

Looking back at the decade of 1935 to 1945

(By Mahendra Kumar Jain)

Fourth decade (1935 to 1945) of Kakka's life was critical. He matured not only in his work but also for his personal, social and political views.

Existence of the Moodbidri pandulipis was known widely for centuries. The gist of its content is clear from the Tatvarth and Siddhant work of Nemichandr who lived in Shravanbelgola during the middle of the 11th century. In the late eighteenth century, Pandit Todarmal of Rajasthan attempted to bring the pandulipis in a published form. However, funds and suitable scholars could not be found. Over the next 100 years, with the construction of roads and railways, many more visitors were drawn to Moodbidri to see the diamond statuettes (*Heera-ki-Pratima*) of the ascetic Arihant monks.

Occasional scholar or layman would ask for the viewing of the pandulipis. One such person was Manikchand of Sholapur. In 1883, on his return home, he decided that unless something is done soon the legacy in the Moodbidri Pandulipi might be lost for ever. At his instigation, between 1896 and 1922, through donations from the Jain community arranged by Manikchand and Hirachand, the content was hand-scribed by six different scholars, including Loknath and Sitaram. It was fortunate that one of the few remaining persons who could read hale-Kannad script was found in Shravanbelgola. Possibly, it is not a coincidence that he had learnt to read the script as a family tradition. It would not be surprising if he descended from those who 900 years earlier scribed the pandulipi in Shravanbelgola. Not only the hale-Kannad was not taught in schools, the old alphabets were virtually forgotten even by the scholars.

With this outcome of the effort of about 3 decades, single copies of the transcribed work became available in two different modern scripts: 1500 pages (14 x 6") in Nagari script, and 2800 pages in the modern Kannad script. The trustees of the Moodbidri temple did not permit the copies to leave the temple premises. Somehow one complete copy, in modern Kannad made in parallel by wife of one of the scribes, was smuggled out. It found its way to Saharanpur in North India. During 1923-26 it

was read by Gajpati Shastri and scribed in Nagari by Sitaram Shastri. Neither understood the contents. By 1932 at least a dozen copies had proliferated in the Nagari script with their own shares of mistakes. Such "copies of copies" found place in more than a dozen Jain temples around the country. See Figure 1 for a sample of such very readable copy.

ॐ नमः सिद्धेभ्यः ॥ जयधवलसिद्धांतजीकेमंगलश्लोक ॥१॥ जयधवलंगतेणायूरियसयलभुवणभव-
 र्गगणो । केवलणणसरीरो अणंजणोणामओचंदो ॥१॥
 तिथयराचउवीसविकेवलणणेण दिहसव्वहा । पसियं-
 तुसिवसरूवातिहुवणसिरसैहरामज्झं ॥२॥ सोजयइज-
 सकेवलणणुज्जलदपणमित्थोयत्थोयं । पुदपदिबिंबंदी
 सइ वियसियसयवत्तगभग्गैरोवीरो ॥३॥ अंगंगवज्झणि-
 म्मीअणाइ मज्झंतणिसमलंगाए । सुयदेवयअंबाएणमो-

स्वप्नमें धवलवादि लिखात ग्रन्थोंके दर्शन करनेके बाद
 पाठाने पर पंजाबके लीचे ले प्राप्त धवल-जयधवल लिखित
 है

मंगलनाचरण - पत्र
 ही (१७.१७.२३) शांती
 २३.१२.२३ (५० कोट्टम (१
 शिवशूनमन्दिर (१९.६.२३)
 जयधवलपुर

Figure 1. (Top) Fragment from the copy of the Moodbidri pandulipis of Jai Dhavala scribed in Nagari. (Bottom) a note from Kakka about he found this fragment in 1923 (see text).

Challenges of heritage of the words from the past

Over the 1896-1926 period, more than half a dozen scribes, including Loknath and Sitaram, had worked on the initial project. The scribes had no clue of the meaning or etymology of the words, let alone the grammatical structure of the language, the content, the logic, or even the tradition. Such aspects bind the content with the deeper structure of the concepts and thought processes. To appreciate the extent of difficulty that lay

ahead, reader may try to copy a page of text in an unfamiliar language. It was also recognized later that some of the parts were missing in addition to their own share of missing lines and mis-scribed words. Ironically, these were the kind of limitations of which Dharsen was fully aware of two millennia before. With such limitations, Jain scholars were concerned about the proliferation of the copies in a language that few understood. It is the kind of ritual against which Mahaveer had argued twenty-five centuries before!

Yet many wanted to worship “The Dhavla Bundle,” whereas few were determined to understand the content. It is remarkable that many opposing forces worked to fulfill their own responsibilities. No matter how one judges the decisions of the Trustees of the Moodbidri Mandir (temple) to preserve the integrity of the pandulipis versus the proliferation of the copies, we should be eternally grateful to both did their jobs so well. The end result brought out the best of both. It is also remarkable that the Jain community took its responsibility seriously. They provided resources and expertise, and raised concerns. It was considered a community effort, even though stages of the work were financially supported by individuals. This practice wards against the concern that a single benefactor may have an agenda or a bias.

Table 1. The Hindi Translation of the Dhavlas in Print

1939-1958	A, B, C worked on The Dahavla with Shatkhandagam published in sixteen volumes (by Jain Sahitya Uddharak Fund, Amraoti, and later by Jain Sanskrati Singh, Sholapur). A wrote introduction to Shatkhandagam text edited by Sumatibai Shah (1965).
1945-59	A worked on Parikarm tika by Kundkund
1945-84	A, B, D, E worked on the Kashay Pahud (of Gandhar and Brashabh) published as Jai Dhavla in 13 volumes (The Jain Sangh, Mathura), and as single volume by A.
1973-75	A worked on Kashay Prabhat Churni with the MahaDhavla tika published in four volume (Gyanmandal Press, Varanasi and Sanmati Press, Delhi).

Translators: A, Heera Lal Jain; B, Phool Chandr Jain; C, Bal Chandr Jain; D, Kailash Chandr Jain; E, Mahendra Kumar Jain (not the present author).

Moodbidri pandulipis are irreplaceable heritage, and the task of deciphering their content was monumental. This consensus brought help and cooperation from a variety of sources, including the trustees of the Moodbidri temple. The works listed in Table II-5 are remarkable achievements of scholarship of half a dozen scholars. Working in the tradition and spirit of Dharsen, Pushpdant, Bhutbali, and others, a modern version of The Dhavla was published, with the steps of Shatkhandagam, secondary sources, and notes of interpretation. Soon thereafter JaiDhavla and MahaDhavla were published. The task of elaborating the through processes of the content in the modern context was deemed to be the responsibility of the future generations.

With this understanding, through the work presented on this site I hope to identify viable thoughts from the past and seek their relevance as heuristic guide for the future. Aim of the interpretive translation is to bring the Anugam process and the Agam principles to the attention of wider audience. With the advantage of hindsight, I also outline events and thoughts on the promises and perils of intellectual enterprise in social contexts. I have a more detailed knowledge of the background of the story because my father, Heera Lal Jain (1904-1981) my father who I call Kakka, spent over six decades (1922-1981) in bringing a part of the ancient material of *itthivay ang* to the modern Hindi form. Some of the factual material for the next few essays has also come from his notes, diaries, and articles. Extensive forwards, editorial notes and introductions from his books are remarkable resources for which he kept impeccable records.

