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ORIENTAL STUDIES, NO. 1

THE STORY OF KĀLAKA

TEXTS, HISTORY, LEGENDS, AND MINIATURE PAINTINGS
OF THE ŚVETĀMBARA JAIN HAGIOGRAPHICAL WORK

THE KĀLAKĀCĀRYAKATHĀ

(WITH 15 PLATES)

BY

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PREFACE

One December morning in 1922 there appeared at my door in Benares a man asking if I would purchase a manuscript. He unwrapped a cloth and showed me a book of richly illuminated folios, written with gold ink on a specially prepared background of red, black, or blue, and enriched with seven primitive paintings of brilliant color and skillful draftsmanship. The purchase was completed as soon as the price was named, and this "jewel" became my possession.

It was the first illustrated Indian manuscript I had ever held in my hands, and its miniatures were the first of the Western Indian school I had ever seen. Its subject was the story of the Master Kālaka (the Kālakācāryakathā), and from that time dates my interest in Kālaka and in the Western Indian style of painting that precedes the Mughal-Rajput schools.

For a number of years that interest was not pursued very actively, but in 1928 the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, acting in cooperation with the University of Pennsylvania, generously made it possible for me to spend a year in Europe and India searching for materials dealing with the story of Kālaka as the subject of history, legend, and art, and it is therefore to that Foundation and to my own University that I must express my gratitude for the opportunity to work in this delightful field and the pleasure of making contacts with Jain monks and laymen.

The bulk of my material has come from manuscripts lying in Jain libraries in India, the remainder from manuscripts belonging to libraries and museums in America and Europe. These various institutions have without exception accorded me every privilege, either in permitting me to examine or photograph manuscripts in their collections, or in providing me with photographs or copies. Specific acknowledgment to them will appear in the following pages.

The individuals who have taken their time to help me are many. In Europe Prof. H. Jacobi, veteran Jain scholar, first to publish a version of the Kālaka legends, not only gave me introductions to Jains in India but also provided me with a photostatic copy of a valuable text and discussed points with me. Prof. Ernst Leumann, that other veteran western student of Jainism, editor of two other versions of the Kālaka story, copied out for me the paragraph concerning Kālaka in Klatt's unpublished *Jaina Onomasticon*. Dr. A. Guérinot placed his wide learning in Jainism at my disposal and gave me many valuable references.

In India my helpers include, of laymen, Prof. H. D. Velankar, of the Wilson College, Bombay, who copied out many citations from the *Catalogus Catalogorum* of *Jaina Manuscripts* which he is preparing, a work destined to be of the greatest usefulness; Prof. S. K. Belvalkar, of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, who gave me access to all the materials under his control; Mr. F. B. P. Lory, Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency, who furnished me with introductions in Ahmedabad; most of all Mr. K. P. Mody, of Ahmedabad, who with generosity

inspired by devotion to his religion, forsook his business affairs for many days to introduce me to monks and to get me entrance to Jain libraries in Ahmedabad, Patan, and Cambay, and to borrow for me manuscripts from other cities.

Of Jain monks many have given me of their time and learning. In the order in which I met them, they are Sāgara Ānanda *Sūri*, Vijaya Vallabha *Sūri*, *Muni* Kānti Vijaya, *Muni* Haṃsa Vijaya, *Muni* Catura Vijaya and his disciple *Muni* Puṇya Vijaya, two profound scholars of Jain texts, who collected manuscripts for my inspection and photographing at Patan, and Vijaya Nemi *Sūri*, who opened for me his library in Cambay. It was not my good fortune to meet Vijaya Indra *Sūri*, successor to Vijaya Dharma *Sūri*, but my indebtedness to him is heavy. At his suggestion manuscripts were obtained for me from Agra and, more important, the institute at Shivpuri was thrown open to me. There I met two excellent scholars, *Muni* Vidyā Vijaya and *Muni* Jayanta Vijaya, with whom I read the version of the Kālaka legend beginning *hayaḥpaṭiññiyaḥpayāvo*.

It is perhaps permissible to record here my appreciation not merely of the courtesy and scholarship of Jain monks and laymen but also of their lofty ideals and noble lives. They are of the greatness that is India. There is a spirit of helpfulness, tolerance, and sacrifice coupled with their intelligence and religious devotion that marks them as one of the world's choice communities.

Further, I must acknowledge my obligation to the Darbars of the Baroda, Gwalior, and Cambay states, which gave me all aid and hospitality while I was within their borders engaged in study.¹

W. NORMAN BROWN.

PHILADELPHIA, January 9, 1931.

¹ My thanks are due also to the Freer Gallery of Art, and to its Curator, Mr. John Ellerton Lodge, for assuming the publication of this work, providing me with the facilities of the Gallery for my study, and giving valuable advice in the selection of illustrations. Joined with the Gallery is the editorial department of the Smithsonian Institution, headed by Mr. W. P. True, which has given me most valuable assistance in every technical phase of the production. [April 11, 1932.]

Since this study was made, Professor Leumann, whose scholarship and personal kindness both hold me under obligation, has died.

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CHAPTER I

THE KĀLAKA STORY AS LEGEND AND HISTORY

Among the many non-canonical works in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, Gujarati, and other languages produced by the Śvetāmbara Jains are numerous accounts of the Ācārya Kālaka, or Kālīka.¹ In the following pages 17 redactions of this cycle either in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit or Sanskrit will be mentioned and discussed at greater or less length,² some of the texts appearing in edition, with or without an English translation. Still other redactions exist, mostly in modern languages, such as Gujarati,³ for the legend is well known and is considered important by the Śvetāmbaras.

The legend usually appears at the end of the Kalpasūtra (after the Paryuṣaṇākalpa)⁴ ascribed to Bhadrabāhu, now read by the Jain monks at the time of the Paryuṣaṇā festival to monks and laymen alike, although according to the Jain tradition it was until the year 510, or 523, of the Vikrama era (A. D. 453, or 466)⁵ read only to monks. The reason for the close connection between the Kālaka legends and the Kalpasūtra lies in the fact that tradition, as narrated in the legends themselves, makes Kālaka the *sūri* under whose authority the date of concluding the Paryuṣaṇā festival was advanced from the fifth to the fourth night of the light half of the month Bhādrapada.⁶ The legend of Kālaka is indeed sometimes mentioned as the ninth

¹ The variation in spelling is similar to that appearing in the case of many other proper names, as Śālavāhana and Śālivāhana; in the older versions Kālaka, or a Prakrit equivalent, is the spelling usually appearing in the body of the text, Kālīka the spelling appearing in introductory stanzas or in colophons. The Kālaka legend has been treated from original materials as follows: Bhau Daji, Inroads of the Scythians and the story of Kālaka, Journ. Bombay Branch Roy. Asiatic Soc., vol. 9 (years 1867-70), pp. 139-146, 1872, who mentions a number of versions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Marwari, and Gujarati; H. Jacobi, Das Kālākācāryakathānakam, Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges., vol. 34, pp. 247-318, 1880, being text of our L.A.V. (see p. 36), edited from a single manuscript, with introduction, translation, and glossary; E. Leumann, Zwei weitere Kālaka-Legenden, Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges. 37, pp. 493-520, 1885, being the versions of Bhāvadevasūri (see our p. 87) and Dharmaprabhasūri (see our p. 92), edited each from a single manuscript, with introduction and glossary; the text of the version beginning "Śrīviravākyaṇumatam" (see our p. 98), edited, but without exact critical notes, at the conclusion of the Kalpasūtra in the Sheth Devchand Lalbhai Jain Pustakodhar Fund Series, no. 18, Bombay, 1914. There is also a very brief note by A. Weber on a modern version, the authorship of which he does not identify although his report makes it sound like that of Samayasundara (see our p. 34) in Abh. der berl. Akad. Wiss., 1877, p. 7, note. For citations of literature dealing originally with the miniatures illustrating the Kālaka legends, see chapter II, p. 13. The material provided by the scholars mentioned above has been utilized secondarily by numerous other scholars, many of whom will be quoted in this work.

² See especially chapter III, pp. 25 ff.

³ See pp. 25, 34, 56.

⁴ For text, translation, notes, and introduction of the Kalpasūtra, see Jacobi, The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, Abh. Kunde Morgenlandes herausg. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges., vol. 7, no. 1, Leipzig, 1879; Jacobi, Gaiṇa Sūtras, Sacred Books of the East, vol. 22, Oxford, 1884; W. Schubring, Kalpasūtra, Leipzig, 1905.

⁵ See Jacobi, The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, p. 24; Kalpasūtra in the Sheth Devchand Lalbhai Jain Pustakodhar Fund Series, no. 18, folio 1. Cf. Jacobi's translation of the Kalpasūtra, Sacred Books of the East, vol. 22, p. 270.

⁶ For this festival see Stevenson, Heart of Jainism, pp. 76, 208, 250. Oxford, 1915; Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 433, Berlin, 1925.

lecture (*vyākhyāna* or *vācanā*) of the Kalpasūtra,⁷ and is to be read with the Kalpasūtra on the first night of the Paryuṣaṇā.

A second, and subordinate, reason for the importance attached to the legend of Kālaka is its moral lesson that he who labors for the eminence of the Faith obtains imperishable glory. A casuistic application is sometimes given this idea, to the end that if in so doing he should perform actions otherwise reprehensible, the purity of his purpose will nevertheless justify his conduct.⁸ Still another lesson taught by Kālaka's story is the value of having *labdhi* (magic power acquired by Yoga); for with its aid Kālaka punished Gardabhilla (see note 18 to this chapter). In many of the texts Kālaka has to expiate the wrathfulness and vengefulness of his dealings with King Gardabhilla, for these characteristics are sharply at variance with the ethics of Jainism.

At precisely what time the various anecdotes clustering about the name Kālaka were first gathered together in a single text it is impossible to say. The upper limit could not be before the second half of the tenth century A. D. This fact seems clear from the reference to Vairasinha (or Vairisinha) as the father of Kālaka, and ruler of Dhārā. This Vairasinha seems to be Vairisinha II of the Paramāra Rajput line that ruled Mālava for a number of centuries, and he is reputed to have changed the capital from Ujjain to Dhar. He could not possibly have been the father of any of the Kālakas mentioned in our legend and our stories cast no light upon him, yet for some reason unknown to me his name has been connected with that of Kālaka. The dates for Vairisinha II are not certain, but Bühler makes it clear that he and his successor Harṣa Siyaka reigned probably during the years 920-974 (or 975) A. D., at the end of which time Vākpati II (Munja, Amoghavarṣa) came to the throne.⁹ The lower limit, on the other hand cannot be below the first half of the thirteenth century A. D., for Bhāvadēvasūri, who flourished 1250 A. D., wrote a brief version.¹⁰ The Long Anonymous Version (L.A.V.) is undated, but the oldest manuscript of it that I have used was copied Vikrama Saṃvat 1336 (A. D. 1279),¹¹ and I saw at Patan another damaged manuscript that was dated a year earlier; the Prabhāvakacarita, which contains a short version, was written in Vikrama Saṃvat 1334 (A. D. 1277). The great Hemacandra (A. D. 1089-1172) mentions Kālaka in his Yogaśāstravṛtti, which he composed at the request of his patron, King Kumārapāla (reigned Vikrama Saṃvat 1199-1229), and gives one anecdote of his story. The Kālaka cycle, therefore, may reasonably be considered as old as the twelfth century A. D., while evidence to show it earlier would not come to us with any surprise. It is not impossible that the Kālaka legend was first put into literary form during the reign of King Bhoja (c. 1018-1060)

⁷ See Jacobi, Kalpasūtra, p. 25; Jacobi in Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges., vol. 34, p. 247.

⁸ See, for example, Vinayacandra's version (p. 29), stanza 2:

avadyenāpi yaḥ kuryāj jānapravacanonnatim
sa śudhyati pratikrāntaḥ sudhīḥ Kālikasūrivat.

⁹ For the chronology of the Paramāra Rajputs of Mālava see Bühler, Epigraphia Indica, vol. 1, pp. 222 ff. For the association of Vairisinha II with Dhar see in the same article, p. 237, and in the Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. 11, p. 293, 1908.

¹⁰ See p. 87.

¹¹ See p. 25 and p. 36.

of Mālava, whose capital was Dhar, the celebrated patron of letters, but there is no direct evidence to prove the hypothesis.

The various recensions of the Kālaka legend have an amazingly unitarian character. With only a few minor points of exception they treat his career in four episodes.¹² In the first we have Kālaka's conversion and initiation under Guṇākara and the dealings with Gardabhilla, the wicked king of Ujjayinī, whose overthrow Kālaka effects with the help of the Sāhis (Sanskritized as Śākhis). In the second we have the events at the city of Kings Balamitra and Bhānumitra, and the alteration of the date of the Paryuṣaṇā; in the third we read of Kālaka's reproof to his vainglorious spiritual grandson Sāgaradatta; in the fourth Kālaka expounds the Nigoda doctrine to Śakra. In one case episodes three and four are omitted,¹³ and in another a fifth episode is added.¹⁴ Minor details vary slightly in the different recensions, but not seriously. The variations are chiefly stylistic, and it is on this ground that I have ventured to publish in this volume a number of recensions.

Of the four episodes of the Kālaka legend it is probable that the one dealing with the change of the Paryuṣaṇā date was the last to be included in the cycle, for it is the only one that is never illustrated by paintings in the manuscripts (see p. 115). This fact might be in accordance with the comparatively late time at which the change of the Paryuṣaṇā date was effected (see p. 6).

It seems impossible to ascribe all the known versions of the Kālaka cycle to a single written source, whether that source should be one of these versions or some other lost original. A reconstructed original text, like that of the Pañcatantra so brilliantly set up by Edgerton,¹⁵ cannot in my opinion be constituted; the wording of the versions is too divergent. It is hardly likely that any ever existed. There was probably for many years a mass of floating legend around the name of Kālaka, which was well known throughout Śvetāmbara circles. This existed for the most part orally and the monks told it in long and short versions, each to some degree inventing his own phraseology. So, too, when it came to transcribing the legends, it was probably from oral sources that the monks drew quite as often as from literary, and the summary (*saṃkṣēpataḥ*) versions, which are numerous, derived from each kind of tradition. The most that it seems possible to do is to indicate groups of versions, the separate members of each group being more closely allied to one another than to members of any other group.¹⁶

The various anecdotes connected with the name Kālaka are mentioned in the Śvetāmbara books outside the works dealing primarily with Kālaka. The learned

¹² Jacobi, *Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges.*, vol. 34, p. 249, considers the story to be in six episodes, dividing our first into two (first, conversion; second, uprooting of Gardabhilla) and our second into two (first, dealings with Balamitra and Bhānumitra; second, changing of the Paryuṣaṇā). The separation is logical; for the Kālaka converted by Guṇākara seems to have been the hero of our fourth episode; while, according to the usual Jain tradition, Balamitra and Bhānumitra lived many centuries before the Kālaka who altered the Paryuṣaṇā date. Nevertheless the texts seem to regard the episodes of the story otherwise.

¹³ See chapter III, subrecension 5a (p. 29).

¹⁴ See chapter III, recension 16 (p. 33). This is the episode also given by Hemacandra in the *Yogaśāstravṛtti* II. 60.

¹⁵ F. Edgerton, *The Pañcatantra reconstructed*, 2 vols., American Oriental Series, New Haven, 1925.

¹⁶ See chapter III, pp. 25 ff.

monk Sāgara Ānanda *Sūri* was kind enough to copy out for me a passage from the *Daśācūrṇī*, folio 45 of a MS. in his possession, which tells of the changing of the *Paryuṣaṇā* date.¹⁷ The learned monk Vijaya Nemi *Sūri* also had two passages copied for me from the *Bṛhatkalpacūrṇī*, the first from the fourth *Uddeśaka*, on folio 599 of MS. no. 1 in his library,¹⁸ where Kālaka's tale is mentioned as being well known, the second from the fourth *Uddeśaka*, on folio 355 of MS. no. 6 in his library.¹⁹ Śakra's questioning of Kālaka about the Nigodas is mentioned, according to the learned *Muni* Jayanta Vijaya, in the *Āvaśyakacūrṇī* by Jinadāsa (said to have lived in the tenth century of the *Vīra* era), on the *gāthā devindavandīhiṃ* in Part I (*Āvaśyakaniryukti*, *gāthā* 774); in the *ṭikā* on the *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra*, *adhyayana* 2, by Śāntisūri (died Vikrama Saṃvat 1096; see Klatt, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 11, p. 253) appears the incident of Sāgaracandra's self-conceit, also in the *Uttarādhyayanāniryukti* and in the *Uttarādhyayanacūrṇī* (see *Uttarādhyayanāni*, pt. 1, being no. 32 in the Devchand Lalbhai Jain Pustakoddhara Fund Series, p. 127a, bottom, to vs. 119, which is printed as vs. 120). In the commentary by Devendra, assisted by Munibhadra, to Vimalacandrasūri's *Praśnottaramālā*, commentary to stanza 25, brief mention is made of the *Kālakācāryakathā*; this work, as I understand Weber, is from the year Vikrama Saṃvat 1429 (A. D. 1372), and the Devendra mentioned would not be the author of the *ṭikā* on the *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra*.²⁰ In Somaçandra's *Kathāmahodadhī*, composed in Vikrama Saṃvat 1504, the story of Kālaka is no. 31.²¹

The most striking single incident of the Kālaka cycle, namely, the defense of a city by an ass magic, has a rather attenuated parallel in the *Pāli Jātaka* book, no. 454.

¹⁷ *kāraṇiyā cauthī vi ajja Kālaehiṃ pavattitā. kahaṃ puṇa Ujjenīe naḡarie Balametta Bhānumettā rāyāṇo. tesī bhainejjo ajja Kālaeṇa pavāvito. tehiṃ rāhiṃ (MS. rāi°) padutṭhehiṃ ajja Kālae nivvisato kato. so Paṭṭhāṇaṇi āgato. tattha Sātavāhaṇo rāyā sāvago. teṇa samaṇa pūyaṇa chaṇo pavattito. anteuram ca bhaṇitaṃ, aṭṭhami mā (? bhā) di su uvavāsaṃ kām—amāvāsāe uvavāsaṃ kām itī pāṭhāntaram—pāraṇae sāhūṇa bhikkhaṃ dātum pārijjaha. annayā pajjosamaṇā divase āsaṇṇe āgate ajja Kālaeṇa Sātavāhaṇo bhaṇito, bhaddavaya (MS. °vato) joṇhassa (MS. joṇaha °) paṇcamīe pajjosavaṇā. raṇṇā bhaṇito tad divasaṃ mama Indo aṇujātavvo hohi tti. to ṇa pajjuvāsītāni cetiyāni sādhuṇo ya bhavissanti tti kātum chaṭṭhiṃ pajjosavaṇā bhavatu. āyariṇeṇa bhaṇitaṃ, na vaṭṭati atikkametum. raṇṇā bhaṇiyaṃ, to cauthīe bhavatu. āyariṇeṇa bhaṇitaṃ, evaṃ hou tti. cauthīe katā pajjosavaṇā. evaṃ cauthī vi jātā kāraṇitā.*

A longer account with almost no variation appears in the *Niśīthacūrṇī*, in sections which I have photographed. In it Balamitra and Bhānumitra rule at Ujjain.

¹⁸ *vijjā-orassa balī teya saladdhī sahāya-laddhī vā
uppāeum sāsaṭi atipantaṃ Kālagajjo vva. (bhāṣyagāthā)*

(*vr̥ttiḥ*) *yo vidyābalena yuktaḥ, yathā Āryakhaputaḥ; āurasena vā balena yuktaḥ, yathā Bāhubalī; tejolabdhyā vā salabdhiḥ, yathā Brahmadattaḥ; sambhūtabhave sahāyalabdhīyuktaḥ, yathā Harikeśabalaḥ; idṛśo 'dhikaraṇam utpādyātīprāntam atīva pravacanapratyanikaṃ śāsti Kālikācārya iva, yathā Kālikācāryo Gardabhillarājānam śāsitavān. kathānakam supratītatvāt na likhyate.*

Essentially the same verse is treated in the *Niśīthacūrṇī* with the story of Kālaka and Gardabhillā told in full (10th *Uddeśa*).

¹⁹ *jayaṇāe vibhāsā so puṇa sāsentao imeriso (vijjā-gāthā). antocitaṃ vaṃso ṭhavijjai jahā ajja Kālaeṇa Saga-vaṃso.*

²⁰ A. Weber, *Verzeichnis der Sanskrit- und Prakrit-Handschriften der K. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. 2, pt. 3, no. 2021, p. 1118 ff., 1892. Cf. H. Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*, p. vii.

²¹ *Ibid.*, no. 2015, p. 1103; the same work is mentioned in Peterson, *Detailed report of operations in search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle*, pt. 3, Extra number of *Journ. Bombay Branch Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, Appendix, pp. 18, 317, 1887; Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 326, 1920. In Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 949, in an account of a MS. of Harshanandana's *Prabhātavyākhyāpaddhati*, gloss to the *Rṣimaṇḍalaṭīkā*, second *Adhikāra*, the 35th story is the *Kālikaputrakathā*, which is mentioned in Klatt's unpublished *Jaina Onomasticon*, but from its title would hardly seem to concern our Kālakas.

the Ghatajātaka (Fausbøll's text 4, pp. 79 ff., especially pp. 82-83; Cambridge translation 4, pp. 50 ff., especially 52-53), which is a garbled version of the Krishna legend. There the city of Dvāravatī was protected by a *yakkha* (Skt. *yakṣa*; cf. the *viṣṇā*, or *vidyā*, of Jain texts), which, when enemies approached, would take the form of an ass and bray. At once the city would by magic rise and fly to an island, where it would remain until the enemy had left; then it would return. This insipid legend must certainly be connected with that in our cycle, and establishes a decent antiquity for the motif of a city protected by ass magic, but, as far as I can see, has no further significance for us.

In a number of connections it is made evident that the stories assembled around the name Kālaka are not confined to a single person, but relate to three, who are separated from one another by appreciable periods of time. The texts themselves occasionally make this clear,²² and other sources confirm the general statement.²³ It was Jacobi's opinion, on making his investigation, that the tradition should be extended so as to increase the number of Kālakas from three to five,²⁴ but Leumann felt that there was no reason to assume more than the three,²⁵ I think correctly. These are differentiated in the traditions as follows:

Kālaka I. Also known as Sāmajja (Śyāmārya), the author of the Prajñāpanāsūtra,²⁶ successor of Guṇasundara (= Guṇākara in the Kālaka tales), according to the Daśapūrvīn list in Merutunga and the Kathānaka of the Kalpasūtra, and to the Yugapradhānasvarūpa, where he is number 12. In the Mahāgiri line of the Nandī- and Āvaśyakasūtra he follows Sāi (Svāti). According to the statement, presumably by Devarddhigaṇin, in the introduction to the Prajñāpanāsūtra, and the statements in the Kalpadruma and in Samayasundara's introduction to his version of the Kālākāryakathā he was the twenty-third sthavira, but this position is obtained only by including the 11 gaṇadharas in the count.²⁷ In the paṭṭāvalī of the Kharataragaccha, in connection with the citation of the sthavira Vīra (980 Vīra era) the three Kālakas are mentioned and their dates given;²⁸ in the paṭṭāvalī of the Tapāgaccha, in connection with the citation of the ninth sthavira, is mentioned the alternative tradition of the Nandī- and Āvaśyakasūtra.²⁸ In Dharmasāgaragaṇin's Gurvāvalīsūtra he

²² Dharmaprabhasūri's version, appended stanzas (see p. 97); Samayasundara's late version (see p. 34).

²³ Jacobi, Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges., vol. 34, pp. 250 ff., gives traditions according to the Kalpadruma (a late commentary on the Kalpasūtra), the introduction (presumably by Devarddhigaṇin) to the Prajñāpanāsūtra, the Kathānaka of the Kalpasūtra, the Nandī- and Āvaśyakasūtra; Leumann, Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges., vol. 37, pp. 496 ff., considers the traditions according to Dharmaprabhasūri (see the preceding footnote), the Mahāgiri line, as given by Merutunga (the Nandī- and Āvaśyaka tradition), the Suhastin line (the line according to the Kalpasūtra and Daśāśrutaskandha), the Daśapūrvīn List according to Merutunga (the same as the line of the Kathānaka of the Kalpasūtra); Klatt, Indian Antiquary, vol. 11, pp. 245 ff., giving the paṭṭāvalīs of the Kharatara and Tapāgacchas; Klatt, in Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk, pp. 54 ff., Stuttgart, 1888, giving the apocryphal list of the Yugapradhānasvarūpa, composed Vikrama Samvat 1685 (A. D. 1628); Weber, op. cit., no. 1980, a MS. of Dharmasāgaragaṇin's Gurvāvalīsūtra with commentary; Dharmasāgara was living 1573 A. D. (Winternitz, Geschichte . . . vol. 2, p. 355.)

²⁴ Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges., vol. 34, p. 253.

²⁵ Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges., vol. 37, pp. 496 ff.

²⁶ The fourth of the twelve Upāngas of the Śvetāmbara canon; see Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Literatur, vol. 2, pp. 292, 307; Weber, Indischen Studien, vol. 16, pp. 392 ff.; Charpentier, The Uttarādhyayanasūtra, p. 27, Uppsala, 1922; Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 99, Berlin, 1923.

²⁷ See Leumann, Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges., vol. 37, p. 497.

²⁸ Klatt, Indian Antiquary, vol. 11, pp. 247, 251.

is mentioned as living at the time of the twelfth sthavira, Sīhagiri, and alternative dates of 376 and 386 Vīra era are given.²⁹ He lived as a householder 20 years, as a monk 35, as *sūri* 41, as stated in an appended stanza to one manuscript of Bhāvadeva's version of the Kālakācāryakathā³⁰ and in the Yugapradhānasvarūpa. He became *sūri* in 335 Vīra era and died in 376, according to the usual tradition, although there is a variant making the date 386, which is mentioned in the paṭṭāvalī of the Tapāgaccha.³¹ Samayasundara mentions variant dates of 320 and 325 (should the latter be 335, emending *vīsa* to *tīsa*?), without giving them credence.³² This Kālaka is credited with expounding the Nigoda doctrine to Śakra, as related in the fourth episode of the Kālakācāryakathā (so the statements in Samayasundara's introduction, in the paṭṭāvalī of the Kharataragaccha, in the Yugapradhānasvarūpa, and in a stanza given as a gloss to Dharmaprabhasūri's version). The Kalpadruma assigns this feat to the third Kālaka, but both tradition and probability are against this; for the Prajñāpanāsūtra, which is always ascribed to Kālaka I, discusses that doctrine.³³ The Yugapradhānasvarūpa and Dharmasāgara assign the change of the Paryuṣaṇā date to the first Kālaka, thus countering the ordinary tradition.

Kālaka II. Brother of the nun Sarasvatī, uprooter of Gardabhilla, according to all authorities but one. Most versions make him the disciple of Guṇākara (= the sthavira Guṇasundara), but this must be an error; for on chronological grounds it must have been Kālaka I who was Guṇākara's disciple. The Kalpadruma and Samayasundara add an alternative tradition stating that Kālaka II was the maternal uncle of the kings Balamitra and Bhānumitra of Jain tradition, thus agreeing with a few versions of the Kālakācāryakathā, although most of them identify the Kālaka who was the uncle of those kings with the Kālaka who changed the date of the Paryuṣaṇā (Kālaka III, according to the general tradition). The year of Kālaka II is by all authorities said to be 453 of the Vīra era, in which year it is specifically stated in a stanza appended to three MSS. of Dharmaprabhasūri's version that he took (*gahiya*) Sarasvatī. Possibly the statement is slightly inaccurate, and the date refers to his accession to the position of *sūri*, just as in other stanzas appended to MSS. of the same version the year 335, which is the date of accession to the position of *sūri*, is mentioned as that of Kālaka I. Dharmasāgaragaṇin assigns the deeds of Kālaka II to Kālaka I.

Kālaka III. He advanced the time of concluding the Paryuṣaṇā festival from the fifth night of the light half of the month Bhādrapada to the fourth, in the year 993 Vīra era (523 Vikrama era, A. D. 466), according to all but a very few authorities.³⁴ In the Yugapradhānasvarūpa, where the change of the Paryuṣaṇā date is

²⁹ Klatt, in Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk, p. 55, note 5.

³⁰ See p. 92; Leumann, Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges., vol. 37, p. 496.

³¹ Klatt, Indian Antiquary, vol. 11, p. 251.

³² The year 325, if assumed to refer to the death of Kālaka I, would almost correspond with that of 386, if understood in accord with the Jain chronology employed by Hemacandra (see Jacobi, The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, p. 8; Charpentier, in Cambridge history of India, vol. 1, p. 157). In this chronology the death of Mahāvīra is set 60 years later than in the usual Jain chronology (467 B. C. instead of 527), and 325, according to it, would correspond with 385 in the usual chronology.

³³ Jacobi, Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges., vol. 34, p. 251.

³⁴ To the sources mentioned in note 23 of this chapter, add the references from the Sandehaviṣṇuśādhī and other commentaries on the Kalpasūtra reported in Jacobi, The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, pp. 114-118.

ascribed to Kālaka I, it is stated that Kālaka III merely confirmed the change.³⁵ Dharmasāgaragaṇin also credits Kālaka I with the change.

Although the first, second, and fourth episodes of the Kālakācāryakathā are associated with Kālakas otherwise reported in Jain tradition, the third episode is left unrelated to any of them. This is the episode of Kālaka's reproof of his vain-glorious spiritual grandson, with which is associated his use of the sand illustration to teach how the knowledge of the sacred lore has diminished steadily from the time of Mahāvīra. It would be idle for us to attempt a reference to any particular one of the three Kālakas, although one is tempted to think of Kālaka I, on the ground that he who used the sand illustration might also be the one who dealt with the Nigoda computations, which are kindred to it in so far as they all deal with innumerable minutiae.

There is a Jain astronomer known from Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary on Varāhamihira's *Bṛhajjātaka*, vol. 15, p. 1, whose name appears in western treatises as Kālakācārya.³⁶ The name is regularly preceded by the syllable *vaṇ*, for which no one offers an explanation. Possibly the astronomer's name was *Vaṇkālakācārya*. This might be a somewhat curious formation, being Prakrit *vaṇkālaka* (*vakrālaka*, "having curly curls") and the usual Sanskrit title *ācārya*. Leumann suggests that this astronomer is the same as the Kālaka who changed the date of the Paryuṣaṇā festival, since the change implies the making of astronomical calculations. If the astronomer is really one of our three Kālakas, he might perhaps more plausibly be identified with Kālaka I, author of the *Prajñāpanāsūtra* and expounder of the Nigoda, computer of large sums, reader of Śakra's palm, as narrated in the fourth episode of the Kālakācāryakathā. But he may be none of these, and, as I have suggested, not actually bear the name Kālaka.

There remain then, according to Jain tradition, three Kālakas: the first died Vīra era 376; the second flourished (perhaps became *sūri*) Vīra era 453; the third was living Vīra era 993.

The tradition concerning Kālaka I, once the miraculous elements are excluded, is essentially credible. The claim that he composed the *Prajñāpanāsūtra* can be neither proved nor disproved, but it is entirely possible that he should have done so.

With Kālaka II the general tradition is acceptable. But he could not have been the disciple of Guṇākara, provided Guṇākara is the same as Guṇasundara, for dates are against that. He might have uprooted King Gardabhilla by bringing in invaders from the west. As the dates of this king in the usual Jain chronology are in the years 453-466 of the Vīra era,³⁷ he could not have been the uncle of Balamitra and Bhānu-

³⁵ Quoted by Klatt, in *Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk*, p. 56: *sthāpitā, na tu pravartitā; pravartitā tu dvādaśamaṃyugapradhānaKālikācāryeṇa* (as authority is cited the *Kalpasaptatikā*).

³⁶ See Leumann, in *Actes du sixième congrès international des Orientalistes tenu en 1883 à Leide*, pt. 3, sect. 2, pp. 553 ff.; Bühler, referring to Kern, in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 20, pp. 362 f.; Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, p. 112.

³⁷ For the well-known Jain chronology see Bühler, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 2, p. 362; Jacobi, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, p. 7, quoting Bühler; cf. *Abhidhāna Rājendra*, vol. 5, p. 1289; Jacobi, *Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges.*, vol. 34, pp. 253-254. A variant chronology by Jināsena (783-4 A. D.) gives the dates of the Rāsabha (= Gardabhilla) king as Vīra era 345-445 (see Jayaswal, *Journ. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc.*, vol. 16, p. 234).

mitra (reigned 353-413) as is sometimes stated. The year of Kālaka II is given as 453, meaning possibly the year of accession to the position of *sūri*.

But the situation is far from satisfactory with Kālaka III, in whose case Jain tradition is made to contradict itself. He was a contemporary of Balamitra and Bhānumitra, according to many versions of the Kālakācāryakathā, and of Sātavāhana (Śālivāhana).³⁸ Balamitra and Bhānumitra figure in Jain chronology as reigning from 353 Vīra era to 413 (174-114 B. C.);³⁷ yet the changing of the Paryuṣaṇā festival date is put at 993 Vīra era. There is an obvious contradiction. The most consistent account is that of the Yugaṇḍhānasvarūpa and of Dharmasāgaragaṇin, according to which it was Kālaka I who changed the date, not Kālaka III, and the Yugaṇḍhānasvarūpa explains the part of Kālaka III as being merely confirmatory of the action taken 600 years earlier (see above). The explanation seems too pat to be credible; after being in force 600 years it is hardly likely that the changed date would still be regarded as an innovation requiring confirmation. The accepted tradition, which makes Kālaka III the author of the change, seems more likely, and the minority report, as presented by the Yugaṇḍhānasvarūpa and by Dharmasāgaragaṇin seems to have originated to explain the very obvious chronological inconsistency. If we accept the year 993 Vīra era as that in which the change of the Paryuṣaṇā festival date was effected,³⁹ we must suppose that the story of Kālaka III has become confused in the Kālakācāryakathā with that of Kālaka I, the only one of the three Kālakas who could have been the uncle of Balamitra and Bhānumitra, consistently with the dates given these kings in Jain tradition (353-413 Vīra era). Most of the texts name Balamitra and Bhānumitra as kings of Bhṛgukaccha (Broach), but a few put them at Avanti (see chapter III, section IV, and note 17 of this chapter). The latter tradition seems to conform to the usual tradition, which implies, if it does not state categorically, that they ruled at Ujjayinī. It is tempting here to suggest that Kālaka III actually had a disagreement with a king and his purohita at Broach, as described in the texts, and left there for the southland, where he instituted the change in the date of the Paryuṣaṇā festival, and that when the confusion between Kālaka III and Kālaka I took place, the seat of Balamitra and Bhānumitra's government was in the stories transferred to Broach. The suggestion remains conjectural.

In addition to points of Jain church history raised by the Kālaka tales, there are points of political history touched by them, especially in the doings of Kālaka II. First of all, he is said to have brought the *sāhis* into western India, leading them from

³⁸ Sātavāhana's capital was at Pratiṣṭhāna, and he may be taken for some one of the Andhra (Śātakarṇi) kings, mentioned in the Purāṇas. They came into power about 220 B. C. and their dynasty is said to have endured 460 years (according to the Purāṇas) or until 236 A. D. For the dynasty see Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 35-43, 71, Oxford, 1913; Smith, *The early history of India*, pp. 182 ff. and table opposite p. 190, Oxford, 1904; Cambridge history of India, vol. 1, pp. 317-8, 529 ff., 598 ff., 698, 1922; Deb, in *Zeitschr. f. Indologie und Iranistik*, vol. 1, pp. 250-302, 1922.

³⁹ The year of Kālaka III, that is, 993 Vīra era, is sometimes confused with the year 980 Vīra era, a celebrated date in Śvetāmbara history, with which three other important events in church history are varyingly associated: (1) Council of Valabhi under presidency of Devarddhi; (2) Council of Mathurā under presidency of Skandila; (3) public reading of Kalpasūtra before king Dhruvasena, since when it has been read before laymen as well as monks; see Kalpasūtra, Jinacaritra 148, in Jacobi, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, p. 67, with quotations from the commentaries giving the traditions on pp. 114-118, and in translation of the Kalpasūtra, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 22, p. 270 (cf. note 5 to this chapter).

across the Indus into Kach and Surat and then into Malwa, where they deposed the wicked King Gardabhilla, otherwise known as Dappaṇa (Darpaṇa).⁴⁰ Jain tradition makes the dates of this king 453-466 Vīra era (74-61 B. C.), and these dates are not at variance with that of Kālaka II (453 Vīra era). The name Gardabhilla is presumably to be connected with the name of the Gardabhin (or Gardabhila) dynasty of Purāṇa tradition, 7 (or 10) in number, reigning 72 years,⁴¹ a period of time so much longer than that which Jain tradition allows Gardabhilla that a connection between the two traditions must be considered extremely inexact, although they seem to correspond in setting both Gardabhilla and the Gardabhin dynasty at approximately the same epoch (first century B. C.).

These *sāhis* came from *Sagakūla* (Skt. *Sakakūla*), that is, the Saka bank (of the Indus) or region, otherwise named *Pārasakūla* (Persian bank)⁴² or *paścimapārśvakūla* (western bank).⁴³ In many texts it is said that these *sāhis* were called Sakas because they came from the Saka region,⁴⁴ but in others it is definitely stated that they were Sakas,⁴⁵ and we may therefore accept them as Sakas, and the region whence Kālaka brought them as possibly Seistān, or at least the western bank of the Indus.

Question at once arises as to whether or not it is possible to confirm the report of the Kālaka tales that the Sakas were in western India during the first century B. C. It must at once be admitted that it is not possible to do so beyond controversy. On the other hand, it is also impossible at present to prove the story wrong. As Professor Rapson says, the invasion of western India at that time by the Sakas and the capture of Ujjayinī are possibilities which are "not inconsistent with what we know of the political circumstances of Ujjayinī at this period."⁴⁶ Very recently Prof. Sten Konow has published a long account of the history of the Sakas, assembling all the available information from outside India as well as within in masterly fashion,⁴⁷ and I can here do no better than report from his findings. "It is evident," he says, dealing with classical sources, "that the old home of the Sakai was considered to be in the Pamir country, to the north of the Hindukush and east of Bactria and Sogdiana, and that Saka tribes were further considered to exist to the east of the Caspian Sea and beyond the Jaxartes. Later on Sakas are also mentioned in the present Seistān, the oldest source being here Isidor of Charax, who lived under the emperor Augustus" (p. xvii). Confirmation from Iranian sources is found. After examining the Chinese sources, he says, "We thus arrive at about the same localization as from the classical and Iranian sources" (p. xix). Considering their wanderings, he says, "It is . . .

⁴⁰ See in this volume, pp. 33, 78, 106.

⁴¹ See Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 45-46, 72.

⁴² *Kathāvalī*, see our p. 106.

⁴³ *Śrīviravākya*° version, stanza 24, see p. 99. There seems to be no ground for thinking the *Sakakūla* to be the delta of the Indus, as does Rapson (*Cambridge history of India*, vol. 1, p. 532) or for suspecting the element *kūla* to represent a misunderstood foreign word, as Konow suggests (*Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, p. xxvii).

⁴⁴ For example L.A.V., stanza 63 (see p. 43), *Sagakūlāo jeṇaṃ samāgayā teṇa te Sagā jāyā*.

⁴⁵ As in version no. 5, stanza 54 (56), where they are called *Saganarindā*.

⁴⁶ *Cambridge history of India*, vol. 1, p. 532.

⁴⁷ In the lengthy introduction to his *Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 1929, where he also deals with the Yavanas, the Kuṣānas, and the Pahlavas, with early Indian eras, and with some other matters. This work is the culmination of a long interest by Konow in the Sakas and the Jain tradition concerning them, but references to his earlier writings need not now be given.

probable that they settled in Seistān as a consequence of the pressure which the Yüe-chi began to exercise shortly after 160 B. C. . . . In the first century B. C. we now find Sakas, or as the Indians call them Śakas, established in Sind and in the Panjāb, and the history of these Indian Sakas is of the utmost interest for our appreciation of the Kharoshthi inscriptions. Several of them bear direct witness to the rule of Saka kings and chiefs, and they are themselves among the sources for our knowledge of the history of India in the Saka period. This history is little known. We cannot say for certain when the Sakas first made their appearance in India or whence they came" (pp. xxv-xxvi). After referring to various sources, he states, "The inference which we can draw from these sources is, accordingly, to the effect that the stronghold of the Scythians, i. e., in this connexion the Sakas, was in the Indus country, and that the Saka conquest had been effected long before the second half of the first century A. D." (p. xxvi). After this he goes on to say, "A similar result must be derived from the traditional accounts preserved by the Jainas. The most important one is contained in a work of unknown date, the Kālakācāryakathānaka" (p. xxvi). This he knew from Jacobi's publication of a single MS. of L.A.V., and he expresses an opinion of the tradition as follows, "I cannot see the slightest reason for discrediting this account, as is usually done, because most scholars are a priori disinclined to believe in Indian tradition and sometimes prefer the most marvellous accounts of foreign authors to Indian lore. Almost every detail can be verified from other sources. A Saka empire in the Indus country is, as we have seen, known from classical sources. Ptolemy speaks of the extension of Saka power to Kāthiāwār, and the use of the imperial title 'King of Kings' among the Sakas is, as we shall see later on, attested by coins. And the Purāṇas speak of Śaka kings as the successors of the Gardabhila dynasty" (p. xxvii). He then takes up the variant forms of the title "King of Kings," in Persian, Greek, and Indic forms, and shows that the Sakas and Kuṣāṇas used it; hence the title *sāhānusāhi* of the Prakrit texts is perfectly credible in its application. Finally, "The history of the first Saka empire in India can accordingly be reconstructed as follows: Shortly after the death of Mithradates II in 88 B. C. the Sakas of Seistān made themselves independent of Parthia and started on a career of conquest, which took them to the Indus country. . . . Later on, about 60 B. C., the Sakas had extended their dominion to what the Kālakācāryakathānaka calls the Hindukadeśa, i. e. the lower Indus country, and thence to Kāthiāwār and Mālava, where they probably introduced their national era. In 57-56 B. C. they were here ousted by Vikramāditya, who celebrated his victory by establishing an era of his own, which we, about 70 years later, find used in Mathurā. The centre of gravity in the Saka empire was then transferred to the Panjāb and further to the east, and we find a Saka chief from the north-west, Maues, as bearer of the imperial title. . . ." (p. xxxvi).

This is an impressive array of evidence, and we may therefore accept the tradition of a Saka invasion of the lower Indus country, Kach, Surat, and Malwa, with capture of Ujjayinī, until evidence is adduced to contradict it. The fact that the legend contains fairy-tale elements need not make us reject its kernel. And, similarly, for lack of evidence to the contrary, we may tentatively accept the tradition that

Kālaka II was instrumental in showing the Sakas the opportunity they had to oust Gardabhilla (Darpaṇa).⁴⁸

After recounting the defeat of Gardabhilla and the establishment of the *sāhis* in Ujjayinī, a number of texts add as a digression (*pāsangiyam*) the statement that after a few years Vikrama (according to some other traditions the son of Gardabhilla) arose and overthrew the Sakas, founding his own era (57 B. C.). When 135 years of his era had passed, the Sakas regained the ascendancy and established their own era (78 A. D.). The texts making reference to these two eras include some of our most important, such as L.A.V., Bhāvadevasūri's, Dharmaprabhasūri's, the Prabhāvākacarita, and nos. 2, 4, 5, and 9 in chapter III of this volume.

We are thus introduced to two vexatious questions, namely, the origin of those eras, which I shall not discuss here. In regard to the Vikrama era, opinion is now well divided between those who follow Marshall and Rapson in assigning its foundation to Azes,⁴⁹ and those who assign its foundation to an Indian king, either a Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī,⁵⁰ otherwise unrecorded, or some other Indian king.⁵¹ Each opinion unfortunately can be opposed with argument; possibly that which favors an Indian monarch has the stronger support, in spite of the elusive character of the "Indian king."⁵²

With the Śaka era, confusion is even worse confounded. Some would identify it with no known king; others with Kaniṣka; others with Wima Kadphises; others with still different kings. It is interesting to note that the era is especially connected with the Deccan and Gujarat. The latest opinion, that of Konow, strongly favors Wima Kadphises.⁵³

The newly examined versions of the Kālaka legends add nothing on these last points to the statements made in L.A.V. and long since utilized by scholars. It is, in my opinion, impossible to extract any solid information on these eras from our texts. They frankly touch upon them only in passing, and nothing in the legends themselves bears upon them.

NOTE

In an article published in the Journ. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc., vol. 16, pp. 227-316, 1930, published after I had written this book, K. P. Jayaswal takes serious issue with Professor Konow concerning the Śakas and the Śaka era. Without entering into the controversy itself, I should like to make a few remarks on the use Mr. Jayaswal makes of the Kālaka material. In the first place, he nowhere distinguishes between the three Kālakas. He takes seriously the statement of L.A.V.

⁴⁸ Some of the Sakas wore pointed caps (*Tigrakhaudā*), according to very old traditions; see Cambridge history of India, vol. 1, pp. 338, 564; Konow, op. cit., p. xviii. Interestingly, the *sāhis* in the illustrations of the Kālākācārya manuscripts also wear pointed caps, like those of the modern Pathans.

⁴⁹ Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc., pp. 973 ff., 1914; Cambridge history of India, vol. 1, pp. 571, 581.

⁵⁰ As Konow, op. cit., p. lxxxv.

⁵¹ H. K. Deb identifies this king with one of the Śātakarṇi kings, Zeitschr. f. Indologie und Iranistik, vol. 1, pp. 250-302, 1922. Jayaswal (Journ. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc., vol. 16, p. 261) makes the king Gāutamīputra Śātakarṇi.

⁵² For summaries of the discussion concerning the foundation of this era, see Konow, loc. cit.; Edgerton, Vikrama's adventures, Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 26-27, pp. lviii-lxvi, 1926.

⁵³ See Cambridge history of India, vol. 1, pp. 583, 585, 703; Konow, op. cit., pp. lxxxvii ff.

that Balamitra and Bhānumitra were contemporaries of the Sāhi who captured Ujjain (other versions of the Kālaka legends differ). In the third place he relies (pp. 233, 237) on the bad readings *Saga-kula* for *Saga-kūla* and *Parśvakula* for *paścimaṇḍapārśvakūla*. He dates the migration of the Sakas, under Kālaka, about 123 B. C. and before 88 B. C. (p. 238). This would be Vīra era 404-439, which would be possible, according to the Jain tradition, only if the year of Kālaka II, which is Vīra 453, is taken to refer to his death, not the ascension to the position of *sīri*, as I have suggested.

CHAPTER II

MINIATURE PAINTING IN WESTERN INDIA, TWELFTH TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The presence of miniature paintings in many of the manuscripts of the Kāla-kācārya texts directs our attention to the school of painting which they exemplify.¹

Before the time of the miniature paintings in India of the Rajput and Mughal styles, that is, before the late sixteenth century, there have been found in that country only two styles of miniature painting. One of these flourished in Nepal and northern Bengal, with dated specimens starting in the eleventh century;² the other in Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Rajputana, and is now known to have been existing in the early part of the twelfth century.³ These two schools of painting seem to have had no direct relationship with each other, except as they both derive from an older common Indian tradition. That of Eastern India exists chiefly in Buddhist books; that of Western India mainly in Śvetāmbara Jain manuscripts, with a few interesting examples from its second period reported in secular and Hindu texts. The earliest known specimens, as well as the greatest number, appear among the Śvetāmbara Jains, and for this reason the style has been variously called "Jain" or "Śvetāmbara Jain," while one scholar has advocated the name "Gujarat."⁴ If a name based upon the apparent community of origin is desired, then "Śvetāmbara" would

¹ The following titles make a fairly complete bibliography of the works on this school of painting:

Brown, W. N. (1) in *Indian Art and Letters*, pp. 16 ff., 1929.

(2) in *Eastern Art*, pp. 167-206, 1930.

(3) in *Parnassus*, pp. 34-36, November, 1930.

Coomaraswamy, A. K. (1) in *Journ. Indian Art*, no. 127, 1914.

(2) *Cat. Indian Coll. Mus. Fine Arts, Boston*, pt. 4. *Jaina paintings and manuscripts*, 1924.

(3) *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 119-121, 1927.

(4) in *Bull. Mus. Fine Arts*, pp. 7 f., Feb., 1930.

(5) in *Eastern Art*, pp. 236-40, 1930.

Gangoly, O. C. (1) in *Ostasiatische Zeitschr.*, N. F. 2, 1925.

(2) in *Quart. Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, vol. 4, pp. 86-88.

(3) in *Indian Art and Letters N.*, pp. 104-115, 1930.

Ghose, Ajit, in *Artibus Asiae*, pp. 187 ff. and 278 ff., 1927.

von Glasenapp, H., final plate in his *Jainismus*, 1925.

Nahar and K. Ghose, *Epitome of Jainism*, 1917.

Hüttemann, W., in *Bäessler Archiv*, vol. 2, p. 2, 1913.

Mehta, N. C. (1) in *Rupam*, 1925.

(2) in his *Studies in Indian painting*, 1927.

(3) *Gujarati painting in the fifteenth century*, The India Society, London, 1931. A discussion of the Vasantavilāsa paintings in 37 pages, with black and white reproductions of 16 miniatures.

(4) in *Rupa-Lekha*, no. 3, pp. 3-9, July, 1929.

Shah, C. J., *Jainism in North India*, pls. 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 14, 1932.

The numbers in parentheses in the following footnotes refer to the corresponding numbers in footnote 1, above.

² See Coomaraswamy (3), pp. 115, 146.

³ Brown (1).

⁴ Brown (1), (2); Coomaraswamy (2), (3); Ghose; Mehta (2).

seem to be the choice; for the style does not appear among the Digambara Jains and therefore the designation "Jain" would be too inclusive. But we cannot be absolutely certain that the style originated among the Śvetāmbaras—although in the following pages I shall indicate reasons for thinking it did—and it might therefore be better to adopt a name after the geographical provenience of the style and call it "Western Indian," to which I can see no possible objection.

This "Western Indian" school is one of great importance in the history of Indian painting. For one thing it contains all the western Indian painting, whether of large or small dimensions, known to exist over a period of some centuries, continuing the sequence of the frescoes at Ajanta, Bagh, and Elura. For another it is the parent, on the Indian side, that in union with the Persian schools, on the other side, gave birth to the Rajput and Mughal styles,⁵ so prolifically cultivated and so well known. Important as this Western Indian miniature art is, and in spite of the few but easily accessible works that have been published on it, scholars are still found who seem unaware that it exists. As lately as in 1929, M. E. Blochet, of the Oriental department of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, said: ". . . the oldest Hindu miniatures known do not go back beyond the second half of the sixteenth century, in the reign of Akbar."⁶

One reason for ignorance may be the comparative paucity of specimens in Europe or even in India, except in the Jain bhaṇḍārs, where indeed the miniatures are numerous. A few exist in England, appearing on Jain manuscripts at the British Museum, the India Office library, the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Bodleian library, the Cambridge University library; in Germany at the Staats Bibliothek and the Museum für Völkerkunde, both in Berlin; in Austria at the library of the University of Vienna; and in France, I believe, at the library of the University of Strasbourg. It is possible also that some exist in Italy at Florence. In the United States, examples appear notably at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, where there is the best assemblage outside of Jain libraries in India,⁷ at the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, the Metropolitan Museum in New York, and the Art Museum in Detroit. There are also many privately owned paintings. Thus, it is evident that the materials, though not abundant in Western lands, are sufficient to remove any excuse for so sweeping a statement as that of M. Blochet, and the importance of the style is such that no account of painting in India can nowadays afford to ignore it.

The literature on the subject is not large. The first discussion was an account by Hüttemann of the Kalpasūtra manuscript owned by the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, published in 1913, followed a year later by an article by Coomaraswamy, and a description in book form in 1924 of the specimens owned by that time by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. N. C. Mehta published examples from a secular manuscript in 1925 and 1927; and in 1928 (although dated 1927) Ajit Ghose published two important articles on the style of this art. In 1929 I myself published the oldest specimens of this style so far discovered, and in 1930 Doctor Coomaraswamy published a

⁵ Cf. Stchoukine, *La peinture indienne à l'époque des grands Moghols*, 1928.

⁶ Blochet, E., *Musalman painting, xiith-xviiith century*, p. 52, London, 1929.

⁷ For descriptions of specimens acquired up to 1924, see Coomaraswamy (2).

manuscript newly acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and I another. A few other references or articles have appeared.⁸

No one but myself has yet endeavored to outline, even tentatively, the history of this art, and even I have done so only briefly; but I feel that, with the materials now accessible in the combined articles published, manuscripts available but not published, and the photographs I made during the winter of 1928-29 in Jain bhaṇḍārs, it is possible to sketch in general lines and illustrate the course of development of the art, provisionally offering certain stages in the history, subject to the criticism of other students.

The time limitations of this medieval Western Indian miniature painting are from the beginning of the style—our earliest dated examples come from Vikrama Samvat 1184 (A. D. 1127)—to about the end of the sixteenth century or early part of the seventeenth, by which time the significant history of the style is over. Examples follow in the late seventeenth century, possibly even in the eighteenth, but western India in general, the Śvetāmbara Jains included, now uses styles seriously affected by the Rajput-Mughal complex, finally succumbing to the latter. At this time come the second and third periods of Jain painting, as recognized by Mr. Ghose,⁹ which I should be inclined to call “Śvetāmbara Rajput.” My treatment here concerns only the period which he designates as the first, and it is within that period, extending roughly over about five centuries, that I wish briefly to indicate a development.

This style of miniature painting falls naturally into two periods, distinguished externally by the nature of the surface on which the painting is done, internally by the subject matter of the paintings and the character of the execution. During the first of these two periods the examples all appear on palm-leaf manuscripts; during the second on paper manuscripts, or on separate paper sheets or pieces of cotton as pictures independent of manuscripts, or on the prepared surface of manuscript covers, for which see Mr. Ghose's account. The palm-leaf period runs from the time of our first dated specimens (A. D. 1127) to about the end of the fourteenth century; the paper period from the end of the fourteenth century to about the beginning or middle of the seventeenth century. The year 1400 might be taken as a convenient date to mark the line of division, although the two materials were doubtless used side by side for some years, and any precise date is bound to be inaccurate. Possibly the period of transition ran from about 1350 to 1400 or a little later.

During both these periods the paintings have many common features. The method of manufacturing the manuscript seems to have varied but slightly. Two persons were employed, the copyist of the text and the artist of the paintings. On the manuscript folios the copyist marked off rectangular spaces (*ālekhyasthāna*) for the illustrations before he wrote down the text; this fact is clear from the minute examination of pages which show the writing running over the lines that bound the panels for the pictures. Sometimes he wrote in the margins legends to guide the artist, which the artist usually followed but not always. When the copyist had finished his

⁸ For titles by these authors, see bibliography in footnote 1 of this chapter.

⁹ Ghose; Coomaraswamy (2).

work, he turned over the manuscript to the artist, or sometimes did not, in which case the panels remained empty.¹⁰

In both periods the drawing is of great importance and is highly competent, although the art as a whole is in most of the surviving later examples one of craftsmanship and copying of previously constructed compositions rather than individual invention. As Mr. Ghose points out, the art is one with high decorative quality, both in design and color scheme, although I may add that this is less true in the palm-leaf period than in the paper. The colors contrast strongly and richly. The art always remains formal; there is seldom an attempt at portraiture; it is an art of idealized types.

One of the most striking of its external characteristics is the angular appearance of faces, both male and female, and with this goes a strange treatment of the eyes. In the older period faces are always represented in one of only two views, either that from the full front or that from about two-thirds, something just more than profile. In the latter case the farther eye is always drawn in full so that it protrudes beyond the line of the cheek into space. Mr. Ghose explains this phenomenon as due to the artist's desire to show that he was not painting something flat, but rather that his aim was plastic. This suggestion, ingenious as it is, seems to me to imply more sophistication than the artist is likely to have had and to be less probable than the concrete explanation I have offered elsewhere,¹¹ and will repeat here. In Śvetāmbara temples now in use all important images bear, over the eyes carved in the stone, additional glass eyes which are oval like eyes and are possibly added to give brilliance. These glass eyes extend before the natural eyes of the image to a distance of a half inch or more, and when the image is viewed from an angle the farther point protrudes into space beyond the line of the cheek, somewhat as do spectacles when a face is seen from an angle, giving precisely the result that appears in the miniature paintings. Since the earliest known specimens of this style of miniature painting appear in Jain manuscripts and are chiefly illustrations of Jinās, goddesses, and distinguished monks, such as are or might be figured sculpturally in Śvetāmbara temples, I have suggested that the western Indian style may have been hieratic in its inception, originating in the Jain milieu, and that the artists merely copied the style of temple images. It is difficult to illustrate the close similarity in appearance between the eyes of a Jain image and those of our paintings; for a three-quarters photograph of a Tirthankara in the rear of a dark temple cell is practically impossible for one who like myself is ceremonially ineligible to enter the cell. Yet the similarity is striking.

