

# NARRATIVE TALE IN JAIN LITERATURE

Edited by  
Satya Ranjan Banerjee



THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

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## FOREWORD

*Narrative Tale in Jain Literature*, compiled and edited by Professor Satya Ranjan Banerjee, is valuable for two reasons. Firstly, the Jaina tales have been collected from various sources, and presented in a continuous form, which would surely help the readers understand the Jaina *Śramanic* view of the problems of life. Secondly, the Jaina tales, collected by Professor Satya Ranjan Banerjee from Jaina folkloristic literature, which is vast, are, in all probability, the first English translation of Jaina folklore, which shows that, despite the practice of asceticism of an exceedingly severe type, the Jainas had considerable knowledge of *samsāra*, or life of the people, whom they sought to convert into their faith. The Jaina tales, collected in this volume, represent the means which the Jainas adopted for civilizing the masses who were steeped in ignorance and various types of immoralities. The didactic content in Jaina tales, told in popular language, is unmistakable. This work would be of some help to general readers and specialists in understanding the continuance of the Jaina faith during the millenia. It is certainly a valuable compendium which would, I hope, be appreciated by the readers.

28.01.2008

**Ramakanta Chakrabarty**  
*General Secretary*  
The Asiatic Society



## INTRODUCTION

The present monograph entitled *Narrative Tale in Jain Literature* is being published by the Asiatic Society on the occasion of a pan-Indian Seminar on Jain narratives organised by the Society to be held on the 5th and 6th of February 2008. This is the third Seminar of the series. The earlier two Seminars were on Prakrit and Jainism held on March 2005 and on Ethics and Philosophy held on March 2004. It is a fact to be noted that in history Bengal was a champion of Jainism from time immemorial. As far as 2600 years ago, Vardhamān Mahāvīra came to Bengal (Vaṅga), known as Rāḍha (or Lāṭa)-deśa, to preach his doctrine, and the second part of the *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, one of the oldest Jaina Āgama texts, testifies this event of Mahāvīra. Some of the historians say that the Railway Station Burdwan in West Bengal is named after him as a mark of his holy visit to that place. And so Jainism in Bengal is not an unknown factor and the rôle of the Asiatic Society is very significant in this respect.

The Asiatic Society, established in 1784, has been rendering good services to Jainism by publishing books and papers for the last two centuries. It was Sir William Jones (1746-1794) who for the first time mentioned the language Prakrit in 1789 in the title page of his translation of *Sakuntalā* in the form "translated from original Sanskrit and Prakrit." Till that time Europe did not know the existence of Prakrit. The first European who introduced Prakrit to the academic world is Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765-1837) who in his two articles *On the Sanscrit and Pracrit Languages* (Asiatick Researches, Vol. VII, 1801, pp. 199-237) and *On Sanscrit and Pracrit Poetry* (Asiatick Researches, Vol. X, 1808, pp. 389-474) focused the importance of Sanskrit and Prakrit languages and Poetry to the reading public in a scholastic way. Apart from this, in the Asiatick Researches Vol. IX, 1807, pp. 287-322.



just 200 years ago from now, was published Henry Thomas Colebrooke's : "Observations on the Sects of Jainas" (later on printed in Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. II, 1872, 2nd edn. pp. 191-224). The Journal of the Asiatic Society has also published many outstanding pioneering articles on Prakrit and Jainism. In 1880 the unique Prakrit grammar of Caṇḍa's *Prākṛta-lakṣaṇam* edited by A.F.R. Hoernle (1841-1918) from six or eight manuscripts was published for the first time. It was immediately followed by Hoernle's edition of a Jaina Aṅga text, *Upāsakadasāsūtra* in two volms (text 1885-1890 and translation 1888 reprinted in 1989 by the Society). These two editions are still outstanding works in the field of Prakrit. The *Parīṣiṣṭa-parvan* or *Sthavirāvali-carita* of Hemacandra (1088-1172 A.D.), the appendix to the *Triṣaṣṭi-śālākā-puruṣa-carī(r)a*, was edited by Hermann Jacobi (1850-1937) under the Bibliotheca Indica Series in 1891 (extracts translated into German by J. Hertel in his *Erzählungen aus Hemacandra's Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*, Leipzig, 1900). Another "religious novel" (*Dharmakathā*) is Haribhadra Sūri's (705-775 A.D.) *Samarāiccakahā* which is again edited by Jacobi under the Bibliotheca Indica Series (1908) but published in 1916 with text and introduction which contains a detailed table of contents of the text. Another religious novel in allegorical Sanskrit is *Upamiti-bhava-prapañca-kathā* of Siddharṣi (906 A.D.) which is also edited by Jacobi under Bibliotheca Indica Series between 1890 and 1914. The famous book of Umāsvāti/Umāsvāmī (3rd/5th cent. A.D. or acc. to Digambara 135-219 A.D.) is *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* which is also published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series under the editorship of Keshavlal Premchand Mody between 1903-1905, together with a few minor works of Umāsvāti/Umāsvāmī in the appendices.

One of the rarest texts and at the same time very important for Prakrit metres is *Prākṛta-piṅgalam* of Piṅgala which is edited by Chandra Mohana Ghosha with the four commentaries of Viṣwanātha—Pañcānana, Vansidhara, and Krishna and Yādavendra with a complete index and glossary of all Prakrit words in the text and was published by the Asiatic Society between the years 1900 and 1902

under the Bibliotheca Indica Series. Another Prakrit book *Vaijālagga* of Jayavallabha, a sort of Prakrit anthology, is edited by Julius Laber with Sanskrit versions in the Bibliotheca Indica Series between 1914 and 44. One English translation of *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* from Sanskrit by C.H. Tawney was also published by the Asiatic Society in the Bibliotheca Indica Series in 1901. It is not possible for me in this short space and time to give a long catalogue to show the contributions of the Asiatic Society to the field of Prakrit and Jainistic studies.

But I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention the Jaina manuscripts preserved in the Asiatic Society. The Asiatic Society has published three parts of Jaina manuscripts of which one was edited by me in 1987. All these legacies of the Asiatic Society have goaded the authority concerned, particularly the President Professor Biswanath Banerjee, to organise a National Seminar with a new theme which is *Narrative Tale in Jain Literature*.

Considering all these aspects of the foregoing remarks it can be said that as the Asiatic Society carries a long history and heritage for the dissemination of Prakrit and Jainistic Studies in this eastern part of this country, it is quite in the fitness of things that the Asiatic Society is going to organise a two-day National Seminar to foster the subject in a befitting manner after the lapse of 225 years. I hope the papers to be presented here will stimulate the scholars interested in this branch of Jainistic studies.

We must not forget that Indian Culture is represented by three languages like Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit (including Apabhraṃśa) and the bulk of literature contained in these three languages. Normally, Sanskrit with a few exceptions was used by the Hindus and their contributions to Religion and Philosophy, Art and Archaeology, History and Literature form the acme of Indian Culture. The Buddhists used the language of Buddha, commonly known as Pali, and contributed a vast amount of literature to different aspects of human culture. The Jainas were the pioneers in using Prakrit and Ardhamāgadhī, the language of Mahāvīra, as a vehicle for preaching their doctrines. In course of time, both the Buddhists and the Jainas used Sanskrit for propagating their doctrines. Besides the

canonical literature, the Jainas have traversed different departments of human culture. In the language of Winternitz, let me say :

"The Jainas have extended their activities beyond the sphere of their own religious literature to a far greater extent than the Buddhists have done, and they have memorable achievements in the secular sciences to their credit, in philosophy, grammar, lexicography, poetics, mathematics, astronomy and astrology, and even in the science of politics. In one way or other there is always some connection even of these "profane" works with religion. In Southern India the Jainas have also rendered services in developing the Dravidian languages, Tamil and Telugu, and especially the Kanarese literary language. They have, besides, written a considerable amount in Gujarati, Hindi and Marwari. Thus we see that they occupy no mean position in the history of Indian literature and Indian thought." (*History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, 1933, pp. 594-595).

It is to be noted at the same time that the contributions of the Jains to the literary circle of India is superb and unique. "There is scarcely any province of Indian literature in which the Jainas have not been able to hold their own. Above all, they have developed a voluminous narrative literature, they have written epics and novels, they have composed dramas and hymns; sometimes they have written in the simple language of the people, at other times they have competed, in highly elaborate poems, with the best masters of ornate court poetry, and they have also produced important works of scholarship." (*History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, 1933, p. 483).

While coming to the theme of the present Seminar, it is my pleasant duty to announce before this learned assembly the contributions of the Jainas to the domain of narrative literature. It is bewildering to think that the achievements made by the Jainas to the vast amount of popular tales is not only excellent, but also unique of its kind. In the words of Winternitz again, let me say :

"The Jaina monks and authors have always been tellers of tales far rather than historians. We have already seen that the commentaries to the sacred texts contain not only

a mass of traditions and legends, but also numerous fairy-tales and stories, and moreover that the legendary poems, the Purāṇas and Caritras were often only a frame in which all manner of fairy-tales and stories were inserted. Now, in addition to all this, the Jainas have produced a vast fairy-tale literature, in prose and in verse, in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa. All these works, be they stories in plain prose or in simple verse, or elaborate poems, novels or epics, are all essentially sermons. They are never intended for mere entertainment, but always serve the purpose of religious instruction and edification." (*History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, 1933, p. 521).

The above observations of Winternitz about the literary contributions of the Jains, particularly to the narrative and fairy-tales, have justified us for holding our seminar to a great extent. It is, indeed, true that besides anything else, the Jaina literature is a store-house of stories, fairy-tales, legends, anecdotes, and what the Germans say *märchen*, and so on. In any kind of literary work, whenever they get any chance, be it philosophy or religious discourses, the Jains insert story after story in their texts for the purpose of instruction of the common people. Even today when the Jain monks preach their doctrines to the mass, they have the same practice. As a result, if anybody reads any kind of Jaina text, he will come across many stories which are meant for instructions and edifications.

Apart from Sanskrit and Buddhist literature where innumerable stories, fairy-tales, anecdotes, parables are found, I am here concerned with the narrative tales in Jain literature which is the subject of this Seminar. The Jain narrative tales can be found in the Jain Āgamas consisting of 45 books. The important Āgamas like *Ācārāṅga*, *Antakṛd-dasā*, *Samavāyāṅga*, *Bhagavati*, *Nāyādharmakahā*, *Uvāsagadasāo*, *Uttarādhyaṇasūtra* are really the store-house of stories. Though the Niryuktis are the explanatory literature, it is, in a sense, a depository of ancient, historical or semi-historical traditions, and of a great mass of popular narrative themes. The stories are imbedded in the text and these will have to be amplified by way of illustration. Recently one *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti* edited by Samani Kusumaprajñā was published in 2001

A.D. from Jain Vishva Bharati University where nearly 222 stories were collected.

The commentaries of the Jaina Āgama texts are a fountain of Jaina stories and fairy-tales. The famous commentary of Devendra (11th cent. A.D.) on the *Uttarādhyāyanasūtra* many interesting short stories like Bamhadattacariyam, Maṇḍiya, Domuḥa, Udāyana, Bāravaī-vaṇāsa, Mūladeva, Karakaṇḍu and many others are given. These stories are edited by Hermann Jacobi in his *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī, zur einföhrung in des studium des Prākṛit* (Selected Narratives in Māhārāṣṭrī as an Introduction to the study of Prakrit), Leipzig, 1886 (translated into English by J.J. Meyer in his *Hindu Tales*, London, 1909). There should be a collection of Jaina stories from the commentaries of various texts. Besides these anecdotes, fairy-tales etc., we have the life-stories of the 24 Jaina Tirthaṅkaras where lots of stories are incidentally interspersed in order to illustrate their preaching and to show the greatness of their penance. The stories about Jaina *Śālākāpuruṣas* "Excellent Personalities" are not exempted from this system. When the individual text of the Tirthaṅkaras and the *Śālākāpuruṣas* was composed, the stories and anecdotes are heaped up to illustrate their greatness. Later on, the Jainas have composed the Prabandha-type of literature which is generally semi-historical in character. Though they deal with historical personages, they do not give the biographies or history of the person concerned, but they are collections of anecdotes and stories to exemplify some events of their lives.

The Jainas have also composed *Kathākoṣas* (collection of stories), *Kathānakas* (collection of fairy-tales) and the *Dharmakathās* (religious stories with sermons). A comprehensive Encyclopaedia of Jain stories collected from all these sources has been a long desideratum. Except a few Jainas, I believe, the common Indian mass is devoid of knowing Jain stories in their life-style. There are illustrative stories mainly in the Ārādhanā literature of the Digambara Jainas. Last but not least, it should be borne in mind that the Hindu Epics—The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the Purāṇas and the Kṛṣṇa legend are also

taken up by the Jainas to suit their own purposes. A satire of the Hindu fictitious stories was found in the *Dhūrtākhyāna* of Haribhadra (705-775 A.D.) in the 8th century. The same tradition of story-telling of the Jains has been carried over in the older stages of modern Indian languages like Rājasthānī (Mārwarī), Gujarātī, and Hindī, and in the south Indian languages like Kanarese, Telugu and Tamil.

I have outlined in a succinct way the varied sources of Jain stories, anecdotes, legends and fairy-tales in order to illustrate how these stories are inserted in sketching the life-stories of the Jaina great men. It is, indeed, to be noted that "the mass of narratives and books of narratives among the Jainas is indeed vast. They are of great importance not only to the student of comparative fairy-tale lore, but also because, to a greater degree than other branches of literature, they allow us to catch a glimpse of the real-life of the common people. Just as in the language of these narrative works there are frequent points of agreement with the vernaculars of the people, their subject-matter too, gives a picture of the real life of the most varied classes of the people, not only the kings and priests, in a way which no other Indian literary works, especially the Brahman ones, do." (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, 1933, pp. 545-46).

It is a fact worth noting that why the Jains insert stories while describing the life-stories and tenets of Jainism. It is probably because of the fact that from illustrative stories and literary poems the common people are better instructed than by reading any serious texts of human knowledge for attaining Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa. The adage says—

*catur-varga-phala-prāptiḥ sukhād alpādhiyām api/  
kāvyād eva.....nirupyate //*

"The obtaining of the result of four class (i.e. *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*) can be got easily from the study of a *kāvya* even by a low-meritted person."

It is further said that by studying *kāvya-śāstra* the learned men pass their time at ease—

*kāvya-śāstra-vinodena kālo gacchati dhīmatām/*

“By studying poetry the time of the learned men passes quickly.”

Keeping in mind the thrust area of this Seminar which is *Narrative Tale in Jain literature*, a monograph which is a collection of articles on Jain stories scattered in different parts of literature is prepared as a model according to the need of the Seminar. The stories are sometimes very short, but they are collected in order to show how even in short stories the interesting factor of human life is adumbrated. In editing this corpus I have followed a little editorial discipline which is very insignificant in this particular case. The normal diacritical marks are followed, except in a rare case for some historical reasons, old systems are kept as they are for the sake of history. I am grateful to my predecessors from whose books I have made this anthology.

Finally, I should say that I must thank the President Professor Biswanath Banerjee and the General Secretary Professor Ramakanta Chakrabarty and the Treasurer Professor Dilip Coomer Ghose who have urged me to prepare this monograph befitting the theme of this Seminar. If this monograph creates any interest among the scholars, I shall consider my labour well-rewarded.

*karmaṇyeva adhikāro me*

5th January, 2008

**Satya Ranjan Banerjee**  
*Philological Secretary*  
 The Asiatic Society

# JAINA NARRATIVE LITERATURE

ADINATH NEMINATH UPADHYE

## A) CANONICAL STRATUM

The Ardhamāgadhī canon, though recast into its present shape much later, contains undoubtedly old portions which can be assigned quite near to the period of Mahāvīra, the last Tirthakara of the Jainas. We possess in this canon a good bit of narrative portion which is characterised by didactic and edifying outlook: it covers biographies of religious heroes such as Tirthakaras and their ascetic disciples including the Śalākāpuruṣas, explanatory similes, parables and dialogues, and didactic and exemplary tales and pattern stories of men and women turning into monks and nuns and attaining better births in the next life.

The two texts, Ācārāṅga and Kālpasūtra<sup>1</sup>, give a biography of Mahāvīra vividly describing the hardships which he had to undergo in his monastic life; and Bhagavatī, in its different dialogues, gives some side-light on Mahāvīra's personality, especially his skill in debates and in offering explanations in reply to the questions of his numerous pupils, male and female. The lives of other Tirthakaras, narrated in the Kālpasūtra, are no biographies at all, but supply the reader with a string of names (*nāmāvalī*) with which perhaps the reciter is to give a detailed account. We get some glimpses of the life of Nemi, Pārśva etc. in other texts also.

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1. For the editions etc. of these texts the readers are referred to A History of Indian Literature by Winternitz, Vol. II (Calcutta 1933) and Die Lehre der Jainas by Schubring (Berlin and Leipzig 1935). For economy of space only essential bibliographical references are given.



What must have been simple similes in the beginning are shaped into narrative pieces with a view to work out the simile in all its details and to deduce a lesson from it for the benefit of pious believers. Nāyādhammakahāo gives us some good examples. A tortoise is known to be guarded with regard to its limbs; a gourd sinks when covered with mud; and the fruits of Nandī tree are harmful. These ideas are used for the purpose of teaching some lesson or the other; and they illustrate how the unguarded monks suffer, how those loaded with Karmas sink to the bottom of hell, and how those who taste the pleasures of life suffer in the long run. Almost on similar lines parables are elaborated either as a narrative piece or in a lively dialogue, and every detail conveys some lesson. The parable of the Lotus in the Sūyagaḍaṃ is an elaborate piece. There is a great lake full of lotuses in the midst of which stands a grand lotus. Four men from four quarters come there and try to pluck that grand lotus, but they were not successful. A monk, however, succeeds in plucking it even from the bank merely by uttering certain words. The lake is the world; the lotuses, the men; the grand lotus, the king; the four men, the heretics; and the monk is the Jaina saint who, by uttering the true word of faith, wins over the king, and his religion is triumphant. Apart from the intended purpose of the parable, one point is plain to us that religions thrived well under royal patronage which consequently was sought with competition. The parable of four daughters-in-law, in the Nāyādhammakahāo, is a simple folk-tale skilfully used for religious purpose. A shrewd father-in-law entrusts five grains of rice to his four daughters-in-law with an instruction that they should be returned whenever demanded. The first daughter-in-law is vain and indifferent and throws them away thinking that there is plenty of rice in the granary; the second also thinks alike but swallows them; the third carefully preserves them in her jewel-casket; and the fourth plants them and reaps a rich harvest with the result that she has a large stock of rice at the end of five years. The father-in-law punishes the first two, entrusts the third with the entire property, and hands over the whole management of the household to the fourth. The four women represent the monks, and the grains of

rice are the five great vows. Some neglect them; some observe them carefully; while there are some noble monks who not only observe them but also propagate them for the benefit of others. The story of Māyandi princes is a mariners' tale developed into a parable and used to exhort the need of firm faith in religious principles. The Uttarādhyayana also gives some parables. The parable of the ram (chap. VII) brings out the fate of a being fed with worldly pleasures and instructs how human life is the capital with which heaven is to be gained: if the capital is lost, one is born as a denizen of hell or a brute. The leaf of the tree (chap. X) discourses on the fleeting character of human pleasures with appealing similes, and repeated warnings are given to the aspirant to be ever vigilant. 'The wicked bullocks' (chap. XXVI) is a homely but biting criticism against quarrelsome pupils who are a nuisance to the teacher.

We come across a good number of legendary tales which are illustrative of the good and bad results of the practice of virtues and vices. The characters in the story attain better worlds and even liberation by following the principles preached by Mahāvīra, Parśva or Nemi; or they go to wretched births and even hell by violating them. Many heretics are shown to have been converted to the creed of Tīrthakaras. Some of these tales are purely Jaina in origin, while others are drawn from the common stock of Indian tales, though used to propagate Jaina virtues, and have their counterparts in Hindu and Buddhist literatures. Many of these legends are connected with famous cycles of tales associated with outstanding personalities like Kṛṣṇa, Brahmadaṭṭa, Śreṇika etc. According to Jainism the virtues of a pious house-holder or lady are necessarily conducive to ascetic life; and a layman, if he steadily follows the steps of religious life, automatically reaches the stage of monastic life. Naturally most of these legends are ascetic in outlook. The Śramaṇic religion, especially Jainism, has laid great stress on asceticism with the result that the Jaina literature gives us some lives of ascetic heroes that passed through exceptional sufferings at the hands of gods, men and lower beings, practised severe penances maintaining the spiritual balance at the critical moment of death, and thus attained

a 'higher' status of life in the next birth. It is quite probable that many of them are factual in origin referring to historical ascetics, though the details might have got elaborated in course of time. Sometimes their names are simply referred to, and it is the commentators that supply the necessary details.

Besides the casual references to Śiśupāla, Dvīpāyana, Parāśara etc, the Sūyagadam refers to the story of Ārdraka about whom the Niryukti and the commentaries give interesting details. The text shows how he refuted Gośāla, a Buddhist, a Vedāntin and a Hasti-tāpasa. After defeating the opponents he was going to Mahāvīra; an elephant broke the chains and rushed against him, but on approaching him, bent on its knees to salute him. King Śreṇika, who witnessed the scene, wondered how the elephant could break the chains. Ārdraka replied that it was still more strange that a man could break the fetters of worldliness. Often we meet with discussions and doctrinal clarification between the pupils of Pārśva, and those of Mahāvīra in texts like Uttarādhyayana. More than once pious men and women, such as Śivarāja, Sudarśana, Śaṁkha, Somila, Jayantī etc. (in the Bhagavati) approach Mahāvīra and get some dogmatical explanation.

There are many stories, definitely didactic, which illustrate the consequences of good and bad deeds. In the Nāyādhammakahāo, prince Meha, when he is growing mentally unsteady, is confirmed in his faith in the ascetic life by Mahāvīra who narrates to him how he, in his earlier life as an elephant, had protected a hare by patiently holding up the foot. The merchant Dhanna, who is chained together with the murderer of his son, had to partake meals with him out of sheer physical necessity; similarly the monks should eat food etc. simply to sustain the body, and not to grow strong or to look well, so that they might carry on their religious duties. King Selaga who was converted to the creed of Ariṣṭanemi becomes negligent about his duties being addicted to wine, but is duly enlightened by one of his faithful pupils. The story exhorts the monks to be vigilant about the details of ascetic life. Mallī is destined to be born a female as a result of a bit of hypocrisy in the religious practices in an earlier life; and

she teaches her six suitors, the colleagues of a former life, through a golden image with rotten food inside, about the inner hatefulness of her apparently beautiful body and thereby induces them to renounce the world. Finally they all attain liberation. King Jiyasattu was led to the true faith by his minister Subuddhi who demonstrates to him the changeability of all things by the filtration of drinking water from mud. The layman Nanda is born as a frog because of his excessive attachment for the lake and the surrounding accessories of pleasure built by him for the benefit of his fellow-citizens. As such he proceeds to Mahāvira but is crushed on the way under the foot of Śreṇika's horse and dies with the formula of confession by which he is born as a god. Poṭṭilā, the wife of the minister Teyāliputta, enters the order finding that she had lost the affection of her husband. After she is born as a god, she repeatedly tries, according to the previous promise, to enlighten Teyāliputta; but he is convinced about the value of renunciation only when he has fallen on bad days after losing king's favour and after attempting to commit suicide. At last he becomes a monk, and converts the king who asks his forgiveness. In the end they attain liberation. Dhammaruī, who eats himself the poisonous food to save the life of ants, becomes a god and subsequently attains liberation; while Nāgasiri, who offered that food, becomes sick and poor. She is reborn as Sukumāliyā who becomes a nun not being liked by her suitors. The sight of a harlot enkindles her passion, and she entertains a hankering for love-satisfaction in the next life. She becomes first a harlot of the gods, is born subsequently as princess Dovaī and married to all the five Pāṇḍavas. Paūmanābha, the king of Avarakaṁkā, on account of the mischief of Nārada, robs her; but was conquered by Kaṇha Vāsudeva who takes her back to her five husbands. After paying respects to Ariṣṭanemi and practising severe penances in due course, the five Pāṇḍava monks and Dovaī attain liberation. Cilāya, a robber, kidnaps Suṁsumā but suffers a good deal as he has to run away simply cutting her head and taking it with him; in the same manner suffer those monks who are addicted to physical pleasures. The father Dhanna and his sons, who were pursuing the thief, feed themselves on

the headless trunk of Sumsumā just to save their life; similarly the monks and nuns are to eat food etc. merely to sustain their body and enable themselves to carry out their ascetic duties. Such monks finish their journey safely like Dhanna and his sons. The layman king Puṇḍarīka allows his brother Kaṇḍarīka to enter the order and tries to help him to continue as a monk when he is sick and ailing. A second time he is not successful, so they interchange their places. Kaṇḍarīka finds the pleasures of royalty to be painful and goes to hell after death; while Puṇḍarīka becomes a worthy monk and attains liberation. The lesson of the story is quite apparent that monks should follow Puṇḍarīka's example. All these stories have some lesson or the other for devoted monks.

The Uvāsagadasāo presents ten narratives which are pattern-stories, glorifying the lay-followers that are an example for others. They are all put as contemporaries of Mahāvīra who prescribes the elaborate vows following which they attain liberation in due course. Ānanda is a model Uvāsaga who acquires Avadhi-jñāna by practising the vows and observances. Kāmadeva, Cūlaṇīpiya, Surādeva and Cullasayaya stick to their vows in spite of external temptations and threats : even when life was in danger, when relatives were persecuted, and when their health and possessions were at stake. Kuṇḍakoliya is firm in his faith and could not be tempted to the creed of Gosāla. Saddālaputta is converted from the Ājīvika faith to the creed of Mahāvīra; and it was not possible for Gosala to win him back. Mahāsayaya was a pious house-holder; his vicious wife tried to tempt him, but was consequently cursed by him that she should be born in hell; Mahāvīra told him to repent and confess for his curse which he did, and attained liberation in due course. Nandiṇīpiya and Sālihiṇīpiya are pious householders that attain liberation duly. These stories are moulded in such a pattern that it is possible to multiply them to any number by simply changing the names etc. : the purpose is the same, though the names and a few other details differ. Daḍhapaṇṇa appears to be a symbolical name for a soul that has developed firm faith and thus attains liberation; his biography is found both in the Uvavāiya and Rāyapaseṇāijja.

Taking into account the stereotyped plan of narration and the division into Vargas, we can group together the second Śrutaskandha of Nāyādharmakāhāṇa, Antagaḍa-, Aṇuttarovavāiya-dasāo and the Nirayāvaliyāo which comprises the last five Upāṅgas. In the second section of Nāyā., it is expected of the reciter to elaborate from the skeleton, proper names and catchwords of the story 206 stories of which that of Kālī alone is given in full. They are all meant to explain how certain goddesses came to have their positions on account of their religious practices in earlier births. Kālī, for instance, hears the preachings of Pārśva and becomes a nun under the guidance of Pupphacūlā. As expected of her, she is not indifferent to the body, but is much attached to the toilet and has to go out of the Gaṇa consequently. She practises fasts etc., and is born as a goddess. She comes to Mahāvīra to honour him, and he narrates to Gautama about her future fate.

The stories in the Antagaḍa-dasāo fall into two divisions according as they are associated with the age of Ariṭṭha-Nemi and Kaṇha Vāsudeva or Mahāvīra and Śeṇiya. These ninetytwo lessons give us tales of men and women who put an end to Saṃsāra and attain liberation after conforming to the creed of Tīrthakaras. One feels overwhelmed by the idea that men and women even from royal families are getting themselves initiated into the order: the call of spiritual freedom is demanding a sort of religious recruit on a grand scale and thus swelling the ranks of ascetic legions. A few stories are given in full and the rest are to be mechanically multiplied. The story of Gayasukumāla is a typical ascetic tale illustrating penancial heroism and forbearance. The six male children of Devakī were transferred, through the divine courtesy of Hariṇegamesī, to the lap of Sulasā and had entered the ascetic order. When Devakī was pining that no son was with her and even Kṛṣṇa visited her after six months, Kṛṣṇa obtained a boon by propitiating that very deity whereby Gayasukumāla was born to her. Despite persuasion to the contrary, the prince entered the order to the offence of his father-in-law Somila who felt that his daughter was neglected by him in her prime of youth. One day when he was practising penance on the burial ground, Somila, in a

mood of revenge, prepared an earthen basin on his head and poured burning charcoal there. The young monk patiently bore the pangs, successfully destroyed the Karman and attained liberation. Somila, however, died a premature death at the sight of Kṛṣṇa. This text supplies us with the information about the destruction of Dvārakā and the Yādava clan. The story of Mudgarapāṇi taking the cudgel against the vagabonds that were ill-treating his devotees, the gardener Arjunaka and his wife Bandhumatī, is a fine piece of folk-tale to make people devoted to the village deities; but the fact that Mudgarapāṇi is helpless against pious Sudarśana only shows how it is used to establish the superiority of Mahāvīra's followers. Arjuna is converted to the creed of Mahāvīra; as a monk he patiently puts up with all insults and pains; and at last by his penances he attains' liberation. The tale of prince Atimuktakā only shows how spiritual problems induced youths to enter the order of monks and have them solved by finally attaining liberation through penancial discipline.

The Aṇuttarovavāīya-dasāo illustrates the stories of persons who attained highest heavenly mansions by practising penances. That of Dhanna is a typical story and shows how fasts played an important part in the discipline of ascetic life.

The Nirayāvaliyāo gives us a graphic description of the birth of Kūṇiya, the son of Seṇiya by his wife Cellaṇā, who wanted to eat the flesh of her husband during the period of her pregnancy-longing; and somehow her step-son managed to fulfil her desire. She feared that the issue would be a bane to the dynasty; and in fact she tried to do away with the child but without success. As foreseen by her, Kūṇiya really grew into a wicked prince. He wanted to capture his father's throne during his life-time by putting him into prison; and he tried to wrest from his brother Vehalla the paternal gift to him of a necklace and an elephant. Vehalla, however, sought shelter with his maternal grand-father Ceṭaka who made alliance with nine Mallakis and nine Licchavis to defend the just cause of Vehalla against Kūṇiya and his ten step-brothers. In the great battle that ensued Kūṇiya and his ten brothers died and went to the Hemābha hell. The Kappiyā continues the

narratives of the sons of Kāla and others who entered the order under Mahāvīra and attained various heavens as a result of their religious practices. The Pupphiyā narrates the story of Aṅgaī of Sāvattthī who was initiated into the order by Pārśva and who was consequently born as a moon in the lunar region as a result of his monastic discipline. The next interesting story is that of Somila, the learned Brahmin, who was almost converted by Pārśva; but he grows slack, adopts Brahmanic ways of life by planting trees etc., and becomes a Disāpokkhiya monk. A god, however, enlightened him; he resumed Jaina vows; and after severe penances he became Śukra planet and would attain liberation in due course. Subhadra yearned for children, but she had none. She became first a lay woman and then a nun in the Jaina church; but her longing for children remained and she began to fondle the children of others. Though banished from the monastic congregation, she remained a nun but continued nursing children. Consequently she was born as an attendant-goddess Bahuputrikā. In the next birth she was born as Soma, was married to a Brahmin Rāṣṭrakūṭa and had sixteen twins within sixteen years. She got disgusted with this life, entered the order, and in due course attained liberation. The Pupphacūlā narrates stories of ladies who were good disciples of the nun Pupphacūlā and secured heavenly status. Bhūtā, for instance, was a pupil of Pārśva and was admitted to the order of nuns. She had a fancy for washing everything with water against monastic rules. As a result of this, she first reached only the heaven and then attained liberation later in the Mahāvīdeha country. The Vaṇhidasāo gives stories of twelve Vṛṣṇi princes, the sons of Baladeva. The glories attained by prince Nisaḍha, the disciple of Nemi, are explained by a reference to his past life as prince Virāṅgada who practised penance for fortyfive years, was subsequently born in heaven and then became Nisaḍha. As to his future, he would become a monk, go to heaven and then later attain liberation.

The Vivāgasuyam, as its title indicates, gives narratives to illustrate the unhappy and happy consequences of wicked and pious acts. The first section gives ten stories illustrating the fruits of wicked acts; while the second gives



only one story about good deeds and the remaining stories are to be mechanically narrated. Ikkāi, the district officer, was cruel and oppressed people with heavy taxes etc.; as a result of this, he suffered incurable diseases in this life and was born as Miyāputta, of foul constitution, in the next birth. Passing through various lives of beasts and birds, he would be born as a merchant-prince; he adopts Jaina vows, becomes a monk, and goes to heaven; and at last he attains liberation. The hunter Bhima killed many beasts to satisfy the pregnancy-longing of his wife for flesh and wine. She gave birth to a child, Gottāsaya by name, that grew into a wicked hunter, excessively addicted to flesh and wine. In the next life he was born as Ujjhitaka, a despicable boy, who proved to be a curse to the family, was given to vices like gambling, woman and wine, and was ordered to the gallows by the king as a punishment for his debauchery. Subsequently he would pass through various worldly and hellish births, then go to heaven from the birth of a merchant-prince where he acquires right knowledge, and thereafter he would get liberation. Ninnaya was a cruel dealer in eggs of which he enjoyed several dishes. This sin led him to hell, and thence he was born as Abhaggasena, a tyrant and oppressive robber, who was a nuisance to the surrounding territory. King Mahābala, finding that it was not easy to defeat Abhagga, invited him cordially for a feast, and then, closing the city-gates, ordered his execution. After wandering long in Saṃsāra, Abhagga would be born as a man, enter the order and finally attain liberation. A shepherd Chapiya by name killed several animals and enjoyed and sold dishes of meat. This sin led him to hell, and thence he was born as a son Sagaḍa to Bhaddā who had lost many of her children. After the child-birth, the family fell on evil days, Sagaḍa grew vicious and debaucherous, and became attached to Sudarśanā, a kept mistress of the minister. He was dragged before the king who gave him capital punishment by making him embrace a red hot female statue, Mahāvīra prophesied that Sagaḍa and Sudarśanā would be later born as twins and would live as husband and wife. Consequently he would go to hell and pass through a series of births. As a merchant-prince he would enter the ascetic order and

finally attain liberation. The royal priest Mahesaradatta celebrated human sacrifices so that the king's enemies might be destroyed. This sin took him to hell whence he was reborn as Bahassaṁdatta, the family priest, with free access to the royal harem. On account of his vicious relation with the queen, the king ordered him to be impaled, publicly. Mahāvīra predicted that his soul would pass through various lower births, become a human being, practise asceticism and finally attain liberation. Dujjohaṇa was a cruel jailor that inflicted manifold tortures on the convicts. He went to hell and was thence born as prince Nandivardhana who tried to murder his father Siridāma through a barber but was detected and ordered to be executed. Mahāvīra foretells that he would migrate like Ujjiyaya and attain liberation. The physician Dhanvantari enjoyed and prescribed meat-preparations, and this sin led his soul to hell. Thence he was born as a merchant-prince Umbaradatta. He proved a bane to the family, and wandered in the town suffering from several diseases simultaneously. Mahāvīra prophesied that his future fate would be similar to that of Miyāputta. The cook Siriya employed hunters, fowlers and fishermen to catch animals, birds and fish, and enjoyed and sold meat-dishes. In the subsequent birth, he was born as the fisherman Soriyadatta. Not only he sold fish to the public but also enjoyed fish-preparations. He suffered terribly on account of a fish-bone sticking in his throat. His future career, Mahāvīra said, would be like that of Miyāputta. King Sihaṣeṇa burnt alive his 499 queens and their mothers who conspired against the life of Sāmā, his favourite queen. By this sin he was destined to go to hell whence he was born as a beautiful daughter Devadattā. She was married to Pūsanandi who was very much attached to his mother. She did not like this and killed the mother-in-law with a hot iron bar. The king ordered Devadattā to be impaled. Her future career would be like that of Miyāputta. The courtesan Puḍhavisirī seduced many persons of different status in life. As a result of this sin, she went to hell and was further reborn as a beautiful girl Añjū. She became a queen but suffered a lot on account of her vaginal pain which was incurable. Her future career, Mahāvīra

prophesied, would be like that of Devadattā. The second section deals with the fruit of pious acts. The pious layman Sumuha received the monk Sudatta with pure and plenty of food. Consequently he had his journey of Saṃsāra shortened and was subsequently born as prince Subāhu of magnificent fortune. He received vows under Mahāvīra. Later on he would study scriptures, practise austerities, go to heaven and subsequently attain liberation. With the difference in names, the remaining stories are similar to that of Subāhu.

The didactic tone of these stories is apparent. They want to give lessons in good behaviour both to monks and householders or to nuns and house-ladies. The pictures of the past and future and the horrors of transmigratory circuit warn the believer to tread the path of piety; even if he has erred, there is a better future for him; and he should follow the instructions of a teacher like Mahāvīra. Asceticism is a sovereign remedy against all the ills of this and next life. The sins enumerated and professions condemned give a fine glimpse of the ethical code which Jainism has always insisted upon.

The appeal to ascetic sentiments is worked out in a vigorous poetic back-ground in some of the stories of the Uttarādhyayana: King Nemi enters the order of monks after refuting the arguments of Indra guised as a Brahmin who wanted to test his faith (chap. IX). The legend of Hariesi sets aside the traditional value of sacrifice, and self-control and penance are held in great reverence (chap. XII). The story of Citta and Sambhūta (chap. XIII) belongs to the great cycle of tales about king Brahmadatta, and is a common property of Jaina, Buddhistic and Hindu works<sup>2</sup>. King Bambhadatta goes to hell, while the monk Citta attains liberation: this again conveys the superiority of ascetic values (chap. XIII). The chapter Usuyārijjaṃ pleads so strongly for monastic values that it leads to a group-renunciation on the part of the king, queen and others. Ariṣṭanemi's renunciation with compassion towards the

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2. See Charpentier's Intro., pp. 44 etc., and Notes, pp. 327 etc., of his ed. of the Uttarā., Uppsala 1922.

victims of the wedding-feast; Rājīmatī's devotion to him and her consequent retirement; her eloquent chastisement of wavering Rathanemi who was enlightened by her; and the attainment of liberation after severe penances: the chapter Rahanemijjam (XXII), which nicely depicts these events, is a brilliant piece of ascetic poetry. The chapter Samjajjam (XVIII) gives some idea of the early capital of Jaina legends about ascetic heroes: some of the names of these outstanding persons are known to us from other sources. The list includes twelve Cakravartins, four Pratyekabuddhas and other kings like Udāyana, Kāśirāja, Vijaya and Mahābala. Some of the legends like that of Miyāputta (chap. XIX) give a nice occasion for the text to present a good deal of didactic instruction, moral exhortation and dogmatic details.

Coming to the Pañṇas, some of them are full of references to stories about pious persons and ascetic heroes<sup>3</sup>. There was a nun Pupphacūlā at Poyaṇapura; her religious preceptor was Anniyāutta; while crossing the river Ganges he was thrown off from the boat; and he died piously and attained the highest object (S. 56–57). Amayaghosa of Kāyandī abdicated the throne for his son and toured all over the earth practising religion after mastering the scripture; when he returned to the metropolis, Caṇḍavega wounded his body; and when his limbs were being cut, he died and attained the highest object (S. 76–78). Avanti Sukumāla of Ujjayanī heard one evening the description of Nalinī-vimāna, was reminded of heaven, entered the ascetic order, and sat in steady meditation under a bamboo grove in a lonely corner of the cemetery. His body was being dragged and bitten piteously by a carnivorous jackal for three days. He was indifferent, firm like the mountain and tolerated the agony. When he

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3. Taking into consideration the crucial names, an attempt is made here to arrange them alphabetically. The references are to the *Ābgamodaya Samiti* ed., Bombay 1927. See also *Über die vom Sterbefasten handelnden ältern Pāṇṇa des Jaina-Kanons* by Kurt von Kamptz, Hamburg 1929. In this section Bh. - Bhattaparinnā, M. - Maraṇasamāhī, S. - Samthāraga.

died piously and attained the highest object, gods showered scented water with flowers; and to this day we have the pond Gandhavatī there (Bh. 160, M. 435-39 and S. 65-66). Ilāputta is an example of non-attachment for the world (M. 483). King Vesamaṇadasa of Kunāla had a heretical minister Ritṭha by name. There was a learned preceptor Usahaseṇa who had a well-read pupil in Siḥaseṇa. Being defeated in a debate, that cruel Ritṭha set Usahaseṇa on fire one evening : as he was being burnt, he died piously and attained the highest object (S. 81-84). Kaṇḍariya and Puṇḍariya<sup>4</sup>, who were destined respectively for lower and upper births, go to Anuttara region by their firm attitude for a day (M. 637). Even after staying with friends, the soul is all alone when quitting the body like Kaṇha at the time of his death. Kaṇha had conquered anger by forbearance (M. 377, 496-97)<sup>5</sup>. The monk Kattiya (the son of king Aggi), physically dirty yet endowed with virtues, when he was wandering for food in the town of Rohiḍaya, was struck with a javelin by Kuñca. Enduring that agony he quitted the body piously and attained the highest object (S. 67-69, Bh. 160A noted by Kamptz). The monk Kālavasiya, the son of Jiyasattu of Mathurā, is said to have been eaten by a jackal in his illness on the mount Moggalla (M. 498). Kidhī, the son of a householder, felt happy after abstaining from theft (Bh. 106). Kisi is well-known for his forbearance even when he did not get food (M. 497). The merchant Kuberadatta, full of infatuation as he was, could not distinguish, like Vesiyāṇa, with whom to unite or not to unite; and had criminal intimacy with his daughter (Bh. 113). In the town of Kumbhārakaḍa there were five hundred monks, namely, Khandaya and his pupils, endowed with ascetic virtues. All of them, except one, were crushed under a wheel (or in a machine). They suffered peacefully, continuing their meditation and bearing no ill will, died piously and attained the highest object (M. 443, 495; S. 58-60). The young monk Kurudatta, while meditating with a religious vow in the forest, was

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4. Cf. Nāyādharmakahāo XX and see above, p. 21.

5. Cf. Antasaḍadasāo, 5th Varga, para 81.

burnt at Gajapura and consequently attained the highest object (M. 492, S. 85). A monk, though free from attachment and penance-worn, degrades himself by the company of women like that saint who dwelt in the house of Kosā (Bh. 128). Gaṅgadatta, Vissabhūi and Caṇḍapiṅgala supply good illustrations of anger, hatred and infatuation (Bh. 137). Possibly there were two Gayasukumālas : the first had his body burnt by his father-in-law on the cemetery<sup>6</sup>; he tolerated the burning sensation and did not swerve from his religious practices (M. 431-32, 492). The second one was pinned to the ground like wet skin with hundreds of nails, and he died piously (S. 87). The king Candavaḍiṃsaya was steady and firm in the hour of his death and thus achieved his object (M. 440-I). In the town of Pāḍaliputta, that famous Cāṇakya abstained from preliminary sins, and submitted himself to Inḡinī-maraṇa. Getting due respect and vanquishing the enemy, he had his body burnt (?). When he was observing Prāyopagamana in a cowpen, the cow-dung cakes were set on fire by cruel Subandhu (or Subuddhi); he remained firm, though burnt, and attained the highest object (Bh. 162, M. 478, S. 73-75). Cilāiputta was a pious monk endowed with ascetic virtues; by the smell of blood ants swarmed on him and began to bite his head; his body was rendered porous like a seive; though he was bitten thus, he bore no ill will; and thus attained knowledge and the highest object (Bh. 88, M. 427-30, S. 86). The king Java was saved from death by a portion of verse, and he became a successful monk; then what to say of the efficacy of the Sūtras preached by Jina (Bh. 87)? That devotee of Parivrājakas [Harivāhana by name] offered hot food to a recluse in a pot placed on the back of a pious banker Jīṇadhamma of Kāñcanapura<sup>7</sup>. The hot pot took out a patch of flesh etc. Disgusted with the world the banker became a monk. He abstained from all food and stood

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6. Cf. Antagaḍadasāo, 3rd Varga.

7. See the story of Saṇaṅkumāra given by Nemicandra in his commentary on the Uttarādhyayana, XVII, gāthā 37, pp. 239-40 of Śrī-Uttarādhyayanāni, Bombay 1937.

facing each direction for one fortnight. His wound was annoyed further by birds, worms etc., but he tolerated all that quietly taking that to be the fruit of his Karmas and less troublesome than the tortures of hell. At the end of two months he fell dead paying respects to Jinas (M. 412-423). Desire for pleasures degrades one, while indifference to the same rescues one from Saṃsāra: the two brothers [Jiṇapāliya and Jiṇarakkhiya]<sup>8</sup> who met a goddess and a god (on an island) are an illustration in this context (Bh. 147). Daṇḍa was endowed with ascetic virtues; when he stood practising some penance, he was pierced with arrows; being concentrated on the words of Jina, he was indifferent to the body; he endured the pain, and attained the highest object (M. 465, S. 61-62). One who is heretical and hates the saints suffers terribly here like that Data of Turumiṇi (Bh. 62, M. 491?). The devotion unto Jina results into happiness and birth in a good family like that Daddura<sup>9</sup> of Rāyagiha who was formerly Maṇiyāraseṭṭhi (Bh. 75). The saint Damadanta, though blamed and praised by Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, maintained the attitude of equality (M. 442). Devaraī, the king of Sākeya, lost his kingdom and its pleasures, and was thrown into the river by his queen who was attached to a lame man (Bh. 122). The two monks, Dhanna and Sālibhadda, that were endowed with penancial glory, submitted themselves to Prāyopagamana on a pair of stone-slabs near Vebhāra mountain in the vicinity of Nālandā; they had no attachment for their bodies which withered with cold and heat, and they reached Anuttara region; through divine grace their bone-heaps can be marked out even to this day (M. 443-48). At Pāḍaliputta of Candayagutta, there was one Dhammasiha who abandoned Candasiri and adopted religious life at Kallaūra; he practised Gr̥dhra-pr̥ṣṭha<sup>10</sup> Pratyākhyāna peacefully; he was indifferent to the body though eaten by thousands of worms, and consequently he attained the highest object (S. 70-72). Nanda, Paraśurāma, Pāṇḍurārya and

8. Cf. Nāyādhammakahāo chap. IX, p. 18 above, the story of Māyandi princes.

9. Nāyādhamma., chap. XIII.

10. This is one of the seventeen types of death.

Lobhananda perished on account of anger, vanity, treachery and greed respectively (Bh. 153). Five members of a family at Ayalaggāma, viz., Surai, Saya, Deva, Samaṇa and Subhadda, humbly waited upon a monk, Khamaga by name, who was penance-worn, and accepted from him the vows of a house-holder after hearing his discourses on Puṇya and Pāpa. Later they entered the ascetic order in the religious regime of Vāsupūjya. They practised various severe penances and were born in the Aparājita-vimāna. Thence they were born as the victorious sons of Pāṇḍu in the Bhārata country. Hearing the sad news of Kṛṣṇa's death, they got themselves admitted to the order under the monk Suṭṭhiya. The eldest mastered fourteen and the rest eleven Pūrvas, and they became famous all over the world. They came to Suratṭha; and hearing about the Nirvāṇa of Jina [Nemi], they adopted fast. Bhīma practised rigorous austerities, adopted Prāyopagamana on the mount Śātrumjaya, tolerated every trouble, and reached Parinirvāṇa. The rest of them also followed him (M. 449-64). Even a Pāṇa (i. e. cāṇḍāla) could get divine attendance, when fallen in a crocodile pond, by virtue of his having observed the vow of Ahimsā only for a day (Bh. 96). There should not be any attachment, even for a second, towards kinsmen and relatives, because it is they that become enemies like that mother in the case of Bambhadatta (M. 376). The pupils of the Arhat [Mahāvīra] were burnt by Maṅkhali<sup>11</sup> with his penancial lustre; being thus burnt, they attained the highest object (S. 88). The queen Miyāvaī destroys within a moment the Karman of her past lives by Vandanā and other rites (Bh. 50). Possession or attachment is dangerous: the saint Meyajja, along with the Krauñca bird (?), was oppressed by a house-holder when the wealth was really taken by his son<sup>12</sup>. Out of sheer compassion he did not expose the Krauñca bird which was a culprit; and when his eyes were pierced, he remained firm like the Mandara mountain (Bh. 133 M. 425-6). That wicked Menṭha, who was sent to the gallows for theft, offered salutation to the Jina [at the moment of his death] and

11. Cf. Bhagavati, Śataka XV.

12. Possibly there are two versions of the same story.



was born as a Yakṣa, Kamaladala by name (Bh. 78). Thirtytwo members of the club Laliyaghaḍā at Kosambī faced courageously the flood of the river, submitted themselves to Prāyopagamana and attained the highest object (S. 79-80, M. 480?). The saint Vāirarisī had a band of five hundred pupils; he stood courageously in the sun on a slab of stone performing his penance; tender as he was, his body melted as it were like a lump of ghee; the place where he was worshipped by gods is known as Rahāvattagiri; and the mountain where Indra honoured him became famous as Kuñjarāvatta (M. 468-73). A single lie vitiates many truthful words: by telling a lie but once Vasu went to hell (Bh. 101). The fourth sovereign [Saṇamkumāra] suffered from sixteen diseases for a period of seven thousand years, but he tolerated all of them (M. 410-11). After a fast for four months, on the day of fast-breaking, when he was steady in his vow and while he was coming down the mount, the saint Sukosala was strangled by his mother, now born as a tigress, at Cittakūḍa on the Muḡgillagiri; he tolerated patiently all that and attained the highest object (Bh. 161, M. 466-67, S. 63-64). The ignorant cow-boy uttered piously the Namaskāramantra, and was born consequently as a merchant-prince Sudamsaṇa at Campā (Bh. 81). The monks from the low caste, Somadatta etc., of Kosambī, were thrown into the sea when they had submitted themselves to Prāyopagamana (M. 493). Due to pure Samyaktva, i.e. Right faith, though not accompanied by conduct, Harikulaprabhu, Śreṇika and others were destined to be born as Tīrthakaras (Bh. 67). Sodāsa suffered being a slave of taste, and the king Somāliya, of the sense of contact (Bh. 145-6).

The above survey is partial and does not include all the references from the Pañṇas. There are some Kathānakas which are anonymously introduced (M. 424, 510 etc.), and there are others which give some names without sufficient details (M. 433). I have tried to note the contents of the verses with utmost caution, because it is difficult to interpret them without already having a close acquaintance with the Kathānakas. In some cases it is hard even to spot the proper names. A story from the

Diṭṭhivāya has been summarised (M. 512-520), but the crucial names are not properly indicated. To illustrate how different Parisahās or hardships, of which we get an account in the Uttarādhyayana, chap. II (M. 484), were endured by the ascetic heroes of the past, various names are mentioned; but the text gives very few biographical details (M. 485-503 etc.).

This bird's-eye-view of the narrative sections from the Ardhamagadhī canon reveals to us certain broad traits. The legends are associated mainly with three Tīrthakaras, Nemi, Pārśva and Mahāvīra : the majority with Mahāvīra and minimum with Pārśva. In all the legends connected with Nemi, Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva figures quite prominently; and they get closely linked with what we call Harivaṁśa. The tales belonging to the age of Mahāvīra give good many details about contemporary dynasties and kings. Though they are didactic in spirit, it is quite apparent that some characters are historical persons. As remarked above, some legends are specifically Jain, while some are special editions of common Indian legends with ethico-religious bias of Jainism.

Some evidence is preserved in the canon itself as to how these pattern-stories etc. were kept in traditional memory. Almost all of them stand at present in prose, but in some places the series of names are put in the form of a verse. Further Uvāsagadasāo gives a few verses which must have served a good aid to memory of the teachers who gave the stories in detail when the occasion arose. The commentaries on the texts like the Nāyādharmakāhāo give pithy verses summarising and explaining the motive of the stories. It is difficult to say whether these verses are the later summaries of the present texts or the texts themselves have such verses at their basis. Though the first alternative is not altogether excluded, I feel inclined to accept the second alternative as a general rule. The entire narrative of the Samarāiccakāhā was presented by Haribhadra on the basis of a few verses which too have come down to us. Such verses do presuppose stories in oral tradition, but they themselves lie at the basis of the written compositions available at present.

### B) POST- AND PRO-CANONICAL STRATA ETC.

The next stratum of Jaina literature, which deserves special attention in the survey of early narrative tale, is represented by Nijjuttis<sup>13</sup> that are something like commentaries which not only explain a few topics connected with the text with which they are associated by the application (*nī-yuj*) of Anuyoga-dvāras etc. but also supplement the information by giving the accessory details. There are Nijjuttis on ten canonical texts. Some independent Niryuktis like the Piṇḍa, Ogha and Ārādhana- are there: the first two appear to be the supplements of Daśavaikālika- and Āvaśyaka-niryukti; while the last is known only from a reference<sup>14</sup>, and it appears probable that it might have been absorbed in texts like the Bhagavati Ārādhana, Maraṇasamāhi<sup>15</sup> etc. More than once the legendary-environments of a certain discourse are given by the Niryukti : for instance, it is the Niryukti that gives details about Ārdraka (in the Sūyagaḍam) who held a debate with Gosāla etc., as noted above. The Niryuktis themselves have many significant contexts and references which necessitated the subsequent Cūṛṇīs, Bhāṣyas and Tīkāś to give elaborate Kathānakas for a clear and full explanation. A few examples may be noted. The Uttarādhyayana-niryukti refers to Dhanamitra, Hastimitra, Svapnabhadra etc. to illustrate how bravely they faced

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- 13 On the Niryuktis the following sources may be studied. Leumann: Daśavaikālika-sūtra Niryukti, ZDMG, 46, pp. 581-663, and Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka-Literature, Hamburg 1934; Ghatage: The Daśavaikālika-, and Sūtra-kṛtāṅga-niryukti, Indian H. Quarterly, vol. XI, 4 and vol. XII 2; Charpentier : Intro., pp. 48-52, of Uttarādhyayana, Uppsala 1922; Chaturavijayaji: Anekānta III, pp. 678-684.
14. Mūlācāra V. 82, P. 233, ed. Māṇikachandra D. 3. Granthamālā No. 18, Bombay Saṁvat 1977.
15. The concluding gāthās of Maraṇasamāhi are very significant and interesting. This work has inherited ideas, and possibly verses also, from eight earlier texts: 1) Maraṇa-vibhatti, 2) Maraṇa-visohi, 3) Maraṇa-samāhi, 4) Saṁlehaṇāsuya, 5) Bhatta-pariṇṇā, 6) Āurapaccakkhāṇa, 7) Mahāpac-cakkhāṇa, and 8) Ārāhaṇāpaiṇṇa.

different *parīśahas* which are twenty-two in number; similar stories are found in other contexts too. *Daśavaikālika-ni.*, in course of the exposition of *Udāharaṇa*, gives important references (verse 61 etc.) which presuppose, if not written, at least oral *Kathānakas*. In other contexts (verses 77, 81, 87, 162, 239 etc.) either proper names are mentioned or significant catch-words are given which become meaningful only when the legends are added in detail. Even the *Nandisūtra* gives certain verses, perhaps of a traditional nature, which enumerate illustrative terms *sela-ghaṇa* etc. to characterise good and bad pupils; and these have occasioned elaborate stories. As yet we have no clear idea about the early sources of these *Kathānakas*. It appears from certain references that some *Kathānakas* were present in the *Dr̥ṣṭivāda*, which is lost now; and the details of such a *Kathānaka* of an elephant are mentioned in the *Marāṇasamāhi Pañṇa* (verses 512-20). The *Āvaśyaka-ni* is a pretty important text, or at least it has been given that importance by some of the extensive commentaries written by celebrated authors. The text affords many occasions for introducing *Kathānakas*, say in applying *Anuyogas*, in illustrating *Buddhis*, in the context of correct reading of the text etc.<sup>16</sup> Consequently the *Cūrṇi*, *Bhāṣya* and *Ṭikā* have been replete with *Kathānakas*, both in *Prakrit* and *Sanskrit*, and the total bulk of these stories is of staggering magnitude.<sup>17</sup> Leumann has already summarised the stories on the *Daśavaikālika-ni.* and edited separately a few stories from the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi* and *Haribhadra's Ṭikā*.<sup>18</sup> Besides consistently giving a complete account of the stories already referred to in the canonical texts, the commentators like *Haribhadra*, *Śīlāṅka*, *Śāntiācārya*, *Devendra*, *Malayagiri* and *Abhayadeva* have not only drawn upon earlier

16. *Śrī-Viśeṣāvaśyaka*, with Gujarati translation, parts 1-2, Āgamodayasamiti, Bombay 1924-7, pp. I. 509, II. 513 etc.

17. The volumes of *Bṛhatkalpasūtra*, five of which are already out (*Bhavanagar* 1933-38), are rich in illustrative narratives.

18. *Daśavaikālika-sūtra* and *-niryukti* ZDMG, 46, Leipzig 1892; *Die Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen*, Leipzig 1897.

commentaries but also on extraneous literature with the result that their commentaries have become repositories of Jaina tales of varied length and various interests. In this context mention may be made of *Uvaesamālā*, a poem in 540 Prakrit verses, attributed to Dharmadasa who is claimed to be a contemporary of Mahāvīra. Critical scholars are not ready to assign such an antiquity to this text. Apart from the didactic remarks in pithy and concise expression, this work is a rich mine of legendary references many of which are already met with in the *Pañṇas*. It is often quoted and has been subjected to good many commentaries since 9th century A. D. as far as we know. The work looks like a compilation, and the basic verses may go back to an earlier stratum of Jaina literature corresponding to *Nijjuttis* and *Pañṇas*.

The Digambaras have not accepted the present *Ardhamāgadhī* canon to be authoritative for them. Though the early canon is lost, the Digambara tradition has preserved the lists of canonical texts with their subdivisions, if any, and contents. It is interesting to compare them with those given in the *Nandisūtra* and with the classification of the *Ardhamāgadhī* canon as it is current today. The absence of the *Upāṅga* division both in the *Nandisūtra* enumeration and the Digambara classification and certain common details indicate the genuineness of the Digambara tradition which is earlier than the *Valabhī* Council. According to the Digambara tradition, *Jñātṛdharmakathā* or *Nāyādhammakahāo* narrates various *Ākhyānas* and *Upākhyānas*; *Antayaḍa* describes *Nami*, *Rāmaputra* etc.; and *Anuttaropa-pādikadaśa* or *Aṇuttaradasā* contains narratives about *Rṣidāsa*, *Dhanya*, *Sunakṣatra*, *Kārtika*, *Nanda*, *Nandana*, *Śālibhadra*, *Abhaya*, *Vāriṣeṇa*, *Cilātaputra* etc.<sup>19</sup> Stories about some of them are available in the present *Ardhamāgadhī* canon, but in the absence of early texts it is not possible to say

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19. See *Prākṛit Śrutabhakti*; *Pūjyapāda's Sarvārthasiddhi* on the *Tattvārthasūtra* I. 20, and *Akalaṅka's Rājavārtika* on the same; *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* with *Dhavalā* (Amraoti 1939) vol. I, pp. 96 etc; *Gommaṭasāra*, *Jivakāṇḍa* (Bombay 1916) pp. 134 etc.

what the Digambara stories were like. Perhaps the only available fragments of the Digambara canon lie at the basis of those three big commentaries which, in their final shape, are known by the names Dhavalā, Jayadhavalā and Mahādhavalā.<sup>20</sup> The portions, so far published, are comparatively small, and the context being purely technical, one is not in a position to have any idea of the Kathānakas, if found at all, in these works. Some of the illustrative stories, such as those which classify and characterise the pupils, are also found here. The next stratum of the early Digambara literature consists of the works of Kundakunda, Yativṛṣabha, Vaṭṭakera and Śivārya. Among the works attributed to Kundakunda, the Nirvāṇakāṇḍa is a formula of recitation which enumerates many celebrities in the Jaina tradition with the places of liberation; and salutations are offered to them. It gives a good idea of the early capital of Jaina mythology and of the personalities held in reverence by the Jainas. The Bhāvapāhuḍa refers to certain personages who suffered on account of some blemish in their bhāva or spiritual temperament :<sup>21</sup> Bāhubali's spiritual progress was hindered by his vanity, even though he had no attachment for his body. On account of Nidāna, the saint Madhupiṅga could not be a monk, and the saint Vaśiṣṭha suffered misery (44-46). Bāhu, though a Jaina monk, burnt the town of Daṇḍaka due to internal hatred and fell into the Raurava-hell; so also Dīpāyana, though a monk in appearance but devoid of real merits, wandered in infinite Saṁsāra (49-50). Śivakumāra, though encircled by young ladies, could put an end to Saṁsāra because of his heroic and pure mind. Bhavyasena could not be a Bhāvaśramaṇa (i.e., an ascetic with bhāva), even though he had learnt 12 Aṅgas and 14 Pūrvas, nay the whole of the scriptural knowledge; while Śivabhūti, whose bhāva was pure, attained omniscience by simply uttering *tusa-māsa* (51-3). Even

20. Prof. Hiralal has fully compared the details about the Dṛṣṭivāda available in the Digambara and Śvetāmbara texts in his Introduction, pp. 41-68, to Dhavalā, vol. II (Amraoti 1940).

21. Upadhye: Pravacanasāra (Bombay 1935), Intro., p. 33.

the fish Śālisiktha, due to impurity of mind, fell into a great hell (86). To illustrate that mere knowledge devoid of Śīla does not pave the path to higher worlds, the Śīlapāhuḍa quotes the instance of Surattaputta<sup>22</sup> who, though knowing ten Pūrvas, went to hell (30). The Tiloyapaṇṇatti<sup>23</sup> of Yativṛṣabha gives all the basic details that have constituted, in later works, the biographies of 63 Śālākāpuruṣas. Similar details are found in the Āvaśyaka-bhāṣya etc. The Mūlācāra of Vaṭṭakera records (II. 86-7) that Mahendradatta killed women like Kanakalatā, Nāgalatā, Vidyullatā and Kundalatā and also men like Sagaraka, Vallabhaka, Kuladatta and Vardhamānaka on the same day in the town of Mithilā. On this verse the commentator Vasunandi has not given any details of the story; but simply remarks: *kathānikā cātra vyākhyeyā āgamopadeśāt*. Then to illustrate how alms were procured by certain monks through anger, vanity, deceit and greed, the text refers to some stories associated with the towns of Hatthikappa,<sup>24</sup> Veṇāyaḍa, Vāṇārasī and Rāsiyāṇa. Vasunandi has not given any details, but merely remarks: *atra kathā utprekṣya vācya iti*. In the next verse (VI. 36) Yaśodhara is mentioned as a typical Dānapati. The Bhagavati Ārādhana of Śivārya, though it deals mainly with the ascetic discipline on the eve of a monk's death, contains many legendary references which are already developed, as we shall see below, into Kathānakas collected in the Kathākośas of Hariṣeṇa, Prabhācandra etc. The text refers to many eminent personalities who deserve to be remembered on account of their religious piety, sinful acts and ascetic heroism or

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22. The Sanskrit Chāyā, supplied possibly by the editor, equates this name with Sātyakiputra.

23. A portion of this was tentatively edited by me (Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana, Arrah 1941; first printed in the Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara and thou separately issued). Now it is again being reedited by me and it is in the Press. The text is accompanied by a Hindī translation.

24. Jitakalpabhāṣya (Ahmedabad Sam. 1994) mention an illustration of Khamaga of Hatthikappa but more details are not given (gāthās 1395 etc.).

forbearance with their consequences here and elsewhere.<sup>25</sup> Many of the names are common with the *Pañṇas*, and some of them are mentioned in almost identical verses.

On account of almost identical contents dealing with monastic life, common verses showing minor changes of verbal and dialectal nature, and similar method of exposition and presentation, the conclusion appears to be inevitable that texts like the *Bhagavati Arāḍhanā*, *Mūlācāra*, *Nijjuttis* (like *Āvassaya*, *Piṇḍa* etc.) and *Pañṇas* (like the *Marāṇasamāhī*, *Bhattaparinnā* etc.), in some portions at least, go back to a common source that was once accepted as authoritative both by the *Digambaras* and *Śvetāmbaras*. The dialectal and verbal differences rule out the possibility of mutual borrowing at a later date after the texts were fixed in writing; in fact, they clearly indicate how the same verse, without the contents being affected, has been subjected to minor changes in course of oral transmission. The preservation of identical broad outlines of contents only goes to confirm the authenticity of the early Jaina tradition and the fidelity with which it has been handed down to this day. Behind the differences, elaborated in later days, between the *Śvetāmbaras* and *Digambaras*, a dispassionate study reveals a solid and common back-ground of Jaina tradition: ascetic ideals are fundamentally the same in spirit, and the same ascetic heroes are celebrated by them.

Among the early *Digambara Śrāvakācāras*, the *Ratnakaraṇḍaka* of *Samantabhadra* mentions *Añjana-cora*,<sup>26</sup> *Anantamatī*, *Uddāyana*, *Revatī*, *Jinendrabhaktā*, *Vāriṣeṇa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Vajra* to illustrate how the eight limbs of *Samyaktva*, *nīḥsaṅkā* etc., were worthily possessed by them respectively (l. 19-20). Then *Mātaṅga*, *Dhanadeva*, *Vāriṣeṇa*, *Nilī* and *Jaya* are known for their perfect observance of the five *Anuvratas*; and *Dhanaśrī*, *Satyaghoṣa*, *Tāpasa*, *Ārakṣaka* and *Śmaśru-navanīta* are

25. These facts are noted in more detail later.

26. The *Yaśastilakacampū* (Śaka 881), 6th Āśvāsa, also gits these stories. The *Dharmāmṛta* (in *Kannāḍa*) of *Nayasena* (A. D. 1112) gives stories associated with *Samyaktva*, *V<sup>ṛ</sup>atas* etc.



noted for their five sins (III. 18-9). Lastly the names of Śrīṣeṇa, Vṛṣabhasena and Kaunḍeśa are mentioned as typical donors (IV. 28). Vasunandi in his *Uvāsayañjhayāṇa*<sup>27</sup> illustrates the eight Aṅgas of Samyaktva with almost the same names as those given by Samantabhadra: he gives Jinadatta for Jinendrabhaktā and in addition mentions the names of their towns also (verse Nos. 52-5). Vasunandi illustrates the consequences of the seven Vyasanās by appealing to the following stories : Due to gambling the king Yudhiṣṭhira lost his kingdom and had to dwell in the forest for a period of twelve years; Yādavas perished by drinking foul wine when they were thirsty while sporting in the garden; the demon Baka of Ekacakra, being addicted to flesh-eating, lost his kingdom and went to hell after death; that intelligent Cārudatta, because of his contact with a prostitute, lost his wealth and suffered a good deal in the foreign country; the sovereign Brahmādatta went to hell on account of his sin of hunting; because he repudiated a deposit, Śrībhūti was punished and he wandered miserably in Saṁsāra ; the lord of Laṅkā, though a semi-sovereign and a king of Vidyādharaś, went to hell, because he kidnapped another's wife; and Rudradatta of Sāketa, being addicted to all the seven Vyasanās, went to hell and wandered long in Saṁsāra (verse Nos. 125-33).

These texts by themselves give very little information about these names, and it is for the commentators to supply the details. Prabhācandra, for instance, has given the stories to make the references of the *Ratnakaraṇḍaka* intelligible. Most of these stories, it is clear, are moral lessons; some of them are found in later *Kathākośas*; and the fate of the heroes and heroines in the story leaves a definite imprint on the pious readers. If they suffer by their sins, the reader is expected to abstain from similar acts; and if they reach happiness by their pious acts, the reader becomes a confirmed believer in those virtues.

A thorough study of the extensive Jaina *Kathānaka* or narrative literature alone would help us to identify the

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27. I have used an edition which gives Prākṛit text and Hindi translation. The face page is gone; possibly it was published from Devaband by Paint Surajabhāu Vakil.

stories and get more details about the names casually mentioned in the wide range of early Jaina literature some specimens of which have been passingly surveyed above. This much is certain that no writer would refer to names like this unless he has definite stories in view either in oral tradition or in written records. The fact that some stories have been traced with the necessary details means that further studies are needed to connect these names with the well-established tales.

### C) LATER TENDENCIES AND TYPES

After taking this passing survey of the narrative elements in early literature, it is possible to take stock, with typical examples, of the growth of subsequent Jaina narrative literature from the earlier seeds. We are concerned more with the types and their broad traits than with detailed particulars about each work.

The material for the lives of 63 Śālākāpuruṣas (24 Tīrthaṅkaras, 12 Cakravartins, 9 Baladevas, 9 Vasudevas and 9 Prativāsudevas) is found partly in the Kalpasūtra and, in its basic elements, in the Tiloyapaṇṇatti and Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya as we have seen above. These lives have assumed a definite pattern, though the extent of details and descriptions etc. differ from author to author. It appears that some earlier works, like that of Kavi-Parameśvara, have not come down to us; but the works of Jinasena-Guṇabhadra and Hemacandra in Sanskrit, those of Śīlācārya and Bhadrēśvara in Prākṛit, of Puṣpadanta in Apabhraṁśa, of Cāmuṇḍarāya in Kannaḍa and the Śrīpurāṇa of an anonymous author in Tamila are available besides the minor compositions of Āśādhara, Hastimalla etc. On account of their cosmographical and dogmatic details, intervening stories and moral preachings, they are worthily classed among the eminent Purāṇas and held in great authority.

In the second type we have the biographies of individual Tīrthakaras and other celebrated personalities of their times. We have seen how Nirvāṇakāṇḍa offers salutations to many an eminent soul commemorated in later literature.

Most of the available biographies of Tirthaṅkaras, whether in Prākṛit, Sanskrit, Kannaḍa or Tamila, admit the traditional details, but present them in an ornate style following the models of classical Kāvya in Sanskrit : the lives of Supārśva and Mahāvīra depicted by Lakṣmaṇagaṇi<sup>28</sup> and Guṇacandra in Prākṛit, those of Dharmanātha and Candraprabha in Sanskrit by Haricandra and Viranandī, and those of Ādinātha, Ajita and Śānti in Kannaḍa by Pampa, Ranna and Honna are good examples. Jaina tradition puts Rāma and Kṛṣṇa as contemporaries of Munisuvrata and Neminātha; and there are many works giving the Jaina version of the Indian legends about Rāma and Kṛṣṇa or cycles of tales associated with them. The Paūmacariya of Vimala and the Padmacarita of Raviṣeṇa, even after making concession for the Jaina back-ground and outlook, do give original and important traits of the Rāma-legend, though they do not conceal their acquaintance with Valmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. Due to the introduction of Vidyādhara and their feats, these texts give a pleasant reading like a fairy tale in many portions. Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva figures in Jaina literature quite prominently : the Ardhamāgadhi canon gives good bits of information about him and his clan; he is an outstanding hero of his age, but the traces of deification, so overwhelmingly patent in the Mahābhārata, are conspicuously absent throughout these references. In early Jaina works Pāṇḍavas are not as important as they appear to be in the Mahābhārata; and Kṛṣṇa, though not a divinity, is a brave and noble Kṣatriya hero. Perhaps this represents an earlier stage in the evolution of the Pāṇḍava legend which, in its enlarged and sectarian form, is available to us in the present-day Mahābhārata. The Vasudevacarita attributed to Bhadrabāhu has not come down to us; but the Vasudevahiṇḍī of Saṅghadāsa, describing the peregrinations of Vasudeva and representing a fine Jaina counterpart of the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, is a

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28. He narrates a number of sub-stories illustrating the fruits of Samyaktva and of the Aticaras of twelve vows, and they almost eclipse the main current of the narrative.

memorable storehouse of a lot of heroic legends; popular stories, edifying narratives extended over many births, and sectarian and didactic tales. Many of the Akhyānas, such as those of Cārudatta, Aṅgaḍadatta, Pippalāda, Sagara princes, Nārada, Parvata, Vasu, Saṅgamkumāra etc., which are so popularly repeated in later literature, are already there in the Vasudevahiṇḍi nearly in the same form. The stories like that of Kaḍāraṇḍi, who is well-known as a voluptuous character, can be traced back to this text; the motive remains the same, though the names associated with the story are different. The Harivaṃśapurāṇa of Jinasena in Sanskrit and that of Dhavala in Apabhraṃśa share a good deal of common ground with the Vasudevahiṇḍi. Jinasena's text, it is remarkable, presents many details which can be more fittingly relegated to a work dealing with the lives of 63 Śālākāpuruṣas. Under this type may be included hundreds of Jaina works, in prose or poetry, in various languages: some of them deal with the lives of individual religious heroes such as Jivandhara, Yaśodhara, Karakaṇḍu, Nāgakumāra and Śrīpāla; then there are edifying tales of pious house-holders and ladies that devoted their life to the observance of certain vows and religious practices; there are short biographies of ascetic heroes well-known in early literature; and lastly there are tales of retribution, illustrating the rewards of good and bad acts here and elsewhere. What matter in these stories are the motives and the doctrinal preachings. Some heroes are drawn from earlier literature, some from popular legends, and some names may be even imaginary: the setting, however, given to all these is legendary. This category includes many Kathās, Ākhyānas and Caritras in Sanskrit, Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa; their authors mind only the narration of the events and their style is epical. There are some notable examples like the Gadya-cintāmaṇi, Tilakamañjarī, Yaśastilakacampū etc. which are fine specimens of high poetic ability and ornate expression. It is an essential qualification of a Jaina monk that he should be able to narrate various stories; naturally many Jaina monks, gifted with poetic inclinations, have richly contributed to this branch.

The third type marks an interesting path in Indian literature: it is the religious tale presented in a romantic form. The Taraṅgalolā of Pādalīpta in Prākṛit is lost, but its epitome in Sanskrit, the Taraṅgavatī, shows that it might have possessed engrossing literary qualities. Then there is the Samarāiccakahā which is a magnificent prose romance composed by the poetic and literary genius of Haribhadra almost from a string of traditional names to illustrate how Nidāna or remunerative hankering involves the soul into long Saṁsāra. The Upamitibhavaprapaṇcā kathā of Siddharṣi is an elaborate allegory worked out with much skill and care, and can be put under this type. Sometimes imaginary tales have been made an excuse for attacking the other religions, their doctrines and mythology. This tendency is explicitly seen as early as the Vasudevahiṇḍi, but the ways adopted there are straightforward. Haribhadra's Dhūrtākhyāna and the Dharmaparīkṣās of Hariṣeṇa, Amitagati and Vṛttavilāsa have shown how skilfully the incredible legends of Hindu mythology could be ridiculed through an imaginary tale.

The fourth type is represented by semi-historical Prabandhas etc. After lord Mahāvīra, there flourished patriarchs, remarkable saints, outstanding authors, royal patrons and merchant-princes who served the cause of Jaina church in different contexts and centuries. The succeeding generations of teachers have not allowed all these to fall into oblivion. We see how Nandīsūtra offers salutations to eminent patriarchs; Harivaṁśa and Kathāvali mention the various teachers after Mahāvīra; and the hymns like the Ṛṣimaṇḍala enumerate the names of saints : all these elements have given rise to a large mass of literature in later centuries, and the Paṛiśiṣṭa-parvan, Prabhāvakacarita and Prabandhacintāmaṇi are the typical examples. It is true that the historian has to glean out facts from their legendary associations. Like the great teachers, the Jaina holy places also are glorified in works like the Tīrthakalpa.

The last type is represented by compilations of stories or the Kathākośas. We have seen how some of the canonical texts, Nirvyuktis, Pañṇas, Ārādhana texts etc. refer to illustrative and didactic stories, exemplary legends and

ascetic tales. Other texts like the Uvaesamālā, Upadeśapada etc. do continue this tendency. This required the commentators to supply these stories in full: sometimes older Prakrit stories are preserved in Sanskrit commentaries; and at times the commentators themselves wrote these stories, based on earlier material, in Sanskrit either in prose or verse or in a mixed style. This has made some of the commentaries huge repositories of tales; and we know how rich in stories are the various commentaries on the Āvaśyaka, Uttarādhyayana etc. These stories have got a definite moral purpose to be propagated, and as such teachers and preachers could use them independently, without any specific context, throughout their discourses. There have been the Jaina recensions like the Pañcākhyāna which were the forerunners of the Pañcatantra. This gradually led to small and big compilations of Kathās which could be conveniently used as source-books for constant reference. Many teachers could narrate them in their own way keeping intact, as far as possible, the purpose and the frame of the story. Consequently we have today in Jaina collections a large number of Mss. called Kathākośas. Many of them are anonymous compositions, and very few of their are critically inspected in comparison with others of that class. Works like the Kumārapālpratiḥbodha are nothing but collections of stories meant for a specific purpose. Individual stories from these collections are available separately also. As distinguished from these didactic tales, there are some stories associated with Vratas or the religious and ritualistic practices, and a good tale is composed to glorify the fruit of Vratas and the persons who achieved it. In later days they have lost all literary flavour and become mechanical and prosaic narratives which are often preserved in collections also.

In all the above types of works, excepting some of the semi-historical Prabandhas, certain traits specially attract our attention, because they are not quite normal and not found in such an abundance in other branches of Indian literature. Pages after pages are devoted to the past and future lives; and the vigilant and omnipotent law of Karman meticulously records their pious and impious deeds whose consequences no one can escape. Whenever there is an

opportunity, religious exhortations are introduced with dogmatical details and didactic discourses. The tendency of introducing stories-in-stories is so prevalent that a careful reader alone can keep in mind the different threads of the story. Illustrative tales are added here and there, being usually drawn from folktales and beast-fables; and at all the contexts the author shows remarkable insight into the workings of human mind. The spirit of asceticism is writ large throughout the text; and almost as a rule every hero retires from the world to attain better status in the next life.

[Taken from the Introduction of *Bṛhatkathākośa*  
of Ācārya Hariṣeṇa ed by A.N. Upadhye,  
Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1943]

## ORIENTALISTS ON THE JAINA NARRATIVE LITERATURE

ADINATH NEMINATH UPADHYE

We have studied the different aspects of this Kathākośa of Hariṣeṇa which occupies an important place in Jaina narrative literature, the various currents of which are casually reviewed above. The orientalists began the study of Jaina literature rather late; still many eminent scholars have worked on important narrative texts that have afforded new material to enrich different branches of Indological study. Some have already emphasised its study in understanding Indian life and literature, as well as the salient traits of Indian culture. Some of their remarks are valuable not only as an estimate of Jaina narrative literature but also as constructive suggestions for the guidance of future workers in the field. Critical studies in different branches of Jaina literature are still in their infancy, though the richness of the field was already anticipated by Bühler in his significant remark made years ago :<sup>1</sup> The Jaina writers "have accomplished so much of importance, in grammar, in astronomy, as well as in some branches of letters, that they have won respect even from their enemies, and some of their works are still of importance to European science. In southern India, where they worked among the Dravidan tribes, they also advanced the development of these languages. The Kanarese literary language and the Tamil and Telugu rest on the foundations laid by the Jaina monks. This activity led them, indeed, far from their proper goal, but it created for them an important position in the history of literature and culture." If the workers follow critical and comparative lines of study, the results of their research will enviably enrich the fields of Indological study. With respect to Jaina narrative

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1. On the Indian Sect of the Jains, London 1903, p. 22.



literature. Winternitz remarks<sup>2</sup> : "Like the Buddhist monks, the Jaina monks, too, delighted at all times in adorning their sermons with the telling of stories, in converting worldly stories into legends of saints, in elucidating Jinistic doctrines by means of 'examples', thus exploiting the inborn Indian love for fables in order to win over and retain as many adherents as possible for their religion." "As in the case with the Buddhist Jātakas, this narrative literature imbedded in the Commentaries, contains many popular themes, including some which occur also in other Indian and non-Indian literatures, and form part of the common treasury of universal literature." We have already studied his views on ascetic poetry which, he further adds<sup>3</sup>, 'likes to take its subjects from popular tales, fairy stories, fables and parables. Now the Jainas have always had a special liking for any kind of popular poetry, especially folk-tales. Jaina literature, both canonical and still more non-canonical, is a very store-house of popular stories, fairy tales and all kinds of narrative poetry.' About the extent and the reality of tone, he says : "The mass of narratives and books of narratives among the Jainas is indeed vast. They are of great importance not only to the student of comparative fairy-tale lore, but also because, to a greater degree than other branches of literature, they allow us to catch a glimpse of the real life of the common people. Just as in the language of these narrative works there are frequent points of agreement with vernaculars of the people, their subject-matter, too, gives a picture of the real life of the most varied classes of the people, not only the kings and priests, in a way which no other Indian literary works, especially the Brahman ones, do."

Dr. Hertel<sup>4</sup>, whose studies on the Pañcatantra are quite well-known, has worked on a number of medieval Jaina narrative texts. In his opinion, 'the narrative literature of the Jainas is connected with several problems' the chief of which are : first, 'the problem of the migration of stories'

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2. A History of Indian Literature vol. II, pp. 484, 545 etc.

3. Indian Culture, vol. I, 2, p. 147.

4. On the Literature of the Svetāmbaras of Gujarat, Leipzig 1922, pp. 11f., 3, 6f.

which 'belongs to the domain of literary history and of history of civilization. Its solution is of equal importance for India and for the rest of the world'; and the second, 'purely linguistic' one, whose solution 'cannot but produce results which will prove to be of fundamental importance not only for the history of Sanskrit and other Indian languages, but for the history of Indian literature as well.' He has sufficiently elaborated both these problems; and some of his remarks on the study of the linguistic aspect of these texts are highly critical and thought-provoking. He has in view especially the narrative works in Sanskrit written by Śvetāmbara authors of medieval and post-medieval Gujarat; but on the whole, his remarks are equally applicable to other Jaina narrative works and deserve careful study. It is already noted above how the Karman doctrine forms the back-bone of many of the tales; and with reference to that Hertel remarks : 'Nobody will deny the wholesome influence which the doctrine of *karman* must necessarily exercise on the faithful members of the Jain community with regard to their behaviour, not only towards their fellow-men, but towards all their fellow creatures. Animal life is as sacred to a Jain as human life.' He fully brings out some of the salient traits of the Jaina didactic narrative texts in his following observations:

"In these books [i.e. Aupadeśika texts] as well as in the commentaries on the Siddhānta, the Jains possess an extremely valuable narrative literature which includes stories of every kind : romances, novels, parables and beast fables, legends, and fairy tales, and funny stories of every description. The Śvetāmbar monks used their stories as the most effective means of spreading their doctrines amongst their countrymen, and developed a real art of narration in all the above mentioned languages [namely, Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa, Hindī, Gujarātī, and Rājasthānī dialects], in prose and verse, in *kāvya* as well as in the plainest style of every-day life. Beside single stories, they have compositions, in which a great many tales are embedded in frame-stories, as in the Pañchatantra, and collections of single stories resembling the collection of the Household Tales of the brothers Grimm.

“At the beginning of his homily, a preaching Jain monk usually gives, in a few prose words or verses, the topic of his sermon (Dharmadeśanā), and then goes on to tell an interesting tale of more or less considerable extent, with many romantic incidents, and in most cases with several intercalated stories. Towards the end of his story, he introduces a *kevalin*, i.e. an omniscient Jain monk, who comes to a grove belonging to the town in which the persons of his story are dwelling at its end. After hearing the sermon of this monk, these persons ask him, why all the vicissitudes, which they had to pass through during their adventures, fell to their lot. The Kevalin, then, explains to them all the happy as well as the unhappy incidents by relating the story of their previous existence.

“The literary form of these Jain sermons resembles that of the Buddhist Jātaka; but it is highly superior to it. A Jātaka begins with a story which, in most cases, is quite insignificant. Such and such a thing has occurred to such and such a monk. The Buddha arrives. The other monks question him about the present case, and the Buddha explains it by narrating the story of the respective monk’s previous existence. This story of the past is the main story of the Jātaka (whereas in the Jain sermons it forms only the conclusion); the Bodhisatta, or future Buddha, himself plays a rôle in it, and this rôle, of course, must be worthy of him; the whole story, moreover, must be an edifying one. The Jātakas, as far as they are interesting, are no inventions of the Bauddhas; they are taken from the huge store of tales spread all over India. Most of these popular tales are ingenious, or funny, or interesting in some other respect, but they are not edifying. Hence the Bauddha monks, whose Jātakas *must* be edifying and *must* contain a rôle worthy of the Bodhisatta, are forced to alter the popular stories they use for this purposes, and the lamentable consequence generally is that such a Jātaka becomes a rather dull story, from which all the wit of its original has disappeared; and its development is often contrary to all psychological probability. The Bauddhas impart their doctrines directly, showing, by the Bodhisatta’s example, how a creature should act in accordance with the Bauddha notions of morals; and if

the popular story chosen for being transformed into a Jātaka does not contain such a moral action, this story must be altered accordingly. To a Bauddha, the study of arthaśāstra, or political science, is a sin. Now many of the best Indian stories have been developed in this śāstra. The Bauddha monks take over into their collections of stories a great many of such *nīti*-tales; but in accordance with their principle, they are compelled to alter the very points, and consequently even the most essential features, of these stories, and by doing so, they inevitably must destroy the stories themselves.<sup>5</sup> It is not a mere chance that amongst the innumerable recensions of the Pañchatantra there is not even one of Bauddha origin, whereas the Jaina recensions, called Pañchākhyāna, or Pañchākhyānaka, made this old *nīti*-work popular all over India, including Indo-China and Indonesia. The Pañchākhyāna, in Sanskrit and in different vernaculars, became indeed so popular a book in all these countries, that its Jain origin was completely forgotten, even by the Jains themselves.

“The Bauddha story-tellers, moreover, turn to their advantage the rage of the populace for the miraculous, the horrid, and the atrocious; they repeat, over and over again, the same motives in the same stories, and they have no idea of psychological motivation and causation. Their stories are characteristic Buddhist, but by no means characteristic Indian stories.

“Characteristic of Indian narrative art are the narratives of the Jains. They describe the life and the manners of the Indian population in all its different classes, and in full accordance with reality. Hence Jain narrative literature is, amongst the huge mass of Indian literature, the most precious source not only of folk-lore in the most comprehensive sense of the word, but also of the history of Indian civilisation.

“The Jains’ way of telling their tales differs from that of

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5. See the author's papers 'Die Erzählliteratur der Jaina' (Geist des Ostens I, 178ff.) and 'Ein attindisches Narrenbuch' (Ber. d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, ph. - h. Kl. 64 (1912), Heft 1).

the Bauddhas in some very essential points. Their main story is not that of the past, but that of the present; they do not teach their doctrines directly, but indirectly; and there is no future Jina to be provided with a rôle in their stories.

"It is evident that under these circumstances the Jain narrators are at complete liberty. As they cannot possibly have the intention to make the persons of their stories act in accordance with morality, they are free to relate the old stories, as these stories have been handed down to them by literary or by popular tradition. Whether the actions of the persons of their stories are moral or immoral, whether these persons become happy, or unhappy, this is no concern of the story-teller. For the moral teaching imparted by the story does not lie in the events themselves as they are related in the tale, but in the explanation which the Kevalin gives at the end of this story. This Kevalin shows that all the misfortunes undergone by the persons which act a part in his narration, have been caused by bad deeds, and that all their good-luck has been caused by good actions, done by them in their previous existences. It is clear that this manner of teaching morals is applicable to any story whatsoever, as in every interesting story the creatures whose adventures are related in it, must needs undergo various vicissitudes. The consequence of this fact is that no story-telling Jain monk is obliged to alter any story handed down to him, and that from this reason, Jain stories are much more reliable sources of folk-lore than the stories handed down in the books of the Bauddhas.

"Jain monks, however, were not only reproductive, they were really productive of stories. They invented new stories and novels for the sake of their propaganda books; and literary story-telling was taught in their schools." It is necessary, therefore, that the various Jaina narrative texts in Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa and the post-Apabhraṃśa stages of our modern Indo-Āryan languages should be critically edited and studied with a view to enrich our knowledge of Indian life, literature and languages.

[Taken from the Introduction of  
*Bṛhatkathākośa* of Ācārya Hariṣeṇa ed by  
 A.N. Upadhye, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1943]

## THE STORY OF ĀNANDA

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE

1. At the time and at that period, there was a town, called Champā, (*its description to be here supplied*), and near it the Cheīya<sup>4</sup> Puṇṇabhadda, (*its description*).

2. At that time and at that period the venerable Suhamma arrived there on a visit, and (*here the rest is to be supplied down to the incident, that*) Jambū reverently waiting on him spoke to him thus : "If, Reverend Sir, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra (*here all his epithets are to be enumerated down to*) who has passed away, has taught this as the purport of the sixth Anga, called the Nāyādhammakāhāo, what then, Reverend Sir, did the Samaṇa (*as above, down to*) who has passed away, teach as the purport of the seventh Anga *which is called the Uvāsagadasāo?*"

Then Suhamma replied : "Truly, Jambū, the Samaṇa (*as above, down to*) who has passed away, has delivered ten lectures comprised in the seventh Anga, the Uvāsagadasāo. They are the following : first *the story of Āṇanda*, and secondly of Kāmadeva, thirdly of the landowner Chulaṇīpiyā, fourthly of Surādeva, fifthly of Chullansayaga, sixthly of the landowner Kuṇḍakoliya, seventhly of Saddālaputta, eighthly of Mahāsayaga, ninthly of Nandiṇīpiyā, tenthly of Sālihiṇīpiyā."

Again Jambū asked, "If, Reverend Sir, the Samaṇa (*as above, down to*) who has passed away, has taught ten lectures as comprised in the seventh Anga, the Uvāsagadasāo, what then, Reverend Sir, did the Samaṇa (*as above, down to*) who has passed away, teach as the purport of the first lecture?"

3. Suhamma replied : "Truly, Jambū, at that time and at that period, there was a city called Vāṇiyagāma (*its description to be given here*). Outside of the city of Vāṇiyagāma in a north-easterly direction, there was a Cheīya called Duipālāsa. At that time Jiyasattu was king over the city of Vāṇiyagāma (*here his description to be given*).

There also lived then in Vāṇiyagāma, a householder called Āṇanda, who was prosperous and (*here the rest of his epithets to be given, down to*) without any equals.

4. That householder Āṇanda possessed a treasure of four *Kror* measures of gold deposited in a safe place, a capital of four *kror* measures of gold put out on interest, a well-stocked estate of the value of four *kror* measures of gold, and four herds, each herd consisting of ten thousand heads of cattle.

5. That householder Āṇanda was a person whom many kings and princes (*and so forth, down to*) merchants made it a point to defer to, and to consult, on many affairs and matters needing advice when there was anything in their own or others' households which required to be hushed up or was merely of private concern or called for some important decision; in short on all sorts of business. He was also the main pillar, as it were, of his own family, their authority, support, mainstay and guide. In short he was a cause of prosperity to whatever business he was concerned with.

6. That householder Āṇanda had a wife called Sivanandā, — a woman perfect in every way (*and so forth, down to*) beautiful. She was the beloved of her husband. Devoted, attached, and loving, and amenable, severally in speech and the other five ways, to amorous enjoyment such as is usual among men, she lived happily with Āṇanda the householder.

7. Outside of the city of Vāṇiyagāma, in a north-easterly direction there was a suburb called Kollāga, which was large, strong (*and so forth, down to*) palatial, etc.

8. There in that station of Kollāga there lived a large number of friends, kinsmen, family members, relatives, connections and dependents of Āṇanda the householder. *who were* prosperous and (*as above, §3, down to*) without any equals.

9. At that time and at that period, the Samaṇa the blessed Mahāvīra (*as above, §2, down to*) arrived on a visit, and a company of people went out to *hear him*. Then king Jiyasattū *also went out to hear him*, just as king Kūṇiya *had done on another occasion*, and having done so (*and so forth, see §2, down to*) he stood waiting on him.

10. Then the householder Āṇanda, having been

informed of this news, reflected thus : “Truly the Samaṇa (*as above*, §2, *down to*) is staying *here on a visit*; this is a most auspicious event; so I will go and (*as above*, *down to*) wait on him.” Having thus reflected, he bathed, put on a fine state dress, and adorned his person with a small number of costly jewels. Having done so, he came out of his house; and then he went out of the city of Vāṇiyagāma, *walking right* through the midst of it, on foot, at a leisurely pace, with an umbrella garlanded with koriṇṭa flowers being carried over him, and surrounded by a dense circle of attendant people. Having done so, he proceeded to the Dūipalāsa cheīya where the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, was *staying*. Having arrived there, he solemnly circumambulated him three times from the left to the right,<sup>17</sup> and having done so, he praised and worshipped him and (*as above*, §2, *down to*) stood waiting on him.

11. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, *expounded the Law* to the householder Āṇanda and to the right great company *which had come with him*. (*Here the sermon of the Law should be supplied*). Then the company of people went home again, and the king also went away.

12. Then the householder Āṇanda, having listened and attended to *the sermon of the Law*, in the presence of the Samaṇa the blessed Mahāvīra, and being happy and pleased (*and so forth*, *down to*) spoke thus : “I believe, Reverend Sir, in the Niggantha doctrine; I am convinced Reverend Sir, of the Niggantha doctrine; I am delighted, Reverend Sir, with the Niggantha doctrine; it is so, Reverend Sir; it is exactly so, Reverend Sir; it is true, Reverend Sir; it is what I desire, Reverend Sir; it is what I accept, Reverend Sir; It is what I desire and accept, Reverend Sir; it is really so as you have declared it. Still though acknowledging this, many kings princes, nobles governors, mayors bankers, merchants and others have, in your presence, O beloved of the devas, submitted to the tonsure, renounced the life of a householder, and entered the monastic state, I cannot do the same and, submitting to the tonsure, (*as above*, *down to*) enter the *monastic state*. But I will in your presence, O beloved of the devas, take on myself the twelve fold law of the householder, which consists of the five lesser



vows and the seven disciplinary vows. May it so please you, O beloved of the devas! Do not deny me!"

13. Then the householder Āṇanda, in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvira, in the first place renounced *all* gross ill-usage of living beings, *saying* : "As long as I live, in its two forms and in its three ways, I will not do it nor cause it to be done, either in thought or in word or in deed."

14. Next he renounced *all* grossly lying speech, *saying* : "As long as I live, in its two forms and its three ways, I will not do it nor cause it to be done, either in thought or in word or in deed."

15. Next he renounced *all* gross taking of things not given, *saying* : "As long as I live, in its two forms and in its three ways, I will not do it nor cause it to be done, either in thought or in word or in deed."

16. Next he limits himself to contentment with his own wife, *saying* : "Excepting with one woman Sivanandā my wife, I renounce every other kind of sexual intercourse."

17. Next setting limits to his desires, he limits himself to his *actual possession* of gold, wrought and unwrought, *saying* : "Excepting my *treasure* of the four kroṣ measures of gold deposited in a safe place, my *capital* of four kroṣ measures of gold put out on interest, and my well-stocked estate of the value of four kroṣ measures of gold, I renounce *the possession* of any other gold, wrought or unwrought."

18. Next he limits himself to his *actual possession* of four-footed animals, *saying* : "Excepting my four herds, each herd consisting of ten thousand heads of cattle, I renounce the *possession* of any other four-footed animals."

19. Next he limits himself in his *possession* of landed property, *saying* : "Excepting five hundred ploughs, and land at the rate of one hundred niyattaṇas for each plough, I renounce *the possession* of any other landed property."

20. Next he limits himself in his *possession* of carts, *saying* : "Excepting five hundred carts for foreign traffic and five hundred carts for home use, I renounce the *possession* of any other carts."

21. Next he limits himself in his *possession* of boats, *saying* : "Excepting four boats for foreign traffic and four

boats for home use, I renounce the *possession* of any other boats."

22. Next on being desired to make his renouncements regarding things of reiterate and things of momentary use, he limits himself in his *use* of bathing towels, *saying*: "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, a fragrant red-tinted one; I renounce *the use* of every other kind of bathing towel."

23. Next he limits himself in his *use* of tooth-cleaners, *saying*: "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, a green stick of sweet taste, I renounce *the use* of every other kind of tooth-cleaner."

24. Next he limits himself in his *use* of fruits, *saying*: "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, the milky pulp of the Āmalaka, I renounce *the use* of every other kind of fruit."

25. Next he limits himself in his *use* of unguents, *saying*: "Excepting oil of one hundred or one thousand ingredients; I renounce *the use* of every other kind of unguent."

26. Next he limits himself in his *use* of powders, *saying*: "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, scented wheat flour, I renounce *the use* of every other kind of powder."

27. Next he limits himself in his *use* of washing water, *saying*: "Excepting eight gharā of water sufficient to fill an utṭiyā, I renounce *the use* of all other washing water."

28. Next he limits himself in his *use* of clothes, *saying*: "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, a pair of cotton clothes, I renounce *the use* of every other kind of clothes."

29. Next he limits himself in his *use* of perfumes for the person, *saying*: "Excepting perfumes made of aloes, saffron, sandal and similar substances, I renounce *the use* of every other kind of perfume."

30. Next he limits himself in his *use* of flowers, *saying*: "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, the white lotus or a garland of jasmin flowers, I renounce *the use* of every other kind of flower."

31. Next he limits himself in *use* of personal ornaments, *saying*: "Excepting smoothly polished ear pendants and a finger ring engraved with my name, I renounce *the use* of every other kind of ornament."

32. Next he limits himself in his *use* of incense, *saying*: "Excepting incense made of aloes, olibanum, and

similar substances, I renounce *the use of* every other kind of incense."

33. Next in setting limits to his *use of* victuals, he limits himself in his *use of* beverages *saying* : "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, a decoction of pulses or rice, I renounce *the use of* every other kind of beverage."

34. Next he limits himself in his *use of* pastry, *saying* : "Excepting such as are fried in clarified butter or turned in sugar, I renounce *the use of* every other kind of pastry."

35. Next he limits himself in his *use of* boiled rice, *saying*: "Excepting boiled rice of the cultivated varieties, I renounce the *use of* every other kind of boiled rice."

36. Next he limits himself in his *use of* pottages, *saying*: "Excepting the pottage made of kalāy or the pottage made of mūṅ or mās, I renounce *the use of* every other kind of pottage".

37. Next he limits himself in his *use of* clarified butter, *saying* : "Excepting the best of clarified butter *produced* from cow's milk in the autumn, I renounce *the use of* every other kind of clarified butter."

38. Next he limits himself in his *use of* vegetables, *saying* : "Excepting the curry *made of* vatthū or the curry *made of* sutthiya or the curry *made of* maṇḍakkiya, renounce *the use of* other kind of vegetable."

39. Next he limits himself in his *use of* liquors, *saying* : "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, the liquor *made from* palang", I renounce *the use of* every other kind of liquor."

40. Next he limits himself in his *use of* fritters, *saying* : "Excepting plain fritters spiced with condiments, or gourd fritters spiced with condiments, I renounce *the use of* every other kind of fritters."

41. Next he limits himself in his *use of* drinking water, *saying* : "Excepting one kind, *viz.*, rain water, I renounce the *use of* every other kind of drinking water."

42. Next he limits himself in his *use of* mouth perfumes, *saying* : "Excepting betel with its five spices, I renounce *the use of* every other kind of mouth perfume."

43. Next he renounces the following four kinds of unprofitable employment, *viz.*, malevolent conduct, inconsiderate conduct, giving of dangerous objects and directing of sinful deeds.

44. At this point, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra,

addressing Ānanda, the disciple of the Samaṇa, spoke to him thus: "Truly, O Ānanda, a disciple of the Samaṇa, who has mastered *the discrimination* of the living and the lifeless and who wishes (*and so forth*, down to) not to be betrayed into any transgression (*of the Niggantha doctrine*), must know and avoid the following five typical offences against the law of right belief; viz., scepticism, unstableness distrustfulness, praising of heterodox teachers, and intimacy with heterodox teachers.

45. Next disciple of the Samaṇa must know and avoid the following five typical offences against the law of abstention from gross ill-usage of living beings, viz., tying them, bruising them, piercing *any* of their limbs, overlouding them, and starving them in food and drink.

46. Next he must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences against the law of abstention from grossly lying speech, false accusations *made* number the influence of passion, false accusations *made* under cover of secrecy, betrayal of the confidence of one's wife, communication of false information, and falsification of documents.

47. Next he must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences against the law of abstention from gross taking of things not given, viz., *receipt of stolen* property, employment of thieves, smuggling into a forbidden country, false weights and measures, and dealing with adulterate wares.

48. Next he must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences against the law of contentment with one's own wife; viz., visiting a kept woman, visiting a respectable woman, amorous dalliance *with other women*, arranging marriages for strangers, and excessive indulgence in sensual pleasures.

49. Next a disciple of the Samaṇa must know and avoid the five *typical* offences against the law of limiting one's desires, viz., exceeding one's limit regarding *the possession* of landed property, exceeding one's limit regarding the possession of gold, wrought and unwrought; exceeding one's limit regarding the *possession* of two-footed and four-footed creatures; exceeding one's limit regarding *the possession* of money and grain; and exceeding one's limit regarding *the possession* of metal utensils.

50. Next he must know and avoid the following five

*typical* offences against the law of the vow of the quarters, *viz.*, exceeding one's limit in the upward direction, exceeding one's limit in the downward direction, exceeding one's limit in the level direction, enlargement of one's area of living, and failure of memory.

51. Next the *Samana* declared that things of reiterate and of momentary use are of the following *two* kinds. *viz.*, those relating to one's food, and those relating to one's occupation. Now, with regard to food, *he said*, a disciple of the *Samana* must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences; *viz.*, using living things as food, using adjuncts of living things as food, eating unboiled vegetables, eating parboiled vegetables, and eating worthless vegetables. Then with regard to occupation, a disciple of the *Samana* must know and avoid the following fifteen ways of making a living; *viz.*, occupation with charcoal, occupation with plants, occupation with carts, occupation with fares, occupation with breaking ground, traffic in ivory, traffic in 'lac', traffic in juices, traffic in poisons, traffic in hair, occupation with crushing by machinery, occupation with surgery, kindling of bush fires, draining of lakes rivers and tanks, and bringing up women for immoral purposes.

52. Next a disciple of the *Samana* must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences against the law of abstention from unprofitable employment, *viz.*, talking amorous nonsense, conducting one's self like a buffoon, talking impurities, acting the part of an accessory, and exceeding one's need in things of reiterate or momentary use.

53. Next a disciple of the *Samana* must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences against the law of inward peace, *viz.*, ill behaviour in thought, ill behaviour in word, ill behaviour in act, obliviousness of the law of inward peace, and unstable attention to the law of inward peace.

54. Next a disciple of the *Samana* must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences against the law of keeping within a certain place; *viz.*, employment of *family members* as messengers, employment of servants as messengers, communication by word of mouth, communication by gestures, and *notification by* throwing of clods.

55. Next a disciple of the *Samana* must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences against the law of keeping

the posaha abstinences; *viz.*, using an unexamined or badly examined bed for sleeping, using an unwiped or badly wiped bed for sleeping, using an unexamined or badly examined spot for easing nature, using an unwiped or badly wiped spot for easing nature, and imperfect observance of the posaha abstinences.

56. Next a disciple of the Samaṇa must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences against the law of right distribution of alms; *viz.*, putting away among living things, covering up with living things neglecting the appointed time, making a pretence of others, and acting from jealousy.

57. Next he must know and avoid the following five offences against the law of a determined self-mortification by the last mortal emaceration; *viz.*, longing after this world, longing after the next world, longing after life, longing after death, and longing after sensual enjoyments.

58. Then the householder Āṇanda, in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, took on himself the twelvefold law of a householder, consisting of the five lesser vows and the seven disciplinary vows; and having done so, he praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed mahāvīra, and then spake to him thus : "Truly, Reverend Sir, it does not befit me, from this day forward, to praise and worship any man of the heterodox community, or any of the devas of a heterodox community, or any of the objects of reverence of a heterodox community; or without being first addressed by them, to address them or converse with them; or to give them or supply them with food or drink or delicacies or relishes; except it be by the command of the king, or by the command of the priesthood, or by the command of any powerful man, or by the command of a deva, or by the order of one's elders, or by the exigencies of living. *On the other hand* it behoves me to devote myself to proving the Samaṇas of the Niggaṇtha faith with pure and acceptable food, drink, delicacies and relishes, with clothes, blankets, alms-bowls and brooms with stool, plank and bedding, and with spices and medicines." To the above effect he made a formal promise; and having done so, he asked *various* questions and accepted the replies *given*; and then he respectfully took leave of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra; and having done so, he went away again

from the Dūipalāsa Cheīya and from the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra and then returned to where his own house was in the city of Vāṇiyagāma; and having done so, he spake to his wife Sivanandā thus : "Truly, O beloved of the devas, I have listened to the Law in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and that Law is what I desire and except and am pleased with; so now, do thou, O beloved of the devas, go and praise the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and (*as above*, §10, down to) wait on him, and in his presence take on thyself the twelvefold law of a householder which consists of the five lesser vows and the seven disciplinary vows.

59. Then that Sivanandā, his wife, being thus spoken to by Āṇananda, the servant of the Samaṇa and being happy and pleased, called her domestic servants; and having done so, she spake to *them* thus : "Quickly bring to me without loss of time" (*the sacred vehicle, and so forth*, down to, *she went and*) waited on the Samaṇa.

60. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, spake a sermon on the Law to Sivanandā and to the right great company that had come out with her.

61. Then that Sivanandā, having listened and attended to the Law in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and being happy and pleased, (*and so forth*, down to) took on herself the law of a householder; and having done so, *she re-ascended* that excellent sacred vehicle of hers, and then returned to the place whence she had come.

62. When *she had gone away*, the blessed Goyama turning to the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, praised and worshipped him; and having done so, he spake to *him* thus: "Reverend Sir, is Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, capable of submitting, in the presence of the beloved of the devas, to the tonsure and (*as above*, § 12, down to) entering the monastic state?"

*Mahāvīra replied* : "No, that is not the case, O Goyama; but Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, will follow the profession of a servant of the Samaṇa for many years; and having done so, (*and so forth*, *as below*, § 85, down to) he will be re-born as a deva in the Aruṇābha abode of the Sohamma heaven." There a certain class of devas are declared to enjoy an existence of four paliovama periods;

there also Ānanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, is declared to enjoy an existence of four paliovama periods.

63. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, for some time or other, abode elsewhere in the different country.

64. Then that Ānanda, having *now* become a servant of the Samaṇa, devoted himself to mastering *the discrimination* of the living and liveless and (*as before*, § 58, down to) supplying the Nigganthas.

65. Then that Sivanandā, his wife, having *also now* become a servant of the Samaṇa, devoted herself (*as above*, § 64, down to) suppling the Nigganthas.

66. Then fourteen years passed by during which that Ānanda; the servant of the Samaṇa, sanctified himself by unwearying exercises in the moral restraints *imposed* by the religious vows as well as in the *general* renunciation and *special* posaha abstinences; and when he was in the middle of the fifteenth year, at some time or other, at the time of the midnight hour, while he was keeping religious vigils, there occurred to him the following inward musing, hidden reflection : "Truly I am, in the city of Vāṇiyagāma, a person whom many princes (*as above* § 5, down to), and also (*as above* § 5, down to) the support of my own family; hence on account of this hindrance, I am not able to live conformably with the teachings of the Law received in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra. Therefore, it is truly better for me, tomorrow morning (*and so forth*, down to) after sunrise, to *prepare* abundant food (*etc. and acting in all respects like Pūraṇa*, down to) place my eldest son in charge of my household; then having taken leave of my friends and of my eldest son, and having cleaned a house for *keeping* the posaha observances in the midst of my people of the Nāya clan, to live in conformity with the teachings of the Law as received in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra." Thus he reflected within himself, and accordingly, on the morrow he *prepared* abundant food (*and so forth*, everything as above,) and on finishing the entertainment, he decorated and honoured his friends (*etc.*) with abundant flowers (*etc.*); and having done so, he called his eldest son into the presence of those very friends (*etc.*), and then spoke to him thus : "Truly, my son, I am, in the city of Vāṇiyagāma, a person whom many princes (*and so forth*, exactly as he had been musing



before, down to) to live *conformably with the Law*. Therefore, it is truly better for me now to appoint thee as the mainstay (etc.) of my own household and (as above, down to) to live in *conformity with the Law*."

67. Then the eldest son, saying "let it be so," respectfully assented to that proposal of Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa.

68. Then that Āṇanda the servant of the Samaṇa, in the presence of those very friends (etc.), placed his eldest son in charge of his household, and having done so, he spoke to them all thus : "Do not you, beloved of the devas, from this day forward any of you consult me or give notice to me regarding *any of the many affairs* (and so forth, as above, § 5) or cook and season for my behoof any food (etc.)."

69. Then that Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, took leave of his eldest son and of his friends and kinsmen; and having done so, he came out of his own house, and then went out of the city of Vāṇiyagāma, *walking* right through the midst of it. Having done so, he proceeded to the Kollāga suburb, where his posaha-house was in the midst of his people of the Nāya-clan. He then swept the posaha-house, next examined a place for easing nature, and finally spread a bed of dabbha-grass, and placed himself upon it. And thus, in his posaha-house, keeping the posaha abstinences, and abiding on his bed of dabbha-grass he lived in conformity with the teachings of the Law which he had received in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvira.

70. Then that Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa engaged in conforming himself to the standards of an uvāsaga. Perfectly, in *thought, word and deed*, he practised, maintained, satisfied, accomplished, proclaimed and completed the *observance of* the first standard of an uvāsaga according to the sacred writings, according to the rules *prescribed in them*, according to the right way and according to the truth.

71. Then that Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa (as above, § 70, down to) completed the *observance of* the second standard of an uvāsaga, and likewise *that of* the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh *standards*.

72. Then that Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, through these ascetic exercises, lofty, abundant, persevering

and intense as they were, became withered, and so forth, (down to) emaciated and reduced to a skeleton.

73. Then to that Ānanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, at some time or other, at the time of the midnight hours, while he was keeping his religious vigils, there occurred they following inward (etc.) *reflection*: "Truly through these *ascetic exercises (as above, § 72, down to)* I have become reduced to a skeleton; yet there is still in me effort, work, strength, vigour, mainly power and energy of faith; therefore seeing that there is still in me effort and (*as above, down to*) energy of faith, and seeing that my teacher and instruction in the Law, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, abides as the Jīṇa, and the Suhattī, therefore it is better for me, tomorrow (*as above, § 66, down to*) after sunrise to devote myself to determind self-mortification by the last mortal emaciation, renouncing all food and drink and patiently waiting for my end." Thus he reflected within himself, and accordingly on the morrow early (*as above, § 66, down to*) he devoted himself to the self-mortification by the last mortal emaciation (*as above, down to*) patiently waiting for his end.

74. Then to that Ānanda, the servant of the Samaṇa at some time or other, by reason of his splendid perseverance, his splendid transformation, his increasingly developed *psychic* forces, and his patient avoidance of the taint of all acts which tend to prevent its acquisition, there was vouchsafed the gift of supernatural sight. Towards the East, in the salt sea, he recognised and beheld an area of five hundred yojanas, and the same towards the South and West. Towards the North he distinguished and saw as far as the Vāsadhara mountain, called Chulla Himavanta. Upwards he distinguished and saw as far as the Sohamma heaven. Downwards in this Rāyaṇappahā earth he distinguished and saw as far as the Loluyachchua hell the period of *punishment* in which extends to 84,000 years.

75. At that time and at that period, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, arrived on a visit. A company went out to hear him (*as above, § 9, down to*) and returned.

76. At that time and at the period, the senior disciple of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, the monk called Indabhūi, of the family of Goyama, of the the height of seven hands, of a symmetrically built figure, with joints most firmly knit as

*it were* by double mortise, collar, and pin, with a complexion as light as the filaments of the lotus or the streak of a piece of gold on the touchstone, a man of severe austerity, of brilliant austerity, of ardent austerity, of awful austerity, of grand austerity, a mighty one, a man of sublime merits, an awful ascetic, practising a life of sublime continence, neglectful of all care for the body, and charged with a store of the far-reaching fiery psychic force, was devoting himself to the sanctification of self by the uninterrupted ascetic practice of never eating any but the sixth meal, and *generally* by a course of self-restraint and penance.

77. Then that blessed Goyama, when the turn for the indulgence of his sixth meal came round, engaged in private study during the first *three hours'* period of the afternoon; during the second period he devoted himself to meditation, during the third period, without hurry, haste or bustle, he examined his mouth-protector, and afterwards, his vessels, clothes, etc.; next he wiped his vessels, clothes, etc., and then taking them up, he went to where the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, was, and praised and worshipped him; and having done so, he spake to *him* thus : "I desire, Reverend Sir, with your permission, as the turn for the indulgence of my sixth meal has arrived, to go round the city of Vāṇiyagāma, to the upper, lower, and middle classes, on a begging tour of house-to-house collection. May it so please you, O beloved of the devas; do not deny me."

78. Then the blessed Goyama, having obtained permission from the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, went away from the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and from the Dūīpalāsa cheīya; and having done so, he proceeded, without hurry, haste or bustle, carefully guarding his steps by steadily examining with his eyes the ground before him to the distance of four cubits, to where the city of Vāṇiyagāma was. Having done so, he went round the city of Vāṇiyagāma, to the upper, lower, and middle classes, on his begging tour of house-to-house collection.

79. Then that blessed Goyama, going on his round of begging alms (exactly as *described* in the Paṇṇatti and so forth, as before, § 78, down to) in the city of Vāṇiyagāma, duly collected food and drink just as he received it; and having done so, he went out of the city of Vāṇiyagāma;

and then as he was passing close by the suburb of Kollāga, he heard the voices of many people. These many people were thus saying (etc.) to one another : "Truly, O beloved of the devas, *behold there*, a disciple of the Samaṇa the blessed one! A servant of *that* Samaṇa, Āṇanda by name, is devoting himself in his posaha-house *to the self-mortification* by the last mortal emaceration, (*as above*, § 73, down to) patiently waiting for his end."

80. Then to that Goyama, on listenting and attending to this *conversation* in the presence of those many people, there occurred the following inward reflection (etc.) : "I will go to him, I will see Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa." Thus he reflected, and accordingly he proceeded to the posaha-house in the suburb of Kollāga, where Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, was.

81. Then that Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, saw the blessed Goyama approaching; and having done so, he, being happy and pleased (*and so forth*, down to) in his heart, praised and worshipped the blessed Goyama, and then spoke *to him* thus : "Truly, Reverend Sir, having through the ascetic exercises, lofty (*as above*, § 72, down to) become reduced to a skeleton, I am not able to come forward into the presence of any beloved of the devas, in order to salute him by *circumambulating him* thrice and bowing my head to his feet : so do you, Reverend Sir, out of your own will and without compulsion, come even hither, so that I may praise and worship the beloved of the devas by thrice circumambulating him and bowing my head to his feet.

82. Then that blessed Goyama went to where Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, was.

83. Then that Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, praised and worshipped the blessed Goyama, by *circumambulating him* thrice and bowing his head to his feet; and having done so, he spoke *to him* thus : "Is it so, Reverend Sir, that to a householder, to one who resides within his *own* house, *the gift of supernatural sight* may be vouchsafed?"

Goyama replied : "Yes, it is so."

Āṇanda continued : "If then, Reverend Sir, to a householder (*as above*, down to) may be vouchsafed, truly, Reverend Sir, to me too, *who am* a householder and one who resides within his *own* house, *the gift of supernatural*

sight has been vouchsafed. I can recognize and behold, towards the East, in the salt sea, *an area* of five hundred yojanas (*as above*, § 74, down to) the Loluyachchua hell."

84. Then that blessed Goyama spoke thus to Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa : "It is so, Āṇanda, that to a householder (*as above*, § 83, down to) may be vouchsafed; but certainly not such a very extensive one. Therefore do thou, Āṇanda, acknowledge thy sin in this matter, promise amendment, and take upon thee a penance."

85. Then that Āṇanda spoke thus to the blessed Goyama : "Is it so, Reverend Sir, that according to the word of the Jina, one should make acknowledgment of sin and (*as above*, § 84, down to) take upon one's self a *penance* regarding things *that are true*, real genuine and actual?"

*Goyama replied* : "No, it is not so."

*Āṇanda continued* : "If, Reverend Sir, according to the word of the Jina, ~~one need not make acknowledgement of sin regarding things that are true (and so forth, as above), nor (as above, § 84, down to) take upon one's self a penance, then, Reverend Sir, do you indeed yourself acknowledge your sin in this matter and (as above, § 84, down to) take on yourself a penance.~~"

86. Then that blessed Goyama, being thus spoken to by Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, becoming doubtful, unsettled, and filled with distrust, departed again from the presence of Āṇanda; and having done so, he returned to where the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, was in the Dūpalāsa cheīya. Having arrived there, and standing at a little distance from the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, he confessed *any sins he had committed during his going and coming*; then he gave an account of what he had accepted and what he had refused as alms; and next he showed *what he had brought with him as his food and drink*. Having done so, he praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and then spake to *him* thus : "Truly, Reverend Sir, having obtained permission from you I *went (and so forth; here he related everything exactly as it had happened, see §§ 78 – 85, down to)*, then becoming doubtful (etc. see § 86) I departed again from the presence of Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa; and having done so, I returned quickly to this place. Now, Reverend Sir, *tell me*, is it for Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa to

acknowledge his sin in that matter (*as above*, § 84, down to) to take on himself a penance, or is it for me *to do so*?"

The Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, turning to Goyama, spoke to him thus : "Indeed, Goyama, it is thou who shouldst acknowledge thy sin in that matter, and (*as above*, § 84, down to) take on thyself a penance; and of Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, thou shouldst ask pardon for that matter."

87. Then that blessed Goyama, saying "be it so," humbly accepted the decision of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra; and having done so, he acknowledged his sin in that matter, and took on himself *ascetic exercises* (and so forth, *as above*, § 72), and of Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, he asked pardon for that matter.

88. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, for some time or other, abode elsewhere in a *different* country.

89. Then that at Āṇanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, having sanctified himself by many *exercises in the moral restraints imposed by the religious vows* (and so forth, *as above*, § 86), and having followed the profession of a servant of the Samaṇa for twenty years and having duly observed in his body (etc.) the eleven standards of an uvāsaga, *now* mortified himself by a course of emaciation continued through one month, during which he deprived himself of sixty meals, remaining entirely without food. At the end of the month allotted for his death, having made confession of sins and promise of amendment, and being sunk in deep spiritual abstraction, he attained his death, and was re-born as a deva in the Aruṇa abode, *situated* towards the north-east of the grand abode of the Sohamma paradise, in the Sohamma heaven. There a certain class of deva is ordained to enjoy and existence through four paliovama periods. There Āṇanda also is ordained to enjoy an existence through four paliovama periods.

90. Then Goyama enquired of Mahāvīra : "Reverend Sir, Āṇanda, the deva, on making his descent from that world of devas after the termination of his *allotted* life (etc.) — where will he go to, and where will he be re-born?"

Mahāvīra replied : "O Goyama, in the Great Videha country he will attain perfection."

(Here the usual Conclusion is to be inserted.)

[Taken from the translation of Uvāsagadasāsutta by A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1888]

## THE STORY OF KĀMADEVA

A.F. RUDOLF HOERNLE

91. *Jambū enquired* : "If, Reverend Sir, the Smaṇa (as above, § 2 down to) who has passed away, has taught this as the purport of the first lecture of the seventh Anga, called the Uvāsagadasāo, what then Reverend Sir, did he teach as the purport of the second lecture?"

92. *Suhamma replied* : "Truly, Jambū, at that time and at that period there was a town called Champā. Near it was the Cheīya Puṇṇabhadda. Its king was Jīyasattū. In it lived the householder Kāmadeva, and his wife Bhaddā. That householder possessed a treasure of six kroṇ measures of gold deposited in a safe place, a capital of six kroṇ measures of gold put out on interest, a well-stocked estate of the value of six kroṇ measures of gold, and six herd, each herd consisting of ten thousand head of cattle. At a certain time the arrival of the Samaṇa took place. (Then as Āṇanda had done, Kāmadeva also went out to hear him, and, like him, he also took on himself the law of a householder. All this is to be related here, exactly as before in §§ 58 – 68, down to where it is said that) having taken leave of his eldest son and of his friends and kinsmen, he proceeded to where his posaha-house was; and having done so, he (acting like Āṇanda, as in § 69, down to) lived in conformity with the teachings of the Law which he had received in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvira.

93. Then one day in the presence of that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, at the time of the midnight hour, there appeared a certain false and lying deva.

94. On that occasion that deva had changed himself into the form of a huge pisāya. Of the pisāya form of that deva the following is said to be a full description. : its head was fashioned like a cattle-feeding basket, its hairs looked like the awns of ears of rice and shone with a tawny glare;

its forehead was fashioned like the belly of a large water jar; its eyebrows were like lizards' tails, dishevelled, and of an aspect disgusting and hideous; its eyes were protruding from its globular head, being of an aspect disgusting and hideous; its ears were exactly like a pair of winnowing sieves, disgusting and hideous to behold; its nose was similar to the snout of a ram, and its two nostrill were fashioned like a pair of cooking-stoves with large orifices; its beard was like the tail of a horse, of an exceeding tawny hue, and of an aspect disgusting and hideous; its lips were pendant exactly like those of a camel; its teeth *in length* looked like ploughshares; its tongue was exactly like the pan of a winnowing sieve, disgusting and hideous to behold; its jaws *in length and crookedness* were fashioned like the handle of a plough, and its cauldron like cheeks were hollow and sunken, and pale, hard and huge; its shoulders resembled kettle-drums; its chest *in width* resembled the gate of a goodly town; its two arms *in bulkiness* were fashioned like the *shafts* of smelting furnances; its two palms *in breadth and bulkiness* were fashioned like the slabs for grinding turmeric; the fingers of its hands *is length and bulkiness* were fashioned like the rollers of grinding slabs; its nails were fashioned like the valves of oyster shells; the two nipples on its breast depended like a barber's pouch; its belly was round like *the dome of an iron smelting furnace*; its navel *in depth* looked like rice-water bowl *of a weaver*; its penis *in length* was fashioned like the rope netting of a meat-safe; its two testicles were fashioned like the sacks for holding yeast; its two thighs were fashioned like a pair of shafts of smelting furnaces; its knees were like the cluster of blossoms of the Ajuṇa tree, excessively tortuous, and of an aspect disgusting and hideous; its shanks were lean and covered with hair; its two feet were fashioned like the rollers of *large grinding* slabs; and its nails were fashioned like the valves of an oyster shell.

95. The knees *of this deva as he approached* were shaking and quaking, his eyebrows were knit and bent, his tougue was protruding from his widely opened mouth, *he wore* a chaplet made of lizards; a garland of rats hung round him by way of adornment; *he wore* earrings made



of mungooses, and a scarf made of serpents; he slapped his hands on his arms, and roared, and laughed aloud in a horrible manner; he was covered with various sorts of hair of five colours; and *thus* brandishing a large sword, *which was* sharp as a razor and of the dark blue lustre of a lotus or a buffalo's horn or indigo or the blossom of flax, he went to where Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, was in his posaha-house; and having gone there, he furiously, angrily, wrathfully, fiercely and savagely spoke thus to Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa : "O ho, Kāmadeva, thou servant of the Samaṇa, who desirest what no one desires, who art marked out for a miserable end, who wast inauspiciously born on a holy chaṭṭṭasī day, who art abandoned of propriety, fortune, happiness and renown, who longest after truth, righteousness, heaven and salvation, and hankerest after them, and thirstest after them, truly, *I tell thee, thought* it does not become thee, O beloved of the devas, to depart from *the practice of* the virtues, duties, restraints renunciations, and posaha abstinences, or to swerve from it, or to interrupt it, or to suspend it, or to relinquish it, or to abandon it, yet if thou dost not this day forsake and interrupt *thy practice of* the virtues and (*as above*, down to) posaha abstinences, then I shall this day, with this sword of dark blue lustre (*and so forth, as above*), cut thee into small pieces, so that agonised by the intolerable force of thy agonies, O beloved of the devas, thou shalt, even before thy time, be deprived of thy life."

96. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, being thus spoken to by the deva in the form of the pisāya, showed no fear, dread, alarm, agitation, emotion, or perturbation, *but* remained silent and engaged in the meditation of the Law.

97. Then that deva in the form of the pisāya, observing that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (*as above* § 96, down to) occupied in the meditation of the Law, spoke to him thus for a second and a third time : "O ho, Kāmadeva, thou servant of the Samaṇa, who desirest what no one desires, if thou dost not this day (*as above*, § 95, down to), thou shalt be deprived of *thy life*."

98. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa,

being thus spoken to by that deva for a second and a third time, showed no fear (*as above* § 96, down to) remained occupied in the meditation of the Law.

99. Then that deva in the form of the pisāya, observing that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained *engaged in the meditation of the Law*, grew furious, etc., (*as in* § 95), and with an angry scowl on his face, proceeded to cut into pieces Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, with his sword of dark blue lustre (*and so forth*, as above, § 95).

100. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, bore (*and so forth*, down to) suffered that fiery (*and so forth*, down to) insufferable torment with perfect composure.

101. Then that deva, in the form of the pisāya, observing that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained engaged in the meditation of the law, and seeing that he was not able to cause Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, to depart from, or to swerve from, or to transgress against the doctrine of the Niggaṇtha, being now weary, tired, and disappointed *with his efforts*, slowly and gradually retired, and thus departed from the posaha-house. Having done so he laid aside his celestial pisāya form, and then exchanged it for the form of a huge celestial elephant, *This form was* duly furnished with all the seven limbs, in perfect condition, and *altogether* well made; in front it was lofty, and behind like a boar; it had a belly like that of a goat and not protuberant, it had a trunk and underlip hanging down like those of Lambodara, it had tusks as white and pure as the budding blossoms of the jasmine and fixed in their bases *as is cases* of gold; it had the fore-part of its trunk beautifully curved like a strongly bent bow; it had feet fullround like a tortoise; it had twenty nails, and a tail neat and of a proper size.

102. The form of such a celestial elephant, infuriated, roaring like a thunder-cloud and *moving* with a speed surpassing the wind or the mind, he assumed, and then went to where Kāmadeva was in his posaha-house; and having gone there, he spoke thus to Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa : "O ho, Kāmadeva, thou servant of the

Samaṇa (*and so forth*, speaking exactly as before, § 95, down to) *if thou dost not interrupt thy religious practices*, then I shall this day seize thee with my trunk, and carry thee out of thy posaha-house; and having done so, I shall toss thee high up into the air, and then receive thee on my sharp long tusks, and then *dropping thee* on the ground, I shall trample thee three times under my feet, so that agonised by the intolerable force of thy agonies thou shalt, even before thy time, be deprived of thy life."

103. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, being thus spoken to by that deva in the form of the elephant, showed no fear (*as above* § 92, down to) remained *engaged in the meditation of the Law*.

104. Then that deva in the form of the elephant, observing that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) occupied *in the meditation of the Law*, spoke thus for a second and a third time to Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa : "O ho, Kāmadeva," (*and so forth*, exactly as before, and he, Kāmadeva, too, *as before*) remained *engaged in meditation of the Law*.

105. Then that deva in the form of the elephant, observing that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained *engaged in the meditation of the Law*, grew furious, etc. (*as in* § 95), and seized Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, with his trunk, and then tossing him high up into the air, received him on his sharp long tusks, and then *dropping him* on the ground, he trampled him three times under his feet.

106. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, bore (*and so forth*, down to) that fiery torment *with perfect composure*.

107. Then that deva in the form of the elephant, seeing that he was not able to cause Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, (*as above*, § 101, down to) slowly and gradually retired, and thus departed from the posaha-house. Having done so, he laid aside his celestial elephant form, and then exchanged it for the form of a huge, celestial serpent. *This form was furnished with a powerful venom, a virulent venom, a deadly venom; it had a huge body, black as ink or as a rat; it was full of rage and venomous*

looks; it was of a lustre like a mass of heaped up collyrium; it had eyes red and bloodshot, and a double tipped tongue quickly moving to and fro; it looked, *in blackness and length*, like the single braid of hair of the *goddess* Earth; and it was dexterous at making its hood to swell large and stiff bending over like a top-knot in an exceedingly beautiful way.

108. The form of *such* a serpent, making a noise like the blowing of the bellows of a blacksmith, and exhibiting a wrath fierce, intense and unbounded, he assumed, and then went to where Kāmadeva was in his posaha-house; and having gone there, he spoke thus to Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa : “O ho, Kāmadeva, thou servant of the Samaṇa (*as before*, § 95, down to) *if* thou dost not interrupt *thy religious practices*, then I shall even this day, creeping forward, mount on thy body; and having done so, I shall with my hinder part three times encircle thy neck, and then with my sharp venom-bearing fangs I shall strike thee even in thy breast, so that agonised by the intolerable force of thy agonies thou shalt, even before they time, be deprived of thy life.”

109. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, being thus spoken to by the deva in the form of the serpent, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained engaged *in the meditation of the Law*. (He too spoke, *similarly as in* § 97, for a second and a third time; and Kāmadeva too, *as above*, § 98, down to) remained engaged *in the meditation of the Law*.

110. Then that deva in the form of the serpent, observing that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained engaged *in the meditation of the Law*, grew furious, etc., (*as in* § 95), and creeping forward mounted on the body of Kāmadeva; and having done so, he encircled his neck three times with his hinder part, and then struck him even in his breast with his sharp venom-bearing fangs.

111. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa bore (*and so forth*, § 100, down to) that fiery torment *with perfect composure*.

112. Then that deva in the form of the serpent, observing that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa,

showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) and seeing that he was not able to cause Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, to depart from, or to swerve from, or to transgress against the doctrine of the Niggantha, being now weary, etc. (*as in* § 101), slowly and gradually retired, and thus departed from the posaha-house. Having done so, he laid aside his celestial serpent form, and then exchanged it for the form of a huge celestial deva. *This form* had its breast adorned with a necklace (*and so forth*, down to) cast its radiance and splendour over *all* the ten quarters and was magnificent, beautiful, charming and well-proportioned.

113. The form of *such* a celestial deva he assumed; and having done so, he entered the posaha-house of Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, and then taking his stand in mid air and decked out in five-coloured garments fringed with small bells, he spoke thus to Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa : "O ho, Kāmadeva, thou servant of the Samaṇa, happy art thou, O beloved of the devas, and satisfied, successful, and fortunate, thou hast well attained, O beloved of the devas, the true object of living in the condition of human existence; for that thou hast attained, acquired and achieved such a perfect hold on the doctrine of the Niggantha. Truly, O beloved of the devas, Sakka, the lord of the devas, the prince of the devas (*and so forth*, down to), *sitting* on his Sakka-named throne, in the midst of eighty-four thousands of his peers (*and so forth*, down to) and of many other male and female devas, has thus said : (etc.) : "Truly, O devas, in the continent of Jambū, in the country of Bhāraka, in the town of Champā, Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, in his posaha-house, keeping the posaha abstinences, practicing continence (*and so forth*, down to) abiding on his bed of dubbha grass, is living in conformity with the teachings of the Law which he has received in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvira. Truly, no deva, nor dānava, (*and so forth*, down to) nor gandhavva, is able to cause him to depart from, or to swerve from, or to transgress against the doctrine of the Niggantha." Then I, not putting faith in this declaration of Sakka, the lord and prince of the devas, came quickly hither. Ah! now, beloved of the devas, thou hast *indeed* attained, (etc.), success,

(etc.) Now I see, O beloved of the devas, that thou hadst achieved (*and so forth*, down to) success. Now I ask pardon, O beloved of the devas; may the beloved of the devas pardon me; to pardon befits the beloved of the devas; I will never again be guilty of doing *wrong to thee*." So saying he fell at his feet, and joining the palms of his hands in a suppliant manner, he again and again asked pardon for his misconduct, and having obtained it, he returned to the place whence he had come.

114. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, proceeded with the practice of his standard *of an uvāsaga* (see § 70), saying that now he was free from all persecutions.

115. At that time and at that period the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvira (*and so forth*, down to) was staying there.

116. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa having been informed of this news, reflected thus : "Truly the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvira, (*as above*, down to), is staying here; so it is truly better for me to *go and* praise and worship the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvira, and returning thence to proceed with the practice of my posaha abstinences." Having thus reflected, he put on a fine state dress, adorned his person with a small number of costly jewels, and then, surrounded by a dense circle of attendant people, he came out of his own house. Having done so, he walked right through the midst of the town of Champā, and then proceeded to the Puṇṇabhadda cheīya, and (*acting in all respects like Sankha*, down to) stood waiting on the Samaṇa.

117. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvira, expounded the Law to Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, and to that *right great company which had come with him* (*as above*, § 11, down to *where it is said that*) the sermon was finished.

118. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvira, addressing Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, spoke to him thus : "Surely Kāmadeva, at the time of the midnight hour, a certain deva appeared before thee. Then that deva assumed the form of a huge celestial pisāya, and then furiously (etc., *as in* § 95) brandishing a large sword of dark blue luster (*and so forth*, *as above*, § 95), he spoke to

thee thus : “ “O ho, Kāmadeva (*as above*, § 95, down to) thou shalt be deprived of thy life.” ” Now thou, being thus spoken to by that deva, showedst no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remainedst *engaged in the meditation of the Law*. (Exactly in the same way, without any detailed description, the two other persecutions should also be repeated, down to *where it is said*, § 113, that the deva returned.) Surely, Kāmadeva, this account is correct?”

*Kāmadeva replied* : “yes, it is,”

119. Then turning to his venerable companions, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, addressed the many male and female Niggantha ascetics *who were with him*, and spoke to them thus : “Surely, Venerable Companions, if those servants of the Samaṇa, who are householders living in the midst of householders, bear (*and so forth*, down to) suffer with perfect composure persecutions proceeding from devas men and animals, then much more. Venerable Companions, must the Niggantha ascetics who are students of the sacred collection of the twelve Angas, are able to bear (*and so forth*, down to) suffer with perfect composure the persecutions proceeding from devas, men and animals.”

120. Then those many male and female Niggantha ascetics, saying “so it is,” reverently assented to that opinion of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra.

121. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, being happy and pleased (*and so forth*, down to) asked various questions of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra; accepted the replies given, and respectfully took leave of the Samaṇa, he blessed Mahāvīra; and having done so, he returned to the place whence he had come.

122. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, at some time or other, departed from Champā; and having done so, he abode elsewhere in a different country.

123. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa, engaged in conforming himself to the first standard of an uvāsaga.

124. Then that Kāmadeva, the servant of the Samaṇa having sanctified himself by many *exercises* (*and so forth*, as above, §§ 66 and 89), and having followed the profession of a servant of the Samaṇa for twenty years, and having

duly observed in his body the eleven standards of an uvāsaga, *now* mortified himself by *a course of* emaceration continued through one month, during which he deprived himself of sixty meals, remaining entirely without food. At the end of the month allotted for his death, having made confession of sins and promise of amendment, and being sunk in deep spiritual abstraction, he attained his death, and was re-born as a deva in the Aruṇābha abode, *situated* towards the north-east of the grand abode of the Sohamma paradise in the Sohamma heaven. There a certain class of devas is ordained to enjoy an existence through four paliovama periods. *There* Kāmadeva also is ordained to enjoy an existence through four paliovama periods.

125. *Then Goyama enquired of Mahāvīra* : “Reverend Sir, that Kāmadeva, on making his descent from that world of devas, after the termination of his allotted life, existence and period, — where will he go to, where will he be re-born?”

*Mahāvīra replied* : “O Goyama, in the Great Videha country he will attain perfection.”

[Taken from the translation of Uvāsagadasāsutta by A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1888]



## THE STORY OF SADDĀLAPUTTA VIS-À-VIS GOSĀLA MANKHALIPUTTA

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE

180. There was a town called Polāsapura. *Near it* there was the garden Sahassambavaṇa. Its king was Jiyasattū.

181. There in the town of Polāsapura, lived a potter, named Saddālaputta, *who was* a servant of the Ājīviya. He having heard and understood and questioned and ascertained and mastered the tenets of the Ājīviya, and being filled with a passionate love towards them as for the most excellent thing, was conducting himself according to the dictates of the Ājīviya tenets, believing those tenets to be the truth, the highest truth, and all the rest to be false.

182. That Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, possessed a treasure of one kroṇ measure of gold deposited in a safe place, a capital of one kroṇ measures of gold put out on interest, a well-stocked estate of the value of one kroṇ measures of gold, and one herd consisting of ten thousand head of cattle.

183. That Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, had a wife called Aggimittā.

184. That Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, possessed, outside of the town of Polāsapura, five hundred potter shops. There a large number of men who received food in lieu of wages, day by day, prepared a large number of bowls, pots, pans, and pitchers and jars of six different sizes; and another large number of men who also received food in lieu of wages, day by day, used to carry on a trade on the king's high road with that large number of bowls and (as above, down to) jars of various sizes.

185. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, at some time or other, at the time of the midday hour, went to where the little grove of Asoga trees was; and thence forth he lived in conformity with the law which he had received in the presence of Gosāla Mankhaliputta.

186. Then *one* day in the presence of Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, there appeared a certain deva.

187. Then that deva, standing in mid-air and decked out (*as above*, § 113, down to) with small bells, spoke thus to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya : "There will come here to-morrow, O beloved of the devas of the devas, a great Māhaṇa, who possesses fully formed knowledge and insight, who knows the past, present and future, who is an Arhat, a Jina, a Kevalin, who knows all and sees all, who is rapturously gazed at, adored and worshipped by the (*inhabitants of*) the three worlds, who, for the world of the good devas, men and asuras, is an object of worship, praise, honour, respect and service, as being something excellent, auspicious, divine and sacred, who is furnished with a wealth of meritorious works; him thou shouldst praise and (*as above*, § 9, down to) wait upon and hospitably invite to a standing provision of stool, plank and bedding." This he said to him for a second and a third time; and having done so, he returned to the place whence he had come.

188. Then to that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, when he was thus spoken to by that deva, there occurred the following inward (etc. *as in* § 66) reflection : "My teacher and instructor in the Law is Mankhaliputta; he must be the great Māhaṇa, who possesses fully formed knowledge and insight, and (*as above*, § 187, down to) who is endowed with a wealth of meritorious works; he will quickly come here to-morrow; then I will praise him and (*as above*, § 9, down to) wait on him and hospitably invite him to a standing provision" (and so forth, *as above*, § 187).

189. Then on the morrow (*as above*, § 66 down to) after sunrise, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, (*as above* § 9, down to) arrived on a visit; and a company of people went out and (*as above*, § 9, down to) stood waiting on him.

190. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, having been informed of this news, reflected thus : "Truly the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, (*as above* § 2, down to) is staying *here on a visit*; so I will go, and praise the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and (*as above* § 9, down to) wait on

him." Having thus reflected, he bathed (*as above* §10, down to), performed precautionary rites, put on a clean state dress, adorned his person with a small number of costly jewels; and then, surrounded by a dense circle of attendant people, he came out of this house. Having done so, he walked right through the midst of the town of Polāsapura, and then proceeded to where the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, was *staying* in the garden Sahassambavaṇa. Having arrived there, he solemnly circumambulated him three times from the left to the right; and having done so, he praised and worshipped him, and (*as above* § 10, down to) stood waiting on him.

191. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, *expounded the Law* to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, and to that right great company, *which had come out to hear him, (as above, § 117 down to where it is said that) the sermon was finished.*

192. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, addressing Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, spoke to him thus : "Surely, Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, spoke to him thus : "Surely, Saddālaputta, yesterday at the time of the midday hour, *having gone* to where the little grove of Asoga trees is, thou wast living (and so forth, *as in* § 185). Then there appeared a certain deva before thee. Then that deva, standing in mid-air, spoke thus : " "O ho, Saddālaputta," " (here everything is to be related exactly as before, §§ 187, 188, down to where it is said) " "I shall wait on him" ". Surely, Saddālaputta, this account is correct?"

*Saddālaputta, replied : Yes, it is."*

*Mahāvīra continued : "Truly Saddālaputta, this was not said by that deva with reference to Gisāla Mankhaliputta."*

193. Then to that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, on being thus spoken to by the Samaṇa the blessed Mahāvīra, there occurred the following inward (etc. *as in* § 66) *reflection* : "This Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is the great Māhaṇa who possesses fully formed knowledge and insight, and (*as above, § 187, down to*) who is furnished with a wealth of meritorious works. Truly, therefore, it is better for me, having praised and worshipped the Samaṇa,

the blessed Mahāvīra, to hospitably invite him to a standing provision of stool, plank *and bedding*." Having thus reflected, he instantly rose up, and then praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra; and having done so, he spoke to him thus : "Truly Reverend Sir, I possess, outside the town of Polāsapura, five hundred potter shops, There do you live in the enjoyment *from me* of a standing povision of stool, plank and bedding."

194. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, accepted that offer of Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, and lived in the five hundred potter shops of Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, in the enjoyment of a standing provision of stool, plank and bedding.

195. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, at some time or other, brought out his air-dried potter's ware from within his workshops; and having done so, he placed them in the heat of the sun.

196. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, spoke thus to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya : "Saddālaputta, this potter's ware, — *how is it made?*"

197. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, spoke thus to the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra : "This *ware* Reverend Sir, at the first is clay, after that it is kneaded with water, and then it is mixed well together with ashes dung. then it is placed on the wheel; and finally many bowls and (*as above*, § 184, down to) jars of various sizes are made."

198. Then the Samaṇa the blessed Mahāvīra, spoke thus to Suddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya : "Saddālaputta, this potter's ware, — is it made by dint of exertion and (*as above*, § 166, down to) manly strength; or on the other hand, is it made without exertion and (*as above*, § 166, down to) manly strength?"

199. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, spoke thus to the Samaṇa the blessed Mahāvīra : "Reverend Sir, *it is made* without exertion and (*as above*, § 166, down to) manly strength; *for* there is no *such thing as* exertion and (*as above*, § 166, down to) manly strength, *but* all things are unalterably fixed."

200. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, spoke thus to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya:

“Saddālaputta, if any one of thy men were to steal thy unbaked or baked potter’s ware, or scatter it about, or make holes in it, or let it drop into pieces, or place it outside *unguarded*, or if he were to indulge in outrageous familiarities with thy wife Aggimittlā, what punishment wouldst thou inflict on that man?”

*Saddālaputta replied* : “Reverend Sir, that man I should curse or beat or tie up or frighten or threaten or cuff or fine or bully, or even before his time deprive him of his life.”

*Mahāvīra continued* : “Saddālaputta, truly none of thy men can steal thy unbaked or baked potter’s ware or (*as above*, down to) place it outside *unguarded*, or indulge, in outrageous familiarities with thy wife Aggimittā; nor oughtest thou to curse that man or beat him or (*as above*, down to) even before his time deprive him of his life, if it is true that there is no such thing as exertion or (*as above*, § 166, down to) manly strength, and that all things are unalterably fixed. But I maintain, that any one of thy men can steal and (*as above*, down to) place outside *unguarded* thy unbaked, (*etc.*) potter’s ware, and that thou canst curse that man and (*as above*, down to) deprive him of his Life. Therefore, what thou sayest, that there is no such thing as exertion (*as above*, § 166, down to) manly strength, and that all things are unalterably fixed, that *saying* of thine is false.”

201. At this point, that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, became fully convinced of the truth of what Mahāvīra had said.

202. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra; and having done so, he spoke to him thus : “I desire, Reverend Sir, in your presenece to hear the Law.”

203. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, expounded the Law to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa and to that *right great company* (and so forth as in § 11).

204. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Ājīviya, having listened and attended to the Law in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and being happy and pleased (*as above*, § 11, down to) in his heart, took on himself the law of a householder. (He did this, like Āṇanda;

only that he limited himself to a treasure of one kroṣ measures of gold deposited in a safe place, a capital of one kroṣ measures of gold put out on interest, a well-stocked estate of the value of one kroṣ measures of gold, and one herd consisting of ten thousand head of cattle; *all this should be related, as in §§ 13-58, down to where it is said that*) he praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra; and having done so, he returned, to where the town of Polāsapura was. Having returned, and walking right through the midst of the town of Polāsapura, he came to where his wife Aggimittā was in his house; and having done so, he spoke thus to his wife Aggimittā : “Truly, O beloved of the devas, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra (as above § 9 down to) has arrived on a visit; so now do thou go and praise and (as above, § 9, down to) wait on the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and in his presence take on thyself the twelvefold law of a householder which consists of the five lesser vows and the seven disciplinary vows.”

205. Then that wife of his, Aggimittā, saying “so be it,” respectfully accepted that direction of Saddālaputta, *who was now a servant of the Samaṇa.*

206. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, called his domestic servants; and having done so, he spoke to *them* thus : “Be quick, O beloved of the devas, and let the state vehicle be yoked by skiful men, with a pair of excellent young bulls, matching each other in hoofs, tails and symmetrically marked horns, adorned with neck-ropes set with golden tassels, controlled with a bridle attached to their head-ropes of cotton thread intertwined with gold and provided with silver bells, and hung with garlands made of blue lotuses; and having been thus yoked, let it be brought here, hung round with a network of golden bells and various kinds of jewels, provided with a suitable, straight, excellent, well made and well fixed pole of good wood and *altogether* furnished with an excellent equipment. When this is done, bring back word to me that my order is carried out.”

207. Then those domestic servants (as above, § 206, down to) brought back word that his order was carried out.

208. Then that wife of his, Aggimittā, having bathed (as above, §10, down to), performed precautionary rites, put on a clean state dress, and adorned her person with a small number of costly jewels, proceeded, surrounded by a circle of maid-servants, to ascend the state vehicle; and having done so, she drove out of the town of Polāsapura, passing right the through the midst of it, and went to where the Sahassamavaṇa garden was. Having arrived there, she descended from the state vehicle, and then, still surrounded by the circle of her maid-servants, she advanced to where the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, was *staying*. Having done so, she *circumambulated him* three times and praised and worshipped him; and then remaining at a distance, not too near nor too far from him, (*and so forth, down to*) joining the palms of her hands in a suppliant manner, she stood devoutly waiting on him.

209. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, preached the Law to Aggimittā and to that *right great company* (and so forth, *as in* § 11).

210. Then that wife of his, Aggimittā, having listened and attended to the Law, in the presence of the Samaṇa the blessed Mahāvīra, being *now* happy and pleased, praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra; and having done so, she spoke to him thus : "I believe, Reverend Sir, the Niggantha doctrine (*as above, § 12, down to*) it is so as you have declared it. Still though, *admitting this*, many people of the Ugga and Bhoga (and other) castes have in your presence, O beloved of the devas, (*as above, § 12, down to*) entered *into the monastic state*, yet I cannot do the same, and, in your presence, O beloved of the devas, submitting to the tonsure, (*as above, §12; down to*) *enter the monastic state*. But I will, in your presence, O beloved of the devas, take on myself the twelvefold law of a householder, which consists of the five lesser vows and the seven disciplinary vows. May it so please you, O beloved of the devas; do not deny me!"

211. Then that wife of his, Aggimittā, in the presence of the Samaṇa the blessed Mahāvīra, took on herself the twelvefold law of a Sāvaga, consisting of the five lesser vows and the seven disciplinary vows; and having done so, she praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed

Mahāvīra; and then she ascended *again* that state vehicle; and having done so, she returned to the place whence she had come.

212. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, at some time or other, departed from the Sahassambavaṇa *garden* and *the town of* Polāsapura; and having done so, he abode elsewhere in a different country.

213. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, devoted himself to mastering *the discrimination* of the living and lifeless (and so forth, *as in* § 64).

214. Then that Gosāla Mankhaliputta, having been informed of this news, reflected thus : “Truly, Saddālaputta, having eschewed the tenets of the Ājīviyas, has adopted the views of the Nigganthas. So I will go, and having made Saddālaputta, *who used to be* a servant of the Ājīviya, to eschew the views of the Niggantha ascetics, I will make him adopt once more the views of the Ājīviyas.” Having thus reflected, he proceeded, surrounded by a company of his Ājīviya, to where the place of assembly of the Ājīviyas was in the town of Polāsapura. Having arrived there, he deposited his begging bowl, and then proceeded with some of his Ājīviyas to where Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, was *staying*.

215. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, observed Gosāla Mankhaliputta, as he was approaching; and having done so, he neither honoured him nor *even* acknowledge him, but without honouring or acknowledging him, he remained sitting silently.

216. Then that Gosāla Mankhaliputta, on being neither honoured nor *even* acknowledged by Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, began, with the object of obtaining *the usual provision of* a stool, plank and bedding, to tell the praises of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and spoke thus to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa : “A great Māhaṇa, O beloved of the devas, has arrived here.”

217. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, spoke thus to Gosāla Mankhaliputta : “Who is that great Māhaṇa, O beloved of the devas?”

218. Then that Gosāla Mankhaliputta spoke thus to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa : “The Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is the great Māhaṇa.”



*Saddālaputta enquired* : "For what reason, O beloved of the devas, do you say that the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra is a great Māhaṇa?"

*Gosāla replied* : "Truly, Saddālaputta, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is a great Māhaṇa, who possesses fully formed knowledge and insight, (*as above*, § 187, down to) adored and worshipped *by the three worlds*, and (*as above*, § 187, down to) who is furnished with a wealth of meritorious works. So, for this reason, O beloved of the devas, I say that the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is a great Māhaṇa. Yea, beloved of the devas, a great Guardian. has arrived."

*Saddālaputta enquired* : "Who is that great Guardian, O beloved of the devas."

*Gosāla replied* : "The Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is the great Guardian."

*Saddālaputta again enquired* : "For what reason, O beloved of the devas, (*as above*, down to) the great Guardian?"

*Gosāla replied* : Truly, O beloved of the devas, the Samaṇa the blessed Mahāvīra, protects and guards, with his staff of the Law, all the numerous living beings that, in the wilderness of the world, are straying or perishing, being devoured or cut asunder or pierced through or mutilated or castrated, and with his own hand brings them to the great fold of the Nirvāṇa. It is for this reason, Saddālaputta, that I say, that the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is the great Guardian. Yes, O beloved of the devas, a great Guide has arrived."

*Saddālaputta enquired* : "Who, O beloved of the devas, is that great Guide?"

*Gosāla replied* : "Saddālaputta, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is the great Guide."

*Saddālaputta again enquired* : "For what reason?"

*Gosāla replied* : "Truly, O beloved of the devas, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, keeps safely on the path of the Law all those numerous living beings, that, in the wilderness of the world, are straying or perishing (*as above*, down to) being castrated, and with his own hand brings them straight to the great city of the Nirvāṇa. It is for this reason, Saddālaputta, that I say that the Samaṇa, the

blessed Mahāvīra, is a great Guide. Yea, O beloved of the devas, a great Preacher has arrived here."

*Saddālaputta enquired* : "Who is that great Preacher, O beloved of the devas.?"

*Gosāla replied* : "The Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is the great Preacher."

*Saddālaputta again enquired* : "For what reason is the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, a great Preacher?"

*Gosāla replied* : "Truly, O beloved of the devas, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, by means of many theses and (as above, §174, down to) explanations, with his own hand delivers from the vast wilderness of the world all those numerous living beings that, in this right great world, are straying or perishing, because, overwhelmed by the power of falsehood and overcast by the dense darkness of the eightfold kinds of works. they have lost the true path and got on to a wrong road. It is for this reason, O beloved of the devas, Preacher. Yea, O beloved of the devas, a great Pilot has arrived here."

*Saddālaputta enquired* : "Who is that great Pilot, O beloved of the devas?"

*Gosāla replied* : "The Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is the great Pilot."

*Saddālaputta again enquired* : "For what reason?"

*Gosāla replied* : "Truly, O beloved of the devas, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, by means of his boat of the Law, with his own hands brings straight to the shore of the Nirvāṇa all those numerous living beings that, on the great sea of the world, are straying or perishing by sinking or drowning or floating. It is for this reason, O beloved of the devas, that I say that the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, is a great Pilot."

219. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, spoke thus to Gosāla Mankhaliputta : "You, O beloved of the devas, that are so clever, so penetrating, so sagacious, so well instructed and so full of knowledge, are you able to hold a disputation with my teacher and instructor in the Law, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra?"

*Gosāla replied* : "No, indeed, I am not."

*Saddālaputta again enquired* : "For what reason, O beloved of the devas, do you say that you are not able to

hold a disputation with my teacher in the Law, (*as above, down to*) Mahāvīra?"

Gosāla replied : "Saddālaputta, any man, whatsoever his name, whether he be in his youth or in full manhood, (*and so forth, down to*) if he is experienced in the subtle arts, can prevent a goat or sheep or pig or cock or black partridge or grey quail or bush-quail or pigeon or grey partridge or crow or hawk, from moving or stirring with its hands or feet or hoofs or tail feathers or horns or tusks or hair, wherever he may catch hold of it. In like manner, the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, can refute my theories by means of many theses, arguments (*as above, § 174, down to*) explanations wherever he gets hold of me. It is for this reason, Saddālaputta, that I say that I am not able to hold a disputation with thy teacher in the Law (*as above, § 73, down to*) Mahāvīra."

220. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, spoke thus to Gosāla Mankhaliputta: "Since you have told, O beloved of the devas, the praises of my teacher in the Law (*as above, § 73, down to*) Mahāvīra, regarding things that are true, real, genuine and actual, therefore I now hospitably invite you to a standing provision of stool, plank and bedding. But *do not think that* it is an act of duty or of penance. So you may go now into my potter shops and live there in the enjoyment of a standing provision of stool, plank and bedding."

221. Then that Gosāla Mankhaliputta, accepted this offer of Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa; and having done so, he lived in the potter shops in the, enjoyment of a standing provision of stool, plank and bedding.

222. Then that Gosāla Mankhaliputta, seeing that he was not able, in spite of much talking, explaining, persuading and ingratiating; to cause Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, to depart from, or to swerve from, or to transgress against the doctrine of the Niggantha, and being now weary, tired and disappointed *with his efforts*, departed from the town of Polāsapura; and having done so, he abode elsewhere in a different country.

223. Then fourteen years passed by, during which that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, sanctified himself by many exercises in the moral restraints (and so forth, as in § 66); and when he was in the middle of the fifteenth year, at the time of the midnight hour (as before, §§ 66–69, down to where it is said that) in his posaha-house, he lived in conformity with the teachings of the Law which he had received in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra.

224. Then *one day* in the presence of that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, at the time of the midnight hour, there appeared a certain deva.

225. Then that deva, brandishing a large sword of dark blue lustre (and so forth, as in § 95), spoke thus to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa. (*Here it should be related, how the deva inflicted on him exactly the same persecutions as on Chulanīpiyā; only that he cut up each of his sons into nine lumps of flesh; and so forth, as in §§ 129–134, down to where it is said that*) he slew his youngest son; and having done so, he bespattered his body with his flesh and his blood.

226. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (as above, § 96, down to) remained engaged in the meditation of the Law.

227. Then that deva, observing that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa, showed no fear (and so forth, as in § 96), spoke thus for the fourth time to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samaṇa: “O ho, Saddālaputta, thou servant of the Samaṇa, who desirest what no one desires (as before, § 95, down to) if thou doest not interrupt thy practice of the virtues, then I shall this day carry forth out of thy house that wife of thine, Aggimittā, who is well affected towards the Law, fully conversant with it, and passionately devoted to it, and who patiently bears *both* pleasure and pain; and having done so, I shall slay her before thy eyes, and then cut her up into nine lumps of flesh, and then boil her in a cauldron full of a liquid; and having done so, I shall be-spatter thy body with her flesh and her blood, so that agonized (as above, § 95, down to) thou shalt be deprived of thy life.”

228. Then that Saddālaputta, the servant of the

Samana, being thus spoken to by that deva, showed no fear (*as above*, § 96, down to) remained *engaged in the meditation of the Law*.

229. Then that deva, for a second and a third time, spoke thus to Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samana : “O ho, Saddālaputta thou servant of the Samana,” (here he spoke exactly as before, *in* § 227).

230. Then to that Saddālaputta, the servant of the Samana, being thus spoken to by that deva for the second and the third time, there occurred the following inward, (etc., *as in* § 66) reflection: (here he bethought himself, exactly as Chulaṇīpiya, in § 138) “that he carries forth my eldest son, and my second son, and my youngest son (and so forth, down to) bespatters *my body*; and now this wife of mine, Aggimittā, who patiently bears both pleasure and pain, even her too he wants to carry forth out of my house and slay *her* before my eyes. So then, surely, it is better for me to catch that fellow.” Thus reflecting, he rose up. (Here everything is to be related exactly as in the case of (Chulaṇīpiyā, *in* §§ 138–142; only that his wife Aggimittā, hearing the uproar, spoke to him; the remainder *again* is to be related as in the case of Chulaṇīpiyā; only that) he was reborn *as a deva* in the Aruṇabhūya abode (*and so forth, as in* §§ 89, 90, 144, down to) he will obtain perfection (etc.) in the Great Videha country.

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## THE STORY OF PADMA (RĀMA)

MAURICE WINTERNITZ

4. It was in the days when King Seṇiya, *i.e.*, Śreṇika Bimbisāra, reigned in the Magadha city of Rājapura. Now in the city of Kuṇḍagrāma the Jina Mahāvīra was born as the son of Prince Siddhārtha and his consort Triśalā; at the age of 30 years he left his home, and attained to perfect knowledge. Once Mahāvīra preached a sermon upon souls and transmigration, on the Vipula hill in the presence of gods, men and animals. Among those present was king Seṇiya. When the latter had returned home, he dreamed about the Jina, and the next morning he made the following reflection :

"How is it possible that the demon heroes in all their mighty strength were defeated by monkeys? And the demons with Rāvaṇa at their head, who, according to the Jaina faith, were certainly of noble descent, are said to have eaten meat! Then again it is said that, in spite of all the disturbances, Rāvaṇa's brother Kumbhakarna slept for half a year, and then after his awakening, devoured elephants, etc., whereupon he again slumbered for half a year. Then again Indra, though he rules over gods and men, is said to have been taken captive to Laṅkā by Rāvaṇa! At that rate we might as well affirm that the lion is overcome by the gazelle, the elephant by the dog. These Rāmāyaṇa stories are most certainly lies."<sup>1</sup>

In order to obtain enlightenment on these matters, the king with his retinue repairs to Goyama, and requests him to instruct him correctly regarding the life of Padma, as it seemed to him that the absurdities which are related regarding Rāma, Rāvaṇa and others, were not worthy of

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1. After *Leumann's* rendering of II, 99-119. In the following extracts, too, for the portions given in quotation marks Professor *Leumann's* German translation has been freely used.

belief. Goyama declares his willingness to impart to the king that which Mahāvīra himself proclaimed, for "that which bad poets relate about Rāvaṇa, is indeed lies, I shall instruct you first as to place and time, and then as to the lives of the great men" (III, 14-17).

The narrative begins (III, 18) as in a Purāṇa,<sup>2</sup> with a description of the universe and the history of Ṛṣabha, the first Jina, who lived in the Kṛta age, when there were only three castes, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras. The origin of the Vidyādharas, "holders of spells," a kind of demigods, is related (III, 144 ff.; cf V, 13 ff.), also the origin of the Brahmins (IV, 64 ff.), of the Ikṣvāku dynasty and the dynasty of the moon (V. 1 ff.). Then comes the history of the second Jina with all manner of preliminary stories (V, 48 ff.).

The story of the "race of monkeys" is told in Canto VI. On the monkey island there is the city of Kiṣkindhāpura. The "monkeys" are in reality a race of Vidyādharas, which is so-called, because it has monkeys by way of a badge on the arches of gates, banners, and the like. Canto VII treats of Indra, of the guardians of the universe Soma, Varuṇa, Kubera and Yama, the Asuras, Yakṣas etc., Vaiśramaṇa (who is distinct from Kubera) and the birth of Rāvaṇa, his sister Candramukhā and his brothers Bhānukaṛṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa. Rāvaṇa and his brothers acquire enormous magic powers by virtue of asceticism. The Rākṣasas, whose prince Rāvaṇa is, are not man-eating demons, however, but adherents of the race of the Vidyādharas. Rāvaṇa's mother hangs around his neck a wondrous string of pearls, in which his face is reflected nine times, hence his epithet of Daśamukha, "the man with ten faces" (VII, 95 f.).<sup>3</sup> The

2. The work calls itself a "Purāṇa" in the Introduction (I, 32) and at the end (CXVIII, 111).

3. This is obviously a realistic explanation of the epithet of Rāvaṇa, who in Rāmāyaṇa, III, 9 f., is a ten-headed monster, and is therefore called Daśagrīva. See Chintāharan *Chakravarti* in Ind. Hist. Qu. 1, 1925, 779 ff. G. Ramadas (Ind. Hist. Qu. 5, 1929, 281 ff.) has shown that in many passages in the Rāmāyaṇa Rāvaṇa has only one head and one face. The interpretation of the "monkeys" as Vidyādharas with monkeys on their banner, is also realistic.

succeeding cantos tell of all manner of heroic deeds of Rāvaṇa. This Rāvaṇa is a great devotee of the Jinas; he restores ruined Jina shrines, and establishes the Jina faith (XI, 1 ff.).

In Canto XI Goyama replies to the king's question as to how the sacrifice of animals originated. A Brahmin had a son Parvata and a pupil Nārada. Owing to blameworthy ascetic practices, Parvata was born again as a Rākṣasa, and in the guise of a Brahmin he introduced animal sacrifices. Nārada, however, who is a pious Jaina, declares that these sacrificial acts should be interpreted in the spiritual sense : "The sacrificial animals which are to be killed, are the passions, the sacrificial fee which is to be paid, is truth, forbearance and non-violence, the blessing (to be expected) is (not heaven, but) Nirvāṇa; those, however, who really slaughter sacrificial animals, go to hell like hunters." (XI, 75-81).

Cantos XII and XIII tell of a fight between Rāvaṇa and the god Indra. Indra is defeated and is brought in triumph to Laṅkā, but is then released. The reason for his humiliation is that in a previous incarnation he had molested a monk. Indra places his son on the throne, becomes a monk, and attains to bliss. Rāvaṇa visits shrines on the Meru hill, where the gods are just paying homage to Anantavīrya, who has attained to perfect knowledge, and he hears the sermon of the latter upon Karman, generosity, the duties of monks and the duties of laymen (XIV). This sermon is also responsible for the conversion of Hanumant, whose descent and whose fights as the ally of Rāvaṇa, are related in Cantos XV and XIX. Through Rāvaṇa Hanumant receives a thousand wives. Canto XX treats of the Jinas, the rulers of the world, the Baladevas and the Vasudevas. It is not until Canto XXI that King Janaka is mentioned, and the story of Daśaratha and the actual Rāma epic begins : it is only in its main features that this story agrees with Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa : as regards the details there are many divergences.

Daśaratha is presented by each of his wives Aparājītā and Sumitrā with a son, whose birth has been announced



by three lucky dreams. The first is named Padma,<sup>4</sup> and the second Lakṣmaṇa : his sons Bharata and Śatrughna are born to him by Kaikeyī (XXV, 1-13).

Whereas the heroes of the Rāmāyaṇa move in an entirely Brahmanical atmosphere, in the Paūma-Cariya the religion of the Jina is everywhere very much to the fore. The kings are generally pious laymen, who retire from the world in their old age, and become Jaina monks. As in all narrative poems of the Jainas, the preliminary stories, i.e., the stories of the previous existences of the heroes, are told with a great wealth of detail. Daśaratha takes up the reins of government, because his elder brother Anantaratha has become a monk (XXII, 100-105). A festival in the Jaina temple is described (XXIX, 1-18) at which King Daśaratha with his sons performs the ablution of the Jina images, and after an eight days' fast worships the Jinas. After the ablution he sends the water to his wives, and the young women, the daughters-in-law, pour it over the heads of their mothers-in-law. Now the principal wife did not receive the water which was intended for her, and feels herself slighted, so that she wishes to hang herself. The king, however, surprises her. While she is explaining things to him, the chamberlain comes with the water, and pours it over her head, whereupon she calms down. But the king reproaches the chamberlain with his thoughtlessness, whereupon the latter excuses himself on the ground of old age :

"The body goes slowly like an old cart,  
The eyes are short-sighted like bad friends,  
The ears are deaf like bad sons,  
The teeth have fallen out like spokes out of the wheel,  
The hands find it difficult to grasp, like elephants taking a bite,  
The legs are unreliable like bad women;  
Only the crutch is like the beloved of the heart."  
These words are a warning for the king, intimating that he, too, is ripe to say farewell to worldly things.

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4. It is noteworthy that it is only Rāma who has received another name, whilst the other namos remain unchanged.

There are, however, also many divergences in the epic, which have no connection with the Jaina faith. Sītā does not come forth out of the earth, as in the Rāmāyaṇa, but is born in a natural way by Videhā, the wife of King Janaka. Sītā is betrothed by Janaka to Padma (Rāma) because the latter has aided him in the fight against the Mlecchas of Ardhabarbara (the land of the semi-barbarians) and has distinguished himself. The story of the bending of the bow is told differently. The bow is brought by the Vidyādhara, who insist upon Sītā's being given in marriage to the Vidyādhara prince Candragati; but at the self-choice of a husband arranged by Janaka, Rāma is the only man who succeeds in bending the bow.

Daśaratha wishes to become a monk and to entrust Padma-Rāma with the responsibility of governing. Bharata, too, desires to withdraw from the world, but is persuaded by Kaikeyī and Padma to take over the reins of government. He makes a vow, however, in the presence of the Jaina monk Dyuti, to renounce the world as soon as Padma returns home, and he governs as a pious Jaina layman, without giving himself up to pleasure. The main story—the stealing of Sītā, the sending of Hanumant, the fights with Rāvaṇa and his defeat, the bringing home of Sītā, the discontent of the people, the banishment of Sītā, and the lamentations of Padma, the birth of Kuśa and Lava—is ever and again interrupted by incidental stories (upākhyāna). Finally Padma attains to perfect knowledge, and enters Nirvāṇa)

[This is taken from M. Winternitz's  
*History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1933]

## THE STORY OF JIVANDHARA

MAURICE WINTERNTY

Queen Vijayā, the consort of King Satyandhara of Rājapura, is warned in dreams that she is about to be visited by both joy and sorrow. Soon afterwards a being from the heavenly world of the gods descends into the womb of the queen, "just as a beautiful flamingo would descend upon a pleasant lake covered with autumnal lotus-flowers." Soon after this, the king is bereft of his throne, and killed by his treacherous minister Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka.<sup>1</sup> The queen, protected by a friendly female elf (Yakṣī) gives birth to a son on a cremation-ground, "as the sky brings forth the moon." The Yakṣī, who places jewel-lamps (*i.e.*, shining jewels used as lamps) around the newly-born child (to protect it from evil demons) consoles the queen in her grief with a speech on the transitoriness of all things and the destinies brought about by deeds in former births. The merchant Gandhotkaṭa, to whom it had been prophesied by an ascetic that he will have a long-lived son if he exposed his newly-born child, who would die just after birth, comes along, and hears the voice of the boy born by Vijayā. He exclaims "Jīva, jīva" ("live, live") for which reason the boy receives the name Jivandhara.<sup>2</sup> When the queen recognised Gandhotkaṭa, she entrusted her child to him, begging him to take care of the boy. The merchant takes the child to his wife Nandā, who considers it as her own. Vijayā was taken by the Yakṣī to a hermitage of ascetics, and lived there in secret, consoled by the Yakṣī

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1. *I.e.* "charcoal-burner", probably as allusion to the man's former occupation.
  2. After E. Hultzs, The Story of Jivandhara, in Quarterly of the Mythic Society 12, 1922, 317-348. The text of this Jivandhara-Caritra is edited by T.S. Kuppusvami Śāstrī, Tanjore 1907 (Sarasvativilasa Series 11).

with stories and pious instructions concerning the religion of the Jina. Two younger wives of King Satyandhara, and the wives of the four most faithful followers of the king, also bear sons, who are all brought up together by Gandhotkaṭa, and Nandā also bears another son Nandādhyā, who grows up with the seven boys. As he advances in years, Jivandhara evinces exceptional wisdom. For instance he weeps, as children do, because his food was too hot. When the ascetic who is present, admonishes him, telling him that a sensible child should not weep, the boy replies, asking him whether he is not aware that weeping has the following advantages : The mucus collected in the body flows out, the eyes become clear, and the food becomes thoroughly cooled. The ascetic, who had formerly been a king, becomes the teacher of Jivandhara and the other boys.

In consequence of his good deeds in previous incarnations, Jivandhara after he has attained to manhood, wins eight beautiful women as his wives one after another. The Vidyādhara prince Garuḍavega wishes to marry his charming daughter Gandharvadattā, a pious devotee of the Jinas. He arranges a self-choice. The princess appears in the hall which has been erected for this purpose, with a lute, on which she plays beautifully, accompanying the music by song. Jivandhara steps into the hall to take part in a musical contest. However, he returns as being unsuitable the lutes which are handed to him, and asks whether he may have the princess's lute. She hands it to him, and he now plays and sings far more beautifully, whereupon she hands him the wreath and selects him as her husband.

Jivandhara gives further proof of exceptional wisdom and bravery. He decides the quarrel between two maidens, Suramañjarī and Guṇamālā as to the goodness of their perfumes, by scattering the powders, whereupon it is seen that the bees swarm to the more sweetly scented powder that of Suramañjarī. He also tames a furious elephant. On this occasion Suramañjarī falls in love with the prince, and he accepts her as his second wife. He rescues a dog, which is being persecuted by bad boys, from its tormentors. The dog remembers its former incarnation, and transform

itself into a Yakṣa, who thenceforth becomes a faithful friend to the prince; he also gives him a ring, by the aid of which he can assume any kind of form he desires. Padmottamā, the daughter of King Dharmapat is bitten by a poisonous snake. The king promises his daughter to the man who will cure her of the snake's poison. Jivandhara alone is able to do this with the help of his Yakṣa friend, and he wins this princess, too, as his wife. A few days later he comes to a lovely grove, where he worships in a Jaina temple. All of a sudden a Campaka tree begins to burst forth in red blossoms, the cuckoos begin to sing charmingly, the pond by the temple fills itself with limpid water, the water-lilies open, bees approach in swarms, and the doors of the Jaina temple fly open of their own accord. Now it had been prophesied that the merchant Subhadra should give his daughter Kṣemasundarī in marriage to the man at whose coming all these miracles should take place. So Kṣemasundarī, too, became the wife of Jivandhara. He wins a fifth wife, Hemābhā, owing to his skill in archery. Princess Śricandrā observes a pair of doves enjoying themselves and falls into a swoon, for she remembers that she had been a dove in a previous existence and had lost her husband. After a long search, and with the assistance of Jivandhara, the former husband of the princess is found in the person of Nandādhyā, Jivandhara's half-brother, who is again married to her. Jivandhara stays away from his family for 16 years, because in a former birth he had separated the young one of a flamingo from its parents for 16 months. At last comes the reunion with his mother, which is described very touchingly. She enlightens him regarding the fact that he is the son of King Satyandhara who was killed, and asks him to seize the reins of government. He promises to do this when the right moment shall have come.

By the aid of his magic ring he comes to Rājapura as a merchant. There the merchant Sagaradatta gives him his daughter in marriage, as he was her destined husband according to prophesy on the part of the astrologers. Disguised as an old and wandering Brahman ascetic, he comes one day into the audience hall of Kāṣṭhāṅgaraka and is entertained by him. After leaving the hall, he offers

the princes a powder which has the power to make people docile to one's wishes. The princes laugh, and say he should make the maiden Guṇamālā, who has become a man-hater since Jivandhara declared her perfume to be inferior, docile. He boasts that he will win Guṇamālā. He goes to her and announces his arrival. She asks : "Whence have you come, and whither are you going"? He replies : "I have come afterwards, I shall go again before." As the waiting-maids laugh at this reply, he says : "Do not laugh, old age brings perversity in its train; will this not be your lot also?" Guṇamālā asks again : "Whither are you going?" He answers : "I shall go so long, until I reach a worthy maiden." When she heard this, she said jokingly : "He is old in body and in years, but not in his heart," gave him a place of honour, ate with him and said : "Now go quickly where you want to go." He praised her, and said : "You have said well, my dear one," rose with an effort, supported by his stick, and sat down upon her couch, as if she had said that he was to do this. When the waiting-maids saw this, they exclaimed : "Just see this impertinence !" and were about to drive him away. But Guṇamālā has a feeling that this is no ordinary Brahman, and restrains the maids, saying : "What harm is there ? The Brahman is my guest, let him stay here." At the end of the night he sang sweet melodies, which reminded Guṇamālā of Jivandhara's singing at Gandharvadattā's self-choice. Finally he discloses his identity, and receives Guṇamālā as a wife from her parents. The merchant Gandhotkaṭa arranges a feast.

Soon after this Jivandhara wins Ratnavatī, the daughter of King Videha, as his eighth wife, this time again through his skill in drawing the bow. Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka and other persons of evil intent, try to carry away his wife in a fight. Jivandhara notices this, reveals his identity to the former vassals of Satyandhara as the son of the old king, fights with them against Kāṣṭhāṅgāraka, defeats his army and cuts off his head. After he has duly worshipped the Jinas, he is anointed king, celebrates his marriage with Ratnavatī, crowns Gandharvadattā as first queen, and lives happily as a good sovereign with his mother, his wives and friends, enjoying the reward of his former good deeds. One day he

meets a Jaina monk, and takes the monastic vow upon himself. His brothers do likewise. While he is living with them in the forest, he notices a herd of monkeys fighting furiously among themselves, and he is filled with disgust at the world. After a meeting with Mahāvira, he renounces his kingdom in favour of Prince Vasundhara, son of Gandharvadattā, and becomes a monk. His companions do the same, whereupon his mother and his eight wives become nuns.

[This is taken from M. Winternitz's  
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# STORIES AND ANECDOTES FROM JAIN LITERATURE

COMPILED BY SATYA RANJAN BANERJEE

## I

### MAHĀVĪRA'S SERMONS ON NON-KILLING

*In the Ācārāṅga-sūtra Mahāvīra's sermons consist mainly of exhortations and warnings, e.g., the warning against any kind of killing or injury of living creatures, for instance.*

"I speak thus. All Saints (Arhats) and Lords (Bhagavats) in the past, in the present and in the future, they all say thus, speak thus, announce thus and declare thus : One may not kill, nor ill-use, nor insult, nor torment, nor persecute any kind of living being, any kind of creature, any kind of thing having a soul, any kind of beings. That is the pure, eternal, enduring commandment of religion, which has been proclaimed by the sages who comprehend the world."

"You yourself are the (being) which you intend to kill; you yourself are the (being) which you intend to ill-use; you yourself are the (being) which you intend to insult; you yourself are the (being) which you intend to torment; you yourself are the (being) which you intend to persecute.<sup>1</sup> Therefore the righteous one, who has awakened to this knowledge, and lives according to it, will neither kill nor cause to kill."<sup>2</sup>

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1. The intended meaning is : The consequences of the action return to yourself.
  2. I, 4, 11; 5, 5, 4. This kind of repetition and accumulation of synonymous or almost synonymous expressions is just as popular in the Jinistic sermons as in the Buddhist ones.



## II

## THE ASCETIC LIFE OF THE GREAT HERO

*The Ascetic Life of the "Great Hero" from the Ācārāṅga:*

He wandered naked and homeless. People struck him and mocked at him—unconcerned, he continued in his meditations. In Lāḍha the inhabitants persecuted him and set the dogs on him. They beat him with sticks and with their fists, and threw fruits, clods of earth and potsherds at him. They disturbed him in his meditations by all sorts of torments. But "like a hero in the forefront of the battle," Mahāvira withstood it all. Whether he was wounded or not, he never sought medical aid. He took no kind of medicaments, he never washed, did not bathe and never cleaned his teeth. In winter he meditated in the shade, in the heat of summer he seated himself in the scorching sun. Often he drank no water for months. Sometimes he took only every sixth, eighth, tenth or twelfth meal, and pursued his meditations without craving.

## III

## THE MISERABLE PLIGHT OF MEN

*In the Sūtrakṛtāṅga the miserable plight of men is said:*

"It is not myself alone who suffers, all creatures in the world suffer; this a wise man should consider, and he should patiently bear (such calamities) as befall him, without giving way to his passions."<sup>3</sup>

"And then they make him do what they like, even as a wheelwright gradually turns the felly of a wheel. As an antelope caught in a snare, so he does not get out of it, however he struggles.

"Afterwards he will feel remorse like one who has drunk milk mixed with poison; considering the consequences a worthy monk should have no intercourse with women."...

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3. I, 2, 1, 13, translated by Jacobi in SBE, Vol. 45, p. 251.

...“Now hear the pleasures of Śramaṇas which some monks enjoy.

“When a monk breaks the law, dotes (on a woman), and is absorbed by that passion, she afterwards scolds him, lifts her foot, and tramples on his head.”...

“But when they have captured him, they send him on all sorts of errands : ‘Look (for the bodkin to) carve the bottle-gourd, fetch some nice fruit.

‘(Bring) wood to cook the vegetables, or that we may light a fire at night; paint my feet, come and meanwhile rub my back!...

‘Reach me the lip-salve, fetch the umbrella and slippers, the knife to cut the string, have my robe dyed bluish!...

‘Fetch me the pincers, the comb, the ribbon to bind up the hair, reach me the looking-glass, put the tooth-brush near me”...

...“Pregnant women order their husbands about like slaves to fulfil their craving.

“When a son, the reward (of their wedded life), is born, (the mother bids the father) to hold the baby, or to give it to her. Thus some supporters of their sons have to carry burdens like camels.

“Getting up in the night they lull the baby asleep like nurses; and though they are ashamed of themselves, they wash the clothes like washermen”<sup>4</sup>

#### IV

##### MAHĀVĪRA'S MEETING WITH HIS MOTHER

*In the Bhagavati-sūtra Mahāvīra's meeting with his mother is described thus :*

(The Brahman Usabhadatta and his wife Devāṇandā went on pilgrimage to Mahāvīra) “Then milk began to flow from the breast of the Brahman woman Devāṇandā, her eyes filled with tears, her arms swelled beside her bangles, her jacket stretched, the hairs of her body stood erect, as

4. I, 4, 1, 9 f.; 2, 1 ff., translated by Jacobi in SBE, Vol. 45, pp. 272 f., 275 ff.

when a Kadamba unfolds itself in response to a shower of rain; thus she gazed at the holy monk Mahāvīra without averting her eyes. "Why, Master," said the venerable Goyama to the holy monk Mahāvīra, "does the Brahman woman Devāṇandā gaze...(thus)...without averting her eyes?" "Hear, Goyama," said Mahāvīra, "the Brahman woman Devāṇandā is my mother, I am the son of the Brahman woman Devāṇandā. That is why the Brahman woman Devāṇandā gazes at me with tender love, the cause of which is that I first originated in her." (It is then related how Devāṇandā was received into the Order by Mahāvīra himself.)

## V

### ABOUT SAMŚĀRA AND KARMA

*About Saṃsāra ānd Karma from the Bhagavatī :*

"As each mesh in a piece of netting, which is set in a row of meshes, without a gap, occupying a regular and co-ordinated position in contact with the other meshes, reacts on the next mesh in regard to heaviness, drag, full-weight and closeness, even so in every single soul in many thousands of reincarnations, each one of many thousands of forms of life reacts in regard to heaviness, drag, full-weight and closeness on the life next to it" (5, 3).

"This soul of yours, Goyama, has already been incarnated as a mother, father, brother, sister, wife, son, daughter and daughter-in-law, as a foe, adversary, murderer, injurer and opponent, as a prince, royal heir, governor, mayor, magistrate, millionaire, master of guild, commander and merchant,—as a slave, messenger, servant, serf, pupil and domestic, in relation to all souls, and all souls have already been incarnated...(as the same)...in relation to your soul, and that more than once or an endless number of times" (12, 7).

"Just as if a man should eat food which tastes delicious, well cooked in a saucepan, and containing the desired quantity of each of the eighteen principal ingredients, but nevertheless mixed with poison, and after having consumed

it, though he is in good health, yet changes...(to a condition which is bad in every respect)...., even thus, Kālodāi, souls change...(to a condition which is bad in every respect)...if they take unto themselves the hurting of beings, untrue speech, misappropriation, sexual stimulation, possession, anger, pride, deceit and greed, love and hate, strife, slander, gossip and back-biting, dislike and liking, lying and deception, and that thorn of false belief. Thus it comes about, Kālodāi, that souls perform evil deeds, from which evil fruits ripen. But if a man eats delicious food...mixed with wholesome substance, and though he is not in good health when he consumes it, but yet changes afterwards...(to a condition which is good in every respect), even so, Kālodāi, souls change, when they incorporate abstinence from hurting...from false belief, that thorn...(to a condition which is good in every respect).. Thus it comes about Kālodāi, that souls perform good deeds, from which good fruits ripen" (7, 10).<sup>5</sup>

## VI

### THE PARABLE OF FOUR DAUGHTERS-IN-LAW

*In the Jñātṛdharma-kathā the following parable of four daughters-in-law is related.*

A merchant had four daughters-in-law. In order to put them to the test, he gives each of them five grains of rice with orders to preserve them carefully until he shall ask for them back again. The first daughter-in-law throws the grains away, and thinks to herself : "There are plenty of grains of rice in the larder, I shall give him others instead." The second thinks in the same way, and eats the grains. The third daughter-in-law preserves them carefully in her jewel-casket. But the fourth one plants the grains, and reaps; she again sows the harvest and reaps again, until at the end of five years she has accumulated a large store of rice. Then the merchant returns and punishes the first two daughters-in-law, assigning them the meanest tasks

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5. After the translation by *Schubring*, *Die Jainas* (Rel. Leseb.), p. 15 f., 19 f.

in the household; he entrusts the third one with the guarding of the entire property; but he gives the entire management of the large household into the hands of the fourth daughter-in-law.—These four women represent the monks some of whom do not keep the five great vows at all, others neglect them, the better ones observe them conscientiously, but the best of whom are not content with observing them, but propagate them also.<sup>6</sup>

## VII

### THE STORY OF MALLĪ

*The story of Mallī, the only female Tirthaṅkara,  
is told in the Jñātṛdharma kathā :*

Mallī, the daughter of the king of Mithilā, is of wondrous; incomparable beauty. Six princes learn of her beauty, each in a different way, and woo her. One of them, the king of the Kuru land, gets to know of Mallī through a portrait which an artist has painted of her, after he had seen only the princess' great toe.<sup>7</sup> Mallī's father refuses all the six princes. They are infuriated, and combine to wage war against the king. Mithilā is besieged, and the king is helpless. Then Mallī advises the king to invite each one of the princes into the city, promising each one her hand. Owing to her power of clairvoyance, she had already foreseen everything long before, and had a "puzzling house"<sup>8</sup> constructed; then she made a figure which bore

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6. E. Leumann (WZKM 3, 1880, 331 f.; GGA 1899, 588) has compared the parable of the talents in St. Matth. 25 and St. Luke 19, 12 ff. It is, however, scarcely feasible to assume any historical connection between the Jinistic and the Christian parable. Thus also Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum*, p. 43 f. Note; and now also Leumann, *Buddha und Mahāvīra*, ZB 1921, p. 55 ff.
  7. This episode reminds us of the Buddhist stories of famous artists, above, p. 136 f., and the entire narrative betrays a highly cultivated art.
  8. Mohanaghara, "a house intended for confusion," namely a house in which a second house, and in the latter a third

an exact resemblance to herself, and put it into this house. This figure had an opening on the head, into which she put remnants of her meals every day. She took care to conceal the opening carefully with lotus blossoms. The princes were conducted into this "puzzling house." While they are admiring the figure of the princess through a wall of netting, Malli herself appears. She opens the figure, and a terrible stench is spread about, so that the princes hastily cover their faces and turn away, whereupon the beautiful princess moralises on the fact that the inside of her lovely body is even much more loathsome than the inside of this figure. They should therefore not set any store on the enjoyment of love. She then tells the story of her former births, in which the six princes also played a part, and announces that she has decided to become a nun, whereupon the six princes also renounce the world.

## VIII

### ATTAINMENT OF EXISTENCE

*In the Aupapātikadasāsūtra an anecdote is given for the "attainment of an existence" (Uvavāya) :*

"The same form which the enlightened one had at the last moment, when leaving this earthly existence, that same form he has yonder, only that it is intensified in its soul-atoms. From the form which was large or small in the last existence, one-third will be lacking in the size and bulk of the enlightened one...They are without a body, densely compact of soul-atoms, they cherish a right belief and a right knowledge as regards objects in particular as well as in general. By reason of their being able to exercise omniscience, they recognise the nature of all things and their temporal qualities; with a never-ending, penetrating, keen glance of their intellect, they look in every place. Neither among human beings nor among all the gods is

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house stands, with net-work walls, so that the princes could be led into the house, without knowing of one another, and yet could all see the same figure.

there such illimitable bliss as has begun for the enlightened one. The bliss of the gods, multiplied in duration to eternity, even though it were endlessly augmented in its fulness, is not so great as the blissfulness of liberation...As a savage, who becomes acquainted with the manifold beauties of a city cannot describe them, because he lacks something with which to compare them, so, too, the blissfulness of the enlightened ones is incomparable, there is no comparison, and yet I shall mention something which can be compared with it in a certain sense. As a man, when he has eaten food containing all desirable ingredients, no longer experiences thirst and hunger, as though he had sated himself with the celestial beverage, so the enlightened ones who have come to the unique extinguishing, dwell sated for all time, rapturous in the possession of illimitable blissfulness without end.”<sup>9</sup>

## IX

### THE DIDACTIC SERMONS

*In the Bhattaparinnā the following didactic sermon is worth mentioning :*

“Even as a needle through which a thread has been drawn, cannot get lost in the rubbish heap, so also a soul does not disappear in Saṃsāra. Souls which do not renounce the world, and which are lacking in character and good qualities, plunge into Saṃsāra, just as birds with a broken wing and without tail-feathers fall into the ocean. A dog which licks a bone, does not reach the marrow, and persuades himself that he is happy, whilst in reality he is only keeping his throat dry. Similarly a man takes for bliss intercourse with women, which in reality, serves to exhaust him. A sinner who makes a sincere confession, is like the bearer of a burden, whose burden is taken from him.”<sup>10</sup>

9. 170 f., 178 ff. After the translation of W. Schubring, *Die Jainas* (Rel. Leseb.), p. 29 f.

10. Bhattaparinnā 86, 141ff., Mahāpaccākkhāṇa 30, according to the translation of Kamptz, loc. cit., p. 23 f.

## X

## SOME APHORISMS FROM THE UTTARĀDHYAYANA

*Some aphorisms from the Uttarādhyayana on karma and sin :*

"As the burglar caught in the breach of the wall, perishes by the work the sinner himself had executed, thus people in this life and the next cannot escape the effect of their own actions."

"As a charioteer, who against his better judgment leaves the smooth highway and gets on a rugged road, repents when the axle breaks; so the fool, who transgresses the Law and embraces unrighteousness, repents in the hour of death, like (the charioteer) over the broken axle."<sup>11</sup>

"Three merchants set out on their travels, each with his capital, one of them gained there much, the second returned with his capital, and the third merchant came home after having lost his capital. This parable is taken from common life; learn (to apply it) to the Law.

"The capital is human life, the gain is heaven; through the loss of that capital man must be born as a denizen of hell or a brute animal."<sup>12</sup>

"And if somebody should give the whole earth to one man, he would not have enough; so difficult is it to satisfy anybody.

"The more you get, the more you want; your desires increase with your means. Though two māṣas<sup>13</sup> would do to supply your want, still you would scarcely think ten millions sufficient.

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11. IV, 3; V, 14f. Translated by *Jacobi* in SBE, Vol. 45, pp. 18, 22.

12. VII, 14-16. Translated by *Jacobi* in SBE, Vol. 45, p. 29. Cf. Matth. 25, 14; Luke 19, 11; *Jacobi*, l.c., p. xlii, who calls attention to the fact that the agreement with the Hebrew gospel (s. Neutestamentliche Apokryphen, published by E. Hennecke, p. 20) is still more striking; *Edmunds*, Buddhist and Christian Gospels, II, 268ff.; *Garbe*, Indien und das Christentum, p. 42 ff.; and *Hertel* in "Geist des Ostens" 1, 1913, 247 f.

13. Small coins. Cf. *Yayāti's* saying, above, I, 380.



"Do not desire (women), those female demons, on whose breasts grow two lumps of flesh, who continually change their mind, who entice men, and then make a sport of them as of slaves.

"A houseless (monk) should not desire women, he should turn away from female; learning thoroughly the Law, a monk should strictly keep its rule."<sup>14</sup>

## XI

### THE STORY OF RATHANEMI

(*Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* ch. 22) :

In the city of Sauryapura there lived two mighty princes. The first, Vasudeva by name, had two wives, Rohiṇī and Devakī, each of whom bore him a son, Rāma and Keśava. The second, Samudravijaya by name, had a son Ariṣṭanemi by his wife Śivā. Keśava sought Rājimatī, the daughter of a mighty king, as a wife for Ariṣṭanemi, and she is granted him. Ariṣṭanemi sets forth with great pomp to fetch his bride; but on the way he sees many animals confined in cages and enclosures, and learns, in answer to his question, that these animals are all to be slaughtered for his marriage-feast. He is so deeply shocked by this, that he resolves to take the vow of an ascetic. When Princess Rājimatī hears of it, she breaks forth into lamentations, but then resolves, in her turn, to become a nun. In her wanderings as a nun, she one day takes refuge in a cave during a torrent of rain. She believes herself to be alone, and undresses herself, in order to dry her garment. Now the ascetic Rathanemi, Ariṣṭanemi's elder brother, had previously taken refuge in the same cave. Now when he sees Rājimatī in her nude beauty, he is seized by passion and makes advances to her. However, she reproves him, and admonishes him not to wish to "drink that which another has spat out." Reminded of his vow by her forcible

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14. Uttar. VIII, 16-19, translated by *Jacobi* in SBE, Vol. 45, p. 34 f.

words, "he returned to religion, like an elephant spurred on by the goad."<sup>15</sup>

## XII

### THE STORY OF THE FATAL PURSE

*in the Nijjutti to the Dasaveyāliya we find the story of the fatal purse*

Two poor brothers are returning from a business journey with a purse full of money. On the way, each of them plans to kill the other, so as to be the sole possessor of the money. They are, however, ashamed of their intentions, and confess to each other, whereupon they throw the purse into the pond. It is swallowed by a fish, the fish is bought by the sister of the two brothers and the purse found by the maid-servant in the fish's stomach. A quarrel arises between the maid-servant and the woman, in the course of which the woman loses her life.<sup>16</sup>

## XIII

### THE MONKS OF DUBIOUS CHARACTER

*It is in the same Nijjutti we find the monks of dubious character :*

"O Monk, your cloak has so many folds."

"Yes, it serves me as a net when I catch fish." "You eat fish?"

"I eat them along with my brandy." "You drink sweet brandy?"

"Oh yes, with the harlot." "What, you go to harlots?"

"After I have crushed my enemies." "You have enemies, then?"

"Only those whose houses I rob." "You are a thief, then?"

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15. The extended form of this legend in the Commentary of Devendra, has been edited and translated by *Charpentier* (ZDMG 64, 1910, 307 ff.)

16. *Leumann* in ZDGM 46, p. 602.

"Only because of the game of dice." "How, are you a gambler?"  
 "Am I not, after all, the son of a slave mother?"<sup>17</sup>

#### XIV

##### THE STORY OF BHĪMASENA

*The story of Bhīmasena as told in the Śatruñjaya-māhātmya  
 (book X) by Dhaneśvara.*

A merchantman vessel, on which he is sailing overseas, runs aground in mid-ocean on a coral-reef. A parrot indicates a way of rescue. One of them must be prepared to die, swim to a mountain and there startle up the Bhāraṇḍa birds.<sup>18</sup> Bhīma undertakes this, and saves the ship, but remains alone on the mountain. The helpful parrot gives him a means of escape. He is to cast himself into the ocean, allow himself to be swallowed by a fish and thrown ashore. This takes place, and he lands in Ceylon. After manifold adventures he acquires a kingdom, but renounces it after some time, in order to withdraw as a hermit on Raivata, one of the peaks of the sacred Śatruñjaya. Book XIV contains the legend of the Jina Pāśvanātha and at the end a long prophecy of Mahāvira,

17. *Leumann*, loc. cit., p. 607. The story also occurs in the second narrative of Hemavijaya's Kathā-Ratnākāra (German translation by Joh. Hertel, I. p. 10). A similar Sinhalese-Buddhist dialogue, in J.E. Seneviratne. *The Life of Kalidas*, Colombo 1901, p. 20 f.; in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī 2402; Kṣemendra's Lokaprakāśa (*Weber*, Ind. Stud. 18, 366f.); *Böhtlingk*, Indische Sprüche, 2. Auflago, Nr. 4588. Cf. the story "Ein Wort gibt das andere" in J.P. Hebel, Schatzkästlein, Stuttgart, 1888, p. 168 f., and Th. Zachariae, Kleine Schriften, Bonn, Leipzig 1920, p. 195 ff.

18. According to Mahābhārata VI, 7, 13, there live in the northern Kuru-land the Bhāraṇḍa birds, which have sharp teeth and are very strong, and throw the corpses of men who live to the age of thousands of years, into mountain caves. According to XII, 169, 10, they have human faces. The Pañcatantra (s. Benfey, Das Panchatantra I, 111 f., 538; II, 360 f., 525) tells of Bhāraṇḍa birds with two beaks.

which contains all manner of historical allusions, the significances of which is, however, not yet explained.

## XV

### THE TALE OF STHŪLABHADRA AND THE NUN KOŚĀ

*as told in the Parīṣiṣṭa-Parvan (VIII. 110-193) by Hemacandra :*

Three monks each made a vow in the presence of the master. The first said that he would sit in front of a lion's den throughout the four months of the rainy season; the second said that he would sojourn for the same length of time in front of the hole of a snake, the mere sight of which is fatal; the third declared that he would sit on a well-wheel throughout the rainy season. Then the monk Sthūlabhadra comes along, and says he will spend the four months in the house of the courtesan Kośā (whose lover he had been before he became a monk), without violating his vow of chastity. He not only succeeds in this, but Kośā is also converted to the Jaina faith. At the end of the rainy season the four monks return to the master, who declares that Sthūlabhadra has accomplished the greatest feat. The other monks are jealous at this, and the one who had sat in front of the lion's den, declares that, before the beginning of the next rainy season, he will perform the same feat as Sthūlabhadra. He repairs to Kośā, who sees through him : he falls an easy victim to her, but is at length brought back to repentance and to the monastic life by Kośā herself, who finally becomes a nun.

## XVI

### THE LEGEND OF PĀRŚVANĀTHA

*as told by Bhāvadeva Sūri in his Pārśvanāthacaritra:*

Marubhūti and Kamaṭha are sons of a court priest. Marubhūti hears a pious sermon, and renounces the world and the pleasures of the senses. Kamaṭha commits adultery with the neglected wife of his brother. Marubhūti denounces him to the king, and causes the adulterer to be

punished. Kamaṭha kills his brother in revenge. Marubhūti dies with gloomy thoughts, and is therefore reborn as an elephant. As such he is converted by the king, who had withdrawn into solitude, and from that time onwards he lives a pious life. As an elephant he is killed by Kamaṭha who had in the meantime been reborn as a snake.<sup>19</sup> As the elephant is just meditating upon religion, he is reborn in heaven, whilst Kamaṭha descends to hell. In the succeeding incarnations the former Marubhūti is reborn now as a god in some heaven, now as a prince who after ruling justly and piously, retires from the world. Reborn as a snake, as a wild Bhil and as a lion, Kamaṭha ever and again kills the former Marubhūti, and ever and again descends to hell. At length in the tenth reincarnation the former Marubhūti is reborn as a prince in Benares, amidst all manner of miracles and signs proclaiming the future Jina. While his mother was pregnant with him, she saw a snake at her side one night (pārsvataḥ), hence the prince received the name Pārśva. The former Kamaṭha is reborn as Kaṭha, the son of a Brahman, is very poor and becomes an ascetic. One day Pārśva sees Kaṭha seated between five fires performing ascetic practices, and throwing a large snake into the fire. Pārśva rescues the snake, which then reappears as the Nāga king Dharāṇa, whilst Kaṭha is reborn as an Asura. The sight of a picture of the former Jina Nemi causes Pārśva to give up wealth and power, tear out his hair, and wander forth as an itinerant monk. At the age of 30 years he attains perfection. Like Māra in the Buddha legend, the Asura Meghamālin (the former Kaṭha) attacks Pārśva, in order to disturb him in his meditation, but he is protected by the snake king Dharāṇa. At length the Asura repents, and becomes a pious layman. Pārśva becomes a Kevalin (possessor of the perfect knowledge), visits his parents, and finally attains Nirvāṇa. After his passing, he enters the highest heaven, and is much honoured by Śakra. His corpse is cremated by the gods, and Śakra erects a jewelled Stūpa over his ashes.

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19. It is one of the favourite themes in Jinistic legend literature to trace the destinies of two sworn enemies through many rebirths. *Bloomfield, loc. cit.*, p. 13 ff.

## XVII

## THE STORY OF KING VIKRAMA

*The story of king Vikrama as a parrot as told in the  
Pārsvanāthacarita (III. 105 ff).*

The mighty King Vikrama who is endowed with all the virtues, learns from a sage the magic art of penetrating into another body. At the same time with him a Brahman learns the same art. The latter, a scoundrel, seizes the opportunity when Vikrama leaves his own body and enters that of an elephant, to penetrate into the body of the king, and to give himself out as the king. When the real King Vikrama is aware of this, he enters into the body of a parrot, allows himself to be caught by a hunter, and causes this man to sell him to the queen. As a parrot he becomes the queen's favourite and converses with her; they ask each other riddles, and he recites to her all kinds of wise sayings and instructions on the religion of the Jina. The riddles are erudite rather than popular. One of the simpler riddles is that of the queen : "It makes snakes poisonless, the gods powerless, lions motionless, and yet children hold it in their hands, what is it?" The parrot guesses it at once : "A painter's brush." After so many proofs of sagacity the queen no longer doubts that the wise parrot is none other than the real King Vikrama, her husband. One day Vikrama's soul leaves the parrot's body, and enters into the body of a lizard. When the queen sees the dead body of the bird, she begins to lament, and wishes to burn herself with it. In order to prevent the self-immolation of the queen, the false king enters into the parrot's body, which enables the real king to assume his own body and to appear before the queen in all his splendour.

## XVIII

## THE STORY OF ŚĀLIBHADRA

*The story of Śālibhadra's Dānadharma as told by  
Dharakumāra in his Śālibhadracarita :*

In his former incarnation Śālibhadra was the son of a

poor widow, a shepherd boy named Saṃgama, who delighted in giving himself up to religious meditations while minding the flocks. On a feast-day he sees that delicious food is being prepared in all the houses, and he asks his mother to prepare a festive meal for his too. With great difficulty the poor woman succeeds in preparing a meal of this kind. However, before Saṃgama eats it, there comes an ascetic who is just about to break his fast, and the boy gives him the meal which has been prepared for himself. (According to the Jaina faith, it is the most meritorious form of alms-giving to offer food to an ascetic after his fast.) In consequence of this good deed, Saṃgama is reborn in Rājagṛha as Śālibhadra, the son of Bhadrā and Gobhadra, endowed with incomparable beauty and all virtues. When he had reached manhood, his father selects 32 beautiful virgins as his wives, and he leads a happy life. His father Gobhadra became an ascetic, died the voluntary death by starvation, and reached heaven. As a god, he procures immense wealth for his son Śālibhadra. "As rich as Śālibhadra" became proverbial, just as we say "as rich as Cræsus." One day, however, owing to the sight of King Śreṇika who, in spite of all his power, is nevertheless only an ordinary mortal, he becomes enlightened, and becomes a Pratyekabuddha. He repairs to the teacher Dharmaghoṣa, who instructs him in the religion, and finally, after he has renounced the world, he is reborn as a god in heaven.

## XIX

### THE STORY OF TARAṄGAVATĪ

*The story of Taraṅgavatī as told in the Taraṅgarolā :*

A nun who is conspicuous for her beauty, tells the story of her life. She was the charming daughter of a rich merchant. One day she sees a couple of ducks in a lotus pond, and falls into a swoon : for she remembers that in a previous life she had been a duck like this, and that, out of love for a drake killed by the hunter, she had burned herself with him. She longs for the husband of her previous

life, and after many love-sorrows, she finds him, by the aid of a picture which she paints of the couple of ducks. The man carries her off, on their flight they are captured by robbers, and they are to be sacrificed to the goddess Kālī. They are rescued, and the parents agree to the marriage. The wedding takes place. Soon afterwards they meet a monk who delivers a lecture to them on the religion of the Jina. Through the encounter with the monk, who in his previous life had been the hunter who killed the drake, they are so much affected that they renounce the world, and become monk and nun.

## XX

## THE MAN IN THE WELL

*The Parable "man in the well" is told in the Samarāicca-kahā by Haribhadra :*

Thus in the course of a sermon the parable of the "man in the well"<sup>20</sup> is told. It is a very common occurrence in India ascetic poetry for a king to be forcibly reminded, by some chance sight, of the vanity of existence, and to renounce the world. For instance, a king sees a snake devouring a frog, but itself devoured by a sea-eagle, which in its turn is devoured by a boa constrictor. This sight causes him to renounce the world and become an ascetic. King Yaśodhara sees his first white hair,<sup>21</sup> and resolves to become a monk. In the night he sees how his wife leaves the bedroom, approaches a hunchbacked watchman, who insults and misuses her, and how she gives herself up to this man.<sup>22</sup> In order to prepare his mother gently for his plan to become a monk, he departs somewhat from the truth, and tells her of a dream in which he had become a monk. Now, with a view to averting the evil consequences

20. See above, Vol. I, p. 408.

21. Thus also in Jātaka No. 9, see above, p. 146.

22. Cf. Hertel, Jinakīrtis "Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla", pp. 84 f., 92, where there is also reference to parallels from Indian and universal literature.



of the dream, his mother advises him to disguise himself as a monk and sacrifice a number of animals to the "family goddess" (obviously Kālī). The king naturally refuses to slaughter, but is prepared to make a compromise. He has a cock made of dough, and this fowl is beheaded in front of the image of the goddess, whereupon he eats the "meat" of the cock. Owing to this he brings upon himself a bad Karman,<sup>23</sup> in consequence of which he has to go through various animal births (peacock, antelope, fish, sheep) with his mother, until at length, reborn as a pair of fowls; they have the good fortune to hear the sermon of a famous monk, remember their previous births, and in their next existence, born as the twins of a queen, to become monk and nun. At the end of their lives they enter heaven as gods.

On the whole it is rather tiresome always to follow the wanderings of the same persons from one rebirth to another, the one always killing the other, the one going to heaven and the other to hell or being reborn as an animal, in one instance even as a coconut-palm. However, we also meet with some interesting tales, romantic love-stories, such as that of Sanatkumāra and Vilāsavatī, who are reunited after a long separation and after inexpressibly sorrowful adventures (shipwrecks etc.). The story, too, of Dharāṇa and Lakṣmī is a pretty fairy-romance, full of adventures on land and sea, with many familiar fairy-tale motifs. Thus we find here the motif of the ungrateful wife: Dharāṇa and Lakṣmī are wandering in the forest. The woman is nearly dying of thirst. Dharāṇa draws blood from his arm, and cuts off some flesh from his thigh, so as to nourish his wife. Soon afterwards, nevertheless, she tries to get rid of her husband, in order to follow a robber, to whom she has taken a fancy.<sup>24</sup>

The destinies in the course of the reincarnations are often passing strange. A merchant is reborn as a pig in his own house and is slaughtered for the festive meal. Reborn in the same house as a snake, he remembers his previous

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23. For, is the belief of the Jainas, even sins of thought have their consequences.

24. See above, p. 130 of Vol-I.

existence, but is not angry with the cook who slaughtered him as a pig. Thereupon in his next rebirth he again becomes a man, in fact he is reborn as the son of his own son. When he is one year old, he remembers his previous existence. He sees that his daughter-in-law has now become his mother, and that his son is now his father, and is at a loss to know how to address them. Hence he does not speak at all, and is called "the dumb one." When he has reached the age of twelve years, an all-knowing monk invites him to come and be instructed by him. Then he breaks his vow of silence, and follows the monk into the religious life. The fate of the nun Susaṃgatā is tragic. In one of her former births she had given a female friend a love-potion for a lover. For this slight sin she was reborn, in succession, as an elephant, a monkey, a bitch, a cat, a Caṇḍāla girl and lastly as a Śabara girl. The savage Śabarās drove her away from their village. Whilst she is wandering in the forest, she meets some monks, to whom she does honour. For this she becomes a queen in her next existence, the consort of the king of Kosala. A remaining portion of the Karman was, however, still left. Thus it happened that a female demon (Yakṣī) who was in love with the king, assumed the form of the queen, and succeeded in persuading the king that the real queen was a demon. She is driven away, and is about to commit suicide. Then she meets a monk, who tells her about her previous existences. After some time the king, who had in the meantime discovered the truth, finds her again, but both of them now renounce the world, and enter the Jaina Order.

## XXI

### THE STORY OF SIDDHARŚI

*The story of Siddharṣi is told in the Pravāva-ka-caritra :*

Siddha was a cousin of the poet Māgha. He was married to Dhanyā, a woman of good family, but in the course of time he got into bad company, took to gambling and spent the nights with evil companions. One day his mother saw her young daughter-in-law weeping, and asked her what

was the cause of her grief. The young woman said that her husband never came home before midnight. The mother-in-law comforted her, and promised to exhort her son. The next time that Siddha returned home late, she did not open the door to him, but told him to go to a place where doors were open at that time of night. Then Siddha went to the Jaina monks whose doors are always open. They recognised the future Prabhāvaka in him, and received him with due ceremony. He became a Jaina monk, and it was in vain that his father tried to dissuade him from his resolve. After he had learned with the Buddhists for some time and had become their adherent, he was brought back to the Jaina faith again by his old teacher.

## XXII

### THE DRAMA OF MUNDANE EXISTENCE

*Samśāranāṭaka as told by Siddharṣi in his  
Upamiti-bhava-prapañca-kathā :*

The poet commences with an allegory in which he describes his own career. In the city of "Without-beginning-and-without-end" there lives an ugly, wretched beggar, who is suffering from all diseases, and whose name is Virtueless (Niṣpuṇyaka). The wretched food which he was able to procure by begging, scarcely served to satisfy his hunger, and only increased his illness. In this city the famous king "Stand-firm" ruled. The beggar came to his palace, and was admitted by the door-keeper "Resolver-of-one's-own-Karman" out of pity. The beggar feels very happy indeed at the sight of the splendour of the palace. The cook "Awakener-of-the-knowledge-of-religion" and his beautiful daughter "His pity" bring the beggar the tasty and curative food "The great good" and treat him with the eye-salve "Pure eight" and the mouth-lotion "Creating-joy-in the-Truth." Little by little he is cured, but for a long time he is unwilling to give up his old bad diet. Then the cook "Awakener-of-the-knowledge-of-religion" engages "True Insight" as his nurse, and at length he realises the impurity of his former food, he cleans his begging bowl, and

"Virtueless" is transformed into "Rich-in-Virtues." He is now desirous of making this wondrous remedy available to others too, but as the people who had previously known him, do not want to listen to him, "True Insight" advises him to place the three remedies in a wooden bowl and place it in the courtyard of the royal palace, so that everyone may help himself. In the concluding verses of Book I the explanation of the allegory is then given : The city "Without-beginning-and-without-end" is Saṃsāra. The beggar "Virtueless" is the poet himself. The King "Stand-firm" is the Jina, his palace is the Jaina religion. The cook "Awakener-of-the-knowledge-of-religion" is "the Master who awakened me, and his daughter is the great pity which he extended towards me."<sup>25</sup> Knowledge is the eye-salve, the true faith is the salutary lotion, and the good life is the best diet. It is "True Insight" which allows one to find the path to virtue, and the wooden bowl with the food, the lotion and the eye-salve is the following story.

There is a city "Way-of-man", which has been in existence since all eternity, and in which, as in the narrative of Samarāditya,<sup>26</sup> many events take place. In this city there reigns the mighty king "Maturing-of-deeds" (Karmapariṇāma).<sup>27</sup> a ruler of unlimited powers, who mercilessly inflicts severe punishments. For his own entertainment he has the beings who act the drama of the world-wandering, wearing the most diverse masks. He makes them scream as denizens of hell, dance before him in agonies of pain, act the parts of crows, cats, mice, lions, elephants, buffaloes, lice, ants, and other large and small animals of all kinds; whilst others again are compelled to act human rôles, such as hunchbacks and dwarfs, dumb and blind men, old men and invalids, the unfortunate, persons separated from their dear ones, poverty-stricken

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25. As the poet himself says in the Praśanti, this refers to the master Haribhadra.

26. An allusion to Haribhadra's Samarāicca Kahā. I cannot help confessing that, after all this, I find it very difficult to believe that Haribhadra should not have been really Sidhārṣi's teacher.

27. The law that every deed must have its consequences.

persons and tormented ones, as faithless women, ignoble men, etc. And this drama amuses the mighty king immensely. The principal wife of this king is "Effect-of-Time" (Kālapariṇatī), and he has to ask her advice on all occasions. She too takes delight with her husband in the drama of the world-wandering. She wishes for a son, and a son is born, who receives from his father the name "Man-as-he-should be" (Bhavyapurūṣa) and from his mother the name "Well-disposed" (Sumatī). Now in the city of "Way-of-man" there lives a great sage named Sadāgama, i.e., "The true doctrine." The king is very much afraid of this man, because he spoils the king's drama, as he has already liberated many of the actors and taken them to a city called "Blissful-rest" (Nirvṛti, meaning Nirvāṇa) situated outside the realm, where they live in the greatest happiness. Nevertheless the female attendant "Rich-in-Insight" succeeds in effecting a meeting of the prince with Sadāgama. The parents give their consent to Sadāgama's undertaking the boy's education. Once when Sadāgama is reciting his doctrines on the market-place, a great tumult arises. It is seen that the thief "Wandering-Soul" (Saṃsārijīva) is being led to the judgment-seat. (It is the Emperor Anusundara who appears in the form of this thief, in order to relate his experiences in countless rebirths for the instruction of his relatives.) "Rich-in-Insight" takes pity on the thief, and advises him to seek the protection of Sadāgama. The executioners have to release him, and he now relates his experiences for the instruction of "Rich-in-Insight" and Prince "Well-disposed." Now there comes the story of Saṃsārijīva, i.e., the soul wandering in the cycle of rebirths.

He relates how he was first of all born as a plant in the world "Motionless", how he then came to the city "Home-of-beings-with-one-sense-organ" and ever and again wandered to and fro among the lowest organisms, the earth-bodies (stones, minerals, etc.), the water-bodies (hoar-frost, snow, fog, etc.), fire-bodies and wind-bodies,<sup>28</sup> and suffered many sorrows and torments. He was then

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28. In the belief of the Jaina, all these are beings having souls.

reborn among the various animals from the very lowest insects, worms, etc., up to the elephants. At length he was reborn in the world of human beings as Nandivardhana, a king's son. Though he had an invisible friend "Dawn-of-virtue," to whom he was indebted for many successes in life, yet his most intimate "inner" friend was Vaiśvānara, i.e., "Fire-of-anger." This friend always supplied him with the pill "Cruel Thoughts." For this reason the efforts of excellent teachers and counsellors, such as the sage Vidura, who sought to improve him by means of moral narratives (allegory of Sparśana, the sense of touch) and speeches, proved fruitless. The influence of Vaiśvānara grew even stronger, when he succeeded in marrying him to "Violence" (Himsā), the daughter of King "Bad-Will" and Queen "Merciless."

Fortified by the pills of "Cruel Thoughts" and encouraged by the glances of his wife "Violence," he kills innumerable wild animals in the chase, but also wins great fame in fights with robbers and foes. After many adventures (the scene of some of them is laid, not in the world of allegory, but in the real world, love-stories, etc.) he becomes king. Under the influence of his evil "inner" friends he perpetrates many cruelties, he kills an ambassādor, his father, his mother, his wives, and finally also his rescuer and benefactor. He flees and meets a young man : a quarrel ensues between them, the result of which is that they pierce each other with their swords. Thereupon both of them are reborn in the "Abode of the worst sinners," and after that, as lions, falcons, ichneumons, always as foes. At length Samsārijīva comes into the world as a prince again, Prince Ripudāraṇa. Now it is "Pride" and "Falsehood" that become his friends, and they exert paramount influence over him, so that "Dawn-of-virtue" does not stand much chance against them. After his father has become a monk, he becomes king, refuses to pay due respect to a ruler of the world, is humiliated by a sorcerer and slain by his servants. In the subsequent rebirths he pays the penalty of his misdeeds in hell and as animals, until he is once again reborn among human beings, this time as the son of the merchant Vāmadeva. "Falsehood," "Deceit" and "Theft" are now his friends. He robs a merchant, is hanged, and is

then again reborn in hell and in the animal world. After a long time he again makes his appearance in the world as the son of a merchant, his "inner" companions now being "Dawn of Virtue" and "Avarice" Sāgara). Through the latter he acquires enormous wealth. He makes friends with a prince, and goes on a sea-voyage with him. In order to secure the riches of this prince, he wants to kill him. The sea-god, however, rescues the prince, and throws the merchant into the sea. He is cast up on shore, wanders about in a wretched condition, and finally, when he wants to bury a treasure, he is devoured by a Vetāla. More rebirths in hell and in the animal world follow. Reborn as Prince Ghanavāhana, he grows up with his cousin Akalaṅka. The latter becomes a pious Jaina, and through him Ghanavāhana, too, comes into contact with Sadāgama. But Mahāmoha, i.e., "The Great Infatuation," and Parigraha, i.e., "Longing-for-possession" also seek his friendship, and finally obtain complete mastery over him. Hence he becomes a violent ruler, is deposed, and perishes miserably. After many rebirths in hell and in the animal world, he is at length reborn in Sāketa as Amṛtodara, and now begins Samsārijīva's ascent to higher forms of existence. He is converted to the Jaina faith, and attains to the world of gods and of men, by turns. Reborn as King Guṇadhāraṇa, he is reunited with Sadāgama and Samyagdarśana ("Right Faith"); he becomes a pious layman and a good ruler, especially after he has brought home the ten virgins "Patience," "Pity," "Gentleness," "Love of Truth," "Straightness," "Honesty," "Chastity," "Liberation," "Science" and "Desirelessness" as brides. At the end of his life he becomes a monk, and is then reborn alternately as god or man. Finally, in his last incarnation Samsārijīvin is the world-ruler Anusundara. Now at length the retinue of the "Great Infatuation" is powerless, and only the good qualities are his "inner" companions; he attains to the highest knowledge, and remembers his former existences. Now, in the form of the thief condemned to death, he relates his fortunes in the cycle of rebirths. Then he becomes absorbed in meditation, and rises, as a god, to the highest heaven.

## XXIII

## THE STORY OF BHAVISATTA

*as told by Dhanapāla in his Bhavisatta-kahā.*

The main theme of the poem is a fairy-tale, the hero of which, Bhavisatta, experiences strange adventures. Deserted upon a lonely island by his treacherous step-brother, he comes to a deserted city discovers a princess with the help of a god, marries her, and they live joyfully for 12 years. Bhavisatta is home-sick, and one day the ship of the wicked step-brother lands again on the island. Bhavisatta wishes to return to his home with his wife, but is again outwitted by the step-brother, who carries off his wife, but leaves Bhavisatta himself on the island. With the help of a Yakṣa he is, however, brought home on the chariot of a god in the nick of time, and is reunited with his wife who has remained faithful to him throughout. In Part II fights after the manner of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa are described, whilst in Part III the preliminary stories of the principal characters in their former births are told.

## XXIV

## THE STORY OF MĀRIDATTA

*The content of the Yaśastilaka by Somadeva Sūri*

King Māridatta has ascended the throne at an early age and is entirely given up to sensual pleasures. At the advice of his family priest he prepares to offer a great sacrifice to his family goddess Caṇḍamāridevatā, consisting of a pair of every living creature, including human beings. Māridatta himself is to perform the sacrifice. Then the servants drag in a youth and a maiden, a pair of ascetics whom they have selected for the human sacrifice. At the sight of them a change comes over the king. It occurs to him that these might be the twin children of his own sister, who were said to have renounced the world and joined the Jaina community. He asks these two to tell him their



history, and it is revealed that they are indeed his relatives. The major part of the story deals with their experiences in various rebirths, but many explanations regarding the doctrines of the Jaina religion are interwoven. Many famous poets, such as Bhāravi, Bhavabhūti, Bhartṛhari, Guṇāḍhya, Vyāsa, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Baṇa, and others, are mentioned, all of whom are supposed to have done honour to the Jaina religion. The last three sections also form an independent book, entitled Upāsakādhyaṇa ("Readings for Laymen"), which serves as a work of edification for Jaina laymen. The work ends with the conversion of Māridatta and his family goddess to the Jaina religion.

## XXV

### THE STORY OF MAHĪPĀLA

*as told by Cāritrasundara in his Mahīpālacaritra :*

Mahīpāla is skilled in all arts, and gives numerous proofs of exceptional cleverness. For instance, when a Yakṣa, posing as the "double" of the real husband, tries to appropriate a woman, he decides who is the real husband, by saying that the real husband is the one who can crawl into a water-jug and out again. This can, of course, only be done by the Yakṣa, the demon, who is thus proved to be the false husband.<sup>29</sup> When he is cast into the ocean by a treacherous minister, he saves himself by swimming on the back of a large fish which carries him ashore. There he wins a beautiful wife, a magic bed which transports him to any place he desires, a magic staff which makes him invincible, and an incantation by means of which he can assume any form he desires. He changes himself into a hunchback, gives himself out as an astrologer, and shows the king a book which he says can be read by any person who has been legitimately begotten, but not by one who has been begotten in adultery. The king, the court priest and the prime minister in turn have a look at the book,

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29. Parallels from Indian and universal literature are cited by Hertel,

none of them can read anything in it, but each one pretends that he can read it, and praises the clearness of the script.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, Mahīpāla is the only man who can weigh an elephant and also can tie up a post from the shore. Finally, of course, Mahīpālā becomes a monk and a saint, and attains to release, after having lived to the age of 500 years.

## XXVI

## THE FAIRY-TALE OF THE MAIDEN GARDEN-BEAUTIFUL

*from Kathā-kosa of unknown author :*

This maiden has a wicked step-mother, who makes her do all kinds of heavy work. Once when she has led the cows out to pasture, and has fallen asleep, she is awakened by a black snake, which begs her to protect it from the snake-charmer. The girl protects the snake, which then asks her to wish for something. She says, "Make a shade above my head, so that I can mind the cows in comfort." Then the snake conjures up a beautiful garden which accompanies Garden-beautiful wherever she goes. In this garden the king finds her one day, falls in love with her, and makes her his queen. The step-mother lies in wait for her, so as to make her own daughter the queen, but the snake rescues Garden-beautiful from all dangers.<sup>31</sup>

## XXVII

## STORIES OF FOOLS AND TALES OF LIES

*from Dharmaparīkṣā of Amitagati :*

Among the first-named category the most interesting is the story of the four fools who meet with a saint, who greets them. The fools begin to quarrel as to who it was

30. Parallels from universal literature are given by Hertel, l.c., p. 77, Note 2.

31. Tawney, l.c., p. 85 ff., where many parallels from fairy-tale literature are pointed out, among others No. 11 ("Brüderchen und Schwesterchen") in Grimm, Kinder-und Hausmärchen.

whom the saint had greeted. They ask the saint, and he says : "The most foolish among you." Now they cannot agree as to who is the most foolish among them. So they go to the town, in order to ask the citizens to decide, and each of them relates some piece of stupidity which he has committed. The first one allowed his eyes to be burned out by a lamp, only in order not to disturb his two wives in their sleep. The second let his two bad wives break his legs. The fourth had his cheek pricked through, from fear of his mother-in-law. The third, however, behaved in a fashion similar to the man in Goethe's poem "Gutmann und Gutweib." Once he was lying in bed with his wife. "Then they decided to act on his suggestion, that the one who spoke first must give the other ten sweet cakes. As they were thus lying quietly, a thief entered the house, and stole everything there was to steal. When the thief had already laid hands on the wife's under-garments, the wife said to the husband: "What ? Are you going to look on quietly even now?" Then the husband demanded the promised ten cakes, because she had been the first to break the silence."<sup>32</sup>

As to the marvellous tales à la Munchausen (Münchhausen), we mention only the following : A man sees a beautiful tree and wishes to taste its fruits. But the tree is too tall. So he cuts off his head, throws it on to the tree, where it eats as much fruit as it wants. Then he fastens his head on to his neck again.

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32. *Mironow*, l.c., p. 21. Cf. *R. Pischel*, ZDMG 58, 1904, 363 ff.; *Hertel*, Ein altindisches Narrenbuch, p. 37 ff. The story frequently recurs in India (e.g. *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, ed. *Uhle*, 23, 63, and often in modern Indian versions). The earliest known version in the Chinese Tripitaka (*E. Huber*, BEFEO 4, 1091; cf. *Zachriae*, ZVV 1966, 136 Note), takes us back as far as the year 492 A.D. The propagation of the anecdote, which is also known in Arabic variants and in Baluchi, has been traced, as far as Europe is concerned, by *R. Köhler* (*Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Litterature* 12, 348 ff.) *Goethe* took the theme from a Scottish ballad.

## XXVIII

## THE STORY OF PRADYOTA AND STHŪLABHADRA

*as told by Somaprabha in his Kumārapāla-pratibodha.*

The story of King Pradyota of Ujjayinī serves to elucidate the sin of adultery. The story belongs to the cycle of the Udayana legends. It is also told here how Prince Abhaya of Rājagṛha becomes the prisoner of King Pradyota owing to trickery. As a captive he does the king an important services on three occasions, and each time the king grants him a wish with the exception of his liberty. When he rescues the king from his distress the fourth time, and the king again offers to grant him a wish Abhaya says : "Whilst you sit upon the elephant Nalagiri as a driver and I sit on the lap of (your consort) Śivadevī, burn me with the (fire-proof) wood of the chariot Agnibhīru." By demanding such impossibilities, he indicates to the king that he has only the one wish for liberty. The king recognises this and sets him free, whereupon Abhaya takes leave of him with this oath : "If I do not take you prisoner, O King, in broad daylight in the middle of the town amidst loud cries, may I go into the fire." By means of a ruse he does actually take the king prisoner.<sup>33</sup>

As an instance of the vow of virtue, the story is told of Śilavatī, the virtuous wife of the rich merchant Ajitasena. She understands the language of the birds and performs all kinds of seemingly absurd actions and gives seemingly absurd answers : it turns out, however, that the apparent absurdities are in reality proofs of great intelligence.<sup>34</sup>

Prastāva V contains two long narratives in Apabhraṃśa. The one is the Jīva-maṇaḥ-karaṇa-saṃlāpa-Kathā, "The Story of the Conversations between Soul, Mind and Senses."<sup>35</sup> This is an elaborately worked out allegory (105 stanzas), in which King Ātman (Soul), his consort Buddhis

33. Pp. 76-83 of the edition, cf. *Alsdorf*, l. c., p. 140 f. and P.D. *Gune* in *Ann. Bh. Inst.* II, 1920, p. 1 ff.

34. Pp. 220-229 of the edition; cf. *Alsdorf*, l.c., p. 141 f.

35. Pp. 422-437 of the edition; cf. *Alsdorf*, l.c. pp. 6, 10 ff., 80 ff., 92 ff.

(Insight), his minister Manas (Mind) and his five court officials, the Five Senses, appear : Manas and the five Senses carry on a heated debate as to the origin of suffering, whereupon Ātman takes the lead, and in a long speech describes the terrible sufferings of Saṃsāra and extols the happiness of those whose mind is directed towards the Jina, the Munis and pity on all beings, "who avoid the striving after possession, as one avoids robbery, which brings suffering in its wake, kingly power, as a snare or poison, sensual pleasure and a loving woman, as a piece of wood, wealth as a fetter, inclination to adornment as a burden; who, making no difference between themselves and others, have taken upon themselves the burden of the discipline of the Order."<sup>36</sup>

The second long story in Apabhraṃśa is the story of Sthūlabhadra<sup>37</sup> in 106 verses. Sthūlabhadra is the last successor of Mahāvīra, who still knew the 14 Pūrvas. Stories about him and his enemy, the learned Brahman Vararuci, are already told in the Paṛiśiṣṭa-Parvan.<sup>38</sup> We also find here the story of the monks, each of whom fulfils another, more difficult vow, whilst Sthūlabhadra takes upon himself and fulfils the vow that he will spend four months in the house of the courtesan Koṣā, without violating his vow of chastity. The vain attempts of Koṣā to entangle the monk in the bonds of love, are described in accordance with all the rules of the Kāma-Śāstra. In the end the king gives Koṣā to his charioteer as a wife. In order to amuse her, this man performs a remarkable trick: he cuts a mango from the tree with two arrows shot into one another, whereupon Koṣā does a still more wonderful trick : she dances upon the point of a needle which is sticking at the top of a heap of mustard-seeds. Then the charioteer is astonished, but she says that Sthūlabhadra performed a far more marvellous trick, when he lived with her and yet did not violate his vow of chastity.

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36. Alsdorf, l.c., p. 100.

37. Pp. 443-461 of the edition; cf. Alsdorf, l.c., pp. 6, 19 ff., 100 ff., 113 ff.

38. Paṛiśiṣṭa-Parvan VIII, 110-193, see above, p. 507 ff.

## XXIX

## THE STORY OF VYĀSA :

Vyāsa certainly knew that his poem was full of lies, but he ventured to dish up the inconsistent and senseless stuff to mankind, after he had convinced himself, by an experiment, of the stupidity of men. He placed a pot on the bank of the Gaṅgā and began to heap sand over it. Immediately the people came along and followed his example, so that after a short time the place where the first pot stood could no longer be determined.

## XXX

## HEMACANDRA ON AHIMŚĀ

*from Yogaśāstra*

"Ahimśā is like a loving mother of all beings,  
 Ahimśā is like a stream of nectar in the desert of Saṃsāra,  
 Ahimśā is a course of rain-clouds to the forest fire of suffering,  
 The best healing-herb for the beings tormented by the disease  
 Called the perpetual return of existence, is Ahimśā."<sup>39</sup>

[All the stories are collected from  
 Maurice Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature*,  
 Vol. II, Calcutta 1933].

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39. It is, however, very characteristic of Hemacandra that, at the request of the same King Kumārapāla, whom he sought to win over to ascetic morality by the Yogaśāstra, he also wrote a *Laghvarhannīti-Śāstra*, "Short Manual of the Art of Governing for Jainas," which cannot be said to be entirely in conformity with the principle of Ahimśā. More will be said of this Nīti-Śāstra in Vol. III.

# JAINA NARRATIVE LITERATURE

SATYA RANJAN BANERJEE

## 1. A SURVEY OF KATHĀNAKA LITERATURE

We have a pretty large number of Jaina narratives, written in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, and even in early Rājasthānī, Gujarātī and Western Hindi, and also in Kannada or Tamil, beginning from the commentaries of the Jaina texts upto the time of the compilation of Kathānaka<sup>1</sup> literature. It should be remembered, as Winternitz says that “the Jaina monks and authors have always been tellers of tales far rather than historians; because the commentaries to the sacred texts contain not only a mass of traditions and legends, but also numerous fairy-tales and stories, and moreover that the legendary Poems, the Purāṇas and Caritas were often only a frame in which all manner of fairy-tales and stories were inserted. Now, in addition to all this, the Jains have produced a vast fairy-tale literature in prose and in verse, in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa. All these works, be they stories in plain prose or in simple verse or elaborate poems, novels or epics, are all essentially sermons. They are never intended for mere entertainment, but always serve the purpose of religious instruction and edification.”<sup>2</sup> “As is

1. “The word ‘Kathānaka’ does not appear to be a recognised term of orthodox poetics, although the *Agni Purāṇa* (337-20) speaks of Kathānikā as a variety of Gadya-kāvya, along with Parikathā and Khaṇḍakathā, Ānandavardhana (iii. 7) recognises Parikathā and Khaṇḍakathā adding Sakalakathā (all these terms being explained by Abhinavagupta in his commentary), but omits Kathānikā. The description of Kathānikā, however, given by the *Agni Purāṇa* does not apply to the so called Jaina Kathānaka.” Dasgupta & De, *Hist. Skt. Lit.* Calcutta, 1947, p. 426 fn. 3.
2. M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1933, p. 524.

the case with the Buddhist's Jātakas, this narrative literature imbedded in the commentaries, contains many popular themes, including some which occur also in other Indian and non-Indian literature, and form part of the common treasury of universal literature."<sup>3</sup> So "like the Buddhist monks, the Jaina monks, too, delighted at all times in adorning their sermons with the telling of stories, in elucidating Jainistic doctrines by means of 'examples' thus exploiting the inborn Indian love for fables in order to win over and retain as many adherents as possible for their religion."<sup>4</sup>

Similarly, in this connection the remarks of Dasgupta and De are worth quoting : "There is no frame-story but the tales are loosely strung together, while the characterless Sanskrit prose is freely diversified by verses in Sanskrit, Prakrit and modern Indian languages. The Jaina authors are fond of stories and have produced them in amazing profusion, but the stories, in whatever form they are presented, are all essentially sermons, or have a moral tag attached to them; they are seldom intended for mere entertainment. The well-known Sanskrit story-motifs are utilised, but good stories are sometimes spoiled by forcing them into a moral frame. With their unadorned, but pedestrian, prose and lack of artistic presentation, the Jaina writings in this sphere are scarcely remarkable as a literary productions, but they are interesting from their unmistakable contact with the general life of the people, especially those stories which are not of unrelieved moral and religious dreariness."<sup>5</sup>

There exist a large number of Jaina narrative tales treasured up in the Kathānaka literature of the Jains; but all of them are not available at present. It is not the place to give a detailed account of all the Kathānakas; but some important Kathānaka texts are mentioned below for purposes of comparison: —

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3. Ibid, p. 489.

4. Ibid, p. 484.

5. S.N. Dasgupta and S.K. De, A History of Sanskrit Literature, Calcutta University, Calcutta, 1947, pp. 427-28.



Name of the work	Author	Date	Language	Contents	Remarks
1. कालकाचार्य <sup>6</sup>	?	?	Prakrit	It is the story of Kalaka who transferred the date of paryūṣaṇa festival from the fifth to the fourth of the first half of the month of Bhādra.	Recited by the monks at the end of the Kalpasūtra
2. बृहत् कथाकोष <sup>7</sup>	हरिषेणाचार्य	931-32 A.D. (Composed this text)	Sanskrit	More than 157 tales	
3. कथाकोष	श्रीचन्द्र	941-996 A. D.	Apabhramśa	53 tales	
4. कथावली	भद्रेश्वर	10th cent. A.D.	Prakrit	It narrates the accounts of 63 Śālākā-puruṣas	
5. कथामणिकोष	देवेन्द्रगणि	1073 A. D.	Prakrit	41 chapters	
6. कथाकोष <sup>8</sup>	जिनेश्वर सूरि	1092 A. D.	Prakrit	239 gāthās	
6. Ed. & tr. by H. Jacobi, ZDMG, 34, 1880, pp. 247-318 : Supplements to it ZDMG 35, 1881, p. 675 ff.; Leumann, ZDMG, 37, 1883, p. 493 ff. N. W. Brown, The Story of Kalaka, Washington, 1933, (Almost all the recensions have been examined by him); Vide Jinaratnakosha.					
7. Ed. by A. N. Upadhye, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1943.					
8. Bhau Daji, JBRAS, IX, 1867, p. 130 ff.					

Name of the work	Author	Date	Language	Contents	Remarks
7. कथाकोष or कथारत्नकोष	देवभद्र	1101 A.D.	Prakrit & Sanskrit	Stories in Prakrit and in Sanskrit	
8. कथानककोष	विनयचन्द्र	1109 A.D.	Prakrit	140 gāthās	
9. कालकाचार्य कथानक	भावदेव सूरी	1255 A. D.	Prakrit	102 gāthās	
10. कथार्णव	धर्मघोष	13th cent. A.D.	Prakrit	208/218 verses.	
11. अन्तरकथासंग्रह or कथासंग्रह	राजशेखर (मलधारी)	1348 A. D.	Sanskrit	100 stories	
12. प्रबन्धकोष	"	"	Sanskrit		
13. कर्पूर प्रकरटीका	जिनसागर	1435 A. D.	Sanskrit & Prakrit	150 stories	
14. कथामहोदधि	सोमचन्द्र	1448 A. D.	Prakrit & Sanskrit	157 stories	
15. धर्मकल्पद्रुम	उदयधर्म	1450 A. D.	Sanskrit		
16. कथाकोष or भरतादि कथा	शुभशील	1452 A. D.	Prakrit		But vṛtti is in Sanskrit and it contains many stories.

Name of the work	Author	Date	Language	Contents	Remarks
17. कथा संग्रह	सर्वसुन्दर	1453 A. D.			
18. कथारत्न सागर	नरचन्द्रसूरी	1463 A. D.		15 taraṅgas	
19. पंचशती प्रबोध- संबंध <sup>9</sup>		1464 A. D.		600 stories	These stories are of the nature of fantastic fairy-tales.
20. चम्पकश्रेष्ठी कथानक <sup>10</sup>	जिनकीर्ति	middle of the 15th cent. A.D.	Sanskrit		
21. पालगोपाल कथानक <sup>11</sup>	"	"			
22. आराधनाकोष	नेमिदत्त	1530 A. D.			
23. कथाकोष	श्रुतसागर	middle of the 16th cent. A.D.	Sanskrit		
24. कथा रत्नाकर <sup>12</sup>	हेमविजयगणि	17th cent. A.D.	Sanskrit, Prakrit, Guj., O. H. etc.	258 stories in 10 taraṅgas	Mostly of fools, rogues and artful women.
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9.	Devachand Lalabhai Pustakodhara Series No. 77 & 87. Bombay 1932 and 1937; also Peterson's Report III, p. cxxi; Winternitz, Ibid. p. 544.				
10.	Ed. J. Hertel in ZDMG, 65, 1911, pp. 1-51, 425-47.				
11.	J. Hertel, Jinakirti's Geschichte von Pala und Gopala, Leipzig, 1907.				
12.	Ed. Hiralal Hamsaraja, Jaina Bhaskarodaya Press, Jamnagar, 1911; trs. J. Hertel, Munchen, 1920.				

Name of the work	Author	Date	Language	Content	Remarks
25. कथाकोष <sup>13</sup>					
26. उत्तमकुमार चरित कथा <sup>14</sup>			Sanskrit, also with Prakrit verses.	Collection of popular tales	stories are allego- rical & didactic.
27. पापबुद्धि धर्मबुद्धि कथानक <sup>15</sup>					
28. सय्यकत्व कौमुदी <sup>16</sup>					
29. कथाकोष			Sanskrit with Prakrit gāthās	27 stories	Ref. found in Jaina Sahitya Itihasa. P. 168
30. कथाकोष					
31. कथामहोदधि					
32. कथारत्नाकर	उत्तमर्षि				
33. उपदेशमाला	जिनभद्र				
34. कथासमास	सर्वनन्दी				
35. कथासंग्रह	आनन्दसुन्दर				
36. कथाकोष	समयसुन्दर गणि				
37. अधटकुमार कथा					
			Sanskrit	179 verses.	Its commentary contains 150 tales
			Sanskrit		

13. Trs. by C. H. Tawney, London, 1895.

14. Ed. A. Weber in SBAW, 1884, I. p. 269 f. cf. also Jaina Bhaskarodaya Press, Jamnagar, 1911. for the metrical version in 686 Slokas by Cārucandra.

15. Ed. E. Lovarini in GSAL. III pp. 94-127. with translation.

16. A. Weber in SBAW, 1889, p. 731.

Besides these,<sup>17</sup> there are many stories in old Rājasthānī. Only a few of them may be mentioned<sup>18</sup>; e.g.: Ānandasandhi of Vinayacandra, Mṛgāputrasandhi and Dhanasandhi of Kalyāṇatilaka, Subahusandhi of Puṇyasāgara, Bhavanasandhi of Jayasoma, Anāthisandhi of Vimalavinaya, Kayavannasandhi of Guṇavinaya, Jayantisandhi of Abhayasoma, etc.

Here I give one story from the old Rājasthānī text named *Kāṇhaḍa Kathiyārā Rī Cupai* of Mānasāgara,<sup>19</sup> a middle Rājasthānī text of the oldest period — 1690 A.D. The story of the text runs thus.

## 2. THE STORY OF KĀṆHA

The story of Kāṇhaḍa, a wood-cutter, in “*Kāṇhaḍa Caupai*” relates, by way of an illustration, the story of a layman, who became a Jaina monk in his later life, coming in contact with the Jaina Sādhus.

The text begins with the salutation of the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, Pārśvanātha, who is the dispeller of sorrows and sufferings. The author then describes in a nutshell the results of a good and chaste life<sup>20</sup> which is, according to the Jaina doctrines, one of the most important factors of spiritual life; and in order to exemplify his statement, he has taken the story of a wood-cutter, Kāṇhaḍa by name<sup>21</sup>.

In days of yore, there was a country, named Jambū, in the south of which lay the land of Bhārata (India). In the eastern part of India, was Ayodhyā, famous for its pomp and glory.<sup>22</sup> There lived in that country a king, Kīrtidhara by name, who was well-known for his character and

17. For other Kathānaka literature, vide A. N. Upadhye's *Bṛthakathakosa*, and Jinaratnakoṣa of H. D. Velankar, Poona, 1943.

18. For others vide Rajasthani Journal, Vol. 1 Calcutta.

19. Ed by Satya Ranjan Banerjee, Sanskrit Book Depot (P) Ltd., Calcutta, Second impression, 1980.

20. Verses 3-7.

21. Verses 5-7.

22. Verse : (Description of the country in verses 8-15).

hospitality, and who ruled his subjects with justice and affection.<sup>23</sup>

In the kingdom of Kīrtidhara, the Jaina monks usually preached their doctrines and taught the laymen and their disciples good lessons, so that they might lead a good and chaste life even in this mundane existence. One day, while wandering from village to village, from town to town, a Jaina ascetic, a man of encyclopaedic knowledge, who had controlled all his senses and who was also an expert in reading the minds of others, came to that country (Vinītā i. e. Ayodhyā) with his retinue of sādhus<sup>24</sup>. The king and his subjects went there to make obeisance to him and waited in the exegetic hail (Vyākhyā-Sabhā) to hear his lessons for the aggrandizement of their mental and moral faculties. Kāṇhaḍa, the wood-cutter, who was in the habit of going to a courtesan's house, was also present in the exegetic-hall. The Sādhu preached the instability of this world and requested the people to take vows in order to lead good and happy lives. He emphasized that knowledge without chaste life (Śīla); and austerities without self control, were all worthless. A man of encyclopaedic knowledge might go to hell if he was unaccompanied by conduct (Śīla); on the contrary, a dullard and lascivious type of man might become free from the bondage of this world if he pursued conduct truly by taking vows even for a day or two<sup>25</sup>. Everybody including Kāṇhaḍa, was influenced by his advice. Kāṇhaḍa, at once, stood up and related his story that as a wood-cutter he somehow passed his days by selling wood. Hence, it was not possible for him to take any vow. He also confessed before all that he was in the habit of going to a courtesan's house, and enquired whether a man of his type was able to take any vow in order to lead a chaste life henceforward. Hearing his words, the Sādhu advised him to take two vows only that he should not go to a courtesan's house, at least, on the full moon day, and that he should not tell a lie for the sake of

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23. Verses 16-17

24. Verse 19

25. Verses 20-32

conduct. Kāṇhaḍa agreed to observe those vows wholeheartedly<sup>26</sup>.

In course of time, there came the rainy season.<sup>27</sup> The rivers and pools had become full of water, and streams were flowing strongly. Taking advantage of this, Kāṇhaḍa cut down some pieces of sandalwood from the forest nearby. He did not know the value of this sandalwood. Binding these tightly, and placing them on the current of the stream, he took them to his house and afterwards carried them to the market to sell<sup>28</sup>. In that country, there lived Śrīpati<sup>29</sup>, a big merchant, who had a servant named Champaka. Champaka went to the market and saw this sandalwood brought for sale. After paying him something, Champaka brought Kāṇhaḍa to his master's house<sup>30</sup>. No sooner had Kāṇhaḍa come to the courtyard of Śrīpati, who was seated on a window,<sup>31</sup> than he (Śrīpati) perceived the smell of the sweet fragrance of sandalwood. Śrīpati knew the value of this wood and at once enquired about its price.<sup>32</sup> Kāṇhaḍa did not know the value of this wood; so he could not suggest any price. The merchant gave Kāṇhaḍa five hundred gold coins and bought the whole lot.<sup>33</sup>

With this money, Kāṇhaḍa came to the house of a courtesan, Kāmalatā by name.<sup>34</sup> There were present many whore-mongers, dandies and lechers who laughed at the sight of Kāṇhaḍa, thinking him to be a proper jovial person, who would spend the whole night in the house of the harlot.<sup>35</sup> Kāmalatā was a paragon of beauty that "excels the quirks of blazoning pens, and in the essential vesture of creation does tire the ingener."<sup>36</sup> Kāṇhaḍa, obviously

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26. Verses 33-39.

27. Verses 40-42.

28. Verses 43-45.

29. Verses 46-47.

30. Verse 48.

31. Verse 49.

32. Verse 50.

33. Verse 51.

34. Verse 52.

35. Verses 52-54.

36. Verses 55.

attracted by her beautiful appearance,<sup>37</sup> came to her and gave her all his wealth.<sup>38</sup> That courtesan heartily welcomed him, and after his shave and bath, gave him scented oil, expensive clothes, shirts, etc. to wear.<sup>39</sup> She then took him to her inner apartment. After dressing well, when Kāṇhaḍa was just about to plunge into the very vortex of amorous dalliance, he saw the full moon through the window.<sup>40</sup> Seeing the full moon, he at once remembered his vow, and without making any more ado went out of her house,<sup>41</sup> leaving his purse with her, and somehow passed the night outside.<sup>42</sup> Kāmalatā searched for him hither and thither, but could not find him anywhere. She waited and waited for him till the night was over. At last, she became worried, and thinking that the money was improperly earned, she was determined to return the same to the owner. Next morning, she related the whole story to all of her friends, and along with them, went to the house of the king, and told the whole story of this money received from an unknown person, who had come to her house the previous night. She also expressed her intense desire to return the purse to that person, because of the fact that as she did not properly earn this purse, she could not claim the money as her own. Then she handed over this purse to the king and came back home.<sup>43</sup>

The king, by beating of drums, announced this event throughout his kingdom, but nobody responded.<sup>44</sup> At last, Kāṇhaḍa came and, with folded palms demanded that purse.<sup>45</sup> On being asked,<sup>46</sup> he narrated the whole story<sup>47</sup> as to how he had got the money from Śrīpati, a merchant, by

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37. Verse 65.

38. Verses 65-66.

39. Verses 67-72.

40. Verse 74.

41. Verses 74.

42. Verses 75-80.

43. Verses 81-88.

44. Verses 89-90.

45. Verse 91.

46. Verses 92-94.

47. Verse 95.



selling wood, which was the means of his livelihood,<sup>48</sup> and how he had gone to the house of a harlot and why he had left her (because of his vow not to enjoy the company of any woman on a full moon day).<sup>49</sup> After enquiry,<sup>50</sup> and knowing fully well that the statement of Kāṇhaḍa, the wood-cutter, was true,<sup>51</sup> the king returned the money<sup>52</sup> to him and also rewarded him greatly for his truthfulness. Ultimately the king made him the dewan (Pradhān) of his country on account of his good character and trustworthiness.

One day a monk, Dharmaghoṣa<sup>53</sup> by name, came to him and initiated him as a monk, and began to teach him regularly the eleven Aṅgas and Upāṅgas, the five Mahāvratas, the five Samitis and the three Guptis<sup>54</sup>. At last the teachers turned him into a monk.<sup>55</sup> Kāṇhaḍa then began to lead the life of a monk, giving up all sorts of worldly pleasures.<sup>56</sup>

In this way, the poet describes the consequences of good conduct (Sādhu-śīla), paying very high encomiums on Kāṇhaḍa.<sup>57</sup> Here ends the story of the text.

### 3. SOURCE OF THE STORY

After the story just narrated, we may proceed to trace its sources. It must be admitted on all hands that it is a very difficult task for us to ascertain the exact source of this story, although from the text<sup>58</sup> we come to know that it has been taken from a 'Digambara Kathā-koṣa'. But what

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48. Verses 96-102.

49. Verses 103-108.

50. Verses 109-112.

51. Verses 113-118.

52. Verses 119-131.

53. Verse 135.

54. Verse 131, 135.

55. Verses 136-138.

56. Verses 139-148.

57. Verses 149-154.

58. दिगपट कथोकोस थी रचियो ए अधिकार। उछी अधिको भाखियो मिछा दुक्कर  
भार॥ (verse no.160.)

Digambara-Kathā-koṣa the poet meant, is not possible to ascertain with the materials at our disposal.

In the *Bṛhatkathā-koṣa* of Hariṣeṇācārya<sup>59</sup>, we come across the names Kīrtidhara (Story Nos. 57 & 152), Śrīpati (Story Nos. 10-29) and Kāmalatā (Story No. 65). But with the name Kāmalatā of the *Bṛhatkathā-koṣa* story, made famous by various Jaina poets in their literature, Mānasāgara's story has nothing in common except only the name. In the *Bṛhatkathā-koṣa* Kāmalatā is described as the daughter of a courtesan Sumitrā with all her good qualities, but that Kāmalatā has nothing to do with the Kāmalatā of Kāṇhaḍa-Caupai.

In the *Kathā-koṣa*<sup>60</sup> of an unknown poet and date, we have the name of Kāmalatā, who is described there as a princess and who was wedded to Dīpaśikhā, son of king Vijayavarman of Śvetāmbika. This Dīpaśikhā had four wives, of whom Kāmalatā, a virtuous and a learned lady, was one.

Also in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*<sup>61</sup> there occurs the name of a Kāmalatā, who was the daughter of king Kīrtirāja of the Paramāra family. She had married a neatherd named Phulaḍa.

In none of these cases, however, is the name Kāmalatā found associated with Kāṇhaḍa, and the story element is not similar either to that of Mānasāgara's *Kāṇhaḍa-Cupai*. It seems, therefore, probable that the poet might have taken its theme from a story of Kāmalatā which is lost, or unknown to us at the moment, or which was once probably imbedded either in the commentaries of the Āgama texts or in the Kathākoṣa of the Jainas (not yet known to us). It is possible that such a story actually formed the nucleus of the narrative of Mānasāgara who embellished the same with a moral tag for purposes of surmonising. This type of ecclesiastical discourses, which is seldom intended for entertainment, is a common practice among the Jaina writers. "These stories, which are generally intended to illustrate the tenets and practices of Jainism, are genuine

59. Ed. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1943.

60. Translated into English by C. H. Tawney, London, 1895, p. 69.

61. Translated into English by C. H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1901, p. 27.

fragments of Indian folk-lore and they are written by some Jaina theologians for the purpose of the edification of the votaries of that religion."<sup>62</sup>

The value of all these stories lies in the fact that they seem to be a 'depository of very many ancient, historical or semi-historical tradition'. It also states that ancient India possesses a great mass of popular narrative themes most of them being unknown to us. With regard to the extent of this type of literature, Winternitz<sup>63</sup> says : "The mass of narratives and books of narratives among the Jainas is indeed vast. They are of great importance not only to the student of comparative fairy-tale lore, but also because, to a greater degree than other branches of literature, they allow us to catch a glimpse of the real life of the common people. Just as in the language of these narrative works there are frequent points of agreement with vernaculars of the people, their subject-matter, too, gives a picture of the real life of the most varied classes of the people, not only the kings and priests, in a way which no other Indian literary works, especially the Brahman ones, do." Dr. J. Hertel has also said that the "characteristics of Indian narrative art are the narrative of the Jainas. They describe the life and the manners of the Indian population in all its different classes, and in full accordance with reality. Hence Jaina narrative literature is among the huge mass of Indian literature, the most precious source not only of folk-lore in the most comprehensive sense of the word, but also of the history of Indian civilisation. The Jaina's way of telling their tales differs from that of the Buddhas in some very essential points. Their main story is not that of the past, but that of the present, they do not teach their doctrines directly but indirectly; and there is not future Jina to be provided with a rôle in their stories."<sup>64</sup>

[Taken from the Introduction of *Mānasāgara's Kāṇhaḍa Kathiyārā ri Caupai* ed by Satya Ranjan Banerjee, Sanskrit Book Depot (P) Ltd., Calcutta, 1980.]

62. Tawney's *Kathākoṣa* p. vii.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 545-46.

64. J. Hertel. *On the Literature of the Svetambaras of Gujarat*, Leipzig, 1912.

# **CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF JAINA NARRATIVE LITERATURE**



# CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE JAINA RĀMĀYAṆA STORY

COMPILED BY SATYA RANJAN BANERJEE

Chronology by centuries	Author	Works	Contents and Comments
1st/3rd cent. A.D.	Vimala Sūri (4. A.D. or 62 A.D. or 3rd cent. A.D.)	Paūma-cariyaṃ	The story of Vālmiki is narrated in a Jain manner. The name of Rāma is Padma.
7th cent. A.D.	Sanghadāsa (not later than 609 A.D.)	Vasudevahiṇḍi	It deals with Mandodari's marriage with Rāvaṇa and the birth of Sitā as Rāvaṇa's daughter.
	Ravisena (678 A.D.)	Padmapurāṇa (Sanskrit)	Mostly follows Paūma-cariya of Vimalasūri with Digambara traits in it.
8th cent. A.D.	Svayambhū (mid. of the 8th cent. A.D.)	Paūma-cariu (written bet. 677-783)	The story of Rāma as given by Ravisena. He has divided his poems into Kāṇḍas.
	Haribhadra Sūri (705-775 A.D.)	Upadeśapada	He alludes to the story of Rāma in one of the Saṃgrahagāthās in his Upadeśapada
	Haribhadra (705-775 A.D.)	Dhūrtākhyāna (casually treats of Rāma-story)	
9th cent. A.D.	Śīlācārya or Śīlāṅka (862 or 872 A.D.)	Caūpanna-mahā purisa-cariyaṃ	He probably follows the work like Paūmacariyaṃ
	Guṇabhadra (9th cent. A.D.)	Uttara-purāṇa	Basically follows the Rāmastory of Vālmiki though borrows also from Sanghadāsa.
10th cent. A.D.	Hariṣena (931-32 A.D.)	Bṛhat-kathākośa	It is an abridgement of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. It has two Rāma versions. The first deals with the death of Rāvaṇa and the second shows Sitā as a nun after the fire ordeal.

Chronology by centuries	Author	Works	Contents and Comments
	Puṣpadanta (965 A.D.)	Mahāpurāṇa	His Rāmāyaṇa story is identical with that of Guṇabhadra.
11th cent. A.D.	Bhadreśvara (11th cent. A.D.)	Kathāvali	His version is based on the Pāṇinīyaṃ of Vimala Sūri. He is also indebted to Haribhadraśūri.
	Amitagati (1014 A.D.)	Dharmaparikṣā	Casually treats of Rāmastory.
12th cent. A.D.	Hemacandra (1088-1172 A.D.)	Triṣaṣṭi-Śalākā- puruṣa-caritra (7th parva also called Jaina Rāmāyaṇa)	His Rāmāyaṇa version is based on the Pāṇinīyaṃ and the Padma- purāṇam.
	Hemacandra (1088-1172 A.D.)	Yogaśāstra- svopajña-vṛtti	It is in agreement with the Pāṇinīyaṃ and the Padmapurāṇa along with the version of Saṅgha- dāsa.
14th cent. A.D.	Dhaneśvara Sūri (14th cent. A.D.)	Śatruñjaya- māhātmya	The author follows Vālmiki's version.
16th cent. A.D.	Kṛṣṇadāsa (1528 A.D.)	Puṇya-candrodaya purāṇa	He has perhaps followed the tradition of Guṇabhadra
	Devavijayagaṇin (1596 A.D.)	Rāmacaritra (in prose)	The author says that he has followed Hemacandra's Rāmāyaṇa.
17th cent. A.D.	Meghavijaya (second half of the 17th cent. A.D.)	Laghu-triṣaṣṭi- śalākā-puruṣa caritra	He follows the Rāmastory as found in Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā- puruṣa-carita.
?	Dhāhila (or Dāhila)	Pāmasinīcarīu	

## CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE JAINA MAHĀBHĀRATA STORY

COMPILED BY SATYA RANJAN BANERJEE

Chronology by centuries	Author	Works	Contents and Comments
8th cent. A.D.	Jinasena (783 A.D.)	Harivaṃśa- purāṇa (Sanskrit)	It has 66 cantos.
9th cent. A.D.			
10th cent. A.D.			
11th cent. A.D.	Maladhara Devaprabha Sūri (1200 A.D.)	Pāṇḍavacarita	It has 18 cantos.
	Amitagati (1014 A.D.)	Dharmaparīkṣā	It has the story of Vyāsa.
15th cent. A.D.	Sakalakīrti	Harivaṃśa	It has 39 cantos and from the 15th composed by Jinadāsa.
16th cent. A.D.	Śubhacandra (1551 A.D.)	Pāṇḍavapurāṇa	It is also called Jaina Mahābhārata.
?	Vādicandra	Pāṇḍavapurāṇa	It has 18 cantos.
17th cent. A.D.	Rāja Vijaya Sūri (1604 A.D.)	Pāṇḍavacarita (in prose)	



## CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE BIOGRAPHIES OF THE 63 GREAT MEN

COMPILED BY SATYA RANJAN BANERJEE

Chronology by centuries	Author	Works	Contents and Comments
9th cent. A.D.	Jinasena and Guṇabhadra (9th cent. A.D.)	Triṣaṣṭi-lakṣaṇa- mahāpurāṇa or Mahāpurāṇa	The book is divided into Ādipurāṇa and Uttarapurāṇa. The Ādipurāṇa has 47 chapters of which Guṇabhadra has written the last 5 and the Uttarapurāṇa. It also contains the story of Jivandhara.
	Śilācārya (868 A.D.)	Caūpanna-mahā- purisa-cariya	
10th cent. A.D.	Puṣpadanta	Tisaṣṭi-mahā- purisa-guṇālaṃ- kāra (in Ap)	
11th cent. A.D.	Mallīṣeṇa (1047 A.D.)	Mahāpurāṇa	It contains the lives of 63 Great Men.
12th cent. A.D.	Hemacandra (1088-1172 A.D.)	Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā puruṣa-caritra  Parīṣiṣṭa-parva	The first one contains the life-stories of the 63 great men and the next one contains the lives of the Elders (Sthaviras)
14th cent. A.D.	Merutuṅga (1306 A.D.)	Prabandha- cintāmaṇi	In the Mahāpuruṣacarita in 5 sargas the lives of Ṛṣabha, Neminātha, Śāntinātha, Pārśva-nātha and Mahāvira are told.

## THE CARITĀVALIS OF THE TĪRTHAṆKARAS

COMPILED BY SATYA RANJAN BANERJEE

Names of the Tirthaṅkara	Individual work on them
1. Ādinātha Rṣabha Vṛṣabha	Vardhamāna's (1103 A.D.) Ādināthacaritam;
2. Ajita	
3. Śambhava or Sambhava	
4. Abhinandana	
5. Sumati	Somaprabhācārya's (12th cent. A.D.) Sumatināthacaritica;
6. Padmaprabhava	
7. Supārśva	Lakṣmaṇagaṇin's (1143 A.D.) Supāsanāhacariyaṃ;
8. Candraprabhā	Haribhadra's (1159 A.D.) Candraprabhacarita;
9. Puṣpadanta or Suvidhi	
10. Śītala	
11. Śreyāṃsa	
12. Vāsupūjya	Vardhamāna Sūri's Vāsupūjyacaritra;
13. Vimala	Kṛṣṇadāsa's (?) Vimala-purāṇa;

Names of the Tirthankara	Individual work on them
14. Ananta	
15. Dharma	Haricandra's Dharmaśarmābhyudaya;
16. Śāntinātha	Devacandra's (1103 A.D.) Śāntināthacaritam; Māṇikyacandra's (1217 A.D.) Śāntināthacarita; Munibhadra's (1359 A.D.) Śāntināthacarita; Devasūri's (1282 A.D.) Śāntināthacaritra; Ajitaprabha's (14th cent. A.D.?) Śāntināthacaritra; Sakalakīrī's (15th cent. A.D.) Śāntināthacarita;
17. Kunthu	
18. Ara	
19. Malli	Haribhādra's (1159 A.D.) Mallināthacarita;
20. Suvrata	Śricandra's (1135 A.D.) Muni Suvratasvāmicaritam;
21. Nami	
22. Ariṣṭanemi/ Nemi	Sūrācārya's (11th cent. A.D.) Neminātha-carita; Maladhārī-Hemacandra's 1159 A.D. Nemināthacaritam; Haribhadra's (1159 A.D.) Nemināthacarita (Ap), Vāgbhāṭa's (11th/12th cent. A.D.) Nemi-nīrvāṇa; Sūrācārya's (11th cent. A.D.) Nemināthacarita (Skt.); Vikrama's Nemidūta;
23. Pārśvanātha	Devabhādra's (1108 A.D.) Pārśvanāthacaritam; Jinaseṇa's (9th cent. A.D.) Pārśvābhyudaya; Bhāvadeva Sūri's (1255 A.D.) Pārśvanāthacaritra; Vādirāja's (1025 A.D.) Pārśvanāthacaritras; Māṇikyacandra's (1217 A.D.) Pārśvanāthacaritras; Sakalakīrī's (15th cent. A.D.) Pārśvanāthacaritras; Padmasundara's (1565 A.D.) Pārśvanāthacarita; Udayaviragaṇin's Pārśvanāthacarita
24. Mahāvira	Guṇacandraṇin's (1082 A.D.) Mahāvīracariyaṃ (Pkt.), Devendraṇin's (1085 A.D.) Mahāvīracariyaṃ (Pkt.),

## CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE JAINA DHARMAKATHĀ LITERATURE

COMPILED BY SATYA RANJAN BANERJEE

Chronology by centuries	Author	Works	Contents and Comments
3rd/5th cent A.D.	Pādaliptācārya (Pālitta Sūri)	Taraṅgavatī	The original is lost. But its story is told by an unknown author in his Taraṅgarolā (1643 A.D.)
8th cent. A.D.	Haribhadra Sūri (705-775 A.D.)	Samarāicca-kahā (in prose with inserted verses)	At last, the heroes and the heroines renounce the world after all sorts of adventures.
	Uddyotana Sūri (779 A.D.)	Kuvalayamālā- campū	
10th cent. A.D.	Siddharṣi (906 A.D.)	Upamiti-bhava- prapañca-kathā	It is a narrative in which the manifoldness of existence is presented in parable.
	Vijayasimhasūri (918 A.D.)	Bhuvana- sundarī Kathā	
	Somadeva Sūri (959 A.D.)	Yaśastilaka- campū (comple- ted in 959 A.D.)	The contents of this book are based upon Guṇabhadra's Uttarapurāṇa.
	Dhanapāla (a Śvetāmbara 970 A.D.)	Tilakamañjari (970 or 1018- 1055 A.D.)	
	Dhanapāla (a Digambara)	Bhavisatta-kathā	
	Haricandra (a Digambara)	Jivandharacampū	The story of Jivandhara is treated here.
10th cent. A.D.	Puṣpadanta	Nāyakumāracarīu (Ap) Jasaharacarīu (Ap) Trisatthi-mahāpurī sa-guṇālankāra	

Chronology by centuries	Author	Works	Contents and Comments
	Vādirājasūri	Jaśodhara-carita	It is a work in 4 cantos based on Guṇabhadra's Uttarapurāṇa
11th cent. A.D.	?	Malayasundari-kathā	It is a love-story between the Prince Mahābala and the Princess Malayasundari.
	Dhaneśvara	Surasundari-carīyam (in Prakrit)	
	Oḍeyadeva Vāḍibhasimha (a Digambara)	Gadyacintāmaṇi Kṣatracuḍāmaṇi	The story of Jivandhara is told in these books.
	Māṇikya Sūri	Yośodharacaritra	
13th cent. A.D.	Maladhāri-Devaprabha	Mṛgāvati-caritra	It contains the legends of Udayana and his wives Vāsavadattā and Padmāvali. History is based on Haribhadra's Āvaśyaka commentary and Hemacandra's Paṛiśiṣṭaparvan.
15th cent. A.D.	Māṇikyasundara	Mahābala-Malaya sundari-kathā	It is a nice love story where ultimately prince Mahābala becomes a pious monk and princess Malayasundari a pious nun.
?	Jayatilaka	Malayasundari-carita (Sanskrit)	This work is a basis of a Gujarātī poem in the 18th century.
15th cent. A.D.	Cāritrasundara	Mahīpālacaritra	It is an epic in 14 cantos. It is a fairy-tale of king Mahīpāla.
	Jñānasāgara Sūri (second half of the 15th cent.)	Ratnacūḍa-kathā	Apart from the story of Ratnacūḍa, it contains many witty and entertaining story of the city of Arūṭapura.
	Śubhaśīlaganin (1464 A.D.)	Pañcaśati-prabodha-sambandha	It is a book of 500 stories serving to awaken the Faith. In fact, the book contains 600 stories.
	Jinakīrti (middle of the 15th cent.)	Dāna-kalpa-druma	Here almsgiving is lavishly illustrated by means of stories
	Amara Sūri	Ambaḍa-caritra	It contains fantastic magical fairy tales.

## CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE KATHĀNAKA LITERATURE

COMPILED BY SATYA RANJAN BANERJEE

Chronology by centuries	Author	Works	Contents and Comments
1st cent. A.D. (?)	?	Kālakācārya- kathānaka (Pkt.)	It is the story of Kālaka who transferred the date of <i>pariyūṣaṇa</i> festival from the fifth to the fourth of the first half of the month of Bhādra. It is recited by the monks at the end of the Kalpasūtra
10th cent.	Harīṣeṇācārya	Bṛhatkathākoṣa (composition 931- 32 A.D.) (Skt.)	More than 157 tales
	Śricandra (941-996 A.D.)	Kathākoṣa (Ap)	53 tales
	Bhadreśvara (1064-94 A.D.)	Kathāvali (Pkt.)	It narrates the accounts of 63 Śālākāpuruṣa.
	Dhanapāla, a Śvetāmbara Jain	Tilaka-mañjari (wrote in 970 A.D.)	It was composed in about 970 A.D. under Muñja Vākpātirāja of Dhārā.
11th cent.	Devendragaṇi (1073 A.D.)	Kathāmaṇikoṣa (Pkt.) (or Ākhy- ānamāṇikoṣa)	41 chapters
	?	Kathākoṣa (last quarter of the 11th cent.)	27 Stories
	Jineśvara Sūri (1092 A.D.)	Kathākoṣa (Pkt.)	239 gāthās

Chronology by centuries	Author	Works	Contents and Comments
	Soḍḍhala	Udayasundari-kathā (composed bet. 1026 & 1050 A.D.)	
12th cent.	Devabhadra (1101 A.D.)	Kathākoṣa/or Kathāratnakōṣa (Pkt. + Skt.)	Stories in Prakrit and Sanskrit
	Vinayacandra (1109 A.D.)	Kathānakakoṣa (Pkt.)	140 gāthās
13th cent.	Bhāvadevasūri (1255 A.D.)	Kālakācārya-kathānaka (Pkt.)	102 gāthās
	Dharmaghoṣa	Kathārṇava (Pkt.)	208/218 gāthās
14th cent.	Merutuṅga	Prabandha-cintāmaṇi (completed in 1306 A.D.)	Divided into five prakāśas
	Maladhārī Rājasekhara (1348 A.D.)	Antarakathā-saṃgraha/or Kathāsaṃgraha (Skt.)	100 stories
	Rājasekhara Sūri (1348 A.D.)	Prabandhakoṣa (Skt.)	24 stories ( <i>prabandhas</i> )
15th cent.	Jinasāgara (1435 A.D.)	Karpūraprakaraṇa-ṭīkā (Skt. + Pkt.)	150 stories
	Somacandra (1448 A.D.)	Kathāmahodadhi (Pkt. + Skt.)	157 stories
	Udayadharma (1450 A.D.)	Dharmakalpa-druma (Skt.)	
	Śubhaśīla (1452 A.D.)	Kathākoṣa/or Bharatādi-kathā (Pkt.)	It contains many stories and its <i>vr̥tti</i> is written in Sanskrit.
	Sarvasundara (1453 A.D.)	Kathāsaṃgraha	
	Naracandra Sūri (1463 A.D.)	Kathāratna-sāgara	15 tarāṅgas

Chronology by centuries	Author	Works	Contents and Comments
	?	Pañcaśati Prabandha-sam- bandha	600 stories. These stories are of the nature of fantastic fairy-tales.
	Jinakirti (mid 15th cent.)	Campaka-śreṣṭhi- kathānaka (Skt.)	
		Pālagopāla- kathānaka (Skt.)	
	Padmanandin (1496 A.D.)	Kathārṇava	
16th cent.	Nemidatta (1530 A.D.)	Ārādhanaśoṣa	
	Śrutasaṅgāra (mid 16th cent.)	Kathākoṣa (Skt.)	
17th cent.	Hemavijaya- gaṇi (1600 A.D.)	Kathāratnākara (Skt., Pkt. Apa. Guj + Old Hindi)	258 stories in 10 taraṅgas; mostly of fools, rogues and artful women.
	?	Kathākoṣa (Skt. + Pkt.)	Collection of popular tales
	?	Uttamakumāra- carita-kathā (Skt.)	Stories are allegorical and didactic.
	?	Pāpabuddhi- Dharma-buddhi- kathānaka (Skt.)	Allegorical and didactic stories
	?	Samyaktva- kaumudī (Skt. with Pkt. gāthās)	27 stories
		Kathākoṣa	Ref. found in Jaina Sāhitya Itihāsa p. 168
		Kathākoṣa	(trs. by C.H. Tawney, London, 1895).
		Kathāmaho- dadhi (Skt.)	179 verses. Its commentary contains 150 tales.
	Uttamaṛṣi  Jinabhadra Sarvanandi Ānandasundara Somasundara Gaṇi ?	Kathāratnākara (Skt.) Upadeśamālā Kathāsamāsa Kathāsaṃgraha Kathākoṣa  Aghaṭakumāra- kathā	





