Grammatical Riddles from Jain works

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0. Broadly speaking, Indian riddles can be divided into two groups: First, those where the question invites a global answer corresponding to the meaning of the stanza taken as a whole are sometimes instances of fine muktaka-poetry. The technical term used to name representatives of this category is generally praḥelikā. The second category includes all types of charades and clearly belongs to the field of śabda: there, the stanza is made of two or more independent questions, according to the pattern A, B, C, ... N. While the answers A, B, C ... are made of short words or monosyllables, the last one N consists in the sum of all the elements. The generic term used for this category is praśnottara, of which there are several varieties, depending, for instance, on the types of combinations or on the nature of the elements to be guessed. Like all fields of science in India, riddles have their śāstras too. The Vidyādhamukhamaṇḍana by Dharmadāsa (on which see below § 1.3) is the most famous of them. It extensively and systematically deals with the subject and considers all subdivisions of the two categories defined above.

Both types are tests of intelligence, but they require slightly different qualities from the questioner as well as from the discoverer. For praśnottara-riddles, which are thus based on the de-composition of long sequences into small elements and are clearly meant to display knowledge, it is indispensable to possess erudition in mythology, poetic conventions, realia, etc. and full proficiency in all topics connected with the mastering of language. This means a perfect knowledge of lexicography in all its aspects, mainly of a synonemic koṣa such as of Amarasimha and even more of the so-called Ekākṣara- or Dyākṣara-koṣas, since words consisting in one or two syllables are so widely used in this context. Needless to say,
an unbeatable familiarity with all the niceties of grammar, especially sandhi and morphology, is an utmost requirement.

In this paper, I would like to study some riddles propounded by Jain muniś of the past which have grammar as their central subject. This is humbly offered as a token of respect and profound admiration for a Jain monk who is an embodiment of the Jain tradition as well as of that makes a genuine pundit. Let us just remember that, apart from editing several works from the Jain Āgamas as well as important Jain treatises like the Dvādaśāranayacakra, the Strīmuktiprakaraṇa, the Yogaśāstra, or the Pañcasūtraka, Muni Jambuvijayaji-Maharaj has also to his credit a critical edition of the Sanskrit part of Hemacandra's grammar with its auto-commentary, and is himself a capable writer of learned articles or introductions in Sanskrit besides Gujarati.

This is certainly not a coincidence if all the riddles which will follow are written in Sanskrit, even if they sometimes occur in works otherwise written in Prakrit (Jayasiṃhasūri’s Dharmopadeśamālāvivaraṇa, Āmradevasūri’s Ākhyānakamanāhikā-vṛtti) or in the work of an author who can write in both languages (Jinavallabha, § 1.1). The study of a good deal of riddles found in Jain Prakrit narrative works clearly shows the strong impact of the Sanskrit tradition when it comes to this topic, and the feeling that Sanskrit is undoubtedly considered the language of scholarship and erudition par excellence prevails: besides the few cases of Prakrit works including riddles in Prakrit, there are those which, having Prakrit as their basic language, use more Sanskrit than Prakrit or exclusively turn to Sanskrit for riddles. On the other hand, even when praśnottaras are written in Prakrit, they very often appear as transpositions or translations of Sanskrit patterns, using, for instance, the same ekāksara-words as their Sanskrit counterparts. In the case of grammatical riddles, the place of Sanskrit becomes even more important: they all are in fact in Sanskrit, to the extent that there is no trace whatsoever of any reference to the rich tradition of Prakrit grammar and hardly any presence of Prakrit forms in our corpus.

What I call “grammatical riddles” refer to five cases:

---Praśnottaras of any variety containing grammatical questions (I);

---Praśnottaras where the ultimate aim is to discover a form which is both a nominal and a verbal form (II);
—**Praśnottaras** where the ultimate aim is to discover a grammatical technical term (III);

—**Praśnottaras** where the ultimate aim is to discover a grammatical *sūtra* (IV);

—**Praśnottaras** concerned with knowledge of metrics (V), since *chandas* can be considered as an appendix of grammar.

1. Besides the corpus of Jain narrative works just mentioned, where riddle-verses generally form a small separate section and are exchanged as a pastime between a group of friends, members of a learned *gaṇṭhī* or a bride and bridegroom just after marriage, the sources used for the present investigation include three specialized texts:

1.1 The *Praśnottara-ṣaṣṭi-ekāśata* (=JP) is from the pen of Jinavallabha, a prominent Śvetāmbara *acārya* from the Kharatara-gaccha who lived in the last quarter of the 11th and the first of the 12th century and has many works to his credit. Jinavallabha’s work is not a śāstra because it completely lacks definitions. Except for the first *maṅgala*-verse dedicated to Pārśvanātha, the remaining 159 stanzas are riddle-verses, including the two last ones where the author gives the names of his spiritual masters and his own (vss. 159-160). Each of this riddle-verse is followed by the name of the variety it represents and by the answer. Since Jinavallabha’s work is obviously meant to display excellence and cleverness in the topic, these mere indications are by no means sufficient to make the common reader able to understand the process of the riddle. Therefore a commentary is indispensable.

The printed text of the *Praśnottara* is found in a book where various small texts, mainly hymns, are collected: Śrī*ṣristotrаратnākaranadvītiyabhāgāḥ satikāḥ.* Śri Yaśovijaya Jainasamāskṛta Paṭṭhasālā, Mehsana, vīra saṁvat 2440/A. D. 1914, p. 1a-33b. Each verse is followed by an anonymous Sanskrit *avacūri* (here: Ed.). Besides this edition, the following two manuscripts have been used for the present investigation and will be quoted whenever they are found to be illuminating:

- A1: manuscript No. 5000 kept in the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad; 32 pages; *tripāṭha*-type; *prṣṭhamāṭrā*-script; copied in saṁ. 1686 (= A. D. 1629).
A2: manuscript No. 6198 kept in the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad; 20 pages; pañcapātha-type.

The identical commentary they contain, although apparently based on the avacūri found in the printed edition, is sometimes more detailed or clearer in its wording. It was written by a certain Puṇyasāgara in [V.]Sam. 1644 (= A.D. 1587).

The popularity of Jinavallabha's work is demonstrated by the rather larger number of available manuscripts, the fairly good number of commentaries it has given birth to, as also by the fact that some of his riddles have been borrowed by Jain writers (see below § 3 : JP 31).

1.2. The Praśnāvalī (= P), edited along with Jinavallabha's work (p. 55a-58b), is a short set of 15 Sanskrit riddle-verses followed by an avacūri. There is no mention of the author in the printed edition, but the text is usually ascribed to Municandra, a famous Jain author and commentator of the late 11th and early 12th century (he died in [V.]Sam. 1178 A.D. 1122). See further § 4 below.

1.3. Mahākavi Ajitasena's Alamkāracintāmaṇi (=AC) is a fullfledged work on poetics in Sanskrit verses. The system of exposition is what we expect in an alamkāraśāstra: definitions followed by illustrations. There has been some discussion about the date of its composition, which has been reasonably ascribed to the last quarter of the 15th century by Dr. Nemi Chandra Shastri, the editor of the text, and by A. N. Upadhye. All the available manuscripts, which are not very numerous, are written in Kannada script and housed in the libraries of Karnataka (Moodbidri); none seems to hail from North India. The second chapter (pariccheda), where the author states his wish to tackle the subject of śabdālamkāra (vs. 1), is in fact mostly devoted to a detailed treatment of praśnottaras and citrabandha. As is well-known, the position of these two varieties of literary compositions is somewhat ambiguous: they are considered as attractive and striking because of their peculiarities and the great amount of virtuosity they require, but, at the same time, they are said to represent poetry of inferior quality (adhama-kāvya), especially by the strong advocates of the dhvani-theory.*

Ajitasena's work, coming rather late in the rich Indian tradition on poetics, is naturally indebted to the authors who have preceded him. It is

★ Like Ānandavardhana (c. 9th cent.). —Editors.
interesting to note, for instance, that it shows several affinities with Vidyānātha’s Pratāparudriya, a popular treatise in South India*. The Hindi introduction of the editor includes a detailed comparison of the AC with other Indian works on poetics (Nātyaśāstra, alamkāra-chapters of the Agnipurāṇa, Bāhmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhāta, Rudraṭa, Rājaśekhara, Bhoja, Mammata, Vāgbhaṭa, Hemacandra, Viśvanātha and Vijayavarnī’s Śṛṅgārārṇavaśacandrika) and presents a critical appraisal of the material included in the AC. As a Digambara Jain, Ajitasena of course draws inspiration from his own religious tradition and often quotes from the basic works or authors representing this cultural background (Ādiapurāṇa, Samantabhadra, etc.).

The second chapter on praśnottaras (not considered as such in the Hindi introduction) is no exception to this tendency. Ajitasena’s sources are not here the above-mentioned alamkāraśāstras, where riddles, albeit present, are not the main topic, but the standard treatise on the subject, namely Dharmadāsa’s Viḍagdhamukhamanḍana (= VMM). Dharmadāsa’s original Buddhist affiliation can be stated with some amount of certainty on the basis of internal evidence and there is no need to reject it as insufficient?, but this has never been an obstacle to the diffusion of the VMM in broad circles. The Jains, who have shown considerable interest in all linguistic games and have never despised anything connected with śabdālamkāras, could not ignore the VMM: manuscripts of the VMM are numerous in Jain libraries10; Jinaprabhasūri (early 14th cent. A.D.), a Śvetāmbara, is among those who commented upon it, and our Ajitasena’s aim was obviously to make the VMM suitable for a Digambara Jain audience. Hence the following result: the verses giving the table of contents and the definition-verses, which are devoid of all sectarian character whatsoever, are almost identical to those of the VMM or, in case they are changed, show very minute differences, as if the author had had before him a copy of the original work and had deliberately introduced some small modifications like a plagiarist would do (see examples below § 4, 9 and 15). As for the illustrative verses, they are sometimes clearly based on the VMM (below § 7 and 9) or at least inspired by it, they are simply different because

☆ If it has reference to Pratāparudra, the last Kākatiya king of Tilaṅgāṇa, its date of composition may be some year in the first quarter of the 14th century.—Editors

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the author has produced some verse of his own, or they are deliberately changed in order to give them a Digambara Jain colouring instead of a Buddhist one: a clear instance is provided by the riddle of the variety called tārkyā, where the stanza is so built as to yield the answers vijñānavādinaḥ in the VMM (2.58) and anekāntavādāḥ in the AC (2.59)\(^{11}\). Whatever the case, a close comparison with the VMM always proves useful, especially when, more often than once, the present text of the AC (and its Hindi rendering) are unsatisfactory. One of the aims of this paper is to show that the second chapter of this work cannot be neglected by those who study riddles\(^{12}\).