In comment upon my suggestion Doctor Coomaraswamy reminds us that there are secular and Vaishnava miniatures from Western Indian manuscripts that show the same peculiarity, and that it also exists in a less exaggerated form in the ceiling frescoes of the porch of the Kāilāsanātha (Hindu) temple at Elura.¹² The evidence of the miniatures he mentions does not seem important, for they are all on paper and are some centuries later than the oldest palm-leaf examples. The Elura paintings,

¹⁰ Cf. Coomaraswamy (2); Ghose.

¹¹ Brown (1).

¹² Coomaraswamy (4).

datable perhaps in the tenth or eleventh century, may have a bearing, although the protrusion is not prominent there; perhaps the artist was representing nothing more than the eyelashes. The phenomenon, as far as I am aware, does not appear in the paintings at Ajanta, Bagh, Sittānavasal, the Jain (Digambara) caves at Elura, and the Digambara structural temple at Conjeevaram, where there are two styles of ceiling painting, one painted on top of the other palimpsest fashion, of which the second is the only one so far reported in print.¹³ The Digambara Jains do not ornament their images with the additional glass eyes, and hence would have no established temple type to imitate, as did the Śvetāmbaras. In a note to me Doctor Coomaraswamy calls my attention to a remark by Otto Fischer (*Die Kunst Indiens*, p. 59), “über den umrissvorspringende Auge” in the Burmese paintings at Pagan. I cannot presume to estimate the significance of the phenomenon there; I can only point out the difficulty of relating it to that in Western India. There is a wide extent of territory between the two places, and so far there have been reported in the geographically intervening styles of painting (the Pāla style in Bengal and the style in Orissa) no instances of the protruding eye, which might serve as connecting links between the styles of Gujarat and Pagan. It seems more likely that the origin of the phenomenon is in each place independent of the origin in the other. Last of all there has come to light a small engraved bronze vessel which shows a tendency in some figures, but not all, toward the protruding eye, most of them exhibiting only the protruding eyelash. This vessel Doctor Coomaraswamy (*Ostasiatische Zeitschr.*, N. F., 6, Heft 5, 1930) considers on stylistic grounds to come from Western India and to be of late or immediately post-Gupta times, but it seems to me rather to come from Central Asia.^{13a} In style it shows some little similarity to Western Indian painting, but like so many other fine pieces it has no documentation and is not satisfactory to use as evidence in determining the origin of the protruding eye motif. It still seems to me, therefore, that this phenomenon is best explained as having its origin in the copying of images with their additional glass eyes as found in Śvetāmbara temples.

For we may go still further, and say that the angular features of the human face as drawn by Śvetāmbara Jain artists, and following them secular and Hindu artists in Western India, do not result from a desire to simplify the execution, as Mr. Ghose suggests, but rather from direct copying of medieval Jain Tīrthankara images, which have faces that look exactly like those of the Tīrthankaras and other unbearded figures in the miniature paintings. So, too, do the faces of modern images and of the wood carvings that appear in Śvetāmbara temples and are probably in a tradition at least as old as medieval times. Last of all many of the figures, especially of Jinas, goddesses, gods, and monks, appear in cells or templelike pavilions, as though the originators of the style had copied the setting with the figure. The whole style seems, in short, to have originated in Śvetāmbara temples, where the painting art has passed away, but some of its characteristics still continue in sculpture.

¹³ Coomaraswamy (3), p. 119.

^{13a} See in the *Pennsylvania Mus. Bull.*, vol. 27, no. 148, p. 138, April, 1932.

The earliest known specimens of Western Indian miniatures are two paintings found in a palm-leaf manuscript of the Jñātasūtra and next three Aṅgas of the Śvetāmbara canon with commentary by Abhayadeva now in the Nagin Dās (also called Śāntinātha Temple) Bhaṇḍār of the Śvetāmbara Jains at Cambay. These are dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1184 (A. D. 1127).¹⁴ Following these are two paintings of Hemacandra and his celebrated patron, the famous King Kumārapāla, found in a palm-leaf manuscript of Hemacandra's Mahāvīracaritra (not Bhadrabāhu's Kalpasūtra, as has sometimes been stated) at Patan, dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1294 (A. D. 1237).¹⁵ After these may come two other miniatures from Cambay.¹⁴ The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, owns most of a palm-leaf manuscript of the Sāvagaṇḍikamaṇa'sutta'cuṇṇi (also called Samaṇ'ovāsagaṇḍikamaṇa'sutta'cuṇṇi) containing six miniatures, some badly rubbed, dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1317 (A. D. 1260), coming from near Udaipur in Mewar, Rajputana.¹⁶ Other palm-leaf miniatures which will be noted here are two from a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra and a version of the Kālakācāryakathā, being No. 234 in the Sanghavīke-Pāḍāka Bhaṇḍār at Patan, dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1335 (A. D. 1278); two from a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra and a version of the Kālakācāryakathā in the Sanghakā Bhaṇḍār at Patan, being No. 4.2, dated Saṃvat 1336 (A. D. 1279).^{16a} Many other palm-leaf miniatures exist in manuscripts both at Cambay and Patan, and probably in other libraries which I have not seen, as those at Jaisalmir. Just recently a number of miniatures have been published in color from a palm-leaf manuscript of the Kalpasūtra, illustrating traditional scenes heretofore known only in the paper manuscripts.^{16b}

An examination of the miniatures of this period reproduced in this volume and in other literature cited in the notes above¹⁷ will show that the subjects of the paintings are as follows: Jinas (that is, Tīrthankaras, "Saviors"), goddesses, gods, monks, patrons (male and female) of the manuscripts, a king, symbols. This is a limited list of subjects. So, too, the attitude or poses of these subjects are limited, being only three. One shows with bilateral symmetry a cross-legged figure with face directed squarely to the front, and is confined to representations of the Tīrthankaras; a second is a standing pose with face turned to something less than full profile and

¹⁴ Box 6, bundle 2; see Brown (1); the first manuscript is listed in Peterson, Detailed report of operations in search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle, part I (extra number Journ. Bombay Branch Roy. Asiatic Soc., 1883), Appendix, p. 35. In the same library in box 18, bundle 1, is the second manuscript, which is of Hemacandra's Nemināthacaritra, Parva 8 of the Triṣaṣṭīśālākāpuruṣacaritra, containing two paintings, and said to have been copied in Vikrama Saṃvat 1198 (A. D. 1141); see Brown (1). Although Hemacandra was active at that time, it is not likely that this date is correct. Hemacandra wrote the Triṣaṣṭīśālākāpuruṣacaritra at the request of King Kumārapāla, according to the Praśasti of that work, and Kumārapāla did not ascend the throne until Vikrama Saṃvat 1199. The date is probably an error; perhaps it should be Vikrama Saṃvat 1298 (A. D. 1242), which would conform to the stylistic qualities of the miniatures as well as the demands of literary history. See our figs. 1, 2, 3, 4.

¹⁵ See Nahar and Ghose; also the learned Muni Chaturvijaya's edition of the Moharājaparājaya of Yaśapāla (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, no. 9, 1918), frontispiece; and Shah, pl. 8.

¹⁶ Coomaraswamy (4), (5). See our figs. 5, 6.

^{16a} See our figs. 7, 8, 9, 10.

^{16b} Shah pls. 1, 2, 5, 6, 14.

¹⁷ See references in footnotes 15, 16b.

usually with ankle and hip joints bent; the third is an easy seated pose with the face again turned to something less than full profile. The second and third poses are used with all subjects except Tirthankaras. The full front view used with Tirthankaras is the one possible view of a Tirthankara image as it sits at the rear of a cell in a modern Śvetāmbara temple (hence my inability to get a photograph to show the effect of the protruding glass eyes mentioned above). Bodies have broad shoulders and narrow waists, as in sculpture from early times in India. With both men and women the breasts are full; but the distinction between male and female in this older period is usually quite clear: in the female both breasts are drawn in; in the male only the farther. The poses of the torso are reminiscent of the bent figures of sculpture and point to a tradition anterior to our earliest preserved specimens, during which these conventionalized types were adopted and adapted to painting. Similarly, the dress, ornamentation, marks on the Jinas, the attributes of attendant figures, and the very compositions (as, for example, the two elephants pouring water over a Jina) are of ancient Indian lineage.

Although the types in these paintings are of great plastic antiquity and constitute the culmination of a long development, the painting itself is "primitive." It is flat, lacks depth, and has a narrowly restricted palette, using only a brick-red, close to vermilion, yellow, blue, white, and rarely a green. The reproductions in Shah's work cited above indicate that gold is used. The art is at a far remove from that of Ajanta or Bagh, as though it were a folk art converted to the purposes of religion, on which point Mr. Ghose writes pertinently (*loc. cit.*). The great merit of the art is the vigor of its drawing, the nervous force of its line, its high decorative quality.

The background in these early miniatures is usually a brick-red, close to vermilion. This characteristic persists throughout the entire history of the art, although in the paper period two kinds of red are employed for the background in different manuscripts, the old brick-red or vermilion and a red containing more purple, and the red is often displaced in whole or in part by blue.

In some of the paintings the drapery, especially that of the female figures, looks like a representation of Gujarat *patola* work, a patterned silk textile. In the paintings executed in Gujarat the female figures wear closed bodices—it takes a careful examination to determine this in the case of the Cambay miniatures—; in those from Mewar they wear bodices open in the front.¹⁸ Here possibly are depicted local peculiarities of costume. There are also variations in the treatment of the monks' drapery. Hemacandra has the right shoulder bare; on the other hand, the monks in the Patan manuscript of 1278 A. D. are covered to the neck, and the monk in the Patan manuscript of 1287 A. D. seems to have the right shoulder bare but the arm covered. There seems to be a convention that one figure should not be placed before another (*cf.* in *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1925, p. 188), and this is observed in both the palm-leaf and paper periods, except as an end of drapery or a foot of one figure comes before some part of another figure.

¹⁸ Coomaraswamy (4).

In the margin of the palm leaf opposite the panels there sometimes appear thumb-nail sketches of the compositions done with black ink, and occasionally the titles appear beside the completed paintings.

The miniatures of the palm-leaf period are executed with wider stroke, less complicated composition, and fewer details than are those of the paper period. The brushes used seem to have been heavier than some of those employed later, making them better suited to the surface on which the earlier paintings appear; for the palm leaf is less adapted to fine and delicate workmanship than is paper.

PAPER PERIOD (ABOUT 1400, OR EARLIER, TO ABOUT 1650)

(FIGS. 11-39)

The date at which paper came into use in Western India is not precisely ascertainable. I have seen a Śvetāmbara paper manuscript with illustrations dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1204 (A. D. 1147), and I had tentatively accepted the date in spite of some misgivings.¹⁹ But there can be no doubt that the date is false, as the learned Ācārya Śrī Vijaya Indra Sūri has clearly pointed out to me in a letter. One of the texts mentioned in this manuscript was not composed until Vikrama Saṃvat 1364 (A. D. 1307), and the date of the manuscript was forged, possibly to associate it with the celebrated Jinadatta Sūri, whose name appears as copyist, founder of the Kharatara Gaccha of the Śvetāmbara Jains, according to one tradition, who was actually living in 1147 A. D.²⁰ The manuscript is to be considered as just what it appears to be aside from the date associated with it, namely, a typical late fifteenth or early sixteenth century example; and it is therefore no longer necessary to arrange a history of Western Indian miniature painting to conform to the disturbing appearance of specimens so advanced stylistically at such an early date. My previous opinions have therefore been modified in the present treatment.

At Patan I saw a paper manuscript without miniatures dated = A. D. 1278, possibly correctly. But in any case by the middle of the fourteenth century the use of paper seems to have been well established in Western India. In the catalogue of the Śvetāmbara Jain bhaṇḍārs at Līmḍī,²¹ entry no. 2869 is dated = A. D. 1353, entry no. 1564 is dated = A. D. 1391 (entry no. 2350 dated = A. D. 1191 seems to contain a misprint, since that seems to be the date of the composition of the work, not of the copying of the manuscript); none of these contains miniatures. The statement has been made by Mr. Kaye that the earliest dated paper manuscripts in India

¹⁹ Brown (1).

²⁰ Vijaya Indra Sūri's letter dated December 6, 1929, said in part: "... I wish to bring to your notice one important fact. So far as I know I have not heard of any Jaina work in paper MSS. prior to the fourteenth century. The commentary Sandehavishāṣadhi on Kalpasūtra was written by Jinaprabhasuri in the early part of the fourteenth century (circa 1308). The *avachurni* which is said to have been based on Jinaprabhasuri's commentary must have been later. So the *avachurni* cannot be said to have been written in 1147. It is an impossibility. I think the mistake was committed by the copyist in the name of a great person to enhance the value of his manuscript by antedating it by nearly two centuries. So I cannot accept the date of the manuscript as 1147."

For date of the Sandehaviśāṣadhi, cf. also Jacobi, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, p. 25. See also in *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. 4, pp. 149-50, 1930.

For Jinadattasūri, mentioned as copyist of the MS., cf. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, p. 352.

²¹ Āgamodaya-samiti Series, vol. 58, Bombay, 1928.

are of the years A. D. 1231 and 1343, but on what authority he makes that statement does not appear, correct though it may be.²²

The paper manuscript which I saw at Patan dated = A. D. 1278 (Vikrama Saṃvat 1335) was on folios about 10 by 3 inches, that is, of about the same length as a small palm-leaf manuscript but of greater depth. The folios of the paper manuscripts become larger, running to a size of 11 by 4½ inches in the fifteenth century, and reaching still greater dimensions in the seventeenth century, when the Mughal influence in painting crowds out the old Western Indian style, showing then a size of as much as 16 by 6 inches, and possibly even larger.

Paper as used for manuscripts seems to have come to India proper in Gujarat first, arriving from Persia, which country it appears to have reached from China brought in by conquering peoples from Central Asia.

The oldest dated illustrated Śvetāmbara paper manuscripts of which I know are one in the library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, being a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1472 (A. D. 1415)²³ and one of the Kālakācāryakathā in the Līmbdī bhaṇḍārs (catalogue no. 577) of the same date. Following these is a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1484 (A. D. 1427), now belonging to the India Office, London, of 113 folios, most of them colored black or red, with the text written in silver ink.²⁴ Many more appear during the fifteenth century, often written with gold ink. We may fairly assume that illustrated paper manuscripts were being manufactured by A. D. 1400. The oldest manuscripts are usually done with gold or silver writing on a prepared red or black or blue, or sometimes an unprepared white, background. There is no proof that the writing with silver or gold ink on the colored surface is the oldest writing used with illustrated Śvetāmbara manuscripts, as Mr. Ghose suggests; for the earliest dated paper manuscripts without miniatures are written with black ink, like the palm-leaf manuscripts, on a plain background. The use of gold or silver ink and the colored surface indicate only an unusual outlay of money on the part of those laymen who gained merit by having the manuscript copied. The use of gold and silver ink on a specially prepared background persists to the time when the Śvetāmbaras executed their illustrations in the Mughal style, and I have seen at Patan a most elaborate Kalpasūtra from that period on large size folios done thus. A general principle, yet one which is by no means infallible, for estimating the age of undated paper manuscripts may perhaps be found in ascertaining the dimensions of the page: the nearer the measurements approach those of the palm-leaf folios, the more likely the manuscript is to be of the fifteenth century rather than of the sixteenth or seventeenth. For example, the manuscript in the

²² Kaye, G. R., *The Bakhshālī Manuscript*, *Archaeol. Surv. India*, new imperial series, vol. 43, pts. 1 and 2, p. 9. "The art of paper making appears to have been practised by the Chinese at a very early date. From the Chinese the Muslims learnt the process in the eighth century and they introduced it into Europe and also India about the twelfth century. Among the earliest Muslim manuscripts now preserved, one was written in A. D. 866, others in 974, 980, 990, etc. The earliest Indian paper manuscripts known were written in A. D. 1231 and 1343. The earlier one measures 6 x 4 inches (ratio 1.5) and the other 13½ x 5 (ratio 2.7). . . . About the middle of the fifteenth century the use of palm leaf as a writing material ceased in western India, but in eastern India it continued to be used side by side with paper until much later."

²³ See in catalogue of MSS. in that society's library prepared by Prof. H. D. Velankar, no. 1429.

²⁴ Jacobi, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, p. 28, Leipzig, 1879.

India Office dated = A. D. 1428 has folios measuring $11\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Also, the more blue there is in the background of the paintings, the more likely the manuscript is to come from the sixteenth century or later, although again this criterion is not absolutely certain; for blue is used in moderate degree in some of our oldest dated manuscripts. But the fact that the oldest paper specimens generally have a brick-red background makes it difficult to photograph them successfully without equipment for panchromatic work, and this I did not have in India; hence I have not been able to use in this volume some of the oldest miniatures I have photographed, as of manuscript no. 18.19 of the Wāḍi Pārśvanātha Bhaṇḍār at Patan, dated Saṃvat 1502 (A. D. 1445), the text of which I have employed in editing Dharmaprabhasūri's version.

The introduction of paper for a writing-surface produced a marked change in the character of the illustrations. In the first place the artist was able to get a larger working space than he had on the palm-leaf folios. In the case of the latter, the size of the picture was inevitably constricted by the natural width of the palm leaf: the miniatures from Cambay executed in the year A. D. 1127 measure $3\frac{7}{8}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$ or $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches;²⁵ those from Mewar, now at Boston, are a little smaller.²⁶ But the paper miniatures are all larger. As time went on and the size of the folios was enlarged, the available surface for the paintings was correspondingly increased. So too the shape of the miniatures was generally different. In the palm-leaf specimens the greater dimension is the horizontal; in the paper it is usually the vertical.

Paper not only offered a larger area for the painting but also provided a surface susceptible to finer workmanship. The broad, simple lines of the earlier miniatures now give place to a more delicate, if often weaker, drawing and to an elaboration of the composition with minor elements and a multiplication of detail. The miniatures of the paper period are more elegant, more sophisticated, and more decorative.

A great change takes place in the color scheme. Gold is employed where yellow appears in the palm-leaf miniatures, although the yellow still persists in some examples. Gold is also sometimes used as ink for writing the text, as too is silver. Possibly the gold would not adhere to the palm leaf as well as it would to the paper. As time went on the use of gold increased; its ornamental value was appreciated, and we see it substituted for white in monks' drapery, with the whiteness indicated by white dots, or, strangely, often by red dots. As much gold as possible was used in the paintings, adding brilliance to the color effect, and a technique was developed of applying first the gold, then the other colors.²⁷ Blue is more freely applied than in the palm-leaf period, thus giving a richer color scheme, and is often used to form backgrounds, even in the fifteenth century. An old rose is used, and very rarely an ochre. Green still remains rare. Both the brick-red or vermilion of the palm-leaf examples and a red containing some purple quality are used, usually not in the same miniature, although the two may appear on the same page in the case of those manu-

²⁵ Brown (1).

²⁶ Coomaraswamy (4), (5).

²⁷ Ghose.

scripts which write the text with gold ink on a prepared red background. The background for the writing is never, to my observation, done with the brick-red or vermilion.

In the subject matter of the miniatures also there is change. The old balance of few narrative scenes to many of Tīrthankaras, gods, and patrons, changes to a heavy preponderance for the illustration of narratives. In the new field it is confined among the Śvetāmbaras, so far as is now known, to the Kalpasūtra and the Kālakācāryakathā,²⁸ which, as noted in our first chapter, often appears as an appendage to the Kalpasūtra. The scenes depicted are fairly well stereotyped. Each artist reproduced those known to his predecessors and the depicting of new scenes was a rarity, although as time went on new ones were done, and the late manuscripts of the Kalpasūtra contain sometimes twice as many as the early paper manuscripts.^{28a} The compositions are standardized and appear with only slight individual variation in different manuscripts. In the case of the Kālaka legends, which as we have seen in our second chapter appear in a number of different versions, scenes are sometimes illustrated in a manuscript where the actual text does not describe the scenes. For example, the incident of Kālaka getting the ball out of the well does not appear in the text of Bhāvadeva's version, yet one of the manuscripts of that text which I have used illustrates it in a painting. Thus we see clearly that the artist was illustrating the body of legend clustering around the name of Kālaka rather than the actual text in which his miniatures were appearing.

The art also appears outside the Śvetāmbara milieu. A secular roll manuscript of a text called the Vasantavilāsa, dated Vikrama Samvat 1508 (A. D. 1451) has been discovered and some of its scenes reproduced in black and white.²⁹ Another manuscript outside the Śvetāmbara environment is partly preserved and is now owned by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. It is Vaishnava in subject, being devoted to the worship chiefly of Krishna, and on the preserved folios has 40 miniatures, all of which have been reproduced in black and white. The latter manuscript is not dated but seems to be from about the middle of the fifteenth century.³⁰ In neither of these manuscripts do the illustrations seem to be clichés; rather they have the character of originals.

Additional elements appear in the compositions, particularly in the wider use of foliage decoration, a greater number of animals represented, the more profuse illustration of architectural settings, the picturing of domestic and other new types of scenes. The drawing becomes more delicate and refined, the compositions more complicated, new bodily poses appear.

Very suggestively there are present in the Kālakācāryakathā paintings a new type of face and with it a new facial pose. The face is decidedly Mongolian in shape, moustaches, and beard, and is used only for depicting the foreign Sāhis, Saka by

²⁸ Hüttemann; Coomaraswamy (2).

^{28a} A descriptive catalogue of miniature paintings of the Kalpasūtra has been prepared by me, and, I hope, will shortly be published.

²⁹ Gangoly (1); Mehta (1), (2), (3).

³⁰ Brown (2); Gangoly (2), (3). Although Gangoly's article was published in an issue for 1930 the issue was not distributed until 1931; hence he had not seen my article in *Eastern Art*, nor had I seen his when I wrote. See our fig. 13.

nationality (see in chapter I), whom Kālaka has led from the western bank of the Indus to the eastern and into Kach, Gujarat, and Malwa. The very name of these Sāhis is Persian, being a Prakrit word for *Shah*, "king," and their overlord is called Sāhāpusāhi, Persian *Shahan Shah*. The face of the Sāhis is never shown in the slightly less than full profile pose with the protruding eye that is the invariable pose for the faces of Indians. Instead it is shown in something less than full front face and the eyes are always contained within the facial contour.³¹

The costume of the Sāhis is often different from that worn by any Indian figures. They are frequently dressed in long coats of overlapping links of mail, and on their heads they wear pointed helmets with long neck pieces. In some paintings they wear the turban wound around a pointed cap, like that at present in vogue among Pathans.³² Still more, the bodily poses are sometimes unlike any used with Indians.

It may not be without point to draw attention to the fact that the Mongolian cast of countenance of the Sāhis, their costume, and their bodily poses, although foreign to the rest of this Western Indian style of painting, are similar to elements in Mongol-Persian painting.³³

Possibly in these miniatures of the Kālakācāryakathā we should be justified in seeing the first small intrusion into Indian painting of Persian elements. As time went on the Persian encroached increasingly upon the native Indian style, until the combination of the two brought into existence the Rajput and Mughal schools. The Western Indian style was ultimately extinguished. By the middle of the seventeenth century it was about done; the few examples I have seen from after that time are degenerate and of no value aesthetically. Jain, Hindu, and lay artists alike employ Rajput styles.³⁴

³¹ Brown (1).

³² The pointed cap reminds us of the fact that among the ancient Sakas there was a division known as the *Tigrakhaudā*, "Pointed-Caps" (cf. note 48 to chapter I).

³³ See illustrations in Blochet, op. cit., pls. 46, 62.

³⁴ Coomaraswamy (2); Ghose.

CHAPTER III

RECENSIONS OF THE KĀLAKĀCĀRYAKATHĀ

The various recensions of the Kālakācāryakathā seem to be derived ultimately from a mass of floating tradition, some of which was probably written and some oral among the monks.¹ From first to last a redactor could draw from both traditions, as is well illustrated in MS. *a* of Bhāvadeva's version (edited below, pp. 87 to 92). On folio 4 of that MS. is an illustration of an occurrence not described in the text. When Kālaka arrived at the land of the Sāhis, he found a number of Sāhi boys (princes) sorrowfully gathered around a well, in which they had lost a ball. He offered to get it out, and called for bow and arrows. With the first arrow he pierced the ball, with the second arrow he pierced the first, with the third the second, and so on until he had made a chain of arrows, with which he lifted out the ball. The incident, omitted from Bhāvadeva's text, is told in Samayasundara's late version, composed Vikrama Saṃvat 1666.²

The persistence of the oral tradition beside the literary makes it unlikely that all the known recensions are derived from a common literary archetype. Most of them show a measure of independence from the others, yet in some cases so slight that virtually complete dependence is indicated. We may set up as the most authoritative and most widely used the Long Anonymous Version. It is possibly the oldest, although on this point it is impossible to speak with finality. The oldest manuscript of it that I have seen is dated Saṃvat 1335, a manuscript at Patan so badly injured that I was unable to use it; the oldest that I have used is dated Saṃvat 1336 (A. D. 1279). By that time the text already seems to have experienced several copyings, for the manuscript contains a number of bad readings. The version by Bhāvadeva-sūri, who flourished Saṃvat 1312, is therefore not likely to be older than the Long Anonymous Version. Nor is the anonymous Sanskrit version beginning *Śrīviravā-kyānumataṃ*, of which I have found only one palm-leaf manuscript. The lively version beginning *Hayapaḍiṇīya* may possibly have equal antiquity, especially in the subvariety represented in a single manuscript at Cambay (see below, p. 29), but the scarcity of palm-leaf manuscripts renders that unlikely.

¹ In chapter I, p. 1, allusion was made to versions or summaries of the Kālaka legends not edited or analyzed in this work. These are mostly in late Sanskrit or in vernaculars; one of them (Samayasundara's) is mentioned as our No. 17 in this chapter. Some others are mentioned by Bhau Daji, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 9 (for years 1867-70, but published 1872), pp. 139-146. These are (1) a version in the *Bharaheśvaravṛtti* by Subhaśilagaṇin (was living in 1465 A. D.; see Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur* 2.326), which gives only the first episode of the Kālaka legend, and in his analysis sounds more like our version beginning *hayapaḍiṇīyapaṇḍvo* (no. 14) than any other; (2) a Gujarati manuscript; (3) a Marawari manuscript; (4) a Marawari manuscript; (5) story in the *Paryuṣaṇāśataka*. He also analyzes a version of the Kālakācāryakathā, which he seems in points to have misunderstood; for example, he makes the Ass-Magic, after its discomfiture, defecate upon Kālaka instead of upon Gardabhilla. He also refers to the *Prabhāvākacārīta*.

² A familiar bit of Indian fiction: cf. *Mahābhārata* in Roy's translation, vol. 1, p. 387; Hemacandra's *Parīṣṭa-parvan* (Sthavirāvalīcarita) 8. 170-93. Cf. fig. 33.

The numerous Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit and Sanskrit versions of our cycle seem to me to fall naturally into five divisions, of which the group centering about the Long Anonymous Version is by far the most numerous. Again I would make clear that not all members of even this group are definitely and wholly derived from the central recension, for only some of them are clearly so. Others seem to have drawn coordinately from other sources as well, possibly oral, yet even they seem to have made use of the central recension.

I. LONG ANONYMOUS VERSION, AND ITS ADHERENTS

1. Long Anonymous Version (L.A.V.). Date unknown, but composed before Vikrama Saṃvat 1335 (see above, pp. 2, 25). Edited and translated in this volume (pp. 36 to 70). Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit, with a small amount of Sanskrit and some Apabhraṃśa. Mixed prose and verse (*campu*), chiefly in the Āryā meter. The longest, most artistic, and possibly oldest of all the versions of the Kālaka cycle that I have seen.

2. Anonymous Prakrit version in 153 (or 165) stanzas, chiefly Āryā, known to me from two manuscripts: (a) Patan, Sanghakā Bhaṇḍār 6.2; palm-leaf, being folios 125-144 at the conclusion of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra; not dated, but of thirteenth or fourteenth century; 153 stanzas; (b) Śrīvijayadharmalakṣmī Jñāna-mandira, Agra, ¹⁶³²/₇₅; paper, being folios 70-81, once at the conclusion of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra; bearing at the end additional statements written in by a later hand but now scratched out with a date of Saṃvat 1549, implying that the MS. was written before that time, a date which from the style of the manuscript and its illustrations might be acceptable, but cannot be taken as conclusive; illustrated (see reproduction in this volume, Fig. 22); 165 stanzas, containing stanzas not found in a, especially eight at the end.

This version is clearly secondary to L.A.V.

It begins:

jo kuṇai sa'sattie	sanghassa samunnaiṃ sayā-kālaṃ
lilāi sugai'sukkhāṇi	Kālaya'sūri vva so lahai. 1
tathā hi	
atth' ittha Dharāvāse	nayare naya-rehire naravar'indo
nāmeṇa Vayarasimho,	devī Surasundarī tassa. 2
sayala-kalā'gama-kusalo	putto tāṇaṃ ca Kālaya-kumāro.
so annayā turange	vāheṃ paḍiṇiyatto jā 3
sahayāra-vaṇ'ujjāṇe	tā picchai sajala-jalaya-vāṇīe
dhammakahaṃ kahamāṇaṃ	nāmeṇa Guṇāyaraṃ sūriṃ 4.

The close adherence of these stanzas to the opening prose of L.A.V. is obvious; going further we find phrases lifted bodily from L.A.V. Many stanzas correspond exactly or almost exactly with stanzas in L.A.V.; for example:

Stanza 14 equals L.A.V. 21, but reading *śidanti hi* for *viśidanti*.

Stanza 15 equals L.A.V. 22.

Stanza 17 equals L.A.V. 23.

Stanza 19

sangho vi jāva teṇaṃ	na mannio tāva garuya-kova-vasā
vihiyā tattha painnā	sūriṃ tao imā ghorā. (Cf. L.A.V. 27)

Stanza 20 equals L.A.V. 28, but reading *tu* for the first *ya*.

Stanza 21 equals L.A.V. 29.

Then follow a line of prose and stanza 22, exactly equivalent to the line of prose after L.A.V. 29 and stanza L.A.V. 31.

Stanza 26 equals L.A.V. 33.

Throughout the rest of the text there is equally close correspondence.

This version does not call the Sāhis Śakas, although it says that their region was on the Sagakūla. There is no mention of the establishment of the Vikrama and Śaka eras, except in the supplementary stanzas at the end of MS. *b*.

The four episodes of the tale have the following stanza allotment: (1) stanzas 2-64 (b69); (2) 65 (70)-100 (106); (3) 101 (107)-137 (142); (4) 138 (143)-153 (165). Sālavāhaṇa is mentioned in stanza 79 (84).

3. Anonymous Prakrit version in 108 (or 109) stanzas, known to me from one manuscript: Patan, Sanghakā Bhaṇḍār 58.2; palm-leaf; 21 folios, of which the last is broken, thus making the number of stanzas uncertain. Not dated, but the MS. seems to be of the fourteenth century.

Chiefly in Prakrit Āryā stanzas, but with some Sanskrit.

It begins:

uttunga·Bhaddasālaṃ	somaṇasa·pavitta·bhūmivara·bhāgaṃ
atthi iha Bharaha·khetto	Meru vva puraṇi Dharāvāsaṃ. 1
atth' ittha vairasiho	nāma nivo vairi·visara·kari·siho,
sura·sundari·sama·rūvā	bhajjā Surasundarī tassa. 2
tāṇaṃ Kālaya·kumaro	nāma suo bhuvaṇa·vissuo āsī.
so vāha·vāhi'ālīi niggao annayā kaiyā 3	
tatto a paḍiniyatto	cūa·vaṇe sajala·jalaha·ārāvaṇi
sou kin·iṇaṃ ti kouga	vasao aha tattha sa pavitṭho. 4
tā niai Guṇāyariyaṇi	muṇi·gaṇa·parivāriyaṇi sasaharaṇi vva,
nami' uvaviṭṭho guruṇo.	to dhammakah' evaṃ·āruddhā 5
yathā caturbhiḥ kanakaṃ pariksyate	
nigharṣaṇacchedana·tāpatādanāiḥ	
tathāiva dharmo viduṣā pariksyate	
śrutena śīlena tapodayāguṇāiḥ. 6	

The correspondences between this version and L.A.V. are close, extending to whole stanzas. For example:

Stanza 22 equals L.A.V. 22, but reading *karmāṇi* for *karyāṇi*.

Stanza 23 equals L.A.V. 21.

Stanza 24 equals L.A.V. 25, but reading *karesu* for *karehi*, *eiṇi* for *tai*, *hohi* for *hoi*.

Stanza 25 equals L.A.V. 26, but reading *ia* for *evaṇi*, *narindo* for *rūyā*, *cauvi·hasirisangheṇa* for *cauvi·hasangheṇa tao*.

The Sāhis are not called Śaka, although they live in Sagakūla. There is no mention of their line at Ujjayinī as a Śaka line, nor are the Śaka and Vikrama eras mentioned.

The four episodes are allotted space in the text as follows: (1) 1-66; (2) 67-88, with mention of King Sālāvāhaṇa (!) in stanza 76; (3) 89-99; (4) 100-108(109?).

4. Anonymous Prakrit version in 85 Āryā stanzas, known to me from two manuscripts: (a) Patan, Sanghakā Bhaṇḍār 2.2, being folios 139 to 151 of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra, with folios 141 and 149 missing; palm-leaf; not dated, but presumably of the fourteenth century; (b) Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 17.2276, being folios 99-106 of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra; paper, illustrated; not dated, probably sixteenth century.

It begins:

devinda·vinda·namiyaṃ
niḥjiya·parama·yasa·mayam
Risah'āi·jiṇa·varāṇam
thoūṇa aham vande
atthi Dharāvāsa·pure
Surasundarī piyā se;

siva·nihi·sāmpatti·parama·sāsaṇayaṃ
nandau siri·Vira·sāsaṇayaṃ. 1
pancaya·kallāṇag'āim patte ya
Goyama·pamuhe su·gaṇahārī. 2
nara·nāho Vayarasimha·nāmo tti;
putto Kālaya·kumāro ya. 3

Verbal correspondence between the text of this version and that of L.A.V. are numerous. It is merely a summary (*paraṇkathāyā diṇmātraṃ*).

The episodes are given the following allotment: (1) 3-42a; in stanza 37 we are told that because the kings came from the Śaka bank they were called Śaka kings; in stanza 38 Vikrama is mentioned; stanzas 40 and 41 equal L.A.V. 70 and 71; (2) 42b-63, with mention of Sālīvāhaṇa in stanza 51; (3) 64-74; (4) 75-85.

5. Anonymous Prakrit version in 132 (or 134) stanzas, known to me in two manuscripts: (a) Patan, Sanghakā Bhaṇḍār 82.1, being folios 154 to 170 at the conclusion of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra; palm-leaf, no date, but thirteenth or fourteenth century; (b) Patan, Sanghavīke Pāḍākā Bhaṇḍār 221, being folios 139 to 152 at the conclusion of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra; palm-leaf, no date, but thirteenth or fourteenth century; has two more verses than a.

It begins:

aṇusari·āgama·vayaṇam
pajjosavaṇa·cautthi
nāmeṇa Dharāvāsaṃ
Vesamaṇeṇaṃ nāsī
siho vva Vayarasīho
taṃ pālai nara·nāho,
Kālo nāmeṇa suo
siya·pakkha·sasaharo iva

siri·Kālaya·sūri·juga·pahāṇehiṃ
jaha āyariyā taha suṇeha. 1
atthi puraṇṇaṃ jattha savva·bhaya·mukke
kaya vva dīsanti dhaṇa·nivahā. 2
veri·mahākari·ghaḍāṇa duppiccho
devī Surasundarī tassa. 3
tesim bālatta vi sa·guṇehiṃ
kalā·visesehiṃ vitthario. 4

The episodes are given the following allotment: (1) 2-76 (78); in stanza 72 (74) it is stated that because the Sāhis came from the Śaka bank they were called Śaka kings (*Saga·kūlāo patta tti te ya Saga·patthivā jāyā*); information about the rise of Vikrama and the establishment of the Vikrama and Śaka eras is given in stanzas 74 (76) to 76 (78); (2) 77 (78) to 94 (96); King Sālīvāhaṇa is mentioned in stanza 87 (89); (3) 95 (97) to 122 (124); (4) 123 (125) to 132 (134).

5a. A subrecension of the foregoing, known to me from a manuscript in the Nagin Dās (Śāntinātha Temple) Bhaṇḍār, Cambay, 60(4), being folios 140 to 157 of a MS. of the Kalpasūtra; palm-leaf, no date.

It begins:

paḍisiddhaṃ pi kuṇanto	āṇāe davva·khetta·kālassa
sujjhai visuddha·bhāvo	Kālaya·sūri vva jaṃ bhaṇiyaṃ 1
akṣarārthaṃ paścād api vakṣyāmo bhāvārthas tu kathānakena tāvad ucyate.	

It then follows the wording of version 5, with only minor variant readings, until stanza 76 (78) of version 5, at which point 5a becomes independent. Its allotment of stanzas to the episodes is as follows: (1) 2-77; (2) 78-91, the king's name being Sālivāhaṇa; (3) and (4) are omitted, the interest of the text in Kālaka ceasing with the conclusion of the incident affecting the date of the Paryuṣaṇā festival. It concludes:

saṃkheveṇaṃ kahiyaṃ	Kālaya·sūriṇa saṃvihāṇaṃ·iṇaṃ
vittharo puṇa n' eyaṃ	niṇṇa·maihīṃ nisīhāo. 92. ch.
Kālikācāryakathā samāptā. ch.	

6. Vinayacandra's version, Sanskrit śloka, known to me from two manuscripts: (a) Patan, Sanghakā Bhaṇḍār 5.2, being folios 114-121, at the conclusion of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra, with folio 115 missing, palm-leaf, no date, probably fourteenth century, 88 stanzas; (b) Ahmedabad, Lohar Pol Bhaṇḍār 91.3.14, folios 1-5, paper, no date, but appears to be seventeenth century, 86 stanzas, very incorrect. The reverse of the folios of (a) is illegible in my photograph.

The text begins:

utpattivigamadrāuvyaṃ tripadīvyāptaviṣṭapam
mahema śrīMahāvīraṃ nirastavrjinaṃ jinam. 1
avadyenāpi yaḥ kuryāj jāinapravacanonnatin
sa śudhyati pratikrāntaḥ sudhīḥ Kālikasūrivat. 2
tathā hi
kṣetre 'trāivāsti Bharate Dharāvāsābhidhaṃ puram
Vāirisiṇho nṛpas tatra priyā 'sya Surasundarī. 3
tayoḥ sarvaguṇādhāraḥ kumaro Kālakābhidhaḥ
nirjitatridaśīrūpā svasā cāsyā Sarasvatī. 4
sa yāuvane vāhakelyā vyāvṛtto 'tha vanasthitani
natvā Guṇākaraṃ sūrim aśrāuṣid dharmadeśanām. 5

The substance of this version follows L.A.V. closely, although verbal correspondences are necessarily rare, the one being in Sanskrit and the other in Prakrit. As a sample, we may note stanzas 12 and 13, with which compare L.A.V. stanzas 27-30:

tadā sanghasamakṣaṃ sa pratijñāṃ sūrir agrahīt
nonmūlayāmi cen mūlād rājyād enaṃ nṛpādhamam 12
sanghādipratyanikānāṃ gatiṃ prāpnomy ahaṃ; tadā
gacche niyuḍya gītārthaṃ sūrir evam acintayat: 13

The allotment of episodes is as follows: (1) stanzas 3-45 (46); in stanza 22 it is said: *yān prāṭicyāṃ Sakakūlaṃ kūlaṃ prāpa kramāt prabhuḥ*; in stanza 44 (45)

it is said that the Sāhis were called Śaka because they came from the Śakakūla; there is no mention of Vikrama and his era and of the Śaka era; (2) stanzas 46 (47)-64 (63), with mention of King Śātavāhana in stanza 57 (56); (3) 65 (64)-79 (77); (4) 80 (78)-87 (85).

Stanza 86 of (b)—not legible in my photograph of (a)—reads:

śrīRatnasimhasūriṇām antevāsī kaśāmaṃkaṃ (read kathānakam ?)
cakre Vinayacandrākhyāḥ saṃkṣipta (read °ptaṃ) rūcīhetave (read sūci° ?). 86

There is an additional statement in (a) in bad Sanskrit:

iti śrīKālikācāryakathā samāptā śrīmunicandrasūreḥ tatsāya muni munisudaravācanārthaṃ
likhitam śreṣṭha sīrajena dharmārthaṃ sādhanā dattāḥ. 2

7. Maheśvarasūri's version, in 52 Sanskrit śloka, known to me from a single manuscript, Nagin Dās (Śāntinātha Temple) Bhaṇḍār, Cambay, 60(3), folios 158-163, at the conclusion of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra, palm-leaf, dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1365. At the conclusion of the story is a long praśasti, on two folios (164-5) then follows the statement:

nṛpavikramakālātītaṃ° 1365 varṣe bhādrapadadadāu (? read °padāu) navasyāṃ tithāu śrīsa-
dapāṭamaṇḍale vakraṇāgrāme kalpapustikā likhitā.

The text begins:

pañcamyāṃ viditam parva caturthyāṃ yena nirṃmitam
sāṃvatsariyam tasyoccāḥ kathā saṃprati kathyate. 1
Dharāvāsapure 'patye Vāirasimhasya bhūbhṛtaḥ
abhūtām Surasundaryāṃ Kāla(ka)ś ca Sarasvatī. 2

At the conclusion of stanza 52 is the statement:

iti śrīpallivālagacche śrīMaheśvarasūribhir viricitā (read viraci°) Kālikācāryakathā samāptā.

The four episodes are distributed in the text as follows: (1) stanzas 2-27; Kālaka goes to śakakūla (stanza 11), where the nobles are śākhi and the king is śākhānuśākhi; in stanza 17 he converts a burning of bricks (iṣṭikāpāka) to gold; (2) stanzas 28-37; the king is Sālavāhana; (3) stanzas 38-45; (4) stanzas 46-52.

8. The account in 156 stanzas in Candraprabhasūri's Sanskrit Prabhāvakacarita, edited by Hirananda M. Sharma Shastri (Bombay, Tukaram Javaji, 1909), pp. 36-46. The edition is from four manuscripts, designated by the symbols P, H, J, D, of which P (from Patan) is said to be the best. The Prabhāvakacarita was composed in the year Vikrama Saṃvat 1334 (A. D. 1277), according to stanza 22 of the praśasti (edition, p. 349):

vedānalaśikhiśaśidharavarṣe cāitrasya dhavalasaptamyām
śukre punar vasudine saṃpūrṇaṃ pūrvarṣicaritam.

This version begins:

śrīsimandharatīrtheśavidito 'naṇuto guṇān
kutaścid api so 'vyād vaḥ kālakaḥ sūrikuñjaraḥ 1
prācyāir bahuśrutāir vṛttaṃ yasya paryuṣaṇāśrayam
ādṛtaṃ kīrtiyate kiṃ na śakaṭi śakaṭānugā. 2

śrīdhārā (P °dharā) vāsam ity asti nagaram nagarojayī (?)
 dvijihvāsyā (?) samudgīrṇo yatra sādhuvaṇṇo 'mṛtāḥ 3
 āśāñkām balaṃ vādhyā (?) (P āśākāmbāvalaṃvādhyā) mahābalabharocchritā
 kīrtiḥ patālikā yasyākrāntavyoma guṇāśrayā. 4

The episodes in this version are distributed as follows: (1) stanzas 3-93; the mention of the accession of Vikrama and establishment of his era and the establishment of the subsequent Śaka era are said to be related as a digression; (2) stanzas 94-128; King Sātavāhana is mentioned in stanza 113; (3) stanzas 129-152; (4) stanzas 153-154. Stanza 155 is exhortatory and 156 identifies the *kālakākhyānaka* as the fourth section of the Prabhāvākacarita (called here Purvarṣicarita).

9. Anonymous Sanskrit version in 67 stanzas, with inner rimes, known to me from a single manuscript at Bhaunagar, paper, four leaves, no date, appears to be of seventeenth century. These were once at end of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra, folios 79-82.

It begins:

śrīvarddhamānapadapadmamarāladevaṃ
 śrīvarddhamānam abhinamya jinendradevaṃ
 kāmicit kathāṃ ubhayathā samayārthabhājāṃ
 vakṣamy ahaṃ sugurukālikasūrīrājāṃ. 1
 atrāiva bhāti nagaram bharate 'lakāram
 dhārādīvāsam iti puṇyajanāptaśobhaṃ
 śrīvāirisiṃha iti tatra nṛpaḥ surītiḥ
 satyābhidhā 'sya dayitā surasundarī 'ti. 2

The episodes appear thus: (1) stanzas 2-41; the eras are mentioned incidentally; (2) stanzas 42-52; King Sātavāhana is mentioned in stanza 48; (3) stanzas 53-60; (4) stanzas 61-66.

Stanza 67 reads:

itthaṃ kālikasūrīrācaritaṃ (?) samyaktvadhāyā mayā
 vṛddhāyā avagamyaramyamahimaṃ saṃkṣepato bhāṣitaṃ
 ye kalpāgamavācane savijayā vyākhyānti varṣaṃ prati
 śrīmanto vibudhavraje tilakatāṃ labdhvā śivaṃ yānti te. 67

10. Anonymous Sanskrit version in 74 śloka, known to me from a single manuscript, Sanghavīke Pādākā Bhaṇḍār, Patan, no. 234, being folios 145-155 at the conclusion of a manuscript of the Kalpasūtra: palm-leaf, not dated, but apparently of thirteenth or fourteenth century.

It begins:

parvedaṃ bhādrapañcamyāś caturthyāṃ abhavad yataḥ
 śrīmatkālikasūrīṇāṃ teṣāṃ vakṣye kathāṃ ahaṃ. 1
 iheva jambudvīpe 'sti dharāvāsābhidhe pure
 vāirisiṃho nṛpasya (read nṛpas tasya) devī tu surasundarī. 2

The episodes appear as follows: (1) stanzas 2-37; the Śākhi were called Śaka, according to stanza 37, because they came from the Śakakūla; (2) stanzas 38-50; the king's name is Sātavāhana (45); (3) stanzas 51-68; (4) stanzas 69-74.

II. BHĀVADEVASŪRI'S AND DHARMAPRABHASŪRI'S VERSIONS

Both these versions seem to be related to L.A.V., yet less closely so than are the foregoing. They appear frequently; of the first I have used four manuscripts, of the second six manuscripts.

11. Bhāvadevasūri's version, in 99 Prakrit ślokaś, appears edited in this volume, pp. 87 ff.

It begins:

atth' ittha bhārahe vāse kamala-keli-mandiraṇ
tilayaṇ bhū-purandhīe dharāvāsaṇ mahā-puraṇ. 1

The episodes fill stanzas as follows: (1) stanzas 1-64; because the Sāhis came from the Śaka bank, they were called Śakas; (2) stanzas 65-83; King Sālivāhana is mentioned in stanza 71; (3) stanzas 84-90; (4) stanzas 91-99. The authorship of the version is stated following the last stanza.

12. Dharmaprabhasūri's Prakrit version, in 57 stanzas, chiefly Āryā, composed in Vikrama Saṃvat 1389 (A. D. 1332), published by me in critical edition in this volume pp. 92 ff., and with translation in the forthcoming volume of studies to Sir George Grierson, which is being published by the Linguistic Society of India. It has many verbal correspondences with Bhāvadevasūri's version.

It begins:

nayarammi dharāvāṣe āsī siri-vairasiṃha-rāyassa
putto kālaya-kumaro devī-surasundarī-jāo. 1

The episodes appear as follows: (1) stanzas 1-32; (2) stanzas 33-45; (3) stanzas 46-50; (4) stanzas 51-56. The authorship and date of composition are indicated in stanza 57.

III. ŚRĪVĪRAVĀKYĀ° VERSION

13. The most popular version of the Kālaka cycle is a Sanskrit version in 65 stanzas, edited in this volume from 11 manuscripts and a printed text. It shows affinities to the foregoing versions, but has a number of minor points of difference. Its age is indeterminable, but the chances are that it is younger than most of them, for I have found only one palm-leaf manuscript of it.

It begins:

srīviravākyaḥnumataṃ suparva kṛtaṃ yathā paryuṣaṇākhyam etat
śrīkālikācāryavareṇa sanghe tathā caturthyāṃ śṛṇu pañcamītaḥ. 1
samagradeśāgatavastusāraṇ purāṇ dharāvāsam ihāsti tāraṇ
tatrāribhūpālakarīndrasīṃho bhūvallabho 'bhūd bhuvi vajrasīṃhaḥ. 2

The episodes appear thus: (1) stanzas 2-45; Balamitra and Bhānumitra, who regularly appear only in the second episode, here assist in the overthrow of Gardabhilla; (2) stanzas 46-56; King Sātayāna is mentioned in stanza 50; (3) stanzas 57, 58; (4) stanzas 59-65.

IV. HAYAPAḌIṆIYAPAYĀVO VERSIONS

The most popular Prakrit version appears here. This group is largely independent of all the foregoing, especially in giving Gardabhilla's name as Dappaṇa (Darpaṇa), and in two of them making Avanti the capital of Balamitra and Bhānumitra. The chief version is very lively. The dates are not known, and only the sub-variety appears in a palm-leaf manuscript; they may be fairly considered later than L.A.V.

14. Anonymous Prakrit version in 120 stanzas, with a few Sanskrit and one Old Gujarati stanza in that number, edited and published with translation in this volume, pp. 71 ff.

It begins:

haya-paḍiṇiya-payāvo	titth'unnai-kārao kalānilao
jayau jay'āṇanda-yaro	juga-pavaro kālagāyario. 1
magahesu dharāvāse	pure pur' āsī nivo vayarasīho
surasundara tti bhajjā	guṇa-jutto kālao putto.

The episodes are presented thus: (1) stanzas 2-83; in stanza 82 we are told that the Śaka dynasty arose in consequence of the Sāhi invasion; (2) stanzas 84-95; King Sālavāhana is mentioned in stanza 90; (3) stanzas 96-112; (4) stanzas 113-120.

15. Anonymous Prakrit version in 105 stanzas, known to me from a single manuscript in the Nagin Dās (Śāntinātha Temple) Bhaṇḍār, Cambay, no. 5.2, palm-leaf, five folios, no date, apparently fourteenth century. It has many verbal correspondences with the preceding version although omitting much of the lively conversation, but in itself needs frequent correction. It also conforms often to L.A.V.

It begins:

haya-paḍiṇīo kai-tittha-unnaiṇ jayau Kālagā'suriyaṇ	
vijjā'ṇanda-risīṇa ya	devindo dhamma-kitti-dharo. 1
magahesu dharāvāsammi vairasīho nivo piyā tassa	
surasundari tti putto	ya kālao sarasāi duhiyā. 2

The episodes are presented thus: (1) stanzas 2-45; in stanza 18 the name of Gardabhilla is given as Dappaṇa, as in the preceding version, stanza 10; stanzas 20 and 22 are the same as L.A.V. stanzas 22 and 21; stanzas 26 and 31 are the same as the preceding version's stanzas 23 and 28; in stanza 44 it is stated that the Sāhi line was called Śaka because the Sāhis came from the Śaka bank of the Indus; (2) stanzas 46-67; the seat of Balamitra and Bhānumitra's kingdom is at Avanti (as in the preceding version); King Sālavāhana is mentioned in stanza 54; (3) stanzas 68-93; stanza 69 is the same as the preceding version's 97; the name of Kālaka's spiritual grandson is Sāgaracandra, not Sāgaradatta (as in the preceding version); (4) stanzas 94-104.

It ends:

kappa-nisīha-kahā-tali-pabhiy'aṇusareṇa iya mahā'isayā-kālayasūri-evamdhā(? °vidhā) vaddhā vi suṇantu muṇī. 105 śrīkālīkācāryakathā.

16. Prose Version with some verses in Bhadreśvarasūri's Kathāvalī (see pp. 102-107). This version has a number of interesting variants, although it agrees essen-

tially with the others in this group. It gives King Gardabhilla the name Dappaṇa (Darpaṇa); Kālaka's sister is named Sīlamaī (Sīlamatī). In the second episode Bala-mitra and Bhānumitra are established at Ujjayinī; the King of Pratiṣṭhāna is named Sālavāhaṇa. In the third episode the spiritual grandson of Kālaka is called Sāgara-candra. This version adds a fifth episode, in which Kālaka's nephew named Datta, a wicked prince who dethrones and exiles his father, has a disagreement with Kālaka, plans his death, but himself is humiliated and dies fearsomely. Altogether this last is a highly edifying addition.

The text of the version is printed in this volume with an English analysis, pp. 102 ff.

The last episode of this version is also found in Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstravṛtti* (ed. Vijaya Dharma *Sūri*, Calcutta, Bibliotheca Indica, 1909), p. 260 (being commentary to stanza II, 60). The episode is given in 30 stanzas, beginning:

asti bhūramaṇī māulimaṇis turamaṇī purī
yathārthanāmā tatrāsīj jitaśattrur mahīpatiḥ.

The Sanskrit version of Hemacandra is very close to the Prakrit of Bhadreśvara.

V. LATER ENCYCLOPEDIC VERSIONS

There exist a number of later compilations of the Kālaka tales, many of them in Gujarati, or in mixed Sanskrit and Gujarati. One I have used.

17. Samayasundara's version in mixed prose and verse, mostly in Sanskrit, but with Prakrit and Gujarati, composed Vikrama Saṃvat 1666 (A. D. 1609). This is a long version that draws from all the foregoing versions and possibly also from oral sources. The expansion of the Gardabhilla episode is especially marked. I have used two manuscripts: (a) Agra, Śrī Vijaya Dharma Lakṣmī Jñāna Mandira ²⁶³/₇₃, paper, 14 leaves, the last leaf (no. 15) being missing, no date, but possibly seventeenth century; (b) copy of a manuscript in the Jain Library, Benares.

The text begins:

praṇamya śrīguruṃ gadyapadyavārttābhir adbhutam
kālikācāryasaṃbandhaṃ vakṣye 'haṃ śiṣyahetave.

atra pūrvaṃ sthaviṛāvalī vyākhyātā. tatra śrīkālikācāryo 'pi mahāprabhāvakaḥ sthavīro ba-bhūva. tena tasyāpi saṃbandhaḥ kathyate.

tatra kālikācāryās trayāḥ sthavirā jātās, tanmadhya ekaḥ śrīkālikācāryaḥ śrīmahāvīradevanir-vāṇāt saṃ° 376 varṣe śrīśyāmācāryanāmā śrīprajñāpanāsūtrakarttā pūrvavidāṃ vaṃse śrīsāu-dharmasvāmīna ārabhya trayaviṃśatitamaḥ puruṣo jātaḥ, yena brāhmaṇībhūtasāudharmendrāgre nigodavicāraḥ kathitaḥ. atra kecid vadanti:

siri-vīra-jīṇindāo tinni sae vīsa-varisa-voliṇe
kālayasūri jāo sakko paḍibohio jeṇaṃ. 1

iti gāthādarśanāt 320 varṣe nigodavicāraḥ kathakaḥ śrīkālikācāryo jātaḥ. kecid vadanti:

ti-saya-paṇavīsa ¹indo cau-saya-tippanna-sarasaī gahiyā
nava-saya-tinavaiṃ vīrā cauthi pajjo kālagāyariyā. 1 (metre?)

iti nirmūlaprāyagāthādarśanāt 325 varṣe jātaḥ. kecid vadanti: caturthyāṃ paryuṣaṇāparvapravart-taka eva nigodavicāravikhyātā, yathāsthitaṃ bahuśrutā vadantīti.