Lessons from Kakka's life during 1935 to 1945. Part II

The unauthorized copies of the Moodbidri pandulipi brought a renewed interest and awareness about the roots and contents of this irreplaceable heritage. Older is better in India - just as the bigger is better in the American mind. In spite of the verified claim of far more ancient physical and intellectual roots, even to this day the Arihant tradition of the Jains is often mis-considered a splinter branch of the Hinduism dominated by the Indo-Aryan tradition.

Availability of the Moodbidri pandulipi invigorated reexamination of the heritage. Trustees of the Moodbidri temple, as well as many other groups, were initially opposed to any suggestion of publication of The Dhavla. On the other hand, availability of the unauthorized copies brought to the attention of many young scholars the challenge of understanding the content. They were also inspired by the influence of Gandhi who brought resurgence for all-things-Indian (*Bhartiy*). These young scholars, derogatorily called the 'Babu Pandit' by the more traditional segment of the society, pressed on. Their concern was that unless the content is suitably understood and elaborated the copies may mistranslated and misinterpreted, which is worse than as the objects of blind worship.

The basis for the Satprarupana text was established during 1933-36 by Kakka. The article published in Jain Siddhant Bhaskar in 1938 (I-20) established rules for the interpretation and verification the material of the genera in a modern form by systematically associating the content and context with other contemporary and later works. Such insights played an important role in bringing the 12th Ang (*itthivay*) material to the modern form. I recount some of his inspiring and instructive biographical encounters that have largely remained in the background.

In 1916, when Kakka was 12 years old his older brother, just back from a pilgrimage to Moodbidri, talked with enthusiasm about the need to understand the content of the Moodbidri pandulipi. Again in 1923, as a student living in a hostel in Jabalpur, in a dream he saw himself studying the pandulipis. Next day, while cleaning his shared room he found a couple of fragments hand-written in Nagari on the floor

under his bed. One of these, along with his dated note of December 23, 1923, is reproduced in Figure 1. It is not clear how the fragments found their way to the hostel. However, it is certain that after 1918 parts of the 'copies of the copies' were widely disseminated. From the script it appears that the fragment is in the handwriting of Sitaram Shastri. In 1926 Kakka was invited to Saharanpur for a series of lectures. There for the first time he met Sitaram Shastri who was transcribing the material in Nagari as Gajpati Shastri read the modern Kannad from a smuggled copy. The ensuing conversation made it clear to Kakka that it is absolutely necessary to learn Prakrit to fully appreciate the contents of the pandulipi. For several years Kakka on his own learnt Prakrit, and in 1930-1931 with Bechar Das and later with Virbhadra in Beawar. He learnt about usage of ancient Prakrit from several Shvetambar monks. In 1932, he published an article on the Prakrit roots of many of the Sanskrit terms used in the ancient Digambar Jain writings.

Kakka writes of another dream in 1933 in which he was studying Dhavla. Only four days later, during an unplanned visit to Jhalarapatan with Seth Lal Chand, he was shown another copy of the Moodbidri pandulipi. In my opinion this visit was not so coincidental. It is quite likely that the trip was organized to encourage Kakka to work on the translation after Lal Chand has obtained a copy of the copy made in Saharanpur. After this visit Kakka started making detailed notes of the Moodbidri pandulipi related material found in different locations. Serious discrepancies were noted while comparing the copies in Ajmer, Jhalrapapatan and Saharanpur.

The copies of copies that found their way into the various Temple libraries alarmed some and inspired others. A name-sake of Kakka, Professor Hiralal Jain whom I will call Professor, also traces his interest to seeing the Karanja copy in 1924. The Jain Sahitya Uddharak Fund was established in 1934 largely through a single donor. These funds were obtained by consented hijacking of the funds earmarked by Luxmi Chand of Vidisha for a more ritualistic purpose. The mission of the Uddharak Fund was to bring out an authoritative printed Hindi version of The Dhavla. Professor was appointed the *mantri* (secretary-manager) of the fund. In 1935, Professor published a compendium of about 300 lines of the JaiDhavla material. By all accounts, Pahud Doha edited by Professor Hira Lal was not a success. It was out of sequence and out of context

compensium of 222 gathas of Jai Dhavala. To put it politely, it was not an inspiring work - certainly not the kind that would make anybody proud. After this reception from the traditional scholars, Professor decided to build his career as a manager.

A segment of the Jain community was very enthusiastic about the idea of publication of the Dhavlas in a modern form. At the same time, there were valid concerns about incompetent handling of the work that can only add to the confusion arising from the proliferation of mistandled works. After examining the material Professor had produced, the trustees of Moodbidri Temple again refused to authorize the use of their pandulipi. The community also advised the Professor to seek expert help to build a broader scholarly consensus.

The episode of premature publication, clash of egos, and a lack of the "people skills" of Professor became widely known in the intellectual circles. The tenure of Banshidhar Jain with the Uddharak Fund lasted about a month. He left irritated by ill-conceived notions of the Mantri. The legalistic style of Professor coupled with a lack of understanding of the nuances of traditional literature and scholarship did not sit well with most traditional scholars. On the other hand, familiarity with English and the legal system is useful for a manager. To this day I do not understand what persuaded Kakka to move to Amraoti in 1939.

Addressing concerns about the challenge of the Dhavla work at the Itarsi convention in December 1933, Kakka offered some suggestions. During 1933-1938 he continued this work in Ujjain with tacit support of Lal Chand. As mentioned above the breakthrough from this work was published in Jain Siddhat Bhaskar in 1938 (Chapter I-20). In it he identified historicity of the content, the context of Satprarupana as the first part of the Jeevatthan, and established its connection to the later works. The Professor and A. N. Upadhye were on the editorial board of this journal. Therefore it is not a coincidence that after the publication of the paper the Professor renewed his efforts to bring Kakka to Uddharak Fund in Amraoti for the Dhavla work.

According to the Professor's remarks in the introduction published with Satprarupana in 1939 (Figure 2), the first volume of Shatkhandagam, little progress was made by the Fund in Amraoti until the effort was reorganized with the arrival of Kakka on January 1, 1939. At the insistence of Nathuram Premi, in spite of his best judgment

Kakka decided to leave Ujjain. With him he also took complete drafts of the first three volumes of Shatkhandagam, and a reasonably complete and ordered list of the Prakrit *sutr* for the next five chapters and *churni* (appendices).

Before we go into the success of the publication effort, a detour is in order to understand the gravity of the mission and the background work needed to establish the basic rules for successful handling of these ancient works. During 1923-1936 Kakka developed the rules of translation from the ancient Prakrit, and now these rules are generally accepted. As a possible guide to the scholars as well as the layman, key conceptual break-through outlined in the 1938 paper of only 9 pages are noteworthy.