(1)\(^{13}\)

2. Grammatical riddles meant to test basic knowledge of the language are illustrated by the following stanza:

...kim vā rūpaṁ tado jasi?
śatṛ-caturthy-ekavaco bhavater iha kim bhavet? (bhavate; Jayasimhasūri, Dharmopadesāmālā-vivaraṇa p. 43).

... Or what is the form of taud in the nominative plural? te

What would be the form for the root bhū in the present participle dative singular? bhavate

This is one among many cases showing the all-pervading prevalence of Pāṇinian metalanguage, at use even in works of indisputable Jain origin. Here, the aim is not to investigate the familiarity with a specific grammatical school and its terminology, but only to ask a rather simple question which should not arouse any difficulty for anybody having a minimal training in indigenous Sanskrit grammar. As a matter of fact, the technical terms used are of an elementary type. The answer to the first grammatical question is to some extent dependent on the answer to the second one, since jas could theoretically refer to the feminine as well as to the neuter. But both answers have to be compatible, therefore tāḥ/ tāni are easily ruled out.

Practice of language and knowledge of technical terminology go together in the following question:

*... pada-nipuṇaiḥ pañcamī kena vācyā? (bhāmāratasānatemanasi; JP 71)

By which (element) can the connoisseurs in the field of words express the ablative case? - By tas (tasā, instr. sg.).
 Regarding phonetics, questions connected with the status and transformation of the visarga form a specific group:

*... kīḍrāḥ syād visargaḥ? (vyantarādivyustāḥ; JP 27)

How would the visarga be? - It throws down the s (s-taḥ, saṁ sa-kāraṁ tasyatīti s-taḥ, kvip, ct. mss. A1, A2, Ed.).

*... kam upaiti sarva-vidhibhir-jāto visargaḥ kutaḥ? (P 11)

Where does the visarga go, produced from where through (the application) of all rules? - (it goes) to r (coming) from r (ram rah).

*... kīḍrg nāmi-parā visarga-vihatir-vidvan? (P 11)

O learned man, how is the destruction of the visarga when it follows a vowel causing cerebralization? - It gives (i.e. produces) r (ra-rā); cf. nāmi-paro ram, Kātantra 1.5.12, and the other rules of this section which all concern the treatment of the visarjaniya.

3. Questions where the point is to find a synonymical root are rather frequent in riddle-verses. The knowledge of dhātupāṭhas, a field which belongs both to grammar and to lexicography, is required for this purpose. Since there are generally several synonyms, the choice could be difficult. The selection of the adequate root and the elimination of the others are to be operated in view of all the questions making the riddle, because only one is able to fit in.

*... dānāmī ko vā dhāū? (rāmāyaṇe; Jayāsimhasūri, Dharmopadesamālā-vivarana p. 90)

...Or what is the root for ‘to give’? - rā -: cf. rā dāne, Pāṇ. Dhātup. 2.48; Palsule 1955, 180 s.v. dāne.

*... viratau ko dhātuḥ? (malayamarutah; JP 31)15

...What is the root for ‘to cease’? - yam -: cf. Palsule 1955, 193 s.v. viratau, the only source mentioned being Vopadeva.

*bhuktyarthateha viḥiṭā katamasya dhātoḥ? (viṣadapañcamah; JP 53)

For which root has the meaning ‘to eat’ been prescribed? - camaḥ, “for the root cam.”: cf. Palsule 1955, 166 s.v. adane.
*... prayoga-nipuṇaiḥ kah śābda-dhātuḥ smṛtaḥ ? (madgurā-vojineśvarasūrayaḥ; JP 159)

... Which is the root for ‘to emit a sound’ that the people versed in the correct use of language have taught? - ras - cf. Palsule 1955, 195 s.v. śabde.

*ko dhātur gamane ? (P 7)

... What is the root for ‘to go’? - mīnu : cf. ama drama hamma mīmṛgam gatau quoted by the avacūri on P = Pāṇ Dhātup. 1.493-496; compare Hemac. Dhātup 1.392-396 : ama drama hamma mīmṛgam gāmīrni gatau. Here the choice has to be compatible with the last question of the stanza vidīto vargāntya-varṇaḥ ca kah? which directs towards a root beginning with the letter m-.

* ko dhātur vada reśaṇe ? (P 11)

Say, what is the root for ‘to yell’? - rī : cf. rī reśaṇe rī-dhātuḥ of the avacūri, reminding of Pāṇ. Dhātup. 9.30 rī gati-reśaṇayoḥ (and Hemac. Dhātup. 3. 18 rīṁś gati-reśaṇayoḥ); Palsule 1955, 190.

In our next two examples, the standard straightforward wording is replaced by something less expected, but quite usual in the context of riddles:

*... ato khādad-grhitāvadat :

“kīdṛg bhāti saro ‘rhatas ca sadanam ?”...(jinavallabhena; JP 160)

And the root ‘to eat’ together with the root ‘to take’ said: “How does a lake look beautiful? And how does a Jain temple look beautiful”...

As a matter of fact, in riddles anybody or anything, whether an object, an abstract entity, or even a word, can be the grammatical subject of a verb meaning ‘to speak’. This has an impact on the reply, which will in turn be addressed to these speakers, now in the vocative form. This is another way to demonstrate one’s own ability in the field of grammar by building vocative forms of monosyllabic words or artificial compounds. Thus here, the answer will be:

Root ‘o eat’ together with root ‘to take’! adorned with lotuses (does a lake look beautiful) and full of Jinas (does a Jain temple look beautiful): al-la, vana-ji (i.e. secondary derivative with the possessive suffix -in from vana-ja “lotus”), jina-vat.
Al-la is the vocative of the dvandva formed by ad- ‘to eat’ and lā - ‘to take’ (cf. Palsule 1955, 168 s.v. ādāne)16.

* ko ... krīḍārtha-dhātur vadet “kośṭavimśatayā prasiddhim agamad varṇaḥ kakā-lekhake ?” (P-12)

Who, being a root meaning ‘to play’, would say “Which is the letter of the consonant chart that is known to be the 28th ?” - Root ‘to play’ ! the letter l.

The last question stated in a rather simple way points to the root las, recorded in the Dhātupāṭhas (cf. lasa ślesana-krīḍanayoh, Pāṇ. Dhātup. 1.746 = Hemac. Dhātup. 1.543; Palsule 1955, 172 and 196). The root which was the speaker in the question has to take the form of the vocative when it becomes the addressee in the answer (las lasaṇīti kvip prathamā si, vyāņjanāc ca si-lopah, he laḥ, ct.); laḥ is also the nominative form for the la-kāra.

4. Such an elementary prerequisite as the knowledge of the alphabet and of the Sanskrit phonemes has been variously applied in the context of riddle-making.

First, the varṇas are useful because they provide convenient and obvious monosyllables for praśnottaras:

* tavargge pañcamaḥ ko vā ? (kumjarena; Jayasimhasūri, Dharmopadeśamāla-vivaraṇa p. 43)

What is the fifth letter in the group of cerebrals ? - ṅa

* ... khāntam brūhi kim ūntam icchasi ? (īhālaṁkārasaṅgatam; Bhavadeva, Pārśvanāthacarita 2.224)

Tell the letter which comes after kha (and) which one do you require coming after ṅa ? - ga (and) tam.

In the 15 verses of the Praśnavali, the last question of the riddle invariably concerns a letter (varṇa), more precisely a consonant or a class of consonants (varga). It can be expressed very simply under the form: What is the third consonant (vs. 2), the twentieth (vs. 4), the twenty-first (vs. 5), the twenty-sixth (vss. 8-9), the twenty-seventh (vss. 10-11), the twenty-eighth (vs. 12; above), the thirtieth (vs. 15), meaning that all answers will contain respectively ga, na, pa, ya, ra, la, and ṣa. A short descriptive statement can replace the serial number: the questions ‘What is the last phoneme of the last group ?’ (vs. 7) and ‘What is the last phoneme
among the semi-vowels? (vss. 13-14) respectively mean words including ma and va. When they occur, indirect statements based on numerical equivalences are not too difficult to grasp: 'What is the phoneme in the sequence of phonemes and at the same time the label of a group of consonants which corresponds to the digits of the moon?' (vs. 3) refers to ta, the 16th consonant, and 'What is the letter in the chart of consonants (ka-ka-lekhake) that has got the same number as the number of Jinas?' (vs. 6) refers to bha, the 24th consonant. The point is then to use this information as a hint to answer the other questions of the stanza, which are much more tricky, to find out ekākṣaras or dvyakṣaras containing the given consonant (e.g., mama, ami, mīmu, mu, ume, amai, mas, ama, aumam and mas are the words answering the different questions put in vs. 7).

Jinavallabha combines the use of the alphabet as well as lexicographical matter in a sophisticated manner which is peculiar to his work. The first stage is to produce new synonyms for words offered in the question by adding or suppressing syllables in a given phonetic sequence (dhwani, śabda, pada, varṇāli). Then comes the real answer to the riddle, which consists in making a bahuvrīhi-compound describing how the starting phonetic sequence has been modified. There are 16 such instances which can be classified as follows according to the pattern they exhibit:

The starting point is a word, i.e. a meaningful phonetic sequence which will acquire a different meaning suiting the question once it has been submitted to modification. The position within the alphabet of the letter to be discovered is described in a rather indirect fashion:

* jāmātaram samākhyātī kidṛsō vāṭhara-dhvaniḥ? (agadasamah; JP 35)
  How does the word 'stupid' denote a bridegroom? — Once it is deprived of the tenth letter, starting with ga (a-ga-daśamah), i.e. tha : vāṭhara → vara.

* aśiva-dhvaniṛ ākhyātī tiryag-bhedam ca kidṛsāḥ? (aparajayah; JP 15) How does the word 'inauspicious' denote a kind of animal? — Once the vowel coming after a is removed (a-paraj-ayah, where ac is the prayāhāra for a vowel in Pāṇini's grammar), i.e. i : aśiva → aśva18.

* brūte śīpā-dhvaniṛ atha Śriyam atra kidṛk? (viśadapāṇcamah; JP 53)
How does the word ‘fibrous root’ denote Lakṣmi?—Once it is deprived of śa and of the fifth letter, starting with da (vi-śa-da-paṇcamah), i.e. pha: śiphā > i + ā > Yā, one of the several synonimic monosyllables for Lakṣmi.