¹ Read *tisa* (?).

dvitīyas tu kālīkācāryaḥ śrīvīranirvāṇāt saṃ° 453 varṣe sarasvatībhrātā gardabhillocchedakaḥ, balamitrabhānumitrāṇpayoś ca mātulo jātaḥ. kutrāpi tu yaś caturthyāṃ paryuṣaṇāparvapravarttakaḥ kālīkācāryaḥ sa tayor mātulaḥ prokto 'sti, yad asti tat pramāṇam.

tṛtīyas tu śrīkālīkācāryaḥ śrīvīranirvāṇāt 993 varṣe śrīvikramasaṃvatsarāt saṃ° 523 varṣe jātaḥ, yena śrīvīravākyāt paryuṣaṇāparva bhādrapadaḥcamītaś caturthyām ānītam.

evaṃ śrīkālīkācāryatrayaṃ pṛthakpṛthak jātaṃ paraṃ nāmasādṛśyād dvayor agre tanayoḥ kālīkācāryayor ekībhūtāiva saṃlagnā kathā kathyate. ato 'tra pūrvam gardabhillocchedakaḥ śrīkālīkācāryasaṃbandho vācyate.

asmin jambudvīpe bharatakṣetre dhārāvāsaṃ nāma nagaram abhūt, paraṃ tan nagaraṃ kīdṛśam asti.

At the end of the work it is stated that it was composed by Samayasundara in the year Vikrama Saṃvat *rasartuśrīṅgāra* (1666) = A. D. 1609.

CHAPTER IV

LONG ANONYMOUS VERSION

Six manuscripts have been used in the preparation of this edition, which are clearly divided into two groups, here called *A* and *B*. Group *A* in turn possesses a subdivision between the three *s* manuscripts and the *n* manuscript, but the differences are in general not sufficient to justify making a separate category for *n*, and frequently *n* agrees with an *s* manuscript against the two other *s* manuscripts. The manuscripts and their description are as follows:

A

- ^s¹ Sanghākā Bhaṇḍār, Patan, No. 7.2; being folios 85 verso to 109 at the conclusion of a MS. of the Kalpasūtra; palm-leaf, well preserved; no date, but presumably thirteenth or fourteenth century. Ends: *kālikācāryakathānakam samāptam. cha. granthāgrām kathānikāyāḥ. 460. ubhayaṁ grām 1740. cha. cha. . .*
- ^s² Sanghākā Bhaṇḍār, Patan, No. 4.2; being folios 114 verso to 152 at the conclusion of a MS. of the Kalpasūtra; palm-leaf, well preserved; dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1336 (A. D. 1279). Has two paintings.¹ Ends: *iti pajjusavaṇākappo sammatto. cha. tatsamāptāu ca samāptam cevaṁ śrīkālikācāryākhyānakam. cha. saṁvat 1336 varṣe jyēsthā śu di 5 ravāu śrīpattane saharājādhirājasya śrīsārāgadevasya vijayini rājye śrīmatparyuṣaṇakalpo 'yaṁ likhitaḥ. cha. śubhaṁ bhavatu caturvidhāśrīsaṅghaḥ! tārakasya. cha. . . cha. cha. mangalam. mahāśrīḥ. cha.* There follows another line in later handwriting, which in my photograph is obscured and mostly illegible.
- ^s³ Sanghākā Bhaṇḍār, Patan, No. 47.2; being folios 112 verso to 141 at the conclusion of a MS. of the Kalpasūtra; palm-leaf, well preserved; dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1344. Has three paintings. The first folio (which would have been numbered 111) is missing. Ends: *kālikācāryakathānakam samāptam. grām 376. arham. ūkeśavaṁśe . . . saṁvat 1344 varṣe mārgga° śu di 2 ravāu somasīmṇena likhāpitā.*
- ⁿ Nagin Dās Bhaṇḍār (Śāntinātha temple Bhaṇḍār), Cambay, No. 107.2; being folios 101 verso to 132 at the conclusion of a MS. of the Kalpasūtra; palm-leaf, well preserved; no date, but presumably thirteenth or fourteenth century. Many folios are missing: nos. 106, 109, 110, 113, 122, 124, 131, and probably about four at the end of the MS.

B

- ⁱ MS. belonging to the India Office Library, London; paper; dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1485 (A. D. 1428). Ends: *iti śrīkālikācāryakathānakam samāptam. grām 369. saṁvat 1485 varṣe cāitra śu di 5 ravidine adyeha śrīmadāṇahillapattanavāstavye tṛ° vāikamṭhalikhitaṁ.* Then follows the familiar stanza: *yādṛśaṁ puṣtake dṛṣṭam* etc.
- [*J* Edition of the foregoing MS., with translation, vocabulary, and introduction, by Jacobi, Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges., vol. 34, pp. 247-318, 1880.]
- ^b MS. belonging to W. N. Brown; paper; 24 folios; no date but possibly about 1450 A. D.; written with gold ink on colored background. Ends: *iti śrīkālikācāryakathā samāptah (!). cha. mantrisomā likhitaṁ. cha. śrī.*

Instances of the difference between recensions *A* and *B* are fairly numerous. As examples, see stanza 23, to which *B* adds a *dohā*, thus giving a typical Apabhraṁśa Raḍḍā stanza; stanza 104, which *A* does not quote in full, but assumes is well known to the readers and indicates by giving the first few words followed by *iccāi*.

¹ See Figures 9, 10.

arhaṃ

I

atthi ih' eva Jambuddīve dīve Bhārahe vāse Dharāvāsaṃ nāma nayaraṃ. tattha vairi'vārasun-
 3 dari'vehavva-dikkhā-gurū Vairasiho nāma rāyā. tassa ya sayal'anteura'ppahāṇā Surasundarī nāma
 devī. tise ya sayala'kalā'kalāva'pārago Kālaya'kumāro nāma putto. so ya annayā kayāi āsa-
 vāhaṇiyāe paḍiniyatto sahayāra'vaṇ'ujjāṇe sajala'jalaha'ārāva'gaṃbhīra'mahura'nigghosa'māyan-
 6 niūṇa kougeṇa tan'nirūvaṇ'atthaṃ pavittṭho. tattha jāva pecchai susāhu'jaṇa'parivāriyaṃ bahu-
 jaṇaṇaṃ jiṇa'pannattaṃ dhammam'āikkhamāṇaṃ bhayavantaṃ Guṇāyārāriyaṃ, vandiūṇa ya
 uvavittṭho tappurao. bhayavayā vi samādhattā kumāram'uddisiūṇa viseseṇa dhamma'desaṇā, api ca:

9 yathā caturbhiḥ kanakaṃ parikṣyate
 nigharṣaṇacchedanātāpatādanāiḥ
 tathāiva dharmo viduṣā parikṣyate
 12 śruteṇa śīleṇa tapodayāguṇaiḥ. (1) (*jagatī*)

tathā

15	jīvo aṇāi'nihaṇo pāveṇa sayā duhio dhammo caritta'dhammo kasa'cheya'tāva'suddho	pavāhao 'ṇāi'kamma'saṃjutto suhio uṇa hoi dhammeṇa. (2) suya'dhammāo tao ya niyameṇa so cciya kaṇagaṃ va vinneo. (3) [J 259]
18	pāṇa'vah'āiyāṇaṃ jhāṇ'ajjhayaṇ'āiṇaṃ vajjhā'ṇuttāṇaṇaṃ	pāva'tthāṇaṇa jo u paḍiseho jo ya vihi esa dhamma'kaso. (4) jeṇa na vāhijjai tayaṃ niyamā
21	saṃbhavaī ya parisuddhaṃ jiv'āi'bhāva'vāo eehiṃ suparisuddho	so uṇa dhammanimi cheu tti. (5) bandh'āi'pasāhao ihaṃ tāvo. dhammo dhammatṭaṇaṃ-uvei. (6)
24	eehiṃ jo na suddho so tārisao dhammo eso ya uttamo jaṃ	annayarammi vi na suṭṭhu nivvaḍio niyameṇa phale viṣaṇvayai. (7) puris'attho ettha vancio niyamā
27	vanciijjai sayalesuṃ ettha ya avancio na hi saṃnaṃ parikkhiyavvo	kallāṇesuṃ na saṃdeho. (8) vanciijjai tesu jeṇa teṇ' eso buehiṃ sai niūṇa'dittṭhīe. (9)
30	iya guru'vayaṇaṃ souṃ saṃjāya'caraṇa'bhāvo micchatta'mohio 'haṃ	kumaro viyalanta'kanma'pabbhāro evaṃ bhaṇiṃ samādhatto: (10) jah'avatṭhiya'dhamma'rūva'kahaṇeṇa
33	paḍibohio; mahāyasa to bhayavaṃ tab'bhāvaṃ so vi tayaṃ paḍivajjiya	sampaī āisasu karaṇijjaṃ. (11) nāuṃ āisai sāhu'vara'dhammaṃ; jāi tao niva'samīvaṃmi. (12)

1 *s'i omit*2 *s's' jaṇvu°, n °dive; s'n dhārā°*3 *s' vairisiho; s' pahāṇā; n suṇdarī*4 *i sa, s' se; s's' omit ya after so; s' kayāim, ns² kayāi*5 *s' vāhiniya. ns² °haniyā; s' vaṇaujjā°, n vaṇojjā°;
i sayala (for sajala); n āyaṇṇiūṇa*6 *s² kouyagaṇa; i taṃ (for tan); i pecchai tu sāhu*7 *i (bahu)·ji°; s² āikkhā°; s² text begins with ikkha°;
n bhaga°; i guṇāyārāriyaṃ; n omits ya*8 *s² bhaga°*10 *i °nigharṣaṇā (J corrects, p. 318)*11 *b bharmnā*13 *i omits*14 *n saṃbutto*15 *n suhito; B puṇa*16 *i suyammāo (J emends); s² vi (for ya)*17 *n ccheya, i ttheya (J emends); n suddhe; s² ciya; B
viṇneo, n viṇeo*18 *s² pāni; s² vahāi°, i bahāi° (J bbahāi); i pariseho*19 *s's²b jjhāṇ; n i (for ya)*20 *i bajjhā; s² taya*21 *s² saṃbhavaī (omitting ya)*22 *n ttāva (for bhāva); s² tāo (for tāvo)*23 *i °suddha (J °dho); s² parisuddho; B uveti*24 *n omits vi; n suddha (for suṭṭhu); iJ nivaḍio (but
J in Glossar nivva°)*25 *s² phalaṃ visemuyai*26 *B u (for ya); s² vaṇniū, n vanniū*28 *s² ittha; s² ya maṇcio; s² jesu teṇesu*29 *s² parikkhikkhiyavvo; A vuhēhiṃ, J buhehi*32 *B rūvadhama*34 *i tā; s² aisai*35 *s² yo (for so); i ya (for vi); s² yataṃ; n paḍivajjai*

- 3 aha mahayā katthenaṃ
bahu'rāyaputta'sahio
aha gahiya'ḍuviha'sikkho
tā guruṇā niyaya'pae
panca'saya'sāhu'parivāra'parivuddo bhaviya'kamala'vaṇa'saṇḍe
- 6 paḍibohinto kamaso
nayarassa uttara'disā
āvāsio mahappā
- 9 taṃ nāṇaṃ logo
paṇamittu sūri'pāe
to Kālayasūrihiṃ
- 12 dhammo jiṇa'pannatto
taṃ soṇaṃ parisā
vaṇṇanti sūri'guṇe
- 15 evaṃ ca bhaviya'kamala'paḍibohaṇa'parāṇaṃ jāva volenti kai vi diyahā tāva bhaviya'vvaṃ
niogeṇa samāgayāo tattha sāhuṇio. tāṇaṃ ca majjhe Sarassai vva potthiya'vagga'hatthā na yā
'kulīṇā, Gori vva mahātey'anniyā na ya bhavā'nuratta'cittā, saraya'kāla'nai vva sacchā'sayā na ya
- 18 kuggāha'saṃjuyā, Lacchi vva kamal'ālayā na ya sakāmā, canda'leha vva sayala'jaṇ'ānanda'yāriṇī
na ya vankā, kiṃ bahuṇā guṇehiṃ rūveṇa ya samattha'nārī'jaṇa'ppahāṇā sāhuṇī'kiriya'kalāv'ujjayā
Kālayasūri'lahuya'bhagiṇī Sarassai nāma sāhuṇī. viyāra'bhūmie niggayā samāṇī diṭṭhā Ujjeṇi'
- 21 nayari'sāmiṇā Gaddabhilla'rāiṇā ajjhovavanneṇa ya
hā suguru hā sahoyara
caraṇa'dhaṇaṃ hīrantam
- 24 icc'āi vilavanti aṇicchamāṇī balāmoḍīe chūḍhā anteure. taṃ ca sūrihiṃ nāṇa bhaṇio jahā : mahārāya
pramāṇāni pramāṇasthāi rakṣaṇiyāni yatnataḥ;
viṣidanti pramāṇāni pramāṇasthāir viśaṃstulāiḥ. (21) (śloka)
- 27 kiṃ ca rāya'rakkhiyāṇi tavo'vanāṇi honti, yataḥ,
nareśvarabhujacchāyām āśritya śramaṇaḥ sukham
nirbhayā dharmakāryāṇi kurvate svāny anantaram. (22) (śloka)
- 30 tā visajjehi eyaṃ, mā niya'kula'kalankam'uppāehi, yata uktam,
gottu ganjidu malidu cārittu
suhaddattaṇu hāravidu
ayasa'paḍahu jagi sayali bhāmidu
masi'kuccau dinnu kuli
jeṇa keṇa paradāru hiṃsidu. (23) (pancapadī)
- 33
- 1 s³ jaṇaṇi jaṇaya; s³ āie
2 i rāyautta
4 u to
6 s³ paḍivohittu, s³ °bohamto; s³ ujjeṇa
8 s³ joge; b paese 2
9 s³ nāṇaṃ; s³ paḍiyāe; s³B niggau; s³i jjatti, s³b
jjha°
10 s³ °mitu; s³ uvaittho; s³ suddhu; u vatthē, s³ vuṭṭhe
12 s³ paṇatto, u pannato; u sadena
13 s³s³ saddhā (for savvā); s³ agayā
14 s³s³ vanna°, b °ṇṇimti, i °ṇṇittī (J °ttā); s³ tthāne
15 s³ paḍivohaparā°; s³s³ volimti, b bolemti, i bolamti;
B vāsarā (for diya°)
16 s³ niyogeṇaṃ, s³n niugeṇaṃ, b niugeṇa; s³ omits ca;
s³B Sarassai; s³ putthi°. i potthiyāvalagga (J, p.
318, emends to our reading)
17 s³ kulīṇi; s³ mahāten; s³ saraikāla; i ha (for ya)
18 s³ saṃjayā, i saṃjuttā; u vva (for ya); s³ °lehe
19 s³ na (for na); s³n guṇehi; s³ rūvehi; s³ ṇaya (for
jaṇa), s³n yaṇa; s³ ujjuyā, u ojju°
- 21 s³ rayanā; s³ °vanno, s³ vanne, uB °vaṇṇeṇa
23 u naravatiṇā
24 s³ vilamvaṃ°; s³ balāyamodīe; i būḍhā; s³s³ omit
jahā
26 viśaṃ°
27 s³ tavonāṇi; i huṃti
29 s³ kurvimti
30 s³ niya'jala'kalamdham; s³ uppāehiṃ
31 u gotu, i guttu; i gaṃjidu 2, s³ °jiu, s³s³ °jīdu, u
°jiyaḍu; s³ maliu; u cāritu; s³ vvārittam, i vāri°
(J emends)
32 s³ hāravio, s³n °viu, i hāravidu
33 s³n bhāmio, s³ bhāmiu
34 b diṇu
35 s³n paradārū, b paredāru; s³s³n hiṃsiu, s³ jhimio (B
adds a dohā, thus making a typical Apabhraṃśa
Raḍḍā stanza: the dohā is as follows: anna'tthi-
āsatta'maṇa je ittilaṃ karenti (b karinti)/taha
(? read tahaṃ) saṃgāmi mahabbhaḍaha (?
read °ham) kara'thakkā na vahanti)
- [J 260]
- [J 261]

tā mahārāya uccittha kāya·pisiyaṃ va viruddham·eyam. tao kām'āurattaṇao vivariya·maittaṇao
ya na kiṃci paḍivannaṃ rāṇā. yataḥ,

- 3 dṛśyaṃ vastu paraṃ na paśyati jagaty andhaḥ puro 'vasthitam
rāgāndhas tu yad asti tat parihaṇan yaṃ nāsti tat paśyati
kundendīvarapūrṇacandrakalaśaśrīmallaṭāpallavā
6 nāropyā 'śucirāśiṣu priyatamāgātṛeṣu yaṃ modate. (24) (*śārdūlavikrīḍita*).
- tā munca rāya eyaṃ tavassīṇiṃ mā karehi annāyaṃ;
tai annāya·pavatte ko anno nāyavaṃ hoi. (25)
9 evaṃ bhaṇio rāyā paḍivaḥḥai jāva kiṃci no tāhe
cauviha·sangheṇa tao bhaṇāvio Kālagajjehim. (26)
sangho vi jāva teṇaṃ na mannio kaha vi tāva sūrihiṃ
12 kova·vasam·uvagaehiṃ kayā painnā imā ghorā: (27)
je sangha·paccaṇīyā pavayaṇa·uvaghāyagā narā je ya
saṃjama·uvaghāya·parā tad·uvekkhā·kāriṇo je ya (28)
15 tesiṃ vaccāmi gainṃ jai eyaṃ Gaddabhillā·rāyāṇaṃ
ummūleṃi na sahasā rajjāo bhaṭṭha·majjāyaṃ. (29)
- kāyavvaṃ ca eyaṃ jao bhaṇiyam·āgame:
- 18 tamhā sai sāmatthe āṇā·bhaṭṭhammi no khalu uvehā
aṇukūle ya rae hiya· aṇusaṭṭhī hoi dāyavvā. (30)
- tathā:
- 21 sālūṇa ceiyāṇa ya paḍaṇiyaṃ taha avanna·vāyaṃ ca
jiṇa·pavayaṇassa ahiyaṃ savva·tthāmeṇa vārei. (31)
- tao evaṃ painnaṃ kāūṇa cintiyaṃ sūrihiṃ jah': esa Gaddabhillā·rāyā mahābala·parakkamo
24 gaddabhiṇe mahāvijjāe balio, tā uvāeṇa ummūliyaṃ tti sāmattihiṇa kao kavaḍeṇa ummattaya·veso
tiya·caukka·caccara·mahāpala·tṭhāṇesu ya imaṃ palavanto hiṇḍai: [J 262] yadi Gardabhillo rājā
tataḥ kim ataḥ paraṃ, yadi vā ramiyaṃ antaḥpuraṃ tataḥ kim ataḥ paraṃ, yadi vā janaḥ suveṣas
27 tataḥ kim ataḥ paraṃ, yadi vā karomi bhikkṣāṇaṃ tataḥ kim ataḥ paraṃ, yadi vā sūnyagṛhe svapnaṃ
karomi tataḥ kim ataḥ paraṃ?
- 30 iya evaṃ jampantaṃ sūriṃ datṭhūṇa bhaṇai puralogo,
ahaha na juttaṃ rannā kayaṃ jao bhagiṇi·kajjamma (32)
mottūṇa niyaya·gacchaṃ hiṇḍai ummattaṇo nayari·majjhe
sayala·guṇāṇa nihāṇaṃ kaṭṭham·aho Kālagāyario. (33)

1 s¹ āurata°; s¹ maita°; J omits vi° mai° but adds in
note, p. 318
2 i omits ya
3 i omits paraṃ; s¹ 'vā°
4 n ya (for yaṃ)
5 s²s²b °kalas°; s² °pallavāḥ
6 i taṃ (for tā); s¹ tavi°, i tavassīṇaṃ; s² kareha, i
karehiṃ
7 s²B taiṃ; n aṇṇaya; i kovaṇṇo; nB aṇṇo
8 s² tāva (for jāva)
9 n bhaṇāvito; n °jjehi
10 s² kovaṇṇaṃ; n paiṇṇā, i payannā
11 b paccaṇīya
12 i uvikkhā, s² ukkhā
13 n folio lacking giving lacuna from ga(iṃ) through
loyā(u), p. 40, line 1
14 b ummūleṃi

18 s² saya (for sai); i uveha
19 s² raya (for rae)
20 s²s² vāiṃ (for vāyaṃ)
21 s¹ parikkamo
22 s² gaddabhiyāe; s² ubāṇa; i sāmattheṇa
23 s² palavatto; s² hiṇḍei; s¹ omits yadi vā . . . paraṃ
24 b °puraṃ tata; s²s²s² after paraṃ add viṣayo yadi vā
ramyas tataḥ kim ataḥ paraṃ, suniviṣṭā purī
yadi vā (s² yadi purī) tataḥ kim ataḥ paraṃ (s²
reverses the order of these two sentences), n
has lacuna at this point; s² suveṣaḥ
25 s¹ sūnya°
26 s¹ omits karomi
27 s¹ puraloo
28 s¹ kajjanti, s² kajjēna
29 b gacchiṃ; s¹ ummatta
30 s¹ au (for aho)

- govāla·vāla·lalaṇ'āi·sayala·loyāu evaṃ·raipharusaṇi
 soūṇa nindaṇaṃ pura· varīe niya·sāmi·sālassa (34)
 3 mantihiṃ tao bhaṇio nara·nāho: deva mā kuṇasu evaṃ,
 muyasu tavassiniṃ eyaṃ avanna·vāo jao garuo. (35)
 kiṃ ca muṇiṇa aṇatthaṃ jo moha·vimohio nara kuṇai
 6 so 'ṇattha·jala·samudde appāṇaṃ khivai dhuvam·eyaṃ. (36)
 taṇṇi manti·vayaṇaṃ·āyanniūṇa roseṇa bhaṇai naranāho:
 re re evaṃ sikkhaṃ gantūṇaṃ deha niya·piuṇo. (37)
 9 taṇṇi souṃ tuṇhikkā saṇjāyā mantiṇo imaṃ hiya
 kāuṃ, keṇa nisiddho jalāhi sīmaṃ vilanghanto. (38)
- taṇṇi ca kuo vi nāūṇa niggaṇo nayaṇi sūri, aṇavarayaṇi ca gacchanto patto Sagakūlaṃ nāma
 12 kūlaṃ. tattha je sāmanta te sāhiṇo bhaṇṇanti, jo sāmanta'hivai sayala·narinda·canda·cūḍamaṇi so
 sūhāṇusāhi bhaṇṇai. tao Kālayasūri tṭhio egassa sāhiṇo samīve; āvajjio ya so manta·tant'āhiṇi. io ya
 annayā kayāi tassa sāhiṇo sūri·samanniyassa harisa·bhara·nibbharassa nāṇaviha·viṇoehiṃ ciṭṭha-
 15 māṇassa samāgaṇo paḍihāro, vinnattaṃ ca teṇa jahā: sāmi sāhāṇusāhi·dūo duvāre ciṭṭhai.
 sāhiṇā bhaṇiyaṃ: lahuṃ pavesehi. pavesio ya vayanā'nantaram·eva nisanno ya dinn'āsane. tao
 dūeṇa samappiyaṃ·uvāyaṇaṃ. taṇṇi ca daṭṭhūṇa nava·pāusa·kāla·nahayalaṇi va andhāriyaṇi
 18 vayanāṃ sāhiṇo. tao cintiyaṃ sūriṇā: hanta kiṃ eyaṃ·apuvva·karaṇaṃ·uvalakkhiṇi, jao sāmi
 pasāyaṃ·āgayāṃ [J 263] daṭṭhūṇa jalaya·daṃsaṇeṇaṃ va sihiṇo harisa·bhara·nibbharā jāyanti sevayā
 eso ya sāma·vayaṇo disai. tā pucchāmi kāraṇaṃ ti. etth' antarammi ya sāhi·purisa·daṃsiya·viḍahare
 21 gaṇo dūo. tao pucchiyaṃ sūriṇā: hanta sāmi·pasāe vi samāgae kim·uvviggo viya lakkhiyaṃ. teṇa
 bhaṇiyaṃ: bhayavaṇi na pasāo kiṃ tu kovo samāgaṇo jao amha pahū jassa rūsaṇi tassa nām'ankiyaṃ
 muddiyaṃ churiyaṃ paṭṭhavei, tao keṇai kāraṇeṇa amho 'variṃ rūsiṇa pesiyā esā churiyā. eṇe ya
 24 appā amhehiṃ ghāiyavvo, ugga·daṇḍo tti kāūṇa na tav·vayaṇe viyāraṇā kāyavvā. sūriṇā bha-
 ṇiyaṃ: kiṃ tujjha ceva ruṭṭho, uyāhu annassa vi kassai. sāhiṇā bhaṇiyaṃ: mama vajjiyāṇaṃ
 annesiṃ pi paṇcānau·rāiṇaṃ, jao disai channauimo imie satthiyāe anko tti. sūriṇā jampiyaṃ: jai
 27 evaṃ tā mā appāṇaṃ viṇāsehi. teṇa bhaṇiyaṃ: na pahuṇā ruṭṭheṇa kula·kkhayam·antareṇa chuṭṭijai,
 mae puṇa maṇa sesa·kulassa khemaṃ bhavai. sūriṇā bhaṇiyaṃ: jai vi evaṃ tahā vi vāharasu niya·
 dūya·pesaṇeṇa paṇcānauṇi pi rāyāṇo jeṇa Hinduga·desaṃ vaccāmo. tao teṇa pucchio dūo jahā:
 30 bhadda ke te anne paṇcānau rāyāṇo jesiṃ kuvio devo. teṇa vi savve niveiyā. tao dūyaṃ visajjiūṇa
 savvesiṃ pi pesiyā patteyaṃ niya·dūyā jahā: samāgacchaha mama samīve, mā niya·jiviyāṇi paricca-
- 1 b bāla; s¹ lalaṇai; n resumes text (loyā)u; s² loo; 20 i so (for eso omitting ya); n omits disai; s¹ adds
 b aipharasaṃ, s² aipurusam
 2 s¹ niraṇaṃ; J silassa
 3 B kuṇaha eyaṃ; s² kheyam (for eyaṃ)
 4 b muya; s¹ tavassini; i garūo (J emends)
 5 ub guṇiṇa; n to (for jo); b vimohito, i vimehito;
 n kuṇai
 7 n tā (for taṇṇi); B āyaṇṇi°
 9 i iṇaṃ
 10 s¹ nasiddho; s² samam
 11 s² kuvio (for kuo); s¹ aṇavayaraṃ
 12 s²n bhannaṃti; s¹ joi, s²n jo ya, s¹ so, b ko; i hivai;
 s²s¹i vaṇḍa
 13 s²s²n bhannai; s¹i Kālagā°; s²n tṭhio; n āvajjito; s²
 omits ya (after āva°); n mamtā; s¹ io, n iyo,
 b tao
 14 i aṇṇayā; s² kayāi; n samaṇṇi°; n viṇoehi; i ceṭṭha°
 15 s² adds ya after sāmi; s¹ bāre; n ciṭṭhati
 16 s¹ vayanāna°, i vayanēṇa°; i diṇṇāsane, n diṇ-
 nāsano
 18 All MSS. sāhiṇā; i omits sūriṇā; i haṃti; i kāmam
 (for kiṃ eyaṃ); s² kāraṇaṃ; n °lakkhiyai
 19 n daṭṭhūṇaṃ navajalaya; s¹s² °ṇeṇaṃ pi va; n
 sihaṃḍiṇo
 21 n dūto; s¹ pucchio; b sūriṇo; s¹s² pasā; s² omits
 samāgae; B viva (for viya)
 22 s² samāgato; n ppahū; b jaṇassa; s² amkiya
 23 n keṇa; n vari; s¹ sā (for esā), n omits; s¹ churiyā;
 b omits ya
 24 n amhehi, s¹ omits; s¹ ghāiyavvo; n daṇḍa; s²
 vayaṇa, s² omits, n tassa vayaṇa
 25 s¹ kiṃ va; s² kassai, B kassa ya; n lacks two folios
 (109, 110) making lacuna from (a)nnassa
 through suvaṇṇikā (ūṇa) p. 41, line 25
 26 i aṇṇesiṃ; b paṇcānau; s² adds imo after disai; i
 channauimi
 27 s¹ viṇāsei, s² °ṇāseha; s² pahuṇo; s² khayam; s¹
 amtareṇaṃ; b chuḍḍijjai
 28 s² muc (for maṇa); s² omits vi (after jai); s¹ vāhā,
 i vāharesu
 29 s² pesaṇeṇaṃ; i paṇcānauyaṃ
 30 i bhaddā; s²s² add vi after savve; s¹ niveiyā
 31 s¹s² omit pi; s² pesiyā; s¹ niyaniya; s² gacchaha; s¹
 parivayaha

yaha; aham savvattha bhalissāmi. tao te dupariccayaṇiyattaṇao pāṇāṇaṇi savvaṇi sāmaggim kāṇa
 āgayā jhaḍatti tassa samīvaṇi. te ya samāgae datṭhūna teṇā 'vi pucchiyā sūriṇo: bhayavaṇi kiṇ
 3 amhehiṇi saṇipayaṇi kāyavvaṇi. sūrihiṇi bhaṇiyaṇi: sa-bala-vāhaṇā uttariṇa Sindhumi vaccaha
 Hinduga-desan. tao samāruhiṇa jāna-vattesu samāgayā Surattṭha-visae. etth' antarammi ya samā-
 gao pāusa-samao; tao duggamā magga tti kāṇi Surattṭha-visayaṇi chaṇṇau-vibhagehiṇi vibhanjiṇa
 6 ṭhiyā tatth' eva.

etth' antarammi ya mahārāu vva rehira-puṇḍarīo, garuya-samar'ārambha-samau vva ullalanta-
 bahu-govo, paḍhama-pāuso vva disanta-siya-balāhao, muṇivai vva rāyahaṇsa-saṇsevio, pahāna-pāsāu
 9 vva savva-vijjā'nta-matta-vāraṇo samāgao saraya-kālo, jattha ya suyaṇa-jāna-citta-vittū vva sacchāo
 mahāṇaio. sukavi-vāṇi vva nimmalāo disāo, parama-jogī-sarīraṇi va nīrayaṇi gayaṇaṇaṇi,
 muṇino vva sumaṇo-bhirāmā sattacchaya-taruṇo, vara-thavaṇi nimmiya-deva-kula-pantū vva sutārāo
 12 rayaṇi tti, avi ya

nipphanna-savva-sāsā	jattha mahī ahiya-rehirā jāyā,
ḍhikkanti dariya-vasahā	pamuiya-govinda-majjha-gayā, (39)
15 pīsa-pūra-sarisā	sasahara-kiran'āvali tamissāsu
pajjālei asesam	ahiyam bhuvan'oyaraṇi jattha. (40) [J 264]
sālī-vaṇa-rakkhaṇ'ujjaya	pāmari-gijjanta-mahura-gīehiṇi
18 paḍivajjantā pahiyā	panthāo jattha bhassanti. (41)
iya bahu-jiya-tosayare	patte sarayanmi navari viddāṇo
jhatti rahango bhava-citta-rūva-saṇsāhaṇa'tthaṇi va. (42)	

21 evaṇiviham ca saraya-kāla-sirim-avaloiṇa niya-samīhiya-siddhi-kāmeṇa bhaṇiyā te Kālayasūriṇā
 jahā: bho kim-evam nirujjama cītṭhaha. tehiṇi bhaṇiyaṇi: āsaha kiṇi puṇa karemo. sūriṇā bhaṇi-
 yaṇi: giṇhaha Ujjeṇiṇi, jao tie paḍibaddho pabhūo Mālava-deso, tattha pajjattie tumhāṇaṇi nivvāho
 24 bhavissai. tehiṇi bhaṇiyaṇi: evaṇi karemo, paraṇi n'atthi sambalayaṇi janhā eyammi dese amhā-
 ṇaṇi bhoyaṇa-mettaṇi ceva jāyaṇi. tao sūriṇā joga-cuṇṇa-cahuṇṭtiyā-metta-pakkheveṇa suvaṇṇikāṇa
 savvaṇi kumbhakār'āvāhaṇi bhaṇiyā: eyaṇi sambalayaṇi giṇhaha. tao te taṇi vibhanjiṇa savva-
 27 sāmaggie paṭṭhiyā Ujjeṇiṇi paī. antare ya je ke vi Lāḍa-visaya-rāyāṇo te sāhittā pattā Ujjeṇi-
 visaya-saṇḍhiṇi. tao Gaddabhillo taṇi para-balam-āgacchantāṇi soṇa mahābala-sāmaggie nigga-
 patto ya visaya-saṇḍhiṇi. tao doṇhaṇi pi dapp'uddhara-senūṇaṇi laggam-āohaṇaṇi, avi ya:

30 nivaḍanta-tikkha-sara-jhasara-sella-vāvalla-savvala-rauddo	
khippanta-cakka-paṭṭisa	moggara-nārāya-vibhaccho (43)
asi-parasu-kunta-kungī	saṇghaṭṭ'uttanta-sihi-phuling'oho
33 bhaḍa-bukkā-rauddo	raya-chāiya-sūra-kara-pasaro. (44)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 s ² °ccayatta°; i savvasāmaggiṇ | 22 i puṇo |
| 2 s ² s ² i jḡha°; s ¹ ḍajjhatti; s ² s ² b tassamīvaṇi; s ¹ s ² teṇa
(for teṇāvi) | 23 s ¹ giṇha, s ² geṇhaha; s ¹ Ujjeṇiṇi; s ² bahuo |
| 4 s ² omits ya | 24 s ¹ tehiṇi tehiṇi; s ² omits evaṇi; s ² sambalayaṇi; s ²
omits eya° de°; s ² s ² b amhāṇa |
| 5 s ² omits tao; b visao, i visae; s ¹ channavai, s ² s ²
channau; s ² vibhajjī° | 25 s ² s ² mittam; s ¹ tato; s ² s ² cunna; s ¹ cahuṇṭtiyā; s ²
mitta; s ² suvaṇṇi°; n resumes text (°kā)ṇa |
| 6 s ² B ṭṭhiyā (J ṭhiyā) | 26 s ² B °vahaṇi; s ¹ adds ya te before eyaṇi; s ² B saṇ-
balam; s ¹ n geṇhaha; s ¹ omits tao; s ² vibhajjī°:
s ² adds tam before savva |
| 7 B itth; s ¹ mahārāya; b samāraṇbha | 27 s ² s ² n avamtare; s ² n omit ya; i lāḍayavi°; s ² rāiṇo;
B sāhettā; i ujjeṇi, s ² n °ṇiṇi |
| 8 b guṇivai; s ² i sevio, s ¹ saṇvio, corrected to saṇsevio | 28 n saṇḍhi; B omit tam |
| 9 s ² vāruṇo; s ² omits jāna; s ¹ savvāo | 29 s ¹ omits ya; nb uddhura; n seṇṇāṇaṇi; B omit avi
ya |
| 10 s ² para; s ² gayaṇaṇi (omitting gaṇaṇi) | 30 n nivi°; b sutikkha; s ² jḡha°, s ¹ pasara, n omits; i
silla; n adds bhalla after sella; s ² vavalla; n
sabala |
| 11 i kuladeva (for devakula); i sutārā ya | 31 b kheppa°; i vibhatso |
| 12 b nipphanna, s ¹ s ² nippaṇa; B sassā; s ² reharāyārā | 32 s ¹ s ² kumbhī (for kungī), i tumgī; s ² saṇghaḍuttṭha°:
i uddhamta |
| 13 s ² ḍhekkanti, i ḍhikkamta | 33 s ² ravaddo, n cauddo; s ¹ echāiya, n chāya |
| 14 s ¹ sahara | |
| 15 s ¹ pakkhālei, s ² pavvālei, i paccālei; b bhavaṇo; s ²
variṇi (for yaraṇi) | |
| 16 s ¹ pāmara | |
| 17 s ¹ paḍivajjhamtā, s ² °vujjh°; s ² bhavissanti | |
| 18 s ¹ s ² s ² jḡhatti; b va | |
| 19 s ¹ iya (for evaṇo ca); s ¹ °sūriṇo | |

- evanviha'samara'bhare
sennam khaṇeṇa nattham
3 tam bhaggaṃ datthūṇam
pavisittu tao ciṭṭhai
vattante Gaddabhilla'naravaiṇo
vāy'āhaya'meha'vandaṃ va. (45)
valiūṇam puravarie naranāho
rohaga'sajjo niya'baleṇa. (46)
- iyare vi nissamcāraṃ valaya'bandheṇa nayarim rohiūṇa ṭhiyā kuṇanti ya paidiṇam dhoyaṃ.
6 annammi divase jāva dhoen' uvatthiyā tāva pecchanti sunnayaṃ koṭṭam. tao tehiṃ pucchiyā sūriṇo:
bhayavaṃ kim'ajja sunnayaṃ koṭṭam disai. tao sūrihiṃ sumariūṇa bhaṇiyaṃ jahā: ajja atthamī,
tattha ya Gaddabhillo uvavāsaṃ kāṇa gaddabhiṃ mahāvijjaṃ sāhai; tā nirūvaha kattha vi atṭālae
9 ṭhaviyaṃ [J 265] gaddabhiṃ. nirūvantehiṃ ya diṭṭhā dāṃsiyā ya sūriṇam. sūrihiṃ bhaṇiyaṃ jah':
esā gaddabhi gaddabhilla'jāva'samattie mahai'mahālayaṃ saddaṃ kāhii tam ca para'bala'santiyaṃ jaṃ
dupayaṃ cauppayam vā suṇissai tam savvaṃ muheṇaṃ ruhiraṃ uggrantaṃ nissamdehaṃ bhūmie
12 nivaḍissai. tā savvaṃ sajjaṃ dupayaṃ cauppayam ghetūṇam du'gāuya'mettaṃ bhū'bhāga'mosa-
raha, atth'ottara'sayaṃ ca saddavehiṇaṃ mama samīve ṭhaveha. tehi vi tah'eva savvaṃ kayaṃ. te ya
saddavehiṇo bhaṇiyā sūrihiṃ: jayā iyaṃ rāsahī sadda'karaṇ'attham muhaṃ nivāyai tayā akaya'saddāe
15 ceva eyāe tubbhe nārāchiṃ muhaṃ bharejjaha, kaya'saddāe puṇa tubbhe vi na sakkissaha pahariṃ. tā
appamattā āyaṇṇa'pūriya'sarā ciṭṭhaha. tehiṃ vi tah'eva savvaṃ kayaṃ. tao ya āyaṇṇ'āyaḍḍhiya'
dhaṇu'vimukka'sara'pūra'puṇṇa'vayaṇāe tie tirikkhie piḍiyāe na ya caiyam'ārasium paḍihaya'satti tti.
18 tao vijjā tass'eva sāhagass' uvariṃ kāuṃ mutta'purisaṃ lattaṃ dāṇa jhatti gayā. tao sūriṇa bhaṇiyā
te jahā: giṇhaha sampayaṃ, ettiyaṃ ceva eyassa balaṃ ti. tao te pāyāraṃ bhaṇjiūṇa pavitṭhā
Ujjeṇie; gahio sajja'gāhaṃ Gaddabhillo bandhiūṇa ya samappio sūri'pāyāṇam.
- 21 sūrihiṃ tao bhaṇio re re pavitṭha duṭṭha nillajja
aiṇajja'kajja'ujjama' sajja mahārajja'pabbhatta, (47)
jam'anicchantie sāhuṇie viddhamsaṇam kayaṃ tumae
24 na ya mannio ya sangho ten' amhehiṃ imaṃ vihiyaṃ. (48)
maha'moha'mohiya'mai jo silaṃ sāhuṇie bhanjei
jiṇa'dhamma'bohi'lābhassa so naro dei mūl'aggaṃ (49)
27 ninnaṭṭha'bohi'lābho bhamihisi nūṇam tumam pi saṃsāre
re 'ṇanta'dukkha'paure kiṃ ca ihaṃ ceva jaṃ jamme. (50)
patto tāḍaṇa'bandhaṇa' avamāṇaṇa'jaṇiya'viviha'dukkhāiṃ
30 sanghā'vamāṇaṇa'taru' varassa kusum'uggamo eso. (51)
- 1 s³ pavattie (for vatta°)
2 s³s³ sannam, n³ seṇṇam, B sinnam; i vāhāhaya; s³
vimdam; s³B ca
3 n³ caliūṇam, s³ valiyaṃ
4 s³ ciṭṭhe, b³ cetṭhai; B sajjo; i baleṇam
5 B omits vi; B nayaram; B rohiūṇam; s³s³B ṭhiyā;
B omits ya; s³ paḍiṇam; n³ hoyam
6 s³ dheeṇuva°; s³ sonnayaṃ; n³ kuṭṭam; s³ tao tao
7 s³ sonnayaṃ, n³ suṇṇa°; s³ sūri; s³ omits ajja, b
ajjeva; s³ atthamie
8 s³ omits ya; s³ niruvaha; s³ katthai (for ka° vi); s³
atṭālae
9 s³ ṭhiyiyam; n³ gadd° ṭha°; n³ omits first ya; b omits
second ya; s³ omits sūriṇam
10 s³s³ esā gaddabhi mamta(s³ matta)jāva, s³n³ esā
gaddabhilla'jāva, B esā gaddabhi(i°bhie) gad-
dabhilla'jāva; s³ °mahāvalayaṃ; s³ kāhī, b ka-
rehii, i karehei; B omits ca; B vairibala
11 n³ duppa°; n³ saddaṃ (for savvaṃ); s³ rudhiraṃ;
i omits bhūmie, n³ camie
12 s³ dupaya'cau°; i °ttūṇa, s³ ghūttūṇa, n³ ghetūṇam;
s³B mittam; n³ osaha
13 s³n³ omits ca, s³ °ttaraṃ ca sayam; s³ ṣadda°; A adds
mahājohāṇam after sadda°; s³n³ ṭṭha°, s³ °vehā;
n³ laheva, b³ tahe (omits va); n³ omits ya
14 s³ attha muhaṃ; s³ niei
15 n³ nāgaehiṃ; B bhari°; n³ vuṇa; B omits vi; s³
ssakissa°; n³ to (for tā)
16 B apama°; s³s³s³ āyanna; s³ adds dhaṇu after pūri°;
B cetṭha°, n³ cetṭhāha; s³b³ tehi; s³s³ taha ceva,
n³ tahā ceva; n³ savam; s³s³s³ āyannā°; s³ yad-
dhiya, n³ aya°
17 i mukka; s³ pūriya; s³s³s³ punna; s³ vaṇāe; s³ tiri-
rikkie; ni omits ya; s³ caiyas, i vai° (J cai°),
n³ vaeim; s³ ārasiyaṃ, n³ ārasiu; n³ folio missing
giving lacuna from (paḍi)haya through sam
(attho), p. 43, line 6
18 i tassa (for ta° eva); s³ omits kāuṃ; J jhatti, s³
jjhatti
19 s³ jamhā; s³ giṇhai, B geṇhaha; s³ adds eyam after
sam°; s³ eya valaṃ ti; s³s³ omits te
20 B Ujjeṇim; s³ sajja'gāho; b³ baṃdheū°, i baṃ-
dheū°; i omits ya
22 s³ aṇajja; s³ savva (for sajja)
24 s³i omits first ya
25 s³ omits moha; s³ sāhuṇiṇa
27 s³ minna°; i tūṇam (J nū°), s³ omits
28 s³ ci (for ca); s³ ahaṃ; b³ theva; B jaṃmaṇimi

	naraya·tirikkha·kumānusa·	kudeva·gai·gamaṇa·saṃkaḍ'āvaḍio
	jam·aṇanta·bhava bhamihisi	taṃ puṇa virasaṃ phalaṃ hohi. (52)
3	jo avamannai sanghaṃ	pāvo thevaṃ pi māṇa·maya·litto [J 266]
	so appāṇaṃ bolai	dukkha·mahāsāgare bhīme. (53)
	siri·samaṇa·sangha·āsāyaṇāe pāventi jaṃ duhaṃ jīvā	
6	taṃ sāhiuṃ samattho	jai·para·bhayavaṃ jiṇo hoi. (54)
	jeṇa mahantaṃ pāvaṃ	kayaṃ tae neya maṇṇio sangho
	saṃbhāsassā 'ṇariho	amhāṇaṃ jai vi re taha vi (55)
9	bahu·pāva·bhar'akkantaṃ	duha·jalaṇa·karāla·jāla·mālāhiṃ
	ālingiyaṃ tumaṃ pāsīūṇa karuṇāe puṇa bhaṇimo. (56)	
	nindaṇa·garihaṇa·puvvaṃ	āloeūṇa kuṇasu pacchittaṃ
12	dukkara·tava·caraṇa·rao	jeṇ' ajja vi tarasi duha·jalaṇiṃ. (57)
	iya karuṇāe sūrihiṃ jampiyaṃ suṇiya Gaddabhillo so	
	aisaṃkiliṭṭha·kammo	gāḍhayaṃ dūmio citte. (58)
15	dūmiya·cittaṃ nāuṃ	Kālayasūrihiṃ so tao bhaṇio:
	mukko si ekkavāraṃ	saṃpai re jāhi nivvisao. (59)
	taṃ sūri·vayaṇaṃ·āyanniūṇa puha'isarehiṃ so tehiṃ	
18	desāu dhāḍiūṇaṃ	mukko dūhio paribbhamai. (60)
	bhamiūṃ mao samāṇo	caugai·saṃsāra·sāyare bhīme
	bhamihī aṇanta·kālaṃ	tak·kamma·vivāga·doseṇaṃ. (61)
21	to sūri·pajjuvāsaya·	sāhiṃ rāyāhirāyaṃ·aha kāuṃ
	bhunjanti rajja·sokkhaṃ	sāmanta·paiṭṭhiyā sesā. (62)
	Saga·kūlāo jeṇaṃ	saṃāgayā teṇa te Sagā jāyā;
24	evaṃ Saga·rāṇaṃ	eso vaṃso samuppanno. (63)
	jiṇa·sāsaṇ'unnai·parāṇa tāṇa kālo suheṇa parigalai [J 267]	
	sūri·paya·pauma·gabbhe	chappaya·lilaṃ kuṇantaṇaṃ. (64)
27	kāl'antareṇa keṇai	uppāḍittā Sagāṇa taṃ vaṃsaṃ
	jāo Mālava·rāyā	nāmeṇaṃ Vikkamāicco (65)
	puhaie ekka·vīro	vikkama·akkanta·bhūri·naraṇāho
30	acchariya·cariya·āyaraṇa·patta·vara·kitti·pabbhāro (66)	
	niya·satt'ārāhiya·jakkha·rāya·saṃpatta·vara·tiya·vasaṇa	
	avagaṇiya·sattu·mittaṃ	jeṇa payattāviyaṃ dāṇaṃ (67)
33	payāḍāvio dharāe	riṇa·parihīṇaṃ jaṇaṃ viheūṇa
	guru·rittha·viyaṇaṇāo	niyao saṃvaccharo jeṇa. (68)
	tassa vi vaṃsaṃ uppāḍiūṇa jāo puṇo vi Sagarāyā	
36	Ujjeṇi·pura·varie	paya·pankaya·paṇaya·sāmanto (69)
	paṇatise vāsa·sae	Vikkama·saṃvaccharassa volīṇe
	parivattiūṇa tḥavio	jeṇaṃ saṃvaccharo niyao. (70)

- 1 s³ °vaḍiūṃ, s⁴ vaṭṭhio
3 i thovaṃ
5 B °yaṇāu; s³ s³ pāvaṃti
6 n resumes text (sama)tttho
7 n taye; J emends no ya; s³ ne va (for °ya)
8 i saṃbhāsissā
9 s³ bahu·bahurpāva (end of folio, beginning of new)
10 s⁴ āliṃgio; s⁴ bhaṇio
11 i āloeūṇaṃ (J emends)
12 n caraṇau
14 s⁴ °kilatṭha, s³ saṃki°; n citto
15 n Kālaga°; s³ to (for so)
16 n nivvisavvaṇo, b nivvasio
17 i pahuīsarehiṃ (J °hi)
18 s³ s³ paribbhamai

- 19 n bhamitūṃ; s³ adds ya after mao; s³ s³ n sāgare
21 s³ b pajjavā°, s⁴ pajjavāsai
22 i sukkhaṃ; n payatṭhi°
24 n rāyāṇaṃ; s³ n °uppaṇṇo
25 nb unṇai, s³ unnaya; n kolo
29 s³ puhavie, i puhaii; s³ aikaṃta; s⁴ sūra (for bhūri),
s³ sūri, B bhūmi
30 i vamaṃ (J emends)
31 s³ s³ °patta·pavara·vibhaveṇa; i tiyā
32 s³ aviga°
33 s³ b payarāvio, n pasarāviyo; s³ vihiuṃ
34 n saṃvatsaro; i jeṇaṃ
36 n ujjeṇiṇavarapurie
37 n °tiso; n saya; n °vatsaraṇūmi; s⁴ volīṇo
38 s³ parivitti°; i °ccharaṃ (J emends)

- 3 Saga-kāla-jāṇaṇ'atthaṇ
mūla-kahā-sambaddhaṇ
Kālayasūrihiṇi tao
āloiya-paḍikanto
- eyaṇ pāsangiyaṇ samakkhāyaṇ
pagayaṇ ciya bhannaṇ iṇhiṇ. (71)
sā bhagiṇi saṇjame puṇo ṭhaviyā.
sūri vi sagaṇ gaṇaṇ vahai. (72)

II

- io ya atthi Bharuyacchaṇ nāma nayaraṇ; tattha ya Kālayasūri-bhāṇejjā Balamitta-Bhānumittā
6 bhāyaro rāya-juvārāyaṇ. tesuṇ ca bhagiṇi Bhāṇusiri; tise putto Balabhāṇū nāma kumāro. tao
tehiṇ Balamitta-Bhānumittēhiṇ para-kūlāo samāgae sūriṇo soṇa pesio Maisāgaro nāma niya-
mahantao Ujjeṇiṇ. teṇa ya tattha gantūṇa Sagarāṇo mahā-nibandheṇa visajjāviṇa vandiṇa ya
9 vinnattā sūriṇo. avi ya:
- 12 Balamitta-Bhānumittā
bhatti-bhara-nibbhar'angā
kara-kamala-maula-mauliṇ
tuha viraha-taraṇi-khara-kiraṇa-niyara-pasareṇa sayarāhaṇ (74)
saṇtāviyāṇ dhaṇiyaṇ
15 niya-daṇsaṇa-meh'ubbhava-
kiṇi bahuṇā karuṇā-rasa-
kāṇaṇi pāva-haraṇ
- bhayavaṇ bhū-luliya-bhāla-kara-jāṇū [J 268]
tuha paya-kamalaṇ paṇivayanti. (73)
maulimmi ṭhavittu vinnavanti jahā:
jao sarirāṇi aṇha, tā sāmi
desaṇa-nireṇa nivvasu. (75)
samudda amhāṇaṇ-ruvari kārūnaṇ
vandāvasu niyaya-paya-kamalaṇ. (76)
- 18 tao Kālayasūriṇo Sagaranno sarūvaṇ sāhiṇa gayā Bharuyacche, pavēsiyā ya mahayā vicchadde-
ṇaṇ vandiṇā ya bhāva-sāraṇ Balamitta-Bhānumitta-Bhāṇusiri-Balabhāṇūhiṇ. samādhattā ya bha-
gavayā bhava-nivveya-jāṇaṇi dhamma-desanā, avi ya: tusa-rāsi vva asāro saṇsāro, vijjulayāu vva
21 cancalāo kamalāo, appa-paha-gāmuya-volāvaṇa-ya-sāmaṇaṇ¹ tārunnaṇ, dāruṇa-duha-dāi-roga bhog'
ovabhoga, māṇasa-sāririya-kheya-nibandhaṇaṇ dhaṇaṇ, mahā-sog'āiregā ittha-jāṇa-saṇpaoga, nira-
tara-parisaḍaṇa-silāṇi āuya-dalāṇi. tā evaṇ ṭhie bho bhavvā laddhūna kul'āi-juttaṇ maṇuyattaṇ,
24 niddaliyavvo pamāo kāyavvo savva-sanga-cāo, vandaṇiṇā dev'āhidevā kāyavvā suguru-caraṇa-sevā,
dāyavvaṇ supattesu dāṇaṇ na kāyavvaṇ niyāṇaṇ, aṇuguniyavvo panca-namokkāro kāyavvo jin'
āyayaṇesu pūyā-sakkāro, bhāviyavvāo duvālasa-bhāvaṇāo rakkhiyavvāo pavayaṇ'ohāvaṇāo, dāyavvā
27 suguru-purao niya-duccariy'āloyaṇā kāyavvā savva-satta-khāmaṇā, paḍivajjiyavvaṇ pāyacchittaṇ
na dhāriyavvaṇ-asuha-cittaṇ, aṇuṭṭhiyavvāṇi jahā-sattie tava-caraṇaṇi damiyavvāṇi duddanta-kara-
nāṇi, jhāeyavvaṇ suha-jjhāṇaṇi vocchijjae jeṇa saṇsāra-saṇtāṇaṇ, kiṇi bahuṇā, evaṇ-āyarantāṇaṇ
30 tumhāṇaṇ bhavissai acireṇ' eva nivvāṇaṇ ti.
- 2 b sambamddham; s² eṇhiṇ
3 J¹ °rihi
4 s¹s²b paḍikkamto; n samam; s¹s² gaṇaṇ sagam
5 s² omits atthi; s¹ sūri; n bhāṇi°, B bhāyaṇi°; n
°metta-bhānumettā
7 s¹ maisāro
8 s² gaṇtum; n °rāyaṇo; s¹ °nivamdhēṇaṇ; s²s² °niv-
vamdhēṇaṇ; s¹ adds ya after visa°; s² omits ya
9 n vinṇattā, s² vaṇdittā
10 n °mettā
11 i bbhara (J emends)
12 i kamalaṇ; i omits maula (J emends kamal'amjali):
ni maulaṇ (for °liṇ), s¹ malaṇ, s² omits; s¹B
moliṇmi; n ṭṭha°; B viṇṇa°, s¹ vinnaviṇti, s²
°veṇti, n viṇṇavitti
13 s¹ virahat; b kkhara
14 nJ¹ °viyāi; ni °rāi
16 nB kārūṇaṇ
17 s¹ vaṇdeva°
18 B kālaga°; s¹ °riṇā; nB °raṇṇo; s² omits ya
19 s² omits ya; i °dḍeṇa; s¹ balamittabhāṇusiribalab-
hāṇūhiṇ; n bhānumittā; s² omits second ya; B
bhayava°
- 20 n bhavva; s¹ omits sam°; i vijja° (J emends)
21 s¹ atṭhappahagā; s¹s²s² °suyavo°; J adds asavo be-
fore lā°; J lāvannaya (but Glossar gives lā-
vaṇaya); s²n sāmaṇaṇ; B tārunṇaṇ, n omits;
i dāiya, b daiya, s¹ dāyāro (for dāi-ro°), n dāiṇo
(edition conjectural)
22 i revaya° (for khe°); s¹s²n nivaṇ°, B nivvaṇ°; b
omits dhaṇaṇ; s²n maha°; i omits itṭha
23 s²B paḍisa°; B adds u after sī°; s¹ āū, i āu; i omits
tā; s¹s²n ṭṭhie; s² bho davvā datṭhūṇa; b latṭhaṇa
(for laddhū°); s² maṇuyattaṇaṇ
24 i savvaṇga; B vaṇdiyavvā; s¹ calaṇa
25 i kāya° (for dāya°); i °ttesuṇ, s² °tte; n omits na
kā° ni°; n ṇamo°
26 i °yavvāto, b °yavvā bho; n omits bhā° du° bhā°;
n rakkhiyavvā; s² omits ra° . . . °vaṇāo; n
suyavvā (corrected to kā°)
27 n bhatta (for sa°); b paḍivaḍivajji°
28 s² repeats kara° (end of folio), s² karaṇi
29 s¹s² jjhāe°, s² jjhāyavvaṇ; nB jjāṇaṇ; s² vocchijjai,
n vochīae; s² jjeṇa; s¹s² ṭhāṇaṇ (for saṇtā°)
30 s²n acireṇa ni°, s² aci° vi ni°; s¹ omits ti

