not that all have served their purpose of helping their caste-members. From the replies it appears that the institutions which are said to have served their purpose mostly belong to the wealthy sub-castes like Cutchi Visā Osavāla, Dasā Śrīmālī Śvetāmbara, Dasā Śrīmālī Sthānakavāsi and Visā Mevādā, while those which have hardly served their purpose seem invariably to have been managed by the small and comparatively very poor castes or sub-castes like Lāḍa Śrīmālī, Dasā Narasiṅgapurā, Bhāvasāra Bāvanagāma, Bannore, Dhākaḍā, Bagheravāla and Saitavāla. The same can be said about the question whether such institutions create separatist tendencies in the community or not. The relatively well-off castes assert that these institutions do not necessarily create separatist tendencies while the other castes state that they undoubtedly help to create separatism at least to some extent. In this connection it seems to be the general consensus of opinion that such institutions foster the already created separatist tendency in the Jaina community. This separatism has gone so deep that some persons wish to maintain that there is no harm if separatism is perpetuated between the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras.
Regarding the proposal of removing the reserved character of these institutions it appears from the replies that in general the persons approve the idea of throwing the institutions open to all Jainas if thereby its aims and objects are not lost sight of. Even though this is desirable, still it is vehemently argued that it is not a practical proposition for various reasons. In the first place, it is stated that the funds at the disposal of these institutions put together are not sufficient to meet the needs of all Jainas. Secondly, it is not practicable so long as the caste structure remains unchanged. In small endogamous castes people are related to one another in a distinct manner and there is a natural tendency to help one's relatives. That is why the rich people do not wish to give donations to members outside the caste. Thirdly, it is maintained that this can be done on the basis of reciprocity. The reciprocal relations are difficult to achieve because there are many castes which are not financially well. Fourthly, it is asserted that it is a matter for all Jainas to come together and to take a common decision. But it is a fact that sectarian distinctions are very deep rooted and there is no possibility of abolishing them as there is complete absence of religious toleration. Hence it is thought that there is no use in opening the institutions to all Jainas.

16. CHOICE OF OCCUPATIONS

The lack of choice of occupations is one of the important features of Hindu caste system. Therein the occupations are considered as hereditary and the members are not allowed to follow an occupation which is not their own. With a view to know whether the Jaina castes also are occupational in character the question number 17 was asked and from the replies it can be observed that in general in the past members of a Jaina caste were not compelled to follow a particular occupation or profession. As the freedom of choice of occupations was given to the members, the Jaina castes could not be considered as occupational in character. Thus the Viśā Śrīmālī Jainas in the past were businessmen dealing in jewellery, precious stones, perfumery, cloth and other goods. Though some of them still continue their old trades
a good many of them have gone to new lines like speculation in cotton, bullion and shares and even in American futures. Similarly, agriculture and business were the occupations of Visā Osavālas but now they have ceased to follow agriculture and seem to concentrate on business of precious stones, especially diamonds. Bhāvasāras appear to have gradually discontinued their former profession of dyeing clothes and now they are found in business as well as in service. In many Jaina castes the profession of banking was practised on a large scale but now they hardly follow that profession. But still there are a few castes which are in a large measure continuing their former main occupations even to the present day. Agriculture was and is the main occupation of Chaturtha, Vaiśya and Bogāra castes. Along with agriculture the Bogāras are practising their former occupations of selling bangles and manufacturing and selling copper and bronze vessels. Thus at present there are no fixed occupations of particular castes and the Jainas, irrespective of the castes to which they belong, follow various types of occupations.

17. CASTE AND EDUCATION

The Jainas being mainly a commercial community it is natural that the standard of literacy, especially among males, is comparatively higher than that of other communities. But this cannot be said about the educational standard in general. Not only the educational standard is not advanced among the Jainas but also there is no common standard seen among the various Jaina castes. The disparity in educational standard among Jaina castes may perhaps be due to the fact that the number of Jaina castes is relatively very large and there is a noticeable tendency among several castes to help the members of their own caste only. With a view to ascertain the educational standard in regional and foreign languages attained by males or females of several Jaina castes the question number 18 was asked and from the replies it will be noted that the educational standard does not appear to be the same for all castes. In general it can be maintained that the Jaina castes from the Deccan and South India are educationally much more backward than the Jaina castes from the other parts
of India. The educational standard of all Jaina castes in the Deccan like Saitavâla, Chaturtha, Pañchama and Bogâra is definitely low as compared with that of castes in the North like Śrîmâla, Osavâla, Poravâda, Agravâla, Khândelavâla, Paravâra, Bannore, etc. While in Northern India the males go generally upto the Matriculation and the females complete the primary education, in the Deccan and South India the males reach only the fourth standard vernacular and the females are almost absolutely blank. Further, even among the Jaina castes of Northern (including Central and Western) India it will be noticed that the castes having a smaller population like Mesari Bhâvasâra, Bâvanagâma, Bhâvasâra, Daśa Narasingapurâ, Kaṭhanerâ, Nevi, Dhâkaḍa and Bagheravâla are not educationally advanced like the other populous castes. It is pertinent to note that the castes which state that the education is continuously increasing among their caste members are all comparatively rich castes like Daśa Śrîmâlî Śvetâmbara, Daśa Śrîmâlî Śthânakavâsî, Agravâla, Khândelavâla, Paravâra and Hummaḍa. This means that the existing disparity will be perpetuated, if not accentuated. To get an idea of existing disparity in the educational standard in both regional and foreign languages between the members of some castes the following approximate figures are given as stated by them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste or sub-caste</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Regional language</th>
<th>Some foreign language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visâ Osavâla</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visâ Śrîmâlî</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaturtha</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśya (Nainâra)</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. RELIGIOUS SANCTION TO CASTES

Caste system is a universal feature in the Jaina community. By this system the community has been divided and sub-divided
into small sections and efforts are made to perpetuate these divisions and sub-divisions. When caste is rooted so much in the social organisation of Jainas, it is likely to give impression that the caste system as it exists at present might have been ordained by religion and it might have descended from very ancient times. With a view to ascertain the correctness of this impression, the question number 19 was asked and it will be observed from the replies that with eight exceptions all the rest maintain that there is no religious sanction to these castes. It is considered that the castes are purely social bodies which have come into existence due to the exigencies of time and due to association with the Hindus. Jaina religion is essentially a religion for the individual's spiritual upliftment and as such it is argued that Jainism has nothing to do with social organisations like castes which are based on purely social rather than on spiritual or religious distinctions. As Jainism does not enjoin the caste system, naturally the latter did not exist in the ancient Jaina community. It has been very emphatically stated by eminent Jaina research scholars that the castes, which are found in the Jaina community at present, appear to have come into existence after the 10th century A. D. because the Jaina books prior to the 10th century A. D. do not at all refer to these castes. Thus in general it can be stated that these castes are not sanctioned by religion and they never existed in the ancient Jaina community in their present form. The few persons who do not agree with this general view do not quote authorities in support of their statements. Only three such authorities have been put forward and these are Jñāti-Jayamālā, Jinasamhitā and Trivarṇikāchāra. In the first only the names of eighty-four Jaina castes have been mentioned and by no means it can be treated as an ancient Jaina book. The second book is known as Indranandi Jinasamhitā and it is written by Āchārya Vasunandi Indranandi. It appears that the book was composed sometime after the 10th century A. D. The third book, namely, Trivarṇikāchāra, was composed by Bhaṭṭāraka Somasena in 1611 A.D.¹ Both the Indranandi Jinasamhitā and Trivarṇikāchāra are no doubt regarded as some of

the chief Jaina Law Books but it must be remembered that they
discuss Jaina Law pertaining to the four classes of society, namely,
Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra and not pertaining to the
castes as they exist today. Hence all the three authorities which
are supposed to accord religious sanction to the castes and to
prove their prevalence in the ancient Jaina community do not
really do so.

19. INSTITUTION OF BHAṬṬĀRAKA

It has already been noted that the institution of Bhaṭṭāraka
was started by Digambara Jains as a measure against their conti-
nuous religious and social disintegration during the medieval
period. As the practice of asceticism, according to the Digambara
code of asceticism, was declining, it was necessary that an inter-
mediate authority between the ascetics and lay followers should
be instituted to look after the religious and social needs of the
people. Accordingly the system of Bhaṭṭārakas was constituted
for mainly the religious divisions of the society like Saṅgha, Gaṇa
or Gachchha. Thus at Kāraṇjā in Berar there were three Bhaṭṭārakas
each of Kāṣṭhā Saṅgha, Balāṭkāra Gaṇa and Sena Gaṇa. Later
on a Bhaṭṭāraka came to be intimately associated with a parti-
cular caste and he was given an important position in the organi-
sation of that caste. In this way with the attachment of a new
personage vested with authority a new development took place in
the Jaina caste system which was absent in the Hindu caste system.
With a view to realise the present day position of Bhaṭṭārakas
within the caste organisation of Jains, the question number 20
was asked. From the replies it will be observed that the institu-
tion of Bhaṭṭāraka is a peculiar feature of the Digambara Jains
only. But it has been stated that like Bhaṭṭāraka, there are Munis
who are attached to various religious divisions of Sthāna-
kavāśi Jinas known as Saṅghāḍās like Limaḍī Saṅghāḍā, Goṇḍala
Saṅghāḍā, Rajkot Saṅghāḍā, etc. The Munis are appointed and
removed by the Saṅghāḍās. These Munis are not allowed to have
any property and they do not exercise any control over the people
or any authority over the Caste Paṅchāyatas. This means that
the Munis do not wield powers in the social field like the Bhaṭṭā-
arakas and hence the Munis cannot, it appears, be regarded as
counterparts of the Bhaṭṭārakas among the Sthānakavāśī Jainas. Further, it is reported that among the Śvetāmbaras there are at different places the seats of Yatis instead of Bhaṭṭārakas and that the pomp displayed by these Śvetāmbara Yatis was practically like that displayed by Digāmbara Bhaṭṭārakas.

It seems that among the Digāmbara Jainas also all castes do not necessarily have Bhaṭṭārakas of their own. From the replies it will be observed that the Hummaḍa Mevāḍa, Narasiṅgapurā, Khaṇḍelavāla, Saitavāla, Chaturtha, Paṇchama, Bogāra, Upādhyāya, Vaiśya and Kshatriya castes have their separate Bhaṭṭārakas while the Kaṭhanerā, Buḍhelā, Agravāla, Golāpurā, Jaisavāla, Nevi and Hummaḍa (from Mahārāṣṭra) castes have no Bhaṭṭāraka system at all. Besides in some castes like Paravāra, Bannore, Dhākaḍa and Bagheravāla the Bhaṭṭāraka system was prevalent formerly but now it is extinct.

The central places of residence of the existing Bhaṭṭārakas of the castes mentioned above are as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the caste</th>
<th>Central places of residence of the Bhaṭṭāraka of that caste</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( i ) Hummaḍa Mevāḍa</td>
<td>Surat, Sojitrā, Kalol, Narasiṅhapura and Duṇgarapura.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ii ) Narasiṅgapurā</td>
<td>Surat, Sojitrā and Keśariyājī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( iii ) Khaṇḍelavāla</td>
<td>Gwalior, Sonagira, Nāgora, Ajmera and Mahāviraḷī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( iv ) Saitavāla</td>
<td>Lātūra and Nāgapurā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( v ) Chaturtha</td>
<td>Nāndaṇī, Kolhāpurā, Hosāra, Teradāḷa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( vi ) Paṇchama</td>
<td>-Kolhāpurā, Rāyahāga, Hosāra and Hūmacha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( vii ) Bogāra</td>
<td>Hūmacha, Mysore, Śravapabelagolā, Narasimharājapura.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( viii ) Upādhyāya</td>
<td>Muḍabidrī, Kārakala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ix ) Vaiśya and Kshatriya</td>
<td>Muḍabidrī, Kārakala, Mela-Sittamūra, Śravapabelagolā, Jinakāśchī and Narasimharājapura.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the above statement it is evident that the central places of residence of a Bhattāraka are those where the caste people, to which he belongs, are concentrated most. Hence we find that at places, which were and are strongholds of Digambara Jainas, like Surat, Sojitrā, Kolhāpūra, Hūmacha, Śravaṇabelagola, Mūḍabidri and Kārakala there remain at a time more than one Bhattāraka.

The principal duty of a Bhattāraka is Dharmanarakshā, that is, protection of religion. The protection is to be achieved by repulsing the attacks of other religionists and by making his people more religious-minded by means of preaching and educating the people. This means that he is concerned with the spiritual welfare of his people and as such he controls the affairs of his caste so far as religious matters are concerned. Along with the religious duty he has to perform a social duty also. The social duty consists in looking after the interests of his caste members. He has to help them in social matters by giving them advice or by cementing their quarrels or by regulating social relations, institutions, customs and manners according to the rules of conduct prescribed by the Jaina books from time to time. Thus the nature of his duties is spiritual as well as temporal. It has been stated that even though the Bhattārakas are saddled with responsible duties, they care more for their rights than for their duties.

In connection with the question of appointing a Bhattāraka there seems to be no fixed rule. In general the procedure is that of Śishyapaśaṃparā in which the existing Bhattāraka always selects his successor from his disciples. When the predecessor nominates his successor, the latter has to be installed by the people of the caste concerned. This practice is observed by the Hummaḍa Mevāḍa, Narasāṅgapurā and Khandelavāla castes. There is another way of appointing a Bhattāraka. In this method the successor is chosen from among the disciples by the caste members through their representatives known as Pañchās. This is the common practice among the Saitavāla, Chaturtha, Pañchama, Upādhyāya, Bogāra, Vaiśya and Kshatriya castes. In the case of Bhattārakas coming within the jurisdiction of the Mysore State, the consent of the Mysore Government in the matter has to be taken into account and it is reported that in fact the Mysore
Government exercises more right in selection than the people. Once a Bhaṭṭāraka is appointed, he cannot be removed from his position even though he fails in his duties or misuses his authority. The cases of removal of a Bhaṭṭāraka are unheard of. At present only the Hummaḍa Mevāḍa caste claims that it can remove its Bhaṭṭāraka while the other castes specifically mention that they cannot displace their Bhaṭṭārakas. This means that a Bhaṭṭāraka has to be tolerated by his followers.

A Bhaṭṭāraka is not required to lead the life of a strict ascetic. Though he has to remain celebrate throughout his life and to live according to the religious principles, he has been allowed to possess property. Generally a Bhaṭṭāraka possesses both movable and immovable property and utilises it according to his own will. The property consists of contributions and gifts from his followers and sympathisers and grants from the State. It is gathered from the replies that the financial position of all Bhaṭṭārakas is sound. It has been stated that excepting the Saitavāla and Upādhyāya Bhaṭṭārakas, who possess very less amount of property, the remaining Bhaṭṭārakas individually hold property worth not less than rupees half a lac. It is mentioned that the approximate value of property with the Narasiṅgapurā Bhaṭṭāraka is upto two lacs, with the Khaṇḍelavāla Bhaṭṭāraka more than one lac, with the Vaiṣya Bhaṭṭāraka nearly three and a half lacs and the annual income of the Chaturtha Bhaṭṭāraka is estimated at rupees 20,000 per year. The Hummaḍa Mevāḍa, Paṇḍhama and Bogāra Bhaṭṭārakas are said to possess much property.

As the Bhaṭṭārakas have been enjoined upon to look after the religious and social welfare of their people, they were endowed with powers to exercise some control over their members in certain matters like exacting contributions, enforcing decisions, etc. The position at present seems to be different with different Bhaṭṭārakas. The Saitavāla, Chaturtha, Paṇḍhama, Bogāra, Vaiṣya and Kshatriya Bhaṭṭārakas still exercise some definite control over their followers. The Narasiṅgapurā Bhaṭṭāraka has no strict control and the Hummaḍa Mevāḍa, Khaṇḍelavāla and Upādhyāya Bhaṭṭārakas have ceased to wield any control at all over their members. Thus in general it appears that the controlling powers are not widely
used by the existing Bhattacharakas and though they take contributions for their followers, they do not disturb the daily ordinary life of their members.

Whatever powers the Bhattacharakas are said to possess in theory, they are hardly exercised in practice. This is so because the Bhattacharakas have ceased to command, due to their incompetence in various matters, the respect from the majority of their members. That is why their present position is stated to be very weak so far as the Saitavala, Chaturtha, Pañchama, Upadhya, Bogara, Vaisya and Kshatriya castes are concerned. In the remaining castes their position is quite ordinary and in fact they are considered to be a burden to the society as they live comfortably without attending properly to their duties. In general it can be maintained that at present excepting their few blind followers nobody even cares for them.

The position of a Bhattachaka has also dwindled in another sphere. Formerly as a part of his duties, a Bhattachaka could control the working of the caste Pañchayatas coming in his jurisdiction. But now this is not the position. A Bhattachaka wields no such authority among the Hummadha Mevadam, Narasingapuram and Khandelavala castes. While in the remaining castes, namely, Saitavala, Chaturtha, Pañchama, Upadhya, Bogara, Vaisya and Kshatriya, the Bhattachaka is in theory considered as the supreme authority so far as the caste Pañchayatas are concerned, yet in practice he is at present completely powerless. Thus it is clear that as a Bhattachaka has no control whatsoever either on individuals or on caste Pañchayatas, his existing position is undoubtedly very precarious.

As regards the problem of reforming the institution of Bhattachaka there seem to be two different schools of thought. The first school maintains that the Bhattachaka system should be abolished altogether because in recent times practically all Bhattachakas have lamentably failed in the performance of even their ordinary duties. Some of the occupants were not sufficiently educated and moreover were devoid of character. Due to these reasons people have neither faith nor confidence in the institution. As a result the vast amount of property attached to the Bhattachakas
is either lying idle or is being misused by interested persons. It is, therefore, suggested that instead of wasting such a large amount of property, the Bhaṭṭārakas should be removed for good, their properties should be looked after by Committees of Management specially organised for the purpose and the money should be regularly utilised for social, religious, educational and economic activities of the people. On the other hand, the second school of thought does not wish to abolish the institution but proposes to reform it. It is thought that only right type of persons possessing Vidvattā and Chāritya, that is, learning and character, should be selected for the posts and to ensure this people must have a right to elect a Bhaṭṭāraka as well as to remove him for misconduct and dereliction of duties. Further, all the powers should not be vested in a Bhaṭṭāraka alone. A council of elderly people known as Committee of Management should be constituted to guide a Bhaṭṭāraka and to look after his property. With these provisions it is hoped that the institution will be of a lasting benefit to the people. Between these schools of thought there seem to be more adherents for the second school of reform than for the first school of abolition. Some go even to the length of suggesting that there should be a Bhaṭṭāraka for all Jainas, irrespective of sect, in a locality instead of for a particular caste only.

20. ORIGIN OF CASTES

Even though Jaina castes came into existence after the 10th century A. D., consistent history is not available about any caste. As a result information regarding the origin of a caste is shrouded in obscurity. It is not definitely known how the various castes and sub-castes have originated. Whatever information could be secured from available books has already been utilised while giving a short account of some of the important Jaina castes. With a view to find out whether additional information can be procured, the question number 21 was asked and from the replies it will be observed that a majority of persons do not know anything at all about the origin of their castes. Some maintain that the Jaina

1. Vide Chapter III.
castes might have been formed in pure imitation of the Hindu castes, while others state that the Jaina castes might have arisen due to internal quarrels and differences in customs and manners prevailing in different parts of the country. This seems to be correct because like Hindus the Jainas have come to possess a large number of castes and many of them are named after the names of places. No new information is available from the replies about the origin of big castes like Osavälā, Śrīmāla, Pora-vāda, Agravāla and Khaṇḍelavāla. However, a new interpretation is given regarding the origin of the Saitavāla caste. It has been mentioned that the Jainas who resided in Saurāśṭra, i.e., Kathiawar, were called Saurāśṭravālas who later came to be known as Soraṭhavāla and Saitavāla. This does not seem to be plausible because in the first place the Saitavālas appear to be the native residents of the Marāṭhī speaking Districts of the Bombay Province, the Central Provinces and Berar and the Hyderabad State, and secondly if at all they would have come from outside, they might have come from the North and especially from Rajputana as still we occasionally find them keeping marital relations with the Jainas of Rājasthāna. Further, as regards the origin of some small castes we get the following information. It has been mentioned that the Bhāvasāra (Bāvanagāma) caste has been formed out of the persons outcasted by Osavāla and other Kshatriya castes. The Dhākaḍa Jainas are said to have come from the Dhāka-gaḍa State in Central India. About the Buḍhelā sub-caste it has been stated that the Buḍhelā sub-caste originated from Yadu Vāṃśa. The progeny of Jarat-kumāra lost the kingdom of Kaliṅga and came to Lamba-Kaṇchana Deśa in the South where they adopted Vastrājīvikā, that is, maintenance by trade, etc. Thence they migrated to Central India and Rajaputana and came to be known as Lamba-Kaṇchukula or Lamechā. Buḍhelās, who were a class or sub-gotra of Lamechās, effected social reform and formed a separate group with some members of other gotras.

21. JAINAS IN ASCETIC STAGE

The Jaina community in the ancient past was composed of
four parts, namely, Sadhus (i.e. male ascetics), Sadhvīs (i.e. female ascetics), Śrāvakas (i.e. male laity), and Śrāvikās (i.e. female laity). Thus the ascetics and ordinary people formed two important divisions of the community and there has always been a close connection between these two divisions. The rules of ascetic life according to Jainism are very strict and gradually the number of people in the ascetic order of the community declined. The exact number of such people is not available and therefore to get a rough idea about it the question number 22 was asked. From the replies it appears that there are at present many ascetics, both male and female, in the Jaina community and that the number of ascetics among the Śvetāmbaras is far greater than that among the Digambaras. In the Śvetāmbara sect all the three subsects, namely, Mūrtipūjaka, Sthanakavāsi and Terāpanthi, possess a good number of ascetics. Among the Mūrtipūjaka Śvetāmbara castes it has been reported that among the castes like Visā Śrīmāli, Dasā Śrīmāli, Visā Osavāla and Dasā Poravāda the number of people in the ascetic order ranges from 500 to 2000 in each caste. The same is said about the Dasā Śrīmāli and Visā Osavāla castes from the Sthanakavāsi sub-sect. In the Terāpanthi sub-sect it is stated that there are nearly 600 male and female ascetics. On the contrary among the Digambara castes only the Chaturtha and Pañchama castes claim, even according to their estimate, to have the number of ascetics up to one hundred. It has been mentioned that a few castes like Khaḍdelavāla, Paravāra, Hummaḍa, Saitavāla, Bogāra, Vaiśya and Kshatriya have at least 50 ascetics, while the other castes like Jaisavāla, Narasīṅgapūrā, Kaṭhanerā, Golapūrva, Bannore, Dhākada, Nevi, Bagheravāla and Buḍhelā hardly possess any ascetic at all. Further, it will be observed that among the Śvetāmbara ascetics the proportion of females seems to be greater than that of males. Thus it is reported that in the Sthanakavāsi Dasā Śrīmāli caste there are 400 male ascetics and 1500 female ascetics. It must be remembered that the ascetics do not belong to one caste alone. A member of any caste can become an ascetic and the ascetics of a particular sub-sect are respected equally by all castes of that sub-sect.
22. RELIGIOUS DISABILITIES

The imposition of religious disabilities is one of the main characteristics of the Hindu caste system. By this restriction certain caste people are debarred from performing some religious rites, like worshipping the God from the innermost part of the temple or performing a ritual according to Vedic rites, etc. With a view to find out the position about this in the Jaina community at present the question number 23 was asked and from the replies it will be noted that no religious disabilities have been imposed on the castes as such. It is true that a particular type of people from some castes only are not given freedom to observe certain religious rites, but this does not mean that these castes, to which such people belong, are penalised as a whole. It appears that the religious disabilities of any kind are not found among the Śvetāmbara castes at all and among the Digāmbara castes they are traceable in some few castes. Among the Digāmbara castes of Northern India like Khāṇḍelavāla, Paravāra, Golāpurva, etc. the outcasted people known as Dasā (or Dassā) or Lohaḍasājana or Laharīcena are prohibited from performing Pūjā or worship in the temples and giving meals to ascetics. Such people are allowed to be contented with only Darśana, that is, seeing the idol. Among the Digāmbara castes in the Deccan like the Saitavāla, Chaturthā and Bogāra only the remarried widows and their husbands are forbidden from giving meals to the ascetics. No other restrictions are put on such people. Some time back a few ascetics were reluctant to take meals from the Saitavālas but at present this is not observed at all by any ascetic.