The same process is applied to a word which is partly meaningful and partly made of a sequence of phonemes created ad hoc:

* kīḍṛg bhūmīśubhāsa-sābda iha bho viśrāmbha-vācī bhavet? (atanavamadaśamah; JP 55)

How does the word bhūmīśubhāsa denote ‘trust’?—Once it is deprived of the ninth and the tenth letters, starting with ta (a-ta-nava-daśamah), i.e. bha and ma: bhūmīśubhāsa > *uiśuṣa > viśvāsa.

* nayanagati - padām kīḍr̥k pūjyatīti artham abhidhatte? (apaprathamanaṅgajam; JP 85)

How does the word nayanagati express the meaning ‘to worship’?—Once it is deprived of the first letter before pa (i.e. na) and once it has ja instead of ga (a-pa-prathamam ga-jam): nayanagati → yajatī.

In several cases, the starting point is clearly a mere phoneme or a phonetic sequence without any meaning. A rather simple instance involving only one type of modification, namely an addition, is:

*... atha śilpi-śikya-dehān udāharati kā-dhvanir atra kidṛk? (jinadantarucayah; JP 2)

How does the sound kā denote ‘a craftsman’, ‘a rope’, ‘a body’?—Once it ends (respectively) with ru, ca or ya (anta-ru-ca-yāh) : kā → kāru, kāca, kāya.

An illustration for modification through removal of a syllable is:

* nasthāṭavyāmca-sabdōyām pradoṣam kidṛṣaḥ? (vitathavacanah; JP 62)

How does the word ‘and it should not be stated’ denote ‘evening’?—Once it is deprived of ta, tha, va, ca and na (vi-ta-tha-va-ca-nah): nasthāṭavyaṁca → sāyam.

In the following riddle, the syntactic pattern is not a bahuvrīhi as is usual, and instead of forming a long compound, the answer is extremely short, leading to an effect of surprise, which is also a part of riddle-games:
* adivārī-śabdo vā kaiś tyaktah prāha grha-deśam? (yaiḥ; JP 52)

Of which elements should the word adivārī be deprived to denote a part of a house? — Of i, i and a (i-ī-a in the instrumental plural > yaiḥ) : adivārī → dvār, ‘a door’.

When the synonyms which are to be found out are not ordinary words, but typical ekāśaras, the effect of surprise and the pleasure of the discovery are even greater:

* asumeti-padam kīḍṛk Kāmaṁ Lakṣmīṁ ca bodhayati? (avatamasam; JP 7)

How does the sequence asumeti refer to Kāma and Lakṣmī in the vocative? — Once it is deprived of the letters va (i.e. u and a), ta, ma and sa (a-v-a-ta-ma-sam) : asumeti → E, vocative of I, a frequent synonym of Kāma, and I, vocative of I, a frequent synonym of Lakṣmī. Both these monosyllables are well recorded in Ekāśarakośas and widely used by Jinasvallabha in his Praśnottara.

On the other hand, there are riddles of this type implying two types of modifications, an addition combined with a suppression, in which case the answer can be expressed through two bahuvrīhi-compounds:

* Hara-nikara-patha-svah-sṛṣṭi-vāci narnaga-padam kīḍṛg? (bhavamāsvasādiśastanam; JP 16)

How does the word narnaga designate ‘Śiva’, ‘a collection’, ‘a path’, ‘the sky’, ‘creation’? — Once it starts (respectively) with bha, va, mā, sva or sa and is deprived of na (bha-va-mā-sva-sādi śasta-nam) : narnaga → Bharga, varga, mārga, svarga and sarga.

* vadati javina-śabdaḥ kīḍṛsah sat-kavindrāḥ
kathayata jana-śūnyam kajjalaṁ bhartaśanam ca? (vyantarādiśastakḥ; JP 27)

Good poets tell: how does the word javina denote ‘deserted by people’, ‘collyrium’ and ‘threat’? — Once it starts with vi, aṁ or tar, and once vi has been thrown away (vy-am-tar-ādi-vy-astakḥ) : javina → vijana, aṁjana, tarjana.

* ... kīḍṛk / pūta-vāta-paritāpa-mlecchopāsti nuti-grha-krīḍā
homa-viśva-vegavato jalpati pavadanada-padam? (pāpadayaseṣa-
bhadehabhujādivipad; JP 34)

* tvamaladaya-padām vā āśrayābhāva-mūrcchā
kāṭaka-nagavišeṣān kidṛg āmantrayeta ? (āvipravamādyavamadam; JP 39)
How would the word tvamaladaya refer to ‘abode’, ‘inexistence’, ‘fainting’, ‘bracelet’ and a specific mountain in the vocative? Once it starts with ā, vi, pra, va or ma and once it is deprived of tvā, ma and da (ā-vi-pra-va-mādy a-tva-ma-dam) : tvamaladaya → ālaya, vilaya, pralaya, valaya and Malaya.

* ura-sabdaḥ kalyāṇada-bala-hima-śṛṅgān vadati kidṛk ? (ādiśyantaravaviśikānuḥ; JP 11)
How does the word ‘sheep’ denote ‘bestowing prosperity’, ‘army’, ‘cold’ and ‘summit’? Once it starts with śi, has in the middle va, vi, śi or kha, and once it is deprived of u (ādi-śi-antara-va-vi-śi-kha-an-uḥ) : ura → śivara (ra, agent noun built on the root rā ‘to give’), śivira ‘military camp’, śisira and śikhara.

Finally, substitution of syllables is also one process at work. It can be expressed either through the pregnant use of the locative case in conformity with the process applied in the grammatical metalanguage or through a compound (va-ṇā, JP 54, below; and ga-jaṁ, JP 85, see above):

* ravaravaka-varṇāli kidṛg bravītī gatāratim ? (aparāvanā; JP 54)
How does the sequence ravaravaka denote somebody who has no regret? Once it is preceded by a and once it has ṇā instead of va (a-parā va-ṇā) : ravaravaka → a-ranaranaka.

* paścādubhava-jānusambhava-narān daityantya-damśtrāṅgajān
Mandaṁ ca kramaśo muja-dhvanir agāt kīḍṛk kva kasmin sati ? (ajāmadahatabhāpūrvomene; JP 22)
How does the word muja denote respectively ‘one who is born after’, ‘coming from the knee’, ‘man’, ‘demon’, ‘tusk’, ‘born from one’s own body’, ‘Saturn’, what being where? Once it starts with a, jā, ma, da, ha, ta, or
bhā, when there is na instead of ma (a-jā-ma-da-ha-ta-bhā-pürvo me ne) : 
muja → anuja, jānuja, manuja, danuja, hanuja, tanuja and Bhānuja¹⁹.

In all these cases, whatever the process at work, the analysis of the compound which forms the answer in the smallest possible elements looks both artificial and skillful.

(II)

5. We now come to varieties of grammatical praśnottaras which are defined and illustrated in the relevant sāstras. In the so-called nāmākhyāta-jāti, the same sequence of phonemes is submitted to a twofold analysis and can be understood both as a noun (substantive, adjective, indeclinable) and as a verb. Mahākavi Ajitasena states :

sup-tiṁ-anta-prabhedena suyogitvād dvidhottaram
ekam eva bhaved yatra tan nāmākhyātam ucye (AC 2.55)

When an answer, which is twofold because of a good grammatical connection, corresponding respectively to an inflected nominal form and to an inflected verb form, is the same, the riddle is called nāmākhyāta, “noun (and) verb.”

This verse obviously echoes Dharmadāsa’s definition; both the syntactic pattern and the vocabulary are identical, except for one word :

ekam evottaram yatra suśilatvād dvidhā bhavet
sup-tiṁ-anta-prabhedena nāmākhyātam tad ucye (VMM 2.37)

When the same answer becomes twofold because of a good double meaning, corresponding respectively to an inflected nominal form and to an inflected verb form, the riddle is called nāmākhyāta, “noun (and) verb.”

In the VMM, this variety is illustrated through 18 examples, a fairly large number compared to what we get for other types. Three groups can be sorted out depending on the pattern at work :

5.1. Q₁ + Q₂ ... + Qₙ → A₁ + A₂ ... + Aₙ as nominal forms and Qₙ→ A₁ A₂ ... + Aₙ as a verbal form. E.g.,

padam anantara-vāci kim īṣyate ?
kapi-patir vijāyi nanu kidṛśaḥ ?
para-guṇam gaditum gata-matsarāḥ
kuruta kim satataṁ bhuvi saijanāḥ ? (VMM 2.39)
Which word expressing the absence of interval is desired?—In immediate succession anu

And how can the Lord of Monkeys be victorious?—With Rāmaḥ sa-Rāmaḥ

O good people who are free from envy, what do you always do on the earth in order to tell others' virtues?—We follow (them) anusarāmaḥ

This pattern is exhibited in 13 cases:

a-bhi bhavati / abhībhavati (2.38) - anuja ṣrhe / anujagrhe (2.40) - samā dadhi re / samādadhire (2.41) - avamāṁ tāraḥ / avamantāraḥ (2.42) - a-nu mātā ase / anumātāse (2.43) - dāsyā mahe / dāsyāmahe (2.44) - prayāśi ati / prayāṣyati (2.45) - santi a-jatu / sanyajatu (2.46) - ali lavāṁ alīlavāṁ (2.48)—samaram jayaṁ / samaranjayaṁ (2.51) - parā ājaye mahi / parājayemahi (2.52) - vinā udaye yam / vinodayeyam (2.53).

Whereas some of the verbal forms to be discovered are rather simple, some others are not so common in the ordinary language and require a full knowledge of grammar.

5.2. The functioning of the second pattern, represented only by two instances, is basically the same, but instead of forming only a verbal form one of the answers is a syntagm or a full sentence:

nadi iyatāṁ / na diyatām (2.47) - mānava nagāḥ / mā anavana gāḥ (2.49).

5.3. In the last pattern, the stanza is made of two questions only. The first one produces a noun, the second one a verb: Q₁ → A as a noun and Q₂ → A as a verb. The difference is that here the answer is not progressively built with the help of two or more elements which are piled up as in the preceding cases. E.g.,

kim akaravam aham Hari mahidhram
sva-bhuja-balena gavaṁ hitaṁ vidhitsuḥ ?
priyatama-vadanena pīyate kaḥ
parinātata-bimba-phalopamaḥ priyāyāḥ ? (VMM 2.50)

I, Hari, what did I do to a mountain with the strength of my own arms, as I wanted to do something useful for the cows?—You held (the Govardhana) adharāḥ
In a beloved one what is the thing resembling a ripe bimba-fruit that is drunk by the mouth of a lover?—The lip adharaḥ.