1. The paper identifies the *Jeevatthan* (*Jeevasthan*) as the conceptual crux of The Dhavla.
2. It compares the 175 steps of Satprarupana in Prakrit by Pushpadant (from the pandulipi) with the Sanskrit version found in *Sarvarthsiddhi* by Pujoyapad (ca. 500 CE) and a commentary by Shrutsagar. The comparison establishes the precedence of the Prakrit work. The paper shows that Kakka had identified the beginning of the text, deciphered the sequence of steps and meaning of satprarupana as the first chapter of Jeevatthan. Two additional *pad* were included after comparison with the Saharanpur copy.
3. Besides establishing the numbering style for the pad, the paper clearly outlines the relationship of the sequence to the core concepts of Jeevatthan.
4. Several points of discord between the Prakrit and Sanskrit versions are noted. A point of particular interest is that the conception of "indeterminate knowledge" (*syad* or the knowledge with doubt) is absent in the Sanskrit version.
5. That Pushpadant and Bhutbali organized this work about 600 years after Mahaveer, as also confirmed by the later findings.
6. Origin of *dristi*, as the (mis-) translation of *itthi*, occurred in the Sanskrit rendition.

At the end of the paper it is clearly stated that the content of the Jeevatthan was widely available before 500 CE. The content also showed that the heritage of Moodbidri pandulipi is in the tradition of the 12th Ang of itthivay. Finally it also showed that at least some of the later works may be based on the fragments of the body of the ancient work.

Lessons from Kakka's life during 1935 to 1945. Part III

Heera Lal Jain Shastri (1904-1981), my father who I call Kakka because everybody else called him so, saw pursuit of the material of the 12th Ang as his calling. He pursued this single handedly with self-reliance, which he himself described as dedicated to *itthivay*. It is not about a single-minded pursuit because he was always aware of the parallel developments and open to meaningful suggestions. Although a stickler for detail, for him the context and overview was critically important for the evaluation of the subtleties of the content.

To peer into the thought process of the 12th Ang one needs an understanding of how we formalize sense inputs through words to communicate thought and inference. These are the concerns of *vacch-nay* reasoning as is apparent in Saptbhangi. Unlike the binary syllogism of the Western logic, the Nay approach is concerned with the grasp of the entire content in appropriate context, which also provide insights into intention and meaning for the future use of knowledge. These ideas are developed in the Nay section on this site.

Ever since his student days Kakka began to focus on the Nay reasoning to formulate thought. As I understood from him and his writings, the beauty and the intellectual foundation of reasoned thought is that it has to stand on its own. Authority of tabgle thought comes from what it is and its demonstrable basis, rather than where it came from lor what it promises to be. A reality based thought remains accessible irrespective of time and place, or culture and history.

What Can a Rupia coin do?

Ganesh Prashad (1874-1961), at the age of 30 wanted to be apprentice of Jeev Nath Mishr, Professor of Nyay at Queens College, Varansi. Professor literally threw him out when he heard that the applicant was born into a lower caste. And things turned ugly when the Brahmin Professor learnt that Ganesh was interested in the Jain tradition.

After hearing about this incidence a friend Chaman Lal donated as princely sum of one rupee (in those days working wage was 5 rupees per month) with which Ganesh bought 64 postcards and wrote to 64 people about his plan to establish an institution. The end result was that the Syadvad Vidhyalay established in 1908 on the banks of Ganga in Varanasi where students of all background could study Nyay and whatever else they wanted. Soon it came to be a major center of learning that included students of all castes including the Brahmins. During the next decade Ganesh also persuaded Madan Mohan Malviya to establish the Department of Jain Philosophy at the Banaras Hindu University. Although the Vidyalay is still flourishing, the University Department has been closed down by the Government.

At this stage, as a prelude to the Dhavla work, a few words about Kakka's background and work philosophy are relevant. He writes in the introduction to Pramey Ratnamala that in 1919 at the age of 15 he studied *Nyay* from a 15th century pandulipi in a temple in Lalitpur. In response to a query from Kakka, his teacher Ghanshyam Das encouraged him to someday bring out a modern interpretation of this work. This inspired the young student to keeping notes from around that time that took the form of a book 45 years later published in 1964. Its several hand-written drafts were widely circulated and placed in Jain Vidyalay for use by students and teachers. Note that, quite contrary to the tradition of the period, when Pramey Ratnamala was written (around or before 9th century CE) its first verse (Manglacharan) does not acknowledge inspiration from a teacher or a deity. It is only befitting that as a primer on Nay should also stand on its own without authority or a priori. Unfortunately the work has been reprinted by somebody else without acknowledging the original source for more than 95% of the material.

Ways to acknowledge inspiration

What matter for sholarhsip is that credit and blame are given where it is due. Over the millennia acceptable ways to credit for creative inspiration have changed with attitudes towards responsibility for the work:

The Divine words (Ved)

The divine insights (Sermon from the mount)
Meditation and spiritual ways of oracles
Astrology and other chance based methods of discourse
Dreams
Logic
Prepared Mind
Spontaneous insight
Response to being wronged

Divine inspiration and omniscience communicate authority of the ad hoc that calls for faith and belief. On the other hand Nay works lack such acknowledgements because human constructs derive truth-value from perceived reality.

As Kakka developed a deeper understanding of Nay, he began to apply these methods and criteria. By most accounts Kakka was a prolific writer. He was never in a hurry to push any work in print before he was thoroughly satisfied with it at a deeper conceptual level. He also earned reputation as a no-nonsense teacher. This attitude also permeated in his talks, as well as in his dealings with people.

Soon after his schooling, Kakka established the working style of a free-lance scholar. He once said that *why drink un-potable water if you can dig a well for better water*. He went to places with ancient libraries. Going through the contents, he developed a knack for comparing multiple copies with a deeper understanding of the style in relation to the content, concepts, and the thoughts leading to the work. Before the days of copying-machines, collecting such material in long hand meant spending months at a given place! However, scribing things in long hand also gave an opportunity to think along to analyze and organize thought. Such a level of understanding is lost with the xerox-syndrome of possessing a photocopy without ever having read anything critically. Looking back at many of his preserved hand-written notes and press-copies, now I understand how he also developed a steady-hand for speedy writing without mistakes. As a student, I was always impressed with his letters: a string of well-reasoned thoughts unblemished by scratches. I appreciate it even more now as I work with a word-processor.

To make the ends meet, Kakka would typically teach in Jain Pathshala (religious schools). He preferred to tutor monks and interested layman who often are critical and thoughtful learners. Such short term arrangements offered him flexibility of the working hours and travel. Some of his students also became his lifelong friends, and even sponsored his work. As he puts it: *This way I do not have to go begging from the establishment and organizations run by people who do not understand scholarship and the intellectual work.* It turned out to be a premonition that amounted to a vow of poverty against which the establishment offered no benediction.

One event in particular had a tremendous impact on our family. When Abhidhan Rajendra Kosh, an authoritative compendium of the Prakrit usage, was published in the early thirties, Kakka bought a personal copy by selling about 300 grams of the family gold. It may have facilitated his work, but did not make him any wiser about the family affairs. My mother was not particularly thrilled, especially because after that from time to time she had to give up her only remaining bracelet and necklace for loan from a pawn-broker. It went on 36 times over the next 30 years, and each time the lucky bracelet and necklace came back!

Work habit. By mid-1930s Kakka began to be recognized as an expert with a deep understanding of the Nay syllogism with insights into the practical usage of the ancient Prakrit. The investment in the Kosh had a far greater impact on me. All of us siblings in our formative years were impressed with the seven volumes of the Abhidhan Rajendra Kosh of the Prakrit usage. For the Shrutpanchami celebration or Deepawali, we were often asked to move these massive volumes weighing over 25 kilograms.

The professional expectations of kakka moulded his personal habits, although it is more common the other way. After the Itarsi convention 1933, Kakka made a commitment to himself to work on The Dhavla. It was backed up by Lal Chand, a successful industrialist of Ujjain. Over the years (from 1928 until parted by death) Kakka enjoyed his confidence and friendship. As a family tutor, coupled with advising, sponsorship, and deep personal concerns for the families of each other, Kakka had free time to do his work. Lal Chand had taken Kakka to Jhalrapatan as a "surprise" to show the copy of Dhavla. Once Lal Chand noted Kakka is not available in the afternoons. In a

politely written letter, Kakka first ruled out the possibility that he was lazy. Then he pointed out that he needed rest in the afternoon. Then he noted that Lal Chand was too busy with his business in the morning which the best time for learning.

The habit of afternoon rest did not change until his last days. Through the years we all lived with its "consequences." By the time we got up at 7 AM or after, Kakka had usually completed four to six hours of work. While we were awed as the hand-written pages turned into printed books, we were also inspired that it is after all a human effort. I also learnt from it that even I could do something someday, if I make effort. However, in those years, to me it looked like a near-impossible task because I will have to get up at some awful hours at night. But now I understand and believe in what Kakka once said that *it is not worth doing, if you do not feel like getting up at 3 AM for it.*

Kakka's schedule suited well for his need for peace and quiet – as if it disappeared after we woke up! To us it was inconvenient only because the quiet must also prevail in the household in the afternoon and also after 8 PM. So, in those days without TV and radio, we had plenty of time to study, read, and converse without getting too animated and noisy. It also created an easier line of communication with my mother, who had her own style of doing things. It is probably reflected at its best in her comment after our household acquired the first radio in 1960. One evening she wondered out aloud *why does the evening news always last fifteen minutes.* To her, if you can complete a task in five minutes it should take only five minutes. And if it requires days to do it well, so be it. Some of my siblings may disagree about my impressions, but all of us all seem to have such enduring individual impressions. I have not asked them about theirs.

Peering into Kakka's Mind. In my later years, even more impressive was Kakka's reasoned tone of discussions and written correspondence with many of the contemporary scholars. At times the same courtesy was also accorded to me if I cared to ask a carefully reasoned and suitably worded question. Even after 50 years, some of these moments are etched in my memory, which have guided my perceptions and personal quests as a scientific researcher for experimentally verifiable knowledge.

Significance of my interactions with Kakka, and also with his work, did not become clear to me until I began to examine the strengths and limitations of the modern scientific methods for my own work. It forced me to peer into the workings of Kakka's mind, as well as into the meaning of the representation and interpretation. I have been richly rewarded. Some of these insights are interspersed though this site, particularly in the essay and the quotations of others.

I started to puzzle what questions may have intrigued a budding Nay scholar when he first saw the fragments from a copy of the Moodbidri pandulipi. In Pramey Ratnamala, agam is defined as:

आप्तवचनादि -निबन्धनमर्थज्ञानमागमः

The concrete and meaningful reasoning is initiated from the rule bound constructs from the past. In other words, *nibandh* (the rule-bound construct) is the key for representation for interpretation. It applies to the two-liner gatha as well as for the development of a reasoned argument through a matrix of steps for a scientific proof. As an endorsement of intellectual integrity, here the appeal is for what is communicated by the sum total of a construct that is both a source of knowledge and also a means for knowledge. At I interpret it with this understanding I presume Kakka viewed the Dhavlas as a synthesis to peer into the mind through words.

For the students of thought it is noteworthy that Kakka's interpretation of Syad-Anekant-Nay remained at odds with the Varanasi Syadvad School. This group of all-too-powerful scholars interpreted syad-anevant as relativism verging on rhetoric, figure of speech, or context-dependent plurality. In such interpretation a person can be a father, son, brother, as well as a thief. They fail to recognize that reasoning is about a defined state of the content and the context, and not about multiple states. No matter how one cuts it, a rhetoric invoking multiple states. Such confusion has set back the understanding of Syad-Anekant Nay.

In contrast, syad and anekant together seek constructs from evidence based reality. In the process, the Nay methods facilitate recognition of liabilities in an inference about a defined concern. Such Syad calls for a change of inference as new evidence becomes available, and Anekant call for new assertion, inference or evidence if the state of the concern changes.

Lessons from Kakka's life during 1935 to 1945. Part IV

During 1934-38 Kakka kept working on Jeevatthan from the copies available in Ajmer, Jhalrapatan, and Saharanpur. By the time I was born in 1938, in Ujjain he had completed work on Satprarupana (I-20) as well as the next three chapters with detailed notes for two more. Six weeks after my birth, our family moved to Amraoti in December 1938. This was at the insistence of many of the Kakka's friends who saw that the work of the Uddharak Fund in Amraoti was stalled. Kakka was aware of the potential problems associated with the move. He was also aware that ambitions of Professor did not match his abilities. At the same time Kakka felt sure that he could come back to Ujjain if he wished so. He saw the move as *an opportunity to materialize his dreams*. He felt confident. After all, he had nearly finished the work on five volumes. Within months after arrival in Amraoti he purchased a house. It is the only house in which he ever tried to settle away from his ancestral home in Sadumar. Apparently, he thought that his nomadic days of free-lance work are to be over soon.

On Kakka's part there was eagerness to see his work in print. He started work for the Fund on January 1, 1939. After comparing his draft with the copy in Amraoti, within eight weeks his hand-written pandulipi was sent to press for typesetting. In February 1939 Phool Chandr Jain, whom I will call Panditji, also joined in the effort.

Publication of Satprarupana as the first volume of Shatkhandagam in 410 pages was celebrated as a major event on November 7, 1939. As is apparent from the front pages of the first printed edition (Figures 3 and 4), seeds of discord were already sown. Also as is apparent from Figures 5 and 6 the problem worsened in the second edition. Kakka resigned on the day of celebration as soon as he saw the cover of the printed version for the first time. On the dustcover the Professor is Editor. On the inside cover page in Hindi, Professor is Editor with Panditji and Kakka as the Sah-Sampadak (coeditor). On the inside English cover Professor takes credit for translation, introduction and editing "assisted by" Panditji and Kakka. On the other hand, the preface (Figure 2) gave credit to Kakka for his work in Ujjain. Needless to say Kakka had not seen the complete printed and bound book before the inauguration ceremony,

although he had corrected the galley and page proofs. The final product clearly violated the initial understanding that Professor is only a secretary and manager. Before the publication date an agreement was reached to include all the three as the co-editors with equal credit in all the volumes. Clearly, the agreement was not honored.

अतएव एक सहायक स्थायी रूपसे रख लेनेकी आवश्यकता प्रतीत हुई। सन १९३५ में बीनानिवासी पं. वंशीधरजी व्याकरणाचार्यको मैंने बुला लिया, किन्तु लगभग एक माह कार्य करनेके पश्चात् ही कुछ गार्हस्थ्यिक आवश्यकताके कारण उन्हें कार्य छोड़कर चले जाना पड़ा। तत्पश्चात् सादूमल (झांसी) के निवासी पं. हीरालालजी शास्त्री न्यायतीर्थको बुलानेकी बात हुई। वे प्रथम तीन वर्षे उज्जैनमें रायबहादुर सेठ लालचन्द्रजीके यहां रहते हुए ही कार्य करते रहे। किन्तु गत जनवरीसे वे यहां बुला लिये गये और तबसे वे इस कार्यमें मेरी सहायता कर रहे हैं। उसी समयसे बिना निवासी पं. फूलचन्द्रजी सिद्धान्तशास्त्रीकी भी नियुक्ति करली गई है और वे भी अब इसी कार्यमें मेरे साथ तत्परतासे संलग्न हैं। तथा व्यक्तिगत रूपसे यथावसर अन्य विद्वानोंका भी परामर्श लेते रहे हैं।

प्राकृतपाठ संशोधनसम्बंधी नियम हमने प्रेस कापीके दो सौ पृष्ठ राजाराम कालेज कोल्हापुरके अर्धमागधीके प्रोफेसर, हमारे सहयोगी व अनेक प्राकृत ग्रंथोंका अत्यन्त कुशलतासे सम्पादन करनेवाले डाक्टर ए. ए. उपाध्येके साथ पढ़कर निश्चित किये। तथा अनुवादके संशोधनमें जैनधर्मके प्रकाण्ड विद्वान सि. शा. पं. देवकीनन्दनजीका भी समय समय पर साहाय्य लिया गया। इन दोनों सहयोगियोंकी इस निर्व्याज सहायताका मुझ पर बड़ा अनुग्रह है। शेष समस्त सम्पादन, ग्रंथ शोधनादि कार्य मेरे स्थायी सहयोगी पं. हीरालालजी शास्त्री व पं. फूलचन्द्रजी शास्त्रीके निरन्तर साहाय्यसे हुआ है, जिसके लिये मैं उन सबका बहुत कृतज्ञ हूँ। यदि इस कृतिमें कुछ अच्छाई व सौन्दर्य हो तो वह सब इसी सहयोगका ही सुफल है।

Figure 2. Excerpt from the preface of the 1939 Edition of Satprarupana (see Figures 3 and 4) signed (November 1, 1939) by Professor Hiralal Jain.

श्री भगवत्-पुष्पदन्त-भूतबलि-प्रणीतः

षट्खंडागमः

श्रीवीरसेनाचार्य-विरचित-धवला-टीका-समन्वितः ।

तस्य

प्रथम-खंडे जीवस्थाने

हिन्दीभाषानुवाद-तुलनात्मकटिप्पण-प्रस्तावनानेकपरिशिष्टैः संपादिता

सत्प्ररूपणा १



सम्पादकः

अमरावतीस्थ-किंग-एडवर्ड-कालेज-संस्कृताध्यापकः एम्. ए., एल्. एल्. बी., इत्युपाधिधारी

हीरालालो जैनः

सहसम्पादकौ

पं. फूलचन्द्रः सिद्धान्तशास्त्री * पं. हीरालालः सिद्धान्तशास्त्री, न्यायतीर्थः

संशोधने सहायकौ

व्या. वा., सा. सू., पं. देवकीनन्दनः * डा. नेमिनाथ-तनय-आदिनाथः
सिद्धान्तशास्त्री उपाध्ययः एम्. ए., डी. लिट्.

प्रकाशकः

श्रीमन्त सेठ लक्ष्मीचन्द्र शिताबराय

जैन-साहित्योद्धारक-फंड-कार्यालयः

अमरावती (बरार)

वि. सं. १९९६]

वीर-निर्वाण-संवत् २४६५

ई. स. १९३९

मूल्यं रूप्यक-दशकम्

Figure 3. The Hindi inside-cover page of the first edition of Satprarupana part of Shatkhandagam published in 1939.

THE
ṢAṬKHAṆḌĀGAMA

OF

PUṢPADANTA AND BHŪTABALĪ

WITH

THE COMMENTARY DHAVALĀ OF VIRASENA

VOL. I

SATPRARŪPAṆĀ

Edited

with introduction, translation, notes, and indexes

BY

HIRALAL JAIN, M. A., LL. B.,

C. P. Educational Service, King Edward College, Amraoti.

ASSISTED BY

Pandit Phoolchandra
Siddhānta Shāstri.

*

Pandit Hiralal Siddhānta Shāstri
Nyāyatīrtha.

With the cooperation of

Pandit Devakinandan
Siddhānta Shāstri

*

Dr. A. N. Upadhye,
M. A., D. Litt.

Published by

Shrimant Seth Laxmichandra Shitabrai,

Jain Sāhitya Uddhāraka Fund Karyalaya.

AMRAOTI (Berar).

1939

Price rupees ten only.

Figure 4. The inside-cover page in English of the first edition of Satprarupana part of Shatkhandagam published in 1939. The dust-jacket contains only the name of the Professor as the Editor.

भीमंत सेठ सिताबराय लक्ष्मीचन्द्र जैन साहित्योद्धारक सिद्धान्त ग्रंथमाला - १.

श्री भगवत् - पुष्पदन्त - भूतबलि - प्रणीत :

षट्खण्डागमः

श्री वीरसेनाचार्य - विरचित धवला - टीका समन्वितः

तस्य

प्रथम-खण्डे जीवस्थाने

हन्दीभाषानुवाद - तुलनात्मक टिप्पण प्रस्तावना अनेक - परिशिष्टः संपादिता

सत्प्ररूपणा - १

संपादक

स्व. डॉ. हीरालाल जैन

एम. ए., एल. एल. बी., डी. लिट.

भूतपूर्व प्राध्यापक व अध्यक्ष संस्कृत - पालि - प्राकृत विभाग,
नागपुर विश्वविद्यालय व जबलपुर विश्वविद्यालय
तथा डायरेक्टर प्राकृत - जैन शोधसंस्थान, वैशाली,
बिहार शासन शिक्षा विभाग.



सहसंपादक

डॉ. आ. ने. उपाध्ये

एम. ए., डी. लिट.

प्राध्यापक व अध्यक्ष,
स्नातकोत्तर अध्ययन व शोध विभाग, मद्रास विश्वविद्यालय
भूतपूर्व प्राध्यापक अद्वैतमागधी, राजाराम कालेज,
महाराष्ट्र शासन शिक्षा विभाग.



प्रकाशक

जैन संस्कृति संरक्षक संघ

संतोष भुवन, फलटण गल्ली, सोलापुर-२.

(महाराष्ट्र)

वि. सं. २०२९

वीर निर्वाण संवत् २४९९

ई. सं. १९७३

मूल्य १६-००

Figure 5. The Inside cover page in Hindi from the 1973 reprint of Volume I. Note that names of earlier coeditors (Figure 3 and 4) are removed and A. N. Upadhye is included as "saha-sampadak."

Shreemant Seth Sitab Rai Laxmichandra Jain
Sahityodharak Sidhant Granthamala

Shree Bhagawat Pushpadant Bhutabali Pranit

SHATKHANDAGAM

Shree Veersenacharya Virachit Dhavala Teeka Samanwita

FIRST VOLUME

JEEVASTHAN

Hindi Bhashanuwad

Tulanatmak Tippetan Prastavana Anek Parishisht Sampadita

SAT-PRARUPANA

Sampadak

Late Dr. Hiralal Jain

M. A., LL. B., D. Litt.

Bhutapurva Pradhyapak and Adhyaksha -
Sanskrit - Prakrit Vibhag - Nagpur Vishwa Vidyalaya,
Director - Prakrit Jain Shodha Samsthan, Vaishali,
Bihar Shasan Shiksha Vibhag.

⊙

Saha - Sampadak

Dr. A. N. Upadhye

M. A., D. Litt.

Pradhyapak and Adhyaksha
Snatakottar Adhyayan and Shodha Vibhag - Mysore Vishwa Vidyalaya.
Bhutpurva Pradhyapak Ardha Magadhi - Rajaram College
Maharashtra Shasan Shiksha Vibhag.

⊙

Prakashak

Jain Sanskriti Samrakshak Sangha

Santosh Bhavan, Phaltan Galli, Sholapur - 2.
(Maharashtra)

Vikram S. 2029

Veer Samvat 2499

A. D. 1973

Price : Rs. 16 - 00

Figure 6. The Inside cover page in English from the 1973 reprint of Volume I. Note that the names of the earlier coeditors (Figures 3 and 4) are removed and A. N. Upadhye is included as "saha-sampadak" (coeditor).

श्री० पन्नालाल दि० जैन संस्कृत भवन

सैठजी की नज़ियाँ, आगरा (राजस्थान)

दि० ८-१-७४

श्रीमान् सैठ बालचंद्रजी देवचंदजी गहा,

मंत्री- जीधराज जैन ग्रन्थालय, सीलापुर ।

सन्तिस जय जिनैन्दु,

मुझे ज्ञात हुआ है कि आपका उक्त ग्रन्थालय से हाल में की प्रकाशित
आर्यशास्त्रों के प्रथम पुस्तक के द्वितीय संस्करण में 'सह-सम्पादक' के रूप में मेरा
नाम पं० फूलचन्द्रजी सिद्धान्ताचार्यजी नाम देटा दिया गया है और डा० २० एन०
उपाध्ये का नाम 'सह-सम्पादक' के रूप में दिया गया है । यह बात बहुत आपत्ति
के योग्य है, क्योंकि वह यथार्थ में सर्वथा विपरीत है । उक्त पुस्तक के प्रथम संस्करण
में दिये गये नामों एवं सम्पादकाय-प्रकाशक्रीय वक्तव्यों से ज्ञात उक्त बात की यथाधिता
पत्ती प्राप्ति जान सकते हैं । ज्ञान जैसे सुविज्ञ मंत्री है एतत्तु हेतु क्यों हुआ, यह बात
अभि आश्चर्य एवं वेद-जनक है ? ? ?

इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा आपसे निवेदन है कि आप तत्काल ही उक्त पुस्तक के
दूसरे संस्करण में प्रथम संस्करण के समान सम्पादक-मंडल के नामों की सुदृष्टि कराकर
जोड़ें और इस सम्बन्ध में जो नवीन संशोधन किये गये हैं, उन्हें एड करें । साथ ही
अब तक पूर्ववत् उक्त मंत्रीजन न गयीं आय, तब तक उनकी किन्हीं, भेंट और प्रचार
आदि बन्द रहना चाहिये ।

आशा है कि आप तत्काल समुचित कार्यवाही कर हमारे और पं० फूलचन्द्र
जी के साथ हुए इस अन्याय का परिधान करेंगे । यदि ऐसा नहीं किया गया, तो
मुझे विवेक और समाचार-पत्रों द्वारा समाज के सामने इस अन्याय की रचना होगी,
और ऐसी शर्त में डा० उपाध्ये को बदनाम करी जाये, साथ में ऐसे कई गड्डे मुझे भी
उतड़ कर सामने आये, कि जिनसे स्व० डा० शारदाजी तक भी उत्पन्न हुए
विना नहीं रहेंगे । मैं नहीं चाहता कि जिनको 'सन्मति' द्वारा अभी हाल में ही
ब्रह्मचर्या समर्पण का गड्डा है, उनके यज्ञ में किये प्रहार का पक्ष लगे ।

आशा है नहीं, मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है कि आप उक्त स्थिति की तत्काल
समाप्ति और हम दोनों के हृदयों में उत्पन्न हुई अमान्ति की नाश करने का प्रयत्न
करेंगे ।

वाकका भिनसु

श्रीमान् पन्नालाल दि०

(सीलापुर नज़ियाँ)

Figure 7. The letter of protest from Kakka to the publisher for the misrepresented credits in the 1973 reprint of Satprarupana (Figures 3 and 4).

Few weeks after the celebration in November 1939, at the insistence of his friends and relatives, Kakka took back the resignation. Professor had promised that the problem and discrepancies about the editorial credits would be resolved in the future volumes. The publication schedule progressed rapidly. The second volume was published within a year. A total of five volumes had appeared by 1943 with Kakka still as Sah-sampadak (coeditor) on the Hindi cover and under the "assisted by" on the English cover. Seeing that the problem of the credits is not going to be resolved Kakka decided to leave Amraoti in 1943. His name did not appear on the sixth volume which he left as draft of the churni (appendices) for Jeevattan in the first five. In the middle of the economic turmoil of the Second World War Kakka sold his Amraoti house at a loss and returned to Ujjain.

Apparent equanimity of Panditji in the whole episode is betrayed by the fact that he had already left in 1942. At the encouragement of Kakka, Bal Chand Jain had joined in the effort by the end of 1942. They were personal friends and both were born in the neighboring villages 4 miles apart. Bal Chand took over the responsibilities for the work from 1944. By 1958 the entire Shatkhandagam legacy of Dharsen, Pushpdant and Bhutbali with The Dhavla interpretation by Virsen and Jinsen was in print in sixteen volumes.

As also summarized in Table 1, all the other Dhavlas were also translated and published between 1955 and 1975. Panditji with Kailash Chandra Jain and Mahendra Kumar Jain completed Jai Dhavla that was initiated by Kakka in 1946. After 14 years of work Kakka published the Parikarm Prabhat Tika. Several reprints and abridged versions of these works have appeared over the years without the acknowledgement of the original effort.

Lessons from Kakka's life during 1935 to 1945. Part V

In 1938 Kakka had handed over the completed pandulipi of Satprarupana to the Uddharak Fund with the *greed and expectatgion* that the collective and cooperative effort would yield a definitive work in a shorter period. In the back of his mind he had also considered the vicinity of Vardha to Amraoti, which was a center for Gandhian thought and the Non-cooperation movement. By mid-thirties he had started using hand-spun Khadi cloth and wore non-leather shoes.

As a full-time employee of the British Government at the King Edward College in Amraoti, Professor did his days work for a regular salary. In the afternoons and evenings the three colleagues sat down to review the daily progress. Of course, this was very inconvenient for Kakka because he had already put in 12-15 hours by then. With some grumbling Panditji accepted Kakka's work-schedule with rest in the afternoon. In return Kakka accepted Panditji's habit of chewing tobacco.

Rapid publication of the five volumes of Jeevatthan (over 2000 printed pages) during 1939 to 43 was possible because the content was already verified in terms of the linguistic and grammatical rules of ancient Prakrit. The text was laid down in well organized steps. Before coming to Amraoti, Kakka had also collected at least some of the background material and compiled it in a pandulipi form. There was unanimity about the objective. The materials in hand had to be re-verified and integrated with other sources, and with inputs from others. Apparently, the individual efforts of the group complemented.

The press-copies of the pandulipis (still preserved) show that Kakka did more than 90% of the work for the first two volumes, and over 60% for the next three. Kakka's part required the grammar and Nay-based interpretation of the Prakrit material in the context of the secondary sources. It meant, among other things, aligning the syntax and comparison of the copies to spot missing parts. The language of the comments and notes had to be aligned with the derived later works including *Tilloypannati*, *Gommtsaaar* and *Panchsangrah*.

Use and abuse of Anglicization and etymology

Upadhye helped with rules of etymology to set the historical context for Jeevatthan. This method has limitations. Over the last 2500 years the pandulipi text had undergone major transfers before the current form was scribed (ca. 1065) in hale-Kannad, presumably from a copy of Dhavala. It is not unlikely that some of the scribes over the centuries did not understand the content of the text, and possibly the language which is Prakrit and Sanskrit of different periods. One can only imagine the effects such limitations on the final product. For example, one of the changes of interest is the difference between itthi and drashti (as mentioned above. Similarly the word *atm* for individual identity mutated to *atma* that is varyingly interpreted as soul or *param-atma* as cosmic soul. Similar distortions of gender, negation and other nuances in compound words and word endings are introduced by misplaced prefixes and suffixes.

It is not trivial to get around such limitations to assign etymological origins to words that have passed through several renditions of written and spoken forms of the texts of different origins. Both, the Professor and Upadhye do not appear to be aware of such concerns. Traditionally such concerns are resolved on the basis of the context and intent of the content in relation to the extrapolations to more recent derived literature. Both Professor and Upadhye did not have such understanding, and they apparently believed that Prakrits were distorted forms of Sanskrit.

Other restrictions also apply. Ability to speak a language fluently (polyglots or multilingual) does not confer the ability to understand the structure of the background phenomena and concept as a systematic process. A good driver does not have to know much about the automobile engine. On the other hand deeper purpose of language communication is to bring out a close relation between the foreground activities (symbol and word representation) and the background for thought to restore the content, context, and meaning.

Professor provided the input about the historical context for the presentation in the European scholarly format. With his flare for rhetoric, during his short tenure Panditji provided grammatical and linguistic nuances for the Sanskrit notes. Panditji and Devaki Nandan also verified the relationships to derived sources. The other name on

the title page (Figure 3) is A. N. Upadhye, an expert on the etymology of the Prakrit terms. He was consulted for the first time for the first 200 pages at the proof stage. The text had to be read to him because he did not know the Nagari script. Apparently this was still the case 40 years later. Recall that etymology is about the linguistic roots and derivatives. It is certainly not about the precision of usage and meaning. Kakka's expertise and background remained indispensable for the Prakrit usage and nuances. The Abhidhan Rajendra Kosh used for this work was his personal copy purchased with the family gold.

Kaam mera, naam tera: Discord on Intellectual-credit

With the key insight published in Jain Siddhat Bhaskar and the Jeevatthan pandulipis in hand, by the end of 1938 the role of Kakka as a scholar was well established, or at least he thought so. With his new colleagues in Amraoti there was no discord on the objective of bringing out a definitive work. In general, recognizing the nonviolence sensitivities explicit care was taken against the use of the animal parts at all stage of the production of the book. There were some issues of sensibilities, such as some of the Western-educated friends of Professor occasionally walked into the work place with their shoes on.

Well-wishes of the Jain community after the publication of the first volume meant more funds. Intellectual help also came from other sources, notably Nathuram Premi. By the time third volume was published, even the trustees of Moodbidri temple changed their minds. They provided access to the original transcribed copy in their possession. During 1942-43 and several times in later years Kakka spent months in Moodbidri to check the text against the original pandulipi with cordial help from the scholars at Moodbidri.

In intellectual matters freedom of thought is fundamental supported by a balance and sensitivity in personal as well as scholarly and intellectual matters. It is not easy to maintain such independence in an environment of patronage and over-inflated fragile egos. Otherwise, a constructive discussion and relationship turns destructive. Proper credit is a form of critical recognition of a scholar's responsibility for the originality, quality and integrity of the work. Sometimes trappings of power that go with the social

recognition take the upper hand. After all, the name in print helps in claiming degrees and jobs. It attracts unfair and unworthy claims. A strict and austere code of conduct of monks was possibly necessitated by such concerns. But it also keeps away many others who could contribute. Major works of this magnitude are also beyond the abilities of a single person, including a monk. Even now many monks who have delved into the Shatkhandagam material credit Kakka for the breakthrough that led to the deeper understanding of the tradition. Over the years Kakka taught some of this material and its nuances to several aspiring monks.

The first major crack in the relations of Kakka with Professor developed on the issue of credits on the printed version of Satprarupana (Figures 3 and 4). Not only the agreement reached a few months before was not honored, the problem was also not resolved later. Kakka left Amraoti as soon as the Jeevatthan part in the first six volumes of Shatkhandagam was complete. Based on the articles published at that time in defense of his resignation, Kakka clearly stated that not only the behavior but also the accusations and arguments of Professor are incongruent with facts within his own statements in the introduction. Kakka charged that the Professor's conduct amounted to a blatant breach of agreement if not outright dishonesty - even though Professor had a degree in Law.

"A breach of collegiality is unacceptable" Kakka wrote in a series of articles to the Jain community in defense of his decision to leave the Dhavla work incomplete. He wrote: "Even though Professor has a L. L. B. degree in Law, his behavior during the whole episode is fundamentally contradictory (*mithya*). It is also incongruent with *nyay* - a term also used for evidence-based justice." At one stage some of the judicial friends of Professor came to "pressure" Kakka. Infuriated by that event, Kakka took a somewhat lower blow. In an article examining the concept of editorship, intellectual contribution, and the responsibility that goes with each, Kakka pointed out that during the thirties Professor "could not make progress on the Dhavla work based on his own abilities." Elsewhere Kakka concluded that certainly based on the quality and contributions of his own work Professor is not worthy of any intellectual credit. The letters that I found from Professor do not dispute any of the facts. He only asserts his credit was as a Mantri

(secretary) and Managing Editor appointed by the Uddharak Fund. Sixty years later, I heard the same party-line from a descendent of the founder of the Fund.

It is noteworthy that Professor's style of legal briefs, a dialectic based on a polarized point of view, is apparent in most of his writings, ranging from scribbled notes to the more formal presentations. In polarizing a dialectic one presents only the facts that suit ones own purpose or point of view.

By some accounts, even decades later, *the practice of glorified editorship* initiated by Professor continues to have a detrimental effect on managing intellectual creativity. The model of claiming underserved credit, and glorification of the administrative responsibilities as an editor, has had a lasting detrimental effect on the originality in creative works. Creativity suffers if the credit and responsibility are separated to serve the interests of administrators, managers, publishers and sponsors. Matters are made worse if the Forward writers, peer-reviewers, and the book-review process can not deal even with the known faults in the system.

Back as freelance

Recall that both Kakka and Panditji did not know English. During the celebration when the printed version was brought out for the first time for public viewing, through their friends both learnt about the discrepancies on the cover pages of the 1939 printing (Figures 3 and 4). The work had progressed with the agreement that the three colleagues will be *Sah-sampadak* (equal co-editors). For them the term *sah-sampadak* has the same explicit meaning as *sah-paathi* (peers or pupils of the same grade in school). By all accounts Kakka did not take this breach by Professor lightly, especially when the promise to rectify the situation was not followed up even with the publication of the next four volumes. Kakka was not the one to dwell on lingering unpleasant issues underlying the unjustified *kaam mera, naam tera* (my-work with your-name) treatment through which credit is usurped unfairly. The dispute was never settled, not even after the issue was aired out in press. In spite of considerable public discussion the credit-grab and influence paddling continued for quite some time. By other accounts also, Professor used positions of power as manager or managing editor to take credit for the

work of others. Those who dissented were not to be published by certain influential publishing houses.

For sticking to the issue of intellectual credit for his work, Kakka paid heavy price during the next 20 years. These were turbulent times. Recall that in 1944, the Second World War was in full rage. Jobs were scarce. Economic situation was precarious for all. It remained so for our family for the next fifteen years. It is not clear if Kakka ever got over the pain. He never mentioned it to any of his children. I remember hearing from both of my parents: *Do not scrape the bottom of the cooking pot from which you serve. This way not only you avoid the grit and burnt food, but the guests will also not know how much or little you have.*

Burnt by the experience with the Uddharak Fund, and not to be cheated twice, Kaka decided to never work for an institution. He did all his later work free-lance. This did not earn him institutional support or recognition. He benefitted from many individuals who were willing to sponsor his work for its scholarship - a tribute to the tradition that scholarly work continues to be sponsored by individuals.

Certainly, my mother had not forgotten the Amraoti incidence even until her death in 1988. In 1987 she politely declined any connection whatsoever with a Foundation set up in Jabalpur in the name of Professor. In spite of his success and recognition a managing editor in the later years, Professor was not known for his integrity or scholarship in the Agam works.

The problem of credit made worse in the reprint. In the 1973 reprint (Figure 5 and 6) of Satprarupana Professor did not honor his commitment. The problem is made worse in this reprint prepared by Professor just before his death. The reprint removed the names of Kakka or Panditji. Other attempts to gloss over the facts of the original edition are also apparent in this reprint published with minor corrections based on comparisons with the original Moodbidri pandulipi. It is curious that in the second reprint A. N. Upadhye appears as a co-editor. This is even more puzzling because Kakka had seen him only a few months before in relation to the work on this reprint edition. After a protest letter from Kakka (Figure 7) the original inside-cover of volume II is published in

the reprint of the second volume. The original discrepancies persisted in the English version of the cover and the dust jacket.

There is no doubt that Professor managed the Fund to the completion of its original mission. It appears even in the reprint Professor promoted the legal interpretation of intellectual work as "work for payment" or "work for hire." The fund had paid for the activities which for most part did not produce any useful results for 4 years. The publication work moved fast only after Kakka joined in the effort. Also the work progressed after the plan outlined by the Fund or its manager was abandoned. Myths to perpetuate Professor's contributions continued in a publication to celebrate his 100th birth anniversary. Such attempts to assign unwarranted and hijacked credits for the intellectual work distract potential scholars from an appreciation of the intellectual and creative input needed to carry out a significant body of work to create value.

Exploitation and influence peddling is affront to the creative process. Looking through the life-long contributions of all the players, as summarized in the biographical sketches at the end of this volume, it is apparent that the Professor's contributions have been mostly as a manager and advisor to facilitate the book production process. Managing editor is an appropriate characterization for such a role. Outside such roles, the Professor's main work is about setting historical context through compilation and comparisons of inscriptions.

The issue of credit is part of what is now called the intellectual property. For a cursory reader, the name on the cover page is the only connection to the effort behind the product. Such credit means responsibility and priority that goes with the work. Without intellectual honesty and integrity, the drive and motivation for the creative processes would dry up. Current situation on such issues in India must change at all levels and all venues. Most countries now explicitly protect the intellectual property of creator, inventor, writer, discoverer, or even singer and song writers. It is a legal protection for the creators of original work from unscrupulous plagiarizers and the deep pockets of trusts, publishers, and their agents who share no liabilities resulting from the content.

The scholarly tradition is about open inquiry to examine possibilities, entertain viable points of views, and then leave room for doubt. Administrators of the

community funds and social institutions could also learn from the accords and discords outlined above. Many of the problems are now routinely avoided through written contracts to safeguard credits. Remarkably, the modern standards for apportioning credits are not very different than the traditional methods going back centuries, i.e. to acknowledge sources, support, and other contributions while taking responsibility for the creative work as an author or even as a scribe.

Proliferation of what can only be called as 'fakes'. Publication of Dhavla did not cause major cracks within the lay and the intellectual community. Enthusiasm about bringing out the heritage also unleashed a flurry of not-so-original works. Integrity of the intellectual processes depends on the independent peer review process and a strict code of conduct of the author, sponsor and the publisher. Forces of the market place backed by deep-pocket only encourage influence paddling.

As the old scholars die out, new scholars fill the gap. Their work depends on individual and public sponsorships. Government of India also has 'projects' whose motives are not clear. It may preserve the pandulipid legacy of words for somewhat longer, but certainly it is not to revitalize the tradition of thought. This kind of work is unlikely to be sustained by the market forces alone.

The quality of a product suffers when people resort to unfair practices. It is now generally recognized that the checks and balances on the standards of scholarship are not functional in India. Breaches are blatant not only in theses and dissertations for the university degrees, but also in reprinted works that fail to acknowledge the original work. Such efforts may be sustained by charity with blind-faith. Can it create value for a viable tradition of thought?

Sometimes nothing is better than nonsense. Support for unworthy (*kupatr*) causes inflicts more damage than possible good it might do. Pressure on publishers and scholars supported by charities, under the guise of spreading the knowledge, has brought on a flurry of publications of dubious value. *To spread their gospel* some groups have resorted to providing cheap and free literature. Faced with space limitation and deteriorating condition of their holdings some temple libraries have removed the older works by newer books. It amounts to nothing less than book burning!

In closing, effective mechanisms are needed to identify and promote viable methods, insights, and interpretations of thought to maintain its viability. In such matters the market forces may be more preferable than a proliferation of hidden agendas supported by public or private charity. On a recent visit to the English countryside, I was told by the guide to have a good look at a church. Then he said, *this was the last new church building constructed in England, and that was in the late 17th century*. I am sure he was referring to other better ways of spending money and effort for the public good.