23. WIDOW REMARRIAGE

The status of a caste in a society is broadly determined on the question whether the practice of widow remarriage is prevalent in that caste or not. Among the Hindus the castes which allow and practise widow remarriage are put on the lower rungs of the ladder of their hierarchical organisation of castes. It has been already noted that even though the Jainas do not arrange their castes in the hierarchical order of respectability, yet many of them look down upon the castes which follow the practice of
widow remarriage. With a view to know whether there are any Jainas castes which allow and practise widow remarriage the ques-
tion number 24 was asked and from the replies it will be observed 
that the custom is in vogue in a few castes from the main sects 
and sub-sects of Jainas. Thus the Levā Pāṭidāra and Mesari Bhāva-
sāra castes of Śvetāmbara Jainas, Bhāvasāra Bāvanagāma and 
Visā Osavāla (from Punjab) castes of Sthānakavāsī Jainas and the 
Saitavāla, Chaturtha, Pañchama, Bogāra and Kshatriya castes of 
Digambara Jainas openly allow their members to practise widow 
remarriage. But the extent to which it is actually availed of 
differs from caste to caste. Among the Śvetāmbaras, it is repor-
ted that, the Levā Pāṭidāras practise it very freely while the Mesari 
Bhāvasāras observe it not so freely. The Bāvanagāma Bhāva-
sāras, irrespective of the fact whether they are Jainas or Hindus, 
not only regularly follow the custom of widow remarriage but 
also grant divorce. For the Sthānakavāsī Visā Osavālas from 
Punjab there is neither a ban on, nor a condemnation of, the ob-
servance of widow remarriage. So far as the Digambaras are con-
cerned it appears that the proportion of widow remarriage is more 
among the Saitavālas than what it is among the Chaturthas, 
Pañchamas, Bogāras, and Kshatriyas. Though these Digambara 
castes tolerate widow remarriage, yet the persons who practise it 
are more or less looked down upon. In this connection it is 
interesting to note that the Śvetāmbara and Sthānakavāsī castes 
which allow widow remarriage are definitely not as populous as 
the Digambara castes of that category and that such Digambara 
castes invariably pertain to the Deccan and South India. It is 
not known how among the Digambaras the majority of castes 
from the Deccan and South India came to adopt the policy of 
widow remarriage while even a single Digambara caste from the 
North did not allow it at all.

Further, it may be observed that among the Jainas of all sects 
prejudice against the practice of widow remarriage is slowly on 
the decline. The tendency is more noticeable among the Śvetām-
baras and Sthānakavāsīs. In their practically all important castes 
like Visā Śrimāli, Dasā Śrimāli, Visā Poravāda, Visā Osavāla, and 
Dasā Osavāla even though some instances of widow remarriage
have since recently occurred, still it is reported that no action is taken against the defaulters. On the contrary it is stated that such remarriages, especially among the Sthānakavāsīs, are not looked down upon and specific efforts are being made to arrange and popularise such marriages through the establishment of the Jaina Widow Remarriage Association. Similarly in the Paravāra caste of Digāmbara Jainas the persons who have married the widows and have been outcasted for the purpose have formed a separate sub-caste of their own known as Laharīsenas and it is stated that as the Laharīsenas are gaining in strength and prestige, prejudice against them is diminishing day by day.

24. POLYGyny

The question number 25 is concerned with the practice of polygyny in the Jaina community. From the replies it will be seen that the custom of having more than one wife was approved by practically all castes and was practised in the past to a great extent by many people, especially those who were rich. But at present even though polygyny is allowed, yet it is hardly practised. When it is practised, it is generally done so for a specific purpose. A man is allowed to have a second wife only in certain defined conditions. Thus in the Sthānakavāsī Dasā Śrīmālī caste a second wife is allowed, if there is no male issue from the first wife, after ten years of marriage. In the Śvetāmbara Visā Poravāḍa caste a second wife is allowed after twelve years of marriage provided that there is no issue at all from the first wife. Among the Jaina and Hindu members of Bāvanagāma Bhāvasāras a person can have, with the consent of the caste, more than one wife provided he has no male issue from his previous wives. With the general awakening in the community the custom of having many wives is fast disappearing and in many parts of the country it is strictly prohibited by state regulation. For example, in the Bombay Province the Prevention of Hindu Bigamous Marriage Act has been applied to the Jainas also.

25. NUMBER OF CRIMINALS

It has already been remarked that the proper observance of
rules prescribed by Jain Ethics moulds the personality and character of a person in such a way that usually he becomes free from criminal tendencies.\(^1\) That is why we find ordinarily that a very small proportion of Jainas, as compared with the other communities, figures in criminal cases. With a view to ascertain whether this position is maintained by the Jainas up to now the question number 26 was asked and from the replies it will be observed that the habitual criminals are not found among the Jainas at all. It is true that ordinary criminals are there in many Jaina castes. But it is stated that every caste, whether Jaina or Hindu, has got some ordinary criminals and that they are less among the Jainas than among the Hindus. No doubt it is reported that we come across Jainas who are found guilty of grave criminal offences like forgery and murder but it is pointed out that such cases are very rare and the guilty persons are not habitual criminals.

26. CASTES AND SOCIAL REFORM

The Jaina community has been divided into an unusually large number of castes and sub-castes and these divisions serve as separate groups for various social relations. Since these groups are strictly endogamous they hardly come into intimate contact with one another. Further, these groups belong to various sects and sub-sects of Jainism and hence even for religious purposes they do not come together. It is a fact that the caste Pañchāyatas try to maintain their castes as separate entities by several means. In these circumstances the burden of eradicating anti-social customs from the society mainly falls on the caste Pañchāyatas and with a view to know whether this work is undertaken by the Pañchāyatas or not the question number 27 was asked. From the replies it will be noted that the number of caste Pañchāyatas who have not done anything in the matter appears to be far more than that of caste Pañchāyatas who have tried something in this connection. Only the Visā Hummadā Mevādā, Narasiṅgapurā, Budhēla, Golāpurva, Jaisavāla, Paravāra and Agravāla castes of

\(^1\) Vide page 229 ante.
Diganṭbaras, and the Dasā Śrīmālī and Mesari Bhāvasāra castes of Śvetāmbaras have made some attempts in this regard and it is reported that the efforts of the big castes like Paravāra and Agravāla were not successful. This means that broadly the Pañchāyatas of small castes alone are active in this field. The names of castes of all sects which did not strive in this direction are as follows:

Visā Śrīmālī, Osavāla, Poravāḍa, Nemā, Levā Paṭidāra, Khaḍelavāla, Dasā Hummadā, Kaṭhanerā, Dhākaḍa, Nevī, Bannore, Bagheravāla, Saitavāla, Chaturtha, Pañchama and Bogāra. Among the anti-social practices the most glaring one was that of child marriage and it is mentioned that in this regard only two castes, namely, Visā Hummadā Mevāḍa and Sthānakavāṣī Dasā Śrīmālī, were successful. The other important anti-social custom of dowry still holds the ground in many castes and it is stated that it has recently entered into the Paravāra caste. Incidentally it may be noted that the Visā and Dasā Śrīmālī, Dasā Poravāḍa, Visā Nemā and Mesari Bhāvasāra castes of Śvetāmbaras and the castes of Diganṭbara Jaines in South India do not possess the system of giving dowry to the bridegroom. It has been mentioned that the work of social reform including the present one of removing the anti-social customs from the castes is being carried out with some success by the Jaina Associations of a provincial or all India nature like All India Śvetāmbara Jaina Conference, All India Sthānakavāṣī Jaina Conference, Mahārāṣṭriya Jaina Sabhā, Dakshiṇa Mahārāṣṭra Jaina Sabhā and Mysore Jaina Association.

27. CASTES AND TEMPLES

The ancient Jaina community, being religious and comparatively wealthy, had, during the last so many centuries, constructed a large number of temples throughout the whole of India and the process of constructing new temples is being followed even to this day. The religious-minded, rich and philanthropic Jaines usually direct their donations to the construction and maintenance of temples or Upāśrayas. Naturally property of some kind is attached to these temples and ordinarily it is more than what is
required for its maintenance. Most of the temples are owned by various castes and sub-castes and are managed by their Pañchāyatatas. No doubt there are some temples which are owned and managed individually by wealthy persons. At certain places temples are not owned by castes but are a common property of the local Jaina residents irrespective of their castes and such temples are managed through the Trustees appointed locally. But the number of such temples is very small. For various social purposes money is required and property is found attached to the temples. That is why to ascertain the number of temples owned by various caste Pañchāyatatas and to know whether the property attached to them is utilised for social purposes, the question number 28 was asked. From the replies it may be observed that though the approximate number of temples cannot be gathered still it can be said that the castes possess an unusually large number of temples as compared with their population. The Kaṭhanerā caste, the approximate population of which is estimated as only 300, possesses twelve temples. Further, the property attached to these temples varies widely from caste to caste. So far as the Digambaras are concerned it can be said in general that the temples belonging to many castes like Pallīvāla, Naraśingapurā, Dhākaḍa, Nevi, Bannore, Kaṭhanerā, Saitavāla, Chaturtha, Pañchama, Bogāra, Vaiśya, Kshatriya have practically no property as compared with the property attached to the temples owned by castes like Hummaḍa, Paravāra, Khaḍdelavāla and Agravāla. The same might be the situation in the Śvetāmbara castes. Whether the property attached to a temple is meagre or big, it is a fact that it cannot be used for social purposes. The temple property is known as Devadravya and it is meant only for the upkeep, betterment and establishment of temples. Hence the property attached to any Jaina temple is at present not utilised for social purposes.

28. THE FAMILY DEITY

The questions from numbers 29 to 33 are concerned with the family. Question number 29 relates to the names of family
deities. Theoretically the Jainas, unlike Hindus, do not possess the system of having a presiding deity for each family and worshipping it with the ulterior motive of avoiding evil influences and securing constant favours. This is so because the Jainas do not believe in the principle that the outside divine agency can help an individual in achieving his salvation, which is his ultimate aim in life. It has already been noted that the important theory of Karma in Jaina philosophy completely denies the existence of divine dispensation and lays full stress on individual action.\(^1\) Even though the acceptance of a family deity is an irreligious practice according to Jainism still many Jainas have adopted it possibly through Hindus with whom they are associated for the last so many centuries. Not only the system of family deity has entered among the Jainas but also the Hindu gods and goddesses are considered by them as their family deities. At the same time it must be remembered that the orthodox Jainas never worship Hindu gods and goddesses as it is against the spirit of Jainism. Hence with a view to ascertain the present state of affairs in this regard the question number 29 was asked and from the replies it will be seen that nearly 25% of the persons who have sent their replies specifically declare that they have no system of family deity at all and such persons belong to all the main sects of Jainism. Among those who observe the system of family deity it may be noted that they have adopted both the Jaina and Hindu gods as their family deities. It can be stated that the practice of family deity appears to be more widespread among the Śvetāmbaras and Sthānakavāsiś than among the Digambaras and that in their family deities the proportion of Hindu gods and goddesses appears to be preponderantly more among the Śvetāmbaras and Sthānakavāsiś than among the Digambaras. The Jaina deities, which are commonly adopted as family deities by Jainas of all sects, are Ādinātha, Chandranātha, Vimalanātha; Śāntinātha, Pārvanātha, and Mahāvīra; and the Jaina deities like Bāhubali, Padmāvatī and Kshetrapāla, seem to be prevalent only among the Digambaras. The Hindu gods and goddesses who are regarded as family deities by the Jainas of different sects are as follows:—

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1. Vide page 206 ante.
Digambara Jainas: Bhairava, Khaṇḍobā, Brahmadeva and Kālikā Devī.

Svetambara Jainas: Mahālakshmi, Chakreśvarī, Būtamātā, Aṃbikāmātā, Bherai Devī, Gotrijā, Chāṇḍikā and Naṇamā.

Sthānakavāsī Jainas: Sūrya, Ramaṇa Devī, Būtamātā, Dīḍhdhīmātā, Bhāṅvalamātā, Kālikā Devī, Osiyāmātā and Bhavānīmātā.

This shows that only a few deities like Kālikā Devī, Būtamātā and Aṃbikāmātā are common in more than one sect while the many remaining deities appear to be peculiar to one sect or the other.

29. Migration of Families

The Jainas being mainly a commercial community are scattered over the whole of India and as a consequence the Jaina families of different castes are situated at one place. With a view to understand the nature of migration of the Jaina families the question number 30 was asked and from the replies it will be seen that many Jaina families had migrated over long distances. It has already been noted that certain Jaina castes have been concentrated in particular localities only and therefore members of these castes found elsewhere must have migrated from their original places. Thus in Mahārāṣṭra only Saitavāla Jaina families seem to be the original residents and the remaining Jaina families seem to have settled in Mahārāṣṭra have migrated from other places or provinces. The Śrīmālīs, Poravādās and Hummaḍās have come from Gujarāṭha, the Osavālas from Marwar, the Agravālas and Khaṇḍelavālas from the United Provinces, the Paravāras and Bagheravālas from the Central Provinces, the Chaturthas, Paṅchamahas and Bogāras from Karnāṭaka and the Upādhyāyas from Mysore and South India. Further, in this migration the Osavāla, Śrīmāla and Poravāda Jaina families have taken a pre-eminently leading part and they are found in all important commercial centres throughout India and even in foreign countries. The significant feature about their migration is that even though they settle for generations in different parts of India, they still maintain their connections with...
their native places. Generally they possess some property at their native places and mostly keep marital relations with the castemen of their native places. Many a time it is customary for them to celebrate their marriages at their native places even though they might be residing in different parts of India. Thus it is reported by the Cutchi Visā Osavālas in Bombay City that as their occupation of agriculture could not support large families, they had to migrate to Bombay City. But even now they have their relatives and property in Cutch to which they pay visits very often. The native place of many of the Sthānakavāsi Osavāla families residing in Poona City is reported as Jodhpur and it seems that they have not entirely severed their connections with Jodhpur.

30. DISTINGUISHED PERSONALITIES IN FAMILIES

The Jaina community is one of the ancient communities in India having a glorious past. Jainas, in their capacity as rulers and administrators of various states in different parts of India, proved their mettle and consequently enjoyed an influential position. In this work a large number of Jaina families must have contributed their quota in one form or another; but the information of their contributions is not available. With a view to know the account of some distinguished personalities, if any, from each family, the question number 31 was asked and from the replies it will be observed that a large majority of them do not state any information at all. It is most probably due to the fact that the persons do not know much of their family history. It has been specifically stated by few persons that they have not maintained family records and this might be the case with the rest. Naturally in the absence of family records it is not possible to get an idea of the role played by prominent Jainas in various spheres of activities. Nevertheless, from whatever little information is available it will be seen that there were and are at present persons of eminence in some Jaina families. They are mainly industrial and business magnates, Ministers or Diwans and High Court Judges of States and Provinces, Presidents of Local Self-Government Bodies like Corporations, Municipalities,
District Local Boards, etc. There are instances of Jain persons who have showed proficiency on the battle fields. It has been reported that Mr. Dayāla Simha, the Prime Minister and Commander of Rāja-Simhaji, the Maharāṇā of Mevāda, fought against the forces of Emperor Aurangazeb. Similarly, it has been mentioned that Mr. Kumāra Hegeḍe of South Kanara District fought against Tippu Sultan. Again, from the replies it appears that certain families have continuously produced distinguished personalities. The most prominent among these are the Seth family of Ahmedabad and Doshi and Gandhi families of Sholapur. The Seth family is the Nagaraseth family of Ahmedabad at present. It has been reported that Seth Shantidas, one of their ancestors, was the Jeweller to the Mughal Emperor Akbar and received from the Emperor grants of several Jaina Tirthas or Places of Pilgrimage like Sammedā Śikharā, Pālītāṇā, etc. Due to this act his name is well-known among the Śvetāmbara Jainas. Another person from that family, Seth Khusala-chand, saved the city of Ahmedabad from the Marāṭhā raids and in recognition of his services the Ahmedabad public gave him the right to collect Octroi duties on all articles coming to the Ahmedabad City from outside. The title of Nagaraseth was conferred upon him which is enjoyed at present by the head of the family. The said right of collecting Octroi duties was transferred to the Ahmedabad Municipality about hundred years ago in consideration of a capital sum of Rs. 2500/- per annum which is still paid by the Municipality and the said sum is still divided among the various members of the Nagaraseth’s family. Another person, Rao Bahadur Seth Premabhai Himabhai established the well-known institution of Seth Anandji Kallionji for managing the affairs of several Jaina Tirthas. The institution is still existing and commands great respect among Murtipujaka Śvetāmbara Jainas. Seth Kasturbhai Lalabhai is the present president of Seth Anandji Kallianji. He is one of the biggest business magnates of Ahmedabad and is wellknown all over India. Similarly, the Doshi family of Sholapur had given eminent persons like Hirachand Nemachand Doshi and Ravaji Sakharama Doshi, who were most respected for their social and philanthropic activites. The eldest
member of the family at present is Mr. Walchand Hirachand Doshi who is one of the front rank industrialists of India and is well known all over India. Like Seth family, Gandhi family is the Nagaraseth family of Sholapur City. Their firm known as Haribhai Devakarana was for a long time the leading business firm in Mahārāṣṭra from the days of Peshwas and their present head of the family, Mr. Jivaraj Walchand Gandhi, is traditionally known as Nagaraseth of Sholapur.¹

31. FAMILY ORGANISATION

The joint family system was the prevalent form of family organisation in ancient and medieval India. But since the last few decades the joint family system is disintegrating and giving place to the separate family system. With a view to know whether this change has taken place in the Jaina community or not the question number 32 was asked. Out of 154 persons who have replied to the questionnaire, 81 are having separate family system and 73 are following joint family system. The number of persons per joint family varies from 3 to 69 and it seems, from available figures, that the average number of persons per joint family is more in South India than in other parts. The joint family is necessarily joint in property but not in residence. Out of the 73 joint families, there are only 32 whose members stay together. In such families, it is reported that there are, in some cases, as many as 25, 34, 40, 60 and 69 members living under one roof. There are also joint families the members of which do not reside at one place but are spread usually at two or four places. In general it can be stated that the members of joint families from Gujarātha are spread at different distant places. Thus the members of a joint family from Gujarātha are found at places like Bombay, Karachi, Kanpur and Rajkot; Patan and Rangoon; Okha, Dhoraji, Jamnagar and Mithapur; Dhangdhra, Jafarabad and Poona; and Bombay, Baroda and Kolhapur. In other provinces the members of a joint family are ordinarily found at near places like Jaipur and Agra; Yavatmal and Amraoti; Satara and

¹ Vide Jain Bodhaka, dated the 4-9-1949.
Sangli; Sholapur and Bombay; Gadag and Belgaum; and Dharwar and Bailhongal. This is due to the fact that the Jainas from Gujarâtha are adventurous so far as commercial activities are concerned and hence the members of one joint family reside at different places for commercial purposes. On the contrary it will be seen from the replies that the members of not even a single joint family from South India live at two places. Further, the Jaina joint family is not invariably joint in worship. When the parties to the marital union belong to the same sect or sub-sect, the family is necessarily joint in worship and the number of such families is greater. But there are cases where the religious affiliations of parties to the marital union are different. Especially among Osavâlas, Śrîmâlsis and Poravâdasas we come across a Śvetâmbâra Sthânakavâsi wife and a Vaishnâvite or Śâivite or a Śvetâmbâra Terâpanthi or a Śvetâmbâra Mûrtipûjaka husband. In such cases it is reported that any one may follow the faith which appeals to him or her most, or which is desired by the husband. In these circumstances the family cannot remain joint in worship. But we have already noted that there is a growing tendency nowadays to observe religious endogamy and hence the feature of jointness in worship will in future appear in all joint families.

32. INTER-MARRIAGES

The rules of endogamy are very strict in Jaina community and they must be pressing very hard on the Jainas because the Jainas are scattered all over India and are divided and sub-divided into sects, sub-sects, castes and sub-castes. These rules perpetuate and increase the differences between the divisions and create segments in the society. One of the main ways of bringing the various segments close together is the practice of inter-marriage between them. With a view to know whether this practice is observed by some Jaina families at least—as the castes do not allow it—the question number 33 was asked. From the replies it will be noted that there are only 40 families whose members have contracted such marriages. The geographical distribution of these families is as follows—12 from Gujarâtha, 7 from Bombay City, 5 from North India, 9 from Central India, 4 from Mahârâshtra and Karnâtaka, and 3 from South India. This shows that
though the tendency of inter-marriage is noticeable in all parts of India, yet it is more evident in the parts of India other than Mahārāshtra, Karnātaka and South India. Regarding these inter-marriages it may be noted that inter-caste and inter-sub-caste marriages come first, then the inter-provincial marriages and lastly the inter-sect and inter-religious marriages. Further, if we correlate the families wherein such marriages have taken place with their main sects, it will be seen that both the main sects, the Dīgambara and Śvetāmbara, claim an equal number, that is 20, of the families on their side. It means that the tendency of inter-marriages is observed, though in a small measure, in both the sects and in varying degrees in all different parts of India.

38. Jaina Festivals

The questions from number 34 onwards are concerned with miscellaneous customs and manners and personal views on certain matters. It has already been noted that the Jainas possess a large number of festivals of their own which are observed mainly as religious ceremonies. 1 Along with the observance of their own festivals, many Jainas celebrate some of the Hindu festivals also. With a view to know the present position in this regard the question number 34 was asked and from the replies it will be noted that the Jainas observe most of the Jaina festivals and participate in some of the main Hindu festivals. There are, however, nearly 25% of the Jaina persons who specifically stated that they do not observe any Hindu festival at all. The names of Jaina festivals mentioned in the replies are as follows:—Paryuṣhaṇa, Śrutapañchamī, Dīvālī or Dīpāvalī, Akṣhayya Trīṭyā, Mahāvīra-Jayanti seem to be more popular with the Jainas. The following Hindu festivals are mentioned in the replies:— Holī, Dīpāvalī or Divālī, Pāḍavā or Varshapratipada, Dasarā, Gaṇeṣa–Chaturthi, Rakshā–bandhana, Makara Saṅkrānta, Śītalāsaptami, Durgāshtami, Poṅgala, Kathikai, Yugādi, Gaurī and Navarātrī. Of these Hindu festivals only Dasarā, Dīpāvali and Holī are seen to be common with Jainas in different parts of India, whereas there are many Hindu festivals which appear to be celebrated by Jainas of

1. See Chapter V, Section (10).
some particular parts of the country only. Thus the Jainas in Gujarātha alone are said to follow Hindu festivals like Śītalāsaptāmi, Durgāśṭhamī, and the Jainas of South India celebrate Hindu festivals like Poṇgala, Kathikai, Yugādī, Gaurī and Navarātrī. This shows that Jainas have adopted customs which are most prevalent in particular parts of the country in which they reside. If we compare the names of Jaina and Hindu festivals given above, it will be seen that the two festivals, namely Dīpāvalī and Rakṣabandhana, are common to both Jainas and Hindus. But it must be remembered that both the Dīpāvalī and Rakṣabandhana are celebrated for different reasons by the Jainas and Hindus. Regarding the observance of Hindu festivals it has been specifically mentioned by many persons in their replies that it is customary for them to take part in some of the Hindu festivals only because they have to live in the midst of Hindus and moreover wherever they participate in any Hindu festival they do so without any religious motive whatsoever. Thus, it is reported that in North India among Hindu festivals local Jainas observe Holi to some extent. The Jainas do not go to worship it; but participate in group-meeting in which all embrace each other and offer Pānasupārī. The same is the case with other parts of India. No Hindu festival is observed with a religious rite. In fact the Jainas take part in a few Hindu festivals only and that too because of convention and long contact. It is stated by some Jaina persons that they do not observe a Hindu festival as such but on that day they eat some sweet things due to custom. Further, the practice of observing some Hindu festivals is confined to a few particular Jaina families only. Thus it is made clear in the replies by those who observe Hindu festivals of Śītalāsaptāmi and Durgāśṭhamī that they do so because that custom is prevalent in their family only. It can therefore be said in general that some Jainas take part in a few Hindu festivals as social functions and not as Hindu festivals as such in their religious sense.