The two other such instances are: sa-mada-āsyah / samadāsyah (2.54) and a-hāsyatām / ahāsyatām (2.55).

6. In Jinavallabha’s Praśnottara there are three instances which come under the caption nāmākhyāta-jāti according to the commentary of mss A1 and A2, while the avacūri going with the printed edition gives them the more general label dvīr-gata-jāti (for JP 81, 83) or vyasta-samasta-jāti (for JP 66). The first two correspond to the definition given above and are identical with the last pattern described for the VMM.

* precchāmi jala-nidhir “aham kim akaravam sapadi saśadharābhuyadaye?”
alam udyamaḥ sukṛtinām ity ukte kīḍrāḥ kaḥ syāt? (JP 81)
I, the ocean, I ask: “What did I immediately do at moonrise?”—You gleamed20 saṃudalasaḥ

When he is told: “Enough exertion for good people!”, who would be how?—The idle fellow (would be) full of joy sa-mud alasah

* rataye kim akurvātāṁ parasparam dampaṭī cicān militau?
mokṣa-patha-prasthitā-matiḥ pariharati ca kīḍrāṁ janatām? (JP 83)
What did a couple do mutually concerning love once they met after a long time?—Both of them rushed (to make love) atattvaratāṁ

What type of crowd does the one who has engaged himself on the path of Liberation avoid?—(The crowd) who finds pleasure in what goes against the (true) principles a-tattva-ratāṁ

In this verse, the discrepancy between the tense used in the question (the imperfect) and the one used in the answer (aorist) is worth noting. It is unusual in the context of riddles, but easily explainable within classical Sanskrit where both tenses are more or less freely exchanged.

The next instance shows how basic patterns are liable to variations. Instead of one verbal form, there are two here, which are then combined to make a rather sophisticated compound:

* tanvi! tvanī netra-tūṅnodgata -madana-śarākāra-caścāt-kaṭākṣaṁ
lakṣyī-kṛṣṭa smarārtān sapadi kim akaroḥ subhru! tīkṣṇair abhikṣṇam?
kim kurvate bhavabhim su-muni-vitaranaad dayaka-sravakau drak ?
sraddhaluh prapta-mantra-dy-ucita -vidhi-parah prayashah kidraah syat ?

(JP 66)

O fair one ! Having taken as your target those who suffer from love, what did you do immediately and repeatedly, lovely woman ! with your moving and sharp sideglances resembling the arrows of Kama quickly discharged by your eyes ?—I pierced (them) avidhyam

What do the one who gives and the Jain layman quickly do regarding the ocean of rebirth when a good monk makes them cross ?

—They both cross taratah

Generally how will be a faithful fellow who has received mantras and is fully devoted to the relevant rules ?—He will find pleasure in putting an end to what goes against the rule. a-vidhy-anta-ratah

7. Ajitasena’s AC has two instances of the namakhata-variety. Both are clear representatives of the pattern analysed in § 5.1.: questions 1 and 2 lead to the answer as a noun, question 3 to the answer as a verbal form. But, as is often the case, the text needs emendation :

* sevita vihvalam kartum kā kṣamā suciram ghatah
nāmbho dharati kidrkaṃ śāstrāṃ kurutha dhidhanāḥ ? (AC 2.56)
surāmaḥ. surā. āmaḥ. surāmaḥ dadmaḥ.

The above investigation of the illustrative verses found in VMM and JP should have made clear that namakhata-riddles, like all other praśnottaras, are built on strict grammatical patterns : a question including kim means a substantive in the answer (with the same grammatical gender as the interrogative pronoun), a question containing kidr or the like implies an adjective, simple or compound, in the answer, a question with a verb in the second person implies a verb in the first person in the reply, etc. Sticking to these facts is necessary and proves specially rewarding when it comes to understand texts which are badly transmitted. This holds true for the second line of the above verse which should be read :

nāmbho dharati kidr ? kim21 śāstrāṃ kurutha dhidhanāḥ ?

The whole verse can then be translated :

What is the thing, the addiction of which can make one confused ?

—Alcohol surā
Which type of pot cannot retain water for long—An uncooked one āmāh
O intelligent fellows, what do you do concerning the treatise?
—We give (them) well (?: cf. rā dāne, Dhātup.) su-rāmāh
Ajitasaṇa’s second instance reads:

* yāminīpratimāyoge kīḍrśaṁ yatināṁ kulam?
kāṁ vandante surā nityāṁ? kāmanṁ kim akaroṭ sudhiḥ? (AC 2.57)
abhyaḥbhavaṁ. abhi bhayarahitaṁ. abhavaṁ saṁsāraḥinajanaṁ. abhyaḥbhavaṁ nirākaromi sma.

Here again, a simple correction would suit the grammatical pattern of the riddle better. The answer as a verbal form is abhyaḥbhavaṁ, 1st person of the imperfect. The corresponding question should then normally include a second person: akaroṭ instead of akarot.

How is a group of Digambara monks when practising kāyotsarga in the night?—Without fear a-bhi
Who is it that the gods always respect?—The one who is free from rebirth a-bhavaṁ
O wise man, what did you do with desire?—I overcame (it)
abhyaḥbhavaṁ

In this case, a comparison with the VMM further shows that Ajitasaṇa has drawn inspiration from this work not only for definitions but also for illustrative verses, transforming what is found in VMM 2.38 in order to suit an ascetic context:

samara-śirasi sainyaṁ kīḍrśaṁ durnivāram?
vigata-ghana-niśitha kīḍrśe vyomni śobḥa?
kāṃ api viḍhi-vaśeṇa prāpya yogyāḥbhimaṁ
jagad akhilam anindyaṁ dūrjanaḥ kim karoti?

What type of army is difficult to attack at the front of a battle?
—The one who has no fear a-bhi
In a night without clouds in which type of sky is there light?
—In (a sky) with stars bhavati

When, by chance, he has got some reason to be arrogant, what does a bad fellow do with the whole world of unblamable people?—He humiliates (them) abhibhavati
8. In the preceding category, the words to be guessed belong to the language used in performance. But several grammatical riddles are also meant to test the proficiency in the field of metalanguage, when the question and/or the answer involves a pratyāhāra (§ 8.1) a kṛt or taddhita affix (§ 8.2) or a grammatical technical term (§ 9). As will be seen, in all instances but one (§ 8.2) the standard is Pāṇini’s metalanguage:

8.1. * agre gamyeta kena? (halāsamśtarasamsārayetah; JP 36)

What is it that should go in front?—The consonant (halā, instr. sg.)

Hal is the well-known pratyāhāra for referring to the consonants. As for the respective importance of consonants and vowels in the linguistic system, the commentary (mss A1, A2) states: svarāt pradhanāṁ vyañjanāṁ bhavati, a belief already handed down in the older tradition: cf. vyañjanāṁ svarāṅgam (Taittiriya Prātiśākhya I, 6 quoted by Abhyankar 1961 under vyañjana).

* pratyāhāra-viśeśā vadanti: “Nandi nigadyate kīḍk?” (ajagaṇah; JP 76)

Certain pratyāhāras say: “How can Nandin be called?

—O ac, ak and an, (he can be called) an attendant of the Unborn (= Śiva).

Here the sequence ajagaṇah is understood in two different ways: first as aj-ag-aṇah, which forms the vocative of a dvandva compound made of the three Pāṇinian pratyāhāras referring respectively to the vowels (ac), to the vowels as such (a/ā, i/ī, u/ū, r/r and ī : ak), to vowels and semi-vowels taken together (an), then as Aja-gaṇah (nom. masc. sg.).

8.2. * syād utaḥ kena vṛddhiḥ? (virājñāvinudatipāpam; JP 6)

By what is the vṛddhi of u caused?—By tip (tipā).

Tip is Pāṇini’s marker for the personal ending of the Parasmaipada 3rd person singular. The commentary of JP explains: tip-pratyayena ‘uto vṛddhir’ ity ādīnā nautity ādau yathā vṛddhir bhavati, and thus quotes the beginning of Pāṇ 7.3.89 uto vṛddhir luki hali, “A root ending in u which has no Present characteristic gets vṛddhi before a pit sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant”22.

“... guṇa-vṛddhi vāj-jhalau kasya? (syuh; JP 148)
Which (root) has a guṇa and a vṛddhi which are both vowels and consonants? — The root r (uḥ, gen. of this root).

The reason is that the guṇa of this root is ar (vowel + consonant) and its vṛddhi is ār (idem), as the commentary explains: ar-ār-lakṣaṇa-guṇa-vṛddhi ac-halau svara-vañjana-rūpe kasya dhātoḥ syātām? uḥ r-kārasya rddhi r-to dur. ur ādeṣe dity-antya-hrasvādeḥ r-lope uḥ iti rūpa-siddhiḥ.

The following instance is fairly sophisticated:

* "nirdambheti yad arthataḥ praṇīgadād rūpaṁ vi-pūrvāc ca tat mīnāteḥ kam apekṣya jāyata?", iti ktvā-pratyayah prccchati (bhavadyavādesam; JP 98)

The affix ktvā asks: "What needs to be taken in consideration in order that the root ‘to hurt’, preceded by vi, takes the meaning ‘not deceitful’? — Having the substitute yap instead of you: bhavād-yab-ādesam23.

As a matter of fact, when the root mi, mīnati is used as a simplex, it will form its absolutive with the suffix - tvā (ktvā in Pāṇini’s language), but when it is preceded by the prefix vi, its correct absolutive will be vi-māya (see Pāṇ. 6.1.50 for the substitution of ā in this situation) and will thus use the suffix -ya (kṛt-affix) which Pāṇini calls lyap (cf.7.1.37 sāmāse ‘naṁ-pūrve kṛto lyap), and which Jinavallabha calls yap (> yab through sandhi)24. In doing this, he here follows the metalanguage of Hemacandra’s grammar where the counterpart of Pāṇini’s sūtra reads: a-naṁḥ ktvo yap (3.2.154).