- iya sūri·vayaṇaṃ·āyanniūṇa saṇijāya·caraṇa·pariṇāmo
 so Balabhāṇu·kumāro romanc'uccaiya·savv'ango (77)
 3 kara·korayaṃ viheuṃ sirammi aha bhaṇai erisaṃ vayaṇaṃ :
 saṃsāra·cārayāo nitthāraha nāha maṃ duhiyaṃ. (78)
 bhava·bhaya·bhīyassa mahaṃ uttama·nara·seviyā imā sāmi [J 269]
 6 dijjau jīṇinda·dikkhā jai joggo; mā cirāveha. (79)
 iya kumara·nicchayaṃ jāṇiūṇa sūrihiṃ tak·khaṇaṃ ceva
 āpucchiūṇa sayāṇe vihiṇā aha dikkhio eso. (80)
 9 rāy'āi parisā vi ya namīuṃ sūriṃ gayā niyaṃ ṭhāṇaṃ.
 muṇiṇo vi niyaya·sad·dhamma·kamma·karaṇ'ujjayā jāyā. (81)
 evaṃ ciya paidiyahaṃ muṇivai·paya·pankayaṃ namante te
 12 nara·nāhe daṭṭhūṇaṃ bhatti·bbhara·nibbhare dhaṇiyaṃ (82)
 savvo vi nayara·logo jāo jīṇa·dhamma·bhāvio ahiyaṃ :
 saccam·iṇaṃ āhāṇaṃ : jaha rāyā taha payā hoi. (83)
- 15 taṃ ca tārisaṃ pura·kkhoham·avaloiūṇa accantaṃ dūmiya·cittaṇaṃ rāya·puraṃ sūri·samakkhaṃ
 ceva bhaṇiyaṃ rāya·purohienāṃ, jahā : deva, kim·eehiṃ pāsāṇḍiehiṃ tā·vajjh'āyaraṇa·niraehiṃ ti.
 evaṃ ca vayanto so sūrihiṃ aṇeg'ovavattihiṃ jāhe niruttaro kao tāhe dhuttimāe aṇuloma·vayaṇehiṃ
 18 rāiṇo vipariṇāmei, avi ya
- ee mahātavassī nīsesa·guṇ'ālayā mahāsattā
 sura·asura·maṇuya·mahiyā goravvā ti·huyaṇassā vi. (84)
 21 tā deva jeṇa ee pahaṇa gacchanti, teṇa tumhāṇaṃ
 juttaṃ na hoi gamaṇaṃ, akkamaṇaṃ tap·payāṇa jao. (85)
 guru·paya·akkamaṇeṇaṃ mahaī āsāyaṇā jao havai
 24 duggai·kāraṇa·bhūyā ao visajjeha pahu guruṇo. (86)
- tao vippariṇaya·cittēhiṃ bhaṇiyaṃ rāhihiṃ : saccam·eyāṃ, paraṃ kahaṃ visajjijjanti. tao puro-
 hienā bhaṇiyaṃ : deva, kīrau savvattha nayare aṇesaṇā; tie ya kayāe asujjhante bhatta·pāṇe sayam-
 27 eva viharissanti. tao rāhihiṃ bhaṇiyaṃ : evaṃ karehi. tao parūviyaṃ savvattha nayare purohienāṃ
 jahā : evaṃ evaṃ ca āhā·kamm'āiṇā payāreṇa sāhūṇa dijjamāṇaṃ mahāphalaṃ bhavaī. tato logo
 tal' eva kāum·āraddho. taṃ ca tārisam·apuvva·karaṇaṃ daṭṭhūṇa sāhiyaṃ sāhūhiṃ gurūṇaṃ. te vi
 30 sammaṃ viyāṇiūṇa rāyā·bhippāyaṃ apajjosavie ceva gayā Marahaṭṭhaya·visayā·lankāra·bhūyaṃ
 Paiṭṭhāṇaṃ nāma nayaraṃ. tattha ya sūrihiṃ jāṇaviyaṃ jahā : na [J270] tāva pajjosaveyavvaṃ
 jāva vayaṃ n' āgayā. tattha puṇa parama·sāvago Sālivāhaṇo nāma rāya. so ya sūriṇo samāgacchante
 33 nāūna jalay'āgam'ukkaṇṭhiya·sihi vva harisa·nibbharo jāo. kameṇa ya samāgayā tattha sūriṇo. tao
- 1 n' °ṇiūṇa 18 n' rāyaṇo; s' vipari°, B vipariṇāmeti; n omits avi ya
 2 s' romanacacca°, b °maṃcaṇica° 20 i sahiyā (J ma°)
 4 s' saṇicāra·cā°; s' i vāra° (J emends); s' n °ttārahi, 21 s's's' tumhāṇa
 B °rasu; n turiyaṃ (for duhi°) 23 s' havai, n bhavai
 6 s' juggo, s' joggā 24 s' duggaya; n visajjeha (for visa° pahu)
 7 nī sūrihi 25 b savvam; s' kaha; n °jijjiantu, b °jijjanti
 10 s' omits kamma; n ujjayā changed to ujjuyā 26 i kīrao; s' deva na° savva° kī° aṇe°; n samattha;
 11 s' muṇivaya, i muṇi·paya; J pankaya i omits ya; s' kayāte; i asujjante
 12 n after daṭṭhū° writes in (at end of a line) muṇiṇo 27 B eyaṃ (for evaṃ)
 vi niyayasaddhamma which was later crossed 28 s' omits jahā; i aho (for āhā); n kamma·pa°; s's'
 out; i nibbhareṇa (J nibbhare) dhaṇiyahaṃ (J mahapha°, n mahappa°; B bhavai; s's' tao,
 suggests emendation to dhaṇiyaṃ) s' omits
 14 b savvam 29 s' apuvvaṃ; s' after sāhū° inserts sāyaṃ
 15 i accanta 30 s' viyāriūṇa; n appajjo°; s' maraṭṭhavi°, n mara-
 16 s' ai (for tāi), n nī, s' tāiyavannavajjhā; B tāi haṭṭhavi°
 bajjā; s' adds (before ti) asuībhūehiṃ, s' abb- 31 i payaṭṭhā°: s' °veyajjaṃ
 huehiṃ (omitting ti), s' n asuīehiṃ 32 s' n Sāla°, s' B Sāya°
 17 s' vuttimāe; n aṇukūla; i vayaṇehi 33 s' ṇāūṇa; s' āgamam; i harisabharani°; n omits ya

Sālivāhaṇa-rāyā sūriṇ samāgayaṇ nāūṇa sa-pariyaṇo cauvviha-siri-samaṇa-sangha-samannio niggao abhimuham, vandiya ya bhāva-sāraṇ sūriṇo. avi ya :

- 3 bhaviya-kamalā'vabohaya moha-mahātimira-pasara-bhara-sūra
dappiṭṭha-duṭṭha-paravāi-kumbhi-niddalaṇa-vaṇa-siha (87)
paṇaya-nara-visara-pahu-mauli-mauḍa-maṇi-kiraṇa-ranjiya-supāya
- 6 jiṇa-sāsaṇ-unnaī-para kali-kāla-kalanka-mala-salila (88)
kālā'ṇurūva-parivaṭṭamāṇa-suya-jalahi-pāra-sampatta
sappanta-dappa-kandappa-sappa-kappa-raṇa-para-parasu (89)
- 9 iya nīsesa-guṇ'āyara karuṇā-yara parama-caraṇa raṇa-rahiya
sugahiya-nāma niruttama tujjha namo hou muṇi-nāha. (90)
- evaṇ ca paṇayassa naravaiṇo dinno bhayavayā dhamma-lābho. avi ya :
- 12 kali-kāla-kalila-mala-bahala-paḍala-pakkhālaṇ'ikka-salil'oho
sayala-duhā'cala-kula-dalaṇa-jaliya-balasūyaṇ-attha-samo, (91)
cintāmaṇi-kappadduma kāmīyaghaḍa-kāmadheṇu-māṇa
- 15 jiya-ujjhiya-māhappo bhav'annav'uttāraṇa-taraṇḍo, (92)
saggā-pavagga-duggama nayar'aggala-bhanga-moggara-samāṇo
tuha hou dhamma-lābho narinda jiṇa-gaṇahar'uddiṭṭho. (93)
- 18 evaṇ ca mahāvicchaḍḍeṇaṇ paviṭṭhā nayare sūriṇo vandiyaṇ samattha-ceiyaṇ āvāsiyā ya
jai-jaṇa-joggāsu ahā-phāsuyāsu vasahīsu, tao paidiṇaṇ siri-samaṇa-sangheṇa bahu-mannijjamāṇaṇ
Sālivāhaṇa-narindeṇa sammānijjamāṇaṇ nīsesa-jaṇavaṇa vandiijjamāṇaṇ bhaviya-kamala-
- 21 paḍibohaṇaṇ kuṇantāṇaṇ samāgao kamaso pajjosavaṇa-samao. tattha ya Marahaṭṭhaya-dese
bhaddavaya-suddha-pancamīe Indassa jattā bhavai. tao vinnattā sūriṇo rāiṇā jahā; bhayavaṇa pajjo-
savaṇa-divase loyā'ṇuvattīe Indo aṇugantavvo hohi. teṇa kāraṇeṇa vāulattāṇao ceiyaṇaṇ pūyā-
- 24 ṇhavaṇ'āiyaṇ kāuṇ na pahuppāmo. tā mahāpasāyaṇ kāūṇa kareha chaṭṭhīe pajjosavaṇaṇ. tao
bhagavayā bhaṇiyaṇ :
- avi calai Meru-cūlā sūro vā uggamejja avarāe [J 271]
na ya pancamīe rayanaṇ pajjosavaṇa aikammai. (94)
- 27 jao bhaṇiyam-āgame:jahā ṇaṇ bhagavaṇ Mahāvīre vāsāṇaṇ savīsaī-rāe māse viikkante vāsā'
vāsaṇ pajjosavei, tahā ṇaṇ gaṇaharā vi; jahā ṇaṇ gaṇaharā, tahā ṇaṇ gaṇahara-sīsā vi; jahā ṇaṇ
gaṇahara-sīsā, tahā ṇaṇ amha guruṇo vi; jahā ṇaṇ amha guruṇo, tahā ṇaṇ amhe vi vāsā-vāsaṇ
pajjosavemo, no taṇ rayanaṇ aikamejjā. rāiṇā bhaṇiyaṇ: jai evaṇ, to cautthīe bhavau. sūrihiṇ
- 1 s³ Sālavahāṇa, b Sāyavāhaṇa, i Sāyavāhaṇo; s³ nāuṇ; s³ cauvvihasamaṇa
- 2 s³ °muham vandaṇavaḍiye vandiya
- 3 n kamala; n omits pasara
- 4 n corrects dappi° to duppi°; s³ parivāi; s³ b kumbha;
s³ vala (for vaṇa), s³ bala
- 5 s³ vahu (for pahu); s³ mauliya
- 6 i unṇai, s³ b unṇai
- 8 n omits kandappa; s³ omits sappa, b sappakaparasu
- 9 B karuṇāpara
- 10 s³ b naruttama; i tuha
- 11 i paṇaissa, s³ pavayaṇassa; s³ transposes bhaya°
and dha°; s³ bhaga°, n corrects to bhaga°
- 12 i omits bahala, s³ vahula; b parakkhā°; s³ i ekka
- 13 s³ janiya
- 14 i kappaduma, b °druma
- 15 s³ b jaya; s³ n ujjiya; s³ s³ annav
- 16 s³ naraya, s³ naraga, s³ n nagara
- 17 s³ lāho; b udiṭṭho
- 18 B omits ca; i °dḍeṇa; s³ sūriṇā; J regards vandi°
sama° ce° as an interpolation
- 19 s³ jaiṇa (for jaijaṇa); n āhā; s³ omits ahā; s³ bahu-
pasamsijja°
- 20 s³ Sāivā°, s³ Sālavā°, s³ on portion of folio missing
from my photograph, B Sāyavā°; s³ narinde;
J omit ni° . . . °māṇaṇaṇ (but supplies in
correction, p. 318); s³ sammānijjamāṇeṇaṇ
viusavayeṇaṇ pajjavāsijjamāṇeṇaṇ ni° van-
dijjamāṇeṇaṇ; s³ samāṇijja° viuvassaggeṇaṇ
pajjavasijjamāṇaṇ ni°; n sammāṇi° viusa-
vaggeṇa pajjuvasijjamāṇaṇ ni°
- 21 n folio 122 missing, leaving lacuna (paḍi)bo . . .
bha(ṇiyaṇ) p. 47, line 1; s³ Marahaṭṭhadese
- 22 s³ havai; i omits bhayavaṇ
- 23 s³ pajjosavaṇ loyā; i logā; s³ s³ ṇuviṭṭīe; s³ kāra-
ṇeṇaṇ; s³ vāulattāṇao
- 24 s³ °āiyaṇ, s³ āi; s³ pahuppemo; J (misprint) kāūṇa,
s³ kāūṇaṇ
- 25 B bhayavayā
- 26 s³ uggamijja; s³ avarā
- 27 s³ °mūi; s³ pancamiyanaṇ
- 28 s³ jahā jahā; i bhayavaṇ; s³ vihakkante, B vaikkante
- 29 s³ gaharasīsā; i omits vi after sīsā
- 30 s³ omits last ṇaṇ
- 31 s³ pajjosavevo; s³ no na taṇ; i °mijjā; s³ omits
bhavau but adds tao

- bhaṇiyam: evaṃ hou, n'atth' ittha doso, jao bhaṇiyam-āgame: āreṇā 'vi pajjosaveyavvam-iti. tao harisa-vas'upphulla-loyaṇeṇa jampiyam rāiṇā: bhayavam mahāpasāo mahanto amhānam-aṇuggaho.
- 3 jao mama anteuriyāṇam pavv'ovavāsa-pāraṇae sāhūṇam uttara-pāraṇayam bhavissai. tao gihe gantūṇa samāitthāo anteuriyāo: tumhāṇam amāvasāe uvavāso hohi, pāraṇae ya sāhūṇam uttara-pāraṇayam bhavissai. tā tattha ahā-pavattehiṃ bhatta-pāṇehiṃ sāhuṇo paḍilāheha, jao bhaṇiyam-āgame:
- 6 paha-santa-gilāṇammi ya āgama-gahaṇe ya loya-kaya-dāṇe
uttara-pāraṇagamma ya dāṇam tu bahu-pphalam bhaṇiyam. (95)
- pajjosavaṇae atthamam ti kāmā pāḍivae uttara-pāraṇayam bhavai. tam ca daṭṭhūṇa tammi
- 9 diṇe logo vi sāhūṇam tah' eva pūyam kām-aḍḍhatto. tap-pabhiṃ Marahaṭṭha-visae samaṇa-pūyālo nāma chaṇo pavatto. evaṃ ca kāraṇeṇa Kālayāyarihiṃ cauttḥie pajjosavaṇam pavattiyam, sama-ttha-sangheṇa ya aṇumaniyam, tav-vaseṇa pakkhiy'āṇi vi cauddasī āyariyāṇi, annahā āgam-uttāṇi
- 12 punnimāe tti.

III

evaṃviha-guṇa-juttāṇa vi Kālagasūriṇam kāl'antareṇa viharamāṇāṇam kamm'odaya-vaseṇam jāyā duvviṇiyā sisā. tao coiyā sūrihiṃ tahā vi na kiṃ ci paḍivajjanti. tao puṇo vi bhaṇiyā jahā:

- 15 bho bho mahā'ṇubhāvā uttama-kula-sambhavā mahā'purisā
Ind'āṇa vi dulaham laddhuṃ sāmanna-akalankam. (96)
evaṃ-raviṇiyayāe guru-āṇā'ikkamam viheṇa
- 18 dukkara-tava-caraṇam-iṇam mā kuṇaha niratthayam vacchā. (97)
- yata uktam āgame:
- chaṭṭh'atthama-dasama-duvālasehiṃ māsaddha-māsa-khamaṇehiṃ
- 21 akarinto guru-vayaṇam aṇanta-saṃsārio hoi. (98)
guru-āṇā-bhaṅgāo ranne kaṭṭham tavaṃ pi kāmā [J 272]
taha vi hu patto narayam so Kūlayavālo sāhū. (99)
- 24 guru-āṇā'ikkamaṇe āyāvinto karei jai vi tavaṃ,
taha vi na pāvai mokkham puvva-bhave dovaī ceva. (100)

evaṃ pi bhaṇiyā te na muncanti duvviṇiyayam, na karenti guru-vayaṇam, na vahanti paḍivattim,

27 jampanti ulluṇṭha-vayaṇāṃ, kuṇanti secchāe tavaṃ, āyaranti niyayā'bhippāṇeṇa sāmāyāriṇi. tao guruṇā cintiyam:

- tārisā mama sisā u jārisā gali-gaddahā,
- 30 gali-gaddahe caittā ṇam daḍḍham geṇhai saṃjamaṇi. (101) (śloka)
- 1 n resumes (bha)ṇiyam; s'n ettha; i āyareṇā; B °pajjosaviya°, s° pajjoyavvam; n tato (for tao)
- 2 s° uphulla, n aphulla, s° upphalla, b uppulla; B °ṇeṇam; n bhaṇiya (for jampi°); s° rāiṇo; s° °pasāyam; i maham te
- 3 n majjha (for mama); s° sāhūṇa; b havissai; n tato geham; s° gehe
- 4 s's° °itthā, i sampaiṭṭhāo; s° repeats tao gihe . . . bhavissai
- 5 i omits tattha; s° āhā°; n pāṇahim, s° pāṇaehim; s° °lāheha, i °lāhejjaha, n °lāhe; n jahe u (for jao)
- 6 s° loya-kamme ya, B loya-karaṇe ya
- 7 n ca (for tu); n phalam
- 8 s° °savaṇā; i paḍivae; s° vāraṇayam
- 9 b diṇe vi; s° after logo vi adds sāthatha; n folio 124 missing, giving lacuna (tahe) va . . . āyaranti (niyayā) line 27; s° pabhi; i after °bhiṃ adds ca ṇam
- 10 B nāmaṃ; B cchaṇam (J chaṇam), s° cchaṇo; s° kāraṇeṇam; s's° Kālagā°, s° °ehi; i cacau° (J brackets first ca)
- 11 b aṇamanni°; s's° ya caumāsāni (s° °sayāṇi) for pakkhiyāṇi; s° cauddisī; i āyariyāi; i uttā
- 12 s° punnimāi, s° punnimāe
- 13 s° yuṇa, i omits; s° kālasūriṇam
- 14 b sisāo; b pajjanti
- 15 s° omits second bho; s° uttama-kulam saṃ°, i uttama-saṃ° (J accuttama-saṃ°)
- 18 s° vava (for tava); s° imam; B vaccha
- 19 s° omits āgame
- 21 B akarento
- 22 B raṇṇe; s° ti (for pi)
- 23 s° Kūlavā°, s° Kūtaṭavālo
- 24 i ikkamāṇa (J emends)
- 26 i te vi na, s° ṇa; s° duvviṇiyattam; s° kuṇanti, s° karinti; s° vehinti, s° vihanti, i vahinti; s° paḍivittim
- 27 s° ulluṇṭha, B ulluṇṭha; n resumes . . . āyaranti; s° niyaga; s° samāyāram, b °āyāri
- 29 i omits u, s° reads o (J prints stanza as prose); s° gaddahā
- 30 s° diḍḍham; s'n giṇhai, b geṇhaha

tathā :

- 3 chandēṇa gao chandēṇa āgao, ciṭṭhae ya chandēṇa,
chande ya vaṭṭamāṇo siso chandēṇa mottavvo. (102)
- 6 tā parihaṛāmi ee duvviṇiṇya-sisse. tao annammi diṇe rayaṇiē pasuttāṇaṃ sāhio sejjāyarassa
param'attho, jahā : amhe niya-sissa-sissāṇaṃ Sāgaracandasūriṇaṃ pāse vaccāmo. jai kaha vi āuttā
nibbandheṇa pucchanti, tao bahuṃ kharanṭiṇa bhesēṇa ya sāhejjasu tti bhaṇiṇa niggayā pattā
ya aṇavaraya-suha-payāṇaehiṃ tattha pavittā. nisīhiyaṃ kāṭṭha thero ko vi ajjau tti kāṭṭha avannāe :
- 9 appuvvaṃ daṭṭhūṇaṃ abbhutṭhāṇaṃ tu hoi kāyavvaṃ,
sāhummi diṭṭha-puvve jahā'rihaṃ jassa jaṃ joggaṃ. (103)
- 12 iti siddhant'āyāraṇasumariṇa na abbhutṭhio Sāgaracandasūriṇā. vakkhāṇa-samattie ya nāṇa
parisāham-asahamāṇeṇa pucchiyaṃ Sāgaracandēṇa : ajjayā kerisaṃ mae vakkhāṇiyaṃ. Kālayasūri-
hiṃ bhaṇiyaṃ : sundaraṃ. tao puṇo vi bhaṇiyaṃ Sāgaracandasūriṇā : ajjayā pucchehiṃ kiṃ pi.
Kālayasūrihiṃ bhaṇiyaṃ : jai evaṃ, to vakkhāṇehiṃ añiccayam. Sāgaracandēṇa bhaṇiyaṃ : aṇṇaṃ
visama-payatthaṃ vakkāṇavesu. teṇa bhaṇiyaṃ : na visama-payattham'avagacchāmi. tao samāḍhatto
15 vakkhāṇeṃ :
- 18 tatti dhammaha kiṃ na cintehu ;
dhaṇu pariyaṇu sayāṇu jaṇu
pavaṇa-ṇunna-ghaṇa-paḍala-vibbhamu,
tārunna naya-vega-samu,
jīviyaṃ pi jala-bubbu'ovamu :
- 21 jala-niḥi-nivaḍiya-rayāṇa jiva dulaḥau māṇusa-jammu ;
nisuṇahu nisuṇahu bhaviyaṇahu thiru para-jīṇavara-dhammu. (104) (*raḍḍā*)
- 24 atrāntare bhaṇitaṃ Kālikācāryāḥ : nāsti dharmāḥ pratyakṣādipramāṇagocarātikrāntatvāt kha-
raviṣāṇavad, ity uktam ca :
- pratyakṣeṇa grahorthasya niścitenā praśasyate ;
tadabhāve 'numānena vacasā tadvyatikramaḥ. (105) (*śloka*)
- 27 na tu pratyakṣādinā pramāṇenāsāu grhyata iti alaṃ tadviśayayatnena. avvo piyāmahā'ṇukārī ko
v' esa khaḍikkaro tti mannamāṇeṇa bhaṇiyaṃ [J 273] Sāgaracandēṇa : tatra yad uktaṃ, nāsti dhar-
mas, tatra pratijñāpadayor virodhaṃ prakāṣam eva lakṣayāmo ; nāsti ced dharmā iti kathāṃ, dharmā
- 1 n tattha
2 n omits gao chan° ; n veṭṭai (for ciṭṭhae), s vaṭṭai
3 s chandena a vaṭṭa° ; s sīsā
4 s omits ee ; s duvviṇiē ; s sise ; s annaṃ pi (for
annammi)
5 s sīsā
6 s nivandheṇa, n nibandheṇa, s nibandheṇaṃ, i niv-
vandheṇa, b nicchandēṇa ; s n vahu, s bahu ; s
kkharan°, n kharanṭi°, s kharandi° ; n bhe-
siṇa ; B sāhi°
7 b aṇavarayaṃ ; n omits suha ; s n payāṇaehi ; J
pavittāho ; b nissīhi° ; s tthero, n therā
8 s nī apuvvaṃ, s daṭṭhūṇa ; n kāivvaṃ
9 i omits jaṃ ; s i joggaṃmi ti
10 s abbhutṭhiyaṃ ; s Sāgacaṇ° ; n varavakkhā°, s
vakhāṇa ; i samattie (J emends) ; s omits ya
11 s pucchio ; B candēṇaṃ ; i accayā ; B kerisayaṃ ;
n samae (for mae) ; s Kālaga°
12 s omits vi ; J pucchehi (corrected to pucchehi,
Z.D.M.G. 35.676), s n pucchehi ; n after pucche°
adds mamaṃ and after pi adds apuvvaṃ
13 n °sūrihi ; nī tā (for to) ; n bJ vakkhāṇehi ; s s°
annaṃ ; n after aṇṇaṃ adds kiṃ pi
14 n visamaṃ ; b payatthavakkhā° ; n after paya° adds
ahaṃ ; s °ḍhattaṃ
15 i after vakkhā° adds ghāta
16 s cintesu, s B cinteu ; A after cin° adds iccāi and
omits rest of stanza
19 i omits but Jacobi translates (J prints stanza as
prose)
20 b vuvvu
21 i dulaḥu
22 i does not repeat nisuṇahu ; b thira ; b after dhammu
adds tatti dhammaha kiṃ na cintehu iccāi
23 b repeats atrāntare ; s °ntareṇa ; s °śrikālī° ; s
nnāṃsti ; i °pramāṇātikrānta°
24 i omits ity
26 i tu mānena ; J °krame
27 s ca (for tu) ; s atho (for avvo), i acco
28 s s n omits tti ; B maṇṇa° ; s yatra (for tatra) yad
29 s pratipādayor ; s lakṣayāmo ; J (emending)
nāstīti ; n ced dharmāḥ kathāṃ dharmāḥ dharmā
iti cet

- iti cen nāstīti kathani. atha parāir dharmasyābhyupagatatvād evaṃ ucyate, tarhi bhavantaṃ
 pṛcchāmah, parakiyo 'bhyupagamo bhavataḥ pramāṇam apramāṇam vā. yadi pramāṇam siddham
 3 naḥ sādhyam; athāpramāṇam tarhi sa eva doṣah. yac cokaṃ pratyakṣādipranāṇagocarātīkrāntatvāt
 tad apy asad, yataḥ kāryadvāreṇa pratyakṣeṇāpi dharmādharmau grhyete. ity uktaṃ ca:
- 6 dharmāj janma kule śarīrapaṭutā sāubhāgyam āyur dhanam,
 dharmenāiva bhavanti nirmalayaśo vidyā 'rthasampac chriyaḥ,
 kāntārāc ca mahābhayāc ca satataṃ dharmah paritrāyate,
 dharmah samyag upāsito bhavati hi svargāpavargapradah. (106) (*śārdūlavikrīḍita*)
- 9 anyac ca
 niya-rūv'ohāmiya-khayara-nāha-mayaṇa vva ke vi dīsanti,
 mangula-rūvā anne purisā gomāyur-sāricchā. (107)
- 12 parimuṇiyā'sesa-samattha-sattha-suramanti-vibbhamā ke vi,
 annāṇa-tiniira-channā anne andha vva viyaranti. (108)
- 15 saṃpatta-tivagga-suhā ekke dīsanti jaṇa-maṇ'āṇandā,
 parivajjiya-puris'atthā uvviyaṇijjā visahara vva. (109)
- dhariya-dhaval'āyavattā vandiyaṇ'ugghatṭha-payaḍa-māhappā
 vaccanti gay'ārūḍhā, anne dhāvanti se puro. (110)
- 18 paṇaiyaṇa-pūriy'āsā nimmaḷa-jasa-bhariya-mahiya'ābhogā,
 anne u kalankillā poṭṭaṃ pi bharanti kaha-kahavi. (111)
- aṇavarayaṇa dīntāṇa vi vaḍḍhai davvaṇa suyaṇa va kesin ci,
 21 annesim-adintāṇa vi gheppai nara-nāha-corehiṇ. (112)
- iya dhammā'dhamma-phalaṇa paccakkhaṇa jeṇa dīsae sāhu
 mottūṇa-mahammiṇa āyareṇa dhammaṇa ciya karesu. (113)
- 24 io ya te duṭṭha-sīsā pabbhāe āyariyaṇa-peccamaṇā io tao gavesaṇaṇa kuṇantā gayā sejjā-
 yara-samivaṇa, pucchio ya, jāhā: sāvaya kahiṇa guruṇo. teṇa bhaṇiyaṇa: tubbhe ceva jāṇaha niya-
 guruṇa, kim-ahaṇa viyāṇāmi. [J 274] tehiṇa bhaṇiyaṇa: mā evaṇa karehi na tujjha akahiṇa vaccanti.
 27 tao sejjāyareṇa bhiuḍi-bhāsuraṇa vayaṇaṇa kūṇa bhaṇiyā: are 're duṭṭha-schā na kuṇaha guruṇa
 āṇaṇa, cojjantā vi na paḍivajjaha sāraṇā-vāraṇā'āṇi: sāraṇā'āi-virahiyassa āyariyassa mahanto doso,
 jao bhaṇiyaṇa-āgame:
- 30 jaha saraṇaṇa-uvagayāṇaṇa jīvāṇa nikintae sire joo
 evaṇa sāraṇiyāṇaṇa āyario asārao gacche. (114)
- jihāo vi lihanto na-bhaddao sāraṇā jahiṇa n'atthi;
 33 daṇḍeṇa vi tāḍinto sa-bhaddao sāraṇā jattha. (115)
- 1 i dharmasya parāir abhyu°; s'n °bhyupagamatvād 19 n aṇṇe; i kallaṇkillā (J kala°); s' peṭṭaṇ
 2 i parakiyābhyu°; s' bhyupadāmo; n bhavat, s' bha- 20 n aṇavarayaṇa; s'b vaṭṭai; n omits vaḍḍhai . . .
 gavataḥ adintāṇa vi
 3 n omits tarhi; i °pramāṇātīkrānta°, s' °gocarādi- 21 i naranāra
 krānta°, n pramāṇe gocara° 23 ni viya (J pi ya)
 4 n omits tad; n °dvāreṇā; i °kṣeṇa dha°; i dharmā- 24 ni omiṭ te; s' apiccha°; b gavesaṇatā (for gave°
 dharme, s' °dharmāiḥ; s' grhyate ku°), i gavesaṇtā
 5 s' jama 25 s' kahi, n kahiyaṇa
 6 s' śriyaḥ 26 iJ viyaṇāmi; s' teṇa (for te°); s' akayahiṇa; s'
 7 s' °bhayāyac gacchanti (for vacca°)
 8 s' dharmā; s'n samyak; s's'n sevitō 27 b sijjā°, J sejjāyareṇa (misprint, see Z.D.M.G.
 10 s' khara 35.676); J kūṇa; n bhaṇiyāyāre; J re re; s'
 11 s's'b mangala duṭṭhasīsā
 12 i sumaramanti (J sumaramati) 28 i virahissa; bs' (probably; MS. injured) add ya after
 13 Bn aṇṇāṇa; s' cchannā, n chaṇṇāṇa, B cchannā (J vira°
 chaṇṇā); B aṇṇe
 14 s' ege 30 s' sare (for sire)
 15 B visaharo (J °hara) 31 s' asāra° (for sāra°), i visāra°, s' āyariyaṇaṇa; n
 16 s's' ugghatṭha; s' payayaḍa āyariya, n gaccho
 17 nB aṇṇe; s' dhāvanti tesi puro; s' tap (for se) 32 b lihinto
 18 s' paṇayaṇa, i paṇaijaṇa; n bbhariyā 33 s' daṇḍeṇa; i tāḍinto; i se bha°

- sāraṇa-māi-viuttaṃ
paricatta-nāya-vaggo
- gacchaṃ piya-guṇa-gaṇeṇa parihiṇaṃ
caijjai ha sutta-vihiṇāo. (116)
- 3 tubbhe ya duvviṇiyā āṇāe avattamāṇa tti kāūṇa paricattā. tā pāvāo saraha mama diṭṭhi-pahāo, aṇṇaha bhaṇissaha, na kahiyaṃ ti. tao bhīyā sejjāyaraṃ khamāvittā bhaṇanti, avi ya :
- 6 damsehi ekkavāraṃ
āṇā-niddesa-parā
kiṃ bahuṇā, sūriṇaṃ
tā kuṇasu dayam sāvaya
- amha gurū jeṇa taṃ pasāeun
jāvaj-jīvāe ciṭṭhāmo. (117)
saṃpai hiya'icchiyaṃ karessāmo;
sāhehi kahiṃ gayā guruṇo. (118)
- 9 tao sammam-uvattṭhiya tti nāūṇa kahiya sab-bhāvaṃ pesiyā tattha. gacchantam ca sāhu-vandaṃ logo pucchai: ko esa vaccai. te bhaṇanti: Kālagasūrī. suyaṃ ca savaṇa-paramparāe Sāgaracanda-sūriṇā piyāmah'āgamaṇaṃ. pucchio Kālagasūrī: ajjaya kiṃ mama piyāmahō samāgacchai. teṇa bhaṇiyaṃ: amhehi vi samāyaṇṇiyaṃ. tao aṇṇammi diṇe tay-aṇumagga-laggaṃ pattam sāhu-vandaṃ abbhutṭhiyaṃ Sāgaracandaṇa. tehiṃ bhaṇiyaṃ: uvavisaha tubbhe; sāhuṇo ceva ee, guruṇo puṇa purao samāgayā. āyariṇa bhaṇiyaṃ: na ko vi itth' āgao khaḍikkaram-egaṃ mottūṇa. etth' anta-rammi samāgayā viyāra-bhūmīo Kālagasūriṇo abbhutṭhiyā ya pāhuṇaga-sāhu-vandena. Sāgaracandaṇa bhaṇiyaṃ: kim-eyaṃ. sāhūhiṃ bhaṇiyaṃ: bhayavanto Kālagasūriṇo ee tti. tao lajjieṇa abbhutṭhittā khāmiyā. bahuṃ ca jhūriam-āḍhatto. gurūhiṃ bhaṇiyaṃ: mā saṃtappa, na tujjha bhāva-doso kiṃ tu pamāya-doso. aṇṇayā vāluṇāe patthayaṃ bharāvittā egattha punjāvio, puṇo vi bharāvio, puṇo vi punjāvio. evaṃ ca bhari'uvvireyaṇaṃ kuṇantassa sesihūo patthao. [J 275] tao pucchio gurūhiṃ jahā: bujjhiyaṃ kiṃci. teṇa bhaṇiyaṃ: na kiṃ ci. gurūhiṃ bhaṇiyaṃ: jah' esa vāluṇā-patthao paḍipunno, tahā Suhammasāmiṇa paḍipunnaṃ suya-nāṇaṃ sā'isayaṃ ca; tay' avikkhāe Jambusāmiṇa kiṃc' ūṇaṃ appā'isayaṃ ca; tatto vi Pabhavassa appataraṃ appatarā'isayaṃ ca, tao chaṭṭhāṇa gayā te vi bhagavanto suvanti. evaṃ ca kamaso hiyamāṇaṃ hiyamāṇaṃ jāva maha sayāsāo tuha guruṇo ahiṇaṃ, tassa vi sayāsāo tuha hiṇataraṃ ti. kiṃ ca, pāeṇa paṇaṭṭhā' isayaṃ appaṃ ca dūsamā'ṇubhāvāo suyaṃ; tā mā evaṃviheṇa vi sueṇa gavvam-uvvahasu. bhaṇiyaṃ ca :
- 27 ā savvanu-mayāo
mā vahau koi gavvam:
iya accheraya-cario
- taratama-jogeṇa honti mai-vibhavā;
aham-ekko paṇḍio ettha. (119)
gām'āgara-nagara-maṇḍiyaṃ vasuham
- 30 āṇā-vaḍiccha-bahu-sissa-parivuddo viharāi bhayavaṃ. (120)
- 1 i sāraṇā; s¹ gaṇehiṃ, s¹ yaṇāṇa
2 i parivatta; n nāi (for nāya); s¹ vaijjai, i vajjei; B
ya (for ha)
3 n duvviṇiyāe avaṭṭa°; s¹ after duvvi° adds jāyā; s¹
kāūṇaṃ; s¹ i paricca°, s¹ parici°; s¹ s¹ add guruṇā
after pari°; s¹ to (for tā); s¹ povāo, n pavāu;
b ma (for mama)
4 s¹ n annahā; s¹ sijjā°; s¹ kamavettā, n khamācitta,
b khamāvettā
5 s¹ damsehiṃ, i °ha; s¹ s¹ n guruṃ; s¹ pasāheun, s¹ n
pasāeu
6 n jjāvaj; B ceṭṭhāmo
7 n buhuṇā, s¹ pahuṇā; s¹ s¹ n karissāmo
9 i kahiyaṃ; n sāhuviṃ (for sāhu-va°)
10 n omits ko esa va°; i eso; nB Kālaya°
11 B adds ya after pucchio; B Kālaya°; i omits kiṃ
12 s¹ b amhehiṃ, s¹ amhihiṃ; i samāyaṇṇi° (J emends),
s¹ samāyaṇṇiyaṃ, s¹ samānniyaṃ; s¹ s¹ annammi;
n vindaṃ
13 ni add teṇa after Sāgara°
14 b parao; i āgayā; i vitth, b vetth, s¹ n vi etth; i mut-
tūṇa; i itth; s¹ antaraṃ
15 B adds ya after anta°; s¹ samāgao; n bāhirabhūmīu;
s¹ s¹ °sūri
16 b eya; i adds ti after eyaṃ; s¹ bhagavanto; i Kālaya°
and adds tti, n adds tti; s¹ lajjieṇaṃ
17 s¹ jjhuriṃ; B bhaṇio
18 s¹ omits kiṃ tu pamāyadoso; s¹ s¹ s¹ annayā; n adds
ya after aṇṇa°, s¹ adds kayāi; n bhattā for
bharā°; s¹ etthayaṃ for ega°; s¹ omits vi
19 n omits vi; s¹ sesāhūu, i sesūhūo
20 n pucchiyaṃ; s¹ vujjhi°; i ṇa (for na)
21 b bālu°; n paḍipunṇo; i taha; s¹ suhammma°; n
paḍipunṇaṃ; s¹ s¹ nāṇaṃ; n sāyasayaṃ; i va (J
ca)
22 s¹ avikkhāye, s¹ avekkhāe; s¹ kiṃ (for kiṃc); n has
folio missing (isa)yaṃ ca . . . hiva(iṇa taha)
p. 51, line 7; s¹ omits appataraṃ
23 s¹ jaṇ u (for tao), b jao, i evaṃ ca; i bhayavanto;
B does not repeat hiyamā°
24 s¹ taha (for tuha) guru°; s¹ sayāsāo tuha hi°; i
omits ti
25 s¹ °bhāvao; s¹ omits mā; s¹ uvvhasi
27 B savvanṇu°
28 s¹ vahao ko vi; s¹ etthā
30 s¹ vaḍissa; s¹ sisa

IV

	aha annayā surindo	bhāsura bundī palamba vaṇamālo
	hār'addhahāra-tisaraya	pālamb'occhaiya vaccha-yalo (121)
3	vara-kaḍaya-tuḍiya-thambhiya	bhuyā-juo kuṇḍal'ullhiya gaṇḍo
	vara-yara-rayana-kar'ukkaḍa	kirīḍa-rehanta-sira-bhāgo. (122)
6	kiṇi bahuṇā, singāriya	sayal'ango vimala-vattha-parihāno
	sohamma-sura-sahāe	tiṇhaṇi parisāṇa majjhammi (123)
	sattanham aṇiyāṇaṇi	aṇiyā'hivāiṇa taha ya sattanham
	tāyattisaya-angā	'bhirakkha-sāmāniya-surāṇaṇi (124)
9	sohamma-nivāsinaṇi	annesi vi logapāla-m-āiṇaṇi
	sura-deviṇaṇi majjhe	Sakko sihāsana-varammi (125)
	uvaviṭṭho lalamāno	varitṭha-tiyasā'hivatta-riddhi
12	āloiya-loy'addham	viuleṇaṇi ohī-nāṇeṇaṇi. (126)
	to picchai Simaṇdhara	sāmi-jīṇaṇi samavasaraṇa-majjha'ttham [J 276]
	kuṇamāṇaṇi dhamma-kahaṇi	Puvvavidehammi parisāe. (127)
15	utṭhittu tao sahasā	tattha thio ceva vandāi bhayavaṇi
	sura-nāyaga-riddhi	tao gao sāmi-mūlammi. (128)
	vandittu sae tthāne	uvavisiuṇi jā suṇei jīṇa-vayaṇaṇi
18	tā patthāveṇa jīṇo	sāhai jīve nigoy'akkhe. (129)
	taṇi soṇṇa surindo	vimhaya-upphulla-loyaṇo evaṇi
	sira-kaya-kay'anjali-uḍo	jaṇpai parameṇa viṇaena (130)
21	bhayavaṇi Bhārahavāse	iya suhuma-nigoya-vannaṇaṇi kām
	kiṇi muṇai ko vi saṇpai	niraisae dūsamā-kāle. (131)
	to bhaṇai jīṇo: suravai	Kālayasūri nigoya-vakkhāṇaṇi
24	Bharahammi muṇai ajja vi	jaha vakkhāyaṇi mae tumha. (132)
	taṇi souṇi Vajjaharo	koūhallaṇa ettha āgantūṇi
	kām bāmbhaṇa-rūvaṇi	vandittā pucchae sūriṇi: (133)
27	bhayavaṇi nigoya-jīvā	paṇṇattā je jīṇeṇi samayammi
	te vakkhāṇaha majjham	aīva koūhalaṇi jamhā. (134)
	to bhaṇai muṇivarindo	jalahara-gaṇbhīra-mahura-nigghoso:
30	jai kouyaṇi mahaṇtaṇi	suṇasu mahābhāga uvautto. (135)
	golā ya asaṇkhejjā	asaṇkha-niggoya-golao bhaṇio
	ekkekkaṇmi nigoe	aṇanta-jīvā muṇeyavvā. (136)
33	iccāi vitthareṇaṇi	vakkhāe sūriṇā sahas'sakkho
	sa-visesa-nāṇa-jāṇaṇa	nimittam-aha pucchae puṇa vi (137)

1 s¹ aham; b aṇṇaya; s¹ vondi, s² bondi
2 i ucchaiya, s¹ occhayai
3 i thambhiya (but J in vocab. reads thambhiya), s¹ thambhaya; s² bhūo; s¹ allhiya, s² ulliya
4 s¹i omit yara, J supplies maṇi; s¹ karakakkasu, s² ukkuḍa
5 s¹ omits singā; s¹ after ango adds vibhūso
6 s² tinham; s² majjhami
7 i hivāiṇa; s² sattanham
8 s¹ tāyattimsaya, i tāvattisaya; s¹ hirakkha; n sā-māṇie, b māmāniya; s² surāṇa, s² surāṇā
9 s¹ annesiṇi, n °su; n b āiṇa
11 n hivantī; n riddhi
12 s²b aloyai; i viuleṇa; n nāṇiṇaṇi
13 s²i tā (for to); s²nb pecchai; s¹ jīṇa
14 s¹ dhammaṇi; s² dhakahaṇi
15 s²s²B tthio (J emends), s² thie
16 s¹ surayanāga, s² suranāiga; n sūlammi

17 s² vandittuṇi sa tthāne; i uvavasiuṇi (J emends), s² uvavisiuṇaṇi and omits jā; n suṇai
18 s² to (for tā); n jīvi; s¹ akhe, n atthe
19 s¹i vimhiya
20 B siri; text of n ends with anja, other folios being lost; s² puḍo; s¹ jaṇpaim; i viṇaena
21 s² omits bhaya° and after °vāse adds layava; s¹ iya, s² iha, s² iyasuya; B vaṇṇaṇaṇi
22 i niratisae dūsamakāle; b dūsame
25 s¹ Vajjadhara; s¹ ittha
26 B pucchai
27 s² paṇṇattā; i jīṇeṇi
28 s¹ tumhe (for majjham); i aīva kotūhalaṇi
30 i kouyaṇi (J emends)
31 s¹ i (for ya); s² asaṇkhiijā; s¹ nigoya, b niggouya
33 s² vakkhāe e sūriṇo
34 s² nāṇa

	bhayavaṃ aṇasaṇaṃrahaṃ	kāuṇ' icchāmi vuḍḍha'bhāvāo	[J 277]
	tā maha kittiyam-rāuṃ	sāhehi jaha tṭhiyaṃ nāuṃ. (138)	
3	to suya'nāṇeṇa gurū	uvauttā jāva tāva vaṭṭanti	
	divasā pakkhā māsā	vāsā vāsa'ssayā paliyā. (139)	
	ayarā vi donni tass' āu'māṇam-avaloiṇa to sūri		
6	sa vises'uvaogāo	jānai Vajjāhu eso. (140)	
	Indo bhavaṃ ti sūrihiṃ jaṃpie laliya'kuṇḍal'āharaṇo		
	jāo niya'rūveṇaṃ	Purandaro tak'khaṇaṃ ceva. (141)	
9	bhū'luliya'bhāla'kara'yala	jānū romanca'kancuijjanto	
	bhatti'bhara'nibbhar'ango	paṇamai sūriṇa paya'kamalaṃ. (142)	
	aisaṃkiliṭṭha'dūsama	kāle vi tae jiṇā'gamo jeṇa	
12	dhario guṇa'gaṇa'bhūsiya	tujjha namo hou muṇi'nāha. (143)	
	niraisae vi hu kāle	nāṇaṃ vipphurai nimmaṇaṃ jassa	
	vimhāviya te'lokkam	tassa namo hou tuha sāmī. (144)	
15	jeṇ' unnaī tae pavayaṇassa saṃghassa kāraṇe vihiyā		
	accabbhuya'carieṇaṃ	payapaumaṃ tassa tuha namimo. (145)	
	iya thoṇa surindo	sumaranto sūri'nimmala'guṇ'ohaṃ	
18	āyāseṇ' uppaiaṃ	patto sohamma'kappaṃmi. (146)	
	sūri vi ya kāleṇaṃ	jānittā niyaya'āu'parimāṇaṃ	
	saṃlehaṇaṃ viheuṃ	aṇasaṇa'vhiṇā divaṃ patto. (147)	
21	iti śrīkālīkācāryakathānakam samāptam.		

TRANSLATION

Reverence

I

There was in this world in the continent of Jambudvīpa, in the land of Bhārata (India), a city called Dharāvāsa. In it dwelt a king, a master to initiate into widowhood the wives of his foes, and his name was Vajrasimha.² Preëminent among his entire harem was the queen by name Surasundarī. She had a son, prince Kālaka, who had apprehended the collection of all the polite accomplishments.

Once upon a time when Kālaka was returning from horseback riding,³ in a mango grove he heard a sound sweet and deep like the rumble of rain-laden clouds and out of curiosity he went in to investigate it. And there he saw the reverend

1	s ¹ bheyavaṃ; s ¹ s ² saṇṇāsam, s ² aṇāgayam; s ¹ s ² kāuṃ; i buḍḍha	11	s ¹ saṃkilaṭṭha; i dūma (J dūsama)
2	i nāūṇa niyayam āuṃ; i sāhelhiṃ (J °hi) jaha tṭhiuṃ (J °yam); b tṭheyam	12	s ² sohiya (for bhūsiya); b muṇe
3	B uvautto; i joei (for vaṭṭa°)	13	s ² niraisaṇa and omits hu; s ² ṇāṇaṃ; i vippharai (J emends)
5	s ¹ u (for vi); s ² do vi (for donni), s ¹ dunni; tassa u āūṇaṃ (J āū); s ¹ avaloiṇa	14	i vimhāya (J vimhāyai); i telukkam, b tilokkam
6	s ¹ sāvassesuvaogāto, s ² sāvasesuvaogāo, b savisesa-suuvagāu	15	b uṇṇaī; s ¹ kāraṇaṃ
7	i sūrihi	17	s ¹ iya; i surinto (J emends); s ² sumarato, i vaṇṇanto
9	b bhāra (for bhāla); i omits yala (J supplies)	18	i āyāse uppaio
10	i bbhara (J bhara)	19	s ² hu (for ya)
		20	i saṃlehaṇā (J emends)
		21	s ¹ s ² omit iti; s ¹ s ² s ² omit śrī; b °kathā samāptaḥ

² The king's name, Vajrasimha, contains in its Prakrit form, Vairasimha, the basis for a play on the Sanskrit *vajra* (Prakrit *vaira*) and the Sanskrit *vāiri*- (Prakrit *vairi*).

³ This incident is greatly expanded in Samayasundara's late version, where it is said that a number of horses came to King Vajrasimha as a present from the King of Khurāsāṇa. Kālaka, who was skilled in the management of horses, goes out to inspect and try them, and with 500 companions enters the mango grove.

Guṇākara Ācārya with his retinue of noble monks preaching to many folk the religion expounded by the Jinās, and after reverencing Guṇākara he sat down before him.

The reverend Guṇākara, with the prince in mind, began excellently to preach the religion, as follows:

“Just as one tests gold in four ways—by rubbing, cleaving, heating, and beating—so the wise man tests religion by doctrine, practice, and the virtues of austerity and compassion. (1)

“A *jīva* (soul, animate being), without beginning or end, continuously attended by Works (*karman*) that have no beginning, is ever kept in misery through sin, but attains bliss through religion. (2)

“Religion, according to the teaching of the Scripture, consists of the regulation of conduct. And so it must necessarily be recognized when purified, as is gold, by the touchstone, splitting, and heating. (3)

“The prohibition against causes of sin, such as the taking of life and others, and the ordinance regarding meditation, study, and the rest, that is the touchstone of religion. (4)

“The observance of (the prohibition against) killing, whence the Triad (control of mind, speech, and body; or right knowledge, perception, and conduct) is of necessity not injured but becomes purified, that is the cleaving of religion. (5)

“The doctrine concerning meditation upon existence and so forth, which gives freedom from the Binding (of *karman*) and so forth, is here the heating. Well purified by these religion really becomes religion. (6)

“Whatever religion is not purified by these, not well matured in some one of them, that religion by necessity disappoints in fruit. (7)

“Since this is man’s highest goal, he who is deceived in it is of necessity deceived in all good things; there is no doubt. (8)

“And he who is not deceived in it, is not deceived in them; therefore the wise must thoroughly test this for themselves with keen insight.” (9)

When the prince heard this sermon of the master’s, the weight of his *karman* diminished, a state of grace (leading to the taking of the Five Great Vows) arose in him, and he began to speak thus: (10)

“Deluded was I through Falsity (*mithyātva*); through your exact exposition of the character of religion I have been brought to the light. O you of mighty fame, tell me what I must do!” (11)

Then the reverend master, recognizing his state, taught him the religion of monks. Kālaka, accepting the Triad,⁴ then went to the king. (12)

Then with great distress his father, mother, and the rest permitted him to go; and accompanied by many princes he became a monk, his sins subdued. (13)

Then he grasped the twofold instruction, and when he became a *gītārtha* (accomplished monk), perfected, the master (Guṇākara) installed him in his own place as head of the sect (*gaccha*). (14)

Surrounded by a retinue of 500 monks, and arousing to the light the elect as though they were groups of lotus clusters, he arrived in time at the city of Ujjayinī. (15)

⁴ The three Vows (cf. S.B.E., vol. 22, p. 63) or the three Guptis (restraint of mind, speech, and action).

The great-souled (master) took up his residence in a park situated to the north of the city, in a place suitable for monks, being free of animal life. (16)

When the folk learned this they came out quickly to offer worship; they bowed before the *sūri*'s feet, and sat down where the surface of the earth had been cleansed. (17)

Then with sonorous tones the *sūri* Kālaka preached the religion promulgated by the Jinas, which was like a fire in a thicket of the trees of misery. (18)

When the assembly heard it, they were all deeply moved, praised the *sūri*'s virtues, and went each to his own home. (19)

Some days passed while he was engaged in awakening the elect to the light like lotuses; then, quite naturally, nuns arrived there, being devoted to the pious. Among them was one, carrying a bundle of books in her hand like Sarasvatī (goddess of wisdom) yet not lacking in respectability (Sarasvatī is incestuously married to her father Brahma), endowed with great splendor like Gaurī (name of Pārvatī, consort of Śiva) yet with her heart not set upon Bhava (the world; Śiva), with pellucid mind (punningly, bed) like a stream in autumn yet without *kugrāhas* (perversity; water monsters), the abode of fortune (*kamala* also means lotus) like Lakṣmī (goddess of fortune, who carries a lotus in her hand) yet not lustful (*na sakāmā*), delighting all mankind like the crescent of the new moon yet not crooked (deceitful), in short, by reason of her virtues and beauty preëminent among all women, diligently observing all the duties of nuns—the younger sister of the *sūri* Kālaka, the nun Sarasvatī.

As the nun was going out to the latrine she was seen by the lord of the city of Ujjayinī, king Gardabhilla; and he, lecher, had her forcibly⁵ cast into the seraglio against her will, while she cried out:

“Alas, good master! Alas, brother! Alas, master of the faith, Kālaka, chief of monks! Save for me the treasure of righteous living, of which I am being robbed by the base king!” (20)

When the *sūri* learned this, he said, “Great king,

“The rules must be diligently preserved by those who hold the rule; when those who hold the rule are unsteady, then the rules fall. (21)

“Further, the penance groves are to be protected by kings; for,

“Ascetics seeking the shelter of the king's arm fearlessly practise their sacred duties in everlasting peace. (22)

“Therefore free this woman! Do not besmirch your good family. For it is said:

“The family is destroyed, the character is defiled, the reputation as a brave warrior is annihilated, a drum of his infamy is circulated throughout the entire world, a brush of black paint is applied to the family by him who violates the wife of another.” (23)

“Therefore, great king, refrain! This is forbidden like flesh of the body!”

⁵ For *balāmoḍī* see Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, sec. 238, Strassburg, 1900.

⁶ The *B* MSS. add a *dohā* thus making a typical Apabhraṃśa Raḍḍā stanza, for which I offer the following translation, dependent upon a few small emendations: “Those who do such a despicable thing, their minds being addicted to other men's wives,—of them, mighty warriors, in the battle (weapons) though lying in their hands do not kill.”

Then the king, because he was infatuated with lust and his mind was deranged, was not in the least persuaded. For,

He who is blind completely misses a visible object though it is before him in the world; but he who is blinded by passion, overlooking that which is, sees that which is not: the jasmine, the blue lotus, the orb of the full moon, beauteous creepers and branches are not comparable with the body of his beloved, which is only a mass of impurities, yet he takes delight in it. (24)

“Therefore, king, free this nun! Do not commit a sin! If sin is committed by you, who else will observe righteousness?” (25)

When he had addressed the king thus but had in no degree persuaded him, the venerable Kālaka then had the fourfold Congregation (monks, nuns, laymen, laywomen) speak to him. (26)

When the king paid not the slightest attention even to the Congregation, the *sūri* was overcome with anger and took this awful oath: (27)

“Those who are foes of the Congregation, who violate the Doctrine, who make a practice of destroying the pious life, and cast contempt upon it— (28)

“May I fare like them, if I do not violently uproot from his kingdom this king Gardabhilla, breaker of bounds. (29)

“And this should be done, as it is said in the Scripture:

“‘Therefore, in so far as it is possible, do not resort to one who transgresses the law; salutary instruction should be given to one who is favorable and friendly.’ (30)

“Likewise,

“‘Monks, temples, and especially the Jain faith, one should protect with all his might from hostility and contempt.’” (31)

After the *sūri* had taken this oath, he reflected, “This king Gardabhilla, powerful and bold, gets his strength from a mighty magic art ‘The She-Ass’⁷; therefore it will take a trick to uproot him.” When he had pondered thus, he falsely clothed himself in madman’s garb, and wandered around to road forks, cross roads, market places, and broad highways, raving thus: “If Gardabhilla is king, then what next? Or if the harem is charming, then what next?⁸ Or if the folk are well-clothed, then what next? Or if I get my living by begging, then what next? Or if I sleep in a desolate house, then what next?”

When the townsfolk saw the *sūri* speaking like this, they said: “Alas, alas, the king has not acted well, and in consequence the master Kālaka, the depository of all the virtues, on account of his sister, has left his sect and wanders about in the city demented. Woe, woe!” (32, 33)

The ministers, on hearing in the city, from cowherds, watchers, women of the town, and the rest of the people, this very harsh criticism of their lord’s house (i. e., the king), said to the king, “Your majesty, do not act so! Set free this nun, on whose account there has arisen severe censure. (34, 35)

⁷ The ass is in India the lecherous animal par excellence, and it is especially appropriate that the licentious king Gardabhilla should have a magic art “She-Ass.”

⁸ Three MSS. from Patan add here: Or if the kingdom is delightful, then what next? Or if the city is well adorned, then what next?