34. Jaina Rites

Jainism lays utmost stress on personal conduct. Every true Jaina is expected to strive to achieve the ultimate goal of life by
observing the ethical code prescribed for him. That code contains the rites which a Jaina should perform every day. These rites are devised in such a manner that they try to maintain the interest of householders in religious practices. With a view to know whether the Jainas observe any rites or not the question number 35 was asked and from the replies it will be noted that with the exception of 25 persons the rest perform some rites at least. There are a few persons who are said to observe the six daily duties of a layman, namely, Deva-pūjā (i.e. worship of the God), Gurupāsti (i.e. worship of the preceptor), Svādhyāya (i.e. study of scriptures), Saṃyama (i.e. practice of self-control), Tapa (i.e. practice of austerities) and Dāna (i.e. giving of gifts). There are some who maintain that they observe Ashta-mūlaguṇa, i.e., eight fundamental virtues of a householder. These virtues are the observances of the five anuvratas, namely, Ahimsā (i.e. to avoid injury), Satya (i.e. truthfulness), Asteya (i.e. to be free from theft), Brahmacharya (i.e. chastity) and Aparigraha (i.e. to be free from worldly attachment), and refraining from the use of wine, flesh and honey. The other rites which are mentioned in the replies are Darśana (i.e. seeing and saluting the God in a temple or in one's house), Sāmāyika (i.e. meditation), Pratikramana (i.e. repentance of all transgressions), Pratyākhyāna (i.e. taking of a vow from a teacher regarding the imposition of some kind of restriction for a day), Prārthanā (i.e. prayer), Rasaparityāga (i.e. abstinence from eating a particular kind of food on certain specific days, especially, on the 5th, 8th and 14th days of the bright and dark halves of a month), Jalagālana (i.e. using filtered water), Rātrihobjanatyāga (i.e. abstinence from eating after sunset), Japa (i.e. counting the beads after the chanting of the Namokāra Mantra) and Sandhyāvandanā (i.e. offering ceremonial prayers twice a day). It is interesting to note that the last rite, namely, Sandhyāvandanā is

1. Vide page 221 ante.

2. This is according to the Śvetāmbaras. The Digambaras, however, observe only the 8th and 14th days of bright and dark halves of a month.
mentioned only by the Jainas from South India. Apart from the observance of Ashtamūlagūnas, which in fact includes Jalagālana and Rātrībhōjanatāyāga, the most common rites seem to be Deva- darśana, Devapūjā, Sāmāyika and Svādhyāya.

35. Jaina Samskāras

The Jaina Āchāryas or law-givers have prescribed a number of ceremonies through which a layman should pass during his lifetime so that he can lead his life according to religious injunctions. These ceremonies which are supposed to have been approved by the religion are known as Sāṁskāras or Sacraments. Every Jaina is required to go through them at proper age and time. While describing the Jaina Sāṁskāras it has already been noted that the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras have their own Sāṁskāras.1 With a view to ascertain how many of these Sāṁskāras are performed by the Jainas at present, the question number 36 was asked. From the replies it will be seen that many Jainas have not answered this question and some state that they do not perform any Sāṁskāra at all. This shows that many Jainas are ignorant about the Sāṁskāras because even though they perform marriage and other ceremonies which come under the category of Sāṁskāras, they do not seem to know that these ceremonies in fact are the Sāṁskāras prescribed by their religion. Among those who have answered the question, very few persons only state the specific names of Sāṁskāras which they perform, while all others mention that they perform all Jaina Sāṁskāras—Digambara or Śvetāmbara Sāṁskāras, as the case may be—or only those which are current in the locality. Out of the sixteen Digambara and sixteen Śvetāmbara Sāṁskāras the names of Sāṁskāras, which are stated to be usually observed by both the sections in different parts of the county, are as follows—Nama-karana, Upanayana, Vivāha and Antya or Maraṇa.

The Vivāha Sāṁskāra or marriage ceremony is one of the most important Sāṁskāras performed by the Jainas. Taking into account the significance attached to this Sāṁskāra, the Jaina

1. See Chapter V, Section (12).
Āchāryas or law givers have prescribed a detailed ceremony for the purpose. With a view to know whether Jainas perform the marriage ceremony according to Jaina ritual—Digambara or Śvetāmbara, as the case may be—or not, the question number 37 was asked. Out of the 154 persons, who have answered the questionnaire, 149 are married, 3 are unmarried and two have not given any information. Of the 149 married persons, 73 are married according to the Hindu ritual while 76 are married in accordance with the Jaina ritual. It means that nearly 50% of the Jaina married persons have gone through the Hindu ritual at the time of their marriage ceremonies. It is not only that the Hindu marriage ritual is not foreign to Jainas but no discrimination is made between the Jaina and Hindu ritual. Thus it has been stated by one person that while his first marriage was performed according to the Jaina ritual, the second was performed in accordance with the Hindu ritual. But it must be remembered that the persons who have sent their replies are mostly aged persons and their marriages, it seems, were performed more than fifteen years ago. Therefore their replies reflect the conditions existing at that time. But recently the conditions have changed and it has been specifically mentioned that now the Jaina ritual is much more generally observed than the Hindu ritual. The main reason for abandoning the Hindu ritual and accepting, in its place, the Jaina ritual can be ascribed to the fact that during recent years there has been a general awakening in the Jaina community as a result of which there is a marked tendency to observe Jaina ritual wherever it is available. That is why we find some persons clearly stating that when they were married nearly thirty years ago there was nothing like Jaina ritual in the sense that the people were ignorant about the existence and practice of Jáina ritual at the time of their marriages.

Further, if we take into account the main sect of these married persons, it will be noted that the custom of performing marriage ceremony according to the Hindu ritual appears to be preponderantly more prevalent among the Śvetāmbaras than among the Digambaras. Thus out of the 73 persons who are

1. See page 165 ante.
married according to the Hindu ritual, as many as 62 belong to the Śvetāmbara sect and only 11 to the Digambara sect. Similarly, the number of Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras among the 76 persons, who are married in accordance with the Jaina ritual, is 69 and 7 respectively. In other words, out of the 80 Digambaras, 11 are married according to the Hindu ritual and 69 according to the Jaina ritual; and out of the 69 Śvetāmbaras, 62 are married in accordance with the Hindu ritual while 7 are married in accordance with the Jaina ritual. This marked tendency of Śvetāmbara Jainas to observe the Hindu ritual at the time of marriage ceremony and of Digambaras to observe the Jaina ritual for the same purpose is, it is interesting to note, found in different parts of India. From the replies it will be seen that among the Śvetāmbaras residing in South India, Mahārāṣṭra, Karnāṭaka and Northern India, all are reported to have married according to the Hindu ritual and among the 16 and 27 Śvetāmbaras residing in the Bombay City and Gujarātha respectively, as many as 13 from Bombay City and 25 from Gujarātha are married according to the Hindu ritual. Similarly, among the Digambaras, all 13 from South India, 23 out of 25 from Mahārāṣṭra and Karnāṭaka, 16 out of 17 from Central India, 9 out of 10 from Northern India, 3 out of 5 from Bombay City, and 5 out of 10 from Gujarātha are married according to the Jaina ritual. This obvious adherence of Śvetāmbaras to the Hindu ritual and of the Digambaras to the Jaina ritual all over India seems probably due to the fact that the proportion of keeping marital relations with the Hindus appears to be undoubtedly more among Śvetāmbaras than what it is among Digambaras because, as it has been already noted, many important Śvetāmbara castes, as compared with the Digambara castes, have their counterparts among the Hindus and marital relations were maintained formerly among the Jaina Śvetāmbara and Hindu members of a caste.1

36. Jaina Language

The minority communities in India like Muslim, Sikh, Parsee, Jew and others either individually have a separate language of

their own or a majority of members of each community can speak a common language. With a view to know whether the Jaina community, an ancient minority community in India, has got a language of its own which is used by a majority of its members even now, the question number 38 was asked and from the replies it will be seen that the Jaina community cannot claim any language as its own. The medium of expression of Jainas is the language of the locality where they reside and as the Jainas are spread all over India for the last so many centuries, they are found speaking the language of the province concerned. Thus the language of the Jainas in North India is Hindi, in Gujarâtha it is Gujarâthî, in Mahârâshtra it is Marâthi, in Karnâtaka it is Kannâda, and in South India it is either Tulu, Telugu or Tâmilâ. Further, the Jainas being mainly a commercial community know the languages of adjacent provinces in addition to the language of the province in which they reside. Thus the Jainas from Gujarâtha know Gujarâthi and Hindi or Marâthi, from North India Hindi and Urdu, from Central Provinces Hindi and Gujarâthî or Marâthi, from Karnâtaka Kannâda and Marâthi or Tâmilâ, and from Mahârâshtra Marâthi and Gujarâthî or Kannâda. From this it appears that the Jainas residing in North India, Gujarâtha and Central Provinces know Hindi and a majority of Jainas is concentrated in these parts. It will be noted from the replies that many Jainas from Mahârâshtra, Karnâtaka and South India have stated that they know Hindi also. This means that, if constant efforts are made, Hindi can become a common language of the Jaina community. Moreover, most of the persons who have sent their replies are educated on modern lines and hence they know English also. Some of these persons are research scholars and naturally they, according to their own statements, can read, write and speak in six or seven languages out of the languages mentioned below:—English, Hindi, Gujarâthi, Marâthi, Kannâda, Baṅgâli, Puṣjâbî, Urdu, Tulu, Tâmilâ, Sanskrit, Ardhamâgadhî, Pâli, Persian, French and German.

37. SACRED THREAD

It has already been noted that the custom of wearing a sacred
thread is not prevalent among all Jains in different parts of India and that wherever it is prevalent, there is a great diversity in the practice of wearing it.\(^1\) With a view to ascertain the present position in the matter the question number 39 was asked. From the replies it will be observed that the custom appears to be prevalent only among the Digâmbara Jainas. Not even a single Śvetâmbara Jain is said to be observing this custom. Further, the custom is no doubt peculiar to Digâmbara Jainas but even among the Digâmbara Jainas it is widely observed in certain parts of the country only—especially in Maharashtra, Karnataka and South India. All the important native Digâmbara Jainah castes of these parts, namely, Saitavâla, Chaturtha, Pañchama, Bogàra, Upâdhyâya, Vâśya and Kshatriya, invariably observe this custom and even many members of the Hummaḍa caste who have settled in these parts are also found observing the custom. The fact that the custom of wearing sacred thread among the Digâmbara Jainas is most prevalent in South India, Karnataka and Maharashtra than in other parts of India will be evident from the number of Digâmbara Jainas observing the custom out of the total number of Digâmbara Jainas who have sent their replies. Thus 12 persons out of 12 Digâmbara Jainas, who have forwarded their replies, from South India, 21 out of 27 from Maharashtra and Karnataka, 9 out of 18 from Central India, 5 out of 11 from North India, and 2 out of 11 from Gujarâtha are reported to be observing the custom. In Central, Northern and Western India the custom of wearing sacred thread does not seem to be confined to members of a particular Digâmbara Jainah caste. The members of castes like Paravâra, Pallavâla, Agravâla, Khapdelavâla, Hummaḍa, Bannore, Dhâkaḍa and Bagheravâla are reported to be following the custom. But the custom does not appear to be widespread in these castes as it is in the castes of South India, Karnataka and Maharashtra, mentioned above. As regards the significance of this custom there is no uniform opinion about it. The majority of Digâmbara Jainas considers that there is a definite religious motive in wearing a sacred thread. They regard the sacred thread as a symbol of Ratnatraya, that is, the three jewels of Jainism,

\(^1\) See pages 208-69 ante.
namely, Right Faith, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct, and as a mark of Śrāvaka, that is, a Jaina layman. It means that one who wears it has to understand that one has to follow the right path of salvation by observing the six daily duties of a Jaina layman. It is also regarded as '27 Tattvarūpa', that is, an embodiment of 27 Tattvas which are made of 7 Tattvas, 6 Dravyas, 9 Padārthas and 5 Astikāyas. Some consider it as Dvijātichinha, that is, an indication of the twice-born. On the contrary, there are some Digambara Jains who consider that the wearing of sacred thread has no connection with the Jaina religion at all and a few go to the extent of declaring to the effect that they do not wear sacred thread because the custom is a part of Hindu culture.

38. JAINA PRIESTS

The question number 40 is concerned with the custom of using by the Jains the services of a Brahmin priest at the time of performance of ceremonies like birth, initiation, marriage, etc. in their homes and at the time of doing daily 'Pūjā' or worship and 'Abhisheka' or anointing the idol of God in their temples. From the replies it will be observed that the custom of employing non-Jainas for the above purposes appears to be preponderantly more prevalent among the Śvetāmbaras than among the Digambaras. So far as the performance of ceremonies is concerned the Śvetāmbara, including the Sthānakavāśi, Jains all over India invariably use the services of a Brahmin priest and in many cases the Brahmin priest is a hereditary family priest. However, the Śvetāmbara Jains do not seem to approve this custom as many of them have stated that they are compelled to employ Brahmin priests because the Jaina priests are not available. It has been mentioned by some that recently a start has been made to employ Jains for this purpose. In this regard the Digambara Jains from South India, Karnātaka, Mahārāshtra and Central India clearly stated that they employ Jaina priests only, while those from North India and Gujarātha state that they generally employ Jaina priests and if they are not available, then alone Brahmin priests are called for the purpose. As regards the custom of em-
ploying Brahmans or other Hindus in the Jaina temples for performing duties like Pūjā and Abhisheka, it can be stated that the custom is found only among the Śvetāmbara Jainas all over India. In no part of India non-Jainas are employed for this purpose in the Dīgāmbara Jaina temples. It has been specifically mentioned by the Dīgāmbara Jainas from North India that if Jaina priest is not available, the Brahmin is employed for marriage purpose only and in temples only Jainas look after Pūjā and Abhisheka. The Sthānakavāsī Jainas have no temples and therefore the question of performing Pūjā or Abhisheka does not arise at all. It is reported by Śvetāmbara Jainas from different parts of India that they do employ Hindu persons in their temples for doing duties like Pūjā and Abhisheka.

39. Jaina Fasts

Jainism lays great stress on the practice of austerities and the common method of practising austerities is the observance of fast. The important feature of the rules of conduct prescribed by Jaina Ethics consists in the fact that one is expected to observe them after taking into account one’s own status and capacity. That is why it is likely that there might be a great diversity in the observance of fast. With a view to know whether fasts are observed by Jainas and if so, how many, the question number 41 was asked and from the replies it will be seen that there are various gradations of persons observing the fast. Out of 154 persons who have sent their replies as many as 65 persons clearly state that they do not observe any fast at all. Among the 82 persons who are observing fast, 54 persons observe one fast in a year, 10 persons two to six fasts in Paryūșhaṇa, 6 persons two or four fasts per month in Chāturmāsa or the four months of rainy season, and 12 persons two or four fasts per month throughout the year. This means that nearly 2/3 of the persons observing fast do so only once in a year and that day is the last day of Paryūṣhaṇa, known as Sainvatsarī (which falls on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada) among the Śvetāmbaras and Ananta-chaturdāśī (which falls on the 14th day of the bright half of the

1. See page 232 ante.
month of Bhādrapada) among the Digambaras. Either Saṁvatsari or Ananta-chaturdśi is so commonly observed because it is considered as the most sacred day of the year. The whole Paryūshanā festival is given more importance than other festivals and hence some perform two or more fasts during this festival. Usually the first day and the last day of the Paryūshanā are observed as fasts. The four months of rainy season, known as Chāturmāsa, are selected for the special observance of religious practices and that is why it is advised that those who cannot perform religious practices for the whole year should at least perform them during Chāturmāsa. Hence we find that some persons observe fast only in the months of rainy season. The regular fasts per month are observed on two days (i.e. the two fourteenths of the bright and dark halves of a month) or on four days (i.e. the two eighths and the two fourteenths of the bright and dark halves of a month). The fast, according to Jaina rules of conduct, is a full fast which means that even a drop of water is not to be taken in the mouth during that day. As this is very difficult to practise, some of the persons, who perform regular fasts per month, observe Ekāsana (or half-fast), that is, they take food and water only once during the day. Of course the full fast is more valued than the half fast and therefore when fast is performed, generally full fast is observed.¹

40. DEATH CEREMONIES

The birth, marriage and death are the three important events in one's life and hence elaborate ceremonies are generally prescribed by various religions for the guidance of their followers. The Jainas have no doubt included Antyakarma or Death Ceremony in their Saṁskāras or Sacraments but, as it has been already noted,² there is a great diversity in their performance of death ceremony. With a view to ascertain the present position regar-

¹. It is reported that in Gujarātha the fast observed is of two types, viz. Chovihāra Upavāsa and Tivihāra Upavāsa. In the former even taking of water is not allowed, while in the latter it is permitted to take water only.

². See page 269 ante.
ding the observance of funeral rites in the Jaina community questions number 42 and number 43 were asked and from the replies it will be noted that the Jainas do not appear to give much importance to the observance of funeral rites. It has been stated that there is nothing particular about the death ceremony and no special rites are observed. In general it can be maintained that the Jaina funeral rites appear to resemble Hindu funeral rites so far as matters like taking the dead body in procession to the cremation ground and cremating the dead are concerned, but like Hindus, Jainas neither perform the Śrāddha ceremony nor give Dāna or gifts to Brahmans. Apart from the cremation of the dead the Jainas are stated to observe rites like Sutaka, Pūjā and Maranābhoja but in these things the customs differ from province to province. A period of 10 to 13 days from the day of the death of a person is known as Sutaka and in this period the near relatives of the deceased are considered to be in the state of ‘uncleanness’. It is reported that on the 13th day Śuddhi or Purification is performed by shaving, bathing and putting on usual clothes. On that day all Jainas assemble to sympathise, and go to the temple and thence to the house of the deceased. In the observance of Pūjā or worship there is a diversity between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras. Among the Śvetāmbaras immediately after the cremation of the dead, Pūjā is presented, that is, articles of worship are given in temples. But among the Digambaras the Pūjā or worship including Abhisheka (or anointing of the idol of God) is not performed on the day of the death but on the 11th or 12th or 15th or 16th or 21st day after the death. Maranābhoja or death-dinner is the practice of giving feast to the caste members on the 12th or 13th day after the death and it is observed by many Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jainas castes like Śrīmāla, Osavāla, Poravāda, Bhāvasāra, Agravāla, Khaṇḍelavāla, Paravāra, Golapūrva, Bannore, Hummaḍa, Dhākaḍa, Saitavāla, Chaturtha, Pañchama, Bogāra and Vaiśya. In this connection it has been already noted that the custom of giving death feasts is denounced for religious reasons as a result of which the death feasts are steadily going out of practice. Like Maranābhoja, Piṇḍadāna, i.e.

1. See page 321 anto.
the custom of offering rice balls to the dead, is not prescribed by Jaina religion. However, it is reported by one Jaina person from Tanjore in South India that like Hindus Jainas from that place offer Piṇḍas or rice balls to the dead on the cremation ground on the 16th day after the death. As this custom of Piṇḍadāna is not reported at all from any other place, it can safely be said that the custom is found in one locality and in any case it is not wide-spread as the custom of Maraṇabhōja. As regards the custom of observing monthly or yearly day in memory of the dead it can be stated that even though the custom is against the tenets of Jainism, it is practised by Jainas all over India. But it must be remembered that the proportion of persons observing the custom is less than those who do not observe it. Thus out of 154 persons who have sent their replies, 93 persons do not observe the custom while 56 are found observing it. Among the 56 persons, 26 are Digambaras and 30 are Śvetāmbaras and hence the practice of custom is not confined to one sect only. Generally the annual day is observed by doing some religious act like Pūjā or worship in the temples and Dāna or donations to religious and social institutions. Only one person from Udaipur in Rajputana reports that on the annual day the Śānti of the deceased is performed by offering food to children, to five Brahmins and to caste-fellows. It is also reported from Borsad in Gujarātha that on the annual day bread is given to the dogs. These two instances seem to reveal local practices only. It is mentioned that in the Bundelakhandha the day in memory of the dead is observed in the Pitrapaksha, that is, in the second fort-night of the month of Bhādrapada.

41. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Jainism is a distinct religion having its own philosophy and the elaborate rules of conduct both for the laity and the ascetics. For putting the ethical code prescribed by Jainism into actual practice a firm faith in the teachings of Jainism is essential and easy method of clearly grasping the fundamental principles of Jainism and its various implications lies in taking regular religious
education. The Jainas possess a vast amount of religious literature of their own in Sanskrit, Prakrit and various provincial languages. With a view to know whether the study of Jaina literature is done or not and to consider what should be done in the matter in future, the question number 44 was asked. From the replies it will be seen that out of 154 persons, who have sent in their replies, 22 persons have not received any religious education at all, while 29 persons have taken sufficient religious education. The remaining persons have secured only an elementary understanding of the religious principles. This means that only a few persons are well versed in religious education. In this connection it may be noted that those who have a firm grounding in religious education are generally seen to be scrupulously practising things which are sanctioned by religion. Thus such persons are found celebrating all Jaina festivals and no Hindu festival, observing Jaina rites, Jaina Saṃskāras and regular and special Jaina fasts, consecrating marriage according to Jaina ritual, worshipping Jaina Gods and not Hindu Gods, and avoiding irreligious practices like performing Śrāddha or keeping days in memory of the dead. As the observance of Jaina practices is accelerated by receiving more religious education, it is suggested, regarding the question of imparting religious education in future, by practically all persons that the religious education should be made compulsory to Jaina children. They think that it is essential to teach the fundamental principles of Jainism to children in their mother tongue without employing any force on them. It is advocated that the method of cramming religious books written in classical languages without a proper understanding of them should be entirely avoided. Any way it is considered desirable that every Jaina should at least know the basic principles of his religion so that he will try to translate them into practice as far as possible.

42. WORSHIP OF HINDU DEITIES

As a result of a close contact between the Hindus and Jainas for the last so many centuries, the former did influence the latter in several ways. Even in the religious field some Jainas imitated
the Hindus and began to worship Hindu Gods and Goddesses even though such a worship was definitely denounced by Jaina religion. The Gazetteers have given a detailed information about the reverence shown by Jainas towards Hindu Gods and Goddesses. With a view to ascertain the present position in this regard the question number 45 was asked and from the replies it will be seen that out of 154 persons from all over India 139 persons clearly state that they do not worship Hindu deities. Only 9 persons are reported to be observing the custom of worshipping Hindu deities. The Hindu influence seems to be more among the Śvetāmbaras because of these 9 persons while 3 belong to the Digambara sect, six come from the Śvetāmbara sect. The names of Hindu deities mentioned in this connection are Śaṅkara, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Gaṇapati, Hanumāna, Mahāśakti, Mātā, Aṁbādevī, Lakshmi, Chāmuṇḍā, Durgā and Śitalā. It is stated by some that the Hindu deities are respected but not worshipped like Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras. Similarly, it is mentioned by two businessmen that as traders according to custom they have to worship Gaṅeśa and Lakshmi on the day of Divali but this does not mean that they worship them in true sense of the term all the year round. In the same way one person asserts that he has Śraddhā or faith in Hindu deities like Rāma and Kṛishṇa but he does not worship them. From these statements it is clear that there is not much of religious devotion in showing veneration to Hindu deities. If religious sentiments would have been attached to Hindu deities, worshipping them would not have been specifically pointed out by some that they were formerly worshipping the Hindu deities but now they have stopped that custom.

43. PROBLEM OF WIDOWS

It has already been noted that according to the Census of India, 1931, of all communities in India the Jaina community possesses the highest proportion of widowed persons and this is more evident in the case of females. Out of five Jaina females

1. See page 237 ante.
2. See page 18 ante.
one is necessarily a widow. This condition did prevail in the Jaina community during the last fifty years as will be seen from, the Census Reports of 1901 and onwards. Thus how to improve the lot of an unusually large number of widows is a difficult problem clamouring for solution before the Jaina community at present and with a view to ascertain the attitude of Jainas in this matter the question number 46 was asked. From the replies it will be observed that the opinion of Jainas on this question is sharply divided. Out of 154 persons as many as 105 persons categorically assert that remarriage of widows is the only effective solution. They think that prejudice against remarriage should be driven out. For this purpose it is suggested that remarriage should not be looked down upon, remarried ladies should not be outcasted, and if possible, remarriage should be supported by law and moral force as it is done among Bohras. Remarriage, it is advocated, must be made compulsory by state legislation for young and childless widows and for others it may be left for them to decide. Generally it is thought that widows upto the age of 30 may be allowed to remarry if they so desire and to facilitate such marriages widowers must be asked to marry widows only. As the permission to remarry is likely to induce ladies to contract many such marriages, it is considered that a woman should be allowed to remarry only once. Even though remarriage is accepted as a desirable solution, it must be remembered in this connection that among the persons in favour of remarriage there is a section which regards remarriage as the second best solution. This section thinks that the best thing for a widow is to lead a social and religious life and if this is utterly impossible, then alone she may be allowed to remarry. That is why it is contended by them that system of remarriage should not be unnecessarily encouraged and there should be no direct propaganda in favour of it.

On the contrary, there are 34 persons who strongly and faith-fully oppose to the very proposal of remarriage of widows. They sincerely feel that remarriage is not the only solution and think that the good treatment would solve the problem of widows. As a part of genial treatment they suggest that Āśramas should be opened to house the widows, general, moral, and religious educa-
tion should be imparted to them and efforts should be made to make them as far as possible economically independent. They maintain that to lead a life strictly according to religious injunctions is the best course open for widows and it is thought that sufficient financial help in widow-hood will, it is ardently hoped, enable them to lead a life of that type. They also suggest that if child-marriages and old-marriages are completely stopped, the number of widows would be consequently reduced and the question of widow remarriage will not assume serious proportion at all.

44. JAINA CULTURE

It is an established fact that the Jaina community is one of the very ancient communities of India. The Jainas possess a distinct religion, a separate philosophy, a different ethical code, a set of peculiar beliefs, practices, customs and manners and a vast literature of their own. Though Jainas form a small minority at present, yet in the past they were not only numerous but also enjoyed royal patronage for a long time in various parts of the country. Consequently the Jaina rules of conduct are in observance throughout the last so many centuries. But as the Jainas were and are living in close contact with the Hindus, both influenced each other in several ways to such an extent that the Jainas, being in minority, came to be regarded as a part of Hindus. Accordingly it was thought that the Jainas do not possess a way of life different from others, and especially from Hindus. Therefore with a view to know whether the Jainas think that there is anything like Jaina culture as distinct from other cultures in India, the question number 47 was asked. From the replies it will be seen that out of 154 persons while only 15 persons think that the Jaina culture is not separate from other cultures of India, there are 120 persons who forcefully assert that the Jaina culture is a separate entity altogether. The few persons belonging to the first school of thought consider that Jaina culture is a part of Hindu culture or they go a step further and say that Jaina culture is a part of Aryan culture which is built up by the Jainas, Buddhists and Hindus. But in saying so the persons of this category do admit that the
Jaina culture is distinct to a certain extent, if not entirely distinct, from other cultures in India. On the contrary, the overwhelming majority of Jaines seem to side the second school of thought which categorically maintains that the finer thinking of Jaina philosophy of life differs greatly from others and therefore a truly Jaina conduct presents a different culture distinct in its outlook and far-reaching in its range. It cannot be denied, it is argued, that the features of Jaina culture are quite distinct from other cultures especially in matters like outlook towards life and world, insistence on spiritual progress, and observance of Ahimsa or creed of non-violence in all possible ways. The basic difference, it is stated, lies in the religious philosophy of Jaines and as religion moulds the entire way of life, the Jaina way of life automatically becomes separate from other ways of life.

45. GENERAL

The small Jaina community which is spread all over India has been split up into several divisions based on sect, sub-sect, caste, sub-caste, language and locality. As efforts are made to perpetuate these divisions by establishing a large number of associations or institutions for the benefit of their members only, it is no wonder that these associations have created separatist tendencies in the community. The effective way to combat the separatist tendencies and to create the feeling of oneness among all members of the community is to conduct associations or institutions which are kept open to all Jaines irrespective of sect, sub-sect, caste, sub-caste, language and locality. With a view to know whether there are any associations or institutions of this type in the Jaina community at present the question number 48 was asked. From the replies we get the names of following associations or institutions which are striving for the benefit of Jaines as a whole:

I. *Those of an All-India Character:*

1. All India Jaina Association which is known as Bharata Jaina Mahamanchala, Wardha.
2. Jaina Association of India, Bombay.
(3) Jaina Young Men’s Association, Bombay.
(4) Akhila Bhāratiya Jaina Svayamsevaka Parishada, Bombay.

II. Those of a Provincial Character:
(1) Gwalior State Jaina Sabha, Gwalior.
(2) Maharāshṭriya Jaina Sabha, Nasik.
(3) Dakshiṇa Mahārāshṭra Jaina Sabha, Sangli.
(4) Tamilnadu Jaina Association, Madras.
(5) Mysore Jaina Association, Mysore.

III. Those of a Local Character:
(1) Jaina Yuvaka Saṅgha, Baroda.
(2) Jaina Yuvaka Saṅgha, Bhadada.
(3) Jaina Yuvaka Saṅgha, Bombay.
(4) Bombay and Mangrol Jaina Sabha, Bombay.
(5) Jaina Sevā Samāja, Nathadvara.
(6) Jaina Sevā Maṇḍala, Nagpur.
(7) Mahāvīra Saṅgha, Bangalore.
(8) Mahāvīra Jaina Association, Tanjore.
(9) Kārakal Jaina Saṅgha, Karakal.

IV. Those devoted to Research and Literary Activities:
(1) Jaina Cultural Research Society, Benares.
(2) Central Provinces and Berar Jaina Research Institute, Yeotmal.
(3) Mahāvīra Jaina Research Institute, Madras.
(4) Jaina Dharma-Prasāraka Sabha, Bhavanagar.
(5) Atmānanda Jaina Sabha, Bhavanagar.

V. Those started for specific purposes:
(1) Pārśvanātha Vidyāśrama, Benares.
(2) S. A. Jaina College Society, Punjab.
(3) Jaina Āśrama, Mahavirnagar.
(4) Jaina Vidyārthī Āśrama, Baroda.
(5) The Baroda Jaina Industrial Home for Ladies, Baroda.
(7) D. N. Jaina Boarding, Jubbulpore.
(8) Jaina Vidyāvardhaka Saṅgha, Mudabidri.
VI. *Those open to Jainas and Non-Jainas also:*

(1) Chaturvidha Dānasālā, Sholapur.
(2) Sakhārāma Nemachanda Jaina Aushadhālaya, Sholapur.
(3) Jaina Eye-Hospital, Sholapur.
(4) Jaina Sevā Samāja Dispensary, Palitana.

The names of associations given above are those which are mentioned in the replies. It is likely that many such associations might be in existence. In the sixth category of such associations or institutions may be included Rest Houses, Dispensaries, Colleges, Secondary and Primary Schools, Libraries and Reading Rooms. Even though the names of many such institutions have been given, it is doubtful how many of them might be functioning well. It is stated by some that they are eager to become the members of associations open to all Jainas but they are not aware of any such association. Such institutions, it is mentioned, remain in names and do not go ahead due to orthodox nature of Jainas. In any case, it is expressed that such institutions do not carry an intense propaganda and therefore their work lies unnoticed. Of the institutions mentioned above the following appear to be going on well with their activities:—Bhārata Jaina Mahāmaṇḍala, Wardha; Dakṣipāṇa Mahārāṣṭra Jaina Sabha, Sangli; Jaina Yuvaka Saṅgha, Bombay; Jaina Cultural Research Society, Benares; Jaina Dharma-Prasāraka Sabha, Bhavnagar; Jaina Co-operative Bank Limited, Bombay and Jaina Eye-Hospital, Sholapur.

The question number 49 is concerned with the personal information regarding their educational and other qualifications and the distinctions obtained by them and by the members of their families in various fields. The information was necessary to know whether there are individuals and families of outstanding merit. From the replies it will be seen that among the Jainas at present there are many persons who have distinguished themselves as scholars, research workers, writers, dramatists, poets, literary critics, sāstras, editors, orators, engineers and social workers. A few examples of individual and family achievements are given below. In the Parikh family of Ahmedabad, Dr. K. M. Parikh is L.M. & S.,
and his first son is M. A. (Cantab), second son F. R. C. S.
(London), fourth son is at Cambridge for B. A., one daughter
is G. A. of Women's University and another daughter is B. A. of
Bombay University. In the Sheth family of Bombay we find that
Mr. C. L. Sheth is a B. A., LL. B., Solicitor, his brother Mr. K.
L. Sheth is B. E. (Bombay), B. Sc. (London), and A. M. I.
C. E. (England), and his another brother Mr. G. L. Sheth is
B. Sc. (Econ.) (London) and I. C. S. In the Badami family of
Surat Mr. Surchandra Badami is a retired Judge of Small Causes
Court, his one son Mr. P. S. Badami, is B. A., B. Sc., Bar-at-
law having a throughout first class career and his another son,
Dr. J. S. Badami, B. Sc. (Bombay), Ph. D. (London), D. I. C.
(London) stood first in the Bombay University in his Inter
Science and B. Sc. examinations and was a Bombay University
Scholar in England for his Ph. D., In the Kasliwala family of
Jaipur, Mr. N. C. Kasliwala is M. A., LL. B., M. L. C., his
one brother is an M. A. and another is a Doctor having degrees
of M. D. and M. R. C. P. (London). At Jubbulpore Prof. K.
C. Jain and his son were the recipients of gold medals at their
respective university examinations. In the field of literary
activities there are several persons of outstanding merit. Two of
them, namely, Mr. Kamta Prasada Jain and Paññita Nathurama
Premi, may be mentioned here. Mr. K. P. Jain from Aliganj
(U. P.) has written about 50 books in Hindi and English on
Jaina History and Comparative Religion and has contributed
dozens of articles to English and Hindi Journals of repute
like Indian Antiquary, New Indian Antiquary, Indian Culture,
Indian Historical Quarterly, etc. He is the editor of Jaina Anti-
quary, Jaina Siddhânta Bhâskara, the important research journal,
and of Vira, the Jaina Hindi Weekly. Paññita Nathurama Premi
is a great research scholar who is respected for his learning and
writings by all sections of the Jaina community. Through his
efforts as an editor and a publisher many Jaina works in Sanskrit
and Prakrit saw the light of the day and in the social field he has
rendered a yeoman's service as the editor of 'Jaina Hitaishi', the
magazine which probably, for the first time, strongly advocated
revolutionary reforms in the Jaina community. Among the living
Jaina research scholars who have rendered distinguished services to Jaina studies mention may be made of Prof. Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M. A., D. Litt., Kolhapur, Prof. Dr. Hiralal Jain, M. A., LL. B., D. Litt., Nagpur, Pandit Jugal Kishora Mukhtyar, Sarsawa, Pandit Sukhalalji Sanghavi, Ahmedabad, and Muni Jinavijayaji, Bombay.

The Jainas being mainly a business community are likely to be engrossed in commercial activities. In the ancient and medieval period when the Jainas wielded political power, either as rulers or as ministers, they did contribute according to their mite to the progress of their country in various fields. With a view to ascertain whether there are active political and social workers in the Jaina community at present and whether according to Jainas their community has contributed in recent years towards the political, social and economic progress of India, the question number 50 was asked. From the replies it will be seen that out of 154 persons there are 38 persons who take active part in political activities and 46 persons in social activities. The 12 persons are reported to be taking active part in improving the conditions of their respective professions especially legal, medical and teaching professions. The 27 persons specifically state that they are not taking part in any public activity at present and in this category there are many Government servants and the persons who had done active public work formerly. This shows that the Jaina community seems to possess a good number of active public workers in various fields.

As regards the contribution of the Jaina community towards the political, social and economic progress of India it is maintained in general that the Jainas have contributed much above their number, that is, more than can be expected from a minority community which is mainly of a commercial character. As compared with the contribution of other communities it is clearly stated that the Jaina contribution is proportionally larger than that of any other community except perhaps Parsees and in any case it is not less than that of Hindus generally. It is firmly believed that if the proportion of sacrifices and contribution is taken, then the incidence would be highest in the Jaina community. In the political field it is proudly claimed by the Jainas
that the principles of *Ahimsā* or non-violence and *Sahishṇutā* or tolerance by the use of which as political weapons in Non-co-operation and Satyagraha Movements under the superb leadership of Mahatma Gandhi the Indians achieved their long cherished aim of political independence from the yoke of the mighty British Empire are the well known gifts by the Jaina community. Apart from this, in the long drawn out struggle for political freedom of the country, the Jainas liberally contributed, not as a community but in their individual capacities, man-power, financial resources and silent support and good wishes. It is reported that in the Non-co-operation Movement of 1919 many Jainas left the Government service or abandoned the legal practice and in the 1942 struggle the places where Jaina students lived together became the nerve-centres of revolution. In supplying finance to national movements the contribution of Jainas, it is clearly mentioned, was greater as compared to their number in the country. Those who could not participate directly did contribute in an indirect manner. The Jainas are intensely national and they whole-heartedly supported the Indian National Congress. It must be remembered that even though they form a small minority community they never demanded for them specific rights like separate electorates or reservation of seats in Assemblies. In the social field also the Jainas have contributed both in direct and indirect ways. They were mainly responsible in establishing and conducting a large number of social and charitable institutes like rest houses, pāñjarāpolas, dispensaries, maternity homes, hospitals, colleges, secondary and primary schools, libraries and reading rooms. Such institutes are open alike to all Jainas and non-Jainas. Where the Jainas could not run such institutes they give substantial monetary help to them. It is a fact that many such institutes live on the money supplied by the Jaina community. Besides, among the eminent social workers in fields like spread of education or removal of untouchability the Jainas occupy an important place. To quote only one instance, the name of Mr. Bhaurao Patil, the founder of Rayata Śikṣaṇa Samśthā, Satara may be mentioned. He conducts 565 primary schools, 20 High Schools, 4 primary training colleges and one arts college. Many of these are of a
residential nature where students of all castes and creeds live and work together. The contribution of Jaina community is considered to be most prominent in the economic field. In modern industrialisation, the place of Jainas is second only to that of Parsees in India. The names of leading business and industrial magnates of India like Sheth Kasturbhai Lalabhai and Sheth Ambalal Sarabhai of Ahmedabad, Sheth Walchand Hirachand, Sir Chunilal B. Metha, Sir Shantidas Ashukaran, Sheth Kantilal Ishwardas, and Sheth Punamachand Ghasilal of Bombay, Sir Sheth Hukumchand of Indore, Sir Bhagachandji Soni of Ajmer and Sheth Shanti Prasad Jain of Dalmia—Jain concerns of Calcutta, are, it is stated, sufficient to prove the Jaina contribution to Indian commercial and industrial advancement. Further the Jainas are for the last so many decades the prominent idigenous bankers having branches all over India and even abroad and in this capacity they have catered to the enormous financial needs and transactions of all people. Thus it can be said that the Jainas in their individual and collective capacities did make substantial and noteworthy contributions to political, social and especially to economic progress of India.
CHAPTER SEVEN

RETROSPECT

1. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Jainism is a neglected branch of Indology. Eminent research scholars in different branches of Indology have paid very little attention to Jainism. This was due to the fact that the original Jaina texts were not readily available to the research workers. As a result the opinion of early European scholars regarding the origin and growth of Jainism was divided. While one group consisting of E. Thomas, Stevenson, Colebrook and others thought that Jainism is older than Buddhism, yet the other group of orientalists like H. H. Wilson, Lassen and others held that Jainism was an offshoot of Buddhism because outwardly certain points were common to both and their land of origin and early activities was the same. The question whether Jainism was a precursor to Buddhism or not was settled for good in a scholarly manner by the researches of two great German Orientalists, namely, Bühler and Jacobi. It is now an established fact that Jainism is not a branch of Buddhism but is an independent religion and that it was flourishing in India when Lord Gautama Buddha founded his new religion.¹

Though the question of origin of Jainism has been finally settled, still the question regarding its antiquity has not as yet been completely solved. Till recently Lord Mahâvîra (599-527 B.C.), the 24th Tîrthaṅkara of Jains, was regarded as the founder of Jainism. But taking into account recent researches in the field it has now been acknowledged by all that Lord Mahâvîra’s predecessor, viz., Lord Pârśvanâtha, the 23rd Tîrthaṅkara of Jains, was a historical personage belonging to the 8th century B. C. and that he is the real founder of Jaina religion.² Thus the Jaina History is thought to commence from the 8th century B. C. But it

is pertinent to note that this opinion is not shared by the Jains. They hold that Lord Pārśvanātha and Lord Mahāvīra are mere prophets of Jaina religion and that the real founder of Jainism is Lord Rāshabha, their first Tīrthaṅkara. Various reasons are vehemently put forward by the Jains to prove the antiquity of the religion and to show that Lord Rāshabha did found the Jaina religion in this age. In the first place the Jaina tradition firmly believes that the Jaina religion is eternal and in every age it is propounded by twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras for the benefit of all beings. In the present age the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras did preach Jainism and as in these twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras Lord Rāshabha was the first one, he is considered as the founder of Jainism. All ancient Jaina scriptures and Jains of all sects accept this as a well established fact. Secondly, what is really remarkable about the Jaina tradition is the confirmation of it from non-Jaina sources, especially Hindu and Buddhist sources. The Hindus, indeed, never disputed the fact that Jainism was founded by Lord Rāshabha in this half-cycle and placed his time almost at what they conceived to be the commencement of the world. They acknowledged him as a divine person and counted him amongst their Avatāras, i.e., various incarnations of Lord Vishnu. They give the same parentage of Lord Rāshabha as the Jains do and they even agree that after the name of his son Bharata this country is known as Bhārata-Varsha. In the Rg-Veda we have clear references to Rāshabha and Arishṭanemi, two of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, and the Yajur-Veda mentions the names of three Tīrthaṅkaras—Rāshabha, Ajitanātha and Arishṭanemi.

1. According to Jains the cycle of time has been divided into two parts which go on rotating one after another like the spokes of a wheel. The two half cycles are known as Utsarpiṇi-kāla, i.e., age of progress and Avasarpiṇi-kāla, i.e., age of sorrow. The present half cycle of time is Avasarpiṇi-kāla.
The sect of Vṛāyas mentioned in the Atharva-Veda is said to signify, the Jinas on the ground that the terms Vṛāya means the observer of vows or vratas as distinguished from the performer of sacrifices, which applied to the Hindus at the time. Similarly in the same Veda it is supposed that the word Mahā Vṛāya refers to Lord Rshabha.\textsuperscript{1} The story of Rshabha also occurs in the Vīśṇupurāṇa and Bhāgavatapurāṇa, where he figures as an Avatāra, i.e., incarnation of Nārāyaṇa in an age prior to that of the ten avatāras of Vīśṇu. The story is exactly identical with the life history of Rshabha as given in the Jaina sacred literature.\textsuperscript{2} From the fact that Hindu tradition regards Lord Rshabha—and not Lord Mahāvīra—along with Lord Gautama Buddha as an incarnation of God, it is argued that the Hindu tradition also from ancient times accepts Lord Rshabha as the founder of Jainism. Like Hindus, Buddhists also are said to believe in Lord Rshabha as the founder of Jainism on the grounds that in the Buddhist literature (i) Jainism is not shown as a new religion, (ii) Lord Mahāvīra, the senior contemporary of Lord Gautama Buddha is described always as Niggaṇṭha Nāṭaputta and not as the founder of Jainism and (iii) the name of Lord Rshabha is mentioned along with that of Lord Mahāvīra as an Āpta or a Tīrthaṅkara.\textsuperscript{3} Thirdly, from some historical references it is supposed that Lord Rshabha must be real founder of Jainism. In this connection Dr. Jacobi writes thus: "There is nothing to prove that Pārśva was the founder of Jainism. Jaina tradition is unanimous in making Rshabha the first Tīrthaṅkara as its founder and there may be some thing historical in the tradition which makes him the first Tīrthaṅkara".\textsuperscript{4} There is evidence to show that so far back as the first century B. C. there were people who were worshipping Rshabha Deva.\textsuperscript{5} It has been recorded that

2. A. Chakravarti: op. cit., p. 185.
King Khâravela of Kaliṅga in his second invasion of Magadha in 161 B.C. brought back treasures from Magadha and in these treasures there was the statue of the first Jina (Rshabha Deva) which had been carried away from Kaliṅga three centuries earlier by king Nanda I. ¹ This means that in the 5th century B.C. Lord Rshabha was worshipped and his statue was highly valued by his followers. From this it is argued that if Lord Mahâvîra or Lord Pârśvanâtha were the founders of Jainism, then their statues would have been worshipped by their followers in the 5th century B.C., i.e., immediately after their time. But as we get in ancient inscriptions authentic historical references to the statues of Lord Rshabha it is thought that he must have been the founder of Jainism.² Thus from these points of view the Jainas firmly assert that Lord Rshabha alone was responsible for preaching Jainism for the first time in the present half cycle of time.³

As the question of the antiquity of Jaina religion is connected with that of its founder, it is clear from the above that a hoary antiquity is assigned to the Jaina religion. It is supposed to be the oldest religion in India and in support of it, it is stated that the human statuettes found in the recent excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa in Indus Valley region are Jaina relics and the figures carved on seals dug out from these places seem to resemble the Jaina Tîrthaṅkaras,⁴ and especially the first Tîrthaṅkara Lord Rshabha.⁵ In this connection Major J. G. R. Forlong writes that from unknown times there existed in India a highly organised Jaina religion from which later on developed Brahmanism and Buddhism and that Jainism was preached by twenty-two

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2. Kailashehandraji; op. cit., P. 11.

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Tirthaṅkaras before the Aryans reached the Ganges. In any case it is accepted by the Jainas that Jainism, the religion of Ahimsa, is as old as the Vedic religion, if not older. It is pointed out that throughout vedic literature consisting of the Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇapadas and the Upanishadas, we find two currents of thought opposed to each other running parallel, sometimes the one becoming dominant, sometimes the other, one enjoining animal sacrifice in the Yajñas or sacrifices, and the other condemning it and the latter thought was always held and propagated for the first time by the Jainas. Thus, according to Jainas, their history must begin at least from the Vedic times primarily in the eastern part of India. As the Jainas are spread all over India from ancient times they possess a long and continuous history of their own. Let us see, in brief, the state patronage received by Jainism and the important Jaina rulers in different parts of the country during the ancient and medieval times.

I. Jainism in East India

In the political history of India in ancient times East India figured more prominently than any other part of India and from the middle of the 7th century B. C. the kingdom of Magadha, the modern South Bihar, became the recognised political centre of India. As Lord Mahāvīra happened to belong to this part of the country, we find that many kings and people gave their support to Jainism. King Cheṭaka, the most eminent amongst the Lichchhavi princes and the ruler of Vaisālī, the capital of Videha, was a great patron of Jainism and he gave his sister, princess Trīṣalā, in marriage to Siddhārtha, to whom Lord Mahāvīra was born. As king Cheṭaka was related to Lord Mahāvīra and as the Lichchhavis


2. A. Chakravartī: op. cit., pp. 185-188.

are often mentioned in the Jaina literature, it is supposed that practically all Lichchhavīs were the followers of Jaina religion. ¹
In the Śāsiṇāga dynasty (642-413 B.C.) Bimbisāra or Śreṇīka (582-554 B.C.) and Ajātaśatru or Kuṇika (554-527 B.C.) were the two important kings who extended their support to the Jaina religion. ² Both Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru were the near relatives of Lord Mahāvīra, in whose contact they frequently came, and hence the Jainas believe that they did belong to the Jaina religion for a considerable period in their life time. The Nandas (413-322 B.C.) who were successors of Śāsiṇāgas in Magadha were, according to the inscriptions of Khāravela, the followers of the Jaina faith because the inscriptions speak of a King Nanda I who led a conquering expedition into Kaliṅga and carried off an image of Ādi-Jina. ³ Vincent Smith also asserts that the Nandas were Jainas. ⁴ The Jaina tradition, which is ancient in origin and referred to in subsequent ages down to the present as well known, states that Chandragupta Maurya was a Jaina and that he abdicated the throne, joined the Jaina migration led by Bhadrabāhu to the South, became the chief disciple of Bhadrabāhu and died in a Jaina way (i.e. by Sallekhanā) at Śravānabelgola after leading a life of a Jaina ascetic for 12 years. This tradition is nowadays accepted as true by famous historians like Rice ⁵ and Smith. ⁶ Regarding the early faith of Aśoka some scholars are of opinion that he professed Jainism before his conversion. The famous edicts of Aśoka are said to reveal this fact. ⁷ According to Ain-i-Akbari Aśoka was responsible for introducing Jainism into Kashmir and this is confirmed by the Rājatarāṅgini, the Brahmanical history of Kashmir. Other reasons are also given in support of

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4. Smith, V. A.: Early History of India, P. 44.
5. Rice B. L.: Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, pp. 4, 5 and 8.
this belief.\textsuperscript{1} Samprati, the grand-son and successor of Aśoka is regarded as a Jaina Aśoka for his eminent patronage and efforts in spreading Jaina religion.\textsuperscript{2}

Like Magadha, Kaliṅga or Orissa had been a Jaina stronghold from the every beginning. It is asserted that Jainism made its way to the South through Kaliṅga only. Lord Mahāvīra visited Kaliṅga and preached Jainism to the people, who already belonged to the Jaina Saṅgha as organised by Lord Pārśvanātha. In the second century B. C. Kaliṅga was the centre of a powerful empire ruled over by Khāravela, who was one of the greatest royal patrons of the Jaina faith.\textsuperscript{3} Even after Jainism lost the royal patronage it continued for a long time as a dominant religion and this is testified by Hiuen Tsiang (629 A.D.) when he says that in Kaliṅga "among the unbelievers the most numerous are the Nirgranthas."\textsuperscript{4}

Jainism had its influence in Bengal also. Hiuen Tsiang states that in Pundravardhana and Samatata, i.e., in Western and Eastern Bengal the naked ascetics called Nirgranthas are most numerous.\textsuperscript{5} Even now Jaina relics like inscriptions, idols, etc. are found in different parts of Bengal. It has been pointed out that the indigenous people of Western Bengal known as Sārāks are the Hinduised remnants of the early Jaina people.\textsuperscript{6} In some parts of Bengal Jaina idols are worshipped by Hindus as the idols of Bhairava. In short, in religion, customs and manners of Bengal the influence of Jaina religion is quite visible even at present.\textsuperscript{7}