9. A variety of riddle where the answer should consist in a grammatical technical term is recorded in the specialized treatises (AC and VMM) and is named śābdīya-jāti. Here again, Ajitasena’s AC follows Dharmadāsa’s VMM and, like his predecessor, he considers the definition of this variety along with the definition of three other varieties involving knowledge of specific fields, namely tārkya-jāti “philosophical” (see above § 1.3 end), sautra-jāti (below IV) and śāstra-jāti “scientific” (AC 2.58 and VMM 2.56). But these types were probably considered obvious, or best understood through concrete examples, since there is hardly any definition (jñeyam.../ śābdīyam śabda-samjñābhīḥ..., VMM 2.56;...śabdād utbhavaṁ... śabdāṁ..., AC 2.58).

The illustrative verse of the AC as it is edited reads as follows:

na ślāgh[y]ate muniḥ kasmai? sub-anantāṁ kim nigadyatām?
a-kārāydy-anubandhānām dhātūnām nāma kim vada? (AC 2.61)
parasmaipadam. munih parasmai na ślāghate sva-guṇādhikam
dharmai na jñāpayati, api tu sva-nindām para-praśamsām ca karotity
arthāh. śābda-śātiḥ [Ed. śābdījātiḥ].
Who is it that the ascetic does not praise?—An other person parasmai
How is an inflected nominal stem called?—A word padam
Tell, which name is given to the roots having the anubandha a, etc.?—
parasmaipadam

Now, the wording of the first and the third questions and their respective
answers are obviously unfitting. The explanation of the first answer given
by the author is rather tortuous, unconvincing and contradicts the answer
parasmai. Further, parasmaipadam cannot apply to roots possessing
the anubandha a, on the contrary, this vowel normally “indicates the placing
of the Ātmanepada affixes after them, if it be uttered as anudāta and of
affixes of both the padas if uttered svarita”.

Once again, a look at the VMM helps to restore the proper text because
it immediately appears that Ajitasena borrowed from it. In all editions and
manuscripts we read:

na ślāghate khalaḥ kasmai? sup-tiṁ-antarām kim ucyate?
lādesānām navānām ca tiṁām kim nāma kathyatām? (VMM 2.61)
Who is it that the wicked fellow does not praise?—An other person
parasmai
How is an inflected nominal stem called?—A word padam
What is the name given to the nine verbal endings having la as their
substitute? parasmaipadam

The contents of the first question and its answer are in agreement
with common sense of observation, and the answer to the third question is
in agreement with grammatical theory: laḥ parasmaipadam (Pān. 1.4.99)26.
Now, on the other hand a part of the manuscript tradition, mirrored in
the common Indian editions of the VMM. also adds another stanza 27:

satataṁ ślāghate kasmai nīco? bhūvī kim uttamam?
kartary api rucādināṁ dhātūnāṁ kim padam bhavet? (VMM 2.62)
Who is it that the mean fellow always praise?—Himself ātmane
What is the best thing on earth?—A place padam
What would be the word (i.e., verbal affix) for the roots ‘to shine’ and others, even if there is an agent? ātmanepadam

There are good reasons to think that this verse is an interpolation favoured by concatenation with the preceding one, the existence of an identical pattern in the first part of both verses, and the feeling that parasmaipadam could not go without ātmanepadam. But, whatever the textual history, it seems clear that the author of the AC had before him a manuscript of the VMM containing the two stanzas and that this situation produced confusion and overlapping. This is evidenced by the manuscript tradition of the AC itself: pāda c has a variant reading which is īkārādy-anubandhānām (instead of akārādy-anubandhānām) and the commentary too: ātmanepadam. ātmane na śāghate muniḥ sva-śāghām na karotti arthaḥ. In short, the only way to make Ajitasena’s verse agree both with common sense and grammar is to suppose that the answer is to be read as ātmanepadam:

Who is it that the ascetic does not praise?—Himself ātmane

...Tell what is the name to be given to the roots having the anubandha? ātmanepadam

(IV)

10. Like the śābdīya-jāti (§ 9), the sautra-jāti is illustrated but not defined. It is probably not a result of mere chance that all examples of this variety (whether in the VMM or elsewhere) exclusively refer to the field of grammar: sūtra-style and grammatical teaching are traditionally considered to go together. The structural pattern of such riddles can be described on the basis of the two instances available in the VMM: as usual in praśnottaras, the global answer is progressively formed by piling up several units corresponding to the same number of questions (here three), whereas the last question concerns the sūtra itself and gives a hint as to the treatise where it is to be found:

yamaḥ, agaṁ, dhane / Pāṇini-sūtram ca kīdṛkṣam ? → yamo gandhane, Pāṇ. 1.2.15 (VMM 2.59)

viśeṣaṇam, ekā, arthena / sūtram Candrasya kidṛkṣam ?—viśeṣaṇam ekārthena, Cāndra-vyāk. 2.2.18 (VMM 2.60).
11. Riddles of this kind available in our Jain corpus refer to a variety of works. To some extent they are of interest for the history of grammatical tradition and for an appraisal of the spread of grammatical schools in Medieval India.

11.1. Jinavallabha’s Praśnottara devotes two rather elaborate stanzas to the sautra-jāti, but the commentators’ silence about the quoted sūtras and their sources is noteworthy. In the first stanza the pattern is different from the instances of the VMM because it represents a mixed type, called by the author triḥ-samasta-sūtrattara-jāti. Instead of being reached at through the piling up of micro-elements, the sequence forming the answer is taken as a whole and can be understood in three different ways:

sva-janah pṛcchati, “jainair aghasya kaḥ kutra kiḍrṣe kathitaḥ ?”
kathayata vaiyākaranāḥ sūtraṁ Kāṭyāyaṇīyaṁ kim ? (JP 64)

One’s own kinsman asks: “What have Jains said of sin regarding which thing of which type?”—Kinsman, bondage regarding the means of activity which is a very big fight bandho, bandho ’dhikaraṇe ’dhika-raṇe

Tell, grammarians, what is Kāṭyāyaṇa’s sūtra? bandho ’dhikaraṇe39

If we except the vocative and the rather artificial analysis of adhikaraṇe as adhika-raṇe, a compound of rare occurrence (even in the Poona Sanskrit dictionary), the first part states fundamentals of the Jain doctrine with the relevant technical terminology: karmic bondage (bandha) is one of the fundamental truths (tattvas, cf. Tattvārthasūtra 1.4); for the term adhikaraṇa, for which the standard passage is Tattvārthasūtra 6.8: adhikaraṇaṁ jivājivāḥ (developed in the subsequent sūtras), its first meaning ‘basis or means (of any activity)”30 applies here as well. However, the fact that all activity is viewed as generating particles of karman in the individual soul has led to a restriction of meaning; hence the explanation of adhikaraṇa as “a means, implement or weapon of karmic bondage” and the translation of TS 6.8 as “The instruments of long-term karmic inflow are both sentient and non-sentient entities”31. This traditional semantic equivalence accounts for the gloss adhikaraṇe pāpa-vyāpāre of the commentaries on JP 22 (quoted in note 29).

On bandho ’dhikaraṇe as a grammatical sūtra, all the commentaries are silent. The identification of the Kāṭyāyaṇa mentioned by Jinavallabha
with Pāṇini’s vārttikakāra can be easily ruled out because the corresponding rule in Pāṇini’s grammar is not a vārttika and has a word-order different from what we have here: adhikarane bandhah (3.4.41), “(The affix ‘ṇamul’ comes) after the verb ‘bandh’ (to bind) when (a word expressing) location (is in construction with it).” In the context of riddles and grammar, where precision and strictness are fundamental, such a discrepancy is of importance. It is very likely, however, that our Kāṭyāyana is the grammarian also known as Vararuci “to whom some works on Prakrit and Kāṭantra grammar are ascribed.” As a matter of fact, bandho’dhikarane is a sūtra that occurs in the fourth chapter of the Kāṭantra which is devoted to the discussion of kṛt-affixes (4.6.25), a problematic chapter generally considered as a later addition to the original sūtrapātha and explicitly taken by the commentator Durgasimha to be the work of Kāṭyāyana:

vrksādivad amī rūḍhāḥ kṛtiṇā na kṛtāḥ kṛtaḥ,
Kāṭyāyanena te srṣṭā vibuddhi-pratibuddhaye.

Jinavallabha is in agreement with this traditional opinion. His riddle is one of the hints indicating the vast circulation of the Kāṭantra in Medieval India, also among Jain circles in Gujarat (see further § 12).

11.2. In his second instance of the sautra-jāti Jinavallabha resorts to the pattern expected for this kind of riddle, but makes it sophisticated, hence savoury, through the use of uncommon words to be found in the answers. As a matter of fact, his purpose is not to write a handbook, as Dharmadāsa did with the VMM, but to display his virtuosity:

jantuḥ kaścana vakti, “kā kva ramate?” procuḥ kačān kīdṛśān?
brahmādi-trayam atra kah krśayati? kved-āgamaḥ syāj janeḥ?
kim vānukta-samuccaye padam? atho dhātuḥ ca ko bhartse?
kim sūtraṁ sudhiyo ‘dhyāgīṣata rathā Viśrāntavidyādharah? (JP 122)
sūtrottara-jātiḥ: jhaśye kācavaśaḥsdhvoścabhas.

A certain being says: “Which lady finds pleasure’where?”
—Fish, Laks̄mi (finds pleasure) in Viśnu jhaśi, Ī E > jhaśye.
How do they describe the hair?—As “worshipping the head” kācaḥ.
Who is it that makes thin the three (Brahma, etc.)?—The one who makes thin Brahma, Śiva and Viśnu va-sah.

Before what would there be the accrement it in the root ‘to be born’?
—Before s and dhv s-dhvoḥ.
And which is the word used in the meaning of accumulation though not actually stated?—"And" ca

And which is the root that is used in the meaning "to insult"?—The root “bhaṣ” bhaṣ

And which is the sūtra that the clever Viśrāntavidyādhara taught?—The sūtra jhāṣy ekāco bāṣahṣ sāḥvoṣ ca bhaṣ

The lexicographical niceties of this stanza require some explanation: jhāṣi is the vocative of the feminine word jhāṣi; Ī for Lakṣmī and Ā (here in the locative E) for Viṣṇu are some of the ekākṣara-words Jīnāvallabha likes best; kācāḥ is the accusative plural of an artificial tātpuruṣa compound of etymological value made of ka (“head”) + a(ā)c (root noun meaning “which worships”, cf. aṅc pūjane, Dhātup.) > kāc; va-śaḥ is the nominative masculine singular of a tātpuruṣa compound made of U-U-A ( > va through sandhi) + śaḥ (cf. śo tanūkaraṇe, Dhātup.), where U is an ekākṣara-designation for Brahma and then for Śiva. One could also consider that the designation for Śiva is Ū (also found in Ekākṣarakoṣas with this meaning).

