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ASPECTS OF
BRAHMANICAL INFLUENCE
ON
THE JAINA MYTHOLOGY

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ON
THE JAINA MYTHOLOGY

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Published by :

S N MISHRA

BHARAT BHARATI BHANDAR

165-D, Kamla Nagar,

Delhi-110007 (INDIA)

Printed in India . 1978

Price 80/-

Printed by :

Amar Printing Press (Sham Printing Agency),
8/25 (Double Storey) Vijay Nagar,
Delhi-110009

FOREWORD

I feel immense pleasure in contributing this Foreword to Dr. Shaktidhar Jhā's interesting work which presents a comparative study of the Brāhmanical epic-Purāṇic tradition and the Jaina mythology, analysing in particular the adaptability of popular Jainism to the Brāhmanical epic-Purāṇic concepts of social and cultural values. We have here for the first time a vivid account of the Jaina Purāṇas and *Caritas* with reference to the epics—the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*—showing how these works have influenced the Jaina Purāṇa literature both in form and matter. It further discusses the Brāhmanical definition of Purāṇa and its applicability to the Jaina Purāṇic lore, the Śvetāmbara and Digambara accounts of *Manvantaras* and their agreement with the Brāhmanical description of the Ages of different Manus, a comparative survey of the Brāhmanical and Jaina accounts of the growth and developments of human society as well as the Jaina versions of the dynastic lists and genealogical accounts comparing them with the Brāhmanical pretentation of dynasties and genealogies.

The beauty of this work lies in its searching analysis and critical approach to the various problems of early Indian history and culture. Dr. Jha has presented a detailed scientific analysis of the Ikṣvāku race and its various branches as represented in the Brāhmanical and Jaina sources, and of the Hari dynasty which is nothing but a Jinist reproduction of the Brāhmanical Yaduvamśa. One may or may not agree with his assessment of the Jaina view of the institution of class and order, the aims of human existence and the accounts of different sacraments as well as some ethical and philosophical concepts, but there is no doubt that Dr. Jha has presented a pene-

trating historical analysis of the indebtedness of Purāṇic Jainism to the Brāhmaṇical approach to life in its multiple aspects. Notwithstanding the limitations of such approach it cannot be denied that the present study is the first of its kind in the field of indology for which the author deserves appreciation from scholars here and abroad.

Magadh University,
Bodh Gaya

Upendra Thakur

PREFACE

The presentation of a comparative picture of the Brāhmanical epic-purāṇic tradition and the Jaina mythology forms the subject-matter of the present work. Relying mainly on the original sources, I have tried to throw light on the adaptability of popular Jainism to the Brāhmanical epic-purāṇic concepts of social, religious, ethical and cultural values. The study was first taken up in a casual way. During my studentship at the University of Calcutta, I had an opportunity to study some of the works of both the traditions. As I read and studied the texts, I found several cases of exact parallelism in the ideas and expressions finding currency in the texts concerned. Those points of similarity between the works of both the traditions impelled me to pursue my study in a planned and scientific way. This is how I proceeded with the study of the present topic, the results of which have been presented in the following pages.

But, while undertaking the work, I did little foresee the difficulties which a researcher of this type of work has to face. One is often exposed to the error of omissions and commissions in proper investigation of the basic materials for such studies. For, such an undertaking requires both intensive and extensive exploration of the source-materials in an objective way. And, it needs no mention that the texts of the Brāhmanical tradition are numerous and gigantic and so indeed are the Jaina Purāṇic works, written in different periods in three different languages of the land. Naturally, I cannot claim my access to all sources of information. However, quite conscious of my limita-

tions I have endeavoured to explore all important sources and have tried to present the matter in its true perspective as far as possible

The work consists of nine chapters besides an introduction which deals with different aspects of Brāhmanical contribution to the growth and development of the Jaina Purānic lore. The results of the investigation have been recorded in the proper contexts in every chapter. Hence, no elaborate conclusion has been given in the sequel.

The first chapter presents a general survey of the Jaina *purānas* and *Caritas* with reference to their undebtedness to the great epics—the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*. The second chapter studies the Brāhmanical definition of *Purāna*, examines the Jaina definition and after a comparative appraisal shows how close the Jaina definition is to the Brāhmanical one. The third chapter presents the Jaina accounts of the *Manvantaras*, critically examines the *Śvetāmbara* and the *Digambara* versions in the context of the Brāhmanical description of the *Manvantara* ages and refers to points of similarity subsisting between the Brāhmanical and the Jaina accounts of the growth and development of human society. The fourth chapter discusses different Jaina versions of the dynastic lists and genealogical accounts and compares them with the Brāhmanical presentation of the same. The fifth chapter dwells on the Jaina representation of the origin of the *Ikṣvāku* race and its branches and discusses in detail the points of agreement and disagreement between different Jaina versions on the one hand and between them and the *Brāhmanical* accounts on the other. The sixth chapter contains the results of the critical examination of the Jaina accounts of the origin and pedigree of the *Harī* dynasty—the Jaina counterpart of the Brāhmanical *Yadu-Vamśa*—a powerful branch of the *Aila* race. The Seventh chapter takes stock of the sects of the Jaina *Purānakāras* with special reference to the nomenclature of their narrative works. Besides that, it also throws light on the extent of influence of the myths and legends of Brāhmanical origin on the allusive section of the Jaina narratives as evidenced by their references to some of the less known mythic figures and their associations. The

eighth chapter presents a comparative study of the Jaina and the Brāhmanical view of the institution of class and order as well as the aims of human existence. The ninth chapter is devoted to the study of various sacraments prescribed for the *Dvijas*, and takes a brief notice of some of the ethical and philosophical concepts

The work, in a slightly revised form, is principally the thesis approved by Patna University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. I am grateful to the authorities of the University for granting me special facilities for the preparation and timely submission of the thesis

I am exceedingly grateful to my guide late Dr Bechan Jha M.A., D.Litt. who kindly supervised the work

I express my gratefulness to late Dr P.L. Vaidya, former Director of Mithila Research Institute, Darbhanga, late Dr Hiralal Jain, Ex-Director of Prakrit Institute, Vaishali, Dr Siddheshwar Bhattacharya, *Mayūrabhañja* Professor and Head of Sanskrit and Pali Department, B.H.U. Varanasi and Dr. Nathmal Tatia, Ex-Director of Prakrit Institute, Vaishali for their valuable suggestions and encouraging help. Further, I express my gratitude to all those scholars whose studies have served as stepping stones for my study.

My sincere thanks are also due to Shri S.N. Singh M.A., former, Principal of G.D. College, Begusarai and Prof Radha Krishna Chaudhary, Reader, Post-Graduate Department of History, Bhagalpur University for their encouragement.

I am highly indebted to Dr Upendra Thakur, Prof and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian and Asian studies, Magadh University, who not only took keen interest in my work but also kindly contributed a Foreword to this book

I am also indebted to my colleague Prof Hrishikesh Jha, Lecturer in Sanskrit, G.D. College, Begusarai and my daughter Sushri Bibha for their assistance in the compilation of the Index. Finally, I offer my sincere thanks to Shri S.N. Mishra, Proprietor of Bharata Bharati Bhandar, Delhi and his staff for undertaking the work for publication and seeing it through the press expeditiously.

Owing to odd circumstances, I could not see the final proofs. Consequently a number of misprints have crept in. I am sorry for this and request the scholars to consult the corrigenda. I am also conscious of some other lapses and shortcomings for which I crave indulgence of the reader.

SHAKTIDHAR JHA

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Sept , 1978.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
AGS	Āśvalāyana-Grhya-sūtra
Agnip	Agnipurāna
AIHT	Ancient Indian Historical Tradition
AIU	The Age of the Imperial Unity
AP	Ādipurāna of Jinasena, also referred to as MP (Mahāpurāna).
BD	Bṛhaddevatā
Bd	'Brahmāndapurāna
Bg	Bhagavadgītā
Bhaga	Bhāgavatapurāna
Br	Brahmapurāna
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies
Cha Upa	Chandogya Upanisad
CA	The classical Age
CMC	Cauppannamahāpurīṣacariya of Śīlāṅka
Garuḍa	Garudapurāna
HIL	A History of Indian Literature
HSL	History of Sanskrit Literature
HPL	History of Prakrit Literature
Hv	Harivaṁśa
IVPC	Introduction to Vimalasūri's Paumacariya
JHV	Harivaṁśapurāna of Jinasena
JOI	Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda
Kāda	Kādambari
Kumāra	Kumārasambhava
Kūrmap	Kūrmapurāna
LAI	Life in Ancient India
Lūṅgap	Lūṅgapurāna
Manu	Manusmṛti

Mārkap	Mārkandeyapurāna
Mat	Matsyapurāna
MBh	Mahābhārata
Megha	Meghadūta
MP	Mahāpurāna of Jinasena
Naya	Nāyādhammakahāo
Niraya	Nirayāvaliyao
NLMAE	New Light on the Most Ancient East
Pad p	Padmapurāna
Pc	Pāṇḍavacarita of Devaprabhasūri
PHAI	Political History of Ancient India
PMP	Mahāpurānu of Puspadanta
PP	Pāṇḍavapurāna of Śubhacandra, also referred to as SPP
Raghu	Raghuvaṃśa
Rāmā	(Vālmīkiya) Rāmāyana
RPC	Padmacarita of Ravisena
Rv	Rgveda
ŚB	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
Śīśv.	Śīśupālavadha of Māgha
SKD	Śabdakalpadruma
SMFV	Dr Satkarī Mookerjee Felicitation Volume
SPC	Paumacariu of Svayambhudeva
SPP	Pāṇḍavapurāna of Śubhacandra
SSS	Śāṅkhāyana-Śrauta-sūtra
TAI	Tribes in Ancient India
TSPC	Trisastīśalākāpurusacarita of Hemacandra
UP	Uttarapurāna of Guṇabhadra
Uttara	Uttarādhyayanasūtra
Vā(yup)	Vāyupurāna
Varāhap	Varāhapurāna
VH	Vasudeva-hindī of Saṅghadāsa
Vis(p.)	Viśnupurāna
VPC	Paumacariya of Vimalasūri
Yājña	Yājñavalkya-smṛti
YIC	Yāśastīlaka and Indian Culture

SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

VOWELS

a	अ	e	ए, ऐ
ā	आ, ॠ	ai	ऐ, ॡ
i	इ, ॢ	o	ओ, ॣ
ī	ई, ॣ	au	औ, ।
u	उ, ॥		
ū	ऊ, ॥		
r̥	ऋ, ॠ		
r̄	ॠ, ॡ	m	अ, - (Anusvāra)
l̄	लृ	h	अ, (Visarga)

CONSONANTS

k	क	dh	घ
kh	ख	n	न
g	ग	p	प
gh	घ	ph	फ
ṇ	ङ	b	ब
c	च	bh	भ
ch	छ	m	म
j	ज	y	य
jh	झ	r	र (repha)
ñ	ञ	l	ल
ṭ	ट	v, w	व
ṭh	ठ	ś	श
d	ड	s	स
dh	ढ	s	स्
n	ण	h	ह
t	त	ks	क्ष
th	थ	tr	त्र
d	द	jñ	ज्ञ

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Foreword	v
Preface	vii-x
Abbreviations	xi-xii
Scheme of Transliteration	xiii
<i>INTRODUCTION</i>	
i. General Introductory Remarks	
ii. Sources	1-13
<i>CHAPTER I</i>	
The Epics and the Jaina Purānas—The Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata—their contribution to the Jaina works in respect of their form and matter	14-43
<i>CHAPTER II</i>	
Brahmanical definition of the Purāna and its applicability to the Jaina Purānas—analysis of the Jaina definition	44-61
<i>CHAPTER III</i>	
The Manus and their periods—the Śvetāmbara and Digambara versions in the light of the Brahmanical Manvantara accounts	62-87
<i>CHAPTER IV</i>	
The different Jaina versions of the dynastic lists and genealogical accounts—their comparison with the Brahmanical versions of the same	88-117
<i>CHAPTER V</i>	
The Ikṣvāku race and its various branches—the points of agreement and disagreement between the different Jaina versions—their comparative appraisal in the light of the Brahmanical sources	118-152
<i>CHAPTER VI</i>	
The Hari dynasty—examination of different Jaina versions	153-184

CHAPTER VII

Sects of the Jaina Purānakāras, Caritas and Purānas Extent of the Brahmanical influence on them	185-203
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CHAPTER VIII

The Institution of Class and Order—the aims of human existence—their bearing on the classi- fication of mankind	204-234
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CHAPTER IX

The Purānas on Sacramental, Ethical and Philosophical Planes	235-258
Retrospect	259
Bibliography	261-268
Index	269-292
Corrigenda	293-296

INTRODUCTION

I GENERAL INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The following study aims at an objective survey of the two seemingly different currents of ancient Indian traditions. Quite conscious of the shortcomings of subjective approach to such a study, we have endeavoured to avoid it as far as practicable and have tried to present the results of our investigation in an unbiased way. With this end in view we have also made attempts to examine each relevant *Purāṇic* account both individually and collectively and after proper collation of different statements, have set forth the results of such study in the following pages

It is by no means easy to decipher all cases of borrowing by the section which has been careful in concealing its indebtedness to its creditor, and has always been at pains to display the originality and antiquity of the tradition which it stands for. Under such a circumstance, whatever is adopted from another tradition, is amended, altered and recast beyond recognition. The same process of borrowing and transformation seems to have operated with regard to the Jaina *Purāṇas* which present the best illustration of the phenomenon just mentioned. Nevertheless, the works under investigation have some incontrovertible evidences to show that these have very liberally drawn upon the *Brāhmanical* epic-*Purāṇic* tradition as well as the *Brhatkathā* of *Guṇādhyā* for a complex of materials. In fact, the two national epics¹ together with the early *Brāh-*

1. Recent researches have proved that even the earliest extant Jaina version of the *Rāma*-story as given by *Vimalasūri* and later adopted by his successors is in fact a modified representation of *Vālmiki's Rāmāyana*, V M Kulkarni, "The Origin and Development of the *Rāma*-story in Jaina Literature", *JOI* Vol IX No 2 pp 189-196. The *Rāmāyana* version of *Śīlāchārya* as found in the *Caṭṭhannamahāpurisacariya* (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol XXXVI, 1955), p. 46ff

manical Purāṇas as well as the *Bṛhatkathā* have served as bedrock on which the huge superstructure of the Jaina mythological edifice is erected. The survey further reveals that not only the abovementioned works but also those of the classical Sanskrit poets of ornate styles have furnished them with many a gem of excellent ideas, expressions, phrases and lines to a great extent.

To begin with, a few obvious cases of borrowing from the epics may be mentioned here as our guide. The verse 11 204 of the *Padmacarita*² of *Ravisena* for instance, is exactly the same as one found in the *Bhagavadgītā*³. Similarly, the phrase *jato dharmas tato jayah*⁴ is too famous to require any evidence for the original claim of the *Mahābhārata* to it. Further, one *Mahābhārata* verse⁵, said to have been universally recited during the *Jātakarma* ceremony of a newly born child, is found embossed in the *Ādipurāṇa*⁶ of *Jinasena* with similar motive. Moreover, we will see in the sequel⁷ how the Jaina *Purāṇas*, particularly the *MP* and the *TSPC*, have derived

2 विद्याविनयसम्पन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।

शुनि चैव स्वपाके च पण्डिता समदर्शिन ॥

—*Padmacarita*, 11 204 (Henceforward referred to as *RPC*)

3 V 18

4 *RPC*, 11 74 ,

“यत्तु कृष्णस्ततो धर्मो यतो धर्मस्ततो जयः”

—*MBh.* VI 66 35b Also see V S Sukthankar, *On the Meaning of the Mahābhārata*, pp 12, 23

5 अङ्गादङ्गात्सम्भवसि हृदयादभिजायसे ।

आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासि स जीव शरदः शतम् ॥

MBh I 68 62

6 *Ādipurāṇa*, 40 114

अङ्गादङ्गात्सम्भवसि हृदयादपि जायसे ।

आत्मा वै पुत्रनामामि स जीव शरदः शतम् ॥

The only difference between the two versions is that the *Ādipurāṇa* has used the indeclinable *api* in lieu of the prefix *abhi* in the *MBh* version,

7. Chap. IX

materials from the *MBh* for their didactic and philosophical sections. Above all, the different sections of these *Purāṇas*,⁸ which are devoted to the description of the mental state as well as the general way of life of the Jaina *yogins*, are in striking agreement with the *Bhagavadgītā*⁹ both in sentiments and in phraseology¹⁰

As to the *Rāmāyana*, instances are not lacking where the Jaina *Purāṇas* show striking similarity with the former not only in sense but also in wording. This is particularly true of the gnomic-didactic and descriptive passages where we frequently find both ideological and phraseological parallelisms. To cite a few examples, the verse 77 of the eighth *parvan* of the *AP*¹¹, which brings home to us the utter impermanence of the earthly objects is, in sense and partially in sound, very akin to the one found in *Vālmiki's Rāmāyana*¹². Next, in the poetic description of the autumnal moon-lit night Jināsena betrays conspicuous influence of *Vālmiki* insofar as he conceives the starry sky with the brilliantly shining moon as a lake abounding in lilies and occupied by a swan¹³. In fact, Jināsena's poetical penpic-

8 *MP*, 34 169-71, 174 75, 203-204 *TSPC*, 1 3 166, 271-73

9 IV 19-23, V 19-21, VI. 4-9, 32, XII 13-19 XIV 24-25

10. It is important to note that the Jaina savants incorporated in their mythological and philosophical writings not only the detached ideas and idioms from the *Bg*, but borrowed *verbatim* also verse after verse from the same without any acknowledgement of the loan that they received, *vide* P. K. Gode, "The Bhagavadgītā in the Pre-Śāṅkarāchārya Jaina Sources", *ABORI*, Vol. XX, Part II, 1938-39

11. सुखं दुःखानुबन्धीद सदा सनिधनं घनम् ।

संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ता विपदन्ताश्च सम्पद ॥

—*AP* 8 77

12 सर्वे क्षयान्ता निचया पतनान्ता समुच्छ्रया ।

संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ता मरणान्तं च जीवितम् ॥

—*Rāmā* II 105 16

13 तारकाकुमुदाकीर्णो नभः सरमि निर्मले ।

हसायते स्म शीताशुर्विक्षिप्तकरपक्षति ॥

—*AP*, 26 27

and comp सुप्तैकहस कुमुदैरुपेतं महाह्रदस्य सलिलं विभाति ।

घनैर्विमुक्तं निशि पूर्णचन्द्र तारागणाकीर्णमिवान्तरिक्षम् ॥

—*Rāmā* *Kṛkṛ*, 30.48,

ture of autumn is an ingenious imitation of *VR* which has given the former not only a powerful vocabulary of literary terms but also whetted his imaginative brain for the graphic description of several situations. To cite one more among the many, the pen-picture of the autumnal bellowing of the excited bulls—enraged at the sight of their counterparts and ready for fight, with reddened eyes, and scraching ground with their hoofs¹⁴—has remarkable agreement with the similar description in the *VR*¹⁵. A close and careful comparative study of all the Jaina *Purāṇas* on the one hand and the present epic on the other is sure to reveal several cases of verbal agreement between them¹⁶.

A perusal of the *Purāṇas* further reveals that while the epic-*Purāṇic* tradition has given them materials mostly on religious, sacramental, ethical, philosophical as well as mythological, dynastic and genealogical planes, the *Bṛhatkathā* has supplied them with a large stock of supernatural stories and episodes. The case of the contribution of the *BK* to the Jaina narrative literature has already been established on irrevocable grounds by some eminent orientalists¹⁷. Now, to add one more evidence in favour of their stand, it must be said that unlike

14 दर्पोद्घुरा खुरोत्खातभुव ताम्रीकृतेक्षणा ।

वृषा प्रतिवृपालोककुपिता प्रतिसस्वन् ॥

—MP 26 42

15 शरद्गुणाप्यायितरूपशोभा प्रहृषिता पासुसमुक्षिताङ्गा ।

मदोत्कटा सम्प्रति युद्धलुब्धा वृषा गवा मध्यगता नदन्ति ॥

—*Rāmā, Kīṣkī*, 30 38, also cf *Rāmā Kīṣkī*
30 47 ff and MP 26 35 ff.

16 *Rāmā* IV 30 81

न च सकुचितं पन्था येन वाली हृतो गतः ।

समये तिष्ठ सुग्रीव मा बालिपथमन्वगा ॥

cf मा साहसगतेर्मणिं गम सकुचितो न सः ।

—TSPC 7 6 189b,

अनिर्वेद श्रियो मूलम्०

—*Rāmā* VI 12 10, TSPC, 7 6 51b

17 Vide L. Alsdorf, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* Vol. VIII, quoted in J. C. Jain *History of Prakṛita Literature*, pp 382-83

his predecessors, the author of *AP* eulogises the work as a non-pareil creation of *Gunādhyā*, and while equating his work with the said romance by taking recourse to *double-entendre*, he very ingeniously refers to it as 'a charming long narrative of excellent theme and marvellous import, (as also) arranged in many *Lambhas* by the previous poet(s) *Gunādhyā*¹⁸ (rich in merit)'. From this and similar other instances we can reasonably infer that the early Jaina *Purānakāras* had thorough acquaintance with the work which must have survived till the eleventh century A D. when the work was rendered into Sanskrit by two Kāśmīrian poets.¹⁹ Now, on the basis of the temporal priority of the *BK*²⁰ to the early Jaina *Purānas* as also on the strength of the above evidence of their fair acquaintance with it, we can legitimately assert their indebtedness to the said work.

The influence of the *BK* ranges from the adoption of several motives to the incorporation of tales and episodes. The episodical legends inserted in the narrative of the *Śalākāpuruṣas* are of varying nature. Sometimes these are inserted as preludes to the main narrative to account the events of their previous existences, while at times they form the part of the main narrative to describe the various experiences in their final incarnations as the *Śalākāpuruṣas*.²¹ The *dramatis personae* of

18 अद्भुतार्थमिमा दिव्या परमार्थं बृहत्कथाम् ।

लम्भैरनेकं सन्ध्या गुणाढ्यै पूर्वसूरिभिः ॥

—*Ādipurāṇa*, 1 15

comp *Dandin*, *Kāvyaadarśa* where the author has referred to the *BK* almost in similar terms, भूतभाषामयी प्रादुरद्भुतार्थं बृहत्कथाम्, --1 33, Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol II, p 499

19 There are *Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* composed about 1037 A D and *Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara*, which was written about A.D 1081. Nepalese poet *Budhasvāmin* also abridged it under the name of *Bṛhatkathāśloka-Saṅgraha*. This work is earlier (c 900 A D) than the two Kāśmīrian recensions. See Keith, *HSL*, pp 288 ff

20 The original *Bṛhatkathā* is placed in the first century A D. See A Macdonell, *HSL*, p 376. Some of the scholars are not in favour of ascribing such an early date to the work. They are, however, sure that its date is not later than A D 500. See *The Classical Age*, p 324, Keith, op cit, p 268

21 e.g. The accounts of previous existences of the *Jinas*, *Rṣabha* and *Śāntinātha*, and the narrative of *Sanatkumāra*

all these legends and episodes,²² like the *vidyādhara*s of the *Bṛhatkathā* have fabulous power to move in the air and on the earth alike and they assume various forms at will and delight in all sorts of frolics and adventurous journey to lofty mountains, horrible forests and in sooth to all such uncommon places which human beings cannot traverse

In the *Vasudevahindī*²³ this element is very conspicuous, and the account of *Vasudeva*'s wedding to a host of *Vidyādhara* maidens during the former's wandering incognito is practically a recast of that of *Naravāhanadatta*'s extraordinary marriages with the damsels of similar origin. It is however clear that the *Naravāhanadatta* motive is not peculiar to the works that deal with the exploits of *Vasudeva* and his progeny, but is found also in other sections. In fact, the scope for the inclusion of such motivated stories and episodes is wider in the works that narrate the life-history of all the *Śālākāpuruṣas* than in those which give the account of a single *Śālākāpuruṣa* or a set of them. Naturally, the number of such *Vidyādhara*-stories, with a skilful blending of the epic-cum-Purāṇic legends and episodes,²⁴ is greater in the *MP*, *CMC* and the *TSPC* for obvious reason of their having been written on an ambitious plan, dealing, as as they do, with the life-history of all the sixty-three excellent men of the faith

22 Claus Bruhn, Introduction, *Śīlāṅkācārya's Caṭṭhannamahāpurīṣacarīya*, p. 19, For the types of the *Vidyādhara* stories included in Jaina works, See L. Alsdorf, *Harivamśapurāṇa*, pp. 65, 119

23 J. G. Jain, op. cit. p. 382-83, L. Alsdorf *BSOS*, vol. 8, V. S. Agrawala also observes "In the *Vasudevahindī* *Vasudeva* takes the place of *Naravāhana* and rebukes *Samba* that those sluggard fellows did not stir out of their homes and so achieved nothing, whereas in his youth he had visited many a land and by his wisdom and tact (also on account of his extraordinary beauty) won the hands of many royal beauties" (Vide *Matsya Purāṇa*—A Study, p. 50, For the Purāṇic adoption of the accounts) see *Jinasena's Harivamśapurāṇa*, cantos 19-35

24 e.g. the stories of the previous existences of *Sāntinātha*. It is in one of the clusters of those stories that the famous epic episode of the illustrious king *Śaibya* (also called *Śibi*) and the Hawk is incorporated as a part of the story of *Megharatha*, said to have been one of the previous incarnations of the Lord (Vide *MP Parvan* 63; *CMC*, pp. 148-49, *TSPC*, Vol. III pp. 291-293), cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II 12.43, II 14.4, *MBh*, III 130 ff, 197, XIII-32—where the king is named *Vṛṣadarbha*

The importance of the *Vidyādhara*s in the *Purāṇic* works can further be exhibited by the fact that almost all the *Purāṇas*, with the exception of the *Ādipurāṇa* of *Jinasena* and the *Pāṇḍava-purāṇa* of *Śubhacandra*, include in their dynastic lists the *Vidyādhara*s as a distinct race, and give its genealogical accounts in great detail and of the nine *Prativāsudevas*²⁵ the first eight are set forth as the descendants of *Vidyādhara* race

Among the classical Sanskrit poets of distinction, mention may be made of *Kālidāsa*, *Bhārav*, *Bāna*, *Harsa* and *Māgha*, all of whom have been relied upon more or less for the portrayal of various situations, sentiments and feelings. Above all, the influence of the works of these poets is pre-eminently manifest on the sections devoted to the poetical descriptions of the material world in its manifold aspects. These are, for example, the majestic mountains, impenetrable forests and fertile fields rich in various crops²⁶. As it is not possible to show here in detail the cases of borrowing from the above-mentioned sources by different authors, we shall cite only a few such instances that exhibit a conspicuous sign of borrowing from or imitation of a particular work.

A comparative study of these *Purāṇas*, however, reveals that of all the poets of classical ornate style, *Kālidāsa* holds the greatest sway over the imaginative acumen of the *Purāṇakāras*,

- 25 These are (i) *Āsvagrīva*, (ii) *Tāraka*, (iii) *Meruka*, (iv) *Nisumbha*, (v) *Madhukattabha*, (vi) *Bali*, (vii) *Pranarāṇa*, (viii) *Rāvana* (all *khecara*s) and (ix) *Jarāsandha*. See JHV, [60 291-92—

“अश्वग्रीवो भुवि ख्यातस्तारको मेरुकस्तथा ।

निशुम्भ. शुभदंभोजवदनो मधुकटंभ ॥

बलि प्रहरणाभिख्यो रावण खेचरान्वया ।

भूचरस्तु जरासघो नवैते प्रतिशत्रव ॥”

According to the *Uttarapurāṇa* of *Gunabhadra*, the *Prativāsudevas* were (i) *Āsvagrīva*, (ii) *Tāraka*, (iii) *Madhu*, (iv) *Madhusūdana*, (v) *Damitārī*, (vi) *Nisumbha*, (vii) *Balindra*, (viii) *Rāvana* and (ix) *Jarāsandha*. Parvans 57-60, 62, 65-67, 72. *Gunabhadra*'s list shows obvious departure from that of *Jinasena*. It is also remarkable that majority of *Purāṇakāras* describe these *Prativāsudevas* as of extremely black complexion. See, for example TSPC, 4.1.247, 4.2.121ff

- 26 MP: 18 148-207, 12 2-31; 26 9 52, 30 65-88 CMI C, pp 111, 248,

and among the latter the author of the *Āḍipurāṇa* owes to that brilliant star of the literary firmament to the greatest extent. From *Vimalasūri* onwards all the *Purāṇa* authors have borrowed more or less from that literary wizard *Vimala*'s introductory remark— 'is it not that a thread passes through a precious gem bored by the point of a diamond ?'²⁷— presents a very remarkable parallelism with the similar expression in the *Raghuvamśa* ²⁸

Coming to the *Āḍipurāṇa*, we often come across some sentiments, phrases and other descriptive lines which strongly remind us of Kālidāsa's works. In the introductory portion of the *AP* the author obviously imitates *Kālidāsa*²⁹ in showing his modesty by contrasting between the paucity of his poetic insight and the unfathomable ocean-like purāṇic literature, which he intends to cross on arms and thus exposes himself to ridicule ³⁰ Similarly, there is remarkable parallelism between *Kālidāsa*'s³¹ conception of *Himālaya* as a measuring rod of the

27 "किं वज्रसूडमिन्ने न रियइ तनु महारयणे"

—VPC 1.13b

28 "मणौ वज्रसमुत्कीर्णं सूत्रस्येवास्ति मे गति"

—Raghu, 1 4b

Compare also *Padmacarita* of *Raviśena* (1 20), in whose case the influence may be said to be indirect, for, *Raviśena* has apparently copied *Vimala* and not *Kālidāsa*

29 "क्व सूर्यप्रभवो वश. क्व चाल्पविषया मति ।

तितीर्षुर्दुस्तर मोहादुडुपेनास्मि सागरम् ॥

मन्द कवियज्ञ प्रार्थी गमिष्याम्युपहास्यताम् ।"

—Raghu 1 2-3a

30 "क्व गम्भीर पुराणां वि क्व मादृग्बोधदुर्विध. ।

सोऽह महोदधि दोभ्यां तितीर्षुर्यामि हास्यताम्"

—AP, 1 28 *Jinasenī*'s indebtedness to Kālidāsa on various planes can be estimated also from the fact that under the inspiring influence of the latter he composed his famous lyrical poem the *Pārśvābhyudaya-carita*, in which work he incorporated the entire *Meghadūta* by inserting in each verse one or two lines from each stanza of the *Meghadūta* See Winternitz, HIL, Vol II, p 612.

31 अस्त्युत्तरस्या दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराज ।

पूर्वापरौ तोयनिधौ वगाह्य स्थित पृथिव्या इव मानदण्ड ॥

—Kumārasambhava, 1.1.

earth and *Jinasena's* representation of the same in an identical way.³² Again, the poetic description of rivers³³ in general and those of the *Gongā*³⁴ in particular strongly remind us of the graphic description of *Vetravati*, *Gambhīrā*—and *Nirvindhā* in the *Meghadūta*. In this connection we meet with not only similar poetic sentiments and feelings but also identical phrases

Besides these, we also come across some other passages in the *MP* which express the same poetic feelings and emotions

32 “स्वपूर्वापरकोटिभ्या विगाह्य लवणार्णवम् ।

स्थितोऽयं गिरिराभाति मानदण्डायितो भुव ॥”

—*MP* 32 113

Also see *Kumāra* 1 20 and comp *MP* 33 67,

—*Raghu* 1 79 and

MP 28 151

33 “तनूभूतपयोवेणीनद्यः परिकृशा दधुः ।

वियुक्ता घनकालेन विरहिण्य इवाङ्गना ॥”

—*MP*, 26 31

The rivers having been diminished (in breadth) on account of separation from the cloudy season (rainy season) wore, like ladies in separation, braids of receding waters.

and cf “वेणीभूत-प्रतनुसलिला.....”

—*Megha* 1 31

34 “शफरोप्रेक्षणमुद्यत्तरङ्गभ्रूविनर्तनाम् ।

वनराजी-वृहच्छाटी-परिधाना वधूमिव ॥”

MP 26 130

and the expressions, like—“पुलिनैर्जघनैरिव” —(*MP* 26 131), ‘तिष्ठमानामिवावर्तव्यक्तनाभिमुदन्वते—(26 134b), ‘युवतिमिव गभीरावर्तनाभिं प्रपश्यन्.....’ (26, 148), and comp

तीरोपान्तस्तनितमुभगः पास्यसि स्वादु यस्मात् ।

सभ्रूभङ्गः मुखमिव पयो वेत्रवत्याश्चलोर्मि ॥

—*Meghadūta*, 26, lines 3-4),

‘दर्शितावर्तनामेः’... (*Megha* 30),

तस्मादस्याः कुमुदविशदान्यर्हसि त्वं न धैर्यान्-

मोघीकतुं चटुलशफरोद्वर्तनप्रेक्षितानि ॥

(*Megha*, 1 42) and

“पुलिनजघनाम्”

(*Megha*, 1 43)

as are conveyed by those in the *Śiśupālavadha* of *Māgha*. For instance, reference may be made to those passages in *Śiśupālavadha*³⁵ and *MP*³⁶ which reflect common reactions during the descent of *Nārada* from the sky and that of *Kṛtāmāla*, a god living at the mount *Vijayārdha*.

To cite one more case, the idea expressed with regard to the working of the favourably disposed Fate bears remarkable likeness with that set forth in the *Ratnāvalī*³⁷ almost in similar phrases.

The foregoing pages would thus present a clear background for our principal topic of investigation, for, laying bare the verbal and other incidental or contextual agreements between the works of both the traditions is beyond the scope and purpose of the present survey. Such a study, of course, will form an independent work in itself. Nevertheless, we propose to append in the sequel, some parallel passages gleaned from different sources, particularly from the *Kādambarī* of *Bāna* and the *Caṇḍannamahāpurisacariya* of *Silānka*³⁸.

35. "गत तिरश्चीनमनूस्सारथे प्रसिद्धमूर्ध्वज्वलन हविर्भुज ।
विशत्यघो घाम विसारि सर्वत किमेतदित्याकुलमीक्षित जनैः ॥
चयस्त्विषामित्यवधारित पुरा तत शरीरीति विभाविताकृतिम् ।
विभुविभक्तावयव पुमानिति क्रमादमु नारद इत्यबोधि सः ॥"

—*Śiśupālavadha*, 1 2-3

- 36 दिव्य प्रभान्वय कोऽपि सम्मूर्च्छति किमम्बरे ।
तडित्पुञ्ज किमग्न्याचिरिति दृष्ट क्षण जनैः ॥
किमप्येतदधिज्योतिरित्यादावविशेषत ।
पद्मादवयवव्यक्त्या प्रव्यक्तपुरुषाकृति ॥
कृतमालश्रुतिव्यक्त्यै कृतमाल स चम्पकै ।
कृतमाल इवोत्फुल्लो निदध्यै प्रभुणाऽग्रत ॥

—*MP* 31 92-94

- 37 (a) द्वीपादन्यस्मादपि मध्यादपि जलनिवेदिशोऽप्यन्तात् ।
अनीय भटिति घटयति विधिरभिमतमभिमुखीभूत ॥

—*Ratnāvalī*, 1 6

- (b) द्वीपान्तरादिशामन्तादन्तरीपादपानिधे ।
विधिर्घटयतीष्टार्यमानीयान्वीपता गत ॥

38. See also chapter I

II SOURCES

It is obvious that no external or secondary sources can serve as the foundation of the present type of study. Naturally, we have based our investigation principally on the original texts of both the faiths. The *Brahmanical* side comprises the two national epics together with the *Harivamśa* as well as some of the relevant early *Purāṇas*. The *Smṛtis* of *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya* have also been relied upon in the section that deals with the *Smṛti*³⁹ matters.

The Jaina sources include all the principal *Purāṇas* and *Purāṇic caritas* written in three languages, viz., *Sanskṛta*, *Prākṛta* and *Apabramśa*. These *Purāṇas*, like their *Brāhmanical* counterparts are the results of the literary pursuits of several authors and extend over a period of more than one thousand years.

The works may roughly be divided into two groups in accordance with the sects to which the respective authors belong. Thus, on sectarian ground they may be taken to represent both the *Śvetāmbara* and *Digambara* schools. But, despite their schismatic differences, all the works are strikingly unanimous in deriving the Jaina universal history from Lord *Mahāvīra* through *Gautama Ganadhara* who in all the works is represented as having narrated the life-history of the *Śālākāpuruṣ* to king *Śrenika* of *Magadha*.⁴⁰ But, the great divergences and discrepancies in the various versions expose this claim for antiquity to serious doubt, for, even with regard to the dynastic and genealogical accounts, the points of difference are far more striking than the points of agreement. This is true also of those works which belong to the same sect.⁴¹

39 -Chaps VIII & IX

40 VPC 2 104-3 14, Where *Gautama Ganadhara* claims that he relates the story (of Padma) as it has been told by the *Kevalin*, i.e. Lord *Mahāvīra* जह केवलीण सिट्ठ ग्रहमवि तुम्ह परिवहेमि, Ibid 3 14b RPC, 3 13-26, 123 166 ff JHV 5 60-66, 66 12, AP 2 2-97, UP, 76 545 ff, वद्धमाण-मुह-कुहरविरिण्णय रामकहा-णइ एह. कमाणय,—SPC, 1 2 1 PMP, 2 4 1-12, CMC, p 4, SPP, 2 14-102

41. Discussed in Chapters IV-VI.

Among the second class of sources, mention may be made of the Jaina canonical works by the Jaina authors. These works serve both as positive and negative evidences for testing the validity of the deduction made from the comparative study of the relevant texts.

Although the Vedic texts present the earliest period of Indian literary documents, yet they have been placed in the third class of sources in accordance with their importance to the present study. In the same group have also been included the early Buddhist texts. We have extensively drawn upon both these sources to find out the relationship, if any, of some of the divergent Purāṇic statements to the ancient tradition, embodied in these early texts. Wherever possible, we have judiciously utilised these early records to ascertain the relative historical and genealogical value of the conflicting statements found in the Purāṇic texts under review.

The fourth class of sources consists of the monographs, research findings and some ingenious articles of the historians and Indologists. All these sources have been duly referred to in their proper contexts.

Now, before closing this preliminary discussion, we must admit that we have proceeded with our investigation without dwelling upon the question of the respective chronology of the works belonging to the two faiths. The reasons are obvious. Whatever be the upper limits, the lower limits of the *Rāmāyana*⁴² and the *Mahābhārata*⁴³ in their extant forms cannot be extended beyond the second and fourth century A.D. respectively. Similarly, the major parts of the *Purāṇas* dealing with

42 *The Age of the Imperial Unity*, p. 253. For different theories advanced for and against an earlier date for the extant epics, see E. W. Hopkins *Epic Mythology*, pp. 1-2. For a thorough discussion see Winternitz, *HIL*, pp. 500-517.

43 After discussing the process of augmentation of the extant work, Winternitz concludes that "the *Mahābhārata* cannot have received its present form earlier than the 4th century B.C. and not later than the 4th century A.D."—*HIL*, Vol. I, p. 465, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 1-2, *AIU*, 251-252.

the earlier five topics cannot be dated later than the fourth century⁴⁴ A D , as it has been convincingly shown by eminent Indologists on critical examination of different sections, that the extra-*Purāṇic* materials were incorporated in the *Purāṇas* mostly between the 3rd and 5th centuries A D ⁴⁵ The date of the earliest extant Jaina *Purāṇa* on the other hand, cannot be pushed earlier than the fifth century of the christian era ⁴⁶ This being the case, the upper limit of the Jaina *Purāṇas* would thus start from the point where the lower limit of the works of the Brāhmanical schools terminates. Hence it will not be unreasonable to ascribe the cases of parallelism to the influences of the older branch on the newly formed tradition.

It will however, be a travesty of fact to hold that the influence was one sided. The faiths developing side by side and deriving the sap of life from the same sections of people, who had been professing the same cult and creed, must be supposed to exercise their mutual influences. The Brāhmanical religion and ethics bear conspicuous stamp of Buddhist and Jaina influences. But, that is a different tale altogether. What the present study endeavours to show is to lay bare principally those elements and facts which were unknown to or neglected and even ridiculed by the compilers of the Jaina canons, but were later on incorporated into the corpus of the Jaina Purāṇic literature under the pressing influences of the Brāhmanical epic-Purāṇic tradition.

44 Pargiter, *AIHT* (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*), pp 49-51

45 R C Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, chapters II-IV, quoted by R.C Majumdar in 'The Classical Age', p. 298

46 For the different theories about the date of *Vimalasūri's Paūmacariya*, the earliest extant Jaina Purāṇa, see V M Kulkarni, Introduction to *Paūmacariya*, pp 8-15,

CHAPTER I

THE EPICS AND THE JAINA PURĀṆAS

The epics hold a unique position in India ¹ Their imprint on Hindu life and culture is indelible, and on Jainism, too, the works have exerted a profound influence. Although Jainism disapproves of the Brāhmanical way of life, yet popular Jainism seems deeply permeated by the ideals and messages set forth by the two national epics. And, almost every legend, myth and moral treasured up in them *has* penetrated deep into the mind of the Jaina laity.

A perusal of the early texts of Jainism irrevocably proves that during the period of the redaction of the Jaina canons, the epics occupied a prominent position among the Jainas and were included in the Jaina system of education to equip the learner with proficiency in practical wisdom ² The works, however, served them not only as guides in mundane affairs but also as perennial fountains of inspiration on ethical and spiritual planes. As a matter of fact, the lay adherents of Jainism found the epic way of life more practical and for that matter more enjoyable than the one prescribed by the Jaina canons ³ This fact resulted in the influx of a substantial number of non-Jaina customs and practices into the Jaina society, and the popular appeal of these elements was so great and pressing that these had to be formally sanctioned by the Jaina savants who flourished towards the end of the first millennium⁴ A D.

1 *The Age of the Imperial Unity*, foreword, pp XX-XXI, Preface, p XLVI

2. *Anuyogadeśāra* (Su 40f), *Nandī* (Su 42), both quoted in Dr B C Law, *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p 171, V M Kulkarni, Introduction - *Paṭimacariyam*, p 6

3 HIL, Vol. II pp 486-488

4 सर्व एव हि जैनानां प्रमाणं लौकिको विधिः ।

यत्र सम्यक्त्वहानिर्न यत्र न व्रतदूषणम् ॥

—*Ta'sastilaka*, Book VIII, Sec 34, quoted by K K. Handiqui in *Ta'sastilaka and Indian Culture*, p 332

The influence of the epics is so deep and permanent on the minds of the laymen that despite ceaseless efforts of the Jaina savants to win them over to pure Jainism, there are to be found a good number of staunch adherents of the faith who still show their unflinching faith more in *Rāma*⁵ than in *Mahāvīra* and consider the epics more inspiring than the Jaina works

Here it deserves mention that the works in question have left no less influence with the protagonists of the faith, who appear to have partly recognized it by way of reaction shown against these works in the introductory portions of their *Purāṇas*.⁶ Nevertheless, whatever may be the nature of reaction against these epics, it is beyond doubt that the ideas and plots taken over directly and indirectly from the epics have enriched the Jaina *Purāṇas* to a considerable extent

One important point not to be lost sight of with regard to the study of the circumstances leading to the inclusion of the epics in the Jaina syllabus and its resultant effect is that the Jaina laity was drawn from all strata of Indian society and was formed of ordinary human beings engaged in worldly pursuits. Over and above that, majority of the Jainas were converts from the Brāhmanical faith,⁷ who were brought up in the Brāhmanical epic-Purāṇic environment. Their customs and manners, beliefs and superstitions were moulded chiefly by the ideals set forth by the epics. Although change of

5 See the interesting paper *Rāma aurā Mahāvīra* by Śrī Ayodhyā Prasādjī Goyalīya published in *Śrī Mahāvīra Commemoration Volume*, Vol I (1948-49). The point is further confirmed by the fact that the first *Purāṇa* by such a staunch advocate of Jainism as *Vimalasūri* relates to the life-story of *Rāma* and the Jaina versions of *Rāma*-biography by far outnumber the Purāṇic works on any individual: *Śalākāpūṣa*, vide V.M. Kulkarni, introduction to the *Prakrit Text Society* edition of the *Paṭmacarīya*, pp 1-5

6 *Paṭmacarīya*, Canto II 105-117, 38-15, 858-60 *Padmacarita*, Parvan 2 vv. 230-235 JH V 45 150-157 SPC, 1-10 1-9 PMP LXIX 33-13

7. The elaborate *Dikṣāṇvayakriyās* enjoined to be performed by the converts before they were received into the Jaina faith bear testimony to the fact, Vide *Mahāpurāṇa* 39 1-80

faith brought about a difference in their religious practices, yet it could not cause any substantial change in their mental frame which was largely shaped by the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, leaving, as they did, an enduring impression on their life and thought.⁸ Naturally, they were unwilling to sever their connection with the epics which, for centuries, had been their principal guides and wherein they found a suitable outlet for their emotions and aspirations. Further, the people were not fully satisfied with the Jaina canons which, though having incorporated in their corpus some myths and legends of universal appeal in somewhat Jainised way, were mainly interested in the glorification of dry asceticism.⁹

This state of things must have paved the way for the inclusion of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in the curriculum of the Jaina system of education sometimes before the compilation of the Jaina canons.¹⁰ But the introduction of that hybrid education produced a reaction which was not conducive to the progress and popularity of the faith, for it began to dampen people's conviction in the Jaina religion in which the lay adherents could not find any scope for the realisation of their ideals.

Now, to counteract the ascendancy of the epics and to ensure unswerving adherence of the *laity* to the faith, the Jaina authors adopted the very method of the epic poets. For the most part, they reproduced the same epican ideas and plots in a Jainised way.¹¹ It was thus that the Jaina *Purāṇakāras* ende-

8 The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 252

9 e.g. *Uttarāṅghyāṇasūtra*, of which not a single lecture is free from that element. Similar is the case with most of the works forming part of the canonical literature.

10 In the *Anuyogadvāra* (Su. 25) the recitation of the two epics is referred to as a compulsory rite to be performed without fail, *Vide LAI*, p. 171.

11 One such adoption, among the many, is the interesting episode of *Vasu*, *Parvata* and *Nārada* wherein *Parvata* is represented as championing the cause of animal-sacrifice, whereas *Nārada* is stated to have stood for the non-violent form of sacrifice. We are told that both of them contend over the meaning of the term *aja*, the sacrificial object, which, according to *Nārada* meant old grain of barley, incapable of germination, but to *Parvata* the term was expressive of 'goat'. Now, both the disputants approach King *Vasu* for enlightenment. The king, although knowing full well that the scriptural evidences were in favour of

avoured to provide the common people with some such documents as could serve as suitable substitutes for the Brāhmanical epics and *Purāṇas*. In this mission they had not to exert much, for, the epic-Purāṇic tradition had given them a powerful mythology which they utilized with necessary modifications in their own pantheon which popular Jainism had developed owing to the powerful influence of Brahmanism. Thus, almost all the epic-Purāṇic gods and goddesses, *Gandharvas* and *Taksas* and a host of mythical figures as well as the myths and legends connected with them were assimilated in the Jaina religious beliefs and were represented in the Jaina *Purāṇas* without restraint.

It seems likely that the Jaina *Purāṇas* would have developed quite differently, had the epics—which were largely drawn upon and imitated over by the Jaina *Purāṇas*—not been there. For, the nature and contents of the Jaina *Caritas* and *Purāṇas* show that the authors of the works have strived to vie with the epic poets insofar as they have styled the different chapters of their *Purāṇas* either *Sargas* or *Parvans*. The tone and the technique which they have adopted are essentially those of the epic poets. With the exception of the *Purāṇas* written in *Prākṛta* and *Apabhramśa* all the *Purāṇas* are composed mainly in *Anuṣṭubh* metre—a favourite metre of the epics—with occasional introduction of later *Kāvya* diction.

Of all the Jaina *Purāṇas*, *Vimalasūri's Paumacariya* (C. 400 A.D.) is the oldest. It narrates the story of the *Vālmiki Rāmāyana* in a Jainised way.¹² Though there are many points of difference in the details, yet the general run of the whole does not show much departure from the traditional account of Rāma's exploits. However, it must be noted here that even in

Nārada's interpretation, delivers his judgement in favour of Parvata's stand, and so sinks deep down into the earth together with his crystal throne, *VPC*, 11 6-35, *RPC* 11 11-72, *JHV* 17 61-152 *UP*, 67 329-439, *TSPC*, 7 2 383-450, and cf *Mahābhārata*, *Āśvamedhikaparva*, Chaps 91 11-23, 26-34, *Vāyup* 67 92-121

¹² V M Kulkarni *Paumacariya*, Introduction, pp 5-6, The Origin and Development of the Rāma-story in Jaina literature, *JOI*, Vol IX, No. 2

those cases where changes have been introduced, the similarities are really far more striking than the differences. The introductory portion of this *Purāṇa* is very important and interesting from the standpoint of reaction it shows against the *Rāmāyana* of Vālmīki.¹³

Ravisena's *Padmacarita* (A.D. 678) occupies second place in the chronological order.¹⁴ This work is practically a faithful Samskrita version of the Prākṛta *Paūmcarīya* of Vimalasūri. Our study reveals that *Ravisena* imitates *Vimala* wholesale without acknowledging his indebtedness to the latter. The introductory chapter of the *Padmacarita* exhibits the same censorious attitude¹⁵ towards VR as Vimalasūri's work does. However, the way, in which the reflection has found expression, is an obvious evidence of the author's anxiety for minimizing the fame and popularity of the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyana* among the Jain laity. It rather proves to the hilt that the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyana* was fairly accurately known among and studied by the contemporary Jainas, and so far as the accounts of the families of *Rāma* and *Rāvana* were concerned, there was not any well-established Jain tradition which could have been drawn upon.¹⁶ Although the Jain authors claim a very old tradition for their legendary narratives,¹⁷ yet this seems to have been prompted by their propensity to invest their versions with an element of antiquity and authenticity.

Jinasena's Harivamsapurāṇa was composed in 783 A.D. It is considered to be the earliest known Jain version of the

13 VPC, 2 107-117, 3 8-16

14. The Age of Imperial Kanauj, p. 292

15 RPC, 3 17-27, 8 146-149

16 According to *Vimalasūri* himself, the *Rāma*-story existed in the form of list of names and was handed down from teacher to his pupil in regular succession.

नामावलिनिबद्ध आयरियपरपरागय सच्च ।

वोच्छामि पञ्चमचरियं ग्रहाणुषुर्वि समासेण ।

VPC 1 8

17 See Introduction, note 40. Also D.L. Narasimhachar, *The Jain Rāmāyanas*, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XV No. 4 pp. 575 ff.

Brahmanical *Harivamśa*¹⁸ Although several changes have been introduced in the detailed description of the exploits of the heroes of the *Harī* dynasty, yet the main theme does not betray any departure from the original account. However, with regard to the description of *Vasudeva*'s exploits the author shows his ingenuity in inventing new situations by blending together the materials borrowed from the *Vasudevahindī* and the *Brhat-lathā*. But this shows an extravagant supernaturality with which the feats of the hero are wrapped up.

Of all the Jaina *Purāṇas*, the *Mahāpurāṇa* of *Jinasena-Gunabhadra*¹⁹ is the most important and interesting work. It is the precursor of those *Purāṇas* which narrate the life-stories of all the sixtythree great personalities of the Jaina faith. And, to a great extent, this work serves as model "for many subsequent authors like *Puṣpadanta*, *Hemacandra*, *Āśādhara*, *Cāmunda-rāya*, and the author of Tamil *Śrīpurāṇa*". The *MP* may rightly be called "an encyclopaedia of Jainism", as it brings to relief various aspects of the contemporary Jaina society. It is here that we get for the first time a descriptive account of all the

18. The *Vasudevahindī* of *Saṅghadāsa* (c. 600 A.D.) is earlier than the present work. But that work does not come within the purview of the Purāṇic literature and pertains to the class of religious romance. The work, however, serves, in several respects, as the prototype of JHV. See chaps V-VI. Also *Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 495.

19. *Jinasena* composed the first forty-two *Parvans* of his *Purāṇa* which is popularly known as the *Ādi-purāṇa*. The remaining *Parvans* of the work were written by his pupil *Gunabhadra*. This composition serves as a supplement to *Jinasena*'s work, left incomplete, and is known as *Uttarapurāṇa*. But the printed edition of the work is divided into three parts. The first part consisting of twenty-five *parvans* is styled *Ādi-purāṇa*, the second part which comprises chapters 26 to 47 of which the last five chapters are by *Gunabhadra*, is called *Mahāpurāṇa*. The third book is entirely from the pen of *Gunabhadra* and consists of 29 *parvans* in all. Thus, the work, started by *Jinasena* (circa 850-875 A.D.) on an ambitious plan, was brought to completion by *Gunabhadra* (898 A.D.) in seventy-six *parvans*. However, the names *Ādi-purāṇa*, *Mahāpurāṇa* and *Uttarapurāṇa*, as given to three printed volumes, does not appear to have been based on a solid ground, for, both the authors call their composition *Trīṣaṣṭīlakṣanamahāpurāṇasaṅgraha*, as is evident from the colophon of each *parvan*.

nine Vasudevas and Baladevas as well as their inveterate enemies.

In its method of representation, this *Purāna* vies with the *Mahābhārata* on the one hand, and with Brahmanical *Purānas*,²⁰ on the other. Like the Brahmanic *Purānas* the MP not only deals with what may purely be called Purānic matters but also dwells upon the *Smṛti*-matters. Besides, the work has incorporated many sections on Jaina dogmatics, ethics and philosophy and introduced situations for religious discussions.²¹ These occasions are mostly used for making polemical attacks on the different systems of non-Jaina philosophy, Brahmanical religious creeds, customs and practices as well as in defence of the Jaina practices and beliefs. However, on many occasions the author has endeavoured to arrest the anti-Brahmanical feelings as reflected in early Jaina literature. For example, he has introduced a novelty in the episode of the origin of the *Brāhmaṇa varṇa*²² as found in the works of his predecessors.

In many respects the *MP* exhibits profound influence of the Brahmanical epics, *Purānas* and contemporary religious thoughts and practices of the Hindus. This influence is manifest on the sections dealing with the duties of different *varṇas* and *Āśramas*,²³ various sacraments as well as the penances of *yatis* which may be called Jaina *Yoga*. These sections often use the same ideas and expressions as are found in the Brahmanical epic-Purānic text.²⁴ Now, the fact that protestant Jainism did

20 *Vide* chapter II

21 e.g. 4 16-40, 5 14-160

22 It devotes as many as three *parvans* on the origin of the *Brāhmaṇa Varna* as well as various sacraments, rites and rituals to be observed by the *Brāhmaṇas* with special reference to the *Āśramas* (*parvans* 38-40). See *infra* chapters VIII-IX and comp. *VPC*, IV 64-87, *APC* IV 85-131

23 See chapters VIII-IX *(infra)*

24 c.g. (a) न तुप्यन्ति स्म ते लब्धौ व्यसीदन्नाप्यलब्धित ।

MP 34 203

(b) स्तुतिं निन्दा सुखं दुःखं तथा मानं विमाननाम् ।

समभावेन तेऽपश्यन् सर्वत्र समदर्शिन ॥

Ibid, 34 204

(c) वसन्ति स्मानिकेतास्ते...

Ibid, 34 174 and compare,

not recognize these elements, tends to show that these features have been incorporated in the work with a view to imparting it the character of the Brahmanical epics and *Purāṇas* with which it vies.

Mention may be made of the fact that the *Mahāpurāṇa* was written in an era of the ascendancy of Brahmanical religion which was, to a great extent, the product of the formidable labours of the epic-Purāṇic poets who brought together all rival sects of Hinduism and effected a synthesis among different god-concepts bringing to being what is called the doctrine of monotheism²⁵ That revolution drawing its inspiration from the epic-Purāṇic conception synthetised the cults of *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* to form a syncretic religion²⁶ of the Hindus. Accordingly, the major gods, viz *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* were conceived as the manifestations of the Universal Lord representing Him in "threefold aspect of creation, preservation and destruction of the universe" Now, our perusal of the MP reveals that the above features of popular Brahmanism have exerted an overwhelming influence on the work which identifies the first *Jina* with the Hindu triad²⁷ and even with the

सम शत्रौ च मित्रे च तथा मानापमानयो ।
शीतोष्णसुखदुःखेषु सम सङ्गविवर्जित ॥
तुल्यनिन्दास्तुतिमौनी सन्तुष्टो येन केनचित् ।
अनिकेत स्थिरमतिर्भक्तिमान् मे प्रियो नर ॥

Gītā, XII 18-19

विविक्तदेशसेवित्वमरतिर्जनससदि

—*Ibid* XIII 10b and MP 34 175-76

25 *An Advanced History of India*, pp 83-84

26 *The Classical Age*, pp 326-27, 365-68, 407 Also see H G Rawlinson, *India*, p 123

27 *AP* 24 30-37ff, 25 105 This process of identification of the *Jina* with the major gods of Hinduism is already observable in the works of Jinasena's predecessors, but not to the extent to which it is found in the present work See, for example

(a) नाह तुम वभाणो तिलोयणो सकरो सयवुद्धो ।

णारायणो अणतो तिलोयपुज्जारिहो अरुहा ॥

—*VPC* 5 122, 28 48 and 109 12, the last-mentioned quoted by V M Kulkarni in his introduction to the *Paūmacariya*, p 37 note 3,

Buddha and finally asserts his identity with the *Brahman* of the *Upanisads* and the *Gītā* ²⁸

Another outstanding feature of the period under review was the growing importance of the *Bhakti* movement. That development laid great emphasis on exclusive devotion to the personal god as propounded in the epics as well as the *Purāṇas* which latter were composed principally in laudation of the major gods and goddesses of the rejuvenized religion of the Hindus ²⁹ This feature, too, has a great bearing on the MP which has borrowed many of the ideas and expressions of the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic poets.³⁰ The influence of the concept of *Bhakti* is more pronounced on the sections devoted to the prayers of the deified *Tīrthankara*. On those occasions, Jināsena gives more emphasis on exclusive devotion to the *Jina*³¹ than on “the austere and rigid morality”, which was the characteristic trait of early Jainism. Here *Jina* is regarded as God *par excellence* and is invoked with fervent devotional prayers just in the epic-Purāṇic spirit ³² The votaries of the *Jina* who are drawn from all sections of sentient beings, including gods, *gandharvas*, *yakṣas* and men, are portrayed as desirous of nothing but unwavering devotion to the saviour.

(b) JHV, 17 130-31 and—

ब्रह्माण विष्णुमीशान सिद्ध बुद्धमनामयम् ।

Ibid, 17 132a

- 28 AP 24 45, 25 105, 131 He is called *Viśvatahpād* (25 120), *Viśvataścakṣu* (25 101), *Viśvatamukha* (24 31, 25 102), *Viśvamūrti* (25 103), *Viśvaśīrṣa* (25 120) and *Viśvavyāpin* (25 102) How identical these names are in spirit with the description of *Brahman* in the *Gītā* may be known from the following verse

सर्वत पाणिपाद तत्सर्वतोऽक्षिशिरोमुखम् ।

सर्वत श्रुतिमल्लोके सर्वमावृत्य तिष्ठति ॥

Gītā XIII 13 See also XIII 14-17, 22

29 *An Advanced History of India*, pp 199-202

30 AP 23 92-162

31 *Ibid*, 14 52, 23 162, 24 75

32 *Ibid*, 14 22-51, 23 92-164, 24 27-75, 25 9-225.

Hymns and prayers uttered in extolment of the first *Jina* betray a deep influence of the *Mahābhārata*³³ Majority of the terms and expressions used in praise of *Kṛṣṇa* and other gods by the epic heroes seem to have been borrowed with slight modifications in their import Thus, the names and epithets denoting various qualities and functions of *Brahmā*,³⁴ *Viṣṇu*³⁵ and *Śiva* as well as their common attributes³⁶ recur in the MP as the titles of the first *Jina* The *Tīrthankara* is represented as both transcendent over and immanent in all.³⁷ Further, he is unborn, ever young, imperishable,³⁸ immovable³⁹ and eternal⁴⁰ He is the Primal god (*Ādi-Deva*), the creator and Sustainer

33 III 39 74-79; VII 201 61-71, 202 9-50, VIII 33 55-62, X 7 2-11, XII 43 3-16, 47 16-101, XIII 14 287-331, 345-352, 407-423, 16 4-65 and 17 31 ff

34 Vide chap III Sec II notes 1-13

35 e g *Viṣṇu* (MP 24 35), *Harī* (MP 24 36) *Aṃtodbhava* (MP 25 130), *Padmanābhi* (MP 25 133), *Hṛṣīkeśa* (MP 25 134 and comp MBh 6 65 57-65, 6 66 19, 67 21, *Purva* (MP 25 191, MBh 6 67 8) Besides, striking parallelism subsists between the *Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra* embedded in the *Mahābhārata* (XIII 149 14-120) and the section devoted to the recital of a 'thousand and eight names' of the first *Tīrthankara* in the *Mahāpurāṇa* (25 100-217)

36 cf सहस्रशीर्षः क्षेत्रज्ञ सहस्राक्ष सहस्रपात् (MP 25 121a) and सहस्रमूर्धा विश्वात्मा सहस्राक्ष सहस्रपात् (MBh XIII 149 37b, VII 202 36b-37a), कामहा कामद काम्य कामधेनुररिजय (MP 25 167b) and कामहा काम-कृत् कान्त काम कामप्रद प्रभु (MBh XIII 149 45), भूत-भव्यभवदभर्तृ (MP 25 121) and भूतभव्यभवत्प्रभु (MBh XIII 149 14) हिरण्यनाभिर्भूतात्मा भूतभूदभूतभावन (MP 25 117a) and भूतकृद भूतभूद्विभो भूतात्मा भूतभावन (MBh XIII 149 14b) हिरण्यनाभ (MBh XIII 149 34b) Similar other expressions and epithets of identical sense and sound are interspersed throughout the relevant chapters of both the works

37 MP, 25 188 195 *Gītā* III 15, VI 30, XII 3

38 MP, 24 34, 25 109, 24 30, 25 106 and cf MBh XIII 149 15, 24, 116, employing the terms like *Ajara*, *Aja*, *Ajanman*, *Akṣara*, *Ayaya* and *Janmanṣtyayārāṇa*, etc.

39 *Sthānu*, *Sthānu* (MP 25 114, 203 and MBh XIII 149 26, 59)

40 *Śāśvata*, *Sanātana* (MP 25 102, 105 MBh VI 35 18, 66 16, 33, XII, 47 37)

of the world and partaker of oblation,⁴¹ and, is also the sacrificer⁴² Next, the *Jina* is lauded as the Lord of sacrifice⁴³ as also the sacrificer⁴⁴

Contemporary Saivism,⁴⁵ too, has exerted no less influence on the *Mahāpurāṇa*. Of all the terms appropriated to the *Jina* more than one-fourth belong to the great god of Saivism. The terms, etymologically indicating Śiva's various associations and exploits, have been arrogated to the *Tirthaṅkara* with immaterial modification in their import. Lord *Rājibha*, for instance, is called *Tripurārī*, *Trilekane*, *Trideve*, *Trigata* and *Trīlaka*⁴⁶ He is further addressed as *Indhāntaka*, *Andhātaka*,⁴⁷ *Śiva*, *Harā*, *Sambhara* and *Sambhu*⁴⁸ as well as *Aghorāntaka*

41 MP 24 10 MBh XIII 119 107-108

42 MP 24 42, MBh XIII 119 117

43 *Tajāpahi* (MP 25 127)

44 *Tajcan* (MP 24 42, cf for both MBh XIII 119 117

45 Vide CA, pp. 426-33, AIK, pp. 256-57

46 अनन्तशक्तिरच्छेद्यस्त्रिपुरारिस्त्रिलोचन ।

त्रिनेत्रस्यम्बकस्ययक्ष॥

—MP 25 216 and cf MBh XIV 8 27-28

47 अर्चन्ते नारयो यस्मादर्चनारीश्वरोऽप्यत ॥

—MP 25 73b and comp *Upamanyu's* prayer to Lord *Viśva* in which the latter has been mentioned as representing half male and half female in his body (नरनारीशरीराय स्त्रीपुसाय नमोऽस्तु ते), —MBh XIII 14 298b

48 त्वामन्धकान्तक प्राहुर्मोहान्धामुरमर्दनात्

MP 25 73a

People call thee *Indhāntaka* (slayer of *Indhāta*), because thou destroyed *Indhāsura* of delusion. Although stated metaphorically, the idea, as expressed in the line, is reminiscent of the epic-Purāṇic legend of the slaying of Demon *Andhaka* by Lord *Śiva*. Vide, HV II 87 24-33

49 For these names and epithets and similar others see MP 25 100, 116-118, 122, 130, 163, 189

50 *Ibid*, 14 42-47 cf MBh 16 34, *Abhiyāna* 1 1

with the same traditional⁵¹ eight forms of earth (*Kṣutimūrṭi*), water (*Salilātman*), wind (*Tarasvin=Vāyu*), fire (*Pāvaka-mūrṭi*), space (*Gaganātman*), sacrificer (*Suyajvan*), moon (*Śītāmśumūrṭi*) and sun (*Arka*). Furthermore, the epithets *Sadyojāta*, *Vāmadeva*, *Aghora*, and *Īśāna* to be traced back to the vedic period as the popular attributives of *Rudra Śiva*,⁵² have been applied to the first *Tīrthankara*⁵³ as his special adjuncts. And *Ganabhadra* has added the fifth epithet *Talpuruṣa* to the above four and arrogated all the five names to the *Tīrthankara Sumatinātha*⁵⁴

The *Paūmacariu*⁵⁵ of *Svayambhū* (c 700-900 A.D.)⁵⁶ is the third known work on the life-story of Rāma. It is written in Apabhramśa and is divided into five books. *Svayambhū* has obviously followed *Vālmikī* more closely than his Jaina predecessors. Like *Vālmikī* he has divided his work into five books called *Kāndas*, which bear, with the exception of the first *kānda*, the same names as the *Vālmikī-Rāmāyana*. With regard to the nomenclature of the first *kānda*, the author has evidently followed the novel tradition represented by the earlier Jaina *Purāṇa*-authors who have tried to absolve the *Rākṣasas* of the VR from their abominable *Rākṣasa*-hood by depicting them as

51 सूर्यो जल मही वह्निर्वीयुराकाशमेव च ।

दीक्षितो ब्राह्मण सोम इत्येतास्तनव क्रमात् ॥

—*Mārka* 52 8b-9a, also *Ibid*, 52 3-8a, *Vāyup* 27 4 19

The MP has evidently substituted *Suyajvan* (मुयज्वने नमस्तुभ्य सर्वक्रतु-मयात्मने, 14 46a) for the Brahmanical form *Dīkṣita Brāhmaṇa*. But that, too, has its foundation in the Brahmanical sources which hold that *Dīkṣita Brāhmaṇa* and *Yajamāna* (and for that matter *Yajvan*) signify the same sense, vide *Lingap* 2 12 13b-44a

52 In the *Pāśupata* school of Śaivism the names were ascribed to the five faces (*Pañca-Vaktra*) of *Śiva* symbolising the five elements viz., *Ākāśa* (sky), *Vāyu* (air), *Agni* (fire), *Jala* (water) and *Prthivī* (earth)

—*Lingap* 2 14 1 32-33 cf *Matsyapurāṇa*—A Study, pp 51-52

53 MP 15 37, 17 65-66 and cf *Ibid*, 24 30, 25 112 which both call the Jina *Īśāna*

54 UP 51 87

55 Critically edited by Dr H C Bhayani and published from the *Bharatiya Vidyabhavan*, Bombay

56. Vide Bhayani, *Paūmacariu*, Introduction, pp 7-9

the offspring of *Vidyādhara* race Accordingly, the first book, which deals with the origin of the *Vidyādharas*, is styled *Vidyādhara-Kānda* The five books as named by *Svayambhū* stand thus :

1. *Vijyāhara-kānda* (*Vidyādhara-kānda*)
2. *Ujjhā-kānda* (*Ajodhiyā-kānda*)
3. *Sundara-kānda* (*Sundara-kānda*)
4. *Jujjha-kānda* (*Tuddha-kānda*)
5. *Uttara-kānda* (*Uttara-kānda*)

The *Ritthanemicarū*⁵⁷ by the same author is another Jaina version of the Brahmanical *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*. This work, too, on the analogy of the Rāma-epic, is divided into four *Kāndas*, which are styled as *Yādavakānda*, *Kuru-kānda*, *Tuddha-kānda* and *Uttara-kānda* In consists of 112 *Sandhus* containing in all 1937 *ślokaś*. Of these *Sandhus* seventyseven are *Svayambhū*'s own composition, while the remaining *Sandhus* were written by the author's son, *Tribhuvanasvayambhū*. But some of the *Sandhus* in the end were lost and the loss was made good by *Bhaṭṭāraka Yaśahkīrti* in collaboration with his *Guru Gunakīrti*.

The *Yādavakānda* contains 13 *Sandhus* describing the birth, childhood frolics and feats and marriages of *Kṛṣṇa* and the birth of his sons as well as that of *Neminātha*.

The *Kurukānda* consisting of 19 *Sandhus* gives the account of the birth of the *Kaurava-Pāṇḍava* brothers, of their childhood and education, of enmity between the cousins, of *Yudhiṣṭhira*'s diceplay, his defeat and stripping of *Draupadī* and of *Pāṇḍavas*' exile for twelve years.

The *Tuddhakānda*, having 60 *Sandhus*, describes the battle fought between the *Kauravas* and the *Pāṇḍavas* resulting in the defeat of the former.

The last book, viz the *Uttarakānda* comprising twenty *Sandhus* relates the incidents of *Kṛṣṇa*'s later life together with those of *Neminātha* represented unanimously as the younger brother of the former.

⁵⁷ It is still in manuscript form and our statement about the work principally rests on the information given by Pt *Paramananda Jain Śāstrī*, *Jain Grantha Praśastisaṅgraha*, Part II Introduction, pp 43-44.

The above list of the subjects dealt with in the work clearly shows as to how similar *Svayambhū's* version is with the *Mahābhārata* account of the principal events.

The spirit of the age, which accepted one Supreme soul of the universe, the Highest Reality (*Parātpara*), effected emotional integrity among the contending sects of Hinduism, appears to have influenced *Svayambhū* to a greater extent. Thus, inspired by the idea of essential unity among the divergent god-concepts, he applies to the Jinas all the popular names and epithets of the gods of different faiths and sects.⁵⁸ It is with this end in view that the different heroes in *Svayambhū's Purāṇas* address the Jinas indiscriminately as *Nārāyaṇa*⁵⁹ *Dina-kara*, *Vaiśravaṇa*, *Śiva*, *Varuna*, *Hutāśana* (Agni), *Śaśi*, *Pavana*, *Brahmā*, *Harī*, *Hara*, *Buddha* and so on.⁶⁰ The spirit of the prayer, in which these names find mention, clearly indicates that these have been used to suggest one Absolute Reality, albeit in the form of the *Jina*.

Here it must be mentioned that all the above features represent the popular side of Jainism, which, on the analogy to Śaivism and Vaiṣnavism, had developed a theistic tendency that was formally sanctioned by the protagonists of the faith. However, the belief in the divinity of the afore-said gods never found favour with the monks⁶¹ who were the genuine represen-

58. अरहन्तु बुद्ध तुहँ हरि हर वि, तुहँ अण्णाण-तमोह-रिउ ।

सुहँ सुहुमु गिरञ्जण पम्म-पउ, तुहँ रवि वम्भु सयम्भु सिउ ॥

—SPC, 43 19 6-7, quoted in *Paṇḍitaru*, Introduction, p 14

59. णारायण दिणयर वइसवरण मिउ वरुण हुवासण ससि पवरण ।

जो होउ सु होउ थुणन्तु पिउ, एकन्ते करेण्णण कालु किउ ॥

—*Ratthanemicarū*, 55 30 9-10, quoted *ibid* p 13

60. *loc cit*, note 58 (*ante*)

61. ये स्त्रीशस्त्राक्षसूत्रादि रागाद्यङ्गकलङ्किता ।

निग्रहानुग्रहपरास्ते देवा स्युर्न मुक्तये ॥

नाट्यादृहाससंगीताद्युपप्लव-विषंस्थुला ।

लम्भयेयु पद शान्त प्रपन्नान् प्राणिन कथम् ॥

—TSPC, 2 3 894-95 (The gods, who are stained with marks of passion etc. for women, weapons, a rosary and so on (and) are devoted to reproof and favour, cannot lead to emancipation. How can, (those

tatives of the Jaina faith

Puspadanta's *Mahāpurāṇa* (959 A D -965 A.D.)⁶² also called *Tisatṭhamahāpurisagunāṅkārū*,⁶³ is a voluminous work in *Apabhramśa*. The *Purāṇa* has for its model the *Mahāpurāṇa* of *Jinasena-Gunabhadra*. As is evident from the title, the work deals with the life-stories of all the sixty-three Great Men of Jaina mythology. It is remarkable that in the introductory portion of his work Puspadanta, unlike his co-religionists, shows high regard for *Vyāsa* inasmuch as he reckons the latter among his predecessors, reputed for their literary achievements. Puspadanta's list enumerates, besides *Patañjali*'s works as well

who are) infirm from overindulgence in dance, loud laughter, music etc cause refuge-seeking creatures to obtain tranquil position ?) It is apparent that the criticism, though somewhat indirect, relates to the trio of the Hindu gods. However, Somadeva's dig at these divinities is more direct and pointed than the Purāṇic stricture insofar as the former makes explicit mention of *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu*, *Śiva* and the Sun-god in the following verse

उमापति. स्कन्दपिता त्रिशूली सव्यासु यो नृत्यति चर्मवासा ।
भिक्षाशनो होमजपोपपन्न कथं स देवोऽन्यजनेन तुल्य ॥

Yaśastilaka, Bk IV

(How can he be a god who is just like other people, is husband of *Umā* (*Pārvatī*) and father of *Skanda* (*Kārttikeya*, wields a trident and dressed in skins dances in the evening twilight, lives on alms, offers fire-oblation and mutters prayer ?) Similarly, divinity of *Viṣṇu* and the Sun has been called in question in the following verse

हरि पुन क्षत्रिय एव कश्चिज्ज्योतिर्गणैस्तुल्यगुणो रविश्च ।
देवो स्त एतो यदि मुक्तिमार्गो पृथुश्च सोमश्च कुतस्तथा न ॥

Ibid Bk IV

Harī (*Viṣṇu*) again is simply a *Kṣatriya* and the Sun has the same qualities as the other luminaries. If these two are gods leading (men) to final emancipation, why is it that *Pṛthu* and the moon, too, are not (called) so ? Both verses quoted in *Yaśastilaka* and *Indian Culture*, p 322. Also see *Ibid* pp 249, 323

62 Vide Dr P L Vaidya, Introduction to the *Mahāpurāṇa*, pp XXXI-XXXV

63 Critically edited by Dr P L Vaidya and published by *Mitak-hana* *Digambara Jaina Granthamālā*, Bombay

as the *Itihāsa-Purāṇas*, *Bhāravi*, *Bhāsa*, *Vyāsa*,⁶⁴ *Kālidāsa*, *Kohala*, *Caturmukha*, *Svayambhū*, *Harsa*, *Drona*, *Īśāna* and *Bāna*. In the opinion of the poet a thorough study of the works of the above authors was indispensable for a prospective poet. Although the celebrated names find mention in a somewhat peculiar way, for, the author declares his ignorance regarding the compositions of the abovementioned writers, yet the declaration may logically be taken as an instance of showing modesty in a conventional manner. Hence the statement must be accepted as suggestive of Puspadanta's fair acquaintance with the classics of the above literary luminaries.

However, the sense of spontaneous acknowledgement of *Vyāsa*'s importance later gives way to sectarian prejudices against the immortal poet, for, in the introductory part of his version of the Rāma story *Puspadanta* betrays the same reaction against *Vyāsa* as is found in other Jaina works. There the poet makes both *Vālmīki* and *Vyāsa*⁶⁵ principal targets of his attack for deluding people with their (false) teachings.