“ Moreover, whatever person, led astray by illusion, does evil to monks, he casts himself into an ocean of trouble. This is certain.” (36)

The king, after hearing this advice of his ministers, said in a rage, “ Here you, go give advice like that to your fathers!” (37)

With this the ministers were silenced, and reflected in their hearts, “ Who can hold back the ocean when it leaps across its boundary?” (38)

The *sūri* learned this from somewhere or other, left the city, and travelling steadily came to the bank (of the Indus) called Śakakūla.⁹ There the nobles were called *sāhis* and the overlord, the crest-jewel of all the supreme kings, was called *sāhānusāhi*.¹⁰ Then the *sūri* Kālaka stayed with a certain *sāhi*, whom he conciliated with charms and spells.¹¹

Then once upon a time when the *sāhi*, in company with the *sūri*, filled with happiness was engaged in many sorts of diversions, the door-keeper came up and announced, “ My lord, there is a messenger from the *sāhānusāhi* at the door.”

The *sāhi* said, “ Bring him right in.”

He was brought in at the word, and when a seat was offered him he sat down. Then the messenger presented the *sāhi* with a gift. When the *sāhi* saw it, his face grew dark as the sky when the rains break. Then the *sūri* thought, “ Come, why do I see this unprecedented circumstance? For when servants see their lord’s favor come to them they are filled with joy like peacocks at the sight of clouds, yet this one shows a dark face. So I shall ask the reason.”

Just then the messenger had the *sāhi*’s servant point out the latrine,¹² and he went there. Then the *sūri* asked the *sāhi*, “ How is it that when a mark of favor has come from your lord you seem to be terrified?”

He said, “ Reverend sir, it is not favor that has come, but anger. For whenever my lord is angry with anyone he sends him a sword with his name stamped upon it; and so for some reason or other he has become angry with me and sent me this sword. And I must kill myself with it. There must be no hesitation at his command, for fear of a severe penalty.”

The *sūri* asked, “ Is he angry with you alone, or with anyone else?”

The *sāhi* said, “ With 95 other kings besides me; for the number 96 appears on the sword.”

The *sūri* said, “ If that is so, then do not kill yourself.”

The *sāhi* answered, “ When the lord is angry he does not stop until he has destroyed the family; but with me dead there will be mercy for the rest of my family.”

⁹ Literally “ Scythian shore,” referring to the western bank of the Indus, whence the Scythian invaders came into India.

¹⁰ *Sāhi* and *sāhānusāhi* are obviously the Persian *shah* and *shahanshah*.

¹¹ According to Samayasundara’s account, when Kālaka came to this *sāhi*’s realm, he chanced upon a group of boys looking down a well and crying. When he asked the reason, they said they had lost a ball down it. Kālaka, who was a famous bowman, called for a bow, looked down the well (a modern Gujarati version adds that he threw a bunch of burning straw down to light it), located the ball, shot an arrow into it, followed up with another arrow which pierced the end of the first arrow, then a third piercing the end of the second, and so on until he had a chain of arrows which he could reach with his hand. Then he pulled out the ball. One of the boys was the *sāhi*’s son. Thus Kālaka got an entrée to the court. See note on p. 25.

¹² For the word *ṛṇḍāhara*, translated by Jacobi “ Absteigequartier ” see my note, p. 110.

The *sūri* said, "If that is so, then send your own messengers to the 95 kings and summon them, saying, 'Let us go to the land of Hinduka!'"

Then the *sāhi* asked the messenger, "Sir, who are the 95 other kings with whom his highness is angry?"

The messenger told him all. Then the *sāhi* dismissed the messenger and sent his own messengers to them all severally, to say, "Assemble with me! Do not give up your lives! I shall manage everything."

Then because they could not bear to part with their lives, they collected all their paraphernalia and came to him at once. When they had arrived, the *sāhi* looked upon them and asked the *sūri*, "Reverend sir, what must we do now?"

The *sūri* said, "Cross the Indus with troops and baggage-train and go to the land of Hinduka (lower Indus country?)."

Then they embarked upon boats and came to the region of Surāṣṭra (Surat). Just then the rains broke, and because they realized that the roads were impassable they divided the realm of Surāṣṭra into 96 parts and stayed right there.

Then came the autumn season with white lotuses, like a great king with a gleaming parasol; setting the cowherds to gamboling, like the instant when a battle commences which sets many protectors (warriors) into agitated motion; with many white herons in view, like the breaking of the rains when many white clouds can be seen; attended by royal swans, like a chief of ascetics attended by noble kings; with rutting elephants that have come to the end of their vigor, like a splendid palace with deserted pavilions (*saṁvyapeyamānamattavāraṇa*); and when the great streams run pure like the sentiments of good folk, and the quarters of the heavens are clear like the voices of good poets, and the sky is free of dust like the body of a perfect ascetic which is free of passion, and the Saptacchada trees are delightful with flowers like ascetics who are charming to men of good will, and the nights are clear-starred like rows of temples erected by master architects which are very bright. And further,

When the earth with all its grain crops ripened shines with great brilliance, and the lusty bulls among the happy cowherds bellow; (39)

When during the dark nights the stream of moonbeams, like a flood of nectar, everywhere brilliantly illuminates the earth's belly; (40)

When travellers beguiled by the sweet songs sung by the rustic maids who watch the rice fields stray from the road. (41)

And when the autumn had arrived, delighting many creatures thus, only the *cakravāka* bird (which spends the night unhappily separated from its mate) was at once wakeful and unhappy as though to fulfil its thoughts of love. (42)¹³

When the *sūri* Kālaka saw such splendor of the autumn season, he was eager to accomplish his purpose and he said to them, "Here, why do you stay like this doing nothing?"

They said, "Tell us what next we must do."

The *sūri* said, "Take Ujjayinī, for it is the key to the splendid land of Mālava. There you will get a living according to your desires."

¹³ The somewhat rhetorical description of autumn, with its comparisons often expressed in punning phrases that have been resolved as far as I can do so in my translation, was well rendered by Jacobi, whom I have followed in general, although with some few variations and extensions.

They said, "Let us do so! But we have not supplies, for in this land we have barely enough to eat."

Then the *sūri* sprinkled a potter's burning (of bricks) with a mere pinch of magic powder and turned it all to gold, and said, "Take this as your supplies."¹⁴

Thereupon they divided it, and set out for Ujjayinī with all their equipment. In the meantime the kings of Lāṭa (Kach) joined them, and together they arrived at the border of the country of Ujjayinī (Mālava). Then, when Gardabhilla heard that this enemy army was approaching, he went out with a powerful array and arrived at the border of his realm. Then the two armies, puffed up with pride, engaged in a battle, which was like this,

Dreadful with a rain of sharp arrows, *jhasaras*,¹⁵ lances, *vāvallas*, spears, fearful from the hurling of disks, triple-pointed javelins, maces, iron arrows, (43)

With a flood of fiery sparks rising from the clash of swords, axes, spears, and *kungīs*,¹⁶ terrible with the shouts of warriors, the diffusion of the sun's rays obstructed by dust. (44)

As the fight went on in this sort of battle, the army of king Gardabhilla was suddenly put to flight like a mass of clouds driven by the wind. (45)

When the king saw it in flight, he turned about, entered his capital, and stayed there with his army prepared for a siege. (46)

His opponents invested the city so that there was no access to it, shutting it off with their army cast about in a circle, and remained there; and every day they offered battle. One day when they came up to offer battle, they saw that the citadel was deserted. Then they inquired of the *sūri*, "Reverend sir, why is the citadel deserted to-day?"

Then the *sūri* remembered, and he said, "To-day is the eighth (literally, eighth night), and on it Gardabhilla, after fasting, will conjure up the mighty magic art "She-Ass." Look, therefore, if anywhere on a tower a She-Ass appears."

They looked, saw it, and showed it to the *sūri*. The *sūri* said, "At the conclusion of Gardabhilla's spell this She-Ass will bray a mighty bray, and every biped or quadruped belonging to a hostile army that shall hear it will without fail fall down upon the ground vomiting blood from its mouth. Therefore take every living biped and quadruped and withdraw to a distance of two leagues, and leave with me a hundred and eight sharpshooter (literally, those who take aim by sound) bowmen."

They did everything precisely as he had said. And the *sūri* said to the sharpshooters, "When this She-Ass opens her mouth to bray, then you must fill her mouth with arrows before she makes a single sound. But if she makes a sound, you will not be able to shoot. Therefore stand alert with arrow drawn to the ear."

They did everything precisely as he had said. And then the beast, with its mouth filled full of arrows shot from bows drawn to the ear, was injured, and was not able to bray at all because its power was overcome. Then the magic art made urine and

¹⁴ Fuller accounts of this episode appear in the version of Samayasundara, who says Kālaka converted a pile of bricks into gold, and in the anonymous version published elsewhere in this volume (see p. 81).

¹⁵ Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo, *śastraviśeṣa*.

¹⁶ The MSS. seem to indicate *kungī*, but I do not know the word.

ordure upon the conjuror himself, kicked him, and straightway left. Then the *sūri* said, "Take him now, for his strength was only so great (as this magic art)."

Then they breached the wall and entered Ujjayinī; and took Gardabhilla prisoner alive, bound him, and offered him at the *sūri*'s feet.

The *sūri* then addressed him, "Here you, you most wicked, evil, shameless fellow, ready to do the basest deeds, (now) fallen from your royal state! (47)

"Because you violated a nun against her will and did not respect the Congregation, therefore I have done this. (48)

"Whatever man, with mind deluded by mighty delusion, destroys a nun's virtue, he lays a fire at the root of the profit arising from the enlightenment of the Jain religion. (49)

"Having annihilated the profit of enlightenment you must wander now in the Saṃsāra, ah, so full of interminable woe—why mention that which you will experience here in this life? (50)

"When you undergo the manifold pains arising from beating, bondage, and contumely—that will be the flowering of the tree of your contumely for the Congregation. (51)

"But when you shall wander in the endless round of existence experiencing the troubles of going the way of hell-beings, animals, low men, and demons—that will be its bitter fruit. (52)

"The wicked man who, defiled with pride and arrogance, dishonors the Congregation, though it be but a little, immerses himself in the great and fearful ocean of misery. (53)

"The woe which beings endure from insulting the Jain congregation, the Jina, the supreme lord of monks, is (alone) able to describe. (54)

"Although, fellow, you are not worthy that I should parley with you—for you have committed a great sin and have not heeded the Congregation—nevertheless, (55)

"Since I see you burdened with the weight of many sins, and encircled with rings of terrifying flames rising from the conflagration of misery, out of compassion I speak to you once again. (56)

"First confess your fault and guilt; then perform expiation, devoting yourself to the practice of painful austerities, so that even now you may cross the ocean of misery." (57)

Gardabhilla heard the *sūri* speak thus in compassion, but he had a great deal of painful *karma* (*aisaṃkilittḥaṅkamo*) and was severely afflicted in mind (so that he could not see the advantageous opportunity offered him). (58)

The *sūri* Kālaka recognized that he was afflicted in mind, and said then, "You are free on the spot. Go now, you, exiled from your land." (Punningly this also might mean, of course in an ironical sense: "You are saved on the spot. Go now, you, no longer attached to objects of sense.") (59)

The kings, on hearing the *sūri*'s remark, drove him out of the country, and he wandered about free (punningly, saved) and wretched. (60)

He shall wander, die, and wander an endless time in the frightful ocean of the fourfold *saṃsāra* (that is, consisting of hell-dwellers, animals, men, gods) through the misery of the ripening of that *karma*. (61)

The rest of the *sāhis* established as their overlord that *sāhi* to whom the *sūri* had resorted, and themselves as vassals enjoyed the pleasure of rulership. (62)

Because they came from the Śaka bank (western bank of the Indus) they were (called) Śaka (Scythian). Thus arose the line of the Śaka kings. (63)

The time passed happily for them as they devoted themselves to honoring the teaching of the Jinas, and sported like bees about the lotus-feet of the *sūri*. (64)

After some time there arose Vikramāditya,¹⁷ who uprooted the line of the Śakas and became king of Mālava. (65)

The one hero of the earth (also punningly, an allusion to Vishnu, the husband of the Earth), who subdued many kings by his valor, and had excellent fame won through the performance of marvellous deeds, (66)

Who propitiated the king of the Yakṣas (Kubera: the Yakṣas are supernatural custodians of wealth) by his courage and obtained from him a triple boon, by means of which he effected gifts, without reckoning whether to foe or friend, (67)

Who made folk free of debt by the bestowal of great wealth, and established his own era in the world (called the Vikrama, or Mālava, or Saṃvat era, reckoned at 58/7 B. C.). (68)

Afterwards there was born a Śaka king, who destroyed his line as well, before whose lotus-feet the vassal kings bowed in the capital Ujjayinī, (69)

Who, when 135 years of the Vikrama era had elapsed, overthrew it (the era) and established his own era (the Śaka era, dated at 78 A. D.). (70)

This digression has been related to explain the Śaka era; now the original theme itself, relating to the main story, will be told. (71)

The *sūri* Kālaka then reestablished his sister in the discipline. The *sūri* too made confession and expiation, and again took the leadership of his sect. (72)

II

There was then a city by the name of Bhṛgukaccha (Broach) and there the brothers Balamitra and Bhānumitra, nephews of the *sūri* Kālaka on his sister's side, were king and heir-apparent. They had a sister Bhānuśrī, and she had a son by name prince Balabhānu. When Balamitra and Bhānumitra heard that the *sūri* had come from the farther (western) bank (of the Indus), they sent their *mahant* (high priest, abbot) named Matisāgara to Ujjayinī. He went there, besought the Śaka king

¹⁷ In a story prefixed to several texts of the *Vikramacarita* there is an account of Vikrama's miraculous birth. His father was a divinity named Gandharvasena, who had been cursed to wear the form of an ass. In this guise he won Madanarekhā, daughter of Tāmraliptarṣi, a king in Gujari land (Gujarat), but when in her company discarded his ass-covering and appeared as a beautiful young man. One day Madanarekhā's mother discovered the ass-covering and burnt it, and at this the curse came to an end and Gandharvasena went to heaven. His wife was pregnant with Vikrama and a slave-woman with Bhartṛhari. (See Edgerton, *Vikrama's Adventures*, vol. 1, pp. 263 ff.) In other legends Gardabhillā is often mentioned as the father of Vikrama, and the legend associated with the *Vikramacarita* must bear some relationship with the other; possibly the figure of Gandharvasena is simply a folkloristic derivative from the other based on the meaning of the father's nickname.

with great importunity to give the *sūri* leave to depart, and revered the *sūri* and petitioned him as follows:

“ Reverend sir, Balamitra and Bhānumitra, with foreheads, hands, and knees touching the earth, their bodies filled with the weight of devotion, fall down before the lotus of your feet. (73)

“ Placing on their heads a crest consisting of their lotus hands joined like buds, they petition you: ‘ Because, through the issuance of the mass of burning rays from the sun of your absence, suddenly (74)

“ ‘ Our bodies are severely burnt, therefore, lord, with the water of preaching descending from the cloud of your presence, drench us; (75)

“ ‘ In short, O ocean of the emotion of compassion, have compassion upon us, and let us worship the sin-destroying lotus of your feet.’ ” (76)

Then the *sūri* Kālaka reported the affair to the Śaka king and went to Bhṛgu-kaccha, and there he was inducted into the city with great pomp and honored with the fullness of devotion by Balamitra, Bhānumitra, Bhānuśrī, and Balabhānu. And the reverend teacher preached a sermon that inspired disgust with the round of existence, thus:

Like a heap of chaff rebirth has no worth ;
 Like a flash of lightning wealth’s favor must waver ;
 Youth like a traveller who journeys but a little way passes away ;
 Lust and delight bring in their train piercing pain ;
 To mind and body wealth gives ill health ;
 The company of beloved friends in sorrow ends ;
 Life’s green leaves pass away in certain decay.
 Since this is so, ye elect, who have attained human station
 that through family and such is suited to salvation,
 From negligence detach yourselves ; to nothing else attach yourselves ;
 The gods, both small and great, revere ; your teacher’s feet hold dear ;
 Give alms to worthy men ; avoid the bond that brings us back to
 life again ;
 The Five Adorations always observe ; the Jain temples with honor
 and worship serve ;
 The Twelve Meditations erect ; discourtesies to the Faith reject ;
 Confess your sins before a good teacher ; ask forgiveness of every
 creature ;
 Repent and expiate your sin ; hold no wicked thought within ;
 With all your might the ascetic’s tortures undergo ; conquer the
 stubborn causes of woe ;
 Meditate on subjects of pleasurable worth, and thus cut through
 the stalk of rebirth ;
 In short, conduct yourselves like this, and straightway
 yours shall be eternal bliss.¹⁸

When prince Balabhānu heard this discourse by the *sūri*, a state of grace conducive to religion arose in him, the hair on all his body stood up in joy, (77)

¹⁸ The original of this passage is in clauses of more or less rhythmical, although not metrical, prose, with inner word-rime. I have made an effort to give some idea of the effect of the original, although with some sacrifice of the literal meaning and stylistic skill of the author. The third clause is not clear to me.

And he set the flower-bud of his folded hands on his head, and then spoke these words: "O master, save me, a miserable creature, from the bondage of the Samsāra. (78)

"Terrified am I with the dangers of existence! Give me, O master, if I am worthy, that initiation taught by the prince of Jinas which is cherished by the noblest men. Do not delay!" (79)

The *sūri*, recognizing the prince's determination, initiated him then on the spot, asking his relatives' permission, according to regulation. (80)¹⁹

The concourse, consisting of kings and others, did reverence to the *sūri* and went home, while the monks applied themselves to the prosecution of their duties according to the true religion. (81)

In just the same way the kings every day bent down to the lotus feet of the prince of monks, completely borne down by the burden of devotion. On seeing that, (82)

All the city folk as well became thoroughly addicted to the Jain religion. True is the saying: As the king, so are the subjects. (83)

When the royal chaplain saw such excitement in the city, through the excessive affliction of his mind (that prevented him from seeing the light), he said before the king in the presence of the *sūri*, "Your majesty, what have you to do with these heretics, who are addicted to practices that are without the Triad (the three Vedas)?"²⁰

As he spoke in this strain he was answered by the *sūri* with many arguments, who so completely silenced him that the chaplain resorted to trickery and won over the king, using specious talk, as follows:

"This mighty ascetic, the abode of all the virtues, of mighty power, exalted by gods, demons, and men, should be respected by the entire three worlds. (84)

"Therefore, your majesty, it is not becoming that you should walk on the same road on which he walks, for that gives rise to treading upon his footprints. (85)

"And from treading upon a master's footprints there occurs great disrespect, which becomes the cause of evil fate. Therefore, my lord, you must send the master away." (86)

Then the king's mind was won over, and he said, "That is so! But how can I bring him to leave?"

Then the chaplain said, "Your majesty, let improper alms be given everywhere in the city; and, when this is done and proper food and drink are not proffered, he will leave of his own accord."²¹

The king then said, "Do so!"

¹⁹ In another text published in this volume, we read that the *sūri* initiated the prince *without* asking permission of his relatives, probably considering that permission was unnecessary, since he was the boy's great-uncle, and equally, if not more, qualified to give it than the boy's uncles Balamitra and Bhānumitra. The Prakrit phrase is *dikkhai viṇā vi pucchamī*. See pp. 76, 83, 103, 106.

²⁰ Heretics (*pāṣaṇḍa*), as despisers of the Vedas, are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (see Hopkins, The great epic of India, p. 89). Here *taivajjha* is for Skt. *trayibāhya*.

²¹ The rules concerning begging are very strict for Jain monks. Many sorts of food are forbidden, and those they are allowed must be prepared and proffered in certain specified ways. Another text (Samayasundara's) says that over-rich food was offered to the monks here on the sly chaplain's advice.

Then the chaplain had it proclaimed everywhere in the city, "Gifts bestowed upon monks by preparing food for them of such and such a sort and by other ways result in great fruit."

The folk thereupon began to do precisely so. When the monks saw this occurrence, so unprecedented, they reported it to the master. He understood the king's intention perfectly, and without even waiting to observe the Paryuṣaṇā season, went to the city named Pratiṣṭhāna (Paithan), the ornament of the land of Mahārāṣṭra. There the *sūri* ordered, "We shall not observe the Paryuṣaṇā until we arrive."

There ruled King Śālivāhana, a devoted lay follower. When he learned that the *sūri* was on the way, he was filled with joy, like a peacock longing for the coming of the rain clouds. And in due time the *sūri* arrived there. Then King Śālivāhana, learning that the *sūri* had arrived, came out to him with his retinue, accompanied by the fourfold Jain congregation and revered the *sūri* with the fullness of devotion, thus:

"Thou who awakenest the pious to the light like lotuses, a sun against the wide diffusion of the thick darkness of delusion, a lion in the forest to destroy the most arrogant, wicked heretics, as though they were elephants, (87)

"Whose auspicious feet shine with the rays from the diadems on the crests of kneeling kings who rule over multitudes of men, who art devoted to the exaltation of the Jinas' doctrine, who art water for (washing away) the dirt of the stains of the Kali age (the last and most degenerate of the four world ages, being that in which we now live), (88)

"Who hast crossed the ocean by doctrine transmitted from yore to suit the time, a stout battle-axe in the battle of the Kalpa against the serpentlike creeping enemies Pride and Lust,²² (89)

"Therefore, thou mine of all the virtues, compassionate, exalted in conduct, free of strife, whose name is auspiciously taken, without superior, reverence be to thee, lord of monks." (90)

As the king bowed down thus, the reverend sage gave him benediction (*dharma-lābha*), as follows:

"The acquisition of righteousness, which is the sole flood of water to cleanse the mass of filth caused by the stubborn stains of the Kali age, which is like the flaming weapon of Valasūdana (Indra) to destroy all the mountain ranges of woe, which surpasses and outdistances the power of the wish-gem, the wish-tree, the wish-bowl, the wish-cow, and other such, which is a ferry to bring one across the ocean of existence, which is like a hammer to smash the gate-bolts of that city so hard to win, namely, Heaven and Salvation—may it, O king, be yours, as taught by the Jinas and their Gaṇadharas (first disciples)." (91-93)

In this fashion the *sūri* was inducted into the city with great pomp, all the Jina images were honored, and he was settled in quarters fit for the religious, as being free of animal life. Then as he was daily receiving great honor from the Jain congregation, was being shown distinction by King Śālivāhana, was being revered by all the people, and was awakening the elect to the light like lotuses, in due time the Paryu-

²² The original of the second half of this verse has an assonance and an onomatopoeia which defy reproduction in translation.

ṣaṇā season arrived. There in the land of Mahārāṣṭra, on the fifth of the bright half of the month Bhādrapada, a festival of Indra took place. Then the king made representation to the *sūri*, "Reverend sir, on the day when the Paryuṣaṇā falls, there is to be, in accordance with the custom of the folk, a celebration by procession for Indra. For that reason there will be so much confusion that I shall not be able to worship, bathe, and otherwise honor the images (of the Jinas). Therefore be so very kind as to celebrate the Paryuṣaṇā on the sixth."

Then the reverend monk said:

"Though Meru's peak should waver, or the sun rise in the west, the Paryuṣaṇā may not come later than the night of the fifth. (94)

"For it is said in the Scripture: 'As the reverend Mahāvīra, when a month and 20 nights of the rains had passed, observed the Paryuṣaṇā (festival of the rainy season halt), so too the Gaṇadharas (his chief disciples); as the Gaṇadharas, so too the Gaṇadharas' disciples; as the Gaṇadharas' disciples, so too our masters; as our masters, so too we observe the Paryuṣaṇā: it must not come later than that night.'"

The king said, "If that is so, then let it come on the fourth."

The *sūri* answered, "So be it! There is no harm in that; for it is said in the Scripture: 'The Paryuṣaṇā must be observed first.'"²³

Then the king, with his eyes expanding through joy, said, "Reverend sir, your great kindness puts me under great obligation. Therefore, at the breaking of the (Paryuṣaṇā) festival fast, my wives shall give the monks their breakfast."

Then he went home and commanded his wives, "You must observe the new-moon fast, and at the time of breaking fast afterwards you shall give the monks breakfast. Therefore give the monks then alms consisting of food and drink that is ceremonially proper. For it is said in the Scripture:

"'Alms given to one who is weary from travelling, or to one accomplished in the Scripture, or to one who has made the offering of his hair (i. e., just received initiation), or to one who is breaking a fast, is said to be exceedingly fruitful.'"

(95)

Because they thought it was an eight-meal fast²⁴ that was made on the Paryuṣaṇā, the breakfast came on the day after the first day of the fortnight. When the folk saw this, they too on that day began to do honor to the monks in the same way. From that time on a festival has been observed in the land of Mahārāṣṭra called Śramaṇapūjālaya (abode of monk-worship).

It was thus with reason that the master Kālaka transferred the Paryuṣaṇā to the fourth, and the entire Congregation concurred; and for that reason the Pākṣika (mid-month) rites, etc., were fixed for the fourteenth, otherwise directed by the Scripture to be on the full-moon day.

²³ The word *āreṇa*, "first," is possibly another form of *āyareṇa*, "zealously," which actually is the reading of one MS.

²⁴ An eight-meal fast (*aṭṭhama*) is observed by omitting the evening meal of one day, both morning and evening meals of the second, third, and fourth days, and the morning meal of the fifth day. The passage here is not clear to me.

III

Although the *sūri* Kālaka wandered about, thus endowed with the virtues, in the course of time, as the result of his ripening *karma* his disciples became disobedient. Then the *sūri* admonished them; nevertheless they did not conform in the least. Then he spoke to them further:

“O you of great attainments, who have been born in the noblest families, who are great persons, even for Indra and the rest (of the gods) it is difficult to acquire immaculate monkhood. (96)

“Do not thus through disobedience neglect your master’s commands, my children, and render this painful asceticism profitless. (97)

“For it is said in the Scripture:

“‘Whoever disobeys his master’s commands in regard to the six-meal, eight-meal, ten-meal, twelve-meal,²⁵ half month, and month fasts, will wander endlessly in the *saṃsāra*. (98)

“‘Although the monk Kūlakavālaka performed painful penance in the forest, nevertheless, because he broke his master’s orders, he went to hell. (99)

“‘Even though one does penance submitting to the burning heat of the sun, if he does not do his master’s commands, he will nevertheless not attain salvation, although he might have been the lord of heaven himself in a previous existence.’” (100)

Although they were thus addressed they did not forsake their disobedience, nor do their master’s word, nor show respect. They spoke to him with rude remarks, did penance according to their will, practised their monk’s duties at their own pleasure. Then the master thought:

“Like stubborn asses are my disciples. One should leave stubborn asses and strenuously practise self-restraint.²⁶ (101)

“As it is said:

“‘A disciple who goes at his own will, comes at his own will, stays at his own will, and acts at his own will, must be abandoned (by his master) at his (master’s) own will.’ (102)

“Therefore I shall leave these disobedient disciples.”

Then the next day, at night, while they were asleep, he told the keeper of the monks’ resthouse his intention, “I am going to my disciple’s disciple, the *sūri* Sāgaracandra. If ever they repent and beseech you with importunity, then scold them well and frighten them, and tell them.”

After he had said this he left, and with continuously easy stages arrived there, and entered. Sāgaracandra gave him the evening greeting, but thinking that the venerable sir²⁷ was just a monk, failed to show him respect.

²⁵ A six-meal fast takes place during a four-day period and consists of abstaining from the second regular meal on the first day, both meals on the second and third days, and the first regular meal of the fourth day. An eight-meal fast extends similarly over five days, the ten-meal fast over six days, and the twelve-meal fast over seven days.

²⁶ A stanza with almost exactly the same wording is found in the *Uttarādhyāyanaśūtra* 27.16.

²⁷ With punning irony this word also means “(spiritual) grandfather.” Sāgaracandra, being a *sūri*, was of higher rank than a mere monk (*sādhu*).

When one sees a monk he does not know, he should rise; in the case of a monk one knows, one should show him whatever is fitting according to his dignity. (103)

Forgetful of this rule of the Scripture, Sāgaracandra did not rise before him. At the end of the (regular) exposition of the Scripture, Sāgaracandra, because he had not succeeded in overcoming the hardship “conceit in one’s own knowledge,”²⁸ asked, “Venerable sir, how have I given the exposition?”

The *sūri* Kālaka said, “Excellent!”

Then the *sūri* Sāgaracandra said further, “Venerable sir, won’t you ask me something?”

The *sūri* Kālaka said, “In that case expound Impermanence.”

Sāgaracandra said, “Let me expound some other point, one which is difficult.”

He said, “I do not understand a difficult point.”

Then Sāgaracandra began to expound:

“Ought you not to take thought of the injunctions of Religion? Wealth, companions, kin, people fly away like a mass of clouds driven by the wind. Youth is like the fleet course of a river. Life is but a bubble in the water. The estate of man is as hard to get as a pearl fallen into the ocean. Listen, ye elect, listen, to the enduring religion taught by the highest Jinas!”²⁹ (104)

At this the master Kālaka said, “*Dharma* (religion) does not exist; for it is beyond the field of operation of the *Pramāṇas* (means of acquiring knowledge), namely, direct sense apprehension, etc.—like an ass’s horn. As it has been said:

“‘We consider that there can certainly be apprehension of an object through direct sense perception, and in the absence of perception through inference; that which is beyond that (inference) through authority.’ (105)

“But this (*Dharma*) is not apprehended through the *Pramāṇas*, which consist of direct sense apprehension, etc.; hence there is no need to concern oneself with that subject.”

Sāgaracandra, thinking, “How now, here is someone, who takes after my (spiritual) grandfather, and is a captious (?) person,” said, “In regard to the statement, ‘*Dharma* does not exist,’ there is clearly a contradiction between the two members of the proposition. If we say ‘does not exist,’ how can we also say ‘*Dharma*’; if we say ‘*Dharma*,’ how can we predicate of it ‘does not exist’?”³⁰ Now, if we say we speak thus of the word ‘*Dharma*’ on account of its common acceptance by others, then we ask you, sir, whether common acceptance by others is or is not for you a means of apprehending knowledge. If it is a means of apprehension, our contention is established; if it is not a means of apprehension, we have the same fallacy as before. If it is said that *Dharma* does not exist because it is beyond the field of operation of the means of obtaining knowledge, namely, direct sense perception, etc., (we reply that) this also is false; for both *Dharma* and *Adharma* are apprehended by direct sense apprehension through their effects. As it is said:

²⁸ One of the 22 Hardships which Jain monks must overcome.

²⁹ This Apabhraṃśa stanza, obviously familiar to monks, did not appear in full in the MS. *J* edited, and in his text is printed as prose.

³⁰ That would seem to mean that no statement can be made about anything non-existent.

“ ‘ From *Dharma* come birth in good family, bodily perfection, good estate, long life, wealth; and just on account of *Dharma* there come unsullied reputation, knowledge, riches, and fortune. From the wilderness (or the *Samsāra*) and the great peril *Dharma* ever saves. *Dharma*, faithfully followed, yields heaven and salvation.’ (106)

“And again:

“ ‘ There are some who seem able to charm the lord of the Vidyādhara, whom they surpass by their beauty; and other men with vile forms, like jackals. (107)

“ ‘ Some have mastered all the books of learning in full and seem like *Bṛhaspati*; others, covered with the darkness of ignorance, wander about as though blind. (108)

“ ‘ Some, who enjoy the three kinds of happiness, we see delighting the hearts of men; others, who have forsaken the objects of humankind, are to be avoided like snakes. (109)

“ ‘ Some, with white parasols held above them, their glory extolled by heralds, ride upon elephants; others run before them. (110)

“ ‘ Some, fulfilling the hopes of their friends, bear unsullied fame that fills the earth’s surface to its circumference; others, besmirched, with difficulty fill only their bellies. (111)

“ ‘ Of some, although they bestow alms, wealth, like fame, increases; of others, although they never bestow alms, it is taken by kings and thieves. (112)

“ ‘ Since the fruit of *Dharma* and *Adharma* is so obviously seen, O monk, forsake *Adharma*, and assiduously practise *Dharma* alone.’ ”

Then at dawn those wicked disciples, not seeing the master, searched here and there, and went to the keeper of the resthouse, whom they asked, “ Lay-disciple, where is the master? ”

He said, “ It is you who should know about your own master. What do I know? ”

They said, “ Do not behave like that! He would not have gone without telling you.”

Then the keeper of the resthouse, with a frown on his face said, “ You wicked novices, you! You do not do the master’s command. Although he admonishes you, you do not carry out his reminders and prohibitions, etc. There is great harm in a master who imposes no reminders, etc. For it is said in the Scripture:

“ ‘ As the lightning cuts off the heads of those come to it for refuge (*saraṇam*), so a worthless and rule-neglecting (*asārao*) master destroys the schools of monks who come to him for refuge (*sāraṇīyāṇam*).³¹ (114)

“ ‘ Though he lick with the tongue, he is profitless if he imposes no reminders; though he beat with a stick, he is profitable if he imposes reminders. (115)

“ ‘ A school of monks that is without reminders, etc., is devoid of the group of choice virtues. When a school forsakes the regulations, then it must be forsaken (by its master) according to scriptural injunction.’ (116)

“And you disobedient disciples the master has abandoned, because you would not submit to his command. Therefore, wicked ones, depart from my sight! Otherwise you will say, ‘ We were not told.’ ”

³¹ The intention of this stanza is punning.

Then they were frightened and conciliated the resthouse keeper, saying:

“Show us this once our master, so that to please him we may continue the rest of our lives with his commands and orders our chief care. (117)

“In short, we shall now perform the *sūri*’s heart’s desire. Therefore, be merciful to us, O lay-disciple, tell us where the master has gone.” (118)

Then, aware that they were correctly disposed, he told them the truth, and sent them there. As the company of monks went their way, the folk asked them, “Who goes here?” They said, “The *sūri* Kālaka.”³²

The report was passed from person to person, and Sāgaracandra heard that his spiritual grandfather was coming. He asked the *sūri* Kālaka, “Venerable sir, is my grandfather coming?”

The latter replied, “I too have heard so.”

Then on the next day, when the company of monks in following the *sūri* arrived there, Sāgaracandra arose. They said, “Sit down! These are only the monks; but the master has come on ahead.”

The teacher Sāgaracandra said, “No one has come here except a disputatious fellow.”

At this moment the *sūri* Kālaka came in from the latrine, and the company of visiting monks arose before him. Sāgaracandra said, “Why this?”

The monks said, “This is the reverend *sūri* Kālaka.”

Then he stood up embarrassed and asked pardon. And he began to reproach himself severely. The master said, “Do not be distressed! The fault is not one of your character (acquired from the actions of previous births) but of carelessness (lack of attention to desirable practices, attention to undesirable).”

Once he filled a measure with sand and poured it out somewhere in a heap. Again he filled the measure and again he poured it out. As he continued thus to fill and empty the measure, the measure was only partly full. Then the master said, “Have you understood anything?”

He (Sāgaracandra) said, “Nothing at all.”

The master said, “Just as this measure of sand was full, so was Sudharman’s (disciple of Mahāvīra) knowledge of the Scripture full and perfect; in comparison with that of Sudharman Jambusvāmin’s (disciple of Sudharman) was a little less and was imperfect; that of Prabhava was still less than his and more imperfect; then with the sixth (of the Śrutakevalins) the Exalted Ones too are said to be gone (i. e., no longer appear). Thus by degrees it became less and less until that which your teacher received from me was very slight, and that which you received from him still slighter. Further, scriptural knowledge has for the most part through the operation of the Duṣṣamā age lost its excellence and become small. Therefore take no pride in such scriptural knowledge.³³ It is said:

³² This is in conformity with the regular custom of naming a monk and his disciples with the name of the monk, even though, as here, the monk himself is not present.

³³ The Jains believe that scriptural knowledge has steadily dwindled from the time of Mahāvīra. The Digambara Jains believe the entire canon to be lost; the Śvētāmbaras that only a portion is preserved.

“ ‘ The gradations of mental accomplishments (= *matijñāna* ?) go back by a succession of smaller and greater to omniscience. Let no one bear pride, thinking, I alone am wise here.’ ” (119)

Thus with marvellous conduct and attended by many disciples who were obedient to his command, the reverend *sūri* wandered about the earth, which was adorned with many villages and with cities. (120)

IV

Now once upon a time the king of the gods (Śakra), with shining body, wearing long garlands, the surface of his breast covered with strings of pearls, long and short, and necklaces of triple strands, his two arms stiff with beautiful armlets and bracelets, his cheeks scratched with earrings, his head shining with a crest that had a burst of radiance from the most brilliant gems—in short, his whole body bearing ornaments, clothed in spotless garments, in the court of the gods of the Sāudharma heaven (the highest of the heavens of the gods), in the midst of the three assemblies, of the seven armies, of the seven generals of the armies, of the Trāyastriṃśaka (33) gods, the Angābhirakṣa (body-guard) gods, the Sāmānika (noblemen) gods, and of the other gods dwelling in the Sāudharma heaven, namely the Lokapālas (world-protectors) and others, and among the goddesses, Śakra was seated on a splendid lion-throne, taking his pleasure in the power attending his rulership over the noblest gods, and by means of his mighty clairvoyant knowledge he surveyed a half of the world. (121-126)

Then he saw the Jina lord Sīmaṇḍhara,³⁴ seated in the midst of his Samavasarāṇa³⁵ in Pūrvavideha, preaching a sermon to the assembly. (127)

Quickly then he arose and standing right there worshipped the exalted one; then by means of his magic power as chief of the gods he went to the lord's presence. (128)

When he had worshipped the lord and had sat down in his own place and was listening to the Jina's discourse, the Jina spoke on the subject of the Nigoda creatures.³⁶ (129)

When the lord of the gods heard him, his eyes opened wide in wonder, he made an *añjali* of the hollow of his hands and put it to his head, while with the deepest veneration he spoke as follows: (130)

“ O lord, is there at present in the land of India, in this degenerate Duḥṣamā age, anyone who knows how to give so precise an exposition of the Nigodas? ” (131)

Then the Jina answered, “ Lord of the gods, the *sūri* Kālaka in India even now knows how to expound the Nigodas just as I expounded them to you.” (132)

When the Wielder of the Thunderbolt heard this, he came here (India) out of curiosity, assumed the appearance of a Brahman, worshipped the *sūri* and requested him: (133)

³⁴ A Tirthaṃkara of another world, whose cult is popular among the Jains.

³⁵ An elaborately fashioned hall erected by the gods for the Tirthaṃkara's preaching.

³⁶ The Nigoda souls are the lowest of all and permeate all matter and space. They have none of the senses.

“Reverend sir, expound the Nigoda creatures which the Jinas have mentioned in their doctrine; for I am exceedingly curious.” (134)

Then the chief of the sages, with a sound deep and sweet like (the rumble of) rain-laden clouds,⁸⁷ said, “If you have great curiosity, listen attentively, O fortunate one. (135)

“The balls are innumerable; each ball is said to contain innumerable Nigodas; in each Nigoda we must know there are innumerable beings.” (136)

After a detailed exposition by the *sūri* along this and similar lines, the Thousand-eyed (Śakra), to test Kālaka’s unsurpassed knowledge, asked him further: (137)

“Reverend sir, on account of great age⁸⁸ I desire to end my life by starvation.⁸⁹ Therefore say how much life remains to me, if it is permitted to know.” (138)

Then as the teacher attentively made examination by means of his holy scriptural knowledge (*śrutajñāna*), there appeared days, fortnights, months, years, centuries, palyas. (139)

Then the *sūri*, recognizing that the duration of his life was two Ataras (“oceans,” an incredibly high number), by means of his unexcelled knowledge, knew that this was the Wielder of the Thunderbolt. (140)

When the *sūri* said, “You are Indra,” at that very instant Purandara took his own form, with shaking earrings. (141)

Touching the earth with forehead, hands, and knees, wearing, as it were, a coat of mail composed of the hairs of his body erect in joy, his entire body bent with the weight of devotion, he bowed to the *sūri*’s lotus feet. (142)

“Even in this fiercely afflicted Duḥṣamā age you preserve the doctrine of the Jinas, you who are adorned with the troop of virtues—so, reverence be to you, O lord of monks. (143)

“You whose wisdom shines spotless even in this degenerate age, astonishing the three worlds, reverence be to you, O lord. (144)

“You who by your wonder-inspiring conduct have brought eminence to the Jain faith and congregation—your foot lotus I adore.” (145)

When the lord of the gods had praised Kālaka thus, reciting the multitude of the *sūri*’s stainless virtues, he arose in the sky and arrived at the Sāudharma heaven. (146)

And the *sūri* too in time, recognizing that the measure of his life was done, took the vow of noneating, and by exercising the rite of starvation went to heaven. (147)

Thus is completed the tale of the reverend Kālikācārya.

⁸⁷ Cf. the description of Guṇākara’s preaching at the beginning of the story, p. 37, line 5, and p. 52.

⁸⁸ Śakra had assumed the appearance of a Brahman of great age, as the illustrations always make clear.

⁸⁹ Starvation is the proper way for a Jain to meet death, but it must not be undertaken unless the time for death is seen to be at hand.

CHAPTER V
HAYA·PAḌIṆĪYA·PAYĀVO VERSION—EDITION AND
TRANSLATION

The manuscripts on which this edition is based are seven used constantly (a^1 , b^1 , b^2 , d^1 , d^2 , f , l) and two others (a^2 , a^3) used only occasionally. Of the seven used constantly one group of three (b^1 , d^2 , f) shows common peculiarities and another group of three (a^1 , b^2 , l) shows common peculiarities. The remaining MS. (d^1) maintains a large degree of independence from these two groups. Nevertheless, the degree of overlapping between the two groups and the single other MS. is so great that I have thought it better not to classify my MSS. definitely into three divisions. The two MSS. which are quoted only occasionally (a^2 , a^3) are definitely in the tradition of a^1 and I refer to them usually to support a^1 where it seems worth while to do so or again to contradict it. Here follows the description of the MSS.:

a^1 Śrī Vijaya Dharma Lakṣmī Jñāna Mandira Library, Agra. Paper, illustrated, seven folios, not dated, but probably fifteenth or sixteenth century. No library reference number was given me for this MS.

(a^2) Same library, no. 1622-65. Paper, 16 folios, possibly seventeenth century. Poor MS.

(a^3) Same library, number not given. No date, illustrated, probably seventeenth century.

b^1 Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. No. 1229 of 1886-92. Paper, three folios. Good MS. No date. Appears to be seventeenth or eighteenth century MS.

b^2 Same library. No. 373 of 1880-81. Paper, 13 folios, illustrated, no date, but perhaps early sixteenth century.

d^1 Delā Upāśraya, Ahmedabad. No. 18.25. Paper, illustrated, 12 folios, the last two being later replacements of lost original sheets. No date, but appears to be early sixteenth century. Good MS.

d^2 Same library. No. 18.26. (MS. itself wrongly numbered 18.27.) Paper, four folios. No date but possibly seventeenth or eighteenth century. Fair MS.

f Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. Paper, illustrated, being folios 112 verso to 124 verso, at end of a MS. of the Kalpasūtra. No date, but possibly late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

l Lohar Pol Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedabad. No. 95.3.13. Paper, illustrated; 15 folios. No date, but probably late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

I. haya·paḍiṇīya·payāvo
jayau jay'āṇanda·yaro
Magaheṣu Dharāvāse
Surasundara-tti bhajjā,
dhūyā Sarassai; se
kumaro sura·sama·rūvo

titth'unnai·kārao kalā·nilao
juga·pavaro Kālagāyario. 1
pure pur' āsī nivo Vayarasiho,
guṇa·jutto Kālao putto. 2
kalā·kalāveṇa Sarasai·tullā;
kīlai vivihāhiṃ kīlāhiṃ. 3

1 d^2 unnaya 2 b^1 Surasundari; a^1 omits tti 3 fd^2 Sarassai·tullā; $b^1la^1d^2d^2$ vivihāhiṃ

aha anna·diṇe kumaro
cūya·vaṇaṇṇi Guṇaṇḍhara·
yathā caturbhiḥ kanakaṇṇi parikṣyate
nigharṣaṇacchedanātāpatāḍṇāṇiḥ
dharmaṣ tathā 'yaṇṇi viduṣā parikṣyate
śrutena śīlena tapodayāguṇāṇiḥ. 5

iccāi souṇṇ kumaro
lahu·kammāṇaṇṇi jeṇaṇṇi
aha so guṇa·nivaha·juo
gāma·pura·paṭṭaṇṇesuṇṇi
dayā·samo na hu dhammo;
sacca·sarisaṇṇi na soyaṇṇi;
aha Ujjeṇṇiṇṇi patto
bāhiṇṇi ujjāṇa·ṭhio
anna·diṇi naniya sūriṇṇi
tā gaddahi·vijjeṇṇiṇṇi
seṇṇiṇṇi jaha caḍiyā
vilavai karuṇaṇṇi evaṇṇi
hā bhāya suguru suya·dhara
imiṇṇa maṇṇi hiraṇṇiṇṇi
aha so kuggaha·gahio
taṇṇi n'atthi dhuvam·akiccaṇṇi
yataḥ,

na paśyati hi jātyandhaḥ kāmāndho nāiva paśyati
na paśyati madonmatto doṣaṇṇi arthiṇṇi na paśyati. 14 (*śloka*)

gantūṇaṇṇi guruṇā so
jeṇaṇṇi tavovaṇāṇiṇṇi
taṇṇi ciya karesi evaṇṇi
dhāḍi ya vāha·rāe
taha sangheṇa vi bhaṇio:
viule vi hu jala·pūre
taha·taha nīyatteṇṇiṇṇi
jaṇṇi duddha·pāio vi hu
duddha·dhoo vi kāo
taha nīo nīyattaṇṇi
yataḥ,

dūdhaiṇṇi sīmciu līmḍaḍao ghāṇaṇṇi kiūṇṇi guḷeṇa
toi na chaṇḍai kaḍuapaṇu jātiḥintaṇṇiṇṇi guṇeṇa. 20

avamanniyaṇṇi·iya sanghaṇṇi
uṇṇimūle jai na imaṇṇi

viṇiggao vāha·vāhaṇa·nimittaṇṇi
guru·vaesaṇṇi suṇai evaṇṇi: 4

(*jagati*)
pavvaio Sarasaiṇṇi saṇṇijutto,
theveṇa vi hoi veraggaṇṇi. 6
paḍhiya·suo patta·pavara·sūri·pao
viharaṇṇi iya bhāsiro dhammaṇṇi: 7
sukkhāṇṇi saṇṇitokha·sarisaṇṇi n'atthi;
na bhūsaṇṇi sīla·paritullaṇṇi. 8
sūrivaro guruya·gaccha·pariyario
ṭhāvai dhammaṇṇiṇṇi bahu·loyaṇṇi. 9
Sarassai jāva jāi niya·ṭhāṇe
Dappaṇa·bhūveṇa avahariyā. 10
hīriṇṇiṇṇi ya sā saṇṇi teṇaṇṇi
hā·rāva·paresu loesu: 11
hā pavayaṇa·nāha hā guṇa·nīhāṇa
pāveṇaṇṇi vīra rakkhā·tti. 12
anteura·saṇṇigayaṇṇi kuṇai samaṇṇiṇṇi.
jaṇṇi kām'andhā na hu kuṇanti. 13

vutto: maharāya munca samaṇṇiṇṇi·imaṇṇi
kaya·niva·rakkhāṇṇi bhaṇiṇṇi·iṇṇi. 15
palīvaṇṇiṇṇi pāṇiṇṇi·iṇṇi dhuvam·eaṇṇi,
ahavā saraṇṇi deva bhayaṇṇi. 16
juttaṇṇi tumhārisāṇa niva n' eyaṇṇi;
jalāḥi langhai na sīmaṇṇi jaṇṇi. 17
uvahāsaṇṇi so karei sanghassa;
visama·visaṇṇi muncaṇṇi bhuyago. 18
jaha kaṇṇhattaṇṇi na muncaṇṇi kahavi
na muyai uccatta·patto vi. 19

nāu painnaṇṇi imaṇṇi kuṇai sūri:
paḍiṇṇi·iya·gaṇṇiṇṇi tao jāmi. 21

4^a cua; l'vaēṇaṇṇi, b³ °eṇa 5 b³ nirghaṣaṇa; d² tathāiva dharmo vi°; b³d²f vicāryate 6 d² soa, b³lfa¹ sou;
b³d²l pavvaio, b³f pavvaio; d² Sarassaiṇṇi 7 d²f sūriṇṇiṇṇi; b³ bhasirā; d² dhammo; a²a² dhammaṇṇi payāsanto 8 lb² du°
(for su°); d²d²b³a saṇṇitosa; b³ sarisaya; a² for this stanza: yataḥ, nāsty ahiṇṇiṇṇi samo dharmmo na saṇṇitoṣasamaṇṇi
sukhaṇṇi, na satyasadṛṣaṇṇi śāucaṇṇi śīlatulyaṇṇi na maṇḍanaṇṇi (d² has this same Skt. stanza as a gloss on the Pkt.) 9 d²a²
guruṇa; b³ omits gaccha 10 b³ Sarassai; d²a²a²a² jāi jāva, lb² jāi jānaya nia° 11 d²f avahariā (for jaha ca°); d²
writes caḍiā but alters to ci°; b³lā a ā saṇṇi (for ya sā saṇṇi); d² teṇa; f karaṇṇi; a² vāhā·rāva 12 f ha guṇa; b³
hirintim 13 d²f gahium; d² akijjaṇṇi; d² jaha (for jaṇṇi) 15 fa² guruṇo, b³ guṇa; fa² nira·vakkhāṇṇi; d² rakkhāi
16 l kasi (for karesi) 17 d²a²a²a²b³ tamhā°; f sanghai (for lan°) 18 f vaha 2; a² nīattaṇṇiṇṇi so; l karo; b³ ja
(for jaṇṇi); b³lā² pāio, a² pāio, f pāum i vi; l visamavisamavisam 19 meter defective; f dudha; d² niattaṇṇi, a²
aattaṇṇi (but a² ni°) 20 d² dūdhim; d² sīmci, f siciu; b³lā² lība°, d² līmḍaḍu; b³lā²a²a² ghāṇaṇṇi, d² ghāṇum, f ghāṇau;
b³lā²d² kiam, a² kiu; f kaḍuapaṇu; b³ kaḍuapaṇu, d² °paṇa; d² jātiḥintaṇṇiṇṇi 21 b³a²d² avamannia niasan°, b³
avamanniṇṇiṇṇi a sanghe; f nāum; a²a² omit imaṇṇi; d² gaya corrected by later hand to gaṇṇi

yatah,
jo pavayaṇa-paḍiṇīe
so pāranciya-patto
deva-guru-sangha-kajje
kuvio muṇi mahappā
jai kahavi imo bujjhai
iya cintiya karuṇāe
jai nivai Gaddahillo
iccāi jaṃpiro puri
aha mantīhi vi bhaṇio:
pagai ranjaṇeṇaṃ
pālijjai sāhu-jaṇo
so dūmio ya naravara

sante viriyaṇimi no nivārijjā
paribhamai aṇanta-saṃsāraṃ. 22
cunnijjā cakkavatti-sinnaṃ pi
pulāya-laddhī saṃpanno. 23
to 'ham-uvāyaṇa raemi niravāyaṇa.
satto vi gurū karai evaṃ: 24
ahaṃ ca roro tao ya kiṃ loyā.
bhamei gahilu-vva hā sūri. 25
niva pancama-loga-pāla suṇa saṃmaṇ
rāyā seso ya nāmeṇaṃ. 26
daṃsaṇi-vaggo visesao jeṇa
duha-dāhaṇa dāruṇaṃ dei. 27

devatāpratimābhaṇge sādhuṇāṃ ca vināśane
deśabhaṇgaṇa vijāṇiyād durbhikṣaḍamarāśivāiḥ. 28 (*śloka*)

mailijjai vimala-kulaṃ
kantha-gaya-jīvie hi vi
iya sou nivo ruṭṭho
sikkhavaḥa niyaya-tāe.
aha, pālijjai saṃmaṇ
kaya-nava-sūri-sameyā
aha cintai sūrivaro:
mahaī lajjā hiyae,
je puṇa piṣuṇā te cacciyaṇva-maha-kaccaḍaṇa karissanti
taha-gahiya-vao jo muttu Sarasaiṇ āgao sa bhaḍo. 33
to piṇ-pāsi na jāmi-
vijjā-balaṇ tu jesin
vijjāi hunti mittā
vijjā-lavo vi jāṇaṃ
corehiṇ jā na ghippai
sā vijjā maha viulā;
aha sūri Saga-kūle
bhannai sāhaṇusāhi
sūri sahāi vaccai;
evaṃ vayaṇa-raseṇaṃ
bhaṇai nivo: dhanno 'haṇ
sohai tai 'nha rajjaṇ;
aha jaṃpai sūrivaro:
maggiṣsaṇ-avasare 'haṇ.
aha pesaha eya-churī sa-siraṇ-ya āgayaṇimi pahu-lehe
vicchāya-muho sāhi

lajjijjai jeṇa loya-majjhaṇimi
taṇ na kulīhehiṇ kāyavvaṇ. 29
bhaṇai: are jāha mandiraṇ niyayaṇ
iya bhaṇiṇuṇ te vi vārei. 30
saṃjamam-ya sikkhiṇa niya-sisā
vihāriyā teṇa annattha. 31
jāṇe 'haṇ jāmi tāya-pāsaṇimi;
sā gantuṇ kahavi no dei. 32
tti nicchiṇaṇ puṇo vi cinti:
parābhavo hoi na hu tesin. 34
jippanti ya sattuno vi vijjāe
namanti savve vi nara tāṇaṃ. 35
agghai guṇavantayāṇa gehesu
teṇa videso vi niya-deso. 36
vaccai iga-sāhiṇo samīvaṇimi,
rāyā jahin sāhiṇo sesā. 37
bullai taṇ jaṇ suhāi savvassa;
ranjai rāya-ppamuha-loyaṇ. 38
jaṇ patto su-pariso tumaṇ ittha,
maggasu taṇ jeṇa tuha kajjaṇ. 39
tujjha mamatteṇa savvam-avi laddhaṇ,
chuhāi annaṇ pi pi-karaṇ. 40
puṭṭho guruṇā kahai savvaṇ. 41