Further, the stanza is also a small collection of individual grammatical questions of the types we saw earlier scattered in different verses:

—there is a question on a synonymic root: bhaṣ bhartsane, see for instance Hemacandra, Dhātup. 1.521; Palsule 1955, 187.


Finally, one is asked a question concerning grammatical metalanguage and requiring familiarity with Pāṇini’s sūtra 7.2.78 : (it, implied by anuvṛtti from 7.2.66) ida-jaṇor dhve ca, where ca implies the recurrence of se from the sūtra just coming before:

“(i is added before se [including the substitute svā]) as well as before dhve [including the substitute dhvam] in roots ‘to praise’ and ‘to be born’35.”

Like in other instances of sautra-jāti, the question about the sūtra is the last of the riddle. The source is indicated, but is hardly palpable because
the corresponding text has not been handed down to us. The name Viśrāntavidyādhara is indeed known from references or quotations found in the indigenous tradition, but there have been some discussions on whether to understand it as referring to a work or to an author. The syntax of our stanza makes it clear that Jīnavallabha thinks about a teacher. But it is equally clear that in the following verse of the section of the Prabhāvakacarita devoted to Mallavādīn

\[
\text{sābdā-śāstre ca Viśrāntavidyādhara-varābhidhe nyāsaṁ cakre 'lpadhi-vṛnda-bodhanāya sphuṭārthakam}
\]

(chap. 10, vs.38)

it refers to a work (authored by a certain Vāmana, as other references show), and to the commentary written on it by the famous author of the Dvādaśāranayacakra. Anyway this question is probably not so relevant, and it could well be that the rather expressive name Viśrāntavidyādhara (= V.) designates both the work and its author, as when one says “the Monier-Williams”. If the statement that Mallavādīn (between sam. 400 and sam. 600)* commented it is true, it means that (the) V. is quite early.

The original source of the sūtra may be problematic, but the sūtra itself

\[
jhāṣy ekāco baṣāḥ sāhvoś ca bhaṣ
\]

is well-known in wordings which are very close to each other in the following grammars :

* ekāco baśō bhaṣ jhāṣ-antasya sāhvoḥ (Pāṇ. 8.2.37, with ante ca through anuvṛtti from 8.2.29)

* jhāṣa ekācaḥ sāhvor baśō bhaṣ (Cāndra-vyāk. 6.3.69)

* ekāco baśō bhaṣ jhāṣaḥ sāhvoḥ (Jainendra-vyāk. 5.3.54)

* baśō bhaṣ jhāṣaḥ sāhvoś caikācaḥ pratyaye (Śākaṭāyana 1.2.76).

This shows that V. belongs to the Pāṇinian tradition and uses the same vocabulary and techniques as the great teacher of Sanskrit grammar. The use of ca both in V. and Śākaṭāyana may mean that the sequence of

* Since he mentions Diṁnāga (c. A. D. 480-560 or a few decades earlier), and also quotes from the Āvaśyaka-niryaṅkti, he is best dated to the latter half of the sixth century A. D. — Editors.
sūtras was similar in both works and implies that the mention padānte, which has to be applied through recurrence from 1.2.67 in Śaktaṭāyana, is also valid in V. The wording of V. can thus be rendered: “Before the voiced aspirate consonant (jhaś = jha, bha, gha, dhā and dha) of a monosyllabic root, instead of the non aspirate voiced consonant (baś = ba, ga, da and da), there will be the corresponding voiced aspirate consonant (bhaś = bha, gha, dhā and dha), also in front of s and dhv (i.e. at the end of a word as well as in front of s and dhv)” The process described refers to forms such as bhotsyate or abhuddhavam from root budh, or to cases like godhuk37. It is of course purposefully that Jinavallabha selected for a riddle a sūtra of such a high technical level where all the words belong to the grammatical metalanguage, being either pratyāhāras (baś, bhaś, jhaś)—and not very common ones—, pratyāhāra-based terms (ekāc) or endings (s-dhvoh).

12. In our body of narrative works, the only instance of sautra-jāti is found in Āmradevasūri’s Ākhyānakamaṇīkāsāvṛtti (dated sam. 1190 = 1134 A.D.). A group of young men and a lady exchange riddles. All of them are rather complicated or even obscure. When the type illustrated by the stanza is indicated, it is a useful hint, as in the present case:

   jai evaṁ suttaṁ ciya maha paṅhottaram imam suṇaha
   In this case, listen to my riddle, which is of the sūtra-type.

   After this introductory Prakrit sentence, comes the riddle, in Sanskrit, like all those which are included in this text (except for one which is told by the lady of the group).

   kā sauṣkhyaitakaniṇibandhanāṁ tri-bhuvane ? keśaṁ mahad gauravaṁ ?
   nīrūg vakti, “janasya tāttvika-ripiḥ kaḥ ? kaṁ ca bahhrur diviṣan ?”
   sangho vakti, “Sudarśanaṁ vada kare keśaṁ ?” svarāgryo ‘bhidhāt
   “ko varṇo na-paro vitundati ca?” kim sūtram purasyānaṁāḥ ?
   (Ākhyānakamaṇīkāsāvṛtti chap. 36, vss. 243-244)

   As it often happens, the puzzled reaction of the audience is indicated, and this serves to enhance the intelligence of the hero who alone is able to find the answer. This becomes possible for him only when he has again taken into consideration the variety of the riddle which has been proposed to him:
navaramī vinnāyam imaṁ mai-sāyara-santiyam na keṇāvi
panḥottara-gaya-suttam muniyaṁ kumāreṇa tāṁ tu imaṁ (vs. 245)

The solution then comes as ahirnārthānām ajvareh, a sequence which is not part of the verse and which is arrived at as follows:

What is the only basis for happiness in the three worlds?
—Non violence ahirnā

What are the things one is very proud of?—Richesarthānām
A man keeping good health says: “Who is the fundamental enemy of a human being?—O you who have no fever, it is love ajvara, ih
Who is the one that the mongoose hates?—The snake ahiri
A group of people says: “Tell, in the hands of which beings is Sudarṣana (carried)?”—O group, (in) Viṣṇu’s hands sārtha, Ānām → sārthānām
The best vowel said: “Which phoneme acts with regard to n?”
—O best vowel, (it is) i aj-vara (voc.), uh
And then, once the privative a standing in front is removed what is the sūtra? hiṁsārthānām ajvareh

The process to be applied in order to come to the solution is identical to what was seen in the VMM or in Jinavallabha’s riddles. Like in the preceding case (§ 11.2), the sūtra represents a sort of climax of the riddle but is not the only grammatical item to discover. Here, the question just before the last one is rather technical and refers to Pāṇ 7.1.58: id-itro num dhātoḥ, “n is inserted after the last vowel of a root ending with mute i (in the Dhātupātha)”. As to the final answer which forms a sūtra, the difference is that here no hint is given about the grammatical text where it can be traced. Yet the source can be identified as Kāṭantra 2.4.4040, a sūtra concerning the use of the genitive for referring to the object: sāsthi is implied and forms a recurrent term to be taken from 2.4.37, karmani comes from 2.4.38: “(The genitive is used for the object) in roots meaning to ‘inflict pain’, (but) not for the root jvar in the causative.” Examples given in the commentaries11 show that the genitive can alternate with the accusative and is not compulsory (anityam, Durgasīṁha) except for jvar. Verbs chosen are (caurasya/cauram) prahanti, niḥanti, prañihanti, utkrāthayati, pinaṣṭi, rujati, āmayati, ujjāsayati, unnāṭayati. This shows that Kāṭantra’s sūtra is in fact a blend of two sūtras which are kept independent by Pāṇini: rujārthānām
bhāva-vacanānāṁ ajvareḥ (2.3.54), "(The genitive is used for the object) for roots meaning 'to pain' when they express a condition (i.e., when the subject is an abstract noun), except for the causative verb jvaraya" and jasiniprahana-nāṭa-kratha-piśāṁ hiṃsāyāṁ (2.3.56), "The genitive is used for the object) for the roots 'to strike' in the causative, 'to kill' (when prefixed by) ni and/or pra, for nat in the causative, krath in the causative and piṣ, when meaning violence".

A reference to the Kātantra in a Jain work should not be too surprising: manuscripts of Durgasimha's vṛtti are housed in Jain libraries, Jain commentators, whether Śvetāmbara or Digambara, also applied their scholarship to the explanation of this treatise, whereas, on the other hand, various literateks took it as a basis for sophisticated poetic exercises; last but not least the Kātantra is also known to have had some impact on Hemacandra's grammar.

13. The last instance of a sautra-jāti riddle is provided by Ajita'sena's Alaṁkāracintāmani:

uktasya nuḥ parāmrṣtānu kah śabdo ? bheda-vāci kim
avyayāṁ ? kena nātoṣi ? sūtrāṁ kim Prakriyā-sthitam ? (AC 2.60)
sahārthena. sautra-jātiḥ.
What is the word used in referring to a masculine already mentioned?—"He" Sa(h)
What is the indeclinable expressing differentiation?—Ha ha
What is it that does not bring satisfaction?—Money arthena
What is the sūtra found in the Prakriyā?—"With (words) having the meaning 'along with' " sahārthena

On the basis of the general pattern of the sautra-jāti riddles, where the last question always refer to a grammatical work, it can safely be assumed that Prakriyā designates some treatise of this type. Since no work having only this title seems to be known, Prakriyā is probably an abbreviation. There are then two possibilities:

(i) Prakriyā refers to the Prakriyāsaṅgraha, a recast of Śakaṭāyana's Śabdānuśasana by Abhayacandraśūri, "a commentary of the Kaumudī-type", or even, by extension, to Śakaṭāyana's work in Abhayacandra's recension, which is possible since a sūtra of the wording sahārthena
prescribing the use of the instrumental case (tṛṭīyā) "(with words) having the meaning "with" is taught there:

sahārthena (1.3.129 = sūtra 20 in the vibhakti-section of Abhayacandrasūri's commentary)

cf. sahārthena yuktā tṛṭīyā bhavatī. putreṇa sahāgataḥ putreṇa saha sthūlaḥ, putreṇa sārdham, putreṇa sākam, putreṇa samam, putreṇa satra, putreṇāmā bhuīkте.

(ii) Prakriyā designates one of the commentaries on the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa, for instance Śrutakīrti’s Pañcavastuprakriyā or the Śabdārṇavaprakriyā based on Somadeva’s Śabdārṇavacandrikā. This is not impossible because the sūtra sahārthena is also attested in the Jainendra 1.4.30.