Although not indulging in giving the *Jina* hundred and eight or a thousand and eight names, *Puspadanta* in no way lags behind *Jinasena* in arrogating to the first Jina all the popular epic-Purāṇic names and epithets of the Brahmanical trio. In a fervent devotional laud of the first Jina put in the mouth of Indra, the Jina is called *Śiva* bereft of all his popular emblems and associates, the skeleton, *Trisūla* (trident), human skull, serpents and woman.⁶⁶ Besides, the Jina is addressed as *Bhīma*,

64. एतु पीयड पायजल जलाड अइहास पुराणइ णिम्मलाइ ।

भावाहिउ भारवि भासु वासु कोहलु कोमलगिरु कालियासु ।

चउमुहु सयभु सिरि हरिसु दोणु णालोइउ कइ ईमाणु वारु ।

—PMP, 1 9 3-5

65 वम्मीय-वास-वयण्हि एडिउ अण्णारु कुमग्गकूवि पडिउ ।

—*Ibid*, LXIX 3 11

66 जय ककाल-सूल-नरकदल-विसहर-विलय विरहिया ।

जय भगवत सत मिव सक्किव... .. ॥

PMP X 5 1 cf MBh 3 173 43, 14 8 24, 27; H. 3 85 11-23

Vāma-(deva), *Tripuraharī*, *Hara*, *Śaṁkara*, *Rudra*, *Bhava*, *Mahādeva* and *Mahākāla* ⁶⁷

It is worthy of note that like *Jinasena*, *Puṣpadanta* also eulogizes the Jina as the eight-formed god, with the only variation that instead of designating the Saviour as *Aṣṭamūrti*, the latter refers to him as *Aṣṭāṅga-Maheśvara* (the great God with eight limbs) But with regard to the enumeration of the eight forms, *Puṣpadanta* shows an element of straightforwardness which is wanting in *Jinasena* who has referred to the eight manifestations in a somewhat circumlocutory way The eight limbs as mentioned by *Puṣpadanta* are⁶⁸ (1) *Gagana* (space), (2) *Hutāśana* (fire), (3) *Candra* (moon), (4) *Ravi* (sun), (5) *Jīvita* (*Ātman*=soul), (6) *Mahī* (earth), (7) *Māruta* (Air) and (8) *Salīla* (water). It is remarkable that *Puṣpadanta* reckons *Jīvita* in place of the usual *Dīkṣita Brāhmaṇa* or *Tajamāna* or *Tajvan* as one of the eight forms, for, this is suggestive of *Puṣpadanta*'s recognition of that universal truth which is called *Ātman* ⁶⁹

Among the other names arrogated to the *Jina* the term *Ādi-Varāha*⁷⁰ is of especial significance, for, with it is associated the mythical phenomenon of Earth having been lifted from the depth of the great ocean by *Brahmā-Nārāyaṇa* in the form of the Primeval Boar (*Ādi-Varāha*), also styled *Tajña-Varāha*, *Mahā-Varāha*⁷¹ etc. The author, undoubtedly keeping in mind

67 For all these names and titles see *Ibid* X 5 1-8 and compare *Rāmā* 6 120 3, *MBh* 1 65 21a, 7 202 11-16f

68 जय गयण ह्यासण चद रवि जीवय महि माख्य सलिल ।

अट्ठगमहेसर जय... .. ॥

—PMP, X 5 19-20 Compare *Hv* 3 85 20b-21 and note 51 (ante)

69 आत्मा तस्याष्टमी मूर्तिर्यजमानाह्वया परा ।

दीक्षित ब्राह्मण प्राहुरात्मानश्च मुनीश्वरा ॥

—*Liṅgap* 2 12 43b-44a, quoted in *Matsya Purāṇa*—A Study, p 250

70 आर्द्धवराह उद्धरियस्त्रोणि ।

—PMP X. 5 10

71 *MBh* III 272 40-55, VI 05 52v *Hv* 1 41 28-38, 3 33 1-7, 8 34 29-48 *Vāyup* 6 2-27 *Rāmā* 2 110 3-4 (ascribing the Boar-incarnation to *Brahmā*).

the epic-Purāṇic legend of the redemption of the earth by *Varāha*, has ascribed the title to the *Jina* with an explanatory phrase which, though used in a special sense, points to the same act as the original legend. Thus, it is the reclaiming of the earth by the saviour which entitles him to the name *Ādi-Varāha*. Of the other names and attributes of *Brahmā* usurped to *Rṣabha*, mention may be made of *Hiranyagarbha*, *Vedāṅgavādīn*, *Kamalaṇi* and *Yajñapurusa*,⁷² Among *Viṣṇu*'s names and epithets, *Mādhava*, *Madhusūdana*, *Keśava*, *Vaikuṇṭha*, *Dāmodara* as well as *Viṣṇu*⁷³ are appropriated to the *Jina*. Besides these, *Ganeśa*,⁷⁴ *Sūrya* (*Divasanātha*⁷⁵) *Buddha*⁷⁶ and the patronymic *Śauddhodanī*, too, do not escape the searching eyes of Puspadanta who indiscriminately uses them as *Rsabhadeva*'s titles

The *Caūpannamahāpursacariya*⁷⁷ of *Śīlāṅka* (868 A D) is the first known *Śvetāmbara Purāṇa* on the exploits of the sixtythree *Śālākāpurusas* of the Jaina faith. It is written in *Prakrit* prose and verse and, therefore, shares the characteristic of that type of literary composition which is called *Campū*. Although *Śīlāṅka* gives accounts of all the sixty-three excellent men of the Jaina universal history, yet he calls his work *Caūpannamahāpursacariya* in place of the generally accepted name *Trisastī*. So it is evident that he does not regard the nine *Pratī-Vāsudevas* as great Men. But *Śīlāṅka* appears to be the only author to have adopted that scheme. Another important point to be noted about the work is that, unlike other works, it does not make *Vālmiki* and *Vyāsa* targets of its attack. Instead, the author seems to have proper regard for the *Mahābhārata* to which he

72 PMP X 5 10-13, cf MBh 1 1 29-32, Hv 1 1 27-30 MBh 1 54 11, 3 291 173 203 12-15, 12 348 48 Rāmā 7 36 3, 7 56 7

73 PMP X 5 14-16, X. 6 1b, cf MBh 13 149 16 21 f

74 PMP X 5 9a

75 *Ibid*, X 5 12

76 *Ibid*, X 6 1a

77. Edited by Pt Amṛtīlal Mohanlal Bhojak and published by Prakrit Text Society, Varanasi

alludes as the *Bhāratakathā*,⁷⁸ and in his version of the *Rāma*-story follows *Vālmiki* more closely than his Jain predecessors.⁷⁹ Moreover, in incidental notices of and references to the past events of mythological character, *Śīlānka* betrays fairly accurate knowledge of the traditional lore.⁸⁰ In the *Vibudhānanda* drama incorporated in the work to prepare king *Mahābala* (fourth previous incarnation of *Rṣabha-deva* and serving as a prelude to the *Rṣabha*-narrative) for renunciation, *Bhīṣma*'s fearlessness in battle is ascribed to the

78 भारहकहव्व समुल्लसिय-भीमज्जुणा

CMC, P 111

79 V M Kulkarni, The Rāmāyana-version of Śīlācārya as found in the *Cauṣannamahāpurisacarīya*, ABORI Vol XXXVI, pp 46-53

80 (I)णारायणमुत्तिव्व पयडियविस्सुवा (नारायणमूर्त्तिरिव प्रकटितविश्व-रूपा), (II) तियसाज्जुर्महियममुद्वेलव्व सकमला (त्रिदशासुरमथित-समुद्रवेला इव सकमला), (III) विणिह्यहिरण्यक्षसपुरिव्व मयाहिव-समाकुला (विनिहतहिरण्याक्षपुरी इव मृगाधिपसमाकुला), (IV) दाण-वाहिवतणुव्व वियरियहरिणहा (दानवाधिपतनुरिव विदारितहरिणहा), (V) गगेयज्जुणसमरभूमिव्व वियभियसिहडिसिलीमुहा (गाङ्गेयार्जुन-समरभूमिरिव विजृम्भितशिखण्डिशिलीमुहा) ।—CMC, p 111 As is evident from the excerpt, the first simile refers to the event of Lord *Viṣṇu*'s revealing his universal form (*Viśvarūpa*) to *Aruna* as described in the *Bhagavadgītā*, Canto 11. The second phrase alludes to the epic-Purāṇic legend of the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons and the appearance of *Kamālā* (*Lakṣmī*), goddess of wealth and beauty out of the foaming tide of the agitated ocean. Third and fourth similes relate to the *Varāha* and *Nara-siṃha* incarnations of God *Viṣṇu* stated to have slain the demon-kings *Hiraṇyākṣa* and *Hiraṇyakaśipu* respectively. The last passage refers to the eventful fight between *Bhīṣma* and *Arjuna* in which the latter, concealed behind *Śikhandin*, placed in the van of the army, brought about the end of *Bhīṣma*. The *Mahābhārata* tells us that the stratagem of hiding *Arjuna* behind *Śikhandin* was employed because of *Bhīṣma*'s resolve not to fight against *Śikhandin* whom the great hero had regarded as a woman, because originally *Śikhandin* was born as a daughter of king *Drupada* and was later converted to a man. For all the above references Vide MBh 1.18.1-43, 5.102.11-12, Rāmā 1.45.13-44, MBh 3.272.56-61, Hv 3.39.1-23, 3.41.1-3.47, 14.6.107.77-87, 6.108.3-4, 40-53, 3.117.1-7, 119.12-93.

faculty of dying at his own will⁸¹, *Pārtha* (son of *Prithā*=*Arjuna*) is referred to as having derived his strength from Lord *Kṛṣṇa*,⁸² *Karna* is stated to be (ever) under the protection of *Ravi* (the sun-god⁸³) and the extraordinary power of *Paulastya* (*Rāvana*) is attributed to (the grace of) *Bhava* (*Śiva*)⁸⁴

As has already been pointed out, the *CMC* is in deep debt to *Bāṇa's Kādambarī* for many a jewel of ideas, expressions and phrases. Its various descriptive sections are but Prakrit renderings⁸⁵ and recasts of the immortal romance. Apart from the

81. “भीष्मोऽमौ युधि नैव शङ्कितमना स्वच्छन्दमृत्युर्यत” —

—*CMC* p 20, V 20a, and compare *MBh* 1 100 102-103, 6 119 34, 35 107, 108, which tell us that *Bhīṣma's* gratified father, *Śantanu*, had granted him “the boon that death would never come to him as long as he desired to live” The boon gave him the power of controlling even death at his will

82 “पार्थोऽपीश्वरकेशवापितवल”

CMC, p 20, V 13b

83 “राधेयरक्षारवे”

—*Ibid*, p 20, V 13b It is to be borne in mind that the *Jaina Purāṇas* do not connect *Rādheya* (*Karna*) with the Sun-god. Instead, all the works represent him as the son of *Pāṇdu* procreated by the latter on *Kuntī* before she was duly married to him. The departure from the *Jaina* tradition makes the reference significant. Cf. *JHV*, 45 37a UP 70 109-13

84 “पौलस्त्योऽतिवलोऽभवत्”

CMC P 20 V 13c

85 e.g. (a) *CMC*, p 248

भारहचरिय विअ जायपडुवयरट्टपक्खविवखोह ।

(a) *Kāda*, p 266

भारतमिव पाण्डुघातं राष्ट्रकुलपक्षकृतक्षोभम् ।

(b) *CMC*, p 248

विभारण विअ वियम्भमाणवरपुण्डरीकोहम् ।

(b) *Kāda*, p 266

अरण्यमिव विजृम्भमाणपुण्डरीकम् ।

(c) *CMC*, p 248

कसवल विअ भमन्नलगीयमुहकुवलयवीढ ।

verbal borrowing the work betrays, on several sections, an incontestable influence of *Bāna's* style ⁸⁶ It is really amazing that the author has drawn on the *Kāthā* work so freely without

(c) *Kāda*, p 266

कसबलमिव मधुकरकुलोपगीयमानकुबलयापीटम् ।

(d) *CMC*, p 248 ,

बालचरियव तडरूहसठियहरिजल-रिवाय-कय कील ।

(d) *Kāda*, p 266

कृष्णबालचरितमिव तट-कदम्बशाखाधिरूढहरिकृतजलप्रपातक्रीडम् ।

(e) *CMC*, p 248

कटुवण-कदुधगण ?) मडल विअ गायसहस्तोवहुत्तपयणिवह ।

(e) *Kāda*, p 266 ,

कद्रूस्तनयुगलमिव नागसहस्रपीतपयोगण्डूपम् ।

(f) *CMC*, p 248 ;

दिव्व विअ अणिमिसालोयदिण्णदिट्ठीवियारित्त ।

(f) *Kāda*, p 266 ,

दिव्यमिवानिमिषलोचनरमणीयम् ।

The above excerpts recur in the *CMC* with regard to the description of a big pond just as their prototypes in the *Pādambarī* occur in the account of the lake *Acchoda* See appendix

86 e g (a) दरदसियभवणोववणकाणणुप्पाइउव्वभडमुहासा ।

गधव्वणायरसोहव्वपेच्छमाणस्सविपलाइ ॥

—*CMC*, p 252, V 85

(a) गन्धर्वनगरलेखेव पश्यत एव नश्यति

—*Kāda*, p, 226

(b) बहुविहगयदगडयल गलियमयसलिलपकुत्तव्व ।

अहिय पक्खलइ महारारिदगुरुमदिरेसुपि ॥

—*CMC*, p. 252, V 86

(b) अतिप्रयत्नविघृतापि परमेस्वरगृहेषु विविधगन्ध-गज-

गण्डमधुपानमत्तेव परिस्खलति

—*Kāda*, p 227

(c) अणुवरयकमलसच्चरणलग्गालगकठयवखण ।

कत्थइ पय णिवेसइ ण णिवभर अज्जवि खण पि ॥

—*CMC*, p. 252, V 87

least acknowledgement of the loan taken from it⁸⁷ This state, however, does not create a healthy impression about *Śilāṅka* who has virtually made himself guilty of plagiarism.

Hemacandra's Trisastīśalākāpurusa-carita (Circa 1160-1172 A.D.) is the fourth known work concerning the life-stories of the sixty-three great persons of the faith⁸⁸ It is a huge composition in *parvans* One appendix styled *Parīśiṣṭa Parvan*⁸⁹ is added to the main work probably in imitation of the *Mahābhārata* whereof the *Harivaṃśa*, also called *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* and *Khila* forms an appendix.

The *TSPC* is very important from the standpoint of richness of contents Most of the myths and legends, which are found in a concise form in the earlier works recur in it in an enlarged and elaborate form Some of the epic-Purāṇic episodes, not met with or summarily treated in the earlier Jaina narratives, are of particular interest These are, for instance, the episode of *Nala* and *Damayanti*, of *Puruḥūta* (a *Vidyādhara*-counterpart of *Indra*) and *Ahalyā*,⁹⁰ of *Uṣā* and *Aniruddha*⁹¹ and

(c) कमलिनीसंचरणाव्यतिकरलग्ननलिननालकटकेव न क्वचिदपि
निर्भरमावध्नाति पदम् ॥

—Kāda P 226

The above lines occur in both works in the same context, bringing home to us, as they do, some peculiar traits of *Lakṣmī*, the goddess of fortune and Beauty *Vide* Appendix appearing in the sequel

87. Although in one context the author makes a pointed reference to king *Tārāpīḍa* and his Prime Minister *Śukanāsa* (तारावीढत्याण (रा) घरा-यल विअ साहीणसुयणासं)

88 Winternitz, HIL Vol II, pp 505-507

89 *Ibid*, pp 507-510

90 *VSPC*, Vol V p 73, which is undoubtedly based on the epic story of *Indra's* violation of *Ahalyā*, wife of sage *Gautama*, MBh 5 12 0, 12 342 23, 13-41 21 *Rāmā* 1 48 15f, 7 30 24-34 and comp *TSPC*, Vol IV p 45

91 *TSPC*, Vol V, pp 245-47 The episode, as in Hv (2 116 12-19) also records the boon of invincibility granted to *Bāna*, father of *Uṣā*, by *Śamkara* It is also remarkable that Goddess *Gaurī* is stated to have given *Uṣā* the boon that she would have *Aniruddha*, grandson of *Kṛṣṇa* as her husband Comp Hv 2 117 13-19, 118 72-74, also 2 chapters 119-125

the episode of *Cakrin Suvarṇabāhu* and *Padmā*⁹² Of these, the last mentioned story is obviously fashioned after the theme of *Abhyñānaśākuntala* of *Kālidāsa* Similarly, the story of the preparation of the *Caru* oblations by *Jamadagni*⁹³ is a copy of the *Mahābhārata* episode of sage *Rciḥa*'s similar feat⁹⁴ In fact the work is interspersed with an overwhelming number of the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic myths and legends with some contextual adaptations These tales are very important and interesting from the point of view of their comparative appraisal

In a majority of cases the author has hinged together different tales of the epic origin and has given them a new appearance to suit the Jaina taste. Some epic and Purāṇic episodes have found incidental mention for the purpose of illustrating some important points,⁹⁵ and a few have been refer-

92 TSPC, Vol V , pp 371-375

93 *Ibid* , Vol IV , p 44 f

94 The epic fable tells us that sage *Rciḥa* intending to have an extraordinary son with the qualities of a *Brāhmaṇa* from his *Kṣatriya* wife *Satyavati*, daughter of king *Gādhī*, prepared a *Caru* oblation for her He prepared another *Caru* for his mother-in-law so that she might conceive an uncommon *Kṣatriya* child But the old lady prevailed upon her daughter in exchanging the oblations, with the result that the former gave birth to *Viśvāmitra*, a *Kṣatriya* with the character of a *Brāhmaṇa* Now, *Satyavati* was to bear a son with the traits of *Kṣatriya*, fierce in action When told by her husband about the result of the exchange, *Satyavati* begged that the effect might pass on to her grandson That being granted, she gave birth to *Jamadagni* with the result that his son *Paraśurāma* was born as a terrible warrior-*Brāhmaṇa* MBh XII 49 6-30, XIII 4 24-48, III 115 33-43 (which, however, tells that the *Caru* was given to the women by the sage *Bhṛgu*, father of *Rciḥa*) Also see Hv 1 27 17-35 It is to be noted here that to make the effect of the exchanged *Caru* direct, *Hemacandra* apparently gets them prepared by *Jamadagni* who is stated to have made one for his wife *Renukā* and another for her sister, wife of King *Anantaśūrya* And imputing a motive in his own way the author of the TSPC says that as *Renukā* changed her *Caru* for that of her sister, so she gave birth to *Paraśurāma* with the characteristics of a formidable warrior

95 To cite one from a host of such notices reference may be made to the passage where, stressing the importance of the outward form of an

red to with a view to lending charm and colour to the contextual description⁹⁶ However, a thorough comparative study of all these elements is beyond the scope of the present monograph.

Viewed from the standpoint of comparative study of the *Mahābhārata* themes, the *Pāṇḍavacarita* of *Devaprabha Sūri* is very important Written in 1213 A D the work appears to be the first known *Purāṇa* of its type Just as the *Mahābhārata* is divided into 18 *Parvans* so the *PC* contains exactly 18 cantos, obviously in imitation of the epic scheme The epic heroes find mention also in some of the canonical texts⁹⁷, but those works contain very scanty information about them, taking incidental notices of only a few minor events of their life

It must, however, be mentioned that the *Kaurava-Pāṇḍava* account has already been given by a number of post-canonical works, viz *JHV*, *UP*, *RC*, *PMP*, *CMC* and *TSPC* But in these works the history of the *Kaurava-Pāṇḍava* brothers does not find place as the principal theme, for, the main interest of the *Purāṇas* in question lies in the account of the *Harī* dynasty in general and in the description of the exploits of *Neminātha*, the twenty-second *Tīrthankara* as well as *Kṛṣṇa*, the ninth *Vasudeva* in particular

As in the *Mahābhārata*, the actual account begins with the life-story of king *Śantanu*,⁹⁸ great grandfather of the heroes

object as indicative of its intrinsic quality, the author says that moon's origin from the Ocean of Milk is inferred from appearance alone (*TSPC*, Vol III, p 182) Also see *ibid* Vol V, pp 321-22 which refer to the origin of deadly poison from the churning of the ocean of Milk Cf *MBh* 1 18 34, 41-43

96 c g *Cakrin Brahmadaṭṭa* sporting with his wives *Khandā* and *Viśākhā* is likened to Lord *Śiva* in the sportive company of *Gaṅgā* and *Umā* (Vol. V p 342) Similarly, a king of Magadha giving his daughters in marriage to *Cakrin Brahmadaṭṭa* is compared with *Dakṣa* (*Prajāpati*) wedding his daughters to the Moon-god,—Vol V p 343 cf *MBh* 1 60 10-13, 16, 9 35 45-46 ff

97 *Nāyā* 1c, quoted in *Life in Ancient India*, p 397, *Uttarā Tī.* 2 p 42a, quoted *ib id* p 386

98 *PC*, 1 21 ff

and concludes almost with the account of the total annihilation of the drunken *yādavas* in a fratricidal fray. Almost all important events connected with the titanic heroes of epic like *Bhīṣma*,⁹⁹ *Drona*, *Karna*, *Arjuna* and *Duryodhana* have been handled with a fair amount of faithfulness to the *Mahābhārata* version. The *Pāṇḍavas* have been represented here, as in the epic, as righteous and straightforward. The *Kauravas*, on the other hand, have been depicted as treacherous and mischievous. Further, in bravery the *Pāṇḍavas* are represented as far excelling their cousins who are described, just in the epic way, as put to pitiable plight by the former even in friendly tournament organised by *Droṇācārya*, their common *Guru* in the science of arms.

Besides the fundamental agreement between the main events as narrated in the *Mahābhārata* and those in the present work, there are situations which are strikingly analogous to those in the epic. For instance, reference may be made to the pre-war context wherein *Arjuna* reportedly resolves to retire from the fight against his friends and relatives as well as his elders arrayed in the *Kaurava* army. Thereupon, we are told, Lord *Kṛṣṇa* reproaches *Arjuna* with unbecoming weakness of heart and exhorts him that it is his sacred duty as a warrior to fight against his enemies whosoever they may be. Thus, Sri *Kṛṣṇa* urges *Arjuna* to fight in accordance with the doctrine of dispassionate action in conjunction with that of supreme devotion to the personal god as propounded in the *Bhagavadgītā*. And, it is significant that similar situation has been introduced in the present work just in the like manner. Here, too, *Arjuna* declines to wage war with his kinsmen, bereft of whom, he thinks, he cannot live in peace.¹⁰⁰ This resolve of *Arjuna* pains *Śrīkṛṣṇa* and he accuses the former of unmeet tenderness of heart and eggs him on to discharge his duty as a warrior.¹⁰¹

99 The account of the circumstances leading to *Bhīṣma*'s terrible vow of renouncing the kingdom and keeping celibate is in striking agreement with the epic description of the same. Cf. *Pc* 1 158-247 and *MBh.* 1 100 45-99.

100 *Pc*, 13 3 23 and comp. *Bg* 1 21-47, 2 4-9.

101 *Pc* 13 24-34, *Bg* 2.1-3, 10 ff.

However, the lengthy dialogue between *Kṛṣṇa* and *Arjuna*, as embodied in the *Bhagavadgītā*, has been reduced to a brief conversation between the two in the present work. This has given the dialogue a practical appearance and has made it appropriate to the occasion. The abridgement of the topic has also brought about a fundamental change in the nature of *Kṛṣṇa*'s teaching to *Arjuna* inasmuch as the philosophical character of the former's instruction to the latter as embodied in the *Gītā* has acquired in the present work a temporal form, stressing in a purely mundane way, that a *Kṣatriya* should strike his opponent unhesitatingly, no matter if he be his preceptor, father or son or any other relation.¹⁰²

The *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* by *Śubhacandra* (1551 A D) is the second known work concerning the life-story of the *Pāṇḍavas* and is the last in the series of the *Purānas* undertaken for our investigation. Like other Jaina *Purāṇa* this work, too, claims the origin of the *Pāṇḍava* tale from the last *Tirihankara Mahāvira*. The story is put in the mouth of *Gautama Ganadhara*, who, in reply to the queries mooted by King *Śrenika* of Magadha, relates the tale as current in the Jaina tradition. The questions are instituted in the form of recounting some inconsistencies in the tale incorporated in other works which are branded as full of false and misleading accounts of the events associated with the life of the epic heroes and heroines.

Most of the absurdities and inconsistencies as enumerated by *Śubhacandra* relate to the *Mahābhārata* version. The dig at the traditional accounts begins with a summary of the birth-story of *Matsyagandhā*,¹⁰³ great grandmother of the *Kaurava-Pāṇḍava* brothers. The brief account of the story allegedly current in other tradition is that king *Śantanu* (spelt in the work as *Śāntanu*), when out on a military expedition, sent his semen by a hawk to his wife during the period after her menstrual discharge. But the hawk on its way to the capital was attacked

102 Pc 13 25-27.

103 SPP 2.31-42.

by another hawk and the seed fell into the river Ganges. A fish swallowed the impregnating semen and became pregnant with a female child. In the full month of its pregnancy the fish was caught by a fisherman, and after it was rent asunder, a female child came out of its womb. As she emitted filthy fishy smell so she was named *Matsyagandhā*. Because of ill-smell of her body her dwelling was made on the bank of the river *Gangā* where she lived by rowing passengers across the river. One day the sage *Parāśara* caught sight of her on board the boat and desired her love. The girl yielded to his sexual urge and he in turn made her *Yojanagandhā* (with a wonderful perfume in a *Yojana* around). Now *Yojanagandhā*, immediately after her cohabitation with *Parāśara*, gave birth to *Vjāsa* who, soon after his birth, accompanied his father for practising penance. Later on, this same *Yojanagandhā* was married by King *Śantanu* to whom she bore two sons, *Citra* (*Citrāṅgada*) and *Vicitra* (*Vicitravīra*).

Now, a comparison of the epic account of *Satyavatī's* biography and the present summary of the tale reveals that except for the foisting of *Śantanu* into the tale as the father of *Matsyagandhā*, the abovementioned account has almost everything in common with *Mahābhārata* myth¹⁰⁴ of *Satyavatī's* extraordinary birth with one conspicuous point of disagreement between the two accounts. The distinction is marked by the fact that in the epic version it is not *Śantanu* but King *Vasu Uparicara* of *Cedi* who fathers *Matsyagandhā* in the manner described above.

104 The epic story in a nutshell is that King *Vasu Uparicara* of *Cedi* while out on a hunting excursion sends forth his semen by a hawk to his wife during the period after menses. But in its journey towards the capital the carrier is attacked by another hawk and the semen falls into the river *Yamunā*. An *Apsaras Adrikā*, transformed into a fish through a curse, swallows the seed and conceives. And when caught by a fisherman, the fish brings forth two children, one male and one female. The male child is made over to his father *Vasu* and the female child is adopted by the fisherman as his daughter who receives various names such as *Matsyagandhā*, *Gandhāli*, *Dāseyī* etc. She when still a virgin, becomes the mother of *Kṛṣṇa Deva pūjara Vjāsa* by the sage *Parāśara* and later becomes the wife of King *Śantanu* to whom she bears two sons *Citrāṅgada* and *Vicitravīrya*,—*Mah* 1 63 39-86, 1 95 48-50, 1 100 47 ff.

Now, keeping in view the Jaina authors' leaning towards mischievous distortion and misrepresentation of the traditional accounts, it will not be unwarranted to hold that *Subhacandra* has replaced *Vasū Uparicara* by *Śantanu* to give the epic myth the most perverted look

Other instances of incongruity as mentioned in the work include (i) the account of the procreation of *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *Pāṇdu* and *Vidura* by *Vjāsa* on the widows of *Vicitravīrya*,¹⁰⁵ (ii) the story of *Pāṇdu's* accidental slaying of a *Rsi* enjoying sexual pleasures with his wife in the form of a male and a female deer and the consequent curse pronounced by the sage's wife on *Pāṇdu* that he will meet his end in the embraces of his wife¹⁰⁶, (iii) the myth of *Karna's* procreation by the Sun-god on *Kuntī* in her maidenhood¹⁰⁷ and the legend of the begetting of *Yudhisthira*, *Bhīma* and *Arjuna* respectively by *Dharma* (god of justice) *Vāyu* (wind-god) and *Indra* on *Kuntī* and, of the twin brothers *Nakula* and *Sahadeva* by *Aśvins* on *Mādrī* on behalf of *Pāṇdu*¹⁰⁸, (iv) the account of *Draupadī's* marriage with all the *Pāṇdavas*¹⁰⁹ and (v) the representation of *Gāṅgeya* (*Bhīṣma*) as the son of the river *Gangā*

Besides the above-cited instances of absurdities *Subhacandra* mentions one more which is really outrageous. That relates to the most disgusting birth-story of the *Kauravas*. The work alleges that according to the other traditions *Gandhārī* was wedded to a hundred goats which were slaughtered in a

105 2 44-47, cf MBh 8 105 1-32

106 2 56-61, cf MBh 1 117 5-33 According to the epic version it is the dying sage who curses *Pāṇdu*

107 2 62 MBh 1 110 4-20

108 2 64-65 MBh 1 122 1-35, 1 123 15-17

109 2 69 71 MBh 1 104 23-31, 1, chaps 196-197 However, the Śvetāmbara texts, like the Brahmanical sources, admit the event of *Draupadī's* marriage with the five *Pāṇdava*-brothers (*Nāyā-Dhammakahā* chapter XVI). And the Buddhist *Jātaka*, in a bid to illustrate feminine infidelity connects her, besides her five husbands, with a hunch-backed servant with whom she is said to have committed adultery, *Kunāla-Jātaka* cf Winternitz, *HIL*, Vol I, p 472

sacrifice and the goats, when sacrificed, appeared as imps and goblins who had sexual intercourse with *Gāndhārī* who brought forth a lump of flesh. The lump was divided into a hundred parts and each piece was placed on a cotton-pad. Those pieces of flesh later on developed into the formidable *Kaurava*-brothers headed by *Duryodhana* ¹¹⁰

As to the above-cited fantastic account, we could not find any trace of it in the traditional works, although the later part of the fable has some semblance of the *Mahābhārata* ¹¹¹ account of the birth of the *Kaurava* brothers. Under the circumstances, it may be taken as an instance of *Śubhacandra*'s concoction with a motive to paint the 'other tradition' in the blackest colour.

A comparative study, however, reveals that *Śubhacandra* has drawn upon the works of his predecessors to a great extent. And instances are not wanting which show even verbal borrowings from the *Harivamśapurāṇa* ¹¹² of *Jinasena*, the *Mahāpurāṇa* ¹¹³ of *Jinasena-Gunabhadra* and the *Pāṇḍavacarita* of *Devā-*

110 *SPP*, 2 48-53a

111 One day queen *Gāndhārī* received sage *Prāsa* with due respect. The sage granted her a boon. She chose to be the mother of a hundred sons. After two years she produced a lump of flesh which sage *Prāsa* divided into a hundred and one pieces. Each piece was kept in a separate basin filled with ghee. Now, after the expiry of full two years, *Duryodhana*, his brothers and a sister were born, *MBh* 1 114 7-41

112 *JHc* 45 119-120 and *SPP*, 15 36-37

113 पुरुषार्थत्रयं पुष्पिर्दुष्प्राप तत्त्वयार्जितम् ।
न्यायमार्गं समुल्लङ्घ्य वृथा तत् किं विनाशये ॥

—*MP* 44 50 and comp

दुष्प्राप तत्त्वया पुष्पि पुरुषार्थत्रयं महत् ।
अर्जितं न्यायमुल्लङ्घ्य वृथा तत् किं विनाशये ॥

—*SPP* 3 76

Also comp *MP*, 45 11 and *SPC*, 3 130, *MP*, 45 51-55 and *SPC*, 3 145-48, *MP*, 45 59 and *SPC*, 3 149.

prabha Sūri.¹¹⁴ In fact, the work in question owes much to the amalgamation of the materials derived mostly from these works.

These are the hitherto known Jaina *Purāṇas* which are the representative works of the faith. Naturally, we have based our investigation pre-eminently on these sources the results of which have been set forth in the preceding and the following pages.

¹¹⁴ *Comp PC.* 155, 185, 187, 192, 198 and *SPP*, 7, 82, 96, 97 and 99.

CHAPTER II

BRAHMANICAL DEFINITION OF THE PURĀNA AND ITS APPLICABILITY TO THE JAINA PURĀNAS

(Analysis of the Jaina Definition)

The term *Purāna* etymologically¹ means “a thing of past origin.” But as indicated by the enumeration of the materials from which the original *Purāna* is said to have been compiled, the term in question meant in the Pre-Purāṇic period ancient traditional tales of gods, sages and celebrated kings of the most ancient period. These materials² are said to have been (i) *Ākhyāna* (floating popular tales), (ii) *Upākhyāna* (legendary episodes), (iii) *Gāthās* (old laudatory songs) and (iv) *Kalpa-juktis* (accounts of cosmic ages³). Next, in the later stage of the Purāṇic development the term came to be employed in the sense of a special class of sacred literature dealing with five topics such as (i) *Sarga* (creation), (ii) *Pratisarga* (secondary creation after the dissolution of the world), (iii) *Vamśa*

1 The term ‘Purāṇa’ consists of two elements, the base *Pura* and the *taddhita* suffix *ana*—(*na=na*) *Purā* signifies the sense of ‘ancient’ and *ana* means ‘the state of being’, and thus the term denotes ‘a thing of ancient origin’. This meaning is aptly conveyed by its annotation as *Purābhavam* ‘occurring in the past’—*Siddhānta Kaumudī* on *Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 4.3.23.

2 आख्यानेश्चाप्युपाख्यानैर्गाथाभि कल्पजोवितभि ।

पुराणसहिता चक्रे पुराणार्थ-विशारद ।

—Bd II 34.21,

Vā 60.21 (which reads कुलकर्म in place of कल्पजोवित), *Viṣṇu* III 6.16, Also see Pargiter, *AIHT*, pp 21, 24, 25, *S D Gvāṇī*, *Agni-purāṇa*—A Study, pp 21-24.

3 Pargiter, *op cit* pp 22, 25-27, 33-34.

genealogies).⁴

A study of the ancient Indian literature reveals that the *Purāṇa* together with the *Itihāsa* was looked upon with the highest regard even in the vedic period inasmuch as it was called a *Veda*⁵ and the daily recitation of the *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* was held highly auspicious⁶ and was considered as conferer of all desired objects⁷ Next, the *Chāndogyaopaniṣad* calls the *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* a fifth veda to be studied along with the other four *Saṃhitās*⁸ From all these references and similar others⁹ it is evident that both the *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* as vehicles of ancient traditions about the most ancient sages, celebrated kings and other illustrious persons as well as their cultural activities were of immense popularity, and were considered to be effective and enduring means of universal culture¹⁰

4 “सर्गञ्च प्रतिसर्गञ्च वयो मन्वन्तराणि च ।

अध्यानुचरित चेति पुराण पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥”

Vā, 4 10 (other sources have *vaṃśa* in place of the *Vāyu's vaṃśya*) *Met* 53 65, Bd 1 1 37-38

5 *Atharvaveda*, xi 7 24, पुराण वेद सोऽयम्—SB 13 4 3 12, *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, X 7, SSS, XVI 1

6 मङ्गल्यानीतिहासपुराणानि

—AGS, 4 7

7 ‘य एव विद्वान् वाकोवाक्यम् इतिहास-पुराणमित्यहरह स्वाध्यायमधीते त एव तृप्तास्तर्पयन्ति सर्वे कामं सर्वभोग्यं”

—SB, 11 5 7 9

8 “ऋग्वेद भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थम् इतिहास-पुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदम्”

—7 1 2

9 Pargiter, *AIHT*, pp 55-57

10 “यो विद्याच्चतुरो वेदान् साङ्गोपनिषदो द्विज ।

न चेत्पुराणं सविद्यान्नैव स स्याद्विचक्षण ॥

इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपवृहयेत् ।

विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥”

Vā 1 200-201, MBh, 1 2 235, 1 1 204 As is evident from the references in the MBh the couplets are found not together but separately at two different places. One important point to be noted here is that the MBh reads *na cāhyānamīdam vidyāt* in lieu of *na cetpurāṇam saṃvidyāt* as seen in the first verse quoted above.

Now so far as the term *Itihāsa* is concerned, it denoted derivatively the factual account of the past events i.e. the actual traditional history. It was this factual nature of the *Itihāsa* which served as a differentiating factor between it and a *Purāna*. This factual character of the former is substantially conveyed by the mono-syllabic particle *ha* forming its constituent, for the term *Itihāsa* has been derived from a queer combination of *iti-ha-āsa*¹¹ (thus indeed was). It was possibly on this score that both the *Purānas* and the *Itihāsas* were treated as different branches of ancient Indian saga. This distinction between the two is clearly vindicated by a number of vedic and post-vedic references¹² wherein both are posed together as different branches of traditional lore.

Notwithstanding the fact that we meet with the frequent references to the *Purāna* or *Purānas* in the Pre-Purānic works, the works concerned do not throw any light on the precise character of the *Purānas*. It is only the extant *Purānas* that afford us a glimpse of their character by the enumeration of the ingredients which are stated to have made up the original *Purāna* or Purānic collection¹³. From that enumeration it becomes clear that originally the *Purānas*, referred to so often, must have been in the form of tales of gods, seers and celebrated kings together with their genealogies and exploits, which later on crystallised into the five subjects¹⁴ that 'gave rise to the term *Pañcalaksana* as a special epithet of the *Purāna*'.

Similarly, the *Itihāsas* which were traditional historical tales took definite shapes as the two national epics, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Bhārata*. Of the two the latter, also called the

11 Dr Jyotiprasad Jaina seems to have been mistaken in deriving the term from *iti-ihā-āsa*. See *The Jaina sources of the History of Ancient India*, p. 1.

12 *Chā Upa* VII 14, *AGS* III 3, *Manu* III 232, *Yājñavalkya* I 45, Also see *Supra* notes 5-8.

13 Above note 2.

14. Above note 4.

*Jaya-Itihāsa*¹⁵, kept itself free from the accretions of episodical and other extra-historical matters at least for some times, as is evidenced by the epic statement about the extent and character of the original *Bhārata-Samhitā*¹⁶. But with the march of time fresh matters of universal nature began to be incorporated in the body of the *Bhārata*, and thus the *Itihāsa*, which was considered for long to be concerned with actual historical events, came to be regarded simply as a narrative of the past events¹⁷—both historical and legendary. It is because of this new development that the *Mahābhārata* calls itself not only an *Itihāsa* but also a *Purāṇa* and an *Ākhyāna*¹⁸.

Thus, the *Mahābhārata*, which was an *Itihāsa* in its primal form kept its door open for long to receive all branches of Indian wisdom—its mythology, cosmology¹⁹, ethics, Philosophy,

15 “जयो नामेतिहासोऽयं श्रोतव्यो विजिगीषुणा”

—MBh. iv. 136. 18a (Gītā Press),

“भारतस्येतिहासस्य”

—I. 1. 17a, I. 1. 24b,

“इतिहाममिमं चक्रे पुण्यं सत्यवतीसुतः”

—I. 1. 52

16 “चतुर्विंशतिमाहस्री चक्रे भारतसंहिताम् ।

उपाख्यानैर्विना तावद् भारतं प्रोच्यते दुर्धृ ॥”

—MBh. I. 1. 61

17. इतिहासः पुरावृत्तः ऋषिभिः परिकीर्त्यते ।”

—BD. IV. 46

18 “द्वैपायनेन यत्प्रोक्तं पुराणं परमपिण्डम् ।

सुरैर्ब्रह्मर्षिभिश्चैव श्रुत्वा यदभिपूजितम् ॥

तस्याख्यानवरिष्ठस्य विचित्रपदपर्वणः ।

सूक्ष्मार्थन्याययुक्तस्य वेदार्थभूषितस्य च ॥

भारतस्येतिहासस्य पुण्या ग्रन्थार्थसंयुताम् ।

संस्कारोपगतां ब्राह्मी नानाशास्त्रोपवृत्ताम् ॥”

—MBh. I. 1. 15-17. This quotation is important inasmuch as all the names occur at a place.

19. Ibid., I. 1. 27-45.

institutional ideas, and in a nutshell, all matters relating to man's religious, economic, aesthetic and spiritual cravings as well as the ways and means of their just realization²⁰. Thus by the incorporation of all these matters of universal interest this national epic was made a thesaurus of universal knowledge. This all comprehensive character of the epic caused an expansion of the connotation of the term *Itihāsa* and eventually it came to be regarded as a composite body of literature, comprising *Purāna*, *Itivṛtta*, *ākhyāyikā*, *Udāharana* *Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra* ²¹

As to the *Purānas*, the same method of augmentation was applied to the *Pañcalaksana Purāna*, and the subjects, which were outside the purview of the original *Pañcalaksana Purānas* were received into them. Thus, the topics on *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Moksa*²² besides the subjects of sectarian nature, viz the glorification of *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu*, *Rudra* and the Sun-god as well as the description of the world²³ were admitted into the existing *Purānas*. Furthermore, the subjects relating to the four *varnas* and *Āśramas* together with those of the women and the mixed castes, were also incorporated in them ²⁴ In addition to these we also learn from the *Vāyu-Purāna* that the eighteen *Purānas* also impart instruction about the great rivers, the Gaṅges, etc., about sacrifices, religious observances and austerities, about various kinds of gifts together with *yamas* and *niyamas* (self-controlling and sense-subjugating acts), about different religious cults and philosophical systems

20 MBH, I 1 46-48

21 "पुराणमिति वृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरण धर्मशास्त्रम् अर्थशास्त्र च इतीति-
हास "

—*Arthaśāstra*, 1 5 14

22 "धर्मश्चायंश्च कामश्च मोक्षश्चैवात्र कीर्त्यते"

—*Mat* 53-69

23 "ब्रह्म-विष्णुर्कन्दराणा माहात्म्य भुवनस्य च"

—*Ibid*, 53 66

24 *Vāyu* 104 12-13a

and a number of other topics ²⁵ It is obvious that these other topics comprised the *smṛtimatters*, such as sacraments, *Vratas*, *Upavāsas* (fasts) expiations and other religious rites and rituals, and so on

As a result of that expansion of the Purāṇic corpus, an attempt was made in the later period to distinguish between Purāṇa or Upapurāṇa and *Mahāpurāṇa*, on the basis of the number of topics that it dealt with. Thus, the *Mahā-purāṇa* was described as having ten topics, whereas the *Purāṇa*, keeping close to the *Pañcalakṣana* definition came to be treated as *Alpa* or *Upapurāṇa* ²⁶ It was thus that with all these and sundry topics the *Purāṇas* came to be looked upon as effective guides in different fields of human activities

Now coming to the Jaina Purāṇic literature, we find that the first three works, viz *VPC*, *RPC* and *JHV* do not provide any definition of *Purāṇa*, although all of them are styled as *Purāṇas* ²⁷ Nevertheless, the topics, which they enumerate, clearly show that the subjects include most of the Purāṇic materials in a disguised form. The topics as enumerated by *Vimalasūri* are (i) *Sṭhiti* (the nature and position of the world), (ii) *Vamśa-samulpatti* (origin of various dynasties), *Prasthāna* (departure of *Rāma*, *Lakṣmana* and *Sītā* to the forest), (iv) *Rana* (war between *Rāma* and *Rāvana*), (v) *Lavankusupatti* (birth of *Lava* and *Ankuśa*) ²⁸ (vi) *Nirvāṇa* (emancipation of *Rāma*) and (vii) *Anekabhava* (description of various existences of the *Śāla-*

²⁵ Ibid 104 13a-16,

Matsya Purāṇa—A Study, pp 173-76

²⁶ “सर्गोऽस्याथ विसर्गश्च वृत्ती रक्षान्तराणि च ।

वशो वशानुचरित सस्या हेतुरपाश्रय ॥

दशभिर्लक्षणैर्युक्त पुराण तद्विदो विदुः ।

केचित् पञ्चविध ब्रह्मन् महदल्पव्यवस्थया ॥”

—*Bhāgavata* XII 7 9-10, *Brahmaṣaivarta*, IV 133 vv 6-10

²⁷ *VPC* 1 32, 118 111, *RPC* 1 44 123, 168, *JHV*, 1 51

²⁸ ठिह्-वस-समुप्पत्ती पत्थाणरण लवकुसुप्पत्ती ।

णिज्वाणमण्यभवा सत्त पुराणेत्य अहिगारा ॥”

—*VPC*, 1 32, *RPC*, 1 43-44.

kāpuruṣas). Jinsena in his *Harivamśapurāṇa*²⁹ gives the number of contents as eight. These, according to JHV, are (i) *Loka-samsthāna*, (ii) *Rājavamśodbhava*, (iii) *Harivamśāvatāra* (origin of the Hari dynasty), (iv) *Vasudevaviceṣṭita* (exploits of Vasudeva), (v) *Nemināthacarita* (The narrative of *Neminātha*, which includes in major parts the accounts of *Kṛṣṇa*'s life), (vi) *Dvārāvātī-niveśana* (founding of *Dvārāvātī*, (vii) *Tuddha-varnana* (the description of war between *Kṛṣṇa* and *Jarāsandha*, the ninth *Vasudeva* and *Prativasudeva* respectively) and (viii) *Nirvāṇa* (the liberation of *Neminātha* and other *Śālākāpuruṣas* from the worldly cycle).

A comparison of the abovementioned two lists clearly shows that the first two and the last topics of both the lists are of general character and may form the subject-matter of all the *Purāṇas*, irrespective of their specialisation in the treatment of any particular *Carita* or a set of them. The remaining topics, however, are of a special type and concern the life-stories of *Rāma* and of *Nemināth*, or more appropriately, of *Vasudeva* and *Kṛṣṇa* respectively.

A study of the *Purāṇas* under review reveals that the first topic of the above lists, viz *Sthiti* and *Lokasamsthāna* obviously replaces the first two characteristics of the Brahmanical *Pañcaloka* definition. The treatment of this topic includes the description of the three divisions of the universe together with their various subdivisions. It is under this section that the Jaina *Purāṇas* affirm the eternal nature of the world, which according to the Jaina belief, is without beginning and end³⁰ (*anādyanidhana*). The second topic of the lists, viz *Vamśasa-*

- 29 "लोकसंस्थानमत्रादौ राजवशोद्भवस्ततः ।
हरिणशावतारोऽतो वसुदेव-विचेष्टितम् ॥
चरित नेमिनाथस्य द्वारावत्या निवेशनम् ।
युद्धवर्णननिर्वाणे पुराणोऽष्टौ शुभा इमे ॥"

—171-72

- 30 "लोमो अणाइनिहणोऽतिभेयभिन्नो ह्वइ निच्चो"

—VPC, 3 18b, JHV, 4 4, MP, 4.39-40,

mutpatti or *Rājavamśodbhava* deals with the origin of various ruling families together with the genealogical accounts of the persons belonging to different dynasties. It is under this section that the *Vamśa* and *Vamśānucarita* subjects of the five-characteristic-*Purāna* may be said to have found their treatment. The study of these *Purānas* further reveals that the works contain more than they mention, for the *Purānas* under investigation also give a sketchy account of the fourteen *Manvantaras*³¹ as well as a brief description of the social conditions of the primitive people during the reign of those mythical rulers of yore. Thus the Brahmanical *Pañcalakṣaṇa* definition is applicable to these *Purānas*³² in the same moderate way as it is to the extant Brahmanical *Purānas*.

Viewed from the standpoint of adjustment to the Brahmanical conception of *Purāna* both in the old *Pañcalakṣaṇa* form and in its augmented appearance, the *Mahāpurāna* of Jinasena-Gunabhadra is the most important of all the Jaina *Purānas*. Even the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākā-puruṣacarita* of Hemacandra, otherwise showing sufficient sign of Brahmanical influence, does not compare well with this work on this point. Vying, as it does, with the epics, especially the *Mahābhārata* on the one hand and with the Brahmanical *Purānas* on the other, it lays its claim to the status both an *Itihāsa* and a *Purāna*. In the introductory portion of the work we come face to face with the definition of the *Purāna* just in its primitive sense essentially based on the etymology of the term. The author here says that by the term *Purāna* should be taken an event of the past³³ and its state of being a *Purāna* is established by the fact that it was made current (among the people) by the ancient seer³⁴. In continuation of the analysis of the nature and scope of the *Purāna*

31 VPC, iii 48-50, RPC, iii 74-88, JHV, vii 122-176

32. Cf V.M Kulkarni IVPC, p 27

33. पुरातनं पुराणं स्यात्

AP 1 22a

34. "कवि पुराणमाश्रित्य प्रसृतत्वात् पुराणता ।"

he calls it both *Ārsa*³⁵ (composed by Ṛṣi) and (*Sūkta*³⁶ (pregnant with pleasant and truthful teachings) as well as *Dharmaśāstra*. The work is further styled an *Āmnāya*³⁷, a synonym of the *veda*. In addition to this designation the author also considers it both an *Itihāsa*, *Itivṛtta* and *Ātīhya*.³⁸ Next, he treats *Itihāsa* and *Purāna* as identical in character.³⁹ Here a *Purāna* to the writer is simply an old traditional tale, having no reference to the later five characteristic features which gave the *Purāna* the title *Pañcalakṣaṇa*.

Thus having represented here early tradition already embodied in the Mbh,⁴⁰ the author of the MP proceeds to deal with the subject matter of the *Purāna* with especial reference to the later five characteristic features as pictured in some of the earlier Brahmanical *Purānas*. These five topics are first mentioned by way of questions instituted by king *Bharata* to Lord *Rṣabha*. The former seeks information from the latter about the *Manu*⁴¹ period of time, nature of the world, descent of (different stages of) time as also about the origin, existence and end of the (human and superhuman) families (*Vaṁśotṭattilaya-sthūtiḥ*)⁴² While enumerating the main topics of his *Purāṇa*,

35 “ऋषि-प्रणीतमार्षं स्यात् सूक्तं सूनृतशासनात् ।

धर्मानुशासनाच्चेदं धर्मशास्त्रमिति स्मृतम् ॥”

—1 24, The *Vālmikiya Rāmāyana* calls itself *Ārṣa*

36 Cf *Vāyu*, 1 19, 61 61, where the Purāṇic verses are mentioned as *ṛcas*, *Sahasrāṇi ṛcāmaṣṭau saṣṣatāṇi tathaiḥ ca*

37 AP, 1 25 Instances are not lacking where the Brahmanical *Purānas* appropriate to themselves the title *veda*. The *Vāyupurāna*, for instance, calls the Purāṇic literature by the name *Purāna-veda* (*Vā* 1 17—*Purāna-Vedo hyakhilastasmīn samyak pratīṣṭitah*)

38 Op cit. 1 25

39 “पुराणमितिहासाख्य यत्प्रोवाच गणाधिप ”

Ibid, 1 26a

40 I. 1 46-48, 191 (where it is called sacred *Upaniṣad*), 205 being designated as *Kārṣṇa Veda*), 208 9 which establish the claim of the *Mahābhārata* for its superiority to the four *vedas* which are said to have been outweighed by the former both in merit and bulk)

41. AP 1 174-75

42 “लोक कालावतार च वशोत्पत्ति-लयस्थिती ”

Jinasena states at another place that 'the location of the three worlds (*jagattraya-niveśa*), the totality of the three (divisions of) time (*traikālyasya ca samgrahaḥ*) and the creation as well as the destruction of the world (*jagataḥ Sṛṣṭi-saṁhārau*) are wholly related here ⁴³ The terms *Sṛṣṭi* and *Samhāra* may logically be equated respectively with the *Sarga* and *Pratisarga* characteristics of the *Pañcalakṣana* definition, for the study of the *Purāṇas* reveals that, though critical of the Brahmanical theory of creation, these works do not differ from Brahmanical view in the main

The instances are many which display the Jaina belief in the periodical dissolution and, therefore, the implied resurgence or re-creation of the world ⁴⁴ Gunabhadra's reference to the *Pralaya* of the world at the close of the sixth period of *Avasarpinī*⁴⁵ also points to the same truth as is conveyed by the

43 "जगत्त्रयनिवेशश्च त्रैकाल्यस्य च समग्रह ।
जगतः सृष्टिसंहारौ चेति कुन्स्मिहोच्यते ॥"

—MP 1 119

So far as I know, the author does not give the account of *Samhāra*. However, there is an incidental reference to the idea of *Pralaya*, which undoubtedly shows his belief in the process of dissolution and re-creation of the world

किमिदं प्रलयक्षोभात् क्षुभितं वारिधेर्जलम् ।
किमुत त्रिजगत्सर्गं प्रत्यग्नोऽयं विजृम्भते ॥

—MP 26 86

(Is this the stirred out water of the ocean agitated) on account of the dissolutionary gust, or is this a fresh creation of the three worlds coming into being ?)

44 PMP XVII 1 6b

ण पलयजलसु धगधगधगतु ।

TSPC, 1 5 691

कल्पान्तसागरावर्तगर्तभ्रान्तादिमत्स्यवत् ।

Ibid, 4 1 677a

कटाक्षमिव कालस्य कल्पान्ताग्ने शिखामिव ।

45 UP, 76 447-53 cf *Trilokasāra* (vv 864-86) quoted by Pt Pannalal Jain in his translation of the work, p 559

Brahmanical tradition.⁴⁶ What is significant here is the idea of the periodical end and the revivification or resurgence of the world. It matters not whether we call that event re-creation or something else. It is also immaterial if we attribute that function to any extraneous power or to the inherent quality of the elements or atoms constituting the material world. Thus, *Samhāra* of the present list is suggestive of the same event as is conveyed by *Pratisarga* from different angles, for, the latter essentially implies prior dissolution of the world.

Next, the author of the present work specifies the topics peculiar to the life story of *Rṣabhadeva*, the first *Tīrthankara*.⁴⁷ These topics according to the list are (i) *Sthitī* (the position of the eternal world), (ii) *Kuladharotpatti* (birth of the *Kuladhara*s⁴⁸ popularly called *Manus*), (iii) *Vamśa-nirgama* (origin of various dynasties), (iv) *Puroh Sāmrajya* (Sovereignty), (v) *Ārhanṭya* (his *arhat*-hood), (vi) *Nirvāna* (liberation from the recurring cycle of births and deaths) and (vii) *Yuga-vicchidā* (end of the *Yuga* i.e. of *Avasarpinī*). A comparison of the present list with those of the MP has included the account of the *Manvantaras* and of the dissolution of the epoch (*yuga*) among the main topics of his *Vṛṣabha-Purāna*. Thus Jināsena has brought his list quite closer to the five characteristics of the Brahmanical *Purānas* in a modified form, for, the object-*sthiti*, *Kuladharotpatti*, *Vamśa-nirgama* and *yuga-vicchidā* fairly

46 *Vāyu*, 102 1.53.

47 स्थिति कुलधरोत्पत्तिवशानामथ निर्गम ।
पुरो साम्राज्यमार्हन्त्य निर्वाण युगविच्छिदा ॥
एते महाधिकारा स्युः पुराणे वृषभेशिनः ॥

—A P, II, 158-59a

48 प्रजाना जीवनोपायमननान्मनवो मता ।
आर्याणां कुलमस्त्यायकृते कुलकरा इमे ॥
कुलानां धारणादेते मता कुलधरा इति
युगादिपुरुषा प्रोक्ता युगादौ प्रमविष्णाव ॥

—AP, III, 211-212

cover the subjects treated under the Brahmanical topics, *Sarga*, *Manvantara*, *Vaṁsa-cum-Vaṁśānucarita* and *Pratisarga* respectively

Thus, as noted above, the Brahmanical *Pañcalakṣaṇa* definition is moderately applicable to our Jaina *Purāṇas* as well, for, in their own way they give accounts of creation, dissolution and re-creation of the world, origin of the families of gods, sages and deified *Jinas*, description of various *Manvantaras*⁴⁹ and genealogical accounts of different royal dynasties⁵⁰ However, the study of the extant Jaina *Purāṇas* clearly shows that the works in question, like their Brahmanical counterparts, treat of a great number of such topics as are not embraced by the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* definition The obvious reason is that these *Purāṇas* were written in the age when the corpus of the Hindu *Purāṇas* had already been filled with the extra-*Purāṇic* materials to meet the racial, religious, cultural and spiritual exigency of the contemporary people These topics with sectarian tinge were related to the sphere of *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa*, and were conceived as the four *Puruṣārthas*. Now, the Jaina *Purāṇa* writers in a bid to place their *Purāṇic* works at par with the Hindu *Purāṇas* were impelled to incorporate in them even those matters which were considered as essentially opposed or non conducive to the religious merit according to the early Jaina belief as embodied in their canonical works⁵¹ Thus, being motivated by a sense of competition

49 Infra, Chap III

50 Vide Chapters IV-VI

51 किं माहृणा जोइ समारभन्ता उदएण सोहि बहिया विमग्गह ।
ज मग्गहा बहिरिय विसोहि न त खुदिट्ठ कुसला वयन्ति ॥
कुस च जूव तणकट्ठमग्गि साय च पाय उदग फुसन्ता ।
पाणाइ भूयाइं विहेइयन्ता भुज्जो वि मन्दा पग्गेह पाव ॥

—*Uttarādhyāyana*, XII. 38-39

and comp त्रयोऽग्नय प्रणेया स्यु कर्मरम्भे द्विजोत्तमै.

रत्नत्रितयसकल्पादग्नीन्द्र मुकुटोद्भवा

तीर्थकृद्गुणभृच्छ्रेयकेवल्यन्तमहोत्सवे ।

with Purāṇic Hinduism the Jaina savants have laid great emphasis on the performance of various rites and rituals of liturgical nature. They also prescribe for their lay adherents different kinds of sacraments, *vratas*, *upavāsas* and offering gifts and, enjoin strict adherence to the institutions of *Varnas* and *Āśramas*. Like the epics and the Brahmanical *Purāṇas* these works also evidence great interest in the co-ordinated cultivation of the four *Puruṣārthas*, especially the *Trivarga*, viz. *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* ⁵². All these elements are highly conspicuous in the MP and the TSPC which are more ambitious in their plan and contents than the other works of similar nature and, rival the epics and the *Purāṇas* of the Brahmanical school both on qualitative and quantitative planes.

Analysis of the Jaina Definition

In addition to their qualified conformity to the ancient Brahmanical *Pañcalakṣana* theory, the Jaina *Purāṇas* also offer their own definition on similar lines. This new definition, though taking into consideration some important development in the nature and scope of the *Purāṇas*, also pays due regard to the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* characteristics. Accordingly, a *Purāṇa* is said to have contained five topics ⁵³. These are (1) *Kṣetra*, (2) *Kāla*, (3) *Tīrtha*, (4) *Satpuruṣas* (noble persons) and (5) *Tadvicēṣṭitam* (their conduct).

पूजाङ्गत्व समासाद्य पवित्रत्वमुपागता ।
 कुण्डत्रये प्रणेतव्यास्त्रय एते महाग्नय ॥
 गार्हपत्याहवनीयदक्षिणाग्निप्रसिद्धय ।
 अस्मिन्तन्नित्रये पूजा मन्त्रैः कुर्वन् द्विजोत्तम ॥
 —MP 40 82-85

⁵² Vide *Infra*, chap VIII

⁵³पुराण पञ्चधा विदुः ।

क्षेत्र काल च तीर्थं च सत्पुंसस्तद्विचेष्टितम् ॥

—AP 2 38, JHV, 1 55a

पञ्चधा प्रविभक्तार्थं क्षेत्रादिप्रविभागतः

The *Paumacariya* (iii 17) and the *Padmacarita* (iii 29) enumerate only three topics, viz. क्षेत्र, काल and *Mahāpuruṣacarita*

The position of the three worlds (viz the higher, the middle and the lower is *Kṣetra Kāla* stands for all-pervasive time representing the three stages of past, present and future. *Tirtha* implies the ways and means of salvation, and the persons devoted to the *Tirtha* are called *Satpurusas*. The right conduct of these persons, who are dispellers of all sins, is meant by the phrase *Tadvicēṣṭita*⁵⁴ A careful study of the above Puranic topics makes it sufficiently clear that the Jaina Puranists, though taking cognizance of the new matters already received into the corpus of the Purāna, have attached great importance to the numerical aspect of the ancient Brāhmanical definition as well, for, in their new definition, too, the number of the topics has been admitted to be five.

Here it is worthy of mention that the new definition of the Purāna as offered by the Jaina Purāna writers is in perfect consonance with the Brahmanical definition. As a matter of fact similar idea regarding the characteristic features of a *Purāna* has been expressed in seemingly different terms. An analysis of the import of these terms will bring home to us the underrunning current of oneness between the Brahmanical notion and the Jaina one. Now, the term *Kṣetra* as used in the definition is expressive of the state of composition and position of the three worlds⁵⁵ at different stages of their evolution and decadence in recurring order⁵⁶ Similarly, the *Sarga*

54 क्षेत्रं त्रैलोक्यविन्यास कालस्त्रैकाल्यविस्तर ।

मुक्त्युपायो भवेत्तीर्थं पुरुषास्तन्निषेविणः ॥

न्याय्यमाचरित तेषां चरितं दुरितच्छिदाम् ।

इति कृत्स्नं पुराणार्थं प्रश्ने सम्भावितस्त्वया ॥

—MP. 2, 39-40

—MP 2 39 40

55 It is equivalent of *loka* (4 13 14) which consists of three broader divisions of lower, middle and upper worlds (4 40) with several sub-divisions

56 As is clearly shown by the division of Time into two ages called *Avasarpāni* and *Utsarpāni* which again are sub-divided into six stages each in accordance with the gradual decadence in the succeeding stage. See below notes 58 61

and *Pratisarga* characteristics of the Brahmanical definition have as their object the treatment of the nature and position of the three worlds at various stages of their origin, development, decay, death and resurgence. In view of the above points of agreement the *Ksetra* of the Jaina definition may conveniently be taken as comprehensive of the subject-matter of both the *Sarga* and *Pratisarga*.

Now let us turn to the exposition of *Kāla*, the second characteristic of the above definition. This term as well as the *Kālāvātāra* and *Trakālya-sangraha* is used here in the sense of eternal time, broadly divided into two cosmic periods of immense duration.⁵⁷ These periods are styled *Utsarpiṇī* and *avasarpiṇī* according to the increasing and decreasing stature, strength and life-span of the contemporary people.⁵⁸ Each of these periods is again subdivided into six stages.⁵⁹ The stages of the *Utsarpiṇī* period are called (1) *Duḥsamā-duḥsamā*, (2) *Duḥṣamā*, (3) *Duḥsamā-suṣamā*, (4) *Susamā-duḥṣamā*, (5) *Suṣamā* and (6) *Susamā-suṣamā*.⁶⁰ The course of the stages of

57 The incalculability of these periods can be assessed by the fact that the third stage of *Avasarpiṇī* alone, i.e. *Susamā-duḥṣamā*, is said to have comprised all the *Manvantaras*, and the life-span of *Nābhī*, the fourteenth *Manu*, though reportedly much less than that of the previous *Manus*, is said to have been one *Pūrvakoti*, viz., 7056000000000—10000000 years—VPC, III 50 55, JHV, 60 484 86, MP 3 217 228, and comp, Ibid 3 52, 63 64, 78-79, 91 92, 103 104, 109, 113, 118, 121, 126, 130, 135, 140.

58 “जह चदो परिवड्ढइ, ओमरइ य अण्णणो सभावेण ।

उत्सप्पिणी विवड्ढइ एव अवसप्पिणी ह्राणी ॥

VPC III 49, RPC, III 73; The AP thus explains

उत्सर्पिण्यवसर्पिण्यो द्वौ भेदौ तस्य कीर्तितौ ।

उत्सर्पादिपसर्पाच्च बलायुर्देहवर्माणाम् ॥”

—III 14

See also JHV, 7 56 59, TSPC, 1 2 112

59 VPC, 20 68 72, Also see VH, P 157

60 Reversal of the *Avasarpiṇī* order makes these successive ages, as is indicated by “भेदा इमेऽवसर्पिण्या उत्सर्पिण्या विपर्यया.”

AP, III 18, and cf note 61 below

the *Avasarpinī* period begins in inverted succession. Thus, the stages of the *avasarpinī* period are (1) *Suṣamā-susamā*, (2) *Susamā*, (3) *Susamā-duḥṣamā-duḥṣamā*, (4) *Duḥṣamā-suṣamā*, (5) *Duḥṣamā* and (6) *Duḥṣamā-duḥṣamā* or *Atiduḥṣamā* ⁶¹ These stages reflect the progressive and degressive conditions of the periods which they represent. The incalculability of the duration of each of these stages can be inferred from the fact that only the third of these six stages is said to have comprised several successive *Manvantaras*, each of which is stated to be of countless crores of years ⁶² Fourteen such *Manvantaras* ⁶³ are reported to have passed before the advent of *Rṣabhadeva*, the first *Tīrthankara* of the faith. In view of the above representation of time we can reasonably include the Hindu Purāṇic *Manvantara* in the *Kāla* of the Jīnist description. The accounts of the origin and exploits of the great personages, which form the subject-matter of the characteristics put forth by the terms *Satpumsas* and *Tadvicestita* may be said to have their counterparts in the themes of *Vamśa* and *Vamśānucarita*. For, the expressions *Satpumsas* and *Tadvicestita*, as used here, imply all the *Śalākāpurusas* as well as their right actions of mundane, ethical and spiritual nature. It is under these heads that the Jaina *Purāṇas* present the genealogical accounts of the great personages of the Jaina faith. Some of these persons are represented as of great spiritual power and are invested with supreme divinity. To this group belong the twenty-four *Tīrthankaras*. Another group consists of the twelve *chakrins*, nine *Baladevas* and nine *Vāsudevas*. ⁶⁴ These persons, though represented as possessed of immense supernatural powers, are portrayed as

61 द्विस्तुषमाद्यासीद् द्वितीया सुषमा मता ।

सुषमा-दुःषमान्तान्या सुषमान्ता च दुःषमा ॥

पञ्चमी दुःषमा ज्ञेया समा पण्ड्यतिदुःषमा ॥'

—AP. III 17 18a, JHV, VII, 58 59, TSPC, 1 2 113 15

62 See note 57 (ante)

63 Vide chapter III (*infra*) The *Svetāmbaras*, however, accept only seven *Manus* and their *Antaras*

64 Dealt with in chapter VII.

inferior to the Jinas. The third group includes the *Vidyādhara*s of superhuman character. To this class pertain the *Pratīvāsudevas*, with the exclusion of *Jarāsandha*, the ninth *Pratīnārāyaṇa*. All these are represented here as inveterate enemies of the *Vāsudevas*. The *Vidyādhara*s are in essence the Jaina counterparts of the semi-gods, demons and *Rāksasas* of the Hindu mythology.

The *Tīrtha* as ways and means of salvation consists of all such matters which originally did not come within the purview of the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* definition. Among these means are reckoned all such practices as are of religious, cultural and spiritual significance. It is under this head that *Tapas* (penance), *Dāna* (gifts), *Ahimsā* (Non-violence), various vows and sacraments and devotion to the deified Jinas have been prescribed as the effective means of man's final release from the ever-recurring cycles of birth and death. However, the acceptance of *Tīrtha*⁶⁵ as one of the characteristics of a *Purāṇa* may logically be taken as a concurrent step of the Jina *Purāṇa-lāras* to give formal sanction to the infiltration of the above matters into the body of the *Purāṇas*. For, already in the epics and the Brahmanical *Purāṇas* *Mokṣa* has been given the highest place of honour in the scheme of human life. It is conceived as the supreme *Puruṣārtha*, the *Summum bonum* of our existence. We have been exhorted over and over again to act in accordance with the dictate of *Dharma* for achieving this real goal of human existence. It is with this motive that the epic writers and the Purāṇic authors of the Brahmanical school enjoin,

65 The topic in question gave the Jaina *Ācāryas* ample scope for preaching the imperativeness of *Ahimsā*, *Tapas* and *Dāna* as means of salvation. Of these three, the nature of *tapas* and the qualities of the Jaina *tapasvins* as described by the Jaina *Purāṇas* are in striking agreement with those of the *yogins* as well as of the persons of divine virtues as enunciated in the *Bhagavadgītā*. The similarity between the Jaina *Purāṇas* and the Brāhmanical works, on this score, has been shown in chapter VIII of the present monograph. Reference may, however, be made for the present, to the MP, 34 169, 36 156-158 and the BG VI 3-32, XVI 1-3, XVII 25, XVIII 5.

both by precepts and examples, the performance of *yajña*⁶⁶, *Dāna*⁶⁷ and *Tapas* as well as other acts of moral and ethical values. Thus the above characteristic of the Jaina definition reflects the same spirit with which the Brahmanical works have already been imbued

66 The *Purāṇas*, especially the MP and the TSPC, enjoin the observance of various *yajñas* which are clearly modelled on those prescribed in the Brahmanical scriptures. These *yajñas* include interalia, *Agnihotras*, and other fire rituals. See chapter IV (infra)

67 In praise of *Dāna* (charity and gift) the Jaina *Purāṇas* do not lag behind their Brahmanical counterparts. These works, of course, never feel tired of describing the miraculous effects of the meritorious gifts offered to the deserving person. We are told that such type of *Dāna* leads the giver not only to heavenly abode but also to the attainment of final beatific state. But the proper person, according to these works, is only a Jaina monk. See chapter VIII

Śvetāmbara versions⁷ though brief, state that the office of the first *Manu*, the *prīmaeval* ruler originated out of necessity to arrest a somewhat chaotic condition, when the primitive people degenerated and stooped to selfishness, and eventually started laying hands on others' possessions. It was with a view to check that social evil and similar others that the people of the most ancient past chose one superior from among themselves as their ruler and guardian of their respective rights. The Digambara version, however, represents the *Manus* as born rulers among whom the regal status of the first seven is simply decorative rather than functional.⁸

A comparative study of the Jaina and the Brahmanical accounts reveals that both the traditions are remarkably one in holding that in the early stage of mankind the institution of government did not exist. Both the *Digambara* and the *Śvetāmbara* versions state that in the first two stages of the *Avasarpini* the people were perfect, strictly virtuous and devoid of evil propensities.⁹ They were living a carefree life of harmony and

- 7 (i) एव च परिगलमारी दसप्पगारख्खखाणुहावे ईसीसि उम्मिलत्ते कसायप्पसरे जुयलयाण पवड्ढमाणे कप्पख्खममत्ते जाओ परोप्परमत्तजणिओ परिह्वहिययावेओ ।
तओ य मिलिऊण जुयलपुरिसुहिं अम्हाणमेस बुद्धि—पोरिस-ख्ख-व्वहिओ विसलवाहणोत्ति काऊण पइट्ठाविय विमलवाहणाभि-
ह्हाणो सामिसालत्तणेण गहिओ ।

—CMC, P. 10

- (ii) ताद्वकालानुभावेन मिथुनानामजायत ।
ममत्वं कल्पवृक्षेषु स्वदेहावयवेष्विव ॥
अन्येन स्वीकृत कल्पवृक्षमन्यो यदाश्रयत् ।
महान् परिभवो ह्यासीत् तदा स्वीकृतपूर्विव ।
यथा पराभव सोढुमसहास्ते परस्परम् ।
आत्माधिक स्वामितया चक्रुर्विमलवाहनम् ॥

—TSPC, I 2 158 160, cf VH, P 157, 1st 17-25

8 VPC, 3 50-53, RPC, 3 75-88, JHV, 7 125-169, AP, 3 36ff

9 VPC, 3 31-40, RPC, 3 49-63, JHV, 7 95 105, AP 3 24 50, TSPC I 2 118 131

were governed by the Law of Nature.

Now, when we turn to the Brahmanical sources, we find that epics and the *Purāṇas* also tell the same tale rather more elaborately. These works say that in the earliest period of mankind the people were living in perfect peace and harmony and were governed by their innate sense of duty ¹⁰

No one transgressed the simple law of nature. Naturally there existed neither kingdom nor king nor the rod of punishment nor the dispenser of punishment. But with the march of time situation changed and an element of degeneration set in in the society. The people who were so long naturally bent on respecting one another's interest were overpowered by grievous apathy and consequently fell prey to delusion. Now, with their virtue having disappeared on account of the deluded sense of discrimination, all the people got subjected to greed and began to appropriate to themselves what did not belong to them, and, thus, were possessed by another (vice) called passion ¹¹. In fact this state is said to have brought in its train

10 तृप्तिं स्वाभाविकीं प्राप्ता विषयेषु महामते ।

न तासां प्रतिघातोस्ति न द्वेषो नापि मत्सरः ।

—Mārka P 49 14ff, Vāyu P 3 52ff,

MBH (G P) 3 149 15-16.

11 नियतस्त्व नरश्रेष्ठ शृणु सर्वमशेषतः ।

यथा राज्यं समुत्पन्नमादौ कृतयुगेऽभवत् ॥

नैव राज्यं न राजासीन्न दण्डो न च दाण्डिकः ।

धर्मेणैव प्रजा सर्वा रक्षन्ति च परस्परम् ॥

पालयानास्तथान्योन्यं नरा धर्मेण भारत ।

खेदं परममाजगमुस्तस्तान् मोह आविशत् ॥

ते मोहवशमापन्ता मानवा मनुजर्षभ ।

प्रतिपत्तिविमोहाच्च धर्मस्तेषामनीनशत् ॥

नष्टाया प्रतिपत्तौ तु मोहवश्या नरास्तदा ।

लोभस्य वशमापन्ता सर्वे भारतसत्तम ॥

अप्राप्तस्याभिमर्शं तु कुर्वन्तो मनुजास्ततः ।

कामो नामापस्तत्र समपद्यत वै प्रभो ॥

—MBh XII 59 14-18ff,

CHAPTER III THE MANUS AND THEIR PERIODS

Section I

All the *Purāṇas* like their Brahmanical counterparts contain *Manvantara* accounts in their introductory sections¹ These accounts appear somewhat different from those embodied in the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic texts But the difference is simply superficial and as such does not represent an entirely distinct tradition. In view of the fact that the canonical works do not show any acquaintance with the conception of *Manus* of different ages, it will not be illegitimate to hold that the conception of different *Manus* as found in the Jaina *Purāṇas* is adopted from the traditional conception of fourteen *Manus*, seven past² and seven future³

1 VPC, III. 50-55, RPC, III 73-87, JHV, VII 125-169, AP, III 63-152, CMC, P 10, TSPC, I 2 160-206

2 (a) These are (i) *Svāyambhūta*, (ii) *Stārōciṣa*, (iii) *Uttana*, (iv) *Tāmasa* (v) *Rāvata*, (vi) *Cālkuṣa* and (vii) *Vaiṣvata* (presiding over the present *Manvantara*) The *Mahābhārata* mentions, besides *Svāyambhūta* and *Vaiṣvata*, some of the above *Manus* as of known celebrity, वरिष्ठो नाम भगवान् चाक्षुषस्य मनो सुत MBh XIII 18

20a, a reference is also made to the seven past *Manus*, मनव सप्त XIII 14 379, XIII 14 280, VI 34 6, III 3 56

(b) The *Purāṇas*, however, place different past *Manus* chronologically in the following way.

स्वायम्भुवो मनु पूर्वं पर स्वरोचिषस्तथा ।

उत्तमस्तामसश्चैव रैवतश्चाक्षुषस्तथा ॥

पहेते मनवोतीता साम्प्रत तु रवे सुत ।

यैवम्बतोय यस्मैतत्सप्तम वर्ततेन्तरम् ॥

—Vis III 1 6-7, *Mārka* 52 6-7, *Vāyu*, 62. 3-4, *Mat*, Chap 9

3 (i) *Śloṇi*, (ii) *Dakṣasāṇi*, (iii) *Brahmasāṇi*, (vi) *Dharmasāṇi*, (v) *Rudrasāṇi*, (vi) *Ruti* or *Raucya* and *Bhauma*—Vis III 2 13-40, *Ibid* I. 3 16-18

It is, however, remarkable to note that the Digambaras accept fourteen *Manus* and represent all of them as the past patriarchs,⁴ whereas the Śvetāmbaras accept only seven⁵ and, like the epic-Purāṇic authors, treat *Ikṣvāku* as the son and successor of the seventh⁶ *Manu*

A perusal of both the *Digambara* and *Śvetāmbara* versions shows that the latter do not recognise the first six *Manus* of the *Digambara* school and of the remaining eight, they have dropped *Candrābha* from their lists. Thus, the *Manvantara* period, according to the *Śvetāmbaras*, begins with *Vimalavāhana*, who is posited first in the chronological sequence

Another significant difference between the two versions is marked by their description of the origin of kingship. The

4 The Jaina *Manus*, according to *Vimalasūri's* account, are (i) *Pratīśruti*, (ii) *Sanmati*, (iii) *Kṣemaṅkara*, (iv) *Kṣemaṇdhara*, (v) *Simāṅkara*, (vi) *Simāṇdhara*, (vii) *Prajānanda*, (viii) *Cakṣu*, (ix) *Vimalavāhana*, (x) *Abhicandra*, (xi) *Chandrābha*, (xii) *Marudeva*, (xiii) *Prasenajit*, and (xiv) *Nābhi*—VPC, III 50-55, *Ravisena* has practically adopted the same list with minor variations in some names inasmuch as he calls the fourth and fifth *Manus* *Kṣemaṇḍit* and *Simāṇḍit* respectively. Another alteration is marked by the elimination of *Prajānanda* whose place as the seventh *Manu* has been assigned to *Cakṣuṣmān*. *Cakṣu* is substituted by *Yaśasvān* as the eighth *Manu* and the ninth *Manu* *Vimalavāhana* is replaced by *Vipula*—RPC, 3 73 87, JHV shows general agreement with RPC, but makes *Vipulavāhana* father of *Cakṣuṣmān* who, according to RPC, was former's grandfather, comp JHV 7 152-160

5 (i) *Vimalavāhana*, (ii) *Cakṣuṣmān*, (iii) *Yaśasvān*, (iv) *Abhicandra*, (v) *Prasenajit*, (vi) *Marudeva* and (vii) *Nābhi*,—CMC, pp 9-10, TSPC, I 2 160-206. The *Śvetāmbaras* have evidently drawn upon the *Vasudevahindī* which accepts only seven *Manus* just in the same order of succession in which the *Śvetāmbara* versions represent them, vide VH, pp 157-158

6 “सत्तम णाभी कुलगरो

—“CMC P 10,

“सत्तमोभूत् कुलकरो नाभिस्तदनु युग्मिनाम् ।
तिसृभिर्नीतिभिस्ताश्च यथावत् प्रशासा स ॥”

—TSPC, I. 2.206ff.

a series of attendant vices which robbed the people of their pristine purity and tranquillity of mind. Consequently everything got topsyturvy, and the society began to disintegrate. Now, to arrest such a chaotic condition and to make the life worth living, the contemporary people felt necessity of a mighty person, who could protect the righteous, punish the evildoers and, at the same time, could command the unreserved respect of all. And as a result of that exigency kingship arose.

Now, a comparison of the above account of the origin of kingship with the Śvetāmbara version¹² of the appointment of *Vimalavāhana* as the first *Manu* leaves no doubt that both the versions ascribe the origin of kingship to the necessity of keeping the antisocial elements under control.

It is also interesting to note that both the Śvetāmbara and the Brahmanical versions of the origin of kingship exhibit an element of contract between the parties concerned i.e. between the would-be ruler and the masses. But the Jaina version is not as clear and complete as the Brahmanical version¹³, for according to the Brahmanical account the sages and gods, who represent the masses, ask *Ṛṣi* to take oath that he will guard the earthly *Brahma* in thought, action and speech in accordance with the principles of *Dharma* and *Danda* and will never give way to licence¹⁴. Thereupon king *Ṛṣi* takes oath to the effect by laying down a condition that he will act in accordance with their wishes, provided the *Brahmanas* co-operate with him¹⁵. The Jaina version only states

¹² Note 7 (ante)

¹³ For the study of the nature of the Buddhist and Brahmanical contract theories of the origin of state see R S Sharma, *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, Chapter IV

¹⁴ प्रतिज्ञा चाविरोहं स्व मनसा कर्मणा गिरा ।
पालयिष्याम्यहं भूमिं ब्रह्म इत्येव चासकृत् ।
यश्चायं धर्मनीत्युक्तो दण्डनीतिव्यपाश्रयः ।
तमशङ्कं करिष्यामि स्ववशो न कदाचन ॥

¹⁵ ब्राह्मणा मे सहायाश्चेदेवमस्तु सुरर्षभा ॥

—MBh 12 59 112-13.

—Ibid 12 59 115b

that the disturbed people, finding *Vimalavāhana* superior to them made him their lord. Thus, the *Śvetāmbara* version takes it for granted that such a person will hardly belie the hopes of the people who have pinned their faith upon him.

Nevertheless, the *Vasudevahindī* which serves as a prototype of the *Śvetāmbara* version in several respects, points to the contractual nature of the origin of kingship more clearly than the *Purāṇic* version. The work says that the primitive twins, in a state of chaos and confusion resulting from the encroachment of fields and other means of subsistence of one another, find out one *Vimalavāhana* to be superior to them on account of his superbly well-built body¹⁶. The *Mithunas* approach him and entreat, "Noble soul, be our authority in (afflicting) punishment and (conferring) reward, we shall live by your dictate, (for) we are unable to check mutual trespass (by ourselves) and you are capable among us, the living beings. Hence, do favour. Thereupon, he promised¹⁷ (to act in accordance with their demand) by pronouncing 'Amen' (to their request) "

Thus, in spite of the inadequacy of information from which the Jaina accounts suffer, the very elective nature of the appointment of *Vimalavāhana* as the first *Manu* evinces the fact already discussed. Moreover, the element of election implies some sort of agreement between the elector and the elected. Naturally the *Śvetāmbara* version, which introduces the first *Manu* as an elected ruler of the contemporary twins, essentially points to the contract theory of the origin of state, and thus, corroborates the Brahmanical and Buddhist sources on this score¹⁸.

16 *VH P 157, Is 15-19.*

17 विमलवाहणं अज्जो होहिति ऐ पमाणं शिग्गहा-ज्जुग्गहेसु, तव संदेसेण वहिस्सामो, न मो वयं सत्ता परोप्पराभिभव निवारेउ, तुम पभवसि जे जीविदाण, कुणसु पसायति । ततो तेण "तह" त्ति पडिस्सुय ।

—*VH P 157 Is 20-22*

18. R. S. Sharma, op cit. PP 47-52, 56-59

Now, turning to the account of the early life of mankind, we find that all the *Purāṇas* under investigation trace the evolution of the world through an abnormally long period of universal development. The *Paūmacariya* and the *Padmacarita* do not give detailed account of the earliest period¹⁹. These works make only a colourless enumeration of the *Manus* who reportedly preceded *Nābhi*, father of *Ikṣvāku Ṛsabha*. The author of the *Harivamśapurāṇa*,²⁰ however, has removed that deficiency by developing the enumerative version into a descriptive form which eventually has emerged in the *Ādipurāṇa* as a moderately developed narrative of the conditions of mankind during the period of the state of Nature and thereafter.