23 b¹ saṃmaṇ; f d² pulāi 24 b¹ karahai, d² kahai 25 f nāmeṇa (for kiṃ loā); a¹ āim; b² l jaṇ (omitting piro);
b¹ so (for hā) 26 f d¹ mantihim; d² pāṇa (for pāla); b² sumāṇa (for suṇa) 27 b¹ sāhuṇo je 28 b² °ḍarāsi°
29 f d² b¹ mayali°; b² l jīviā 30 la² d¹ sikkhe°, b² sikkhi°; b² l niatāe; b² l bhaṇiṇaṃ 31 d¹ pālijjahe, b¹ °jjaha; b² la¹ niva
33 b² l jeṇa piṇa piṣuṇā te vacci°; d¹ cicci°, a¹ vacci°; b² l tahakagahiya; b² la¹ jjo; b² la¹ muttuṇ; d¹ subhaḍo 34 f d²
te (for to): f nacchi°; b² l vijjā-lavaṇ 35 b² a¹ d¹ vijjāim; f satuno, l sattunā; a¹ vajjāe, l omits; l naṃmanti; a¹
nira 36 f jjā; b² la² agghaṇ 37 a¹ sāhu°; l inserts sāhiṇ after jahin 38 f omits bullai 39 f dhannā; f d² a¹ supuriso; f
itthe; b² a¹ d¹ tayamha; f maggaṇsu teṇ 40 b² la¹ maggiṣsaṇ; f avasareṇha; a¹ d¹ chuhāim 41 d² f peha; lb² a¹
churīṇ, f °rie; all MSS. sasiraṇmia (b¹ d² f °mīa); with that reading the meter is faulty in pādas 2 and 3, and the
reading peha corrects only pāda 2; my emendation is slight and assumes that the half-stanza is vipulā; lb² leho; b²
vitthāya; b² guruguruṇā; b¹ f kahaya

aha bhaṇai gurū : naravara
 kaṇag'āi-dāṇao taha
 sa bhaṇai : nisūṇasu supurisa
 visamo sa bhūmipālo,
 ginhei jaṇ gahaṇ taṇ
 sāmatthenaṇ sīm'ālae ya ganjei aggaṇ je. 44
 amha-sama-nivai-lakkhā
 na bhiḍai raṇaṇmi koī :
 ittha na sandhi na viṭṭho,
 kajjaṇ keṇa vi na sarai,
 aha sūrivaro jaṇpai :
 abalā vi deva suhaḍā
 to suyaṇa kahasu koī
 suhaḍa-kulesuṇ hoī
 cintasu taṇ niva'sir'ur'ukkaḍaṇ tu rajjaṇ puṇ'atthi uddhāre ;
 caurii dasaṇa-peso
 magganti neha-rahā
 dāhī kaha te rajjaṇ
 calli na sohaṇe sā,
 tamhā rakkhasu jīyaṇ
 jāmo Mālava-desāṇ :
 aha guru-girāi teṇaṇ
 aha tesu calantesuṇ
 Seso pakampio bahu
 sīs'attham-āgayā je
 te taha tao palāṇā
 uttarium Sindhunaiṇ
 te Dhanka-giri-samīve
 aha pāusaṇmi patte
 sohai vijju-layāe
 bappihā piya-piya-sari
 kuralanti sārasa-gaṇā,
 sasi-sūra-pāriyā so'
 savvattha jala-pavāhā
 aha attha-khae rāyā
 teṇa vi sūrī jaha : sāmi saṇkaḍaṇ saṇgayāṇ viyaḍaṇ ; 59
 jesim baleṇa caliyā
 te savve paḍikūlā
 jaṇ sāhijj'āvasare
 gamihinti teṇa ee ;

kijjai manto vi ko vi appaṇae,
 kijjai jaha deva jīvijjai. 42
 jāṇāsī tumaṇ na amha-niva-cariyaṇ,
 ruṭṭho puṇa jesi tihim kālo. 43
 kahavi na milhei guruya-gavv-andho ;
 namanti eyassa vihiya-niya-rakkhā ;
 bhaṇjai nāmeṇa bhaḍa-koḍī. 45
 ko vi uvāo vi vijjae neya ;
 viṇu sira-dāṇaṇ marai savvaṇ. 46
 maraṇ'ānumayaṇ na demu tuha amhe ;
 appanti na maggie satthe : 47
 siram pi kim-ru maggiyaṇ pi appei.
 uvahāso appa'hāṇi ya. 48
 kā pī tāṇa mihūṇaṇaṇ. 49
 sīsam pi hu ajja je ya nillajjā
 najjai nīc'āi-pāsāo. 50
 ajja tuhaṇ jaṇ suyaṇa taṇ kalle.
 jīvanto jeṇa suha-bhāgī. 51
 teḍaha paṇa-navai-sāhiṇo sese.
 hakkāriya meliyā savve. 52
 giriṇo dhujjanti tharaharai dharaṇi,
 dhūlihim jhampio sūro. 53
 tattha bhaḍā ubbhaḍā nivā esā
 jaha diṭṭhā n'eva diṭṭhiē. 54
 kameṇa Soraṭṭha-maṇḍale pattā
 ṭhiyā diṇe kaivi manta-vasā. 55
 gajjanto jalaharo gayaṇa-magge
 churii kira sarasaṇe so. 56
 bhaṇanti, naccanti mora-sanghāyā,
 raḍanti taha daddurā bāḍhaṇ. 57
 ārohani ya tarūsu bhuyagā vi,
 vahanti, pank'āulā puhavī. 58
 vinnatto pariyaṇa savveṇa,
 amhe para-maṇḍala-kkamaṇa-sūrā
 paṇcā-ṇavaī nivā jāyā. 60
 gāsam magganti amha so n'atthi ;
 ṭhāhii ikkaṇ tu amha balaṇ. 61

42 Meter irregular; 43 lb²a¹ so (for sa); lb²al purisa (omitting su); b¹ jāṇāmi, d²f jāṇāhi; f varihaṇ; b¹b¹l¹f tiham, d¹ °ham corrected to °him 44 b¹d²d² ginhei; d¹ ja; b¹a²f garua; la¹a² gatth (for gavv); all MSS. insert damei before ganjei (this is against meter and is probably an old gloss) 45 b² aha (for amha); d² navai; b¹d² bhaḍai, f bhaṇai 46 f²d² diṭṭho; b¹a²a² vajjae, a² kijjae; l eā 47 d² āṇamayaṇ, d² āṇumaiṇ; d²fa²a² desu; a² ttuha 48 b¹l¹d¹ suaṇu; b¹l¹ omit siram . . . hoī; b¹ omits pi (before appei), a¹ ca (for pi); b¹ appaṇāhāṇi, f appaṇāṇi 49 editing not certain; b¹l¹d¹ siraru°; f²d² insert tu after rajjaṇ; d¹ oddhāre; l cauriiṇ; b¹l¹d¹ dantapeso; a¹ ko (for kā); d²f peī 50 b¹f dāhiṇ, d² dāhiṇ; d²f nivāi 51 b¹ vallī; b¹ mohāṇe 52 l sāhiṇā; d²f sura (for guru); l¹d¹ hakkāriā, d² hakkāvia, b² hakkāriā 53 b¹d¹ ahaṇ; b¹ dharaṇi; d² bahum; b¹ dhūlihi 54 f adds māgayā (after tattha); d¹ ubhaḍā l upabhāḍā, b² upabhāḍā; d² sesā; b² taha (for te), d² te ha, l omits te (reading taha tao); f palāṇā 55 b¹d²f naī; a² Soraḍa; b¹d²f Dhakka; b¹l¹a¹ kahavi 56 a¹ gajjato; f jalahārā; lb²f vijja, a¹ vija 57 b¹l¹d¹ bappiā; b¹l¹ omit naccanti; d²d²a² duddurā, b¹l¹ duddarā 58 editing not certain; b¹l¹a¹ havanti; b² pakāulā 59 b¹l¹a¹ vibhatto (but a² vinnatto); b¹ pariyaṇaṇa, d² pariyaṇaṇa, d² pariyaṇaṇa; a² jalaṇ ha sāmi; l saṇkaḍa 60 d² maṇḍalaṇ; d² ṇavvai

cintai sūrī: puriso
 jāva samiddhi·samiddho,
 aha sūri rayani·majjhe
 sā bhaṇai gurum: muṇivara
 sāsana·devī ahayaṇ
 Siyā·Sulasā·sarisaṇ
 Sarasai·silāu ime
 tas·sila·pabhāveṇa vi
 chaṭṭhassa pāraṇe sā
 devaṇ tu vīyarāyaṇ
 cunnaṇ samappiūṇaṇ
 vijju·jjou·vva khaṇaṇ
 tac·cunna·vasa·suvannī
 sarayaṇmi cālīa te
 dūyam·aha pesai gurū:
 aītāniyaṇ hi tuṭṭai,
 annāya·pavannāṇaṇ
 visama·visa·bhakkhayaṇaṇ
 jai Rāvaṇo vi patto
 tā samaṇi·samihāe
 aha dapp'andho rāyā
 porisaṇ·imassa hujjā
 maggijjante sise
 kāūṇa muṇḍa·melaṇ
 sūrassa timira·nivahā
 kāūṇ kiṇ pi na sakkā
 aha dūo roseṇaṇ
 jai hosi tarū sa gao,
 jai taṇ harī sa sarabho,
 kiṇ bahu·bhaṇieṇa jao
 iya bhaṇiya gae dūe
 raṇa·bhaggo Ujjeṇiṇ
 teṇ' aṭṭhameṇa kasiṇa
 daṭṭhuṇ kuṭṭe sunne
 jo riū·sinne saddaṇ
 ruhiṇaṇ muhe vamanto
 to ūsāriya sa·balaṇ
 akaya·saraṇ·imī muhaṇ
 tehiṇ tahā paḍihayā
 vijjā gayā, 'ha tehi ya
 sūrī jap·pāsi ṭhio
 tas·sevagā ya jāyā.

sūro viro ya tāva dhimanto
 taṇa·tullo riddhi·parihīṇo. 62
 gayāṇe nāriṇ niei nava·rūvaṇ;
 dukkhaṇ mā dharasu niya·hiyae. 63
 sāhijj'atthaṇ samāgayā tujjha.
 sileṇaṇ Sarisaṇ jāṇa; 64
 tuha piṭṭhīe niv'āiṇo laggā,
 jaya·pattaṇ ceva tuha hohī. 65
 āyamaṇ paidiṇaṇ karemaṇī,
 tumaṇ guruṇ n'eva milhei. 66
 kara·kamale sā adamaṇaṇ pattā,
 devāṇaṇ dāmaṇaṇ jeṇa. 67
 kaya·iṭṭa·samūha·dāṇao guruṇā
 Mālava·sandhiṇ gayā kamaso. 68
 ajja vi naranāha Sarasaiṇ munca;
 phuṭṭai jaṇ deva aibhariyaṇ. 69
 abbhudao nicchaṇa na hu hoi;
 jīyaṇ kiṇ kahavi niva diṭṭhaṇ. 70
 pancattaṇ parakalatta·vanchāe
 kahaṇ na taṇ hohī tujjha. 71
 jampai: bho dūya kiṇ bahuṇ bhaṇasi;
 jai, to bhikkhāi na bhamijjā. 72
 je naṭṭhā saṇpayāṇ ihaṇ pattā
 tāṇa bhae ko ṇu bīhei. 73
 Garuḍassa va sappa·saṇcayā visamā
 jaha taha maha dūya muṇi·suhadā. 74
 bhaṇai ya: sāraṇ suṇesu maha vayaṇaṇ.
 gao tumaṇ jai sa siṇho ya, 75
 sarabho taṇ jai sa hoi guru·meho,
 tuha antakaro ya so sūrī. 76
 calio Mālava·nivo ya tay·abhimuhaṇ
 patto ruddho bhisāṇ tehiṇ. 77
 'ṭṭhamīi sumariya samāgayāṇ vijjaṇ.
 rāsahi·rūvaṇ bhaṇai sūrī: 78
 imīi tirio naro va nisūṇe
 paḍei puhaviṇ sa turiyaṇ pi. 79
 du·kosam·aṭṭha·saya·saddavehi·bhaḍā
 bharantu bāṇehiṇ kusala·kae. 80
 nivaṇmi kāūṇ sa·latta·nīi·dugaṇ
 niggahio Gaddahilla·nivo. 81
 āsī so 'vanti·sāmio, sesā
 tao pauto ya Saga·vaṇso. 82

62 *b*³ omits ya; *a*¹ omits jāva; *l* omits samiddho; *b*¹ parihīṇo 63 *b*¹ l gayāṇa; *l* omits niei; *b*¹ l nivarūvaṇ; *b*¹ l māraṇai (for sā bha°); *l* dukkha 64 *d*²*b*¹ f sileṇa; *d*²*b*¹ f sarisayaṇ (for °saiṇ) 65 *l* lagga; *b*¹*l*² hoī 66 *d*¹ kāramāṇī; *l* devīṇ tu, *b*¹ devīṇ a tu; *b*¹ f tuma, *d*² tummaṇ; *l* guru; *b*¹*l*²*d*¹ millei 67 *b*¹*l*² iccāi jampiūṇaṇ supasannā (for cu° sama° kara·ka°); *d*²*b*¹ jjoa, *d*² jjou corrected to jjoa; *f* omits entire stanza 68 *b*¹*l*² aha (for tac); *d*² vasu; *a*¹ siṇdhiṇ; *b*¹ kamasū 69 *d*²*b*¹ f Sarasai, *l* Sarisaṇ; *a*¹ omits phuṭṭai 70 *l* ki (for kiṇ); *f* nava (for niva) 72 *b*¹*l*²*d*² porissaṇ; *b*¹ amassa 73 *b*¹ maggijjante, *d*² maggijjanto; *d*² sapayaṇ, *a*¹ saṇpayaṇ; *f* patto; *b*¹*l*² tāṇu 74 *b*¹ f dua 75 *l* dūraoseṇaṇ, *b*¹ dūrauaseṇaṇ; *d*² f su (for suṇesu); *l* omits gao; *d*²*b*¹*l*² si (for sa) 76 *d*² tumha siha (for taṇ harī), *f* hatī (for °rī); *b*¹*l*² omit second sarabho; *b*¹*l*² si (for sa) hoi; *f* puha (for tuha) 77 *a*¹ omits dūe; *b*¹ niy (for tay) 78 *b*¹ sumiria; *d*² daṭṭhu; *b*¹*d*² f kuṭṭhe; *b*¹ sune 79 *l*² imii; *d*² f saturiaṇmi (for °aṇ pi) 80 *d*² saddā; *b*¹ saraṇmi; *l* tarantu (for bha°) 82 *b*¹ l avanti; *f* patto (for pauto); *a*¹ u (for ya), *f* ai; *f* vaso

puṇa saṃjamaṭṭhīa·Sarasai·
bohai bahu·viha·loyaṃ

II. Kālagā·sūri·carittaṃ

cautthiē pajjusaṇā
Balamitta·Bhāṇumittā
niya·bhāṇijja·tti tayā
tesim so bhāṇijjaṃ
dikkhai viṇā vi puccham:
taha dhamma·khimsiraṃ so
sa dio guru·gamaṇ'atthaṃ
deva ime jahiṃ guruṇo
guru·calaṇa·kkamaṇeṇaṃ
sankāi tihim to puri
taṃ nāuṃ Paiṭhāṇe
pajjosavaṇā·samae
pahu iha maṃ viṇu na kuṇai
chatthi tāo kīrau
bhaṇai gurū: niva na ghaḍai
teṇaṃ kāleṇaṃ teṇaṃ samaeṇaṃ samaṇe bhayavaṇaṃ Mahāvire vāsāṇaṃ sa·vīsaī·rāe māse viikante
vāsā·vāsaṃ pajjosavei.

avi calai Meru·cūlā
na ya pancamī rayanaṃ
to havau cautthiē
jaṃ vuttam: antarā vi ya
to sangh'ānumaṇaṃ
ṭhaviā Kālagā·guruṇā;
uktaṃ ca sūtre:
avalambīṇa kajjaṃ
thovā·varāha·bahu·guṇa

III. Ujjeṇiē kaiyā

vacchā pamāya·sattuaṃ
caudasa·puvvi āhāragā ya maṇa·nāṇi·vīyarāgā ya
hunti pamāya·paravasā
iya coiṇā vi jā te
to so gurū vi cintai:
chandeṇa gao chandeṇa āgao ciṭṭhai ya chandeṇa
chandeṇa vaṭṭamāṇo
to sūri rayanē
sijjāyaraṇa kahiaṃ
niya·sisa·sisa·Sāgaradatta·samīve sa ṭhāi. aha teṇa
puṭṭho: ajjo tumae

samaṇi·sameo gurū sa·gaccha·juo
viharaī ujjaya·vihāreṇa. 83

titt'unnai·kāragaṃ imaṃ bhaṇiyaṃ;
jaha jāyā taha bhaṇissāmi. 84
āsi Avantī rāya·juvārāyā;
tattha gao Kālagāyario. 85
Balabhāṇuṃ Bhāṇusiri·suyaṃ taiyā
vimaṇā te teṇa saṃjāyā. 86
nijjinaī purohiyaṃ tu Gangadharaṃ;
kavaḍeṇaṃ bhaṇai iya nivaiṃ: 87
bhamanti bhamiraṃmi tattha puraloe
hoi avannā·asuha·heū. 88
aṇesaṇā kāriyā guru·gam'atthaṃ.
gurū gao ṭhāi caumasaṃ. 89
sūri niva·Sālavāhaṇe' utto:
Inda·mahaṃ pancamī jaṇo. 90
pavvaṃ maha hoi jaha jiṇ'acc'āi.
jiṇ'āgame jeṇa iya vuttaṃ: 91

sūro vā uggamijja avarāe
pajjosavaṇā aikkamai. 92
niva·kahie guru bhaṇai: ghaḍai evaṃ
kappaī sāhūṇa pajjusaṇā. 93
suy'āṇusārā cautthi pajjusaṇā
raṇṇā vi mah'ucchavo vihiō. 94

jaṃ kiṃ ci samāyaranti gīyatthā
savvesiṃ taṃ pramāṇaṃ ti. 95

niya·sīse coyae gurū evaṃ:
mā sevaha dukkha·lakkha·karaṃ. 96

tay'ānantaram·eva caugaiyā. 97
turanti galigaddaha·vva no kahavi
cattavvā dhuvam·ime sisā. 98

sīso chandeṇa muttavvo. 99
pesijjā coiṇa sīsa·tti
Suvanna·bhūmiṃ gao kamaso, 100

kiṃ diṭṭhā Kālagāyariyā. 101

83 f vihu; f omits viharai ujjaya; d² ujua 84 meter irregular; b¹ cauthiē, f cautthi; b¹ pajjusaṇā; f omits e pajjusaṇā ja; b¹ jaya (for jaha) 85 d¹ Bhāṇami; d² bhāyaṇajja 86 d¹ Balabhāṇusirisuyaṃ; d² b¹ f Bhāṇusari; f taīā; d² f dikkhāi; b¹ l viṇo 87 d² b¹ f nijjaṇai; b² purohia; d² f gumaṇ; a¹ kavaḍe; d² f i nivasamuhaṃ (for iya nivaiṃ) 88 b¹ l bhamarammi, d² bhamiraṃdi, f raṇti; b¹ l calaṇā; f heuṃ 89 f saṃkoi; d² b¹ f tehiṃ; l aṇasaṇā, b² āṇasaṇā; l nāimu, b² nāium; d² Paiṭhāṇe; b¹ l d¹ gai, f u (for gao); b² omits ṭhāi 90 d² b¹ f viṇa; l jāṇo 91 d¹ āim; b² omits na; a¹ āgama prose f kāleṇaṃ samaeṇaṃ; b¹ l d¹ bhagavaṃ; b¹ pajjosaveie, d² pajjo, f pa; at end of prose section d¹ a² add as footnote jāh ityādi jāva amhe vi 92 b¹ l d¹ i (for ya) 93 l te (for to); d¹ havai; b² ni ka; d² kahio; f sāhūṇaṃ 94 f āṇamaṇaṃ; d² b¹ l ṭhāvia; b¹ l d¹ ucchau; l vihi 95 a¹ avilaṃ 96 b¹ l add vi (after kaiyā); b¹ l coiāvie; a¹ guru; d² f sevuha; d² lakkhaṃ 97 d² munaṇā; b¹ l suṇaṇā; d² ava (for eva) 98 d² f ccoiā; f jja; b¹ l e (for te); b¹ l omit vva; b¹ l d¹ a¹ cittavvā; b² dhuvavaṃ; f sīsa 99 b¹ b¹ l a¹ give only introductory words of this familiar stanza; f inserts a (after āgao); d² ciṭṭhao; d² chaṃdea; d² vaṭṭamāṇā 100 b¹ sūro; b¹ l d¹ niyasīse (omit tti); d² sisu; d² kahiaṃ 101 l dasatta; d² Kālagāriyo, b² Kālagāriyā

sa bhaṇai: bāḍhaṇ. puṇa so
s' āha: varaṇ. aha jaṇpai:
sa kahai: aṇiccayaṇ maha
savvam-aṇiccaṇ bhuvane
guru bhaṇai: n'atthi dhammo
souṇ icc-āi-takkaṇ
aha te gose sīsā
guru-suddhiṇ pucchantā

pucchai: maha kerisaṇ tu vakkhāṇaṇ.
pucchasu maṇ kiṇ pi visamaṇ taṇ. 102
puro parūvesu. aha bhaṇai so ya:
ikkaṇ dhammaṇ vimuttūṇaṇ. 103
paccakka-pamāṇa-avisayattenāṇ.
sa vimhio. iya diṇe janti. 104
sūrim-radaṭṭhūṇa āulā jāyā
taraṇaṇ coiyā evaṇ: 105

siyā hu sīseṇa giriṇ pi bhinde
siyā hu sīho kuvio na bhakkhe
siyā visaṇ hālahalaṇ na māre
na yāvi mukko guru-hilaṇāc. 106 (*upendravajrā*)

aha pacchāyāva-parā
jaṇa-puṭṭhā binti pahe:
āgacchantāṇ sūriṇ
pucchai sīse milie:
te binti: ittha guruṇo
sa bhaṇai: ikkaṇ thaviraṇ
hasiūṇa tehiṇ bhaṇiyaṇ:
amhehiṇ avannāyā
aha lajjiyā guruṇ te
veluya-patthayao te
mā vahau koi gavvaṇ
ā savvannu-mayāo

teṇaṇ te pesiyā guru-sagāse;
ee Kālaya-gurū janti. 107
souṇ to Sāgaro gao 'bhimuho
bhaddā maha kahaha kattha gurū. 108
puvviṇ pi samāgayā na kiṇ muṇasi.
muttuṇ iha ko vi no patto. 109
Sāgara saṇghāḍio si amhāṇaṇ;
tae na nāyā vi niya-guruṇo. 110
vandittā su-viṇaṇa khāmanti.
bohiya sūri bhaṇai evaṇ: 111
ittha jae paṇḍio ahaṇ ceva.
taratama-jogeṇa mai-vihavā. 112

IV. bhikkhā-gaesu sāhusu
puṭṭho Kālaya-sūri
golā ya asaṇkhijjā
ikkikkaṇmi nigoe
teṇa puṇo 'nasaṇ'atthaṇ
ayara-dugāo Sakko
iya souṇ hou harī
Simandhara-pahu puṭṭho:
tattha tumaṇ appasamo
bhaṇiyaṇ tu jangamaṇ taṇ,
iya bhaṇiūṇa sur'indo
jāinti muṇi. sa bhaṇai:
annatto vasahi-muṇaṇ
taṇ vuttantaṇ muṇiṇ
iya bohiya bahuya-narā
siri-Kālaya-sūrivarā

anna-diṇe diyavareṇa vuḍḍheṇa
niya-jīve iya kahei: 113
asaṇkha-niggoyao havai golo
aṇanta-jīvā muṇeyavvā. 114
niyam-āuṇ pucchio bhaṇai sūri:
'si taṇ, diyā maṇ pavancesi. 115
paccakkho thuṇiya bhaṇai: mai ajja
ko vi nigoe muṇai Bharāhe. 116
vutto pahūṇā. tah' ittha tittha-dugaṇ
Vimala-giri thāvareṇa ceva. 117
jaṇ to vutto gurūhiṇ: tā ciṭṭha
gacchissaṇ muṇi-niyāṇa-bhayā. 118
kāuṇ Sakko gao sa-thāṇaṇmi
muṇiṇo vi su-saṇjamā jāyā. 119
divaṇ gayā guru-guṇā juga-ppavarā
havantu bhavvāṇa bhadda-karā. 120

iti śrīKālikasūrikathā samāptā.

102 b'f pucchai maṇ maha; f inserts tenapu (after aha); a' pucchasa, f puchasu 103 b'd'f paro; d'f sou (for so ya); f vimatūṇaṇ 104 meter irregular in second half-stanza; a'b'd' avisayattēṇa; l after souṇ repeats iccaṇ bhuvane (from stanza 103) . . . souṇ (stanza 104); f vimhiṇ 105 f repeats gose sīsā sūrim a; d' sūram; lf suddhi; b'l co (omitting iya evaṇ) 106 b'b'l quote only first three words of this familiar stanza, a' omits entirely; d'f for pāda 3 read siyā na bhindijja va satti-aggāṇ 107 a'f pisiyā; a' Kālaya; d'f guru; d' jīmī 108 d' milie; d'f guru 109 d' puvvi 110 d' tena (for tehiṇ); b'b'l amhāṇa (for amhāṇaṇ); l amheṇahi (for amhehiṇ), b' amheṇaṇ hi 111 b' veluā; d' patthayau 112 b' jai; b'la'a' ihaṇ; b'b'l'a' savanna, f suvattu; b'la' joeṇa 113 f gaesum; l vuḍḍhe-ṇaṇ 114 b'f have only first three words of this familiar stanza; b' °khejjā; d' °khijjā ha; l niggou, b' niggoo; d' iki°, b' °kkaṇ pi. d'a' add a stanza: jaha aya-golo dhamto (a' dhato) jāo tatta-tavaṇijja-saṇkāsō savvo agani-pariṇao nigoya (d' nigoha) jīve tahā jāṇa 115 d' jaṇ tena; b' āu; b'l omit bhaṇai; b'b'd' dugāu; d'f omit si; d' pavancemi 116 b'l sou and omit hou; b'd'd'f maim; b' paha; d' niggoe 117 a' tuma; b' catto; d'f tatthā 118 d' bhaṇiūṇa; f niā (for niyāṇa) 119 b'l kāo; f tthāṇa°; d'a'f muṇio (for muṇiṇ), b'l omit 120 b'l guru-gurūṇa; d' guṇaṇ (for guṇā), d'f gaṇā; d' Kālaya; a'd'f havvaṇtu Colophon d'f °Kālikācāryakathā; d' °kathānaka; d' saṇpūrṇaṇaḥ,

TRANSLATION

I

With power that slew its foes, bringing renown to the church, an abode of accomplishments—long live the master Kālaka, the delight of the world, the renowned of the age! (1)

In the Magadhas in the city of Dharāvāsa there was once a King Vajrasimha; his wife was Surasundarī; his son, possessed of virtue, was Kālaka. His daughter was Sarasvatī; with her cluster of accomplishments she was like the goddess Sarasvatī. The prince, as beautiful as a god, took pleasure in many kinds of sport. (2-3)

Then one day the prince went out to exercise some horses,¹ and in a mango grove he heard the teacher Guṇaṃdhara preaching thus: (4)

“As one tests gold in four ways, by rubbing, cutting, heating, and beating, so the wise man tests religion here, by study, conduct, and the virtues of austerity and mercy.” (5)

When the prince had heard this and more, with Sarasvatī he entered the holy life; for with those whose Karma is light it takes but little to arouse disgust with the world. (6)

Then accompanied by his train of virtues, learned in the Scripture, exalted to the distinguished rank of *sūri* (pontiff), he wandered among villages, towns, and cities, preaching the law thus: “No religion is there like mercy, no pleasure like contentment, no cleansing like truth, no ornament equal to virtuous conduct.” Then the *sūri* arrived at Ujjayinī, surrounded by a mighty retinue; and staying in a grove outside the city he established many folk in the faith. (7-9)

One day when Sarasvatī, after doing reverence to the *sūri*, was on the way to her own place, King Darpaṇa, who controlled a magic art called “She-Ass,” kidnapped her. Snatched away by him, like a sparrow by an eagle, that holy woman wailed thus pitifully, while the folk could only cry, “Alas!” “Ah, brother, good master, learned in the Scripture! Ah, lord of the sacred Word, treasury of virtues! I am snatched away by this villain! O hero, save me!” (10-12)

Then the king, swayed by an evil star, put the nun in his harem. Assuredly there is no wickedness which those blind with lust will not do. For: “He who is blind from birth sees not; he who is blind with lust never sees; he who is intoxicated with passion sees not; the suitor sees no fault.” (13-14)

The master went to him and said, “Great King, free this nun! For the penance groves are said to be under the protection of kings. That you should act thus is surely fire bursting forth from water. If the leaders of the (caravan) drivers prove a gang of bandits, then, your majesty, danger has sprung from protection.” (15-16)

Then the Congregation also addressed him, “O King, this is not fitting for people like you: even though there be a mighty rising of the waters the ocean does not over-leap its boundary.” (17)

¹ Samayasundara's version states that these horses had been sent to Kālaka's father by the King of Khorasan.

The more he was admonished the more by reason of his baseness he cast derision upon the Congregation. Even though a snake is given milk to drink, it still emits fierce poison. Just as a crow, though washed in milk, never loses any of its blackness, so the base, though he attains a high position, does not lose his baseness. For: "Let (the fruit) of a lime tree be sprinkled with milk and mixed in the frying-pan with raw sugar, still it does not lose its bitterness, such is the quality of its native characteristics." (18-20)

When the *sūri* saw that the Congregation was scorned thus, he took this oath, "If I do not uproot this king, then may I go to the state of the enemies of the faith. For: 'Whoever, having the power, does not check the enemies of the Word, he undergoes the Pāramcitra² expiation and wanders about in the endless Saṃsāra. In the service of god, teacher, or Congregation a mighty-souled sage, enraged, possessed of the magic power "Pulāka"³ could grind to powder even the army of a world emperor.' (Yet) if in any way this person can be made to see the light, then I shall employ a means that is without harm." With this thought the teacher, although having the power, out of mercy acted thus. "If Gardabhilla⁴ be king and I a poor man, then what, O people?" Saying such things, the *sūri* wandered about the city, alas, like a madman. (21-25)

Then the ministers too spoke to the king, "O lord, the fifth protector of the world, listen well. In essence a king is such by reason of the pleasure he gives, the rest is a matter of name. All monks should be protected, and especially the order of philosophers, for when that order is burning with affliction, O King, it kindles a fierce fire of woe. 'In the breaking of images of the gods, and in the destruction of monks, one may perceive the ruin of his country, with want, strife, and ill fortune.' That which defiles an unstained family and shames it before the world should not be done by people of good family, even though life is in the throat (ready to leave the body)." (26-29)

When the king heard this, he was angry and said, "Here you, go home, and teach your own fathers!" With these words he checked them. (30)

Then Kālaka admonished his disciples who had gathered before him, gave them a new master (*sūri*), and saying, "Observe the 'restraints' well," sent them out to wander elsewhere. (31)

Then the *sūri* thought, "I dare say I could go to my father, but there is a great shame in my heart, and it will in no way let me go. Slanderers there are who will throw a lot of contemptible muck, saying, 'That hero, who took a vow of such and such a sort, here he comes having deserted Sarasvatī'!"⁵ Therefore I shall not go to my father." After he had come to this decision he reflected again, "In the case of

² Expiation (*prāyaścitta*) is of ten sorts, of which this is the tenth and most severe, consisting of exclusion from the order for 12 years (C. Krause, An interpretation of Jain ethics, Bhavnagar, p. 30, 1929).

³ The highest of the 28 *labdhis* (magic powers). Women cannot attain to it. Cf. Johnson, *Ādiśvaracaritra* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. 51), pp. 75-76, 1931.

⁴ The name usually given to this wicked king, here mentioned for the first time in this text, and without any introduction. It is a kind of nickname, applied because of the king's mastery of the She-Ass (*gardabhi*) magic art.

⁵ Other versions relate how King Vajrasimha at the time of initiation had especially entrusted Sarassai (Sarasvatī) to Kālaka's care.

those whose strength comes from a magic art,⁶ there is no overcoming them. Friends come through the magic art; foes are conquered by means of the magic art. To those who have only a trifle of magic art all men bow down. That magic art which thieves cannot take away, which is valued in the houses of the virtuous, that art is fully mine; through it a foreign country becomes one's native country." (32-36)

Then the *sūri* went to the Śaka bank⁷ to the court of a *sāhi*, where the king is called *sāhaṇusāhi*⁸ and the rest *sāhi*. The *sūri* entered the court. Whatever he said pleased everyone. Thus by the flavor of his speech he charmed the king's nobility. (37-38)

The king said, "Lucky am I that you, whose touch is a blessing, have come here; my kingdom shines through you. Ask for whatever you need!" (39)

The *sūri* said, "Through your affection I have got everything; I shall ask when occasion arises. It is on account of hunger that food gives pleasure." (40)

Then there came a letter from the overlord to this effect, "Send your head with this sword."⁹ His face gone pale, the king was questioned by the *sūri*, and he told him all. (41)

At this the master said, "O King, you must effect some plan for yourself. You must make gifts of gold and other things, your majesty, so that you may live." (42)

He said, "Listen, noble person, you do not know the ways of our king; he is a harsh ruler; for those with whom he is angry there is death. Whatever spoil he seizes, that, blind with overweening arrogance, he never lets loose. By his might he subdues the border kings first of all. Hundreds of thousands of kings like me submit to him to guarantee their security. No one can meet him in battle; ten million warriors flee at his name. Here there is possible neither peace nor resistance; there is no means whatever; nothing that anyone can do will prevail. Unless I give my head, all (my family) will die." (43-46)

Then the *sūri* said, "I shall not consent to your death. Brave soldiers, your majesty, when their weapons are demanded do not surrender (them), even though powerless. So tell me, good sir: Does anyone then on demand surrender his head? In warrior families self-destruction is a disgrace. Reflect on this: a kingdom which has a king as a head on its breast is in safety;¹⁰ when there is injury from biting in the bridal chamber—what love can exist in such unions? Those shameless fellows, devoid of love, who to-day demand the head, how shall one give the kingdom to them? This is to be learned from base people.¹⁰ That step¹¹ is not right. What befalls you

⁶ Throughout this passage the word used is *vijjā* (*vidyā*) meaning both "knowledge" and "magic art."

⁷ The Saga (Skt. *śaka* "Scythian") bank is the west bank of the Indus.

⁸ Persian *shah* and *shahanshah*. There were altogether 96 vassal kings. Some other versions relate that when Kālaka reached this land, he found a number of princes weeping because a ball with which they had been playing had fallen into a well. Kālaka, who was a skilled archer, called for a bow and arrows. He pierced the ball with an arrow, then pierced the first arrow with a second, the second with a third, and so on until he was able to draw out the chain of arrows with the ball. The princes then took him to the court. (One version states that before shooting at the ball Kālaka had to throw a blazing bunch of grass into the well to see where the ball lay.) See p. 25.

⁹ The text here is obscurely brief; other versions tell us that a messenger came from the *shahanshah* bearing a metal bowl and a sword on which was inscribed the number 96. This meant that the king—with the other 95 fellow vassal kings—was to cut off his own head with the sword and send it in the bowl to the overlord. It is not stated why the overlord was angry. The penalty for failure to do this would be extirpation of the vassal king's entire family; but if the vassal king should be obedient the rest of his family would be spared.

¹⁰ Translation conjectural.

¹¹ The word *calli* means a step in dancing.

to-day will befall your sons tomorrow. Therefore preserve your life, that living you may enjoy good fortune. Let us go to the land of Mālava; call together the 95 other *sāhis*." (47-52b)

Then at the master's word he summoned and assembled them all. And as they moved along the mountains rocked, the earth shook, Śeṣa (the serpent that supports the world) was violently agitated, the sun was obscured by the dust. Those mighty warrior kings, who had come there for the sake of their heads, fled then so that they could not be seen at all by sight. (52c-54)

They crossed the river Indus and in time came to the land of Sāurāṣṭra (Surat). They stopped for some days at mount Ḍhanka ¹² under a spell. (55)

Then when the rainy season arrived, the cloud thundering in its heavenly way shone with the lightning flash, which was, so to speak, a wet sword. Cātaka birds then sang "piya-piya"; peacock flocks danced; flocks of cranes went "kurala"; frogs bellowed loud. The streams resisted the sun and moon (which usually drink them up); snakes climbed the trees; everywhere watercourses flowed; the earth was full of mud. (56-58)

Then the king was informed by his entire train that the supplies were exhausted; he in turn told the *sūri*, "Sir, a dreadful difficulty has occurred. Those with whose army we have come as heroes traversing strange kingdoms, like suns, those 95 kings, all of them, have become disaffected. At this moment when they need help I have not the food which they ask for. Therefore they will go. There will remain my army alone." (59-61)

The *sūri* thought, "As long as a man has plenty, he is a hero, brave, wise; when his wealth is gone, he is no better than grass." (62)

Then in the middle of the night the *sūri* saw in the sky a woman with fresh beauty; and she said to the master, "O sage, have no uneasiness in your heart! I am your divine messenger,¹³ come to you to bring help. Know that Sarasvatī is in virtue like Sītā and Sulasā.¹⁴ By reason of Sarasvatī's virtue you have got these kings and others; and by the power of her virtue the banner of victory shall be yours too. After the meal concluding a six-meal fast she now observes daily the *ācāmla* abstinence.¹⁵ Never has she abandoned the Jina as her god and you as her master." (63-66)

She put a powder in the lotus of his hand and then vanished; for a glimpse of the gods is as brief as a flash of lightning. (67)

¹² This, according to the learned *sādhus* Vidyāvijaya and Jayantavijaya, is one of the 108 names of the sacred mount Śatrunjaya in Kathiawar.

¹³ *śāsanadevī*: distinguished personages in the Jain hierarchy have two attendants, one male (*yakṣa*) one female (*śāsanadevī* or *śāsanadcvatā*).

¹⁴ Sītā is the heroine of the epic Rāmāyaṇa; Sulasā was a celebrated female lay disciple of the Jina Mahāvīra and is destined at some time to become a Jina.

¹⁵ Jains eat two meals daily. A six-meal fast means that the observer omits the second meal of the first day, both meals of the second and third days and the first meal of the fourth day. In the *ācāmla* abstinence the observer eats only one meal a day and of the plainest food, such as grain cooked whole or cakes made of flour and water with no spices or even salt. All other food is forbidden. The only drink is boiled water. (The learned *sādhus* Vidyāvijaya and Jayantavijaya).

Then the master by the power of this powder converted a pile of bricks into gold and gave them (to the kings), and in the autumn sent them on, and in time they reached the border of Mālava. (68)

The master then sent a messenger, "King, release Sarasvatī at once! What is stretched too far breaks; what is filled too full, your majesty, bursts. Certain it is that prosperity never comes to those who resort to immorality. Is life ever seen, O King, in those who have swallowed noxious poison? If even Rāvaṇa¹⁶ met death through lust for another's wife, then how will you, with your lust for a nun, escape it?" (69-71)

Thereupon the king, blind with arrogance,¹⁷ said, "Ho messenger, why speak at length? If this *sūri* had any valor, he would not wander about in beggary. Those who took to flight when their heads were demanded and have now come here, a bunch of shaven pates—does anyone fear danger from them? As a mass of darkness before the sun, as a fearsome multitude of serpents before Garuḍa,¹⁸ so, messenger, the sage's warriors can do nothing before me." (72-74)

Then the messenger angrily said, "Listen to my straight speech. If you are a tree, he is an elephant (to uproot you); if you are an elephant, he is a lion; if you are a lion, he is a *śarabha*;¹⁹ if you are a *śarabha*, he is a heavy²⁰ cloud—why speak at length, since the *sūri* is fatal for you?" (75-76)

When the messenger had spoken thus he left; and the king of Mālava marched against them, was broken in battle, came to Ujjayinī, and was strictly besieged by them. (77)

The king did an eight-meal fast²¹ and then on the eighth day of the dark half of the month summoned his magic art. When the *sūri* saw it in the form of a She-Ass on the empty fort (wall), he said, "Whatever beast or man in an enemy's army hears the bray of this She-Ass will immediately fall down upon the earth vomiting blood from his mouth. Therefore withdraw with the army a distance of two *krośas*,²² and to effect our safety let 108 bowmen who take aim by sound²³ fill the ass's mouth with arrows before it can utter a sound." ²⁴ (78-80)

The magic art, thus frustrated, with a kick did the two duties²⁵ upon the king and left; and then the *sāhis* captured King Gardabhilla.²⁶ (81)

¹⁶ Rāvaṇa is the villain of the Rāmāyaṇa. He kidnapped Sītā (mentioned in our stanza 64) and in return was destroyed by Rāma, Sītā's husband, and his allies.

¹⁷ Play on *daṇḍa* (Skt. *darṣa* "arrogance") and the king's name Dappaṇa (Skt. *darpaṇa*).

¹⁸ Garuḍa is a mythical bird, vehicle of the god Viṣṇu and enemy of serpents.

¹⁹ A *śarabha* is a mythical eight-footed creature that fears only thunder.

²⁰ The word *guru* means both "heavy" and "master," a title of Kālaka.

²¹ A fast running through five days like the six-meal fast running through four days as described in note to stanza 66.

²² A *krośa*, "calling distance," is like a "countryman's mile," but is generally considered to be about two English miles.

²³ An expression hardly meaning more than "most skilful."

²⁴ One version relates that only 107 bowmen could be found, but Kālaka, noted for his skill at archery took the place of the 108th. Thus in the paintings he is usually represented with drawn bow.

²⁵ A euphemism of obvious meaning (*nīḍugam*, Skt. *nīḍvikam*). In Gujarati the two duties are known as *laghuniṭi* (little duty) and *baḍiniṭi* (big duty).

²⁶ Other versions relate that Kālaka lectured Gardabhilla and offered him the opportunity to repent and enter the monastic life, but the king's bad *Karma* made it impossible for him to see the light. He was then driven into exile, where he died miserably.

The *sāhi* with whom Kālaka had stayed became the lord of Avanti,²⁷ and the rest his vassals. Thus arose the Śaka dynasty.²⁸ (82)

Then the master accompanied by Sarasvatī, who had been reestablished in the “restraints,” and followed by his retinue, enlightened people of many sorts and wandered about on a strenuous tour. (83)

II

I have related here the history of the *sūri* Kālaka, who brought renown to the church; now I shall tell how the Paryuṣaṇā²⁹ was fixed on the fourth. (84)

Balamitra and Bhānumitra were king and heir apparent of Avanti; and because they were his nephews Kālaka then went there. (85)

Then he initiated into the order their nephew Balabhānu, son of Bhānuśrī, without asking permission;³⁰ and they were therefore distressed. (86)

Then he vanquished in debate the royal chaplain Gaṅgādhara, a contemner of the (Jain) religion. That Brahman, to get the master to go away, craftily said to the king, “Your majesty, where this master wanders, there the people of the city wander, and in that they tread upon the footsteps of the master there occurs a basis for the sin of disrespect.³¹” Then in anxiety the king caused the master to be given food in the city that was ritually impure³² so that he might leave. Recognizing this the master went to Pratiṣṭhāna and spent the four-months season.³³ (87-89)

At the time of the Paryuṣaṇā King Śālavāhana³⁴ said to the *sūri*, “My lord, here on the fifth day there is a festival of Indra which the folk will not observe without me. So celebrate the Paryuṣaṇā on the sixth so that I may do Jina worship etc.” (90-91b)

The master said, “O King, that is impossible; for it is said in the Jain scriptures: ‘At that time, at that season, the Exalted One, Mahāvīra, when a month and 20 days of the rainy season halt had passed, observed the rainy season Paryuṣaṇā.’ Sooner shall Meru’s³⁵ peak tremble or the sun rise in the west than that the Paryuṣaṇā should come after the night of the fifth.” (91c-92)

²⁷ The region of which Ujjayinī is the capital.

²⁸ The Śaka dynasty is traditionally supposed to have been founded A. D. 78. In most versions it is stated that a few years after the expulsion of Gardabhilla the celebrated king Vikramāditya drove the Śakas out of Ujjayinī and established the Vikrama era (57 B. C.).

²⁹ The most celebrated of the Jain festivals, coming during the rainy season.

³⁰ Before initiation the master must ask permission of the candidate’s parents or natural guardians. Kālaka, being Balabhānu’s great-uncle, seems to have assumed that he could act *in loco parentis*.

³¹ This would bring ill luck to the city.

³² In accordance with the *ṣaṇḍa-samiti* (Regulation of Begging) an ascetic must make sure that the food he is offered is in conformity with the prescriptions of the Jinas, i. e., contains no living substance, such as unboiled water, uncooked or underdone vegetables, uncut and unprepared fruit, seeds capable of germination, etc., that it is free from forbidden substances, such as alcohol, honey, butter, meat, decomposed food, and that it has not been prepared expressly for him, etc. (C. Krause, An interpretation of Jain ethics, Bhavnagar, p. 11, 1929). Parallel versions show that the alms offered was richer than the regulations allow.

³³ The period of the rainy season, when Jain monks must not wander lest they injure the small creatures which are peculiarly plentiful on the ground at that time.

³⁴ This king’s era is traditionally supposed to begin A. D. 78; cf. our note on stanza 82.

³⁵ The immovable mountain at the middle point of the Middle World.

“Then let it be on the fourth!” said the king. The master said, “That may be; as it is said: ‘The monks must observe the Paryuṣaṇā before.’”³⁶ (93)

Thus with the concordance of the congregation and agreeably to the scriptures the master Kālaka set the Paryuṣaṇā on the fourth. And the king decreed a great festival.³⁷ (94)

And it is said in the scripture: “Whatever course wise monks, with few faults and many virtues, cling to and observe, that is the standard for all.” (95)

III

Once upon a time at Ujjayinī the master admonished his disciples thus,³⁸ “Children, do not serve the enemy *pramāda* (carelessness),³⁹ which causes hundreds of thousands of sorrows. Though they know the 14 *pūrvas*⁴⁰ and have an *āhāraka* body,⁴¹ though they have acquired the *manoḥjñāna* knowledge⁴² and are devoid of passion,⁴³ yet if they are in the power of *pramāda*, directly on account of that alone they must wander among the four kinds of creatures.”⁴⁴ (96-97)

When like stubborn donkeys they would not trot along at all, in spite of being thus urged, the master thought, “These disciples must certainly be abandoned. ‘When a disciple goes at his own will, comes at his own will, stands still at his own will, always conducts himself according to his own will, then he must be abandoned (by his master) at (the master’s) will.’”⁴⁵ (98-99)

And so at night, after telling the keeper of the monks’ rest hall that when the disciples pressed him he could send them on, he set out slowly for the land of Suvarṇa;⁴⁶ and he stopped with his disciple’s disciple Sāgaradatta.⁴⁷ Then Sāgaradatta asked him, “Sir, do you know the reverend Kālaka?” (100-101)

He said, “Yes.” He asked him again, “How is my exposition (of the scripture)?” He answered, “Excellent!” Then Sāgaradatta said, “Ask me something difficult.” Kālaka said, “First expound for me Impermanence.” Then he said, “Everything in the world is impermanent with the exception of *Dharma* (Religion) alone.” The master said, “There is no *Dharma*, since it does not enter the realm of

³⁶ Pun: *antarā* means “before” and “with the heart.”

³⁷ In other texts this is called the *sādhupūjā* (monks’ honoring) festival.

³⁸ The disciples had become undisciplined.

³⁹ *Pramāda* is of five kinds: *madya* (strong drink), *viśaya* (the senses), *kaṣāya* (stains: namely, *krodha* “anger,” *māna* “pride,” *mayā* “illusion,” *lobhā* “greed”), *nidrā* (sleep), *vikathā* (unprofitable conversation, namely, about women, politics, country, food).

⁴⁰ These are the lost 14 *pūrvas* constituting the twelfth *āṅga* of the Jain canon.

⁴¹ A body of pure substance appertaining to one who has achieved seven of the 14 *guṇasthānas* (stages toward salvation). With it the ascetic can leave behind his physical body while he goes for a short time to other worlds to confer on difficult questions of dogma with teachers there.

⁴² Knowledge by which one seizes without intermediary the thoughts of another.

⁴³ *Vītarāga* is a quality usually mentioned only with the Jinas. But there are two kinds of *vītarāga*. One comes on attainment of the eleventh *guṇasthāna* (*upaśāntamoha*), whence it is possible to fall; the other on attainment of the twelfth (*kṣīṇamoha*), from which there is no falling. The first is meant here. (Sadhus Vidyāvijaya and Jayantavijaya.)

⁴⁴ The four classes of beings are hell dwellers, lower animals, men, and gods.

⁴⁵ A familiar stanza.

⁴⁶ I do not know what region is meant.

⁴⁷ In most versions the name is Sāgaracandra. He had apparently never seen his spiritual grandfather; hence his presumptuous manner.

perception by the senses." When Sāgaradatta heard this and further argument, he was astonished. Thus days passed. (102-104)

Then at dawn the disciples, missing the master, were in consternation, and asked news of him from the keeper of the rest hall. He instructed them thus, "It might be that one could smash a mountain with his head; it might be that an angry lion would not eat him; it might be that he could drink the deadly *hālahala* poison and not die;⁴⁸ yet he would not win salvation if he were disrespectful to his master."⁴⁹ (105-106)

Then, when the disciples were smitten with repentance, the rest hall keeper directed them to the master. When they were questioned on the way by folk, they said, "This is the master Kālaka going along."⁵⁰ (107)

And so Sāgara, when he heard that the *sūri* was coming, went to meet him; and he met the disciples and asked them, "Friends, tell me, where is the master?" (108)

They said, "The master came on here ahead. Don't you know it?" He said, "No one has come here except an old monk." They laughed and said, "Sāgara, you are in the same company with us: we have been disrespectful to our master; you have not recognized him." (109-110)

Then, ashamed, they humbled themselves before the master according to the correct discipline, and asked forgiveness. The *sūri*, using the "sand illustration,"⁵¹ enlightened them, saying, "Let no one feel pride, thinking, 'Here in this world it is I who am wise!' The gradations of intelligence go by a succession of smaller and greater back to omniscience." (111-112)

IV

One day when the monks had gone begging, an old Brahman asked the *sūri* Kālaka to tell him about the *nigoda* souls, and Kālaka said, "The balls are innumerable, and each ball possesses innumerable *nigodas*; in each *nigoda* we must know there are innumerable souls."⁵² (113-114)

Again the Brahman questioned him, asking about the length of his life, looking forward to starving himself to death,⁵³ and the *sūri* said, "From the fact that it is to last two 'oceans'⁵⁴ you are Śakra. You are deceiving me (in appearing) as a Brahman." (115)

⁴⁸ A variant reading gives for this clause, "It might be that the point of an arrow would not pierce him."

⁴⁹ A familiar stanza.

⁵⁰ The usual way of speaking of a master and his disciples, here used quite properly by Kālaka's disciples, even though Kālaka was not with them.

⁵¹ In this illustration the teacher fills a measure with sand. This he pours out somewhere in a pile. Then he puts it back in the measure, pours it out again, puts it back again, and continues to do so. Each time, of course, a few grains are lost, the quantity in the measure is ever less and less. The application is this. Mahāvira, the twenty-fourth Jina, poured the law into Sudharman, the latter poured it into Jambusvāmin, Jambūsvāmin into Prabhava, and so on down. Each time knowledge grew less and less. (Cf. above, p. 68.)

⁵² The Jains believe there are innumerable small souls permeating space so that not the most minute volume is without them. This stanza refers to that doctrine. The *nigodas*, without reason or feeling, are the lowest form of these. Some MSS. add a stanza: A ball of iron on being heated becomes like a ball of gold that has been heated; everything is transformed by fire: know that *nigoda* souls are so.

⁵³ Death by starvation appears frequently in Jain literature as the way for great souls to end life; even lesser folk may adopt it. But it must not be employed unless the appointed time for death is at hand.

⁵⁴ An *ayara* (Skt. **atara*) is a brain-staggering period of time; it is said to be $10 \times 10,000,000 \times 10,000,000$ *ṣaḍyopamas* of *parimitas* of years. No Indra can have more than two of these.

When Hari heard this, he manifested himself and praising Kālaka said, “Reverend sir, I asked the lord Sīmandhara,⁵⁵ ‘Is there anyone in India who understands the *nigodas*?’ Then the lord mentioned you, ‘As well as myself.’ Thus in this world there are two places of pilgrimage; you are said to be the moving, and Mount Vimala the fixed.”⁵⁶ (116-117)

When the king of the gods had said this, the master asked him, “Won’t you wait? The monks are out begging.” He answered, “I must go lest I cause the monks a *nidāna*.”⁵⁷ (118)

Śakra transposed the door of the house to another part of it, and went to his own place. When the monks knew of this affair, they became well established in the discipline. (119)

The glorious *sūri* Kālaka, who thus enlightened many folk, who has gone to heaven, possessed of mighty virtues, the renowned of his age—may he grant a blessing to the elect! (120)

Thus the story of the glorious *sūri* Kālaka is concluded.

⁵⁵ A Tīrthaṅkara living in the world of Mahāvideha, who is highly esteemed by the Jains.

⁵⁶ Jains recognize two classes of pilgrimage points: the moving, here headed by Kālaka, and the fixed, here headed by mount Vimala, the sacred mount Śatruñjaya in Kathiawar.

⁵⁷ *Nidāna*, “fetter,” a cause for existence, a meditation on the future, especially a wish. The motif enters into a number of Jain stories. A monk, lustfully aroused by the touch of the tips of a beautiful woman’s hair, makes the wish that as the result of his asceticism he may be reborn as a universal monarch with innumerable fair women at his disposal. (Thus in the story of Bambhadatta in Jacobi’s *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāshṭri*.) He gets his wish, but the final result of the wish is disaster. In the case of our story here, parallel texts make it clear that Śakra was afraid the monks, on seeing his beauty, might conceive the wish to be reborn with similar beauty. Cf. F. Edgerton, *The hour of death*, pp. 228 ff. in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, pp. 219-249, 1927.

CHAPTER VI
VERSIONS OF BHĀVADEVASŪRI AND DHARMAPRABHASŪRI—
EDITION

BHĀVADEVASŪRI'S VERSION

Bhāvadevasūri floruit Saṃvat 1312 (A. D. 1255). This version was edited from a single manuscript by Prof. E. Leumann in *Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges.*, vol. 37, pp. 493 ff. It is edited here from four manuscripts, as follows:

- r* MS. at end of a MS. of the Kalpasūtra, lying in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. Paper; dated Saṃvat 1461.
- (*L*) Leumann's edition of the foregoing MS. *Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges.*, vol. 37, pp. 493 ff.
- c* MS. 89 (8) in the Nagin Dās Bhaṇḍār, Cambay. Palm-leaf; no date, probably fourteenth century; 13 folios, folio 9 being missing. Very careless about distinguishing between *s* and *m*; *b*, *v*, and *c*; *p*, *y*, and *e*; *tth* and *cch*. Largely independent from the three other MSS.
- d* MS. 18.20 in the Delā Upāśraya Library, Ahmedabad. Paper; illustrated; no date, probably sixteenth century; 11 folios.
- a* MS. 206 in the Daśa Ośavāla Bhaṇḍār, in the Ananta Nātha Temple, Bombay. Paper; illustrated; no date, fifteenth or sixteenth century; 9 folios.

This version is by its own words a concise account. The text is presented in the following edition:

I

atth' ittha Bhārahe vāse kamalā·keli·mandiraṃ
tilayaṃ bhū·purandhīe Dharāvāsaṃ mahā·puraṃ, 1
bahūhiṃ deva·devāṇa gihehiṃ dhaṇaehi ya
devāṇaṃ gujjhagāṇaṃ ca nayaraṃ jeṇa niṃjjiyaṃ, 2
kulīṇā sumaṇo·rammā sacchāyā diya·saṃkulā
jattha majjhe jaṇā niccaṃ bāhiṃ ujjāṇa·pāyavā. 3
tatth' āsi veri·matte' bha·kumbha·niddalaṇe harī
vahanto satthayaṃ nāma Verisiṃho naresaro, 4
jaseṇa ya payāveṇa pūriy'āseṇa savvao
sayā·vitthāriṇā jeṇa rāyahaṃsā viṇijjiyā. 5
su·pakkhā rāyahaṃsi vva canda·lehi vva nimmalā
devī tassa guṇa·tthāmaṃ nāmeṇa Surasundarī. 6
tise kucchīe suddhīe mottiyaṃ va mahā·guṇo
saṃjāo Kālo nāma kumāro kula·maṇḍaṇaṃ. 7
ammā·piu·maṇ'āṇando sampatto jovvaṇaṃ navam
jāo dakkho duhā satthe duhā vayaṇa·nimmalō, 8
su·guṇ'āvajjiyā jammi bambhī lacchī ya devayā
muttūṇa paramaṃ veraṃ allīṇe neha·nibbharaṃ. 9
annayā bāhir'ujjāṇe kilāe kumaro gao
gambhīra·mahuraṃ saddaṃ soccā pavisaī tahiṃ. 10

1 *c* kamalākālākeli·mandiraṃ 2 *c* bahūhi: *c* gujjhagāṇaṃ 3 *c* sumaṇe; *c* sacchāyā; *c* jāṇā 4 *c* tatthasi; *c* veresiṃho, *d* vairisiṃhe; *c* narosaro 5 *c* pūyāseṇa; *r* vitthāriṇo, *c* vidhatthāriṇā 6 *c* ccanda; *c* nimmalā; *d* surasurasundarī 7 *c* tesī; *c* suddhīe ya va (for su° mo° va) 8 *ar* jovvaṇaṃ; *d* sattho 9 *a* allīṇā, *c* allīṇī; *c* nahanijjharaṃ 10 *a* bālaṃhir°; *c* gaum; *d* gambhīraṃ mahuraṃ; *c* mahurasaddaṃ

Guṇaṇḍhara·guruṇḍi·somaṇḍi·muni·tāraya·sohiyaṇḍi
 pāsaī·desaṇā·joṇhā·ninnāsiya·tamaṇḍi·tao. 11
 vandiūṇḍi' āsaṇḍi'āsīṇo suṇei guru·bhāsiyaṇḍi
 dāṇa·sīla·tavo·bhāva·bheyaṇḍi dhammaṇḍi cauv·vihaṇḍi 12
 nāṇa·daṇsaṇa·cāritta·rūvaṇḍi ca rayaṇa·ttayaṇḍi.
 dhamma·rango paḍe sacche cola·rango vva niccalo 13
 nivittḥo māṇase tassa. vinnavittā tao guruṇḍi
 āpucchiūṇa piyare kumāro giṇhae vayaṇḍi. 14
 jalammi tela·bindu vva tammi nāṇaṇḍi viyambhiyaṇḍi
 jogo tti sa·pae sigghaṇḍi gurūhiṇḍi ṭhavo muṇi. 15
 gām'āṇugāmaṇḍi bhavvāṇa kuṇanto paḍibhaṇḍi
 bahu·sīsa·parivāro patto Ujjayaṇḍi puriṇḍi. 16
 tattha Kālaga·sūrīṇa bhaiṇi sāhuṇi samaṇḍi
 pattā Sarassaī nāma cāru·cāritta·bhūsaṇā. 17
 annayā sā gayā bhāhiṇḍi dīṭṭhā Ujjeṇi·sāmiṇā
 rāiṇā Gaddahilleṇa. rūv'ukkhittēṇa teṇa sā 18
 hā saraṇṇa mahābhāya dhamma·rakkhaṇa rakkha maṇḍi
 vilavanti imāṇḍi tatto khittā anteure balā. 19
 evaṇḍi tatth' āgao sūrī rāya·pāsamma tak·khaṇā
 someṇa bhaṇio: rāya rāya·rakkhā tavo·vaṇā. 20
 sūrā jai tamo hujjā aggi vā canda·maṇḍalā
 sāyārā sīma·viddhaṇḍi tao loyassa kā gaī. 21
 rāya annāya·leso vi visa·bindu vva dāruṇo
 viseseṇa tavassīsu; imāṇḍi tā munca sāhuṇiṇḍi. 22
 savvaṇḍi tav·vayaṇḍi tammi meha·vuṭṭhi vva ūsare
 kaya·gghe uvayāro vva saṇjāyaṇḍi vihalāṇḍi jao 23
 kāma·bāṇa·ppahārehiṇḍi hiyae jajjarī·kae
 jalaṇḍi va galaī savvaṇḍi uvaiṭṭhaṇḍi buhāṇa vi. 24
 sūrīṇo vayaṇā jaṇḍi ca sangheṇa bhaṇio nivo
 taṇḍi pi tammi visaṇḍi jāyaṇḍi saṇnivāya vva sakkarā. 25
 tao rutṭho daḍhaṇḍi sūrī painṇaṇḍi kuvvaī imāṇḍi:
 ai·nimmahaṇā aggi candaṇḍo vi utṭhaī; 26
 sanghassa paccāyā je daṇsaṇḍi'uppāya·kārayā
 gurū·vaghāyagā je ya tad·uvikkhā·karā narā 27
 gaimḍi tesimḍi pravaccāmi Gaddabhillaṇḍi nivaṇḍi jai
 ummūlemi na mūlāo caṇḍo vva pavaṇo dumaṇḍi. 28
 evaṇḍi kaya·painṇo so nivaṇḍi vijjā·bal'ukkaḍaṇḍi
 jāṇittu kaya·ummatta·veso bhamai savvaṇḍi. 29
 jai rāyā Gaddabhillo rammam·anteuraṇḍi jai
 jai bhikkhāmi sunno 'haṇḍi tao kimḍi evam·āiyaṇḍi 30
 jampei. taṇḍi tahā datṭhaṇḍi manti·sāmanta·nāgarā
 bahuṇḍi bohinti rāyāṇaṇḍi. te vi teṇḍi' āvamanniyā. 31

11 c pāsai; c tauṇḍi 12 d āsaṇāsaṇāsiṇo, c āsaṇā suṇei; c °tapobhaveṣabheyaṇḍi; c rauvvihamaṇḍi 13 c raṇṇā
 (for rango); cd satthe; c colala; d raṇḍi vva 14 ad nivittḥo 15 c viyambhiṇḍi; c ssapae; c gurūhi; c ṭṭaviu
 muṇaṇḍi 16 ar ujjeṇaṇḍi (L Ujjaya°), d ujjoyaṇḍi, c ujjoyaṇḍi 17 c kālaya; rd cāru (for nāma). At this
 point c repeats stanza 8, and then follows correctly with stanza 18 18 d gaddabhilleṇa, c °bhelleṇa; a ukhittē°;
 c omits teṇa; r adds as a gloss: iccāi cintayanto maya·nāṇala·daḍḍha·guru·viveya·dumo / ghetṭuṇḍi haḍḍheṇa anteuram-
 mi taṇḍi sāhuṇiṇḍi khivai 19 c rakaṇakkha (for rakkhaṇa rakkha maṇḍi); c sittā (for khittā) 20 c pasamma; r takkhaṇe;
 ad sāmeṇa; a rāyaṇḍi (for rāya); c rayarakkhā 22 c daraṇḍi, d dāruṇe 23 c keyagghe uvayāru vva ssaṇḍi° 24 c
 jaṇḍi vva vā gaṇai savva gaṇai savvaṇḍi 25 c nivvo; a saṇnivai vva; d sakkarā 26 c nimmahaṇa 27 c ja; a daṇsa-
 ṇauppāya; c daṇsaṇagāya; d guruva°; c uvikkhā 28 c gaī; c ni (for na) 29 r kai (L kaya); c niva; c ukkaya (for
 ukkaḍaṇḍi) 30 L sunn'ohaṇḍi, c sunnoha; c tauṇḍi; d āiyaṇḍi 31 c teḥā (for taṇḍi tahā); a bohanti, c bohenti; c omits
 te vi

to Sindhu-parakūlammi Saga-kūlaṇ gao muṇi.
 tattha je hunti sāmanta te bhaṇijjanti sāhiṇo 32
 rāyā sāhāṇusāhio. aha egassa sāhiṇo
 ṭhio purammi, taṃ vijjā'ihim āvajjaī daḍḍhaṃ. 33
 annayā sāhisāhissa dūo tatth' āgao. tayaṃ
 churiyaṃ ca sa-nām'ankaṃ daṭṭhuṃ daṭṭho vva bhoiṇā 34
 saṃjāo jhatti vicchāo sāhi putṭho ya sūriṇā
 kahei: sāmiṇā amha khudd'āeso imo mama 35
 pesio taha annesiṇ pancāṇavai-sāhiṇaṃ.
 sūrī bhaṇai: mā tappa savvaṃ sutthaṃ bhavissai. 36
 dūyaṇ pesittu egattha melittā savva-sāhiṇo
 vacca Hinduga-desammi. teṇa savvaṃ tahā kayaṃ. 37
 jāv' uttarittu te Sindhuṃ pattā Soraṭṭha-maṇḍalaṇ
 tāva vās'āgamo jāo; ṭhiyā tatth' eva chāiṇaṃ. 38
 rāyahaṃsa-kay'āṇande muṇi-ullāsa-kārae
 bahu'sasse same suddho'dae sap'purise iva 39
 patte saraya-kālammi muṇiṇā Mālavaṃ pai
 periyā sambalā'bhāvaṃ kahanti. aha pāḍai 40
 sa hemaṃ cunna-juttie. taṃ vibhāgeṇa giṇhiṇaṃ
 sāhiṇo caliyā tatto kamā pattā ya Mālavaṃ. 41
 tāṇ' āgamaṇa-dhūmeṇa bhuyangu vv' ākulī-ka
 puri-majjhā bilāu vva Gaddabhillo viṇiggao 42
 patto visaya-sandhimmi jattha ciṭṭhanti sāhiṇo.
 kao ubhaya-pakkhammi raṇa-tūra-mahāravo. 43
 tao doṇhaṃ pi sinnāṇaṃ dapp'uddhara-bhaḍ'ubbhaḍo
 jāo samara-saṃmaddo rauddo asurāṇa vi. 44
 sūrassa Saga-sinnassa kara-ppasara-pillio
 pavittṭho sa-puriṇ rāyā jahā giri-guhaṃ tamo. 45
 nayariṇ vedhiṇaṃ tatto ṭhiyā savve vi sāhiṇo
 dhoyaṇ kuṇanti. jā sunnaṃ gaḍḍhaṃ pāsanti annayā 46
 to pucchanti muṇiṇ. so vi kahei jaha: aṭṭhami
 rāyā ajja mahā-vijjaṇ gaddahiṇ nāna kattha vi 47
 sāhei; tā nirūveha. tehiṇ aṭṭālae tao
 nirūvantehiṇ sā vijjā diṭṭhā siṭṭhā ya sūriṇo. 48
 ten' uttaṇ: gaddahī saddaṃ taṃ kāhi kaya-sāhaṇā
 jaṇ soccā savva-sinnaṃ pi hohi nicciṭṭha-ceyaṇaṃ. 49
 to gāuya-dugaṇ tubbhe osarittūṇa ciṭṭhaha
 savve savvaṃ pi giṇhittā dupayaṇ ca cauppayaṇ. 50
 saddavehiṇa johāṇa aṭṭh'ottara-sayaṇ puno
 ṭhaveha mama pāsamma. tehiṇ savvaṃ tahā kayaṇ. 51
 aha jāva tirikkhiē dūraṇ-ugghāḍiyaṇ muhaṇ
 tie akaya-saddāe ceva johehiṇ tāva taṇ 52

32 d te (for to); r sāheṇo (L °hiṇo) 33 c ahegassa; c puraṇ; r te vijjāida (corrected to °jjāie), L taṃ vijjāihim, d vijjāimda, c chijjāihim; a āvajjio 34 c tacchahiṇ churiyaṃ (for tatth . . . °riyaṃ); ad ka (for ca); c daṭṭhu bhoiṇo; d bhoiṇā 35 a jhatti; d vitthāo; c mamaṃ 36 L pancāṇavai; r bhavissai 37 c egattha; cd milittā 38 c uttaritu; a omits te; c siṇḍhu 39 r susse . . . suppurise (L emends) 40 r sambhalābhavaṃ; d kahinti; r iha (for aha) 41 adr giṇhio (L giṇhiṇaṃ); d sāhiṇā 42 c viṇigau 43 c pato; r ttara (for tūra) 44 r duṇhaṃ; read va ? rd siṇhāṇaṃ 45 c repeats sagasinnassa; c ppilliu; c sayā (for rāyā) 46 d vedhiḍhiṇaṃ, c vedhiyaṃ; c ṭhiyā 47 r te (for to); c kāhai 48 rc tehi; c sā vivajjā diṭṭhāe sūriṇo; rd siddhā (for siṭṭhā) 49 ar unnaṃ (L uttaṇ); d sennaṃ; r niccettā 50 c tubbhe ubbhe; a ūsarittūṇa, c osarittūṇaṃ; c pa (for pi); c ya (for ca) 51 c saddavahiṇa; c aṭṭho°, a aṭṭhutta°; c mamma; c tehi 52 c saddie

sūri'sikkhāi tūṇaṃ va jhatti bāṇehiṃ pūriyaṃ.
 haya'satti tti sā naṭṭhā viṭṭhaṃ kāuṃ niv'ovari. 53
 eyassa ittiyaṃ ceva balaṃ tti muṇi'akkhie
 tehiṃ bhaggā puri ghetto Gaddahillo ya bandhiuṃ 54
 sūriṇo appio. teṇa saṃlatto : pāva jo tae
 sāhuṇi'sila'viddhaṃsa'rukkho rovittu sincio 55
 sangh'āvannāe nīreṇa tass' eva kusum'uggamo ;
 phalaṃ tu dīha'saṃsāra'dukkha'lakkhāṇi pāvihī. 56
 sangh'āvannāi jaṃ pāvaṃ n'atthi tass' ovamā jae
 sāyarassa nahass' eva jāṇei ahavā jiṇo. 57
 thova'kālaṃ pi jā savva'pāva'tāva'ppaṇāsaṇi
 suha'bindu vva taṃ dikkhaṃ giṇha ajja vi tā tumaṃ. 58
 evaṃ hiyaṃ pi so vutto abhavvo dūmio daḍhaṃ
 jahā miṭṭh'odae khitto khāra'nīrassa pūyaro. 59
 tao niddhāḍio desā dukkhio bhamihī bhavaṃ ;
 chijjāi kiṃ na mūlāo rāga'babbūla'pāyavo. 60
 sūrihiṃ saṃjame ajjā appā āloiuṃ same
 ṭhavo ; jāi siyattaṃ jalaṃ uṇhī'kayaṃ pi jaṃ. 61
 sūri'sāhī nivo tattha jāo sesā ya rāṇayā.
 āgayā Saga'kūlāo vikkhāyā teṇa te Sagā. 62
 jāo chindittu tav'vaṃsaṃ ega'cchattā'karo nivo
 kāleṇa Vikkamāicco, mahī jeṇ' ūraṇi kayā. 63
 paṇatisā'hie vāsa'sae jāo puṇo Sago
 vaccharo ankio jeṇa. vuttaṃ pāsangiyam imaṃ. 64

II

aha bohittu Ujjeṇi'jaṇaṃ Kālaga'sūriṇo
 Bharuyacchaṃ gayā. tattha sūriṇa bhaini'suyā 65
 Balamitta'Bhāṇumittā. te rāya'juvarāṇo
 guruṃ vandanti bhattie, niccaṃ dhammaṃ suṇanti ya. 66
 tāṇaṃ ca bhaini Bhāṇusirī. tise ya nandaṇo
 Balabhāṇū bhav'āvattā viratto giṇhae vayaṃ. 67
 rāya'ppahāṇa'puriso ah' ego tattha dujjaṇo
 meh'āgame javāso vva jhijjanto sāhu'daṃsaṇe. 68
 sūri'niggamaṇ'ovāe karei vivihe tao.
 saṃkilesa'karaṃ ṭhāṇaṃ ujjihiyavvaṃ ti cintiṃ 69
 Marahattā'bhīhe dese Puhattāṇa'paṭṭaṇaṃ
 saṃpattā sūriṇo. tattha rāyā param'uvāsago 70
 mah'abbhuya'guṇ'āvāso nāmeṇaṃ Sālivāhaṇo
 bhuvanaṃ dhavaleṇā 'vi jaseṇaṃ jassa ranjiyaṃ. 71
 āgao saṃmuho tāṇa sigghaṃ sa'bala'vāhaṇo.
 patte ghaṇ'āgame tammi tassa rāyassa tak'khaṇā 72

53 c sikkhāi ; c kutti (for jhatti) ; a bāṇehi ; ad hayasatta ; a naṭṭā 54 c cevalaṃ (for ceva balaṃ) ; c bhāgā ; c ghitto gaddahillo 55 c viddhaṃsakareva rovitū ; adc saṃcio. 56 r sanghāvannā (L °vannāṇa) ; d kusumoggamo ; r pāvahī 57 c tassivamā ; c eve jāṇāi ; c viṇo (for jiṇo) 58 c thava ; a pova ; c ppaṇāsaṇa, r ppahāsiṇi ; a sumaṃ (for tumaṃ) 59 c dummiu ; d nīravva ; r pūmyaro 60 c chijjāi ; c mūlau ; ard rāgā, c raṇā 61 c sūrihi ; c ṭṭhavo ; c jāva (for jāi) ; rd kayaṃ (for pi jaṃ) 62 r sūri ; r rāyaṇā but corrected to rāṇayā (but L rāyaṇo) ; c repeats yā teṇa te 63 c jāuṃ ; c chendittu ; r vasaṃ ; c cchattā ; c vikkamāiḷjo 64 c egūṇatisāhie vāhasāsae ; r vatsaro 65 d ujjeṇiṃ ; c bharukacchaṃ ; r sūriṇā ; c bhayaṇi 66 a juvarāyaṇo ; d te (for ya) ; c has folio (9) missing with lacuna from vandanti through vandi (stanza 74) 67 d balabhāṇuṃ ; rd bhavovattā 68 d jhihija° ; ad daṃsaṇo 69 a sūra 70 a puhattāṇa, r puhittāṇa ; a paṭṭaṇe ; d paramasāvago. 71 d nāmeṇa

khittam v' ūsasiyam gattam maṇam moru vva nacciyam

āṇanda·jala·pūreṇa punnā diṭṭhi·talāiyā. 73

thoūṇa vandiūṇa ca gurū teṇa pavesiyā

vicchaḍḍeṇa puram. te vi vandittā savva·ceie 74

ṭhiyā phāsuya·ṭhāṇammi. aha tattha samāgao

pajjosavaṇa·pavvassa āsanno samao. tao 75

vinnavei gurum rāyā: ittha Inda·mah'ūsavo

hoi bhaddavae suddha·pancamīe; tayā mae 76

loy'āṇuvittī kāyavvā. to pajjosavaṇā·mahaṇ

kareha pahu chaṭṭhīe. to phudaṇ bhaṇai gurū: 77

Merū vi calae sūro pacchimāe vi uggaī

pajjosavaṇa·pavvaṇ tu n' āikkamai pancamiṇ; 78

jao bhaṇiyam-āgame: jahā ṇaṇ Mahāvīre vāsāṇaṇ sa·vīsaī·rāe māse vaikkante vāsā'
vāsam pajjosavei, tahā ṇaṇ gaṇaharā vi; jahā ṇaṇ gaṇaharā, tahā ṇaṇ gaṇahara·sīsā, tahā
ṇaṇ amha guruṇo vi; jahā ṇaṇ amha guruṇo, tahā ṇaṇ amhe vi vāsā'vāsam pajjosavemo,
no taṇ rayaniṇ aikkamejjā. (78a)

niven' uttam: cauṭṭhīe hou. to bhaṇai gurū:

evaṇ hou na doso 'ttha; jao bhaṇiyam-āgame: 79

jaṇ āreṇā 'vi pajjosaveyavvaṇ. nivaī tao

tuṭṭho bhaṇei: garuo kao maha aṇuggaho; 80

mama anteuri·pakkh'ovāsa·pāraṇae jao

sāhūṇa phāsuyam bhattam hohi uttara·vāraṇe. 81

evaṇ ceva cauṭṭhīe kayam Kālagasūriṇā

pajjosavaṇa·pavvaṇ; to savva·sangheṇa manniyam. 82

sāhu·pūyā·rao loo jāo tap·pabhiī tao.

sāhu·pūyā tao nāma payaṭṭo tattha ūsavo. 83

III

aha kāleṇa savve vi sīsā viṇaya·vajjiyā

jāyā; vuttā vi juttihim payaṭṭanti na sundaram: 84

varam·ego 'mhi, mā kamma·bandho hou tti cintium.

vottum sejjāyaram sise sutte muttūṇa sūriṇo 85

gayā sīsāṇa sīsassa pāse Sāgarasūriṇo.

teṇa no lakkiyā vijjā·gavviṇā bhaṇiyā imam: 86

thera pucchasu maṇ kiṇ pi. gurūhim pucchio tao

dhammassa rūvaṇ akkhāi Sāgaro vi sa·ubbhaḍam. 87

aha te duṭṭha·sīsā vi diṇā sijaṇar'antie

kičeṇa laddha·vuttantā tattha savve vi āgayā, 88

73 d khettam 74 r pāveseyā (L °siyā); a vicchaḍḍeṇam, r vitthaḍeṇa; ard ceie (L ceie); c resumes text after missing folio ttā savvaceie 75 c pājjo°; c omits tao 76 c vinnavei guru; c omits ittha 77 a loyāṇuvattī; c pajo°; d cchaṭṭhīe; r bhaṇai 78 c vim; c sūpacchimāe 78a r omits māse; d viikamte; r omits vi after guruṇo; d vāsāthāmsam, c vāsavvosam; c pajjosaveme; rd avakkamejjā 79 r nicceṇ corrected to niven, d nivveṇa unnam 80 a pajjosaviyavvaṇ; cd add tao after pājjo°; d nivvaī tao, c nivvo (omitting tao); r bhaṇai guruo 81 c pacchovāsa; d phāsuya; c ucchāvāraṇe 82 ard ca (for ceva), c va (L ceva); d °sūriṇo; c pavam; rc add a stanza (in r written on margin): tav·vaseṇa muṇ'indehim āniyam caumāsīyam (c āyaṇhā parikayakkamo)/ āyaraṇā (c omits) cauddasīe (L codda°) (c adds mumumittā) annahā puṇa punnimā 83 c usave 84 c ahā; c sumvadaram 85 d ego vimhi; c mhe; c ciuṇ; ard sūriṇā (L °ṇo) 86 c omits sīsāṇa; ad °sūriṇā; ard vejjā; r gavviyā corrected to °ṇā, c °ṇo 87 ard pucchisu, c °esu (L °asu); r ujjhaḍam 88 c ki° bhaddabuttaṇtattha savve

pucchanti Sāgaraṃ sūriṃ jāva, tāv' āgao gurū
bāhirā. jhatti vandittā te khāminti puṇo puṇo. 89
lajjio Sāgaro sūri bahuṃ Kālagasūriṇā
vāluṃyāpattha-ditṭhantā bohio khāmae guruṃ. 90

IV

Videhe annayā Sakko Simaṃdhara-jīṇ'esaraṃ
vandaṇ'atth'āgao jīva-vakkhāṇaṃ suṇāi. tao 91
pucchāi: bhayavaṃ ko vi Bharahe atthi eriso
viyārago. jīṇ'indeṇa kahio Kālagārio. 92
tao tuṭṭha-maṇo Sakko therā-rūveṇa āgao.
sūri nigoya-vakkhāṇaṃ pucchio kahaī imaṇ: 93
golā asaṃkhā; asaṃkha-nigoo hoi golao
jīvā aṇantā pannattā ekkekkaṃmi nigoyae, 94
icc-āi. to puṇo puṭṭho Sakkeṇa niyaṃ-āuyam
sammaṇ jāṇittu jampei jahā: taṃ si Purandaro. 95
tao divvaṃ niyaṃ rūvaṃ payaḍittu kay'anjalī
jampei: phuraī sāmi kalī-kāla-kas'ovale 96
atullā jassa kallāṇa-rehā tass' atthu te namo.
evaṃ thuṇittu vandittā Sakko thāṇaṃ niyaṃ gao. 97
iya vikkhāya-māhappo vayaṃ pālittu nimmaṇaṃ
patto Kālagasūri vi vihiy'āṇasaṇo divaṃ. 98
tāṇa Kālagasūriṇa vaṃs'uppanneṇa nimmiyā
sūriṇā Bhāvadeveṇa esā saṃkhevaṃ kahā. 99
iti śrībhāvadevasūriviracitaṃ śrīkalikācāryakathānakam samāptam.

DHARMAPRABHASŪRI'S VERSION

In preparing this edition of Dharmaprabha's text, I have used six MSS. These are clearly divided into two groups (here designated *A* and *B*), yet all seem to come from a common source, for all seem to have common corruptions, namely, in stanza 9 of *nomulemi* for *nommūlemi*; in stanza 20, where all read *patto* instead of *patte*; and in 46, where all read *suttaṃ* for *mottuṃ*. For differences between *A* and *B*, see stanzas 5, 6, 10, 12, 17, 18, *et passim*.

89 *d āgaṃ*; *c jhatti*; *ad khāmaṃti* 90 *a lajjiya*; *ac bahu*; *ard °sūriṇo* (*L °ṇā*); *c didaṃtā*, *r ditṭhanto*; *cd gurū* 91 *c sakke*; *c agao jīvavaujīva°* 92 *c repeats* pucchāi bhayavaṃ; *c jīṇaṃdeṇaṃ*, *a jīṇaṃdeya* 93 *c tuṭṭharaṇā* sekkokko; *d niggoya*; *c maṃ* (*for imaṃ*) 94 *arc* asaṃkhanigoo; *c ikkikkammi*, *r ekkakkammi*, *d ekkakkaṃ pi* 95 *c omits* iccāi; *c āuyam*; *rd samaṃ*; *c jāṇitu* 96 *c jam° sā phu°*; *c kalikālakalasovale* 97 *d from śloka* 97 *inclusive to end written in fine writing on bottom margin at bottom of last page of MS., apparently in different handwriting, and perhaps indicating that last page of original MS. is lost and that the text has been supplied by some redactor from another MS., c atulā*; *d attha*; *c puṇitu* 98 *a vakkhāya*; *d pālia*; *d kāliga*; *r adds stanza*: visā hi gihi-vāse paṇatīsa vayammi sūri igayālā / channavaī savv'āo (*L āū*) siri-Kālagasūriṇo hoi. 99 *d kāliga°*, *c kālagasūriṇaṃ*; *d vaṃsappunneṇa*; *c vaṃsupāvaṃsupanneṇa* Colophon *d iti śrīkalikācāryakathā samāptā*; *a °devācāryavi°*; *c °sūrikṛtaṃ*; *a kālakā°*; *c samāptam* iti.

r saṃvat 1461 varṣe cāitra su di 15 tithāu likhitam
d śrīr astu vācakalekhakaśrīrñāṃ
a yasyaṃ saṃyatasamṭatiḥ prakurute varṣāsthitim sādaraṃ
śrīsarvajñavacāḥpravīṇamatayo bhajjās (*Pkt. for bhāryās* ?)
tyajanti krudhaṃ
cāturvarṇajanapramodajanitā śasyaśrīyālaṃkṛ(MS. kri)tā
sārdhaṃ sūrivarāis ca sā suvihitā paryuṣaṇā pātu vaḥ. (1)
nārhaṭaḥ paramo devo na mukteḥ paramaṃ padaṃ
na śrīsatruṃjayāt tīrthaṃ śrīkalpān na paraṃ śrutam. (2)

The following abbreviations are used to indicate the manuscript sources of my edition:

A

- l* Lohar Pol Bhaṇḍār (Ahmedabad), no. 38.3.3, being folios 93 verso to 98 verso of an illustrated paper MS. of the Kalpasūtra. Dated Saṃvat 1513.
- n* Vijayanemisūri's Bhaṇḍār (Cambay), no. 181/2, being folios 137 verso to 144 verso of an illustrated paper MS. of the Kalpasūtra. Although all the folio numbers are present, nevertheless one folio is missing containing stanzas 44-50. No date.
- b* Preuss. Staatsbibliothek (Berlin), Or. MSS., folio 1737, being an illustrated paper MS. of five folios. No date.
- h* Paper MS. belonging to the Heeramanek Galleries, New York City, being folios 154-162 of a MS. of the Kalpasūtra. Illustrated; no date; sixteenth century.

B

- w* Wāḍi Pārśvanātha Bhaṇḍār (Patan), no. 18.19. Illustrated paper MS. of five folios. Dated Saṃvat 1502.
- i* India Office Library (London), bundle 1530. No date. Two folios (Keith, India Office Catalogue 1530b). I have not examined this MS. but have relied entirely upon Leumann's edition of it; see the following item.
- [*L* The foregoing MS. as published by Leumann in Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländischen Ges., vol. 37, 505-509, 1885.]

arhaṃ

I

nayaraṇṇi Dharāvāse
putto Kālaya-kumaro
so patto kilāe
suṇiya Guṇāgara-guruṇo
ṭhavo ya so gurūhiṇ
viharanto Ujjeṇiṇ
saha sāhuṇhiṇ tattha ya
bahi-viyarantī dīṭṭhā
aha handa mahā-muṇī ha hā
mama silā-mahā-maṇiṇ ha hā
iya vilavantī mayaṇ-āureṇa pāveṇa teṇa gahiūṇaṇ
bāleṇa balā bālā
aha taṇ nāuṇ sūri
candā aggī sūrā
tā rāya munca eyaṇ.
tav-vayaṇaṇ taṇṇi viṣaṇ
to avagaṇṇiya-vayaṇo
jai n' onmūlemi ahaṇ

āsī siri-Vairasiṃha-rāyassa
devi-Surasundarī-jāo. 1
ujjāṇe annayā ya dhammakahaṇ
pāse paḍivajjāi dikkhaṇ. 2
sūri-pae 'ṇega-sīsa-pariyario
patto. aha tassa lahu-bhaiṇī 3
mahā-sai Sarasaitti saṃpattā.
niveṇa sā Gaddabhilleṇa. 4
aha hā Kālaya sūri-pungava
hīrantaṇ naṇu rakkha rakkhaha. 5 (*vāṭṭalīva*
khattā anteure, avvo. 6
tattha gao bhaṇai: n' esa niva-dhammo:
tamo ya jai, tā hao loo. 7
sangheṇa vi so tah' eva vinnatto.
jāyaṇ duddhaṇ va sappa-muhe. 8
sūri karae imaṇ painnaṇ tu:
to 'haṇ ciya sangha-paḍikūlo. 9

1 *l* has lacuna (°vā)se ā(sī) 2 *h* putto 3 *b* slightly confused but intends °yario 4 *b* Sarassaisaraiti *h* saṃpannā 5 *i* °gave (*L* emends); *B* omits ha after °maṇiṇ (*L* supplies), *b* omits ha hā but adds in correction; *i* hīranta (*L* emends); *i* rakkha (for rakkha, *L* emends); *nbh* rakkhahā 6 *h* iya; *B* gahiūṇa; *B* baleṇa (*L* emends); *b* omits bālā but adds in correction; all MSS. khettā (*Lh* emend to khittā); *i* atṭho (*L* conjectures anto) 7 *i* ṇesa; *i* sūri (but *L* in vocabulary sūrā); *L* punctuates tamo ya: jai tā, hao loo 8 *n* vinnatto; *i* jāya (*L* emends); *w* ca for va 9 *l* the original writing of the MS. seems to have become faint; over it is pasted a slip of paper on which are reproduced parts of the text, as follows: to avagaṇṇiyavayalo sūri va . . . ima painnaṇ tta jai nomūlemi aha to ha ciya saṃ . . . paḍikūlo (9) . . . vaṇ . . . innoṇi . . . vavijjābalukkada; then original writing is resumed. Only *n* reads avagaṇṇiya, others °gaṇiya (*L* emends to avamanniya); *i* karame (*L* emends); *w* pannaṇimtu; *w* jai nno°; all MSS. nomūlemi, emendation here on basis of readings of other versions of Kālakācāryakathā, which regularly show verb ummūlemi

evaṃ kaya'ppainno
bhamai ummatta-veso

nivaṃ ca vijjā-bal'ukkaḍaṃ muṇiṃ
¹ pairiccham-imo-tti cavamaṇo : 10

yadi guru-balaḥ so 'yaṃ rājā tataḥ kim ataḥ paraṃ
yadi ca nagarī seyaṃ ramyā tataḥ kim ataḥ paraṃ
svapimi yadi vā śūnye gehe tataḥ kim ataḥ paraṃ
pratigṛham atho yāce bhikṣaṃ tataḥ kim ataḥ paraṃ. 11 (*hariṇī*)

taṃ daṭṭhuṃ tahaḥbhūyaṃ
so vi bhaṇai : uvaesaṃ
vuttantaṃ taṃ nāuṃ
sāhaṇusāhi-tti nivo
sāhiss' egassa pure
āvajjai aṇudiyahaṃ.
sāhaṇusāhi-pahio
taṃ pikkiya vicchāyaṃ
so sisai : maha eso
taha annesiṃ ankā
bhaṇai gurū : mā tappasu
vaccaha Hinduga-dese.
jāv' uttarittu Sindhuṃ
vās'āgamo payatṭo.
yatra ca varṣāgame

nivaṃ tu bohinti manti-sāmantā.
gantūṇaṃ dēha niya-piṇṇo. 12
Saga-kūlaṃ so gao muṇī. tattha
sāmantā sāhiṇo khāyā. 13
ṭhio muṇī taṃ ca manta-tantehiṇ
ah' annayā sāhiṇo tassa 14
dūo tatth' āgao churiya-haṭṭho.
ṭhiyaṃ nivaṃ pucchae sūri. 15
khudd'āeso ya sāmiṇā pahio
pancāṇau ya sāhiṇaṃ. 16
meliya egattha sāhiṇo savve
teṇa vi savvaṃ tah' eva kayaṃ. 17
pattā Soraṭṭha-maṇḍalaṃ tāva
ṭhiyā hu tatth' eva te cchaiṃ. 18

śīriraṃsu-sūro sūro sosarā sarasī rasā
śāsār'āsā-susār'āsā sarimsu sārāsā saraṃ. 19²

patte sarae Mālava
sāhinti sambalassā
cunna-jogeṇa kaṇayaṃ
pattā Mālava-desāṃ.
niharīo nayaṇīo
jujjhai. aha bhagga-balo

visayaṃ pai periyā u te muṇiṇā
'bhāvaṃ. to buddhimaṃ sūri 20
pāḍai. taṃ te vigiṇhiṃ caliā
taṃ jāṇiya Gaddabhilla-nivo 21
sa-visaya-sandhiṃmi gantu tehiṃ samaṃ
puriṃ pavitṭho siyālu-vva. 22

10 meter irregular; h raiya (for kaya); all MSS. painno (emendation following L's suggestion); b confused but intends vijjā; l (see note to stanza 9); b ummutta; B pairittham (L divides pairittham-imo); L emends cava° to vacamaṇo 11 nbw sūnye: for atho L conjectures aṭo. 12 B dutṭhaṃ; B piyaṇo 13 n taṃ vutta°; B sāhaṇusāha 15 i vitthāyaṃ (L emends); b nava (for nivaṃ) 16 b omits pahio 17 i gaccha (L meliyae gaccha); b suvve; B Hindaga (L emends) 18 w patto; B thayā (L emends); A cchaiṃ, i cchaiyam, w cchaiyaṃ (text here with L; Bhāvadēvasūri's version, in śloka meter, has ṭhiyā tatth' eva chāiṃ 19 h capa varṣā°; l starting with (sa)rasī and continuing through tesu (for te mu°) of stanza 20 the original text is covered with a repair slip on which appears a fragmentary copying of the original; n sisiraṃsu, i sirim rasu; n sarasā-rasā; l tu sārā. (for °su sārāsā), i suspara (for °su sārā°, L sussāra) 20 all MSS. patto (text here with L; Bhāvadēva's version patte saraya-kālaṃmi muṇiṇā Mālavaṃ pai periyā); l sohinti 21 i kaṇagaṃ; B vigiṇhio; meter irregular; h jāṇiṃ 22 lu niharim; b mantu (for gantu); i tehi; w sammaṃ

¹ pairiccham (B pairittham), from prathirathyam: for assimilation of vowels, see Pischel, Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen, sec. 177. The meaning is borne out by other texts, as in L.A.V.; see in this work, p. 39, line 25.

² The editing of this stanza is conjectural. In the first place I do not know the meter. It could conceivably be a very free śloka (for such pādas see in Hopkins, Great epic of India, pp. 453, 458), but this hardly seems probable. As chāyā I suggest:

śīrīraṃsu-sūryaḥ śūraḥ sa-ūśarā sarasī rasān

sāsara-āsā-susāra-āsāḥ asmārṣuḥ (asvārṣuḥ) sārāsāḥ sarasī (svaram): si for śrī is difficult, although the Pāia-Sadda-Mahāṇavo records sī for śrī. In n there appears a commentary written in marginally, but only one line of it appears in my photograph. It seems doubtful if the commentary could give the correct rendering, for in the first part of the stanza n reads sisiraṃsu°.

taṃ nayaṃ veḍheṃ
gaḍham-āloiya sūriṃ
ajj' atthamii kattha vi
taṃ ca niyacchaha tubbhe
siṭṭhā guruṇo. teṇa vi
succā saddaṃ savvaṃ
osaraha gāya-dugaṃ
atthasayaṃ maha pāse
aha jāva gaddabhīe
tīe avihiya-saddāe ceva johehiṃ bāṇehiṃ 27
tūṇaṃ va pūriyaṃ taṃ.
kāuṃ viṭṭhaṃ naṭṭhā;
bandhittu Gaddabhillo
gaḍhaṃ tajjiya dikkhaṃ
niddhāḍio sa-desā;
ṭhavo, sā vi hu bhāṇi
aha te Saga-tti khāyā.
jāo Vikkama-rāo
tatto puṇa paṇatise
jeṇ' ankio ya saṃvatsaro-tti. pāsangiyaṃ iṇaṃ o. 32

ṭhiyā; tao sāhiṇo 'nnayā sunnaṃ
pucchanti ya; so vi vajjarai: 23
sāhai rāyā hu gaddahiṃ vijjaṃ;
tehiṃ ya atṭālae diṭṭhā, 24
vuttaṃ: kaya-sāhaṇāe eyāe
niya-sinna-maceyaṇaṃ hohi. 25
tubbhe; tā saddaveha-johāṇaṃ
ṭhaveha. tehiṃ ya tahā vihiyaṃ. 26
dūraṃ uppāḍiyaṃ muhaṃ tāva

sā haya-satti-tti Gaddabhill'uvarim
sāhihiṃ puri ya sā bhaggā. 28
paṇāmio sūriṇo ya. teṇā 'vi
aṇabhilasanto abhavvo so 29
aha sūrihiṃ tu saṃjame appā
pāyacchitteṇa sujjhaviyā. 30
ta-vamsaṃ chindīṇa puṇa kāle
puhavi jeṇ' ūraṇi vihiyā. 31
vāsa-sae naravaī Sago āsī

II

siri-Kālagasūrī aha
Balamitta-Bhānumittā
vandanti gurū dhammaṃ
tīe suo Balabhāṇū
aha tattha duṭṭha-citto
kārai aṇesaṇ'āim.
Marahattā-visaya-maṇḍana
tatth' atthi Sālivāhaṇa
mahayā vicchaddaṇaṃ
thoṇa vandiṇaṃ
aha patto pajjusaṇā
bhaddavaya-suddha-pancamī
hohi na dhamma-kiccaṃ
tā chaṭṭhi-diṇe kuvvaha

avi ya calai Merū, siyalo hoi aggī,
muyai niyaya-meraṃ sāyaro vā kayā vi,
avi ya divasa-nāho uggame pacchimāe,
na parivasana-pavvaṃ pancamiṃ akkamei. 40 (mālinī)

Bharuyaccha-puraṃ gayā viharamāṇā.
sūriṇaṃ tattha bhāṇi-suyā 33
suṇanti. tāṇaṃ ca bhāṇi-Bhāṇusirī.
giṇhai dikkhaṃ bhava-viratto. 34
purohio sūri-niggam'ovāe
sūri vi hu taṃ muneṇaṃ 35
Puhaitṭhāṇammi paṭṭaṇe paṭṭā.
nivaī su-ssāva paramo. 36
pavesiyā teṇa te puraṃ niyayaṃ
saṃthaviyā phāsue ṭhāṇe. 37
samao. to vinnavati nivo sūriṃ:
diṇammi Indo 'ṇugantavvo: 38
jaṇā'ṇuvittī vāvaḍassa mahaṃ.
pajjusaṇaṃ. to gurū bhāṇā: 39

23 i veḍhio (*L emends*); b gaḍhaṃ; b omits so but adds as correction: B chajjarai, b jjarai but adds syllable ba as correction 24 bB tehi 25 h sāhaṇāe, n sāhaṇāṇāe; h savveṃ; l sannaṃ (for sinnaṃ), h sennaṃ; h aveyaṇaṃ 26 b usaraha; hl saddavehi; b ppāse; b wrote ṭhaveha but corrected it to °hi, h ṭhavehiṃ; B tehi, b ehiṃ; B vikayaṃ 27 B uppāḍiya (*L emends*); B avihaya 28 hnbB satta (*L emends*);³ i kāo (*L emends*); i sāhihi 29 b bandhittu: *L emends* to sūriṇā; l has lacuna beginning with ya and ending with dikkhaṃ, due to a repair slip having been pasted over the original text 31 b chidiṇa, i ched° 32 i Saggo (*L emends*); hi saṃvaccharo 33 i puraḥ (for puraṃ) (*L emends*) 34 i vadanti (*L emends*); i guru (*L guruṃ*); h bhavaī 35 All MSS. kārai, *L emends* to karei, which is against meter; B āi (for āim, *L āi*); B muṇeyanaṃ 36 w ssāvaī, but corrects to °vao 37 B mahiyā (*L emends*); A vichaddaṇaṃ; b pāsue 38 i bho (for to, *L emends*); B vinnavatti (*L emends*), b vinnave, h vinnavaī; h bhaddavae 39 w pajjasaṇaṃ 40 w omits ya before calai; n meru; w niyameraṃ; l original text of portions (me)raṃ . . . nā(ho) and (pariva)saṇa . . . bhāṇa(i) (stanza 41) covered by repair slip, but first section is rewritten on slip; l tha diva°; w disava, but corrects

³ Bhāvadeva's version, which is close to this, in two MSS. out of three reads *satti*.

to bhaṇai nivo: tamhā
 taṃ guruṇā 'v' aṇunāyaṇ
 āreṇā 'vi hu pajjosaviyavvaṃ. to bhaṇai nivo tuṭṭho:
 bhayavaṃ aṇugahio 'haṃ
 pakkho' vavāsa-pāraṇa
 sāhūṇ' uttara-vāraṇa
 pajjosavaṇā-pavvaṃ
 vihiyaṃ kāraṇa-vasao
 jaṃ āsi sāhu-pūyā
 tap-pabhī sāhu-pūyā

cautthi-divasammi kuṇaha pavvaṃ tu.
 jaṃ bhaṇiyaṃ āgame payadaṃ: 41
 jaṃ maha anteurīṇaṃ tu 42
 divasammi ya bhattam-esaṇā-suddhaṃ
 divasammi bhavissae bahuyaṃ. 43
 Kālagasūrihiṃ iya cautthīe
 sangheṇ' aṇumanniyaṃ taiyā. 44
 paro jaṇo tattha kira tayā visae
 nāma maho ajja vi pasiddho. 45

III

aha kāleṇaṃ savve
 sutte mottuṃ sijaṇyaraṃ ca jāṇāviuṃ sūri 46
 niya-sisa-sisa-Sāgarasūri-pāse gao; na so teṇa
 uvalakkhio ya vutto:
 ruiraṃ kayam na va-tti ya.
 aha te vi duṭṭha-sisā
 tatth' āgayā u Sāgarasūriṃ pucchanti jāva, tā diṭṭhā
 guruṇo. vandiya khāmanti pāya-laggā puṇa puṇo vi. 49
 aha lajjio ya Sāgarasūri raya-punja-tiyaga-diṭṭhantaṃ
 vutto guruhiṃ bahuhā

niya-sise viṇaya-vajjīe nāuṃ
 kiṇ vakkhāṇaṃ mae thera 47
 bhaṇiyaṃ guruṇā vi: aivaraṃ vihiyaṃ.
 pucchiya sijaṇyaraṃ kicchā, 48
 khāmei puṇo puṇo paṇao. 50

IV

Sakko 'nnayā Videhe
 pucchai: Bharahe bhayavaṃ
 bhaṇiyaṃ jiṇeṇa: Kālagasūri atthi-tti. to tahiṃ gantuṃ
 māhaṇa-rūvaga-hariṇā
 golā ya asaṃkhijjā
 puṭṭho jāṇiya sūri
 to payaḍiya niya-rūvaṃ
 Sakko thuṇei Kālagasūriṃ nāṇāviha-thuḷhiṃ. 54
 ghana-garjitam iva yasya vacaḥ
 narinartti 'ha śikhī 'va mudā:

Simandhara-jīṇa-varā suya-nigoo
 ko 'v' atthi viyārago esiṃ. 51
 nigoya-bhee gurū puṭṭho. 52
 icc-āi kahei. to niyayaṃ-rāuṃ
 jampei: Purandaro taṃ si. 53
 aisaya-nāṇeṇa teṇa tuṭṭha-maṇo
 śrutvā bhavika-samājāḥ
 dhanyas tvaṃ muni-rāja. 55⁴

41 l covers original text (divasaṃ)mi . . . jaṃ with blank repair slip; i aṇunāyaṃ 42 i areṇāvi (L emends); i aṇugahio haṃ (L suggests aṇuggaho 'mhaṃ) 44 i °sūrihi; n a folio of MS. missing, starting with iya and extending through atthi in stanza 51 (numbering of folios does not indicate loss) 45 h pao (for paro); This stanza does not appear in B, although i preserves the words ajja vi pasiddho and in the numbering of its stanzas skips the number 50, making stanza 51 correspond in number with our 51; w numbers the last stanza of its text 56, where 55 would be the correct number, and the next to the last 54, thus omitting the number 55. It is possible that this confusion of the numbering indicates a source, immediate or remote, for w containing our stanza. At the corresponding place in Bhāvadēvasūri's version which is close to Dharmaprabhāsūri's, there is a stanza corresponding in meaning to this. The text here is from l and b. It seems probable that the missing folio of n also had the stanza, for when the text of n is resumed the numbering of stanzas corresponds with that of the stanzas in our edition. 46 b savvaṃ; All MSS. suttaṃ (emendation gives conformity in meaning with other versions); bi jāṇāvio (L emends) 47 h transfers gao to place following so; b eṇaṃ (for teṇa) 48 h vihiuṃ 49 l tattha gayāo; b pucchinti; h guruṇā; all MSS. khāmanti (L emends to khāmenti); b laggā ya puṇa puṇa vi 50 i guru°; i puṇo puṇo o (L conjectured pu° pu° guruṇo) 51 hb Sakkonayā; b Bharaḥo: h vitthi 53 h °jjāi icc-āi; b āo 54 B paḍiya (L emends); h ayasaya; b tena a tu° 55 hln dhanyas tvaṃ dhanyas tvaṃ dhanyas tvaṃ, bi dhanyas tvaṃ dhanyas tvaṃ, w dhanyas tvaṃ dha

⁴ Is the meter of this stanza a Sanskrit representation of the *dohā*?

iya thuṇiya sa'thāṇaṃ pāvio deva-rāyā.
 aha muṇiya niy'āuṇi catta-bhatto muṇ'indo
 aisaya-saya:jutto so vi patto surattaṇ.
 ti:jaga-payāḍa-kittī deu sanghassa bhaddaṇ. 56 (*mālinī*)
 iti śrī-Kālikācāryakathā saṃkṣepataḥ kṛtā
 ankāṣṭa-yakṣa-varṣe 'sāu śrī-Dharmaprabhasūribhiḥ. 57 (*śloka*)

56 n patthio (for pāvīo), b nimāuṃ; n paya (for jaga). Memorial stanzas with the dates of the various Kālakas appear in several of the MSS., namely i, which has four as stanzas 56-59; w, which has four stanzas as glosses written on margins at appropriate parts of the text; l which has three; and b, which has one, written on margins as glosses at appropriate points in text. They are as follows:

1. Found only in i, syllables in parentheses missing from MS., supplied by L; it seems highly improbable in its statement (*cf.* Leumann, Z.D.M.G. 37.496).

bārasa vā(sa)˙saesum	pannās'ahi(e)su Vaddhamāṇō
caudisi paḍhama˙paveso	pakappio Sāya-sūrihi.
 2. Found in līw

siriVirāu (i °rāo) gaesum	pañatis'ahiesu ti˙varisa˙saesum (l °su)
paḍhamo Kālaga(i °ka)sūri	jāo Sāmajja˙nāma-(v nāmu, l nānāma)tti.
 3. Found in iw; was in l, but with exception of a few akṣaras is now covered by a repair slip

causaya˙tipanna˙varise	Kālaga˙(v °liga)guruṇā Sarassai gahiyā:
causaya˙(i omits saya) sattari˙varise Virāo Vikkamo (v Vikamo) jāo.	
 4. Found in līv

navasaya˙teṇauehiṃ (i °ñue°, v teṇaunavasae hiṃ, l °nauc°)	samaikkantehiṃ Vaddhamāṇō
pajjosavaṇa˙(v pajusa˙)cattihī (i cotthī) Kālaga(v°ga)sūrinto ṭhaviyā.	
 5. Found only in w (*cf.* commentary of the Sandehevīsāūsadhi, in Jacobi, Kalpasūtra, p. 115).

vīsehiṃ diṇēhi kappo	vaṇcaga˙hāñii kappa˙thavaṇā ya
navasai˙teṇūehiṃ	vuchijjā sangha˙añāe.
 6. Found only in b, composed of the first parts of two stanzas

tinnisae335pañatise	nigoya˙vakkhāya˙Kāligāyarior;
causaya˙tipanna(MS. tippana) varase 453 Kāligagu(MS. ga)ruṇā Sarassai gahiyā.	
- 57** u ankāṣṭakayakṣavarṣesaūsri with lacuna to bhīh
b iti Kālikācārya˙kāthā samkṣepataḥ kṛtā
i iti śrī-Kālikācārya˙kāthā kṛtā śrī-Dharma-prabhasūribhīh
w iti śrī-Kālikācāryakathā.
l as above, actually writing in pāda c ankāṣṭaśyakṣai3varṣe
h iti śrīKalikācāryakathā samāptāh

CHAPTER VII

ŚRĪVĪRAVĀKYĀNUMATAṀ VERSION—EDITION

The most popular version of the Kālaka stories in Sanskrit is the anonymous version presented here. It has been edited from 11 manuscripts and a published text (see below). Since the language is Sanskrit and easier than the Prakrit and the number of errors in the 11 manuscripts many, I have given in my critical notes only those readings which have some interest.