The solution could come from another verse of the AC, identified by the editor of the text as “a maṅgala-verse of Śākaṭāyana’s Prakriyā”, but this verse is unfortunately not traceable in any of the sources consulted by me.

As for the sūtra itself, a comparison of Śāk. with the corresponding aphorism in Pāṇini saha-yūkte pradhāne (2.3.19) confirms F. Kielhorn’s conclusions regarding the relation of the two works: Śākaṭāyana’s “pathological concern for economizing the number of syllables”, his way of incorporating material from the commentaries (Kātyāyana or Patañjali), but, at the same time, his manner of simplifying the matter by removing a specification which he probably considered as having minimal importance (apradhāne). Similarly, a comparison with the corresponding sūtras in the Cāndravyākaraṇa and in Hemacandra’s work shows Śākaṭāyana’s indebtedness to Candragomin (where sahārthena is sūtra 2.1.65) and Hemacandra’s indebtedness to Śākaṭāyana (Hemac. 2.2.45 has sahārīte).

(V)

14. Although less frequently, metrics is like grammar a field of knowledge referred to in riddles. In the following instance

... rucirā kā satāṁ vṛttajātiḥ ? (JP 69)

Which is the kind of metre that connoisseurs find beautiful ?, the selection of the right answer among many possibilities, namely mālinī, is determined by the next question.
ko vā dīkṣu prasarati sadā kaṇṭha-kāṇḍāt Purāreḥ? (JP 69)

And what is it that always spreads in all directions from the place of Śiva’s throat?

where the answer should be nīlimā, i.e. the same word read in a reverse order so that it fits with the type of riddle here illustrated, namely the manthānāntara-jāti.48

In the question
āmantasu anta-gurum ... (sasankā; Dhaneśvara, Surasundarīcārīya
16.53)

Call the one that ends with a long (syllable),

the point is to test basic knowledge of the technical terminology relating to metrical science. The answer is sa, vocative of the technical term sa referring to a gaṇa of the form ॐ — , and immediately comes to the mind of those who remember the relevant sanjñāsūtras or kārikās beginning any chandahśāstra.49

15. The variety corresponding to the sābdiyājāti of grammar (above § 9) is termed vṛttanāmajāti. There is no illustration of it in any of the Jain narrative woks considered in our investigation. But it is both defined and illustrated in the second chapter of Mahākavi Ajitasena’s Alamkāracintāmaṇi. Once more, Ajitasena’s definition appears as a clear rewording of Dharmādāsa’s Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana. Compare

vṛttata-nāma bhavet praśna-vṛttanāmottarād hi yat (AC 2.52cd)

It would be a vṛttanāman, because it has as an answer the name of the metre of the question

and

(yatra) vṛttanāmottaram prṣṭam bhavet tad vṛttanāmakam (VMM 2.34cd)

(Where) the question has as its answer the name of the metre it would be a vṛttanāmaka.

However, Ajitasena’s awkward formulation includes an element which is not explicitly mentioned by Dharmādāsa: not only does the final answer give the name of a metre, but the riddle-stanza should itself be composed “by the way of mudrā” in this very metre which is to be guessed.50 A look at
the three illustrative verses available both in the VMM (2 verses) and in
the AC (1 verse) shows that it is actually the case:

Metre of VMM 2.35 śikharinī / Answer to the riddle: śikharinī (< śikharinī + I)

Metre of VMM 2.36 mālinī / Answer to the riddle: mālinī (< mā + alinī)\textsuperscript{51}

Metre of AC 2.54 indramālā (see below) / Answer to the riddle: indramālā.

But Ajitasena’s definition has the advantage of making this feature
a structural element specific to the variety and not a matter of chance. It is
both an additional challenge for the one who asks the riddle and a hint for
the one who is to answer it, provided he is decently trained in recognizing
the metre of a stanza read to him.

Ajitasena’s example reads:

sambodhanam kim suralokanāthe? bhramad-avirephā surabhi-sphuṭā
kā?

Kā yāti nākāj Jinapūjanārtham? vṛttam kim ābrūhy upajāti-lakṣma?
Which word is used to address the lord of the world of gods? Indra!
What is it that is famous for its fragrance, where bees turn around?
—A garland of flowers—mālā

Who comes from the sky to worship the Jinas?—A line of Indras Indra-
mālā

What is the metre that has the characteristic of an upajāti? indramālā

The pattern of the riddle-verse agrees with what we find in the VMM:
in the vṛttanāmajāti, the first two or three questions can relate to any topic,
but the last one always gives an indication about the structural pattern of
the metre to be guessed (... a metre having nine light and eight heavy syllables
for the śikharinī in VMM 2.35, ... a metre having the same number of light
syllables as the number of mountains [ = 8 ] and the same number of
heavy syllables as the number of oceans [ = 7 ] for the mālinī in VMM
2.36). Here also the metrical pattern of the stanza fits with the hint given
about the metre: three indravajrāpadas (a, c and d) and one
upendravajrāpada (b) makes an upajāti, since this syllabic metre of 11
syllables is precisely made of the combinations of these two varieties, in any
possible type of mixture. As for the word *indramālā*, it is probably not by chance that Ajitasena makes use of it. This synonymous designation of *upajāti* is not attested in all metrical treatises, but precisely in three works which come from South India, as Mahākavi Ajitasena himself, and which, for two of them, have Jain authors\textsuperscript{52}.

(i) The earliest reference is found in the *Ratnamāṇjūsā*, an anonymous Jain work on Sanskrit metrics which is one of the oldest existing Indian *chandaḥsāstras*\textsuperscript{53}:

\begin{quote}
triṣṭubh (5.24)  
*indra*vaṃrajā *ṣare* (5.25)  
*upendra*vaṃrajā *ṣare* (5.26)  
*indramālā dvayam* (5.27); ct. *yadindra*vaṃrajā-*upendra*vaṃjra *sahaikasmin śloke bhavataḥ, bhavati indramālā nāma\textsuperscript{54}.
\end{quote}

(ii) The wording of Jānāśrayi's *Chandovicit* (end of 6th cent. A.D.) recalls the *Ratnamāṇjūsā*, although the technical designations of the *gaṇas* used by this author are peculiar to him:

\begin{quote}
*indravaṃrā bejṛ* (4.34)  
*upendra*vaṃrā *kejṛ* (4.35)  
*ubhaya-miśrendramālā* (4.36)\textsuperscript{55}.
\end{quote}

The author goes a step further, stating that there are fourteen different varieties of *indramālā* (sā *caturdaśa-bhedā*, 4.37), as other metricians also do\textsuperscript{56}. But he is one of the rare who provides illustrative stanzas for these varieties, namely twelve of them (the two remaining ones, the *ākhyānikā* and the *viparītākhyānikā*, which he has already treated separately in 3.7 and 3.8, are not repeated):

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
 & Indravaṃrāpada(s) & Upendra*vaṃrāpada(s) \\
\hline
Variety No. 1 & ab & cd \\
\hline
Variety No. 2 & cd & ab \\
\hline
Variety No. 3 & ad & bc \\
\hline
Variety No. 4 & bc & ad \\
\hline
Variety No. 5 & a & bcd \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
| Variety No. 6 | b       | acd    |
| Variety No. 7 | c       | abd    |
| Variety No. 8 | d       | abc    |
| Variety No. 9 | bcd     | a      |
| Variety No. 10 | acd    | b      |

(corresponds to the pattern of the above verse of AC)

| Variety No. 11 | abd    | c      |
| Variety No. 12 | abc    | d      |
| + (Ākhyaṇikā) | ac     | bd     |
| Viparītākhyaṇikā | bd    | ac     |

(iii) Finally, Jayārti, a Digambara Jain from Karnataka who lived about 1000 A.D., gives the following definition in his versified Chando'nuśāsana edited on the basis of a unique palm-leaf manuscript from Jaisalmer:

\[ upendravajrā-sphurad indravajrā- \]
\[ pādau vīmiśrau yadi tau bhavetām \]
\[ nānā-vikalpair upajātir eśā \]
\[ prakalpiyaiḥ kvacid indramālā (2.117) \]

Because of common sectarian affiliation, this could well have been the book which was the source used by Mahākavi Ajītasena.

The above investigation should have contributed to make clear that Jain authors are extremely fond of all types of games connected with the manipulation of language and that their proficiency in the fields of knowledge pertaining to language (grammar, lexicography and metrics) is of a very high level. For them, as for other Indians, erudition is not boring, on the contrary it serves the games of intelligence and as such is valuable.
Annotations:

1. For a convenient list of such dictionaries see C. Vogel, Indian Lexicography. Wiesbaden, 1979, p. 369-371.

2. This has rightly been underlined by L. Sternbach, Indian Riddles. A forgotten chapter in the history of Sanskrit Literature. Hoshiarpur, 1975, § 132ff.


4. Representatives of the first category are Uddyotanasūri’s Kuvalayamālā, Mahesvarasūri’s Nānapancamikāhā, Śantisūri’s Puhaicandacariya, Dhaneśvarasūri’s Surasundarācariya or an anonymous Jinadatta-ākhyāna. Second category:

   Dharmopadesamālāvivarāṇa Sk.: 3 Pk.: 2
   Maṇipaticarita Sk.: 2 Pk.: 3
   Ākhyānakanamānikosāvṛtti Sk.: 8 Pk.: 1
   Kahārayanākāsā Sk.: 4 Pk.: 2

Third category: e.g. Samarāiccaakahā with 4 riddles, all in Sanskrit. This is just a sample of references. More details about the corpus will be given in an extensive study on riddles found in Jain narrative works (in preparation).

5. Partly for lack of space, riddles belonging to the category where a verbal form (kriyā) or a nominal form corresponding to any of the grammatical cases (kṛta, karma, karaṇa, etc.) is concealed (“gupta”) in a given verse and is to be detected, are left out. See VMM 4.33ff., or Kuvalayamālā and Samarāiccaakahā for examples in Jain works.

6. Mentioned in L. Sternbach’s monograph Indian Riddles § 120, but with more information about the author’s career than about his work itself.


8. See New Catalogus Catalogorum under Praśnāvalī and the list of Municandra’s works in e.g., H. R. Kapadia, introduction to Haribhadra’s Anekāntajayapataktā (commented upon by Municandra). Baroda, 1940 (G.O.S. 88), p. XXX.