Thus the *Purāṇas* in question proceed with the description of the social condition prevalent in the beginning of the *Avasarpinī* age. The picture of this age as portrayed by different authors is mainly Utopian, and clothed in mythological garb. The people of this age are said to have belonged to the land of enjoyment (*Bhogabhūmi*)²¹. Their all requirements were met by the *Kalpavṛksas* of various denominations. The cares and anxieties, to which we people of the present age are heir, were unknown to them. And, as such, they were akin to the

19 *Vide* VPC, 3 50ff, RPC, 3 75ff

20 *Vide* note 26 (*Infra*)

21 The picture of the *Bhogabhūmi* combines both the peculiarity of the *Uttarakurus* and that of the *Kṛta* age of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Brahmanical Purāṇas*. Cf. MBh. III 140 11b—

“कृतमेव न कर्तव्य तस्मिन् काले युगोत्तमे ।”

In that excellent age the action having been already done, does not require to be performed (anymore) (Ibid. III 149 12-22). This statement of *Mahābhārata* is suggestive of the idea that since the people of the *Kṛta* age have done (the meritorious) deeds in their previous life, they do not have further obligation to engage themselves in action, they are born in that age to enjoy the rewards of the good deeds done in previous birth. This idea is more clearly brought out by the following statement in the *Vāyupurāṇa*

अप्रवृत्ति कृतयुगे कर्मणो शुभपापयो ।

denizens of the celestial world or to those of the *Uttarakurus*²² and *Harivarṣa* ²³

It is during that golden age that all the thirteen *Manus* are said to have been born. The description of their periods is very important from the stand-point of evolution of the world. The account of different ages of the world is based on the assumption that the universal condition goes on deteriorating and in the last stage of *Avasarpinī* reaches a state of complete perversion and depredation. Thus the account on this plane, too, is in substantial agreement with those in the epics and *Purāṇas* of the Brahmanical school, for the Brahmanical works also tell the same story of gradual decline in moral and spiritual values through the four ages, viz *Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali* ²⁴. And, a perusal of the accounts of various *Manvantaras* including that of *Nābhi* proves beyond doubt that the accounts in question have their incontrovertible prototype in the epic-Purāṇic description of the *Tretā* age as well as that of the Brahmanical *Manvantaras* excluding the periods of the first and the seventh *Manus*.

Now, the Brahmanical and the Jaina accounts, compared together and with the Buddhist versions will show that

22 In all the Jaina *Purāṇas* the account of the happy and harmonious life in the first two stages begins with the remark that the carefree life of mankind resembled that of men of the *Uttarakurus*. But to our knowledge the Jaina sources do not furnish any independent account of the nature of life in the said land. It is only from the description of that earliest period that we can form an idea as to what type of life would have been in that mythical land. But the state of life as described in the *Purāṇas* under investigation shows striking correspondence with that of mankind in the *Uttarakurus* of the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic accounts. Under the circumstances it will not be unreasonable to hold that the Jaina Purāṇic account of the early stages of *Avasarpinī* is principally based on the *Uttarakurus* as described in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* of the Brahmanical school. See *MBh* VI. 7 2-12, *Vāyu* p. 45 11-49, *Māraṇḍeya* 59 18-25a, *Matsya* 113 69-77, *Comp VPC*, 3. 35-41, *RPC*, 3 49-63, *JHV*, 7 64-105; *AP*, 3 24-50.

23 *Vāyu*, 46 8-18, *Mārka* 60 4-6.

24 *MBh* III 149 11-40, chaps 188, 190, *Vāyu*, chap VIII, *Mārka* 49.

though the physical and dispositional aspects of the people of the succeeding periods register a decline with the march of time, yet their mental and intellectual capacity shows satisfactory signs of gradual advancement upto a certain point. Thus, the people of the first *Manvantara* are simply native and innocent beings²⁵ They are totally ignorant of the nature and form of the vast and varied world they live in. But in course of time their mental horizon widens and they start everincreasing interest in the study of nature around them. The people of the succeeding ages are found ever struggling for existence. This strife both on material and intellectual planes remains in continuous operation till the emergence of the people as a civilised community during the reign of *Rṣabhadeva*, the first mythical sovereign and *Īrthankara* of the present *Avasarpinī*.

Now to afford a glimpse into the social evolution through the ages, we give the following resume of the accounts of the *Manvantaras* in accordance with the Jaina versions with special reference to the *Mahāpurāṇa*. We are told that in the first stage of *Avasarpinī* the people lived a life of perfect happiness. All their needs were supplied by the desire-yielding trees (*Kalpa-Vṛkṣas*) which were ten in number. The people of that age were ever gay and jovial and wore godlike appearances. They were endowed with very strong and lovely frame, shining with glimmer of complexion which imitated the lustre of heated gold. Born to enjoy the fruits of meritorious deeds done in the previous life, they were free from the sorrows and sufferings of the world of ours. They felt hungry after an interval of three days and were satisfied with as much of divine food as the quantity of a single fruit of Jujube. Thus having lived an immeasurable length of secure life, they used to vanish, as it

25 They are said to have got bewildered at the first sight of the Sun and the Noon (below note 28), and the Brāhmanical *Purāṇas* say that the people (of the first age) get livelihood spontaneously without prior knowledge अचुद्धिपूर्वकं वृत्तं प्रजानां जायते स्वयम्,

were, like the autumnal clouds²⁶ (MP 3 26-44)

The second stage called *Suṣamā* was marked by a little deterioration in the existing condition of the people. Their stature and life-span decreased, while the quantity of their meals increased a little more than in the previous age, and, instead of taking meals at an interval of three days they started taking it in every two days. But when the second stage was completing its course, the power of the *Kalpavṛkṣas* began to decrease²⁷ (3 46-50)

In the third stage called *Susamā-duṣsamā* (period of happiness and sorrow) the divine trees lost much of their original brilliance and capacity. Owing to the dimness of their light the sun and the moon became manifest in the firmament²⁸. Now, the people taking that event as portentous rushed to the *Manu* for security from the apprehended calamity. *Manu*, thereupon, tried to dispel their consternation by his informative remark that the planets which were visible to them for the first time, had ever since been moving in the firmament. But so long, the view of those luminaries was obstructed by the dazzling radiance of the *Kalpavṛkṣas* which by then had suffered diminution. The people, thus having been acquainted with the real state of affairs, regained composure and began to live as before²⁹. It was on the basis of the apparent movements of the above planets as well as other stars and constellations that time came to be divided into days, nights, fortnights, months and years³⁰.

26 JHV gives more elaborate description of the first two ages, apparently by combining both the elements of the first age of human life on the one hand and those of the *Uttarakurus* and *Harivarṣa* on the other (7 66-105)

27 Other works do not give separate account of this stage

28 According to VPC (3 54) this event took place during the reign of the eighth *Manu Cakṣu*, but RPC ascribes it to the period of the sixth *Manu* (3 79-85). The *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* is in agreement with the present account (JHV, 7 125-140)

29 MP 3 59-75. The *Śvetāmbara* versions do not refer to this event. *Hemacandra* also, who on several occasions is more elaborate than *Jinasena*, does not allude to it.

30 *Ibid* 3 80-89

In course of time some of the creatures, which were till then docile, began to show sign of violence and even hostility to the people and started attacking them ferociously. The people, thus being faced with that odd situation, devised ways and means of their safe and secure living and adopted security measures against those creatures with whom they lived so long in perfect harmony and friendliness. Thus, they took recourse to the use of arms and drove mischievous animals, such as lions, tigers, bears, wolves, etc from their place of abode ³¹

Now, in the next *Manvantara* supply from the *Kalpavrkṣas* dwindled and people began to contend among themselves about the right of possession of the desire yielding trees ³². To check that dispute *Manu Sīmankara* defined boundaries and barriers of different groups of persons and asked them to keep within their limits ³³

But with the further fall in the supply from the above trees of plenty, incidents of scuffle resulting from the cases of encroachment started taking place frequently. Eventually the *Manu* of that period had to make the existing boundaries conspicuous by getting them marked by trees, bushes, creepers, etc ³⁴

During the period of the seventh *Manu*, *Vimalavāhana* elephants, horses, oxen and other harmless animals were tamed as means of conveyance. And to make them their safe

31 *Ibid* 3 93-106 MP is the solitary work to have referred to all these events

32 The same story of the gradual disappearance of the *Kalpavrkṣas* is told in the Brahmanical *Purāṇas*. But in the Brahmanical school that phenomenon is ascribed to people's greed and avarice

पुन कालान्तरेणैव पुनर्लोभावृतास्तु ता । वृक्षास्तान् पर्यगृह्णन्त मधु वा माक्षिक वलात् ॥ तासा तेनापचारेण पुनर्लोभकृतेन वै । प्रनष्टा मधुना साद्वै कल्पवृक्षा क्वचित् क्वचित् ॥

66—*Vāyu*, 8 22-93, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 49 32-33

33 MP, 3 110-11

34 *Ibid*, 3 112-15.

and subdued rides, the *Manu* of that period trained his people to equip the above animals with various paraphernalia. Thus, the elephants were furnished with housing, and to keep them under control the elephant drivers were provided with hooks and goads, while horses were saddled and bridled for safe riding ³⁵

During the reign of *Maruddeva*, the twelfth *Manu*, men learnt the art of boat-making which paved the way for navigation. They also acquired proficiency in mountaineering, made pathways along the forests and cut steps up the hills to facilitate their access to those places. It was during his period that hillocks, small seas, rivulets as well as fickle clouds with intermittent rains appeared ³⁶. But after this epoch the period of enjoyment entered its last stage of degeneration. Still, the vestiges of this period kept lingering till the reign of *Prasenajit*, the thirteenth *Manu* ³⁷

By the time of *Nābhi*, the fourteenth *Manu*, *Kalpavrkṣas* suffered total extinction, and, with their disappearance the land of enjoyment yielded place to the land of action. This transition impelled people to change from the life of enjoyment to that of action. The change, however, placed them at the cross-roads of their existence. For some times they were forced to lead a life of utter helplessness and starvation, because the only means of their subsistence, the *Kalpavrkṣas*, were no more within their approach. But eventually Nature took compassion on them and clouds appearing in the sky started raining. Now, owing to the even rainfall on the earth, various kinds of crops grew in the virgin soil without tillage and in no time began to invite the starving people, as it were, with their tossing ears of ripe and colourful corns ³⁸. But the

35 MP 3 117-119

36 Ibid 3 139-145

37 Ibid 3 146

38 Ibid 3 152-188. The Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic tradition also informs us that after the total extinction of the *Kalpavrkṣas*, the clouds moistened the earth with rain-waters, which caused spontaneous growth of four-

people being unfamiliar with those crops so long were very much apprehensive of their injurious effect. Under the circumstances they were very reluctant, though starving, to utilise them as their foods. Thus, pressed between the two horns of dilemma, they approach *Nābhi* for seeking redress of their misery. Then the latter enlightened them on the property and use of different varieties of harmless and nourishing corns. He also imparted them the knowledge of discriminating between the poisonous and non-poisonous varieties of plants. The people, thus instructed in the use of various cereals grown wild, heaved a sigh of relief and began to live peacefully in the changed environment. During the period they also learnt the art of pottery.³⁹

Now, when divested of its mythological cloak, the *Manvantara* account as given in the fore-going pages remains nothing but a description of the social evolution and reads very much like a disquisition of the modern sociologists. For, the above account, studied critically together with the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic statements⁴⁰, irrevocably shows that men of the most ancient period were solely dependent, for their sustenance, on wild roots, fruits and berries. This dependence on the natural means of subsistence must have continued undisturbed for some time. But with the growth of population within the area, the natural supply must have fallen short of people's demand, which must have given rise to the struggle for the

teen types of domestic and wild trees, plants, creepers and herbs, and to the suffering men those served as substitutes for the extinct *Kalpa-vṛkṣas*. *Vāyu*, 8 128-135, *Mārka* 49 55-63

39 MP 190-206

40 नहि पूर्वविसर्गो वै विपन्ने पृथिवीतले । प्रविभाग पुत्राणां वा ग्रामाणां वापि विद्यते ॥ न शस्यानि न गोरक्षा न कृषिर्न वणिक्पथ । चाक्षुषस्यान्तरे पूर्वमेवमासीत् पुरा किल ॥ वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे तस्मिन् सर्वस्यैतस्य सम्भव । ममत्वं यत्र यत्रामीद् भूयस्तस्मिन्स्तदेव हि ॥ तत्र तत्र प्रजास्ता वै निवसन्ति स्म सर्वदा । ग्राह्य-फलमूलन्तु प्रजानामभवत् किल । कृद्धेणैव तदा तासामित्येवमनुशुश्रुम ।

exclusive possession of the available materials This clash of interests must have been checked somehow or other either by mutual compact⁴¹ or by an arbiter. But that arbitration or code of conduct for each individual of the primitive society could no longer refrain the selfish people from appropriating "to themselves by force and violence rivers, fields, hills, trees, shrubs and plants and similar others".⁴²

The above statement is suggestive of the fact that the contemporary people, impelled by necessity and aided by experience, opened fresh avenues of life-sustaining activities They learnt river-craft, constructed paths across the forests and made hills and mountains accessible by rock-hewn steps, as it is obvious that the capture of rivers, fields, hills and trees could not have been possible without these devices. Thus, the abovementioned invention must have widened the field of activities and enabled the primitive men to traverse wider areas in search of food and other requirements

Now, after such a long period of strife and life the pre-historic people discovered comparatively an easy, safe and civilized means of subsistence Somehow, they learnt the use of various cereals growing wild in the virgin soil now made fertile by rain-water⁴³ In the beginning men must have felt hesitant in utilizing those cereals, the effects of which were unknown to them as yet Naturally some enterprising member of the community must have come forward to put those cereals to the test, possibly by testing them And, finding at least some of them fit for human consumption, he would have prescribed their use for his fellowmen This discovery of their livelihood must have been solemnized as the greatest event in their life, for it brought them to the threshold of human civilization and

41 The *Mahābhārata* says that in the ancient period people used to resolve their disputes, cases of trespass and similar other social evils through mutual agreement, but that could not hold for long 12 67 18-19

42 ततस्ता पर्यगृह्णन्त नदीक्षेत्राणि पर्वतान् ।
वृक्षगुल्मीपद्मीश्चैवमात्मन्यायाद् यथाबलम् ॥

—*Mārka* P 49 62, *Vāyu* VIII 136-37.

43. *Childs, A New Light on Most Ancient East*, Chap. IV.

opened new vistas of their material advancement. Now, as the wild grains were available in abundance there was every likelihood of there being surplus. And, the people must have thought it wise to accumulate and preserve the surplus quantity for future use. This idea of having grains in reserve might have prompted them to make earthenwares especially for purposes.

This process of social evolution is said to have reached its culmination at the time of *Rṣabhadeva*. We are told that with the passage of time the spontaneously available corns ceased to grow any more. The people were again confronted by the same problem of existence.⁴⁴ The ghost of starvation again began to haunt their houses. Now, in that state of utter frustration and helplessness they approach *Rṣabhadeva* for alleviation of their distress. Thereupon the latter taught them the art of cultivation of various cereals along with other five sources of living, i.e. *Asi*, *Masi*, *Vidyā*, *Vāṇijya* and *Śilpā*.⁴⁵

Examined in the light of discoveries made by the modern antiquarians the above Jaina account of the last phase of the material development of the pre-historic people shows striking similarities with the Brahmanical accounts⁴⁶ and is borne out by archaeological and anthropological evidences.⁴⁷ Now it is plain and simple that in the beginning grains scattered on the naturally rich soil spontaneously sprouted and ripened to be

44 MP 16 130-146 ff. The Brahmanical sources in similar way ascribe this important work to Brahṁā and *Prthuvanya*, vide *Mārka* P 49 64-76 *Vāyu* 8 146-72, 62 94ff, MBh 12 29 129-136, 12 59 104-141. If we take into account the fact that in the Jaina *Purāṇas*, especially in the MP all the qualities and functions of Brahmanical *Brahṁā* have been arrogated to the first *Jina*, the difference in names will seem immaterial.

45 JHV, 9 35, MP 16 180 ff. Both the works exhibit clear signs of influence of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, 8 61-72, *Mārka* p 49 67-76.

46 *Vāyu P* chapter VIII, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, chap XLIX.

47 Childe, *Man Makes Himself*, ch IV, Morgan, *Ancient Society* P 22ff, both quoted in R S Sharma, *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, pp 50-51.

ready for harvest In growing them no human intervention was needed But owing to the prolonged use without compensatory fertilization of any kind the plot must have lost its original virtue essential for the germination and growth of cereals Under such a circumstance the people must have been forced to think of some device for conserving and improving the productivity of soil Eventually, some genius would have succeeded in inventing some enduring means of production, such as ploughing, fallowing and irrigation of the land for making settled farming possible ⁴⁸

This revolutionary invention in the field of food-production must have ushered in an era of high promise for humankind. For, that deliberate cultivation of cereals made men masters of their own destiny by emancipating them from the whims and caprices of Nature ⁴⁹ As a matter of fact that agrarian revolution must have served as solid ground whereupon man's religious, cultural and social edifices would have been erected. It was just after that introduction of conscious agriculture that men began to expand the field of their material, moral, intellectual and spiritual activities Because, the discovery of the sure and secure means of food-production not only made the people selfsufficient in matters of primary needs but also conferred on them a life of peace and plenty Thus, they were allowed a leisure which was essential both for making efforts towards better and more prosperous material life as also for meditating upon many a matter of extra-mundane nature already referred to

Thus the above Jaina account, though found in its systematic form only in a single work of the faith, has, of course, a strong basis in the early unbroken tradition, represented by the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic works and is also supported by the early texts of Buddhism ⁵⁰ How similar is the version in spirit and form, with the Brahmanical accounts of the material

48 Childe, *NLMAE*, chaps III-V

49 *Ibid* pp I-9

50 Mahāvastu, I 342-43, quoted in *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, pp 35 38, pp 49-54

development of the world, may be known from the following summary of the 49th chapter of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, which is in literal agreement with the *Vāyupurāṇa* (chap VIII) The work thus says :

In the earliest period of mankind, people were born twins, one male and one female, they lived like husband and wife and towards the close of their life produced, only once, twin issues, again one male and one female (*Mārka* P. 49. 10).⁵¹ The banks of rivers and lakes, sea-shores and hills were their dwelling places, for that age had a temperate climatic condition⁵² (49 13-14) Those abodeless people had unrestricted access to all those places (49 15) ⁵³ They were free from desire and ill-will and were not subjected to the distinction of high and low (49 23) ⁵⁴ Their sources of subsistence were *Kalpavrkṣas* which supplied them besides food, all sorts of raiments, ornaments and similar other articles (49 27-32) ⁵⁵ The above condition remained during the *Kṛta* age and in the first stage of the *Tṛtā* age ⁵⁶

But as time advanced, the people who were so long perfectly virtuous, were overwhelmed by greed which led them to appropriate to themselves the *Kalpavrkṣas* by force and violence (49 32-33) That misconduct caused the disappearance of the *Kalpavrkṣas* (49 33-34) ⁵⁷ However, in the mean time the clouds drenched the earth with rain-waters causing spontaneous growth of trees, shrubs and herbs which served as substitutes for the lost *Kalpavrkṣas* (49 56-61a) ⁵⁸ But after some

51. *Vāyu* P VIII 43

52. *Ibid* VIII 47

53. *Ibid* VIII 48

54. *Ibid* VIII 49ff (This work is more elaborate in its description of the idyllic condition of the golden age 50-65)

55. *Ibid* VIII 81-90

56. This stage of happy and harmonious life corresponds to the state of nature in which people are said to have lived a care-free life under the open sky. It was after this period that people established villages and towns and built houses and fortresses, *Mārka* P 49 34-36, *Vāyu* P VIII 96-100 ff

57. *Vāyu* P VIII 91-93

58. *Ibid* VIII 129-135a

time the people were, again, overcome by selfish motive and with an intention of making them their exclusive possessions, they (naturally the mighty among them) began to seize rivers fields, trees, plants, shrubs and herbs Thereupon, the earth avenged the selfish and forcible appropriation of her resources by swallowing them up⁵⁹ (49 61-63) Thereupon the bewildered and hungry people approach *Brahmā* for their means of subsistence Then he milked the earth from which different kinds of seeds originated These seeds sprouted and fructuated spontaneously into seventeen types of wild and domestic plants and shrubs⁶⁰ (49 64-72) But after a certain period the plants ceased to grow anymore Then the creator introduced artificial method of cultivation Therefrom the crops are grown after tillage Thus having managed the means of livelihood, the creator formulated code of conduct for each individual in accordance with the norm as well as the mental propensities of each individual. He also proclaimed duties of different *Varnas* and *Āśramas* (49 73-76) ⁶¹

In view of the analysis already given in connection with the Jaina account, we do not deem it worthwhile to offer an explanation of the above Brahmanical accounts For, both the traditions are strikingly similar in their description of the different stages of universal development Nevertheless, a few words must be said with regard to the Brahmanical account of the later stages of world-development The account, like the Jaina one, says that due to the change of time the spontaneously growing and fructuating plants stopped sprouting which were revived by the Creator (the name of the agent is immaterial) through the introduction of the art of cultivation (कर्मजा हस्त-सिद्धिम्) And with this came into being other professions such as cattle-breeding, trade and handicrafts etc Now to keep persons within their own fold and to check clash of interests and overstepping, the people were divided into four *Varnas* on

59 *Vāyu* P VIII 135b 137, 143-45

60 *Ibid* VIII 146-158

61 *Ibid*, VIII 159 180 The *Vāyu Purāṇa* gives clearer and more elaborate account of the creation of the four *Varṇas* and *Āśramas*,

the basis of their natural bent towards a particular type of profession. Thus the *Purāṇas* clearly show that the institution of *Varnas* was based on the nature of calling which an individual chose of his own accord.

From the above description it is clear that the Jaina account of the universal development represents an uninterrupted tradition already embodied in the epic-Purāṇic works of the Brāhmanical school. Hence, it is of abiding value and interest for the study of the process of emergence of mankind from the state of nature to the status of well-organised people under a benevolent Government.

SECTION II

As we have seen in the foregoing pages, all the Jaina *Purāṇas* give the account of *Nābhi*, father of *Rṣabhadeva* as a prelude to the universal history in accordance with the Jaina tradition. It is, in fact, from the life-story of *Rṣabha* that the principal mytho-historical narrative of the world may be said to have begun. Now, in this context he has been represented as the progenitor¹ of the whole creation, and in that capacity, has been vested with all the qualities and functions of *Brahmā* both as *Prajāpati* and as *Srastr*. Consequently all epithets and names, expressive of the creative faculty of the first member of the Brahmanical Trinity as well as His various functions and associations have been appropriated to the first Jina. Thus, *Rṣabha* is addressed as *Kartṛ*,² *Vidhātṛ*,³ *Lokaṇṭā-maha*⁴ and so on. Besides these, he is also called *Svayambhū*⁵ (self-existent), *Aja*,⁶ *Ajanmā*⁷ (unborn), *Ayonya*⁸ (not born

1 VPC, V 122, XXVIII 48, CIX 12, RPC 11 201, JHV, 8 196, 209, 213, 226, MP, 25 134, 142, SPC, 3 8.

2 MP 25 149

3 Ibid 16 267

4. Ibid 25 142

5. Ibid 2 1, 24 35, 25 100

6 Ibid 24 30; 25 106

7. Ibid 25.106

8 Ibid 24.34; 25 106

from the womb) and *Ātmabhū*⁹ (self-born) The terms in question are too celebrated to require any reference to the Brahmanical sources for establishing *Brahmā*'s original claim to them In fact, the appropriation of the above epithets and names to *Rṣabha*, obviously born of a parent, cannot be justified without a reference to the *Brahmanical* conception of the nature and exploits of the Creator Moreover, the ascription of the attributes like *Padmagarbha*¹⁰, *Padmasambhūti*¹¹ and *Padma-yoni*¹² etc. to the first Jina are all reminiscent of another version of the Brahmanical conception of the same God of creation representing him as sprung from a lotus shooting forth from the navel (Nābhi) of *Viṣṇu*¹³

Apart from the above representation *Rṣabha* has also been identified with some of *Brahmā*'s immediate descendants pertaining to two different *Manvantaras* of Hindu cosmogony. As a matter of fact, various substrata of creative process have been combined in *Rṣabhadeva*'s personality, in an anachronistic way Consequently he has been made to represent not only three generations of the first *Manvantara* but also four generations of the present *Vaivasvata* *Manvantara* inasmuch as he has been variously styled *Spayambhū*¹⁴, *Hiranyagarbha*¹⁵ *Kaśyapa*¹⁶, *Manu*¹⁷ and *Iksvāku*, each of whom is distinct from the other according to the Brahmanical genealogical records Besides that, the *Purāṇas* also call him *Puru*¹⁸, who, according to the epic and the Brahmanical *Purāṇas*, was an illustrious king and founder of the main branch of the Lunar dynasty and was later than *Iksvāku* by five generations¹⁹

9 Ibid 24 33, 25 100

10 Ibid 25 81

11 Ibid 25 113

12 Ibid 25 134

13 "युगादी तव वाष्पुर्नै नाभिपद्मादजायत ।

ब्रह्मा चराचरगुर्यस्येद सकल जगत् ॥"

MBh, III 12 38 Here Kṛṣṇa has been conceived as the full incarnation of *Viṣṇu* *Mārka* p 81 51 *Matsya* 168 14-15, 169 1-2

14 VPC, 28 48a,

15 VPC, 3 68

16 MP 16 266, PMP, 10 5 18

17 JHV 8 1, MP 16 266

18 JHV 8 211, MP, 3 239, 15 71, 17 72, 24 30, 25 143, 47 392, 400,

19. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp 144-45,

Now to be clearer on the point it is desirable to elucidate the matter in the light of information received from the Hindu sources *Rṣabhadeva*, according to the *Manvantara*, and the Brahmanical *Purāṇas*, was an ideal king of the first *Manvantara* who rose to the status of *Brahmarṣi* by severe austerity and ultimately attained to *Brahmaloka*²⁰ (abode of *Brahman*). And, in almost all the *Brāhmanas*, which are decidedly older than the Jain works and, which also contain more reliable genealogical records than the latter, *Rṣabhadeva* has been represented as the son of *Nābhī*²¹, grandson of *Svāyambhuva* *Manu*. According to all the above works he had a lineal relation with *Svayambhū*, the self-existent god *Brahmā*. Moreover, all the abovementioned works show striking unanimity in representing him as of uncommon spiritual power and, beloved of god *Brahmā*. The following pedigree of *Rṣabha* with that of *Ikṣvāku* according to Hindu sources may be of help for the study of the former's position in the *Svāyambhuva* race and his Jinist representation as *Hiranyagarbha* and *Ikṣvāku*.

Rṣabha's pedigree (1st Manvantara) *Pedigree of Ikṣvāku (Seventh Manvantara)*

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 Svayambhū (self-existent, <i>Brahmā</i>) | 1 Svayambhū (Self-existent <i>Brahmā</i>) or <i>Hiranyagarbha</i> |
| 2 Svāyambhuva <i>Manu</i> ²² | 2 Marīci ²³ |

²⁰ MBh 2 11 24

²¹ नाभिस्त्वजनयत् पुत्र मेरुदेव्या महाद्युतिम् ।

ऋषभं पार्थिवश्रेष्ठ सर्वक्षत्रस्य पूर्वजम् ॥

ऋषभाद्भरतो जज्ञे वीर पुत्रशताग्रज ।

सोऽभिषिच्यथ भरतं पुत्र प्रात्राज्यमास्थित ॥

—*Vāyu* p 33 50-51, *Mārka* p 52 37-38, *Vis* p 2 1 28, *Brahmānda* p 1 14 59b-61, *Kūrma* p 41 37-38, *Agni* p 10 10-11, *Vārāha* p 74, *Linga* p 47 19-24a.

²² ततो ब्रह्मात्मसम्भूतं पूर्वं स्वायम्भुव प्रभुः ।

आत्मानमेव कृतवान् प्रजापाल्ये मनु द्विज ॥

शतरूपा च ता नारी तपोनिर्वृतकल्मषाम् ।

स्वायम्भुवो मनुर्देव पत्नीत्वे जगृहे प्रभु ॥

²³ ब्रह्मणो मानसा पुत्रा विदिता पणमहर्षय ।

मरीचिरव्यङ्गिरसौ पुलस्त्य पुलह क्रतु ।

मरीचे कश्यप पुत्र कश्यपात् तु इमा प्रजा ॥

Vis 1 7 16-17

—MBh 1 65 10-11a, 66 4, 34, *Mat* 171 27-30.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 3. Priyavrata ²⁴ | 3 Kaśyapa ²⁵ |
| 4 Agnidhra ²⁶ | 4 Vivasvān (Sungod) ²⁷ |
| 5 Nābhi ²⁸ | 5 Manu ²⁹ |
| 6 Ṛsabha ³⁰ | 6 Ikṣvāku ³¹ |

In view of the above genealogical table, it can be said

- 24 तस्मात्तु पुरुषाद्देवी शतरूपा व्यजायत
प्रियव्रतोत्तानपादौ.....

Viś 1 7 18

Priyavrata is said to have begotten on his wife ten sons, of whom Agnidhra is stated to have been the eldest

Viś 2 1.5-7

- 25 त्रयोदशाना पत्नीना या तु दाक्षायणी वरा ।
मारीच कश्यपस्त्वस्यामादित्यान् समजीजनत् ॥

MBh 1 75 10

- 26 Agnidhra received from his father continent called Jambūdvīpa—
जम्बूद्वीपं महाभाग सोमनीधाय ददौ पिता.....

Viś 2 1 12

- 27 इन्द्रादीन् वीर्यसम्पन्नान् विवस्वन्तमथापि च ।
विवस्वत सुतो जज्ञे यमो वैवस्वत प्रभु ॥
मार्तण्डम्य मनुर्धोमान् अजायत सुत प्रभु ।

—MBh 1 75 11-12a and 13-15

28. Viś 2 1 15-16, 18, Mārḥ p 53 38a

- 29 दक्षाददितिरदितेविवस्वान् विवस्वत मनु

MBh 1.95 7

- 30 हिमाह्वय तु वै वर्षं नाभेरासीन्महात्मन ।
तस्यर्षभोऽभवत्पुत्रो मेरुदेव्या महाद्युति ॥
ऋषभाद्भरतो जज्ञे ज्येष्ठ पुत्रशतस्य स ।

Viś 2 1 27-8

- 31 इक्ष्वाकुश्चैव नाभागो धृष्ट शर्यातिरेव च ।
नरिष्यन्तश्च विख्यातो नाभ उदिदष्ट एव च ॥
करुषश्च पृषधश्च वसुमान्नवम स्मृत ।
मनोर्वैवस्वतम्यैते नव पुत्रा प्रकीर्तिता ॥

Vāyu p 64 29 30, 85 3-4 Mārḥa p 70 11-12, III 3 51, Viś p 4 1, 5, Matsya p 11 40-41, MBh 1 75 13-17, Rāmā 1 70 20-24 etc The Purānas, though they differ on the names of Ikṣvāku's brothers, are remarkably unanimous on Ikṣvāku For the suggested text see AIHT, p 84

with an amount of certainty that the Jaina *Purāṇas*, while preserving the relationship between *Nābhi* and *Rṣabha* as that of father and son, have attributed to the latter the names and character of both *Svayambhū* and his son, the first *Manu*. The next two, viz *Priyavrata* and *Agnīdhra* have been left out possibly because of their insignificant role in the cosmic development.

With regard to the pedigree of *Ikṣvāku* it is interesting to note that almost all the six persons of the list have been assimilated with *Rṣabha* in some way or other. Of these six, four have been treated as one with *Rṣabha* inasmuch as he is called not only *Hiranyagarbha* and *Ikṣvāku* but also *Kaśyapa* and *Manu*. As for the remaining two viz *Marīci* and *Vivasvat*³² (the Sun-god), they, instead of being identified with the Jina, have been made into the grand sons of the latter. Of these two again, *Vivasvat* has been adopted in some of the *Purāṇas* as *Ādityayaśas*, while in others as *Aṭhakīrti*—both the names denoting the same sense and same person. This *Ādityayaśas* is said to have continued the main line of *Ikṣvāku* called *Ādityavamśa*³³, while *Marīci* is represented as the founder of the heretic order, i.e. Brahmanical religion.

Now, examined in the light of the Brahmanical tradition as embalmed and treasured up in the epics and in some of the Brahmanical *Purāṇas* already referred to, the Jaina representation of *Rṣabha* as *Ikṣvāku* may be said to be the result of

32 In the Brahmanical works he is referred to by several synonyms, of which *Āditya*, *Sūrya* and *Mārtarḍa* appear to be of frequent occurrences.

33 Thus the traditional posteriority of *Ikṣvāku* to *Āditya* has been reversed in the Jaina *Purāṇas* and the Brahmanical grandfather of *Ikṣvāku* has been pushed below to the status of latter's grandson as *Ādityayaśas* or *Aṭhakīrti*. It is also to be noted that the early Pāli tradition preserved in *Paṭiśaṭṭhaṭṭhapaṭṭāśinī* commentary on the *Mahāvamsa* as quoted by Dr. B. C. Law in his *Tribes in Ancient India* also makes *Āditya* or *Sūrya* prior, in time, to *Ikṣvāku* as latter's ancestor. The work says that some fourteen Pre-*Ikṣvāku* kings of the Solar dynasty ruled at *Kaśyāmbi* in regular succession. Similarly, the *Ceylon Chronicles*, quoted by the same author, also mention sixteen kings as the ancestors of king *Oṭṭāla Itṭhāku*.

contamination of two dynastic lines separated from each one by five *Manvantaras* of countless years. And, this recast representation of the above dynasties as one may have been actuated by Jaina *Purānakāras*' thirst for giving their version an original colour with least regard for maintaining chronological accuracy. Consequently distinct persons, traditionally stated to have reigned at different periods of immense temporal distance, have been conceived as identical by appropriating their significant names to *Rṣabha* as his epithets with new twist and turn in their purport and meaning. The epithet *Hiranyagarbha*³⁴, for instance, traditionally applied to *Svayambhū*³⁵ *Brahmā* on account of his mythical manifestation from the golden egg, has been arrogated to *Rṣabha* on the basis of equally fanciful etymology of the term. Thus in the *Purānas* under review *Rṣabha* is called *Hiranyagarbha*³⁶ because of the allegedly miraculous goldshowers during his stay in his mother's womb.

Here it is important to note that the miraculous event of goldshower is reported to have taken place on the occasion of the descent of each and every Jina³⁷. But strangely enough, only the first Jina, viz. *Rṣabha* has been conceded the privilege of being called *Hiranyagarbha*. Obviously, the validity of the exclusive ascription of the above attribute to *Rṣabha* can hardly

34. जगदण्डमिदं पूर्वमासीद् दिव्यं हिरण्यमयम् ।

प्रजापतेरियं मूर्तिरित्येव वैदिकी श्रुतिः ॥

—*Matsya-P* 248 1, *Kūrma-P* 4 38-39a, *Agni-P* 17 8-16, *Vāyu-P* 4 15-16, 7 67

35. नोत्पादितत्वात् पूर्वत्वात् स्वयम्भूरिति चोच्यते ॥

Vāyu 4 44b.

36. गन्धर्वादिभ्यस्स जस्त उ, हिरण्यवृष्टी सकञ्चरणा पडिया ।

तेषु हिरण्यगन्धो, जयम्मि उगमिज्जये उसभो ॥

—*VPC*, 3 68, also *RPC*, 4 156, *JHV*, 8 208, *MP* 12 95.

37. जन्मावतार सर्वेषां रत्नवृष्ट्यामिनन्दित ।

मेरो जन्माभिषेकश्च सुरैः क्षीरोदवारिणा ॥

RPP 5 2 17, 208-210, 21 18-20, *JHV* 2 19. True to this statement the *Purānas* dealing with the account of all the twentyfour *Jinas* do not fail to narrate this event.

be vindicated on the basis of the Jaina account. We may, however, justify it in the light of the Hindu mythological tradition, according to which *Brahmā*³⁸ alone is entitled to the designation of *Hiranyagarbha* due to his mythical appearance. Now a study of the Jaina account of *Rṣabha's* life shows that only the first Jina has been raised to the status of *Brahmā par excellence*. In view of the above fact *Rṣabha* alone deserves to be styled *Hiranyagarbha*. In this way the term in question has been endued with a special cum-general etymological sense and has, therefore, been used as an attributive name of the *Jaina Brahmā* to the exclusion of other Jinās who, though deified and vested with superhuman character, were not given the prerogative of creatorship.

Next, As *Lokapitāmaha*, viz. grandsire or progenitor of all beings, *Rṣabha* is represented not only as *Brahmā* but also as *Kāśyapa*, the mythical father of all the diverse and sundry created beings of the world. This way he is made to represent two distinct stages of world development. For, we know from the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic tradition that *Kāśyapa*, son of *Mārīci*³⁹ who was mind-born son of *Brahmā* married thirteen daughters of *Dakṣa Prajāpati*⁴⁰ and begot on

38 "बृहत्वाच्च स्मृतो ब्रह्मा"

Vāyu-P 4 43a

and comp "बृहत्वादभगवान् ब्रह्मा नाभेय."

RPC, 11 201a The author of the *Mahāpurāṇa* goes to an extreme in his fervour for establishing *Rṣabhadeva's* special claim to the status of *Brahmā* with a dig at the character of the first member of the Brahmanical Trinity, which refers to the *Purāṇic* story of *Brahmā's* lust for His own daughter. Thus the author says ब्रह्मा स्वयम्भूर्भगवान्

परमेष्ठी जिनोत्तम ॥ म ह्यादिपरमब्रह्मा जिनेन्द्रो गुणवृ हणात् । पर ब्रह्म यदायत्तमामनन्ति मुनीश्वरा ॥ नैणाजिनधरो ब्रह्मा जटाकूर्चदिलक्षण । य कामगर्दभो भूत्वा प्रच्युतो ब्रह्मवर्चसात् ।

MP, 39 127d-129, Comp *Matsya-P* 3 30-45 Also see PMP. VIII 2 15b

39 *Vide* notes 27 and 28 (ante)

40 E W Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p 190, AIHT, pp 188-189

his v ives hosts of gods *Datyas*, *Dānavas*, *Rākṣasas* as well as men, animals and other sentient and non sentient beings ⁴¹

Now, as the father of dynasties, *Rṣabha* is throughout represented as *Ikṣvāku*. In this regard both the *Dīgambara* and *Śvetāmbara* schools show remarkable agreement. But with regard to the interpretation of the term both the schools are at variance, though giving equally fanciful etymology of the term. Thus according to the *Dīgambara* school, *Ikṣvāku* was so named because his subjects had abundance of sugarcane juice to drink.⁴² But the *Śvetāmbara* accounts, though connecting the name with the same *Ikṣu*, give the interpretation of the term in their own way. According to their version *Rṣabha* was called *Ikṣvāku*, because he stretched his hand to receive sugarcane (stick) from *Sakra* ⁴³. So the latter named *Rṣabha's* family as *Ikṣvāku*.

Thus we have seen that *Brahmā Svayambhū*, *Nābhī*, *Rṣabha*, *Marīci*, *Kaśyapa*, *Manu* and *Ikṣvāku* have already been represented in the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic tradition as mythical forefathers of mankind. But when we meet them in the Jaina narrative literature, we find them there in a slightly disguised appearance and in a changed situation. They mark in the Brahmanical mythology different and distinct stages of universal development in sequential order. But in the Jaina *Purāṇas* these most ancient personages have lost their individuality, and their names have been jumbled together as epithets of *Rṣabhadeva* to show the various aspects of his super-human character.

41. MBh 1.65.11ff, 66.34

42. JHV, 8.210, MP 16.264

43. CMC, p. 37, ls 10-12, TSPC 1.2.654-659.

CHAPTER IV

DYNASTIC LISTS AND GENEALOGICAL ACCOUNTS

Almost all the *Purāṇas* under review provide lists of ancient royal dynasties in their own ways. These lists are somewhat different from those occurring in the epics and the *Purāṇas* of the Brahmanical school. But when critically examined and analysed, these converge to the same truth as is conveyed by the traditional accounts.

As stated already, the protagonists of early Jainism were totally opposed to matters of mundane nature, and were highly critical of the orthodox tradition which they had stigmatised as grossly worldly and nonconducive to the final release of man from the perpetual cycle of birth, decay and death. Under the circumstances, early Jaina texts cannot be expected to furnish any dynastic and genealogical information, for it was a theme which was long considered by them as incompatible with the spirit of their religion which preached futility of pride arising from a sense of pure and noble birth¹. Thus, keeping records of the origin of various families and accounts of ancient royal dynasties remained for long beyond the domain of Jaina tradition. Hence, it is but natural that the early texts of canonical literature of the Śvetāmbaras do not record any dynasty in its proper setting nor do they furnish genealogical accounts thereof. These works only declare that *Ihṣvāku Rṣabha* had divided his people into four classes or corporations (*Ganas*). Those *Ganas* were styled *Uggas* (*Ugras*), *Bhogas*, *Rāṁnas* (*Rājanyas*) and *Khattiyas* (*Kṣatriyas*)². There are still other passages which refer to *Ñāta*³ (*Jñāta* or *Jñātṛka*) family together with two dynastic names such as *Kaurava* and *Ihṣvāku*⁴.

1 *Uttarā* 12.5, 25-29ff, TSPC, 4.2.328, 4.5.256-264

2 LAI, p. 372, *Uvāsagadasāo*, VII.219

3 *Uvāsagadasāo*, 1.66, 69

4 TAI, p. 388, LAI 139-40, 381, PHAI, pp. 110-120

Except this meagre and incidental information, the Jaina canonical texts state nothing about the genesis and genealogy of these families. However, of the above seven classes the *Ugra*^{4a}, *Bhoga*, *Kaurava* and *Ikṣvāku* are celebrated in the Brahmanical tradition as pretty old tribes of Aryan origin.

So far as the meaning of the terms *Ugra*, *Bhoga*, *Kuru*, *Rājanya* and *Kṣatriya* is concerned, the Jaina Purāṇic works have sought to offer different fanciful explanations in their own ways. The *Harivamśa-Purāṇa* of Jinasena II, for instance, says that the rulers of the *Kuru* country were called *Kurus*, those, who were of cruel administration, were styled *Ugras*, others were named *Bhojas* on account of their judicious protection of the masses, similarly, those, lovingly disposed towards the subjects became (known as) *Rājans*⁵ (*Rājanyas*), and those, who were appointed to protect the people from peril, were called *Ksatriyas*.⁶ *Hemacandra*, on the other hand, states 'the *Ugras* were the guardsmen, appointed to give cruel punishments, the *Bhogas* were the ministers etc of the Master, like the *Trāyastriṃśas* of *Hari*. The *Rājanyas* were the companions

- 4a In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (3 8 5) *Ugras* find mention as a particular class of *Kṣatriyas* who were not entitled to rule, while those fit for administration are said to have been called *Rājaputras*. These *Rājaputras* compare well with the Jaina *Rājanyas* who are said to have been appointed by *Rṣabha* to rule judiciously.

- 5 कुरव कुरुदेशेऽशा उग्रास्ते चोग्रशासना ।
न्यायेन पालनाद् भोजा प्रजानामपरे मता ॥
राजानश्च तथैवान्ये जाताः प्रकृतिरञ्जना ।

—JHV 9 44-45a, cf

प्रजानां रञ्जनाच्चैव राजानस्त्वभवन्तृपा

—*Vāyṇ P* 57 58b

- 6 क्षत्रिया क्षततस्त्राणात्.....

—JHV 9 39.

क्षताच्च नस्त्रायतीति स तस्मात् क्षत्रिय स्मृतः."

MBh 12 29 130,

क्षतात् किल त्रायत इत्युदग्र क्षत्रस्य शब्दो भुवनेषु रूढ

Raghuvamśa, II 58a

of the Lord, and all the other people were *Kṣatriyas* by name⁷ From these statements it appears that the Jaina tradition considers all the above names except *Kuru* as owing their origin to the nature of duties said to have been assigned to each group of persons forming these *Ganas*. As such, these are impressed upon us as class designations which were not derived from any real or eponymous progenitor and founder of the said *Ganas*. But the above *Ganas* together with the *Kurus*, *Videhas* and *Jñātas* or *Jñātṛhas* find varying treatment in the *Purānas* under investigation, which, however, will be discussed in proper context.

Now, before adverting to the study of the traditional dynasties as represented in the Jaina *Purānas*, a few words must be said about the identity of the class styled *Bhoga*, who find their mention in the *Āitareya*⁸ and *Śatapatha*⁹ *Brāhmaṇas* and recur in the Brahmanical epic-Purānic tradition¹⁰ as a powerful branch of the *Yadu* line of the Lunar dynasty. But Dr B C Law, while presenting a study of different tribes, does not refer to any identity between the canonical *Bhogas* and the Brahmanical *Bhojas*.¹¹ Dr H C. Raychaudhary also does not seem inclined to identify the two.¹² But there are reasons to believe that the *Bhogas* of the Canonical texts were not different from the *Bhojas* of the Brahmanical epics and *Purānas*. Firstly, *Bhogarāja*¹³ of the early Jaina texts whom *Rājīmatī*

- 7 आरक्षपुरुषा उग्रा उग्रदण्डाधिकारिण ।
भोगा मन्त्र्यादयो भर्तुस्त्रायस्त्रिंश हरेरिव ॥
राजन्या जज्ञिरे ते ये समान-वयस प्रभो ।
अवशेषास्तु पुरुषा बभूवु क्षत्रिया इति ॥

—TSPC, 1 2 974-979

8 VIII 14

9 VIII 5 4 21

10 *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (Wilson's translation, edited by Hall) Vol IV pp 260, 271

11 TAI, pp 388 391 and cf pp 35, 88

12 PHAI, p 120

13 अह च भोगं रायस्स त चसि अघगवण्हणो ।

Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra.

Lecture 12 v 43a, also *Dasaveyāliyasutta*, 2 8

calls her father and who has been identified as king *Ugrasena* of *Bhoga*¹⁴ family, regularly recurs as *Bhoja*.¹⁵ Accordingly, *Rājīmatī* is mentioned in these sources as *Bhojasutā*.¹⁶ Now, the *Mahābhārata* unequivocally refers to the family of *Ugrasena* as *Bhoja* and on several occasions mentions him as *Bhojarāja*.¹⁷ Next, like *Bhoga* in the canonical texts the *Bhojas* in the *Mahābhārata* often occur in conjunction with the *Rājanyas*¹⁸ and the term *Bhoja-rājanyavardhana*¹⁹ finds mention as one of *Kṛṣṇa*'s several epithets. Secondly, the canonical *Bhoga*, which as a class designation is mentioned together with *Ugra*²⁰, *Rājanya* and *Kṣatriya*, consistently recurs in JHV as *Bhoja*.²¹ Now, as the work in question is not temporally far removed from the period of the final redaction of the canonical works,²² its reference to *Bhoga* as *Bhoja* cannot legitimately be rejected as misspelt and misrepresented. Besides that, the TSPC has adopted alternately both *Bhoga* and *Bhoja* for the same class of ruling family.²³ Thirdly, the father of *Ugrasena* whom the can-

14 LAI, 381.

15 JHV 55 107, TSPC vol V, pp 227, 255-256

16 JHV 55 72, 82

17 भोजराजस्य वृद्धस्य

—MBh V 128 37-38

18 भोज-राजन्यवृद्धश्च

—Ibid II 14 31

19 Ibid *Āsvamedhikaparvan*, 87 7

20 *Uttarādhyayana* and *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* translated in S B E Series Vol XLV, pp 113 118 339

21 राजक्षत्रोग्रभोजार्द्यै 9 90, 100, and सम्प्राप्तकुरुभोजार्द्यै: Ibid 9 214

22 The canons were finally compiled in the sixth century A D, LAI, p 38, and JHV is placed in the eighth century A D, Dr V M Kul-karni, Introduction to VPC

23 इक्ष्वाकवो ज्ञात-हरि-विदेहा कुरुवोऽपि च ।

उग्रा भोजा राजन्याश्च जात्यार्या एवमादयः ॥

—TSPC 2 3 674

and comp भोगा मन्त्र्यादयो भर्तुः

—Ibid 1.2 974

onical texts call *Bhogavanhi* (*Bhogavrsni* is represented in JHV²⁴ as *Bhojakavrsnis* and in TSPC²⁵ as *Bhojavrsni* of *Yādava* race. This *Bhogavrsni* is, again, represented by the same canonical texts as a grandson of king *Yadu*²⁶. Thus, the early Jaina tradition entitles *Ugrasena* to the epithet *Bhogarāja* because of his reported descent from *Bhogavrsni* and connects him with the *Yadu* race as well. Now what transpires from this representation is that according to this tradition the *Bhogas* were lineally connected with the *Yadu* race and had consanguinous relationship also with the *Andhakas* who, according to the same source, were descendants of *Andhakavanhi* (*Andhakavrsni*), represented as a cousin *Bhogavrsni*²⁷. It is, then, obvious that canonical genealogy of the *Yadu* family makes the *Andhakas* and *Bhogas* collateral lines of the *Yadu* race and entitles both the branches to the common name *Vṛṣṇi* for obvious reason of their being descended from persons who could conveniently be called *Vṛṣṇis*, because they bore such names which had *vrsni* as their final component²⁸. Hence this relationship between the *Bhogas* and *Andhakas* and ultimately with *Yadu* as farmers' progenitor may be taken as a positive pointer to the oneness of the canonical *Bhogas* and Brahmanical *Bhojas*. The *Mahābhārata* abounds in passages wherein *Andhakas*, *Bhojas* and *Vṛṣṇis* are mentioned conjointly as sub-lines of the *Yadu*

24 JHV 18 16

25 TSPC, Vol V P 37

26 *Anta* 3 pp 8 22, *Nirayā* 5, *Uttarādhyayanāṭikā*, 22 1 ff 2 pp 37, 39, 45a—all quoted in J C Jain, LAI, p 377, also VH pp 357-58

27 Dr J C Jain, op cit. p 377

28 Vide *Infra*, *Harī* dynasty, chap VI. It is remarkable to note that the *Vṛṣṇis* and *Andhakas* are branded in the MBh as *Vṛātyas* like *Lichchhavis* and *Mallas* who are stigmatised in the *Manusmṛiti* as the children of the *Vṛātya Rājanyas* or *Kṣatriyas* and according to Dr H C Raichaudhuri, the *Vṛṣṇis* and *Andhakas* and other *Vṛātya* clans, e.g. the *Lichchhavis* and *Mallas* are found in the historical time on the southern and eastern fringe of the *Dhruvā Madhyamā diś* occupied by the *Kuru-Pañcālas*—vide MBh *Drona* P 143 15, *Manu* 10 22, PHAI, p 442.

race, and in those contexts the term *Vṛṣṇi* sometimes is placed after *Andhaka*²⁹ and at times after *Bhoja*³⁰

Next, the identification of the canonical *Bhogakada*³¹ as *Bhojakata* of *vidarbha* on reasonable ground also suggests oneness of *Bhoga* and *Bhoja*. Phonetic phenomenon together with usual lack of interest in historical matters may be taken as one of the probable reasons for the representation of *Bhoja* as *Bhoga*. For, in the *Ardhamāgadhi* dialect the intervocalic stops are often elided and the hiatus is filled up with the insertion of *ya-kruti*³². Under the circumstances it may be that in early *Ardhamāgadhi* sources the *Bhoja* found its place as *Bhoga*^{32a} through the loss of intervocalic *j* and consequent insertion of *y* of lighter articulation and next, in a bid to give it a clearer form, it was adopted as *Bhoga* with a queer meaning attached or the newly adopted word

- 29 अन्धकवृत्तिषु—MBh 1 63 104, अन्धकवृत्तीना वशे—2 36 17,
अन्धकवृत्त्याय

—2 52 49

- 30 भोजवृष्ण्यन्धकाना तु समवायो महानभूत्

—MBh 1 217-18,

भोजवृष्ण्यन्धकात्मजैः

1 217 12,

भोजवृष्ण्यन्धका.

1 218 2

- 31 LAI, p 274, PHAI, pp 90-91,

In VH *Bhojakata* finds mention as *Bhojakaṣṭha* and is said to have been founded by *Rukmin*, who having been discomfited by *Kṛṣṇa* after *Rukmini's* abduction swore not to return to his ancestral capital—पट्टणापूरगत्य भोजकड नयर निवेसेइ—VH, pp

81 98, 100 The work also reads भोजकड as is evident from p 100

- 32 e g *Rāyīmāi* < *Rāīmāi* < *Rājīmāi*, *Uttarā* 22 6, 29

Rājā > *Rāyā*, *Rājari* > *Rāyarī*, etc, Ibid 9 3, 8, 13 The same phonetic confusion may be held responsible for otherwise unexplainable change of 'j' to 'd', e g *Prasenajit* > *Pasenadi*, *Jāpyalyate* > *dādallate* etc — *Pāṭhpralāṣa* p 45

- 32a As in *Bhojakaṣṭha*

Under the circumstances it will not be simply hypothetical to assert that the canonical *Bhogas*, who are said to have formed a constituent unit of the vajjian confederacy of *Vaiśālī* were the epical *Bhogas* who were reportedly with the *Andhakas* and *Vṛṣṇis* in consanguinity, and sometime before the formation of the confederation immigrated to *Vaiśālī* and its adjoining tracts³³ This conjecture is further confirmed by the evidence of the *Mahābhārata* which 'refers to the exodus of the *Yādavas*³⁴ from *Mathurā*' under political pressure

Now, our survey of the dynastic lists and genealogical accounts begins with *Vimalasūri's Paṇḍitarīya*³⁵ which is the earliest of the extant Jain *Purāṇas* to have supplied a list to different ruling dynasties of yore The royal *Vaṃśas* are styled *Iksvāku*, *Soma*, *Harī* and *Vidjādharma* Viewed in the light of the canonical notices of ruling families already mentioned³⁶ above, the present list of the four royal dynasties may be taken as a later creation of the Jain *Purāṇa*-writers, and, is in all probability based on the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic list of principal royal families universally styled as the Solar and the Lunar dynasties with their manifold branches and sub-branches

Next, the list recurs in the *Padmacarita* of *Raviṣena* His list is somewhat different from that of VPC on some noteworthy points

33 PHAI, p 142, See also Prof R K Chaudhary *Vṛātyas in Ancient India*, pp 140-147

34 PHAI, p 142

35 इक्ष्वाग पद्मवसो विद्मो सोमो य होइ नायवो ।
विज्जहराण तद्मो हवइ चउत्थो उ हरिवसो ॥

—VPC 5 2

36 *Supra* n 2, The *VH*, however, gives a different list inasmuch as the work mentions *Iksvāku*, *Harī* and *Kuru* together with the four *ganas* called the *Ugrā*, *Bhoga*, *Rājanya* and *Nāga* All these *ganas* are said to have been ruling at *Kosalajanapada*,—J C Jain, HPL, p 389

According to *Raviṣena's* version there were four³⁷ celebrated dynasties with manifold divisions and subdivisions. Of these the noble line of *Ikṣvāku* was the first, the *Rṣi-vamśa*³⁸ was the second, that of *vidyādhara*s³⁹ the third and the family of *Hari*, the fourth⁴⁰. It is clear from the present account that *Raviṣena* has not accorded the *Soma-vamśa* an independent status. Instead, he has introduced one *Rṣi-vamśa* and represented the *Soma-vamśa* as a branch of the *Ikṣvāku* family. Thus, he has effected an apparent improvement on *Vimalasūri's* account by not conceding the *Soma*-line a distinct position in the dynastic scheme, for even *Vimala* has set out the *Soma-vamśa* as descended from *Ikṣvāku* through his grandson *Somaprabha*. This being the case the claim of the *Soma-vamśa* to the generic name *Ikṣvāku* should be considered as legitimate as that of the *Āditya-vamśa* which is treated as the main line of the *Ikṣvākus*⁴¹.

- 37 जगत्स्मिन् महावशाश्चत्वारः प्रथिता नृप ।
एषा रहस्य-सयुक्ता प्रभेदा बहुवोदिता ॥
इक्ष्वाकु प्रथमस्तेषामुन्नतो लोकभूषण ।
ऋषिवशे द्वितीयस्तु शशाक-कर-निर्मलः ॥
विद्याभृता तृतीयस्तु वशोऽत्यन्तमनोहर ।
हरिवशो जगत्ख्यातश्चतुर्थ परिकीर्तित ॥

RPC 51.

Comp चत्वारि महावसा नरवङ्ग पुहङ्गिम्भि उविक्खाया ।
ताण पुण बहुभेया हवन्ति अवरस्स सयुत्ता ॥

- 38 *Rṣi-vamśa* comprises the families of Jaina *Rṣis* and represents various schools of successions of preceptors and disciples. Thus, this *vamśa* is a Jaina counterpart of the traditional *Brāhmaṇa vamśa*.
- 39 The *vidyādhara vamśa* includes the *Gandharvas*, *Rakṣasas*, *Dāityas*, *Dānavas*, *Asuras* and other semi-divine and supernatural beings of the *Brahmanical* epic-Purāṇic tradition. In the same *Vamśa* are included the *Vṛnaras* and *Rkṣas* of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*.
- 40 *Hari-vamśa* is the Jiniṣṭ version of the *Brahmanical Yadu vamśa*. For further information vide *infra* *Hari dynasty*, Chap. VI.
- 41 In most of the Jaina *Purāṇas* the *Ikṣvāku* family is said to have branched off into two main lines called the *Āditya-vamśa* and *Soma-vamśa* after their respective founders.

It is, however, remarkable, to note that though both the authors acknowledge manifold and complex divisions of the above principal ruling dynasties, yet they nowhere refer to the canonical families of *Ugras*, *Bhogas*, *Rajanyas*, *Jñātṛs* and *Kurus* even as branches of the above mentioned four *Mahāvamśas*. The author of the H P appears to be the first Jaina *Purāṇa*-writer to have recognised these canonical ruling classes as independent and separate ruling families, for, he has mentioned them together with the *Āditya* and *Soma* branches of the *Iksvāku* dynasty as independent families of rulers ⁴². Thus, the *Kurus*, *Ugras*, *Bhogas* and *Rājanyas* (here mentioned as *Rājas*) are all stated to have been *Iksvāku*'s kinsmen and are said to have been employed by the lord in the regal offices of protection and punishment ⁴³. We are also told that the *Kurus* acquired their name from the country allotted to their share and the rest received their designations in accordance with the duties assigned to them as also on account of their respective treatment towards their subjects ⁴⁴. Thus in the present context the royal families in question have obviously been treated as belonging to the same stock as the *Iksvāku* proper. Moreover, the heads of these families of rulers have been represented as senior among the *kṣatriyas* of the *Iksvāku* race ⁴⁵ with no reference to their individual names nor to the nature of consanguinity which they are said to have had with *Iksvāku* proper. Moreover, the heads of these families of rulers have been represented as senior among the *kṣatriyas* of the *Iksvāku* race ⁴⁵ with no reference to their individual names nor to the nature of consanguinity which they are said to have had with *Iksvāku*.

42 इक्ष्वाकवो द्विधाऽदित्यसोमवशोद्भवा नृपा ।
उग्राद्या कौरवाद्याश्च

JHV 13 12

43 इक्ष्वाकुक्षत्रियज्येष्ठा ज्ञातिज्ञा लोकबन्धुना ।
भूमौ वृषभनाथेन स्थापितास्तेऽत्र रक्षणे ॥

—Ibid 9 43

44 Ibid 9 44-45a, See also Supra note 5

45 इक्ष्वाकुक्षत्रियज्येष्ठा op cit 9 43

R̥ṣabha. This representation of the *Kurus*, etc as *Ikṣvāku*'s kinsmen may, however, be taken as motivated by a desire to effect a synthesis between the canonical *ganās* and the *purāṇic* primary dynasties already mentioned. And, though at the cost of the chronological and genealogical consistency, this unificatory attempt has reached its culmination in some of the later works⁴⁶ which represent king *Drupada* of *Virāta* as a scion of the *Ugra* family and derive the latter from the *Kuru* dynasty. Similarly, the setting out of *Kuru* as one of the hundred sons of *Ikṣvāku*⁴⁷ also tells the same tale.

Now, the dynastic table according to JHV is as follows:-

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Ikṣvākuvaṁśa</i> ⁴⁸ | (i) <i>Ādityavaṁśa</i> |
| | | (ii) <i>Somavaṁśa</i> |
| 2. | <i>Kuruvaṁśa</i> | 3 <i>Ugravaṁśa</i> , |
| 4 | <i>Bhojavaṁśa</i> | 5 <i>Harivaṁśa</i> ⁴⁹ |
| 6 | <i>R̥ṣivaṁśa</i> | and 7 <i>Vidyādhara</i> vaṁśa |

It is conspicuous from the list that both RPP and JHV have general agreement with regard to the principal lines of *Ikṣvāku*, *Harī*, *Vidyādhara* and *R̥ṣi* and in respect of the two main branches of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty⁵⁰ also both the works exhibit substantial agreement. But JHV holds a distinct position among the trio with regard to the lines of the *Kurus*, *Ugras* and *Bhojas* etc, inasmuch as unlike both the previous works it has

46 JHV, 72 212

47 TSPC, vol V p 197

48 JHV, 13 33— इक्ष्वाकु प्रथमप्रधानमुदगादादित्यवशरतत

तस्मादेव च सोमवश इति यस्त्वन्ये कुरुशादय ।

पश्चाच्छ्रीवृषभादभूदृषिगण श्रीवश उच्चैस्ताराम्

इत्येते नृप खेचरान्वययुता वशास्तवोक्ता मया ॥

(The principal line of *Ikṣvāku* originated first and from that (line) arose the *Ādityavaṁśa*, from the same (dynasty) descended the *Somavaṁśa*, but the families of *Kurus*, *Ugras* & etc were different (in origin). Later on, from the illustrious *R̥ṣabha* came into being a nobler class of *R̥ṣis* (called) *Śrīvaṁśa*. Thus I have narrated to you, O king, the royal dynasties as well as the lines of the air moving beings.

49 JHV, 13 34

50. *Infra*, chap V

taken cognisance of these lines ⁵¹ The reason is obvious, for, the work in question relates the genealogy of the *Haris*, the Jinist counterparts of the Brahmanical *Yadus*, in general and the lifehistory of *Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva* in particular. Now it is obvious that any reasonable attempt to give an account of *Kṛṣṇa's* exploits without any reference to his alliance with the *Kauravas* and *Pāṇdavas* would be simply unthinkable. Naturally it was under this historical exigency that the author of H.P. introduced the *Kuru-vamśa* with its genealogical details ⁵² But as the *Vamśa* in question did not find place in the four great lines already enumerated by *Vimalasūri* and *Raviṣena*, so *Jinasena*, with an object of investing the *Kuruline* with a separate pedigree, has obviously removed *Somaprabha* from his original place as *Bāhubalin's* son and made him son and successor of *Kuru*⁵³ and founder of the *Kuruline* ⁵⁴

Now what our study of the canonical and non-canonical Jaina texts reveals is that it is in VPC that *Somaprabha*⁵⁵ is mentioned for the first time as *Ikṣvāku's* grandson through *Bāhubalin* and founder of the *Soma* branch of the *Ikṣvāku* family

51 Supra note 48,—राजक्षत्रोन्नमोजाद्यै.

—Ibid 9 90, 100,

"मंप्राप्तकुरुभोजाद्यै "

Ibid 9 214

52 *Infra* chap V

53 "....श्रेय सोमप्रभाद्यैस्तै कुरुपुत्रैस्तु भूरभात्"

—JHV 9 45b

54 JHV, 45 5-40

55 That *Somaprabha* is a fresh recruit in the Jaina Purāṇic lore may be proved by his non-mention in the canonical texts wherein only *Śreyāṃśa* finds mention as a king of *Hastināpura* and is reported to have offered sugarcane juice to Lord *Rṣabha* after he had broken his sixmonthly meditative fast. This silence about *Somaprabha* in the early texts becomes all the more significant from historical and genealogical stand-point, for in all the *Purāṇas* beginning from JHV onwards, he is mentioned together with *Śreyāṃśa* and ultimately overshadows the latter as the founder of an independent royal dynasty. In fact, among the purāṇic personages of Jainism possibly none has undergone so much change in position both genealogically and chronologically as *Somaprabha* did. Vide *Infra* *Ikṣvāku* dynasty, Chap V,

But *Vimala's* version does not refer to any relationship between him and *Kuru Raviṣena* on the other hand, does not make any mention of *Somaprabha* either as *Bāhubalin's* son or as the son of *Kuru*. Instead, he styles *Bāhubalin's* son *Somayaśas* probably on the analogy of the personal name *Ādityayaśas* ascribed by *Vimala* to the son of *Bharata* and represented as the founder of the main branch of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty called the *Ādityayaśas*. Thus in RPP the name *Somaprabha* is apparently transformed to *Somayaśas* with no indication of his lineal relationship with *Kuru*. Under the circumstances, it may legitimately be said that the author of the H.V. connected *Kuru* with *Somaprabha* under the influence of the Brahmanical Purāṇic tradition which derives the *Kuruvaṁśa* from the Lunar race (*Soma Vamśa*)⁵⁶

As to the dynastic account in the A P., we find that the author of this work admits as many as five independent ruling dynasties of simultaneous origin. These dynasties according to the work are (i) the *Ikṣvākuvaṁśa*, (ii) *Kuruvaṁśa*,⁵⁷ (iii) *Harivaṁśa*⁵⁸, (iv) *Nāthavaṁśa*⁵⁹ and (v) *Ugravaṁśa*⁶⁰

The account of the origin of these dynasties shows that

56 MBh III 180 11, V 149 3—सोम प्रजापति पूर्वं कुरुणा वंशवर्धन ।

Chap V also VV 4-31, *Parvan* 94,95, *vanap* 180 11, *Drora* 144 4-5, *Rāmā*, VII 50 25-28, 59 10 16, *Vā* 99 119-106, 211-17, *Br* 13 2-8, 50-63, 80 1, *Mat* 49 1-43, 50 17-21, *Viṣ* iv 19 1-10, 18, all quoted in Pargiter, AIHT, pp 110-113

57 सोमप्रभ प्रभोराप्तकुरुराजसमाह्वय ।

कुरुणामधिराजोऽभूत् कुरुवशशिखामणि ॥

AP, 16 258

58 हरिश्च हरिकान्ताख्या दधानस्तदनुज्ञया ।

हरिवंशमलंचक्रे श्रीमान् हरिपराक्रमः ॥

Ibid 16 259

59 अकम्पनोऽपि सृष्टीशात् प्राप्तश्रीधरनामकः ।-

नाथवशस्य नेताऽभूत् प्रसन्ने भुवनेगिति ॥

Ibid 16 260

60 काश्यपोऽपि गुरो प्राप्तमाधवाख्य पतिर्विशाम् ।

उग्रवशस्य वंश्योऽभूत् किन्नाप्य स्वामिसम्पदा ॥

Ibid 16 261

the fathers of these lines were all contemporaries of Lord *Rṣabha Ikṣvāku* and were ruling at different kingdoms as subordinates of the patriarch. Except the information that the heads of the above families were appointed by the Lord as rulers of different regions, the work says nothing about their identity, parentage, kingdoms and capitals as well as their relationship with the Master. It is obvious from the list that there is substantial difference between the A P on the one hand and all the previous works on the other, for, the work in its dynastic list has not included the *Vidyādhara*⁶¹ and *Rṣivamśa*⁶² and has incorporated a new dynasty under the name of the *Nāthavamśa*. Next, unlike his predecessors, the author of the A P has also supplied the *Ugravamśa* with an individual founder who has been given the personal name *Kāśyapa*. Thus, in the work the term *Ugra* has been divested of its old functional and qualitative sense of a class designation⁶³ and has been treated as a name of an individual line, reportedly established by a single⁶⁴ ruler.

Now, among the later *Purāṇakāras*, *Puṣpadanta* seems to be the only writer to have adopted *Jinasena's* scheme wholesale⁶⁵. But *Gunabhadra* and *Śubhacandra* are only in partial agreement with the author of AP insofar as the former does not recognize the *Ugras* as representing any independent line, but as a later sub-line sprung from the *Kuru* dynasty,⁶⁶ and, thus, partially corroborates the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic tradition which has set out *Drupada* as belonging to the *Pāñcāla* branch of the *Puru*-line⁶⁷ and connected with the *Kurus* both

61 *Supra* notes 35, 37, 39 and 48

62 *Supra* notes 37-38

63 LAI, p. 372, JHV 9 44-45a

64 Note 60 (ante).

65 PMP V 22 5-8

66 द्रुपदाद्युग्रवंशोत्थमहीशाः कुरुवंशजा

UP 72 212

(The kings *Drupada*, etc. born in the *Ugravamśa* (were) the descendants of the *Kuru* dynasty)

67 *Drupada*, according to the epic-Purāṇic tradition, was the son of *Piṣata* who was a descendant of *Ajamīdha*, son of *Hastin Paurava*. Thus he belonged to the same stock to which the *Kurus* did. See AIHT, pp 112 13 116, 271,

by consanguinity and marital tie⁶⁸ *Śubhacandra*, too, while enumerating different dynasties, does not include the *Ugravamśa* in his dynastic list. Instead, the author reckons the *Nātha vamśa* among the four royal lines of synchronistic origin⁶⁹

Now, a few words must be said about the position of the *Nātha-vamśa*. A study of the Jaina texts reveals that AP is the first work to have mentioned the *Vamśa* under that name. According to the canonical texts Lord *Mahāvīra* was born in the royal family of *Vaiśālī* which was known as the *Jñātṛka*⁷⁰ and, therefore, he was called *Jñātṛputra* or *Nāyaputta*⁷¹. This *Jñātṛ* or *Jñāṛka* has been mentioned in the early Jaina texts variously as *Nāya*,⁷² *Nāta*, *Nāta* and *Nātika*⁷³ and is treated there as obviously distinct from the families of *Ugras*, *Bhogas* etc. But in the HP of *Jinasena* the term has been divested of its canonical sense and, instead of being used in the sense of a particular class, has been employed there in general sense of 'Kinsmen' of *Ikṣvāku*. Thus, with an expansion of the connotation, the term *Jñāta* or *Jñātṛjña* has been used here not as a designation of a particular clan but as an attributive of *Ugras*, *Bhogas*, *Kurus* and *Rājanyas* all, who are said to have been related with *Ikṣvāku* as his kinsmen.⁷⁴ It is obvious, then,

68 सम्बन्धी कृत्वीराणां द्रुपदो राजसत्तम ।

MBh, I 137 61a

69 क्षत्रियाणां सुगोत्राणि व्यघायिषत् वेधसा ।

चत्वारि चतुरेणैव राजस्थितिसुसिद्धये ॥

सुवागिष्वाकुराद्यस्तु द्वितीय कौरवो मतः ।

हरिवशस्तृतीयस्तु चतुर्थो नाथनामभाक् ॥

SPP, II 163-164

70 In the sixth *Adhyāya* of the *Samavāyāṅga Nāya*, (*Jñāta* or *Jñātṛ*) is reckoned among the six *Āryakulas* together with *Ugra*, *Bhoga*, *Rājanya*, *Ikṣvāku* and *Kaurava*, HPL, P 60, LAI, P 381. According to Dr B C Law (*TAI*, PP 243-244) the family was also known as the *Nātha* clan. But with regard to that name the author has not given any evidence.

71. J C Jain, op cit, P. 373

72 c g *Nāya-kulaṁsi*, *Nāya-kule*, -*Uvāsagadasāo*, I 66 69

73 PHAI, P 119.

74. JHV, 9 43-45a

that the same *Jñāta*⁷⁵ of the early texts has been represented as *Nātha* in the AP which has invested the family so named with an independent character of a distinct line said to have been headed by one *Akampana*

Gunabhadra, apparently following his *Guru's* scheme, has placed Lord *Mahāvīra* in the *Nāthavamśa* which is said to have been ruling at *Kundanagara* or *Kundapura* in *Videha*⁷⁶ Now, among the *Purāṇakāras*, *Subhacandra* alone appears to have accepted *Jinasena-Gunabhadra's* representation of *Mahāvīra* as a scion of the *Nāthavamśa*⁷⁷ *Jinasena* I⁷⁸ and *Śīlāṅka*⁷⁹ have obviously assigned *Mahāvīra* to the family of *Ikṣvāku* But so far as we know, *Vimala* and *Raviṣena* make no reference to the family affiliation of the last *Tīrthankara* Hence, we are not in a position to state anything with regard to their stand *Hemacandra*, too, does not recognise *Nāthavamśa* inasmuch as he does not include that name in the list of the eight *Jātyāryas* (royal

75 How the Jaina authors have taken liberty in representing this clan in different ways is evidenced by a passage in the *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī* which tells us that Lord *Ikṣvāku* divided the contemporary *Kṣatriyas* into four *ganas* called *Uggas*, *Bhogas* *Ratnnas* and *Nāgas*—

ततो षडम राइणा विहता चत्तारि गणा—उग्गा भोगा राइण्णा नागा ।
जे उग्गा ते आयरक्खा, भोगा भोगे भुजति, राइण्णा जे सामिणो
समवयसा, नागा जे कज्जणिवेयगा । एव च गणसमगो कोसलाजणवय-
पालेइ ।

VH, P 162.

76 विदेहविषये कुण्डसज्ञाया पुरि भूपति ।
नाथो नाथकुलस्यैक सिद्धार्याख्यस्त्रिसिद्धिभाक् ॥
तस्य पुण्यानुभावेन प्रियासीत् प्रियकारिणी ।

UP, 75 6-8ff.

77 सिद्धार्थ सिद्धसर्वार्थ. सिद्धसाध्य सुसिद्धिभाक् ।
नाथवशोदभुवा नाथो भूनाथ पाति तत्कुलम् ॥

SPP, 1 77

78- JHV, II 1-15

79 “तत्थ दिणायरोव्व पवड्ढमाणोयओ
इक्खागवंसपभवो राया णामेण सिद्धत्थोत्ति ।.....”

CMC, P. 270

families of Aryan origin). These *Jātyāryas* according to *TSPC* are the *Ikṣvākus*, *Jñātas*, *Haris*, *Videhas*, *Kurus*, *Ugras*, and *Rājanyas* ⁸⁰

The representation of the *Harī* dynasty also does not show a uniform tradition any more. There are broadly speaking two schools. One school is represented by *Vimalasūri*, *Raviṣena* and *Jinasena* I, while the other is represented by *Jinasena* II, *Gunabhadra* and *Subhacandra*. The *Svetāmbaras* follow the first school in many respects. The former school places the origin of the line in the age of the tenth *Tīrthankara Śītalānātha* and ascribes its progenitorship to a mythical person of the legendary land called *Harivarṣa* ⁸¹. But the authors of the MP make the origin of the dynasty and its founder contemporaneous with *Ikṣvāku's* reign. According to the MP the founder of the *Harī* dynasty was one of *Ikṣvāku Rṣabha's* sub-rulers, called *Harikānta* or *Harī* ⁸². Thus, the authors of the MP treat the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty as a sovereign ruling family and consider the rest as subordinate to the former.

Another striking point of difference between the MP on the one hand, and all the other works on the other, is revealed by the diverging representation of the *Āditya-vamśa* and *Somavamśa*, for we have already seen that according to the majority of the *Purāṇas* the *Ādityavamśa* and *Somavamśa* were the collateral lines of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty, ⁸³ but the authors of the MP do not consider the *Somavamśa* as a branch of the latter. On the contrary, the *Somavamśa* is treated as distinct from the

80 इक्ष्वाकवो ज्ञात-हरि-विदेहाः कुरवोऽपि च ।

उग्रा भोजा राजन्याश्च जात्यार्या एवमादय ॥

TSPC, II 3 674. But this list is apparently self-contradictory in so far as in the genealogical section the *Videhas*, *Ugras* and *Bhojas* are represented as the sub-lines of the *Harī* dynasty and the *Kuru-vamśa* is treated as a branch of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty, whereas the *Jñātas* and *Rājanyas*, so far as we know, find no mention as the dynastic names. *Vide* chapters V-VI *infra*.

81. See chap VI

82. Note 58 (*ante*)

83. Notes 42, 48 (*ante*), Also see chapter V.

Ikṣvāku dynasty and identical with the *Kuruvamśa*, and the names *Somavamśa* and *Kuruvamśa* are stated to have been derived from the founder's personal name *Somaprabha* and the title *Kuru* respectively⁸⁴ Thus, with regard to the representation of the *Kuru* line the MP may be said to have kept close to the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic tradition inasmuch as the work acknowledges oneness of the *Somavamśa* and *Kuruvamśa* in its own way For, though defiant of the epic-Purāṇic chronological and genealogical⁸⁵ sequence, the present account is essentially an anachronistically modified version of the traditional account which has set out the *Kuruvamśa* as the main derivative line of the Lunar dynasty

The dynastic account as given by *Hemacandra* in his TSPC is, in many respects different from all the versions already discussed The genealogies of various dynasties are also in great variance with those found in the earlier works. As a matter of fact, *Hemacandra* has presented a version which displays an element of contamination of both the *Jaina* and *Brahmanical epic Purāṇic* traditions, and his genealogical accounts are inclined more towards the *Brahmanical* tradition than to the *Jaina* one This special feature of the version, however, will be shown in proper context Now, so far as the principal dynasties are concerned, the TSPC recognizes only two *vamśas* According to the present work there were basically only two dynasties, viz. the *Ikṣvākuvamśa*⁸⁶ and *Harivamśa*⁸⁷ Of these two, the former is stated to have branched off into three main lines known as the *Ādityavamśa*, *Somavamśa*

84 AP 16 258 ; *Supra* note 57 , The titles *Kuru*, *Kaurapa*, *Soma* and *Indu* are alternately applied to the line and its members See MP 44 37, 40, 301 , 45 79, 134

85 *Kuru* after whom the main branch of the Lunar dynasty was named as the *Kuru* or *Kaurava vamśa* was several steps below *Soma*, AIHT, PP 144-48 , 253-55

86. यदिक्षुराददे भर्त्रेद्वकुर्दित्याख्यया तत ।
स्वामिवश प्रतिष्ठाप्य दिवस्पतिरगाद् दिवम् ॥

and *Kuruvamśa*, which are reported to have received their respective names from *Adityayaśa*,⁸⁸ son of *Bharata*, *Ikṣvāku*'s eldest son, from *Somayasas*, also called *Somaprabha*, son of *Bāhubalin*⁸⁹, another son of *Ikṣvāku* and from *Kuru*,⁹⁰ said to have been a son of the same patriarch. Of these three, the *Somavamśa* is said to have got divided into several sub-lines⁹¹. But we have seen in the genealogical section of the TSPC that both the *Kuruvamśa* and *Somavamśa* are treated as collateral lines said to have descended from the *Ikṣvāku* race. This being the case, then, the term *Ikṣvāku* must be treated as generic in nature and, therefore, comprehensive of all the derivative lines thereof. Hence a separate mention of the *Kuruvamśa* besides the *Ikṣvāku* in the list of the *Jālyāryas* shows its redundancy and creates an impression that the author takes the *Kuruvamśa* as unconnected with the *Ikṣvāku* race. For, it is clear from the list that the *Somavamśa* has not been separately mentioned therein for obvious reason of its having been derived from *Ikṣvāku*. Under the circumstances, it is strange that the author should not have kept to that common place principle with regard to the *Kuruvamśa* which, according to his representation, was related to *Ikṣvāku* more closely⁹² than the *Somavamśa*. Moreover, the reckoning of the *Videhas* and the *Haris* separately among the noble families, is, likewise, inconsistent with the dynastic account wherein the former are represented as the offshoots of the latter.

