

# Ārya Bhadrabāhu

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## I

### Preliminary Considerations

From at least the post-Gupta period, the patriarch Ārya Bhadrabāhu (c. B.C. 325–297) has been held in the highest esteem and unswerving reverence by the principal Jaina sects, the designation ‘Jaina’ anciently was known as ‘Nirgrantha.’ The notices on Bhadrabāhu largely hail from the literature of the two surviving major sects of the Nirgrantha-darśana, Śvetāmbara and Digambara. Bhadrabāhu is reckoned and adored by both sects as the last *caturdaśapūrvadhara*<sup>1</sup> as well as the *śruta-kevali*<sup>2</sup>. And yet the glaring fact remains that he very largely has remained an illusive figure. The Jaina writers of our own times possess a strong, even an obsessive, bias for his supposedly inestimable greatness. As a result, they failed to see through the veil of illusion created by some stray but relatively late—some contradictory and confused—literary and inscriptional references to him and likewise could not escape the spell of ethos of the dazzling aura they themselves projected around him. Some of them explicitly believed (and still believe) in all that was attributed to him in the past as an invariate fact, a tangible and truthful reality. The high-pitched reverential attitude adopted for Bhadrabāhu has not only hindered an objective approach toward searching and reconstructing his realistic image, not even a sketchy history based on available evidentiary facts, but also, as its consequence, has disallowed taking dispassionate estimation of him and his supposed contributions. This happening, in essence and so far, has led to preclude examining the very basis on which the edifice of esteem for him was built. Likewise, excepting for one category of literature, the *niryuktis*, very little effort had been made in the past toward checking the veracity of the claim for what are looked upon as the works authored by him in the Northern Nirgrantha (Śvetāmbara) tradition<sup>3</sup>.

The Northern as well as the Southern Nirgrantha Church has preserved only small bits of information on Bhadrabāhu, some seeming reliable, some probable or plausible, some undoubtedly falling in the category of ‘doubtful,’ and still others that frankly are at variance with the other recorded facts as well as internal evidence present in his supposed works and hence clearly undependable. The present article intends to focus critically on the image of Bhadrabāhu as it emerges through the light cast by the evidence preserved within the relatively earlier and more trustworthy sources, though later writings will not be neglected : This evidence, in point of fact, lead to some hitherto unsuspected angles and consequently to surprising implications and conclusions. Some among the available Northern Nirgrantha sources relatively are earlier than the known Southern : hence these will be noticed here first, followed by the Southern, and next the information gathered from both sources will be compared, evaluated, integrated wherever plausible, and used in the discussions to follow. And finally will be presented the conclusions that may flow therefrom.

## II

### Northern Nirgrantha literary sources on Bhadrabāhu

The earliest extant source on Bhadrabāhu is the *Sthavirāvalī* or hagiological list of pontiffs incorporated in the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*. In its present shape, it was compiled partly from the preexisting lists and partly completed in V.N.S. 980/993 or A. D. 503 or 516<sup>4</sup>. The *Sthavirāvalī*, in point of fact, is the result of a five-phase growth and correspondingly contains portions of different periods, the portion forming Phase I begins its statement, after a brief introduction, with the *gaṇadhara*-apostle Sudharmā—the direct disciple of Arhat Vardhamāna *alias* Jina Mahāvīra—and next serially follow the names of four patriarchs as successors, the list terminating with the fifth pontiff Ārya Yaśobhadra (c. B.C. 350-325) who, as we learn from the *Sthavirāvalī*’s Phase 2 portion, was the preceptor/guru of Ārya Sambhūtavijaya and of Ārya Bhadrabāhu. The Phase I portion, predictably, may have been composed in a still older linguistic form as well as, perhaps, a little more archaic stylistic mould, in Ardhamāgadhī, plausibly at the end of the first Synod convoked in Pāṭaliputra (in or before B.C. 300) for the redaction, the first in recorded history, of the Nirgrantha *śruta*/scripture/canon after the end of a long draught\* in Madhyadeśa. The Phase 2 of

★ Its duration is reported, in some sources to be discussed, of 12 years.

the *Sthavirāvalī* embodies a portion which, in point of fact, came from another and, seemingly, somewhat later source. It represents a shorter version (*samkṣipta vācanā*), as against the much more elaborate Phase 3 portion (*vistṛta vācanā*), commencing as it does from Ārya Yaśobhadra and his two aforementioned disciples and extending further down, through six successive pontiffs, to Ārya Vajra's disciple Ārya Vajrasena and ending with the names of the latter pontiff's four disciples (c. 1st cent. A.D.)<sup>5</sup>. But, it is the aforementioned Phase 3 portion, which covers an enlarged version of the second, is very, very important, because it, for the first time, gives detailed denominations along with the succinct indications on the origination of the various *gaṇas* (cohorts), their *śākhās* (branches), and their *kulas* (regional and clanal groups), all of these being the subdivisions formed by the specific bands of mendicants. Arguably, the starting point for these group-proliferations temporally must be located a few decades after Ārya Bhadrabāhu from whose senior disciple Godāsa, the earliest and hence the very first *gaṇa* of the Nirgrantha monastic system is reported, as per the northern hagiological tradition, to have emanated. (This may have taken place some time in the latter half of B.C. the third century.) While the list of succession within this Phase 3 (which figures in several manuscripts of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*) terminates with Ārya Phalgumitra (c. early 1st cent. A.D.)<sup>6</sup>, some mss. also contain a Phase 4 extension leading up to Ārya Skandila (or Śaṇḍila)—the 17th pontiff in succession from Ārya Phalgumitra—who presided over the Synod convened in Mathurā in c. V. N. 830-840/A.D. 353-363<sup>7</sup>. These four successive sections of the *sthavirāvalī* are in prose and were dovetailed to form a single continuous text, largely in Ardhamāgadhī, by casting them into a homogeneous stylistic mould which doubtless reveals a few lately introduced linguistic affectations of the Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit. The last, or Phase 5, which is the latest portion of the *Sthavirāvalī*, however, is in versified form and unambiguously is rendered in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit. It starts from Ārya Phalgumitra and, after mentioning the 16th pontiff in succession, namely Ārya Dharma who was the guru of Ārya Skandila, switches over to Ārya Jambū (apparently the confrère of Ārya Skandila of whom it takes no notice) and next gives the names of six pontiffs in succession, the sixth being Devarddhī gaṇī<sup>8</sup> who chaired the Valabhī Synod II in A.D. 503, or, according to an alternative tradition, in A.D. 516<sup>9</sup>,

the period when the Maitraka viceroy Dhruvasena I was governing from Valabhī in the Surāṣṭra region on behalf of some imperial power, either Gupta or, perhaps, Vākāṭaka<sup>10</sup>. For our purpose, only the second and the third Phase of the *Sthavirāvalī* are relevant; for it is these two which give some initial, though very succinct but the earliest and significant information on Bhadrabāhu.

The source of information, contemporaneous (or may be even earlier) in time, in the past, was the *Gaṇḍikānuyoga* of Ārya Śyāma I *alias* Ārya Kālaka I (c. 1st cent. B.C.–A.D.) which plausibly contained passages in a chapter (*gaṇḍikā*) that had dealt with Bhadrabāhu, namely the “Bhadrabāhu-gaṇḍikā,” a section noted in a different context in the *Samavāyāṅga-sūtra* (147)<sup>11</sup>. This latter *āgama*, the fifth of the 12 *aṅgas*, was updated (or rather recompiled with many additions, as a replacement palpably of an earlier shorter version)\* in or soon after A.D. 363 and thus in the latter half of the last century of the Kuṣāṇa rule in Mathurā. Regrettably, the *Gaṇḍikānuyoga*, like all other works of Ārya Śyāma, is for long lost<sup>12</sup>. It is, however, likely that, for a part of the information on Bhadrabāhu in late Gupta āgamic notices, the ultimate source may have been this work.

The source next in time is the *Sthavirāvalī* of the *Nandisūtra* of Deva Vācaka (c. mid 5th cent. A.D.<sup>13</sup>); but that work only briefly alludes to Bhadrabāhu and his *gotra* (familial lineage) and, in point of fact, adds nothing more to what is gleaned from the Phase 2 portion of the afore-noted *Sthavirāvalī* of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*.

After the *Nandisūtra*, the works which mention Bhadrabāhu, in one or the other context, are the *Uttarādhyayana-niryukti* (c. A.D. 525 and later)<sup>14</sup>, the *Titthogālīya* i.e. *Tīrthāvakālīka* (or *Tīrthodgārīka*)–*prakīrṇaka* (c. mid 6th cent. A.D.)<sup>15</sup>, the *Vyavahāra-bhāṣya* (c. late 6th cent.)<sup>16</sup>, the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi* (c. A.D. 600–650)<sup>17</sup>, the *Uttarādhyayana-cūrṇi* (c. A.D. 650–700)<sup>18</sup>, and the *Āvaśyaka-vṛtti* of Haribhadra sūri (c. mid 8th cent. A.D.)<sup>19</sup>. Among the medieval sources, the first is the *Kahāvali* of Bhadreśvara sūri (c. late 10th century)<sup>20</sup>. A fairly dependable medieval source, like the *Parīśiṣṭa-parva* (c. A.D. 1166) of Ācārya Hemacandra of Pūrṇatalla-gaccha<sup>21</sup>, apparently

★ Abhayadeva sūri (latter half of the 11th century), in his commentary on the *Samavāyāṅga*, refers to its shorter version which apparently was available in his time. I forego citing the source since it is a secondary point.

is indebted, mainly indeed, to the aforementioned work for its information on Bhadrabāhu namely the *Kahāvali* and, to some extent, to the *Tīrthāvakālika* and the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*, though for a few details, Hemacandra also may have consulted one or two other concise textual sources, including perhaps a Southern one.

### III

#### Southern Nirgrantha Sources on Bhadrabāhu

Unlike Northern and, importantly, the Southern sources also include epigraphical. Among the literary works—what have been looked upon by Western (particularly German) scholars as secondary, substitute, or surrogate āgamas, the *Ārādhanā* of Śivārya (c. early 6th cent.)<sup>22</sup>, and the *Tiloyapaṇṇattī*, (*Trilokaprajñapti*, assigned to c. mid 6th cent. A.D.)<sup>23</sup> are the earliest to have a bearing, in a small measure though, on Bhadrabāhu. Next comes the *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa* of Jināsena of Punnāṭa Saṅgha (A.D. 783)<sup>24</sup>, the *Dhavalā-ṭikā* of Svāmī Vīrasena of Pañcastūpānvaya (completed A.D. 816)<sup>25</sup>, as also the *Ārādhanā-Kannāḍa-ṭikā* (popularly known as *Vaḍḍa Ārādhanā*<sup>26</sup>), now ascertained to be a work of Bhrājiṣṇu [c. A.D. late 9th or early 10th cent.])<sup>27</sup>, and the *Bṛhat-kathākośa* (A.D. 931) of Hariṣeṇa<sup>28</sup> (who, too, like Jināsena, was a monk of the Punnāṭa Saṅgha<sup>29</sup>). All of these, in the Southern context, relatively are older and more useful among literary sources. Incidentally, also the *Bhāvasaṅgraha* of Pt. Vāmadeva (c. 16th cent.), the *Bhadrabāhu-carita* of Ratnanandi (c. 16th cent. A. D.)<sup>30</sup>, the *Muni-vaṃśābhyaudaya* of Cidānanda-Kavi (A. D. 1680), and the *Ratnāvalī-kathākośa* of Devacandra (A. D. 1838)\* which contain overtly sectarian material and which, from their particular standpoint, orientation in thinking, liking, and hence the attitude adopted and predilections set, has been considered authoritative and used by some Digambara Jaina scholars.

As for the the epigraphical domain, it is restricted exclusively to Karnataka and, the earlier records there, happen to be the inscription no. 1 (c. A. D. 600)<sup>31</sup> as well as no. 24 (c. mid 7th cent. A. D.)<sup>32</sup> at the Cikkabeṭa or Candragiri, Śravaṇabelgoḷa, are more ancient and, to a large extent, also crucial. Also are the two inscriptions from some site in the Srirangapattanam taluq (c. A. D.

★ The first, the third, and the fourth work, all very late, were not available to me for consultation. But, from their content known through others' writings, they all are, like Ratnanandi's work, highly sectarian.

900). Moreover, the Śravaṇabelgoḷa inscription no. 251 at the Bhadrabāhu cave on Cikkabeṭa and datable to c. 11th cent. A. D., the two epigraphs from Huṁca (A.D.1075, 1077) and one other there datable to the c. 13th cent. A. D.<sup>33</sup> are to some extent relevant to the discussions in the present context. All of these will be discussed in section VI where they have a direct pertinence.

#### IV

#### The Deducible Facts from Sources

While focusing on this aspect, the first to be noticed, since more ancient, are the Northern sources<sup>34</sup>. The second Phase of the *Sthavirāvalī* of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* (c.1st cent. A.D.) notices two disciples of Ārya Yaśobhadra (the fourth patriarch after the apostle Sudharmā), namely Ārya Sambhūtavijaya and Ārya Bhadrabāhu as earlier stated. It next turns to Ārya Sthūlabhadra (the disciple of Ārya Sambhūta) and his seven successors up to Ārya Vajrasena and next mentions the latter's four disciples. Hereunder I quote from the text (after removing the Mahārāṣṭrī affectations and, as its consequence, restoring the original Ardhamāgadhī linguistic form) only that portion which has relevance to Bhadrabāhu :

थेरस्स नं अज्जजसभद्दस्स तुंगियायनगुत्तस्स अन्तेवासी दुबे थेरा—थेरेअज्जसम्भूतविजए मादरसगुत्ते,  
थेरेअज्जभद्दबाहु पाईनस गुत्ते ।

This statement reports that Bhadrabāhu was the disciple of Ārya Yaśobhadra and had belonged (prior to ordination) to the family having the Prācīna-gotra, which, in essence, may imply that he belonged to the “Prācī” or eastern country<sup>35</sup>. The country immediately easterly in relation to Magadha is Varendra with Vaṅga including ancient Rāḍha (called Lāḍha in Māgadhī), these being the major territories forming ancient (as well as undivided modern) Bengal. (The *Nandī-sthavirāvalī* [c. A.D. 450], as remarked earlier, repeats this information<sup>36</sup>.)

The literary passage immediately next in sequence is the enlarged version of the hagiographical list—the Phase 3 of the *Sthavirāvalī* of the aforesaid *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*—which thus runs :

थेरस्स नं अज्जजसभद्दस्स तुंगियायनगुत्तस्स इमे दो थेरा अन्तेवासी अहावच्चा अभिन्नाता हुत्था ॥  
तं जथा—थेरेअज्जभद्दबाहु पाईनसगुत्ते, थेरेअज्जसम्भूतविजए मादरसगुत्ते । थेरस्स नं अज्जभद्दबाहुस्स  
पाईनसगुत्तस्स इमे चत्तारि थेरा अन्तेवासी अहावच्चा अभिन्नाता हुत्था । तं जथा—थेरे गोदासे १, थेरे  
अग्गिदत्ते २, थेरे जन्नदत्ते ३, थेरे सोमदत्ते ४ कासवगुत्तेनं । थेरेहिंते गोदासहिंते कासवगुत्तेहिंते इत्थं नं

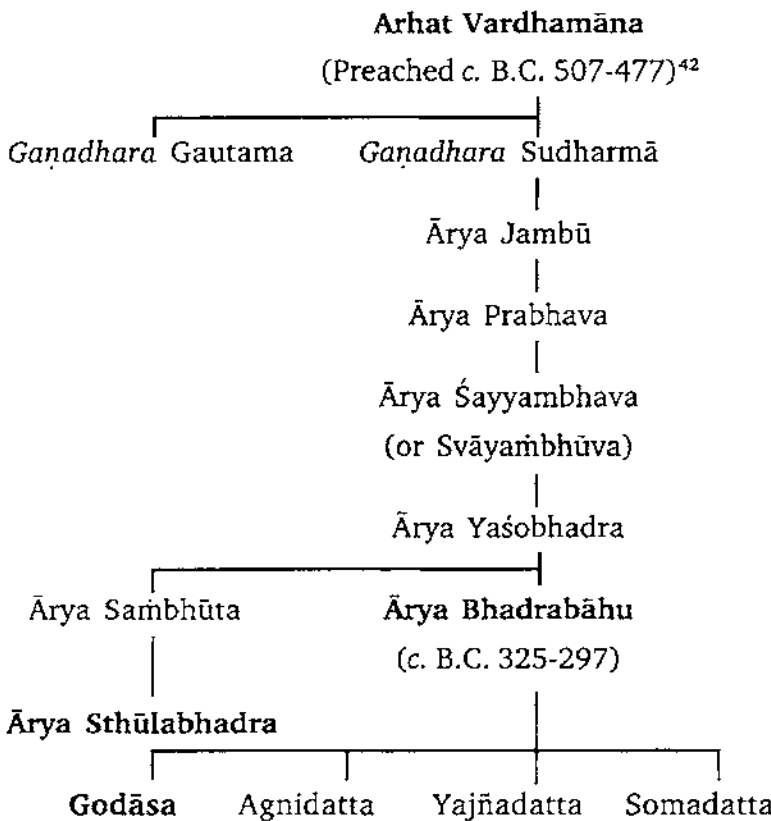
गोदासगणे नामं गणे निग्गए, तस्स नं इमाओ चत्तारि साहाओ एवमाहिज्जंति । तं जथा—तामलित्तिया १, कोटिवस्सिया २, पोंडवद्धनिया ३, दासीखव्वडिया ४॥

This passage gives more details on Bhadrabāhu. Besides repeating the information of the passage in the preceding Phase 2 portion, it further reports that he had four disciples : Godāsa, Agnidatta, Yajñadatta, and Somadatta, all of whom belonged to the Kāśyapa-gotra. From the chief disciple Godāsa, a cohort of friars called 'Godāsa-gaṇa' emerged; and, from this gaṇa, had emanated four specific *śākhās* or branches of mendicants, namely the Tāmraliptikā, the Koṭivarṣiyā, the Puṇḍravardhanikā, and the Dāsīkarvaṭikā. Three of these *śākhās* evidently took their denominations after the contemporary towns of the following names—Tāmralipti (Tāmluk), Koṭivarṣa (Koṭipura?), and Puṇḍravardhana (Pāṇḍuā), while Dāsīkarvaṭa is still unidentified though it may be conjectured that it was a smaller habitational settlement of the servant caste as its name suggests, very likely was located in Bengal and either had disappeared in the past or if it exists, today it may be known by some other appellation<sup>37</sup>. The three identifiable are, of course, ancient towns located in Bengal.

Bhadrabāhu's connection with Bengal is supported, in fact further confirmed, by notices, though late, inside the Southern sources. The *Vaḍḍa Ārādhane tīkā* of Bhrājīṣṇu reports that Bhadrabāhu was born in Kaunḍinī in the Puṇḍravardhana territory and was initiated by *ācārya* Govardhana<sup>38</sup>. And, Hariṣeṇa (of the Punnāṭa Saṅgha) (A.D. 931), slightly differing from Bhrājīṣṇu, mentions that Bhadrabāhu was born in Koṭipura/Koṭinagara situated in the Puṇḍravardhana territory<sup>39</sup>. He was taught, groomed, and next initiated by the *Caturdaśapūrvadhara* Govardhana *muni*. Bhadrabāhu thus, and to all seeming, was a native of ancient Bengal, a conclusion to which the historian of eminence, R. C. Majumdar, earlier had reached but, his concerned publications are, at the moment, not available to me<sup>40</sup>. And arguably, Bhadrabāhu's disciple Godāsa and his immediate disciples and in turn their hagiological descendents as well as followers, reported exclusively in the early Northern source, too, had hailed from Bengal as inferrable from the *śākhā*-denominations that specifically, indeed indubitably, reveal connection with Bengal<sup>41</sup>.

These notices on Bhadrabāhu and his disciples also raise some questions. First, why no *gaṇas* and their *śākhā* sub-orders emanated after the other

three disciples of Bhadrabāhu. Generally speaking, as inferred from the further details given in the *Sthavirāvalī* (Phase 3), in the palpably early stages of growth of the Northern Nirgrantha Church, the sub-orders of friars did sometimes originate from the confrères of the chief disciple of a pontiff : Second, what happened to the sub-orders of the Godāsa-gaṇa; for nothing afterwards has been reported about them in the ecclesiastical or epigraphical records either, the latter largely are encountered in Mathurā. After the passage dwelling on Bhadrabāhu's disciples, the *Sthavirāvalī* takes up Sthūlabhadra, disciple of Bhadrabāhu's confrère Ārya Saṃbhūta and, further onwards, gives particulars of Sthūlabhadra's descendents, indeed not for once returning to Bhadrabāhu's line, an omission the significance of which later will be discussed. The hagiographical position from Arhat Vardhamāna onwards and especially after Ārya Jambū—the disciple of gaṇadhara Sudharmā—and up to Bhadrabāhu and his disciples, according to the first three phases of the *Sthavirāvalī* of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, may be tabulated as follows :



The next source, which preserves a small piece of information on Bhadrabāhu, is the *Uttarādhyayana-niryukti* (c. A.D. 525). In this work it is reported that the four disciples of Bhadrabāhu (the *niryukti* does not specify their names) died in peace in a cave at Vaibhāragiri near Rājagṛha, having faced *śīta parīśaha*, visitation of severe chill<sup>43</sup> :

राजगिहंमि वयंसा सीसा चउओ उ भद्दबाहुस्स ।  
वेभारगिरिगुहाए सीयपरिसया समाहिगया ॥

—उत्तराध्ययननिर्युक्ति ९१

The *Uttarādhyayana-niryukti*'s verse, in point of fact, clarifies the import of a relevant (and earlier) verse from the *Marāṇavibhakti-prakīrṇaka* (c. 2nd-3rd cent. A.D.)<sup>44</sup>, which apparently alludes to this very incident although, like the *Uttarādhyayana niryukti*, it specifies no names of the friars involved : it does mention Rājagṛha, but not the Vaibhāragiri cave there. Moreover, it does not specifically state that these four were the disciples of Bhadrabāhu :

रायगिहनिगया खलु पडिमापडिपन्नगा मुनीचउओ ।  
सीत विहूय कमेणं पहेरे पहेरे गया सिद्धि ॥

—मरणविभक्तिप्रकीर्णक ४८९

However, the combined information from the last two sources would lead to infer that, what was intended to be conveyed, is the death of the four disciples of Bhadrabāhu due to the visitation of severe chill (on Vaibhāragiri) in Rājagṛha. According to the *Uttarādhyayana cūrṇi* (c. A.D. 675-700), these four disciples were of the Vaṇika (merchant) community and belonged to Rājagṛha<sup>45</sup>. But each one of them, according to this source, died at a different locale within Rājagṛha<sup>46</sup>. These four disciples evidently were different, as will be shown, from the earlier four noted, beginning from Godāsa, in the *Sthavinavalī*. We will look into other information in the post-*niryukti* literature as the discussion progresses.

Turning now to the Southern literary sources, the earliest two works which tabulate the spiritual lineage of Bhadrabāhu, namely the *Triloka-prajñapti*<sup>47</sup> and the Śravaṇabelgoḷa Inscription No. 1<sup>48</sup> are about five to three centuries and odd decades posterior to the relevant two earlier portions of the *Sthavirāvalī* of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* cited in the foregoing discussion. And the two sources next in date, the *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa*<sup>49</sup> and the *Dhavalā-*

ṭīkā<sup>50</sup>, largely follow the preceding two Southern sources, adding no new information. Keeping in view the temporal position of these sources, it is clear that the earliest is not earlier than mid sixth century, the earliest being the *Trilokaprajñapti* whose sectarian affiliation is, in fact, somewhat dubious since, like the *āgamas* inherited by the Śvetāmbara sect, it stipulates 12 instead of the 16 *kalpas* for the *Kalpavāsī* gods, the figure 16 otherwise is firmly held by the Digambara sect.

The Southern (and South affiliated) sources *inter alia* with some minor variations in a few nominal details, present the following pontifical sequence after Arhat Vardhamāna's disciple and grand disciple, the apostles Sudharmā (Lohārya in Southern version) and Jambū<sup>51</sup> :

Trilokaprajñapti (c. mid 6th cent. A.D.)	ŚB.Ins.No.1 (c. A.D. 600)	Harivaṃśa-purāṇa (A.D.783)	Dhavalā-ṭīkā (A.D.816)
Lohārya   Jambū   Nandi   Nandimitra   Govardhana   Bhadrabāhu   Viśākha	Lohārya   Jambū   Viṣṇudeva   Aparājita   Govardhana   Bhadrabāhu   Viśākha	Lohārya   Jambū   Viṣṇu   Nandimitra   Aparājita   Govardhana   Bhadrabāhu   Viśākha	Lohārya   Jambū   Viṣṇu   Nandimitra   Govardhana   Bhadrabāhu   Viśākhacārya

The confrontation of the Northern and the Southern hagiologies of Bhadrabāhu reveal intriguing, even sharp differences between the two. Contrast on at least five points clearly are discernible : First, the Southern *gurvāvalīs* under reference do not prefix the honorific term “Ārya” before the pontiffs’ appellations; second, they take no notice of their *gotras*; third, they are silent on the names of the four disciples of Bhadrabāhu; instead, only one name figures as Bhadrabāhu’s disciple, Viśākha, not found in the northern list; fourth, and as a direct consequence of the third difference, the Godāsa-gaṇa and its four *śākhās* find no mention there; and fifth and the major, which is the sharpest, difference is about the names of the post-

Jambū predecessors of Bhadrabāhu including his own preceptor's name in both sources. In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to explain this too obvious a difference, no question of reconciling the two lists<sup>52</sup>. One of them is inaccurate or both may be unaware of certain realities of the past.

Now, to some other facts/anecdotes recorded in Southern sources. The *Ārādhanā* of Śivārya (c. early 6th cent. A.D.), a Yāpanīya work (or plausibly of its likely parent sect, the Boṭika-Kṣapanaka of north India, founded by the schismic pontiff Ārya Śivabhūti in the second century A.D.) only records a single fact : It states that Bhadrabāhu passed away by resorting to *avamodarya*, reduction in the quantity of the food intake. It does not, though, specify the place where he breathed his last. Nor does it note his 'predecessors,' or 'successors' names either. The *Kathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa (A.D. 931), however, mentions that, after the prediction he made of the 12 years' draught in Ujjayanī, Bhadrabāhu passed away in Bhādrapadadeśa (unidentified, but may be contiguous to the Pāriyātra region adjacent to the Mālava country) by *anaśana* or rite of suspension of aliment<sup>53</sup>. The earlier noted Kannaḍa work, the *Āradhanā-tīkā*, however, despite several legendary and imaginary elements appearing in its long-winding narration, does state that Bhadrabāhu passed away by *avamodarya* but that event occurred in Śravaṇabelgola. (The details and implications of these differing statements are reserved for discussion in Section VI.)

## V

### Works attributed to Bhadrabāhu

From at least the time of the opening verse of the *Daśāśrutaskandha-niryukti* and the *Pañcakalpa-niryukti* (both c. A.D. 525) and, following it in time, of the *Pañcakalpabhāṣya* of Saṅghadāsa gaṇī (c. A.D. 550) as well as the *Daśāśrutaskandhacūrṇi* (c. mid 7th cent. A.D.), the authorship of the three *chedasūtras*—the *Daśāśrutaskanda* (also called the *Ācāradaśā*), the *Kalpa*, and the *Vyavahāra* of the Northern or Ardhamāgadhī canon—is attributed to Ārya Bhadrabāhu<sup>54</sup>. Bhadrabāhu, in the post-Gupta Śvetāmbara (as well as the medieval and possibly pre-medieval Digambara) tradition, is believed to be the last patriarch to have possessed, as had been noticed in the foregoing pages, the complete knowledge of scriptural works (*śruta-kevali*). Likewise, he is looked upon as the last to have possessed the knowledge of the 14 *Pūrva*-texts<sup>55</sup>; hence he also had been called

the *antima caturdaśa-pūrvadhara* in the post-Gupta, pre-medieval, and medieval exegetical and the late biographical literature of the northern tradition. The current Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition, and even the critical Western scholarship, hardly had doubted the pious assumption regarding Bhadrabāhu's authorship of the *Kalpa* and the *Vyavahāra* (along with the *Daśāśruta*)<sup>56</sup>, and hence no attempt was made to check the accuracy/veracity of the belief and hence of the tradition by verifying the premises on which it may have been founded.

The *Kalpa* and the *Vyavahāra* are formularies embodying the monastic codes containing the basic rules of conduct, the first text enjoining what is admissible and what is not for the Nirgrantha mendicants and nuns; the second, in its primary intentions, lays down the rules of atonement embracing large areas of conduct as well as what must be done in cases of the transgression of the disciplinary rules, surprisingly with fair amount of detail for the age they were formulated, together with some other material. (As the matter stands, these two texts, along with the *Daśāśrutaskanda*, till now have not been subjected to detailed textual, linguistic, analytical, and stylistic study.)

The style and, no less the content, of the first two works under reference—both being in the *sūtra* or prose form—should be able to reveal whether the monastic situations/conditions envisaged therein can be consistent with, or can really go back to the times as ancient as those of Ārya Bhadrabāhu (c B.C. 325-297). And, predictably, the study of the terminology and expressions, language and phrase-structure together with the formal habits and cadence, can cast light on their true temporal status and sectarian affiliation. These factors can be considered here but only very briefly.

### Terminology, Style, and Content

1) Unlike the most ancient among the extant *āgamas*, namely the *Ācārāṅga* (Book I, c. B.C. 450-300), and next the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (Book I, earliest parts c. B.C. 300-100), and the *Uttarādhyayana* (early chapters c. 3rd cent. B.C. to 1st cent. B.C.-A.D.), and unlike also the early Pāli Buddhist works<sup>57</sup>, the term *acela* for the nude friar is almost completely absent in the *Kalpa* as well as in the *Vyavahāra*<sup>58</sup>. The two works, instead, mention the *Jina-kalpa* and the *Sthavira-kalpa* states (*sthitis*) for the Nirgrantha

recluses<sup>59</sup>. (The *Vyavahāra* also mentions *pāṇipratigrahadhāri* [bowl-less mendicants] and *Pratigrahadhāri* [in essence monks using a begging-bowl]). These terms, on the other hand and, significantly, are absent in the *āgamas* of the pre-Christian Era. What is more, there is here noticeable a scholastic approach and classificatory tendencies about the *kalpa-sthitis* which do not seem compatible to, or correspond with the much simpler and straightforward (but very stern) ideals held, and the precise rules laid down for the *acela* or nude friars and, by contradistinction, for the *sacela* friars (in that early age having minimal allowable possession for them) in the undoubted oldest strata of the earlier *āgamas* such as the *Ācārāṅga* Book I. Even the style and phraseology of these specific *kalpa-sthiti* passages in the *Kalpa* widely differ from those of the rest of the text. These passages apparently had been introduced at some point in time from somewhat later and different, yet relatively ancient, source. These formidable facts raise the first solid suspicion on the supposedly high antiquity of the *Kalpa* and the *Vyavahāra* and their authorship ascribed to Bhadrabāhu.

2) Both of these works reflect a highly developed state of organization of the Nirgrantha clergy, as also a well-established as well as much proliferated monastic church. On the testimony of the third phase of the *Sthavirāvalī* (c. A. D. 100) of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, the first *gaṇas* or organized bands of friars and mendicants (*niggaṇthas*, *bhikkhus*) and nuns (*niggaṇthīs*, *bhikkhūnīs*) progressively began to be instituted some 50 years or so posterior to Bhadrabāhu\* and had diversified further, indeed considerably so into *śākhās* and *kulas* by, and even before, the first two centuries of the Christian Era. The *gaṇas*, in the next stage, also were further divided into *sambhoga*-groups<sup>60</sup>. The *Vyavahāra* refers to this latter term which, however, nowhere appears in the earlier canonical literature including even the *Ācārāṅga* Book II (c. 1st cent. B.C.–A. D.) : It does figure though in

★ A late Sātavāhana inscription in one of the Junnar caves in Maharashtra refers to “*Siddh-gaṇe Aparājite*.” [Cf. S. Nagraju, *Buddhist Architecture of Western India*, (C. 250 B.C.-A.D. 300), Delhi 1981, “Appendix : List of Brahmi Inscriptions from the Rock-cut monuments of Western India,” p. 331, Ins. no. 10.] If the *Aparājita* noted here is the grand preceptor of Bhadrabāhu, then the convention for the *gaṇa* formation may have started a few decades earlier. The whole problem needs further investigation. (This *gaṇa* has not been noticed even from an early literary source. It is noted late in the Southern work, the *Śrūtāvatāra* [c. 10th cent.].)

the Mathurā inscriptions; but the earliest of those which have this term are of the middle Kuṣāṇa period, generally datable to c. 3rd cent. A. D. or slightly earlier<sup>61</sup>. And the terms *gaṇāvachhedaka* (administrator of the *gaṇa*) and his female counterpart, the *gaṇāvachhedikā* (next to mother superior), figuring in the *Vyavahāra-sūtra*, appear neither in the earlier canonical texts nor anywhere in the inscriptions. These monastic positions/titles had been instituted and apparently, therefore, the terms denoting them had been coined and had come into currency, arguably some centuries posterior to Bhadrabāhu's time<sup>62</sup>.

3) The *Kalpa* permits the friars to have cloth (*vattha*, *vastra*), also a piece of cloth for foot-cleaning (*pādapuñchanaka*), and a blanket (*kambala*), the possessions which enter somewhat later into (and even may have been interpolated into) the corpus of monastic rules embodied in the somewhat younger portions of the *Ācārāṅga* I, but are more regularly referred to thereafter. The *Vyavahāra-sūtra*, moreover, is much too lenient in allowing several objects as friar's possession : these include a leather-piece, a leather-bag, a cloth-curtain, a stick, and even an umbrella<sup>63</sup>. A rule such as this could be an anathema to the followers of the doctrine of the total non-possession (or exceptionally and indeed exceedingly restricted possession) for recluses belonging to the Church of Arhat Vardhamāna, to which the patriarch Ārya Bhadrabāhu traditionally had belonged. Here, in point of fact, is discerned a clear-cut introduction of the elements consistent more with the practices of the followers of the Church of Arhat Pārśva (and hence of the Pārśvāpatyaṣ) rather than those of the Church of Arhat Vardhamāna<sup>64</sup>. Friars who kept such accessory objects (*upakaraṇas*) later will be classed as "Pāsathā" or wayward and degraded or, alternatively, perhaps more accurately, implied to be (or may be interpreted simply as) those who had not joined the reformed and sternly ascetical Church of Arhat Vardhamāna but had stayed within the more lenient Church of Arhat Pārśva (hence Pārśvastha). The position in the *Vyavahāra*, for such sections of the text, either indicates a period considerably later than that of Ārya Bhadrabāhu or else, if it really is early, reflects a very different monastic ideology and practices. It unquestionably stands farther from the extremely austere and strict monasticism of Arhat Vardhamāna. *Vyavahāra*'s moderate discipline comes closer to not only what is attributed to the Church of Arhat Pārśva but also, to a fair degree, to the Order of Buddha. In point of fact,

in terms of the doctrinal principles and consequent monastic rules, such a situation was to manifest in the future times in western India, indeed some centuries posterior to even the period of Ārya Rakṣita (c. 1st cent. A. D.) who had permitted only one additional *pātra* or bowl<sup>65</sup> beside the usual (single) begging bowl and who advocated and practised strict nudity, allowing no other possession including loin cloth (*kaṭi-bandhana*, *kaṭi-paṭṭaka*, *cola-paṭṭaka*) for a friar<sup>66</sup>, the *kaṭi-bandhana*, interestingly, is noted in the *Kalpa* and in the relatively later portion of the *Ācārāṅga* I. (If the *Kalpa* indeed was authored by Bhadrabāhu, then this point will have a bearing on Bhadrabāhu's doctrinal leanings and creedal connections.)

4) The *Kalpa* loudly talks about a “shelter-building” (*uvassaya*, *upāśraya*) which temporarily may be occupied by friars and nuns and also enters into considerable detail relating to its surroundings as well as its internal disposition<sup>67</sup>. Places such as these as temporary resorts for recluses virtually is an impossible reality in the early phase of the Church of Vardhamāna : because, the earlier *āgamic* injunction refers exclusively to cemetery (*susāna* i.e. *smaśāna*), ruined and desolate dwelling-houses (*sunnāgāra*, *śūnyāgāra*), and tree-bases (*rukhamūla*, *vrkṣamūla*) as places appropriate for recluses to take shelter by or into<sup>68</sup>. The *Kalpa*, of course, is aware at least of *vrkṣamūla* and also adds there ‘bamboo-clump base’ which it permits to the *nirgranthas* but forbids to the *nirgranthīs*, nuns<sup>69</sup>. However, the older spirit and the forms of very rigorous ascetic practices are somewhat wanting in this (as well as, even more so, in the *Vyavahāra*) text.

The *Kalpa*, though forbidding the nuns to stay at the travellers' lodge (*āgamanagrha*), permits the mendicants to do so<sup>70</sup>. The latter clause is again inconsistent with the most ancient friars' discipline if we take into account the earlier notions of the Nirgrantha monastic constraints as laid down in, or understandably followed within, the Church of Arhat Vardhamāna. Indeed, this and several other such points encourage toward reassessing the nature of monastic discipline of Bhadrabāhu's time.

5) The style of the *Kalpa*, though sounding fairly ancient where the *sūtras* generally begin as ‘*No kappati*’ (not permissible), or ‘*Kappati*’ (permissible), is seldom encountered in other disciplinary *āgamas* like the *Ācārāṅga* Book II, the *Nīśītha*, etc<sup>71</sup>. It is, perhaps, likely that such a style of phrasing may have been peculiar more to the books of monastic codes,

now lost<sup>72</sup>, of the Church of Arhat Pārśva rather than of Arhat Vardhamāna and adopted for the composition of the *Kalpa*. Bhadrabāhu, it must be remembered, knew by heart the Pūrva texts of the Church of Arhat Pārśva as per the tradition.

Looking now at the mode of expression of the *Vyavahāra*, it is, in point of fact, and visibly, different from that of the *Kalpa*, although Bhadrabāhu is claimed to be the author of both the works. It also largely differs from the style of the *āgamas* of the first three phases<sup>73</sup>. Moreover, the *Vyavahāra*, both in style and content, is heterogeneous in character, with chapters possibly of differing dates, details, and perceptions<sup>74</sup>.

The text of the *Kalpa* as well as that of the *Vyavahāra* conceivably may have been modified at a few places and augmented or added to, or subtracted at some points of time in the past<sup>75</sup>, a possibility which cannot be ruled out. Since both works also were included in the sacred treatises of the Yāpanīya Sect, it may be concluded that they already were known and recognized as an authoritative part of the canon before the 2nd cent. A.D. in the Northern Nirgrantha Church<sup>76</sup>. Supposing it can be established that the earliest portions of the two texts are indeed datable to the Maurya period, it would then raise some serious questions : 1) Was Bhadrabāhu their author ? 2) If he were, did he lean toward the monastic discipline of the Church of Pārśva or, alternatively, did he sanction generous concessions for accommodating the mendicants and nuns of the Church of Pārśva who, assumably, may have been progressively joining the Church of Arhat Vardhamāna ? Since, as is believed in the tradition, he had mastered the 14 *Pūrvās*—arguably the āgamic books of the Pārśva's sect—there is a possibility that he was fully conversant with the Pārśvian monastic disciplinary code and, as a result, may have been influenced by it. If this surmise is accurate, it may, in turn, compel us to revise our views on Bhadrabāhu. The present discussion perhaps opens a door to what seemingly is an entirely unsuspected and uncharted area of investigation<sup>77</sup>. Of course, it will all depend on the definitive evidence, besides the presently known post-Gupta tradition, that the *Kalpa* and (the parts of) the *Vyavahāra* were authored by Bhadrabāhu.

The third work, namely the *Daśāśrutaskandha olim Ācāradaśā*, both from the standpoint of style and content, is far more heterogeneous in composition and in content : and, for the style of a few of its chapters,

it positively looks away from Bhadrabāhu's times. These chapters, in fact, are younger in age. It, therefore, raises even graver doubts about the veracity of its long believed attribution to Bhadrabāhu. It likewise presents a somewhat more complex situation<sup>78</sup>, needing a separate investigation involving elaborate and an in-depth discussion.

Before closing this section, it may be noted that the Southern tradition does not attribute the composition of any work to Bhadrabāhu. It only believes that he was responsible for introducing and propagating the Nirgrantha religion in Southern India<sup>79</sup>. And later, in the eighth century, Padmanandi of the *anvaya* Koṇḍakunda, known from the 13th or at most the 12th century as 'Kundakundācārya' in the Digambara sections in north India, is said to have regarded Bhadrabāhu as his 'gamika-guru' or a teacher by virtue of his being, as he may have believed, in the Bhadrabāhu's sectarian tradition<sup>80</sup>.

## VI

### Śruta-Kevali Bhadrabāhu, Candragupta, Śravaṇabelgoḷa, and Southern Jaina Traditions

Fairly considerable literature has grown in English and in German, not to say in Hindi and in Kannaḍa which revolve around the Southern Nirgrantha traditions that associate Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta on one hand and on the other hand associate the two to the famous *tīrtha* site of Śravaṇabelgoḷa inside ancient Gaṅgavāḍī, located in Southern Karnataka. The trends of discussions and conclusions drawn therein reveal a picture in which some scholars agreeing, others rejecting, a few sitting on fence, while some sensing not enough strength in available evidence yet willing to concede credibility to the tradition. When all is said and done, some among the noteworthy writings which dwell on this subject at some length, impress the reader as either one-sided since they refuse to use, even allude to, sources which go against their cherished intentions (or declare them as late although they are not), often indeed uncritical or insufficiently critical or wanting in an objective as well as common sense approach. Perhaps the only, rather very partial, exceptions are the much too succinct statements within the discussion by the editorial team of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* Volume II (Mysore 1973) and a brief observation by A. M. Ghatage<sup>81</sup>.

The earliest, and indeed crucial, evidence in the Southern context is the Śravaṇabelgoḷa Sanskrit inscription No.1 (c. 600 A. D.), which more or

less had been the starting point of discussion in several serious writings. It refers to a prediction in Ujjayanī by Bhadrabāhu, an expert on the eight-fold omenology (*aṣṭāṅga-nimitta*)—he is not called there either ‘*śrutakevalī*’ or ‘*caturdaśa-pūrvadhara*’<sup>82</sup>—of the visitation of a 12-year famine (*dvādaśa samvatsara-kāla-vaiṣamya*, implied to be in north India) whereupon the entire Nirgrantha community (*samasta-saṁgha*) from north India (Uttarāpatha) migrated to south India (Dakṣiṇāpatha). At some point, when this congregation (*saṁgha*) was passing through southwestern Kaṇṇāṭa (the specific area later to be called Gaṅgavāḍī), a pontiff by name Prabhācandra, sensing his end approaching, separated himself from the congregation and clambered the hill Kāṭavapra (Cikkabetṭa or Candragiri Hill in Śravaṇabelgoḷa) along with one disciple (name not specified) with the objective of passing away in peace (*samādhi*) by the rite of suspension of aliment unto death (*sanyāsārdhitavān*). And in course of time, some 700 other friars in succession followed (the same path, of dying by the rite of *sallekhanā*), the inscription in question reports as its end note<sup>83</sup>.

The said inscription does not bring Bhadrabāhu to this Hill; his rôle was confined to making the prophesy of the oncoming draught that was to last for 12 years. Indeed, the central focus of the inscription is “Prabhācandra,” not Bhadrabāhu. What is more, the inscription is silent on Candragupta, a significant omission. There is likewise not the slightest indication there to warrant equating Prabhācandra with Bhadrabāhu and, the unnamed accompanying disciple, with Candragupta; nor, on the other hand, is there even the vaguest hint that would allow identifying Prabhācandra with Candragupta. Indeed, no source clarifies that the Maurya emperor Candragupta, after his supposed ordination as a Nirgrantha friar, was rechristened Prabhācandra. Such an identification has been conjectured by some writers of our times, but without any clear or firm evidence to base upon. In any case, the inscription, like the *Ārādhana* of Śivārya, is silent on what happened to Bhadrabāhu or where he proceeded after the prediction he is said to have made in Ujjayanī.

Now, to explain away the silences, an inference has been drawn from this inscription that two Bhadrabāhu-s (as stated here in annotation 82) are implied, the first one is he who figures in the pontifical sequence from Lohārya downwards, that is the one who was the disciple of Govardhana and the preceptor of Viśākha as also the preceptor of Candragupta : It was he who,

in the tradition, was the *śrutakevali* and the *caturdaśa-pūrvadhara* : the second Bhadrabāhu who, in due course flourished in that monastic tradition, was the *aṣṭāṅga-naimitika* (expert on eightfold omenology). It was he who predicted the visitation of the 12 years' famine in Ujjayanī. But neither of the two Bhadrabāhu-s is, even implicitly, said there to have visited Śravaṇabelagoḷa. It was Prabhācandra who passed away on the Kaṭavapra Hill there according to that earliest inscription from Śravaṇabelagoḷa.

The commemorative record under reference, moreover, is not contemporaneous with the passing away of Prabhācandra. It arguably was engraved centuries after the period of the supposed happening of the event which, implicitly though, is much later than c. B.C. 300 (Bhadrabāhu's time) and predictably even a few years after the second Bhadrabāhu conjectured, by some scholars, from the data contained in the inscription. And between the date of Prabhācandra's passing away and the date of this inscription of c. A.D. 600, significantly, no commemorative inscriptional record is found on this Hill even when it clearly refers to the passing away of some 700 other friars *after* Prabhācandra on this Hill<sup>84</sup>. The inscription seemingly records the essence of a "legend" or "belief," current in the late sixth century, of the death by self-mortification earlier on this Hill, of a pontiff named "Prabhācandra," a nomen which has no parallel in the period between the Mauryan and the very early centuries of the Gaṅga (or for that matter contemporaneous Kadamba) period in Karṇāṭa, or for that matter in the inscriptional or literary records of the earlier periods—be they Nirgrantha, Buddhist, or Brahmanical—in north India. Typologically, the name does not accord with the fashions in vogue for personal appellations before the sixth, or at most the fifth century A.D.<sup>85</sup>. Prabhācandra, doubtless, will be a very popular nomen for the monks in pre-medieval and, even more so, in the medieval Digambara Jaina Church. In literature, the earliest reference noticeable for this appellation is by Pūjyapāda Devanandi (active c. A.D. 635–685) in his *Jainendra-śabdaśāstra*, referring as he does to a peculiar grammatical formation in Sanskrit by Prabhācandra<sup>86</sup> and the next is in the encomium of the *Jayadhavalā-ṭikā* (began by Vīrasena, completed by his great disciple Jinasena (c. A.D. 837) in which Jinasena eulogizes the (poetic) qualities of the *Candrodaya-kāvya* of Prabhācandra<sup>87</sup>, the reference in the latter two cases might pertain to one and same poet—Prabhācandra—though not to the Candragiri-Prabhācandra who is purported

to belong to earlier times<sup>88</sup>. After these two relatively early Prabhācandras—one figuring in the 600 A.D. inscription, the other appearing in the two literary allusions, one being post-Gupta (early Calukya) and the other pre-medieval (early Rāṣtrakūṭa)—several other Prabhācandras successively came in different *gaṇas* and *gacchas* till the late medieval times as inferred from the Digambara inscriptional and literary / hagiological and allied notices. This early ‘Prabhācandra’ of Śravaṇbeḷgoḷa, then, generates an enigma which will need future efforts and concrete, indeed more definitive, evidence to resolve it. One thing is certain. He cannot be connected either with Bhadrabāhu or with Candragupta.

Within 50 years of this earliest inscription on Candragiri mentioning Prabhācandra, scores of other inscriptions are encountered from whose report it is clear that the pontiffs and mendicants, monks and nuns, vied with one another ritually to give up their life on this sanctified Hill. Could the legend of the first Prabhācandra—a figure unknown in the annals—passing away here have inspired this phenomenal (and from the standpoint of Jainism a sacred and elevating) activity of self-mortification on this Hill? Arguably not. A more powerful stimulus was needed for this development. Plausibly, between c. A.D. 550-650, a new and a parallel legend was being worked out, at some Jaina centre in Karnataka, of Śrutakevali Bhadrabāhu and his supposed disciple, the Maurya emperor Candragupta, laying down their life by the sacred rite of *sallekhanā* on this Hill. Some anecdotes or bits of partially valid historical facts must have existed for the formulation of such a legend.

The beginning of a part of this belief, somewhat vaguely though, may be sensed in a statement occurring in the *Tiloyapaṇṇattī* (*Trilokaprajñpti*, c. A.D. 550 with sizeable later additions) that, among the crowned kings, Candragupta was the last to be initiated to the Order<sup>89</sup>: There is, though, no clarification in this notice whether the ‘Maurya’ Candragupta is implied and who his preceptor was. It is only the epigraphical records, in date posterior to the *Tiloyapaṇṇattī*, to be noticed now, which implicitly or explicitly connect the two.

The most crucial on this issue is the Śravaṇbeḷgoḷa inscription 17-18 (32) in Kannaḍa, dateable to c. mid seventh century. It states: “When the Faith that had much prospered in the time of the pair of the chief among the sages—Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta—who shed lustre on it, later grew dimmed, (then) the coral-lipped Śāntisena, the chief among the ascetics,

rejuvenated it: And on the hill at Veḷgoḷa, having given up food etc., attained the (state of) cessation of birth (i.e. attained salvation) : "90

श्रीभद्रबाहु सचन्द्रगुप्तमुनीन्द्रयुग्मदिनोप्तेवल् ।  
 भद्रमागिद धर्ममन्दु वळ्ळिक्केन्द्रिनिसळ्ळले ॥  
 विट्टुमाधर शान्तिसेनमुनीशनाक्किवेळ्ळोळ ।  
 अद्रिमेलशनादि विट्टुपुनर्भवक्केरे आगि ॥

This inscription for certain connects Bhadrabāhu with Candragupta, arguably as the teacher and the disciple, though it does not explicitly associate the two with Śravaṇabelagoḷa. However, the act of including this phrase in the draft of the inscription would be meaningless if the composer of the text had not intended to convey the connection of the two with this sacred Hill. From this standpoint, it may be regarded as the earliest pointer, even somewhat obliquely, toward that direction.

Next of note are some inscriptions, all of them of medieval period and not valuable as weighty evidence in the historical construct for times very ancient. An inscription of c. A. D. 1110 (71[166]) in the Bhadrabāhu cave, records that some Jinacandra bowed to the feet [carved imprints] of Bhadrabāhusvāmī : And, below the footprints carved on the summit of the Cikkabeṭṭa hill, is a 13th century record purporting to the effect that they are those of Bhadrabāhusvāmī. What is more, in the two records from Srirangapattana taluk, of c. A. D. 900 [E.C. Vol. III, Sr. 147, 148], it is stated that Kaḷbappu (Kaṭavapra or Cikkabeṭṭa Hill) is blessed with the (carved) imprints of the feet of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta. Moreover, an inscription of A. D. 1163 (Nos.40 [54], new no. 71) refers to *śrutakevali* Bhadrabāhu and his disciple Candragupta. Likewise, a record of A. D. 1129 (Nos.5 [67], new no.77) refers to the celebrated pair. And on a pillar in the Siddharabasadi environs on the Doddabeṭṭa (Vindhyagiri, Śravaṇabelagoḷa) are two late records, the first of A. D. 1398 (No.105, [254]) mentioning *śrutakevali* Bhadrabāhu and the second of A. D. 1432 which mentions *śrutakevali* Bhadrabāhu and his disciple Candragupta<sup>91</sup>. It thus remains established that, at the dawn of the medieval period, the Bhadrabāhu-Candragupta pair and their association with Śravaṇabelagoḷa was a firmly established fact in the Digambara Jain lore and later was persistently recalled as inferred from the above-cited inscriptions. And the footprints of Bhadrabāhu were carved on Cikkabeṭṭa or Candragiri before A. D. 900.

Turning next to the Southern literary sources having a bearing on Bhadrabāhu, the earliest, as was pointed out, is the *Ārāḍhanā* of Śivārya (c. 6th cent.), a Yāpanīya (or Boṭika-Kṣapaṇaka) and not Digambara work. It, however, refers to only a single point related to Bhadrabāhu, namely his death due to reduced food intake<sup>92</sup> :

ओमोदरिए घोराए भद्रबाहु असंकिल्डुमदो ।  
घोराए विगिच्छाए पडिवण्णो उत्तमं ठाणं ॥

—आराधना १५३९

The next source is the *Ārāḍhanā-tīkā*, also known as the *Vaḍḍa-Ārāḍhane* (c. 9th or early 10th cent.), the commentary in Kannaḍa by Bhrājiṣṇu<sup>93</sup>, on the above-cited Śivārya's *Ārāḍhanā*. Unlike the inscriptions, it delineates Bhadrabāhu's life-sketch wherein a small part seems somewhat genuine, but the rest has a look and flavour of fiction as well as smell of fabrication and coloured by sectarian bias, the latter part omitted here in discussion since irrelevant in the present context.

'In the town of Kauṇḍinī within the Puṇḍravardhana county,' says Bhrājiṣṇu, 'ruled a chief called Padmaratha with his consort Padmaśrī. To his high priest Somaśarmā and wife Somaśrī was born Bhadrabāhu.'

The names, except for Bhadrabāhu and the localities noted there, obviously are fictitious. The commentary next enters into a lengthy mythical account concerning *caturdaśapūrvī* Govardhana (ultimately the one who initiated Bhadrabāhu) and immediately next the one relating to Bhadrabāhu. This portion we may leave out for good. What is contextually significant is of course the notice that Bhadrabāhu not only learnt the *Aṅga* texts (the 11 Nirgrantha canonical works) but, significantly, also the *Pūrva*-texts from his preceptor Govardhana.

The Commentator then dwells not upon the Maurya emperor Candragupta but his grand son Aśoka reigning in Pāṭaliputra. Next he turns to another phase of the anecdote, the queen Candrānanā, consort of Aśoka's son Kuṇāla, the prince who was blinded by an official due to a wrong reading (tempered version?) of the emperor's communication. She gave birth to a son who was named Samprati-Candragupta by Aśoka. Following this account, starts a lengthy mythical narrative concerning the previous embodiment of that prince, which being totally useless as history, has to be ignored. The grown up Samprati-Candragupta is placed by the Commentator in

Ujjeni (Ujjayanī) which is next visited by Bhadrabāhu, alongwith a large group of friars. There he sojourned in some park. Interestingly, Bhadrabāhu is qualified by the commentator as ‘Caturdaśa-pūrvadhara’ and not ‘aṣṭāṅga-naimitika’ in contrast to the Śravaṇabelgoḷa inscription of c. A.D. 600. King Samprati-Candragupta visits Bhadrabāhu and embraces the vows of the (Nirgrantha) lay-follower. One day, Bhadrabāhu, during his alms-begging tour, entered a house where a child in a swing said : “Revered Sir, go away, go away !” He took these words as omenic of the onset of a draught: on asking for how many years, the child, by gesture, indicated the figure 12. Whereupon Bhadrabāhu assembled the disciples and announced the visitation soon of 12 years famine and proposed to migrate to South. The same night the King dreamt 16 strange and prognosticative dreams, their interpretation by Bhadrabāhu leading to the same conclusion, of the oncoming eventuality of the prolonged draught. (The lengthy narrative relating to this imaginary event is omitted here.) The King, now knowing about the impending calamity, joined the Order of the Mendicants. Bhadrabāhu next sent a message to the mendicants in Madhyadeśa to migrate to South. And he, with his new disciple Samprati-Candragupta and eight thousand friars moved toward the Southern country. On the way, when they reached Kaṭavappu (Kaṭavapra, Candragiri in Śravaṇabelgoḷa), he sensed that his end is near. Whereupon he sent the *saṅgha* under the leadership of his other (arguably senior) disciple Viśākha to the Tamiḷ country. He next clambered the hillock Kaṭavapra with Samprati-Candragupta, undertook the rite of *avamodarya* and *sanyasta*, eventually passed away and, was born as god in the Brahmakalpa heaven with the life span of ten *sāgaropamas*<sup>94</sup>. Samprati-Candragupta stayed on at Kaṭavapra, and, as for alms, he was eating what a sylvan deity of that area offered. After 12 years, when the news reached that the drought in Madhyadeśa had ended, Viśākhācārya returned from south to Kaṭavapra advised Samparti-Candragupta not to accept food from a deity, and proceeded toward north. Samprati-Candragupta who, staying as he did for all those years close to the (commemorative) shrine of Bhadrabāhu on the hillock, eventually passed away and (he, too,) was born in the Brahmakalpa with the life span of ten *sāgaropamas*.

Forgetting the imaginary elements which are innate to the Indian narrative class of writings in ancient and medieval India—Jaina being

famous for its super-inflated megalomania and super-astronomical pampalomania—the problems that this *kathā* generates are, even at the first look, these :

1) In the established history of India, Samprati was junior to Bhadrabāhu by four generations, he being the great grandson of emperor Candragupta's son Bindusāra. Moreover, he never was known as Candragupta. So, this notice in the commentary is very visibly anachronistic besides betraying gross historical confusion<sup>95</sup>. (Samprati, of course, had ruled from Ujjayanī, but his preceptor was Ārya Suhasti who in turn was Ārya Sthūlabhadra's disciple, as gleaned from the post-Gupta Śvetāmbara sources. And that hagiographical notice perfectly synchronizes with the known dates of the Maurya imperial chronology.

2) It is clear that, the legend of Prabhācandra and his unnamed disciple as noted in the Śravaṇabelagoḷa inscription of c. A.D. 600, is transferred here to, or superimposed on Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta duo. This new legend of the association of those two celebrities with Śravaṇabelagoḷa apparently had come into currency in Karnataka by, or before, *circa* the mid seventh century and Bhrājīṣṇu used it to fit it in his narrative context. The two inscriptions from Seringapattam taluq which are more or less contemporaneous with Bhrājīṣṇu's commentary, likewise cannot be reckoned as good evidence for Bhadrabāhu-Candragupta connections with Śravaṇabelagoḷa. The whole episode smells of improbability and hangs on a slender thread of an untenable notice. A solid and unambiguous as well as fairly early evidence of Bhadrabāhu's migration with Candragupta to Śravaṇabelagoḷa is wanting. No reliance can be placed on later writings which come in conflict with what is said and implied in the relatively earlier sources. The earliest inscription referring to Bhadrabāhu does talk about migration to South, but in that event neither Bhadrabāhu, nor Candragupta, or both were involved; and the earliest available literary source—Bhrājīṣṇu's Kannaḍa commentary (c. 9th -10th cent.), too, does not illuminate the history because of the confusions it creates.

3) The commentator had given no thought on the logistics of as many as eight thousand friars travelling together, the problems about feeding them under the strict Nirgranthist rules of *bhikṣā*, besides providing them camping facilities, which virtually would be unmanageable in those times. In the pre-Mauryan and Mauryan periods, megalithic culture had prevailed

in Karnataka. But the nearest megalithic habitations were some miles away from Śravaṇabelagoḷa. There is, indeed, no evidence that Śravaṇabelagoḷa, with its starkly stony terrain, was inhabited even long centuries after the Maurya times.

There are conflicting notices as to the region where the famine was to visit as per the prediction; was it just Madhyadeśa (central and eastern Uttar Pradesh) or was it the entire northern India. In the former case, there was no need to migrate to Southern India. Also, a continuous draught lasting for as many as 12 years would create a havoc in the ecology of the concerned territories. Most rivers progressively would have dried up. The Jaina writers (of both sects) gave no thought on what, under such circumstances, would have happened to the Brahmanists, the Buddhists, the Ājivakas and other people who all together must have constituted the far larger part of population than the Nirgranthas in north India. Such an eventuality also would have destroyed the larger part of flora and fauna, besides human population of north India. And the Buddhist annals surely would have taken note of it.

The South-oriented source, next in time, seemingly is the “Bhadra-bāhu-kathānaka” inside the *Brhat-kathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa (A.D. 931)\*. It largely agrees with the *Vaḍḍa-ārādane* in several details. It mentions the capital town Koṭipura (in Bengal, which, as the author reports, was called in his times Davakoṭṭa), the names given of the ruling king and his consort and those of Bhadrabāhu’s parents there are the same as mentioned in the *Ārādhana-ṭīkā*. When Bhadrabāhu was young, the *caturadaśapūrvi* Govardhana *muni*, who was on his way to Ujjayantagiri\* for paying obeisance to Jina Nemi, visited Koṭinagara (=Koṭipura). Bhadrabāhu apparently was initiated on that occasion by Govardhana *muni* who imparted the knowledge of the scripture (*śruta*) to him. After some years, Bhadrabāhu, alongwith the *caturvidha-saṃgha*, visited Ujjayanī-purī (Ujjain), located on the river Kṣiprā, in Avanti-viṣaya. There ruled king Candragupta with his consort Suprabhā. He was (already) a (Nirgrantha) *śrāvaka* possessing true faith (*samyag-darśana*). While sojourning in Ujjayanī, once on his begging tour, in one mansion, Bharabāhu saw a child

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★ This *Tīrtha*, however, was not founded till we come to the initial centuries of the Common Era.

resting in a swing. The child made him a gesture to leave, which he took as an omenic sign and predicted the onset soon of a 12 years' famine, whereupon the Saṅgha proceeded to Dakṣiṇāpatha while he himself retired to (some unspecified place within) the Bhādrapradadeśa where he passed away in peace. Before that, Candragupta joined the Order of Mendicants and was called 'Candragupti muni'. The narrative's details up to the prediction part essentially are the same as in the *Ārāḍhanā-tīkā*; but Hariṣeṇa does not send Bhadrabāhu to Śravaṇabelagoḷa, a point on which he, in fact, sharply differs from, or rather contradicts, Bhrājiṣṇu. Also, the king's name he specifies is just 'Candragupta,' not 'Samprati-Candragupta;' what is more, the Maurya emperor Candragupta had ruled from Pāṭaliputra, not from Ujjayanī, though that viṣaya apparently was included in his empire (and a century or so afterwards, his fifth descendant Samprati will govern it). And Hariṣeṇa does not mention the 16 dreams dreamt by Candragupta that confirmed the visitation of 12 years' famine and, further more, the other undesirable consequences that will follow therefrom. Lastly, he does not state what happened to Candragupti muni, whether he accompanied Bhadrabāhu, or remained in Ujjayanī, or went along with the Congregation to the Southern country.

Among the Northern narrative sources on Bhadrabāhu, usually, why totally neglected by the scholars using Southern sources, four happen to be more important. The earliest is the *Tīrthāvakālīka prakīrṇaka* (c. A.D. 550). Its author first lays down the details of Bhadrabāhu's hagiology, which, of course, follows that of the *Paryuṣaṇākālpa-Sthavirāvalī* as well as of the *Nandisūtra*. Next, in its exposition, it brings in Bhadrabāhu in connection with a single, and an important, episode described through 63 verses in Prakrit. As the work goes on to say, after the end of the prolonged drought (its duration unspecified) in Madhyadeśa (eastern U.P.), the (Bhikṣu-) saṅgha assembled in Pāṭaliputra (in Magadha) to reconstitute the āgamas since many learned pontiffs had lost the memory of several texts due to their abandoning regular recitational practice—some knowledgeable friars even may have passed away—during those trying years. The *munis*, who participated in the proceedings of the Synod, are reported to have reconstituted the 11 *aṅga*-texts but, as the work reports, none of them remembered the 12th one, the *Dṛṣṭivāda*, in which were included the *Pūrva*-texts—in all probability the works of the Church of Arhat Pārśva—which

arguably contained Pārśva's *pravacana* or teachings. The only pontiff who is said to have possessed the knowledge of the *Pūrva*-texts was Bhadrabāhu who was not present at the Synod. (It is not clarified where he then was and why was he not present despite his eminence.) A messenger from the Council was sent to him, respectfully addressing him as the 'Jina of their times' and requesting him to pass the knowledge of those texts to the Council, to which he declined, expressing as he did disconcern and detachment. That angered the (leaders of the) Saṅgha who next sent a categorical/unequivocal notice warning him that he, as he himself is aware of the rule, in that event, will be excommunicated. Thereupon Bhadrabāhu yielded, agreeing to impart instruction to some bright young mendicants. Whereupon Sthūlabhadra<sup>97</sup>, alongwith 500 friars—the figure of course is very highly inflated, a characteristic tendency noticeable in Jaina writings of this class—was sent. While other mendicants eventually deserted since the tempo of teaching was very slow, Sthūlabhadra alone persisted : and he persevered in learning from Bhadrabāhu. He progressively learnt the ten *Pūrva*-texts. In the meantime his seven sisters (who had embraced the Order of the Nuns) came to visit him<sup>98</sup>. Bhadrabāhu informed them that Sthūlabhadra then was meditating behind the Śiva temple. In order to impress them with the supernatural powers he had acquired, Sthūlabhadra assumed the form of a lion which frightened the nuns who ran back to Bhadrabāhu telling him that the lion seems to have devoured Sthūlabhadra. Bhadrabāhu assured them that the lion is Sthūlabhadra himself. This incident of misuse, by Sthūlabhadra, of the extraordinary powers made Bhadrabāhu unhappy. He, consequently, refused to impart further instruction to Sthūlabhadra whose repentance-full appealings softened him and he passed the texts of the remaining four *Pūrvas* but withheld the exposition of their meaning. Ignoring the miraculous element which predictably emanated from the belief that the *Pūrvas* included a text that embodied the secrets of magical powers (*Vijjāpāhuḍa*/*Vidyāprābhṛta* ?)—the belief reflecting profound reverence of later ages toward the assumed mystical character of, and awe in which the long lost *Pūrva*-texts were held by, the later writers—the central fact remains that Sthūlabhadra had been deputed to Bhadrabāhu by the Pāṭaliputra Synod to learn the *Drṣṭivāda* that included the *Pūrva* texts. The Bhadrabāhu-Sthūlabhadra connection may be inferred through an earlier reference,

in Umāsvāti's *Praśamarati-prakarāṇa* (c. A.D. 350), which tacitly hints to the myth of Sthūlabhadra's vanity due to his acquiring magical powers through the sacred literature and, as its consequence, he generated in his psyche (a sub-variety of) *kaṣāya*-passion called *śruta-mada*/vanity due to possessing (the rare) knowledge of the canon, the knowledge which otherwise was meant for eliminating vanity of all kinds<sup>99</sup> :

माषतुषोपाख्यानं श्रुतपर्यायप्ररूपणां चैव ।  
श्रुत्वाऽति विस्मयकरं विकरणं स्थूलभद्रमुनेः ॥  
सम्पकोद्यमसुलभं चरणकरसाधकं श्रुतज्ञानम् ।  
लब्ध्वा सर्वमदहरं तेनैव मदः कथं कार्यः ॥

—प्रशमरतिप्रकरण ९५-९६

The medieval commentator of the *Praśamarati-prakarāṇa*, namely Haribhadra sūri (A.D. 1129)<sup>100</sup>, thus explains the content of those verses relating to Sthūlabhadra and tacitly hints to the episode due to which (the quantitative) degradation/disappearance of the scripture or canon (*śruta-viccheda*) began :

‘अतिविस्मयकरञ्च विकरणं’ वैकियसिंहरूपनिर्माणं स्थूलभद्रमहर्षेर्जामिआर्यिकाणां दर्शनाय, आगमाभियोगनितं लब्धिविकरणं श्रुतसम्प्रदायविच्छेदं....<sup>101</sup>

The next source, the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi* (c. A.D. 600-650), follows the *Tīrthāvakālīka* in time as well as in content, but specifies two additional details (not noted in the *Tīrthāvakālīka*), the first being that the drought had lasted for 12 years (as is also stated in the Southern sources) and, second, Bhadrabāhu had moved to Nepāla during that distressful period<sup>102</sup>.

The third source, the *Kathāvali* of Bhadreśvara sūri (c. late 10th cent.), repeats what the *Tīrthāvakālīka* as well as the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi* record, differing only on a few minor details, or adding small particulars not mentioned by the former two sources. Like the *cūrṇi*, it states that Bhadrabāhu with Sthūlabhadra eventually had moved to Pāṭaliputra<sup>103</sup>, apparently after the major part of instruction to Sthūlabhadra on the *Pūrva*-texts was over while in Nepāla.

The fourth source in sequence is the *Parīśiṣṭa-parva* of Hemacandra<sup>104</sup>. It clarifies a couple of points left partially unilluminated by the former three works. Plausibly, on the basis of what is noted in the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*, it records that, at the time of the Pāṭaliputra Synod for the redaction of

the canon, Bhadrabāhu was in Nepāla where, as stated also in the *cūrṇī*, Hemacandra adds, he had undertaken the yogic *mahāprāṇa-sādhana*. As its prelude, Hemacandra also talks about the 12 years' drought whereupon the pontiff Susthita dispersed the Saṃgha to different congenial locales and, at that time, emperor Candragupta attained *Samādhimarāṇa*, peaceful end/death by ritually undergoing starvation. The work earlier talks at great length about Cāṇākya and how he helped Candragupta in vanquishing Nanda and in seizing his empire. Then there is a brief report on Candragupta's son and successor Bindusāra, followed by that on Aśoka, his son Kuṇāla, and the circumstances under which Kuṇāla was blinded; also, he mentions Kuṇāla's consort (by name Śaraccarī) and their begetting the son Samprati who eventually was given a share in Aśoka's empire. (He very plausibly ruled from Ujjayanī as his capital.) The account thus far and in part is endorsed by the earlier sources except that (Ārya) Susthita, in point of fact, was to appear on the historical scene a couple of centuries later<sup>105</sup>. But more serious confusion appears when Hemacandra starts talking about a "second 12 years drought" and Bhadrabāhu next meeting Samprati, an impossible reality, unless he is some other Bhadrabāhu, about whom nothing is known from any other source. It was Ārya Suhasti, disciple of Śthūlabhadra, who was contemporary as also the preceptor of Samprati. And this latter notice seems plausible since it synchronizes with the historical chronology of the Mauryan dynasts.

## VII

### Conclusions

After assessing the total evidence from the available earlier writings and related pre-medieval and medieval epigraphs from Karnataka on Ārya Bhadrabāhu, the following facts, by way of recapitulation, together with a few additional, brief, clarificatory, and further elucidatory observations now may be put forward. Alongwith it a few speculative thoughts also will be included. The picture delineated even by the collective information from all of the presently available sources, however, is far from complete. There are several gaps, lingering doubts, unresolved enigmas and obvious improbabilities ranged against the apparent plausibilities. The conflicting positions are present at several crucial points, paths, and turnings. As a result, the determinations in all such cases, wherever made, or plausibilities in happenings, wherever suggested, are at best tentative.

1) Ārya Bhadrabāhu doubtless had flourished during the régime of the first Maurya monarch Candragupta who had vanquished the Nanda and inherited his empire early in the last quarter of B.C. the fourth century, the general consensus for the absolute date of that event veers around B.C. 322<sup>106</sup>.

2) Bhadrabāhu belonged to Prācīna-gotra and thus to Bengal as earlier perceived by U.P. Shah; and, R.C. Majumdar (who otherwise had not seen the Southern and South affiliated literary sources) likewise had arrived at the same conclusion—on the basis of the appellations of the śākhās or monastic branches emanated from his senior disciple Godāsa—that Bhadrabāhu was a native of Bengal. The Southern literary sources unequivocally endorse that inference, adding that he was born and (in his earlier years) had lived in a town within Bengal—be it Kauṇḍinī or Koṭipura—and was initiated in Puṇḍravardhana.

3) According to the second as also the third phase growth of the *Sthavirāvalī* of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* (c. A.D. 100), Bhadrabāhu was the disciple of Ārya Yaśobhadra, the fifth pontiff in the hagiological descent from Arhat Vardhamāna. According to the Southern and South-affiliated Jaina literary sources (earliest of which dates from circa the mid 6th century onwards) as well as the Śravaṇbeḷagoḷa inscription of c. A.D. 600, however, his preceptor's name was Govardhana who, too, might have been a Bengālī. As an after thought, a reconciliation between these two totally divergent notices, the Southern being four to five centuries younger in date than the Northern, may be suggested by assuming that Govardhana may have been the *vidyāguru*—not the *dikṣāguru*—who probably had taught the 14 *Pūṛva*-texts to Bhadrabāhu. And the Southern sources, for that matter, in the hagiological sequence, connect Bhadrabāhu with Govardhana.

4) Bhadrabāhu, according to the earlier noted *Sthavirāvalī*, had four disciples, namely Godāsa, Agnidatta, Yajñadatta, and Somadatta. They all, as their appellations unambiguously suggest, were brahmins. The *Uttarādhyayana-niryukti* reports the death of four disciples of Bhadrabāhu (who earlier were initiated in Rājagṛha), on Vaibhāragiri near Rājagṛha due to *śīta parīṣaha*, suffering by severe chill. In the gloss given by the *Uttarādhyana-cūrṇī*, regarding the death of the four disciples in question, they are said to have died at different locales within Rājagṛha's environs, of

course due to the same cause, though it likewise does not identify them. This statement, as regards the four disciples of Bhadrabāhu who died by suffering from intense cold, is broadly confirmed by a notice in the *Prakīrṇaka* class of āgamic work, the *Marāṇasamādhī*, a pre-medieval compilatory work, which absorbed the versified content of eight earlier texts, largely of pre-Gupta (Mittra-Śaka-Kuṣāṇa) date, within it. Now, the *cūrṇī* calls these latter four disciples as of *vaṇika* or mercantile community. Clearly, then, these four unnamed disciples were different from the former four named and, as their names suggest, of brahmin extraction.

5) Bhadrabāhu's senior disciple Godāsa as well as the latter's disciples, too, must have hailed from Bengal, as indicated by the appellations of the *śākhās* or branches of mendicants that afterwards had emanated from them, namely the Tāmraliptikā, the Koṭivarṣīyā, the Pauṇḍravardhanikā, and the Dāsikharvaṭikā. Of these, at least the first three definitely were named after the then existing ancient towns in Bengal.

6) The authorship of the three *āgama*-category of works, namely the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, the *Kalpa*, the *Vyavahāra*, as also of the *Niryuktis* traditionally is attributed to Bhadrabāhu in the Śvetāmbara sect. Of these, the first three texts, afterwards classified under the *Chedasūtra* category that dwells on the rules for *ācāra* or monastic discipline, the *Kalpa* alone and, plausibly, for its larger part (which seems ancient and largely uniform in style), may have been his work. The *Niryuktis* seemingly are as late as early sixth century A.D., of course partly based on older material. (The *Logassa-sutta* included within the *Āvaśyaka* compendium is a hymn to the 24 Jīnas and ascribed to Bhadrabāhu by Śīlācārya in his *Ācārāṅga-vṛtti* [latter half of the 9th cent. A.D.]. However, as I elsewhere have suggested, it could have been the inaugural hymn of the *Prathamānuyoga* of Ārya Śyāma 1 (c. 1st cent. B.C -A.D.), which was the earliest work to notice the 24 *tīrthaṅkaras*, giving as it also did their biographical (in most cases of course overtly fictitious) sketches.) The Śvetāmbaras also attribute the famous magical and very popular hymn, the *Uvasaggahara-thotta* [*Upasargahara-stotra*], composed in the Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṣta, to Bhadrabāhu. (In the Digambara sect, it is believed to be a composition by Mānatuṅgācārya, c. late 6th-early 7th cent. A.D., an equally erroneous and hence untenable ascription,) That work, as is obvious by its language, style, content, and spirit seems a composition by

some medieval Śvetāmbara abbatial (*caityavāsī*) monk practicing sorcery and plausibly belonged to the late ninth or early tenth century A.D. as the of the hymn suggest.

7) It is likely that the emperor Candragupta, in the last year of his regnal period, may have been admitted by Bhadrabāhu to the Order of Mendicants. The combined information obtained from the *Tiloyapaṇṇati* (c. mid 6th cent.) and several inscriptions from Śravaṇabelagoḷa dating from *circa* the mid seventh century onwards, provide such an indication. The 12th century Śvetāmbara writer Hemacandra, on the basis of some source before him, records that Candragupta attained *Samādhimaraṇa*<sup>107</sup>, death by the rite of suspension of aliment which, too, would hint towards a possibility that he had embraced Nirgranthism. There is thus some degree of probability on this score even when the concerned sources are not sufficiently ancient. Some hazy but a genuine memory of the past event seems to have been preserved in that tradition<sup>108</sup>. Bhadrabāhu doubtless was contemporary of Candragupta but not of Samprati who, in point of fact, was the son of Candragupta's great grand son Kuṇāla\*. Both Bhrājiṣṇu, the author of the *Karṇāṭa-tīkā* on the *Ārādhanā* and Hemacandra, the author of the *Parīṣiṣṭaparva*, are confused on this point. Samprati's association with Ujjayanī as his capital (by virtue of his becoming the ruler of the western half of Aśoka's empire) does seem a historical reality or at least a plausibility.

8) As for Bhadrabāhu's visit to Śravaṇabelagoḷa alongwith his mendicant disciple Candragupta and the passing away of both of them there, it is not so recorded in the earliest inscription from Śravaṇabelagoḷa (c. A.D. 600). The inscription does mention Bhadrabāhu in connection with the prediction he made in Ujjayanī of the 12 years' drought, but does not mention Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta or bring them to Śravaṇabelagoḷa, although this eventuality of historic importance and of considerable significance could hardly have been missed by the author of the draft of the inscription. Instead, it mentions Prabhācandra to have died there<sup>109</sup>. And no direct or indirect allusion to the effect of Bhadrabāhu's and Candragupta's association with Śravaṇabelagoḷa is available in Northern Indian Jaina sources. Somewhere in Karnataka, this belief was taking shape apparently in the late sixth century and was firmly established by mid seventh

★ The dynastic order is Candragupta, Bindusāra, Aśoka, Kuṇāla, and Samprati.

century as earlier had been suggested here on the basis of an inscription, on the holy hill Kaṭavapra, concerning Śāntisena, of c. mid seventh century. Bhrājiṣṇu, in the *Ārādhana-ṭīkā* (c. late 9th or early 10th Cent.), positively associates Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta with the Śravaṇabelgoḷa hill. On this point, Hariṣeṇa's *Bṛhadkathakośa* (A.D. 931) comes in conflict with the Bhrājiṣṇu's *ṭīkā*. For it reports that Bhadrabāhu, after the prediction he made, retired from Ujjain to (some site in) Bhādrapadadeśa where he died by resorting to *avamodarya* or progressively decreased intake of food, the latter fact, without mentioning the locale involved, was noted earlier and originally in Śivārya's *Ārādhana* (c. early 6th cent). The *Bṛhadkathakośa* throws no light on Bhadrabāhu's disciple Candragupta as to what he did and where he was after he embraced the Order. Bhrājiṣṇu, however, avers that he was with Bhadrabāhu when the latter passed away in Śravaṇabelgoḷa by *anaśana* rite : and the sage Candragupta, who stayed over there, died sometime after the 12 years' draught. The Northern sources say nothing on how and where Bhadrabāhu died.

9) The most intriguing point is the presence of Bhadrabāhu simultaneously at two places and, on the opposite score, also in two times as deduced from two completely contradictory reports : (1) during and after the draught, he was in Nepāla; and (2) just before the onset of draught, he was in Śravaṇabelgoḷa and his passing away there very soon after ! The Northern records, available from c. mid sixth century onwards are unanimous that, when the Pāṭaliputra Synod was convoked after the draught for the redaction of the *āgamas* in c. B.C. 300 (or a few years before that date), Bhadrabāhu was in Nepāla and Sthūlabhadra—disciple of Bhadrabāhu's confrère Ārya Saṃbhūta (and son of Śakaṭāra, minister of Nanda)—was sent by the Pāṭaliputra Council to Bhadrabāhu for learning the 14 Pūrva-texts from him. The Southern literary sources, all of which are late, on the other hand, claim that Bhadrabāhu was in Ujjayinī, had predicted the onset of 12 years draught, and either before or just at the beginning of the 12 years famine, proceeded either to Bhādrapadadeśa where he passed away by reduction in food-intake, or to Śravaṇabelgoḷa where he went along with his royal disciple Candragupta, passed away by *anaśana* rite, and had sent the Saṅgha with his disciple Viśākhacārya to Southern India (Tamilnadu). The Southern sources, moreover, show no knowledge about the Pāṭaliputra Synod which assembled after the long draught and that

Bhadrabāhu was still alive and then was in Nepāla<sup>110</sup>. It is difficult to reconcile the two totally differing and absolutely conflicting notices, their content standing poles apart. If these two represent not only very different traditions but also may refer to two separate Bhadrabāhu-s, which, somewhat remotely, may be a plausibility, then the first Bhadrabāhu belonged to the Mauryan period and the second was of a later date who may have migrated to Śravaṇabelgoḷa. However, the concerned biographical anecdotes of the two Bhadrabāhu-s (if the second really existed) were confounded in the past and the today's messy confusion arises therefrom<sup>111</sup>. It generates a formidable conundrum which, in the present state of evidence cannot be resolved.

10) The complete absence in north India of inscriptions mentioning the *gaṇas* and the *śākhās* that had originated from Bhadrabāhu's lineage is a pointer to the fact that Bhadrabāhu's disciples and hagiological descendents were not in north India (Bengal and perhaps Orissa to be precise) and, by implication/deduction, had migrated to the Southern territories and settled there. Some, plausibly during the years of the draught, had gone as far as Sīmhala-dvīpa, while several apparently had settled in the Pāṇḍyan country in lowermost Tamilnadu where the earliest grotto inscriptions (c. B.C. 2nd—1st cent A.D.) indicating the passing away, apparently of the Nirgrantha recluses—assumably by the rite of *sallekhanā*—have been inferred<sup>112</sup>.

11) Bhadrabāhu of the Mauryan period, even if he really may have gone to Śravaṇabelgoḷa, he may have done so a few years subsequent to the Pāṭaliputra Synod and after Sthūlabhadra's learning the Pūrva texts from him. There is no reason to brush aside the Northern sources on the point of Bhadrabāhu-Sthūlabhadra association. That particular tradition is, as recorded in the Northern literarily notices, positively anterior by about three centuries to the mid-seventh century Southern epigraphical reference that at best is suggestive only obliquely of the Bhadrabāhu-Candragupta connection with Śravaṇabelgoḷa, while another epigraphical source at the same site, which is half a century anterior to the former, explicitly refers to Prabhācandra and his (unnamed) disciple and not at all to Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta : but the earliest literary source, the commentary of Bhrājīṣṇu (c. 9th-10th cent.) talks about Bhadrabāhu and Samprati-Candragupta (the ruler of Ujjayinī) visiting Śravaṇabelgoḷa and not the Maurya emperor Candragupta (who ruled from Pāṭaliputra), who was

Samprati's great grand-father's father. (Bhrājiṣṇu doubtless is confused on this point.)

12) A question, indeed of sterling importance, also arises why Bhadrabāhu, despite his eminence and seneority, was not present at the Pāṭaliputra Synod. It seems that, today's Bengal-Bihar divide seemingly had existed even in early Mauryan times. Bhadrabāhu apparently was alienated, the preponderance (and consequent predominance) of the mendicants from Magadha and from other territories, some of which now forming the State of Uttar Pradesh, at the Pāṭaliputra Synod and contrariwise, not according due importance to the Bengālī Bhadrabāhu, perhaps not even inviting him for the Redaction Conference, may have hurt him and consequently he may have remained aloof by staying in Nepāla and thereby completely ignoring the Synod<sup>113</sup>. (The 'diktat' or command of the Synod to pass, what then had become very rare, the knowledge of the *Pūrva* texts, may have served to sprinkle salt on the wound.) That the tempo of teaching was very slow, proves that Bhadrabāhu was an unwilling horse and only reluctantly had imparted the instruction to Sthūlabhadra.

And the legendary anecdote of Sthūlabhadra's vanity bordering on delinquency was created, plausibly in pre-Gupta times or earlier (since the legend already was known to Umāsvāti) to cover up the fact that Bhadrabāhu had withheld the last four *Pūrva* texts while the teaching had entered into the final phase. And there is no clarity on the point whether the Pāṭaliputra Council had continued their sessions indefinitely and had waited till the return of Sthūlabhadra. The medieval sources briefly note that both Bhadrabāhu and Sthūlabhadra had reached Pāṭaliputra after the major part of teaching was over.

13) Since Bhadrabāhu either had not visited Karnataka at all, or, if he did, he may have stayed at Śravaṇabelāḡa for a very brief period before he passed away : How, in that event, indeed in that extremely short period and under the *avamodarya* (or *anaśana*) vow as he is said to be, did he propagate the Nirgrantha religion in Southern India is a moot point. The more likelihood is that it was his hagiological descendents as well as some other contemporaneous Nirgrantha mendicants, who had migrated during the drought period to Tamilnadu and settled there, possibly were

responsible for the propagation of Nirgrantha-darśana in South, particularly and at first in the Tamiḷ country and some time after in Āndhradeśa<sup>114</sup>. There may have been more than one group of mendicants that migrated from the northern (essentially eastern) to southern India<sup>115</sup>, indeed progressively so in different ancient centuries.

Bhrājiṣṇu, as well as Hariṣeṇa, talk about the events in north India during the famine as well as what happened after Viśākhācārya returned to north India in post-famine time. They are, of course, not only poorly informed but are overtly sectarian and the South affiliated sources posterior to these two earliest ones only repeat what the above-noted two authors said and the further additions of details they made only betray their very strong sectarian bias with increased hate and venom. (I intend to deal with that part of the storey, of what happened during the draught years and in post-Bhadrabāhu times in north India, as perceived by medieval and post-medieval Digambara writers, in a future paper.) In Karnataka, the Nirgranthas eventually may have moved from western Āndhradeśa as well as from north western Tamilnadu and settled there only in the late third and early fourth century of the Common Era as indicated by the earliest charters from the lower Gaṅgavāḍī and the Kadamba country that predate the known Śravaṇabelgoḷa inscriptions<sup>116</sup>. The principalities of the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas by then already had been founded. No earlier Jaina vestiges including epigraphs, or literary notices either, between c. B.C. 300 and A.D. 300 so far are known from Karnataka\*

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★ There, of course, are reported a few grotto inscriptions of c. the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. mentioning the death (by *sallekhanā* rites) of the (Nirgrantha) mendicants in lower southern Gaṅgavāḍī.

**Annotations :**

1. The 14 *Pūrva* texts were believed to be the older and fundamental *āgamas*. To all seeming, they were of the sect of Arhat Pārśva and some of them plausibly had covered the early phase of Nirgrantha scholasticism. These texts' cosmography and probably much of the basic Nirgrantha doctrines (including the theory of eight *karmas*) and the dogmatics, besides disciplinary rules and allied matters, predictably had permeated through—of course by then in a developed form—in some of the available earlier *āgamas*, particularly their later chapters, and the younger *āgamas*, of the Śaka and Kuṣāṇa periods, as well as the āgamic works, all of the Northern tradition of Arhat Vardhamāna's Church. To a fair degree, this applies also to the much younger surrogate canon of the Southern tradition. As for the *Niryuktis*, these largely are composed in the Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit, are cast in the Āryā meter, and adopt the *nikṣepa* method of examination in determining the word's meaning intended in the given context. The German Jainologists ascribe these to c. 80 A. D. Muni Puṇyavijaya, however, regarded them still younger in date, composed as they must have been soon after the Valabhī Synod II (A. D. 503/516), and hence this date could be *circa* A. D. 525. Afterwards, however, he changed his view and ascribed them to the early centuries of the Common Era. However, I seem to think that his earlier determination is valid. The Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit does not appear even in the Sātavāhana inscriptions before c. 200 A. D. and the first available work in Mahārāṣṭrī, the *Taraṅgavaikāhā* of Pādalīpta sūri I also dates around A. D. 200-225. The *Niryuktis* do contain some older, but largely relatively later material.
2. Literarily 'omniscient by virtue of the complete knowledge of the sacred scripture.'
3. Since the Yāpanīya sect (mainly located in Karanataka) recognized the *āgamas* including the '*Kalpa* (*Bṛhad-Kalpasūtra*)' and the '*Vyavahāra*,' both of which the Śvetāmbara sect attributes to Bhadrabāhu, it is likely that, that sect, too, attributed these to Bhadrabāhu. (This, of course, is my feeling. There is, at the moment, no direct evidence to that effect.)

These two different dates are given in some manuscripts of the *Paryuṣaṇākalpa* at the end of the "Jinacaritra" (which is the second of the three sections of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*.) In some, the date given is V.N. 980; in a few others, according to another tradition, V.N. 993. The first date apparently originates as per the Mathurā Synod's tradition; the other plausibly was due to the Valabhī Synod I tradition as earlier was suggested and, as I recall, by Muni Kalyāṇavijaya in one of his works. (It was, perhaps, his *Vīranīrvāṇa Saṁvat aur Jaina*

*Kālaganaṇā*, Hindi. At the moment it is not handy.) For the date of the *nirvāṇa* of Jina Mahāvīra, I have followed Jacobi's determination, namely B.C. 477. According to the tradition recorded in Dharmasāgara's autocommentary on his *Paṭṭāvalī* (late 16th-early 17th cent.), the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa* was first recited in the assembly of Dhruvasena (I) of the Maitraka dynasty at Ānandapura (Vaḍanagar) in north Gujarat. Hence Jacobi's determination appears valid; for the Maitraka prince named Dhruvasena (I) did flourish in early sixth century A.D. Seemingly, Dharmasāgara had before him some old traditional record. For no one before him mentions the name of this king, which was known only through the copper plate charters of the Maitraka donor rulers that were discovered, deciphered, and studied in the last century.

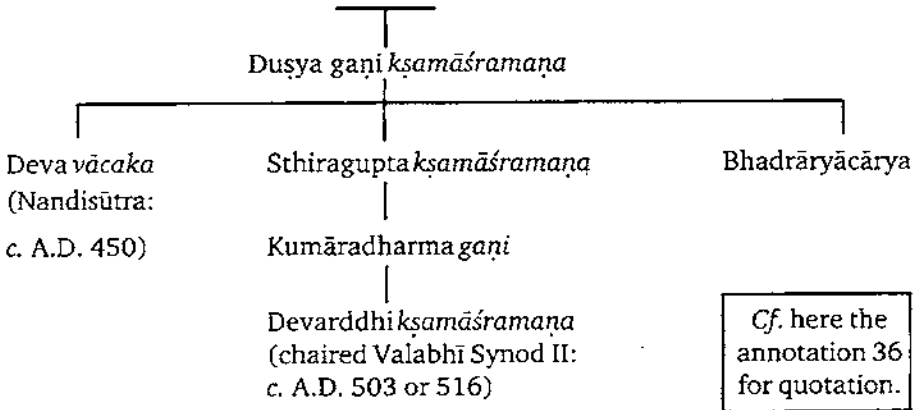
5. These dates are suggested here on the basis of a reasonable guess, based on computations and synchronisms, the details regarding which I shall not dwell upon here. For these are being discussed in a separate paper, "*The Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa sthavi-rāvalī—eka Adhyayana*" (Gujarātī), still incomplete, to be published in future.
6. Ārya Phalgumitra apparently was contemporary of Ārya Rakṣita, the latter pontiff reported in later literature as the one who classified the *śruta*/canon into four *anuyoga*-categories, namely the *Dharmakathānuyoga*, the *Caraṇakaraṇānuyoga*, the *Gaṇitānuyoga*, and the *Dravyānuyoga*. Since the term *anuyoga* is synonymous also with *vācanā* or redaction, a hitherto unreported synod may be suspected in this notice. It may also be added that the available *āgamas* are not categorically arranged into four *anuyogas* or classes stipulated in the above-noted later tradition. Hence, the term *anuyoga*, in the above-noted context, may be understood more accurately as *vācanā* rather than categories of canonical literature. Phalgumitra, for certain, figures in the main line of succession and Rakṣita, who otherwise may have played a key rôle at the Synod, apparently had belonged to a collateral branch (*avāntara śākhā*) : Hence the name of Ārya Rakṣita (who otherwise was of considerable eminence) does not, but his much less famous contemporary Ārya Phalgumitra's does figure at the point where the Third Phase of the *Sthavīrāvalī* terminates. Seemingly, each one of the *Sthavīrāvalī*'s five Phases ended soon after a redaction of the *āgamas* took place. Thus, each time it had to be extended after the happening of a redaction. If a redaction of the *āgamas* did happen in Phalgumitra's time, the place where the elders met for that purpose is not recorded in the available literature. (No redaction had been undertaken after the Valabhī Synod II in c. A.D. 503/516.)

7. Medieval sources specify this date : The computed date for Ārya Skandila / Śaṇḍila also accords with this date : the date thus seems probable. I reserve detailed discussion on this date for a future paper.
8. For this Phase 5, in fact for the whole of the *Sthavirāvalī*, I have consulted the *Paṭṭāvali-samuccaya*, Ed. Muni Darśanavijaya, Śrī Cāritra-Smāraka-granthmālā, Viramagām 1933, pp.1-11.
9. These two different dates are recorded, as specified in annotation 4, at the end of the "Jinacaritra" section in some later manuscripts of the *Paryuṣaṇākalpa*. Muni Puṇyavijaya's edition does not give the second or alternative date, namely V.N.993/A.D. 516 : (Cf. his *Kalpasūtra*, Ahmedabad 1952, pp. 59-60, *sūtra* 200). Valabhī Synod II was convoked for collating and reconciling the differences and divergencies in the versions fixed at the Mathurā Synod (c. A.D. 363) chaired by Ārya Skandila (or Śaṇḍila) and the contemporaneous Valabhī Synod I presided over by Ārya Nāgārjuna of the Nāgendra-śākhā. This fact is reported in the *Kahāvalī* of Bhadreśvara sūri (c. late 10th century A.D. : unpublished) and, if I correctly remember, in one of the commentaries by Malayagiri (c. 3rd quarter of the 12th cent. A.D.).
10. As I recall, the noted epigrapher and historian H. P. Shastri favours Gupta as the more probable sovereign power under which the Maitrakas ruled before they became independent rulers.
11. Cf. the *Thāṇaṁgasuttamī* and *Samavāyāṁgasuttamī*, Ed. Muni Jambūvijaya, Jaina-Āgama-Series No.3, Bombay 1985, p. 450.
12. Ārya Śyāma is credited in the two seventh century *cūrṇi* commentaries on the *Brhatkalpasūtra* to have composed the *Prathamānuyoga* (embodying lives of the 24 *tīrthaṅkaras*), the *Gaṇḍikānuyoga* (treating the lives of the *Cakravartis*, *Vāsudevas*, and some other early great men), the *Lokānuyoga* (dealing, as its title suggests, with cosmology/cosmography), and some *Samgrahaṇīs* or collections of topical verses, some of which may have been inserted in the corpus of the *āgamas* of the Śaka and Kusāṇa periods and some of them apparently were utilized in the formulation of the texts of some of the *Prakīrṇaka* āgamic works. All of the works of Ārya Śyāma, however, are lost, but were available for consultation to the compiler of the *Samavāyāṅga-sūtra* (c. A. D. 353/363). The *cūrṇis* interpret the heading 'Lokānuyoga' in a way different from mine. However, as the title suggests, it must pertain to cosmology/cosmography. (For details and discussion on Ārya Śyāma and his contributions, see Puṇyavijaya's article, "Prathamānuyogaśāstra ane Tenā Praṇetā Sthavira Ārya Kālaka," (Gujarātī),

*Jñānāñjali*, Vaḍodarā 1960, pp. 122-129. (This article originally was published in *Ācārya Śrī Vijayavaallabhasūri Smāraka Grantha*, Bombay 1956, pp. 49-56.

13. As I elsewhere have shown, the date of Deva vācaka is c. mid fifth century A.D. and not c. A. D. 400 : (Cf. “Bhadrāryācārya ane Dattilācārya” Gujarātī, *Svādhyāya*, Vol.14, Vaḍodarā V.S.2037/A. D. 1981. This article has been incorporated in the author’s *Nirgrantha Aitihāsika Lekha-Samuccaya*, pt. 1, Ahmedabad 2002, pp. 103-113.)

The hagiological table of Deva vācaka and of Devarddhi gaṇi is as follows :



14. See the “Uttarādhyayana niryukti,” the *Niryukti-saṅgraha*, (comp.) Vijayajinendra sūri, Śrī Harṣapuspāmṛta Jaina Granthamālā, Vol.189, Lakhabawal (Lakhābābal) 1989, 2.91, p. 373.
15. Muni Kalyāṇavijaya and, following his view, Pt. Malvaniya dated this work to the fifth century of Vikrama Era (c. A.D. 345-445). (See Kalyāṇavijaya, *Vīra nirvāṇa Saṁvat aur Jaina Kālagāṇanā*, (Hindi), Jalor S.1987/A.D. 1931, p.30, and D. Malvaniya, “Study of Tithhogāliya,” *Bhāratiya Purātattva (Muni Jinavijaya Felicitation Volume)*, Jaipur 1971, pp.129-138.) I would, on the basis of style and content, prefer the date c. A.D. 550 for this work: It must be available to the author of the *Vyavahāra-bhāṣya* (c. late 6th cent.) which, as noted by Malvaniya, mentions this text : ( Malvaniya, p.137). It is, however, not noted in the list of the *Prakīrṇaka* works in the *Nandisūtra* (c. A.D. 450). This significant omission almost confirms the date I here have suggested.
16. It apparently is the latest among the earliest āgamic *bhāṣyas*.
17. It is one of the two earliest extant *cūrṇis*, the first being the *Daśavaikālika-cūrṇi* of Agastyasīmha (c. A.D. 575). The time bracket A.D. 600-650 for the *Āvaśyakacūrṇi* was suggested, if I have remembered correctly, by Leumann. I have tested the validity of that date: It certainly is probable.

18. This *cūrṇi*, like that on the *Ācārāṅga* and the one on the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, is younger among that class of āgamic exegetical literature.
19. Haribhadra (active c. A.D. 740-784), as guessed by earlier writers, apparently had begun his literary career by writing *vr̥ttis* in Sanskrit on the āgamas like the *Nandi*, the *Anuyogadvāra*, and the *Āvaśyaka* in c. A. D. 750.
20. The *Kahāvali* of Bhadrēśvara sūri is as yet unpublished. Prof. Harivallabha Bhayani had assigned the task of its editing to Dr. Ramanik Shah. I am grateful to Dr. Shah for giving me the gist of the "*Bhadrabāhu-kathā*" incorporated in that medieval work. As for its date, see my paper, "*Kahāvali-kartṛ Bhadrēśvara sūrinō Samaya*," (Gujarātī), *Sambodhi* Vol.12, Ahmedabad 1982-83. It has been included in the *Nirgrantha Aitiḥāsika Lekha-Samuccaya*, pt.1, Ahmedabad 2002, pp.103-113. (There, the word was 'kartṛ' in the original rubric which here is replaced by 'karttā'.)
21. *Sthavirāvalicarita or Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*, (Ed.) Hermann Jacobi, sec. ed., Calcutta 1932, pp.242-248; and *Śrī Parīṣiṣṭaparva* (Gujarātī), translator Rājaśekhara sūri, Ahmedabad 1994, pp.182-186. The particulars on the content of the *Parīṣiṣṭaparva* will be cited in this article at a relevant point in the discussion.
22. *Bhagavatī Ārādhana*, pt.2. (Ed.) Pt. Kailāścandra Siddhāntaśāstrī, Solapur 1978, p.707. The work earlier has been identified as of the Yapanīya sect by Pt. Nathooram Premi, A. N. Upadhye, and even Pt. Kailashchandra Shastri agreed with this attribution. I forego citing references to their writings since not directly relevant to the present discussion.
23. *Tiloyapaṇṇattī*, pt.1., Jīvarāja Jaina Granthamālā 1, Sholapur V.S. 2000/A.D. 1944, 4. 1476-1482, p.338.
24. *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*, Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā, Vol.27, sec. ed., Ed. Pannaḷal Jaina, Delhi/Varanasi 1972, 1. 60-61, p.7.
25. *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, pt.1, (Eds.) Hiraḷal Jain and A.N. Upadhye, Śrīmanta Seṭha Sitābrāy Lakṣmīcandra Jaina Sāhityoddhāraka Siddhānta Granthamālā 1, Sholapur 1973, pp.66-67; cf. there the *Dhavalā-tīkā*, the portion that concerns with the hagiology of early pontiffs.
26. See B.K. Kharabadi, *Vaḍḍārādhane : A Study*, Karnataka University Research Publications Series : 38, Dharwad 1979. See there "6. The Story of the Sage Bhadrabāhu," pp. 49-56.
27. Its editor Kharabadi ascribes the work to Śivakoṭi and dates it to the tenth century. But Hampa Nagarajaiah has shown, on the basis of a reference in the *Punyāśrava-*

*kathākośa* (c. 11th cent. A.D.) that the author was one Bhrājīṣṇu and because the work uses old Kannada, it may be dated to the ninth century : (Cf. his article, the “Ārāḍhanā Karnāṭa-tīkā,” *Jain Journal*, Vol. XXXIII, No.4, April 1999, pp.166-170.)

28. *Ed. A.N. Upadhye, Singhi Series No. 17, Bambai (Mumbai, Bombay) 1943.*
29. *Ibid., cf. there the Hariṣeṇa's prasasti, pp. 355-356.*
30. *Bhadrabāhu Caritra, Translator (in Hindi), Pt. Udayalālajī Kāśīvvāl, Surat (1911 ?), pp. 317-319.*
31. In view of its importance, the text of this inscription is here fully quoted :

सिद्धम् स्वस्ति ।  
जितम्भगवता श्रीसद्धर्म तीर्थ-विधायिना ।  
वर्द्धमानेन सम्प्राप्त-सिद्ध-सौख्यामृतात्मना ॥१॥  
लोकालोक-द्वयाधारस्वस्तु स्थास्तु चरिष्णु वा ।  
संविदालोक-शक्तिः स्वाव्यश्नुते यस्य केवला ॥२॥  
जगत्यचिन्त्य-माहात्म्य-पूजातिशयमीयुषः ।  
तीर्थकृन्नाम-पुण्यौघ-महार्हन्त्यमुपेयुषः ॥३॥  
तदनु श्री-विशालयम् (लायाम्) जयत्यद्य जगद्धितम् ।  
तस्य शासनमव्याजं प्रवादि-मत-शासनम् ॥४॥

अथ खलु सकल-जगदुदय-करणोदित-निरतिशय-गुणास्पदीभूत-परमजिन-शासन-सरस्समभिर्वाद्धित-भव्यजन-कमल-विकसन-विततिमिर-गुण-किरण-सहस्र-महोति महवीर-सवितरि परिनिर्वृते भगवत्परमर्षि-गौतम-गणधर-साक्षाच्छिष्य लोहार्थ्य-जम्बु-विष्णुदेवापराजित-गोवर्द्धन-भद्रबाहु-विशाख-प्रोष्ठिल-कृत्तिकाय्य-जयनाम सिद्धार्थधृतिषेणबुद्धिलादि-गुरु-परम्परीणककमाभ्यागत-महापुरुषसन्तति-समवद्योतितान्वय-भद्रबाहु-स्वामिना उज्जयन्या-मष्टाङ्ग-महानिमित्त-तत्त्वज्ञेन त्रैकाल्य-दर्शिना निमित्तेन द्वादश-संवत्सर-काल-वैषम्यमुपलभ्य कथिते सर्वस्सङ्घ उत्तरपथाहक्षिणापथमस्थितः कमेणैव जनपदमनेक-ग्राम-शत-सङ्ख्यं मुदित-जन-धन-कनक-सस्य-गो-महिषा-जावि-कुल-समाकीर्णम्प्राप्तवान् अतः आचार्यः प्रभाचन्द्रो नामावनितल-ललाम-भूतेऽथास्मिन्कटवप्र-नामकोपलक्षिते विविध-तरुवर-कुसुम-दलावलि-विरचना-शबल-विपुल सजल-जलद-निवह-नीलोपल-तले वराह-द्वीपि-व्याघ्रर्क्ष-तक्षु-व्याल-मृगकुलोपचितोपत्यक-कन्दरदरी-महागुहा-गहनाभोगवति समुत्तुङ्ग-शृङ्गे सिखरिणि जीवित शेषमल्पतर-कालमवबुध्यात्मनः सुचरित-तपस्समाधिमाराधयितुमापृच्छ निरवसेषेण सङ्घं विसृज्य शिष्येणैकेन पृथुलतरस्तीर्ण-तलासु शिलासु शीतलासु स्वदेहं संन्यस्याराधितवान् कमेण सप्त-शतमृषीणामाराधितमिति जयतु जिन-शासनमिति ।

(For the source, see Hirālāl Jaina, *Jain-Śīlālekha-saṅgrahaḥ*, pt. 1. Maṇikyacandra-Digambara-Jaina-Granthamālā, vol. 28, Bombay (1928 ?), 1-2.

32. For the details, see the above-cited work and the “Introduction” by the compiler.

33. See the "Introduction," *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol.II, Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore, Mysore 1973, pp.ixxiv-ixxvi.
34. These have been completely ignored by all of the writers on Bhadrabāhu who exclusively used southern sources. (The Digambara writers, understandably, recognize only Digambara-mānya sources.)
35. Some three decades ago, U.P. Shah, in the course of a personal discussion, had conveyed to me his thinking about interpreting this word. I here have followed it.
36. The concerned verse is as follows :

जसभद् तुंगिय वंदे संभूयं चैव माठरं ।  
 भद्रबाहुं य पाइण्णं शुलभदं च गोयमं ।  
 —नन्दीसूत्र १.६.२४.

(Ed. Puṇyavijaya muni, *Jaina-Āgama-Granthamālā*, Vol. 1, Mumbai [Bombay] 1968, p. 6). Also see the *Tīrthāvakālika-prakirṇaka*.

37. After all, *kharvaṭa* means a relatively smaller settlement. And when it is prefixed by the term 'Dāsī,' it was an humble place, indeed of lesser consequence.
38. *Vaḍḍa Ārādhane*, pp. 49-50.
39. *Brhadkathakośa*, p. 317.
40. The great historian R.C. Majumdar, apparently on the basis of the *sākhā* names of the Godāsa-gaṇa, had reached the conclusion that Bhadrabāhu hailed from Bengal. As it happened, his relevant published works currently are not handy.
41. *Tāmraliptikā*, *Koṭivarṣiyā*, and *Puṇḍravardhanikā* emanate from *Tāmralipti*, *Koṭivarṣa*, and *Puṇḍravardhana*, as earlier inferred here; and all of these towns are located in Bengal under their modern derivative appellations.
42. Recent researches tend to bring down the date of Gautama Buddha by about a century, toward c. B.C. 400-383, with a few years plus or minus. If this date finally holds, then Arhat Vardhamāna's date must also slide down and stabilize at c. B.C. 415-400 since, according to the Pāli sources, he predeceased Buddha. This date does not seem incompatible with the computable time-brackets for the successors of Vardhamāna. The traditionally held B.C. 527 as the date of Vardhamāna's *nirvāṇa*, of course, is totally unrealistic on several counts, just as it upsets several firmly established historical dates, synchronisms, and time-brackets, an issue that cannot be dealt with in this article.
43. While citing the actual past instances of friars who had suffered from one or the other type of the 22 *pariṣahaṣ* or visiting sufferings noted in the *āgamas*, for

the visitation of the *śīta-parīṣaha* or suffering due to severe cold, it cites this episode as a typical instance. See the *Uttarādhyayana-niryukti* 2. 91 inside the *Niryuktisaṅgraha*, p. 373.

44. *Paiṇṇayasuttāṃ* pt. 1, Ed. Muni Puṇyavijaya, Jaina-Āgama-Granthamālā Vol. 17, (Pt. 1), Bombay 1984, p. 184.
45. See the *Uttarādhyayana-cūṛṇi*, Rishabhadeo Kesharimal, Ratlam 1933, pp. 56-57.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Tiloyapaṇṇatī*, pt. 1, 4. 1476-1482. (Eds. A. N. Upadhye and Hiralal Jain, Jivaraj Jaina Granthamālā No. 1, Sholapur 1943, p. 338.
48. Quoted here in the annotation 31 along with the particulars on its published source.
49. Ed. Pt. Darbarical Kothiya, Māṇikya-candra-Jaina-Granthamālā, Vol. 32, pt. 1, Bombay 1930, p. 6, 1, 60-62.
50. See the *Dhavalā tīkā* in the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, 1-1-1, Eds. Pt. Foolchandra and Pt. Hiralal, Amaravati 1939, pp. 65-66.
51. The nomens such as Nandi, Nandimitra *et cetera* were to come into vogue in times posterior to Mauryan in Indian cultural history.
52. However, I intend to throw a small suggestion in the concluding remarks of the paper.
53. *Brhatkāhakośa*, p. 318.
54. वंदामि भद्रबाहुं पाईणं चरिम सयलसुयनाणि ।  
सुतस्स कागमिसि दसासु कप्पे य ववहारे ॥  
—दशाश्रुतस्कंधनिर्युक्ति १.१. ,
55. Already noted in the relevant foregoing pages.
56. However, Schubring has pointed out the anomalous situation in the *Doctrine of the Jaina*, sec. ed. 2000, Delhi, pp. 109-112.
57. This statement is based on the information I got from late Pt. Malvaniya. I have yet to verify it with the Pāli texts.
58. This is rather strange, because the mendicants, in that early age, preferred the nude state.
59. See particularly the last portion of the *Kalpa*, namely the sixth *uddeśa*, its end part and its commentaries. For the *Kalpa* and the *Vyavahāra*, I have used Muni Kanhayālāl's edition, Rajkot 1969.

60. As inferred from a few Mathurā inscriptions.
61. The precise date will depend on the date of beginning of the Kuṣāṇa Era.
62. That surmise seems reasonable in the present state of available evidence.
63. See the *Vyavahāra-sūtra*, eighth *uddeśa*.
64. The study of the oldest portions of the *Ācārāṅga* Book I leads one to such a conclusion.
65. The tradition is recorded in the pre-medieval Śvetāmbara literature.
66. See my article "On the Implication of the Nāgnya Parīṣaha in the Tattvārthādhigama sūtra," *Jainism and Prakrit in Ancient and Medieval India*, Ed. N. N. Bhattacharya, Delhi 1994, pp. 413-419.
67. See the *Kalpa*, third *Uddeśa*.
68. See the *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, modelled upon the severe ascetical style of Arhat Vardhamāna himself as narrated in the *Uvadhāna sūtra* of *Ācārāṅga* I.
69. *Kalpa*, second *Uddeśa*.
70. *Ibid*.
71. A few *sūtras* taken from such works later were incorporated in the *Sthānāṅga*.
72. Such as possibly the lost *Kalpākalpa*.
73. These fall within the pre-Mauryan to the Kuṣāṇa times.
74. See the details of content and style of each chapter and the strata within them.
75. This seems plausible in view of the presence of uncomformities and heterogeneity noticeable in the character of the content.
76. Quotations from the version of the *Kalpa* possessed by the Yāpanīya sect figuring in Aparāṇita sūri's commentary (c. late 8th cent. A. D.) on the *Ārādhanā* of Śivārya would lead to such an inference. The Boṭika-Kṣapanaka sect was founded by the schismic Ārya Śivabhūti who separated from the main stream Nirgrantha Church some date in the second century A. D. The Yāpanīya sect apparently was the off-shoot of the Boṭika settled in northern Karnataka.
77. The discussion needs a very detailed analysis of the texts in question, which, of course, cannot be attempted in this paper.
78. Same remarks hold here, too, as they do in the context of the annotation 77.
79. This is the view largely held by the pundits of the Digambara sect and by those who follow them.

80. बारासअंगवियाणं चउदसपुव्वंगविउलवित्परणं ।  
सुयणाणि भद्वाहु गमियगुरुभयवओ जयओ ॥

—बोधपाहुउ ६.२.

(षट्प्राभृतादिसंग्रहः Ed. Pt. Pannalal Soni, Māṇikya-candra-Digambara-Jaina-Granthamālā, Vol. 17, Bombay, V. S. 1977 [A. D. 1927], p. 127.)

81. Unfortunately, the original article by A. M. Ghatage is not handy. If my memory does not play me false, it had appeared in one of the issues of the *Jaina Gazette*.  
82. Hence some scholars have concluded that he was a later and hence different Bhadrabāhu about whose date the opinions widely differed.  
83. See here the entire text of the inscription cited under annotation 31.  
84. However, we must remember that, at least three temples were built on that hill top to the north of this earliest inscription engraved on the surface of the ground-rock there. Could these have covered and hence concealed beneath them some still earlier inscriptions ?  
85. At least I so far have not come across the examples of the personal names ending with 'candra' in the earlier context.

86. सत्रेः कृति प्रभाचन्द्रस्य

—जैनेन्द्रशब्दशाला ४-३-१८०

For discussion, see Nathooram Premi, *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa* (Hindi), Saṁsodhitasāhityamālā, Vol. 1., Bambai (Mumbai, Bombay) 1956, p. 74.

87. For elucidation, see Premi, "Virasena, Jinasena aur Guṇabhadra," *Jaina Sāhitya*, p. 137

88. Provided, of course, the belief/tradition recorded there is sufficiently accurate.

89. मउडधरेसुं चरिमो जिणदिक्ख धरदि चंदगुत्तो य ।  
तत्तो मउडधरा दु प्यवज्जं णेव गण्हंति ॥

—निलोयपण्णत्ती ४-१४८१

90. I have based this passage on the information noted in the Introduction by Pt. Vijayamurti—his compilation earlier referred to here—as also the Introduction by the editors of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. I, (sec. ed.), Mysore, and the observations thereof.  
91. I have based this passage also on the information noted in the Introduction by Pt. Vijayamurti in the Introduction by the editors of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. I, Mysore and the observations thereof.  
92. *Bhagaveti Ārāḍhanā*, p. 707.

93. For particulars on the source, see here annotations 26 and 27.
94. *Vaḍḍa-Ārādhane*, p. 55.
95. It also comes into conflict with the traditions preserved in the sixth century and subsequent works of the Śvetāmbara Church.
96. *Bṛhadkathakośa*, pp. 316-318.
97. According to the *Sthavirāvalī* of the *Paryuṣaṇā-kalpa*, he was the disciple of Ārya Sambutavijaya. From his medieval biographical sources, he is known to be the son of Sagadāla (Śakaṭāra), minister of Nanda, and had seven sisters. Apparently, he must be the youngest child of Śakaṭāra and must be in his prime of life when sent to Bhadrabāhu by the Saṅgha. His future disciple, Ārya Suhasti, was to be the preceptor of Maurya Samprati, grandson of Aśoka, arguably in the pontiff's advanced age.
98. This account is given, among the older sources, in the *Tīrthāvakālika* and the *Kahāvali*.
99. See the *Prasāmaratiprakaraṇa*, Ed. Pt. Raj Kumar, Śrīmad-Rājacandra-Jaina-Śāstramālā, Agas V. S. 2044/A. D. 1988, pp. 64, 65.
100. He is a medieval author, a namesake of the famous Haribhadra sūri of the eighth century.
101. *Prasāmarati*, p. 65. I suspect that the "Bhadrabāhu-gaṇḍikā" (probably a chapter of the lost *Gaṇḍikānuyoga* of Ārya Śyāma, c. 1st cent. B. C. – A. D.) may have contained this myth and this may have been the source of the tradition before Umāsvāti.
102. *ŚrīmadĀvaśyakasūtram* (Uttarabhāgaḥ), Ratlam 1929, p. 187.
103. According to the *cūrṇi*, the episode of the visit of the sisters of Sthūlabhadra took place at the *devakulikā* when Bhadrabāhu and he were camping at, or close by, Pāṭaliputra.
104. For particulars, see annotation 21..
105. For details, see the *Sthavirāvali*.
106. This is the view of the Indian historians, a few of whom, as I recall, also suggested B. C. 325 for that event. The Greek sources state it to be B. C. 312.
107. *Parīśiṣṭaparva*, translation, p. 176.
108. The *Parīśiṣṭaparva* of Hemacanda (between c. A. D. 1160-1170) so states.
109. Further confusion is added by the interpreters of the Śravaṇabelgoḷa inscription of c. A. D. 600.

110. Some scholars think that it was the Tarai area of Nepāla.
111. In fact more number of Bhadrabāhu-s are implied : 1) The first, of the Mauryan one, contemporary of Candragupta; 2) The second of the period of Maurya Samprati; 3) The third, a contemporary of the Digambara Guptigupta who was Candragupta; 4) The fourth a contemporary of Varāhamihira who was the author of the Niryuktis; and the fifth was a Śvetāmbara monk who composed the *Jina-sahasranāma-stotra*. See, however, Schubring's observation based on Leumann's statement : 'IEUMANN, however, points out that, in this list that already existed in the eighth century, "the second Bh. is but a chronistic repetition..." ' (*The Doctrine.*, p. 53.)
112. See R. Champakalakshmi, "9 South India," *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol. 1, (Ed. A. Ghosh), Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, New Delhi 1974, pp. 92-103.
113. This, to me, seems a plausibility. Schubring, on a related point, thus notes: "The inner reasons are explained by IEUMANN, Übersicht p. 26f." (*The Doctrine.*, p. 47, *infra.*) What these 'inner reasons' in their perception were, cannot be guessed untill we have the translation in English of the Leumann's famous and oft-referred to work.
114. The recent discovery of the remains of a Jaina stūpa at Vaddamanu founded c. B. C. the first century. (Cf. T. V. G. Shastri *et al*, *Vaddamanu Excavations* (1981-85), Birla Archaeological and Cultural Institute, Hyderabad, Hyderabad 1992.
115. Implicitly from Bengal and Orissa. It is easier to enter Āndhradeśa by land route; and to the Tamil country, by sea route, particularly to the Paṇḍyan country via some port such as Nāgapattinam.
116. These date from c. A. D. 300 in Gaṅgavāḍi and from c. A. D. 464 or so in Kadambavāḍi. (I here forgo stating the related details.)