II. Jainism in South India

It is now an undisputed fact that Jainism entered into

\begin{enumerate}
\item Rice B. L.: Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, pp. 12-13.
\item Smith, V. A.: Early History of India, pp. 202 & 458.
\item Bool Chand: "Jainism in Kaliṅga-Deśa", Āchārya Dhrūva Smāraka Grantha, pp 87-100.
\item Beal, S.: op. cit., Vol. II., pp. 195 and 199.
\item Census of India, 1901, Vol. I, part II, P. 523.
\item (i) Kailashchandraji: Jaina dharma, pp. 38-39.
\end{enumerate}
Karnāṭaka and South India during the days of Emperor Chandragupta Maurya when Bhadrabāhu, the distinguished leader of Jainas and the last of the Jaina saints known, as Śrutakevalis, after predicting a twelve years famine and drought in the North, led the migration of the Jaina Saṅgha to the South. Thus the Jaina history in the South commences from the 3rd Century B.C. as according to all Jaina authors the death of Bhadrabāhu took place at Śravanabelagola in 297 B.C.¹ But in this connection it may be noted that some scholars consider this Bhadrabāhu tradition as the starting point of a revival and not commencement of Jaina activity in South India and hence regard him as the rejuvenator of the South Indian Jainism.² It is argued that if South India would have been void of Jainas before Bhadrabāhu reached there, it is least conceivable that an Āchārya of Bhadrabāhu’s status would have led the Jaina Saṅgha to such a country and for the mere sake of Dharma-rakṣā (i.e. protection of religion). Again, various evidences are brought forward to prove the antiquity of the Jainas in the South and it is asserted that Jainism reached South India long before Śrutakevali Bhadrabāhu.³ In any case Jainism prevailed in South India from 3rd century B.C. and it continued as a popular faith during more than a thousand years of the Christian era and it is significant to note that up to the fourteenth century A.D. it played an important role in the history of Southern India. The Gaṅga Kingdom was a virtual creation of the famous Jaina saint Simhanandi and naturally practically all Gaṅga monarchs championed the cause of Jainism.⁴ The Kadamba rulers were essentially Brahmancial in religion. Yet the royal Kadamba family gave a few monarchs who were devout Jainas, and who were responsible for the gradual progress of that religion in Karnāṭaka. Eventually Jainism

became a popular religion in the Kadamba Empire.¹ During the reigns of early Chālukya princes, the Jaina religion was more prominent and many Jaina Āchāryas were patronised by Chālukya Kings including Pulakesī II.² Many of the Rāshtrakūṭa Emperors and their feudatories and officers were staunch Jainas and hence the period of Rāshtrakūṭas (i.e. from 750 to 1000 A.D.) is considered as the most flourishing period in the history of Jainism in the Deccan.³ The Western Chālukyas, who regained their ascendancy after the fall of Rāshtrakūṭas, preferred to show the same liberal attitude to Jainism which the Gaṅgas, the Kadaṁbas and the Rāshtrakūṭas had shown.⁴ Like the Gaṅga Kingdom in the 1st or 2nd century A.D., the Hoysaḷa kingdom in 11th century A. D. owed its creation to a Jaina saint Sudatta and many of the Hoysaḷa monarchs and generals extended their patronage to Jainism and carefully looked after the interests of the Jainas.⁵ The Kalachāris of Kalyāṇa were Jainas and naturally in their time Jainism was the state creed.⁶ The Alupa Kings of Tuḷuva showed leanings towards Jainism and the inscriptions reveal that Jainism was patronised by these Kings.⁷ Thus from early ages various royal families came forward as champions of Jainism and it is no wonder if their example was followed by their feudatories. Jainism was the state religion of the minor states of Punnāta, of the Sāntarās, the early Chaṅgāḷvas and the Kōṅgāḷvas, as testified by

¹ (i) Morais, G. M.: The Kadamba Kula, pp. 35 and 240-250.


³ (i) Altakar, A. S.: Rāshtrakūṭas & their Times, pp. 310-313.

⁴ Saletore, B. A.: Medieval Jainism, P. 41.

⁵ (i) Saletore, B. A.: op. cit., pp. 59-86.

⁶ Fleet, J. F.: The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of Bombay Presidency, P. 60.

their inscriptions. Similarly the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Belgaum and Śilāhāras of Kolhapur were Jainas by religion.

In the far South, the Madras Presidency discloses traces of Jaina dominion almost everywhere and on many a roadside, a stone Tīrthaṅkara may be seen either standing or sitting cross-legged. From the Saṅgama literature and other sources it is evident that Jainism flourished in the Tamil country from the earliest times reachable with our present means. Jaina epigraphs have been discovered in Anantpur, Bellary, Cuddapah, Guntur, Krishna, Kurnool, Nellore, North Arcot, South Kanara and Vizagapatnam Districts of Madras Province. These Jaina epigraphs and other Jaina relics clearly indicate the large vogue that Jainism once had in that part of the country. Thus the whole of South India comprising the Deccan, Karnāṭaka, Āndhra and Tamiḻanāḍa was a great stronghold of Jainas, especially Digambara Jainas, for more than one thousand years. Apart from the provincial capitals, Śravaṇabelagola in Mysore State was the centre of their activities and it occupies the same position even up to the present day. Jainism, however, began to decline in the South from the 12th century due to the growing importance of Śrivaishṇavism and Vīraśaivism.

III. Jainism in West India

It has already been noted that at present the Jainas are concentrated most in the Western India, i. e., in Gujarāṭha and Karihiawar, and Jainism had very close relations with this part of

1. Rice, B. L. : Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, P. 203.
   (ii) K. A. Nilakanta Sastrī : The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, P. 94.
   (ii) Bhandarkar, R. G. : op. cit., P. 133.
India. Here on the Mount Girnarra Lord Neminatha, the 22nd Tirthankara of the Jainas, attained salvation. Here, in the Council of Jaina Asetics held at Valabhi in the year 993 after Lord Mahavira, the Jaina canon was, for the first time, reduced to writing. Just as South India is the stronghold of Digambara Jainas, similarly, West India is the centre of activities of Svetambara Jainas.

Regarding the migration of Jainas to these parts of India it is thought that the migration must have taken place by 300 B.C. from Eastern India. From the facts that the Jainas tell us something about the reigns of Chandragupta Maurya and his son Bindusara but at the same time they have practically nothing to tell about the reigns of Asoka and his successors in the East and that the division of the Jaina Church into two great sects of the Digambaras and Svetambaras had probably begun after the reign of Chandragupta Maurya it is concluded that the Jainas were probably already at this time, i.e., 300 B.C., gradually losing their position in the kingdom of Magadha, and that they had begun their migration towards the Western part of India, where they settled and where they have retained their settlements to the present day.¹

Jainism flourished in Gujaratha during the days of Rashtra-kuta monarchs, many of whom were devout Jainas, and it received a further fillip at the hands of that veteran Jaina ruler Vanaraaja of Chavada family. About 1100 A.D., Jainism gained a great ascendancy when the Chalukya Kings Siddharaja and his successor Kumarakapala ² openly professed Jainism and encouraged the literary and temple-building activities of the Jainas. During the days of Baghelas in the 13th century A.D. Jainism received patronage through the hands of Vastupala and Tejapala, the two famous Jaina ministers of the time. They were responsible for constructing the beautiful temple-cities at Satruijnaya, Girnarra and Abu. Afterwards even though Jainism did not receive the royal patronage as before, still it continued to hold its position

² Smith, V. A.: Early History of India, P. 190.
and the numerical and financial strength of Jainas gave their religion a place of honour which is acknowledged even to this day.

IV Jainism in North India

When by 300 B.C. the migration of Jainas began from Eastern India to different parts of the country one branch of them was firmly established in the North India from the middle of the second century B.C. What Sravanabelagola was to the Jainas of South, Mathurā, in the old kingdom of the Sūrasenas, was to the Jainas of North. The numerous inscriptions excavated in this city tell us about a wide-spread and firmly established Jaina community, strongly supported by pious lay devotees and very zealous in the consecration and worship of images and shrines dedicated to Mahāvīra and his predecessors. As these inscriptions range from the 2nd century B.C. to the 5th century A.D. it is clear that Mathurā was a stronghold of Jainas for nearly a thousand years. Another centre of Jaina activities in the North was Ujjain. It was the capital of Maurya Emperor Samprati who was known to Jainas as Jaina Aśoka. Since we find several references to Ujjain in the Jaina literature, it seems that Ujjain might have played an important role in the history of Jainism. The archaeological and other evidences brought to light from different parts of North and Central India establish the close relations of various rulers with Jainism. During the Mohammedan period Jainism could not get the royal and popular support as it used to receive before but it succeeded in holding its own without much trouble. The Jainas even could secure some concessions for their holy places from the liberal minded Mughal Emperor Akbar the Great. During the Mohammedan period, however, the Jainas particularly increased in the native states of

2. (i) C. H. I., Vol I, P. 166.
Rajaputana, where they came to occupy many important offices of the state including generalships and ministerships. As Col. Tod remarks, "The officers of the state and revenue are chiefly of the Jaina laity. The Chief Magistrate and assessors of justice in Udaipur and most of the towns of Rajasthan, are of this sect.... The many ancient cities where this religion was fostered, have inscriptions which evince their prosperity in these countries, with whose history their own is interwoven. In fine, the necrological records of the Jainas bear witness to their having occupied a distinguished place in Rajput society; and the privileges they still enjoy, prove that they are not overlooked."

Thus the Jainas continued to flourish in different parts of India during the ancient and medieval times. But afterwards the Jainas began to decline. Before finding out the causes responsible for the downfall of Jainas, let us try to see the achievements of the Jainas in various fields of activities during the many centuries of their existence.

2. ACHIEVEMENTS OF JAINAS.

Perhaps the most creditable achievement of Jainas is in the field of literature. It has been already noticed that right from the Vedic period two different currents of thought and ways of life known as Brāhmaṇa culture and Śramaṇa culture are prevalent in India. The Śramaṇa culture is mainly represented by Jainas and Buddhists and of them Jainas were the first to propagate that culture. That is why from ancient times we have the Śramaṇa literature besides the Brahmanic literature. The characteristic features of the Śramaṇa literature are given as follows: It disregards the system of castes and Āśramas; its heroes are, as a rule, not gods and Rshis, but kings or merchants or even Śūdras. The subjects of poetry taken up by it are not Brahmanic myths and legends, but popular tales, fairy stories, fables and


parables. It likes to insist on the misery and sufferings of *Sāṁśāra* and it teaches a morality of compassion and *Ahiṃsā*, quite distinct from the ethics of Brahmanism with its ideals of the great sacrificer and generous supporter of the priests, and its strict adherence to the caste system. 1 The authors of this Śramaṇa literature have contributed their full share to the religious, ethical, poetical, and scientific literature of ancient India. A close examination of the vast religious literature of the Jainas has been made by M. Winternitz in his “A History of Indian Literature”. 2 The Jainas were foremost in composing various kinds of narrative literature like Purāṇas, Charitrās, Kathās, Prabandhas, etc. Besides a very extensive body of poetical narrative, the non-canonical literature of the Jainas consists partly of an immense number of commentaries and partly of independent works on dogma, ethics, and monastic discipline. They also compiled legends of saints and composed works on ecclesiastical history. 3 Always fond of storytelling, the Jainas were good story-tellers themselves, and have preserved to us numerous Indian tales that otherwise would have been lost. Kāvyas and Mahākāvyas, too, of renowned merit have been composed by Jaina poets. Lyrical and didactic poetry also are well represented in the literature of the Jainas. Apart from these, most valuable contributions have been made by the Jainas to Indian scientific and technical literature on various subjects like logic, philosophy, poetics, grammar, lexicography, astronomy, astrology, geography, mathematics and medicine. The Jainas have also paid special attention to the Arthaśāstra (or Politics) which is considered to be “a worldly science” par excellence. Thus there is hardly any branch of science that has not been ably treated by Jainas. 4

The literature of the Jainas is also very important from the

point of view of the history of the Indian languages; for the Jainas always took care that their writings were accessible to considerable masses of the people. Hence the canonical writings and the earliest commentaries are written in Prakrit dialects and at a later period Sanskrit and various modern Indian languages were used by the Jainas.¹ It is not an exaggeration when Wilson says that every province of Hindusthan can produce Jaina compositions, either in Sanskrit or its vernacular idiom.² It has already been observed how the Jainas have enriched various provincial languages and especially Hindi, Gujarâthî, Kannâda, Tamil and Telugu.³ Regarding the Jaina contribution to Kannâda literature the great Kannâda scholar R. Narasîmhaçâhârya has remarked that “The earliest cultivators of the language were Jainas. The oldest works of any extent and value that have come down to us are all from the pen of the Jainas. The period of Jaina predominance in the literary field may justly be called the Augustan Age of Kannâda literature. Jaina authors in Kannâda are far more numerous than in Tamil. To name only a few, we have Pampa, Ponna, Ranna, Guçavarma, Nagachandra, Nayasena, Nagavarmâ, Aggala, Nemichandra, Janna, Andayya, Bandhuvarma, and Madhura, authors whose works are admired as excellent specimens of poetic composition. It is only in Kannâda that we have a Râmâyana and a Bhârata based on the Jaina tradition in addition to the same works based on Brahmanical tradition. Besides Kâvâyas written by Jaina authors we have numerous works by them dealing with subjects such as grammar, rhetoric, prosody, mathematics, astrology, medicine, veterinary science, cookery and so forth. Altogether the number of Jaina authors in Kannâda is nearly two hundred”.⁴ As the Jainas have produced their vast

3. See pp. 283–86 ante. For a detailed account of the contributions of Jainas to the development of Tamil language and literature see Chukravarti, A.: Jaina Literature in Tamil.
literature in these languages from very ancient times, the Jaina
have certainly played a very important part in the development of
the different languages of India. The medium of sacred writings
and preachings of the Brahmins has all along been Sanskrit and
of the Bauddhas Pāli. But the Jaina alone utilised the prevailing
languages of the different places, besides Sanskrit, Prakrit and
Apabhramśa, for their religious propaganda as well as for the
preservation of knowledge. The Jainas thus occupy an impor-
tant position in the history of the literature and civilisation of
India.2

Along with literature the Jaina have always taken their due
share in the development of the arts in the country. The Jaina
have contributed their mite to enhance the glory of India in seve-
reral branches of art and architecture. Compared with their
number their contribution appears to be imposing. It must
be remembered that Jainism did not create a special archi-
tecture of its own, for wherever the Jaina went they adopted
the local building tradition. While in Northern India they
followed the Vaishnava cult in building, in Southern India
they adhered to the 'Dravidian' type. The Stūpas of the Jaina
are indistinguishable in form from those of the Buddhists and a
Jaina curvilinear steeple is identical in outline with that of
a Brahmanical temple. Even though the Jaina have not evolved
a distinct Jaina style of architecture, yet it must be said to their
credit that they have produced numerous and finest specimens of
architecture in different parts of the country. More than any other
sect in India the Jaina have displayed their intense love of the
picturesque while selecting the sites for the construction of their
sacred buildings like temples, temple-cities, cave temples, Stūpas,
pillars and towers. They have erected their temples either on

3. Havell, E. B.: The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India; A
   study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation, P. 175.
lovely hill-tops or in deep and secluded valleys. It has already
been noted that as the Jaina religion considers construction of
temples as a meritorious act, the Jainas have constructed an
unusually large number of temples throughout India. Nearly 90
per cent of Jaina temples are the gifts of single wealthy individuals
and as such the Jaina temples are distinguished for elaborate detail
and exquisite finish.

Of these innumerable Jaina temples, the two marble temples
at Mount Abu in Rajaputana are considered as the most notable
achievements of the Jainas in the domain of Art. The two
temples are famous as unsurpassed models of Western or Guja-
râti style of architecture which is characterised by a free use of
columns carved with all imaginable richness, strut brackets, and
exquisite marble ceilings with cusped pendants. The temples are
known for the beauty and delicacy of the carving and for the
richness of the design. Again the Jaina temple at Rânapur in
Mewar (which was built in 1440 A. D.) is the most complica-
cated and extensive Jaina temple in India and the most complete
for the ritual of the sect. The temple covers altogether about
48,000 sq. ft. of ground and on the merits of its design Fergusson
remarks that "The immense number of parts in the building, and
their general smallness, prevents its laying claim to anything like
architectural grandeur; but their variety, their beauty of detail—
no two pillars in the whole building being exactly alike—the grace
with which they are arranged, the tasteful admixture of domes of
different heights with flat ceilings, and the mode in which the
light is introduced, combine to produce an excellent effect. Indeed
I know of no other building in India, of the same class that leaves
so pleasing an impression, or affords so many hints for the graceful
arrangement of columns in an interior." The other temples of

P. 45.
2. See p. 243 ante.
such superb character are the temple of Pārśvanātha at Khajurāho in Bundelakhanḍa,¹ the temple at Lakkunḍi in Karnāṭaka,² the Jinaṇāthapura Bastī (i. e. temple) near Śravānabelagola in Mysore,³ Seth Ḥāṭhisiṅgh's temple at Ahmedabad,⁴ and the Hosa Bastī at Muḍabadri in South Kanara.⁵ It may be noted that the number of beautiful Jaina temples was considerably reduced during the Muslim period because the structure of Jaina temple was such that it could be easily converted into a mosque. The light columner style of the Jaina temples not only supplied materials more easily adopted to the purposes of Muslims, but furnished hints of which the Muslim architects were not slow to avail themselves. A mosque obtained in this way was, for convenience and beauty, unsurpassed by anything the Muslims afterwards erected from their own original designs.⁶ Thus the great mosques of Ajmer, Delhi, Kanauj, Dhar, and Ahmedabad are merely reconstructed temples of Hindus and Jaines. Further, the grouping together of their temples into what may be called "Cities of temples" is a peculiarity which the Jaines have practised to a greater extent than the followers of any other religion in India.⁷ Such notable temple-cities are found among other places at Śatruṇjaya or Paliḷpā and Giranāra in Gujarātha, at Sammeda Śikhara in Bihar, at Sonāgiri in Bundelakhanḍa, at Muktāgiri in Berar, at Kunthalagiri in the Deccan, at Śravānabelagola in Mysore and at Muḍabadri in South Kanara. Again the Jaines also, like the Buddhists, built several cave temples cut in rocks from the early times. But in dimensions the Jaina cave temples were smaller than those of Buddhist ones because the Jaina religion prescribed individualistic and not congregational ritual. The most numerous cave temples are in the

¹ Fergusson, J.: op. cit. P. 50.
² ibid, pp. 23–24.
³ Smith, V. A.: op. cit., P. 270.
⁴ Fergusson, J.: op. cit., P. 64.
⁵ ibid, pp. 70.
⁶ ibid, pp. 7 and 69.
⁷ ibid, P. 24.
Udayagiri and Khandagiri Hills in Orissa. The picturesqueness of their forms, the character of their sculptures and architectural details combined with their great antiquity render them one of the most important groups of caves in India. These and those of Junāgarā in Gujarātha belong to the second century B.C. while the others are of a later date of which the important ones are found at Aihole and Badāmī in Bijapur District, at Ankai and Pātana in Khandesh District, at Ellora and Osmanabad in the Hyderabad State, at Chamārā Lepā near Nasik and at Kalugu-malai in Tinnevelly District. Like the Buddhists Jainas also erected Stūpas, in honour of their saints with their accessories of stone railings, decorated gateways, stone umbrellas, elaborate carved pillars and abundant statues. Early examples of these have been discovered in the Kaṅkāli mound near Mathurā and they are supposed to belong to the first century B.C.²

Another remarkable contribution of the Jainas in the field of architecture is the creation of many pillars or stāṁbhas of pleasing design and singular grace which are found attached to many of their temples. Fergusson thinks that it may be owing to the stylistic propensities of the Muslims that these pillars are not found so frequently where they have held sway, as in the remoter parts of India; but, whether from this cause or not, they seem to be more frequent in Kanara and among the Southern Jainas than in any other part of India. Fergusson further suggests that there may be some connection between these Jaina stāṁbhas and the obelisks of the Egyptians.³ Regarding these Jaina pillars in Kanara Mr. Walhouse has remarked that “The whole capital and canopy are a wonder of light, elegant, highly decorated stone work, and nothing can surpass the stately grace of these beautiful pillars whose proportions and adaptation to surrounding scenery are always perfect, and whose richness of decoration

   (ii) Smith, V. A.: op. cit., pp. 82 and 144.
never offends.”  

1 According to Smith, in the whole range of Indian Art there is nothing perhaps equal to these Kanara pillars for good taste.  

There is evidence to show that apart from pillars the Jainas, especially from Northern India, might have constructed a great number of towers dedicated to their Tirthaṅkaras. There is such a tower which is still adorning Chitor in Mewar and it is considered as one of the best preserved monuments in India. This Jaina Tower at Chitor is a singularly elegant specimen of its class, about 75 feet in height and adorned with sculpture and mouldings from the base to the summit. The tower was constructed in the 12th century and was dedicated to Ādinātha, the first of the Jaina Tirthaṅkaras, and nude figures of them are repeated some hundreds of time on the face of the tower.  

The innumerable specimens of Jaina sculpture found in practically all parts of India show that the Jainas enlisted the services of sculptors from very ancient times. Their most common form of sculpture up to this day is modelling of images or statues of their Tirthaṅkaras. But in giving shape to these figures no scope at all was given for the freecfay of imagination of individual sculptors as regular rules regarding the form and pose of statues of Tīrthaṅkaras had been prescribed by the Jaina religion from the very beginning. Consequently practically all Jaina images pertain to one class and therefore Jaina images from any parts of the country cannot be distinguished from their style even though they belong to different ages altogether. It is significant to note that the Jaina images have been made of all substances and sizes and are almost always invariable in attitude, whether that be seated

4. In 1889 the number of separate Jaina images in the several temples at Pāliṭānā was 6,449 exclusive of small ones on slabs. Vide Fergusson, J. op. cit., P. 26.

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or standing. Small images are made of crystal, alabastor, soapstone, bloodstone, and various other precious and semi-precious materials; while the larger ones are carved from whatever kind of stone happens to be locally available.\(^1\) Undoubtedly the most remarkable of the Jaina statues are the celebrated colossi of Southern India, the largest free standing statues in Asia, which are three in number, situated respectively at Śravaṇabelagola in Mysore (constructed in 983 A.D. and 56\(\frac{1}{2}\) feet in height), at Kārakala in South Kanara (constructed in 1432 A.D. and about 41 feet in height) and at Yeṇḍu or Veṇḍu in South Kanara (constructed in 1604 A.D. and 35 feet in height). All three, being set on the top of eminences, are visible for miles around, and inspite of their formalism command respectful attention by their enormous mass and expression of dignified serenity. By all means these statues are among the most remarkable works of native art in the South of India.\(^2\)

Regarding the unrivalled progress of the Jainas in decorative sculpture, as distinguished from individual statuary, Smith remarks that “The Jainas encouraged the work of a high order of excellence and beauty, employed to adorn with the utmost possible magnificence the pillared chambers which were their favourite form of architecture. Nothing in the world can surpass for richness and delicacy of detail the marble columns and ceilings of the Mount Abu temples and it would be easy to fill a large volume with illustrations of more or less similar exquisite work in many localities”.\(^3\)

As Jainism is an original system, quite distinct and independent from all others, the Jainas have developed a separate philosophy which is regarded as a valuable contribution to the Indian philosophy. In philosophy the Jainas occupy a distinct position between the Brahmanic and Buddhist philosophical systems. This has been shown very clearly by H. Jacobi in his

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paper on "The Metaphysics and Ethics of the Jainas".1 Regarding
the problem of Being the three hold different opinions. The
Vedántins consider that underlying and upholding from within all
things there is one absolute permanent Being, without change and
with none other like it. On the contrary the Buddhists, hold that
all things are transitory. The Jainas, however, contend that Being is
joined to production, continuation, destruction and they call their
theory the theory of multiple view points (anekāntavāda), in contra-
distinction to the theory of permanency (nityavāda) of the
Vedántins, and to the theory of transitoriness (vināśavāda) of the
Buddhists. The Jainas think that the existing things are permanent
only as regards their substance, but their accidents or qualities origi-
nate and perish. The significance of this Jaina theory of Being
comes out more clearly when it is regarded in relation to the
doctrines of Syādvāda and of the Nayas. According to the doctrine of
Syādvāda any proposition about an existing thing must, somehow,
reflect the many-sidedness of Being, i.e., any metaphysical propo-
sition is right from one point of view, and the contrary proposi-
tion is also right from another. The Nayas are ways of expressing
the nature of things; all these ways of judgment are, according
to the Jainas, one-sided, and they contain out a part of truth.
The doctrine of the Nayas is, thus, the logical complement to the
Syādvāda which is an outcome of the theory of the many-sided-
ness of Being. From this Jacobi affirms that the Jaina theory of
Being is an indication of the commonsense view.