A perusal of the dynastic records as set forth in the foregoing pages reveals that the *Purānas* under investigation do not represent a unified tradition. Now, so far as the representation of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty is concerned the unanimity is

88 *Ibid* 1 6 746

89 *Ibid* 1 5 754-56, 1 3 244, 247, 333

90 *Ibid* (Eng trans by H M Johnson) Vol V P 197

91 तदादि सोमवशोऽमृच्छाखाशतसमाकुल ।

तत्तत्पुरुषरत्नानामेकमुत्पत्तिकारणम् ॥

Ibid 1 5 755

92. As it was derived from *Ikṣvāku*'s son ; TSPC, vol. V P 197.

Nevertheless, the representation of the *Ādityavamśa* and *Somavamśa* as sub-lines of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty may be said to have at its root the influence of the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic tradition which in a bid to unify the solar and the Lunar dynasties had already bound them to a common ancestry by ascribing the origination of the two distinct dynasties to *Ikṣvāku* and *Ilā*, conceived as *Vaivasvata Manu*'s son and daughter respectively⁹⁴ However, the seeming disagreement between the traditional representation and its Jaina counterpart as well as the inversion in the order of succession is too superficial to come in our way of treating these lines as the modified versions of the *Sūryavamśa* and *Candravamśa* of the Brahmanical school.

७४ विशिष्टतरमन्विच्छन् मनु पुत्र तथा पुन ।

यत्र चापहृते होतुरपचारान्महामुने ।

इला नाम समुत्पन्ना मनो कन्या सुमध्यमा ॥

Mārka P. 111 6-7 ff, *Vāyu-P* chap 85, *Matsya-P* 11 40 to 12-16, according to which *Ilā* was originally *Ila*, the eldest son of *Vaivasvata* Manu, but on account of his entrance into *Śiva's* forbidden grove *Śaravāna*, he got transformed into a woman and so acquired the feminine name *Ilā* on whom *Budha*, son of *Soma* begot *Purūrava*s who became the father of the *Aīlar*. This *Purāna* expressly makes *Ila* the chief progenitor of both the *Somavamśa* and the *Arkavamśa*

सोमार्कवंशयोरादाविलोभूत्मनुतन्दन ।.....

Ibid 12 14b, also *Brahma-P* 3 60 4-8; HV 10 615-22, *Vij* IV. 1 6-8ff; for details, AHTT, pp 253-257.

Now, it will not be unreasonable to state that one of the motives behind this revised and recast representation of the Solar and the Lunar dynasties might have been its aiming at the purging of these dynasties from their divine origin, ascribed by the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic tradition to the godheads *Sūrya* and *Candra* respectively. But a close study of the Jaina accounts reveals that the way, in which the rationalization has been effected, is far from being satisfactory, for more than one reason. First, the names in question are stated to have owed their origin to such persons who, as the Jaina accounts show, have nothing to their credit in the universal development. They appear insignificant both on spiritual and mundane planes and look like pigmies before the towering personality of their fathers and grandfather. Secondly, *Bharata*, father of *Ādiyayaśas*, having been represented as the first universal monarch of matchless prowess and *Bāhubalin*, *Somayaśas*, father, having been portrayed as the *Caramaśarīrin* of immense physical and spiritual strength, it would have been logical to name the respective lines after *Bharata* and *Bāhubalin* rather than after their uninspiring sons.

Furthermore, the impact of the Brahmanical tradition is so profound that in spite of the Jinist representation of the above lines as sub-branches of the *Ikṣvāku* race, it is only the *Ādiyavamśa* which finds mention as the *Ikṣvāku* or *Aikṣvāka* race, and so far as we know, nowhere in the works under investigation the generic term *Ikṣvāku* has ever been applied to the *Somavamśa* whose claim to that title, according to these versions, should have been as strong as that of the *Ādiyavamśa*. Under the circumstances, it is not extraordinary that the majority⁹⁵ of the *Digambara Purāṇakāras* parted company with their brethren in their dynastic and genealogical scheme and represented the *Somavamśa* as distinct from the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty and identical with the *Kuru* line.

Notwithstanding the aforesaid incongruity and discrepancy, the representation of the *Ādiyavamśa* and *Somavamśa* as

allied royal families is significant insofar as it has recognized the identical source of the two families. This way, the present account supports the Brahmanical legend of relationship between the *Saura* and the *Aila* dynasties⁹⁶

Now, it will be of some value to present a comparative picture of some of the important personages represented in various works as the founders and progenitors of different royal families. This will bring home to us the nature of transformation which they have undergone in different works of the same tradition. These personages are, for instance, *Puru*, *Somayaśas*, *Somaprabha* and *Kuru*, all connected with the *Aila* race according to the Brahmanical tradition.

Puru

In all the works representing the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic tradition, *Puru*⁹⁷ holds the same position of high honour as the progenitor of the main line of the Lunar race as does *Ikṣvāku* as the father of the *Ikṣvāku* race. All the brāhmanical works show striking agreement in depicting him as an ideally dutiful son of king *Yayāti* and illustrious forefather of the *Kurus*. But in the early texts of Jainism he does not find any mention, nor is the dynasty bearing his name referred to anywhere in those texts. It is for the first time in *JHV* that the term *Puru* as the first constituent of the compound word *Purudeva*⁹⁸ has been used as an attribute of *Rṣabha-Ikṣvāku*. Thus, we find that in *JHV* *Puru* has been denied his entity as an independent personality and his personal name has been adapted to an epithet of *Ikṣvāku*. However, a study of *JHV*

96 Note 94 (*ante*)

97 Though the youngest son of *Yayāti*, *Puru* is said to have received from him the ancestral kingdom as reward for the extraordinary service which he had rendered to his father, *Vāyu-P* 93 28-75, 88-90, Also *AIHT*, PP 87-88, 101, 122, 144, 259-60

98 पूर्वं सर्वपुराणानां त्वं महामहिमा महान् ।

इह दीव्यसि यत्तेन पुरुदेव इतीष्यसे ॥

JHV, 8 211

The first long vowel of the term has been shortened here to give the name a new appearance. However, in the Brahmanical sources both the forms are met with.

shows that this identification of *Puru* with *Ikṣvāku* has never been utilized in respect of the nomenclature of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty, for, nowhere in the work, to our knowledge that dynasty is referred to as *Puruvamśa*.

Now coming to the *MP* we find that in the work the process of identification of *Ikṣvāku* with *Puru* has been brought to perfection inasmuch as not only *Ikṣvāku* has been called *Puru* but also the dynasty and the various descendants of the patriarch have been accorded that name in its generic form. In fact, it is the latter term which has received a preferential treatment from both Jinasena and his pupil Gunabhadra, who use this term as generic name more often than even the *Ikṣvāku* ⁹⁹ And, this representation of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty as identical with the *Puruvamśa* may be said to have its basis in the stray vedic statements creating an impression "that the *Ikṣvāku* line was originally a line of princes of the *Pūrus* ¹⁰⁰ But here, again, the authors show their own genealogical design, for the *Kauravas* and the *Pāndavas*, all represented in the Brahmanical sources as the progeny of *Pūru*, have been treated by them as descendants of the latter, but are derived from *Somaprabha Kuru*, who, as stated before is set forth as the head of a separate royal family ¹⁰¹

Somaprabha, Somayaśas and Kuru

A comparative study of the respective position of *Somaprabha* and *Somayaśas* affords an interesting picture of the transformation of their character and personality. The study of these individuals, who are merged, in one school, into one figure, cannot be made independently, nor irrespective of the character of *Kuru* who, too, finds his mention in these *Purāṇas* in various forms and capacities. In fact, his position

⁹⁹ *MP* 3 239, 15 71, 72, 73, 75, 17 72, 24 31, 25 75, 143, 192, 45 53, 47 392, 400

¹⁰⁰ *Vedic Index* P 75, also B C Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, P 118. But this theory of oneness of the *Ikṣvākus* and *Pūrus* has been refuted on cogent ground by Pargiter in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp 133-34

¹⁰¹ *Supra*, note 57,

together with that of *Somāprabha* has been subjected to great fluctuation

As stated before, *Vimalasūri* is the first Purāṇic author to have introduced *Somāprabha* as *Bāhubalin's* son¹⁰² and founder of the *Soma* branch of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty¹⁰³ But in RPP the name *Somāprabha* has evidently yielded place to a new term *Somayaśas* as the name of *Bāhubalin's* son and founder of the above mentioned branch¹⁰⁴ of the *Ikṣvāku* family Thus, while *Vimala* calls *Bāhubalin's* son *Somayaśas* and makes no reference to *Somāprabha*, in any capacity, the author of the *Padmacarita* styles the son of *Bāhubalin* as *Somayaśas* and makes no allusion to *Somāprabha* in any context Even with reference to *Śreyāṃśa* in the context of *Rsabhadeva's* itinerary after his enlightenment, when the former is reported to have offered the latter first meritorious gift of sugarcane juice, *Raviṣena*¹⁰⁵ does not allude to *Somāprabha*

Now, *Jinasena*, the author of the *Harivamśapurāṇa* taking *Somāprabha* of *RPG* and *Somayaśas* of *RPC* as two distinct persons, has evidently represented the former as the son of one *Kuru*¹⁰⁶ and portrayed him as the founder of the *Kuru* line¹⁰⁷ which the author has treated as distinct from the *Somavamśa*, named after *Somayaśas*¹⁰⁸ Thus in JHV both *Somāprabha* and

- 102 उमभस्म वीयपुत्तो वाहुवली नाम आसि विक्खाओ ।
तस्स य महप्पभावो पुत्तो सोमप्पभो नाम ॥

VPC 5 10.

- 103 Ibid 5, 11-13

- 104 उत्पत्ति सोमवशस्य साम्प्रत परिकीर्त्यते ॥
ऋषभस्याभवत्पुत्रो नाम्ना वाहुवलीति य ।
ततः सोमयशा नाम सोम्य मूनुरजायत ॥

RPG, 10a-11f

- 105 *Padmacarita* 4 1-20,

- 106 JHV, 9 45b

- 107 Ibid 45 5 40

- 108 योऽमी वाहुवली तस्माज्जात सोमयशा मुत ।
सोमवशस्य कर्त्तसौ, .. ॥

Ibid 13 16

Somayaśas have acquired a separate entity, the former as the son of *Kuru* and the latter as the son and successor of *Bāhubalīn*.

Again, coming to the *MP* we find another change in the character and position of *Kuru* and *Somaprabha* both. In the present work *Somaprabha* has been introduced as a subordinate ruler under the overlordship of *Rsabha-Ikṣvāku* from whom the former is stated to have received the title *Kururāja*¹⁰⁹ Thus, the author of the *MP* has treated the term *Kuru* as an attribute and *Somaprabha* as the personal name of the person. Now, as a corollary of this twofold designation of the eponymous ruler, the line ascribed to him is said to have been styled both *Somavamśa* and *Kuruvamśa*¹¹⁰ And, in consequence of that modified dynastic scheme, *Somavamśa* of *RPC* and *JHV* ceases to hold his ground as the son of *Bāhubalīn* and founder of the *Soma*-branch of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty. Instead, one *Mahākālīn*¹¹¹ is made to replace him as the son and successor of *Bāhubalīn* and no specific name is given to his line.

Next change in the character and lineal as well as chronological position of *Somaprabha* is seen in the *GMC* of *Śīlānka*, the first *Śvetāmbara Purāṇakāra*. The author of this work describes *Somaprabha* as a descendant of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty,¹¹² but with usual lack of interest in genealogical and chronological matters, *Śīlānka* does not indicate *Somaprabha's* chronological position in the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty. Now, like the author of the *MP*, he treats the term *Kuru* as an epithet of *Somaprabha* and imputes an amusingly fanciful import to it, for he tells us that as *Somaprabha* was enjoined by *Śakra* to act

109 16 268

110 *MP* 44 37, 40, 361 ; 45 79, 134ff

111 महावलिनि निक्षिप्तराज्यद्वि स स्वनन्दने ।
दीक्षामुपादधे जैनी गुरोराराधयन् पदम् ॥

MP 36 104.

112 'इमो य इक्खागवससभवो सोमप्पभो एणम राया ।

GMC, P. 182

in accordance with the saying of the Jaina sages so he came to be called *Kuru* and his line acquired the title *Kuru*¹¹³ *Vamsa*¹

Another marked transformation in the character and lineal connection as well as genealogical position of *Somaprabha* is evinced in the *Trisaṣṭiśalākāpurusa-carita* of *Hemacandra*, whose dynastic lists and genealogical accounts are remarkably different from those of all his predecessors. In the present work, both *Somaprabha* and *Somayaśas* are made into one individual, the personal names *Somaprabha* and *Somayaśas* are treated as synonyms¹¹⁴ of one and the same person who is represented as a grandson of *Ikṣvāku Rṣabha* and son of *Bāhubalin*¹¹⁵. It is in this changed background that *Somaprabha* is set out here as the father of the *Soma*-branch¹¹⁶ of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty, and, is represented as different from *Kuru* who is stated to have been another son of *Ikṣvāku Rṣabha* and founder of the *Kuru*-line¹¹⁷ of the same dynasty. Thus, it is obvious that according to the TSPC both *Somavamśa* and *Kuruvamśa* derived their respective names from two distinct persons belonging to the same family and, as such, were collateral lines descended from the same stock. Now, so far as the genealogical position of the founders of the above lines is concerned, the TSPC places *Kuru* one generation above *Somaprabha*, for, as stated before, the work treats the former as one of the sons and the latter as a grandson of *Ikṣvāku Rṣabha*.

Thus, it is obvious from the foregoing study that, though in general agreement with regard to the representation of the Brahmanical Solar dynasty, the works under investigation show striking discord in respect of their treatment of the

113 सो य सक्केण सचोइओ जहा—मुणीण वयण कुरु ।
तप्पमिइ वसो वि कुरुत्ति पइठिओ ।

Ibid P 182.

114 13 244-47

115 15 311

116 15 754 55

117 *Ibid* Vol V P 197.

Lunar race And in consequence of that diverging representation of the line, the works disagree also with regard to the capital city of *Bāhubalin*. The *Purānas* which treat the founder of the *Somavamśa* either as distinct from that of the *Kuruvamśa* or as unrelated with *Bāhubali* ascribe *Potanapura*¹¹⁸ to the latter as his capital city, whereas the works representing the founder of the *Somavamśa* as identical or connected with the father of the *Kuru*-line as well as with *Bāhubalin* as his son refer to *Takṣaśilā*¹¹⁹ and *Hastināpura* as the capital cities of the former. In other words, the Digambara versions, though containing divergent statement with regard to the identity and family relationship of the above two lines, are remarkably unanimous in making *Potanapura*¹²⁰ the capital city of *Bāhubalin*, whereas the Śvetāmbara accounts including that of *Vimalasūri*¹²¹ describe him as the ruler of *Takṣaśilā*¹²². This being the state, it is difficult to say as to which of these conflicting representations is authentic. As a matter of fact, both the statements neutralize one another and neither of them is corroborated by any non-jaina evidence.

118 RPC, 4.67

पोतनास्ये पुरे तस्य स्थितो बाहुबली नृप

JHV, 11 78, SPC, 6 2 7-8, 6 3 4, 6 4 7, MP 35 27, PMP 16 12 10, 16 19, 16 22, 2

119 VH P 186, I 12, CMC, PP 44, 46 mention only *Takṣaśilā* as *Bāhubalin*'s territory, TSPC 1 5 24-23, 53, 161 310, 674, 689, 728. All these references call *Bāhubalin* ruler of *Takṣaśilā*, while *Somaprabha* his son is referred to as ruler of *Gajapura*, a variant of *Hastināpura* (1 3 243-44).

120 Dr J C Jain identifies this city as *Pratiṣṭhānapura*, modern *Jhusi*, opposite Allahabad, across the Ganges (LAI, P 323). But his identification lacks authentication. On the contrary, a number of evidences make the city situated on the bank of the river *Godāvari*, Sitanath Pradhana, *Chronology of Ancient India*, P 150, Dr H C Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, PP 89, 98, 143, TAI, PP 169, 181.

121 VPC, 4 38

122. This city has been identified with the ruins "to the east and north-east of Sarai-kala, twenty miles north west of Rawalpindi (now in west Pakistan)" H C Raychaudhuri, *op cit* PP 59-6 1480, TAI, PP, 9-10, LAI, P 34!

Another inconsistency in the Digambara versions is displayed by the divergent accounts of the kingdoms and capitals of the above dynasts as well as by those of the countries¹²³ stated to have been ruled over and abandoned by the ninety-eight brothers of *Bharata*. For, all the works represent the father of the *Kuru*-line as the ruler of *Kuruyāngala* with *Hastināpura* as its capital, and still most of them state that almost all the kingdoms, countries,¹²⁴ principalities as well as many

123 These according to JHV (11 63-76) are (i) *Kuruyāngala* (ii) *Pañcāla*, (iii) *Śūrasena*, (iv) *Pāṣaṇḍra*, (v) *Tulīnga*, (vi) *Kāśī*, (vii) *Kauśālyā*, (viii) *Madrakāra*, (ix) *Vṛkārthaka*, (x) *Solva*, (xi) *Āvṛṣṭa*, (xii) *Trigarta*, (xiii) *Kuśāgra*, (xiv) *Matsya* (xv) *Kunṭyān*, (xvi) *Kośala* and (xvii) *Moḥa*, (All these countries are said to have been situated in the Midland, *Madhyadeśa*), (xviii) *Bāhlika*, (xix) *Ātreya*, (xx) *Kamboja*, (xxi) *Yavana*, (xxii) *Ābhira*, (xxiii) *Madraka*, (xxiv) *Koṭhatoya*, (xxv) *Sūra*, (xxvi) *Vātarāna*, (xxvii) *Kaṭṭaya* (xxviii) *Gāndhāra*, (xxix) *Sindhu*, (xxx) *Saurāra*, (xxxi) *Bharadvāja*, (xxxii) *Dasoruka* (xxxiii) *Prāsthāla*, and (xxxiv) *Tirṇakarna* (in the north), (xxxv) *Khadga*, (xxxvi) *Angāraka*, (xxxvii) *Paurdra*, (xxxviii) *Malla*, (xxxix) *Pravaka*, (xl) *Mastaka*, (xli) *Prāgyatosa*, (xlii) *Vanga*, (xliii) *Magadha*, (xliv) *Mānavartika*, (xlv) *Alalaja*, (xlvi) *Bhārgava* (in the east), (xlvii) *Bānamukta*, (xlviii) *Vaidarbha*, (xlix) *Mānava* (i) *Sakakāpura*, (ii) *Mūlaka*, (iii) *Aśmaka*, (iv) *Dārdika*, (iv) *Kalunga*, (iv) *Asīnka*, (iv) *Kuntala*, (iv) *Na arāṣṭra*, (iv) *Māhiṣaka*, (iv) *Puruṣa*, and (iv) *Bhogavardhana* (in the south), (li) *Māhya*, (li) *Kalicanopānta*, (li) *Durga*, (li) *Karbuḥ*, (li) *Kākā*, (li) *Nā'āraka*, (li) *Āgarta*, (li) *Sāratvata*, (li) *Tāpasa*, (li) *Mahuna*, (li) *Bharukaccha*, (li) *Surāṣṭra* and (li) *Narmadā* (in the west), (lxi) *Daśārnaka*, (lxi) *Kiskindhā*, (lxi) *Triṣura*, (lxi) *Ānarta*, (lxi) *Naiṣadha*, (lxi) *Naiṣāla*, (lxi) *Uttamararra*, (lxi) *Vaidīśa*, (lxi) *Antapa*, (lxi) *Kauśala*, (lxi) *Pattona*, and (lxi) *Vinīhātrās*, (on the *Indhyā* pl. *trau*), (lxi) *Bhadra*, (lxi) *Vatsa*, (lxi) *Kuśa*, (xc) *Vidhe*, (xc) *Bhānga*, (xc) *Saitava*, and (xc) *Vajrakhaṇḍika* (all these countries are said to have been under the midland)

124 Most of the names of the countries are given in the MP (16 162-56), remarkably differ from those in JHV. Those countries according to the MP were (i) *Suśosala*, (ii) *Aranti*, (iii) *Pundra*, (iv) *Uḍra*, (v) *Asmaka*, (vi) *Raryaka*, (vii) *Kuru*, (viii) *Kāśī*, (ix) *Kalīnga*, (x) *Anga*, (xi) *Varṣa*, (xii) *Subra*, (xiii) *Samudraka*, (xiv) *Kāśmīra*, (xv) *Uśinara*, (xvi) *Ānarta*, (xvii) *Latva*, (xviii) *Samudraka*, (xix) *Mālāra*, (xx) *Dāśārnaka*, (xxi) *Krecha*, (xxii) *Magadha*, (xxiii) *Vaidarbha*, (xxiv) *Kurujāngala*, (xxv) *Kerāhāla*, (xxvi) *Mahārāṣṭra*, (xxvii) *Surāṣṭra*, (xxviii) *Ābhira*, (xxix) *Koṭhena*, (xxx) *Vanarāsa*, (xxxi) *Andhra*, (xxxii)

of cities, towns and capitals of ancient India were carved out by Lord *Rṣabha Ikṣvāku*, who apportioned them to his hundred sons to govern

Under the circumstances we are constrained to believe that the countries as well as their capitals must have derived their names from *Rṣabhadeva's* hundred sons, who were, according to these sources, first rulers of those kingdoms, and as such one of them must have had the name *Kuru* after whom the country allotted to his share might have been so named. The Brahmanical epics and *Purāṇas* are full of references which unmistakably show that the newly carved out kingdoms and capitals etc often bear the names of their founders¹²⁵—whether real or eponymous. Historical evidences also bear testimony to the fact that in the newly discovered and inhabited regions it is the discoverers, founders, rulers and other celebrated personages who give their names to those places¹²⁶. Thus, the representation of *Bharata's* brothers as rulers of *Kuru(ksetra)* and *Kuruṅgala* obviously contradicts the delineation of *Somaśrabha* (though reported to have the title of *Kururāja*) and *Śreyāṃśa* as kings of *Kuruṅgala*, for we have

Karnāta, (xxxiii) *Kosala*, (xxxiv) *Cola*, (xxxv) *Kerala* (xxxvi) *Dāru*, (xxxvii) *Abhisāra*, (xxxviii) *Sauvīra*, (xxxix) *Sūrasena*, (xl) *Aparāntaka*, (xli) *Videha*, (xlii) *Sindhu*, (xliii) *Gandhāra*, (xliv) *Yavana*, (xlv) *Cedi*, (xlvi) *Pallava*, (xlvii) *Aratta*, (xlix) *Bāhlika*, (l) *Turuṣka*, (li) *Śaka* and (lii) *Kekaya*

The list recurring in *Puṣpadanta's Maṭṭhīyāra* (V 20 5-10) is shorter than those in the preceding works and, is different from the same with regard to the names of countries as well

125 Such as *Pandya*, *Kerala*, *Kola*, and *Cola*, all named after the descendants of *Puru*, bearing those names,—*Vāyu* 99 5-6, HV 1 33 122-23, *Matsya*, 48 4 5, Similarly, *Gāndhāra* is said to have derived its name from a descendant of *Druhyu*, *Vāyu* 99 9, HV 1 33 26, *Matsya* 48 7, for *Utkala*, *Vāyu* P 85, 19, HV 10 10, *Mārka* P 111 15, *Viś* P 4 1 12-13, for *Mithilā*, *Vāyu* 89 5 6, for *Ānarta*, *Sauvīra*, *Madra*, *Kekaya*, *Aṅga*, *Varṅga*, *Suhma* and *Kaliṅga*, *Vāyu* 86 24, 99 23-34, 27-28, HV 13 31f, 31 29-30, 33-34, *Matsya* 12 22, 48 19-20, 25, for *Śrāvastī* *Vāyu*, 88 27, *Matsya* 12 30, HV 11 22, for *Hastināpura*, *Vāyu* 90 165ff, *Matsya* 29 42, MBh 1 95 34, for *Vaiśālī*, *Vāyu* 86 17, Bḍ III 61 12, *Viś* IV 1 18

126 Pargiter, *op cit* p 137,

already seen that those persons, according to the same tradition, were not among the progeny of *Ikṣvāku Rṣabha*

Now, *Hemacandra*, certainly mindful of these inconsistencies and discrepancies in the dynastic accounts of his *Digambara* predecessors, has apparently tried to remove them insofar as he has represented *Kuru* and *Somaprabha* as distinct persons and tacked them to *Ikṣvāku Rṣabha* as latter's son and grandson respectively. Now, abiding by the universal practice of nomenclature of places mentioned before, he says that the tract known as *Kurukṣetra* received its name from *Kuru*¹²⁷, son of *Ikṣvāku Rṣabha*. Similarly, he states that the capital city of *Hastināpura* was founded by, and so named after *Hastin* whom the author presents as *Kuru*'s¹²⁸ son. But a study of *Hemacandra*'s version shows that his statements about *Hastināpura* suffer from self-contradiction inasmuch as he has already represented *Somaprabha*, the eldest son of *Bāhubalin* as the ruler of *Hastināpura*.¹²⁹

Thus, from these two conflicting statements it is obvious that with regard to the representation of *Somaprabha* as the son of *Bāhubalin* and ruler of *Hastināpura*, *Hemacandra* has followed his Jaina predecessors, especially *Sanghadāsagani*, the author of *Vasudevahindī*¹³⁰ But in respect of *Kuru* and *Hastin*¹³¹, he has evidently drawn upon the Brahmanical epic-*Purāṇic* tradition by inverting the traditional genealogical order of the two¹³²

All these discrepancies and inconsistencies in the dynastic and genealogical accounts may be taken as instances of

127. TSPC, vol. V. P. 197,

128 *Ibid* Vol V P 197,

129 *Ibid* 1 3 243-44

130 भयव पितामहो...पत्तो य हृत्थिणाचरं । तत्थ य बाहुवलिस्स सुभ्रो सोमप्पहो, तस्म य पुत्तो सेज्जसो ।

VH p 164

131. *Vāyu* P 99 165, *Matya*-P 49 42, MBh. 1. 95 34.

132 All the Brahmanical sources represent *Hastin* as *Kuru*'s ancestor; MBh 1 95 34 and 39, *Vāyu* 99 165, 214, HV 20 16, 32 41, 85, *Matya*-p 49 42, 50.20, *Viṣ* p. 4.19.1-10, 18, MBh 94 48-50

Jaina Purānakāras' lack of historical sense and confused knowledge of traditional lore. Now, what we arrive at from the study of these divergent statements is that the authors took up the same traditional dynastic and genealogical prototype which their predecessors had discarded as unworthy of attention and wove out a seemingly new pattern by inventing some new names, associations and legends around them. And the obvious result was that the dynasties and their genealogies were set out in grossly distorted, distempered and confused form.

The reasons for such a state of affairs are many. First, having long remained almost totally cut off from the current of traditional lore, the Jaina savants lost all interests in matters of extra-religious nature. Secondly, their religion having been averse to the secular side of the social institutions, they had little regard for the chronology of ancient events and genealogy of old dynasties. Thirdly, they were ever busy striving to display the falsity and perversion of the traditional accounts which they dubbed as the productions of pseudo-poets (अलीक कवि). It was against such a background that the Jaina *Purānas* came into being.

Nevertheless, the impact of the Brahmanical epic-Purānic tradition was so pressing and profound that it made itself felt in multifarious ways and on various planes and it is this state of affairs which gives the Jaina *Purānic* studies greater significance and values than anything else.

CHAPTER V

THE IKSVĀKU RACE AND ITS VARIOUS BRANCHES

As is evident from the foregoing study, the *Purānas* under investigation set forth the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty as a sovereign ruling family with *Ikṣvāku Rṣabha* as its founder. The dynasty proper is represented by the *Ādityavamśa* said to have derived its name from *Ādityaśasas*,¹ the eldest son of *Bharata*. But, as we have already seen, the *Purānas* show great disagreement with regard to the dynastic affiliation of the *Somavamśa* as well as the *Kuruvamśa*.² However, we have not treated these *vamśas* independently for the obvious reason that these lines in the Jaina versions eventually lose their status as independent royal dynasties and receive the rank of collateral lines sprung from the *Ikṣvāku*³ race.

To begin with, the pedigree of the *Ādityavamśa* consists of mainly two parts and, according to the Jaina versions, the last king of the first part is separated from the first king⁴ of the second list by an incredible number of years.⁵ Some of the *Purānas*, however, give accounts of some of the *Ikṣvāku* kings reportedly born in the intervening period. But these personages in no way supply any connecting link between the two parts.

Under the circumstances, it is impossible to join those detached lists and notices of kings into a workable pedigree of

1 *VPC*, 5 3-9a, *RPC* 5 4-10a, 260-61, *VH*, p. 301, *JHV*, 13 1 13a, *MP*, 47 393, *CMC*, p. 50, *TSPC*, 1 6 251-52, 2 6 127-34.

2 As discussed in the preceding chapter.

3 *TSPC*, 1 5 754-756, Vol V p. 197. Also see chap IV (*ante*) notes 98, 99, 102-105, 108-109, 112-17.

4 He is placed in the fabulous period of the twentieth *Tīrthaṅkara*, *Suvratānātha*,—*VPC* 21 41, *RPC*, 22 73-74.

5 The life span of the persons said to have been born in the intervening period is counted in lacs and crores of years.

moderately unbroken succession. The first part occurs in three of the *Digambara Purāṇas* and in two *Svetāmbara* works. This part of the pedigree as appearing in VPC⁶ is as follows :

(i) *Bharata*, (ii) *Ādityayaśas*, (iii) *Simhayaśas*, (iv) *Bala-bhadra*, (v) *Basubala*, (vi) *Mahābala*, (vii) *Amṛtabala*, (viii) *Subhadra*, (ix) *Sāgarabhadra*, (x) *Ravitejas*, (xi) *Śaṣṭiprabha*, (xii) *Prabhūlatejas*, (xiii) *Tejasvin*, (xiv) *Tapana*, (xv) *Pratāpavān*, (xvi) *Ativīrya*, (xvii) *Mahāvīrya*, (xviii) *Uditaparākrama*, (xix) *Mahendravikrama*, (xx) *Sūrya*, (xxi) *Indradyumna*, (xxii) *Mahendrajit*, (xxiii) *Prabhū*, (xxiv) *Vibhu*, (xxv) *Aridamana*, (xxvi) *Vrsabha* etc., (xxvii) *Garudānka*, (xxviii) *Mṛgānka*.

The corresponding list as found in RPC⁷ stands thus .

(i) *Bharata*, (ii) *Ādityayaśas*, (iii) *Sitayaśas*, (iv) *Balānka*, (v) *Subala*, (vi) *Mahābala*, (vii) *Atibala*, (viii) *Amṛta*, (ix) *Subhadra*, (x) *Sāgara*, (xi) *Bhadra*, (xii) *Ravitejas*, (xiii) *Śaṣṭin*, (xiv) *Prabhūlatejas*, (xv) *Tejasvin*, (xvi) *Tapana*, (xvii) *Pratāpavān*, (xviii) *Ativīrya*, (xix) *Suvīrya*, (xx) *Uditaparākrama*, (xxi) *Mahendravikrama*, (xxii) *Sūrya*, (xxiii) *Indradyumna*, (xxiv) *Mahendrajit*, (xxv) *Prabhū*, (xxvi) *Vibhu*, (xxvii) *Avidhvamsa*, (xxviii) *Vitabhi*, (xxix) *Vṛṣabhadhvaja*, (xxx) *Garudānka*, (xxxi) *Mṛgānka*.

A comparison of the above two lists shows that *Raviṣena* had derived his genealogical list from *Vimalasūri's* version by introducing some changes in some of the names as well as in the structure of the pedigree. Thus *Simhayaśas* of VPC recurs in RPC as *Sitayaśas* and *Balabhadra* is adopted as *Balānka*. The fifth and sixth names, *Vasubala* and *Amṛtabala* of VPC recur in RPC as *Subala* and *Atibala* respectively. *Subhadra* has been replaced by *Amṛta* and *Sāgarabhadra* has been separated into two different names, *Sāgara* and *Bhadra* in the latter work. Again *Śaṣṭiprabha* of the first work has been abridged, in the second, into *Śaṣṭin*, and *Mahāvīrya* has got converted into *Suvīrya*. Lastly, in place of *Aridamana* of VPC two other names, *Avidhvamsa* and *Vitabhi* have been inserted between

Vibhu and *Vṛṣabhadhoja* in *RPC* Except for these real and superficial variations, *RPC* shows substantial agreement with *Vimalasūri's* genealogical account

The *Harivamśapurāṇa*⁸ of Jinasena is the third *Dīghanāga Purāṇa* to have given this part of the pedigree Its account, however, keeps closer to *RPC* version than to *VPC*, and subject to some superficial variations in a few names, marked by *Sitayaśas*, *Balāṅka* and *Amṛta* of *RPC* which recur in *JHV* as *Smitayaśas*, *Bala* and *Amṛtabala* respectively, the list in the latter work is practically the same as that in the former

Among the *Svetāmbaras*, *Sanghadāsa*, *Śīlāṅka* and *Hemacandra* have given the pedigree of the *Āditya* branch in its first part. Of the above three authors the first⁹ and the last¹⁰ have set out in all only eight immediate successors of king *Bharata* These successors were (i) *Ādityaśas*, (ii) *Mahāyaśas*, (iii) *Atibala*, (iv) *Balabhadra*, (v) *Balaṅkya*, (vi) *Kīrtivīrya*, (vii) *Jalaṅkya*, and (viii) *Dandaṅkya* *Śīlāṅka*, on the other hand, has given nine names and his list shows agreement with those of *Sanghadāsa* and *Hemacandra* with regard to only the first four names, the remaining five names being, to some extent, the variants of those occurring in the *VH* list Thus *Bharata's* immediate descendants, according to *Śīlāṅka's* version,¹¹ were (i) *Ādityaśas* (*Āccayas*) (ii) *Mahāyaśas* (*Mahājasa*), (iii) *Atibala*, (iv) *Balabhadra* (*Balabhadda*), (v) *Tejovīrya* (*Teyavīrya*), (vi) *Jalanaṅkya* (*Jalanavīrya*), (vii) *Ambuvīrya* (*Ambuvīrya*), (viii) *Satyavīrya* and (ix) *Mahāvīrya* (*Mahāvīrya*) Now, what emerges

8 13 1, 7-11

9 ...सयमेव इदेण राया अहिंसितो आइच्चजसो नाम सयल भरह भुत्तूण निक्खतो । तस्स य महाजसो तस्स य अइवलो तस्स होइ वलभद्दो । बलविरिय कत्तविरियो जलविरियो दडविरियो य ।

VH p 301

10 भरतादादित्ययशास्तत्तश्चासीन्महायशा ।

अतिबलो बलभद्रो बलवीर्यस्ततोपि च ॥

कीर्तिवीर्यो जलवीर्यो दण्डवीर्यस्ततोऽष्टम ।

TSPC, 1 6 251-52a, also 2 6 127-134.

11. CMC, p. 50

from the above study is that the Śvetāmbara versions show at least two sets of working the pedigree, one represented by *Sanghadāsa* and *Hemacandra* and the other by *Śīlāṅka*, and the perfect agreement between the *VH* and *TSPC* lists reveals that genealogical account in the latter work is based on the former rather than on the *CMC* account

Thus our foregoing study displays that the Śvetāmbara lists are too short to merit any extensive comparison with the Digambara version. Nevertheless, even these shorter lists show striking points of dissimilarity with the Digambara ones, for none of the names except *Balabhadra* recurs in the Digambara lists. Under the circumstances, this basic difference between the lists of the two schools eventually results in the neutralization of each version.

A comparison of both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara lists with the Brahmanical, epic-Purāṇic genealogies of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty shows that neither of the former lists has anything in common with the latter. Although a few names¹² of the Brahmanical royal lists can be found in the Jaina lists, yet the identification of those names with their Jaina counterparts cannot commend itself on that slender point of similarity. For, as is obvious from the Jaina lists, the names occur in a very different context and variant forms¹³

Thus it is not until the account of the second *Cakravartin* *Sagara* that we meet with two *Ikṣvāku* monarchs together with one Aila king of Brahmanical celebrity. The narrative of the *Sagara* occurs in these *Purāṇas*¹³ as a part of the life story of the second *Tīrthankara* *Ajitanātha* who is represented as the son of

12. Such as *Bhadraratha* among the *Ānavas*, *Bala* among the *Ayodhyā* line of the *Ikṣvākus* and *Vibhu* of the *Kṣatraparīddha* dynasty of *Kāśī*,—AIHT, pp 147-49

13. *VPC*, 5 50 63, 168-203, *RPC*, 5 56-64, 74-76, 247-283, *JHV*, 13. 26-30, *UP* 48 71-141, *SPC*, 5 3 6-8, 5 10 3-5, 5 11 1-5 14 4, *VH* p. 300f, *CMC*, pp 55-71, *TSPC*, 2 2 529-580, 3 3 1-177, 2 4. 1-370, 2 6 62-178, 2 6 1-615.

an *Ikṣvāku* king, *Jītaśatru*¹⁴ by name. This *Jītaśatru* is introduced in the *Digambara* accounts as the son of *Tridaśaṅjaya* said to have been the son of one *Dharanīdhara*¹⁵. But despite the fact that these works set out *Dharanīdhara* and *Tridaśaṅjaya* just after providing a lengthy list of the early *Ikṣvākus* already mentioned, the accounts do not give us any information about their relationship with the last king of the list. The *Śvetāmbara* lists, on the other hand, are very short. Naturally, it will be too much to expect any genealogical continuity between the last member of the first list and the father of *Ajitanātha*.

Now, the *Purāṇas* under investigation embody at least three versions in respect of the parentage of *Sagara* as well as his relationship with *Ajitanātha*. *VPC* and *RPC*, for example, represent *Sagara* as the son of *Vijayasāgara*, second son of king *Tridaśaṅjaya*¹⁶. Thus, according to these works, *Ajitanātha* and *Sagara* were both cousins. But *JHV*¹⁷ without alluding to their parentage as also to the relationship they bore to each one, stops with a very brief mention of these personages as contemporaries. The *Uttara-purāṇa* gives a substantially different

14 Like the Brahmanical *Janakas* of *Videha* and the Buddhist *Brahmadattas* of *Vārāṇasī* *Jītaśatru* is very popular name in the Jaina works. At last thirteen kings bearing this name are mentioned in the *Vasudeva-hindī*,—Vide pp. 27, 36, 39, 49, 54, 74, 89, 121, 174, 237, 268-279, 286-87, 295-96, 348-50, 300-304.

15 एव परपराए समइक्कन्तेषु पृहइपालेसु ।
साएयपुरवरीए घरणिघरो नरवरो जाओ ॥
तस्स य गुणागुरुवो पुत्तो तिग्रमजओ समुप्पन्नो ।
तस्स विय इन्दुलेहा भज्जा पुत्तो य जियसत्तू ॥
VPC, 5 50-51, Also *RPC*, 5, 69-60, *SPC*, 5 1 2-5

16 तियसजयस्स पुत्तो वीओ चिविय विजयसायरो नाम ।
तस्सवि य होइ भज्जा, सुमङ्गला ख्वसपन्ना ।

तीए गवभम्मि सुओ जाओ सगरोत्ति नाम विक्खाओ ॥

VPC, 5 62-63a, *RPC* 5 74, *SPC* 5 3 6-7. The last work, however, has dropped the prefix *vi* of *Vijayasāgara*, thus finding mention as *Jayasāgara*.

account of not only *Sagara's* parentage but also of the circumstances that prepared the *Cakrin* for renouncing worldly life. Thus, the work introduces *Sagara*¹⁸ as the son of one *Samudra-vijaya* without referring to his relationship with *Ajitanātha*, the second Jina. The *Śvetāmbara* versions, on the other hand, unanimously represent *Sagara* as the son of *Sumitra*¹⁹ or *Sumitra-vijaya*,²⁰ said to have been the younger brother of *Jitaśatru*, father of *Ajitanātha*.

However, it is significant that all *Purāṇas* under investigation represent king *Sagara* as a scion of the *Ikṣvāku* race and, with some modifications in the events and legends connected with his life, the Jaina *Purāṇas* tell almost the same story as is found in the epics and the Brahmanical *Purāṇas*.²¹ Thus, like the latter works the Jaina sources set out *Sagara* as the father of sixty thousand sons²² of formidable physical power. The *Purāṇas*, with the exception of the UP, tell us that those sixty thousand brothers were reduced to ashes by a *Nāga* king whose house in the lower regions had been accidentally destroyed by the former.

The episode²³ in a nutshell is that once *Sagara's* sixty thousand sons went to Mt *Aṣṭāpada* (*Kailāsa*) to pay homage to the twenty-four Jina shrines built by king *Bharata* with precious metals. There with a view to protect the shrines from future destruction, the princes dug up a moat

- 18साकेतनगरे कौशले नृप ।
समुद्रविजयस्तस्य सु वाला रमणी तयो ॥
महाबलोभवत्सुनुरिक्ष्वाकु' सगराह्वय ।

, UP 48 71-72a

19 VH 300-304, CMC p 55

20 TSPC, 2 2 12, 65-72, 103-104ff

21 He is unanimously represented as an illustrious *Ikṣvāku* sovereign of his time.—*Rāmā* 1 70 30, 11 110 18 MBh 111 106 7-8 *Vāyup* 88 127-143, HV 1 13-32 to 14 20

22 MBh 111 107 1-6, *Vāyu* 88 161-163, HV 1 16 7-10, *Rāmā* 1 38 to 1 41 etc

23 VPC, 5 169-174, RPC, 5 248-52, JHV, 13 28-29, SPC, 5 10, 4 to 5 11, 2, VH, p 300-304, CMC pp 63-64, TSPC, 2 5 87-177.

around *Aṣṭapada* and started filling it with the waters of the *Gangā* by splitting its bank with the staff-jewel (*Danda-ratna*). But the influx of the waters into the moat, which was dug down to the habitat of the serpents, caused great upheaval among them and infuriated their lord *Dharaṇīndra* to the degree that he burnt them to ashes with his fiery glance

The Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic texts²⁴ tell the story of the destruction of *Sagara's* sons almost in similar way. The legend in brief is that the 60,000 brothers were directed by their father, *Sagara*, to follow his sacrificial horse. But during its wandering the horse disappeared into the earth. Now to search out the horse the princes dug down the ocean to the lower region (*Pātāla*), where they found the horse near the hermitage of sage *Kapila*. The insolent princes accused the sage of the theft, which enraged him to such a degree that he reduced them all, except four, to a heap of ashes. Later, *Sagara's* great grandson, *Bhagīratha*²⁵ through his severe penance, effected the descent of *Gangā* on earth and caused the celestial river to flow to the ocean where she sanctified the remains of *Bhagīratha's* forefathers and conveyed their souls to heaven. The legend further adds that during its course from *Śankara's* head to the earth and thence to the ocean, the river inundated the sacrificial ground of the royal sage, *Jahnu*²⁶, who thereupon drank up its waters, but being entreated by the sages he released the stream through his ears. We are further told that as the *Gangā* was brought down on earth by *Bhagīratha*, so she earned the name *Bhāgīrathī*.²⁷ And as she was,

24. *Vāyup* 88 144-48, HV 1 14 21ff *Vīṣ* p. 4 4 4-22 MBh. 3 107.4-33. *Rāmā* 1 38 to 1 41.

25. *Vāyup* 47.24-40, 88 167-70a. *Vīṣ* p. 4 4 35. HV 1 15.15-16 MBh. 3 107.67 to 109 19 *Rāmā*, 1 38-41.

26. *Vāyup* 91 54-58a, HV 1 27 4-8, *Vīṣ* p. 4 7 3-6, MBh. 13 4 3, Bd. III 66 25-28, Br 10.15-19, 13 83-86.

27. भगीरथस्तु तां गङ्गामानयामास कर्मभिः ।

तस्माद् भगीरथी गङ्गा कथ्यते वशवित्तमै ॥

Vāyu, 88.169, HV. 1.15.16.

later on, discharged by *Jahnu* so she came to be styled *Jāhnavī*²⁸ after having been accepted by the royal sage as his daughter.

A comparison of the above two accounts, as appearing in the Brahmanical and Jaina texts, clearly shows that subject to some modifications, the Jaina accounts are in general agreement with the epic-Purāṇic versions of the episode. Thus we find that in the Brahmanical accounts the 60,000 princes meet their end on account of disrespect shown to sage *Kapila*, while in the Jaina versions they are destroyed by an offended *Nāga* king. As is evident from the accounts, in both the versions the ultimate cause of tragedy is the indiscreet religious fervour of the princes.

A perusal of the various Jaina texts, however, reveals that there does not subsist uniformity of representation of the incident. Now what is more significant is that the disharmony is found in the versions of the same sect. Thus, *Gunabhadra's* account of the life of *Sagara* and his sons is substantially different from the versions of his *Dīgambara* predecessors. For, according to the *Uttarapurāṇa*²⁹ version, *Sagara's* 60,000 sons actually did not meet the tragic end. But it was god *Manicūla's* strata-gem which showed the sixty thousand princes as dead. We are told that the device was adopted by the god to prepare king *Sagara* for the renunciation of the worldly life. With this end in view the god gave king *Sagara* a false report of the sad and sudden destruction of his sixty thousand sons, whom the deity had actually turned into a heap of ashes through his magical power. The king believing the statement was filled with disgust for worldly life and took to mendicancy after installing *Bhagtratha* on the throne. His said sons after regaining consciousness followed their father's path.

Thus the *Sagara-carita* suffers from the same disharmony of representation as many other narratives, and its individual parts are worked out all the more differently in various works.

28 HV 1 27 8, 1 22 47 *Vāyu* 91 57-58a MBh 13 4 3,

29 48 107-36

The story has been utilised rather to inculcate the transitory nature of the worldly objects and, as such, has been adapted to subserve the religious purpose without any regard for the preservation of the genealogical as well as historical aspect of the narrative. Gunabhadra's version, however, is contradicted by majority of the *Purāṇas* which, as stated before, show general agreement in their own versions of the legend.

Next, similar lack of uniformity is seen with regard to the genealogical position of *Jahnu* and *Bhagīratha*. In the Brahmanical tradition the former occurs as an illustrious king of the *Aila*³⁰ race and the latter³¹ is set out as fourth in descent from *Sagara*. But in the Jaina *Purāṇas* both the persons recur in varying forms and diverging relationship.

Now, so far as *Jahnu's* position is concerned the *UP* and *SPC* do not mention him in any capacity. *VPC*, on the other hand, has apparently turned him into *Sagara's* queen and has, accordingly, transformed the name to *Jāhnvī*, as whose son *Bhagīratha*³² has been set out. Among the Digambara works *RPC*³³ alone mentions him as *Sagara's* son. *JHV* however, gives the name in a confused way inasmuch as the work refers to one *Ahnu*³⁴ as *Sagara's* eldest son, which term is undoubtedly a corrupt form of *Jahnu*.

As regards the genealogical position of *Bhagīratha*, he too finds varying representation in the said works. Except in *RPC* he occurs in all the above *Purāṇas*³⁵ as *Sagara's* son. Now what

30 AIHT, pp 99-101

31 The order of descent is *Sagara-Asamañja-Aśmat-Dīpa-Bhagīratha*, *Vide Vāyup* 88 165-67, *HV* 1 15 12-15 *Mbh*, 3 107 30-69, cf. *Rāmā* 1 70 25-26, 2 110 25-27

32 अहं सो जहन्वि-पुत्र अहिसिञ्चेत्तु मगिरहि रज्जे ।

33 5 284a

VPC 5 201a

34 पुत्रा पट्टिमह्वणि तस्य दुर्ललितक्रिया ।
परस्परमहाधीना प्रत्यागयाताहनुपूर्वका ।

35 *VPC*, 5 173-75, *UP* 48 127 130, *SPC*, 5, 10 4-8,

JHV 13 28.

is most astounding is the version of RPC which, in some passages, has reckoned *Bhagīratha* among *Sagara's* sons and still in another has expressly mentioned him as the son of *Jahnu* to whom the work³⁶ has alluded by the patronymic *Sāgarī* (son of *Sagara*).

The Śvetāmbara versions, too, though in general agreement with regard to the salient features of the episode, are at mutual variance on the genealogical position of *Bhagīratha*. The VH,³⁷ for instance, makes him the youngest son of *Sagara*, and the CMC³⁸ and TSPC³⁹ refer to him as the latter's grandson.

Another discrepancy in the different versions is evidenced by *Bhagīratha's* diverging names in the works in question. The VH⁴⁰ calls him *Bhāgīrahī* (*Bhāgīrathī*) and thus creates an impression of its being a patronymic after *Bhagīratha*. But as *Bhāgīrahī* is expressly mentioned as *Sagar's* youngest son,⁴¹ so the above conjecture cannot stand scrutiny. Next VPC⁴² and SPC⁴³ style him variously as *Bhairahī*, *Bhagīrahī*, and *Bhārahī*. These words, however, may be considered as the Prakrit forms of either *Bhāgīrathī* or *Bhagīrathin*. The CMC⁴⁴ on the other hand, makes him *Bhāgīraha*, which term may be derived from *Bhagīratha* and, thus, may mean 'a son or a descendant of *Bhagīratha*'. But in face of the fact that none of this *Bhagīratha's* ancestors has been accorded the name *Bhagīratha*,

36 RPC 5 152-54, 277 and comp 5 284-85

37 ततो राया भागीरहि वालपुत्तं आणवेड P 304

38 It refers to *Bhagīratha* as पुत्तपुत्त of *Sagara* p 70

39 ततश्च सगरश्चक्री निज पौत्र गगीरधम् ।

2 6 540a

40 P 304-305

41 See note 37 (above).

42 5 175-76, 201, 203-205, 215

43 5 10 7, 5 11 3, 12 1, 14 3

44 PP 70-71

the above interpretation will be simply absurd. The above anomalies, however, cannot be explained away as the results of the phonetic peculiarities of Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa languages, for, in that case the usual forms would have been *Bhagīraha* or *Bhagīraha* and not the abovementioned forms. The TSPC,⁴⁵ however, mentions the man with his traditional name as *Bhagīratha*.

But, despite the nomenclative and genealogical differences, the Śvetāmbara versions have remarkable agreement with regard to the traditional names *Jāhnavī*⁴⁶ and *Bhāgīrathī*⁴⁷ ascribed to the river Gaṅgā. They, however, give their own interpretations of the epithets in accordance with changed situations. Thus they all state that as the *Gaṅgā* was first brought to the moat by *Jahnu*, so it received the title *Jāhnavī*⁴⁸, and as it was afterward led to the ocean by *Bhagīratha* so it came to be called *Bhāgīrathī*⁴⁹.

Now, whatever be the mutual disagreement in respect of the genealogical position of *Jahnu* and *Bhagīratha*, the *Purānas* under investigation exhibit remarkable unanimity in holding

45 2 6 540 555-63, 570, 572, 575

46 *Vide* note 28 (*Supra*)

47 Note 27 (*Supra*)

48 (i) जण्डुणा आगरिसिया पुत्र तेण भणइ जाण्ही

VH, p 305

(ii) गगा पढम जण्डुकुमारेण आणियत्ति जण्ही

CMC, p 71

(iii) अष्टापदाद्रिपरिखापूरणार्यमकृष्यत ।

जहनुना यत् ततो गङ्गा तत् प्रभृति जाह्नुवी ॥

TSPC, 2 5 167

49 (i) भागीरहिणा ततो पच्छा भागीरही ।

VH, p 306

(ii) तन्नो भागीरहेण समुद्र पाविय त्ति भागीरही भण्णत्ति

CMC p 71

(iii) कृष्टा भगीरथेनेति गङ्गा भागीरथीति च ।

TSPC, 2,6 576b

that among the fabulous number of sons and grandsons of *Sagara* only *Bhagīratha* survived and continued the main line of the *Ikṣvākus*. This representation obviously makes him forefather of *Daśaratha* and *Rāma*. Thus so far as this aspect of the story is concerned, the Jaina versions are in perfect consonance with the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic tradition about the genealogies of the *Ikṣvākus* of *Ayodhyā*, for the Brahmanical genealogical texts show absolute agreement in representing *Sagara* and *Bhagīratha* as illustrious ancestors⁵⁰ of the heroes of the *Rāmāyana*.

Now, coming to the second list of the *Ikṣvāku* kings who reportedly flourished during the age of the Twentieth *Tīrthanakara* *Supratanūtha*, we find that the kings contained in the list are far removed in time from their ancestors as noted before. Even the group of persons mentioned in the narrative of the second *calak* cannot serve as a connecting link, for, there is allegedly a big gap between the period of *Bhagīratha* and that of the kings placed in the second list. Now, if as many descents be assigned to each of the intervening periods of the intermediate *Tīrthanakaras*, as have been set out as the descendants of the first *Tīrthanakara*, the number of kings by the age of the twentieth *Jina* will be about 500. Similarly, if the Jaina computation of time⁵¹ be accorded credence, the number of years in the periods will defy human calculation, for, the span of life of the personages placed in these periods is measured in lacs of *Pūrvas*.⁵² In fact, no other branch of ancient Indian tradition suffers from such a monstrous exaggeration.

Now, the second part of the *Ikṣvāku* pedigree occurs in *VPC*, *RPC* and *TSPC* as a prelude to the narrative of *Rāma*,

50 *Vāyup* 88 165-185, HV 1 15 2-27 *Rāmā* 1 70 25-31, 2 110 25-35 *Viśp.* 4 4 34-87

51 *VPC* 20 65-69, 73-83 *RPC*, 20 74-90 *JHV* 7 21-31, 48-56 *AP* 3 217-227

52 The life span of *Ajitanātha* is said to have been seventy-two lacs of *Pūrvas*. We are told that one *Pūrva* consists of 8400000×8400000 years (*AP* 3 219). The period of life of each succeeding *Tīrthanakara* is, however, given in decreasing order. Thus the span of life of *Supratanūtha* is stated to have been thirty thousand of years. For details see *VPC*, 20 99-104, *RPC*, 20 116-112 *TSPC* 1 6 278-320ff.

the eighth *Baladeva* of the Jaina faith. The rest of the works under investigation begin their *Rāmāyana* versions either with a brief introduction of *Daśaratha*⁵³ or with that of *Anaranya*⁵⁴ who is introduced in the story as former's father. This portion is very important from the standpoint of comparative mythological study, for it contains the names of some such personages as are known to us, from the epic purāṇic sources, as the bygone sovereigns of unique achievements. These are, for instance, *Kakutstha*,⁵⁵ *Pṛthu*, *Māndhātṛ*, *Anaranya*, *Vijaya Saudāsa*, *Raghu*, *Nahusa*⁵⁶ and *Aja*.

A comparison of the Jaina Purāṇic lists with those occurring in the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic texts, however, reveals that the above names do not recur in the Jaina works in the same genealogical position as they do in the Brahmanical sources. The order of succession, too, is entirely different from that in the epics and the Brahmanical *Purāṇas*. The names as occurring in the three lists, subject to some variations, are in general agreement. Of the three lists, that in *VPC* may naturally be taken as the source of the remaining two lists. The genealogy as given by *VPC* says that king *Vijaya* of *Sāketa* had two sons *Vajrabāhu* and *Purandara*. The elder renounced the world and the younger brother succeeded to the throne. Thus, the order of descent is as follows.⁵⁷

(i) *Vijaya*, (ii) *Purandara*, (iii) *Kīrtidhara*, (iv) *Sukosala*, (v) *Hiraṇyagarbha*, (vi) *Naghuṣa*, (vii) *Sodāsa*, (viii) *Śmharatha*, (ix) *Brahmaratha*, (x) *Calurmukha*, (xi) *Hemaratha*, (xii) *Yasoratha*, (xiii) *Padmaratha*, (xiv) *Mṛgaratha*, (xv) *Śaśratha*, (xvi) *Rauratha*, (xvii) *Māndhātṛ*, (xviii) *Udayaratha*, (xix) *Vīrasuṣeṇa*, (xx) *Prativacana*, (xxi) *Kamalabadhu*, (xxii) *Raviśatru*, (xxiii) *Vasantatiloka*, (xxiv) *Kuberadatta*, (xxv) *Kunthu*, (xxvi) *Śarabha*, (xxvii) *Vīratha*, (xxviii) *Rathanirghoṣa*, (xxix) *Mṛgāridamana*, (xxx) *Hiraṇyanābha*,

53 UP 67 148ff PMP LXIX, 11 cmc p 175

54 SPC 15 8 4-8

55 For the adjusted order of descent of these kings, see Pargiter, *op cit*, pp 145 and 147

56 He finds mention, in all the three works, as *Naghuṣa* see below

57 *VPC*, 21.41 to 22 101,

(xxxix) *Puñjasthala*, (xxxix) *Kakubha*, (xxxix) *Raghusa*, (xxxix) *Anaranya*, (xxxix) *Anantaratha* and *Daśaratha*

A comparison of this list with those occurring in *RPC*⁵⁸ and *TSPC*⁵⁹ shows that from *Vijaya* to *Hemaratha* all the three versions have perfect agreement. But after that name both *RPC* and *TSPC* start showing signs of variations. After *Hemaratha* the genealogies in these works run thus

<i>RPC</i> ⁶⁰	<i>TSPC</i> ⁶¹
12 Śataratha	Śataratha
13 Prthu	Udayapṛthu
14 Aja	Vāriratha
15 Payoratha	Induratha
16 Indraratha	Ādityaratha
17. Dīnanātharatha	Māndhātṛ
18 Māndhātṛ	Virasena
19 Virasena	Pratimanyu
20 Pratimanyu	Pratibandhu
21 Kamalabandhu	Ravimanyu
22 Ravimanyu	Vasantatīlaka
23 Vasantatīlaka	Kuberadatta
24 Kuberadatta	Kunthu
25 Kunthubhakti	Śarabha
26 Śarabharatha	Dvirada
27 Dviradaratha	Śimhadaśana

58 21 74-77, 134-144, 163-64, 22 101-102, 112, 132 145, 153

59 7 4. 3-5, 28-30, 34, 37, 66-71 84-85, 97, 105-106,

60 22 153-62

61 7 4-106-112

28	Mrgeśadamana	H = anyakaśipu
29	Hiranyakaśipu	Puñjasthala
30	Puñjasthala	Kakustha ⁶²
31	Kakustha	Raghu
32	Raghu	Anaranya
33	Anaranya	(i) Anantaratha (ii) Daśaratha
34	(i) Anantaratha and (ii) Daśaratha	

As is obvious from the above lists, their variations are due to the additions and omissions of the some of the names as also on account of the replacement of a few names or their components by their synonyms or totally different terms. These facts aided by the element of displacement of some of the names have led to the structural variations in the three lists. So, all the following differences can be explained as the results of the above phenomena.

Thus, *Yaśoratha* of *VPC*⁶³ is transformed to *Śataratha* in *RPC*⁶⁴ and *TSPC*⁶⁵ after the substitution of the first component. But so far as *Prithu* and *Aja* of *RPC*⁶⁶ are concerned, these

62 In other contexts *Hemacandra* has recognized only *Kakustha* inasmuch as he has referred to *Rāma* by such patronymic as *Kākustha*. This shows the unavoidable influence of the Brahmanical representation of *Rāma*'s ancestor. See *TSPC*, 7 4 526, 7 5 99, 133, 318, 323, 399, 7 6 56, etc.

63 22 96

64 22 163

65 7 4 106

66 This exhibits *Raviṣena*'s leaning towards the Brahmanical genealogies wherein both *Prithu* and *Aja* find mention as the forefathers of *Rāma*. See *Rāmā* 1 70 21, 30, 2 110 11 34 *Vāyup* 88 25, 183, *Vṛ* p 4 2 34, 4 4 84-86, *HV* 1 11 20, 1 15 25 26. But in the epic-Purāṇic works both are set out generations apart. Of these two, *Aja* is celebrated as *Daśaratha*'s father, but as is evident from the list *Raviṣena* has made the former some twenty steps anterior to the latter. Also see *Pargiter*, *op cit*, pp 145, 147.

are new entrants in place of *Padmaratha* and *Mrgaratha* respectively. Of the two names the first has been incorporated in the TSPC list as *Udayapṛthu*, while *Aja* has been omitted. Next, one *Payoratha* has been introduced in RPC as *Aja's* son who is adopted in the TSPC as *Vārīratha*. *Dinanātharatha* of RPC and *Ādityaratha* of TPSC are the synonyms of *Ravīratha* of VPC. Next, as son of *Māndhātṛ*, *Udayaratha* is excluded from the pedigree both in RPC and TSPC and his place is assigned to *Vīrasena* which name is an emended form of *Vīrasuṣena* of VPC list. Similarly, *Pratmanyu*, *Pratibandhu*, *Ravimanyu*, *Mṛgeśadamaṇa*, *Samhadaśana* and *Hiranyakaśipu* are all instances of partial transformation of the names occurring in the list of VPC.⁶⁷

However, of the above names the last one is important from the comparative standpoint, for this name has occurred in VPC as *Hiranyanābha*. Brahmanical sources set out one *Hiranyanābha*⁶⁸ as an illustrious *Ikṣvāku* ruler of *Kosala*. Though not sure about his exact position, the epic-Purānic works show marked unanimity in representing him as a descendant of *Dāśaratha* but *Vimala's* reckoning of *Hiranyanābha* among the ancestors of *Dāśaratha* may be taken as an example of his usual lack of interest in preserving the chronology even moderately. Now, what is more surprising is that *Raviṣena* and *Hemacandra*, possibly in a bid to lend the name an ancient look, have converted it to *Hiranyakaśipu*, which, according to the Brahmanical sources stands as the name of an oppressive *Daitya*-king.⁶⁹

67 For these alterations and modifications compare the lists as given above

68 *Vāyup* 88 207 *Viṣ* p 4 4 107 For detailed information about him see Sita Nath Pradhan *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp 123-137, AIHT, pp 94, 115, 173

69 The story of *Hiranyakaśipu* and his son *Prahlāda*, a great devotee of *Viṣṇu*, is told quite elaborately in some of the Brahmanical works. We are told that to deliver the world from the tyranny of the demon and in defence of *Prahlāda*, God *Viṣṇu* had to incarnate Himself as *Narasimha* (half man and half lion), in which form He slew the demon king,—*Viṣ* p 1 chaps 17-20, HV 3 41 to 47, MBh 1 65 17, Mat. 161 2 *Mahābhārata* alludes to the event as of remote occurrence.

आदिदैत्यो महावीर्यो हिरण्यकशिपु पुरा ।

नारसिंह वपु कृत्वा सूदित..... ॥

Except that we do not come across any king of that name in the epic-Purāṇic lists of the royal families

As for the names *Raghu* and *Kakustha* of *RPC* and *TSPC* these may be taken as the emended forms of the colloquial Prakrit names *Kakubha* and *Raghusa* as found in *VPC*

Now, our perusal of the foregoing lists reveals that these contain two types of names. Some names are probably of the Jīnist invention, while others are of Brahmanical popularity. The latter type of names finds simply a bare enumeration, while the names of the former class are associated with some events of purely religious nature. Their description leaves no doubt that these persons as well as their accounts have been invented to inculcate the imperativeness of the Jaina way of asceticism and to illustrate the efficacy of Jaina religion and ethics. The accounts are given on a stereotyped pattern and are bereft of human interest. Thus, *Vajrabāhu*, son or grandson⁷⁰ of king *Vijaya* is stated to have renounced the world just after his marriage⁷¹. *Kīrtidhara*, son of *Purandara*, is said to have taken to monkhood after installing his fifteen-day-old son *Sukośala* on the throne⁷². Next, we are told that the latter followed the example of his father, after conferring sovereignty on his son who was still in his mother's womb⁷³.

Besides the above stories, we come across one of *Sodāsa* (also called *Saudāsa*), son of *Naghusa*, the Jaina counterpart of the Brahmanical *Nahuṣa*. The tale,⁷⁴ illustrating, as it does, the dreadful consequences of meat eating and the marvels of *Jinadharma* is a Jaina recast of the Brahmanical legend⁷⁵ of

70. *Raviṣena* has inserted in his list one *Surendramanyu* as the son of *Vijaya* and father of *Vajrabāhu* (*RPC*, 74-77)

71. *VPC* 21 42-73, *RPC* 21 76-123, *TSPC*, 7 4 7-27

72. *VPC* 21 80-92, *RPC* 21 140-164, *TSPC*, 7 4 31-37

73. सयाविकुण गाढ सुकोसलो भणइ तुज्जम् गवम्भम् ।

भददे, होही पुत्तो, सो अहिंसित्तो मए रज्जे ॥

—*VPC*, 22 21, Also *RPC*, 22 44, *TSPC*, 7 4 50

74. *VPC* 22 72-95, *RPC*, 22 132-52, *TSPC*, 7 4 86 105

75. *Viṣ* p 4 4 40-69 *MBh.* 1 175—1 170-30, *Bhāg* 9 9 18-39, *Rāmā*, 1 70; 40, 2.110.29, 7.65.10-37.

Mitrasaha Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa Both the versions state that *Saudāsa* developed a cannibalistic habit which led to his fall from regal office, but after spending some years of abnormal life he regained sanity as well as his lost kingdom

As has already been pointed out, the kings of Brahmanical fame do not find their mention in the above lists in the same order of descent as in the epic-Purāṇic lists of the *Ayodhyā* branch of the solar kings King *Vijaya*, for example, who tops the Jaina Purāṇic lists as an ancestor of *Kakustha*, *Pṛthu* and *Māndhātṛ* is represented, in the Brahmanical dynastic lists as a descendant of all the three ⁷⁶ Similarly, the Brahmanical tradition regards the above four kings including *Vijaya* as the ancestors of *Sagara*⁷⁷, but the Jaina tradition represents the latter as a fore-father of all the *Ikṣvāku* rulers of note

Now, so far as the respective positions of *Kakustha* and *Raghu* are concerned, the Jaina *Purāṇas* in their representation of the two as father and son are closer to the *Rāmāyana* genealogy⁷⁸ which, unlike the Purāṇic accounts, has bound these personages in the same relationship as the Jaina accounts. The reckoning of *Naghusa*, also seems to have been based on the same *Rāmāyana* account ⁷⁹

King *Aja's* is, however, a different case He finds mention only in RPC by his original nomenclature But this work, too, has pushed him several steps above *Daśaratha*⁸⁰, the traditional son of the former ⁸¹ However, the works are

76 *Vāyup* 88 25, 67a, 75a, 120a, HV 1 11 20b, 12 6b, 13 28 *Viṣ* p 4 2 32-34, 60 61, 4 3 25. For their position in the family tree see *AIHT*, pp 145, 147

77 *AIHT*, pp 145, 147 For his place in the line, see *No* 41 of the genealogical succession

78 (1) ...ककुत्स्थश्च रघुस्तथा ।

—*Rāmā* 1 70 39b.

(11) ककुत्स्थस्य तु पुत्रोऽभूद्रघुर्न तु राघवाः ।

—*Ibid* 2 110 28b

79. 1 70 41, 2 110 33

80 See the list (above).

81 The epics and the Brahmanical *Purāṇas* unanimously represent *Aja* as the father of *Daśaratha* *Rāmā* 1 70.42, 2 110 34, *MBh* 3.274 6, *Vāyup* 88 183, *Viṣp* 4 4 86, HV 1 15.26.

one with the traditional accounts in making *Daśaratha* father of *Rāma*, *Lakṣmāna*, *Bharata* and *Śatrughna*. But with regard to their respective mothers the works betray great divergences *VPC*, for example, styles *Rāma*'s mother *Aparājitā*⁸², represents *Lakṣmana* as the son of *Sumitrā*⁸³ and makes *Kaikeyī*⁸⁴ mother of both *Bharata* and *Śatrughna*. But *Ravisena*, though basing his version⁸⁵ on *VPC*, parts company with *Vimalasūri* in respect of *Śatrughna*'s mother, who, according to *Raviṣena*'s version was *Suprabhā*⁸⁶, a fourth queen of king *Daśaratha*. But *Gunabhadra* and *Puṣpadanta*, represent *Rāma* as the son of *Subālā*⁸⁷ and make *Lakṣmana* son of *Kaikeyī*⁸⁸ instead of *Sumitrā*. Next, the authors refer to *Bharata* and *Śatrughna* as the sons of another queen of king *Daśaratha*, whom they do not mention by name⁸⁹ *Śilāṅka*, on the other hand, obviously following the Brahmanical epic Purāṇic accounts more closely, gives the name of *Rāma*'s mother as *Kauśalyā* (*Kosalā*) and represents *Lakṣmana* and *Bharata* as the sons of *Sumitrā* and *Kaikeyī* respectively. But with regard to *Śatrughna* the author seems to have followed *Vimalasūri*'s version, inasmuch as he makes *Śatrughna*

82 25 7-8

83 25 9-11

84 अहं केगई पसूया भरहकुमार तहेव सत्तुघण ।

—VPC, 25 14a

85 RPC, 25 19-26, 35

86 *Ibid*, 25 36

सुपुवे सुप्रभा पुत्र सुन्दर यस्य विष्टपे ।

ख्यातिः शत्रुघ्नशब्देन सकलेऽद्यापि वर्तते ॥

87 UP 67 148-150a, PMP LXIX 12 1-9

88 UP 67 150b-152, PMP, LXIX 12 11-12

89 तत्रास्य देव्या कस्याञ्चिदभवद्भूरताह्वय ।

शत्रुघ्नश्च.....

UP 67,185

But *Puṣpadanta* apparently makes this unnamed queen into two different ladies as his work says

अण्णोक्कहि भरह पसण्णमण्ण, अण्णोक्कहि धरिणिहि सत्तुहण्ण,

—PMP, LXIX. 14 10

second son of *Kaikeyī* but not of *Sumitrā*, the traditional mother of *Śatrughna*⁹⁰ It is, however, remarkable to note that Hemacandra, though a Śvetāmbara, does not follow *Śilānka*. Instead, he has adopted Ravisena's version almost literally. Thus, as in RPC, so also in the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, *Rāma*, *Lakṣmana*, *Bharata* and *Śatrughna* are represented as the sons of *Aparājītā*⁹¹, *Sumitrā*,⁹² *Kaikeyī*⁹³ and *Suprabhā*⁹⁴ respectively

Now, as is evident from the foregoing study, the Jaina dynastic lists have omitted a number of traditional *Ikṣvāku* kings of distinction. These are, for instance, *Yuvanāśva*, *Triśanku*, *Hariścandra*, *Ambarīṣa*, *Dilīpa* and several others.⁹⁵ Similarly, none of the collateral lines of the *Ikṣvākus* has found any mention in these texts. Only the *Janaka* or *Videha* dynasty of *Mithilā*, the traditional second great line of the *Ikṣvāku* race, has received a treatment. But the works in question have set out this line as a derivative of the *Hari* dynasty, the Jaina counterpart of the Brahmanical *Yaduvamśa*⁹⁶

Kuruvamśa Alias Somavamśa

The authors are at great variance with regard to the dynastic affiliation of the line. Majority of the writers derive this line from *Somaprabha*, but *Hemacandra* and *Devaprabha* attribute its origin to *Kuru*, treated as one of the hundred sons of Lord *Rṣabha Ikṣvāku*. However, as this point has already

90 तत्थ कोसलाए रामभदो पुत्तो, केकईए भरहो सत्तुरघो य, सुमित्ताए लक्खणो य कुमारो ।

—CMC, p 175

91 TSPC, 7 4 177-184

92 Ibid, 7 4 187-192.

93 Ibid, 7 4 204

94 Ibid, 7 4 205

95 *Vāyup* 88 8-2 13, *Hv* 1 11 12 to 1 15 35 *Mat* 12 25-57, *Padma* 5 8 130-162, *Vis* p 4 2 11 to 4 4 102, *MBh* 3 202 1-8, *Rāmā* 1 70 21-44, 2 110 6-85

96 Discussed in Chap VI

been discussed in the preceding chapter,⁹⁷ we now proceed with an analysis of the pedigree

Two of the extant Jaina *Purāṇas* give the genealogy of the kings of this line at length, though not completely, as the works profess. It first occurs in the *Harivamśapurāṇa* of Jināsena and is next adopted with some modifications by Śubhacandra in his *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*. The remaining works generally start their genealogical accounts with the immediate ancestors of the *Kaurava-Pāṇḍava* brothers. The list as appearing in JHV⁹⁸ gives the following names: (1) Somaprabha, (2) Jayakumāra, (3) Kuru⁹⁹, (4) Kurucandra, (5) Śubhaṅkara, (6) Dhrtikara, (7) Dhrtideva, (8) Dhrtikara, (9) Gangadeva, (10) Dhrtimitra, (11) Dhrtiksetra,¹⁰⁰ (12) Suvrata,¹⁰¹ (13) Vratamandara, (14) Śricandra, (15) Supraustha,¹⁰² (16) Dhrtapadma, (17) Dhrtendra, (18) Dhrtaviya, (19) Pratisthita, (20) Dhrtidrṣṭi, (21) Dhrtidvuti, (22) Dhrtikara, (23) Prtikara, (24) Bhramaraghosa, (25) Harighosa, (26) Haridhvaja, (27) Sūryaghosa¹⁰³, (28) Sutejas,¹⁰⁴ (29) Prthu,¹⁰⁵ (30) Prthivīpati, (31) Ibhavāhana,¹⁰⁶ (32) Vijaya, (33) Jayarāja,¹⁰⁷ (34) Sanatkumāra, (35) Sukumāra, (36) Varakumāra, (37) Viśva, (38) Vaiśvānara, (39) Viśvaketu¹⁰⁸, (40) Brhaddhvaja, (41) Viśva-

97 Supra

98 46 8-93

99 Elsewhere *Anantavīrya* is mentioned as the son and successor of *Jayakumāra*. JHV, 12 47-49. Śubhacandra, however, has inserted *Anantavīrya* between *Jayakumāra* and *Kuru*, pp. 3 273 276, 4 2

100 According to Pp. (4 5) the name is *Dhrtikṣema*

101 pp. (4 5) insert one *Al* *sayin* before *Suqrata*

102 The names occurring between *Supratistha* and *Bhramaraghosa*, the 24th name, are not mentioned in Pp. The work however admits that after *Supratistha* and before *Bhramaraghosa*, (who recurs in the work as *Bhramaghosa*) many kings were born in the family—Pp. 4 6

103 Recurs in the Pp. list by its synonym *Raviḥhoṣa* (4 7)

104 Its place is taken by *Mahāvīrya* (Pp. 4 7)

105 The order is reversed in the Pp. (4 7) insofar as it comes after *Prthivīnātha*, a synonym of *Prthivīpati*

106 This name is changed to the more general term *Gajavāhana* (Pp. 4 7)

107 Left out in the Pp. (4 8)

108 Final components of this and the following name interchanged (Pp. 4 9)

sena, (42) Śāntinātha, (43) Nārāyaṇa, (44) Naraharī,¹⁰⁹ (45) Praśānti, (46) Śāntivardhana, (47) Śānucandra, (48) Śaśāṅka,¹¹⁰ (49) Kuru, (50) Sūrya,¹¹¹ (51) Kunthu, (52) Sudarśana, (53) Ara, (54) Sucāru,¹¹² (55) Cāru, (56) Cārurūpa, (57) Cārupadma, (58) Padmamāla, (59) Subhauma, (60) Padmaratha,¹¹³ (61) Mahāpadma¹¹⁴ and Viṣnupadma, (62) Supadma, (63) Padmadeva, (64) Kulakīrti, (65) Kīrti, (66) Sukīrti, (67) Kīrti, (68) Vasukīrti, (69) Vāsuki,¹¹⁵ (70) Vāsava, (71) Vasu, (72) Suvasu, (73) Śrīvasu, (74) Vasundhara, (75) Vasuratha, (76) Indravīrya, (77) Citra, (78) Vicitra, (79) Vīrya, (80) Vicitra, (81) Vicitravīrya, (82) Citraratha, (83) Mahāratha, (84) Vrataratha, (85) Vrsānanta, (86) Vṛsadhvaja, (87) Śrīvrata, (88) Vratadharmā, (89) Dhṛta, (90) Dhāraṇa, (91) Mahāsara, (92) Pratisara, (93) Sara, (94) Pārāśara, (95) Śaradvīpa, (96) Dvīpa, (97) Dvīpāyata(na), (98) Suśānti, (99) Śāntubhadra, (100) Śāntisena, (101) Śāntanu,¹¹⁶ (102) Dhṛtavyāsa, (103) Dhṛtadharman, (104) Dhṛtodaya, (105) Dhṛtatejas, (106) Dhṛtayasa, (107) Dhṛtamāna, (108) Dhṛta, (109)

- 109 In the Pp this name and the following one do not occur. Instead *Śāntivardhana* is made into *Nārdaya*, a's son (Pp 6 2)
- 110 Subhacandra adopts it as *Candracakṣa* (Pp 6 3)
- 111 It is replaced by 'Sūrasena' (Pp 6 3)
- 112 Between *Ara* and *Sucāru* is inserted *Aravinda* as *Ara*'s son and *Sucāru* is altered to *Sucāra* (Pp 7 36)
- 113 The group of five names occurring between *Sacāru* and *Padmaratha* is omitted from the Pp list and only one *Sūra* is included in it as the name of *Sucāra*'s son and as that of *Padmaratha*'s father (Pp 7 36). Next, after *Padmaratha* one *Megharatha* is mentioned as the former's son.
- 114 This name as well as *Viṣnupadma* occurs in Pp (7 37-38) as *Padmaratha* and *Viṣṇu* and two more names *Padmanābha* and *Mahāpadma* are inserted between *Padmaratha* and *Supadma* (Pp 7 38, 74)
- 115 Between *Supadma*, the Sixtysecond name of the present list and *Vāsuki* only three names, viz *Kīrti*, *Sukīrti* and *Vasukīrti* recur in the Pp list (7 74). But the names occurring between *Vāsuki* and *Śāntanu* do not find place in the Pp list (7 75)
- 116 He is stated to be the husband of Princess *Tojanagandhā* (नर्ता योजन-गन्धारा राजकुमारसु शांतनु, JHV, 45 31). According to the epic-Purāṇic accounts *Tojanagandhā* was an epithet of *Satyavati*.

Dhṛtarāja To this *Dhṛtarāja* were born three sons, viz *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *Pāṇḍu* and *Vidura* by *Ambikā*, *Ambālikā* and *Ambā* respectively

Now, before presenting a comparative study of all the relevant accounts, we deem it necessary to analyse the above list in the light of *Śubhacandra's* version. Although the *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* of *Śubhacandra* stands, chronologically, last among the works forming the basis of our study, yet we take up *Śubhacandra's* account first for our comparative appraisal of the lists. For, the Pp list¹¹⁷ is practically the same as that found in JHV. The points of disagreement between the two lists, as noted in the preceding footnotes, are generally small and verbal, mainly caused by the use of some synonyms or by omissions and additions of a few insignificant names. Now, as both the versions cover almost the same length of pedigree and show remarkable agreement with regard to the setting out of a substantially greater portion of the genealogy, naturally any major representational difference between the two lists will speak something very significant. It is obvious from both the versions that harmony is found in that part of the genealogy wherein we hardly come across any name contained in the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic pedigrees of the *Puru-Kuru*-line. Thus it appears that the names in this part, being mainly mythical in nature and without consequence, were adopted in the later work without any major transformation in their character and genealogical sequence. Truly speaking, these individual terms served only as connecting links between the mythical founder of the line and the proximate forefathers of *Kurus*.

But the representation of the immediate ancestors of the *Kāurava-Pāṇḍava* brothers presents a different case. As regards this part, the author of the *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* had many Jaina versions before him. Naturally, he selected one from them to the exclusion of *Jinasena's* version and presented that in his own way by effecting some changes in the adopted pedigree. Thus, *Śubhacandra's* rejection of JHV version, in preference of

117. Pp 3 274b-275, 4 2-10, 6 2-3, 30; 7 2 25, 36-38, 73-74

another, seems significant, for, it shows that even he did not place reliance on Jinasena's genealogical account of the later *Kurus*.