11. See also below § 13. Other instances of riddles providing answers of Jain or Digambara Jain colouring are: Tirthakaraḥ (AC 2.11), Akalankaḥ (2.13), Vidyānandaḥ (2.109), paramesṭhi (2.110).

12. It is not mentioned in Sternbach’s monograph.

13. In this section and the next, only the parts of the verses which contain grammatical riddles will be quoted and considered. The verbal sequence forming the answer to the full riddle will be given because it serves as a hint to direct the reader in cases where there could be several possibilities, but it will not be extensively explained: the more questions, the more problems, a detailed discussion of which would lead to unnecessary digressions.

14. For a modern reader, the “alphabetical Index of meanings with corresponding roots (also arranged alphabetically) as given in the different Dhānapāṭhas” found in Palsule 1955 is a perfect tool.

15. This riddle and another one (JP 33) are also found in Devabhadrāsūri’s Kahaṛayaṇakosa (p. 280a).

16. Ct.: ada psā bhakṣaṇe attiti at kvip adāṁ lāti dadātīti alias tat-sambodham he īla (mss A1, A2).

17. Antasthasv anya-vārṇaṁ ca kaḥ prasiddho mahitale?

18. Ct.: a-kārāt para ‘c i kāraḥ aparāc tasyāyaḥ kṣayaḥ (Ed.).

19. Ct.: atrottaram: as ca jaś ca maś ca daś ca haś ca taś ca bhāś ca ajāmadahatahās te pūrve yasya mahā ajāmadahatahā-pūrvah tathā me muja-śabda-sambandhi ma-kāre kṛte ne na-kāre kṛte satī etāvata muja-sthāne nuja iti jāte ādau ajādiṣu varṇeṣu dattēṣu yathākramāni anuja 1 jānuja 2 manuja 3 danuja 4 hanuja 5 tanuja 6 bhānuja 7 iti śabdāḥ bhavanti. Hanujaḥ antyadāṃṣṭrā bhānujaḥ śānīḥ, śeṣā spaṣṭā eva (mss A1, A2).

20. Ct.: tvam samudalasah samullasitavān athavā sam sāmastyena ut prābalyena alasah śabditevān tus hras las śabde las ity asya rūpam; but las with this meaning is not recorded in Palsule s.v. śabde.

21. This is perhaps what is actually meant by the reading kidīvīkam found in two mss. of the AC.


bhāvaḥ: yādṛśāni nirdambha-sadbenārthato rūpam abhidhiyate tādṛśām vipūrvān
mīnāteḥ kvā prayayasya yavādeśe sati, tathā hi nirdambha-sabdena nirmāya ity
ucyate anenāpi vimāyeti sa evārthaḥ.

24. The difference between ba and va is never relevant in the context of riddles. In this
answer one should read ba, while in the two other answers of the same riddle-
stanza one should understand va (respectively bhavad yavāḥ(ḥ) desam and Bhava,
dya vāde 'sam).


26. See further Abhyankar 1961 p. 304 and Kraatz’s commentary on VMM 2.61 (vol.
2 p. 191).

27. For instance, in the Berlin manuscript “Ms. or. fol. 1034” (Weber, Verzeichnis II,
1 p. 285 No. 1727) it is added in the margin by another hand.

28. See M. Kraatz’s observations in his commentary of VMM (vol. 2 p. 192).

29. Ct.: he bandho svajana adhikaraṇe pāpa-vyāpāre bandhaḥ kathitaḥ, kidrśe
adhikaraṇe ‘dhikaraṇāṁ yat ra tat tasminn adhikaraṇe... (mss A1, A2); after pāp-
vyāpāre the avacūri of the printed edition reads : kurviśīṣṭe ? adhikaraṇe adhikān
raṇāṁ samigrāmaṁ yatra tat tathā tasminn adhika-raṇe.


31. See respectively Pt. Sukhlalji’s Commentary on the Tattvārtha Sūtra, Ahmedabad,
1974 (L. D. Series 44), p. 239 and N. Taria’s translation of TS, That Which Is.


33. = PūjyaIDDLE Devandenin’s Jainendra-vyākaraṇa 2.4.28 (Ed. with the Jainendra
Jnanapith, 1956 [Jnanapitha Moorti Devi Jain Grantha Mala, Sanskrit Grantha
No. 17]).

Quoted by S. K. Belvalkar, An account of the different existing systems of Sanskrit
grammar. Poona, 1915, p. 27 n. 2; see also p. 84-85. - Kātantra’s recension
commented upon by the Digambara Bhāvasena Trāvidya (see below n. 41) does
not include the sūtra under consideration. It ends with guḍoṣ ca niṣṭhāyāṁ seṭāḥ =
4.5.81 in the recension commented upon by Durgasimha and edited by J. Eggeling.

35. On the part played by ca in “offering an abbreviative interpretation” in this sequence
of sūtras see S. D. Joshi and Saroja Bhat, “The Role of the Particle ca in
36. Some information on V. can be found in the following sources: Abhyankar 1961, s.v. Viśrāntavidyādhara, with the quotation of a popular verse (p. 336); F. Kielhorn, "Indragomin and other grammarians", Indian Antiquary 15 (1886), p. 182 and n. 4 (= Kleine Schriften, p. 243): quotations from Hemacandra’s Nyāsa on his own Sanskrit grammar, and references to the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi; H. R. Kapadia, Jaina Sanskrita Śāhitya no Itihāsa Vol. 1. Baroda, 1956, p. 23-24 of the second chapter: Convenient collection of whatever information is available.


38. Correction suggested by Prof. P. S. Filliozat (see also below). Ed. vitundati na is probably wrong. The hints provided by the Indian editor for this part of the riddle are not helpful at all. It seems he missed the point.

39. I am extremely thankful to Prof. P. S. Filliozat, without whom I was at a complete loss to understand this question and its answer. His help has also proved invaluable for solving a few other points connected with this paper.

40. See n. 2 p. 297 in the edition of the Ākhyaṇakamāṇḍikosavṛtti.


42. Similar wording in the Jainendra-vyāk.: rujartheṣya bhāva-vācino jvarisantāpyoh (1.4.61) and jāsa-niprahaṇa-nāṭa-krāṭha-piśām hiṁṣāyām (1.4.63); in Śakatāyana : rujo jvarisantāpyoh kartari bhāve (1.3.113) and hiṁṣāyām jāsanāṭakrāṭhapiśānipradhānām (1.3.114); in Hemacandra : rujartheṣyajvarisantāper bhāve karttari (2.2.13), jāsa-nāṭa-krāṭha-piśo hiṁṣāyām (2.2.14) and ni-prebhyo ghnah (2.2.15). There does not seem to be anything comparable to these sūtras in the Cāndra-vyāk.
43. *Cf. ha vinirgraha* according to Medinī, quoted in the *Amaravyākhyāsudhā* (information provided by Prof. P. S. Filliozat).


45. This is Abhayacandrasūri’s commentary, ed. by G. Oppert. Madras, 1893, p. 75; the *Amoghavṛtti* (ed. by Shambhu Nath Tripathi. Kashi, 1971) is more extensive.

46. The verse in point, clearly of Jain origin, is:

\[ \text{jñāyati jagadiśa-mastaka-mañi-kirāṇa-kalāpa-kalpitārgha-nidhi} \]

\[ \text{Jīna-carana-kamala-yugalam ganadhara-gananiya-nakha-keśarakam (AC 5.301),} \]

identified by the editor as “Śākaṭāyana Prakriyā kā mangala padya” on p. 365. What the editor exactly means is not clear to me, since neither Abhayacandrasūri nor the *Amoghavṛtti* include this verse as their *maṅgalas*.


48. This variety of riddle is akin to *citrakāvyā* and can be best represented as a cross, the centre of which is occupied by a syllable common to all the answers of the riddle. There is then one horizontal answer which can be read in both directions, a vertical answer which can also be read in both directions. A circular reading ending in the centre makes the last answer. E.g., in the present case:

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}
\text{nā} \\
\text{mā} & \text{li} & \text{nī} \\
\text{na} \\
\end{array} \]

1) *mālinī* / *nīlimā*; 2) *nālina* / *Nalinā*; 3) *mānānīnaṃ āli*. There are several such instances in JP (32, 74, 143, 145, 152, 154), but this variety does not seem to have been very popular outside this work, and the VMM does not seem to know of it.

49. See e.g., Kedarabhatṭa’s *Vyṭṭaranaṅkara* 1.8, Hemacandra, *Chandoṇuśāsana* 1.2.

50. See M. Kraatz’s translation of VMM : “(Wenn) ein Rätselvers als Antwort den Namen (seines) Versmaßes hat - das ist *vṛttanāmaka* ‘benannt nach dem Versmaß’”.

52. The matter is treated here in some details because all the relevant books are not easily available, and these technicalities are not very well known. See further note 54.


54. Ratnamañjūṣā with Bhāṣya by some unknown Jain authors on Sanskrit prosody. Ed. with A Critical Introduction and Notes by Prof. H. D. Velankar. Kashi, Bharatiya Jnanapith, 1949 (Jnanapitha Moorti Devi Jain Granthamala, Sanskrit Grantha No. 5) : “Indramālā : Another name of the Upajāti: Mandāramarandacampū (Kāvyamālā ed. 1895, p. 8 line 7) calls it upendramālā; but every other writer that I know of calls it upajāti”. (Velankar’s note p. 59, to be revised in the light of the material collected here).

55. Jānāṣrayī Chandovicītī. Published by the Curator, The University Manuscripts Library. Trivandrum, 1949 (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 163).

56. See e.g., Prākritapāingala 2.119 and 2.121 for the fourteen designations of the varieties of upajātis : one of them is called mālā, a word which is anyway quite common in names of metres (cf. vidyunmālā, urmimālā, candramālā, etc.). Hemacandra’s Chando’nusāsana 2.156 : etayoḥ parayaḥ ca saṅkara upajātiś caturdaśadhā.

ABBREVIATIONS


AC = Alamkāracintāmanī of Mahākavi Ājitasena. Ed. by Dr. Nemi Chandra Shastri. Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanapitha, 1973 (Jnanapitha Moorti Devi Grantha Mala : Sanskrit Grantha No. 43); see § 1.3.

JP = Jinavallabha’s Praśnottara-ṣaṣṭi-ekāśata (see § 1.1).

P = Municandra’s Praśnāvali (see § 1.2).


V. = Viśrāntavidyaḍhara (see § 11.2).

VMM = Dharmadāsa’s Vidagdhāmukhaṇḍana. The editions used are:

