CHAPTER I

Renunciatory values, asceticism and monastic orders: The early background

1.1 Asceticism and non-attachment:

Asceticism is a universal phenomenon. All high civilizations of the past at different times harboured the concept of self-discipline, self-control, austerity and severe self-effort to reach high goals. The Western civilization identified itself with the classical achievements and values of the Graeco-Roman world. Asceticism was very much a part of these values, being an ideal of life. Though the simplicity of farm life that Hesiodus celebrated in The Works and the Days (or the Ergas) contrasted sharply with the arrogance of Homer's heroes, both models unequivocally praised asceticism. "Asceticism" was, for Hesiodus, the methodic life of farm labour and daily religious duties, and for Homer a synonym for "agony" or constant physical training to prepare heroes for war. Both authors used the same word, ἀσκέσις (askēsis), which originally meant "disciplined work", to express the same ideal.

Rome, before it attained its zenith of power, had its humble origins built on "pietas", "prudentia", "frugalitas". Valued as virtues most desirable in man, they were celebrated even at the zenith of Rome's glory, the poet Horatius asserting that simplicity of life and frugality were the basis of Roman civilization.
The newly arrived Christianity absorbed these ideals and made them its own. The result was the emergence, in the third century A.D., of a new personage who combined in himself the highest ideals of the classical world plus the Christian Spirit - the renouncer, the Christian hermit - who lived as a recluse or in small communities, isolated from human habitation, in the deserts of the Middle East. Some exchange of ideas is likely to have taken place between these Christian ascetics and Eastern sects living in the north of Syria.*

India is, perhaps, unique in that asceticism developed here and took strong roots independent of religion and has been itself the basis of later philosophical and metaphysical speculations. Asceticism is a feature of Indian life and thought. Some scholars consider this characteristic as the point of difference between the West and East. Thus, Albert Schweitzer wrote, as introduction to his presentation of Indian thought, that —

world and life negation consists in man regarding existence as he experiences it in himself and as it is developed in the world as something meaningless and sorrowful, and man resolves accordingly to bring life to a standstill in himself mortifying his will to live and to renounce all activity which aims at improvement of the conditions of life in the world.  

Asceticism in India, however, was never static. It evolved from the primitive level having links with shamanic practices and sorcery — as well studied by Mircea Eliade,* to the highest modes of renunciation of the world as it was explained by the
Buddhists and Jainas or to the service of mankind's spiritual salvation, as it was preached by other groups in ancient India. In any instance, however, asceticism was invariably associated with the practice of austerities (tapas) and renunciation of the world (vairāgya).

Tapas is often translated as penance, and evolved as an offshoot of an epistemological approach to Indian asceticism. The word and the concept possibly had an indigenous origin. The Aryans also practised tapas as purifications preceding the Vedic sacrifices, or even throughout the year. The Yajur Veda recommends such a practice. The Rg Veda uses the word to mean "to be possessed by intense heat" (the mystical blush). The perfection of the ritual (ṛta/satya or the infusion of divine order in the world) began in the inner fire of such tapas. The older passages of the Rg Veda would link tapas strictly to the preparation of sacrifices. In the later Samhitās, the concept seems to have undergone a change, having been influenced by ideas about asceticism and karma. The development of the concept of tapas as "heat", from the Rg Veda to the Brāhmaṇas, has been studied minutely by Uma Marina Vesci.

Around the beginning of the first millennium B.C. in north India a mixed civilization was developing and expanding. In it, men of excellence practised tapas with intensity (ugra) to accumulate merit, enough to surpass the limitations imposed by
the belief in \textit{karma}.\textsuperscript{14} The ascetic practised \textit{tapas} as an inner sacrifice secretly and in the silence of his innermost self. This penance consumed, like fire, his \textit{karma} and elevated him above nature giving him mastery over secret powers.\textsuperscript{15} In the \textit{Atharva Veda} \textit{tapas} is stressed in the training of the student as the best manner to acquire mental fitness to reach real knowledge (i.e., the \textit{Veda}).\textsuperscript{16} The prayer for "success in penance" is a succinct explanation of that purpose:

"In that, O Agni, penance with penance we perform additional penance, may we be dear to what is heard, long-lived, very wise".\textsuperscript{17}

\textit{Tapas} frequently was associated with celibacy (\textit{brahmacarya}) or restraint of the sexual energy, sublimating it to the level of spiritual strength and turning it into the power of accomplishing any desire. In that period of the "Vedic Age" as R.C.Majumdar\textsuperscript{18} has called it, the process towards the consecration of the "four stages of life" (\textit{caturāśrama}) was incipient. Celibacy was not a clear period of life but a healthy exercise to accumulate power; thus, through \textit{tapas} the practitioner could obtain material welfare, prosperity, large progeny (when he married), love and health. The use of ascetic restrictions to obtain mundane happiness was not seen as a contradiction, for in the society of the first quarter of the first millennium B.C. the practice of abstinence as a medium of accomplishing the natural desires was
as natural as these desires themselves. The "Invocations" of the Atharva Veda give an indication of this.¹⁷

It is probable that at some stage in its evolution, the concept of tapas took the character of absolute celibacy and religious observances. It had something to do with the emergence of the phenomenon of the "forest hermit", and the Āraṇyaka culture. With the Upaniṣads, the practice of celibacy and restraining of all desires became a very recommended prerequisite to the highest knowledge of Brahman.²⁰ The brahmacārīn focused all his interest in Brahman, all his mind in deep meditation of Brahman,²¹ all himself in the sacrifice of suppressing the breath,²² lighting up of his body with the supreme light of Brahman.²³ That way he obtained liberation into the real Brahman and he was free to all desire (niṣkāmatva), free of mental activity and obtained absolute liberation (mokṣa).²⁴ The mystic sacrifice of the practitioner consisted in restraint, control and elevation of his sexual power. The seeds of life, instead of going into the womb of a woman, go upto "the superior areas" of the body transforming the potential life (i.e., the seminal fluid) into infinite life, into the inner self.

Control over the vital energy gave access to ojas or great power.²⁵ Ojas was the highest form of energy obtained by the practice of tapas. Ojas produced a powerful and irresistible radiation of power or authority around the ascetic. Such charismatic presence was recorded beginning with the descriptions
of the Rgvedic munis who lived withdrawn from the outside world, in deep concentration (ekāgratā), living in silence (mauna, mauneya, mauneya unmāda). In synthesis, the Upaniṣads changed the focus of attention from sacrifices to meditation by using yogic methods. The ultimate reality — Ātman — was the only focus for thinking and acting in life. Asceticism consisted at that stage in the complete concentration in Ātman, withdrawing the mind from any other thing. In this manner, the mind was light and ready to fly to the Supreme One.

The concept of asceticism as a life of austerity commenced with the coming of Buddhism. The Buddha was himself a severe practitioner of penance, but after he had lived for a time as an ascetic he concluded that "middle-path", which avoided extremes, was a better alternative. The Buddha preached a balance between overindulgence and self-mortification. He was clear spoken about the "Middle way" (paticcasamuppada). Mostly a philosophical enunciation, it brought about a welcome softness in the practical life of the Buddhist ascetics.

Mahāvīra was another contemporary historic figure who gave a new dimension to asceticism in India by elevating this ascetic practice to the level of a way of life. Mahāvīra’s Jaina tradition differentiated between physical austerities and mental tapas: physical mortifications were a medium to reach a higher stage of mind from which started the mental process of elevation.
The Jains viewed self-mortification not only as an aid in the search for self-control but also as a pre-eminent means to attain the supreme purpose.30

Asceticism reached its pinnacle of maturity and equilibrium with the epics, which put together all the existing material about asceticism. The formulations formed in the epics must, however, be considered in relation to their real date. The Gītā, which forms the philosophical core of the Mahābhārata, appears to have been an independent work which was integrated into the corpus of that great epic poem lately. The Gītā may have been composed around the third century B.C.31 The concept of asceticism it enunciates would correspond to the stage of general evolution of that institution about the fourth to third centuries B.C. - it appears to date after the Buddhist reform, which started in the fifth century B.C.32

The central theme of the Gītā, the "Hindu Testament",33 is reaching the sac-cid ānanda vigraha, i.e., the eternal bliss and happiness of being one with the Lord. The Upaniṣadic monistic effort to attain tattvamśi (the complete identification with the Self), is confirmed in the Gītā by the Lord Kṛṣṇa who said (Gītā, IV.9)34

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\begin{align*}
\text{Janma karma ca me divyam} \\
\text{evam yo vetti tattvataḥ} \\
\text{tyaktvā deham punar janma} \\
\text{naiti māṁ eti so'jrjuna.}
\end{align*}
\]
(One who knows the transcendental nature of My appearance and activities does not, upon leaving the body, take birth again in this material world, but attains My eternal abode, O Arjuna!)

The ultimate goal, for the Gitā, is absolute non-attachment, which leads to the consciousness of unity, or consciousness of Kṛṣṇa, becoming part of the most pure and total human excellence (puruṣottama), totally absorbed (samādhi) into Kṛṣṇa. The part recommended by the Gitā for achieving such state is disinterested action, the accomplishment of one's duties without attachment (asakta):

`tasmād asaktaḥ satataṁ
kāryam karma samācara
asakto hy ācaram karma
param āpnoti puruṣah (Gitā, III.19)

(Therefore, without being attached to the fruits of activities, one should act as a matter of duty; for by working without attachment (asakta), one attains the Supreme (Param).)

That was the answer of the Gitā to the search for liberation (akalmaṇam) from all previous sins (karmāṇ) (Gitā, VI, 27). To reach finally by this way the real stage of the human being.