As the Jainas have evolved a philosophy of their own, they
follow a distinct ethical code based on their philosophy. The
Jaina ethics stands as a class by itself in the sense that it is the
only system which is founded on the main principle of Ahīṁsā. It
has already been noted how the principle of Ahīṁsā forms the basis
of various rules of conduct prescribed for both the Jaina laymen
and ascetics.2 Thus one of the significant contributions of the
Jainas is the Ahīṁsā culture. If the Jainas are known for any-
thing it is for the evolution of Ahīṁsā culture and it must be said

1. Vide H. Jacobi, Studies in Jainism, (edited by Jina Vijaya Muni),
   pp. 48-60.
2. See pages 230-231 ante.
to the credit of the Jainas that they practised and propagated that culture from ancient times. The antiquity and continuity of *Ahimsā* culture is mainly due to the incessant efforts of the Jaina Āchāryas. Naturally wherever the Jainas were in great numbers and wielded some influence they tried to spread *Ahimsā* culture among the masses. That is why we find that the provinces of Karnāṭaka and Gujarātha, which are the strongholds of Jainas from the beginning, are mainly vegetarian. In fact it is admitted that as a result of the activities of the Jainas for the last so many centuries *Ahimsā* still forms the substratum of Indian character as a whole.\(^1\)

Apart from the development of language and literature, art and architecture, and philosophy and ethics, the Jainas distinguished themselves in giving their unstinted support for the improvement of political and economic life in the country. The Jainas, especially in Southern and Western India, produced a large number of eminent and efficient monarchs, ministers and generals and thereby contributed to maintain and improve the political conditions of the people. Not only the ordinary Jainas but their saints or Āchāryas also aided materially to create the proper political environment necessary for the resuscitation of the life in the country. It is considered that due to the keen interest taken by the Jaina *gurus*, i. e., preceptors in political affairs of the country, Jainism occupies an important place in the history of India.\(^2\) The Jaina ascetics were never indifferent towards the secular affairs in general. We know from the account of Megasthnes that, in the 4th century B. C., the Sarmanes or Jaina ascetics who lived in the woods were frequently consulted by the kings through their messengers regarding the cause of things.\(^3\) So far as Karnāṭaka was concerned Jainism throughout its course of more than one thousand years was an example of a religion which showed that religious tenets were practised without sacrificing the

1. (i) Sharma, S. R.: Jainism and Karnāṭaka Culture, P. 150.
   (ii) Mugali, R. S.: Heritage of Karnāṭaka, P. 140.
political exigencies when the question of rejuvenating life in the country was at stake. That is why in Karnâṭaka we find that the Jaina Āchâryas ceased to be merely exponents of dogmas and turned themselves into creators of kingdoms.¹ It has already been noted that the Jaina Saints were virtually responsible for the founding of the Gaṅga Kingdom in the 2nd century A. D. and the Hoyasala kingdom in the 11th century A. D.²

In fact the most creditable achievement of Jainas is their survival from ancient times up to the present day. The Jainas and the Buddhists were the main representatives of Śramaṇa culture in India and it is pertinent to note that while Buddhism disappeared from the land of its birth, though it survives in other parts of the world, Jainism is still a living faith in India though it never spread outside India with the exception perhaps of Ceylon. Let us see, in brief, the reasons responsible for the continuous survival of Jainas in India.

3. REASONS FOR SURVIVAL OF JAINAS

Perhaps the most important reason which contributed to the continued existence of the Jaina community to the present day is the excellent organisation of the community. The significant part of the Jaina organisation is the fact that the laity has been made an integral part of the community. The community has been traditionally divided into four groups, viz., Śādhuś or male ascetics, Śādhviś or female ascetics, Śrāvakas or male laity and Śrāvikāś or female laity, and these groups have been bound together by very close relations. The same Vrataś or religious vows are prescribed for ascetics and laity with only difference that the ascetics have to observe them more scrupulously while the laity is allowed to follow them in a less severe manner. The laity is made completely responsible for the livelihood of the ascetics and to that extent the latter are dependent on the former. From the beginning ascetics have controlled the religious life of the lay disciples and the lay disciples have kept a strict control over the

¹ Saltitore, B. A., Medieval Jainism, P. 7.
² Vide Section 1 (II) of this chapter
character of the ascetics. That is why the ascetics are required to keep themselves entirely aloof from worldly matters and to rigorously maintain their high standard of ascetic life. If they fall short of their requirements they are likely to be removed from their positions.\(^1\) Instances of excommunication of Jaina Sādhus for the breach of the rules of conduct are still common in Guja-
rātha and Rajputana.\(^2\) As an ascetic is generally attached to a Gana or section and Gachchha or sub-section of Jainas and naturally persons belonging to a particular Gana or Gachchha can control the ascetics of their Gana or Gachchha. Thus, for example, the Tapā Gachchha ascetics are controlled by the Tapā Gachchha people. Recently many of these Gachchhas have written constitutions of their sections and in that they assert this right also. In the rules and regulations framed in 1941 of the Lokā Gachchha of Bombay City it has been specifically mentioned that, "If any of the ascetics or Śrīpūjya (i.e. the head of a group of ascetics) behaves against the tenets and customs of the Lokā Gachchha Saṅgha, the general body of members of the sangha shall have power to remove such ascetics or Śrīpūjya from his office".\(^3\) In this connection H. Jacobi rightly remarks as follows. "It is evident that the lay part of the community were not regarded as outsiders, or only as friends and patrons of the Order, as seems to have been the case in early Buddhism; their position was, from the beginning, well defined by religious duties and privileges; the bond which united them to the Order of monks was an effective one..... It cannot be doubted that this close union between laymen and monks brought about by the similarity of their religious duties, differing not in kind, but in degree, had enabled Jainism to avoid fundamental changes within, and to resist dangers from without for more than two thousand years, while Buddhism, being less exacting as regards the laymen, underwent the most extraordinary evolutions and finally disappeared in the country of its origin."\(^4\)

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Another important reason for the survival of the Jaina community is its inflexible conservatism in holding fast to its original institutions and doctrines for the last so many centuries. The most important doctrines of the Jaina religion have remained practically unaltered up to this day and, although a number of the less vital rules concerning the life and practices of monks and laymen may have fallen into disuse or oblivion, there is no reason to doubt that the religious life of the Jaina community is now substantially the same as it was two thousand years ago. This strict adherence to religious prescriptions will also be evident from Jaina architecture and especially from Jaina sculpture, for the style of Jaina images has remained the same to such an extent that the Jaina images differing in age by a thousand years are almost indistinguishable in style. Thus an absolute refusal to admit changes has been considered as the strongest safeguard of the Jainas.¹

The royal patronage which Jainism had received during the ancient and medieval periods in different parts of the country has undoubtedly helped the struggle of the Jaina community for its survival. The Karnâṭaka and Gujarâtha continued to remain as strongholds of Jainas from the ancient times because many rulers, ministers and generals of renowned merit from Karnâṭaka and Gujarâtha were of Jaina religion. Apart from Jaina rulers many non-Jaina rulers also showed sympathetic attitude towards the Jaina religion. From the edicts of Rajputana it will be seen that in compliance with the doctrines of Jainism orders were issued in some towns to stop the slaying of animals throughout the year and to suspend the revolutions of oil-mill and potter’s wheel during the four months of the rainy season every year.² Several inscriptions from the South reveal the keen interest taken by non-Jaina rulers in facilitating the Jainas to observe their religion. Among these the most outstanding is the stone inscription dated

1368 A.D. of the Vijayanagara monarch Bukka Rāya I. When the Jainas of all districts appealed in a body for protection against their persecution by the Vaishnavaśa, the king after summoning the leaders of both sects before him declared that no difference could be made between them and ordained that they should each pursue their own religious practices with equal freedom.¹

The varied activities of a large number of eminent Jaina saints contributed to the continuation of Jaina community for a long period because these activities produced a deep impression upon the general public regarding the sterling qualities of Jaina saints. They were mainly responsible for the spread of Jainism all over India. The chronicles of Ceylon attest that Jainism also spread in Ceylon.² As regards the South India it can be maintained that the whole of it in ancient times was strewn with small groups of learned Jaina ascetics who were slowly but surely spreading their morals through the medium of their sacred literature composed in the various vernaculars of the country.³ These literary and missionary activities of the Jaina saints ultimately helped the Jainas in South India to strengthen their position for a long time in the face of Hindu revival. The important Jaina saints and writers from the South were Kunda Kunda, Umapati, Samantabhadra, Pujyapada, Akalanka, Vidyānand, Mānikiyanand, Prabhachandra, Jinasena I, Guptabhadra, Somadeva, Pampa and Rana.⁴ Of these illustrious persons Āchārya Samantabhadra and Āchārya Akalanka were the foremost in their zeal of spread of Jainism. Samantabhadra in the 2nd century A.D. toured all over India and defeated his opponents in the public disputations. Similarly Akalanka defeated the Buddhists in public disputation at Kaṭchi in the 7th or 8th century A.D. in

². Law, B. C.: Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings, P. 57.
consequence of which they were banished to Ceylon.¹ Even in political matters the Jaina saints were taking keen interest and guiding the people whenever required. It has already been noted that the Gangas and the Hoyasalas were inspired to establish new kingdoms by the Jaina Āchāryas. Along with the carrying of these scholastic, missionary and political activities, the Jaina Āchāryas tried to excel in their personal accomplishments also. In a work called Pujyapadacharita the names of 37 arts and sciences mastered by Āchārya Pujyapāda are given.² In the 7th century A. D. the famous Chinese pilgrim Huien Tsiang had heard of old time that the Nirgranthas (i.e. the Jaina ascetics) were skilled in divination.³ Naturally princes and people alike had a great regard for the Jaina saints in different parts of the country. Even the Muslim rulers of Delhi honoured and showed reverence to the learned Jaina teachers of South India.⁴ Regarding the influence of Jaina saints in Rajputana Col. Tod remarks that “To show the respect in which the high priests of the Jainas are held, the princes of Rajputana invariably advance outside the walls of their capital to receive and conduct them to it—a mark of respect paid only to princes. On the occasion of the high priest of the Khadaataras⁵ passing through Udaipur, the Rāpā received him with every distinction.”⁶ It is no wonder that the character and activities of such influential Jaina saints created an atmosphere which helped to lengthen the life of Jaina community.

A minority community for its continued existence has always to depend on the goodwill of the other people and that goodwill could be persistently secured by performing some benevolent acti-

1. Rice, B. L.: Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, pp. 196-197 and 203.
   Akalanka, according to Akalankacharita, is assigned to 642 A. D. vide S. Srikantha Sastri: Sources of Karnatak History, Vol. I, P. 54.
5. i.e. people belonging to the Khadaatar Gachchha of Jainas.
vities. The Jainas did follow and are still following this path of attaining the goodwill of all people by various means like educating the masses and alleviating the pain and misery of people by conducting several types of charitable institutions. From the beginning the Jainas made it one of their cardinal principles to give the four gifts of food, protection, medicine and learning to the needy (āhāra-abhaya—bhaishajya-sāstra-dāna)—irrespective of caste and creed. According to some this was by far the most potent factor in the propagation of the Jaina religion.¹ For this they established alm-houses, rest-houses, dispensaries and schools wherever they were concentrated in good numbers. It must be noted to the credit of the Jainas that they took a leading part in the education of the masses. Various relics show that formerly Jaina ascetics took a great share in teaching children in the Southern countries, viz., Andhra, Tamil, Karnāṭaka and Mahārāṣṭra.² In this connection Dr. Altekar rightly observes that before the beginning of the alphabet proper the children should be required to pay homage to Gaṇeśa, by reciting the formula “Śrī Gaṇeśaya Namaḥ”, is natural in Hindu society, but that in the Deccan even today it should be followed by the Jaina formula “Om Namaḥ Siddham” shows that the Jaina teachers of medieval age had so completely controlled the mass education that the Hindus continued to teach their children this originally Jaina formula even after the decline of Jainism.³ Even now the Jainas have rigorously maintained the tradition by giving freely these four types of gifts in all parts of India. In fact the Jainas never lag behind in liberally contributing to any national or philanthropic cause.

Another important factor which helped the continuation of the Jaina community is the cordial and intimate relations maintained by the Jainas with the Hindus. Formerly it was thought that Jainism was a branch either of Buddhism or of Hinduism. But now it is generally accepted that Jainism is a distinct religion and that it is as old as, if not older than, the Vedic religion of the

¹ SaleFORE, B. A.: Medieval Jainism, P. 269.
Hindus. As Jainism, Hinduism and Buddhism, the three important ancient religions of India, are living side by side for the last so many centuries, it is natural that they have influenced one another in many respects. In matters like theories of rebirth and salvation, descriptions of heaven, earth and hell, and belief in the fact that the prophets of religion take birth according to prescribed rule, we find similarities in the three religions. Since the disappearance of Buddhism from India the Jainas and Hindus came more close to each other and that is why in social and religious life the Jainas on the whole do not appear to be much different from the Hindus. It has already been noted that in matters like superstitious beliefs and practices, religious festivals and fasts, occupations and professions, dress and ornaments, Sāṁskāras or sacraments and language and general outlook on life, there are various common things between the Jainas and Hindus, and especially the vegetarian Hindus. There are certain castes whose members are found in both the communities and to some extent marital relations are still maintained between the Jaina and Hindu sections of the same caste. From these things it should not be considered that the Jainas are a part of the Hindus or Jainism is a branch of Hinduism. In fact if we compare Jainism and Hinduism, we find that the differences between them are very great and their agreement is in respect of a few particulars only concerning the ordinary mode of living. Even the ceremonies which appear to be similar are in reality different in respect of their purport if carefully studied. The sacred books of the Hindus like Vedas, Smṛtis, Purāṇas, etc. are not accepted by the Jainas and the Hindus also do not recognise even a single scripture of the Jainas. While the Jainas regard the world as eternal, the Hindus hold it to have been made by a creator. In Jainism worship is not offered to an eternal and eternally pure God, but to those Great Ones who have realised their high ideal and attained to Godhood themselves; in Hinduism worship is performed of many forms of one God who is the creator and the ruler of the world. The significance of worship in Hinduism is also not the same as that in Jainism. In Jainism there is no offering of food and the like, nor is a prayer made to the deity for boons. In Hinduism the attainment of the
object is by the will of certain divine beings who are to be propitiating. The animal sacrifices practised by the Hindus have no place in Jainism. The Hindus believe that Gods alone can attain salvation, while the Jainas consider that it is the right of human beings only. The Hindus regard Karma as an invisible power but the Jainas think it as a form of matter which can stick to the soul. In Jainism there are various principles like Dharma, Adharma, Leshyā, Gunasthāna, etc. which are not found in Hindu spiritual ideology. The Jaina Gods, temples, places of pilgrimage, holy days, fasts, festivals and rituals are quite different from those of the Hindus. While the Hindus consider marriage as a religious sacrament, the Jainas regard it as a civil contract. The begetting of male children is prescribed by Hinduism for the spiritual welfare of the people; but in Jainism the presence or absence of a son does not make any difference in the spiritual progress of a person. The peculiarly Hindu practices like Niyoga and Sati are not approved by the Jainas. Further a large number of Hindu religious practices, which are repugnant to Jainism, have been termed as Mūḍha or stupid customs and beliefs and the true Jainas are required to be absolutely free from them. They are sun-worship, bath during eclipses, giving away money on Sāṅkrānti days, the morning and evening ablutions, fire-worship, the worship of edifices, ceremonial bathing in rivers and the ocean, adoration of trees, stupas, and sacred offerings of boiled rice, religious suicide by falling from a precipice, bowing at the tail of a cow and taking cow's urine, and the worship of jewels, conveyances, weapons, the earth and the mountains.

From the facts mentioned above it is evident that there are several items of social and religious practices on which there are basic differences between the Jainas and the Hindus. It is pertinent to note that these differences are persisting even up to the present day. At the same time it will have to be admitted that

3. Vide Chapter V ante.
4. Vide Chapter V ante.

there had been an infiltration of non-Jaina elements into Jaina social and religious usages. It is not that the Jainas blindly accepted these non-Jaina elements. Perhaps the Jainas had to allow the infiltration of non-Jaina element as an adjustment to changed circumstances. Various reasons can be given as to why the Jainas knowingly permitted some of their members to follow obviously non-Jaina customs and manners. In the first place, new converts to Jainism could not be expected to discard their previous practices in toto and to observe all the Jaina practices at once. Some concession will have to be shown to them if the proselytising activities are to continue and the number of Jainas is to increase. In this way we find that the observance of some of the Hindu religious practices referred to above was connived at by the Jainas even though it was repugnant to Jainism. In fact it was prescribed by Jaina Āchāryas that “if a convert to Jainism cannot altogether renounce all his false beliefs, he ought to be given a mixed reception, but it is not advisable to discard him altogether.”

Secondly, in times of calamity changes are sometimes effected in the religious practices to preserve religion and life and the Jainas had to follow the same course. In the past the Hindus committed many acts of oppression against the Jaina saints and householders. Under these circumstances the Jainas took the shelter of Brahmanical greed and began to employ the Brahmins for the performance of their social ceremonies, so as to preserve themselves in that way. The pratice has continued and even in day Brahmins are employed by some Jainas to assist in the performance of marriage and other ceremonies at various stages in certain parts of the country. In some Jaina temples Hindus are employed to perform daily Pūjā or worship. To soften and appease Brahmanical hatred interpolations embodying Brahmanical ritual appear to have been made in some of the Jaina books. Probably this was the only means left under the circumstances of preserving the Jaina religion and the Jaina community. Some of the Hindu gods

1. तथापि यदि मुदते न स्यमेतं कोशिपि सवथा।
मिभवत्वनादुमाम्योक्तो सवेतानाधे न सुन्दरः॥
—वश्चिलिकवभू
were also given minor seats in the Jaina temples with a similar motive. They are termed Kshetrapāla i.e. the Protectors of the place. Even at present the worship of non-Jaina gods and goddesses is indulged into by some Jainas.\(^1\) Thirdly, it was impossible for Jainism to remain unaffected by influences of local customs, beliefs and cults. As a small number of Jainas had to live amidst the non-Jainas, and especially among the Hindus, it is but natural for them to adopt the Hindu practices. That is why we find some Jainas observing the customs like wearing the sacred thread, participating in Hindu festivals, keeping days in memory of the dead, offering of rice-balls to the crows on the 10th day after the death, asking boons from the gods, believing in ghosts and spirits worshipping non-Jaina deities, etc. Thus the Jainas, as a policy for survival, willingly accepted the infiltration of non-Jaina element in Jaina practices. But in doing so they made every attempt to maintain the purity of religious practices as far as possible. The Jaina Āchārīyas, mainly with a view to maintain the continuity of the Jaina community in troubled times, did not oppose but on the contrary gave tacit sanction to the observance of local customs and manners by the Jainas. In this connection Somadeva, the most learned Jaina Āchārya of medieval age in the South, observes in his Yāsastilaka–Champu that

\[\begin{align*}
\text{दृश्य हि वर्मचं ग्रहस्थानं तौकिकः पारशौकिकः} & : | \\
\text{कोकच्चिरवो भवेद्वरव: परः स्वादाय्यमकक्षय:} & : || \\
\text{सर्वं एव हि जैनानां प्रमाणं तौकिको विधि:} & : | \\
\text{यथा सम्यक्स्थानिन्य यत्र न वैतदृष्णाम्} & : ||
\end{align*}\]

the religion of Jaina householders is of two varieties, Laukika, i.e., this worldly, and Pāralaukika, i.e. the other–worldly; the former is based upon popular usage and the latter on the scriptures. Further, it is legitimate for the Jainas to follow any custom or practice sanctioned by popular usage so long as it does not come into conflict with the fundamental principles of the Jaina faith or the

moral and disciplinary vows enjoined by the religion. It thus means that by showing the leniency to the Jainas in observing the well established local practices, provided they do not harm the highest principles of Jainism, a conscious effort was made by the Jainas to adjust to the adverse circumstances. This wise adjustment ultimately created cordial and intimate relations with Hindus and it appears that due to this policy the Jainas were saved from complete extinction at the hands of persecutionists and they could keep their existence for the last so many centuries. In fact the Jainas had made determined efforts to maintain good relations not only with the Hindus but with the members of other communities also. Even though the Jainas were in power for a long time they hardly indulged in the persecution of non-Jainas, whereas we find innumerable instances where Jainas were severely persecuted by non-Jainas.¹

4. CAUSES OF DECLINE OF JAINISM

It is true that the Jainas have managed to maintain their existence as a separate community for the last so many centuries and that in this long period they have made noteworthy contributions to the cultural progress of India. But the achievements of Jainas in various fields of activities pertain to the ancient and medieval period. Since the middle ages the Jainas are declining day by day in number and their influence is continuously waning. If the same process continues it is likely that the Jaina community will have to face total extinction within a period of few centuries. Before making any proposal as to how this position of continuous decline should be remedied, it is necessary to find out the causes mainly responsible for the downfall of the Jaina community.

The spread of a religion to a large extent depends on the amount of royal patronage it receives and the conviction with which it is propounded by its monks and followers. In the ancient and medieval period the numerical strength of the Jaina community was quite good because Jainism was actively supported by the ruling chiefs in different parts of the country and it was propagated

¹ Sharma, S. R.: Jainism and Karnāṭaka Culture, P. 150.
by some of the intellectual gems of the time. It is estimated that during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period (i.e. from 750 to 1000 A.D.) at least one third of the total population of the Deccan was following the gospel of Mahāvīra.¹ That the Jaina religion was one of the popular religions of India in the past could be seen from the large number of Jaina relics found all over India. But with the advent of Muslims in North India and the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire in South India Jainism completely lost the royal support. When the days of royal patronage were gone, never to return, the ascetic order of the community not only fell in number but became very slack in its duties. The ascetics in the later period never showed any enthusiasm in their ordinary activities like preaching and proselytising. There were no intellectual giants, unselfish workers and renowned saints like Bhadrabāhu, Kundakunda, Samantabhadra, Akalaṅka Haribhadra, Jinasena, Umāsvāti, Hemachandra and Siddhasena Divākara. Naturally they could not influence the people by their actions and bring them into the Jaina community. Thus with the lapse of royal support and stoppage of converting people to Jainism due to slackness of its teachers, there was no hope for the Jaina religion to increase the number of its followers.

When the Jaina community was in such a position that it could not augment the number of its members, it was faced with a calamity of severe persecution of its members by the other religionists—especially Brahmins, Liṅgāyatas or Viśāsaivas and Muslims. After gaining the ascendancy the Brahmins reduced the Jainas to the lowest depths of subjection. They threw out the idols in Jaina temples and converted them into Brahmanic ones,² destroyed the objects of the cult, deprived the Jainas of all freedom, both religious and civil, banished them from public employment and all positions of trust; in fact, they persecuted them to such an extent that they succeeded in removing nearly all traces of these Jainas in several provinces where formerly they

¹ Altekar, A. S.: Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, P. 313.
had been most flourishing.\textsuperscript{1} Traces of this old hostility between Jainas and Hindus survive in the Hindu saying that

\begin{quote}
हृदितना ताड्यायानोधि न गच्छेत्तैनमंदिरम्
\end{quote}

One should not take refuge in a Jaina Temple, even to escape from mad elephant and in the rule that a Jaina beggar will not take alms from a Hindu unless he can perform some service in return, though it may not equal the value of the alms.\textsuperscript{2} The position of the Jaina religion in the South was much shaken through persecution. King Sundara of the Pāṇḍya dynasty, in the middle of the seventh century, at the instigation of the famous saint Tiruṅānasambandara, the arch-enemy of Jainism, persecuted the Jainas with the most savage cruelty and inflicted on no less than eight thousand innocent persons a horrible death by impalement. The memory of this bloody episode is constantly kept alive in the series of frescoes recorded on the wall of the Maṇṭapaṁ of the Golden Lotus Tank of the famous Miṅakshi temple at Madura. As though it was not sufficient to humiliate the Jainas, the whole tragedy is gone through at five of the twelve annual festivals at the Madura temple, on which occasion an image representing a Jaina impaled on a stake is carried in procession.\textsuperscript{3}

In the Vijayanagara Empire the Jaina people known as Pāṇḍchu-rhis were destroyed by the Brāhmaṇas in the times of Adondai, and some embraced the Brahmanical system.\textsuperscript{4} Such persecutions were largely responsible for the final overthrow of Jainism in south India. In Karnātaka the Jainas were persecuted by the Vīraśaivas and in Gujarātha and Māravāda they were persecuted by the Brahmins. A tradition at Pattan says that Śankarāchārya

\begin{enumerate}
\item Dubois, A. J. A.: Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies, pp. 694-696.
\item (i) Smith, V. A.: Early History of India, pp. 474-475.
\end{enumerate}

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effected the destruction of a number of Jaina priests in that city, and the spot in which they are supposed to have met their fate is to this day called the Lâchochâra. It is reported that the Brahmins were actively aggressive against the Jainas even in the 19th century and were used to take forcible possession of their temples and convert them into Hindu temples. In the Central Provinces the best Jaina temples are found in very remote spots and it is suggested that they were built at times when the Jainas had to hide in such places to avoid Hindu persecution. In North India from time to time fanatic kings indulged in savage outbursts of cruelty and committed genuine acts of persecution directed against Jainas or Buddhists as such. Thus the persecution of the Jainas in different parts of India hastened their decline which had already gained some momentum due to the loss of royal patronage and slackness of the monastic order.

The strength of the Jaina community was further weakened when various religious and social divisions arose in the community. It has already been noted that the Jaina Church was one and undivided up to 81 A.D. but from that year it was divided into two major divisions, viz., the Digambara and the Śvetâmbara. These sects were further divided into small sub-sects and groups like Gâpa and Gachchha and strangely enough these groups came into existence solely due to the trivial differences between the ascetics. Some of the divisions were no doubt revolutionary in the sense that they completely renounced idol-worship and took to the worship of the scripture only. As the underlying philosophy is common to all sects and sub-sects, really speaking there is no reason why animosity should arise among them. But actually the sectarian feelings have gained such an upper hand that the various sects and sub-sects not only hate one another but try to grab

what the others have got. Naturally the Jainas think always of
their sub-sect or sect and never of Jainism as a whole. In these
circumstances it is obvious that there is no powerful common
religious bond which can bring all Jainas together. What is true
of religious divisions is equally true of social divisions. The Jaina
system of social organisation was, in the beginning, based on the
distinction of function. Birth was not considered as a criterion
for determining the status of a person in society. But later on a
large number of castes and sub-castes arose in the small Jaina
community and today the Jainas are as caste-ridden as the Hindus
are. Naturally the castes have fostered separatist tendencies,
have created cultural gulls between the castes, and have stood
in the way of social unity in the Jaina community.

5. PRESENT PROBLEMS AND THE WAY OUT

At present the Jaina community is faced with various prob-
lems which are clamouring for solution. Of these some are of
recent origin. The problems like whether the Harijans should be
allowed to enter the Jaina temples or not, whether the Jaina
ascetics should be excluded from the application of Beggars’ Act
or not, whether the properties attached to the Jaina temples and
Mathas or monasteries and religious endowments should be
controlled by the Government or not, whether the term ‘Hindu’
includes the Jainas or not, etc. are the outcome of the past few
years and have arisen mainly due to the excessive legislative zeal
shown by various Provincial Governments after the introduction
of Provincial Autonomy in India in 1937. But these problems
need not detain us here. We are more concerned with the
problems of a fundamental nature which are existing in the Jaina
community for the last so many years. We have already discussed
some of these problems in detail. It now remains to recapitulate
them in brief and to suggest the ways of solving them so that the
Jaina community can hope to lead a more vigorous and pros-
perous life in the future.

(A) The Problem of Declining Population:

The most important, serious and urgent problem confronting
the Jaina community is the gradual decline of its number. The
Jaina community is one of the most ancient communities in India and up to the Middle Ages it claimed a sufficiently large following throughout the different parts of India. But afterwards the numerical strength of the Jainas rapidly began to decline day by day, and the process is being continued up to the present day. The tendency is quite noticeable from the census figures. The proportion of Jainas in the total population of India was 0·48 per cent in 1881, while the same proportion according to 1941 census was 0·37 per cent.\(^1\) Taking into account the incorrect enumeration and other factors it can safely be said that the growth of Jaina population is not keeping pace with the growth in the total population of India and if this persistent tendency is allowed to continue, the Jaina community will possibly have to face total extinction in the near future. It is therefore necessary to find out the causes of this continuous downfall in the number of Jaina population.

In the first place it may be noted that the sex composition of the Jainas is not even. According to 1941 census there are only 930 Jaina females per 1000 Jaina males and this proportion is less than that among Parsis, Scheduled caste and other Hindus, Christians and Jews. The deficiency of Jaina females seems to be continuous as in 1901 also the proportion of females to males was 929 to 1000.\(^2\) This deficiency is further heightened if we take into account the sex composition of Jaina castes because the marriages as a rule have to be contracted within the members of a particular caste only. Thus in 1917 among the ‘Buṣhelā’ caste of North India there were in all only 100 females of marriageable age to 204 males of that age.\(^3\) This means that many males have compulsorily to remain bachelors throughout their life. Coupled with the dearth of females there is another reason which requires the males to remain unmarried and that is the permission given to males either to practise polygyny or to marry again after the dissolution of the first marriage. That is why we find that according to the latest figures of 1931 census the proportion of

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1. See page 2 ante.
2. See page 9 ante.
unmarried males among the Jainas was greater than that among
the Hindus or Muslims or all people together.\(^1\) Again, not only
there is continuous deficiency of females which undoubtedly comes
in the way of growth of population, there are, about Jainas
women, certain other significant factors which hinder the effective
increase in the Jainas population. Even though the fertility of
Jaina women is showing some signs of improvement, it is a fact
that it is less than that of Tribal, Christian, Sikh and Muslim
women and it may take many decades for the Jaina women to
reach the fertility rate of Tribal, Christian or Sikh women.\(^2\)
Further, compared with the others, the Jaina girls are married at
an early age. In the Bombay Presidency, according to the 1931
census, the highest number of infant girls married was that of
Jainas and the Jainas, along with the Hindus, showed very high
figures for marriages of girls under the age of fifteen.\(^3\)

As the conditions among Jainas are practically the same all
over India, the custom of child-marriage was found everywhere
among the Jainas and now, though the age of marriage among
the Jainas is increasing, the Jainas, in comparison with the others,
seem to be an early marrying community. Since the Jaina females
are married early, they are required to bear the incidence of child-
birth at a comparatively early age and this has considerably told
upon their health and has finally resulted in high rate of female
mortality.\(^4\) The child-marriage thus makes the problem worse by
increasing the deficiency of females. In still another way the
child-marriage affects the growth of population. The highest
proportion of widowed females in the Jaina community can
possibly be attributed to its widespread practice of child-marriage.
With the exception of a few widows belonging to some particular
castes, all widows in general are effectively debarred from re-
marrying. Naturally the existence of an unusually large number
of widows in the reproductive period and the prevalence of ban
on widow-remarriage, render nearly 20% of the already deficient

\(^1\) See page 17 ante.
\(^2\) See page 14 ante.
\(^3\) See page 20 ante.
\(^4\) See page 17 ante.
female population worthless from the point of view of growth of population.1 Thus the factors like the deficiency of females, practice of early marriage, low fertility of women, high rate of female mortality, large number of unmarried males and great proportion of young widowed females effectively debarred from remarriage, have all combined together to lower the growth of Jaina population. In a way these factors have helped to increase the clandestine sexual relations in the Jaina community. The presence of young widows and young wives of old people on the one hand and compulsorily unmarried males on the other is bound to give impetus to immoral and extra-marital relations. To conceal the extra-marital relations sometimes infanticide is resorted to and the persons addicted to adultery and their children, if at all they get them, become short lived as they fall an easy prey to various diseases.2 Hence it is clear that the results of such relations tell upon both the quantity and quality of population.

Apart from these internal causes which are largely responsible for the decline of Jaina population, there is an effective external cause also which is continuously reducing the number of Jaina population and that is the complete absence of proselytizing activities in the Jaina community. In the past many non-Jainas were regularly converted to Jainism and the learned Jaina Āchāryas used to take a leading part in these conversion activities. It is said that the Jaina Āchāryas were not taking their daily meals unless they covertly a previously determined number of non-Jainas to Jainism.3 It has already been noted that the populous Jaina castes like Agaravāla, Osavāla, Śrīmāla, and Khaṇḍelavāla were formed by the Jaina Āchāryas after converting the people to Jainism.4 But since the Middle Ages these activities are not undertaken at all and there are practically no new converts to Jainism. Not only that the non-Jainas are not brought into the fold of Jainas but every year thousands of Jainas

1. See Chapter I, Section (6).
3. Jain, Hirālal: Jaina Itihāsakī Pūrva Piṭhikā aura Hamārā Abhyu-
4. Vide Chapter III, Section 5 (i), (ii), (iii) and (v).
become non-Jainas.1 In these circumstances it is but natural that, as compared with the other communities like that of Hindus or Muslims where conversion activities are carried on with a religious fervour, the population of Jaina community should decline more rapidly.

Another contributory cause to the decline of Jaina population is the concentration of Jainas in the urban areas. It has been observed that as the Jainas are mainly a commercial community, they show a marked tendency to live in cities, at least where they are not numerous, and that this tendency is progressively increasing.2 Due to insanitary and unhygienic conditions prevailing in urban localities, generally the death rate is more in cities and the standard of health is less than that in rural areas. The committee appointed by the Śvetāmbara Jaina Conference to investigate into the death rate among the Jainas of Bomby City, reported that the death rate among the Jainas was more than the general death rate in the City and that the main reason for this was that more than half the Jaina population in Bombay City was living in small rooms in unhealthy localities. The committee had suggested to open health resorts in the countryside for the benefit of the Bombay Jainas.3 The Jainas are found in almost all cities and they are under the same handicap as the Bombay Jainas. Thus the quality, along with the quantity, of Jaina population has suffered by staying in cities.4

With a view to stop the gradual decline of the Jaina population and to increase its number, it is evident that various measures will have to be adopted without delay. The practice of early marriage must be stopped in the first instance so that the incidence of child birth at an early age will be avoided, the rate of female mortality will fall down, the number of young widows will be lessened and the health of females will be improved. Along with the stoppage of child-marriage the ban on widow-

2. See page 5 ante.
remarriage must be removed and the males must be debarred from practising polygyny and from marrying very young girls. This will make the full use of human resources. The deficiency of females will not so much be felt and the number of males who have to remain compulsorily unmarried will be reduced. Naturally it will have a good effect on curbing the extra marital and other immoral relations. To further lessen the number of males, who have to go without marriage against their wish, permission should be given to marry females not only from all castes of Jainas but from non-Jainas also. This will result in increasing the field for marriage, in widening the scope regarding choice of partners to the marriage, in avoiding marriages between near relatives and in improving, in the long run, the quality of the population. Moreover, persistent efforts will have to be made to reduce the death rate and to improve the physique of the people. For that purpose village life, as far as possible, be encouraged, people and especially women should be taught how to lead a healthy life in towns and cities, the provision of medical and hospital facilities and especially of maternity homes should be augmented and health resorts should be opened at different places so that the urban people can take recourse to them whenever required. Again, proper and regular religious instruction should be imparted to the people from an early age and this will, to a great extent, stop the exodus of people from the Jaina community. Along with this the proselytizing activity will have to be undertaken in right earnest and the new entrants to the community must be accorded a good reception and given a proper treatment in religious, social and other walks of life. It means that the Jainas will have to adopt the same intense missionary zeal displayed by the illustrious Jaina Āchāryas throughout the ancient and medieval period in India and possibly outside.

( 6 ) The Problem of Religious Divisions:

Another important problem, which is undermining the strength of the Jaina community for the last so many centuries, is the existence of various religious divisions in the community. Up to the days of Lord Mahāvīra and even for some centuries
later the Jaina Church remained one and undivided though some minor schisms had taken place during and after the time of Lord Mahāvīra. About the end of the first century A. D. the Jaina Church was finally split up into two rival sects which have vigorously maintained the rivalry to the present day. The two main sects, viz., the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara, were later on split up into major and minor sub-sects some of which were revolutionary in the sense that they opposed the established practice of idol worship. Apart from the division of the Jaina Church into sects and sub-sects, the Jainas were further divided, on a religious basis, into several sections and sub-sections like Saṅgha, Gapa, Gachchha and Śakhā. The Jainas did not stop only with the creation of a large number of sects, sub-sects, sections and sub-sections in the community but persistently made and are still making by various good and bad means to perpetuate these divisions. Only a few sacred places are common to both the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras, while each sect possesses its own numerous sacred places. Even those few common sacred places have, for all these years, become a constant bone of contention between the two sects as each sect tries to establish its claim of ownership over them by both fair and foul means. Crores of rupees have been spent by both the parties on litigation on these cases. Generally the members of each sub-sect or sub-section build their own temples or places of worship. Thus among the Digambaras the Terāpanthis and the Bīsapanthis have their separate temples and the Tāraṇapannthis their own Chaityālayas. The Mūrtipūjaka Śvetāmbaras have their temples, while the Śvetāmbara Sthānakavāsīs visit their Upākrsayas only. In big cities practically every important Gachchha possesses its temple where all the members of that Gachchha assemble on festival and other ceremonial days. At Kāraṇjā in Berar the members of Sena Gapa and Balātkāra Gapa have their own temples. Further, in many places the members of some important castes have their different temples. Again, the main sects have their own types of idols, methods of worship, places of pilgrimage, sacred books, Sāṅskāras or sacraments, religious teachers and fasts and festivals. These differences have so much been magnified by both
the main sects that every sect considers itself as a true follower of Jainism while it regards the other sect as fallen from the real path of Jainism. The differences have penetrated into the social field also. Formerly, marriages used to take place between the members belonging to different sects and sub-sects; but now there is a marked tendency to restrict the marital relations within the members of a particular sect or even a sub-sect. Each sect or sub-sect provides for its students facilities like boarding houses, scholarship funds, research grants, etc. There is hardly any association which caters to the needs of students irrespective of sect or sub-sect. Even their religious educational institutions like Gurukulas and Pāthasālās are separate for each sect or sub-sect. The members of practically every sect or sub-sect are being organised on an all-India basis. The Digambaras have three organisations of an all-India character, viz., All India Digāmbara Jaina Parishada, Delhi; All India Digambara Jaina Mahāsabhā, Delhi; and All India Digambara Jaina Saṅgha, Mathura; and among the Śvetāmbaras each sub-sect has an all-India organisation, viz., All India Śvetāmbara (Murtipūjaka) Jaina Conference Bombay; All India Śvetāmbara Sthānakavāsi Jaina Conference, Bombay; and Sri Jaina Śvetāmbara Terāpanthi Mahāsabhā, Calcutta. These organisations have their provincial branches and official news-paper organs through which they try to stabilise their respective positions. It is true that there are some organisations of national and local and provincial character like Bhārata Jaina Mahāmanḍala, Wardha, and Bombay Jaina Yuvaka Saṅgha, Bombay, which are meant for all Jainas, but it is a fact that they are not popular as other sectarian organisations are. Sometimes it is reported that even the religious pontiffs of different sects and sub-sects try to accentuate the religious differences and to sever the social relations, if any, existing between them.

Thus it is quite evident that the Jainas have been segregated into different hostile camps on religious grounds. As a consequence we find that there is nothing like religious unity among the followers of Jainism and this undoubtedly hinders the progress of the Jaina community. Since the Jainas have been spread throughout the length and breadth of India, there is a great
divergence in their observance of various social customs and manners. In the circumstances the only bond that brings all Jainas together is the bond of religion, i. e., they are the followers of the same religion. It is therefore the paramount duty of the Jainas to see that the feeling of oneness is inculcated in the minds of the Jainas by several means. In fact, Jainism is one and undivided so far as its philosophy, fundamental principles and doctrines are concerned. The Jaina Church was united for a long time and its sects—and especially the sub-sects—arose at a comparatively late stage in its history. There are not basic differences of a serious nature, from the point of view of the present age, between the sects and the sub-sects. According to the Jaina theory itself nobody, either male or female, can attain salvation in the current age. It is therefore quite futile to quarrel on points like ‘Savastramukti’, i. e., whether one can achieve Moksha while one wears the clothes; ‘Strimukti’, i. e., whether a woman can attain salvation; and ‘Kevali–Kavalāhāra’, i. e., whether an omniscient needs food or not. These three are the major points of differences between the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras and when they are not applicable in the present age there is no reason why the sects should give more importance to the minor differences and estrange their relations. The same can be said about the relations between the Terāpanthīs and the Bisapanthīs among the Digambaras and between the Sthānakavāsīs and the Terāpanthīs among the Śvetāmbaras as there are not much differences between them. The non-idolatrous sub-sects among both the sects may be allowed to worship in their own way but they should, in no case, be considered as aliens to Jainism. Thus more emphasis, in the first place, should invariably be given on these points of common nature so that the feeling of hostility may be completely banished from the minds of Jainas belonging to different sects and sub-sects. With a view to foster this feeling several practical means will have to be adopted by both the sects. They should celebrate together the birth and

1. See pp. 52-53 ante.
2. Vide pp. 54-58 ante.
death anniversary days of Lords Ṛṣabha and Mahāvīra together instead of observing them separately. They should make it a point to visit the temples and places of worship of all sects and sub-sects and should join in the religious festivals of other sects. The temples or places of worship should not belong to one sect or sub-sect, section or sub-section, or caste or sub-caste, but should be in the possession and under the management of the local Jainas irrespective of any distinction. All sectarian organisations will have to be abolished forthwith and their place should be taken by the organisations of all Jainas formed on local and provincial and national bases. Naturally all other facilities and institutions must be kept free to all Jainas. The field of social relations must also be widened. They should not be kept restricted within the members of a particular sect or sub-sect. Efforts should be made to publish the literature stressing the essential unity in the Jaina Church. The religious pontiffs should be made to concentrate their energies on cementing the differences and establishing the cordial relations between the sects and sub-sects. If possible, common Śaṅkāras, fasts and festivals should be evolved so that many opportunities will be created for bringing all people together and maintaining closer relations between them. When concentrated and sincere efforts are made on above lines it is hoped that the common religious bond will become firm and will foster the sense of unity among the Jainas, which is so essential for organising the Jaina community to continue its existence and to increase its prosperity.

(C) The Problems of Social Divisions and Marriage:

The third fundamental problem of a vital importance, with which the Jaina community is confronted, is regarding the social organisation of the community. In this respect the position of the Jaina religion is quite distinct. Jainism is not at all concerned with the division of society into classes or other groups. But for the facility of living the Jainas divided the people into four classes, viz., Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiṣyas and Śūdras. In dividing the society into four classes the Jaina Āchāryas made it abundantly clear that the classes are based on the differences in professions and that complete freedom is given to persons to follow any profession they
like. The classes were neither considered as hereditary nor were they arranged in the order of respectability. Thus all classes were placed on the same level and full mobility was assured between the classes. This was the social organisation of the Jainas at the time of Lord Mahāvīra and it prevailed for more than one thousand years after the death of Lord Mahāvīra. But afterwards slowly these four classes disappeared and their place was taken by many castes and sub-castes. The caste system of Jainas was practically modelled from the Hindu caste system. As a consequence the Jaina community has been divided into a large number of castes and sub-castes which through their councils controlled the social relations of their members. Contacts are not maintained between various castes. Inter-marriages are strictly prohibited. Even though inter-dining is not banned, still it is not availed of freely at all. Caste organisations run the boarding houses, distribute the scholarships, hold annual conferences, conduct their papers, provide residential accommodation at cheap rents and do other things all for the benefit of their caste members only. At many places castes have built their own temples where members assemble for performing religious services and festivals. Naturally by these means, at the expense of community feeling, caste loyalty is fostered in the minds of the Jainas. The caste system has created separatist tendencies in the Jaina community. Thus on the social grounds, just as on the religious ground, the Jainas have been divided and sub-divided into small sections which care more for themselves than for the Jainas as a whole. The strength of the small community has been very much weakened by the existence of these innumerable self-centred groups.

Apart from considerably reducing the vitality of the community, these social and religious divisions have very adversely affected the marriage relations of the people. One of the prominent features of the caste system is its endogamous nature. Accordingly a member of a particular caste or sub-caste, as the case may be, is required to marry a person who belongs to that caste or sub-caste. The exact number of castes and sub-castes prevailing in the Jaina community at present is not known but it is sure that the number is definitely more than one hundred. When
a small community is divided into so many sections it is obvious that the numerical strength of these sections must be meagre. That is why more than half the castes in the Jaina community possess the members who number less than five hundred.¹ Naturally the field for choice of partners becomes very limited. Along with caste endogamy, religious endogamy is also to be observed. This means that the caste members belonging to the same sect or sub-sect should have marital relations among themselves only. The members of a sub-caste, but not of the same sub-sect, are not allowed to contract matrimonial alliances among themselves. Further, with these factors territorial considerations have also to be taken into account. Accordingly the partners to the marriage must not only belong to the same caste or sub-caste and the same sect or sub-sect but also must be the residents of a particular locality. Thus there is practically no scope given to the Jainas in the important matter of the choice of their life partners. It is evident that in these circumstances the married life cannot be conducive to happiness and many a time marriages have necessarily to be contracted between not too distant relatives. Moreover, due to these three-fold restrictions the already existing deficiency of females is further heightened and comparatively many males are required compulsorily to remain unmarried against their wish throughout their life. All these things tell upon the growth of the population and create discontent among the people. It will therefore be seen that the caste solidarity is tried to be maintained through restriction on marital relations even though they definitely go against the interests of the community as a whole.

In these circumstances it is quite obvious that the social organisation of the Jainas should not be based on the caste system if the Jainas have to put a stop to their gradual decline. The Jainas must unhesitatingly discard the caste system forthwith. In doing so they are, undoubtedly, not going against their religion because Jainism never sanctioned the caste system. It must be remembered that in the past castes were not found in the Jaina community at all. There is not even a slight evidence in the doctrines of

¹. See pp. 75–76 ante.
Jainism, in the ancient history of the Jaina society or in the ancient Jaina literature regarding the existence of caste-distinctions in Jaina community. Even the names of present Jaina castes are nowhere mentioned in the Jaina literature of one thousand years after the death of Lord Mahāvīra.\(^1\) Historically viewed the castes are thus of a relatively recent origin and can therefore be easily removed. The earlier it is done the better it will be for the growth and prosperity of the community. It is obvious that for uprooting the caste system all things, mentioned above, which foster caste consciousness, will have to be set aside for ever as a common policy by all members of the Jaina community.

\(^1\) Jain Hiralal: Jaina Itihāsa-ki Pūrva Piṭhikā aur Hamārā Abhyu thāna, Part II, P. 42.
CHAPTER EIGHT

EPILOGUE

In the preceding pages the social conditions prevailing at present in the Jaina community have been depicted. We surveyed in detail some of the important social institutions and customs and manners of the Jainas. We noted the salient aspects of Jaina philosophy and the ethical rules based upon it. We saw the working model of the Jaina community and got a glimpse of the views of the Jainas on their various social problems. We traversed hurriedly through the long course of the history of the Jainas in different parts of India and tried to have, in short, an estimate of the achievements of Jainas in several fields of activity and of their contributions to Indian civilisation. Further, we discussed the reasons for the survival of the Jaina community and the causes for its gradual decline. Lastly, we observed the important problems of a fundamental character with which the Jaina community is confronted at present and suggested various means by which they could be effectively solved.