As a matter of fact, the *PP* parts company with *JHV* from *Vāsuki* onwards. The latter work has a group of thirty one names between *Vāsuki* and *Śāntanu*. A close study of these names reveals that most of them are coined by combining the components of mainly three names,¹¹⁸ viz *Parāśara*, *Dvaipāyana* (an epithet of *Kṛṣṇa-Vyāsa*, traditional son of the sage *Parāśara*) and *Vicitravīrya*. Moreover, in some cases, only the different parts of the above three names have been turned into distinct personal names.¹¹⁹ Thus, this coinage of new names has caused an abnormal increase in the number of descents. Besides that the list betrays a reversal of the order and position of even those persons whose priority and posteriority in the pedigree happen to be of universal acceptance.¹²⁰ Under the circumstances, it is not unlikely that the above deficiencies and discrepancies in the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* list should have forced *Śubhacandra* to skip from *Vāsuki* on to *Śāntanu* with a casual reference to the occurrence of some successions between the two personages of the line.

Another important feature of *JHV* list is marked by the fact that it has inserted seven names between *Śāntanu* and *Dhṛtarāja*, the alleged father of *Dhṛtarāstra*, *Pāṇdu* and *Vidura*. This representation makes *Śāntanu* a distant ancestor of *Dhṛtarāstra* and his brothers, and stands alone inasmuch as none of *Jinasena's* successors followed that scheme.

Now, it will be befitting to analyse the various versions of this part of the pedigree chronologically. Thus we take up the *Uttarāṇapurāṇa* version first. Although the genealogy of the *Kurus* as found in the work is very brief, yet the information

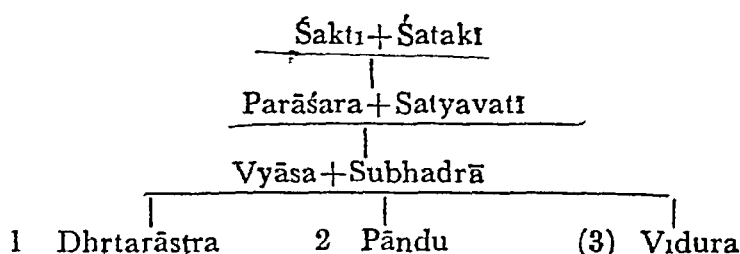
118 e.g. *Mahāśara*, *Pratisara*, *Śaradvīpa* etc. — *JHV*, 45 29-30

119 Such as *Citra*, *Vicitra*, *Vīrya*, *Śara* and *Dvīpa*. *Ibid*, 45 27, 29-30

120 Majority of the *Jainapurāṇas*, like the epic-Purāṇic sources make *Vicitravīrya* posterior in time to *Parāśara* and *Dvaipāyana*. See below

which it contains about some of the immediate forefathers of the *Kaurava-Pāṇḍava* brothers is very important from the standpoint of comparative study of the Jaina and Brahmanical accounts. The UP while introducing the *Kauravas* and *Pāṇḍavas*, refers to one king *Śakti* by name as the great-grandfather of *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *Pāṇḍu* and *Vidura*. According to the version, 'to king *Śakti* of *Hastināpura*, chief among the *Kurus*, was born *Parāśara* from queen *Śataki*, His (*Parāśara*'s) son was *Vyāsa* of good intellect, by princess *Satyavati*, born in the family of *Matsya*, and to this *Vyāsa* and *Subhadrā* were born three sons, *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* the great, *Pāṇḍu* and *Vidura*¹²¹ (by name)'

The pedigree in accordance with the *Uttarapurāṇa* version stands thus



An analysis of the above pedigree in the light of the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic genealogies of the later *Kurus* will bring to our notice a very important and interesting fact. The Brahmanical sources show striking unanimity on the point that the *Kuru*-line after *Vicitravīrya* would have been extinct¹²² but for the intervention of *Vyāsa* who was begotten by the sage *Parāśara* on *Satyavati*, while the latter was still a maiden¹²³. We

121 शक्तिनाममहीशस्य शतवयाश्च पराशर ।

तस्य मत्स्यकुलोत्पन्नराजपुत्र्या सुतोभवत् ॥

मत्यवया सुग्रीव्यास पुनर्व्यमिसुभद्रयो ।

धृतराष्ट्रो महान् पाण्डुविदुरश्च सुतास्तथ ॥

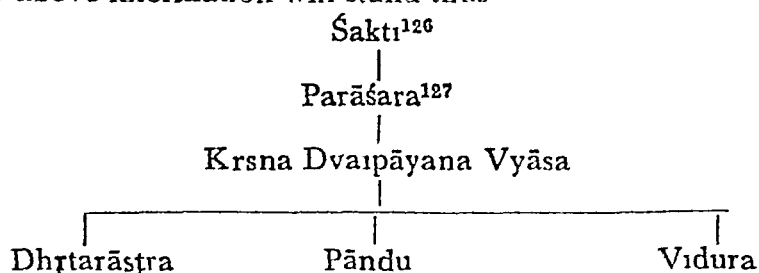
UP, 70 101b-103

122 MBh 1.95.52

123 तस्या पूर्वं कानीनो गर्भं पराशराद् द्वैपायनोऽभवत् ।

MBh 1.95.49, Also 1.104.3-18

know it full well from the sources that *Sāntanu's* son *Vicitravīrya* died issueless. Now to save the line from extinction, *Satyavati* sought the services of her illegitimate son *Vyāsa*, who having been commissioned under the custom of Levirate (*Niyoga*) begot three sons, two by *Vicitravīrya's* widows, *Ambikā* and *Ambālikā*, and one on the slave-girl of the first lady.¹²⁴ These sons of *Dvaipāyana* were respectively known as *Dhṛtarāstra*, *Pāṇdu* and *Vidura*. Thus according to the epic-Purāṇic tradition, *Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa* was the actual progenitor of the above-mentioned persons and grandfather of the *Kaurava-Pāṇḍava* brothers. This being the case, then, the sage *Parāśara* was directly connected with the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. The epic Purāṇic tradition further tells us that this *Parāśara* was son of *Śakti*.¹²⁵ Thus, the pedigree, according to the above information will stand thus



Thus, a comparison of the *Uttarapurāṇa* pedigree with the traditional tale of the actual parentage of *Dhṛtarāstra*-brothers leaves no doubt about *Gunabhadra's* indebtedness to the epic-Purāṇic sources. In fact, relying fully on the Brahmanical records, *Gunabhadra* has brought *Śakti*, *Parāśara* and

124 MBh 1 95 53-55, 1 104 24-47, 1 105 Vāyup 59 241-42 Hv 1 32

13 Thus says the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 4 20 38

सत्यवतीनियोगाच्च ... कृशाद्वैपायनो मातुर्वचनमनतिक्रमणीयमिति कृत्वा
विचित्रवीर्यक्षेत्रे धृतराष्ट्रपाण्डु तत्प्रहितभुजिष्याया विदुरं चोत्पादयामास ।
Also see Māt 50 23, 34-56, Bhāga 9 22 4, 9-22 & etc

125 अभ्यगच्छद्विष्विद्वान् कृष्णाद्वैपायनस्तदा ।
जनयामास य काली शक्ते पुत्रात् पराशरात् ।
कन्यैव यमुनाद्वीपे पाण्डवानां पितामहम् ।—

—MBh 1 60 1 2 Also Ibid 1 60 6, Viṣ p 3 3 18

126 He is also called *Śakti* —Vāyup 1 174, 70 83

127 Vāyup 1 174b-175 2 12, 70 83 84, Māt 201 30-31, Kūrma 1 19 23,
MBh 1 175 6, 1 176 13-16, 1 177 1-3, 1 180 2.

Vyāsa into normal relationship with *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* and his brothers, and has, thus, brought to prominence only the other side of the story by foisting the aforesaid personages into the dynastic genealogy as royal successors

Puṣpadanta's Mahāpurāṇa appears to be the only known work to have adopted *Gunabhadra's* version with one exception. Thus, subject to a variation in the name of *Parāśara's* father which occurs in PMP¹²⁸ as *Hastirāja* (*Haṭṭhirāu*) instead of *Śakti*, the work in question does not show any disagreement with the UP account. The replacement of *Śakti* by this *Hastirāja* may, however, be taken as an anachronistic representation of Brahmanical *Hastir*,¹²⁹ a remote ancestor of the *Kaurava-Pāṇḍava* brothers. One important point to be noted with regard to *Puṣpadanta's* version is his representation of *Vyāsa* as a false poet (*Alīyalāṭi*¹³⁰ = *Alīkalāṭi*). It is needless to state that this allegation makes the identity of *Vyāsa* conspicuous inasmuch as he has already been labelled as an author of the misleading and distorted account of the *Mahābhārata* tale.¹³¹

The *Śvetāmbara* versions, on the other hand, are at great variance with the *Digambara* accounts as discussed in the foregoing pages. And it is interesting to note that all *Śvetāmbara* versions despite their mutual discrepancies converge to a point which is very close to the Brahmanical representation of this part of the pedigree. Śīlāṅka, for instance, begins his genealogical account, almost abruptly, with one *Satadharm*

128 गुरुवर्गनि द्विगुणायरायरि तहि हृत्थिराउ छुह्वोयघरि, तहु देवि सुवविक
मुत्तोन्नयि मिद्रा एव वररणाज्जनिय हयउ पारासर ताहि मुउ दवेण
गुरुवर नगवुड, मच्छउन्नरायमुग्र नच्चवइ तहु दिण्णी सुदरि मुद्रसइ,
उयण्णु नाम् तहि अलियकइ तहु भञ्ज मुसइ पमण्णामउ, ताहितेण
उयण्णउ मुउ पयन्दु उदण्णउ लवणगलनिययकायउ पदु विउर पुणु
जाउ ।

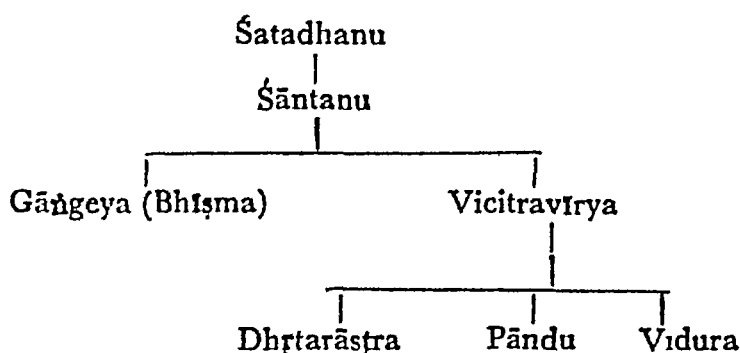
—PMP, LXXXII, 2 5-10.

129 For the position of *Hastir* in the *Puru* pedigree AHT, pp. 144, 146, 148.

130 See note 128 (a-u).

131 See note 5 (a) p. 1.

whom he represents as the father of King Śāntanu¹³² As in the Brahmanical sources so also in the CMC *Gāṅgeya* (*Bhīṣma*) and *Vicitravīrya* are set out as the sons of king Śāntanu. Further, *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *Pāṇdu* and *Vidura* are recognized as *Vicitravīrya*'s sons. The genealogical table according to the work is as follows :



Now, the accounts as given by *Hemacandra* and *Devaprabha* are not only in mutual agreement but also in substantial harmony with the epic-Purāṇic representation of this part of the royal genealogy. As stated before, both of them derive the line from *Kuru*¹³³ whom they set out as a son of *Ikṣvāku Rṣabha* and after mentioning *Hastin* as the son of the former, they skip over to *Anantavīrya*, his son *Kṛtavīrya* and a few others¹³⁴ Next, without furnishing any information about Śāntanu's parentage,¹³⁵ both begin the account of his later life in similar way and give the names of his wives as well as progeny together with the account of all the principal events of their life almost in the same form and spirit, as are found recorded in the

132 तन्वसस्पभवेसु सखातीएसु गाम सु सयघ्नू णाम राया सवुत्तो । तस्स य पुत्तो सतणू णाम राया सवुत्तो । तत्थ दुवे पुत्ता—गगेओ विचित्तवीरियो य । तत्थ गगेओ कुमारवभयारी सवुत्तो । विचित्तवीरियस्स उ तिण्णि पुत्ता समुप्पण्णा, त जहा वयरट्ठो, पद्द, विदुरो य ।

—CMC, p 182,

133 TSPC 8 6 204-65 Pc 1 9-11

134 TSPC Vol V p 197 PC 1 12-18

135 TSPC Vol V p 197 PC 1 21.

procreated by *Vicitravīrya* himself. A probable reason of this modification seems to be the somewhat uncivilized and obnoxious nature of the ancient usage of *Levirate* which was unpalatable to the Jaina standards of ethics and morality. Naturally, by effecting the above change, the Jaina authors have purged the story of that unwholesome element.

Another special feature of the Śvetāmbara version is the representation of all the three daughters of the king of *Kāśī* as *Vicitravīrya's* wives. But the epic tells us that of the three sisters, whom *Bhīṣma* had carried off to *Hastināpura*, only the second and third sisters, viz *Ambālikā* and *Ambikā* were married to *Vicitravīrya*.¹⁴¹ The eldest sister, named *Ambā* was set free by *Bhīṣma*, because the former had already mentally chosen the *Śālva* king as her lord.¹⁴² Hence, *Vicitravīrya*, according to the Brahmanical sources had only two wives.¹⁴³ Now the Jaina reckoning of *Ambā* among *Vicitravīrya's* wives may be taken as having been actuated by the motive of elevating the social status of *Vidura*, who, though held in high regard and treated as the brother of *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* and *Pāndu*, was, according to the Brahmanical tradition, born of a slave girl employed in the royal seraglio.

Still another form of the pedigree is found in *Śubhacandra's Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, the last work in the series of the Purāṇic literature under investigation. The version as given by *Śubhacandra* bears a clear mark of its having been made of heterogeneous elements derived from the different works of his predecessors. Thus, unlike *Gunabhadra* and *Puṣpadanta*, the author of this *Purāṇa* reckons king *Śāntanu* among the forefathers of the *Kaurava-Pāṇḍava* brothers, but in lieu of *Gāṅgeya* (*Bhīṣma*), *Citrāṅgada* and *Vicitravīrya*, he introduces *Parāśara* as the son of king *Śāntanu*.¹⁴⁴ Next, *Parāśara* is made the father of both

141 MBh 1 102 3-66

142 Ibid 1 102 60-64

143 MBh 1 95 51 Viṣṇu p 4 20 36

144 शान्तनु शांति युक्तात्मा कौरव कौरवाग्रणी ।

सत्यकी तत्प्रिया प्रीता मीता वा रामभूभुज ।

पराशरमहीशस्तु तयो सूनुरभूद्वली ।

—SPP. 7 75b-76,

Gāngeya by *Vyāsa* by two different wives, viz *Gangā*¹⁴⁵ and *Gunavati*¹⁴⁶ respectively. Now, in accordance with the changed parentage of *Gāngeya*, the traditional circumstances leading to *Bhīṣma*'s proverbial sacrifice for the sake of his father *Śāntanu*¹⁴⁷ have been made occasion for *Gāngeya*'s vital vow of chastity in favour of *Parāśara*'s marriage with *Gunavati*, also called *Yojanagandhikā*¹⁴⁸. Thus, just in the traditional way, *Gāngeya* is said to have renounced his right to kingdom as well as the right of marriage in favour of the sons of the fisher-girl whom his father *Parāśara* wanted to marry¹⁴⁹. As is evident from the above study, *Śubhacandra* has combined in his version the divergent elements derived from both *Gunabhadra*'s version¹⁵⁰ and the *Śvetāmbara* account as presented by *Devaprabha*¹⁵¹. And in interweaving these elements into a genealogical thread, both *Devaprabha* and *Śubhacandra* must have kept in view the epic-Purāṇic representation of *Bhīṣma* and *Vyāsa* as half-brothers,¹⁵² albeit in an extra-ordinary way.

Thus, the present account may be treated as a sub-version of versions which latter are themselves based on the different aspects of the traditional accounts as noted before. Now what transpires from the comparative study of all the versions is that in contradistinction with all the versions of his predecessors as well as the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic accounts, *Śubhacandra* has connected *Parāśara* and *Vyāsa* with *Śāntanu* as the latter's son and grandson respectively. Another alteration made in the genealogy is marked by *Bhīṣma*'s representation as the grandson of *Śāntanu*, the acknowledged father of the former. Thus the

145 SPP, 7 77-80

146 *Ibid*, 7 112-115

147 *Ibid*, 1 100 77-96.

148 SPP 7 93 104, 115.

149 *Ibid*, 7 83-106, Comp MBh 1 100 75-99, and P C 1 158-247

150 See note 121 *Supra*

151 Hence the influence of the epic-Purāṇic tradition on SPP is indirect

152 ययैव पितृतो भीष्मस्तथा त्वमपि मातृत्वं ।

भ्राता विचित्रवीर्यस्य... ॥

PP account stands alone and is stultified on that account. Nevertheless, *Śubhacandra* has done justice to *Bhīṣma*'s lofty character in his own way, apparently parting company with *Jinasena* who, though representing *Bhīṣma* as the son of king *Śāntanu*, has set out the former as the father of *Rukmin*,¹⁵³ and, thus, has confused him with the *Bhoja*-king *Bhīṣma* or *Bhīṣmaka*, father of *Rukmin* and *Rukmini* and father-in-law of *Sri-Kṛṣṇa*

Now, so far as the Jaina representation of *Satyavati*, great grand-mother of the *Kaurava-Pāṇḍava* heroes, is concerned, almost all aspects of her life find expression in one way or other. Although none of the *Purāṇas* in question individually gives us full information about all the incidents of her life, yet all versions taken together reveal the same truth about this ancestress of the heroes as is conveyed by the Brahmanical texts

In JHV,¹⁵⁴ she finds mention as *Yojanagandhā* and is represented, as in the Brahmanical sources, as the wife of king *Śāntanu*. But the work does not connect her with her traditional sons. Instead, one *Dhṛtavyāsa*, an obvious counterpart of *Vyāsa* has been set out as her son, between whom and *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* etc. have been inserted seven¹⁵⁵ names as shown *supra*. This setting, however, has caused an abnormal distance between *Satyavati* and her traditional grandchildren, *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *Pāṇḍu* and *Vidura*, which is supported by none of *Jinasena*'s successors

A significant aspect of her maiden life finds modified representation in the works of *Gunabhadra* and *Puṣpadanta* who treat her as the duly married wife of *Parāśara* and set out *Vyāsa* as their legitimate son.¹⁵⁶ Another singularity of the *Purāṇas* is *Satyavati*'s introduction as a princess of the *Matsya*.¹⁵⁷

153 भोष्मोऽपि शान्तनोरेव सन्ताने रुक्मिण्य पिता ।

यस्य गङ्गाऽमिवा माता राजपुत्री पवित्रधीः ॥

—JHV. 45 35 In another context calls him lord of *Vidarbha*, *Ibid* 42, 57, 65 Cf MBh. V. 148 1-16, 39, Hv 2, 47 25, 41; 2 48 3

154. Vide Note 116 (*ante.*).

155. *Ibid* , 45 31-33

156 UP 70 102-3a PMP LXXXI 1 2 7-9.

157 UP 70 102, PMP. LXXXII. 2, 8.

family Now, a perusal of these statements clearly shows that the versions point to the same truths and associations of her life as are revealed by the epic-Purāṇic works.

The epic¹⁵⁸ tells us that she and her twin-brother *Malya* were children of king *Vasu* by an *Apsaras* called *Adrikā* who was cursed by Lord *Brahman* to live on earth as a fish for certain period. The twins were found in the womb of the fish. The male child was made over to his father, king *Vasu* and the female child grew up in the house of her foster father, *Dāśa*¹⁵⁹ (lowcaste man). This situation gave the girl the names *Dāśakanjā*¹⁶⁰ and *Dāśeṣī*¹⁶¹. Now, as she emitted filthy fishy smell, so she was styled *Matsyagandhā*¹⁶² and *Matsyagandhinī*¹⁶³. Next, through the grace of sage *Parāśara* she gained wonderful perfume in place of the fish-odour, and on account of diffusing that pleasant smell, she received the famous epithets *Gandhavatī* and *Yojanagandhā*¹⁶⁴. Besides these attributives she also bore two personal names, *Kālī*¹⁶⁵ and *Satyavatī*¹⁶⁶. When she was still an unmarried virgin, the sage *Parāśara* met her while crossing the river *Yamunā* and prevailed upon her in having physical contact with him, and the result of the intercourse was *Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa* who gave himself to asceticism. Now, as he was born on an island (*Dvīpa*) in the *Yamunā* so he received the epithet *Dvaipāyana*¹⁶⁷. On account of his black complexion he was called *Kṛṣṇa* and as he divided the single *veda* into four and arranged them into the different *Sam-*

158 MBh 1 63 50-80

159 Ibid, 1 63 67

160 Ibid, 1 100 48, 58, 1 104 9

161 Ibid, 1 100 50, 1 104 26

162 Ibid, 1 63 69

163 Ibid, 1 63 67

164 Ibid 1 63 82 83

165 Ibid, 1 104 23, V 147 19, 30

166 Ibid, 1 63 68, 83, 84

167 न्यस्तो द्वीपे स यद्वालस्तस्माद् द्वैपायन स्मृतः ।

hitās, so he acquired the name *Vyāsa*.¹⁶⁸ We are further told that this same *Satyavatī*, who regained her maidenhood after the birth of *Dvaipāyana*, later became the second wife of king *Śāntanu*¹⁶⁹ of the *Puru*-race

Our investigation shows that except the above legendary connection between *Satyavatī* and *Matsya* there is nothing to suggest the former's relationship with the latter. Hence we are tempted to hold that this same mythical tie between the two may be taken as the basis of the Jaina representation of *Satyavatī* as a princess of the *Matsya*¹⁷⁰ race. For, so far as we know, nowhere in the Jaina *Purāṇas* even a fabricated *Matsya* dynasty worth the name has been mentioned or referred to. Thus, it is obvious that the Digambara authors, in their effort to give their versions an appearance of originality, have normalized the above-mentioned abnormal events and associations of *Satyavatī*'s early life and legitimized her illegitimate son begotten by the sage *Parāśara*. The *Śvetāmbaras*, on the other hand, impliedly disapproving the Digambara method of working the pedigree, have maintained absolute silence over the association of *Satyavatī* with *Parāśara* and *Vyāsa*. And taking account of only the brighter aspect of her life the *Śvetāmbara* versions have set out the former as the wife of king *Śāntanu* and mother of *Citrāṅgada* and *Vicitravīrya*, as shown before.

Thus, the Jaina genealogies compared together on the one hand and with epic-Purāṇic genealogies, on the other, force us to conclude that from the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic works the Jaina authors have drawn the materials of their own choice and reproduced them in accordance with their individual tastes. Now, being actuated by a desire to invest their

168. विव्यास वेदान् यस्मात् स तस्माद् व्यास इति स्मृत ।

—Ibid, 1 63,882.

यो व्यस्य वेदाश्चतुरस्तपसा भगवानुषिः ।

लोके व्यासत्वमापेदे काण्व्यात् कृष्णस्वमेव च ॥

—1,104,15.

169 1 95,48-49

170 See notes 121 and 128 (ante.)

accounts with an air of originality, the authors have effected arbitrary alterations in the borrowed matters. Eventually, this has led to irreconcilable discrepancies among the different versions. Over and above that, the Jaina knowledge of some of the epic-Purāṇic subjects was not based on their direct acquaintance with the original texts, but, was derived from hearsay which is liable to perversion and misrepresentation of facts.

Under the circumstances, it is of immense significance that we meet with a good many number of instances which, even in their modified, altered and distorted forms, point to the same traditional truth as is told by the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic works.

CHAPTER VI

THE HARI-DYNASTY

As in the case of other dynasties, so also with regard to the dynasty of *Hari*, *Vimalasūri* is the first Jaina author to have supplied its genealogy. Except the author of the *Mahāpurāṇa* and his followers almost all his successors—both the *Dīgambaras* and the *Śvetāmbaras*—have adopted his scheme. Nevertheless, a comparative study of all the versions reveals, on some important points, substantial disagreement between different versions, which, however, will be discussed in proper contexts.

All the *Purāṇic* authors have marked agreement in representing this dynasty as a separate ruling family. But in respect of its progenitor and the age of its origin they exhibit fundamental differences. On this point, the authors are divided into two groups—one group is represented by *Vimalasūri* as well as majority of the writers of both the sects, while the other group is headed by *Jinasena II* who is followed by *Gunabhadra*, *Puṣpadanta* and *Śubhacandra*, all belonging to the *Dīgambara* sect.

The *Purāṇakāras* belonging to the first group place the origin of the dynasty in the age of the tenth *Tīrthankara Śitalanātha*,¹ whereas the authors of the second group make it contemporaneous with the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty.² According to the genesis of various royal families, as found in the AP, one *Harikānta*, said to have been a vassal under *Ikṣvāku's* overlordship, was the founder of this line. *Puṣpadanta* also makes the same statement about the origin, identity and affiliation of the dynasty. *Gunabhadra*, though otherwise indifferent towards

1 VPC 21 2-7, RPC 21 2 7, JHV 13 34, CMC pp 180-81, TSPC, Vol iv pp 73-74, also VH.pp, 356-57

2 AP 16 259, UP 70 74-75 88-89, PMP, 5.22 6, pp 7 118-20,

giving genealogical details, accepts the prior existence of the line inasmuch as he represents *Sumukha* as reincarnated in the pre-existing family of *Harī* ³ *Śubhacandra*, however, is clear than *Gunabhadra*, for he expressly places the origin of the dynasty during the reign of the Primeval Lord, ⁴ viz *Rṣabhadeva*, the first *Tīrthāṅkara*

Now, with the sole exception of the AP, all the *Purāṇas* begin the genealogy of this line with the account of *Sumukha* and *Vanamālā*, ⁵ wife of *Viraka*, variously represented in different *Purāṇas*. The fantastic tale of their immoral union is told for the first time in VPC in connection with the pedigree of king *Janaka* of *Mithilā*, ⁶ whose lineage has been derived from the same ancestry as that of the *Yādavas* ⁷. In some of the later *Purāṇas* this tale in miniature is developed into a full-fledged story of seduction with individual embellishment. The account as found in VPC is that in the expanding period of Śītalānātha, there was a king in *Kauśāmbī*, *Sumukha* by name. In the same city lived a weaver, named *Viraka*, ⁸ whose wife called *Vanamālā* was seduced by the king. Both of them enjoyed pleasures of senses for long and, after death, were born as twins in *Harivarṣa*. Now, *Viraka* born as a god recognised them and carried them off to *Campā*. 'As born in *Harivarṣa*, he was brought (th-re-from) to this (place), so he became known as *Harirāja* in the three worlds' ⁹. According to RPC both of them were born

3 UP 70 74-75

4 अथादिदेवनिर्णीतो हरिवग्गकुलो महान् ।

—pp 7 118a

5 CMC alone calls her *Prabhāvatī* (pp 180-81) and this is the only work to have represented *Viraka* as a vassal of *Sumukha*, Ibid p 180

6 21 29-34, RPC 21 48-54

7 Cf JHV 17 1-37, 53-60, 161-62, 18 1-14

8 VPC 21 2-7 RPC copies the account almost literally, but instead of representing *Viraka* as a weaver (*Kuvinda*), the latter work makes him a merchant, i e a *Vaiśya*, (RPC, 21 2f)

9 हरिवासवमुप्पन्नो, जेण हरिऊण आणिओ इहइं ।

तेण चिय हरिराया, विक्वाओ तिहुयणो जाओ ॥

as husband and wife in *Haripura*, and while sporting on the *Rukmagiri* in the southern row of the *Bhogabhūmi*, they were carried off to *Bhārata*¹⁰ by that unnamed god. The work says, like VPC, "as he, together with his wife, was brought from the land of *Harī*, so he got famous as *Harī* all over the world."¹¹ This *Harī*, as both the accounts state, was the progenitor of the *Harivamśa*.

The above account of the origin of the *Harī* dynasty as well as its genealogy recurs in *JHV* in a developed form. The account is also at variance with the previous two on some important points. *Sumukha*, for instance, is said to have been born as a son of one *Pavanagiri*, a *Vidyādhara* king of *Haripura*. *Vijayārdha*¹² *Vanamālā*, according to the work, is born as a daughter of one *Pavanavega* of *Meghapura* on the same mount.¹³ Next, they¹⁴ were united in wedlock, and one day, while enjoying the youthful pleasures of their conjugal life in the garden of *Harivarṣa*, they were lited away to *Campā*¹⁵ by the same god. There that *Vidyādhara* prince was installed as a king of the land whose ruler *Amṛtadīdhātīkīrti* had died sonless. *Jinasena*, however, does not make this *Vidyādhara* the founder of the *Harivamśa*, but his son whom the author gives the name *Harī*¹⁶. Now, it is obvious that the above representation of *Sumukha's* reincarnation as a *Vidyādhara* gives the line a colour of Supernatural origin and invests the father of the line with superhuman character.

Gunabhadra's account¹⁷ of the later birth of *Sumukha* and

10 *Raviṣena* does not refer to *Campā*, nor to the kingdom which all the later *Purāṇas* mention as having been offered to him. See below.

11. यतोऽसौ हरित क्षेत्रादानीतो भार्यया समम् ।

ततो हरिरिति ख्यातिं गत सर्वत्र विष्टपे ॥

—RPC 217.

12 *JHV* 15 17-23

13 *Ibid* 15 25-27

14 No mention is made of their names

15 Capital of *Aṅga*, identified as Bhagalpur *AIHT*, p 272 *LAI*, p 276

16 *JHV* 15 57-58

17. *UP* 70 65-90

Vanamālā, though similar with the previous versions in general run, is different from them in many respects. According to this version, *Sumukha* was a merchant of *Kauśāmbī*, who, after death, was born at *Bhogapura* in *Harivarṣa* as the son of king *Prabhāñjana* of the *Harī* dynasty by his queen named *Mṛkandū*, and was named *Simhaketu*. *Vanamālā*, wife of *Viraka* (also called *Viradatta*) was born as the daughter of king *Vajracāpa* of *Vasvālayapura* and was given the name *Vidyunmālā*. When of age, both *Simhaketu* and *Vidyunmālā* were united in holy wedlock. Now, while enjoying their life in a garden, they were seen by *Viradatta*, born as a god named *Citrāngada*¹⁸ and were recognised as his former offenders. *Citrāngada*, burning within with anger lifted them up to take a vengeance on them. But he was dissuaded from that cruel act by a god *Sūryaprabha*, who out of compassion towards the pair, dropped them in a forest of *Campā*. There they were picked up by a trained elephant, specially employed by the ministers of the kingdom to choose a successor to king *Candrakīrti*¹⁹ who had died sonless. When asked by the people about his identity, *Simhaketu* introduces himself as 'the moon in the spotless sky of *Harivamśa*'²⁰. Though he gives out the names of both his father and mother, yet the people prefer to call him by the matronymic *Mārkaṇḍeya* derived from his mother's name *Mṛkanau*.²¹

The accounts as given by *Puṣpadanta*²² and *Śubhacandra*²³ are in literal agreement with *Gunabhadra*'s version, as noted above. Hence these versions may be taken as based on the *Uttarapurāṇa*. *Śubhacandra*, however, gives the name of *Vidyun-*

18 Name of the god appears for the first time in this work

19 The present work has evidently preferred the simple term *Candrakīrti*, already mentioned in the VH (p. 357) to the circumlocutory name *Aṃṣṭadiśitakīrti* of JHV (15.53) which, however, denotes the same sense as the former

20 हरिवंशमलव्योमसोमोऽहम्...

—70 89a.

21 UP 70.90

22 *Mahāpurāṇa* LXXXI 13.12-LXXXI 19.12

23. pp. 7.118-129

mālā's father as *Vayraghoṣa* instead of *Vajracāpa* and that of his capital as *Śīlanagara*. But this element, too, is based on another reading of the relevant passage of the *UP* as indicated in its footnote.²⁴

In the *Caṣṭhannamahāpurīṣacaryā*²⁵ of *Śīlāṅka* we see still another form of the episode, which partly agrees with that incorporated in the *Vasudevahindī*²⁶ and partly differs from it. Thus unlike *VH*, the *CMC* of *Śīlāṅka* represents *Vīraka* as *Sumukha's* vassal (*sāmanta*) and calls his wife *Prabhāvatī*. Next, reincarnated *Vīraka* is mentioned as a *Vyanlara* god instead of the *Kulbiṣaka* god of the *Vasudevahindī*. In other particulars, though meagre, the *CMC* does not differ from the *VH*, for, like the latter, it sets forth *Sumukha* and *Prabhāvatī* (*Vanamālā*) in their next incarnation as twins, who are reportedly delivered by *Vīraka* to the people of kingless *Campā* to be installed as a king, with the special instruction that the couple should be served with flesh, wine and fruits. The motive of the instruction in both the works is the same, viz creating such condition as would lead them to perpetual infernal life.

The account as found in the *TSPC*²⁷ shows greater affinity with that in the *VH*²⁸ than with any other version.²⁹ In fact, the *TSPC* version is based, for the most part, on the *Vasudevahindī*. Thus, like the latter the work in question represents reincarnated *Sumukha* and *Vanamālā* as twins, born in the mythical land *Harivarsa*, and gives them the names *Hari* and *Harini* respectively. Next, the deceased king of *Campā*, in whose place *Hari* is installed as a king, is found mentioned as a scion of the *Ikṣvāku* family only in those two works. However, mention may be made of one element which does not find any mention in the *VH*. That is the introduction of a

24 p 344, note 1

25 pp 180-182

26 pp 356-357

27 Vol IV pp 73-78.

28 Cf pp 356-57

29 The *CMC* (pp 180-81) cannot be regarded as *Hemacandra's* source, for, many details which are identically supplied both in the *VH* and in the *TSPC*, are missing in the *CMC*

nun called *Ātreya*³⁰ as a procuress through whose manoeuvre the lascivious union between *Sumukha* and *Vanamālā* takes place. But this element also does not appear to have been Hemacandra's own invention, for, *Ātreya* as a *Dūti* has already found place in the version of JHV³¹. The only novelty which *Hemacandra* seems to have introduced in the character of *Ātreya*, is her conversion to a nun. Thus both in spirit and form the TSPC account of the origin of the *Harī*-dynasty may be taken as a developed form of the tale told in the *Vasudevahindī*, with an addition of a minor detail apparently derived from *JHV*.

Thus, it is evident from the above study that only *Gunabhadra*, *Puṣpadanta* and *Śubhacandra* represent a unified tradition, and, therefore, they may be placed in one group. *Saṅghadāsa*, *Vimalasūri*, *Raviṣena*, *Śilāṅka*, and *Hemacandra* may be said to have represented another school³² only roughly for, all these authors show mutual differences on some important points. *Jinasena*, the author of the *Harivamśapurāṇa*, on the other hand, stands alone, as is evident from the foregoing summary of his version.

The foregoing account of the origin of the above line, besides being not confirmed by any non-Jaina sources, is too fabulous to command any credence from historical or genealogical standpoint. Furthermore, it shows striking points of

30 TSPC, Vol IV p 76

31 "वेलाया तत्र समत्रय मत्री द्वितीमजोगमत् ।

आत्रेयी वनमालाया. समीप सुमुखात् ॥"

—JHV, 14 77

32 The expressions 'school', 'group' and 'tradition' can be applied to the Jaina *Purāṇakāras* very loosely, for the same author who shows harmony with a particular author on some points, often shows disharmony with the same on other points. This is true of all the authors irrespective of their sectarian affiliation. Thus, the points of agreement and disagreement are never constant. This is mainly because of the fact that the authors have taken great liberty in the presentation of the universal history, and have presented at times new version by blending together the materials derived from one or more sources and some of their own invention.

differences and discrepancies As noted before, there are at least two schools among the authors While one school presents the originator of the line as a contemporary of *Ikṣvāku*,³³ the other school makes him considerably posterior to the latter. Now, it is obvious that the said founder of the line could not have been both contemporary with and posterior to *Ikṣvāku* by a long temporal distance of countless years, as the Jaina traditions make us believe Naturally, these two divergent ways of representation eventually result in mutual stultification

Over and above that the *Purānas* which assign the origin of the line to the period of *Śitalanātha*, are at great variance with regard to the place, parentage and progenitorship of the person represented as the father of the *Haris* *VPC*³⁴ and *RPC*,³⁵ for instance, set forth *Hari* as the reincarnation of *Sumukha* and father of the *Hari*-line as well without mention of the kingdom which he occupied. But *JHV* does not concede that privilege to the incomer whom the work leaves unnamed, and transfers the fathership of the line to his son whom it calls *Hari* ³⁶ *Gunabhadra*,³⁷ *Puspadanta*³⁸ and *Subhacandra* ³⁹ on the other hand, though acknowledging the early origin of the dynasty, actually start its genealogy with the later incarnation of *Sumukha* Thus, unlike earlier works, the *UP*, *PMP* and *SPP* describe

33 Vide note 2 (*supra*)

34 21 5-7

35 21 7-9

36 अथ तयोस्तनयो हरिरित्यभूद्धरिरिव प्रथित पृथिवीपति ।

—15 57a and

हरिरय प्रभव प्रथमोऽभवत् सुयशसो हरिवशकुलोद्गते ।

जगति यस्य सुनाम-परिग्रहाच्चरति भो हरिवश इति श्रुति ॥

15 58

37 Uttarapurāṇa, 70 8-91

38 Mahāpurāṇa LXXVI 13 12-10 12

39 Pāṇḍavapurāṇa, 7 119-129

him as a descendant of the already extant *Hari*-dynasty⁴⁰ and invest him with a personal name *Simhaketu* and a matronymic *Mārkaṇḍeya*. Among the Śvetāmbaras, Śīlāṅka is non-informative on this point. Hemacandra,⁴¹ on the other hand, represents him as a denizen of the mythical land and like Saṅghadāsa,⁴² calls him *Hari* instead of his son and thus treats the former as the father of the *Hari* dynasty.

The early part of the *Hari* genealogy is given first by VPC⁴³ in connection with the ancestry of *Janaka*, and is next adopted by RPC⁴⁴ in the same context. The *Purāṇas*, being principally concerned with the *Rāmāyana* account, do not supply the pedigree of the *Haris* proper, the Jaina counterparts of the Brahmanical *Yādavas*. But the genealogies as given by these two works are deficient, for, after setting out a few names in broken succession at two stages,⁴⁵ the authors skip over to *Vāsavaketu*, represented as the father of king *Janaka*.

Now coming to the main line, the *Harivaṃśa* proper, we find the same names forming the early part of the *Hari* genealogy. The pedigree of this line consists of mainly three parts. First part begins with *Hari* or *Simhaketu* and ends in some works with *Vasugiri* and in a few is carried some steps further, and,

40. It is to be noted here that, according to these three works, there is an immeasurably long gap in the pedigree of the *Haris*, as the works do not take notice of persons born after *Hari*-(*Kanta*), represented as the contemporary of the first *Tīrthāṅkara*, and before *Simhaketu*'s father, who is placed in the *Tīrtha* of the tenth *Tīrthāṅkara* Śītalānātha. This fact also proves as to how lightly the Jaina authors have treated the genealogies of different dynasties.

41. *Op cit.* vol. IV p. 77

42. *Vasudevahirdī*, p. 357

हरिवासे य मिहृणं जाय ।

सो हरी नाम राया, तस्स हन्निणी देवी...

43. 21 7-10

44. 21 7-9

45. i.e. from *Hari* to *Mahidhara* during the *Tīrtha* of Śītalānātha and then from *Smitra*, father of *Mumisuvratānātha*, the twentieth *Tīrthāṅkara*, to *Mahāratha*. VPC 21 11-34, RPC 21 10 54

thus, ends in *VPC*⁴⁶ and *RPC*⁴⁷ with *Mahādhara*, in *JHV* (15 59) with *Giri*, and in *TSPC*⁴⁸ with *Mitrāgiri*. The second portion is resumed with the account of king *Sumitra*, father of *Muni-suvratanātha*, the twentieth *Tīrthankara* and ends with one *Chima* in *JHV*⁴⁹ and with *Brhaddhvaja*, said to be the son of *Vasu*, in the *TSPC*⁵⁰. The last part of the pedigree commences with *Yadu*⁵¹ and ends with the grandsons of *Kṛṣṇa* and *Balarāma*.

All the *Puranās* show general agreement with regard to the names included in the first part, with some variations, additions and omissions. The list as appearing in the different works is as follows

*VPC*⁵² & *RPC*⁵³. *Hari-Mahāgiri-Himagiri, Vasugiri, Indragiri, Ratnamāla, Sambhūta, Bhūtadeva, Mahādhara.*

*JHV*⁵⁴: *Vidyādhara* of *Vijayārḍha* (unnamed), *Hari, Mahāgiri, Himagiri, Vasugiri, Giri.*

*UP*⁵⁵, *PMP*⁵⁶ & *SPP*⁵⁷. *Simhaketu (Mārkaṇḍeya), Harigiri, Himagiri, Vasugiri.*

*TSPC*⁵⁸: *Hari, Pṛthvīpati, Mahāgiri, Himagiri, Vasugiri, Giri, Mitrāgiri.*

From the above lists it is obvious that the lists in *VPG* and *RPC* are identical. Similarly *UP*, *PMP* and *SPP* also show substantial agreement both in the names as well as their order. But the lists in *JHV* the first known *Purāṇa* on the *Hari*-lineage

46, 21 10.

47 21 9a.

48 Vol IV. p 79,

49, 18 3

50 Vol IV p 147

51. discussed *infra*

52 21 7-10

53, 21 7-9

54 15 48.

55 70 9093

56 LXXXI 10 7-9

57 7 129

58, Vol IV p 79

proper and in *TSPC* differ not only from those in the above-noted works but also mutually. For, while *JHV* agrees with *VPC* and *RPC* in inserting *Mahāgiri* between *Harigiri* and *Humagiri*, it differs from the latter works insofar as the work in question gives *Harī* the second place in the genealogical sequence. *TSPC*, on the other hand, gives one more name *Prthvīpati*⁵⁹ between *Harī* and *Mahāgiri*. As stated already, the first part of some of the lists stops at *Vasugiri*, but those of *VPC*, *RPC* and *TSPC* give a few more names after him. Now, of the two names appearing after *Vasugiri* in the *TSPC* list, the first, i.e. *Giri* has already found its place in *JHV*⁶⁰. Thus, this difference in the genealogical text of the *TSPC* may be ascribed partly to *Hemacandra's* having his account on different sources and partly to his own invention of names.

This part, to our knowledge, has nothing in common with the early portion of the Brahmanical *Yādava* pedigree. Hence their identification with the names forming part of the early portion of the genealogies of the *Yādus* in the Brahmanical works is not possible.

The second part of the genealogy begins with the account of king *Sumitra*, represented as the father of *Munisuvratānātha*, the twentieth *Tīrthankara*⁶¹. Now, as the last king of the first part of the pedigree is placed in the age of the tenth *Tīrthankara*, *Śītalānātha*,⁶² there is naturally a big genealogical gap between the period of the last member of the first part and that of the first king of the second portion. This deficiency in their genealogy has been implicitly admitted by all the authors of the *Purāṇas* under investigation. Now, if the Jinist calculation of time be accorded credence, the number of years elapsed

59 For this name the work is undoubtedly indebted to the *Vasudevahindī* which has already included the name in its genealogy of the *Haris* in the same order. The genealogical text of the *VH* (p. 357) reads thus

“सो हरीनाम राया, तस्स हरिणी देवी, तेसि पुत्तो पुहविषई नाम । तस्स महगिरी ततो वसुगिरी, ततो नरगिरी इदगिरी य ।

60 15-59

61 *VPC*, 21-11-26, *RPC*, 21-10-37, *JHV*, 15-61-62, 16-1,

62 *Supra* first note,

between the period of *Śitalanātha* and of *Munisuvratānātha*⁶³ will be incalculable, and the aggregate of successive individuals supposed to have been born during the intervening ages, will be infinite. Hence, that representation must be given sufficient discount.

Of all the lists containing the second part of the pedigree that in JHV⁶⁴ is the lengthiest. It contains several such names as do not recur in the other lists. Nevertheless, the version, though particularly devoted to the history of the *Haris*, does not profess to be complete and exhaustive on the genealogical plane. This part, as in VPC and RPC, begins with kind *Sumitra*, but, unlike those in the said works, carries the pedigree further to one *Bhīma* in the main line with casual and imperfect notes of and allusion to some of its unnamed sub-lines. From *Sumitra* to *Bhīma* the genealogy gives the descent almost in continuous succession.

Though most of the names reckoned in this section are different from those of the Brahmanical *Yādava* pedigree, yet there are still many which may be said to have their counterparts in the traditional genealogical lists. But the order of these names in the pedigree is so different and the information about the persons bearing these names, so meagre that any attempt to identify them with their Brahmanical counterparts appears absolutely difficult. For, mere sameness of names cannot form a sound basis of identification. Notwithstanding the above fact, the manner, in which the *Purāṇas* in question have treated the pedigrees of various dynasties as well as the personages reportedly connected with those dynasties, affords some grounds for establishing a connection between the Brahmanical figures and their Jaina namesakes.

The second part of the *Hari* genealogies as occurring in the different works is as follows

63 The life-span of *Śitalanātha* is said to have been one lac of *Pūrvas*. The eleventh to the sixteenth Jina had each lived for eighty-four lacs, seventy-two lacs, sixty lacs, thirty lacs and one lac of years. The seventeenth Jina lived for 95 thousand years, and the eighteenth and the nineteenth Jinās, 84 thousand years each. VPC, 20-99-104, RPC, 20-118-121, JHV, 60-312-15.

64 15-61-62, 16-13, 55, Canto XVII, Also XVII 1-3,

VPC ⁶⁵ & RPC ⁶⁶	•	Sumitra, Munisuvrata, Suvrata, Dakṣa, Ilāvardhana, Śrīvardhana Śrīvrkṣa, Samjayanta, Kunima, Mahāratha, Puloma
JHV ⁶⁷	:	Sumitra, Munisuvrata, Suvrata, Dakṣaprajāpati, Aileya, Kunima, Puloma

Now before undertaking to analyse the above lists, it is desirable to cite the relevant portion of the pedigree as incorporated in the *Vasudevahindī*⁶⁸ The work, though not a Purāṇic text, gives the pedigree down to *Vasudeva* The genealogy as appearing in the work stands thus

Indragiri, Dakṣa 'Prajāpati', Ila, Pulina, Varima, Kunima, Mahendradatta

As is evident from the above list, the *Vasudevahindī* shows remarkable disagreement with the *Purāṇas* insofar as the former does not know of the group of the first three kings of the *Purāṇic* lists as forming part of the *Harī* pedigree The *VH*, on the other hand, unequivocally represents *Dakṣa* as the son of *Indragiri*⁶⁹ instead of *Suvrata*. Similarly the work, though mentioning *Munisuvrata* as a *Tīrthankara*, (PP 309, 348) has nowhere referred to him as a scion of the *Harī* dynasty. These divergent representations suggest that both *Vimalasūri* and *Saṅghadāsa* have based their versions on two different sources or have invented pedigrees independently Now *Vimalasūri*'s version was apparently copied by *Ravisena* almost *Verbatim* and was, next, adopted by *Jinasena*, the author of *Harivamśapurāṇa* with some modifications mainly on the basis of the *VH* version.

Thus, what emerges from the study of the different lists, is that except for the first three names of the second part, *JHV* is nearer to the *VH* than to *VPC* and *RPC* with regard to the remaining portions of the pedigree This fact becomes conspicuous from the fourth descent onward *Dakṣa* of the latter

65 21.11-30

66 21 10-24, 31, 48-50

67 16 61-62, 61 13, 55; 17, 17 1 24

68 p 357.

69 इदगिरिपुत्तो दक्षो नाम राया "पयावइ" ति वुच्चइ ।

works, for instance, recurs in JHV, as in VH, as *Dakṣa Prajāpati*. The only originality, which Jināsena has shown, is that he has fabricated an obnoxious tale⁷⁰ after the Brahmanical legend of Brahmā's incestuous marriage with his own daughter *Śatarūpā*,⁷¹ and, tacked it on to *Dakṣa* to explain his epithet *Prajāpati*. Another difference between VPC and RPC on the one hand and JHV on the other is marked by the representation of *Dakṣa*'s son. The latter work, unlike the former, does not accept *Ilāvardhana* as his name. Instead it calls him *Aileya* which is obviously an improved version of the name *Ila* applied to him in the VH⁷². However, this reckoning of *Aileya* or *Ila* among the ancestors of the *Yādavas* is very significant from the standpoint of comparative genealogies, for, though presented in an entirely different form and reversed order, his very inclusion in the line, like the Brahmanical representation, acknowledges the race of the *Yadus* as sprung from the *Aileya* (*Aila*) stock⁷³.

So far as the first three names are concerned, it is not possible to establish their definite identity with their Brahmanical counterparts. Nevertheless, the names taken together with

70 The story in a nutshell, as told by Jināsena is that *Dakṣa*, out of lascivious passion for his own daughter, made the latter his own wife. Consequently his first wife *Ilā*, (mother of his daughter-wife) together with her son, *Aileya* left *Dakṣa*'s kingdom and repaired to an inaccessible place where she founded the city named *Ilāvardhana*. Now, the author suggests that *Dakṣa* having been the husband of his own issue (प्रजा) acquired the nickname *Prajāpati* on that account. JHV 17 3-18.

71 *Matsya*, p. 3 30-45.

72 सा (इला) सुयनिमित्तं परिववस्स रुद्धा ।

पुत्तं इलं गहाय सपरिवारा निगगया ॥

—p. 367

73 The *Yadus* and *Pūrus* together with the *Anus*, *Druhyus* and *Turvasus* belonged, according to the epic-Purāṇic tradition to the *Aila* race, as these all dynasties descended from *Purūravas Aila*. *Vāyu P.* 85 6-17, 91 51-52, 92 1-2, 93 12-13, 15-17. MBh. I 75 18-19, 24-26 30-35, HV. 10 16-17, 25 46-47, 26 10-11, 28 1-2, 30 1.2, 4-5. Also, Pargiter, *Op. Cit.* pp. 8488, 102-115.

Aileya reveal, at least their nomenclative relationship with the persons bearing these names in the epic-Purāṇic genealogical accounts of the *Aiḷa* race. One *Sumitra*, for example, has been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*⁷⁴ as an ancient king of celebrity. Another passage of the same work refers to him as a *Haṣhaya* king⁷⁵. Still another *Sumitra* with a more definite lineal relationship with the *Yādava Aiḷas* is reckoned among the sons of *Vṛṣṇi*⁷⁶. Next, a king styled *Suvrata* is included, in the Brahmanical tradition, among the sons of king *Uśīnara*,⁷⁷ the eighth descendant of *Anu*, son of *Yayāti* by *Śarmīsthā*. All the references to these persons, though included in divergent sub-lines and represented as generations apart from each other, point to their similarity to the Jaina counterparts, for all these personages eventually belong to the same stock called *Aiḷa*.

Adverting to the other names of the above lists we find that JHV does not include *Śrīvardhana* and *Śrīvrkṣa* among the descendants of *Aileya*, and makes *Kuṇima*, the fourth descendant of *Ilāvardhana* of VPC and RPC, son and successor of *Aileya*. Similarly, *Saṇjajanta* has been pushed a few steps below, where, as *Saṇjaya*, he has been represented as the grandson of *Puloman* and son of his second son *Carama*. And, all these differences between VPC and RPC on the one hand and JHV on the other, may be ascribed to the fact of the latter's greater dependence on the *VH* than on the previous works.

Now, the lists in the first two works stop short with *Puloman* and other *Purāṇas* do not contain any workable

74 11 176 (C)

75 XII 1 125 (C)

“सुमित्रो नाम राजपिहृह्यः.....।

It must be noted here that according to the Brahmanical sources, the *Haṣhayas* formed a branch of the *Yādavas* of the *Aiḷa* race. Vide AIHT, p. 102.

76 गान्धारी चैव माद्री च वृष्णेभार्ये वभूवतु ।

गान्धारी जनयामास सुमित्र मित्रनन्दनम् ॥

—*Vāyu P* 98 16b-17a

Matsya P 45 1 Also AIHT, pp. 104-105

77. *Vāyu P* 99 18-20, HV 31 23-26, *Matsya P*, 48 16-18.

pedigree untill *Yadu*. The *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*⁷⁸ too has given, in an intermittent order, only five names from *Sumitra* to king *Vasu*, both inclusive. Consequently our further studies are based on JHV and its probable source, the *Vasudevahindī*.

However, the pedigree from *Puloman* down to *Mahidatta*, as given in JHV, does not agree with the corresponding part of the VH⁷⁹ version. Moreover, the genealogical information is extremely deficient. *Puloman*, for example, is said to have two sons *Pauloma* and *Carama*. Now, *Pauloma*, being represented as elder, is said to have continued the line, while nothing is stated about *Carama* except that he had a son named *Sañjaya*.⁸⁰ Thus from *Pauloman* to king *Vasu*, who figures prominently also in the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic tradition, the pedigree is given only of the main line, and no reference is made to any of its branch lines. This deficiency of the account is further illustrated by the fact that *Mahidatta*, son of *Pauloma*, is said to have two sons, namely *Ariṣtanemi* and *Matsya*.⁸¹ Now, the later is said to have continued the line, but nothing is reported about *Ariṣtanemi*, who, having been set out as the elder son of *Mahidatta*, is normally expected to have continued the line. But the skeleton account does not allow us to ascertain whether the line branched off into two sub-lines or *Ariṣtanemi*, the real heir apparent, abdicated the throne in favour of his younger brother *Matsya* and carved out a new kingdom for himself or took to renunciation in accordance with the Jaina teaching or some other circumstances compelled him to give up his claim to his paternal kingdom. This deficiency is common to all *Purāṇas* under investigation. The work, however, professes to present the pedigree from *Matsya* onward in regular succession. But as usual it takes note of only one descendant of each successor in a most imperfect way.

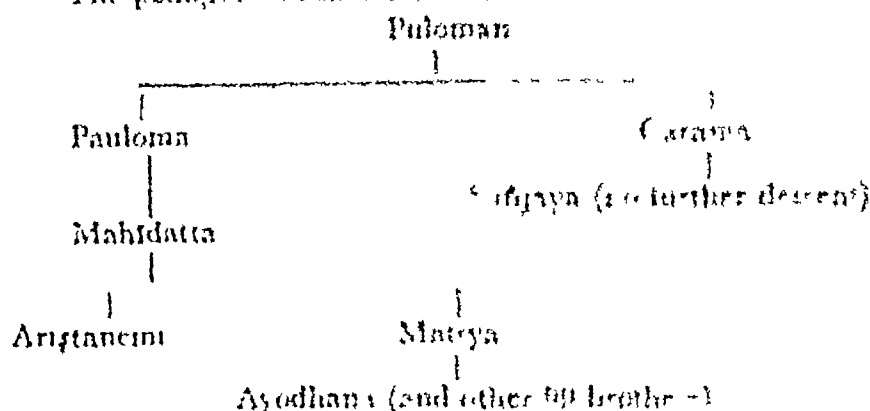
78. Vol iv p 144

79 P 357 cf JHV 17 24-29.

80 Ibid. 17 17-28a

81 Ibid 17 29.

The pedigree⁸² as mentioned above is as follows :



It is important to note that some of the names occurring in the above pedigree have their counterparts in the genealogical lists of different dynasties recorded in the Brahmanical sources. But no definite statement can be made about their oneness, for mere verbal agreement cannot help us in drawing a logical conclusion. Nevertheless, the reckoning of *Saṅgaya*, *Aristanemi* and *Matrya* among the descendants of *Aṣṭakya* is not without significance from the standpoint of comparative genealogies; for, the persons bearing their names have already been represented in the Brahmanical tradition as the scions of the different branches of the *Aṣṭa* as well as the *Mānava* or Solar race. *Saṅgaya*, for instance, occurs in the epic-Purāṇic tradition⁸³ as the great grandson of *Akṣaya*, also called *Vipāḥman*, son of *Āyū* and grandson *Parāśara*.⁸⁴ Another *Saṅgaya* recurs as the eleventh descent of *Śrīdharmya Jaraṭa*,⁸⁵ father-in-law of *Rāma Dāśaratha*. Similarly, one *Aristanemi* is mentioned as the ninth descent⁸⁶ of the same *Jaraṭa*. Now, in view of the fact that the *Jaraṭa* dynasty of *Mithila* has been represented in the *Jaina Purāṇas* as a sub-line of the *Hari* dynasty,⁸⁶ it is not very unlikely that the scions of that line should have been incorporated in the main line of the *Hari* in their changed setting.

82 Ibid 17 24-31

83 *AIHT*, pp 85-86, *Vayup* 93 8

84. *Vij P* IV 5.1³⁰

85 *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp 140, 144, *AIHT*, p 149

86 *VPC*, 21 29-31, *RPC*, 21 52-54, *TSPC* Vol IV p. 182

Next, the inclusion of *Matsya* among the early *Āṇas* is of great significance from the comparative standpoint. In the Brahmanical tradition *Matsya*⁸⁷ is reckoned among the sons of king *Vasu Uparicara* of *Cedi*. The difference between the Brāhmanical tradition and the Jaina one is simply positional inasmuch as in the latter tradition *Matsya* has been placed many steps above *Vasu* and, so, has been treated here as latter's ancestor. But this disagreement between the two traditions is not of material importance, for the traditional order might have been reversed with a motive to lend the pedigree an independent appearance. In any case, the reckoning of *Matsya* as a scion of the family, to which king *Vasu* has also been assigned, is not without value, for, the representation points to the same truth as is conveyed by the Brahmanical tradition about *Matsya's* connection with *Vasu*.

The order of succession from *Ayodhana* to *Vasu* is as follows⁸⁸.

Ayodhana, Mūla, Śāla, Sūrya, Amara, Devadatta, Muthulānātha, Hariṣena, nabhasena, Śankha, Bhadra, Abhicandra, Vasu

The corresponding part as found in the *VH*⁸⁹ shows that Jinasena has inserted in his list four extra names between *Śāla* and *Hariṣena*. Thus their non occurrence in the *VH* list shows that these names are of Jinasena's own manufacture. However, two of the above names, viz, *Mūla* and *Śāla* have some correspondence with *Mūlaka* and *Viśāla*, of the Brahmanical tradition. *Mūlaka*⁹⁰ in the Brahmanical sources is represented as the grandson of *Āsmaka*, a scion of the Solar race. *Śāla*, already mentioned in the *VH*⁹¹ as *Viśāla* and represented as

87 HV, 1 32 91-93, *Viṣ P*, 4 19 81, *Vāyup* 99 219-222, Also MBh 1 63 34-63, which gives a mythical account of *Matsya's* birth

88 JHV, 17 32-37.

89 p 357.

90 *Sita Nath Pradhan, Chronology of Ancient India*, pp 148-49, Pargitar, op cit, pp 94 147 274.

91 p 367.

the founder of the kingdom of *Mithila*, displays a definite sign of similarity with *Viśāla* of the Brahmanical tradition⁹² Although the full identity of the above personages cannot be stressed on the basis of the present data alone, yet in view of Jinasena's usual disregard for viewing a matter in its historical and chronological perspective, it is not unlikely that the persons belonging to the various dynasties and sub-lines should have been strung together anachronistically in a single genealogical thread. Hence it will not be unreasonable to hold that the terms *Mūla* and *Śāla* are the suffixless and prefixless adaptations of Brahmanical *Mūlaka* and *Viśāla* respectively

How lightly the Jaina authors have treated the pedigree of the royal personages is best illustrated by the divergent representations of king *Vasu Uparicara Vimalasūri*, for instance, has set forth him as the son of an *Ikṣvāku* king *Ajita* of *Ayodhyā* by his wife named *Surakāntā*⁹³ *Raviṣena*, on the other hand, makes him son of *Tayāti*,⁹⁴ the names of whose lineage and wife have been kept the same as those of *Ajita's* Another school is represented by *Gunabhadra*⁹⁵ and *Puspadanta*⁹⁶ who introduce *Vasu* as the son of king *Viśvāvasu* by his queen *Śrīmati* They, however, differ on the name of his capital, which the former gives as *Svastikāvati* and the latter, as *Śrāvasti* (*Sāva-*

92 He was a descendant of *Nābhāgarīṣṭa* (also known as *Nābhānedīstha*), son of *Manu*, and is credited with the establishment of the *Vaiśāla* Dynasty, *Vāyup* 86 3-17, Vis p, 4 1 46-49, AIHT, pp 96-97, 147.

93 आसि अओज्झाहिवई इक्खागुकुलुवभवो राया । नामेण महासत्तो अजिओ, भज्जा य तस्स सुरकन्ता । पुत्तो य वसु-कुमारो,

—VPC, 11 7-8

94 विनीताया महानामीदृश्वकुकुलभूपण । ययातिर्नाम राजास्य सुरकान्तेति मामिनी । वसुर्नामाऽभवत्तस्य.....'

—RPC 11 13-14a

95 द्वीपेऽत्र भरते देशे ध्रुवे स्वस्तिकावती । पुर विश्वावसुस्तस्य पालको हरिवशज । देव्यस्य श्रीमती नाम्ना वसुरासीत्सुतोऽनयोः ।

—UP 67 267a-68

96 एत्येव खेति सावत्यिपुरि । विस्सावसु राणउ विमलजसु । तहु सिरिमइ देविहि वुत्तु वसु ।

—PMP LXIX 23 9-10

tthipura)⁹⁷ *Sanghadāsa*,⁹⁸ *Jinasena*⁹⁹ (II) and *Hemacandra*,¹⁰⁰ however, represent a different tradition about *Vasu's* lineage. According to their versions *Vasu* was son of king *Abhicandra* of the *Hari* dynasty. Now, unlike the versions noted before, the statements of the above authors are, on some important points, in substantial agreement with the Brahmanical representation¹⁰¹ of *Vasu*. Thus, like the Brahmanical sources, these authors refer to his capital as *Śuktimati*, stated to have been situated on the bank of the river of the same name. Furthermore, they represent him as connected with the kingdom of *Cedi*.

Now it is evident from the above study that all the non-conforming Jaina versions, when collated, present a ludicrous motley of confused and contradictory statements. Nevertheless, we may scrape together, from these divergent and discrepant statements some important facts, which, when correlated, point to the same truth about *Vasu* as is revealed by the Brahmanical tradition. Thus, what emerges from these notices is that *Vasu* was a descendant of king *Tayāti*¹⁰², and belonged to the *Aila* race from which the line of the *Yādavas* sprang. Furthermore, he was king of *Cedi*, was considered an authority on matters of religious importance and fell from his pristine glory because of giving false judgement with regard to a religious dispute.¹⁰³

The works in question are at variance also with regard to *Vasu's* sons and successors. The *VH*¹⁰⁴ gives their number as eight, but names only two of them. The version alleges that

97 Comp. notes 95 and 96 (ante)

98. *VH* p 357

99 *JHV*, 17 36-37a

100 *TSPC*, Vol IV p 144

101 *MBh* 1 63 1-35, *Vāyup* 93 26, 99 219-221, *HV* 1 30 14-15, 1 32, 90-91 *Viṣ P* 4 19-80 *Mat* 50 23-24 *Garuḍa* 1 140 25-30.

102 Note 94 *supra*

103 *VPC* 11 21-35, *RPC* 11 34-72, *JHV* 17 53-154, *UP* 67 276 81, 329-35, 385-439, *TSPC*, Vol IV pp 144ff, and comp *MBh*, *Āśvamedhika-parvan*, 41 8-23, *Vāyup* 67 97-110

104. p 357

after the fall of *Vasu* his first six sons were installed on the throne, and all of them were killed one after another by an enraged goddess. But the last two brothers called *suvasu* and *Pihaddhaya* (*Prithudhvaja*) somehow escaped¹⁰⁵ Now, of the two brothers the former is stated to have settled at *Mathurā*, while the kingdom and capital occupied or founded by the latter are not named Another deficiency of the version is its silence over the line expected to have descended from *Suvasu*, *Vasu's* seventh son The later *Haris* are represented as the descendants of *Pihaddhaya*,¹⁰⁶ the eighth son of the fallen king Unlike this work, JHV gives the number of the *Vāsava* brothers as ten and names all of them individually. These names, according to the work¹⁰⁷ were (I) *Brhadvasu*, (II) *Citravasu*, (III) *Vāsava*, (IV) *Arka*, (V) *Mahāvasu*, (VI) *Viśvāvasu* (VII) *Ravi*, (VIII) *Sūrya*, (IX) *Suvasu* and (X) *Bṛhaddhvaja* The first eight brothers¹⁰⁸ are stated to have met the same fate as the first six brothers in the VH version. Now, *Suvasu* and *Bṛhaddhvaja* are reported to have fled away to *Nāgapura* (*Hastināpura*?) and *Mathurā* respectively¹⁰⁹

Now, the genealogical account, as found in the *TSPC*, explicitly shows that *Hemacandra*, though principally basing his version on *JHV* list, is in remarkable disagreement with *Jinasena* II in respect of the names of some of *Vasu's* sons and their order Thus, *Bṛhadvasu*, *Arka*, *Mahāvasu* *Ravi* and *Sūrya* of *JHV*¹¹⁰ list recur in the *TSPC*¹¹¹ as *Prithuvasu*, *Śakra*, *Vibhāvasu*, *Sūra* and *Mahāsūra* respectively

The *Purānas*, which connect *Vasu* with the *Haris*, represent the *Yādavas* as the descendants of *Vasu's* youngest son *Pihaddhaya*¹¹² (*Prithudhvaja*) or *Brhadhvaja*¹¹³ But the descents from

105. *Ibid*

106. *Ibid*

107. JHV 17 57-60

108. *Ibid* 17 161

109. *Ibid* 17 162

110. 17 58-59

111. Vol IV. p 147

112. VH. p. 357

113. JHV. 18 16, TSPC Vol IV p 147, Vol V p. 37

Bṛhaddhva down to *Yadu* are given only in the *VH* and *JHV*. The *TSPC*, though acknowledging the existence of some intermediate successions between *Bṛhaddhva* and *Yadu*, does not set out any of the descents in the intervening period.

Now, a comparison of the relevant part in the *VH* with that in *JHV* shows that the latter has effected a change in the pedigree by addition, omission, transformation and inversion of the order of the names. The *VH* list¹¹⁴ gives the names from *Pihaddhaya* down to *Yadu* as follows: (I) *Pihaddhaya* (II) *Subāhu*, (III) *Dirghabāhu*, (IV) *Vajrabāhu*, (V) *Andhabāhu*, (VI) *Bhānu*, (VII) *Subhānu*, (VIII) *Yadu*.

The names and order of descents in *JHV*¹¹⁵ stand thus: (I) *Bṛhaddhva* (II) *Subāhu*, (III) *Dirghabāhu*, (IV) *Vajrabāhu*, (V) *Labdhābhīmāna*, (VI) *Bhānu*, (VII) *Yavu*, (VIII) *Subhānu*, (IX) *Yadu*.

It is obvious from the above lists that *Pihaddhaya* (*Pṛthudhva*) of the *VH* recurs in *JHV* as *Bṛhaddhva*. The next three names are identical and exactly in the same order in both the lists. But discrepancies occur from the fifth name, for *Ardhabāhu*, the fifth descendant of *Vasu* in the *VH* list, is omitted from *JHV* account and his place is assigned to one *Labdhābhīmāna*¹¹⁶. Next, one *Yavu* has been inserted between *Bhānu* and *Subhānu* and a king named *Bhima* has been incorporated as the latter's son and immediate forefather of *Yadu*.

Thus we find that even the versions that connect *Vasu* and his progeny with the *Tādavas*, do not exhibit full accord among themselves. Now, a comparison of these versions with the Brahmanical *Tādava-paurava* pedigrees reveals that the Jaina versions, though at variance with the latter in regard to the number, names and order of succession of *Vasu's* progeny, are in substantial agreement with the Brahmanical representation of *Jarāsandha*, for, like the Brahmanical sources, the Jaina *Purāṇas*, too, include *Jarāsandha* among the descendants of king

114 p 357

115 18 1-6

116 Cf *VH*, p 357 and *JHV* 18 3

Vasu through his ninth son *Suvasu* and also connect the former with the *Bārhadrathā* dynasty of Magadha ¹¹⁷

The names of kings, set out as the descendants of king *Vasu*, do not allow us to state with authority about their identity either with the traditional offspring of *Vasu* or with the scions of the various *yādava* lines and sub-lines. Nevertheless, the names have some parallels in the Brahmanical pedigrees of different royal lines. Hence it is not unlikely that the names of kings belonging to distinct dynasties should have been incorporated in the Jaina genealogical lists with some modifications in their forms and positions either by changing their initial or final component parts or by replacing the original names by their synonyms or by curtailed representation of names. Furthermore the changes may have been effected also by shifting the lineal relationship as well as the sequential order of some of the persons in their new situations.

The *Brhaddhvaṇa* as son of king *Vasu* has a partial agreement with *Bṛhadraṭha*, represented in the Brahmanical sources as *Vasu's* eldest son ¹¹⁸. Next, one *Subāhu* has been set forth in the epic-Purāṇic texts as a *yādava* king of *Cedi* ¹¹⁹. The names with *bāhu* as final component are not wanting in the Brahmanical royal pedigrees ¹²⁰. But their genealogical positions and lineal affiliations are so much different from those of their Jaina counterparts that we cannot be sure about their identity. *Labdhābhīmāna* is probably Jinasena's own invention. *Yavu* may be treated as a corruption of one *Yadu*, represented, in the Brahmanical tradition as one of *Vasu's* sons ¹²¹. *Bhānu*, on the other hand, may be taken as a curtailed form of *Bhānumān*, son

117 *JHV* 18 17-22, *TSPC*, Vol V p 42, *SPP* 7 147 48, *Comp.* HV 1 32 91-98, *Vāyup* 99 219-226, *Vīṣ P* 4 19 80-83, *Mat* 50.23-34

118 *Vāyup* 99 220, *Vīṣ P* 19 91, *HV* 1 32 92

119. MBh III 64 132, 65 45

120 *AIHT*, p 94, 146, 169

121 The *Harivaṃśa* reads thus

मारुतश्च यदुश्चैव मत्स्य. काली च सत्तम —

1 32 93a There is still another *Yadu* set out as the son of *Haryaśva* of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty, *CAI*, p 33f

of *Stradhvaṇa Janaka*¹²² or Brahmanical celebrity. And the inclusion of the name in the list may be taken as a corollary of the Jaina representation of *Janaka's* line as bound to the same ancestry as that of the *yādavas*¹²³. As for *Bhīma*, the Brahmanical sources record three *yādava* kings, who bore names either beginning or ending with *Bhīma*. The first of them was *Kratha-bhīma*¹²⁴. Another *Bhīma* was known as *Bhīma-ratha*¹²⁵ and, was nine steps below the former. This second *Bhīma* was an older contemporary of *Subāhu* of Cedi, referred to before. *Bhīmasatvata*¹²⁶ was the third *Bhīma* who was father of both *Andhaka* and *Vṛṣṇi*, the traditional forefathers of the *Vasudeva* brothers and *Kamsa*. Now *Bhīma* of the Jaina list appears to be the most likely substitute of the last mentioned Brahmanical *Bhīma* as the immediate forefather of *Yadu* and his descendants of the Jaina versions.

The last portion of the pedigree appears in all the *Purāṇas* which deal with the life-story of *Kṛṣṇa*. But the works show great differences and discrepancies with regard to the names of persons set forth as the immediate ancestors of *Kṛṣṇa* and *Kamsa*. This will be evident from the following genealogical tables based on the various Jaina versions.

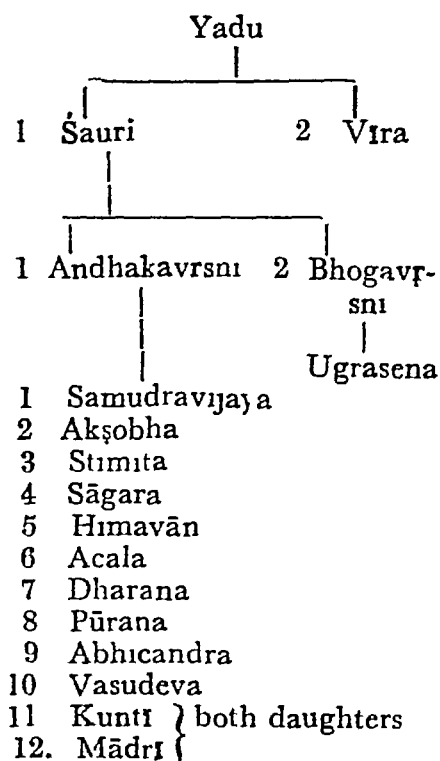
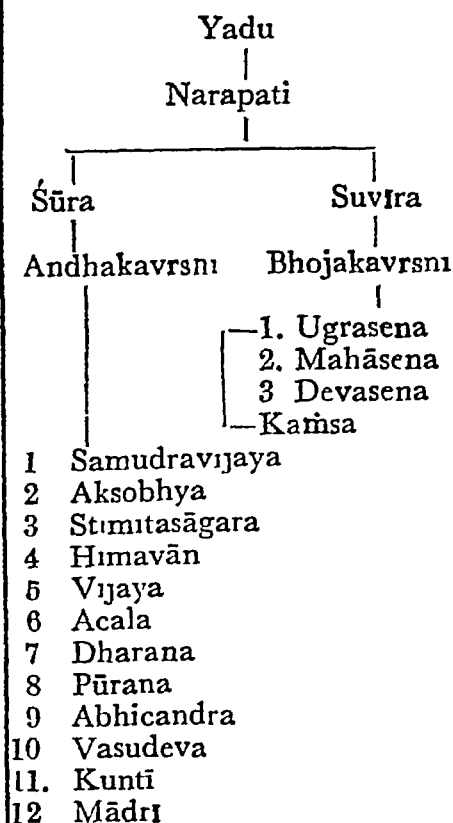
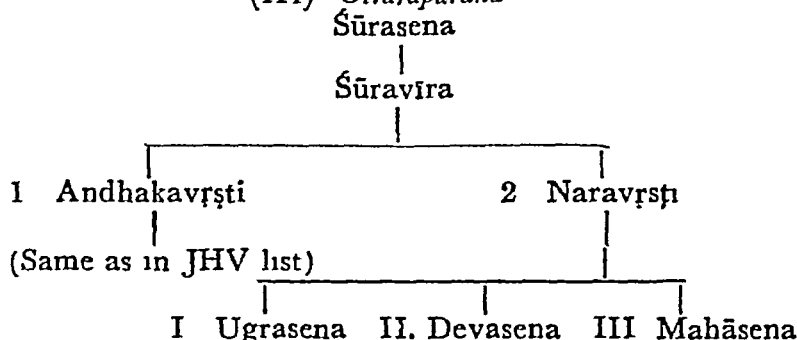
122 *Vāyup* 89 18, *Vṛṣ* p. IV 5 30, *Rāmā* 1 70 2 3, 71 14-19

123 *Vide* notes 43-45 (ante)

124 *AIHT*, pp. 103, 146, 168

125 *Vāyup* 95 40-41, *HV*. 1 36 25, *Vṛṣ* p. 4 12 41

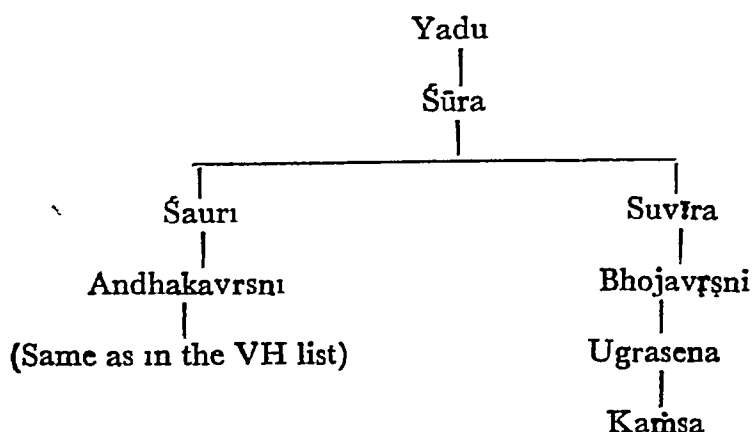
126 *HV* 2 38, 38, 42-43

(I) Pedigree based on the
*Vasudevahindī*¹²⁷ version(II) Pedigree according to
*JHV*¹²⁸(III) *Uttarapurāṇa*¹²⁹

127 pp 357-58

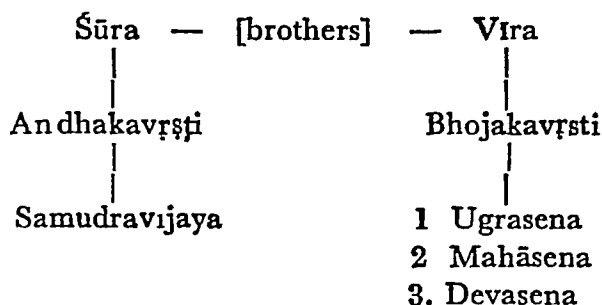
128 18 6-16

129. 70 93-97 *Puṣpadanta*, in his *Mahāpurāṇa* gives the same list as is found in this work. The *Mahāpurāṇa*, however, gives *Narapatiṣṭi* (Naravai-ṣṭi) in place of *Naravṛṣṭi*, PMP LXXXI 19 10-11, LXXXII 1-2.

(IV) *Trisaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*¹³⁰

The CMC¹³¹ account is too brief to merit comparison with any of the versions. It mentions none except *Soriya* ('*Śāuri*') whom the version makes father of *Samudravijaya*, *Vasudeva et cetera*. The work, however, impliedly accepts *Yadu* as the forefather of *Samudravijaya*, *Vasudeva* as well as their children to whom it refers as *Jāyavas*¹³² (*Yādavas*).

The *Pāṇḍavaapurāṇa*¹³³ of Śubhacandra gives the following pedigree



It is obvious from the above tables that except the *UP* and *PMP* (which represent a distinct group among the extant *Purāṇas*) the *Purāṇas* are at great variance with one another. And this representational disharmony is not the result of sectarian difference, for, the works also belonging to the same sect

130 Vol V p 37

131 p 182

132 pp 183, 187ff

133, 7 130-144,

are in substantial disagreement with regard to the names and their chronological order. The *VH* and *TSPC*, for instance, though representing the Śvetāmbara tradition, exhibit striking points of differences. The works in question, though setting forth *Yadu* and *Śauri* as ancestor and successor respectively, are at remarkable variance in respect of their mutual relationship in the genealogical tree. For, it is evident that in the *VH* *Śauri* is represented as the son of *Yadu*, but in the *TSPC* he is set out as the grandson of the latter and, as son of *Śūra*, who is included in the list possibly to account for the patronymic term *Śauri*, apparently derived from *Śūra*. It is also obvious that *Suvira* and *Bhojavṛṣṇi* of the *TSPC* have their parallels not in the *VH* but in *JHV*. Another difference between *VH* and *TSPC* is evidenced by the diverging representations of *Andhakavṛṣṇi* and *Bhojavṛṣṇi*, for, in the former work both are represented as full brothers, while in the latter, as in *JHV*, they are set out as cousins. Furthermore, the name *Bhojavṛṣṇi* of the *TSPC* is more akin to its counterpart in *JHV* than to that in the *VH*. Thus *Hemacandra's* list tends more towards *JHV* version than to the *VH* list.

Thus the Digambara tradition is represented by three distinct versions. The first among them is that in *JHV* and serves as the source of the later versions in respect of some of the names in their altered forms and readjusted genealogical positions. Another version is found in the *Uttarapurāṇa* which is literally adopted by Puspadanta's *Mahāpurāṇa*. The third method of working the pedigree is seen in *SPP* which represents a contaminated version sharing the peculiarities of both the Śvetāmbara and Digambara genealogies.

A comparison of all lists shows that the *UP* presents an entirely different list. It mentions none of the names of the lists of the *VH* and *JHV* until *Samudravijaya*, his brothers and *Ugrasena*, father of *Kamsa*. Thus instead of starting the pedigree from *Yadu* the work begins it with *Śūrasena* and makes him father of one *Śūravira*. This *Śūrasena*¹³⁴ is apparently a new

134 *Vāyup* 94.49, *HV* 1.33.49, *Vij* p. 4.11.21, *Mat* p. 43.7-49, Also *AIHT*, pp. 102-266.

recruit from the Brahmanical tradition. As to *Śūravīra*, the term represents a combined form of *Śūra* of *JHV* and *Vīra* of the *VH*. Another peculiarity of the present version is marked by the transformation of *Vṛṣṇi*, the final component of *Andhakavṛṣṇi* into *Vṛṣṭi* as well as the substitution of *Bhogavṛṣṇi* or *Bhojakavṛṣṇi* by a new name *Naravṛṣṭi*, which in all probability is a combined form of the first part of *Narapati*¹³⁵ of *JHV* and the transformed form of *Vṛṣṇi*.

Thus, in contradistinction with the canonical sources as also quite contrary to the majority of the purāṇic versions, the work in question deprives *Ugrasena* and *Kamsa* of the title *Bhoja* or *Bhoga*, for, as is evident from the pedigree, it does not include any *Bhoja* among *Ugrasena's* ancestors. Thus the genealogical portion of the *UP* seems utterly arbitrary and fanciful. Moreover, its accounts also suffer from self-contradiction inasmuch as despite the present representation of *Ugrasena* as a scion of the *Hari* dynasty, the work has, elsewhere, assigned him to the *Ugra*¹³⁶ family, which, again, is treated as an offshoot of the *Kuru* dynasty.¹³⁷

Subhacandra, on the other hand, has evidently worked out a somewhat different pedigree which may be taken as a blend of the elements derived from the previous lists. Thus, the name *Vīra* is obviously in keeping with that in the *VH*¹³⁸ list. But the term *Bhojakavṛṣṭi* presents an interesting case, for the first part of the name is in essential agreement with that in *JHV* list, while the final parts of it and *Andhakavṛṣṭi* are like those of the corresponding names in the *UP* list. The name of the father of *Andhakavṛṣṭi*, on the other hand, is the same as that of *Andhakavṛṣṇi's* father in *JHV* version.

As is evident from the above lists, the *UP*, *PMP* and *SPP* do not mention *Yadu* among the ancestors of the later *Haris*, yet these works implicitly acknowledge him as their forefather.

135 This form is preserved in the *Naravṛṣṭi* (*Narapati*) of *PMP* (LXXXII 11-15)

136 *UP* 71 145

137 द्रुपदाद्युग्रवशोत्थ-महीशा कुरुवशजाः ।

Ibid 72 212a

138 See *Supra*, genealogical tales for comparison

inasmuch as in their narrative section they refer to *Vasudeva*, his children and kinsmen by the patronymic *Yādava*¹³⁹ As a matter of fact, it is the latter term which has been applied to them more frequently than even the unanimously accepted Jaina name *Hari*

A comparative study of the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic accounts and the Jaina genealogical lists exhibit that most of the persons included in this part of the pedigree have their prototypes in the Brahmanical tradition, though not in the same form and genealogical as well as dynastic relationship as in their new situations *Yadu*, for instance, is too famous to require any introduction as the father of the *Yādava* race

Śauri in the Brahmanical sources occurs as a patronymic term derived from *Śūra*,¹⁴⁰ father of *Vasudeva* Hence it means, in the said tradition, the descendants of king *Śūra* in general. The term has, however, been applied specially to *Vasudeva*¹⁴¹ and sometime also to *Kṛṣṇa*¹⁴² The VH account, without taking note of this fact, has adopted the term as a personal name of *Yadu's* son But *Hemacandra*, partially relying on the Brahmanical tradition has inserted *Śūra* between *Yadu* and *Śauri* obviously to account for the patronymic character of the latter term

Two kings bearing the name *Suvīra* are found recorded in the Brahmanical sources One is represented as a son of king *Śibi Auśinara*,¹⁴³ a descendent of *Anu*, *Purūravas Aila* Another *Suvīra* occurs as a descendent of king *Dvāṇḍha*,¹⁴⁴ son of *Hastin*, and, thus, falls within the *Paurava* line of the *Aila* race This latter *Suvīra* was a contemporary of *Ugrasena* and *Vasudeva*,¹⁴⁵ while the former was several steps above them¹⁴⁶

139 e.g. UP, 71 12, 13, 15, 63, 75 PMP, LXXXIII
21 13, LXXXVII 6 8, 8 15, 12, 12ff SPP 7 152

140 *Vāyup* 95 143-144, *HV* 1 34 17-18, *Viṣ p*, IV 14 25-29, *Mat* 46 1-10, 23-24, MBh 1 67 129a, 1 110 1a

141 *Vāyu* 96 172-73ff *HV* 1 34 34

142. *HV* 1 35 7a

143 *Viṣ p* IV 18 8-10, *Vāyup* 99 23, *HV* 1 31 29, *Mat* 48 10f

144 *Vāyup* 99 184-193, *HV* 1 20 46, *Mat* 49 70-79, *Viṣ* IV 19 55

145 *AIHT* p 148

146. *Ibid*, pp 109-110

As for *Śūrasena*, we meet in the Brahmanical sources with two persons of that name. One is set out as the son of *Śatru-ghna Dāśarathī* of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty.¹⁴⁷ Another *Śūrasena* is represented as a scion of the *Hathaya* branch of the *Yādava* race, and is reckoned among the hundred sons of *Arjuna Kārtavīrya*.¹⁴⁸ It is this latter *Śūrasena* who has greater affinity with his namesake in the *UP* list, which might have been based on the epic-Purāṇic statements about *Śūrasena*, *Śūra* and *Śūravīra*,¹⁴⁹ said to have given rise to the *Hathaya* sub lines known after them

Now, so far as the names *Andhakavṛṣṇi* and *Bhojavṛṣṇi* are concerned these have their prototypes in the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic accounts. Although the names in question do not occur in the Brahmanical genealogies in the same form and order as they occur in the *Jaina Purāṇas*, yet there are sufficient evidences to show their adoptive nature. Our study of the *Mahābhārata* reveals that the phrases like *Andhakavṛṣṇi* and *Bhojavṛṣṇi*,¹⁵⁰ as the names of three distinct branches of the *Sātvata Yādavas*, have already found mention in the epic and the Brahmanical *Purāṇas*.

Now, before examining the nature and limitations of the *Jaina* representation, it must be pointed out that in the Brahmanical sources the terms *Andhaka* and *Vṛṣṇi* stand as names of two distinct persons, set out as the sons of king *Satvata*.¹⁵¹ But the position and scope of the term *Bhoja* are remarkably different from those of the first two names, for, unlike the two, *Bhoja* has been used in various capacities. First, it occurs as

147 *AIHT*, pp 170-171

148 *Vāyup* 94 3-49, *HV* 1 33 48-49, *Mat* 43 7-49, *Bd* III 69 3 55, *Viṣ* p IV II 11 21

149 शूराश्च शूरवीराश्च शूरसेनास्तथा

1-HV 1 33 56a

150 *Vide* chap IV notes 29 and 30 (*ante*). In all these examples as well as in similar others, the terms *Andhaka*, *Bhoja* and *Vṛṣṇi* alternately change their position, sometimes coming before and sometimes after one another in the compound form

151 *Vāyup* 96 1 2, *HV* 1 37 1-2, *Mat* 44 47-48, *Pad* V 13.31-32, *Viṣ* p. IV 13 1

the final part of the compound word *Andhakabhoja*¹⁵² treated as the full name of *Andhaka*. This phenomenon entitles his descendants *Ugrasena* and *Kamsa* to the patronymic *Bhoja*. Next the term is also found used as a separate attributive of *Andhaka*, and in this latter form it is often conjoined with *Mahā*.¹⁵³ Besides that, the term *Mahābhoja* is mentioned, in some of the *Purāṇas*, also as the name of another brother of *Andhaka*.¹⁵⁴

But what is more significant is the wider use of the term *Bhoja* as the family designation of several branches of the *Yādava*¹⁵⁵ race. The name *Vṛṣṇi*, on the other hand, was of restricted use inasmuch as it was applied to only that branch of the *Yādavas* which sprang from *Vṛṣṇi* and in which *Kṛṣṇa* was born.¹⁵⁶ Thus, the *Vṛṣṇis*,¹⁵⁷ though descended from the same source, were not identical with the *Andhakas* and *Bhojas*.

But the Jaina tradition in a bid to effect some originality in genealogical scheme has apparently twisted the phrases *Andhakavṛṣṇi* and *Bhojavṛṣṇi*¹⁵⁸ to its own purpose. This way, both the brothers are made *Vṛṣṇis* and to distinguish one from the other the individual terms *Andhaka* and *Bhoja* have been prefixed to both *Vṛṣṇis*. Thus both *Andhaka* and *Bhoja* have acquired a new character with the arrogation of the common name *Vṛṣṇi*, to both of them as also with the denial of separate entity of *Vṛṣṇi* of the Brahmanical description. Now it is obvious that this new representation entitles the progeny of both *Andhakavṛṣṇi* and *Bhojavṛṣṇis* to the patronymic *Vṛṣṇi*, besides the individual names *Andhaka* and *Bhoja*. None the less, the influence of the Brahmanical tradition has made itself felt so powerfully that nowhere in the Jaina *Purāṇas* *Bhojavṛṣṇi*'s progeny, *Ugrasena*, *Kamsa* et cetera are ever called *Vārṣṇeyas*.

152 MBh II 14 59

153 See collated text as given by Pargiter, *op cit* p 103

154 *Vṛ* p IV 13 1, 7, Ag 274 24f, *Bhāg* IX 24 6f

155 MBh II 14 6, 25, *Vāyup* 94 51-52, 96 17a, 125, HV. I 33 52, 1 37, 18, 22-25, 1 54 63, 65 MBh VII 11 7b, V 57 21, 165, 24, V.158 1-2, 16 HV 2 30 43

156 AIHT, pp 103-5, 107, 148, 279-80

157 *Vide* chap IV (ante) note 29

158 *Ibid* note 30

Instead, they are often referred to as *Bhojas*¹⁵⁹ or *Bhogas*. Similarly, *Andhakavṛṣṇi*'s descendants, *Samudravijaya*, *Vasudeva* and their children, are often referred to as *Vārṣneyas*¹⁶⁰ or *Vṛṣṇis*, but never as *Andhaka*.

Thus our foregoing study of the Jaina purāṇic records does not create a favourable impression about the genuineness of the royal pedigrees they supply. Their mutual contradictions, inconsistencies and discrepancies subtract much from their values as reliable sources of dynastic and genealogical information about the royal families of yore. Their deficiencies are further exhibited by the fact that none of the works has cared to give information about the various well-known collateral lines and their offshoots.¹⁶¹ And, though full of an extravagance of concocted names and situations, the genealogies omit most of the celebrated kings whose existence as the forefathers of the later *Haris*, has unquestionably been acknowledged even by these *Purāṇas*. Thus, as is clear from the *Hari* pedigree, *Daśārha*,¹⁶² *Madhu*¹⁶³ and *Satvat* or *Sātvata*¹⁶⁴ do not find any mention in the genealogical account, yet *Vasudeva*, *Kṛṣṇa*, *Balarāma* as well as their contemporary kinsmen find frequent mentions as *Dāśārha*,¹⁶⁵ *Mādhava*¹⁶⁶ and *Sātvata*.¹⁶⁷

159 JHV 55 82, 107, CMC, pp 184, '85', '86', 87-89, TSPC, Vol V pp 227, 255-56

160 TSPC, Vol V pp 43, 46-48, 57-59, 250, 262

161 The only offshoot of the *Hari* line, according to the Jaina *Purāṇas*, is the *Videha* dynasty of *Mithilā*. For the various collateral and sub-lines of the Brahmanical *yadu-vamśa* vide AIHT, pp 102-106

162 In the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic genealogies *Daśārha*, *Madhu* and *Satvata* are reckoned among the powerful ancestors of *Kṛṣṇa*, *Balarāma* etc. *Vid.*, *Vāyup* 95. 40, 45-48, *Matsya*, 44 44-46, HV 1 36 24

163 CAI pp 31-35

164 *Vāyup* 95 47, HV 1 36 30, 1 37 1. Also AIHT pp 102-103, 105, 107

165 JHV 18 14b, 41 49 *PMP* LXXXIII 23 10 TSPC Vol V p 37

166 JHV 42 61, 64, 73, *PMP*, LXXXV, 6 11, 20 20, 21 21, LXXXVIII 9 7

167 TSPC Vol V pp. 169-70

Under the circumstances, it is obvious that without reference to the Brahmanical tradition the above patronymics cannot be accounted for

Under the circumstances, these incidental references to some of the celebrated persons not mentioned in the Jaina pedigrees, may be taken as confirmatory evidences of the trustworthiness of the epic-Purāṇic records

CHAPTER VII

SECTS OF THE JAINA PURĀNAKĀRAS, CARITAS AND PURĀNAS,—EXTENT OF THE BRAHMANICAL INFLUENCE ON THEM

The authors of the *Purānas* under investigation belong to three different sects, viz , the *Śvetāmbara*, the *Digambara* and the *Yāpanīya*. The poets pertaining to all the three sects claim to have composed their narratives in accordance with their own sectarian standard. But a study of the various works shows that their differences and discrepancies are not so much due to the sectarian distinction as to the individual likes and dislikes. For, as has already been pointed out, the disharmony is found even in the works of the same sect. And this phenomenon is discernible more in the writings of the *Digambara* authors than in those of the others.

As is evident from their titles, the works in question pass under the names *Purāna* and *carita* both. To the same type of works the *Digambara* authors have given the name *Purāna*, while the *Śvetāmbaras* together with the *Yāpanīyas* have assigned the title *carita*. A study of the texts, however, reveals that the authors are not strict in the use of these terms. For, there are evidences to show that the works called *caritas* do not disown the designation *Purāna*¹ and *vice versa*.

A close study of the compositions clearly shows that the texts, although moderately conforming to the *Purānic* characteristics,² do not abide by the definition of a *Carita* in the strict

1. e.g. *Raviṣena* calls his work both *Padmacarita* and *Padmapurāna* (*padmasy caritāni vakṣye*, 1 16a) And in 1 44 he refers to it as *Purāna*. Moreover, the colophons appearing in the end of the *Parvas* alternately use *carita* and *Purāna* both. *Śvayambhū*, although naming his *Rāma* narrative as *Paumacariu* refers to 63 *Purānas* 59 expressly and 4 inferentially including the *Purāna* of *Rāma* (*annu २१ ekkunasatthipurānāim Jīna-sāsane hosanti pahānāim*, *SPG*, 5 9 10)

2. Discussed in chapter II (*Supra*)

sense of the term A *Carita*, according to the definition, is a narrative based on the facts experienced by the narrator with regard to men or women. It is a form of *Kathā* which "deals with what is actually seen, heard or experienced in matters relating to *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*"³ Further, *Śīlāṅka*, while showing a contrast between a *Carita* and *Kalpita* type of literature, states that "regarding the highest reality an invented story does not please the minds of the good, nor does even a fool forsake truth on hearing a fanciful tale"⁴ Next, in preference of the *Carita*, he says, "although both (*Carita* and *Kalpita*) have identical purpose, (i.e.) the promotion of healthy ideas among the masses, still to me the *Carita* appears superior to the *Kappiya*⁵ (*Kalpita*)" The reason is obvious. A *Carita* being factual in character is tantamount of history. A *Kalpita*, on the other hand, being essentially a figment of poet's fancy, lacks historical interest. Hence, in the opinion of literary critics, the latter is less appealing to the people having rational leanings in religion.

Thus the Jaina *Purāṇakāras*, by styling their works as *Caritas*, seem to impress upon us that the stories they tell are of historical nature. But judged from the standpoint of the nature of the subjects which they treat, the works in question betray, in the main, the character of a *Kalpita* type of narrative "modi-

³ दुविहा कहा—चरिया य कप्पिया य । तत्थ चरिया दुविहा—एत्थीए पुरिसस्स वा । धम्मत्थकाम-कज्जेसु दिट्ठं सुयमणुभूय चरियं ति वुञ्चति ।

—*Vasudevahindī*, chap X, quoted in *Yasastilaka and Indian Culture*, p 124

⁴ परमत्थाहिगारे य कप्पियकहा एए सज्जणमणुणि रजेइ । ए हि कोइ बालिसो कप्पियमायणिऊण सभूय छइडेइ ।

—*GMC*, (*Kahāpīṭha*) p 4

⁵ जइ विहु दोण्ह वि लोए कुसलमइपवत्तण फलं सरिस ।
तह वि मह कप्पियाओ विहाइ चरिय विसिट्ठयर ॥

Ibid, p 4, V 46, also the following statement in favour of the reliability of the *Carita*, *Ibid*, p 4.

fied and altered by the adepts for the purpose of instruction”⁶ Under the circumstances, it will not be unreasonable to hold that the works irrespective of their specific nomenclature are mytho-romantic narratives, imbued with a spirit of religious propaganda

As regards the extent of the epic-Purāṇic influence, the works betray their indebtedness to the traditional sources in regard to almost all conceivable aspects, such as mythology, cosmogony, customs and manners and beliefs and superstitions. However, in the present context, we shall confine ourselves to those cases which do not form parts of the universal history but find incidental mention as facts of known occurrence, contributing, in the main, towards the embellishment and elucidation of a topic under treatment. Such examples may be taken as illustrative of stray influences on the works in question

The works, being the products of different authors and of different times, cannot be expected to show uniform influence of the Brahmanical tradition. Naturally, it varies from work to work. Similarly, the quantum of strictures on the epic-Purāṇic sources ranges from iconoclastic attack to simple reprobation. And the variance in the degree of dependence and structures on the traditional sources is due both to the dynamic social and religious conditions and to the religious and dogmatic outlook of an individual author representing a particular period. Moreover, the authors’ range of knowledge of the traditional lore is also responsible for the diverging degree of reaction against and reliance upon the *epic-Purāṇic* concepts

Reverting to the *epic Purāṇic* mythology we find that from among the host of the divine and demi-divine beings, only the three supreme gods have been subjected to severe snubbing. And it is obvious that the religious importance of these godheads was a source of great embarrassment to the Jaina savants.

⁶ ज पुरा विवज्जासिय कुसलेहि उपदेसियपुव्व समतीए जुज्जमाण कहिज्जइ त कप्पियं ।

For, popular Hinduism centred round these gods alone and the ancient and mediaeval Indian social and religious institutions in their broader contexts were overwhelmingly influenced by the cults of these divinities. Under the circumstances, the Jaina authors, who were also leaders of their fold in their respective times, directed their attack against the high position to which these supreme gods were placed in the Brahmanical order. Thus, what they aimed at was not the denial of their existence but the refusal of their position as the supreme deities. Accordingly the Jaina authors relegated *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* together with their *śaktis* or consorts to a subordinate rank before the *Jinas* whom they represented as the divinities *par excellence*. We, however, come across some scattered passages which do accept some of the *Brahmanical* traits of the trio almost in unmodified way.

Brahmā

In spite of the repudiation of the creation-theory, instances are many where *Brahmā*'s position as the creator of the universe has been recognised⁷ under various names, such as *Vedhas*, *Vidhātṛ*, *Sraṣṭṛ* etc, all of which together with many others have been appropriated to the *Jinas* by different authors.⁸ He has also been taken to task for his lustful conduct.⁹ Similarly, he has been reproached with lack of wisdom for appointing misfit persons as the regents of the eight quarters.¹⁰

Viṣṇu

Apart from his representation as the nine *Vāsudevas*,¹¹ there are some passages in which some of *Viṣṇu*'s Brahmanical incarnations find mention. These are, for instance, *Nara-*

7. See my article *Hindu Deities in the Jaina Purāṇas*, *Dr Satkari Mookerji Felicitation Volume*, 1969, pp 461-62.

8. *Vide* chap I notes 58-72 and chap III, Sec II, notes 1-13.

9. *MP* 39-129.

10. *UP* 54-103-110.

11. S. D. Jha, *Hindu Deities in the Jaina Purāṇas*, *SMFV*, p 463, notes 1.-2.

*śimha*¹² and *Vāmana*.¹³ The latter incarnation, however, has been represented in a somewhat modified form.¹⁴ *Viṣṇu* recurs under various names as the husband of goddess *Lakṣmī*. In fact *Ramā* and *Ramāpati* are very favourite with the Jaina authors who refer to the pair frequently as the standard of conjugal bliss and harmony.¹⁵ Besides, *Viṣṇu*'s mythical association with the ocean has also been acknowledged in a simile in which *Vajrayaṅgha* residing for a while in a forest is likened to *Viṣṇu* dwelling in the ocean¹⁶

Lakṣmī

She finds mention in the *Purāṇas* under investigation with all her popular names, viz *Śrī*,¹⁷ *Padmā*,¹⁸ *Kamalā*, etc. And in the incidental references to her associations, *Lakṣmī* has been represented as the daughter of the personified ocean¹⁹ in the

- 12 (a) शिखहृत्य च्चिच सुहृदाणमायुह शारसिहृ दिट्ठंतो ।

—CMC, p 167.

- (b) विणिहयहिरण्यक्खस पुरिव्व मयाहिवसमाकुला । दाणावाहिवत्तणुव्व वियरियहरिणाहा ।

—Ibid p 111

- (c) *Hemacandra* ascribes the *Nara-śimha* incarnation to *Kṛṣṇa* in a changed context. According to his version *Kṛṣṇa* assumed the form of the Manlion (*Nara-śimha*) to punish one *Padmanābha* or *Amara-kaṅka* in *Dhātakiḥhanda* for the crime of abducting *Draupadī*. *TSPC*, Vol V, pp 277-78

- 13 वद्धो तेणोव वली हरिणा जण्णम्मि पुहइदाणेण ।

—CMC, p 41, V 126a.

- 14 Cf *JHV* 20 15-80, *UP*. 70 274-298, *TSPC*, Vol IV, pp. 90-92, 99-102, 115

- 15 e.g. *Lacchivva Mahamahassa*,—CMC, p 117

विष्णो श्रीरिव विष्णुश्री नाम्ना तस्य गृहिष्यभूत्

—*TSPC* 4 7 5

- 16 सवास तत्रैव वने वनमालीव वारिघो

—*TSPC*, 1.1 704a

- 17 *VPC*, 7 70

- 18 *RPC*, 7 162

- 19 मनोहरी च तनयामर्णवोऽपि यथा श्रियम्,

—*JHV*, 17 3b. Also *MP*, 43 295, 297

same way as in the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic sources. Over and above that, she has been mentioned almost in all works as the consort of Lord *Viṣṇu* ²⁰ *Gunabhadra* refers to her rhetorically as the sister of the Moon, born together ²¹ Similarly, in the context of the description of a dense forest an allusion is made to *Kamalā* (*Lakṣmī*) having emerged from the foaming current of the ocean churned out by the gods and demons ²² Next, full-blown lotus with thick filament is acknowledged as the pleasure-house of *Śrī* The passages are many which accept the traditional belief in lotus as the dwelling of the goddess of beauty and riches ²⁴ Almost in all works she recurs together with *Kīrti*, *Buddhi*, *Hri*, *Śrī* and *Dhṛti* to attend on the prospective mothers of the *Tīrthankaras* ²⁵

20 See above note 15 Also *TSPC*, 1 1 637 and comp *Viṣṇu* Bk 1. chap 9

21 सहोत्पत्तौ श्रियोऽनेन सोदयैन्दोरिति श्रुति ।
—*UP* 54 188a.

22 तियसासुरमहियसमुद्वेलव्वसकमला,
—*CMC*, p. 111

For these two references comp *MBh* 1 18 33-35a

23 वित्थिण्णदल कमल घणमयरद सिरीए रइभवण,
—*CMC* p 14, V 51, cf *MBh* 4 14 16, 12 59 131b-32a,

24 *VPC* 7 70, *RPC*, 7 152, *CMC*, p 221

25 ताहे च्चिय परियम्म हिरि-सिरि-घिइ-कित्ति-बुद्धि-लच्छीओ ।
आण करेति णिच्च देवीओ इन्दवयणेण ॥

—*VPC*, 2 59 *AP*, 12 164 *SPC*, 1 14 2, *PMP*, III 1 6 *JHV*, 8 39 These goddesses together with *Umā* and *Sarasvatī* are already known to the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic tradition as the guardian deities who are invoked for safety on different occasions

ॐ ह्री श्रीः कीर्तिर्द्युतिः पुष्टिरुमा लक्ष्मी सरस्वती ।

इमा वै तव पान्थस्य पालयन्तु धनञ्जय ॥

—*MBh* III 37 33 It is obvious that most of these goddesses are personified abstractions and occur in the Brahmanical sources in various contexts e g *Rāmā* III 46 16b Also see *MBh* 1 66 14 15 where *Dhṛti* and *Buddhi* together with other eight personified abstractions are described as the wives of *Dharma*

Śiva

Besides acknowledging the existence of eleven *Rudras*²⁶ with malign character, the works in question also refer to Śiva with all his traditional emblems and associates. But, as is natural, the *Purāṇas* do not subscribe to his representation as the great God. First, we meet with a myth incorporated in the *Uttarapurāṇa*²⁷ as a part of the biography of Lord *Mahāvīra*. Here it is alleged that *Sihānu*,²⁸ with a host of imps, goblins and spirits of abnormal shapes and dreadful appearances appears before Lord *Mahāvīra* engaged in deep meditation in a crematorium of *Ujjayinī*. And with an intention to disturb the Jina, he creates a vast army of mountaineers (*Kirātas*²⁹) and accompanied by these as well as fierce serpents, elephants, lions, fires and wind—all engaged in terrible dances, roars and loud laughter—he tries to shake the Jina from fortitude. But finding himself quite unable to deflect the Master from his uncommon composure, the malevolent god gives up his evil intention. And together with wife *Umā*, he dances before the Jina and then leaves the place with all praises for the Lord. It is obvious that most of the traditional connections of Lord Śiva have been made use of in the present story.

Further, in a passage of the *Mahāpurāṇa* a warrior pierced through his head with a crescent-shaped weapon is looked upon

26 These *Rudras* are (1) *Bhīmāvali*, (ii) *Ḍitaśatru*, (iii) *Rudra*, (iv) *Viśvānala*, (v) *Supratīṣṭhaka*, (vi) *Acala*, (vii) *Puṇḍarīka*, (viii) *Ajitanḍhara*, (ix) *Ajitanābhika*, (x) *Pīṭha* and (xi) *Sātyakisuta*—JHV, 60 531-36, *SPC* also recognizes eleven *Rudras* referring to them by the name *Hara* (*Hara-eyārtha*, 5 9 9b). The names as given in the *Mahābhārata* are *Mṛgavyādhā*, *Sarpa*, *Nirṛiti*, *Ajāikapād*, *Ahīrbudhnyā*, *Pīṇākīn*, *Dahana*, *Īśvara*, *Kapālin*, *Sihānu* and *Bhaga*—MBh 1 68, 1b-3, 1 122 68-69. Although the names vary, yet the number is remarkably the same.

27 74 331-337

28 A popular name of Lord Śiva MBh 1 210 24-28, 3 38 3, 3 125 14

29 It is reminiscent of the *Mahābhārata* episode of god Śiva and *Arjuna*, in which the former in the form of a mountaineer and accompanied by a troop of *Kirātas*, is said to have opposed the latter to test his prowess MBh 3 39 1-5ff. For the strange elements see, for instance, *Rāmā* 6 59, 9, 23-24, 6 71.13.

figuratively as another *Rudra*^{29a} (with the moon's crescent on his forehead) In a passage of the *TSPC*³⁰ *Śiva* and *Śivā* (*Pārvatī*) are referred to as adept in dancing and in another passage of the same work an allusion is made to Lord *Śiva*'s sportive company with both *Gangā* and *Umā*³¹ Next *Bharata* and *Bāhubalin* engaged in eye-fight are conceived as *Śakra* (*Indra*) and *Īśāna* (*Śiva*) facing each other with their unwinking eyes³² This illustration in all probability is based on the traditional legend of the encounter between *Indra* and *Śiva* in which the former was reportedly rendered motionless by the latter's gaze³³ Again, *Bharata* giving a loud battle-cry is compared with the bellowing bull of *Īśāna*³⁴

As pointed out before, the gods and goddesses other than the trio have been recruited with all their traditional emblems, attributes and connections That these divinities have not undergone any marked transformation in their character and exploits may be ascribed to the fact that they did not have any substantive role to play in the formation of social environs as well as the national character of the populace As such, Jainism had little danger from their concepts and representation Hence, they were adopted by the authors in question in their original forms

The World-Protectors

The *Purāṇas* under investigation recognize the *Lokapālas* as the guardian of the different quarters, four principal and four subsidiary Some of the works like the epics recognize only four guardians of the four cardinal points, while others apparently relying on the later Purāṇic tradition accept all the eight world-protectors with the same traditional directions assigned to the individual guardians *KPC*³⁵ refers to four *Lokapālas*,

29a को वि अद्भ्यदे सिरि भिष्णु, सोहड भडु र्दुहुव अवड्णु ।

—PMP 8 7 4 Also see UP, *Praśasti*, 1b

30 Vol V p 319

31 *Ibid* Vol. V p 342

32. *TSPC*, 1 5 578

33 *MBh* 1 196 14-16

34 ईशानोक्षेव निनदम्—

—*TSPC*, 1 5 59 a

35 चत्तारि लोपपाला.....,

7.10a; *RPC*, 7 27 31.



viz, *Soma*, *Varuna*, *Kubera* and *Yama* as the regents of the directions, east, west, north and south respectively³⁵ These regents of the four quarters are said to have been employed in their respective directions by a counterfeit *Indra*, who, although a *Vidyādhara*, considers himself to be the second *Indra* on account of his mother's *Indra*-pregnancy whim³⁷ Accordingly, he acts in imitation of the powers and functions of the real *Indra* Thus, he appointed *Śaśin* (Moon) in the east quarter, *Varuna* in the west, *Kubera* in the north and *Yama* in the south *Raviṣeṇa*, as in most of the other cases, follows *Vimalasūri*'s representation closely. But *Svayambhu*³⁸ adds *Pavana* (*Vāyu*) to the above four names without mention of the localities assigned to them But in 8.5.2-10 he refers to *Agni*, *Nairṛta*, *Īśāna* and *Indra* together with the abovementioned five along with their popular rides and weapons *Hemacandra*, however, mentions four *Dikpālas*³⁹ and assigns them the same quarters as noted above

*Gunabhadra*⁴⁰ obviously relying on the Purāṇic sources mentions eight *Lokapālas* and gives their names as *Agni*, *Yama*, *Śakra* (*Indra*), *Nairṛta* *Pāśin* (*Varuna*), *Dhūmadhvajasakhā* (*Vāyu*) *Guhyaka* (*Kubera*) and *Īśāna*⁴¹ (*Śaṅkara*) Although these eight

36 ठविअओ पुव्वाए ससो दिसाए वरुणो य तत्थ अवरारए ।

उत्तरअओ य कुवेरो ठविअओ च्चिय दक्खिणाए जमो ॥

—VPC, 7 47, RPC, 7 107-115 Compare *Rāmā* 2 16 24, *MBh* 3 41 6-17, 46, 3 55 5-6, which, subject to variations in names, are unanimous in giving the number of the *Lokapālas* as four According to the abovementioned passages, the world-protectors are *Indra*, *Yama*, *Varuna* and *Kubera*, and *Indra*, *Agni*, *Varuna* and *Yama* (*MBh* 3 55 5-6) But we also meet with a passage in the *MBh* (5 16 27) which mentions *Kubera*, *Yama*, *Soma* and *Varuna* as the *Lokapālas*, keeping both *Indra* and *Agni* out of the group

37 VPC, 7 5-8 RPC, 7 18

38 विज्जाहरजि सव्व किय सुरवर, पवण-कुवेर-वरुण-जम-ससहर ।

—SPC 8 1 5 cf *ibid*, 2 5 1-5

39 दिक्पालाश्चतुरश्चक्रे...

—TSPC, 7 1 105a, also [7 1 108-111

40 UP 54 102-110

41 These *Lokapālas* are the same as enumerated in the couplet .

“इन्द्रो वह्निं पितृपतिनिर्ऋतिर्वरुणोऽनिल ।

घनद शकरश्चैव लोकपाला पुरातना ॥”

—quoted in *Sabdakalpādruma*, EK IV, p. 231 as an excerpt from the *Vaṃśpurāṇa*

protectors of their respective quarters find mention poetically as an eloquent example of the Creator's intellectual bankruptcy with regard to the selection of the universal guardians, yet the very mention of the strange behaviour of the God of creation recognizes the traditional myth of *Brahman's* appointment of the eight divinities to the four cardinal and four intermediate quarters⁴² But in contradistinction with *Gunabhadra's* strictures on the gods, *Puspadanta* represents them as worthy of worship on different auspicious occasions During the *Janmābhiseka* ceremony of the first *Tīrthankara Rṣabha* the assembled masses including *Indra* are said to have duly worshipped these gods⁴³ The gods mentioned in this context are *Indra* (*Śakka*), *Agni* (*Cicci*), *Yama* (*Kāla*), *Nairṛta* (*Neria*), *Varuna* (*Annava—Arṇava*) *Vāyu* (*Anila*), *Kubera* and *Śankara* (*Sūlin*)⁴⁴

It is also remarkable that most of these godheads are referred to as having the same rides as are represented in the Brahmanical sources Thus, the elephant *Airāvata*⁴⁵ is acknowledged as the mount of *Śakra* (*Indra*) And as the fairly known standards of comparison, *Kubera*, *Agni* and *Yama* are referred to as having for their mounts a man, a ram and a buffalo

42 Cf ब्रह्मा ससर्ज तूर्णं तान् लोकपालान् महाबलान् ।

दृष्ट्वा तु लोकपालास्तु ता कन्या पुनराह्वयन् ।

विवाहं कारयामास ब्रह्मा लोकपितामह ।

एकामिन्द्राय स प्रादादग्नयेऽन्या यमाय च ।

निर्ऋताय च देवाय वरुणाय महात्मने ।

वायवे धनदेशाय ईशानाय च.....।

Varāhaṣaṭpādāraṇya, quoted in *SKD, BK, II*, pp 708-709 It is to be noted that in the above context the different quarters are conceived as damsels These are *Pūrṇā*, *Āgneyī*, *Dakṣiṇā*, *Nairṛtī*, *Pāścimā*, *Vāyavī*, *Uttarā* and *Aśānī* These girls are given in marriage to *Indra* etc respectively

43 *PMP III 14 9 1*

44 नवत्रिंशच्च काल-रोरि अण्णवाणिले कुवेर-सूलिणे समच्चिच्छरा ।

—*Ibid III 14 11* In the quotation the term *Annava* though generally meaning 'ocean', has apparently been used in the sense of *Varuna* On the basis of sharing some common names and epithets with the ocean such as *Appati* (lord of waters) and *Yādahpati* (lord of aquatic animals), *Varuna* has analogically been mentioned as *Arṇava*

45 e.g. *VPC, 2 115 RPC, 2 243*

respectively ⁴⁶ As for Śaṅkara, he is mentioned under the name of *Īśāna* as bull-rider ⁴⁷

Candra (The Moon)

The representation of the moon is practically the same as that in the Brahmanical sources Moon's origin from the Milky ocean as accepted as a fact⁴⁸ In the MP (44 281) he is referred to as afflicted with consumption ⁴⁹ The *TSPC* (vol V, p 343) alludes to him as the husband of twenty-eight daughters of *Dakṣa* ⁵⁰ Almost in all works under investigation *Candra* and *Rohiṇī* find mention as an illustration of ideal conjugal love ⁵¹ A lady, dearly loved by her husband is often compared with *Rohiṇī*, the beloved consort of *Candra* ⁵² Further, in a passage *Candra*'s relationship with *Budha* as the latter's father has been hinted at by way of a simile For, *Muni Sahasrāyudha* joining the royal sage *Vajrāyudha* (son and father respectively) is compared to *Budha* joining the Moon ⁵³

Kāma and Ratī

Kāma and his consort *Ratī* recur in the works in familiar forms as typical of conjugal fidelity Of the couple, *Kāma* is represented in his both bodied and bodiless forms As bodied figure he finds mention as an illustration of manly loveliness and *Ratī* is acknowledged as a type of non pareil feminine beauty. *Kāma*'s mythological formlessness has been exploited to

46 *TSPC*, 7 7 50 Also *SPC*, 8 5 2-10

47 *SPC*, 8 5 9 *TSPC*, 1 5 590a

48 "इन्द्रो क्षीरार्णवाब्जन्म मूर्त्यापि त्र्यनुमीयते"

—*TSPC*, 4 7 225b cf *MBh* 1 18 34, 37

49 Cf *MBh* 9 35 43ff

50 The *MBh* (1 56 13, 16, 9 35 45) mentions twentyseven daughters as given to the Moon god (*Saptaviṃśatimundare*) Also *TSPC*, Vol IV p 54 which expressly mentions Moon as the husband of *Dālśāyari*

51 c g "रोहिणीव कजावत "

—*RPC*, 3 91, *JHV* 31 14

52 *SI C*, 1 13 4

53 *TSPC*, Vol. III, p 274 Comp *HP* 1 25 30-45

the best of rhetorical embellishment Thus, while alluding to the conjugal pleasures of a married couple, the *Purānakāras* in question make a contrast between *Ratī* and the comparable lady by alluding to the mythical event of the former's association with one destitute of body (*Vyanga*)⁵⁴=*Ananga*) “*Kāma* without *Ratī*”⁵⁵ is not an uncommon expression of admiration of a hero's unique beauty Similarly, “One who has surpassed *Ratī* in beauty and amorous gestures”⁵⁶ is a conventional compliment of a woman's beauty And a solitary woman is fancied as *Ratī* bereft of the flower-armed⁵⁷ (*Kāma*). Next, the reference to the ablaze banner abandoned by dying *Makaraketu*⁵⁸ (*Kāma*) may be taken as reminiscent of the epic-Purāṇic myth of the burning of the god of love by Śiva⁵⁹, not infrequently alluded to in the epics and elaborately dealt with in the Śaivaite *Purāṇas*

Apsarasas

Among the epic-Purāṇic celestial nymphs almost all the prominent *Apsarasas*, such as *Urvastī*, *Rambhā*, *Tilottamā*, *Alambusā*, *Menakā*, etc find mention in the *Purāṇas* in various contexts⁶⁰ The *Apsarasas*, however, have undergone one important transformation in their character which may be taken as an improvement in their conduct According to the epic—Purāṇic representation these celestial dancers are generally lewd⁶¹ and pitiless and their main business is to seduce⁶²

54 रतिर्व्यङ्गेन भुज्यते ।

—MP, 43 294, SPC, 1 6 5

55 CMC p 23 240.

56 विणिज्जियरतिरूप-विन्ममा

—ibid , p 86

57 ibid , p 232

58 प्रणश्यन्मकरकेतुभ्रमप्रदा ।

—TSPC, 13 428b The emblem of *Kāma* is the *Makara*

Hence he is called *Makaredhvaaja* (MBh 13 11 3, Ho 2 105 39, 43f)

59 Rāmā 1 23 10-14, Ho, 2 106 46

60 RPC, 7,31, JHV 8 112b, SPC, 8 1 8, TSPC, 4, 7 320

61 MBh 1 8 8, 3 46 42

62 MBh 1 71 20-1 72 10; 1 129 5-7, 33-38, 9 51 5-9, 5.9 7-19, where they fail to reduce *Trisiras*, son of the *Prajāpati Tvaṣṭr*

the sages and other saintly persons engaged in severe penance. But in the *Purānas* under investigation the *Apsarasas* are recruited as the lovers of the Jaina faith. On Indra's command these damsels take active part in the *Janmābhiseka*⁶³ ceremonies of the *Tīrthankaras* and dance to the music of the *Gandharvas*, *Tumburu*, *Nārada* and *Viśvāvasu*⁶⁴. Their association with *Indra* is further acknowledged by the fact that a pseudo—*Indra*, in imitation of the privileges of the lord of gods *Surendra* is said to have had a host of celestial nymphs, together with *Indra's* other relations and belongings, viz. *Śacī*, *Sudharmā*, thunderbolt and the *Gandharvas*⁶⁵. The *TSPC*⁶⁶ gives a list of the celestial nymphs who are stated to have rendered active service at the wedding of *Rṣabhadeva*, the first *Tīrthankara*. These, as mentioned by *Hemacandra* are . *Rambhā*, *Urvaśī*, *Ghṛtācī*, *Mañjughosā*, *Sugandhā*, *Tilottamā*, *Menā* (*menakā*), *Sukeśī*, *Sahajanyā*, *Citrālekṣhā*, *Pūrmīnī*, *Puṇḍarikā*, *Amlocā*, *Hamsapadī*, *Puṇjikasthalā*, *Rāmā*, *Hemā*, *Kratusthalā*, *Mārīcī*, *Sumukhī*, *Gandharvī* and *Divyā*.

Nārada

With the exception of the peculiar tale of his birth⁶⁷ the representation of *Nārada* is essentially the same as in the Brahmanical tradition. He is stated to be a celibate, having his access to all the places without hindrance. He is equally revered by gods, the *Cakrins*, *Vāsudevas*, *Pratīvāsudevas* and other human and Superhuman beings and as such has an unrestricted admittance to their presence⁶⁸.

63 e.g. *RPC*, 3 179-181, *JHV* 8 158, *TSPC*, 4 7 320

64 *Viśvāvasu*, *Tumburu* and *Nārada* as well as *Hāhā* and *Hūhū* are the most popular *Gandharvas* in the Brahmanical epic-Purānic mythology e.g. see *MBh* 1 22 54-59, 3 43 14, 14 88 39-41

65 *RPC* 7 27-31

66 1 2 785-793 Compare *MBh* 1 122 60-66a, 3 43 23-30

67 According to the Jaina versions *Nārada* was the son of a *Brāhmaṇa* ascetic *Brahmaruci* by his wife *Kūrmī*. When deserted by his parents, he was brought up by the *Jymbhaka* gods who invested him with magical power of atmospheric movement *VPC*, 11 50f *RPC* 11 117f, *TSPC*, 7 2, 504-14

68 *VPC*, 11 67-68, *RPC*, 11 155-158

Even their inner apartments are no exceptions to his privilege. As are *Hāhā* and *Hūhū* in music so *Nārada* together with *Tumburu* is referred to as the best of the lute-players.⁶⁹ And in this form he is represented as a *Gandharva* and is often mentioned along with other *Kinnaras*, *Gandharvas* and some prominent *Apsarasas*.⁷⁰ Further, the works also take notice of his strife-making nature and frequently allude to him as 'fond of strife' (*Kalaha-priya*)⁷¹ and famous for music' (*Gita-cañcu*)⁷²

Brhaspati

The incidental references to *Brhaspati* point to the same truth as is told by the Brahmanical tradition. His association with *Indra* as the latter's minister⁷³ and preceptor⁷⁴ finds mention in a number of passages. Harmonious relationship between a king and his ministers is often likened to that between *Indra* and *Brhaspati*.⁷⁴ The expression "scholar, like *Brhaspati*"⁷⁵ admits his well-recognized scholarship. That one's ministers have derided the intellectual power of *Brhaspati*⁷⁶ is a boastful compliment to the persons concerned. His skill in imparting logically correct instruction is accepted as an acknowledged fact.⁷⁷ Next, the statement that "even *Guru*

69. *JSPC*, Vol. IV

70. *ibid.*, 4.7.1003

तिलोत्तमावन्तीमनारम्भातुम्बुरुनारदान् ।

JHV 8.158

71. *PHL*, 51.25, 51.4, *RPC*, 2.101, 11.156, *TSPC*, 7.2.512 (cf. *MBh* 5.100.19. *10.74*. 7.20.15 (where *Rāvana* calls him *Samapriya*, lover of battle), *ibid.* 3)

72. *RPC*, 11.156. Also *PPC*, 11.67, *TSPC*, 7.2.512

73. मन्त्री विद्मन् —

1Pc, 7.11; *PPC*, 7.31, *SPC*, 8.14

74. Usually called *Sarapura*, *TSPC* 1.5.455. Sometimes finds mention only as *Guru* (e.g. *Sandro Gurubh*) *MP* 45.107

75. *CVC*, p. 46

76. *IBP*, p. 101

77. *TSPC* 1.5.159 of *MBh* XII chaps. 21, 54, 103, which incorporate *Brhaspati's* instruction to *Indra*

cannot dissuade one from his resolve after silencing him⁷⁸ (in argumentation)" also points to Brhaspati's recognized power of understanding and eloquence Besides these, he, as in the epics, recurs with *Śukra*, both finding place as masters of polity⁷⁹

Ādityas

The twelve *Ādityas* find mention in a simile which compares *Aparāṇita*, a *Baladeva*, with the twelve *Ādityas* in brilliance⁸⁰

The Aśvins

The *Baladeva* and *Vāsudeva*, 'both half brothers are often compared with the celestial twin brothers, *Aśvins*⁸¹ in mutual love

Jayanta

Gaṅgā Vajrāyudha accompanied by his son *Sahasrāyudha* is compared with *Indra* followed by his son *Jayanta*⁸² In other contexts, too, *Jayanta* has been referred to as the son of *Indra*

Ganeśa

The soldiers with their headless bodies, surmounted with the chopped off heads of elephants, are conceived as innumerable *Herambas*⁸³ (*Ganeśas*) Although stated poetically, the

78. न शक्योऽनुत्तरीकृत्य निरोद्बु गुरुणाऽपि हि ।

—*TSPC*, 1 5 511 For all these references comp. *MBh* 12 124 21-23, 5 16 19f

79 *JHv*, 43 101 .

यथा शुक्रवृहस्पती,

UP 62 418

cf "नये वृहस्पत्युशनो सदा समम्"

MBh 8 37 20 9 61 48

80 *TSPC*, Vol III, p 232

81 परस्पर स्नेहलौ तावद्विनाशिव सोदरौ ।

TSPC, 4 5 85 The two *Aśvins* as twin gods are recognized also elsewhere, e g *RPC*, 7 30

82. *TSPC*, Vol III, p 270

83 "हेरम्बा इव नागास्ये "

—*TSPC*, 4 1 654 Also referred to as pendent-bellied (लम्बोदर)

ibid Vol III p 287 cf *CDHM*, pp 100-108

rhetoric rests basically on the Brahmanical conception of the mythological figure

Kinnaras

Hemacandra accepts *Kinnaras* with equine faces inasmuch as the beheaded bodies of the soldiers with the cut off heads of horses on them are compared with the *Kinnaras*.⁸⁴

Revanta

Revanta is perhaps the least known mythical figure of the Brahmanical tradition. But even this obscure divinity, too, did not escape the notice of the Jaina *Purāṇakāras*. For, in the context of the battle between *Rāma* and *Rāvana* the warriors coming on horseback to the battle-field are compared with *Revanta*.⁸⁵

Rāhu

Rāhu, as in the epic-Purāṇic works, finds mention as a trunkless head.⁸⁶ Instances are innumerable in which references are made to the Sun and the Moon as being eclipsed by *Rāhu*.⁸⁷ The setting sun is conceived as entering into the mouth of *Rāhu*.⁸⁸ In fact, the eclipse of the two luminaries by *Rāhu* makes a fine simile.⁸⁹ *Cakrin Bharata* sunk into the earth upto neck by the staff-blow of *Bāhubalin* is compared with the Sun

84 अदवत्यै किन्नरा इव ।

—TSPC, 4 1 054 CDHM p 168

85 केचिद् रेवन्तवद् हयै

TSPC, 7 7 60, and compare

रेतमोऽन्ते च रेवन्तं तद्ग्रीवमो तनुनवृक् ।

मथान्ह नमुद्भूतो दाम्नातृणमन्वित ॥

—*Māh.* p 75 23 representing *Revanta* as the son of the Sun-god and his wife *Sanyāsā* in the form of a horse and a mare respectively.

86 TSPC Vol III p 229

87. MP, 4 1 161, TPC, 12 137b GAC p 284

88 राहूवयमैव अन्वायन्मि सूरौ.....

—GHC, p 264

89 TSPC, 1 6 203 670, 2 3.884

eclipsed by *Rāhu* ⁹⁰ The event of the carrying off of nectar by *Rāhu* through trickery finds mention by way of comparison ⁹¹ This similitude obviously rests on the traditional legend of the churning of the ocean in which context the demon is said to have applied stratagem for getting a share in ambrosia churned out of the ocean of *Milk* ⁹²

Churning of the Ocean

The *Purāṇas* in question take incidental notices of the mythical event of the *Samudramanthana* We find references to the coming forth of some of the jewels together with the deadly poison from the stirred up ocean of milk ⁹³ The golden pitcher seen by *Marudevī* in her dream is likened to the pitcher of nectar appearing from the churning of the ocean ⁹⁴ We also find references to the beautiful sound of the big ocean stirred up by the churning-stick ⁹⁵ Next, the soldiers pulling the chain fastened to the arm of the *Cakrīn Bharata* during his fight with his half-brother *Bāhubalin*, are compared with the gods and demons engaged in the churning of the ocean, and the chain is likened with the serpent (*Vāsukī*), which served for a churning cord and *Bharata's* arm is apparently compared with the churning-mountain (*Mandara*) ⁹⁶ Further, in an emphatic tone

80 राहुग्रस्त इवादित्ये भूमग्ने चक्रवर्तिनि ।

—*ibid*, 1 5 699 cf *CDHM*, pp 252-53

91 सुवा विधुन्तुदेनेव...

—*ibid*, 2 6 388

92 *MBh* 1 19 4-9.

93 *TSPC*, Vol V P 322 Cf *MBh*, 1 18 41-43

94 अम्भोधिमयनोद्गच्छत्सुव । कुम्भसहोदर ।

—*TSPC*, 1 2 221 cf *MBh* 1 18 38

95 *TSPC*, 1 2 506b, 1 5 598

96 चक्रपु. शृङ्खलाजाल सैन्याश्चक्रिभुजस्य ते ।

नेत्रीभूतमहि मन्यगिरेरिव सुरासुरा ॥

—*TSPC*, 1 5 565 and compare

मन्यान मन्दर कृत्वा तथा नेत्रञ्च वासुकिम् ।

—*TSPC*, 1.5 644

the greatness of the ocean, though churned up by the gods,"⁹⁷ has been admitted

The earth-sustainers

The world, from the Jainist stand-point, is uncreated "It is eternal and self-produced (produced by the natural action of substances according to their inherent properties) and is situated in the middle of the infinite space"⁹⁸ Becoming clearer on the topic *Hemacandra* says that "the world with a well-supported form was made by none and is sustained by none It is self-effected and remains in space without support"⁹⁹ The same notion holds good about position of the earth¹⁰⁰ as well.

However, the influence of the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic mythology has made itself felt on some occasions We meet with some passages in the TSPC in which the popular Brahmanical belief regarding the position of the earth has been expressed as an established fact On the eve of the commencement of the battle between *Bharata* and *Bāhubali*, it is stated that the fourfold divisions of the army stood ready "injuring the back of the tortoise with their great weight, bending the turned up tusk of the great boar, slackening the firmly expanded hood of the serpent-king and crippling all the elephants of the quarter"¹⁰¹ Both *Bharata* and *Bāhubali* advancing towards each other at ease are said to have put the king of the tortoises (supporting the earth) in danger of his life in every step (*pade-*

97. TSPC, 1 5 644

98 नित्य स्वभावनिवृत्त सोऽनन्ताकाशमध्यग ।

—1P 4 15b

99 सुप्रतिष्ठाकृतिर्लोको न केनापि कृतो घृत ।

स्वयमिद्धो निराधारो व्योम्नि तिष्ठति किन्त्वसौ ॥

—TSPC 2 3 80

100 *ibid* 4 2 314a

101 भूयसा निजभारेण क्लिश्नन्त कूर्मकर्परम् ।

दष्ट्रा महावराहस्य नामयन्त समुन्नताम् ॥

गाढ शिथिलयन्तश्च फणाटोप फणीशितु ।

दिग्गजानपि खर्वाङ्गीकुर्वन्तो निखिलानपि ॥

—1, 5 427-28 Compare MBh 5 103 2, 6 67 13, 7 94 48

*pade ropayatām Kūrmendram prānasamsaye*¹⁰²) Again, prior to the beginning of the arm-fight between the two brothers, *Bāhubalin's* door-keeper asks the earth and its mythical supporters—the serpent-king, the great Boar, the Tortoise-chief and the elephants of the quarters to keep their position firm during the display of the feat of arms by *Bāhubalin* ¹⁰³ Next, *Dviprsthā*, the second *Vāsudeva*, lifting *koṭiśīlā* with his left arm is compared with the lord of serpents upholding earth on his hood ¹⁰⁴ Of course, innumerable are the instances which refer to the mythical event of earth being held aloft by the serpent-king ¹⁰⁵

- 102 1 5 577b Mark that the idea of the earth being held by the tortoise-king on his back has been vehemently assailed by *Svayambhū* in his *Paūmacarī*. He says

जग लोएहि ढक्करिवन्तएहि उप्पाइउ भन्तिउ भन्तएहि ।

जइ कुम्मे धरियउ धरणि वीढु तो कुम्मु पडन्तउ केण गोढु ॥

—1.10 1-2

(The confused persons have caused confusion in the world with their strange sayings. If the earth is held by the tortoise on its back, then by whom is the falling tortoise sustained ?)

- 103 TSPC 1 5 610-14

- 104 *ibid*, 4 3 171

- 105 *ibid*, Vol III p 313

CHAPTER VIII

INSTITUTION OF CLASS AND ORDER AND THE AIMS OF HUMAN EXISTENCE

The institutions of class and order are the unique features of the Brahmanical social system. The institutions are unparalleled in guiding the course of the society through the ages. And the edifice of these institutions was erected on such a strong foundation that despite strong reprobation by the advocates of the casteless society, the institutions have survived even to these days, albeit in a degenerate form. However, the exigency of the context does not allow us to deal with the merits and demerits of these institutions. Hence, we proceed with comparative study of the Brahmanical and the Jaina sources regarding their respective approach to the institutions.

As is known to us, Jainism, in its early stages, was highly critical of the institutions of class¹ and order in general and of the superiority of the *Brāhmaṇa varṇa*² in particular. A study of the Jaina canonical works shows that this protestant religion was not at all in favour of Brahmanical pretention to supremacy simply on birth ground³. We also meet with instances which portray this *Varna* as bereft of all human qualities, addicted to all vices and given to every sort of moral turpitude⁴. This hatred of the *Brāhmaṇa* class was so strong that some of the post-canonical *Carita*-writers were tempted to

1 e.g. *Uttarā*, chap. 12 where *Hartesa*, a *Sovāga* by birth, is said to have entered a sacrificial enclosure of a *Brāhmaṇa* teacher and preached him the real form of sacrifice (*yajña*).

2 This class is often referred to as *dhijjātī* (*dhigjātī*) "condemned caste" cf. *LAI*, p. 140.

3 *Uttarā*, chap. 25 W 19-34. The canon referring to the characteristics of a real *Brāhmaṇa* sums up with the remark that one becomes a *Brāhmaṇa* by action (*Kammunā bambhaṇo hoti*).

4 *VPC*, 4 65-66, *RPC*, 4.87-88.

ascribe the origin of the *Varna* in question, to a fictitious event said to have taken place during the reign of the first *Cakrīn Bharata*. According to the version, the *Brāhmana Varna* owes its origin to the compassion of the first *tīrthankara* who saved the heretics from the wrath of *Cakrīn Bharata* who was about to put them to death on being informed by the lord that the men whom he had honoured with valuable gifts and regarded as the best of the *Śrāvakas*, were hypocrites. They were 'of perverse conduct and religion, had no restriction with regard to undertaking and possession, and themselves stupefied, they confused other people also' ⁵ And as *Bharata* was prevented (from killing them) by *Rṣabha Jīna* saying *mā hana* (do not kill), so they came to be called *Māhanas*.⁶

Thus, the abovementioned account makes us believe that the original designation of the class known as *Brāhmana* was *Māhana* which eventually was Sanskritized into *Brāhmana*. It is, however, obvious that the present representation is a distortion of an equally fanciful interpretation of the term as given in the *Āvaśyakacūṛṇi* ⁷ The work states that the simple and religious-minded *Śrāvakas*, who were honoured by *Bharata*, received the class designation *Māhana* because of the fact that whenever they saw anyone killing, they stopped him by saying 'do not kill' (*mā hana*). *Hemacandra* also adopts the same version with some modification. And apparently without taking notice of the accounts as given by *Vimala* and *Raviṣena*, the author of the *TSPC* represents the *Māhanas* as religious-minded men, devoted to the study of the scriptures ⁸ These laymen, as the work says, were requested by *Bharata* to recite before him "you

- 5 विवरीयवित्तिधम्मा आरम्भ-परिगहेसु अणियत्ता ।
सयमेव मूढभावा सेसं पि जण विमोहन्ति ॥

—VPC, 4 81

- 6 मा हणामु पुत्त एए ज उसभजिणेण वारिओ भरहो ।
तेण इमे सयलच्चिय वुच्चन्ति य माहणा लोए ॥

—VPC, 4 84 Also RPC 4 121-122

7 pp 5, 213ff, quoted in *LAI*, p 140

8 *TSPC*, 1 6 22-28

are overcome, fear increases, therefore, do not kill, do not kill" ⁹ Now, as those *Bhanyas* daily recited the phrase *mā haṇa*, they became known as *Māhanas* and gradually the *Māhanas* became famous as *Brāhmanas* ¹⁰

However, we also meet with other versions which do not subscribe to the fantastic way of deriving the word *Brāhmana* from *Māhaṇa* with its afore-said curious interpretation *JHV*, ¹¹ for instance, though representing the *Brāhmanas* as the creation of *Bharata*, ascribes their origin to their qualities of food-will towards all objects. Those persons, did not sever their connection with their families and society, but were devoted to the religious practices in accordance with the tenets of the Jaina faith. The creation of the *Brāhmana varṇa* was like the investiture ceremony in which those householders after having been duly honoured with valuable gifts and presents, were marked by *Kākīnī* with three-jewelled sacred thread. Thus respected by *Bharata*, the *Vratins* were called *Brāhmanas* ¹² It is remarkable that while *Vimala* and *Ravisena* ridicule and even abuse this new class as *Sūtra-Kanṭha* ¹³ (with thread round their neck) and *Pāṣandins* ¹⁴ (heretics), the author of the *Harivamśapurāṇa* calls them *Vratins*, i.e. observers of religious vows. Thus in *JHV* the feeling of hatred towards the class in question, has been moderated and directed against those Hindu *Brāhmanas* who were advocates of the supremacy of the *Vedas* and were protagonists of the efficacy of animal sacrifices.

Now it is in the *Mahāpurāṇa* of *Jinasena* that the *Brāhmana Varna* finds more idealised representation than in *JHV*. The author of the MP holds the *Varna* in the highest esteem. He says that the best among the householders, who were born in high families and were desirous of the fruition of their religious

⁹ जितो भवान् वयते भीस्तस्मान्मा हन मा हन ॥

—*Ibid*, 1 6 229b

¹⁰ क्रमेण माहनान्ते तु ब्राह्मणा इति विश्रुता ।

—*Ibid*, 1 6 248a

¹¹ 11 105-107

¹² ततस्ते ब्राह्मणा प्रोक्ता व्रतिनो भगतादृता ।

—*Ibid*, 11 107a

¹³ *VPC*, 4 65 *RPC*, 4 86

¹⁴ *IPC*, 4 70, *RPC*, 4 116

vows¹⁵, were honoured by *Cakrin Bharata* with valuable gifts, and were invested with *Brahmasūtras* obtained from the Nidhi called *Padma* ¹⁶

Thus, this ceremony was something like a sacrament which conferred on those religious-holders *dvya*-hood ¹⁷

It is, however, remarkable to note that the author of the *MP* nowhere mentions the event as the origin of the *Brāhmaṇa Varna* but he refers to it almost invariably as the origin of the *Dvya*s¹⁸ (the twice-born classes) Thus, among the *Dvya*s were reckoned all the pious persons drawn from the then existing higher classes of householders As such, this special class created by Bharata was comprehensive of more than the term *Brāhmaṇa* which denoted only one *Varna* That, in the present context Jināsena has used the term *Dvya* or *Dvijanman* in the sense of all the three higher classes, is evident from the fact that the sacraments said to have been prescribed for those *Dvya*s are made common to all the three higher *Varnas* and not restricted to the *Brāhmaṇas* Thus, what emerges from the study of the *MP* is that *Cakrin Bharata* did not create the *Brāhmaṇa-varṇa*, but he simply introduced some mandatory sacraments¹⁹ for the members of the already extant higher classes who thereby were to train and refine themselves for the proper discharge of the duties prescribed for each *Varna* Hence the performance of those *Samskāras* was made obligatory for them Now as the ceremony of investiture with the sacred thread was supposed, as in the Brāhmaṇical sources, to confer on the recipients of the sacred thread a second spiritual birth, so they

15 ते तु स्वव्रतमिद्वयर्थमीहमाना महान्वया ।

—MP, 38 13a

16 तेषां कृतानि चिह्नानि सूत्रे पद्याह्वयान्निवे ।

उपात्तै.....॥

—Ibid 38 21

17 Ibid, 38 44, 47ff

18 Ibid 38 3 (called *Dvijanman*), 42, 47-49

19 These are classed under three heads called *Garbhāṇvayaś-riyā*, *Dīksāṇvayaś-riyā* and *Kartravayaś-riyā*,—MP 38 51 See the following chapter

were styled and distinguished as *Doṃyas*.²⁰ To this sacred thread were entitled all the discerning twice-born, living according to their class rules, by *Asi* (swords-arms), *Maṣi* (ink) and *Kṛṣi* (cultivation) and *Vanijya*²¹ (trade and commerce)

In the above means of subsistence the term *Asi* is symbolic of the military class entrusted with the duty of protecting the masses. Similarly, *Kṛṣi* and *Vanijya* were the approved means of living of the *Varīyas*. That being the case, Jināsena obviously includes the *Kṣātrīyas* and the *Varīyas* in the *Doṃja-varna* of which the *Brāhmaṇa* class formed one unit. In view of the fact the term *Maṣi*, mentioned above, may logically be taken as indicative of the means of livelihood of the *Brāhmaṇa-varna*. The word here and elsewhere symbolizes study and teaching and as such is equivalent to *adhiti* and *adhyaṇa*²², two of the special duties and privileges of a *Brāhmaṇa*. Further, *Maṣi* has already been mentioned as one of the six noble means²³ of living of the people and is said to have been sanctioned by Lord *Rṣabha*.²⁴ This fact, then, goes against the theory of the later origin of the *Brāhmaṇa-Varna*, as advanced by all the Jaina authors. Besides, we meet with some passages in the MP which reveal the same fact about the origin of the *Brāhmaṇas* as the Brahmanical sources. The *Brāhmaṇas*, for instance, are mentioned as *Agrajas*²⁵ (first-born), which fact apparently admits the claim of the *Brāhmaṇas* to the priority of origin in the scheme of *Varnas* and at another place those are stated to have sprung from the mouth of *Svayambhū*, i.e. *Brahmā* (*Svāyambhuvāt mukh-ājātāḥ*²⁶). Again, in the same context the author derives the

20 *Ibid* 38 47-49

21 तत्तु स्यादसिवृत्त्या वा मण्या कृष्या वणिज्यया ।

यथास्व वर्तमानाना सदृष्टीना द्विजन्मनाम् ॥

—MP 40 167.

22 *Ibid* , 16 246

23 *Ibid* , 16 170

24 *Ibid* , 16 180.

25 40 217

26 39 117a

term *Brāhmaṇa* from *Brahma* and interprets the *Varnas* so styled as the offspring of *Brahmā*,²⁷ whose functions and names and epithets have already been arrogated to *Rṣabhadeva*. All these statements may be taken as indicative of the Brahmanical influence on *Jinasena*. These statements, however, contradict his another version with regard to the origin of the *Brāhmaṇa Varna*. That version, apparently bringing together the Brāhmaṇical and the Jaina ideas of the *Varna* in question, ascribes its origin to *Bharata* who is anticipated to create the *Dvijas* from his mouth while teaching the *vedas* ²⁸

Puṣpadanta, on the other hand, tells a different tale. According to his version, *Bharata* did not create the *Brāhmaṇa-varṇa*, but one of its sub-sections called *Sottṛiya* (*Śrotrīya*²⁹). The *Brāhmaṇas*, mentioned in the *Mahāpurāṇu* as *Vīppas* (*Vīpras*) are stated to have been invited and invested with *Śrotrīya-hood*³⁰. Thus, the version represents the *Brāhmaṇas* as pre-existing *Bharata*. Besides, the account as given by *Puṣpadanta* creates also an impression that institutions of four *Varnas* and *Āśramas* in their degenerate forms were already in existence during the reign of Lord *Rṣabha* who simply reformed them by defining and demarcating the modes of life of the different *Varnas*. In this context *Rṣabhadeva* is represented as having criticized the prevalent institution of class and order together with the three *vedas* and the *Śrotrīyas* ³¹. Thus, according to the work, what lord *Rṣabha* did was not the creation of the institution of *Varna*

27 ब्रह्मणोऽपत्यमित्येव ब्राह्मणा समुदाहृता ।

ब्रह्मा स्वयम्भूर्भगवान् परमेष्ठी जिनोत्तम ॥

MP 39 127

28 मुखतोऽध्यापयन् शास्त्रं भरतः स्रक्षति द्विजान् ।

—*Ibid*, 18 246a As is evident from the context the term *Dvija* in the extract has been used in the sense of the *Brāhmaṇas*

29 भरहेण वि कञ् सोत्तिञ्ज

—PMP XIX 5 10b

30 *Ibid* XIX 5-7

31 चदवण्णासमु धम्मु तइत्तिय, अज्ज वि सुदर होत्तिण सोत्तिय

—*Ibid* V. 9.6,

but the imposition of some restriction on the members of the four *Varnas* with reference to their duties and employments³²

Thus, we find that the authors are at great variance with one another with regard to the origin, duties and position of the *Brāhmanas*. And it is obvious that the discrepancies and inconsistencies in the different versions are the results of the individual reactions against the ascendancy of the *Brāhmanas*, the only opponents of Jainism. The accounts, however, show the dominance of the *Varna* in the fourfold social system together with the mixed castes during the periods which the works represent.

Whatever may be their reaction against the Brahmanical ascendancy, the works exhibit remarkable agreement with the Brahmanical sources with regard to the origin of the classes as well as the mixed castes. The *MP*, for example, tells us that originally there existed a single race of undivided body of mankind which subsequently got divided into four *Varnas* due to the different modes of living adopted by the people³³. Now, our study of the Brahmanical sources reveals the same truth regarding the pristine position of mankind. The *Rāmāyana*³⁴ says that in the early days of creation the entire populace consisted of a single class. The *Mahābhārata* also holds that "there is no distinction between the different classes; the entire mankind related to *Brahmā* and created originally by *Brahmā* (the people), on account of their acts, has been divided into various classes"³⁵. The *Vāyupurāṇa*, too, states that in the *Kṛta* age the institution of class and order was non-exis-

32 *Ibid*, V 9-10

33 मनुष्यजातिरेकैव जातिनामोदयोद्भवा ।
वृत्तिभेदाहितादभेदाच्चातुर्विध्यमिहाश्रुते ॥

—*MP* 38 45. Also *JHV* 7 103a

34 *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 30 21

35 न विशेषोऽस्ति वर्णानां सर्वं ब्राह्ममिदं जगत् ।
ब्रह्मणा पूर्वसृष्टं हि कर्मभिर्वर्णं तं गतम् ॥

—*MBh* XII, 188.10

tent³⁶ and the stratification of mankind into the different classes took place in the *Treta* age³⁷ Thus, we find that the Jaina account of the origin of the various *Varnas* echoes the same view as is held out by the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic tradition. Now, like the *Bhagavadgītā*,³⁸ the works in question also suggest that in the beginning the basis of the division of men into four *Varnas* was pre-eminently the natural propensities and aptitudes of the individuals

But the age, when the class of an individual was determined more by his action than by his birth, had passed long before the period which the *Jaina Purāṇas* represent. The institution of classes and castes had already fossilized as the hereditary caste system and the Jaina reaction against the caste-system almost fully subsided under the Brahmanical impact. Naturally the authors concerned adopted, under a new garb, the same Brahmanical scheme of the origin and development of the different classes and castes as is met with in the epics and the *Purāṇas* of the Brahmanical school. Thus, we are told that the men, who were possessed of great strength, were employed by *Rṣabhadeva* in the act of protection (of the people) and became known in the world as the famous *Kṣatriyas*.³⁹ Those, who undertook trade, cultivation, cattle-breeding and were energetic and devoted to business, acquired the

36 वणश्चिमव्यवस्थाश्च न तदासन्.....।

Vāyup 8,61b

37 वर्णानां प्रविभागाश्च त्रेतायां सम्प्रकीर्तिताः ।

—*Ibid* , 57 60a, also see 57 81, 87

38 Lord Kṛṣṇa proclaims that the fourfold *Varna* scheme was created by Him in accordance with the distinct qualities and actions (of the individuals), “चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागश्च”

—IV 13a, also XVIII 41

39 रक्खणकरणिउत्ता, जे तेण नरा महन्तदहसत्ता ।

ते खत्तिया पसिद्धि गया य पुहइम्मि विक्खाया ॥

JPC, 3 115 Also see *RPC* 3 256, *JHV*, 9,39, *MP* 38 46,

name *Vaiśya* ⁴⁰ Those among the masses, who were engaged in low acts and executed orders of others, were classed as *Śūdras* and had manifold division ⁴¹

Now so far as the principal duty of the *Kṣatriya* is concerned, *RPC*, *JHV* and *MP* have obviously based it on the derivative sense of the term *Kṣatra* glossed by the immortal poet *Kālidāsa* as "preserver from injury". Thus like the *Raghuvamśa* all the three works inform us that the *Kṣatriyas* were so called because they were entrusted with (the duty of) preserving (the people) from injury ⁴²

Of all the works, the *Mahāpurāṇa* of *Jinasena* is of particular interest from the standpoint of the comparative study of the topic concerned. For, the Brahmanical theory of the origin of the *Varnas* from the various parts of the Creator's body also finds a modified place in the work. Thus, like the *Purusasūkta* ⁴³ and the *Mahābhārata*, ⁴⁴ the *MP* says that the Lord (*Ṛṣabha*) wielding weapon (in hand) created the *Kṣatriyas* from his arms; ⁴⁵ next, the Master, instructing to undertake journey,

40 वाणिज्ज-करिस्सणाइ गोरक्खण-पालणेसु उज्जुत्ता ।

ते होन्ति वइस्सनामा वावारपरायणा धीरा ॥

—*VPC*. 2 116, *RPC* 3.267, *JHV* 9 39

41. जे नीयकम्मनिरया परपेणकारया विवयकाल ।

ते होन्ति सुद्वग्गा, बहुभेया चैव लोगम्मि ॥

—*VPC*, 3 117, *RPC* 3 268 For all these references to the origin of the classes and their respective duties compare *Gītā*, XVIII 43-44, *MBh* XII. 296 20-21

42 (a) क्षत्रिणो नियुक्ता ये.....क्षत्रिया....।

—*RPC* 3 256a

(b) क्षत्रिणो नियुक्ता हि क्षत्रिया।

—*MP*. 16 243b

(c) क्षत्रिया क्षततस्त्राणात्..... ।

JHV 9 39 and comp

क्षतात् किल त्रायत इत्युदग्र क्षत्रस्य गन्धो भुवनेषु रूढ ।

Raghu II 53

43 *RV* X. 90 12

44. *MBh* VI 67 18b-19a, VIII 32 43b-44a, XII 72 4-5, 296 6

45 स्वदोर्म्या धारयन् दास्य क्षत्रियानसृजद् विभू ।

—*MP*. 16 245a

created the *Vaiśyas* from his thighs⁴⁶, and just from (his) feet, the wise created the *Śūdras* (who were) devoted to the contemptuous mode of life⁴⁷. And ascribing the origin of the *Brāhmanas* to the first *Gakrin*, the work says that *Bharata*, while teaching the *Śāstra*, will create the *Dvijas* (the twice-born) from his mouth⁴⁸.

Besides the above statements with regard to the origin of the *Varnas* we also meet with other versions on the origin, number and nature of the *Varnas* during *Rṣabhadeva's* reign. Śīlāṅka, for example, refers to only two classes of people as having been created by the Lord. The *CMC* states that the single human race was divided into two by the Lord⁴⁹. Those, who stood surrounding the Lord, were *Kṣatriyas* (*Khattiyas*) also called *Rājans* and the remaining were the masses (*Payatiloo* = *Prakṛtilokah*)⁵⁰.

Hemacandra, although referring to the respective duties of the different *Varnas*,⁵¹ does not ascribe the creation of the classes, especially of the *Vaiśyas* and the *Śūdras*⁵² to *Rṣabha*. Instead, he is accredited with the division of the *Kṣatriyas* into the distinct families called *Ugra*, *Bhoga*, *Rājanya* and *Kṣatra*⁵³. Those, who were made incharge of superintendence and were invested with the authority of punishing the lawbreakers, were called *Ugras*⁵⁴, those, who were appointed to the post of

46 ऊरुभ्या दर्शयन् यात्रामन्त्राक्षीद् वणिज प्रभु ।

—*Ibid* 16 244a

47 न्यगृत्तिनियतान् शूद्रान् पद्भ्यामेवासृजत् सुधी ।

—*Ibid* 16 245a.

48 *Vide* above note 28

49 एगा मणुस्मजाई दुहा विहत्ता भगवया ।

CMC, p 39

50 *Ibid* p 39

51 *TSPC* 1 2 34-38

52 However, the four *Varnas* together with two mixed castes, viz *Ambaṣṭha* and *Māgadha*, find mention as acknowledged social institutions

—*Ibid* 2 6 232

53 *TSPC*, 1 2 974

54. *Ibid*, 1 2 975a

ministers, acquired the title *Bhoga*,⁵⁵ the men of Lord's own age were designated as *Rājanyas*⁵⁶ and the remaining people were known as *Kṣātrīyas*⁵⁷ As is evident from the account, the *Kṣātrās*, according to Hemacandra's version, constituted the all-comprising class of men whereof the first three were sub-sections with specific administrative powers

As is obvious, the above-cited diverging statements regarding the origin of the different classes detract much from the authenticity and credibility of the accounts. As such, the versions may be taken as having been actuated by the Jaina authors' desire to accord their sanction to the institution of class. And to make the social organization acceptable to the Jaina order, its origin was tacked on to the mythical father of the faith⁵⁸

However, what is significant is not the question of the origin of the *Varnas*, but the idea of keeping class-and-caste distinction undisturbed. Kings are often praised as preservers of the four *Varnas* and *Āśramas*. But of all the authors Jinasena shows the greatest interest in enjoining the people to follow the avocation of their own families and classes. Like the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic authors and *Smṛtikāras*, he asks the king to check confusion of classes and punish the transgressors: "One, who having abandoned his own mode of life will take to (that of) another (class)", says he, "should be punished by the kings, otherwise, there will occur intermixture of classes."⁵⁹ That

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 1 2 975b

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 1 2 976a

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 1 2 976b

⁵⁸ We also meet with another Jaina view which instead of ascribing the origin of the castes to *Rṣabha* and his son *Bharata*, represents the castes and their observances as existing from eternity—जातयोऽनादय सर्वा-
न्तत्क्रियापि तथाविधा ।)—*Yajñastilaka*, Book VIII, Section 34, quoted in *Yajñastilaka* and *Indian Culture*, p. 332

⁵⁹ म्वामिमा वृत्तिमुत्क्रम्य यस्त्वन्या वृत्तिमाचरेत् ।

स पापिदैनियन्तव्यो वर्णसक्तीणिरन्यथा ॥

these works, at times, give stress on action rather than on descent as the cause of one's greatness 'has nothing extraordinary about it. For, we meet with similar views in the Brahmanical sources not infrequently⁶⁰ Such exhortations are to be taken as forming checks on the members of the different classes and castes against the violation of the duties devolved on them through descent. But even if a member of a particular class did not possess the class characteristics, he was not considered as excommunicated from his class of birth. Thus, while laying down conditions for *Brāhmanahood*, *Jinasena* does not sidetrack birth as a deciding factor of one's class. Instead, he impliedly acknowledges the hereditary nature of one's class by holding that if a *Brāhmana* be devoid of austerity and learning, he, then, must be looked upon as a *Brāhmana* only by birth⁶¹

Rights and Duties of the Varnas

As is evident from the preceding accounts, the main duties of the *Kṣatriyas* were the protection of the masses and the conduct of war. They were entitled to the statutory sacraments for attaining *Dnyahood*. Performance of non-injurious sacrifices, giving gifts to the deserving persons, study and worship were their cultural and religious activities. Besides, eligibility for rulership and *Jina-hood*⁶² was their special privilege.

Cattle-breeding, cultivation and trade and commerce were the special duties of the *Vaiśyas*. Like the *Kṣatriyas*, the *Vaiśyas* are also allowed to observe the sacraments. Thus, as

60 See, for example, *MBh* III 180 20-37, 181.42-43, 216 12-15, which state that the *Varna* of an individual is to be judged by his action and not by his birth.

61. तपः श्रुतञ्च जातिश्च त्रयं ब्राह्मण्यकारणम् ।

तपःश्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जातिर्ब्राह्मण एव स ॥

—MP 38 43 cf *Mahābhārata* (III 216 13-15), which goes still further in denouncing a *Brāhmana* without good deeds as a *Sūdra*. It states in clear terms that the *Brāhmana* who is vain and haughty, who is sinful and evil-minded and who indulges in degraded actions is no better than *Sūdra*."

62 According to the Jaina belief, no Jina was born in a class other than *Kṣatriya*.

in the Brahmanical sources, the *Vaiśyas*, according to the *MP*, are entitled to *Dmja*-hood

Our perusal of the Jaina *Purāṇas* shows that the attitude of the Jaina authors towards the *Śūdras* is the same as that of the *epic-Purāṇic* authors and *Smṛti*-writers. It is really remarkable that the faith, which had greater regard for *Śvapāka*⁶³ (the son of a *Candāla* and a *Brāhmaṇ*) than for a *Brāhmaṇa*, gives the *Śūdras* the same status in the social set up as has been given to them in the Brahmanical works. In all the texts under discussion they are branded as men of mean acts. Their main duty is stated to be the service of the three higher classes⁶⁴. They are not allowed the privilege of sacraments⁶⁵. Thus as in the Brahmanical sources, the *Śūdras* are considered in the Jaina *Purāṇas* as incapable of purificatory rites and other acts of religious and cultural importance.

The *Śūdras* are divided into two groups of artisans and non-artisans who are further subdivided into touchables and untouchables. Among the artisans *Jinasena* mentions only two by name, viz *Rājaka* (washerman) and *Karttika*⁶⁶ (barber?). Beyond this *Jinasena* says nothing about the various subsections of the mixed castes.

Śīlāṅka is possibly the only Jaina author to have supplied a list of some of the principal sub-sections of the different classes. Besides the four *Varnas*, he mentions sixteen mixed castes⁶⁷ whose description clearly shows that he has based his version principally on the *Manusmṛti* which gives them the same origin as *Śīlāṅka* does. Those castes as mentioned by *Śīlāṅka* are (i) *Pahāṇakhattā* (*Pradhāna-Kṣatriya*), (ii) *Pahāṇavāṭsa* (*Pradhāna-Vaiśya*), (iii) *Pahāṇa-suddha* (*Pradhāna-Śūdra*), (iv) *Ambattā* (*Ambaṣṭha*), (v) *Ugga* (*Ugra*), (vi) *Nisāa* (*Niṣāda*), (vii) *Ayoga*, (viii) *Māgaha* (*Māgadha*), (ix) *Suā* (*Sūta*), (x) *Khattā* (*Kṣattā*), (xi) *Vaḍdeha* (*Vaideha*), (xii) *Caṇḍāla*, (xiii)

63 c g *Uttarā* 12 1ff

64 वण्णत्तयपेसणसमाणु वि

—PMP. V. 10 4. Also see above note 41.

65 *Vide* above note 21.

66 *AP.* 16 185-86

67. *CMC.* p. 29.

Sovāga (*Śvapāka*), (xiv) *Vainava* (*Vena*), (xv) *Bokkasa* (*Pukkasa*) and (xvi) *Kakkadaā* (*Karkaṭaka*=*Kukkutaka*)

Of the above names the first three are significant, for we do not find their mention in the epics and in the *Smṛtis* of *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya*. The author while referring to their origin says that (the son begotten) by a *Brāhmaṇa* or a *Kṣatriya* woman (was called) *Pradhānakṣatriya*,⁶⁸ from a *Kṣatriya* father and a *Vaiśya* on a *Śūdrā* woman (was called) *Pradhānaśūdra*.⁶⁹ As is evident from the description and the names, the persons so classed are treated as having acquired the classes to which their mothers belonged by descent. And as implied by the adjunct *Pradhāna* prefixed to the classnames, the members of the said classes are considered to be superior to the ordinary *Kṣatriyas*, *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras*. Thus, on account of his fathers' higher class, a *Pradhāna-Kṣatriya* is superior to a *Kṣatriya* whose father being a *Kṣatriya* is inferior to the father of the *Pradhānakṣatriya* with regard to the class. Similarly, a *Pradhānavaiśya* is deemed higher in social prestige than the *Vaiśyas* born of the parents of the same caste. The name *Pradhānaśūdra* is likewise suggestive of the fact that the offspring of a *Vaiśya* father and a *Śūdra* mother were considered to be superior to the issues of a *Śūdra* father and a *Śūdra* mother. It is, however, remarkable that in all the above cases, it is not the fathers' castes but those of the mothers which have been accepted as the basis of the three special class-names.

Now, a comparison of *Śilānka's* version with the views of *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya* reveals that the above three castes are not different from the Brahmanical *Mūrdhāvaskta*, *Māhiṣya* and *Karana* who are stated to have sprung from the same marital alliances to which the *Pradhānakṣatriya*, *Pradhānavaiśya* and the *Pradhānaśūdra* owe their origin according to *Śilānka*. As stated

⁶⁸ माहणेण खत्तियाणीए पहाणखत्तिओ,

CMC, p. 39

⁶⁹ एव खत्तियेण वइसीए पहाणवइसो, वइसेण
सुदीए पहाणसुदो

4—Ibid., p. 39.

by *Yājñavalkya*, the son born of a *Brāhmaṇa* father and a *Kṣatriya* mother was called a *Mūrdhāvasikta*,⁷⁰ the son of a *Kṣatriya* man by his *Vaiśya* wife was called a *Māhiṣya* and the son of a *Vaiśya* father and a *Śūdra* mother belonged to the caste called *Karana*.⁷² *Manu* does not refer to the above mentioned castes by any specific names. He simply calls them *Anantaras*,⁷³ i.e. belonging to the next lower castes than those of their fathers. This suggests that the son of a *Brāhmaṇa* father and a *Kṣatriya* mother was reckoned as belonging to the *Kṣatriya* caste—the original class of his mother. Similarly, the offspring of a *Kṣatriya* by his *Vaiśya* wife and those of a *Vaiśya* by his *Śūdra* castes respectively. However, on account of their fathers' higher classes than their mothers' castes, those *Anantaras* were treated as similar to their fathers with regard to social prestige.⁷⁴ This being the case, *Śīlāṅka's* representation of the three sub-classes may be taken as based on *Manu's* concept of the *Anantaras*, specifically styled by *Yājñavalkya* as *Mūrdhāvasikta*, *Māhiṣya* and *Karana* respectively.

As to the remaining mixed castes, *Śīlāṅka's* description of their origin is in substantial agreement with *Manu's* concept of the origin of the mixed castes. *Śīlāṅka* tells us that from a *Brāhmaṇa* by the daughter of a *Vaiśya* was born an *Ambastha*,⁷⁵ from *Kṣatriya* by the daughter of a *Śūdra* was born an *Ugra*⁷⁶ and from a *Brāhmaṇa* by the daughter of a *Śūdra* was born a *Niṣāda*.⁷⁷ Again in an inverse order, by a *Śūdra* on the daugh-

70. विप्रान्मूर्ध्नावसिक्तो हि क्षत्रियायाम्...

Yājña 1.4.91a.

71. *Ibid*, 1.4.92b

72. वैश्यात्तु करणं शूद्रायाम्...

Ibid, 1.4.92b

73. *Manu* X. 14

74. *Ibid*, X. 6

75. माहुरेण वइसीए अवट्ठो ।

—*CMC*, p. 39 *Manu* X. 8

76. त्वत्तिण सुट्ठोए उगो ।

—*Ibid* p. 39, cf. *Manu* X. 8.

77. माहुरेण सुट्ठोए निसादो ।

—*Ibid*. p. 39, *Manu* X. 8

ter of a *Vaiśya* was begotten an *Ayogava*,⁷⁸ from a *Vaiśya* male and a *Kṣatriya* female was born a *Māgadha*,⁷⁹ from a *Kṣatriya* father and a *Brāhmaṇa* mother sprang a *Sūta* ⁸⁰ Again, by a *Sūdra* on a *Kṣatriya* woman was begotten a *Kṣatta*,⁸¹ from a *Vaiśya* father and a *Brāhmaṇa* mother was born a *Vaiśdeha* ⁸² From a *Sūdra* by a *Brāhmaṇa* female sprang a *Cāṇḍāla*⁸³, by an *Ugra* on the daughter of a *Kṣatta* was begotten a *Śvapāka* ⁸⁴ The son begotten by a *Vaiśdeha* on a *Kṣatta* woman was called a *Vainava*,⁸⁵ the son of a *Niṣāda* either by an *Ambaṣṭha* female or by the daughter of a *Sūdra* was a *Pukkasa*⁸⁶, and one born of a *Sūdra* father and a *Niṣāda* mother was called a *Karkataka*.⁸⁷

78 पच्छाणुपुन्वीए सुद्देण वइसीए अयोगव ।

—CMC. p 39, *Manu* X 12

79 वइसेण खत्तियाणीए मागहो ।

—*Ibid* , p 39, *Manu* X 11

80 खत्तिएणं माहणीए सुओ ।

—*Ibid.*, p 39, *Manu* X 11

81 सुद्देण खत्तियाणीए खत्ता ।

—CMC p 39, *Manu* X 12

82 वइसेण माहणीए वहदेहो ।

—CMC p 39, *Manu* X 11 For all the above castes also compare *Mahābhārata* XIII 48 10-13

83 सुद्देण माहणीए चडालो ।

—CMC p 39, *Manu* X 12; MBh XIII 48 11

84 उग्गेण खत्ताए सोवागो ।

—*Ibid* , p 39 According to *Manu*, the father of a *Śvapāka* was a *Kṣatta* and the mother was the daughter of an *Ugra* (*Manu* X 19)

85 वइदेहेण खत्ताए वइणवो ।

—CMC p 39 This caste seems to be the same as *Manu's* *Vena*, stated to have been begotten by a *Vaiśdehaka* on an *Ambaṣṭha* women

86 अक्कठीए सुद्दीए वा णिसाएण जाओ वक्कको ।

—CMC p 39, *Manu* 18'

87 णिसायोए सुद्दण जाओ कक्कडओ

—CMC p. 39 *Manu* calls the caste a *Kakkukaka* (X. 18.)

Now, so far as the duties and privileges of the *Brāhmanas* are concerned, the works do not show any marked disagreement with the Brahmanical *epic-Purāṇic* tradition. These texts, too, recognize this class as the highest among the three higher classes. Of all the works the *MP* appears to be the only *Purāṇa* to have elaborately dealt with the rights and obligations of the *Brāhmanas*. As in the Brahmanical sources, the *Brāhmanas* are exhorted to follow their duties consisting of *Adhiti* (study), *Adhyāpāna* (teaching), *Dāna* (giving gifts to the deserving), *Pratīcchā* (receiving gifts from others), *Ijyā*⁸⁸ (sacrifice) and *Yājana*⁸⁹ (sacrificing for others). Another special duty assigned to a *Brāhmaṇa* is the maintenance of the three sacred fires. The authors, like the Brahmanical *epic-Purāṇic* and *Smṛti*-writers, exhort the *Brāhmaṇa* to keep the three fires burning and perform fire ritual constantly.⁹⁰ As enjoined by *Jinasena* "the three great fires, celebrated as *Gārhapatya*, *Āhavanīya* and *Dakṣiṇa*, should be consecrated in three hearths and the best of the twice-born, offering daily worship in the three sacred fires with the accompaniment of sacred formulas should be known as *Āhutaḥṇi*, in whose house (there is) perpetual sacrifice"⁹¹ Before we proceed further, we must note that the

88 अवीत्यध्यापने दान प्रतीच्छेज्येति तत्क्रिया ।

—AP, 16 246b comp *Manu* X. 75-76 MBh XIII. 141.68.

89 *MP* 39 103

90. The *Mahābhārata* (XII.59 69), for example enjoins a *Brāhmaṇa* householder to be constant in offering oblations to the three sacred fires (वैताननित्यश्च गृहाश्रमी स्यात्) The fire ritual performed with the three sacred fires, called respectively *Gārhapatya*, *Āhavanīya* and *Dakṣiṇa*, is called *Vaitāna* which is equivalent to *Śrauta Agnihotra*. See *Pāraskara*, quoted by *Kullūka* on *Manu*, V 84 *Kullūka* (on *Manu* VI 9), relying on the same source, explains the term *Vitāna* as the disposition of the fire of the *Gārhapatya* hearth in both the *Āhavanīya* and *Dakṣiṇa* hearths. The fires are collectively known as *Tretā* and *Agnitraya*.

91 कुण्डत्रये प्रणेतव्यास्त्रय एते महानयः ।

गार्हपत्याहवनीयदक्षिणाग्निप्रसिद्धयः ॥

अस्मिन्मन्त्रे पूजां मन्त्रं कुर्वन् द्विजोत्तम ।

प्राहितान्गिरिनि ज्ञेयो नित्येज्या यस्य सप्तनि ॥

MP. 40.84-85. Also see *Ibid.* 47.351b-54.

conception of a *Brāhmana* as a perpetual fire-worshipper is one of the many non-Jaina elements introduced in Jainism under the unescapable influence of the Brahmanical religious practices. For, as is well known to us, Jainism as a rule was highly critical of the Brahmanical fire ritual⁹² Still, amazingly enough, sometimes one and the same work prescribes, on the one hand, the fire ritual as an essential part of the Jaina system of worship⁹³ and, on the other, criticizes those "who believe that the gods are pleased by an oblation burnt in the fire"⁹⁴ Thus, in view of the fact that the Jaina faith has adopted the same Brahmanical customs and practices which it has vehemently attacked, the latter aspect may logically be treated as forming part of the customary Jaina reaction against the Brahmanical faith

Now, coming to the other rights and responsibilities of the *Brāhmanas*, we find that those as laid down in the *MP* and in some of the other Jaina *Purānas* have nothing uncommon with the rights and duties of their counterparts in the Brahmanical sources. A *Brāhmana*, for example, is stated to be immune from capital punishment, for, "owing to the excellence of virtue a *Brāhmana* is not liable to death from others"⁹⁵ To prove himself a worthy one, a *Brāhmana* is required ten qualities which constitute his rights and duties both. These ten characteristics are prescribed as incentives to him for the due discharge of other obligations devolved on him. These

92 *Uttarā* 12 39 43, 44, *UP* 74 488-89, CMC pp 261-62

93 *TSPC*, 1 2 313-315, I 6 556-57, 3 1 157-58

94 बह्वौ ह्युतेन हव्येन देवप्रीणनमानिनाम् ॥

—*Ibid* 4 2 340b and ff

95 ब्राह्मणो हि गुणोष्कर्षन्नान्यतो वधमर्हति ॥

—*MP* 40 104b cf *TSPC* 4 1 316

which allows a *Brāhmana* to enjoy unqualified immunity from capital punishment. It enjoins that "a *Brāhmana* though he says something monstrous and acts perversely, cannot be killed, because he is a *Brāhmana*." Compare *Manu* VIII 380-81. The *MBh* (XIII 33 24b) states that "the great sages declare the murder of a *Brāhmana* to be a great sin" (ब्रह्महत्या महान् दोष इत्याहुः परमर्षयः)

privileges as enumerated by Jinasena are. (i) *Ati-bāla-vidyā*, (ii) *Kulāvadhī*, (iii) *Varnottamatva*, (v) *Srṣṭyadhikāntā*, (vi) *Vyavahāre-śitā*, (vii) *Avadhyatva*, (viii) *Adandyatva*, (ix) *Mānārhatā* and (x) *Prajā-sambandhāntara*

1. *Ati-bāla-vidyā*⁹⁶

This is the first of the ten privileges of a *Brāhmana*. *Jina-sena* means by the phrase that a *Brāhmana* boy should undertake the study of the sciences in his infancy. Otherwise, there is every danger of his falling prey to the false teachings of the so-called *Brāhmaṇas*. In other words, what Jinasena intends to state is that a *Brāhmana*-boy should begin study comparatively at an early age than the members of the other twice-born classes. Thus the theory advanced by the author of the *MP* is in perfect conformity with that of the Brahmanical authors who have likewise proclaimed that a *Brāhmana* boy should start his studentship in as early an age as possible.⁹⁷

2. *Kulāvadhī*⁹⁸

This refers to the preservation of one's family traditions; in its absence, a *Brāhmana*, with his lost duty peculiar to his family, will deflect to another family. The idea expressed under this head is that a *Brāhmana* should discharge his duties in accordance with his family traditions.⁹⁹

3. *Varnottamatva*¹⁰⁰

This constitutes the privilege of the *Brāhmana*. The meaning is that a *Brāhmana*, by his noble conduct, should establish the superiority of his class over the other classes.

96 *MP* 40 178-180

97 *Manu*, for example, enjoins that the initiation of a *Brāhmana* (boy) who desires proficiency in sacred lore should take place in the fifth (year after conception) II 37.

98 *MP* 40-181

99 This guarded instruction is in perfect keeping with the oft-repeated Brahmanical, especially the *Mahābhārata* injunction that a *Brāhmana* must fulfil his class-obligations. It is not unfrequently that a *Brāhmana*, neglectful of his prescribed duties, is threatened with dire consequences here and hereafter. See, for example, *MBh* XII 02 4.

100. *MP* 40 182-84.

4 *Pātratva*¹⁰¹

A *Brāhmana* should entitle himself to the gifts and presents from the Society. For, on account of his great virtues, he is worthy of gifts

5 *Sṛṣṭyadhikāritā*¹⁰²

A *Brāhmana* must follow and propagate the Jaina concept of the origin of the various institutions of social and religious importance. Otherwise, the people may be led astray by the absurd theory of creation propounded by the heretics.

6 *Vyavahāreṣitā*¹⁰³

Full freedom with regard to the acts of expiation, etc. is called *Vyavahāreṣitā*. Without it a *Brāhmana* cannot purify either himself or others.

7. *Avadhyatā*

The best of the twice born (a *Brāhmana*) must be firm-minded also with regard to his right to inviolability ¹⁰⁴

8 *Adandyatā*¹⁰⁵

A *Brāhmana* must justify his claim to impunity. Therefore Jinasena advises the king and other authorities not to take the property of a (righteous) *Brāhmana*. Thus, like the Brahmanical sources he holds that "just as the property of the gods and of the preceptors is not to be seized by those seeking (their) welfare, even so is the property of a *Brāhmana*. Therefore, a twiceborn (*Brāhmana*) is not liable to punishment."¹⁰⁶

101 *Ibid*, 40 185-86102 *Ibid*, 40 187-91103 *Ibid*, 40 192-93

104 स्यादवध्याधिकारेऽपि स्थिरात्मा द्विजसत्तमः ।

MP 40 194a Also see above note 95

105 MP 40 199-203 cf MBh XII 56 22, 59 59

106 परिहार्यं यथा देवगुरुद्रव्य हितार्थिभिः ।

ब्रह्मस्व च तथाभूतं न दण्डार्हस्ततो द्विजः ॥

—MP 40 201

cf MBh XIII 129 4b, which shows similar leniency to the *Brāhmanas*. According to the epic direction, "the property of a *Brāhmana* must not be seized by one desirous of his (own) welfare" ब्रह्मस्व हि न हर्त्तव्यमात्मनो हितमिच्छता) Also see *ibid* XIII 9 15a 18a, 101 11ff, XII 75 11-12

9 *Mānārhatā*¹⁰⁷

A *Brāhmaṇa* should endeavour to command the respect from others, "for one, excelling in virtues, is venerated, praised and worshipped by the great"¹⁰⁸

10 *Prajāsambandhāntara*¹⁰⁹

Under this head a *Brāhmaṇa* is advised to be in touch with the people to keep them firmly devoted to the Jaina faith.

It is interesting to note that of the above privileges of a *Brāhmaṇa* those put forth as *Patrātva*, *Avadhyatā*, *Adandyatā* and *Mānārhatā* are identical in spirit with the Brahmanical claim to the four special privileges as laid in the vedic literature under the following heads¹¹⁰.

- (i) *Arcaṇā* (Veneration),
- (ii) *Dāna* (gifts and presents),
- (iii) *Ajeyatā* (invincibility, i.e. Freedom from oppression and injury), and
- (iv) *Avadhyatā* (Freedom from capital punishment).

It is obvious that the expressions, *Varnottamatva* and *Vyavahāreṣṭā* are suggestive of the same Brahmanical claim to supremacy over the remaining classes as is put forward in the Brahmanical works¹¹¹. Not only that, the *Brahmanas*, on account of their moral and spiritual excellence,—both real and ima-

107. *MP.* 40/204-6

108 "गुणाधिको हि मान्य स्याद्वन्द्य. पूज्यश्च सत्तमः ।"

—*ibid*, 20 204b.

Compare, for example, *MBh* XIII 33 6-7ff

109 *MP.* 40 207-211

110 *Sat Br* II 5 7 6, *Av* VI 17 10, both quoted in R K Chaudhary, *Problems and Methods of Socio-Economic History of Ancient India in New Perspective*, *JBRs*, Vol LIV, Parts I-IV (1968), p 103

111 As a matter of fact, in the epic and the law books of the Brahmanical school, this claim to supremacy of the *Brāhmaṇa* class has found expression with greater force than in the vedic literature. The *Mahābhārata* is full of exhortations directing the non *Brāhmaṇa* members of the society to obey and honour the *Brāhmanas* ungrudgingly, "for, a twice-born (*Brāhmaṇa*) is, indeed, the teacher, the eldest and most excellent of all the classes" (गुरुर्हि सर्ववर्णानां ज्येष्ठः श्रेष्ठश्च वै द्विजः)

—*MBh* XII 72 11b). Also see *Manu* II 20, X 3,

ginary—are conceived as above the usual *Varna*-scheme. As asserted by Jinasena, “these most excellent among the twice-born, with dignity acquired by the ceremonious observance of religious vows and (muttering of) sacred formulas etc, must not be regarded as included in the *Varnas*”¹¹² This being the case, it is claimed that no tax should be levied on the *Brāhmanas*¹¹³

It is also remarkable that like *Manu*¹¹⁴ and the epic-Purāṇic¹¹⁵ authors Jinasena, too, views a *Brāhmana* as a divinity in human form. In Jinasena’s opinion a *Brāhmana* acquires divine character by self-elevation as well as by mastery of some of the supernatural powers such as *Mahimā* (power of increasing size at will), *Garimā* (power of making himself heavy), *Prāpti* (power of obtaining everything), *Prākāmya* (irresistible will-power), *Īśitva* (supremacy) and *Vaśitva* (power of subduing everyone to his own will).¹¹⁶

It is, however, important to note that the divine nature and other qualities thus ascribed to the *Brāhmanas* as well as their duties and privileges do not refer to all the *Brāhmanas*, irrespectively of their faiths. Jinasena classifies the *Brāhmanas* into two groups, viz. *Kṛṣṇa* (black) and *Śukla* (white). In the first group are included the non-Jaina *Brāhmanas* who are branded as of impure conduct and in the second group are reckoned the Jaina *Brāhmanas* who stand for purity¹¹⁷ In Jinasena’s opinion, the *Brāhmanas* placed in the Black-class should not be treated as better than the ordinary people, as such the privileges conceded to the *Brāhmana* class must not be given to them¹¹⁸ It is in this context the *Brāhmanas* of the Vedic School

112 वर्णान्त पातिनो नैते मन्तव्या द्विजसत्तमा ।

व्रतमन्त्रादि-सस्कारसमारोपितगौरवा ॥

—MP. 39 131.

113 *Ibid* , 42.181-192, 58-100

114 IX. 317, 319, XI 84

115 c g MBh XIII 35 21, 47 42

116 MP 39 104-107

117 *Ibid* 39 138-40

118 *Ibid* 42 181-186,

are assailed for preaching Activistic Religion¹¹⁹ (प्रवृत्तिलक्षण धर्म) and animal sacrifices. Kings are asked to realize revenue from these so-called *Brāhmanas*¹²⁰

As regards the institution of the stages of life, the Jaina *Purāṇas*, as a rule, acknowledge only two, viz *Sāgārāśrama* (the order of a householder) and *Nirāgārāśrama* (the order of a monk). These *Āśramas* are said to have originated during the reign of *Rṣabhadeva*¹²¹. The Jaina authors repudiate the idea of accepting more than two stages of man's life. *Raviṣena*, for example, states that "the prescribed conduct is declared to be of two varieties, (one) of the householders and (the other) of the monks. Those who accept a third one are, indeed, burnt with the fire of delusion"¹²².

Nevertheless, Jināsena's description of the sacramental rites prescribed for the *Dvijas* (twice-born men) provides sufficient ground to believe that the author of the *MP* sanctions the *Āśrama*-scheme in a somewhat masked way¹²³. The four stages have been covered under various designations practically in the same order as in the *Brahmanical* works. Thus, some rites and rituals are enjoined to be performed in the *Brahmacaryāśrama*, others in the *Gr̥hasthāśrama*, a few in the *Vānaprastha* and some are to be observed in the *Samnyāsāśrama*. And, although critical of the Brahmanical scheme,¹²⁴ the author of the *MP* recognizes the four *Āśramas* in the same order and under the same names as the legitimate Jaina orders. He, however, impresses upon us that the Brahmanical fourfold *Āśrama* scheme is erroneous.

119 Ibid 41 51-52, also 39 136 and cf *MBh* (XIII 141 76a) which holds that the religion marked by activities is intended for the house-holders (प्रवृत्तिलक्षणो धर्मो गृहस्थेषु विधीयते)

120 *MP*. 42 181 191

121 *RPC* 5 196

122 सागाराणां यतीनाञ्च धर्मोऽसौ द्विविधः स्मृतः ।
तृतीयः ये तु मन्यन्ते दग्धास्ते मोहवह्निना ॥

—*Ibid*, 4 45

123. See the following chapter

124 *MP* 39, 24, 151b

In the Jaina system, on the other hand, the *Āśramas* are so formulated as to invest the individual with more and more purity as he passes from one stage to the other. Thus, *Jinasena* sums up by observing that "the purity of the four *Āśramas* is possible (only) in the Jaina faith. The four stages of life of others (are only) seemingly agreeable. *Brahmacārīn* (student of the sacred lore), *Gṛhastha* (house-holder), *Vānaprastha* (anchorite) and *Bhikṣuka* (religious beggar)—these *Āśramas* (stages of life) of the *Jainas* are dependent on ever-increasing purity"¹²⁵ We, however, do not find any marked difference between the *Brahmanical Āśrama* scheme and the one envisaged by *Jinasena*. Hence, *Jinasena's* stricture on the Brahmanical institution may be taken as a part of the usual Jaina reaction against the Brahmanical social organization.

The Aims of human existence

Viewed from the standpoint of the position of the four *Puruṣārthas* in man's life, the *Purāṇas* in question are of no less significance. A perusal of the works reveals that the Jaina attitude towards the normal life of the laity is in substantial agreement with the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic concept of the same. For, it is well-known to us that according to the Brahmanical view of life, the four objects, viz *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa* are the only ends or goals of human existence. These are the chief motivating forces which urge man to action. Of these four aims, the last viz *Mokṣa* does not come within the scope of normal endeavours of the average, for *Mokṣa* can be attained only by a few in any particular life through ceaseless efforts extending to several births.¹²⁶ Further

¹²⁵ चतुर्णामाश्रमाणां च शुद्धिः स्यादाहंते मते ।

चातुराश्रम्यमन्येषामविचारितसुन्दरम् ॥

ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थश्च वानप्रस्थोऽथ भिक्षुक ।

इत्याश्रमास्तु जैनानामुत्तरोत्तरशुद्धितः ॥

—39 151-52 It is remarkable that the first line of the verse

152 is identical with the *MBh* XII 242 13a which reads as follows

ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थश्च वानप्रस्थोऽथ भिक्षुक

¹²⁶ *Viḍe. Bg* VI 45,

more, the attempt to gain this goal requires the renunciation of the world and worldliness. Therefore, the retirement from the social life is normally the essential condition for the realization of the fourth end,¹²⁷ which is the *summum bonum* of human existence. As such, for the man in the society, the epic-Purāṇic texts refer only to the group of the first three *Puruṣārthas*, popularly called *Trivarga*.¹²⁸

With regard to the above aspect of the Hindu view of life, the Jaina *Purāṇas* show marked agreement with the epics. For, in spite of their occasional preachings for exclusive and direct pursuit of *Mokṣa*, the works in question recognise *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* as the ends of human existence.¹²⁹ As such, quite contrary to their otherwise strong advocacy in favour of direct asceticism for attaining salvation, these works often refer to the group of only the first three goals, viz *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*,¹³⁰ the last two being the concern of the householders alone.

As in the epics, the ends are placed, in the works, in the same order of the descending values. *Dharma* stands supreme in the scheme of the three *Puruṣārthas*,¹³¹ for it not only contributes towards the satisfaction of man's economic, aesthetic and emotional cravings, but also leads on to the celestial world and eventually serves as the only source of salvation.¹³² Now, on the merit of their secondary importance in man's life here and hereafter, *Artha* and *Kāma* occupy respectively the second and third positions among the three ends.¹³³ These two are considered as *Puruṣārthas* only when these are served in accordance with the dictates of *Dharma*. And when coming in the way of *Dharma*

127 Hence, the fourth stage, popularly known as *Samnyāsāśrama* is also called *Mokṣāśrama*,—MBh. XII 192 6a. Also see XII 245 2-5.

128 e.g. MBh. XII 191 10. Cf. AP 2 31.

129 As in the epics, these ends find mention in the works as *Trivarga* (group of three), MP 1 118, 2 31; 24 5a.

130. MP 24 5a, 44 50a, 51 8a, 53 5, 54 34, 57-6, 59 6, 62 27, 38, 63 255b. TSPC 2 1 29, 225.

131 MBh. XII 167 8a.

132 *Ibid.*, XII 167 7-9, 123 4a. *Rāmā* III 9 30-31.

133 MBh. XII 167 8.

the two ends cease to be *Puruṣārthas* and degrade to the state of vices called greed (*lobha*) and lust (baser *Kāma*). Hence, *Artha* and *Kāma* are subordinated to *Dharma*

Like the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic sources, the works under discussion also maintain that the moral, material and emotional or sexual interests of man must be co-ordinated to each other and the well-being of humanity consists in the harmonious conduct and management of the three *Puruṣārthas*¹³⁴ Moreover, the proportionate service of the three ends not only leads one to worldly happiness but also brings about supreme bliss hereafter The importance of the regulated management of the goals has been variously emphasized Reference may be made, for example, to a dialogue between a king and his merchant friend, throwing sufficient light on the attitude of Purāṇic Jainism towards these ends. We are told that when asked by the king about the respective relationship between the aims of human existence, the discerning merchant avers that all the ends, when served by a right-thinking man, are mutually complementary to each other, but these turn non co-operative and even mutually antagonistic for a man of false intuition¹³⁵ Such examples can be multiplied to any number where harmonious co-existence of the goals as well as their proper quantum, place and time have been emphasized over and over again just in the same spirit as is evinced in the epics, the law-books and the *Purāṇas* of the Brahmanical school

The significance and value of the *Puruṣārthas* as the vital urging forces of human life were so much left by the Jaina *Purāṇa* writers that besides their illustration through suitable tales and anecdotes, the goals have been made bases of division of human being into different classes *Śīlāṅka*, for instance, has put mankind into six classes according to one's attitude towards the four aims The six classes, as mentioned by *Śīlāṅka*, are¹³⁶ (I) the worst (*Ahamāhama*), (II) the bad (*Ahama*), (III) the

134 MP 51 8, 59, 6b CMC p 3 TSPC 2 1 29; 2 1 225 Compare MBh II, 5 19 20, V 37 50 Rāmā II, 100 62-93, IV 38 20b-21a, VI, 63 9-10, 12

135 MP 46 333-334

136 CMC, p 2

most middling (*Vimajjhima*), (IV) the middling (*Majjhima*), (V) the excellent (*Uttima*) and (VI) the most excellent (*Uttimottima*)

In the 'worst' class are included those men who are without the knowledge of (the nature and significance of) *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma*, etc. in man's life as well as their contribution to its upkeep, stability, growth and development. These persons are given to inaction, and as such, never strive for acquiring merits. The men reckoned in this group may conceivably be equated with the men of *Tāmasic* properties as illustrated in the *Bhagavadgītā*¹³⁷ Like the men of *Tāmasic* disposition, these persons never strive for the future world, are devoid of meritorious deeds, and, therefore, even the smallest particle of pleasure derived from the experience of five sense objects is unknown to them. These stupid and unrighteous people perpetrate cruel acts and always engaged in sinful practices, they are never happy in this life and hereafter.

It is to be noted here that the men included in the above group are the outcastes and barbarous tribes subsisting by the most reprehended occupations. These, as enumerated by *Śīlāṅka*, are pig-dealers (*Soyariya*=*Saukarika*), *Kavartas* (*Kevaṭṭa*), *Bhilla*, *Pulinda*, charcoalburners (*Ingāladāhaya*), wood-cutters (*Kaṭṭhacchindaya*), donkey-drivers (*Kharavāhaya*) and hunters (*Loddhaya*) and similar others.¹³⁸ In *Śīlāṅka*'s opinion, their incapability of doing righteous deeds is the result of grievous stupidity inherent in their nature from their condemned birth due to the bad acts done in the previous birth. Thus, *Śīlāṅka* is not inclined to give them any concession regarding the possibility of redemption from their doomed life here and hereafter. This shows in him lack of that liberal outlook which is shown by the epic poets at several places in the *Mahābhārata*. For, the epic tells us that men born even in the lowest and most condemned castes have every possibility of redeeming them-

137. XVIII 28, 32, 35, 39

138 त य सोयरिया केवट्टा भिल्ला पुलिदा इगालदाहया कट्ठच्छिन्दया खरवाहया लोद्धयाइणो...

selves from low births in future life through the due discharge of duties belonging to their castes.¹³⁹ We are further told that the fulfilment of caste-obligation, even though it may appear worthless or bad, is one of the effective ways of attaining final emancipation ¹⁴⁰

Adhama type of men are those who value only *Artha* and *Kāma* ¹⁴¹ They do not care for the next world, crave after sensuous pleasures, ridicule righteous persons and reproach the way of liberation, disbelieve (the teachings of) *Dharmaśāstra* and are averse to the narrative of divine personages ¹⁴² Hence, (for them) there is no *Puruṣārtha* excepting *Artha* and *Kāma* Such people prize sensuous pleasures over all objects and strive to amass wealth for the enjoyment of *Kāma* Thus, "subject to the five senses, the vile, ruined as they are on account of their perverted understanding, lead also others to destruction by imparting false instruction (to them)" ¹⁴³

The characteristics of the *Adhama* type, as put forth above, compare well with those of the men of the Demonic nature, briefly described in the *Gītā* ¹⁴⁴ Besides, the epics abound in both precepts and examples that warn people of the disastrous consequences of the exclusive pursuit of *Kāma* In the opinion of the epic poets "*Artha* has always *Dharma* as its root and *Kāma* is declared to be the fruit of *Artha*." ¹⁴⁵ Thus, *Dharma* is

139. c.g. *MBh* XIII 143 26-51

140. *Ibid.*, III 207 20, 208 9 209 40 *Bg* XVIII 45-49.

141. "अहमा उण अत्यकामेक्कदिण्हियया....."

CMC p 2

142. ...ववगयपरलोचिन्ता इन्दियसुहाहिलासिणो...!...उवहसति धम्मिय-
ज्जण, णिदति मोक्खमग्ग, दुगुछन्ति धम्मसत्थ विउस्सन्ति देवकहालाव ।

Ibid, p 2

143. पचेदियवसगया...अहमा सय एट्ठा परेसि पि असव्भूयोवएसप्पयाणेण
विणासे पयट्ठति ।

—*Ibid*, p 3

144. XVI 7-12, 16-20

145. धर्ममूल सदेवार्थ कामोऽर्थफलमुच्यते

—*MBh* XII 123 4a *Jinasena*

expresses almost similar view when he remarks that "of the tree of *Dharma*, *Artha* is the fruit and *Kāma* (is) [its juice]" (...धर्मतरोरर्थः

फल कामस्तु तद्रस)

—*AP* 2 31a.

the source of both *Artha* and *Kāma*, and the last has for its sources both *Dharma* and *Artha*. Hence, according to the epic, "he, who, having forsaken both *Dharma* and *Artha*, follows only *Kāma*, suffers here loss of wisdom from the abandonment of *Dharma* and *Artha*"¹⁴⁶ We are further reminded that "from loss of wisdom one goes to complete ruin"¹⁴⁷ Thus, we find that *Śilānka*'s representation of the *Adhama* type of people is not different from the epic view.

Vimajjhīmas (*Vimadhyama*) are those who serve *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* in harmonious aggregate¹⁴⁸ The householder belonging to the three higher classes such as *Brāhmanas*, *Rājanyas* (*Kṣatriyas*) and *Vanīks* (*Viśīyas*) constitute this group. These men act righteously, avoid the act that is detrimental to the other world (life hereafter), practise penance and give gifts etc. with an object of gaining fortune, beauty, much wealth and many sons in future birth.¹⁴⁹

Madhyama type of men are those who are "devoted to *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa*"¹⁵⁰ They are possessed of discernment and consider *Mokṣa* as the be-all and end-all of human existence. But on account of their spiritual weakness, they, though realizing the importance and values of the highest goal of human life, do not embrace the path of emancipation, for, they are so strongly bound with the tie of their worldly relations, such as sons, daughters, etc. that they find it impossible to sever their connection with the family life. Under the circumstances, they take to the order of householders where

146 यो धर्मार्थौ परित्यज्य काममेवानुवर्तते ।

स धर्मार्थपरित्यागात् प्रज्ञानाशमिहार्च्छति ॥

—*MBh* XII 123, 15. Also *Rāmā* II 53 13a, IV 38 21b-22a

147. बुद्धिनाशात्प्रणश्यति ॥

—*Bg.* II 63b

148 विमज्झिमा उण धम्मत्थकामे परोप्परसबाहेण सेवन्ति ।

—*GMG* p 3.

149 *Ibid.*, p 3

150 धम्मत्थकाममोक्खेसु पसत्ता

—*Ibid.*, p 3.

they accept certain vows according to their mental and moral capacity. The men belonging to this class are full of charity, are kindly disposed towards all beings and are endowed with forgiveness, softness (of heart) and straightforwardness. These men, having enjoyed the prerogative place of honour in this world, are born hereafter either as great gods or as men of high order.¹⁵¹

Now, from the study of the above representation of the two sets of men it is obvious that both the sets belong to the order of householders. In the first set are included the people whose life's mission is to serve *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* with proper adjustment among the three ends. The men in question do not apply their mind to the realization of the fourth goal, viz. *Mokṣa*. The people placed in the *Vimajjhima* class are obviously the non-Jaina householders as well as the recluses to the Brahmanical order. The latter, though desirous of attaining final emancipation and devoted to the practice of austerities and self-mortification, are, in *Śīlānka's* opinion, incapable of realizing the highest truth, because, we are told, the discerning power of such people is obstructed by false belief. Besides, those right-believing men, who are motivated by *Nidāna*, are also reckoned with the *Vimajjhimas*. The persons placed in the *Majjhima* (*Madhyama*) class are better than the *Vimajjhimas*, for, the former realize the meaning and value of the fourth goal of human life and act in accordance with the dictates of *Dharma*.¹⁵²

The *Uttama* class consists of men whose heart is set on *Mokṣa* alone.¹⁵³ Those men "recognize only *Mokṣa* as the high truth and consider nothing else as the real object"¹⁵⁴ (of life). Hence "uprooting the creeper of great confusion (of

151 *Ibid*, pp 3-4

152 *Ibid*, last two paragraphs (p 3)

153 उत्तिमा उण्ण मोक्खेक्कदिण्णिहियया...

CMC, p 4

154 मोक्खेक्कगहियपरमत्था न पर परमत्थ मण्णति

—*Ibid.*, p. 4.

mind) destroying the rampart of sense-objects, dispelling the darkness of ignorance and taking no notice of their sons and wives, etc. they take to renunciation ”¹⁵⁵ These are the Jaina *Sādhus* (mendicants), rich in various attainments ¹⁵⁶

The *Uttimottama* class is assigned to only the twentyfour *Tīrthankaras* who are represented as the saviours of the suffering humanity ¹⁵⁷

Although the above classification does not show proper interest in the social aspect of man's life, yet the version is significant inasmuch as, like the epic-Purāṇic tradition, it takes notice not only of *Mokṣa* but also of the remaining three *Puruṣārthas* as worthy of human interest

155 तेहि उम्मूलिकण महामोहवर्ल्लि, भजिकण विसयपट्टारं विहाडेकण
अण्णाराणतिमिर.....अगणिकण
पुत्तकलत्ताइय.....पव्वज्जमभुवगयत्ति ।

—CMC p 4

156. ते उण्ण साहुणो णाण्णाविहलद्धिसंपण्णा

—*Ibid.*, p. 4.

157. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

CHAPTER IX

THE PURĀNAS ON SACRAMENTAL, ETHICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL PLANES

It is interesting to note that the Jaina Purāṇic authors, who are usually critical of the Brahmanical rites and rituals, prescribe the same sacramental and expiatory observances as are laid down in the epic-Purāṇic works and *Smṛtis* of the Brahmanical school. Among the authors, *Jinasena* appears to be pioneer to have attached great importance to the sacraments in moulding and refining the character of an individual. Like Brahmanical *Smṛti*-writers, he holds¹ that without undergoing purificatory rites an individual cannot achieve physical, intellectual as well as spiritual culture. So, he prescribes two types of rites to be performed by all the members of the three twice-born classes. The first type of sacraments is called *Garbhāṇvaya* (conceptual) and the second is styled as *Dikṣāṇvaya* (initiator). The number of the *Garbhāṇvayas* is fifty-three and that of the *Dikṣāṇvayas*, forty-eight.²

Of the two sets of sacraments the first is prescribed for the original members of the Jaina community and the second is intended for the non-Jainas desirous of embracing the Jaina faith. Thus, according to *Jinasena*, the Non-Jainas were required to undergo some formalities before they were admitted into the Jaina community.³ As the *Garbhāṇvaya* rites are performed to wash off the taint inherent in the body of the child from its parents, so the *Dikṣāṇvaya* ceremonies are intended to remove the sins inherent in the nature of the convert due to his prior adherence to the heretical order. Thus, by going through all the sacraments according to the rules laid down in

1. *MP* 38.47-49

2. *Ibid.*, 38.52.

3. *Ibid.*, 39.7ff.

the work, an incumbent acquires a place in the new society which is much more exalted than before.

The *Garbhāṇḍya-kriyās*, as enumerated by Jināsena,⁴ are (i) *Ādhāna*, (ii) *Prīti*, (iii) *Suprīti*, (iv) *Dhṛti*, (v) *Mōda*, (vi) *Prī,odbhava*, (vii) *Nāmakarma*, (viii) *Bahiryāna*, (ix) *Niṣadyā*, (x) *Prāśana*, (xi) *Vyustī*, (xii) *Keśavāpa*, (xiii) *Lipisamkhyānasamgraha*, (xiv) *Upanīti*, (xv) *Vratacaryā*, (xvi) *Vratāvatarana*, (xvii) *Vivāha*, (xviii) *Varṇalābha*, (xix) *Kulacaryā*, (xx) *Gṛhīṣṭā*, (xxi) *Prāśānti*, (xxii) *Gṛhatyāga*, (xxiii) *Dikṣādyā*, (xxiv) *Jinarūpatā*, (xxv) *Maunādhyayanavṛttitva*, (xxvi) *Tīrthaṭṭḍbhāvanā*, (xxvii) *Gurusthānābhyupagama*, (xxviii) *Ganopagrahana*, (xxix) *Śvagurusthāna-samkrānti*, (xxx) *Nihsamgatvāt nabhāvanā*, (xxxi) *Toganirvāṇasamprāpti*, (xxxii) *Toganirvāṇasādhana*, (xxxiii) *Indrapāda*, (xxxiv) *Abhiṣeka*, (xxxv) *Vidhīdāna*, (xxxvi) *Sukhodaya*, (xxxvii) *Indratyāga*, (xxxviii) *Avatāra*, (xxxix) *Hiranyoṭkrstajanmatā*, (xl) *Mandarendrābhiṣeka*, (xli) *Gurupūjopilambhana*, (xlii) *Tauvarājya*, (xliii) *Svārājya*, (xliv) *Caṭralābha*, (xlv) *Digvijaya*, (xlvi) *Caṭrābhiṣeka*, (xlvii) *Sāmrajya*, (xlviii) *Niṣkrānti*, (xlix) *Yogasanmaha*, (l) *Ārhanīya*, (li) *Tadvihāra*, (lii) *Togyāga* and (liii) *Agranivṛtti*.

The above list includes almost all the Brahmanical *Saṁskāras*, both important and unimportant with minor modifications here and there. Like the Brahmanical *Smṛti*-writers,⁵ Jināsena begins the *Saṁskāras* with foetus-laying rite, but, as is evident from the sacraments beginning with the thirtythird, called *Indrapada*, the author of the *MP* does not restrict them to the life of a householder. Instead, he carries them further not only to the next two *Āśramas*, viz. *Vānaprastha*, and *Saṁnyāsa* but also to the supramundane state of an individual's life. A twice-born man, as enjoined by Jināsena, has to undergo the formalities not only in this world but also in his journey to heaven and thence to this world till his final emancipation. Thus, Jināsena has obviously carried the sacraments to an extravagant number, probably with a view to making them roughly agree with the earlier Brahmanical *Saṁskāras*—both in vogue and out of vogue.⁶ It is, however, doubtful if all the *Saṁskāras*, as prescribed by Jināsena were ever observed by

4. *op cit* 38.55-63

5. e.g. *Mats.* II. 16, 26-27, 29-30, 34-38 III. 2-4. *Tājia.* I.2 11-14.

6. Cf. *Hindu Saṁskāras* (Hindi ed.), pp 22-23, 26.

the Jains Furthermore, the impracticability of the *Saṃskāras* from the thirtythird to the thirtyninth in the above list is too obvious to require any explanation

It is, however, well-known to us that, according to the Brahmanical *Āśrama* scheme, the *Vānaprasthas* and *Samnyāsins* cease to be the members of the society and the main object of their life becomes spiritual culture through strict austerities and restraints without any sense of attachment to the world around them The sacraments, on the other hand, involve outward ritualism and mannerism and, as such, have no meaning and value for a man who is out for spiritual discipline through inner sacrifices⁷ It is for this reason that the Brahmanical sources do not prescribe, for the last two *Āśramas*, any extra ritual or sacrament

Under the circumstances, we undertake a study of some of the important sacraments, which have their parallels in the Brahmanical rites and rituals and, are still performed by the members of the three twice-born classes in varying degree of importance attached to the individual sacraments The study of these purificatory rites unfolds many interesting points of considerable significance, which we shall discuss in proper contexts

The first ceremony, as noted above, is the *Ādhāna* or *Garbhādhāna* (foetus-laying rite) According to *Jinasena* "the sacrament, performed before conception with the recital of the *Mantras*, is called *Ādhāna*"⁸ This ceremony is enjoined to be performed after the bride had taken purificatory bath after menstruation The formalities to be undergone according to the MP⁹ are more elaborate than those prescribed by the Brahmanical sources The expectant parents are required to draw mystical diagrams of a circle (*Cakra*) and a parasol (*chatra*), three each respectively on the right and left sides of the *Jina*

7 *MBh* XII 192 1-6

8 आधान नाम गर्भादौ सस्कारो मन्त्रपूर्वक ।

—MP 38 70a Cf *Manu* II 26-27, III 45 Also see *Hindu Samskāra*, pp 60 66

9 38 71-73.

image. The three sacred fires are to be consecrated near the altar of the image.¹⁰ After the worship of the Jina, the couple is ordained to offer oblation to the fire with the articles left out from Jina-worship. Thus, "both husband and wife", says Jinasena, "having first performed this foetus-laying rite suitably, should cohabit dispassionately for obtaining an offspring."¹¹

It is important to note that Jinasena has combined in the *Ādhāna* sacrament two separate Brahmanical rites, viz *Garbhādhāna* and *Pumsavana*. The latter ceremony according to the Brahmanical tradition, is to be performed generally in the third month from conception, i.e. when the sign of pregnancy is manifest¹² But Jinasena does not refer to the male-making (*Pumsavana*) rite as an independent sacrament and enjoins that the *Garbhādhāna* rite should be observed by the couple with a desire of the birth of a son (*Pumṣṭutrotṭatikāmyā*).

Similarly, the *MP* does not include in its list of sacraments the third rite called *Śimantonnayana* (hair-parting). Instead, a few new ceremonies are introduced between *Garbhādhāna* and *Jātakarma* sacraments. These are *Prīti*, *Suprīti*, *Dhṛti* and *Moda*. As indicated by the terms, the ceremonies are expressive of joys and festivities as well as of the conscious efforts of the family for the care and protection of the expected child and the expectant mother. The ceremony, observed in the third month from conception, is called *Prīti*¹³ and that, performed in the fifth month from impregnation, is known as

10 तत्रार्चनाविधौ चक्रत्रय छत्रत्रयान्वितम् ।

जिनार्चमभित. स्थाप्य सम पुण्याग्निभिस्त्रिभि ॥

—MP 38 71 Also 40 3-4 It is to be noted that the sacred fires mentioned, here and elsewhere, are the same *Gārhapatya*, *Āhavanīya* and *Dakṣiṇa*, pointed out in the preceding character

11 गर्भाधानक्रियासेना प्रयुज्यादौ यथाविधि ।

सन्तानार्थं विना रागाद् दम्पतिभ्या न्यवेयताम् ॥

—MP 38 76

12 *Yajña* 1 11 Also see *Hindu Samskāras*, pp 78-77.

13. गर्भाधानात्पर मासे तृतीये सम्प्रवर्तते । प्रीतिर्नाम क्रिया...॥

—MP. 38.77

Supṛiti ¹⁴ The purpose of the *Dhṛti* rite is the safe growth and development of the foetus and, is enjoined to be performed in the seventh month from conception ¹⁵ Thereupon, the ninth month being proximate, the rite called *Moda* is to be performed for the nourishment of the embryo, ¹⁶ "On that occasion, the *enceinte* must be provided, by the best of the twice-born, with *Gātrikā-bandha* (application of the mystical syllables on the limbs), auspicious decoration and protecting amulet (*Rakṣā-sūtra*)."¹⁷ It needs no mention that all the above measures show utmost care to be taken, by the guardian of the family, for the safety of the coming child as well as of its mother

Jātakarma

This ceremony occurs in the *MP* under the name of *Pṛyodbhava* (birth of the beloved) As in the Brahmanical tradition, the rite is prescribed to be performed after the birth and before the severing of the navel cord of the child.¹⁸ The formalities to be undergone by the father are somewhat different from those enjoined by the Brahmanical authorities ¹⁹ However, the purpose of the ceremony is not at variance with the Brahmanical idea behind the sacrament

The most significant point to be noted with regard to the sacrament is the incorporation in the *MP* of a verse which has already been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as a celebrated vedic *Mantra* to be recited by the *Brāhmanas* (on behalf of the father) at the birthday ceremony of the child Just in the epic way, the *Mahāpurāṇa* enjoins that for the long life of the child the father should pronounce the following benediction : "you

¹⁴ आघानात्पञ्चमे मासे क्रिया सुप्रीतिरिष्यते ।

—*Ibid* , 38 80

¹⁵ *Ibid* , 38 82

¹⁶ *Ibid* , 38 83

¹⁷ तत्रेष्टो गात्रिकावन्धो मगल्य च प्रसाधनम् ।

रक्षासूत्रविधानं च गर्भिण्या द्विजसत्तमै ॥

—*Ibid* , 33 84

¹⁸ *MP* 38 85-86, 40 108 133

¹⁹ Cf *Hindu Samskāras*, pp 89-98.

are born from (my) limbs, you have sprung also from (my) heart, you are indeed myself in the form (my) son; therefore, live for a hundred years."²⁰ Next, the father is enjoined to moist the navel of the child with milk and clarified butter and to sever the navel-cord. This act being over, the child should be washed with medicated water and be given the breasts of the mother. Thus, with the exceptions of some minor variations in the details, the observance of the *Samskāra*, in question, does not register any difference from its Brahmanical counterpart.

Nāmakarman (Name-giving)

The name-giving rite should be observed after the twelfth day (from birth).²¹ The ceremony according to the MP, should be performed on "a day (that is) favourable and lucky both for the child and its parents."²² We are further told that "such name should be conferred (on the child) as will be auspicious and promoter of the family prosperity."²³ Jināsena, however, does not show class-discrimination with regard to the names to be given to the members of the different classes.²⁴ Further, unlike Brahmanical sources, the work does not refer to the varieties of names to be selected on the occasion of name-giving.²⁵ The only option allowed by the MP is that the work prescribes, in addition to the traditional family name, selection of a name from one thousand and eight *Jina*-names by *Ghata-*

20 For the relevant verse occurring in MBh and MP, see *Supra* introduction, notes 5-6.

21. द्वादशाह्यात्परं नामकर्म जन्मदिनान्मतम् ।

—MP 38 87 *Comp Manu* 2 30

Yājñia 1-12. Also see *Eṣhaspati's* opinion cited in *Vīramitrodaya* and quoted in *Hindu Samskāras*, p. 108.

22 अनुकूले तु तस्यास्य पित्रोरपि सुखावहे ॥

Ibid, 38 87b

23 शस्त च नामधेयं तत् स्थाप्यमन्वयवृद्धिकृत ॥

—*Ibid*, 38 88b

24 *Manu* 2 31-32

25. *HS* pp. 103-107.

*patra*²⁶ method. *Bahiryāna*²⁷ (the first exit of the child from the house)

This ceremony is the same as the Brahmanical *Niṣkramaṇa*. As enjoined by the author, the ceremony should be performed after two, three or four months (from the birth of the child) on an auspicious day.

After the above rite, *Jinasena* introduces another *Samskāra* called *Niṣadyā*²⁸ (seating on a couch). After the observance of auspicious ceremonies, the child, according to the rule, is ceremoniously laid down on a properly spread out bed or couch. The ceremony, like many others, seems to have been based on popular usage. It, however, does not find mention among the sacraments, enlisted by the Brahmanical authors *Prāśana* or *Annaprāśana*²⁹ (feeding with cereal).

Jinasena is not clear about the period of observance of the rite. Still we have reason to believe that in his opinion the ceremony should be performed in the sixth month from birth, for, the author uses the phrase *māsa-prthaktva* which may be interpreted as "in the period separated by a month" after the last sacrament. Now, as the performance of the previous ceremony has been prescribed after the fourth month from the birth of the child, so the present sacrament may be observed in the sixth month of the child. But, according to the marginal note on the verse prescribing the sacrament, the ceremony should be done in the seventh or eighth month from the birthday of the child.

Vyūṣṭi or *Varṣavardhana*³⁰

The *Samskāra* is introduced as *Vyūṣṭi*, but also finds mention as *Varṣavardhana*. The ceremony, according to the *MP*, is

26 The device, as explained by the translator, means, that the names are written on one thousand and eight foils and each foil is rolled into a goblet. All goblets are put in a pitcher. In another pitcher is placed equal number of pills of which all except one are blank. The remaining one is marked with the word *Name*. Then an innocent boy or girl is asked to draw the goblets, one each from both the pitchers simultaneously. This method being employed, that name is given to the child with which the goblet marked with the word *name* comes out.

27 *MP* 38 90-92. Cf. *Manu* 2 34a.

28 *Op cit* 38 93-94.

29 *MP* 38 95. *Comp* 2 34b.

30 *MP* 38 96-97.

to be performed on the completion of one year from the day of birth. The MP is probably the only work, so far known, to have reckoned the rite among the compulsory sacraments. A study of the Brahmanical sources shows that the observance of the ceremony was not considered to be obligatory, for the Sūtra literature and the *Smṛtis* of *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya* do not take notice of the rite in question. Still it will be unwarranted to assume that the event is of Jaina origin, for, the ceremony, known as *Varṣavṛddhi* and *varṣavardhana* (increase of years), has already been mentioned in some of the *Brahmanical Purāṇas*³¹ as well as in the *Uttararāmacarita*³² of *Bhavabhūti*.

One important point to be noted in connection with the above rite is that in *Jinasena's* opinion the ceremony is to be solemnized only once, i.e. on the completion of the first year of child's life. But the Brahmanical *Purāṇas* enjoin that the rite must be observed every year (*Prati-varṣam*) and an auspicious thread with knots corresponding to the number of the past years of the person concerned should be tied round his wrist. The *Uttararāmacarita* also corroborates the annual observance of the rite and mentions the thread just referred to as (*Samvatsara-*) *Saṅkhyāmangalagranthi*³³ (year-reckener auspicious knot). Thus, the incorporation of the event in the MP-list of sacraments is indicative of the fact that the ceremony was quite popular in the contemporary Indian society. And the most striking fact in connection with the ceremony is that it is one of a few popular ancient customs and practices surviving through the ages till now and is celebrated in one way or other almost in all parts of the globe.

*Keśavāpa*³⁴ or *Chaula*

This *Samskāra* is the same as the popular Brahmanical ceremony called *Gūdākarana*, also known as *Mundana*. As defined by *Jinasena*, "the cutting of the hair on an auspicious

31. *Brahmapurāṇa* quoted in *Sabdakalpadruma*, Part 4, p. 295, *Devibhāgavata*, quoted in the same work, p. 296. *Brahmavivartapurāṇa*, quoted in *Vācaspathyam*, Part 6, p. 4867.

32. Act III, Under verse No. 45.

33. *Ibid*, No. 3.

34. MP 38 93-101,

day (is called) *Keśavāṇa*.³⁵ The name, though less known, seems to have its basis in the *Sūtra* literature, for the *Āśvalāyana-grhyasūtra*³⁶ refers to the act of hair-cutting as *Keśavāṇa*. Besides the above name, the author also alludes to its popular name *Gaula*, as mentioned in the *Smṛtis*. As laid down in the *Mahāpurāṇa*, the main item of the rite is the shaving of the child's head "together with the arrangement of the top-hair in accordance with one's family tradition."³⁷

The Age

The *MP* does not refer to the proper time of the performance of the *Saṃskāra* in question. In accordance with the *Grhyasūtras*³⁸ and the earliest *Smṛti*³⁹, the ceremony should take place in the first year or before the expiry of the third year. Now, by inserting the *Keśavāṇa* rite between *Vyūṣṭi* (to be celebrated at the end of the first year) and *Līpīsamkhyāṇasamgraha* (to be performed in the fifth year) Jināsena seems to suggest that the rite should take place in the third year or before the performance of the *Līpīsamkhyāṇasamgraha* sacrament. Thus, so far as the essential features of the *Saṃskāra* are concerned, Jināsena's prescription of the rite is not at variance with the Brahmanical stand-point.

*Līpīsamkhyāṇasamgraha*⁴⁰ (Acquisition of scripts and numerals)

It is one of the most important sacraments of educational character. And, it is significant to note that Jināsena's *Mahāpurāṇa* is the earliest known work to have recognized this educational act as a separate sacrament. For, the Brahmanical *Sūtra*-literature and the early *Smṛtis* do not take note of the sacrament.⁴¹ Some of the *Nibandhas* that mention this *Saṃskāra*

35 केशवापस्तु केशाना शुभेऽह्नि न्यपरोपणम्

—Ibid, 88 98a

36 1 17 12

37 सचूल स्वान्वयोचितम् ।

—MP 38 98b

38 *Pāraskara-grhyasūtra*, 2 1 1 2,

39 *Manu* 2 35

40 *MP* 38 102-103

41 *Vide HS*, pp 137-39

under the different names of Vidyārambha, Akṣarārambha, Akṣarasvīkarana and Akṣaralekhana are all of later period than the *Mahāpurāṇa* ⁴² Thus, the inclusion of the *Līpīsamkhyānasa-mgraha* in the list of the compulsory sacraments may be taken as indicative of Jinasena's great interest in the primary education of children

It will, however, be travesty of fact to hold that this important event of a child's life was unknown to the Brahmanical predecessors of Jinasena. For, there is a positive proof of the prevalence of primary education in the *Brahmanical* society pretty prior to the period represented by the work in question. *Kālidāsa* tells us that *Raghu* acquired knowledge of alphabets after he had undergone the tonsure ceremony ⁴³ Again, *Kauṭilya* in his *Arthaśāstra* enjoins that a boy should learn scripts and numerals after his tonsure ceremony has been performed ⁴⁴ *Bhavabhūti's* *Uttararāmacarita* ⁴⁵, too, points to the same fact. All these evidences show that the tonsure ceremony was regarded, in the early period, as a passport for beginning the primary education of the child and in itself the act of learning the alphabet was possibly of a secular character.

Regarding the term *Līpīsaṅkhyāna-samgraha*, we must note that both *Kauṭilya* ⁴⁶ and *Kālidāsa* ⁴⁷ use the term *Līpī*. Besides, the former mentions also *Samkhāna* (counting) as a part of a child's primary education. Moreover, in the context just referred to, *Kālidāsa* uses the term *Grahana* ⁴⁸ instead of the usually known terms *Ārambha*, *Svīkarana* and *Likhana*. Under the circumstances, it will not be illogical to state that in his choice of the phrase *Līpīsamkhyānasaṅgraha* Jinasena must have in mind the terms employed by his two predecessors.

⁴² *Ibid*, pp 137-38

⁴³ *Raghu* III 28

⁴⁴ वृत्तचौलकर्मा लिपि सङ्ख्यान चोपयुञ्जीत

—1 2

⁴⁵ Act II, Under verse No 3

⁴⁶ Above, footnote 44

⁴⁷ *Op cit*, III 28

⁴⁸ लिपेर्यथावदग्रहणेन

As enjoined by the author, the sacrament should be performed in the fifth year of the child. After proper worship, the child was to be taught alphabets by a learned householder. Jinasena's stress on the appointment of a householder as the tutor of the child⁴⁹ may, however, be taken as suggestive of the fact that the rite, at least in its origin, was secular in character.

Scholars are of the opinion that the benedictory formula *Om namah Siddhebhyaḥ*⁵⁰, which the children were required to recite before the beginning of the alphabet is a clear pointer to the Jaina influence on the Hindu sacraments⁵¹. But here it may be noted that the author of the *Mahāpurāṇa* while prescribing the Jaina formulas⁵² to be recited on the occasion, does not refer to the said formula. Moreover the corrupt form, in which the original phrase has come down to us, does not appear to be a derivative of the original *Om namah Siddhebhyaḥ* or *Siddhāya*. We know that the popular phrase in its corrupt form is *onā-māsi-dham*, which may be a corruption of *Om namah siddham* and may mean "the utterance of *Om* may lead to the fruition of the act" or "may the object of beginning the alphabet be gained". Another point to be borne in mind in connection with the above formula is the use of the mystical monosyllabic *Om*. Our study of the Jaina works shows that the Jainas do not have any regard for the sacred syllable. On the contrary, we meet with some passages which bitterly criticize those who believe in the efficacy of the term⁵³. Furthermore, the religious formulas and some of the prayers, prescribed by the different authors to be recited on various occasions, do not begin with the said pranava⁵⁴. Under the circumstances,

49. उपाध्यायपदे चास्य मतोऽधीतो गृह्णती

—MP 38 103b

50 *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 309.

51 HS p. 142, note 1

52 MP 40 152

53 c ४ न ओकारेण बम्भणो

—Uttarā 25 31

54 AF. 24.30-45, 25 66-217 JHV 8 206-228,

the Jaina character of the above formula seems to be doubtful. And, although the contribution of the Jainas to the education of the masses is really commendable, yet the ascription of the Hindu Samskāras to the Jaina influence only on the strength of the aforesaid formula appears to be presumptuous.

Upanayana

The *Upanayana* ceremony, according to *Jinasena*, is to be solemnized in the eighth year of the boy from his conception in his mother's womb.⁵⁵ But unlike Brahmanical authors⁵⁶, he does not prescribe different lower and upper time-limits for the members of the three upper classes. Thus, in *Jinasena's* opinion the boys of all the three twice-born classes should be initiated in the eighth year of their life. As enjoined by *Jinasena*, the ceremony of hair-cutting having been performed, the boy should be provided with a *Kaupīna* (undergarment) and be clad in pure and simple dress. Next, a three-stringed girdle of *Muñja* grass should be tied round his waist and he should be provided with a sacrificial thread purified with the sacred Mantras, which the *Brahmacārīn* must put on as a symbol of the sacred vows (*Ṛatas*).⁵⁷ Now, "being sanctified by the (observance of) vows he, who was so long a *Brāhmaṇa* only by birth, acquires through virtues, the appellation *Dvija* on account of his sacred birth (from the initiation-sacrament)."⁵⁸ After the initiation the boy becomes a *Brahmacārīn*. He is, next, asked to worship the *Siddhas* first, and then his teacher. That day, he should go on begging in the houses of his kithmen, and should respectfully offer his *Upādhyāya*

55 क्रियोपनीतिर्नामस्य वर्षे गर्भाष्टमे मना ।

—MP 38.104a Cf. *Manu* 2 36

56 *Manu* 2 36-39

57 MP 38 104-136, 40 156-158

58 जात्येव ब्राह्मण पूर्वमिदानीं व्रतसंस्कृतः ।

द्विर्जातो द्विज इत्येव रुढिमातिष्ठते गुणैः ॥

MP. 40 159

whatever thing he may receive in alms ⁵⁹ However, a *Kṣatriya Brahmacārīn* is given a concession with regard to the observance of this particular item inasmuch as he is allowed to collect alms in the harem as a symbol of observing the rule ⁶⁰

Thus, like the epic-Puranic poets and *Smṛti*-writers, *Jinasena* makes the *Upanayana* sacrament compulsory for all the boys of the three higher classes in general and for the *Brāhmaṇa* boys in particular And, as stated before, it is this rite which confers on the initiated *Dvija*-hood Besides, the author also shares the Brahmanical view that by undergoing the initiation ceremony, boy of the twice-born classes enters the most formative period of his life which is designated as *Brahmacaryāśrama* ⁶¹ Thus, the *Upanayana Samskāra*, as prescribed by *Jinasena*, takes us back to the period in which it was regarded as both an educational sacrament and a compulsory purificatory rite conferring *Dvija*-hood on the initiated.

*Vratacaryā*⁶² (*observance of rules or vows*)

The rite, although separately mentioned as an independent sacrament, is, indeed, intimately connected with the *Upanayana* sacrament It is like the Brahmanical *Vratādeśa*⁶³ (commandment to the *Brahmacārīn* for the observance of the vows) and the duties prescribed under this head are in substantial agreement with those enjoined in the Brahmanical texts on the topic In accordance with the prescribed code of conduct, a *Brahmacārīn* must abstain from killing. He should use neither tooth-brush nor betel nor even collyrium Nor should he take bath with turmeric, etc but he should take

⁵⁹ तस्मिन् दिने प्रविष्टस्य भिक्षार्थं जातिवेश्मसु ।

योऽर्थलाभः स देयः स्यादुपाध्यायाय सादरम् ॥

—*ibid* 40 163 For this and similar other items of the initiation rite compare *Hindu Samskāra*, pp 163-170

⁶⁰ सोऽन्तःपुरे चरेत् पात्र्या नियोग इति केवलम् ।

—*MP*. 38, 108a.

⁶¹ *Vide MBh XII 191.8.*

⁶² *MP* 38 109-120

⁶³ *Manu* 2, 173ff

simple purificatory bath daily.⁶⁴ He must not sleep on a couch and must not rub his body against another's, but for (preserving) the sanctity of the vows, he must lie single only on earth.⁶⁵ He should observe this type of *vrata* till the end of his studentship.⁶⁶

Vratāvatarana (The End of vows).

This is the Jaina counterpart of the Brahmanical *Samāvartana* (the end of studentship). The ceremony is to be performed after the *Brahmacārīn* has duly completed his studies. During the ceremony he renounces only the special *vratas* (to be observed by a *Brahmacārīn* alone), while he follows the general vows throughout his life. In *Jinasena's* opinion the rite should be performed either after twelve years or after sixteen years⁶⁷ (from the beginning of studentship).

After he has honoured the *Duyas* (*Brāhmanas*), the *Brahmacārīn* should put on, with the permission of his teacher, clothes, ornaments, wreaths, etc befitting the occasion of the *Vratāvatarana*.⁶⁸ Next he is exhorted to keep the vow of celibacy till the performance of the next rite, i.e. *Vivāha*.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ दन्तकाष्ठग्रहो नास्य न ताम्बूल न चाञ्जनम् ।

न हरिद्रादिभि स्नानं शुद्धस्नान दिन प्रति ॥

—MP 38 115 Comp *Manu* 2 176-178

⁶⁵ न खट्वाशयन तस्य नान्याङ्गपरिघट्टनम् ।

भूमौ केवलमेकाकी शयीत व्रतशुद्धये ॥

—MP 38 116 Cf *Manu* 2 108, 179-80ff.

⁶⁶ MP 38 117 Comp *Manu* 2 108

⁶⁷ "वत्सराद् द्वादशादूर्ध्वमथवा षोडशात् परम् ।

—MP 38 123 Thus the rite in question is to be performed in the twentieth or twentyfourth year of the initiated, the latter period being the usually accepted age of the *Samāvartana Samskāra* according to the later authors of *Dharmaśāstra* Vide HS, p 101

⁶⁸ कृतद्विजार्चनस्यास्य व्रतावतरणोचितम् ।

वस्त्राभरणमात्यादिग्रहणं गुर्वनुज्ञया ॥

—MP 38 124,

⁶⁹ *Ibid* 38 126.

Vivāha (marriage) ⁷⁰

It is significant that *Jinasena*, like the orthodox Brahmanical *epic-puranic* poets and *Smṛti*-writers, regards marriage as an important *Samskāra*. He has reckoned this sacrament in the lists of both the original and the conversional sacraments. Thus, he seems to be pioneer among the Jaina authors to have realized the importance of marriage in the social and religious life of man.

The procedure of the nuptial rite shows general agreement with the formalities to be undergone according to the Brahmanical sources. The marital rite should be performed in front of the three sacred fires after their due worship ⁷¹. The great ceremony of hand-taking (*Pāṇigrahana*) of the bride and the bridegroom should be performed before the image of the *Siddhas* in a sanctuary. Having circumambulated the three, two or one of the consecrated fires at the altar, the husband and wife should live together in strict observance of the vow of celibacy for a week. After the period, the couple may cohabit only with a view to getting an offspring ⁷².

Regarding the question of the number of wives to be had by the members of the different classes and with regard to the view concerning the *Anuloma* intercaste marriage, *Jinasena* obviously follows *Manu*. Like the latter he allows a *Brāhmana* to keep, at a time, four wives, one from his own class and one each from the remaining three classes. A *Kṣatriya* may have three wives, one from his own class and one each from the two lower classes. Similarly, a *Vaiśya* may get two wives, one from his own class and the other from the *Śūdra* class. A *Śūdra* is, however, to have only one wife from his own class alone. Thus, in an expression similar to that of *Manu*, he enjoins, "a *Śūdra* should marry a *Śūdra* woman and not another, a *Vaiśya* (*Naigama*) should marry her (*Śūdra* woman) and one of his own class, a *Kṣatriya* (should marry) a woman of his own class and those two and a twice born man i.e. a *Brāhmana* (should marry) one of his own class and in some cases also

⁷⁰ 38 127-134

⁷¹ कृतान्नित्रयसम्पूजा कुर्युस्तत्साक्षितां क्रियाम् ।

—38 128b

⁷² *Ibid*, 38 129-131, 134 Cf HS pp 218-19, 250ff

those three ⁷³ "It is clear from the observation that *Jinasena*, like his Brahmanical predecessors, does not approve *Pratiloma* form of intercaste marriage

Jinasena's statement regarding the *Anuloma* form of intercaste marriage shows that during the period that form of marriage was considered to be a recognized form of matrimonial alliances. And his permission to the members of the upper classes for marrying a *Śūdra* woman suggests that the practice, though strongly discouraged by the successors of *Manu*, was still in vogue. However, the marriage of a *Brāhmaṇa* with a *Śūdra* woman was viewed as an uncommon occurrence of censurable nature. This is implied by the term *Kvacit* occurring in the relevant verse noted above. Besides, we also meet with passages wherein the author has laid particular stress on the preservation of lineal purity. Thus, while defining *Kula* and *Jāti*, he remarks that "the purity of the father's lineage is called *Kula* and the purity of the mother's lineage is stated to be *Jāti*."⁷⁴ Now, purity from both paternal and maternal sides is held to be a noble birth (*Sajjāti*), whereupon a meritorious man acquires gradually excelling lineage (*uditoditavamśatva*)⁷⁵ And in *Jinasena's* opinion only those families are to be considered to be pure (the members of) which have the right of being admitted to the initiation sacrament⁷⁶ Now, as noted before, the *Śūdras* were not entitled to the different sacraments. This being the case, *Jinasena*, too, seems to suggest that a member of the twice born classes must avoid his marriage with a *Śūdra* woman to preserve the purity of his family and class

73 शूद्रा शूद्रेण वोढव्या नान्या ता स्वा च नैगम ।

बहव् स्वा ते च राजन्य स्वा द्विजन्मा क्वचिच्च ता ॥

—AP 16 247, and compare

शूद्रैव भार्या शूद्रस्य सा च स्वा च विश. स्मृते ।

ते च स्वा चैव राज्ञश्च ताश्च स्वा चाग्रजन्मन्. ।

—*Manu* 3 13

74 पितुरन्वयश्च द्विर्या तत्कुल परिभाष्यते ।

मातुरन्वयश्च द्विस्तु जातिरित्यभिलप्यते ॥

—MP 39-85

75 *Ibid* , 39 84

76. *Ibid* , 39 83.

*Varna-lābha*⁷⁷ (*Acquisition or choice of vocation*)

Under this head a newly married man formally chooses a calling appropriate to his family or class. He is further asked to build a separate house for himself to live an independent family life.

*Kulacarya*⁷⁸ (*observance of family tradition*)

As implied by the term, the sacrament is more a code of conduct than a mere rite. This is something like an oath-taking ceremony in which the householder solemnly resolves to live in accordance with his family tradition

*Gṛhīṣṭā*⁷⁹ (*authority over the members of the household*)

By this rite a householder establishes authority, as the master of the household, over the members of the family.

*Praśāntatā*⁸⁰

This means that the householder, finding his eldest son capable of supporting himself and members of the family should entrust him with the management and conduct of the household affairs. Then, he himself, should retire from the active life of the householder and live a life of peace and continence. As explained by *Jinasena*, "detachment from the sense-objects, devotion to the daily study of the religious texts and observance of the various kinds of fasting constitute the state of tranquility (*Praśāntatā*)" ⁸¹

Gṛhatyāga

This ceremony is to be performed at the time of one's leaving the house. Having worshipped the *Siddhas*, the man concerned should invite his friends and well-wishers and in their presence, he should hand over the charge of the entire estate to his eldest son. The incumbent should be directed to apportion 1/3 of the property for being spent on religious acts,

77 38 135-141

78 38 142-43

79. 38 144-47

80 38 148-49

81 विषयेष्वनभिष्वङ्गो नित्यस्वाध्यायशीलता ।

नानाविधोपवासैश्च वृत्तिरिष्टा प्रशान्तता ॥

1/3 for meeting domestic expenses and the remaining 1/3 for being equally divided among all the brothers and sisters. Thus freeing himself from the worldly obligations a twice-born man should renounce his home and hearth to take to the life of a recluse ⁸²

Other *Samskāras*, as enumerated above, are to our knowledge, without their parallels in the Brahmanical mode of life. Those, in fact, refer to the different stages through which a man has to pass after the renunciation of the world and worldliness till his attainment of *Jinahood*. We, however, close our survey of the present topic without dilating upon the remaining rites anymore

The Purāṇas on the Ethical and Philosophical Planes

Our study of the Brahmanical epic-Purāṇic works reveals that the conservation of moral values has been the main concern of the epic-Purāṇic authors. In fact, the epic-Puranic teachings stand for the preservation of human values and cultivation of all such qualities as make man worth his name. All the definitions of *Dharma* as embodied in the *MBh* point to the same truth. For, we are told that non-violence, truthfulness, non-stealing, kindness, control of the senses and straightforwardness of heart are the undisputed characteristics of *Dharma* ⁸³. The imperativeness of preserving society through the strict observance of moral and ethical laws has been stressed over and over again. *Dharma*, according to other expositions of the topic, was ordained for the well-being of the creatures, therefore, that which leads to the well-being (of all creatures) is *Dharma* ⁸⁴. And further "that which is free from

⁸² MP 38 150-156

⁸³ अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयमानुशस्यं दमस्तथा ।

आर्जव चैव राजेन्द्र निश्चित धर्मलक्षणम् ।

—*MBh* XIII 22.19

⁸⁴ प्रभवार्थाय भूतानां धर्मप्रवचनं कृतम् ।

य. स्वात् प्रभवसयुक्तं स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥

—*Ibid* , XII 109.12

harm to the created being is certainly *Dharma*, for *Dharma* was ordained for protecting creatures from injury⁸⁵

In fact, not only ethical teachers but also philosophical thinkers put forth non-injury to creatures, truth, justice, righteousness and morality—all implying *Dharma*—as the essential condition for material prosperity and spiritual growth of mankind. With this end in view the epic gives another definition of *Dharma* which is based in some measure on its etymological sense *Dharma*, according to that definition, “is so called because it upholds all created beings”⁸⁶. It is obvious that the definition in question is comprehensive enough to include within its fold not only the above-mentioned qualities but also many others, such as fearlessness, liberality, absence of anger and greed, forgiveness, absence of malice and conceit, et cetera—all contributing towards the upkeep of social order in its three dimensions—physical, moral and spiritual. The *vaiśeṣika* definition of *Dharma* “as a principle that promotes both material well-being and spiritual advancement”⁸⁷ also points to the same truth almost in an abstract form. Now, studied in the above background, the *Jaina* Puranic teachings betray exact agreement with the Brahmanical standpoint. To begin with, *Jina-sena* has given the definition of *Dharma* at two places. The first definition uses the same terminologies as have been taken recourse to by the author of the *vaiśeṣikasūtras*. Like the latter he defines *Dharma* as a principle which leads to the attainment of both mundane object and spiritual goal⁸⁸. The second

85 अहिंसार्थाय भूतानां धर्मप्रवचनं कृतम् ।

यः स्यादहिंसासम्पृक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥

—Ibid, XII 109 12

86 धारणाद् धर्ममित्याहुर्धर्मो धारयते प्रजा ।

यत्स्याद् धारणसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥

—Ibid *Karmaparvan*, 69 58

87 यतोऽभ्युदयनिश्चयसिद्धिः स धर्मः

—*Vaiśeṣika-sūtra*

88 यतोऽभ्युदयनिश्चयसिद्धिरञ्जसा ।

स धर्मः,.....॥

—AP 1 120 See also 5 20,

definition is obviously an elaborate version of the one appearing in the *Manusmṛti*. It combines both ethical and religious elements as the constituents of *Dharma*. Accordingly, that is *Dharma* where (the forms of) the *Veda*, the *Purāṇa*, the *Smṛtis*, good conduct, rituals, sacred formulas, deities, religious symbols and purities with regard to food etc—all these matters have been duly decided by the great seer."⁸⁹

Further, the etymological definition too did not fail to attract the attention of the *Jaina Purāṇakāras*. *Gunabhadra*, for example, has given practically the same definition as has already been given by the *Mahābhārata*. Thus, while defining *Dharma*, he lays down that *Dharma* is so called by the good, because, it being sustained (by virtuous men), rescues them from misery and keeps them aloft. Right intuition, right knowledge, right conduct and austerity are its fourfold aspects, (whereas) compassion (on creatures) constitutes its essence."⁹⁰

Now, a few words may be said about the Jinist conception of *Ahimsā* or non-violence. It is well known to us that from the days of its inception Jainism has been championing the cause of *Ahimsā*. In fact, the doctrine of non-violence is the central pivot round which most of the Jaina tenets move. But here we must note that non-violence in its practical form was equally an indivisible part of post-vedic Brahmanism. The Brahmanical epic-Puranic works bear eloquent testimony

89 वेद पुराण स्मृतय चारित्रं च क्रियाविधि ।
मन्त्राश्च देवता लिङ्गमाहाराद्याश्च शुद्धय ॥
एतेऽर्था यत्र तत्त्वेन प्रणीता परमपिणा ।
स धर्मः.....॥

—MP 39 20-21 and compare

वेद स्मृति सदाचार स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः ।
एतच्चतुर्विधं प्राहु साक्षाद् धर्मस्य लक्षणम् ॥

—*Manu* 2 12

90 ध्रियते धारयत्युच्चैर्विनेयान् कुगतेस्ततः ।
धर्म इत्युच्यते सद्भिश्चतुर्भेद समाश्रित ॥
सम्यग्ज्ञानचारित्र्यतपोरूप कृपापरः ॥"

—MP. 47 302-3a

to this inasmuch as these declare *Ahimsā* or *Ānṛsamsya* as the greatest virtue⁹¹ Now, what makes difference between the epic-Purāṇic concept and the Jaina one is not the concept but its application to the practical life To be clear on the point, the Jaina religious thinkers carried the doctrine of *Ahimsā* to its extremes, whereas the epic-Purāṇic authors accepted it with some moderation

Nevertheless, a perusal of the Jaina *Purāṇas* reveals that the extremes with regard to the doctrine of *Ahimsā* have been avoided by the Purāṇic authors to some extent. The point is corroborated by the accounts of the exploits of the *Śalākāpuruṣas*, who, like the heroes of the epic and the *Purāṇas* of the Brahmanical school, are represented as having actively participated in bloody battles and annihilating wars Among the personages particular reference may be made to *Padma* (*Rāma*) the eighth *Baladeva*, *Balarāma* the ninth *Baladeva* and *Neminātha*, the twenty-second *Tīrthankara*, who, according to the *Jaina* tradition, attain salvation after they renounce the world and worldliness. Thus, the authors seem to subscribe to the epic-Purāṇic view that violence is not always unrighteous and immoral and that killing is sometimes essential for the preservation of good values in society.

Philosophical Aspects

The philosophical and didactic sections of the works in question betray clear sign of the influence of the *Gṛh* And as in other cases so also with regard to the present aspect, the influence on the different works is of varying degree Although we cannot claim to do as much justice to the topic as it may claim, yet the notices of some of the common points between the two traditions will be of some consequence.

To mention a few points, those sections of the *MP*, which are devoted to the description of the behaviour and discipline of the *Jaina Yogins*, have many elements in common with the

91 ८४ अहिंसा परमो धर्म

—MBh XIII 116 1

आनुशस्य परो धर्म

—Ibid., III 373 76,

Gītā-discourse on the three disciplines. The *Yogins* are referred to as having taken upon themselves the vows⁹² of *Ahimsā* (non-injury), *Satya* (truthfulness), *Asteya* (non-stealing), *Brahmacarya* (continence), *Vimuktatā* (spirit of detachment) and *Rātryabhojana* (abstention from taking meal during night) Now, it is obvious that with the exception of the sixth element all the five qualities are counted among the *Yaugic yamas*,⁹³ and find mention in the *Gītā* as the essential virtues to be cultivated by a man of discernment. Similarly, the qualities regarded as adjuncts of meritorious meditation are also not unknown to the *Gītā*. These are, for example, *Kṣamā* (forgiveness), *Mārdava* (humility), *Ārjava* (straightforwardness), *Satya* (truthfulness), *Sauca* (purity), *tapas* (austerity), *Tyāga* (renunciation), *Akiñcanya* (indifference to all possessions), *Samyama* (control of the senses) and *Brahmacarya* (celebrity)⁹⁴

Although an emphasis on the cultivation of these and similar other virtues has been the common concern of both the religions, yet the exact agreement between the ideas, expressions and phraseologies occurring in the *Gītā* and in the Jaina texts goes a long way to prove indebtedness of the latter to the former. To quote a few examples, the Jaina *Yogins*, as described by Jinasena, were free from (the desire of the fruits of) all undertakings, egoism and objects of enjoyment⁹⁵. Their all desires being destroyed by the feeling of contentment, they moved about freely,⁹⁶ and engaged in the study of the scriptu-

92 अहिंसासत्यमस्तेयं ब्रह्मचर्यं विमुक्तताम् ।
रात्र्यभोजनषष्ठानि व्रतान्येतान्यभावयन् ॥

—MP 34 169

Compare *Gītā* XVI 1-3, which enumerate divine virtues, regarded as conducive to one's liberation

93 *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali 1 2. Also see *Agnipurāṇa—A Study*, pp 220-21

94 MP 36 157-58 *Gītā* VI 10 14, XVI 1-3

95 सर्वारम्भविनिर्मुक्ता निर्ममा निष्परिग्रहा ।

MP. 34 171a.

96 सन्तोषभावनापास्तवृष्णा. सन्तो विजह्तिरे ।

—Ibid , 34 173b.

res they did not sleep during nights⁹⁷ They neither rejoiced at gain nor grieved at non-gain.⁹⁸ And viewing every thing alike, they looked at (the opposite pairs of) praise and reproach, pleasure and pain and honour and dishonour with equal spirit.”⁹⁹

Furthermore, Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha’s sermon, as incorporated in the TSPC,¹⁰⁰ reads like a commentary on the Gītā. In his discourse on the subduing of the senses the Jina says, “refraining from action always is not a victory over the senses¹⁰¹ Action of those free from love and hate is real victory It is not possible for the senses to avoid contact with a sense object that has come near them But the wise person would avoid love and hate for it Subdued sense-organs lead to emancipation,¹⁰² but unsubdued ones lead to worldly existence”¹⁰³ Therefore, “disregarding pleasures and lack of

97 स्वाध्याययोगससक्ता न स्वपन्ति स्म रात्रिषु ।

—34 187a

98 न तुष्यन्ति स्म ते लब्धौ व्यपीदन्नाप्यलब्धिषु ।

—ibid 34 203a

99. स्तुतिं निन्दां सुखं दुःखं तथा मानं विमाननाम् ।

समभावेन तेऽपश्यन् सर्वत्र समदर्शिनः ॥

—Ibid , 34 204 For the ideas contained in the foregoing lines we simply refer, for comparison, to the Gītā II 56-57, 69, 71, III 30, IV 21-22, V 20, VI 7, 10, XII 13-14, 16, 18-19

100 Vol III pp 322-23

101 The Gītā (III 6) says that “he, who restraining the organs of action sits mentally dwelling on objects of senses, that man of deluded intellect is called a hypocrite”

कर्मेन्द्रियाणि सयम्य य आस्ते मनसा स्मरन् ।

इन्द्रियार्थान् विमूढात्मा मिथ्याचारः स उच्यते ॥

Also see ibid II 60-61, 68

102 “Whose senses are duly subdued”, says the Gītā, “his mind becomes stable”

वशे हि यस्येन्द्रियाणि तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता

—II 61b

103 “Union with the supreme soul”, says Śrī Kṛṣṇa, “is difficult of achievement for one whose mind is not subdued—such is my conviction”—
असयतात्मना योगो दुष्प्राप इति मे मतिः ।

—Gītā VI 36 Also see V 22a.

pleasures in the soft touch of cotton *et cetera*, and the harsh touch of a stone *et cetera* one should be victor over the sense of touch " For, a person whose senses have been subdued by purity of mind and then whose passions have been destroyed, soon reaches emancipation which has imperishable delight

We are further told that this emancipation which is the realization of the supreme soul (Paramātman) within the individual soul, can be attained through equanimity¹⁰⁴ (*Sāmya*) which destroys the dirt of love and hate, greed and anger, conceit and deceit and similar other passions And Śrī Kṛṣṇa proclaims in the *Gītā* that 'even here the mortal plane has been conquered by those whose mind is established in equanimity'¹⁰⁵

104 *TSPC* Vol IV, p 68

105 इहैव तैर्जितं सर्गो येषां साम्ये स्थितं मनः ।

RETROSPECT

Unity in diversity is the special feature of Indian Culture. And the results of our comparative study point to the same fact. For, as we have already seen, beneath the surface of diversity and difference an under-current of oneness flows with equal force. And in spite of the distinct religious conviction represented by the works in question, an inclination towards the Brahmanical epic-Purānic ideologies is seen in all spheres of the Jaina Purānic saga, viz its mythology, dynastic and genealogical accounts and the ideas regarding the institution of class and order, sacraments, rites and rituals, beliefs and superstitions, ethics and philosophy and similar other matters of human interest.

All this reveals the adaptability of Jainism to the constantly changing environs which invested the faith with an element of dynamism amidst its proverbial conservatism. It is because of this power that Jainism has been preserving its entity and identity through the ages.

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INDEX

- A**
- Abhicandra 63n, 169, 171, 176
 Abhijñāna, Abhijñānaśākun-
 tala 24n, 36
 Ābhīra 114n
 Abhisāra 115n
 Abhiṣeka 236
 Acala 176f, 191n
 Ācāryas 60n
 Acchoda 34n
 Adandyatā 223-4
 Adandyatva 222
 Adhama 231-2
 Ādhāna 236 8
 Adhiti 208, 220
 Adhyāpana 208, 220
 Adhyāya 101n
 Ādideva 23
 Ādipurāna 2, 7, 8, 19n, 68
 Āditya 84n, 96, 120f
 Ādityaratha 131, 133
 Ādityas 199f
 Ādityavarmā 84, 95f, 97, 103-
 4, 106-7, 118
 Ādityayaśas 84f, 99, 105 7,
 118-20
 Ādivarāha 30-31
 Adrikā 40n, 150
 Āgarta 114n
 Aghora 25
 Āgneyī 194n
 Agni 25n, 193-4
 Agnidhara 83-4
 Agnihotra 61n, 220n
 Agnipurāna 44n, 85n, 256n
 Agnitraya 220n
 Agrajas 208
 Agraniṛvṛti 236
 Agrawal V S 6
 Ahalyā 35f
 Ahama 229
 Ahamāhama 229
 Āhavanīya 220f, 238n
 Ahimsā 60f, 254-6
 Ahirbudhnya 191n
 Āhitaṅgi 220
 Ahnu 126
 Āiccasā 120
 Aiksvāka 107
 Aila, Ailas 106n, 108f, 121,
 126, 165-6, 168-9, 180f.
 Aileya 164-6, 168
 Airāvata 194
 Aśāni 194n
 Atareya 90
 Atithya 52
 Aja 16n, 23n, 80, 130-33, 135n
 Ajākapād 191n
 Ajamidha 100n
 Ajanman, Ajanmā 23n, 80
 Ajara 23n
 Ajeyatā 224
 Ajita 170f
 Ajitanābhika 191n
 Ajitanātha 121n, 122-3, 129n
 Ajitandhara 191n
 Akampana 102
 Akāśa 25n
 Ākhyāna 44, 47
 Akūcanya 256
 Aksara 23n
 Aksaralekhana 244
 Aksarārambha 244
 Akṣarasvīkarana 244
 Akṣayin 138n

- Aksobha 176
 Aksobhya 176
 Alambucā 194
 Alīkakavi, Alīyalai 114
 Allahabad 113n
 Alpa 49
 Alsdorf, I. 4n, 6n
 Amara 169
 Amarakauśa 189n
 Ambā 140, 146-7
 Ambāhī 110, 113, 116-7
 Ambharisa 137
 Ambaspha 213n, 216, 218-9
 Ambujyha 216
 Ambikā 140-143, 116-7
 Ambuvarya-Ambuceta 120
 Amṛtabala 119
 Amlocā 197
 Āmnāya 52
 Amṛta 119-20
 Amṛtabala 120
 Amṛtadīdhukirita 155, 156n
 Amṛtodbhava 23n
 Amśumati 126n
 Anādyamdhana 59
 Ahaṅga 196
 Anantaras 218f
 Anantarattha 130-32
 Anantavīrya 36n, 138n, 115
 Anarāṇya 130, 132
 Ānarta 114n, 115n
 Ānavas 121n
 Andhabāhu 173
 Andhaka 24n, 93, 176, 181-3
 Andhakabhoja 182
 Andhakāntaka 24
 Andhakas 92f, 94
 Andhakavahni 92
 Andhaḥ avrsm 176-9, 181-3
 Andhakavṛstī 176-7, 179f
 Āndhra 114n
 Anekabhava 49
 Aneṣas 163
 Aṅga 114n, 115n, 156
 Aṅgāraka 114n
 Anila 194
 Aniruddha 35f
 Anṛkṣa 19
 Annapiṇḍana 241
 Annava 194
 Ānṣṭamya 255
 Anta 92n
 Antapa 114n
 Antarat 59
 Anu 166f, 186
 Anuloma 249-50
 Anus 165n
 Anustubh 17
 Anuyopadvāra 14n, 16n
 Apabhramṣa 11, 17, 25, 28, 128
 Aparāṇya 199
 Aparāṇya 136-7
 Aparāntala 115n
 Appa 191n
 Aprar 19n, 159
 Apraraka 196-98
 Ara 139, 139n
 Ārambha 241
 Arāja 115n
 Aravinda 139n
 Arcanā 224
 Ardhabāhu 173
 Ardhamāgadhā 93f
 Ardhanārīśvara 24
 Ārhanṭya 54, 236
 Arhat 54
 Aridamāna 119f
 Aristanemi 167-8
 Ājaya 256
 Arjuna 32n, 33, 38-9, 41, 181, 191n
 Arka 25, 172
 Arkakṛti 84
 Arkavamśa 106n
 Arṇava 194f
 Ārsa 52, 52n
 Artha 48, 55-57, 186, 227-33
 Arthaśāstra 48f, 214
 Āryakula 101n
 Āryag 89, 103
 Āśādhara 19
 Asamañjā 126n
 Asa 76, 208f

Asiṅka 114n
 Aśmaka 169
 Aśmaka 113n
 Āśrama 226-7, 237
 Āśramas 20, 48, 56, 79f, 209,
 214, 226-7, 236-7
 Astādhyāyī 44n
 Astamūrti 24, 30
 Astānga-Maheśvara 30
 Astāpada 123-4
 Asteya 256
 Asuras 95n
 Āsvagrīva 7
 Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtra 243
 Āśvalāyanasrautasūtra 45n
 Āśvamedhikaparva 17n, 91n,
 171
 Āśvins 41, 159f
 Atharvaveda 45n
 Atibala 119-20f
 Atibālavidyā 222f
 Ati-duhsamā 59
 Ativīrya 119f
 Ātmabhū 81
 Ātman 30f
 Ātreya 114n
 Ātreya 158f
 Auśnara 180
 Avadhyatā 223-24f
 Avadhyatva 222
 Avanti 114n
 Āvarta 114n
 Avasarpinī 53-54, 57, 58f 64,
 68, 70f
 Āvaśyakacūṛṇi 205
 Avatāra 236
 Āvr̥ṣṭa 114n
 Avyaya 23n
 Ayodhana 169f
 Ayodhyā 121n, 129, 135, 170
 Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa 26ff
 Ayoga 216
 Ayogava 219
 Ayonija 80
 Ayu 168

B

Bahiryāna 236, 241
 Bāhlika 114n, 115n
 Bāhu 174
 Bāhubalin 98-99f, 105, 107,
 110-113f, 116, 192, 200-203
 Bala 120-21
 Balabhadda 120
 Balabhadra 119-21
 Baladeva 130, 190f, 255f
 Baladevas 59
 Balāṅka 119-20
 Balarāma 161, 183f, 255
 Balavīrya 120
 Bah 7
 Balindra 7
 Bāna 7, 10, 29, 33-4, 35n
 Bānamukta 114n
 Bārhadhratha 174f
 Bhadra 114n, 119f, 169
 Bhadraratha 121n
 Bhaga 191n
 Bhagavadgītā 2, 3f, 32n, 38, 39,
 60n, 221, 230
 Bhāgavata 49n
 Bhagīraha 128
 Bhagīrahi, Bhāgīrahi 127f
 Bhagīratha 124-28f, 129
 Bhāgīratha 127
 Bhāgīrathi 124, 127-28f
 Bhagīrathin 227
 Bhaīraha 128
 Bhairabi 127
 Bhakti 22
 Bhaṅga 114n
 Bhānu 173-4
 Bhānumān 174
 Bharadvāja 114n
 Bhaiṭa 52, 105-7, 114-5, 118-
 20, 123, 136-7, 155, 192f,
 200-202, 205-7, 209-13,
 214n
 Bhārata 46-47
 Bhāratakathā 32
 Bhārata-Sambhītā 47

- Bhāravi 7, 29
 Bhārgava 114n
 Bharukaccha 114n
 Bhāsa 29
 Bhaṭṭāraka 26
 Bhauma 62n
 Bhava 30, 33
 Bhavabhūti 242, 244
 Bhavyas 206
 Bhayami, H C. 25n
 Bhiksuka 227
 Bhilla 230
 Bhīma 29, 41, 161, 163f, 173, 175f
 Bhīmaratha 175
 Bhīmasatvata 175
 Bhīmāvali 191n
 Bhīṣma 32-3, 38f, 41, 145-49f
 Bhīṣmaka 149
 Bhoga-Bhagas 88-94, 96, 101, 179, 183, 213 4
 Bhogabhūmi 68, 155
 Bhogakaḍa 93, 93n
 Bhogapura 156
 Bhogarāja 90-92
 Bhogavardhana 114n
 Bhogavṛṣṇi 176f, 179
 Bhoja 91, 93f 149, 179, 181-3
 Bhojas 89-92, 94, 96-7, 101, 103n
 Bhojak, A M. 31n
 Bhojakata 93f
 Bhojakavṛṣṇi 179
 Bhojakavṛṣṇis 92
 Bhojakavṛṣṇi 177, 179
 Bhojarājanyavardhana 91
 Bhojasutā 91
 Bhojavamśa 97
 Bhojavṛṣṇi 92, 177-8, 181-2
 Bhojakada 93n
 Bhramaraghosa 138f
 Bhrgu 36n
 Bhūtadeva 161
 Bokkasa 217
 Brahmā 21, 23, 27, 28n, 30-31, 48, 76n, 80-2, 85-7, 188f, 208, 209-10
 Brahmācārin 227, 246-48f
 Brahmācārya 256f
 Brahmācāryāśrama 226, 247
 Brahmādatta 37n
 Brahmādattas 122n
 Brahmāloka 82
 Brahman 21, 22n, 66, 88, 150, 194, 209
 Brāhmana 25n, 30, 36n, 197n, 204-209, 215-24, 246-50
 Brāhmana-hood 215
 Brahmanas 20n, 66, 90, 206, 208-10, 213, 220-26, 232, 239
 Brāhmanavamaśa 95n
 Brāhmanavarna 20, 207-9
 Brāhmani 216
 Brahmanical 1, 2, 11, 13-15, 17, 19-22, 25n, 26, 29, 36, 41n, 44, 50-58, 60-62, 64-70, 72n, 73n, 74, 76-7, 79-82, 84, 86-9, 92, 94, 95n, 98-100, 104, 106-8, 112, 115-7, 121f, 122n, 124-26f, 151-2, 160, 188, 195, 197, 200, 202, 204, 207-12, 214-6, 220-24, 226-7, 229, 233, 235-44, 246-50, 252-5
 Brāhmanism 17, 21
 Brahmapurāna 106n, 242n
 Brahmaratha 130
 Brahmarsa 82
 Brahmaruci 197n
 Brahmasāvarṇi 62n
 Brahmasūtras 207
 Brahmavaivarta 49n
 Brahmavaivartapurāṇa 242n
 Brhaddhvaja 138, 161, 172-4
 Brhadvasu 172f
 Brhaspati 198-9, 240n
 Brhatkathā In, 2, 4, 6, 19
 Brhatkathāmañjarī 5n
 Brhatkathāślokaśamgraha 5n
 Buddha 21, 27, 31
 Buddha 190f

Buddhism 77
 Buddhist 12-3, 67, 69, 122n
 Buddha 106n, 195f
 Budhasvāmin 5n

C

Cakra 237
 Cakrābhiseka 236
 Cakralābha 236
 Cakravartin 121
 Cakrīn 36, 37n, 59, 123, 129,
 200-201, 205, 207, 213
 Cakrīns 197
 Caksu 63n, 71n
 Cāksusa 62n
 Caksusmān 63nf
 Campā 154-57f
 Campū 31
 Cāmunḍarāya 19
 Cāndālā 216f, 219
 Candra 30, 107, 195f
 Candrābha 63f
 Candracihna 139n
 Candrakīrti 156, 156n
 Candravamśa 106
 Carama 166-8
 Caramaśarīrīn 107
 Carita, Caritas 11, 17, 50, 185-
 86f, 204
 Carīya 186
 Cāru 36f, 139
 Cārupadma 139
 Cāru rūpa 139
 Caturmukha 29, 130
 Caula 242-3
 Caūpannamahāpurīśacariya 1n,
 6, 10, 31f, 32n, 157
 Cedi 40f, 115n, 169, 171, 174
 Chāndogyopaniṣad 45
 Chatra 237
 Chaudhary, R K 94n
 Ciccī (Agni) 194
 Citra 40, 139, 141n
 Citralekhā 197
 Citrāṅgada 40, 40n, 146-7, 151,
 156f

Citraratha 139
 Citravasu 172
 Citravīrya 146
 Claus Bruhn 6n
 Cola 115n
 Cūḍākarana 242

D

Dādallate 93n
 Dahana 191n
 Daitya 133
 Daityas 87, 95n
 Daksa 37n, 86, 164-65, 195
 Daksa-Prajāpati 164
 Dakṣasāvarṇi 62n
 Dāksāyaṇi 195n
 Dakṣiṇa 220f, 238n
 Dakṣiṇā 194n
 Damayanti 35
 Damitārī 7
 Dāmodara 31
 Dāna 60-61f, 224
 Dānavas 87, 95n
 Danda 66
 Danda-ratna 124
 Danda-vīrya 120
 Dāndika 114n
 Dandin 5n
 Dāru 115n
 Dāsa 150
 Dāsakanyā 150
 Daśaratha 129, 130, 132-3,
 135-6
 Dāśarathi 168, 181
 Daśārha 183f
 Daśārṇa 114n
 Daśārṇaka 114n
 Dasaveyāliyasutta 90n
 Daśeruka 114n
 Dāseyī 40n, 150
 Devadatta 169
 Devaprabha (Sūri) 37, 42-43,
 137, 145-46f
 Devasena 176-7
 Devībhāgavata 242n
 Dharana 176f

- Dhārana 139
 Dharanendra 124
 Dharmīdhara 122t
 Dharma 41, 48, 55 6, 60, 66,
 186, 190n, 227-33f, 252-4f
 Dharmasāstra 48, 52, 231,
 248n
 Dharmasāvarṇi 62n
 Dhātakīkhanda 189n
 Dhijjāi (Dhijjāti) 204n
 Dhṛta 139f
 Dhṛtadharman 139
 Dhṛtamāna 139
 Dhṛtapadma 138
 Dhṛtarāja 140-41
 Dhṛtarāstra 41, 140-47, 149f
 Dhṛtatejas 139
 Dhṛtavīrya 138
 Dhṛtavyāsa 139, 149
 Dhṛtayaśas 139
 Dhṛtendra 138
 Dhṛti 190f, 236, 238-9
 Dhṛtideva 138
 Dhṛtidrsti 138
 Dhṛtidyuti 138
 Dhṛtikara 138f
 Dhṛtiksema 138n
 Dhṛtiksetra 138
 Dhṛtimitra 138
 Dhṛtodaya 139
 Dhruvā Madhyamā dik 92n
 Dhūmadhvasasakhā 193
 Digambara 11 63f, 64f, 87,
 107, 114, 116, 119-22, 125-
 6, 178, 185f
 Digambara-Puṇyānakāras 107
 Digvijaya 236
 Dīkṣāpālas 193
 Dīksādyā 236
 Dīksānvayakriyā 15n, 207n,
 235f
 Dīksita 25, 30
 Dīlīpa 126n, 137
 Dīnakara 27
 Dīnanātharatna 131, 133
 Dīrghabāhu 173f
 Divasanātha 31
 Divyā 197
 Draupadī 26, 41f, 189n
 Drona 29, 38
 Dronācārya 38
 Dronaparvan 99n
 Druhya 115n
 Druhyus 165n
 Drupada 97, 100f
 Duḥsamā 58, 59
 Duḥsamā-duḥsamā 58-9
 Duḥsamā-susamā 58-9
 Durga 114n
 Duryodhana 38, 42f
 Dūti 158
 Dvaipāvana 40n, 141f, 143f,
 150, 151
 Dvāpara 69
 Dvārāvati 50
 Dvārāvatinīveśa 50
 Dviya 207, 209n, 215-6, 247-8
 Dvijarman 207
 Dviyas 207-9, 213, 226
 Dvimīdha 180
 Dvīpa 139, 141n
 Dvīpāyata 139
 Dvīprstha 203
 Dvirāda 131
 Dviradaratna 131

E
 Epic 38, 40, 239, 255
 Epic-Mythology 12n, 86n
 Epic-Purāṇic 13, 17, 20-22,
 24n, 29, 31, 32n, 35-6, 6 -
 63, 69f, 73n, 74, 77, 80, 86,
 87, 90, 94-5 100, 104 108-
 8, 116-7, 121, 124-5, 145-6,
 148, 150-52, 187, 190-96,
 200, 202, 211, 214, 216,
 220, 225-9, 234-5, 247, 249,
 252, 254-5
 Epics 14, 16-7, 22, 56, 64, 69,
 88, 90, 115, 123, 228-29

G
 Gādhī 36n
 Gāgana 30

- Gaganātman 25
 Gajapura 113n
 Gajavāhana 138n
 Gambhīrā 9
 Ganas 88f, 90f, 94n, 97, 102
 Gandhakālī 40n
 Gāndhāra 114n, 115n
 Gāndhārī 41, 42, 42n
 Gandharva 17, 22, 95n, 146f, 148
 Gandharvas 197-8
 Gandharvī 197
 Gandhavatī 150
 Ganeśa 31, 199
 Gaṅgā 9, 37n, 40-1, 124f, 128f, 146, 148, 192
 Gaṅgadeva 138
 Ganges 113n
 Gāngeya 41, 145-8
 Ganopagrahana 236
 Garbhādhāna 237-8f
 Garbhānvaya 235f
 Garbhānvayakriyā 236
 Gārhapatya 220f, 238n
 Garimā 225
 Garuda 171
 Gauḍāṅka 119f
 Gāthās 44
 Gātrikābandha 239
 Gaurī 35n
 Gautama 35n
 Gautama Ganadhara 11, 39
 Ghaṭapatra 240
 Ghrtācī 197
 Giri 161f
 Gitā 21f, 22n, 39, 212n, 231, 255-8
 Gitacañcu 197
 Godāvarī 113n
 Gode P.K. 3n
 Grahana 244
 Gr̥hastha 227
 Gr̥hasthāśrama 226
 Gr̥hatyāga 236 251
 Gr̥hīṣitā 236, 151
 Gr̥hyasūtras 243
 Guhyaka 193
 Gunabhadra 7, 19f, 25, 28, 53 100, 102-3, 107n, 125-6, 136, 144, 147-9, 153-6, 158-159, 190, 193-4, 254
 Gunādhya 1, 5
 Gunakīrti 26
 Gunavati 148f
 Guru 26, 38, 102, 198
 Gurupūjopālamḥa 236
 Gurusthānābhyupagama 236
 Gyanī, S D 44n
- ### H
- Hahā 197n, 198
 Haṭṭaya 166f, 181f
 Hail 90n
 Hamsapadi 197
 Handiqui, K K 14n
 Hara 24, 27, 30, 191n
 Hari 19, 23n, 27, 28n, 37, 50, 89, 94f, 95, 97, 103f, 137, 153, 154-60f, 161-4, 168, 171-2, 179-80, 183f
 Haridhvaja 138
 Harisa 204n
 Harighosa 138
 Harigiri 161, 182
 Harikānta 103, 153
 Harinī 157
 Haripura 155
 Harirāja 154
 Haris 98, 103, 105
 Hariścandra 137
 Harisūta 169f
 Harivamsa 11, 1n, 35, 90n, 97, 99, 104, 155-6, 160, 174
 Harivamsapurāna 6n, 18, 26, 42 50, 68, 71n, 89, 110, 120, 138, 141, 158, 161, 206
 Harivamsāvatāra 50
 Harivarsa 67, 71n, 95n, 103, 154-57
 Harsa 7, 29
 Haryaśva 174
 Hastin 100n, 116f, 144-5, 180

Hastināpura 98n 113f, 114,
115n, 116f 142, 147, 172
Hastirāja 144f
Hatthirāū 144
Hazra, R C 13n
Hemā 197
Hemacandra 19, 35, 36n, 51,
71n, 89, 102, 104, 112, 116f,
120-21, 132n, 133, 137, 145-
6, 157-8, 160, 162, 171-2,
178, 180, 189n, 193, 197,
200, 202, 205, 213-4
Hemaratha 130-31f
Herambas 119
Himagiri 161-2
Himālaya 8
Himavān 176f
Hindu 14, 28, 59, 60, 81-2,
86, 188n, 228, 245, 247n
Hinduism 21f, 56
Hindus 21-2
Hindu Samskāras 236nf
Hiranyagarbha 31, 81-2, 84-6f,
130
Hirnyakaśipu 32n, 132-33f
Hiranyākṣa 32n
Hiranyanābha 130, 130f
Hiranyotkrṣṭajanmatā 236
Hopkins E W 12n, 86n
Hṛṣīkeśa 23n
Hūhū 197n, 198
Hutāśana 27, 30

I

Ibhavāhana 138
Ijyā 220
Ikṣu 87
Ikṣvāku 63, 68, 81-4, 87-9, 94-
112, 118, 121-3, 170, 174,
Ikṣvāku-Rṣabha 112, 116, 118
Ikṣvākus 95, 103, 109n, 121n,
122, 129, 133, 135-37, 145,
153, 157, 159
Ikṣvāku-vamśa 97, 99, 104
Ilā 106n, 164-5
Ilā 106
Ilāvārdhana 164-6

Indra 21n
Indian Literature 19n
Indra 29, 35f, 41, 192f, 193-4,
197-9
Indra-dyumna 119f
Indragiri 161, 164
Indraratha 131
Indratyāga 236
Indravīrya 139
Indropapāda 236
Indu 104n
Induratha 131
Ingāla-dāhaya 230
Īśāna 29, 192f, 193, 195
Īśitva 225
Īśvara 25f, 191n
Itihāsa 45-7, 51-2f
Itihāsa-Purāna 45f
Itihāsa-Purānas 29
Itivṛtta 48, 52

J

Jāhnavī 125-6, 128
Jahnu 124-128
Jagattrayanīveśa 53
Jaina 1-5, 13-4, 16-9, 25-6,
28, 30, 31, 33n, 35-6, 39,
40, 43, 44, 49-51, 55-7, 59,
61n, 63-4, 66, 69, 70, 76-7,
79, 80, 82, 84, 86-90, 92,
94, 95n, 98, 101, 102n, 104,
106-7, 111, 116-8, 121,
122n, 123, 125-6, 151, 153,
159-60, 180-85, 187, 197,
200, 204, 206, 208, 211,
214-6, 221, 223-9, 234-5,
242, 245-6, 248-9, 253-6
Jainapurānas 141n
Jainas 18, 227, 237
Jain J C 4n, 6, 92n, 94n,
101n, 113n
Jainised 16f
Jainism 14-5, 17, 19, 22, 27,
88, 98n, 108, 204, 210, 221,
229
Jain, Jyotiprasad 46n
Jain Pannalal 53n

- Jājvalyate 93n
 Jala 25n
 Jālanavīriya (Jvalanavīriya) 120
 Jalavīriya 120
 Jamadagni 36f
 Janaka 137, 154, 160f, 168, 174-5
 Janakas 122n
 Janmābhiseka 194, 197
 Janmamrtyujarātiga 23n
 Jarāsandha 7, 50, 60, 173f
 Jātaka 41n
 Jātakarma 2, 238-9
 Jāti 250f
 Jātyāryas 101-3, 105
 Jaya-Itihāsa 47
 Jayakumāra 138f
 Jayanta 199f
 Jayarāja 138
 Jayasāgara 122n
 Jāyavas (Yādavas) 177
 Jhūsi 113n
 Jina 21-5, 27, 22-31f, 76n, 80-81, 84-6, 113f, 129, 185n, 188f, 191f, 205, 215f, 237-8, 240, 252, 257
 Jinadharmā 134
 Jinarūpatā 236
 Jinas 5n, 27, 55, 60f, 85n 86
 Jinasena 2, 3, 6-8, 18-9, 21n, 22, 28-30, 42, 50, 53, 54, 71n, 89, 98, 100-103f, 107n, 109-10, 120, 140-41, 153, 155, 158, 171, 206-9, 212, 214-6, 220, 222, 225, 227, 231n 235-8, 240-251, 253, 256
 Jinasena-Gunabhadra 42, 51, 102
 Jinist 59, 95n, 98, 107, 202
 Jitasatru 122f, 123, 191n
 Jivita 30
 Jñāta, Jñātas 88, 90, 101-3f
 Jñātr 101
 Jñātrka 88, 90, 101f
 Jñātrputra 101
 Jñātr̥s 96
 Johnson, H M 105n
 Jrmabhaka 197n
 Jujjha-kāṇḍa 26
- K**
- Kaccha 114n
 Kādambari 10, 33, 34n
 Kadavakas 26
 Kabāpidha 186n
 Kaikaya 114n
 Kaikēyī 136-7f
 Kailāsa 123
 Kākini 206
 Kakkadāā 217
 Kaksi 114n
 Kakubha 130, 134
 Kakutstha 130, 132f, 192f, 134-5
 Kāla 56-58, 194
 Kalahapriya 198
 Kālāvatāra 58
 Kalī 69
 Kālī 150
 Kālīdāsa 7, 8, 29, 36, 212, 244f
 Kalīṅga 114n, 115n
 Kalivanopānta 114n
 Kalmāsapāda 135
 Kalpajokti 44
 Kalpavr̥kṣas 68, 70-74, 78f
 Kalpita 186f
 Kāma 48, 55-6, 186, 195-96, 227-33
 Kamalā 32n, 189-90
 Kamalabandhu 130f
 Kamalayoni 31
 Kamboja 114n
 Kamsa 175-9, 192f
 Kāṇḍa 25, 26
 Kāṇḍas 26
 Kapālin 191n
 Kapila 124-5
 Kappiya 186
 Karahāṭa 114n
 Karana 217-8f
 Karbuka 114n

- Karkataka 217, 219
 Karna 33f, 38, 41
 Karnaparvan 253n
 Karnāṭa 116n
 Kārṣṇaveda 52n
 Kārtavīrya 181
 Kārttikeya 26n
 Kartir 28
 Karttika 216
 Kāśī 114n, 121n, 146-7
 Kāśmīr 114n
 Kāśmīrian 5, 6n
 Kaśyapa 81, 83-4, 86-7
 Kāśyapa 100
 Kathā 34, 186
 Kathāsaritsāgara 5n
 Kaṭṭhacchindaya 230
 Kaupīna 246
 Kaurava 38, 42f, 88-89, 101n,
 104n, 138, 140, 142-4, 117,
 149
 Kaurava-Pāṇḍava 26, 37, 39
 Kauravas 26, 38, 41, 98, 109
 Kauravavamśa 104n
 Kauśala 114n
 Kauśalya 114n, 136
 Kauśāmbī 84n, 154, 156
 Kauṭilya 244f
 Kāvya 17
 Kāvyaḍarsa 5n
 Keith A.B. 5n
 Kekaya 116n
 Kerala 115n
 Keśava 31
 Keśavāpa 236, 243
 Keśavapana 243
 Kevalin 11
 Kevatṭa 230
 Khadga 114n
 Khandā 37n
 Kharavāhaya 230
 Khatṭā 216
 Khatṭiyas 88, 213
 Khecaras 7
 Khila 35
 Kilbisaka 157
 Kinnaras 198, 200f
 Kuātas 191f
 Kiru 139f, 190
 Kirudhara 130, 134
 Kinnvhiya 126
 Kiṣkindhā 114n
 Kohla 29
 Kola 115n
 Konkana 114n
 Kotala 114n, 115a
 Kosala 133, 136
 Kosalajanapada 94n
 Koptilā 203
 Kṛtiha-Bhūma 175
 Kratusṭhālā 197
 Kṛṣi 208f
 Kṛṣṇa 23, 26, 33, 37n, 37-9,
 40n, 50f, 81n, 91, 93n, 98f,
 141, 143f, 150f, 161, 175f,
 180, 182-3, 189n, 211n,
 225
 Kṛta (age) 68-9, 78, 210
 Kṛtamāla 10
 Kṛtaviya 145
 Kṣamā 276
 Kṣatra 212-13
 Kṣatras 211
 Kṣatrayajddha 121n
 Kṣatriya 28n, 36n, 39, 89n,
 90-92, 96, 102n, 212, 217-9,
 247, 249f
 Kṣatriyas 208, 211-5f, 217,
 232
 Kṣattā 216, 219f
 Kṣemabhṛt 63n
 Kṣemandhara 63n
 Kṣemaṅkara 63n
 Kṣemendra 5n
 Kṣetra 56-8
 Kṣetrava 146
 Kṣitimūrti 25
 Kubera 193-94
 Kuberadatta 130-31f
 Kukkutaka 217, 219n
 Kula 250f
 Kulacaryā 236, 237
 Kuladharapatti 54f
 Kulakṛti 139

Kulāvadhi 222f
 Kulkarni V.M 1n, 13n, 15n,
 17n, 21n, 32n, 51n, 91n
 Kullūka 220n
 Kumārasambhava 8, 9
 Kunāla-Jātaka 41n
 Kundanagara 102
 Kundapura 102
 Kunīma 164, 166
 Kuntān 114n
 Kuntala 114n
 Kunthu 130, 131, 139
 Kunthubhakti 131
 Kuntī 33n, 41f, 176f
 Kūrma 143n
 Kūrmapurāna 85n
 Kūrmī 197n
 Kuru 89-90, 94n 97-100, 104,
 105, 107-13, 115-8f, 137-40,
 142, 144-5, 179
 Kuru (province) 114n
 Kurucandra 138
 Kurujāṅgala 114-5
 Kuru-kānda 26f
 Kuruksetra 115-6
 Kuru-line 94f, 114
 Kuru-Pañcālas 92n
 Kururāja 111, 115
 Kurus 89-90, 96-97, 100-101,
 103, 108, 140-42
 Kuruvamśa 97-9, 103-5, 111-
 3, 118, 137
 Kuśa 114n
 Kuśāgra 114n
 Kuvinda 154
 Kvacit 250
 Kvāthatoya 114n

L

Labdhābhimāna 173-4
 Laksmāna 49, 136-7
 Laksmī 32n, 35n, 189-90
 Lambhas 5
 Lava 49
 Lavaṅkusuppatti 49
 Law, B C 14n, 84n, 101n,
 109n

Lekhāna 244
 Levirate 147
 Licchavis 92n
 Liṅgapurāna 25n, 30n
 Līpi 244
 Līpīsamkhyānasaṅgraha 236,
 243-4f
 Lobha 229
 Loddhaya 230
 Loka 57n
 Lokapālas 192-3
 Lokapitāmaha 80, 86
 Lokasamsthāna 50f

M

Macdonell 5n
 Mādhava 31, 183
 Madhu 7, 183f
 Madhukaiṣabha 7
 Madhusūdana 7, 31
 Madhyadeśa 114n
 Madhvama 232-33
 Madraka 114n, 115n
 Madrakāra 114n
 Mādri 41, 176f
 Magadha 11, 37n, 39, 114n,
 174
 Māgadha 213n, 216 219
 Magaha 216
 Māgha 7, 10
 Maha 182
 Mahābala 32-119f
 Mahābalin 111
 Mahābhārata 2, 12, 16, 17n,
 20, 23f, 27, 31, 32, 35-40,
 42, 47f, 51, 52n, 68n, 69n,
 75n, 82, 91-2, 94, 133n,
 143-4, 146n, 166, 181, 191n,
 210, 212, 215n, 219n, 220n,
 222n, 224n, 230, 239, 254
 Mahābhoja 182
 Mahādeva 30
 Mahāgiri 161-2
 Mahājasa (Mahāyaśas) 120
 Mahākāla 30
 Māhana 205-6
 Māhanas 205-6

- Mahāpadma 139f
 Mahāpurāṇa 2, 6, 9, 10, 15n, 19, 21, 23n, 24, 28, 42, 49f, 51, 70, 86n, 144, 153, 156n, 159n, 191, 206, 212, 239, 243-5
 Mahāpurāṇu 28n, 115n, 176n, 178, 209
 Mahāpurusacarita 56n
 Mahārāṣṭra 114n
 Māhāratha 139f, 160n, 164
 Mahāsara 139, 141n
 Mahāsena 176-7
 Mahāsūra 172
 Mahāvaṁśa 84n
 Mahāvarāha 30
 Mahāvastu 77
 Mahāvasu 172f
 Mahāvīra (Lord) 11, 15, 39, 101, 102f, 191f
 Mahāvīrya 119-20, 138n
 Mahāyaśas 120f
 Mahendradatta 164
 Mahendravikrama 119f
 Mahī 30
 Mahīdatta 167-168
 Mahīdhara 160, 161f
 Mahīma 114n
 Mahimā 225
 Māhīṣaka 114n
 Māhīsyā 217-8
 Mahumaha 189n
 Majjhima 230, 233
 Majumdar, R.C. 13n
 Makara 196
 Makaradhvaja 196n
 Makaraketu 196
 Malada 114n
 Mālava 114n
 Malla 114n
 Mallas 92n
 Mālya 114n
 Mānārhatā 222, 224f
 Mānava 168
 Mānava 114n
 Mānavartika 114n
 Mandara 201
 Mandarendrābhiseka 236
 Māndhātṛ 130-1, 133, 135
 Manicūla 125
 Mañjughosā 197
 Mantra 239
 Mantras 237
 Manu 11, 46n, 52, 58n, 63-4f, 66-7, 71-3f, 81-84f, 87, 170, 217-8, 219n, 220n, 221n, 225, 236n, 240n, 241n, 242, notes to 246-50, 254n
 Manus 54, 58n, 59n, 62-4, 68-9
 Manusmṛti 92n, 216, 254
 Manvantara 51, 54-5f, 58n, 59, 62-3, 69, 70, 72, 74, 81-2
 Manvantaras 81, 85
 Mārdava 256
 Marīci 82, 84, 86-7
 Mārīci 197
 Mārkaṇḍeya 156, 160, 161
 Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 64n, 69n, 72n, 74n, 75n, 76n, 78f, 106n, 115n
 Mārtanda 84n
 Marudeva 63n, 73
 Marudevi 201
 Māruta 30
 Māsa-prthaktva 241
 Masī 76, 208
 Mastaka 114n
 Mathurā 94, 172f
 Matsya 114n, 142, 149-151f, 167-9, 183n
 Matsyagandhā 39-40, 150
 Matsyagandhini 150
 Matsyapurāṇa 69n, 81n, 85n, 86n, 106n, 115n, 166, 169f
 Matsyapurāṇa—A study 6, 25n, 30n, 49n
 Maunādhyayanavṛttatva 236
 Meghadūta 8-9
 Meghapura 155
 Megharatha 6
 Menā 197
 Menakā 196-7
 Meruka 7

Mithilā 115n, 137, 154, 168,
170, 183n
Mithilānātha 169
Mithunas 67
Mitrāgiri 161f
Mitrāsaha 135
Moda 236, 238-9
Moka 114n
Moksa 48, 55, 60, 227-8, 232-
34
Moksāśrama 228n
Morṣan 76n
Mrgāṅka 119f
Mrgaratha 130, 133
Mrgāridamana 130
Mrgavyādha 191n
Mrgeśadamana 132-3
Mṛkaṇḍu 156f
Mūla 169-70
Mūlaka 114n, 169-70
Muṇḍara 242
Muni 195
Munisuvrata 164f
Munisuvratanātha 160n, 161-
63
Muñja 246
Mūrdhāvasikta 217-18f

N

Nābhāgarista 170n
Nābhānediṣṭha 170n
Nabhasena 169
Nābhī 58n, 63n, 68-9, 73-4,
80-84, 87
Nāga 94n, 123, 125
Nāgapura 173
Nāgas 102n
Naghusa 130, 134-5
Nahuṣa 130f, 134
Naigama 249
Naipāla 114n
Nairṛta 193f
Nairṛti 194n
Naisadha 114n
Nakula 41
Nala 35
Nāmakaraṇa 236

Nāmakarman 240
Nandī 14n
Nārada 10, 16n, 17n, 197-8
Narahari 139
Narapati, 176, 179
Narapativrṣṭi 176, 179n
Narasimha 32n, 133n, 188,
189n
Narasimhāchar, D L. 18n
Naravāhanadatta 6
Naravaivṛthi 176, 179n
Naravrṣṭi 176f, 179
Nārāyaṇa 27, 30, 139f
Narmadā 114n
Nāsārika 114n
Nāta 88, 101
Nāta 101
Nātha 101n, 102
Nāthavamśa 99-102f
Nātika 101
Navarāstra 114n
Nāva 101
Nāvādharmakāhā 37n, 41n
Nāyakula 101n
Nāvaputta 101
Neminātha 26f, 37, 50f, 255
Nemināthacarita 50
Neria (Nairṛta) 194
Nibandhas 243
Nidāna 233
Nidhi 207
Nihsaṅgatvātmabhāvanā 236
Nīlāṅgada 146n
Nirāgārāśrama 226
Nirṛti 191n
Nirvāna 49-50, 54
Nirvindhya 9
Nisāa, Nisāda 216, 218-19
Nisadyā 236, 241
Niskramana 241
Niskrānti 236
Niśumbha 7
Nivamas 48
Niyoga 143

O

Okkāka 84n
Om 245

Om Namah Siddham 245
 Om Namah Siddhebhyaḥ 245
 Ona-Māsi-dham 245
 P
 Padma 11n, 207, 255
 Padmā 36, 189
 Padmacarita 2, 8, 15n, 18,
 56n, 68, 94 110f, 185n
 Padmadeva 139
 Padmagarbha 81
 Padmamāla 139
 Padmanābha 139n, 189n
 Padmanābhi 23n
 Padmapurāna 185n
 Padmaratna 130, 133, 139f
 Padmasambhūti 81
 Padmayoni 81
 Pabhāna-khattia 216
 Pabhāna-sudda 216
 Pabhāna-vaśa 216
 Pakistan 113n
 Pali 84n
 Pāṭiprakāśa 93n
 Pallava 115n
 Pāñcāla 100, 114n
 Pañcalaksana 46, 50-53, 55-
 56, 60
 Pañcalaksanapurāna 48f
 Pañcavakra 25n
 Pāṇḍava 39, 41n, 138, 140,
 142-44, 147, 149
 Pāṇḍavacarita 37, 42
 Pāṇḍavapurāna 7, 39, 138,
 140f, 147, 159n, 177
 Pāṇḍavas 26f, 38, 39, 41, 98,
 109
 Pāṇḍu 33n, 41f, 140-43, 145-
 47, 149
 Pāṇḍya 115n
 Pāṇigrahana 249
 Pāṇini 44n
 Paramātmāna 258
 Parāśara 40f, 139, 141-44,
 146-51
 Pāraskara 220n
 Pāraskara grhyasūtra 243n
 Paraśurāma 36n

Parātpara 27
 Pargiter 13n, 44n, 45n, 81n,
 109n, 115n, 130n, 132nf, 182n
 Parīśiṣṭa 35
 Parīśiṣṭaparvan 35
 Pārśvābhyaṇdayacarita 8
 Pārtha 33
 Parvan 3, 7, 15n, 17, 19n, 20n,
 35, 37, 99n, 185n
 Parvata 16n, 17n
 Pārvaṭi 28n, 192
 Pāsandin 206
 Paścimā 194n
 Pasenadi 93n
 Pāśin 193
 Pāśupata 25n
 Pāṭaccara 114n
 Pātāla 124
 Patañjali 28, 256n
 Patra 241
 Pātriṭva 223-24
 Pattana 114n
 Paulastya 33
 Paulon a 167-68
 Paūmacariū 24, 25n, 27n,
 185n, 203n
 Paūmacariyu 13n, 15n, 17, 18,
 21n, 56n, 68, 94
 Paundra 114n
 Paurava 100n, 180
 Pāvakaṃṛti 25
 Pavana 27, 193
 Pavanagiri 155
 Pavanavega 155
 Payatilo 213
 Payaratha 131, 133
 Pihaddhaya 172-73
 Pinākin 191n
 Pitha 191n
 Potanapura 113f
 Prabhañjana 156
 Prabhāvati 154n, 157
 Prabhu 119f
 Prabhūtejas 119f
 Pradhāna 217
 Pradhāna-ksatriya 216-17
 Pradhana śatanath 113n, 169

- Pradhāna śūdra 216-17
 Pradhāna-vaiśya 216-17
 Prāgjyotisa 114n
 Praharana 7
 Prahlāda 133n
 Prajānanda 63n
 Prajāpati 37n, 80, 86, 164-65, 196n
 Prajāsambandhāntara 222, 224
 Prākāmya 225
 Prākṛa 11, 17, 18, 31, 33, 127, 128
 Prakṛtolah 213
 Pralaya 53f
 Pranava 245
 Prāpti 225
 Prāsana 236, 241
 Prasāntatā 251f
 Prasānti 139, 236
 Prasenajit 63n, 73, 93n
 Prāsthala 114n
 Prasthāna 49
 Pratāpavān 119f
 Pratibandhu 131, 133
 Pratichā 220
 Pratiloma 250
 Pratimanyu 131, 133
 Pratinārāyana 60
 Pratisara 139, 141-44, 146-48f
 Pratisarga 44, 53-55, 58f
 Pratiśruti 63n
 Pratiśthānapura 113n
 Pratiśhita 138
 Prativacana 130
 Prativarsam 242
 Prativāsudevas 7, 31, 60, 197
 Pravāka 114n
 Pre Purāṇic 44, 46
 Prīti 236, 238f
 Prīṭikara 138
 Priyavṛata 83, 84
 Priyodbhava 236, 239
 Prṣata 100n
 Prithā 33
 Prithivī 25n
 Prithivīpati 138f
 Prithu 28n, 66f, 130-32, 135, 138
 Prithudhvaja 172-73
 Prithuvainya 76n
 Prithuvasu 173
 Trivṛinātha 138n
 Prithvipati 161-62
 Pukkasa 217, 219
 Pulina 164
 Pulinda 230
 Puloma 164f
 Puloman 166-68
 Pumsavana 238f
 Pumsaputrotpatikāmyayā 238
 Pundarika 191n
 Pundarikā 197
 Pundra 114n
 Puñjasthala 130, 132f
 Puñjikasthalā 197
 Purā 44n
 Purābhavam 44n
 Purāna 18, 19n, 20, 25, 28, 31, 37, 44-49, 51-52, 55-57, 60, 96, 106n, 120, 185n, 188n, 189, 191-92, 220, 229
 Purānakāras 5, 7, 16, 60, 85, 100, 102, 117, 153, 158n, 185, 186, 196, 200, 254
 Purānas 1, 5, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 27, 33n, 37, 39, 43-44, 46, 48, 49-52, 53-56, 59-62, 64, 68-70, 72n, 76n, 80-82, 84-85, 87-88, 90f, 94, 95n, 98n, 103, 105, 109, 113, 115, 118-19, 121-23, 126, 128, 130, 135n, 138, 147, 149, 151, 154, 155, 159-60, 161-64, 166-68, 172-73, 175-77, 181-83, 185, 196-97, 211, 216, 221, 226-20, 242, 252, 254-55f
 Purānaveda 52n
 Purāndara 130f, 134

- Purāṇic 28n, 36, 44, 49f, 52n,
 55-57, 59-60, 67, 69n, 86n,
 89, 97, 98n, 99, 110, 117,
 141n, 147, 153, 164-68,
 174, 179-81, 183-85, 192-
 93, 229, 235, 253, 255
 Purāṇists 57
 Pūṇinī 197
 Puru 54, 81, 100, 108, 109f,
 115n, 140, 151
 Pūru 109
 Purudeva 108
 Puruhūta 35
 Purūravas 106n, 165, 168, 180
 Purus 109f
 Pūrus 164
 Purusa 114n
 Purusārtha 60, 231
 Puruṣārthas 55, 56, 227-29,
 234
 Purusasūktā 212
 Puruvamsa 109f
 Pūrva 53n
 Pūrvā 194n
 Pūrvakotī 58n
 Pūrvas 129f, 163
 Puspadaṇḍa 19, 28-31, 100,
 107n, 115n, 153f, 158-59,
 178, 194, 209

 R
 Rādheya 33n
 Raghu 130, 132, 134, 135,
 244, 244n
 Raghusa 130, 134
 Raghuvamśa 8, 9, 89n, 212
 Rāhu 200-201
 Rāimaī 93n
 Rāinnas 88, 102n
 Raivata 62n
 Rājā 93n
 Rajaka 216
 Rājans 89, 96, 213
 Rājanya 89, 91, 92n, 94n, 96f,
 101, 103f, 213
 Rājanyas 214, 232
 Rājaputras 89n
 Rājarṣi 93n
 Rājavamśodbhava 50-51
 Rājmatī 90-91, 93n
 Rāksasa 25
 Rāksasas 25, 60, 87, 95n
 Raksāsūtra 239
 Rāma 15f, 17-18, 25-26, 32,
 49, 50, 129f, 132f, 135-37,
 185n, 200, 255
 Ramā 189
 Rāmā 197
 Rāma Aur Mahāvira 15n
 Ramāpatī 189
 Rāmāyana 1n, 3, 6, 12, 16-
 18f, 25, 30n, 31n, 32, 35n,
 46, 129-30, 135f, 160,
 210
 Rambhā 196-97
 Ramyaka 114
 Rana 49
 Rāṣṭrakūtas 245n
 Rathaniṛghosa 130
 Rati 195-96
 Ratnamāla 161
 Rātrāvalī 10
 Rātryabhojana 256
 Raucya 62n
 Rāvana 7, 18, 33, 49, 198n,
 200
 Rāvi 30, 33, 172f
 Ravighṇsa 138
 Ravimanyu 131, 133
 Raviratha 130, 133
 Raviśatru 130
 Raviṣena 2, 8, 18, 63n, 94-
 95f, 98-99, 102-103, 110,
 119, 132n, 133, 134n, 136f,
 155n, 158, 164, 170, 185n,
 193, 195-96, 226
 Ravitejas 119f
 Rawalpindi 113
 Rawlinson, H G 21n
 Rāyā 93n
 Rāyarisi 93n
 Ravchaudhuri H C 90, 92n,
 113n
 Rāyimaī 93n

Reika 36, 36n
 Renukā 36n
 Revanta 200f
 Rīṭhanemicāru 26, 27n
 Rksas 95n
 Rohini 195f
 Rśabha 21, 31-2, 52, 68 80-88,
 89n, 97 98n, 100, 103, 137,
 145, 194, 205, 208-9, 212-3,
 211n
 Rśabhadēva 31-2, 54, 59, 70,
 76f, 80-2f, 86-7, 110, 115,
 151, 197, 209, 211, 213,
 226
 Rśabha-Īkṣvāku 108, 111, 115
 Rśi 41, 52, 97
 Rśis 95n
 Rśi-vamśa 95, 95n, 97, 100
 Ruci 62n
 Rudra 25, 30, 48
 Rudras 101-2
 Rudrasāvarṇi 62n
 Rukmagiri 155
 Rukmīn 93n, 140f
 Rukmīṇī 93n, 119

S

Śabdakalpādruma 103n 242n
 Śaci 197
 Sādhus 234
 Sadyojāta 25
 Sagara 119, 121-7, 129f, 135
 Sāgara 176
 Sāgarabhadra 119
 Sagara-Carita 125
 Sāgārāśrama 226
 Sāgarī 127
 Sabadeva 41
 Sahajanyā 197
 Sahasrāyudha 195, 199
 Śaibya (Śibi) 6
 Śaitava 114n
 Śaivante 196
 Śaivism 24, 25n, 27
 Sajjāti 250
 Śaka 115n

Śakakāpīra 114n
 Śākṛta 130
 Śakti 194
 Śakra 87, 111, 172, 192-4
 Śakti 142-4, 146
 Śaktus 188
 Śāla 169-70
 Śalākāpurusa 15n
 Śalālāpurusas 5-6, 31, 49-50f,
 59, 255
 Saḥila 30
 Saḥlātman 25
 Śālva 147
 Sāmanta 157
 Samarapriya 198n
 Samāvartana 248f
 Samavāyāṅga 101n
 Sām̐ba 6
 Sambhū 21
 Sambhūta 161
 Samhāra 53, 53n, 54
 Samhūās 45, 150
 Saṃjñā 200n
 Sāṃkhyāna 244
 Saṃnyāsa 236
 Saṃnyāsāśrama 226, 228n
 Saṃnyāsins 237
 Sām̐rājya 54, 236
 Samskāra 240-3, 247-9, 252
 Samskāras 207, 236-7
 Samskr̥ta 5, 11, 18
 Samudraka 114n
 Samudramanthana 201
 Samudravijaya 123, 176-8,
 183
 Samvatsara 242
 Sām̐ya 258
 Saṃyama 256
 Sanātana 23n
 Sanātkum̐ra 5n, 138
 Sandhis 26f
 Sanghadāsa 19n, 116, 120-21,
 158, 160, 164, 171
 Sañjaya 166-8
 Sañjayanta 164, 166
 Śaṅkara 24, 30, 35n, 124, 194-

- 95
 Śaṅkarācārya 3n
 Sankha 169
 Sankhyāmangalagranthi 242
 Sanmati 63n
 Śāntanu 33n, 37, 39-41, 139f,
 141, 143, 145-48, 149, 151f
 Śāntibhadra 139
 Śāntīcandra 1-9
 Śāntināth 5n, 6, 139, 257
 Śāntīsenā 139
 Śāntīvardhana 139f
 Sara 139, 141n
 Śarabha 130-31
 Śarabharatha 131
 Śaradvīpa 139, 141n
 Sarai-kala 113n
 Sārasvata 114n
 Sarasvatī 190n
 Śaravana 106n
 Sarga 44, 53, 55, 57-8
 Sargas 17
 Sharma R S 66n, 67-1, 76n
 Śarmiṣṭhā 166
 Sarpa 191n
 Śaśāṅka 139
 Śaśin 27, 119f, 193
 Śaśīprabha 119f
 Śaśiratha 130
 Śāstra 213
 Śāśvata 23n
 Śatadhanu 144-45
 Śatāṅgi 142f
 Śatapatha 90
 Śataratha 131, 132
 Śatarūpā 165
 Satpumsas 59
 Satpurusas 56-7
 Śatrughna 136, 137f, 181
 Satvat 183
 Sātvata 181f, 183f
 Satya 256f
 Sātyakisuta 191n
 Satyavati 36n, 40f, 142-3, 146,
 149-151
 Satyavīrya 120
 Śauca 256
 Śaudāsa 130, 134-5
 Śauddhodani 31
 Śaura 108
 Śauri 176-8f, 180
 Śauvīra 114n, 115n
 Śāvaṇṇī 62n
 Śāvaithīpura 171
 Śavaṇṇi 139
 Śibi 180
 Siddhānta Kaumudī 44n
 Siddhas 246, 249, 251
 Siddhāya 245
 Śikhandin 32n
 Śīlācārya (Śīlāṅka) 1f, 32n
 Śīlanagara 157
 Śīlāṅka 10, 31-2, 35, 102, 111,
 120-21, 136-7, 157-8, 160,
 186, 213, 216-8, 229-30, 232-3
 Śīlāṅkācārya 6n
 Śīlpa 76
 Śimadhri 63n
 Śimandhara 63n
 Śimankara 63n, 72
 Śimantonnayana 238
 Śimhadaśana 131, 133
 Śimhaketu 156f, 160ff
 Śimharatha 130
 Śimhayaśas 119f
 Sindhu 114n, 115n
 Śiradhvaṇṇa 168, 174
 Śīsupālavadhān 10
 Sītā 49
 Śītalānātha 103, 153-54, 159-
 60f, 162-3
 Śītāśmśumūrti 25
 Śītayaśas 119-20
 Śiva 21, 23-25, 27-9, 33, 37n,
 106n, 188, 191-92f, 194
 Skanda 28n
 Smitayaśas 120
 Smṛti 20, 49
 Smṛti-kāras 214
 Smṛtis 11, 217, 235, 242-3, 247,
 249, 254
 Smṛti-writers 216, 220, 235-36
 Sodāsa 130, 134
 Solva 114n

- Soma 94, 96, 98, 104n, 106n,
 110-12, 193
 Somadeva 5n, 28n
 Somaprabha 95, 98-9, 104-5,
 108-12, 113n, 115-6, 137-8
 Somaprabhakuru 109
 Somavamśa 95f, 97, 99, 103-7f,
 110, 111-3, 118, 137
 Somayaśas 99f, 105, 107-12
 Soriya 177
 Sottiya 209
 Sovāga 204n, 217
 Soyariya 230
 Sraṣṭṛ 80, 188
 Śrauta 220n
 Śrāvakas 205f
 Śrāvastī 115n, 170
 Śrenika 11, 39
 Śreyāmsa 98n, 110, 115
 Śrī 189-90
 Śricandra 138
 Śrīkṛsna 38f, 149, 257n, 258
 Śrīmatī 170
 Śrīpurāṇa 19
 Śrīvamśa 97n
 Śrīvardhana 164, 166
 Śrīvasu 139
 Śrīvrata 139
 Śrīvrkṣa 164, 166
 Śrotriya-hood 209
 Śrotriyas 209
 Sṛṣṭi 53
 Sṛṣṭyadhikāritā 222-3
 Sthānu 23n, 191f
 Sthāṣnu 23n
 Sthitī 49, 50, 54f
 Stimīta 176
 Stimītasāgara 176
 Sūa 216
 Subāhu 173-5
 Subala 119f
 Subālā 136
 Subhacandra 7, 39, 41-42f,
 100-103, 107n, 138n, 139n,
 140-41, 147-9, 153, 156f,
 158-9, 179
 Subhadra 119f
 Subhadrā 142f
 Śubhankara 138
 Subhānu 173f
 Subhauma 139
 Sucāru 139f
 Sudarśana 139
 Sudharmā 197
 Śūdra 215n, 217-19, 249-50f
 Śūdras 212-3, 216-7
 Sugandhā 197
 Suhma 114n, 115n
 Śukanāsa 35n
 Sukeśī 197
 Sukhodaya 236
 Sukīrti 139f
 Śukla 225
 Sukosala 114n, 130, 134
 Śukra 199
 Sūkta 52
 Sukthankar V S 2n
 Śūktimatī 171
 Sukumāra 138
 Śūlin 194
 Sumatinātha 25
 Sumitra 123, 161-4, 166-7
 Sumitrā 136-7, 160n
 Sumitravijaya 123
 Sumukha 154-59f
 Sumukhi 197
 Sundara-kāṇḍa 26
 Supadma 139, 139n
 Suprabhā 136-7
 Supratuṣṭha 138f
 Supratuṣṭhaka 191n
 Suprīti 236, 238-39
 Śūra 114n, 172, 176-81
 Suraguru 198n
 Surakāntā 170
 Śūrasena 114n, 115n, 130n,
 176, 178, 181f
 Surāṣṭra 114n
 Śūravīra 176, 178-9, 181
 Surendra 197
 Surendramanyu 134n
 Sūrya 31, 84n, 107, 119f, 139,
 169, 172
 Sūryaghosa 138

Sūryaprabha 156
 Sūryavamśa 106
 Susamā 53-59, 71
 Susamā-duhsamā 58-9, 71
 Susamā-susamā 58-9
 Suśānti 139
 Sūta 216, 219
 Sutejas 138
 Sūtra 242 3f
 Sūtrakantha 206
 Sūtrakṛtāṅga 91n
 Suvarṇabāhu 36
 Suvasu 172f
 Suvira 176-8, 180f
 Suvīrya 119f
 Suvrata 138f, 164, 166
 Suvratānātha 118f, 129f
 Suyajvan 25
 Svagurusthānasamkrānti 236
 Śvapāka 216-7, 219
 Svārāja 236
 Svārocisa 62n
 Svastikāvati 170
 Svayambhū 25-7, 29, 80-82,
 84-5, 87, 185n, 190, 203n,
 208
 Svāyambhuva 62n, 82f
 Śvetāmbara 11, 31, 41n, 59n,
 63 4, 66-7f, 71n, 87-8, 113,
 119, 121-3, 127-8, 144,
 148, 151, 153, 160, 178,
 185ff
 Śvetāmbara-Purānakāra 111
 Śvetāmbaras 103, 120
 Svīkarana 244

T

Tadvicestīta 56-7, 59
 Tadvihāra 236
 Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa 89n
 Takṣaśilā 113f
 Tāmasa 62n
 Tāmasic 230
 Tāmīl 19
 Tapana 119f
 Tapas 60f, 61f, 256
 Tāpasa 114n

Tapasvins 60n
 Tāraka 7
 Tārāpīḍa 35n
 Tarasvin 25
 Tatpuruṣa 25
 Tejasvin 119f
 Tejovīrya Tejavīrya 120
 Tilottamā 196-7
 Tīnakarana 114n
 Tīrtha 56-7f, 60, 160n
 Tīrthārdbhāvanā 236
 Tīrthānkara 22, 25f, 37, 39,
 54, 59f, 70, 102-3, 118n,
 121, 129f, 153-4, 160n, 161-
 2, 164 190, 191, 197 205,
 255, 257
 Tīrthānkaras 197, 234
 Tisattīṇnahāpurī-agunālaṅkā-
 ru 28
 Traikālyā-samgraha 58
 Trāyastrimsas 89
 Tretā 69, 78, 211, 220n
 Tribhuvanasvayambhū 26
 Tridaśaśjaya 122f
 Trigarta 114n
 Trilocana 24
 Trilokasāra 53n
 Trimetra 24
 Trinity 80, 86n
 Tripura 114n
 Tripuraharī 30
 Tripurārī 24
 Triśaṅku 137
 Trisiras 196n
 Triśūla 29
 Trisastīlaksanamahāpurāṇasaṅ-
 graha 19
 Trisastīśalākāpuruṣacarita 2,
 6, 35, 51, 112, 137, 167,
 177
 Trivarga 56, 228
 Tryakṣa 24
 Tryambaka 24
 Tuḥṅga 114n
 Tumburu 197-8
 Turuṣka 115n
 Turvasus 165n

Tvastr 196
Tṛyāga 256

U

Udāharana 48
Udayapṛthu 131, 133
Udayaratha 130, 133
Uditaparākrama 119f
Uditoditavamśatva 250
Udra 114n
Ugga 216
Uggas (Ugras) 83, 102n
Ugra 89, 91, 94n, 97, 100,
179, 213, 216, 218-9
Ugras 89f, 96-7, 100-101, 103f,
213
Ugrasena 91-2, 176-80, 182f
Ugravamśa 97, 99-101
Ujjayini 191
Ujjhākanda 26
Umā 28n, 37n, 190n, 191-2
Upādhyāya 246
Upākhyāna 44
Upamanyu 24n
Upanayana 246-7
Upanisads 21
Upaniti 236
Upapurāna 49f
Uparicara 40-41, 169-70
Upavāsas 49, 56
Urvaśi 196-7
Usā 35f
Uśinara 114n, 166
Utkala 115n
Utsarpini 57-58f
Uttama 62n, 233
Uttamavarna 114n
Uttarā 194n
Uttarādhyāyanasūtra 16n, 55n,
88n, 90n, 91n
Uttarādhyayanatīkā 92n
Uttarakānda 26f, 210n
Uttarakuru 68n, 69n, 71n
Uttarapurāna 7, 19n, 122, 125,
141-3, 156, 159n, 176, 178,
192
Uttararāmacarita 242, 244

Uttima 230
Uttimottima 230, 234
Uvāsagadasāo 88n, 101n

V

Vācaspatyam 242n
Vahnipurāna 193n
Vaidarbha 114n
Vaideha 216, 219f
Vaidehaka 219n
Vaidīśa 114n
Vaidya P L 28n
Vaikunṭha 31
Vainava 217, -19
Vaiśāla 170
Vaiśālī 94f, 101, 115n
Vaiśeṣika 253, 253n
Vaiśeṣikasūtras 253
Vaiṣṇavism 27
Vaiśravaṇa 27
Vaiśvānara 136
Vaiśya 154n, 208, 212, 217-9,
249f
Vaisyas 213f, 215-17f, 232
Vaitāna 220n
Vaivasvata 62n, 81
Vaivasvata Manu 106
Vajjian 94
Vajrabāhu 130, 134f, 173f
Vajracāpa 156-57
Vajraghosa 157
Vajrajaṅgha 189
Vajrakhandika 114n
Vajrāyudha 195, 199
Vālmiki 1n, 3, 17-8, 25, 29,
31-2
Vālmikiya-Rāmāyana 52n, 95n
Vāma (-deva) 30
Vāmadeva 25
Vāmana 189
Vamśa 44, 45n, 51, 55, 59f,
95n, 98, 101
Vamśa-nirgama 54f
Vamśānucarita 51, 55, 59
Vamśas 94, 104, 118
Vamśasamutpatti 49, 50
Vamśatthappakāsinī 84n

- Vamśotpattulayasthitiḥ 52
 Vamśya 45n
 Vanamālā 154 158
 Vanaparvan 99n
 Vānaprastha 226-27, 236-7
 Vānaras 59n
 Vanavāsa 114n
 Vanga 114n, 115
 Vāṇijya 76
 Vāṇijyā 208f
 Vaniks 232
 Varāha 31, 32n
 Varāhapurāna 194n
 Varakumāra 138
 Vārānaśi 122n
 Varima 164
 Vārīratha 131, 133
 Varṇa 20, 48, 56, 79-80, 204-7,
 209-11, 215n, 225
 Varnalābha 236, 251
 Varnas 207-16, 225
 Varnottamatva 222f, 224
 Varsavardhana 241-2
 Varsavarddhī 242
 Vārṣṇeyas 182-3
 Varuna 27, 193-4
 Vasantatilaka 130-31
 Vāsava 139, 172f
 Vāsavaketu 160
 Vāśitva 225
 Vasu 16n, 40-41, 139, 150,
 161, 167, 169-74
 Vasubala 119f
 Vasudeva 6, 19, 50, 164, 176-
 7, 180, 183 188
 Vāsudeva 199, 203
 Vasudevahṛdī 6, 19f, 63n, 67,
 102n, 116, 122n, 157-58,
 160n, 162, 164f, 167, 176,
 186n
 Vāsudevas 20, 37, 50, 59, 60,
 98, 197
 Vasudevaviceṣṭita 50
 Vasugiri 160-62
 Vāsukī 139, 141, 201
 Vasukīrti 139f
 Vasundhara 139
 Vasuratha 139
 Vasvālayapura 156
 Vātavāna 111n
 Vatsa 114n
 Vāyavi 194n
 Vāyu, 25f, 41, 52n, 165-6,
 180n, 193-94
 Vāyupurāna 17n, 48, 52n,
 64n, 68n, 69n, 72n, 74n,
 75n, 76n, 78f, 85n, 89n,
 108n, 115n, 123-24n, 126n,
 129n, 132n, 133n, 135n,
 137n, 143n, 160n, 170-71n,
 174-75n, 178n, 180-83n,
 210
 Veda 45f, 52f, 150, 254
 Vedas 206, 209f
 Vedāṅgavādīn 31
 Vedhas 188
 Vedic 12, 239
 Vedic-Index 109n
 Vena 217, 219n
 Vetravati 9
 Vibhāvasu 172
 Vibhu 119-21
 Vibudhānanda 32
 Vicitra 40, 139f, 141n
 Vicitravīrya 40-41, 139, 141-3,
 145 7, 151
 Vīdarbha 93, 149n
 Vīdeha 102, 114n, 115n, 122n,
 137, 183n
 Vīdehas 90, 103f, 105
 Vīdhātr 80, 188
 Vīdhidāna 236
 Vīdura 41, 140-43, 145-7, 149
 Vīdyā 76
 Vīdyādhara 26, 35, 94, 97,
 155f, 161, 193
 Vīdyādhara-kānda 26
 Vīdyādharaś 6, 7, 26, 69f 95
 Vīdyādharaśamsa 95n, 100
 Vīdyārambha 244
 Vīdyunmālā 156f
 Vijaya 130-31, 134-35, 138,
 176
 Vijayārdha 10, 155, 161

- Vijayasāgara 122f
 Vjjāhara-kānda 26
 Vinajjhuma 230, 232-33
 Vimala 8, 95, 99f, 102, 110, 205-6
 Vimalasūri 1n, 8, 13n, 15n, 17-18, 49, 63n, 94-95, 98, 103, 110, 113, 119-20, 136, 153f, 158, 164f, 170, 193
 Vimalavāhana 63f, 66-67, 72
 Vimuktatā 256
 Vipāpman 168
 Vippas (Vipras) 209
 Vipula 63
 Vira 176-77, 179f
 Viradatta 156f
 Viraka 154f, 156-57
 Viramitrodaya 240n
 Virasena 131f, 133
 Virasusena 130, 133
 Virāṭa 97
 Viratha 130
 Vīrya 139, 141n
 Viśākhā 37n
 Viśāla 169-70
 Viśnu 21, 23f, 28n, 31, 32n, 48, 81, 133n, 139n, 188-90
 Viṣṇupadma 139f
 Viṣṇupurāna 90n, 143n, 146n, 180n, 182n 190n
 Viṣṇuśaṣṭranāmastotra 23n
 Viśva 138
 Viśvaketu 138
 Viśvāmītra 36n
 Viśvamūrti 22n
 Viśvānala 191n
 Viśvarūpa 32n
 Viśvasena 138
 Viśvaśīrṣa 22n
 Viśvatahpād 22n
 Viśvataścaksu 22n
 Viśvatomukha 22n
 Viśvāvasu 170, 172, 197
 Viśvavyāpin 22n
 Vitabhi 119f
 Vivāha 236, 248-49
 Vivasvān 83
 Vivasvat 84f
 Vratacaryā 236, 247
 Vratādeśa 247
 Vratadharmā 139
 Vratamandara 138
 Vratas 49, 56, 246, 248f
 Vratāvatarana 236, 248f
 Vratins, 206
 Vrātya 92n
 Vrātyas 92
 Vrkārthaka 114n
 Vrsabha 97n
 Vrsabhadhvaja 110-20
 Vṛṣabhaketu 119
 Vrsabhapurāna 54
 Vṛṣadarbha 6
 Vṛṣadhvaja 139
 Vṛṣānanta 139
 Vṛṣṇi 92-3, 166, 175, 179f, 181-2
 Vṛṣṇis 92f, 94, 182-3
 Vṛṣṭi 179
 Vrtaratha 139
 Vyaṅga 196
 Vyantara 157
 Vyāsa 28-9f, 31, 40-42, 141-4, 146-9, 151
 Vyavahāresitā 222-4
 Vyusṭi 236, 241f, 243
- W**
- Wilson 90n
 Winternitz 5, 8, 12n, 35n, 41n
- Y**
- Yādahpati 194n
 Yādava 92, 162-3, 165-6, 171-5
 Yādava-kānda 26f
 Yādava-Paurava 173
 Yādavas 38, 94, 154, 160, 177, 180-2
 Yādu 90, 92f, 161-2, 165-7, 173-80f
 Yādus 98
 Yādu-vamśa 95n, 137 183n
 Yajamāna 25n, 30
 Yājana 220
 Yajña 61f, 204n

- Yajñapati 24n
 Yajñapurusa 31
 Yājñavalkya 11, 46n, 217-18, 240n, 242
 Yajñavarāha 30
 Yajvan 24n, 25n, 30
 Yaksas 17, 22
 Yama 193-4
 Yamas 48, 256
 Yamunā 40n, 150
 Yāpanīya 18' f
 Yaśahkīrti 26
 Yasastilaka 14n, 28n, 186n, 214n
 Yaśasvān 63n
 Yasoratha 130, 132
 Yaśutis 93
 Yatir 20
 Yaugic 256
 Yauvarājya 236
 Yavana 114n, 115n
 Yavu 173-4
 Yayāu 108, 166, 170-71
 Yoga 20
 Yoganīrvānaśādhana 236
 Yoganīrvāna-samprāpti 236
 Yogasanmaha 236
 Yogasūtra 256n
 Yogatyāga 236
 Yogins 3, 60n, 255 6f
 Yojana 40
 Yojanagandhā 40f, 139n, 149-50
 Yojanagandhikā 148
 Yuddhakānda 26
 Yuddhavarṇana 50
 Yudhiṣṭhira 26, 41
 Yuga 54f
 Yugavicchidā 54f
 Yuvanāśva 137
-

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
10	fn37b	न्वीपता गत ॥	न्वीपतां गत ॥ —MP 6 152
11	21	Śalākāpuruṣ	Śalākāpurusas
12	2	Canonical works	Canonical literature and of some of the non- Purāṇic Post-canonical works.
12	13	fo	for
20	1	Vasudevas	Vāsudevas
20	5	Brahmanic	Brāhmanical
21	23	स्तुतिमौनी	स्तुतिमौनी
23	18	Purva	Pūrva
25	7	Ganabhadra	Gunabhadra
26	14	In	It
27	13	Śaśi	Śaśin
31	4	act	fact
37	21	Vasudeva	Vāsudeva
39	16	Purāṇa	Purāṇas
41	24	Gandhārī	Gāndhārī
44	fn1	Pura	Purā
46	18	engrediants	ingredients
48	4	incorporation	incorporation
48	19	four Varnas	duties of the four Varṇas
50	8	Vasudeva	Vāsudeva
50	9	Prativasudeva	Prati-Vāsudeva
51	23	status both	status of both
53	14	fo	of
54	20	those of the MP	those of the previous works makes it clear that unlike his predeces- sors the author of the MP

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
56	7	evidence	evinced
57	fn56	AvasarpanI	Avasarpini
„	„	UtsarpanI	Utsarpini
58	fn57	7056000000000000 —10000000	7056000000000000 × 10000000
59	3	duhsamā-duhsamā	-duhsamā
60	18	Jina	Jaina
64	23	विस्रनवाहणोत्ति	विमलवाहणोत्ति
68	fn21	pecularity	peculiarity
70	5	native	naive
74	5	approach	approached
75	26	testing	tasting
76	6	for purposes	for storing purposes
78	18	Trata	Tretā
82	3	Manvantara	Mahābhārata
82	7	Brāhmanas	Brahmanical Purānas
90	14	Bhoga, who	Bhoga A study of the canonical and Purānic texts of the Jainas tend to show that the Bhogas of the canonical litera- ture are identical with the Bhoga, who
92	2	Bhojakavrsnis	Bhojakavrsni
92	20	farmers'	formers'
93	15	or	to
93	fn32	Rājari	Rājarsi
„	„	Rāyarsi	Rāyarisi
94	4	Epical	Epican
94	4	reportedly with	reportedly related with
94	12	a list to	a list of
99	8	Ādityayaśas	Ādityavamśa
109	19	have been	have not been
110	18	Somaprabha of RPC	Somaprabha of VPC
111	9	the person	the same person
111	13	Somavamśa	Somayaśas
111	15	Mahākālīn	Mahābalin
114	fn123	Daśoruka	Daśeruka

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
114	fn124	are	as
114	fn124	Samudraka	Pāñcāla
119	3	in	is
119	5	Basubala	Vasubala
119	5	Amṛtabala	Amitabala
119	11	Vṛṣabha etu	Vṛṣabhaketu
120	24	Jvalanavīriya	Jvalanavīrya
121	26-27	the Sagara	Sagara
122	fn14	last	least
124	5	Dharanīndra	Dharanendra
128	5	Bhagīraha (2nd)	Bhāgīraha
130	29	Kamalabadhu	Kamalabandhu
135	10	Māndhātṛ is	Māndhār, is
148	1	by Vyāsa	and Vyāsa
149	6	him	him
153	27	ame	same
154	3	clear	clearer
155	13	Vijavārdha	on Mount Vijavārdha
157	28	those	these
158	fn31	समन्वय	समन्वय
"	"	द्वितीयजोगमत्	द्वितीयजोगमत्
"	"	सुमुखाज्ञ	सुमुखाज्ञया
161	5	Chīma	Bhīma
162	14	having	basing
163	3	the	the
164	11	Kind	King
167	12	Pauloman	Pauloma
168	21	Purūravas Aīla	of Purūravas Aīla
168	28	Harī	Haris
171	20-21	furthermors	furthermore
174	17	The Brhaddhvaja	Thus, Brhaddhvaja
175	1	or Brāhmanical	of Brāhmanical
179	fn138	tales	tables
180	25-26	descendent	descendant
181	14	from	form
182	3	descendents	descendants
182	25	Bhajāvrsnis	Bhojāvrsni
186	fn4	एर	ए
187	23	structures	strictures
189	fn12c	or Amarakāṅka	of Amarakāṅkā
191	18	with wife	with his wife

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
192	25	guardian	guardians
193	fn41	Ek IV.	Bk IV
194	fn42	Aiśaṇī	Aiśāṇī
195	6	as accepted	is accepted
195	7	is	as
196	fn62	reduce	seduce
197	8	Surendra	(surendra),
198	7	stric-	strife
198	fn71	VHV	JHV
200	18	son	sun
201	fn96	TSPC 1 5 644	MBh 1 18 13a
206	9	food-will	good-will
207	5	religious-holders	religious-minded house-holders
209	1	Brahma	Brahman
209	1	Varnas	Varna
210	25	has	have
215	fn61	Śūdra	a Śūdra
216	29	Suddha	Sudda
217	6	or	on
217	8	Vaiśya on	Vaiśya mother was born the Pradhānavaiśya and (the son procreated) by a Vaiśya on
218	11	Śūdra castes	Śūdrā wife were considered as belonging to the Vaiśya and the Śūdra castes
219	fn85	women	woman
220	fn90	he rth	hearth
221	22	required ten	required to acquire ten
921	fn95	गुणोत्कर्षो	गुणोत्कर्षो
222	2	after Varnottamatva	add iv <i>Pātratva</i>
229	27	left	felt
236	25	Indrapada	Indropapāda
240	2	(my) son	of (my) son
242	21	reckener	reckoner
242	29	chaula	caula
244	23	Saṅkhāna	Saṅkhyāna
246	fn58	तिष्ठते	तिष्ठते
249	16-17	vow celibacy	vow of celibacy
249	20	numbers	members