The Mahābhārata is replete with descriptions of the nature of tapas and explanations about how it must be performed to obtain precise goals. There is nothing superior to the power to tapas. The tapas of the Mahābhārata, however, is frequently an offshoot of the very ancient beliefs in magic action to obtain
miraculous results. The asceticism described in the Gitā, on the other hand, is of a highly sophisticated form, meant for control of the human and universal nature, but, as already proclaimed by Buddha, it makes clear that it is not necessary to renounce the world. The Gitā represents a high level of religious feeling in which asceticism is a means to a higher target. The Gitā, like it was mentioned, proposes the renunciation not of action (karma) itself (i.e., to the world) but of the fruits of actions (phala). 42 True tapas is a discipline of the body, speech and mind. 43 Instead of extreme mortification, the way prescribed is of bhavasamsuddhi - the purification of attitudes and emotions, the sublimation of instincts and urges 44 - and the practice of niṣkāma karma or disinterested action. 45 "The soul (or individual consciousness) well settled in Brahman performs perfect action." 46 Perfect action is ascetic life at equilibrium, encompassing participation in the world but detaching oneself from the enjoyment of the fruits of one's acts.

The line of thinking set out in the Gitā was a marked departure from the established notions on asceticism. Kṛṣṇa, the divine chariot-driver, expounded a simple and magnificent philosophy of action which perfected the previous general tendency in asceticism to renounce the world absolutely. It was the amazing success of Buddhism in its first centuries of expansion that conditioned this change. Buddhism was threatening
the social fabric and breaking up the family cell by drawing youngsters away to monastic life. Traditional Brahmanical society was rocked to its foundations and was obliged to bring about a rapid and total renovation.

Hinduism is particularly admired for its remarkable capacity to adapt itself to changing times and circumstances. A clear case of this evolution is represented by the first phase of the Dharmaśāstra tradition, the Dharma Sūtras. The Dharma Sūtra of Āpastamba, which was compiled around the fifth century B.C., already contained definitions of brahmacarya and rules for brahmacārins, definition of the four āśramas, vows (tapas) of brahmacārins, and rules for parivrājakaś or sannyāsinś and for forest hermits. The later Dharma Sūtras, such as the Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra, Viṣṇudharma Sūtra, Hāritadharmasūtra and Vaikhānasa dharma prasna followed suit. The four āśramas as fundamental to the Brahmanical order for the high castes thus took definite shape in the period of the Dharma Sūtras (500-200 B.C.), a time when asceticism was also in the process of being accepted by the Brahmanical orthodoxy.

The Dharmaśāstra tradition was the Summa Lex Compendia (the collection of all laws) for ancient Indian society. It contained detailed prescriptions which were expected to govern ancient Hindu society and regulate the relations therein. In the Dharmaśāstrās tapas is catalogued strictly as vows and rites
(purificatory and expiatory). Any bodily mortification must have an ethical dimension. Ascetic routines had meaning only if they served the development of the moral qualities of the soul. The Dharmaśāstras universalized tapas as a convenient means of fastening the entire society in one scheme and avoiding parallel ascetic societies. Authors of Śrautis, like Manu and Yājñavalkya, and of Dharmaśūtras, like Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Vasistha, Viṣṇu and Vīkānas, intened to regulate the duties of brahmācārins, grhasthas (households), vānaprasthas (renouncers) and sannyāsins (ascetics). All belonging to the higher three varṇas were subject to tapas at different levels and in accordance with their role in society.

Patañjali is the next proponent of the ascetic tradition. The author of the Yoga Śūtras, comprising nearly two hundred aphorisms on Yoga, and of Mahābhāṣya, the commentary on Pāṇini's aphorisms, he lived around the second century B.C. The Yoga Śūtras, by synthesizing the Āgamic and Nigamic traditions of thought, made a prominent contribution to the development of the ascetic institution and the definition of the concept of tapas.

Tapas for Patañjali means conservation of subtle energy (prāṇa) and its direction towards union with Ātman. Tapas is an integrative part of life devoted to God, the constant purificatory action, the right and routine action which burns up
impurities. The entire life of a devout person, if lived in simplicity and devotion, is tapas and hence leads to the perfection of Yoga. Absolute independence (kaivalya) is liberation from attainment, which are birth, intoxicating products, purificatory actions (tapas) and trance (samādhi). Tapas is a medium, and not a goal. It is merely to tame bodily and mental habits and make the individual fit for hardships. Daily life is an exercise of preparation for the Supreme encounter with God. After Patañjali, the concept of tapas took on the tendency to be considered "conditioning the body" for the removal of impurities and the perfection of physical and mental powers.

In the process of the evolution of the ascetic tradition, another philosophical concept that emerged at the same time as tapas, was vairāgya. Vairāgya, derived from vi-rāga, meant non-attachment, detachment, dispassion, desirelessness, passionlessness and desire for renunciation. The vairāgī/anurāgī formed a dialectical pair of opposites which must exist in society. Anurāga is the lot of the common man who cannot avoid being involved in sensuality and participates in the mundane life. The vairāgī, on the other hand, is one who feels indifference, even revulsion, to worldly objects: vairāgya is the ethos of the renouncer. Both words —vairāgya and anurāga— reflect the social opposition between two worlds which co-existed and gradually learned to tolerate each other and share some common values. One was the world of the renouncers and the other, the worldly society and
This contradiction was resolved gradually, in a process commencing around the seventh century B.C. One consequence of this movement was the institutionalization of asceticism and the emergence of the first forms of organized monasteries.

This process had begun with the secret communities of renouncers, the wandering ascetics and the groups of disciples around a master living in forests. This "counter-culture" of the renouncers is reflected in the Āraṇyakas, which in spite of being a continuation of the Brāhmaṇa texts (the Āraṇyakas usually are defined as "secret explanation of the ritual") already contained several secret teachings. They were enigmatic instructions on the practice of austerities to achieve desired objects. Thus, the Aitareya Āraṇyaka°2 1.1 speaks about the mahāvrata of Indra (the great "vow of Indra"). Verse 1,1,3 states that the hymn of Madhuchadas is for obtaining all desires. Verse 1,2,2 praises the hymn of Bharadvaja (a Vedic rṣi, a great practitioner of austerities) which is recommended "to draw away evil, become learned, long-lived and versed in asceticism". Verse 2,3,6 establishes a relation between vāc (speech) and prāna (the mystic energy): "The true is touched by speech. The best speech are the hymns. Prāna and speech are in (absolute) relation". And verse 3,1,5: "Perfect union is formed by speech and breath ... Those who know the gradual union of speech, breath, air, all gods, heaven and Brahman obtain everything".
The Upaniṣads, in their turn, gave their own conception about asceticism. Yājñavalkya explained in Brhad-Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad 3.4.1, how renunciation leads to the knowledge of Brahman. The ultimate human endeavour, however, should be to be repelled by both the ascetic and non-ascetic state the supreme conquest is over asceticism itself. The Īśā Upaniṣad points out that non-attachment to deeds (karma) must be the characteristic of a renouncer. The Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad 10.21 praises the spirit of renunciation and maintains that “through renunciation (tyāga) and not through works, progeny or riches, the Puruṣa fills the world ... it is the renouncer who attains immortality”. The Kaṭha Upaniṣad, speaking of the three wishes which Naciketas obtained from Yama (1.1-29) concludes that “the renunciation of all desires and attachments is the (only) condition of immortality” (6.14). And the Munḍaka Upaniṣad (though extremely) respectful of the Brahmanical tradition, settles for the superiority of the ascetic way if it is at the service of the supreme goal, which is the knowledge of Brahman. “They who practise austerity (tapas) and faith (śraddhā) in the forest, the peaceful knowers (santa) who live on alms, (those who) depart passionless (vi-rāga) through the door of Sun. Where that immortal person (puruṣa) is, the imperishable spirit (Ātman) is” (1.2,11). But, “this knowledge of Brahman must be sought properly from a qualified teacher (gurum)” (1.2,12), a point which is underlined in Munḍaka Upaniṣad. The Mundaka thus esta-
lished the principle of what was to be the basis and requisite for the highest knowledge: the meditation of a qualified master. The conditions necessary for life are truth, austerity (tapas), knowledge (jñāna) and chastity (brahmacharya) (3.1,5), with the condition sine qua non that these are followed under the direction of a guru. This element, introduced as a canonical one into the tradition of renouncers and seekers of truth, opened a new chapter in the history of asceticism, preparing the way for the institutionalization of monastic life. Monastic life means, in the first instance, a master and a group of followers, all of them endeavouring to seek certain superior philosophical or mystical life. The Maitreya Upaniṣad was the first among the Upaniṣads to praise sectarian ascetics - (those) "meditative hermits (who) perceive Ātman" (4.8). The Maitreya Upaniṣad recommends Yoga as the right "method for attaining pure unity (with Ātman)" (6.17). It specifies the correct techniques (6.20-28), and defines the human body as a complete universe where can be celebrated all the cosmic fires (6.34). In 7.8 the Maitreya warns against false gurus "who falsely wear the red robe, earrings and skulls", and also warns against "perverted doctrines, devilish (ideas) and non-Vedic teachings" (7.9).

The Upaniṣadic conclusion, that attachment is the cause of sufferings because it keeps the soul tied to the infinite chain of rebirths (samsāras), was perfected by the Buddhists, the Jainas and later by the early medieval scholars. The Buddhists
and the Jaina viewed the annihilation of all desires as the only way to escape the wheel of saṃsāras. The Jaina embraced the life of strict asceticism because it avoids millions of rebirths. The Buddhists and the Jaina were in agreement that the origin of human suffering is in desire (passions, cravings and attachments): the thirst for worldly objects leads to continued becoming. Desire, therefore, produces birth, age, death, pain, sorrow, suffering and despair. The Buddhist answer to the human predicament was "the Excellent Way" of the "Four Noble Truths". Absolute victory (Jina) over mundane existence and participation in eternity resulted from a life in complete non-attachment. That path (mārga) belongs to those who will never return to this world.