From this social survey of the Jaina community we find that certain facts about it stand out very clearly. In the minority communities of India the Jaina community, which is composed of the followers of the Jaina religion, occupies a peculiar position. Unlike the other minority communities like Muslim, Parsi, etc., the Jaina community is not foreign to this land. Jainism originated in this country and was mostly confined to this country. About the antiquity of Jainism there is no unity of opinion among the scholars. It is believed, on reliable grounds, that Jainism is at least as old as the Vedic religion, if not older than the Vedic religion. In any case it is now an established fact that Jainism was flourishing in the eighth century B.C. during the days of Lord Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara or Prophet of the Jainas. From that time up to the present day Jainism is well represented in this country. This means that the Jaina community, which from its
very inception belongs to this land, is one of the most ancient communities of India. Further, the Jainas are a religious community, which is quite distinct from other communities in India. The independence of Jaina religion is now acknowledged on all hands. It is established beyond doubt that Jainism is a distinct religion of India and not an offshoot of either Buddhism or Brahmanism. We find that from ancient times two different types of culture, viz., the Brāhmaṇa culture and the Śramaṇa culture, have been existing side by side and of these two the Jainas still represent the Śramaṇa culture. The Jaina religion, philosophy, ethics, gods, temples, sacred places, object, manner and places of worship, sacred books, cosmology, mythology, ideology, teachers, ascetics, vows, holy days, rites, fasts, festivals, outlook on life and culture with its emphasis on Ahiṃsā, i.e., non-injury to living beings, are not only distinct from their Hindu counterparts but also not accepted and followed by the Hindus. Even in the observance of certain common customs and manners the Jaina way of looking at them is quite different from that of the Hindus. The Hindus regard the marriage as a religious sacrament, while the Jainas consider it as a civil contract. Among the Hindus adoption is a religious ceremony; this is not so among the Jainas. According to Jaina Law a widow inherits the property of her deceased husband, but this position is not accepted by the Hindus. In the death ceremonies the Jainas do not observe the days in memory of the dead. In the matters of food and drink, dress and ornaments and occupations and professions the Jainas are strictly required to observe the main precept of Jainism, viz., non-injury to living beings; but this restriction is not there for the Hindus. The Jainas participate in the Hindu religious festivals but not with a religious motive. The Hindu gods are worshiped and the Hindu Brahmins are employed for ceremonial purposes by some Jainas for one reason or another. As the observance of such avowedly non-Jaina practices is against the tenets of Jainism, with the spread of religious education these irreligious practices are slowly but surely dwindling in the Jaina community. In fact any distinctly religious Hindu practice is nowadays openly resented by the leading Jainas, if it is observed.
by their fellow members. The Jainas no longer regard themselves as Hindus and ardently wish themselves to be known as Jainas and not as Hindus for any purposes. Recently by the Bombay Government the Jainas were included among the Hindus for the purpose of their Harijan Temple Entry Act and this was taken by the Jainas as an indication of the Government opinion that the Jainas form a part of the Hindus. When the Jainas strongly protested against the Government policy, the Bombay Government declared that Jainism is in no way connected with Hinduism and as such Jainas cannot be considered as Hindus. The Jainas sincerely feel that they are a separate religious community and now try to eradicate the non-Jaina religious practices which have crept into the community due to the ignorance of Jainas and the overwhelming external pressure. Thus it is clear that the ancient Jaina community is a distinct religious community of India and recently this position has been accepted by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, who has declared that

"It is true that Jainas are in some ways closely allied to Hindus and have many customs in common, but there can be no doubt that they are a distinct religious community and constitution does not in any way affect this well recognised position."

So far as religious life is concerned, it is true that the Jainas could be easily distinguished as a separate group of people. Their religious practices are not only distinct from those of other people but also they are practically the same all over India. But in social matters, it is obvious that, the Jainas do not form a separate entity. From our survey of social conditions prevailing in the Jaina community it is evident that there is no uniformity in social practices among the Jainas of different parts of the country, and that the social customs and manners of Jainas in a particular region resemble those of Hindus from that region. Thus the caste system among Jainas differs very little from its Hindu

1. Vide the Prime Minister’s letter No. 33/94/50 P. M. S., dated the 31–1–50 addressed to Mr. S. G. Patil representative of Jaina Deputation, New Delhi. (The letter is published in ‘Pragati ani Jinavijaya,’ dated the 11–2–50.). Also see The Times of India, dated the 3–3–50.
counterpart. Like Hindus, the Jainas have different castes in different parts of the country. In many cases members of one caste are found in both the communities and generally marital relations are maintained between the Jaina and Hindu members of a caste. The ceremonies like birth, initiation, marriage, death, etc. are performed in the like manner by both Jainas and Hindus. In matters like food and drink, dress and ornaments, occupations and professions, superstitious beliefs and practices, types of houses and household articles, use of language and conventional ways of greetings and behaviour, styles of architecture and sculpture, etc. there are various common features between the Jainas and Hindus. The Jainas have completely identified themselves with the general interests of the regions concerned and they have made varied and substantial contributions to the development of languages and literature, arts and architecture, logic and philosophy, education and learning, charitable and public institutions and material and spiritual welfare of the people of those regions. In this way the Jainas have maintained very close relations with the Hindus and we have already noted that this is one of the main reasons which contributed to the continued existence of the Jaina community. Even the attitude of Hindus was, in general, more cordial and sympathetic towards Jainas than towards Buddhists. The Hindus in their Brahma-Sūtras tried to refute Jainism as a separate philosophy, but they never rigorously attacked and finally supplanted Jainism as they did in the case of Buddhism. In the sacred Vedas of the Hindus we find references to Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras or Prophets. Some Hindu Purāṇas give the story of Rṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara of Jainas, and consider him as an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa in an age prior to that of the ten avatāras or incarnations of Viṣṇu. Thus in social matters there is virtually no difference between Jainas and Hindus. This was the position for the last so many centuries.

But we have already noticed that the position has changed during the last few decades. Now there is a growing tendency to eradicate every non-Jaina element from the Jaina community.

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As a result many Jainas have stopped keeping marital relations with the Hindus and even among the Jainas the field for marriage is restricted to the members of a particular sect or sub-sect and caste or sub-caste. Efforts are being made from the last fifty or sixty years to organise the Jaina community even in social matters and to sever its connections from the Hindu community. Various associations are working to increase social relations among the Jainas and to form them into a separate social group. The Jainas now, it appears, sincerely desire to make themselves distinct from the Hindu community in social practices as they are in religious ones. Thus they are trying to maintain themselves as a distinct community and wish to keep up their separate identity in future.

But the main question is whether the Jainas are in a position to preserve themselves as a separate social group. The conditions existing in the Jaina community at present are not helpful at all for prolonging the life of the community. In the first place it is a very small community. Its population according to 1941 census is about 15 lacs while the total population of India is more than 38 crores, which means that there are about 37 Jainas per 10,000 of the total population of India. This number is also gradually declining. The proportion of Jainas to the total population of India in 1881 was 48 to 10,000. Again, this small population is not concentrated in some place or area but is distributed over different parts of the country. The Jainas have permanently settled in those parts for the last so many centuries and some migration of Jaina population for trade and other purposes did take place during the last days of the Mughal period and the early days of the British period. As the Jainas are permanent residents of all parts of the country, the problem of their common organisation becomes obviously difficult. The Jainas are not only split up into tiny sections geographically but also on religious and social grounds. The religious divisons of sects and sub-sects and the social divisions of castes and sub-castes are so much respected that these divisions have created virtual barriers and have considerably lessened the social intercourse among the Jainas. The worst
effects of these divisions are witnessed in the field of marriage. While contracting marriages all the three types of divisions, viz., territory, sect or sub-sect and caste or sub-caste, are invariably taken into account. Among other things this system has resulted in checking the growth of population and has undermined the strength of the community as it gives rise to constant factions between the various divisions. It means that in the interest of preserving the existence of the community the present system of reducing the community into very small sections, which do not practically maintain any social relations among them, must be discarded without delay.

The question then arises as to what new type of social organisation should be evolved so that the growth of the community may be assured. For this purpose various measures have already been suggested. It has been specially pointed out that on religious grounds no restrictions should be put on the social relations of the people and that the caste system which has no religious sanction and which was not existing in the Jaina community in the past should be totally removed. The new unit of society for maintaining inter-relations may then be formed and it may include all the Jainas residing in a province formed on a linguistic basis. It is believed that this new arrangement of organising the community on a provincial basis will solve the outstanding problem of the community. As the Jainas are spread throughout the length and breadth of India, they cannot be effectively organised on an all India basis. The provincial basis will well suit the purpose. Generally marital and other social relations are maintained among the people of a province. We have seen that even now the members of a sub-caste in a province do not contract matrimonial alliances with their own sub-caste members of another province. Hence this arrangement will not much sever the connections of the people. Further, since the Jainas have settled in different provinces from a long time, they have imbibed the culture of their province. They use the provincial dress and ornaments. Their houses, household furniture and utensils, and items of food and drink are the same like those of other people of the province. They participate in all important festivals of the
province. In superstitious beliefs and practices and in the observance of ceremonies they do not differ from the rest of the people of the province. Thus the Jainas of a particular province present a coherent and homogeneous group and it would be feasible and better if they are formed into a unit of Jaina social organisation. This unit will, no doubt, be a sufficiently big unit for maintaining social relations and all the defects arising from the division of the community into small water-tight compartments will automatically disappear. The disintegrating tendencies will vanish and there will be a new orientation in the life of the community. The resources of the community will be easily pooled together and distributed evenly to all members. There will not be a lop-sided development, as that of one caste in relation to other castes, as at present. The common interests of the community like propagation of Jainism by various means, protection of Jaina institutions of a religious and philanthropic nature, safeguarding of Jaina religion and culture from external attacks, etc. will be better served. As the Jainas will be a close knit group of a tolerably good number of people, a feeling of unity will be engendered in their minds and this spirit of oneness will keep them bound together for a long time. By this way when the Jainas will begin to act in a concentrated manner with a unison of purpose, they will realise their strength and will be in a better position to contribute fully to the all round progress of the province. The Jainas could achieve so many things in the past in different parts of the country because there were no factions among themselves. The Jainas lost their dominant position in the South, which they had built up and assiduously maintained for more than thousand years, after the Middle Ages when they were divided into several small groups. The intimacy of social relations between the Jainas of all sects and sub-sects of a province will foster the spirit of religious toleration and the attitude of hostility between the sects will be slowly banished from their hearts. The converted people will be easily amalgamated into the common Jainas as the latter will be having no distinctions of caste and this will give some philip to the proselytizing activities by which the growth of Jaina community will be considerably
helped. Thus the social organisation of the Jainas on a provincial basis will, it appears, be beneficial to the Jaina community and will solve their main question of ensuring preservation and growth of their community. This does not mean that there will be a ban on the relations of Jainas of different provinces. As all Jainas comprise one community, inter-relations will occur and for the sake of considering the important common questions with which the community as a whole is concerned they may have an association, of course without any distinction of sect or caste, on an all India basis. It is obvious that if the Jainas in a certain province form a very meagre number, they will have to merge for all social relations into the Jainas of adjoining provinces; and this will automatically establish inter-relations between the Jainas of adjacent provinces.
APPENDIX A

JAINA POPULATION ACCORDING TO 1951 CENSUS

At the census of 1951 information about religion was collected as at all previous censuses. But the 1951 census report does not furnish detailed data about the population in India classified on the basis of religion. In the censuses prior to 1951 the enumeration record was sorted out in the first instance on the basis of religion. This yielded population figures for every village or town throughout the country broken into population groups, differentiated by religion. These groups then became the units for further sorting of census data. As a result, many important census tables like age, civil conditions, literacy, etc. were prepared for persons professing different religions separately. But a different procedure was adopted at the census of 1951. The enumeration record was sorted in the first instance with reference to the principal means of livelihood of every citizen as recorded at the census. This gave basic numbers for every village and town for each of the eight main livelihood classes; which then became the units for further sorting of census data. In consequence, the information extracted at the census for population groups differentiated by religion is restricted to the ascertainment of numbers only. That is why very limited information about Jaina population is known from the census report of 1951. An account based on the information so available is given below.

The total Jaina population in India according to the 1951 census is 16,18,406. At the first census in 1881 it was 12,21,896. It shows that the Jaina population has increased by 32·4% during 1881–1951. Even though there has been an increase in population the rate of growth has varied from decade to decade. The figures of percentage increase of Jaina population in each decade from 1881 are as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Percentage Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881-1891</td>
<td>+15·9 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-1901</td>
<td>-5·8 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1911</td>
<td>-6·4 per cent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1911–1921 .. .. – 5·6 per cent
1921–1931 .. .. + 6·2 per cent
1931–1941 .. .. +15·8 per cent
1941–1951 .. .. +11·7 per cent

It is true that the Jaina population has increased by nearly four lakhs during 1881–1951 but the proportion of Jainas in the total population of India has declined. In 1881 the proportion of Jainas to the total population of India was 0·48 per cent and in 1951 it is 0·45 per cent. The variation in the percentage of Jainas in the total population of India according to previous censuses is given below:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>0·48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>0·49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>0·45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>0·40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>0·37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>0·36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>0·37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>0·45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Jaina community is spread all over India. The distribution of Jaina population according to major regional Divisions and States is as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Divisions &amp; States</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>16,18,406</td>
<td>8,39,688</td>
<td>7,78,718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North India</td>
<td>97,744</td>
<td>51,681</td>
<td>46,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>97,744</td>
<td>51,681</td>
<td>46,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East India</td>
<td>33,470</td>
<td>20,050</td>
<td>13,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>8,656</td>
<td>4,417</td>
<td>4,239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>1,248</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>19,116</td>
<td>11,876</td>
<td>7,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>4,245</td>
<td>2,860</td>
<td>1,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikkim</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divisions &amp; States</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South India</td>
<td>59,122</td>
<td>31,596</td>
<td>27,526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>35,778</td>
<td>19,109</td>
<td>16,669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>22,936</td>
<td>12,348</td>
<td>10,588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travancore–Cochin</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West India</td>
<td>7,58,406</td>
<td>3,88,581</td>
<td>3,69,825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>5,72,093</td>
<td>3,01,980</td>
<td>2,70,113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saurashtra</td>
<td>1,23,916</td>
<td>60,830</td>
<td>63,086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutch</td>
<td>62,397</td>
<td>25,771</td>
<td>36,626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central India</td>
<td>2,44,592</td>
<td>1,29,638</td>
<td>1,14,954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>96,251</td>
<td>50,846</td>
<td>45,405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Bharat</td>
<td>1,00,234</td>
<td>53,512</td>
<td>46,722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>30,287</td>
<td>15,958</td>
<td>14,329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vindhyag Pradesh</td>
<td>11,835</td>
<td>6,164</td>
<td>5,671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhopal</td>
<td>5,985</td>
<td>3,158</td>
<td>2,827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West India</td>
<td>4,25,071</td>
<td>2,18,141</td>
<td>2,06,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>3,27,763</td>
<td>1,67,768</td>
<td>1,59,995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>37,518</td>
<td>19,552</td>
<td>17,966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh &amp; Bilaspur</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patiala &amp; E. P. States Union</td>
<td>7,578</td>
<td>4,460</td>
<td>3,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>20,174</td>
<td>9,916</td>
<td>10,258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>32,004</td>
<td>16,432</td>
<td>15,572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andaman &amp; Nikobar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the table it will be noticed that inspite of the fact that the Jainas are spread all over India, they are concentrated mostly in West, North-West and Central India. Out of 16,18,406 Jainas in India, 14,28,069 are found in these Divisions and the remaining are scattered over North, East and South India. Out of the total Jaina population 35·3% are found in Bombay, 20·3% in Rajasthan, 11·5% in Saurashtra & Kutch, 6·2% in Madhya Bharat, 6·0% in Uttar Pradesh, 5·9% in Madhya Pradesh, 2·3% in Punjab, 2·2% in Madras, 1·9% in Ajmer and the remaining in other parts of India.

The figures for sex composition of Jainas given in the census
report of 1951 clearly show a deficiency of females. There are only 927 females per 1,000 males in Jaina community. The ratio of females to 1,000 males in Jaina community during the last six censuses is given below:

1901 .. 929 females per 1000 males
1911 .. 940 " 1000 "
1921 .. 931 " 1000 "
1931 .. 940 " 1000 "
1941 .. 930 " 1000 "
1951 .. 927 " 1000 "

From this it will be seen that the proportion of females to males in Jaina community has been varying and that the proportion of females has become lowest in 1951. Again, the proportion of females to males in Jaina community is much low as compared to the proportion found in other communities. The ratio of females to 1000 males among different communities is as follows:

Christian 992
Parsi 991
Hindu 948
ALL 946
Muslim 938
Jaina 927
Sikh 851
Jew 824

Further even among the Jainas there is a wide variation in the sex composition from State to State. A statement showing number of females per 1000 males among Jaina population in each Division or State is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State or Division</th>
<th>Number of females per 1000 males</th>
<th>State or Division</th>
<th>Number of females per 1000 males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North India</td>
<td>891</td>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>891</td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East India</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>Sikkim</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State or Division</td>
<td>Number of females per 1000 males</td>
<td>State or Division</td>
<td>Number of females per 1000 males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South India</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>872</td>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>858</td>
<td>Vindhya Pradesh</td>
<td>920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travancore–Cochin</td>
<td>2,471</td>
<td>Bhopal</td>
<td>895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>North–West India</td>
<td>949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West India</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saurashtra</td>
<td>1,037</td>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutch</td>
<td>1,421</td>
<td>&amp; Bilaspur I,</td>
<td>615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central India</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>Patiala &amp; E. P. States</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>Union</td>
<td>699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Bharat</td>
<td>873</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>1,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>948</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the statement it will be seen that the proportion of females to males is consistently greater in West India and in North–West India than in other parts of India. This is obviously so because the Jaina population is concentrated mostly in West India and in North–West India. It is not known how in Travancore–Cochin only the proportion of females to males is unusually large.
APPENDIX B

COPY OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE ISSUED

UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY,
UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY, BOMBAY.

It has been proposed to undertake a Social Survey of the Jaina Community in India under the auspices of the University School of Economics and Sociology, Bombay. As the material required for the same is not readily available, a detailed question-naire has been prepared and attached herewith. Members of the Jaina Community, irrespective of sect or caste, are earnestly requested to answer the questionnaire as early as possible. THE VIEWS EXPRESSED THEREIN WILL BE TREATED AS COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL. The information so collected will be utilised for submitting a thesis to the University of Bombay. The answers may kindly be sent on the following address:

Prof. VILAS ADINATH SANGAVE, M. A.,
Vijaya College,
BIJAPUR
(M. S. M. Rly.)

Dr. G. S. GHURYE, M. A., Ph. D.,
(Head of the Department of Sociology)

VILAS A. SANGAVE, M. A.,
University School of Economics & Sociology,

In view of the extreme necessity of having a scientific investigation of social conditions prevailing at present in our Jaina Community we wholeheartedly support the above Social Survey undertaken by the University School of Economics and Sociology, Bombay and request the members of the Jaina Community to answer the requisite questionnaire as soon as possible.
(1) Seth Sriyans Prasad Jain, President, Bharat Jain, Mahamandal, Bombay.
(2) Seth Shanti Prasad Jain, President, All India Digambar Jain Parishad, Calcutta.
(3) Hon’ble Mr. K. S. Firodia, B. A., LL.B., Speaker, Bombay Legislative Assembly and President, All India Sthanakwasi Jain Conference, Bombay.
(4) Seth Ratanchand Hirachand, M. A., President, Southern Maharashtra Jain Sabha, Bombay.
(5) Acharya Muni Jinvijayji, Honorary Director, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.
(6) Seth Motichand, G. Kapadiya, M.A., LL.B., Solicitor, Secretary, Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya, Bombay.
(7) Seth Chimanlal C. Shah, M. A., LL.B., Solicitor, Secretary, All India Sthanakwasi Jain Conference, Bombay.
(8) Dr. Bool Chand, M. A., Ph. D., Principal, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan’s College, Andheri (Bombay).
(9) Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M. A., D. Litt., Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
(10) Mr. Popatalal R. Shah, M. L. A., Secretary, Bharat Jain Vidyalaya, Poona.
(11) Pandit Nathuram Premi, Bombay.
A SOCIAL SURVEY OF JAINA COMMUNITY

Questionnaire

(1) Name in full.
   (Beginning with surname)

(2) Address.

(3) Occupation or Profession.

(4) Sect. (Digambara, Śvetāmbara, Sthānakavāsi or Tārāṇa-panthī).

(5) Gotra or any other division which is considered for marriage purpose.

(6) Saṅgha, Gaṇa, Gachchha and Śākha.

(7) Caste and sub-caste.

(8) (i) What is the approximate population of your caste?
   (ii) How is it distributed all over India?

(9) What are the relations of your sub-caste with the main caste and other castes of the Jaina Community as regards inter-dining, inter-marriage, etc.?

(10) Do you believe in the hierarchy of caste organisation in the Jaina Community? If so, what is your order of hierarchy? (Even a rough idea will do.)

(11) (i) Is there Panchayat in your caste?
   (ii) How is it formed?
   (iii) What are its duties?
   (iv) What contribution does it take from its members?
   (v) What punishments are given to the defaulters?

(12) In view of the changing social conditions do you propose to abolish or reorganize the caste Panchayats? If so, what form, you envisage, should it take?

(13) Are there any caste feasts? If so, when are they to be given?

(14) Are there castes of your caste names in other communi-
ties? If so, please give their names and state what are your relations with them.

(15) (i) What are the rules of endogamy and exogamy in your caste?
(ii) Are they strictly followed?
(iii) Do you approve of inter-caste marriages in Jain Community?
(iv) If so, to what extent would you allow them?

(16) (i) Are there any charitable institutions (like Boarding Houses, Scholarship Funds, Dispensaries, Hospitals, etc.) and other Associations (like Housing Societies and Colonies, Co-operative Credit Societies, Banks, Consumers' Societies, etc.) exclusively reserved for your caste or sub-caste only? Please give their names.
(ii) Do you think that they have served their purpose?
(iii) Do they not create separatist tendencies in the community itself?
(iv) Would you advise to throw them open to all Jain irrespective of sect, caste, sub-caste, language, locality, etc.?

(17) (i) Was there any particular occupation or profession of your caste in the past?
(ii) Is it followed at present?
(iii) If not, what main occupations or professions are followed by your caste people?

(18) What is the educational standard of males and females of your caste and sub-caste in the regional as well as foreign languages?

(19) Is there any religious sanction to these castes? If so, please quote the authority. Were they prevalent in ancient Jain Community?

(20) (i) Is there any institution of "Bhaṭṭāraka" prevalent in your caste?
(ii) If so, what are their central places of residence?
(iii) What are their duties?
(iv) How are they appointed and in what way can they be removed?
(v) What amount of property do they possess?
(vi) Do they possess any control over the people (e.g., in taking contributions and enforcing decisions)?
(vii) What is their present position?
(viii) Is it considered as the highest authority for all caste Panchayats in its jurisdiction?
(ix) What changes would you advocate to reform them?

(21) Do you know how your caste and sub-caste have originated? If possible please give an idea of their origin.

(22) What is the number of your caste people in the ascetic order of the community at present (viz. Muni, Arjikā, Śrīpūjya, Gorījī, etc.)?

(23) Are there any religious disabilities, like forbidding to perform Pūjā or to give meals to ascetics, put on your caste people? If so, please state such restrictions.

(24) Is widow remarriage allowed and practised in your caste? If so, please state to what extent it is availed of.

(25) Is polygamy allowed and practised in your caste?

(26) Are there any ordinary or habitual criminals in your caste?

(27) Has your caste Panchayat made any attempt to eradicate anti-social customs and practices like child-marriage, dowry-system, etc. from the caste?

(28) How many temples are owned by your caste Panchayats? Is the property attached to them utilised for social purposes?

(29) What is the name of your family deity?

(30) What is the native place of your family? If possible, please give a short account of your family's migration.

(31) Were there any distinguished personalities in your family? If possible, please give a short account of such illustrious persons.
(32) Is your family a joint or separate one? If it is joint, what is the total number of persons? Do they live together? If not, state the places of residence of others.

(33) Are there any instances of inter-sect, inter-subcaste, inter-caste and inter-provincial marriages in your family?

(34) What Jaina festivals you follow? Do you observe all Hindu festivals? If not, name those which you observe.

(35) What daily Jaina rites you observe?

(36) What Jaina ‘Samskāras’ you perform?

(37) Is your marriage consecrated according to Hindu or Jaina rituals?

(38) How many languages you can read, write or speak? Please name them.

(39) Do you wear a sacred thread? If so, what is its significance?

(40) Do you employ the services of a Brahmin or a Jaina priest for performing marriage and other rites and for performing daily ‘Pūjā’ and ‘Abhisheka’ in Jaina temples?

(41) How many fasts per month you observe? Do you observe any special fasts in the months of ‘Chāturnāṣa’?

(42) What funeral rites you perform? Are they like Hindu rites?

(43) Do you observe monthly or yearly days in memory of the dead?

(44) What religious education you have taken? Do you think that it should be made compulsory to Jaina children?

(45) Do you worship Hindu deities? If so, please give their names.

(46) You might be aware that there is a large number of widows in the Jaina Community. How would you approach to solve their problem?

(47) Do you think that there is anything like Jaina culture as distinct from other cultures in India?
(48) Are you a member of any Jaina Association or Institution which is striving for the benefit of Jaina community, irrespective of caste, sub-caste or sect? If so, please give their names and the extent of their activities.

(49) What are your educational and other qualifications? Please state the distinctions obtained by you or by the members of your family in academic studies, literary activities, various kinds of arts, culture, sport, etc.

(50) (i) Do you take any part in the political, social, economic and public activities of the country? If so, please state, in brief, the nature of your activities and your present status therein.

(ii) Do you think that the Jaina Community has contributed towards the political, social and economic progress of India by various means? If so, please give your estimate of the contribution.

Note:— Answers may be written on the space provided against each question. If the space is found insufficient, separate sheet of paper may be attached. Answers may be given in any one of the following languages, viz. English, Marathi, Hindi, Gujarathi or Kannada. Special remarks, if any, may be made on over page 10.

Date:

Place: 

(Signature)

(The questions were also given in Hindi Language in the Questionnaire)
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