The Buddhist and Jaina teachings were a challenge to the Brahmanical thinkers who reconsidered the importance of complete renunciation. In the midst of the vigorous spread of Hinayana Buddhism, Patañjali gave his own answer to the question of suffering, death and rebirth. He accepted the importance of self-mortification provided it was subordinated to the study of and devotion to Being (Īsvara). For Patañjali, ascetic practices were meant to prepare the yogin to perfect concentration through the continuous exercise of absolute indifference for the outside world.

During the centuries between the successful debut of Buddhism and Jainism and the beginnings of Brahmanical ascendancy
with the Gupta Empire (fifth century B.C. to fourth century A.D.) a gradual tendency developed to accept the necessity of non-attachment as the basis for a superior religious, philosophical and mystical life. Brahmancial and non-Brahmancial schools and groups concurred that feelings and desires must be withdrawn from the outside world and concentrated in the supreme goal. Their difference pertained only to the nature of these goals and the specific methods for achieving them. This general tendency laid the fertile ground for the growth of the monastic institutions.

I.2 Asceticism in the context of Brahmanical tradition:

Simultaneously with the emergence of Buddhism and Jainism, another parallel process was taking place with the large and variegated body of beliefs which constitute the mosaic of faiths that we call Hinduism. Hinduism is not a church, not a corpus of common understanding of the supreme sphere and its relation with the terrestrial world. It is, perhaps, an unsystematized conjunction of all these factors. What is fundamental to and remarkable about Hinduism is its formulation of patterns of social behaviour and the different traditions of worshipping the gods. In Hindu society, and since the phase represented by the Vedic Samhitas, the brahmānas considered themselves the guardians, leaders and models of that behaviour and worship. They imposed Sanskrit, as the means of regulation and symbol of superiority because of its unquestionable divine origin. In the infinite complex of castes and subcastes in India, the one caste, which
is universally regarded as holding the highest ritual status, from Kanyakumari to Kashmir has been that of the brāhmaṇas. For the brāhmaṇas, anywhere and at any time, maintaining that universality in the name of dharma was a mission and responsibility. Brāhmaṇas were the omnipresent learned strata who channelled all the local cultures of India into the universality or Hinduism.

When the Buddhist and Jaina movements emerged, the brāhmaṇas had been well settled in the countryside. The Buddhists and Jainas preferred to found their monastic settlements near big towns, trade routes and important cities. The brāhmaṇas brought order to a style of life which had been much more traditional and permanent — the village life. They composed progressively a new tradition into which they wove their own pre-eminence and sanctioned it through the law of the Dharmaśāstras. They also assumed the leadership in all religious matters and to avoid any competition they gradually incorporated in their religion all the popular beliefs and faiths. Anything could be expressed in Sanskrit and included in the Brahmanical rituals. Since the brāhmaṇas took the administration of the local religion as an item of property, the Brahmanical point of view about asceticism had a similar character all over India. It was opposed to asceticism as represented only by mendicancy and ceaseless wandering and was equally contrasted with the two highly sophisticated renunciation movements, Buddhism and Jainism. In
course of time, the encounter of both points of views resulted in early medieval Brahmanical asceticism, one of the main elements of Brahmanical nonasticism.

1.3 Institutionalization of ascetic life: the Buddhist and Jaina experience:

"Asceticism" as it has been mentioned already initially implied, in essence, penances (tapas) and renunciation (sannyāsa) which were considered the best way to accumulate merits, to discipline the mind and the body, to obtain power and mastery over nature and prepare the soul for higher levels of existence. The ascetic life was slowly given recognition and as a consequence the theory of the four āśramas was taking form step by step. It is probable that the householder used to retire voluntarily to the forest in old age without its being the prescribed usage. Together with that "formal asceticism" there also existed the "marginal asceticism" of the wanderers who had no links with society.

All these types of ascetics shared some common basic principles and ideas. All of them had as the ultimate goal the inner revelation of the knowledge of the Supreme Being and as the main path the rejection of all desires and attachment in order to keep the mind free to concentrate on this goal. The Upaniṣads, too, recommended such methods but in subordination to and at the service of the knowledge of Brahman. The Upaniṣadic masters were flexible and accepted the reality of different human
temperaments. The renowned Naciketas, probably an Upanisadic author and the chief personage in the Kaṭha Upaniṣad maintained that a detached and dispassionate life as a householder was also an excellent way to train the mind and the body and to achieve a spiritual life of a high order. In general, however, Upaniṣads showed a clear preference for absolute renunciation and celibacy, defining these qualities with specific terms like sannyāsin, parivrājaka, avadhuta and paramahāmsa.

In fine, the emphasis of the Upaniṣadic masters was on the knowledge of Brahman (jñāna) which must be achieved through a balanced life of austerities (tapas), renunciation (tyāga), intellectual knowledge of Truth (vidyā), and ecstatic practices combined with self-absorption (sādhaṇa). An accent on one or the other of such disciplines together with subtle differences in concepts and principles was the distinctive characteristic of the various Upaniṣadic schools. The four more known schools, among others, were Kutiṇakas, Bahudakas, Haṁsas and Paramahāmsas. Of this last school there were two eminent philosophers, Uddālaka Aruni and Svetaketu, who were contemporaries of the great Raṭhabha.

Raṭhabha founded a more catholic school, accepting both the ascetic and the householder. This school influenced Mahāvīra’s formulation of the double way towards perfection. Buddha, too, took recourse to the Upaniṣadic teachings to launch his Middle Path. The elements of both new religions were laid in the
Upaniṣads. The Upaniṣads' contribution was not only to these two new religions but even to an emotional phenomenon like the Bhakti school, which in the Upaniṣads was conceived as yati or free grace which filled the heart of these individuals with joy of a pure and innocent mind.7 The same search for a reconciliation between the antagonistic world of the householders and their civil society and the wanderers and their "almsmen society", which is reflected in the last Upaniṣadic period (sixth to fifth century B.C.) and later in the Bhagavadgītā, indicates that the controversy may have intensified. The historical person of the Buddha appeared just when the parallel society of the parivrājyas or parivrājakas (the renouncers, those without law, ties and land) had taken on enormous significance. The Buddha's bhikkhu saṅgha emerged from what was also named 'śramaṇa' or 'śamaṇa' culture, and the followers of the Buddha were called by the people of that time: "these śramaṇas, followers of the sakyaputta (Buddha)".8

"Parivrājaka", we have mentioned, was often the general appellation for these ascetic wanderers living outside of society, not accepting the citizenship of any state or kingdom. They had their own customs and strange rules of kindness, which sometimes meant celebrated gatherings where they exchanged ideas or discussed about their practice. These gatherings often coincided with the monsoon time when they took a break from their wanderings and begging and settled near the town; this was the
beginning of the custom of rain retreat. Among the variety of parivrajakas, who moved from place to place practising austerities, were ascetics of great fame, charming speech, endurance of a high degree in the observance of vows and prodigious magical powers. They were the śramaṇas, sometimes equated with brāhmaṇas or considered to be of the highest rank in that maverick wandering society. Giving donations and food to śramaṇas and brāhmaṇas were considered to be acts of equal merit. The two classes were, however, adversaries. Patanjali speaks of their mutual unfriendliness. The śramaṇas adopted certain customs, like shaving their heads and strict dietary rules in order to differentiate themselves from the brāhmaṇas. The śramaṇas did not worship deities and did not have any respect for the highest castes. Their entire purpose was to seek inner values and personal enlightenment. They did not seek to found any type of organization except Bharadvaja who did make an attempt to wage a planned struggle against the establishment.

R.C. Majumdar sees the process of the institutionalization of ascetics as a part of the evolution of corporations in ancient India. The Buddhist saṅgha, in their context, was the most advanced corporation. It perfected the existing tradition of corporate civil bodies, adding to it the elements of the parivrajaka society's tendency to spend periods together in the "monsoon retreat". In addition the outstanding personality of the Buddha transcended and further constituted to the historical
forces acting on that time. The Buddha was the only source of law and tradition for the Buddhist saṅgha. The saṅgha consisted of the Buddha plus the community of monks which, in time, expanded and gave birth to local saṅghas. A certain creative tension characterized the Buddhist universal community because these dispersed and local saṅghas grew as "ultrademocratic corporations" — as observed by Majumdar — together with a general feeling of belonging to a general Buddhist church. The call for global uniformity was given by the Councils and prominent laymen such as Asoka, later Kaniṣka and then Harṣa. A universal Buddhist church was, however, never created perhaps because of the absence of a central organization. On the contrary, the local saṅgha was the strong cell of Buddhist monastic life with its supreme authority and sovereignty in the communal assembly of monks. Individual monks totally submitted to the supreme authority of the Council, which also had judicial and punishing power. Such absolute authority did not nullify the individuality of a bhikkhu. But because all the members were pursuing together a supreme goal, individual freedom was cancelled and the bhikkhu submitted voluntarily to the supreme rules and authority of the corporation. The saṅgha was the perfect universe which encompassed the individuality of the bhikkhus.

The influence of the Buddhist saṅgha and of the Jaina community — which was following similar patterns — must have been strong on other religious corporations, which slowly began
to be formed. The exchange of ideas must have been intense, considering that the area in which the interaction took place initially covered the contiguous regions of upper and middle Ganga basins and that the communication network was well established in the region.

Many attempts, beginning with the classical works of T.W. Rhys-Davids, have been made to reconstruct the political, social and economic milieu in which the institutionalization of the monastic tendencies was taking place. These conditions may be briefly outlined to provide the early historical backdrop to the emergence of the monastic order.

During the period under consideration, there existed both, monarchical kingdoms dominated by single kṣatriya lineages, as also gana saṅghas or "republican territories" where several kṣatriya clans could rule together. Both socio-political forms approximately encompassed the whole of north India, and finally led to the consolidation of the Mauryan Empire. The expansion of the incipient state structures was a complex process which involved admixture of various cultural strands. This culture which was defined by the standard of the culture of Madhyadeśa gradually extended so far as the Bengal region, establishing the Brahmanical religion and institutions. The social composition of gana-saṅghas was mixed, more mobile and open than that of the monarchical kingdoms nevertheless, the rulers of the "independent
republics" also belonged to kṣatriya clans who virtually constituted a political class.\textsuperscript{101}

The introduction of iron tools improved the capacity of agricultural production and made possible clearance of large areas of forests for agricultural purposes. A notable expansion of agriculture took place during this period. This gave thrust to a series of other economic changes which continued until the end of the first millennium B.C. Associated with this expansion was extensive production of rice. The general prosperity also resulted in an increase of population. These developments, starting around the eight century B.C., considerably expanded the horizon of civilization in the whole Ganga valley.\textsuperscript{102}

The bigger agricultural capacity and the regular availability of surplus promoted the concentration of people in towns with busy markets for the storage, distribution and exchange of goods. Routes also had developed for the movement of merchandise. The towns, as dynamic centres of economic life attracted a variety of craftsmen, traders, caravan people and other skilled labourers. The regular pattern generated new social necessities and set in motion a further process of transformation.\textsuperscript{103}

The expansion of agriculture and trade went hand in hand with the wider acceptance of the monetary system. The disposal of a large quantity of surplus and the existence of an exchange
system through money permitted more active relations. The availability of loans and acceptance of interest stimulated production and trade, at the same time bringing in new problems of concentration of capital and exercise of power.\textsuperscript{104}

Quite possibly, private landed property as an economic phenomenon appeared in this period and it alternated with the previous patterns of property relations and labour. The increased economic expectations increased the value of land, and created differences between landowners and the hired labour force. Social stratification became more complicated as a result; this was compounded by the integration of tribal people in the system in the lowest category, both economic and social. Also, the monetary system meant problems of investment or accumulation of capital. Wealth and landed property were frequently associated with dependency links and problems of power.

Obviously, the whole complex of conditions were closely inter-related. We have enumerated only the more significant elements of the change taking place at the time of the birth of Buddhism.

Another approach to the analysis of the emergence of Buddhism and the tendency for the institutionalization of monasticism is the assessment not only of the general ideological trend of the time but also its linguistic and literary course, both things studied by G.C.Pande.\textsuperscript{105} The Buddha was the mentor of
a new time. His consciousness as the enlightened one of course meant a beatific state of perfection; but, in addition, the Tathāgata had a keen understanding of his times, which prompted him to assume the role of a historical leader who would rouse up his society and bring about adjustments to revive the lost balance.

The society at the time of the Buddha was passing through a crisis of change. His Middle Path, which brought about the monastic organization, was an even alternative between the extremist position of sects like the Cārvākas, Lokāyatas or Ājīvikas and those who accepted the much-criticized leadership of the brāhmaṇas. The Middle way was transformed into the monastic institution by the combined action of two historical forces. One was the personal action of the Buddha, and the other, the crystallization of the ascetic and philosophical activities that prevailed just before the Buddha. The initial groups of wanderers which followed the Buddha everywhere that he went, were transformed slowly into the formal bhikkhu saṅgha constituted on equalitarian principles. The Buddha, was himself opposed to distinctions by caste because the whole saṅgha was considered "the highest spiritual class", and there was no restriction on joining the group. Anyone who was not handicapped or with serious disease, a thief, a fugitive, a criminal, a debtor, or a slave but who was a normal and simple man inspired by the words of the Buddha, was welcome.
The organization of the bhikkhu saṅgha was on the basis of a 'regula', compiled and carefully codified from the decisions taken by the Buddha in the different situations he confronted or the solutions he adopted for various needs or difficulties of his community of followers. The pabbajjā and upasampadā ordinations were norms for the first and second periods of the novitiate. Both periods consisted in a strict discipline subjected to the "Ten Precepts" and a compulsory life of asceticism, celibacy and austerity. After the first period or pabbajjā, the bhikkhu received the upasampadā order and became a full citizen of the Buddhist society and an active member of the assembly. To be a member of that "Republic of monks" was a privilege reserved for the few.

The Buddha himself recommended that long and arduous training of the aspirants under experienced bhikkhus could maintain the most important aspect of the Buddhist tradition — the self-reproductive system or educational aspect of the saṅgha. This charter of the institution was carefully detailed in the Vinaya texts. The relation between the disciple and the Buddhist master was of mutual responsibilities and duties. The Buddha merely continued the gāna's tradition of instruction — the saṅghī gani gāṇa, plus the influence of his charismatic personality. Buddhist education added a new dimension to the traditional corporate education, the preparation of the novice for the discovery of Truth. The entire structure and organization
of the Buddhist saṅgha were at the service of Truth. This was why
the novice surrendered his freedom to the absolute authority of
the saṅgha. He annihilated himself as an individual to live in a
corporation whose end was absolute freedom. The saṅgha was the
best means to attain nirvāṇa and represented supreme
consciousness which dissolves all individuality. The Buddha
ordered total reverence to that gathering, which he considered
holy and sacred. After the Buddha’s death the saṅgha took his
place in all matters and was the supreme authority and source of
law.

Pātimokkha,¹¹² the fortnightly assembly in which the
gathering of bhikkhus used to discuss the Vinaya was the axis of
the saṅgha. The Vinaya was the canonical rule based on the direct
ordinances and recommendations the Buddha gave on each occasion
to his disciples. The Vinayās established a strict code of
discipline for individuals and community in all matters. The
"Proclamation of the Four Resources of Brotherhood", a part of
the Vinayās sanctified the saṅgha and annihilated any form of
social distinction in the outside society.¹¹³ The saṅgha had its
own corporate principles called samāya, equivalent to the proud
corporate codes of the civil gaṇas, saṅghas, etc. These
principles implied that the state had no right to look into the
constitution of the corporation, but had the duty to guarantee to
the subject of the corporation the accomplishment of their own
institutional laws. The saṅgha, following the custom of the time,
founded and attended to its own rules.114

The institutional organization of the saṅgha was taking place at the same time that the custom had started of having a physical place where the bhikkhus' corporation could reside permanently. The process had its origins in the humble Sramanic abodes of the "monsoon retreat". Probably, the Buddha himself took a quiet retreat during more than one monsoon, discussing his ideas with other ascetics. Such seasonal residences received the generic name of āvāsas and the ascetics who stayed there long were named āvāsikas. Āvāsas were residence in the countryside in contrast to āramas which were similar abodes attached to towns, built and maintained by the local guilds as benefactions and pious works.115 The Buddhist monastery evolved from the initial seasonal residences, donated and endowed by rich merchants, where the Buddha and his followers used to stay each time they visited the place.116 Initially, the bhikkhus built their huts forming a small colony named vihāra, preferably in the countryside. The favourite residences were, however, the ārāmas: they gave opportunities for proselytizing and receiving alms. In course of time groups of monks began living permanently there and served the relation between the physical abode and the local saṅgha. These ārāmas were named saṅghārāmas, and many of them were sanctified and institutionalized with the visitation of the Buddha, who stayed there for some time during his tours. The Buddha himself approved of donations (dāna) to the saṅgha as
answering "a happy life and a better rebirth to the donor". This favoured the process of establishing Buddhist monastic abodes everywhere because it benefitted both donors and donees.

Thus, the bhikkhu saṅgha, which took form following the mandate of the Buddha to the bhikkhus to go forth on tour to bless people, to spread happiness among people out of compassion for the world, for the welfare, the blessing, the happiness of devas and men, changed, from a diffuse group of wandering ascetics like others of their time, into a group of organized monks living in a cenobium (a monastery at a primitive stage of evolution). The Buddha himself gave impetus to such organized living. The monastic life was centred around the Hall of Assemblies (Upatthana-sālā), the symbol of the congregational life. The settled and routine religious life needed to be protected; otherwise the constant traffic of monks in transit posed a distraction to the corporate activities. Thus was developed the concept of "lēnā" or a compact unitary establishment for a specific body of monks, enabling it to function without disturbances as a corporate body. The Lēnā was the fixed, permanent, close, and private dwelling for a particular saṅgha. It was the first organised monastery in India and perhaps, in the world.

Lēnā was also a generic name for the five kinds of abode: vihāra, addhayoga, pāsāda,hammiya and guhā, all of them seats of
monastic life. There are enough archaeological remains of these ancient Buddhist monasteries to compare and deduct the habitual cenobitic customs. Typically, they were single buildings for the accommodation of a single group of monks, the nature of the buildings varying with the geographical conditions of places where they were located. In northern India, it was a normal monastery type of building — the vihāra — consisting of a brick building, generally quadrangular and sometimes multi-storeyed. To the south of the Vindhyas, caves were carved out of protruding sandstone rocks. These rock-carved monasteries or guhās are formed at places like Gwalior, Ellora, Kondvite, Nadsur, Bhaja, Pitalkhora, Kondane, Ajanta, Aurangabad, Nasik, Karla, Shervali, Kanheri, Sana, Talaja, Kuda, Junnar, Mahad and Karadh.

The guhās appeared in the third century B.C. and the more important of them emerged in the course of the next seven centuries or so. Three distinct periods characterized this epoch:

- period of the bhikkhu-gharas or the carving of the residential places;
- period of the cetiya-gharas (or caitya-gharas), or when the saṅgha already settled in the place, developed the congregational halls and praying places; and
- period of the mandapas or development of pillared assembly halls.

The most important part of each guhā was the cetiya-ghara — the Buddhist chapel — which consisted of a long nave surrounded by a lobby dotted with pillars. In the centre of the
nave is a stūpa, symbolising the Buddha. In the Mahāyāna period the stūpa was replaced by the statue of the Buddha in the cetiya-gharas of Pāṇdu Lena, Krishnagiri (Bombay), Ellora, Ajanta, Karla (the most extraordinary example of cetiya-ghara) and other guhās.

The historical context, in which Buddhist expansion in the western Deccan took place from the second century B.C. onward corresponds initially with the rise and consolidation of the Sātavāhana Empire. The special geographical, political, economic, social and cultural conditions of the time favoured the Buddhist movement and permitted this architectonic process. In that flux originated one of the most important phases of the history of monasticism in India.

The Buddhist monks were a part of the prosperous new world of the early centuries of the Christian era and they had close relations with the rich merchants who sponsored them and gave them constant support. Through the donations, as Buddha said, both sides were benefited: the merchants purified their profits, accumulated merit and had something like a "spiritual insurance" which gave them success in business. Reciprocally, the bhikkhus obtained material assistance to carry on their religious work. Thus, thousands of lēnās — finally adopted as the generic name for guhās erected near the routes — mushroomed in the western Ghats, from Saurashtra to Karnantaka. These lēnās nurtured
monastic life through many centuries and encouraged a distinct form of art and architecture. And ironically, they also facilitated the ensuing Brahmanical monasticism. In many cases the Brahmanical monks took advantage of the "monastic space" prepared by the Buddhist bhikkhus centuries before.

There were other streams, similar to those of the bhikkhu saṅghas, which also pursued a corporate life, but about which information is scanty except that provided by the Dharmaśāstras. One inscription in the caves at Nasik speaks of the gift to a corporation (parśad) of Carakas (group of Brahmanical ascetics). An abundance of material for studying these Brahmanical ascetic organizations begins with the fifth century A.D. The frequency of epigraphical data is intimately related to the political and cultural processes that north India underwent from the post-Gupta period onwards. This subject is examined in chapter-III.

Despite the early presence of ascetic tradition within the framework of Brahmanism, during a long span of Indian history Brahmanical asceticism is really overshadowed by the volume of material relating to Buddhism. The brāhmaṇas incapacity to counteract the anti-Brahmanical attitude of the Buddhists and the Jainas would indicate two things. First, that the Brahmanical religious groups did not achieve the level of organizational development that the Buddhists and the Jainas had. Second, that
perhaps the success of these two strong heterodox religious movements induced the Brahmanical ascetic groups to copy some of the structures of the Buddhists and the Jainas. If the Buddhist saṅgha was, in one way or another, the model for the later Brahmanical monasteries, some attention is due also to that other monastic institution which also registered an extraordinary progress since its foundation, the Jaina community.

Both Buddhism and Jainism arose in the same geographical and historical conditions, descending from identical situations, a "śramanic culture" or wandering asceticism and as a counter-reaction to the decrepit Brahmanical institutions. Some authors such as Bhagchandra Jain, seeking to support in a scholastic way the the sectarian Jaina opinion of a long antiquity for the movement, uphold the thesis of a primeval development of Jainism which subsequently influenced the nascent Buddhism and other Brahmanical ascetic groups. Even more, he postulates that probably the Buddha was ordained in the Pārśvanātha tradition and practised the Jaina discipline before he separated and looked for his own path. (Parenthetically, a note of caution is also due: the abundant sectarian bibliography on the Jaina movement tends to muddle a scholar's quest for an unbiased approach to the study of the crystalization of the Jaina movement). Jainism was built on solid ethical and philosophical principles of venerable antiquity. The Jaina ethics were much
more elaborate than the Buddhist. This would be appreciated comparing the ethical books of the Buddhist, like the Sūtapitaka or Dhamma,\textsuperscript{133} with the Jaina books of ethics.\textsuperscript{133} One of the outstanding aspects of Jainism is the ahimsā theory. From it was evolved the ideal of morality which in its practical aspect designed a series of rigid prescriptions for monks, nuns and also laymen, like absolute vegetarianism.\textsuperscript{134} Several among these prescriptions constituted the basics of the monastic life. For example, from the very beginning the Jaina code had ordained that wanderings during the rainy season should be stopped in order to avoid injuring the green life which is abundant at that time of the year. From this followed the necessity to build abodes and stay in them for a part of the year, which could have been the origin of the monasteries for the Jainas.

The Jainas developed an epistemology sui generis, on which they build their philosophical doctrine. Their definitions of God, soul, man and life were exactly opposite to the Vedic speculations. The Jainas denied the existence of a God who creates or annihilates the universe. They postulated an infinite progression of souls which are moving in a never-ending process towards perfection. That final state is known as tīrthāṅkara, which is the pure soul free of all limitations.

Jainism was distinguished from all other schools and movements because of its non-absolutist philosophy.\textsuperscript{135} The Jainas
did not desperately search for a "first cause". They refused to accept absolute categories. In the universe things are not real (absolutely), nor unreal. All values and appreciations depend on experience, and of course, such an entelechy is based in the Jaina philosophy of "identity in difference" and the whole Jaina ontology, ultimately developed a very special anthropology. The Jaina conception of man consisted in seeing him as awakened consciousness which is the highest state in the evolution of souls. Jainas believe that man has the great gift of being a conscious soul and therefore has the responsibility of making use of all his being to discover the universe and achieve the level of Arhat. The human being is not determined by birth — which means the negation of any type of social determination — but by karma. Karma is the only cause of motion. Karma produces happiness or sorrow, depending upon the caution and prudence in the action by the subject. The direct consequence of such doctrine was the Jaina "ethicism". Jaina thought said that there is no gnosis which would permit one to "see" knowledge and subsequently impel good actions. Jainism was exactly the opposite of the mentalism and intellectualism of the Vedic tradition. Their emphasis was on action. The best example of their interest in a "practical ethicism" was their way to liberation through the "Path of the Three Jewels"; the only way, said the Jainas, to accelerate the advance of the soul to self-absorption and achieve liberation from karma are the
following "jewels":

- right attitude;
- right knowledge;
- right conduct plus right faith and its "Eight Essentials".139

Action does involve many risks and temptations; therefore, they opted for quietism or "premeditate action", whose best irreducible expression is the ascetic life. Because of this tendency and the particular character of their philosophy, the Jainas tended to create closed societies and restrict their participation in the common world. The strong sectarian quality of Jainism was given by its philosophical basics themselves.

Because of these principles, the Jainas from the outset proceeded to segregate themselves and live in their brotherhood of equals. The Jaina movement did not lead to formation of protestant or dissent groups but created pacific societies of ascetics who decided on non-participation in the outside world and built their own perfect one (or approximation to a perfect brotherhood). Their negation of Brahmanical pre-eminence and of caste society was not out of a critical attitude but as a consequence of the Jaina principles. Criticism involves a militant and aggressive intellectual attitude which goes ill with ahimsā theory. Thus, it would be argued that Jaina monasticism had its own doctrinal roots, similar to the Buddhist monastic process already commented upon. The Jaina monastery was, however,
from the beginning thought as a protective enclosure to make easier the practice of perfect action which means meditation, observation of the strict rules and diet, the daily routine, the silence, the contemplation, the life in simplicity and quietness. The monastery was the ideal space to isolate the monk from the outside world. For that reason the Jaina monasteries often were erected in remote places, like the complexes built on hills at Sravanabelagola, Palitana, or Mount Abu.\textsuperscript{139} The problem of the economic support of the monks also was attended to in the doctrine. Maintaining the monks was the best way for the laymen to reduce their karma. The way of complete renunciation — the monastic life — is the highest. The laymen, since they were incapable of following so hard a path, could at least improve their impaired position in the Jaina world by supporting the ascetics.

Jaina monasticism had its distinct patterns and motivations. The ideal of perfect asceticism, which the Jainas aimed to achieve, did not require permanent attachment to any particular monastery. The monk must move from place to place and never rest for more than thirty days at any place.\textsuperscript{140} Jainism did not believe in Brahman as creator, supporter and destroyer — as it was taught by the Upaniṣadic masters. They did not accept the supreme authority of the Vedas, for knowledge had to be discovered after uncounted saṁsāras; for liberation is the result of one’s own actions. The Jainas place great stress on their
ascetic life. The Jaina monk must practise a detached life with strong and fervent conviction of obtaining liberation from worldly sufferings in proportion to his degree of renunciation of the world. Jainism was (and still is) the most ascetic way among the many strands of asceticism in India.

In the opinion of Upadhye, Jainism is also identified as one of the best representatives of Indian mysticism. He maintains that life for the Jainas is a constant exercise of discovery; this discovery depends on the quality of the senses, mind, heart and soul, which calls for an enormous effort in striving for perfection at all levels of individual existence. Jainism is an integral mysticism, because the individual achieves knowledge of Reality and acts in harmony with universal existence. That is why in Jainism was also specified a scale of actions, from the most convenient to the most dangerous ones, for the perfect human life. The life of a monk is, in that scheme, the nearest to such perfection. For the monk, even the most elemental comfort is prohibited. One of the most insistent ascetic principles for the Jainas is the control of sexuality, the sexual impulse being considered the most dangerous impediment in the part of realization. Sensuality has no place in the rigour of Jainism nor any form of sublimate eroticism. Even laymen were strongly admonished to control their sensuality strictly to the necessities of procreation. The obligation to sustain the monks was, in a way, to atone for the laymen's incapacity for total celibacy.
The life of a Jain monk was a constant struggle against himself, the only form of combat accepted in Jainism. A conventional monastical life is not mandatory for this but monasteries were convenient as places for refreshment. Unlike Buddhists, ritual monastic life had a very secondary place in Jainism. The Middle Path of the Buddha and the hard path dictated by Mahāvīra were thus in contradiction to each other. The spiritual space in between was probably intended to be filled by the Brahmanical ascetic groups — the dynamism acquired by Brahmanical monasticism being induced by the action of both "magnetic fields", Buddhism and its metaphysical possibilities at one end and Jainism and its ethical and practical potential at the other. An example of that double action was the counter movement initiated with the impulse of Tantrism in the beginning of early medieval times, in reaction to the rigour and nonsensualism of the Jainas, and against the degeneration of the Buddhist saṅgha.

The greatest beneficiary, in early medieval times, from early monastic experiences was the old Brahmanical edifice which was compelled by force of circumstances to refurbish its decrepit institutions. Brahmanism proved equal to this challenge for introspection. As a result, from its own ranks emerged a Brahmanical type of monasticism which not only met the Buddhists and Jaina on their own ground but finally displaced them. How this came to happen is the subject matter of the chapters that follow.
NOTES


2. The Old Greek word for "hero" is ἄγων (agon) from which came βαρόν (agon). To the Greeks, the hero had to be a man disposed to the hardest works. He received the training to withstand any suffering and hardships.


4. Scholars on Christian monasticism have long discussed this subject. It is probable that there was a sect of monks named Essenes during the lifetime of Jesus who probably influenced the first communities of Christians. These Essenes practised severe penances and austerities and were famous by their powers. Vide, the Bibliography presented by Dvornik, Francis, Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy, Harvard University Press, Columbia, 1966; and as a specific example on the reception of such monastical principles in the medieval monastical European life, vide Amargier, Paul, "Mentalité monastique au Moyen Age" in Annales, Mars-Avril 72, 27e année, no.2, Armand Colin, Paris 1972, 415-426.


8. A profound analysis of these terms is well-developed in the thesis of Bhagat, M.G., Ancient Indian Asceticism, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1976, vide the chapter "The Concept of Asceticism", pp.9-61. Bhagat makes a distinction between two aspects in the tapas process: negative or self-torture and positive or self-training. He postulates constant oscillation in Indian history between both aspects.

9. Moore, George F., History of Religions, Edinburgh, 1914, Vol. I, pp.262-66. Moore observed that "the severity in the restrictions varied with the solemnity of the occasion (i.e., the Vedic sacrifices)." He opined that there were,
besides, common obligatory restrictions on food, rest, sexual intercourse and garments. Some authors like him insist that there was no form of asceticism among the Aryan people, and favour the thesis of its aboriginal origin. But by correlation with primitive practices in other Indo-European people, like Celts, Greeks, Latins and Iranians it is possible to infer in them a form of purification discipline which was as hard as other asceticisms. These purifications were practised by the priest class and chiefs of clans.

10. The Veda of the Black Yajus School, entitled Taittiriya Samhitā (from now Tait.S.), Tr. by Keith, A.B., Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1967 (1914), IV, 4, 11.


12. Vesci, Una Marina, Heat and Sacrifice in the Vedas, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1985. The author gives notice that, since the Vedic period, sacrifice in India had several peculiarities with respect to other civilizations where the fire was considered also of divine origin and a ritualistic central factor. However, for Vedic people fire and sacrifice was intrinsically related. Fire was the agent and messenger. Even more, Fire is the god and Sacrifice his epiphany. Fire comes to earth as guest of the sacrifices, eats what is offered — charring the victim with his heat — and incorporating it in his heavenly body, together with the sacrificers' requests. Vesci distinguishes various words associated with Fire and Sacrifice: gharma (sun heat), šōcis (to be ablame), ērta (to cook), pakti (to ripe), tapas (to be consumed by heat). Among those terms, tapas appears as the most consistent in many Samhitās.

Vesci's book consists in the analysis on the role of heat (a) in the different Vedic sacrifices as they were reported in the Vedas, and (b) in the Vedic rituals according to the Brāhmaṇa. Heat (tapas) evolutioned from the original Vedic meaning, i.e., "an energizing element in sacrifice", which had in itself the power to transform the victim in an eatable for gods, to a later meaning as power to transform the human nature. Fire and heat could do that passage because Fire is the god who passes the victim from a stage to another (p.62). Fire with his heat produces transformation, regeneration and rebirth. The sacrifice in which appears fire is a repetition of the original universal creative act, because just as each creation, the sacrifice
is unique, non-repeatable, irreversible, it is a direct connection between the universal source and the creatures. Vasci's work insinuates that "heat" evolved from a liturgical meaning to a more personal understanding. In the later Brāhmaṇas belonging to the Āraṇyaka period, heat and sacrifice continued intrinsically connected but meaning "the inner sacrifice" whose victim is oneself. In such sacrifice karma is consumed by the ardour of tapas (penances). In it, tapas is the mystic heat which cleans and purifies producing a mysterious change of nature elevating the man to a superior existence.

13. Carrasco, Sergio, "Sandhya Dharma, o el matrimonio histórico entre los Aryans indoeuropeos y los Drávidas indígenas" (The encounter and mixing between the Aryan people and the indigenous culture), Dissertation for the acquisition of Licenciado en Historia, Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, Chile, 1963 (unpublished). The aim of this dissertation is to demonstrate the "marriage of Aryans and natives" in the sense of the mixture of both cultures and the birth of a new world from this mingling, the ancient period of India.


15. The old legend of Vasiṣṭa and Viśvāmitra probably had its roots in that first period in which Brahmanical asceticism took form. Viśvāmitra was a kṣatriya who through severe penance elevated himself from the level of a simple human being to perfection and immortality. Vide, Bhagat, op.cit., p.15.


20. The fundamental conception of the Upaniṣads is the principle of Brahmān (or Ātman) as the one who is the essence of the Universe, the Supreme Being who is within us. Vide, Deussen, Paul, The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads, Dover Publications, New York, 1966 (1906), pp.38 ff.


25. Gonda, Jan, Ancient Indian Ojas, quoted by Bhagat, op. cit., p.19. This same principle was revived by Tantrism which developed a complete theory about sexual power. Vide, Infra, Ch. VI.

26. "... into Silence" meaning "their attention were established into their inner Silence in the home of Brahman."

Cf. Rg Veda, X,7,2. "The munis, the sons of Vātaraśana, wear the yellow dirty (vestments of bark), they follow the course of the winds, behold mortals, (in them) our forms!

The muni flies through the firmament, illuminating all objects, the friend of each deity, appointed for pious works (sayana = by the power of their penance they become gods)." Also vide Rg Veda Sāmhitā, Tr. by H.H.Wilson, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1977, p. 364, Cf. Eliade, M., Shamanism, Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy, op.cit., "The Magical Flight", pp. 480-81.

27. Deussen, Paul, Sixty Upaniṣads of the Veda, Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi, 1987 (1897), pp. 665-721. The "Yoga Upaniṣads" are eleven Upaniṣads which contain the esoteric teachings of the science of Brahman, about the use of the magic spell "OM", about prāṇāyāma and dhyāna (meditation).

Cf. Keith, A.B., The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1970 (1925) pp.401-2, "Yoga Practices". Keith refused to see a more ancient root in the Vedic literature for yonic practices. He thought that only some elements of Yoga such as the penances, fasting, control of the breath techniques were of earlier development or probably of aboriginal origin.

28. The Buddha explained that the best way to human realization was "The Eight-fold Path", which leads to nirvāṇa. Vide


32. The Gītā was also a proper answer coming from the innermost Brahmanical orthodoxy to the Buddhist criticism. As an authentic answer, the Gītā was not a simple critic to another critic but a real creation, vide Farrinder, Geoffrey, *Avatar and Incarnation*, Faber and Faber, London, 1970, specifically Chapter-II, "Krīṣṇa in the Bhagavad Gītā"; there (p. 35) the author opines that "the Gītā might be called the Hindu answer to Buddhism, the first of many".


34. Gītā, IV. 9: Janma karma ca me divyam evam yo vetti tattvatah tyaktva dehaṁ punar-janma n'aiti mam eti so'rjuna.


38. Gitā, X.15: Svayam ev'ātman' ātmānām
vettha tvam,
puruṣottama,
ḥūti-bhūvana bhūteśa
deva-deva jagat-pate.

The Bhagavad-Gītā, Zaehner, op.cit., p.295.

39. Gitā, III. 19: Tasmād asaktaḥ satataṁ
karyam
karma samācara;
asakto hy ācaran karma
param āpnoti pūruṣah.

The Bhagavad-Gītā, Zaehner, op.cit., p.168.

praśānta - manasam enam yoginam sukham
uttānam upaiti sānta-rajasām
brahma bhūtām akalmaṣam.


43. Bhagavadgītā, XVII, 14-16, Tr. by Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Oxford, 1908, pp. 117 ff.


52. The work of P.V.Kane, op.cit., in its eight parts (last edition by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute), is the most complete summarized collection of the Dharmasastra tradition. Volume-I gives a glimpse of each of the Dharmasastras.

About the relation between dharma and the social body, vide Mess, Gaiathrus, Dharma and Society, Gian Publishing House, New Delhi, 1986, pp.3-4; 11-14. The author postulates that the partial laws (Positive Rights) are to facilitate the transition of man to the perception of dharma as the Absolute Truth or Supreme Rule.

53. Vide, the list of vratas or recommendations and prohibitions in Kane, op.cit., Vol. V-I, pp.253-462.


55. The difference between the two categories of renouncers was a) brahmacārins were the students who maintained their celibacy and simple life while they were under the guidance of a Master. b) Vānaprasthas were former gṛhasthas who quit home and travelled in constant peregrination through the holy places, without any belonging, preparing themselves for complete renunciation. For more details about the brahmacarya period, vide Pandey, Raj Bali, Hindu Sāmskāras, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1969, "The educational samskāras", pp.146-152.

56. About the systematization of the āśrama institution, see infra, Ch. II; also Vaidya, C.V., History of Medieval Hindu India, Poona, 1924, Vol.II pp.175 ff., "Caste and Social Conditions", p.199, ... "decline of the ascetic life and absorption of it in the āśrama scheme."


58. Ibidem, I, Sūtras 33, 34 pp. 59-61; "The mind becomes through the cultivation of high virtues" (and also) by "the expulsion and retention of breath". II, Sūtra 1: "(The) Purificatory action (tapah) (the) study and (the) making God the motive of action is the Yoga, of action."

60. Monnier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Munshiram Manoharial, Delhi, 1986, p.1025: vairāgya = disgust, aversion, freedom from all worldly desires (MBh.), indifference to worldly objects and life (Up.).

61. The next general studies of social life in the period c. BC 600 onwards, can give the social context in which was produced such contradiction: Fick, R., The Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time, Tr. from German by Maitra, S.K., Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1972; Singh, M.M., Life in north-eastern India in Pre-Mauryan Times, with special reference to c.600 BC to 325 BC, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1967; Wagle, N.K., Society at the time of the Buddha, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1966.


64. Idem, p.362, "Non-attachment to Karma" has correspondence with the concept of the Gītā of "total indifference for the fruits of action".

65. The word for "teacher" in the Upaniṣads is indistinctly ācāryat and guru. Thus, the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, 4.9.3, in Hume, The Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads, op.cit., p.221, calls the teacher ācāryat. The Katha Upaniṣad, 2.7-9, ibidem, p.347, also names the teacher ācāryat and it says that (he is) "indispensable to the acquisition of knowledge (ananyaproke gatir atra nāsti); but, the Muniḍaka Upaniṣad, 1.2.12, Ibidem, p.369; Cf. Devi, Chitrita, Upaniṣads for all, S.Chand, New Delhi, 1973, p.168. Besides, this subject is extensively studied in Gonda, Jan, Change and Continuity in Indian Religion, Manton Publishers, The Hague, 1965, "The Guru", pp.229-283.

66. Vide this matter in Gonda, Jan, Change and Continuity in Indian Religion, op.cit., pp.284-314.

67. Saṁsāra (the many returnings of soul to its starting point), the wanderings of the soul) Cf. Maitrēya Upaniṣad (or Maitrāyaṇa), 1.4, Deussen, Paul, Sixty Upaniṣads of the Veda, op.cit., p.333 ..." he, who is satisfied with these, has also especially to return here continually again and again!": 6.28, p.366, "then pure, cleansed vacant (sūnya), restful, pranaless (devoid of ṛāṇa), Ātmaless (devoid of Ātman) (selfless), infinite, imperishable, firm, eternal
unborn and free, he (the soul) remains grounded in his own
greatness (Cf. Chandogya Upaniṣad, 7.24.1) and when he sees
himself established in his own greatness, he glances at the
wheel of cycle of birth and death (sāṃsāra) as if at wheel
rolling thither (Cf. Kauśitaki Upaniṣad, 1.4). Besides,
Maṇḍūkya Upaniṣad, IV.30, ibidem, p.629, "If the sāṃsāra
were beginningless, it could not be ending; if the
liberation had beginning, it could not be unending".

68. The Buddhist Theory of Causation, in Warder, A.K., Indian
Buddhism, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1970, pp.107-56;
("The consciousness of the Supreme Reality which liberates

69. Schubring, Walther, The Doctrine of the Jainas, Motilal
Banarsidass, Delhi, 1962, pp.325.

70. Rhys—Davids, T.W., Buddhism, Indological Book House,
Varanasi, 1910 (1877), pp.106-09.

71. Idem, p.108, Cf.Saher, P.J., Happiness and Immortality,
Jeyaraja, The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of
Path of Purification", pp.28-37.

72. The Yoga System of Patañjali, tr. by James Haughton Woods,
Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1927,
11.1 (pp.103-4), "The means of attainment or Sādhana".

73. Ibidem, II,2 (p.105) and II,3 (pp.106-07). Isolated from
the outside world, in complete concentration, the Yogin can
reach undifferentiated consciousness (avidyā) and deper-
sonalisation, passionlessness and aversion of all will.

74. Chakraborty, Chandra, Cultural History of the Hindus, Deep
& Deep, New Delhi, 1988. The work in general is a
presentation of the Hindu culture from the beginnings
(third millennium B.C.). The main characteristic of this
culture is its multiplicity and openness of its beliefs.
Cf., Dandekar, R.N., "What is Hinduism ?", in Dandekar, R.N.;
Sharma, R.K.; Mishra, M.; Satyavrat and Janaki, S.S.,
(editors), Sanskrit and Indological Studies, Dr.V.Raghavan
Felicitation Volume, Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1975,
pp.89-56.

75. Ghose, Nagendra Nath, Origins of Indo-Aryan Literature and
The author exposes the process through which the brähmaṇas won intellectual supremacy. They were administrators of the revelation (śruti) and curators of the tradition (smṛiti), both things bound up in the Sanskrit language.

76. Ghose, op.cit., pp.152-53, maintains that a variety of castes existed ever since the arrival of Aryans. The brähmaṇas only superimposed themselves as the superior caste.

77. Gualtherus, op.cit., p.8.

78. It is a convention among the experts in religious development in India to call as "Hinduism" the religious universal process after the Purānic formation, i.e., from the third century B.C. onwards.


82. Vide, the problem of chronology and contents of the Upaniṣads (the earlier and principal Upaniṣads were written between B.C.700-500), Keith, A.B., The Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upaniṣads, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1970 (1925), pp.498-507. Cf. Deussen, Philosophy of the Upaniṣads, op.cit., pp.16-38.


85. For example, the Munḍaka school of Satyavaha Bharadvāja, one of the "hard" Upaniṣadic masters, was unequivocal in the need for complete transcendence of the mind, absolute austerity, celibacy and ascetic life. Chakraborty, H., op.cit., p.24.

86. Vide the section "Practical Philosophy" in Deussen, Paul, The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads, op.cit., pp.361 ff.


89. Dutt, Sukumar, Early Buddhist Monachism Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1984 (1924), pp.30-31.

90. Ibidem, p.32, citing the "Girnar Inscription" which gives that order.

Cf. the Edict (on rock) XI, Basak, Radhagovinda, Aśokan Inscriptions, Progressive Publishers, Calcutta, 1959, pp.54-7, where śramaṇa means Buddhist ascetic, "There in these (things) take place - right treatment towards slaves and servants heartening to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances and kinsmen and (also) to (Buddhist) ascetics (śramaṇas) and brāhmaṇas."

91. Dutt, op.cit., p.50.


93. Idem, pp. 243-44.


95. Cf. Varma, Early Buddhism and its origins, op.cit. The author mixed here various assertions which contain categories not always valid for Indian history. He looked for the material explanation to the Buddhist phenomenon (pp.331-44) but he surrendered to the evidence of the transcendency of the Buddha's foundation. He intended to define the revolutionary actions of the Buddha in political terms (pp.366-77) but he himself counterargued showing the society of the period as small, simple and without extreme
differences, a society mainly rural and conservative. The analysis of the new commercial conditions, however, is interesting.

96. Monier Williams, M., *Buddhism*, Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1964, pp.51-70. The Buddha preached his dharma during his forty-five years of peregrination. In his speeches and actions was based the doctrine and Buddhist sacred law.

97. Vide Chattopadhyaya, Deviprasad (ed.), *Tāranātha History of Buddhism in India*, K.P. Bagchi, Calcutta, 1980, Taranatha History of Buddhism, though it was written by him in Tibet around A.D. 1610 and contains many legendary accounts proper of the style of the period, is an extremely valuable source. "The period of the King Aśoka", Ch.VI, pp.50-75, contains reference to the second council held in that time.

98. Spiro, Meldford E., *Buddhism and Society*, George Allen, London, 1971. The book indicates well the context with its subtitle : A great tradition and its Burmese vicissitude. Ch.IV (pp.279 ff.) "Buddhism as a Monastic System" is valuable for understanding that cosmos which was the monastery and the "religious virtuoso" — the monk — who filled it.

99. Rhys-Davids, T.W., *Buddhist India*, Susil Gupta, Indian Reprint, 1955 (?1880). Rhys-Davids tried to make the point that whereas the social base of Buddhism was more commercial-urban. On the other hand, the social base of Brahmanism had been essentially rural. Cf. with the work of Dutt, Nalinaksha, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1971 which includes the bibliography and opinions of the latest generations of scholars. The analysis of the intellectual predecessors of the Buddha like Kassapa, Makkhali Gosala, Nighantha Nataputra and others are considered here as are part of an emancipating process of thinking which received the greatest impulse with the Buddhist monastic institutionalization.


102. Vide, the "Rukkhadhamma Jātaka", No. 74, in The Jātakas, Tr. by E.B. Cowell, Cosmo Publications, Delhi, 1973 (1895), pp. 181-82. This story reflects the process of growing of the economic area around the old kingdoms.

103. The urban geography at the Buddha's time in Law, Bimala Churn, Geography of Early Buddhism, Bhartiya Publishing House, Delhi, 1973, pp. 48 ff.; Cf. with the stories in the Jātakas, op.cit., Jātaka (J) No. 1, "Appanaka J.", (pp.1-8), No. 2, "Vannupatha J.", (pp.9-12), No.5 "Tandulanali J.", (pp.21-23), No.76 "Asamkiya J." (pp.185-86), No.90 "Akatannu J." (pp.220-21), No.103 "Veri J." (pp.245-46).

104. About coins of the period and the first monetary system in India, see the general Introduction of Allan, John, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, Oriental Book Reprint, New Delhi, 1975 (1936); also Kosambi, D.D., Indian Numismatics, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1981, in extension.

105. Vide, the interesting thesis of Pande, Govind Chand, Studies in the Origins of Buddhism, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1974 (1957). The work of the author goes into one of the facets of Buddhism which was not studied by other scholars. Pande appreciates the basic early stratum on which Buddhism was erected (pp.31-46). He compared the Chinese translations to distinguish the earlier Buddhist texts from the later ones (pp.51-76). A critique of Pande's sources gives us a clear picture of the cultural background of the Buddhist construction.

106. The Buddha criticized, in identical manner the brāhmaṇas and these extremist groups like the Ajivikas. For details about the latter, their origins, tradition and intellectual lineage, doctrine and evolution, vide the work of Basham, A.L., History and doctrines of the Ajivikas, a vanished Indian religion, Luzac, London, 1951.

107. The main criticism against the brāhmaṇas was that they turned into materialistic people "thirsty for gifts and payments", as several texts of the time said.

108. For example, "a deaf person (badhira) should not be ordained. If someone ordains him he commits the sin of dukkata", Mahāvagga, p.94, quoted by Upasak, C.S., Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms, Bharati Prakashen, Varanasi, 1975, p.169; a counter-example, in this case of openness in Buddha's attitude towards different type of people, like prostitutes or how prostitutes could become bhikkhuṇis (nuns), vide Rhys- Davids, Mrs. (ed. and Tr.), Psalms of the Early Buddhist,
Psalms of the sisters, Oxford University Press, London, 1909, pp.25 and 120.

109. The ten precepts are:

- Do not kill any form of life.
- Do not steal.
- Do not be impure.
- Do not lie.
- Do not drink intoxicants.
- Do not eat at improper time.
- Do not dance or sing.
- Do not use garments.
- Do not accept luxurious gifts.
- Do not sleep on beds.

110. Thomas, Edward, The History of Buddhist Thought, op.cit., Appendix (pp.265-92), with the Tripitakas, Vinaya Pitakas, Sutta Pitakas (or Nikayas), Abhidhamma Pitakas, Angas and other texts. The Vinayas are the reconciliation of the first laws of the Buddhist saṅgha.

111. Vide, in details the traditional education, Altekar, A.S., Education in Ancient India, Nand Kishore and Bros., Varanasi, 1965 (1944), pp.41-75. The bhikkhu saṅgha often was called gāna (in the Pañcitiya texts). The bhikkhu-saṅgha functional as a gāna, with many of the uses of a gāna (or republic state). That also appears in the Samantapāsādikā texts. Vide in Upasak, op.cit., p.78; Cf. also the Śikṣa-Samuccaya of Śāntideva, by Bendall, Cecil (Tr.), Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1971, p.40, "the householder, when he is a discipline (śikṣa), must do reverence to the law in person of that teacher (the Bodhisatva) for so many ages as there are in the stanza syllables, words and names."

112. Patimokkha is, in general, a collection of several monastic rules (like, for example, those contained in the Vinayapitaka). These Patimokkhas were recited in the saṅghas' fortnight assembly. Vide, Mahāvagga (Great Series, belonging to The Khandhakas), in Thomas, Edward J., The History of the Buddhist Thought, Kegan Paul and Trench-Trübner, London, 1933, p.267.

113. Chakravorti, op.cit., p.94, vide the problem about the contradiction between this theoretical egalitarianism and the reality. Many monks came from distinguished families which besides were the financial sponsors of the saṅgha. Princes and noblemen, too, joined the saṅgha. They could not receive the same treatment as the rest of the bhikkhus.
Also, with time and with growth of properties of the saṅghas an intellectual and managing level to administer the properties became necessary.

114. The gradual development of the Buddhist institution in the context of the political conditions of the time, in the work of Lamotte, Étienne, Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, des origines à l'Ère Saka, Université de Louvain, La Neuve, 1976, pp.58-73, 95-135.


116. The first donations to the saṅgha are documented in the Buddhist literature, as, for example, Gbositarama, built in the suburbs of Kosambi. Gbosita was a rich benefactor who built that earlier monastical establishment.

117. From the words of the Buddha, a complete theory of "dāna and punna" was developed (punna is the counterpart of dāna, and means the accumulation of merits by the donor by his pious act). The practical aspect of accepting dāna by the Buddhists and also by the Jainas was to diminish the volume of attention and resources previously given to Brahmanical sacrifices (which caused the slaughter of animals), and at the same time permitted the necessary economic support for the saṅghas. Vide Nath, Vijay, Dāna, gift system in India, (600 B.C.-300 A.D.), Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1987, pp. 205-33; also Endo, Toshiido, Dāna, the development of its concept and practice, Gunasena, Colombo, 1987, pp.1-53.


119. Groups of caves are often called lēnās, which could be a derivation from the word layana (a place of rest, an abode). Vide Fergusson, James, The Cave Temples of India, Oriental Books Reprint, Delhi, 1969 (1880), p.176 n.; Dutt, Sukumar, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, op.cit., "Lēnās, the rise of monasteries", pp.92-7.

120. The foundations of vihāras still remain at several places. Well known are those at Sarnath and at Sanchi. Vide, besides, Indian Archaeology Review, A.S.I., Delhi, 1984, p.151, plate I, for explanations about that archaeological site which is at Vaddamanu, Guntur (1st century A.D.), pp.1-2.
121. Gwalior is a place of Jaina caves. Jainas also carved images, monasteries and temples, however these Jaina works are less abundant than the Buddhist, vide some cases in Fergusson, op.cit., pp.490-510.


124. For material on the split in Hinayana Buddhism, the schism in several schools and the triumph of the Mahasanghikas with their Mahayana marga (or the Mahayaniism), vide Dutt, Nalinaksha, *Mahayana Buddhism*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1978.


126. A particular case of Buddhist monastical development in north India has been studied by Handa, O.C., *Buddhist Monasteries in Himachal Pradesh*, Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1987, in special Ch. II and III, pp.17-56.


131. A bibliography on the scholarship on Jainism since the last century is found in Schubring, Walter, The Doctrine of the Jains, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1962 (1934); also Jain, C.L., Jain Bibliography, Satis Chand Sed, Calcutta, 1945.


133. For the development and consequences of the Jaina ethics, vide Bhargava, Dayanand, Jaina Ethics, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1968.


The eight Essentials are :
(a) Nissankita or non-doubt about scriptures.
(b) Nihkanksita or non-desire for worldly pleasures.
(c) Nirvicikitsa or non-doubt about attainment of the spiritual path.
(d) Amudhadrsti or non-confusion about the ideal.
(e) Upabhrana or constant increase of spiritual qualities.
(f) Sthirikarana or constant return to the truth.
(g) Vatsalya or sense of brotherhood for followers of the right path.
(h) Prabhavana or preaching the importance of Truth.

139. Some examples of Jaina monasteries, their organization, economic sources and other details in the following
inscriptions:

(a) Surat Plates of Karkkarāja Suvarnavarṣa of the Gujarat Raṣṭrakūṭa branch, EP. IND., XXI, no. 22, pp. 133-47, is about a land donation to the Jaina monastery of Nāgasārika (Nausarī) headed by the Jainācārya Aparājita whose spiritual genealogy is provided here. The date of the donation was A.D. 821.

(b) Paliad Plates of Bhīmadeva, EP. IND., XXXIII, no. 44, pp. 235 ff., contain the grant of peasant-taxes to a Jaina monastery ubicacated at the city of Vāyade by Mahārajadhīrāja Bhīmadeva (A.D. 1024-1066), belonging to the Śāṅkukya family of Gujarat. This is a clear and evident case of a monastery actuating as feudal institution.

(c) Kalvan Plates of Yasōvarman, EP. IND., XIX, no. 10, pp. 67 ff., which is about the donation made by Yasōvarman, a feudatory chief of Bhōjadēva of Dhārā, who when celebrated a solar eclipse at a local Śaivatīrtha named Kālakāleśvara, gifted eighty-four rent free villages to the illustrious Ammadēvācārya of the Śvētambara sect and other minor gifts, to the maintenance of the monks living under the guidance of this master.

(d) Sevādi Stone Inscription of Aśvarāja, dated on c. A.D. 1111, EP. IND., XI, no. 4.2, pp. 27 ff., is about the donation made by a particular person who paid for collecting a basket of barley from each miller to the adoration of God Dharmanāthadēva and support of monks living at the place (i.e., the Jaina temple complex at Sevādi, five miles southeast of Bālī, Gomvā division, Rajasthan).

(e) Two Songira Cahan inscription from Barlut, EP. IND., XXXVI, no. 4, pp. 33 ff., which are engraved on a slab, in the Śāṅtinātha temple at Barlut, Sirohi district, Rajasthan. It record some land and a pitha (platform) gifted to the god Śāṅtinātha, and the incomes from an araghāṭṭa for the expenses of offering worship to this god. Those inscriptions are dated both between A.D. 1226 and 1274.

(f) Jalore inscription of Cāhamāna Cacigadēva, of the year 1275 (A.D.), E.P. IND., XXXIII, no. 6, pp. 46, is about a grant of 150 drammas to a Jaina monastery attached to the Nāpakīya gaccha, at Camdana Viha, Bālī district, Jodhpur, Rajasthan. The money was entrusted
to the mathapati (abbot) and the members of the assembly (gôsthikas) in the presence of Dhanesvarasûri; Vide also Dixit, K.K., "A new contribution to the discussion of Jain monastic discipline", in Sambodhi, 5, 2-3, 1976, pp.13-48.


"Categories of Śrāvakas", pp.36-8;
"The Dāna-vrata", pp.149-66.

143. A counter opinion to our discussion vide in Bhattacharyya, Narendra Nath, Jain Philosophy, Historical Outline, Munshiran Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1976, in special "The Social Basis of Jain Ethics", pp.84-7.