- T* Text published in Sheth Devchand Lalbhai Jain Pustakoddhar Fund Series, vol. 18, Bombay, 1914. At least two MSS. seem to have been used in the preparation of this text, but no information is furnished about them. Some of the readings published in this text appear in none of the following MSS.
- w* Wāḍīpārśvanāthakā Bhaṇḍār, Patan, no. 1: five folios, palm-leaf, injured at the edges; no date, but appears to be of about the fourteenth century; a good MS.; appears at end of Kalpasūtra. Largely independent from other MSS.
- c* Cambridge University Library, Or. 845.11: folios 145-156, obviously once attached to a MS. of the Kalpasūtra; illustrated; not dated, but from appearance might have been made about the beginning of the sixteenth century.
- p* Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, no. 337 of 1871-72: nine folios; the original numbering of folio 1 appears to have been erased and a new numbering substituted, which fact makes it appear that this MS. had once been part of a text of the Kalpasūtra; illustrated; no date, possibly of early sixteenth century.
- m*¹ Mohanlalji Jain Library, Bombay, K 27: 11 folios; illustrated; not dated, possibly of sixteenth century; poor MS.
- m*² Mohanlalji Jain Library, Bombay, M 37: six folios; illustrated; dated Saṃvat 1532.
- b* Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. I have used a copy furnished me by the library. MS. is not dated.
- d*¹ Delā Upāśraya, Ahmedabad, 18.21: 11 folios; illustrated; not dated.
- d*² Delā Upāśraya, Ahmedabad, 18.22: 10 folios; illustrated; dated Saṃvat 1550.
- d*³ Delā Upāśraya, Ahmedabad, 18.23^a: 11 folios; illustrated; not dated.
- d*⁴ Delā Upāśraya, Ahmedabad, 18.23^b: 11 folios; illustrated; not dated. There are two MSS. in this collection bearing exactly the same number, which I have here differentiated by the use of superior letters.
- d*⁵ Delā Upāśraya, Ahmedabad, 18.24: 11 folios; illustrated; dated Saṃvat 1682.

arhaṃ

śrīVīravākyānumataṃ suparva kṛtaṃ yathā paryuṣaṇākhyam etat
śrīKālikācāryavareṇa saṅghe tathā caturthyāṃ śṛṇu pañcamītaḥ. 1

I

samagradeśāgatavastusāraṃ puraṇaṃ Dharāvāsam ihāsti tāraṃ;
tatrārībhūpālakarīndrasīmho bhūvallabho 'bhūd bhuvi Vajrasīmhaḥ. 2
lāvaṇyapīyūṣapavitragātrā saddharmaṇāpātrānugatiḥ sadāiva
tasyājaniṣṭātīviśiṣṭarūpā rājñī ca nāmnā Surasundarīti. 3

1 *d*⁴*d*⁵ °paryukhaṇā° 3 *bd*¹*d*⁵ °janiṣṭhā°

tatkukṣibhūḥ Kālahanāmadheyah Kāmānurūpo 'jani bhūpasūnuḥ ;
 Sarasvatī rūpavatī suśīlavatī svasā tasya narendrasūnoḥ. 4
 athānyadodyānavane kumāro gato yutaḥ pañcaśatāis ca pumbhiḥ
 dṛṣṭvā munīndraṃ Guṇasundarākhyam natvopaviṣṭo gurusannidhāne. 5
 vidyullatāṇekapakarṇatālilāyitaṃ vikṣya narendralakṣmyāḥ
 yuṣmādrśāḥ kiṃ prapatanti kūpe bhavasvarūpe suvivekino 'pi. 6
 evaṃ pariñāya kumāra śuddhabuddhiṃ kuruṣvāsu sudharmamārga.
 ākarṇya karṇāmṛtavṛṣṭīkalpaṃ guror vacaḥ śīghram iti prabuddhaḥ. 7
 ādāt tadā pañcaśatīpadātiyukto vrataṃ, sūripadam sa lebhe ;
 Sarasvatī tadbhaginī ca paścāj jagṛha dīkṣāṃ nijabandhubodhāt. 8
 śrīKālikācāryavarā dharāyāṃ kurvanti bhavyāvanidharmavṛṣṭim.
 athānyadā 'vantipurīm agus te, Sarasvatī cāpi jagāma tatra. 9
 sādhvīsametā 'pi gatā 'tha bāhyabhūmāu narendreṇa nirīkṣitā sā :
 idṛk surūpā yad iyaṃ suśīlā nūnaṃ varāko mṛta eva Kāmaḥ. 10
 śrīKālikācārya sahodara tvaṃ pūtkurvati hī jinaśāsaneśa
 yad Gardabhillena nṛpādhamena māṃ niyamānaṃ nijaveśma rakṣa. 11
 iti bruvāṇa kunṛpeṇa pumbhir nītā nijaṃ dhāma mahāsatī sā.
 jñātvā ca vṛttāntam athāinaṃ uccāis cukopa sūrir guṇalabdhibhūmiḥ. 12
 śrīKālikācāryagurur nṛpānte jagāma, kāmam nayavākyapūrvam
 nṛpaṃ jagādeti : narendra muñca svasāram etāṃ mama yad vratasthām. 13
 anyo 'pi yo duṣṭamatīḥ kuśilo bhavet tvayā sa pratiśedhya eva ;
 anyāyamārgaṃ svayam eva gacchan na lajjase : satyam idaṃ hi jātam. 14
 yatrāsti rājā svayam eva cāuro bhāṇḍīvaḥ yatra purohitaś ca
 vanaṃ bhajedhvaṃ nanu nāgarā bho, yataḥ śaraṇyād bhayam atra jātam. 15
 narendrakanyāḥ kila rūpavatyas tavāvarodhe nanu santi bahvyaḥ,
 tapaḥkrśāṃ jallabharātījirṇavastrāṃ vimuñcāsu mama svasāram. 16
 niśamya sūrīśvaravākyam etan na bhāṣate kimcid iha kṣitīśaḥ.
 śrīKālikācāryavaro 'tha saṅghasyāgre svavṛttāntam avedayat tat. 17
 saṅgho 'pi bhūpasya sabhāsamakṣaṃ dakṣaṃ vaco bhāṣate yan : narendra
 na yujyate te yad idaṃ kukarma kartuṃ prabho pāsi piteva lokam. 18
 iti bruvāṇe 'pi yathārtham uccāiḥ saṅghe na cāmuñcad asāu mahīśaḥ
 mahāsatīṃ tām. iti tan niśamya kopena sandhāṃ kurute munīśaḥ : 19
 ye pratyanīkā jinaśāsanasya saṅghasya ye cāsubhavarṇavācaḥ
 upekṣakoḍḍhakarā dharāyāṃ teṣāṃ ahaṃ yāmi gatiṃ sadāiva 20
 yady enam urvīpatiGardabhillam kośena putrāiḥ prabalam ca rājyāt
 nonmūlayāmiṭi kṛtapratijñā vidhāya veṣaṃ grahilānurūpam 21
 bhramaty adaḥ kardamaliptagātraḥ sarvatra jalpan nagarīm viśālām
 śrīGardabhillo nṛpatīḥ tataḥ kiṃ bho ramyam antaḥpuram asya kiṃ vā. 22
 ityādi jalpantam asatpralāpaṃ munīśvaraṃ vikṣya vyajijñapaṃ tam
 nṛpaṃ kulāmātyavarā : vareṇyaṃ jātam na rājann iti muñca sādhvīm. 23
 śikṣāṃ dadadhvaṃ nijapitṛbandhuputreṣu, gacchantu mamāgradṛṣṭeḥ.
 śrutveti sūrir gata eva Sindhor nadyās taṭam paścimapārśvakūlam. 24
 ye teṣu deṣeṣu bhavanti bhūpās te sāhayaḥ. prāuḍhatamasya teṣu
 ckasya sāheḥ sa gṛhe 'vasac ca sadā sudāivajñānimittavijñāḥ. 25
 anāgatātitanimittabhāvāir vaśīkṛtaḥ sūrivarāiḥ sa sāhiḥ,
 bhaktiṃ vidhatte vividhāṃ gurūṇāṃ ; sarvatra pūjyo labhate hi pūjām. 26

4 *w d m* kālīka° 5 *d d T* athonya° ; *T* yataḥ (for yutaḥ) 7 *b* evaṃ ca vijñāya 8 *b c p m m d d d d d* adāt (our text only with *w* and *T*) 10 *c d d* gatā ca ; *d d d* barāko 11 *d* °kālākā° ; *b* kurvanti, *d* kurvantī ; *w* hā (for hī), *b* he ; *c p m d d* mā (for mām) ; *p m d* rakṣaḥ 12 *b p* bruvāṇāḥ ; *T* nayam (for nṛpaṃ) 15 *c m d d d d T* bhajadhvaṃ 17 *w c p m d d d* avedayat tadā 18 *T* prajām (for prabho) 20 *w p* bhavarṇavādinah ; *b* °odāha°, *m* °odāha° 22 *m d* nagariviśālām ; at end of stanza 22 *w* adds yugmaṃ, *m T* tribhir viśeṣakam 23 *w* °mātyavarīm ceraṇyaṃ ; *m* jāta, *b c p m d d d* jāte, *T* jāte (tam) na 25 *w* sadāiva dāivajñā° 26 *p* omits stanza ; *w* sasāhāiḥ

tam anyadā kṛṣṇamukhaṃ vilokya papraccha sāhiṃ munipaḥ : kim etat.
 tenācacakṣe : mama yo 'sti rājā sāhānusāhiḥ sa ca bhānyate 'tra. 27
 tenātra lekhaḥ prahito mameti : svamastakaṃ śighratarāṃ praheyam.
 pañcādhikāyā navater nṛpāṇāṃ mānūrūpaś chaṇa eva bhartuḥ. 28
 ekatra sarve sabalaṃ militvā Hindūkadēśaṃ calatāśu yūyam.
 guror nidesād iti tāiḥ prahrṣṭāir bhūpāiḥ prayāṇaṃ jhaṭiti pradattam. 29
 uttīrya Sindhuṃ kaṭakaṃ Surāṣṭrādēśe samāgatya sukheṇa tasthāu ;
 sarve 'pi bhūpāḥ suguroś ca sevāṃ kurvanti baddhāñjalayo vinītāḥ. 30
 varṣāvasāne guruṇā babhāṣe : Avantideśaṃ calateti yūyam ;
 nṛpaṃ nigrhṇīta ca Gardabhillāṃ ; grhṇīta rājyaṃ pravibhajya śighram. 31
 abhāṇi tāiḥ : sambalam asti no na : kiṃ kurmahe. Kālikasūrīr evam
 jñātvā ca tebhyaḥ śubhacūrṇayogāiḥ kṛtveṣṭikāḥ svarṇamayīr dadāu saḥ. 32
 dhakkāninādēna kṛtaprayāṇā nṛpāḥ praelur guruLāṭadēśam.
 taddeśanāthāu BalamitraBhānumitrāu grhītvā 'gur Avantisīmām. 33
 śrutvā 'gatāḥ tān abhitaḥ svadeśasīmāṃ samāgacchad Avantināthaḥ.
 parasparaṃ kuntadhanurlatābhīr yuddhaṃ dvayor sānikayor babhūva. 34
 svasānyam ālokya hatapratāpaṃ naṣṭvā gato bhūpatir Gardabhillāḥ.
 puriṃ viśālāṃ sa yadā praviṣṭas tadāiva sā 'veṣṭi balāi ripūṇām. 35
 athānyadā sāhibhaṭāir aprcchi : yuddhaṃ prabho nāiva bhavet kim adya.
 adyāṣṭamī sūribhir uktam evaṃ sa gardabhīṃ sādhyatiha vidyām. 36
 vilokayadbhiḥ subhaṭāir ajasram aṭṭālaye kvāpi gatā kharī sā
 drṣṭā, tadā sā kathitā gurūṇām. tāir evam uktam : dhvaninā 'pi tasyāḥ 37
 sānyam samagraṃ labhate vināśam. dhanurdharāṇām śatam aṣṭayuktam
 lātvā gataḥ sūrivarō niṣāṅgi kharyāḥ samīpaṃ laghuśighravedhī. 38 yugmam
 yadeyam āsyaṃ vivṛtaṃ karoti tadāiva śāstrāiḥ paripūraṇīyam .
 śrīsūriṇā 'diṣṭam. amibhir evaṃ kṛte kharī murdhani mūtraviṣṭhe 39
 sā Gardabhillasya vidhāya naṣṭā. bhraṣṭānubhāvaḥ sa ca sāhibbhūpāiḥ
 baddhvā grhītaḥ, suguroḥ padānte nirīkṣyate bhūmitalaṃ sa mūḍhaḥ. 40 yugmam
 re duṣṭa pāpiṣṭha nikṛṣṭabuddhe kiṃ te kukarmācaritaṃ durātman,
 mahāsatīśilacaritrabhaṅgapāpadrumasyedam ihāsti puṣpam. 41
 vimudrasaṃsārasamudrapātaḥ phalaṃ bhaviṣyaty aparāṇi sadāiva ;
 adyāpi cen mokṣakaraṃ sudharmanārgaṃ śrayethā na vīnaṣṭam atra. 42
 na rocate tasya munīndravākyaṃ ; vimocito bandhanato gato 'tha.
 Sarasvatī śilapadāikapātraṃ cāritram atyujjvalam ābabhāra. 43
 yasyāvasad vēśmani Kālikāryo rājādhirājaḥ sa babhūva sāhiḥ ;
 deśasya khaṇḍeṣu ca tasthivāṇsaḥ śeṣā narendrāḥ. Sagavaṃśa eṣaḥ. 44
 śrīKālikāryo nijagacchamadhya gatvā pratikramya samagram etat
 śrīsaṅghacitte vitaratpramodaṃ gaṇasya bhāraṃ sa babhāra sūriḥ. 45

II

Bhṛgoḥ pure yāu BalanitraBhānumitrāu gurūṇām atha bhāgineyāu
 vijñāpanāṃ prekṣya tayor pragalbhaṃ gatāś caturmāsakahetave te. 46
 śrutvā gurūṇām suviśuddhadharmānuviddhavākyaṇi nṛpaḥ sabhāyām
 aho sudharmo jinanāyakasya śiro vidhunvann iti tān babhāṣe. 47

27 T tenācacakṣe (tenoktam asmin) mama etc. 28 p^d chaṇu. b paṇa, d^a ṛṇa, T chala 29 w sarvaṃ ; cd^a hindūkadēśe, d^a hindūgadēśaṃ 31 b °sāne ca gurur babhāṣe ; p^d avantideśe ; wcpm^ad^ad^ad^a nigrhṇīta . . . grhṇīta 32 bpm^am^ad^ad^aT abhāṣi ; m^aT naḥ (for na) ; cd^a °yogaṃ ; bcpm^ad^ad^a svarṇamayī 33 wd^a °deśanātho 34 bpm^ad^a svadeśaṃ sī° 35 bpd^a naṣṭvā, m^a naṣṭo 37 T aṭṭālaye ; cmd^a drṣṭvā ; cd^a tadāsyam, wm^a tadā tvam 38 d^a nikhaṅgi ; cpm^ad^a omīṭ yugmam 39 bm^am^ad^aT yadevam, d^a yadā ivam 40 wbd^a badhvā ; cpd^ad^aT nirīkṣate 41 bd^aT pāpiṣṭha 42 w sadā te ; p mokṣakarī, bm^ad^ad^aT mokṣaparaṃ, d^a ceksenmopāuparaṃ 44 wpd^aṣaṇḍeṣu ; pm^a śakavaṃśa ; cpd^a eṣa 45 T °saṅghamadhya 46 cd^a prekṣya 47 bpm^ad^ad^aT suviśuddhadharmānuviddhavā

niśamya bhūpasya sudharmavākyam purodhaso mastakaśūlam eti,
 jīvādivāde gurubhiḥ kṛto 'pi niruttaras teṣu vahaty asūyām. 48
 kāuṭilyabhāvena yatīn praśaṃsan narendracittam viparītavṛttam
 cakre purodhā; gurubhiḥ svarūpaṃ jñātam yatibhyo yad aneṣaṇīyam. 49
 te dakṣiṇāyām Marahaṭṭhadeśe Pṛthvīpratiṣṭhānapure 'tha jagmuḥ,
 yatrāsti rājā kila Sātayānaḥ prāuḍhapratāpī paramārhatas ca. 50
 rājñā 'nyadā 'pṛcchi sabhāsamakṣaṃ: prabho kadā paryuṣaṇā vidheyā.
 yā pañcamī bhādrapadasya śuklapakṣe ca tasyām bhavitā suparva. 51
 nṛpo 'vadat: tatra mahendrapūjāmaho bhavaty, atra munīndra ghasre
 mayā 'nugamyaḥ sa ca lokanītyā; snātrādipūjā hi katham bhavitṛi. 52
 tat pañcamītaḥ prabhuṇā vidheyam ṣaṣṭhyām yathā me jinanāthapūjā-
 prabhāvanāpāuṣadhapālanādipuṇyam bhaven nātha tava prasādāt. 53
 rājann idam nāiva bhavet kadācid yat pañcamīrātriviparyayeṇa.
 tataś caturthyām kriyatām, nṛpeṇa vijñaptam evam guruṇā 'numene. 54
 smṛtveti citte jinavīravākyam yat Sātayāno nṛpatiś ca bhāvī
 śrīKālikāryo munipaś ca tena nṛpāgrahēnāpi kṛtam suparva. 55
 yathā caturthyām jinavīravākyāt saṅghena mantavyam aho tad eva
 pravartitam paryuṣaṇākhyaparva yato jinājñā mahatī sadāiva. 56

III

athānyadā kālavaśena sarvān pramādināḥ sūrivarāś ca sādhuṇ
 tyaktvā gatāḥ Svarṇamahīpurasthānekākinaḥ Sāgaracandrasūrin. 57
 teṣāṃ samīpe munipaḥ sa tasthau jñāto na kenāpi tapodhanena.
 śayyātārāj jñātayathārthavṛttāḥ pramādināś te munayaś tam iyuḥ. 58

IV

jineśvaraḥ Pūrvavidehavartī Sīmaṇdharo bandhuravāgvilāsaḥ
 nigodajīvān atisūkṣmakāyān sabhāsamakṣaṃ sa samādideśa. 59
 Sāudharmanāthēna savismayena pṛṣṭam: jagannātha nigodajīvān
 ko 'py asti varṣe 'smin Bhārate 'pi yo veti vyākhyātum alam ya evam. 60
 samādideśa prabhur: asti Śakra śrīKālikāryaḥ śrutaratnarāśiḥ.
 śrutveti Śakraḥ pravindhāya rūpaṃ vṛddhasya viprasya samāyayāu saḥ. 61
 vipro 'tha papraccha nigodajīvān; sūriśvaro 'bhāṣata tān anantān:
 asaṅkhyagolāś ca bhavanti teṣu nigodasaṅkhyā gatasāṅkhyarūpāḥ. 62
 śrutveti vipro nijam āyur evam papraccha: me śaṃsa kiyat pramāṇam
 astīti. siddhāntavilokanena, Śakro bhavān, Kālikasūrir āha. 63
 kṛtvā svarūpaṃ praṇipaty sūriṃ nivedya Sīmaṇdharasatpraśaṃsām
 upāśrayadvāraviparyayaṃ ca Śakro nijam dhāma jagāna hrṣṭaḥ. 64
 śrīmatKālakasūrayaś cirataram cāritram atyujjvalaṇ
 sampālya pratipadya cāntyasamaye bhaktapratijñāṃ mudā
 śuddhadhyānavidhānalīnamanasaḥ svargālayaṃ ye gatāś
 te kalyāṇaparamparāṃ śrutadharā yacchantu saṅghe 'naghe. 65 (*śārdūlavikrīḍita*)
 iti śrīKālikācāryakathā samāptā.

48 *cm'd'd'* jīvābhivāde; *bm'* kṛte; *v* 'sāu (*for* 'pi) 50 *T* dakṣiṇasyām; *T* ca (*for* tha); *cp* sātayānaḥ 51 *d'T* śukle pa° 52 *bpm'd'd'* °pūjādi (*for* °pūjā hi); *v* °pūjāvighnaṃ bhaviṣyati; *p* bhaviṣyati (*for* bhavitṛi) 56 *p* yato yad ājñā, *T* yathēyam ājñā 57 *pbd'* sūrivarāś 58 *d'* muniyaḥ, *T* munayaḥ; *cm'm'd'd'T* śayyātārā, *v* śayyātara jñota° 60 *all MSS. except b and c read* pāda *c* *as in text against meter*, *c* asti bhārate 'smin bhārate 'pi, *b* asti varṣe 'pi ca bhārate 'smin, *T* asti varṣe 'smin bhārate 'pi (varṣe 'pi ca bhārate 'smin) 61 *cd'* viprasya vṛddhasya (*for* vṛ° vi°) 62 *bcm'd'd'* gatasāṅkhyarūpā 64 *cd'd'* rūpaṃ (*for* sūriṃ) 65 *cm'm'd'd'T*° kālika°; *cbm'd'd'd'd'* ityujjva° Colophon *pd'd'd'*° omit samāptā, *m'T* sampūrṇā

CHAPTER VIII
VERSION OF BHADREŚVARA'S KATHĀVALĪ—EDITION AND
ANALYSIS

This version, different in many points from other accounts of Kālaka, is known to me from a palm-leaf manuscript, dated Saṃvat 139 + (last figure broken off), indicating a date of A. D. ± 1338. A photostatic copy of the folios (285 recto-288 recto) was furnished me by Professor Jacobi.

In this version Kālaka's sister is named Sīlamaī (Sīlamatī = Sīlavatī). There is no use of the name Saga (Saka, Śaka), and no mention that 96 Saka kings went to Mālava. The kings Balamitra and Bhānumitra are represented as ruling at Ujjayinī, not Bhṛgukaccha.

The text follows, with an analysis:

Kālagāyariya-kahā bhaṇṇai. cha.

I

Avantī-visae (MS. °visa) Ujjeṇī-nayariē Dappaṇo nāma rāyā. tassa ya kira keṇā 'vi jogieṇaṃ dinnā gaddahī nāma vijjā. sā ya jattha sāhaga-niuttā tas-samuhā houṃ viuvviya-gaddabhī-ruvā nādei (MS. nāhei), jo ya tirio maṇuo vā rivu (MS. riva) santio tas-saddaṃ suṇei so savvo ruhiraṃ vamanto bhaya-vihalo nattha-satto (MS. sanno) nivaḍai. siddhā ya vihi-sāhaṇeṇaṃ Dappaṇa-ranno gaddabhī-vijja tti Gaddahillo nāma so pasiddhiṃ gau. palambatayātiṃ (?) jiṇa-sāsaṇaṃ-Ujjeṇī. tam-majjhe pavayaṇa-puriso sūri-samaṇṇio Kālagāyariu nāma, avi ya :

samviggo majjhattho	santo mauo (MS. maou) rijū susaṃtuttho
giyattho kaḍa (MS. kavaḍa) jogī	bhāvaṇṇū laddhi-saṃpaṇṇo (1)
desaṇiyāo (MS. °yāu) deo	maimaṃ viṇṇāṇio kavī vāi
nemittio ya sīo	uvayārī (MS. vayārī) dhārīṇī valiu (2)
bahu-dittho naya-niūṇo	pio ya cau-sussarā-tavo-nirao
su-sarīro surppaiho	vāi āṇandao vokkho (3)
gambhīro aṇuvattī	paḍivanna-pālao thiro
uciya (MS. uviya) ṇṇū sūrīṇaṃ	chattisa-guṇā ma (!) honti. (4)

atthi (MS. atthe) ya tatth' eva Kālagāyariya-bhaginī Rūvavaī va nimmala-silā Sīlamaī nāma tavassīṇī. sā ya kayāi vaccantī vāhiṃ tap-paesa-gāmiṇā ditthā Gaddabhilla-rannā. ajjhovavaṇṇeṇa (MS. ajjo°) ya aṇicchantī vi valā niviyā (MS. neviyā) anteuram. sāhiyā sesa-tavassīṇiṃ (MS. °ṇehiṃ) Kālagasūrīṇaṃ vattā. tehi vi gantuṃ sayam bhaṇiu rāyā, jahā: na juttam puhavi-pālāṇam erisaṃ vavasium; tā muncaha (MS. sancaha) tavassīṇiṃ. raṇṇā vi karissa cintiū ttaṃ nivvatte.¹

sūrihiṃ mellittu sāhiyaṃ tam sanghassa (MS. °ssaṃ). teṇā 'vi bahuḥā bhaṇiu rāyā. na ya (MS. yā) kiṃ pi paḍivajjai. tao dariṣaṇa-kajj'ujjao ruṭtho ajja (MS. ai) Kālo paṇṇaṃ karei, jahā: jai Gaddahillaṃ rāyāṇaṃ rajjāo na ummūlemi to pavayaṇa-saṇjamo'vaghāyagāṇaṃ tad uvekkhagāṇa ya gaiṃ gacchāmi. tāhe Kālagajjo kavaḍeṇ' ummattalī-hūo tiga-caukka (MS. caokka) caccara (MS. ccara) mahā-jaṇa-tthāṇesu imaṃ palavanto (MS. to) hiṇḍai: jai Gaddahillo rāyā to kiṃ, jai sunivittā purī to kiṃ, jai jaṇo suveso to (MS. bho) kiṃ, jai hiṇḍāmo vayaṃ bhikkhaṃ jai sunnadese vasāmi to kiṃ. evaṃ ca bahu-ppayāraṃ jaṇaṃ bhāveuṃ Kālagajjo (MS. Kālagjo) Pārasa-kūlaṃ gao.

¹ I do not understand this sentence.

tattha ya sāhāṇusāhiṇo mahārāyassa sevago sāhi nāma rāyā. taṃ ca samallīṇo sūri nimitt'āhiṃ āvajjei. aṇṇayā ya sāhissa sāhāṇusāhiṇā (MS. °ṇa) kamhi vi (MS. hiṃ) kāraṇe saṭṭheṇa kaṭṭārigā suṭṭheo pesiyā (? *read* saṭṭheṇa kaṭṭorago suṭṭhio pesiyo; *or* saddheṇa kaṭṭārigā muddeuṃ pesiyā) lehehiṃ ca tam'majjhe (MS. tamajjhe), jahā : sisam (MS. sāsam)-eyāe chindiyavvaṃ ti.

daṭṭhuṃ ce 'maṃ vimaṇo (MS. vimāṇo) saṃjāo sāhi. sa rūvei Kalagajjassa. teṇā 'vi bhaṇiu : mā appāṇaṃ mārehi (MS. °hiṃ). sāhiṇā bhaṇiyaṃ : parama-sāmiṇā ruṭṭheṇa ettha atthiṃ na tīrai. Kālagajjeṇa bhaṇiyaṃ : rohesu (MS. °so) Gaddahilla-rāyāṇaṃ.

tāhe je Gaddahilleṇā (MS. °ṇo) 'vamāṇiyā Lāḍa-rāyāṇo (MS. ro°) aṇṇe ya te miliṃ savvehiṃ pi rohiyā Ujjeṇī. tatth' antarammi ya Gaddahilleṇa ya sui-bhūiṇā houṃ sumariyā gaddahi-vijjā. avayariyā ya sā gaddahi (MS. °ha) rūva-dhāriṇī, thaviyā egammī aṭṭārage (MS. aṭṭhārago) para (MS. yara) balā-bhimuhā (MS. °ho). tav-vises'ārohaṇ'atthaṃ (MS. °atthaṃ) c' egattha vi Gaddahillo aṭṭhama-bhatto'vavāsī. taṃ ca tah' ārahagaṃ nāuṃ Kālagajjeṇā 'nāgayam (!)-eva niroviyaṃ gaddahi-saṃmuhaṃ dakkhāṇaṃ saddavehi (MS. °hiṃ) johāṇaṃ aṭṭh'uttara-sayaṃ bhaṇiyaṃ ca : jayā esā gaddahi nānihi-kāmā tayā muhaṃ pasārehi; jāva ya saddaṃ na karei tāva sama-kālam eie muhaṃ sarehiṃ tubbhe pūrijjaha. tehi vi johehiṃ (MS. johiṃ) tah' eva kayaṃ. tāhe sā vāna-mantarī tassa Gaddahillasso 'variṃ hagiṃ (*read* haḍiṃ ?) lattāhiṃ ya hantuṃ gayā sa'ṭṭhāṇaṃ. tav-virahiu abali tti ummūlio (MS. ūmūllo) Gaddahillo. gahiya Ujjeṇī. evaṃ ca puṇṇa-paiṇṇo Kālagasūri taṃ bhagiṇiṃ puṇa-avi saṃjame thavittā vihariṃ annatth (MS. annav) 'ujjaya-vihāreṇaṃ.

II

sāhi-ppamuha-rāṇaehiṃ cā 'hisitto Ujjeṇīe (MS. Ujjo°) Kālagasūri-bhāṇeḍḍo (MS. bhaṇeḍḍo) Valamitto nāma rāyā, tak-kaṇiṭṭha-bhāyā ya Bhānumitto (MS. °matto) nāma 'hisitto juvarāyā. tesiṃ ca bhagiṇī Bhāṇusirī nāma. tise putto Balabhāṇū (MS. Balambhā°) nāma. so ya pagaya-bhaddaya-viṇiyayāe sāhū pajjuvāsai. patto puṇo viharanto varisa-yāl'āsaṇṇam-Ujjeṇiṃ Kālagasūri, bahu-maṇṇio rāy'āhiṃ; tam'majjhe ya jogo tti visesau sāhi sūrihiṃ Balabhāṇuṇo (MS. bhāṇuṇo) dhammo. taṃ ca souṃ saṃbuddho pavvāvio ya. na ya pucchiyā Balamitta-Bhānumitta tti ruṭṭhehiṃ tehiṃ pasanna-māṇato (*meaning* ?) nivvisao Kālagajjo. so vi nattuyā (MS. nattayā) sanghaeṇaṃ niggahattaṇeṇa (MS. °haṇṭta°) ya (MS. yaṃ) tesi vayanāsavamanniūṇa (*read* vayanam'avaman-niūṇa ?) thio na ya pajjosavaṇaṃ kuṇai. Balamitto vi Bhāṇusirīe kiṃ na jāṇaha Gaddahilla (MS. °halla) vuttantaṃ, jeṇā 'vamāṇeḍḍa māulagammi (MS. māulaṃga°) ti. bhaṇiyā pacchattāviyā puṇo māmāyassa kuṇanti mahantaṃ āyaram.

abbuṭṭhāṇ'āi (MS. ei) panca sahium-asakkanto (MS. assa°) Gangāharo (MS. Mangā°) nāma purohio bhaṇai : deva suddha-pāsaṇḍo eso vey'āi-vāhiro. evaṃ ca raṇṇo purau puṇo puṇo ullavanto (MS. ullavva°) sūriṇā nippattha (MS. °ṭṭhā) pasina-vāgaraṇo (MS. °ṇā) kao. tāhe kharayaram-āvittho purohio na daṇḍeṇemesiṃ (*read* daṇḍeṇa māsam ?) kiṃ ci (MS. *blurred*) pūṇissati cintiya rāyāṇaṃ aṇuloma-vayaṇehiṃ (MS. rāyāṇamaṇḍalovomaehiṃ) vipariṇāmei (MS. vighari°), jahā : ee risao mahā'nubhāvā (MS. °bhāgā), tā jeṇa paheṇa te (MS. me) gacchanti teṇ' eva jassa raṇṇo jaṇo gacchai payāṇi vā aikkamei tassā 'soyaṃ (MS. tassāseyam) mahantaṃ havai. tā visajjejjantu niya-visayāu sūriṇo. souṃ ce 'maṃ kamma-doseṇā 'isūṇiyā (MS. °sūgiyā) Balamitta-Bhānumittā. karāviyā sūri-nisaraṇ'atthaṃ tehiṃ savvammi nagare bhatta-pāṇā'nesaṇā.

taṃ ca nāuṃ paḍhama-pāusi (MS. °osi) cciya niggayā Ujjeṇīo (MS. Ojje°) Kālagasūriṇo bahu-parivārā ya te na jahiṃ tahiṃ vā nivvahanti (MS. navva°) tti paṭṭhiyā Paṭṭhāṇa-puraṃ. jāṇāviyaṃ cā 'nāgayam-eva tahaṃ te cciya sanghassa : (*read* cā 'nāgaṇ' eva teṇa sanghassa ?) : jāva 'haṃ n' āgacchāmi (MS. hamāga°) tāva tubbhehiṃ na kāyavvaṇ pajjosavaṇaṃ.

tattha ya Sālavāhaṇo rāyā. so ya sāvago tti Kālagajjam (MS. Kālajjam)-entaṃ souṃ niggao (MS. °ggaṃ) samuho samaṇa-sangho ya. tao mahā-vibhūie pavitttho Paṭṭhāṇaṃ Kālagajjo. bhaṇiyaṃ cā 'neṇa : bhaddavaya-suddha-pancamīe (MS. °mī) kīrau (MS. °rao) pajjosavaṇaṃ. paḍivaṇṇaṃ ca taṃ samaṇa-sangheṇa. Sālavāhaṇo ya rāyā parama-sāvao pajjosavaṇ'āi-dhamma-divase visesao (MS. sao) jiṇa-vandaṇ'āi-kiccaṃ kuṇai. io ya tattha desa-rūḍhīe kīrai bhaddavaya-sukka-pancamīe paḍhamam-Inda-mahā'rambho. taṃ ca jaṇo na viṇā nivvaṃ (MS. nivvāṇānivvaṃ) kuṇai tti tassa na hoi pajjosavaṇa (MS. °ṇu) dhammā'nutthāṇaṃ. tao Sālavāhaṇeṇa bhaṇio

Kālagasūrī: bhayavaṃ calio loya-vavahāro tti cālūṃ na tīrai Inda(MS. Ida) mahā' rambho. na ya maṃ viṇā kuṇanti loyā; tā 'nuggahaṃ kāuṃ kuṇaha chaṭṭhīe pajjosavaṇaṃ jeṇā 'ham-avi pahuccāmi. sūrihiṃ bhaṇiyaṃ: mahārāya na juttam-eyāṃ, jao āsāḍha-puṇṇimāe kāyavvaṃ tāva pajjosavaṇaṃ, aha keṇā 'vi rāya-vidu-garāṇeṇa (kāraṇeṇa ?) tāe na kayaṃ, tā kāyavvaṃ purao kaṇha-dasamīe, tao viyaliyaṃ sāvaṇa-suddha-pancamīe, tao vi puraṃ puṇṇimāe, tao vi kaṇha(MS. kaṇṇa) dasamīe, tao viṭṭhāliyaṃ kāyavvaṃ-avassaṃ bhaddavaya-suddha-pancamīe na parau tti jīṇāṇa. tao raṇṇā bhaṇiyaṃ: bhayavaṃ tā kīrau (MS. °rao) cautthīe pajjosavaṇaṃ. sūrihiṃ bhaṇiyaṃ: evaṃ hou. tāhe cautthīe (MS. °tthī) c' eva kayaṃ pajjosavaṇaṃ. evaṃ ca juga-ppahāṇehi (MS. °ṇāhi) Kālagajjehiṃ kāraṇeṇa jā pavattiyā cautthī sā c' evā 'ṇumayā savva-sāhūṇaṃ jāya (MS. jāṇa) tti.

raṇṇā vi bhaṇiyāo anteuriyāu jahā: tubbhe parikkhiya-paḍikkamaṇ'attham-amāvasāe kāūṇo 'va-vāsaṃ pāḍivayāe (MS. pāḍivavāe) savva-khajja-bhojja-vihīhiṃ sāvavo uttara-pāraṇae paḍilābhettā pārejjaḥ. tāhiṃ pi tah' eva kae pajjosavaṇāe aṭṭhammi kāuṃ pāḍivayāe jāyam-uttara-pāraṇayaṃ. taṃ ca savva(MS. savvā) logehiṃ kayaṃ ti tap-pabhiṃ Marahaṭṭha-visae savaṇa-sūhavo nāma chaṇo pavatto tti. pavattiyaṃ ca bhaṇṇissamāṇeṇaṃ Bhavirahasūriṇo saṃpaya-sāhūṇaṃ aṭṭhama-tava-karaṇ'āsattiṃ peccanteṇa taiyāe uttara-pāraṇayaṃ kiṃ ca. cha.

III

atthi Ujjeṇīe bahu-sīsa-parivāro Kālogo nāma sūrī. na ya se sīsā (MS. sāse) coiyā vi paḍhaṇa-savaṇ'āi-kiriyāsu pavattamte. tao sūrī rāie pasutte (MS. °tti) c' eva te mottuṃ sejjāyarass' egassa sāhiya-sabbhāvo payattho Suvanna-bhūmiṃ jattha ya kira tesim (MS. te taṃ) sisassa sīso Sāgaracando nāma sūrī samattho viharai. patto ya pottiyāṇam-antiyaṃ kameṇa (MS. kā°) Kālagasūrī. teṇā 'vi tehiṃ vi sammā-puvva tti pāhuttio so sāmaṇṇ'ajjaga-paḍivaṃ (MS. °vā) (MS. adds kāla-sūrī) bholavio (MS. bholauviva) Sāgaracando vakkhāṇaṃ. so vi nāṇa-parisaham (MS. mari°)-asahamaṇo puṇo Kālagamaṃ pucchai: kerisaṃ me vakkhāṇaṃ. so bhaṇai: sundaraṃ.

io ya Kālagasīsēhiṃ savvattha gottiyā sūriṇo na ya kaḥiṃ pi laddhā suddhī. tao te lajjā (*read* laggā?) sejjāyarassa. teṇā 'vi nibbandho tti paḍisāhio tesim sabbhāvo. tao savve vi Kālagasīsā Suvanna-bhūmiṃ jau caliā. taṃ va vṇdaṃ (so MS.!) vajjantaṃ logo pucchai. te bhaṇanti: Kālagayāriyā Suvanna-bhūmiṃ gamissanti. saṃpattā ya sigghayara-jant'āvantaj-jaṇa-parapaṇā (*read* °rāe?) Sāgaracandassa vattā jahā: Kālagayāriyā āgacchanti.

tao Sāgara-khamaṇo bhaṇai: ajjayā kiṃ saccam jaṃ samāgacchai (MS. gamā°) piyāmaho. teṇa bhaṇiyaṃ: na jāṇāmi, mae vi suyaṃ.

Sāgaro (MS. jogaro) bhaṇai: ajjayā suṭṭhu paṇḍiyao summai so me piyāmaho. Kālogo bhaṇai: kiṃ me eṇaṃ (MS. yaṇaṃ), paṇḍiyā c' eva viyānanti paṇḍiyāṃ; ajja (MS. ajjha) mama tāvā 'niccayaṃ (MS. nīvvaya) vakkhāṇesu (MS. vaṃkkhā°).

Sāgaro bhaṇai: annaṃ kiṃ ci visama-payatthaṃ (MS. eya°) vakkhāṇāvesu (MS. °ṇovesu). Kālageṇa bhaṇiyaṃ: na visama(MS. visema) payattham-avagacchāmi. Sāgaro bhaṇai: jai evaṃ tā suṇesu, taṃ ciya sāhemi:

dhamma (MS. dhamma) karehu mā (MS. ma) mūḍha (MS. °ḍhā) acchahu (MS. °huṃ)
cancalu (MS. °la) jīviu jovvaṇu peccahu

dhamma ji kāraṇu kammuhu dacchahu (*read* datthuhu?) mokkhahuṃ taṃ puṇu guru-yaṇu pucchahu.

souṃ ce 'maṃ bhaṇiyaṃ Kālageṇa: n'atth' ettha koi dhammo, pamāṇa-rahio tti khara(MS. vera) visāṇaṃ va paccakkho jeṇa na so, tay-abhāve nā 'ṇumeo vi.

tao ajjo piyamahā'ṇukārī esa khalu ko vi khaḍḍikaro (MS. ḍokaro) tti saṃjāyā'sanko Sāgaro bhaṇai: n'atthi dhammo tti vottuṃ jujjai jīhāe na-uṇa juttīe jeṇa pakkha-kajjā dhammā'dhammā (MS. dhammadha°) vi paccakkhā, avi ya:

rūva-mai'suha-samiddhī	dāṇ'āi visesao sa-puṇṇāṇaṃ
vipphurai vasu-kkārō (<i>read</i> kkārā?)	niya-nīvvā te (MS. <i>blurred</i>) vi n' annesiṃ
iya dhammā'dhamma-phalaṃ	paccakkhaṃ jeṇa dīsae sāhu
tā mottum-ahammaṃ (MS. uha°) āyareṇa dhammaṃ ciya karesu.	

evaṃ ca satth'attha (MS. aṃttha) viṇoṇa citthanti te jāva kaivaya vāsarāṇi tāva sampattā tattha Kālaga'sīsā. te ya datthūṇa abbhutthio Sāgaracandasūri. pucchio ya so tehiṃ: āgayā (MS. adds sa) khamā'samaṇā iha kei na va. souṃ sankiṃ so bhaṇai: na jāṇāmi khamā'samaṇā, ajjau puṇa ekko āgao; teṇ' āgantu kāmo siṭṭho (MS. siddho) sūri.

etth' antarammi ya viyāra bhūmīo āgao Kālagasūri. abbhutthiṃ ca pāhuṇaya sāhūhiṃ vandiu bhāva'sāraṃ saṃjāya'sanke vayatthiyāle Sāgaracande . . . (MS. indicates brief lacuna) keṇa: ko eso. tehiṃ bhaṇiyāṃ: Kālaga (MS. Kāla) sūri, tao sa saṃbhamāṃ pāyā'valaggo (MS. °latto) Sāgaracandasūri: micchāmi dukkaḍaṃ jaṃ mae āsāiyāṃ ti bhaṇanto sammaṃ piyāmahe khāmei. bhaṇai savilakkho: bhagavaṃ jai vi mukkho (MS. su°) 'haṃ tahā vi kerisaṃ vakkhāṇemi. Kālagasūrihiṃ: viladdhaṃ kiṃ tu mā gavvaṃ vihejjāsu tti vottuṃ karāvio somaṃ (read sāmaṃ ?) ṭhāviṇ' egattha (MS. egacchala) vāluyāe chulajjaṃ. tao vi uddhariṃ pakkhivavio (MS. pakkheva°) annattha samāthāvio (MS. mamā°) jatteṇa (MS. °no) kiṃ ci so evaṃ ca vāraṃ vāreṇa ūṇayaro ūṇatamo tti saccavāviṃ bhaṇiu sūrihiṃ (MS. °haṃ) pottao (MS. °aum) : bhadda vāluga pattha sarisaṃ suyaṃ gaṇaharāṇaṃ c' eva saṃpuṇṇaṃ, sesāṇaṃ puṇṇaṃ kama kameṇa parihiyamāṇaṃ, jao coddasa puvvadharā vi bhagavanto chaṭṭhāṇa vāḍiyā kahijjanti kiṃ puṇa sesā. tā na jutto kāusa yāṇ'ams'unnāo (MS. unao). bhaṇiyaṃ ca:

mā vahau koi gavvaṃ

ā savvaṇṇu (MS. sava°) mayāo

ettha jae paṇḍio (MS. yaṃḍiu) ahaṃ (MS. jjihaṃ) c'eva

taratama (MS. ratama) jogeṇa mai vibhavā.

IV

evaṃ ca suya samiddho

Kālagasūri Sakkeṇa vandio ettha, bhaṇiyaṃ ca:

Simandhara bhaṇaṇāo

Kālagasūri vi daḍhaṃ

vicitta varaehiṃ āgama pasiddho

nigoya (MS. niya) kahaṇeṇa rakkhiyavvo vva

sa vimhayaṃ vandio Hariṇā.

V

kiṃ ca. atthi ih' eva Bhārahe vāse Turamaṇi (MS. °umiṇi) nayarie Jiyasattū rāyā. tassa ya Kālayasūri bhagiṇie Bhaddabambhaṇie suo Datto nāma olaggei (MS. ula°). teṇa ya savva dosa nihiṇā vasi kayā savve vi Jiyasattu sevagā. tao uvvāsio rāyā. samahitthiyaṃ (MS. °ya) se rajjaṃ. mahārajja lābh'āi nimittaṃ ca pāraddha maṇāviḥā jaṇo (read pāraddha maṇo 'vihā jaṇo?).

aṇṇayā ya viharamāṇo aṇeṇa'sisa parivāro samosario se māmago Kālagajjo (MS. Kālapajjo hi). pāraddhaṃ cā 'neṇa vakkhāṇaṃ. dhamma satthā kouhal'āie ya sampattā nāgarayā. loga paramparāe (MS. evamparāe) bhāuṇo āgamaṇaṃ soṇa bhaṇiu Datto Bhaddāe: vaccha tuha māulau paḍivanna sāhu lingo ih' āgao (MS. ihageo). tā taṃ gantuṃ paṇamaṃ (MS. °mattu), avi ya:

ekkaṃ (MS. ekka) so tuha māmo

taiyaṃ saṃgahiya vao

vīyaṃ viusehiṃ (MS. ṭhiōe°) pūiyo (MS. pui°) puṇṇo

tā puttaya namasu (MS. putta naya nasu) taṃ sāhuṃ.

jaṇaṇi uvarohēṇa (MS. uvarāhoṇa) ya payatto (MS. °yattho) Datto patto tam uddesaṃ, pucchio Kāliyajjao jaṇṇāṇa phalaṃ. bhagavayā vi sāhiyaṃ: pañc'indiya vāheṇaṃ naraga gamaṇaṃ puṇo jaṇṇāṇa phalaṃ. duya vārāe (MS. rārāe) pucchiyaṃ ca. bhagavayā vi sāhio: ahimsā lakkhāṇo dhammo. taiya (MS. °yā) vārāe puṭṭheṇa sāhiyaṃ (MS. °ya): pāva kammāṇa narayāi phalaṃ. cauttha vāraṃ ruṭṭheṇa bhaṇiyaṃ Datteṇa: bho kim evaṃ asamanjasāṃ (MS. evavasama°) palavasi. jai kiṃ ci muṇasi tā jaṇṇāṇa phalaṃ sāhesu. bhagavayā bhaṇiyaṃ: jai evaṃ tā naraya phalā jannā jeṇa (MS. jaṇa) mahā rambhayāe pariggahiyāe kuṇim āhāreṇaṃ pañc'indiya vāheṇaṃ (MS. pañcavidya°) jivā narayā uyaṃ kammaṃ nivvattanti. eyāṇi ya jaṇṇa karaṇe sampajjanti.

souṃ ce maṃ saṃjāya roseṇa bhaṇiyaṃ Datteṇa: kahaṃ viyāṇasi mahā naraga phalā (MS. °lo) jannā. bhagavayā bhaṇiyaṃ: nāṇā isayāu. Datteṇa bhaṇiyaṃ: sattama diyahe kumbhī pāgeṇa paccihi tumāṃ. teṇa bhaṇiyaṃ: ettha vi ko paccāo.

sāhunā bhaṇiyaṃ ca : tammi c' eva sattama·dīṇe paḍhama·asuṇā viṭṭālijjihisi samuppaṇṇa·kouvā' ṇaleṇa (MS. nale°) ya. puṇo vi bhaṇiyaṃ Datteṇa : katto muhamucca (*read* tuha maccū?). muṇiṇā bhaṇiyaṃ : niruvasaggaṃ vihariūṇā 'haṃ kaya·kālo deva·logaṃ gamissāmi. souṃ ce 'maṃ kuvio Datto : are pavvaiyāha (*read* pavvajjijjaha ?) mame 'yaṃ sua·suvvayaṇaṃ su·rakkhiyaṃ ka·rejjaha, jeṇa sattama·vāsare (MS. vārasara) eyaṃ ciya kumbhio payāmi (MS. yayāni) tti jojiūṇa rakkhiya·nare dhavalā·davāviu paḍaho, jahā : na satta vāsaraṇi jāva nayaṛie puriso ujjhiyavvo. sattama·dīṇe ya nirohāsahittuṇa (*read* sahiṇhuṇā ?) mālieṇ' egeṇa rāya·magge ujjhiūṇa purisaṃ ṭhaiyaṃ puṣpa·karaṇḍaenaṃ. voliṇāṇi ya satta·vāsaraṇi tti sammam·ayāṇanto Datto sattame cciya vāsare (MS. vvā°) āsayaḍayareṇa (*read* āsa·yaḍaya·rathena ?) payatto (MS. °yaṭṭho) sāhu·vahāo turiya·khura·khuraṇaya·asuṇā (*read* khunṇa·asuṇā ?) hasanto viṭṭālio. tao aho saṃvaio pāva·sama·ṇass' āeso tti maṇṇamāṇo so bhaya·bhio payatto (MS. °yaṭṭho) niya·geḥā·bhimuho. tattha ya pavitṭho dussajjo tti maṇṇamāṇehiṇi (MS. °ṇāhiṇi) viratta·cittetiṇi sa·su (MS. sa) bhaḍehiṇi van·ciūṇa puṇv'āṇiya·Jiyasattuṇo samuvaṇiū Datto. teṇā 'vi tellāsūriya (?)·isu·ṇaha·saṇāyā (?) ekka·vallie (?) choiṇa·ekko (?) dukkha·maccuṇā ya mao samāṇo so gau naragaṃ ti.

Kālayasūri vi vihiṇā kālaṃ kāuṇa gao deva·logaṃ. cha.

Kālagāyariu tti gayam. cha.

ANALYSIS

In the city of Ujjayinī was King Dappaṇa (Darpaṇa), nicknamed Gaddahilla (Gardabhilla) because a yogin had given him a magic art named Gaddahī (Gardabhī). This when summoned appeared as a she-ass and when she cried out every two-footed and four-footed enemy within hearing distance would fall down dead vomiting blood.

At that time the *sūri* Kālaka came to Ujjayinī delighting the folk with his preaching. With him was his sister the nun Silamāi (Śilamatī). Gardabhilla saw her and had her abducted for his harem. The protests of Kālaka and of the Sangha were unavailing. Kālaka swore an oath to uproot Gardabhilla. Then he dressed himself as a madman and went babbling about the city, then went to the Persian bank (Pārasakūla).

There he went to the court of a *sāhi*, a feudatory of the *sāhānusāhi*. Once a message came from the *sāhānusāhi* with a sword and a bowl (?). The *sāhi* was in despair, for this was a message to kill himself. But at Kālaka's suggestion he went to take Gardabhilla's kingdom. He got as allies the kings of Lāḍa (Lāṭa, Cutch), who had been insulted by Gardabhilla, and besieged Ujjayinī. Gardabhilla summoned the She-Ass magic, but Kālaka foiled it by stationing beside the city wall 108 sharp-shooters, who stood there with drawn bows, and shot as soon as the She-Ass opened its mouth, thus filling the mouth with arrows before a sound could emerge. Thus he took Ujjayinī, drove out Gardabhilla, reestablished his sister in the discipline and himself returned to his gaccha.

II

Balamitra, Kālaka's nephew, was established king of Ujjayinī by the *sāhi* kings, and Balamitra's younger brother, Bhānumitra, was heir-apparent. They had a sister named Bhānūsri, who had a son named Balabhānu. Once when Kālaka came to Ujjayinī, Balabhānu heard him preach, was converted, and entered the order. Kālaka (presuming upon his relationship as great-uncle) did not ask the preliminary permission of the boy's guardians (the two brothers) and initiated him. The two brothers were angry, but Kālaka did not pay any attention to their discourtesies.

The royal chaplain Gangādhara, jealous of Kālaka, slyly warned the king that disaster would befall the kingdom if the *sūri* remained there; for people would be bound to walk before him or tread upon his footprints, and thus great sin would result. The king then had the folk in the city give the monks improper food. Kālaka, recognizing the king's intention, left for Pratiṣṭhāna, where King Salavāhana reigned, a devoted lay disciple.

At this time the Paryuṣaṇa season arrived, and the festival was due on the fifth day of the light fortnight of the month Bhādrapada. On that day a festival to Indra was also being celebrated in Pratiṣṭhāna. The king asked Kālaka to celebrate the Paryuṣaṇa on the sixth. Kālaka explained

that the Paryuṣaṇā celebration could not come later than the fifth. The king then asked that it be set on the fourth. To this Kālaka agreed. Śālavahana then instructed his queens to prepare the breakfast for the monks at the conclusion of their fast. From that time on there has been a festival in the Maratha land called *savaṇa-sūhava* (*śramaṇa-subhaga*).

III

There was a *sūri* at Ujjayinī named Kālaka whose many disciples became disobedient. The *sūri* left them one night, having first told the keeper of the monks' rest hall where he was going. He set out toward Suvarṇabhūmi, where lived his disciple's disciple the *sūri* Sāgaracandra. The latter, never having seen Kālaka, did not recognize him and engaged in argument with him. Meanwhile the disciples repented and came to seek Kālaka. They came to Sāgaracandra's residence, and he said he had not seen Kālaka. Just then Kālaka came in from the latrine. The disciples arose before him. Then Sāgaracandra was abashed, asked pardon, and was admonished by Kālaka with the parable of the heap of sand, to show him how knowledge has steadily diminished from the time of the Gaṇadharas, so that now it is very small. Sāgaracandra should not be vain of his knowledge.

IV

There was a *sūri* Kālaka who expounded the nigoda doctrine to Śakra and was adored by him.

V

In the city of Turamanī was King Jitaśatru, whose queen, Bhadrabrāhmaṇī, was a sister of the *sūri* Kālaka. She had a son named Datta, a repository of all evils. He won over the king's ministers and then drove the king out of the country, and himself took over the rulership, to the dissatisfaction of the people.

Once, when Kālaka came to the city, Bhadrabrāhmaṇī urged Datta to go hear him. Datta asked Kālaka about the fruit of (animal) sacrifices. Kālaka answered, "From the killing of the five-sensed creatures there results hell-going as the fruit of sacrifices." Again Datta asked. Kālaka replied, "Non-injury (*ahiṃsā*) is the essence of religion." A third time Datta asked. Kālaka replied, "Hell and such like is the fruit of evil works."

A fourth time Datta, now angered, said to Kālaka, "Here, what is the use of talking such idle stuff. If you know anything about it, tell me the fruit of sacrifices." Kālaka answered, "In that case from eating flesh and taking life souls get life in hell. These results accompany sacrifices."

Datta, angered, said, "How do you know that sacrifices have hell as their fruit?" Kālaka said, "From the perfection of my knowledge."

"On the seventh day you will be cooked in a pot. Did you know that?"

The monk said, "And on that very same seventh day you shall be defiled with the first impurity (urine) and with a fire arising from faeces."

He asked the monk if he knew when he would die and the monk said that when he had filled his time he would die and go to heaven. The king ordered the monk to be well guarded.

The king then had a drum sounded in the city to announce that no excrement was to be voided inside the city for seven days. On the seventh day a gardener, unable to restrain himself, voided excrement on the highway and put it in a flower basket. The king, when the seven days had passed, knowing nothing of this, on that very seventh day set out in a horse-conveyance (?) to kill the *sūri*, and while laughing he was defiled by the excrement splashed (?) by the horses' hoofs. Then he thought it due to the *sūri*'s curse, became frightened, and turned back home. There his men-at-arms, thinking the king's day was done, seized him, called back Jitaśatru and turned over Datta to him. Datta died a fearsome death and went to hell. Kālaka finished out his time and went to heaven.

CHAPTER IX LEXICAL NOTES

In working through the various versions of the Kālakācārya legend of the Śvetāmbara Jains, I have noted a number of new or rare words in Sanskrit, Jāina Māhārāṣṭrī, and Apabhraṃśa, new meanings for words already recorded, meanings hitherto recorded only from lexical sources, and new formations from bases already listed.

References to the texts are by italic numerals (1, 2, 3, etc.) which correspond with the numbers given the versions in chapter III, "Recensions of the Kālakācāryakathā."

My notes are made with special reference to two works, which are cited with abbreviations:

P.S.M. Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo, by Pandit Har Govind Das T. Sheth. 4 vols. Calcutta, 1923-1928.

Pischel Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, by R. Pischel. Strassburg, 1900.

The notes follow. The abbreviation "st." is for "stanza."

SANSKRIT

āpāka, m., rare word, "baking-oven, kiln" (6, st. 86).

āvāha, m. in *iṣṭikāvāha* (see below); from Pkt. *āvāha* (see below), "kiln" (17).

iṣṭikā, f., "brick" (13, st. 32).

iṣṭikāpāka, m., "a burning of bricks, brick-kiln" (7, st. 17).

iṣṭikāvāha, m., idem (17).

uddāha, m., from Pkt. *uddāha* (Skt. **uddāha*), "calumny, censure," see in Schmidt's Nachträge . . . to pw: *ye pratyanīkā jinaśāsanaśya, saṅghasya ye cāśubhavarṇavācaḥ, upekṣakoḍḍāhakārā dharāyāṃ, teṣāṃ ahaṃ yāmi gatim sadāiva* (13, st. 20).

chaṇa, m., from Pkt. *chaṇa* (Skt. *kṣaṇa*), "injury, destruction": *pañcādihikāyā navater nṛpāṇāṃ, mamāmurūpaś chaṇa eva bhartuḥ* (13, st. 28: variants *chaṇu*, *paṇa*, *ṛṇa*, *chala*).

jalla, m. (?), from Pkt. *jalla* (see in P.S.M.), "dirt from body, dried sweat": *taṭaḥkṛśāṃ jallabharātījīrṇavastrāṃ vimuñcāsu mama svasāram* (13, st. 16).

pūt √ *kṛ*, see Schmidt's Nachträge, "wail": *śrīKālikācārya sahodara tvam, pūtkurvatī hī jinaśāsaneśa* (13, st. 11).

bahir √ *i*, "go to latrine": (*Sarasvatī*) *yānti bahiḥ* (9, st. 6).

bahirbhūmi, f., "latrine": (6, st. 75); synonym of *viyāra-bhūmi*, which appears in several Pkt. versions.

bahirya, n. (?), "latrine, visiting the latrine": (*Kālakasūrim*) *āyāntaṃ bahiryāt* (10, st. 60).

bāhyabhūmi, f., "latrine": *sādhvīsametā 'pi gatā 'tha bāhyabhūmāu narendreṇa nirīkṣitā sā* (13, st. 10).

bhāṇḍivāha, m., (cf. *bhāṇḍivāha* cited lexically in Monier-Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary to mean "barber," involving *bhāṇḍi* "razor-case"; cf. Pkt. *bhaṇḍiya* below) "barber" (?): *yatrāsti rājā svayam eva cāuro, bhāṇḍivāho yatra purohitaś ca, vanaṃ bhajedhvam namu nāgarā bho, yataḥ śaranyād bhayam atra jātam* (13, st. 15).

śramin, adj. and m., "ascetic": *nareśvarabhujacchāyām āsṛitya śramiṇaḥ sukhān, nirbhayā dharmakāryāṇi kurvate svāny anantaram* (1, st. 22).

PRAKRIT

aiṇajja, adj., not in P.S.M., *ai-aṇajja* (Skt. *ati-anārya*; cf. Jacobi, Z.D.M.G. 34.297), “most unworthy”: *sūrihiṇi tao bhaṇio re re pāvīṭṭha duṭṭha nillajja aiṇajja-kajja-ujjama-sajja mahārajja-pabbhaṭṭha* (1, st. 47).

aṭṭāraga, m. (?), not in P.S.M., cf. Pkt. *aṭṭāлага*, °*laya* (Skt. *aṭṭālaka*), “watch tower” (16).

aṇuguniyavva, grdv., not in P.S.M., from Pkt. base **aṇugun* (corresponding to Skt. *anugunya*), “must be conformed to”: *aṇuguniyavvo pañca-namokkāro* (1, p. 44, line 25).

asujjhanta, pcpl., not in P.S.M., from *a-sujjhanta* (pres. pcpl. of base *sujjh*, passive from Skt. *√śudh*), “impure”: *tao purohiteṇa bhaṇiyam: deva kīrau savvattha nayare aṇesaṇā, tīe ya kayāe asujjhante bhatta-pāṇe sayam eva viharissanti* (1, p. 45, line 16, J’s MS. read *asujja*°).

ahivatta, n. (?), not in P.S.M., which with Jacobi takes the form to be *āhivatta*, derived from Skt. *ādhipatya*, although this would normally give *āhivacca* (for the dubious character of the equation Pkt. *tta*=Skt. *tya* see Pischel 281); I suggest as derivation Pkt. *ahipa*(°*va*)-*tta* (Skt. **adhipatva*), “suzerainty”: *uvavīṭṭho lalamāṇo varīṭṭha-tiyasā’hivatta-riddhīe, āloiya loy’addham viulenam ohi nāṇeṇam* (1, st. 126; J., st. 124).

āpāga (in *iṭṭagāpāga*), m., not in P.S.M., from Skt. *āpāka* (cf. Pkt. *āvāga*), “a burning of bricks, baking-oven, kiln” (3, st. 49).

āra, m., not in P.S.M., from Skt. *ādara* (see Leumann, Z.D.M.G. 37.515; Pischel 165), “attention, respect” (11, st. 80; 12, st. 35).

āvāya (in *iṭṭāvāya*), m., from Skt. *āpāka* (not Skt. *āvāpa*, as in P.S.M.), “a burning of bricks, baking-oven, kiln” (2, st. 46).

āvāha (in *kumbhakārāvāha*, variant °*āvaha*), m., not in P.S.M., from Skt. *āpāka* (for a few cases of Skt. *ka* becoming J.M. Pkt. *ha* see Pischel, 206), “a burning of bricks, baking-oven, kiln”: *suvaṇṇikāṭṭha savvaṇṇi kumbhakārāvāhaṇi* (1, p. 41, line 26). Synonyms in other versions are Pkt. (*iṭṭ*-) *āvāya* and (*iṭṭag*) *āpāga* and Skt. *āpāka* and *āvāha*, for all of which see above.

āsāyaṇā, f., in the B MSS. of 1, including Jacobi’s MS. there appears in st. 54 the form *āsāyaṇāu*, which might be masculine, but the stem is clearly feminine in st. 86; Jacobi derives from Skt. *āsādana*, P.S.M. from Skt. **āsātanā*, which is perhaps preferable, “doing injury”: *siri-samaṇa-sangha-āsāyaṇāe pāventi jaṇi duhaṇi* (1, st. 54); *guru-paya-akkamaṇeṇam mahā āsāyaṇā jao havai* (1, st. 86).

uddhara, adj., to meanings given in P.S.M. add “puffed up, elated”: *tao doṇham pi dapp’uddhura-sennāṇam laggam āohaṇam* (1, p. 41, line 29).

ummattala (in *ummattali-hūa*), adj., not in P.S.M., from Skt. *ummatta* contaminated by Skt. *grahita*, “insane”: *tahe Kālagajjo kavaḍeṇ’ ummattali-hūo . . . hiṇḍai* (16, p. 102).

ullanṭha, adj., wrong reading in B MSS. (including Jacobi’s) of 1 (J, p. 272) for *ullanṭha*; the word should be killed in P.S.M., which cites it from only this passage. See p. 47, line 27.

ūraṇa, adj., not in P.S.M., from Skt. *an-ṛṇa* (see Leumann, Z.D.M.G., vol. 37, pp. 494, 515), “free of debt”: *jāo . . . Vikkamāicco mahī jeṇ’ ūraṇi kayā* (11, st. 63); *jāo Vikkama-rāo puhaṇi jeṇ’ ūraṇi vihiyā* (12, st. 31); cf. *sa . . . medinim anṛṇāṇi kṛtvā ’cīkarad vatsaram nijam* (8, st. 91).

kaccaḍa or °*ḍā*, m. or f. (?), not in P.S.M., possibly same as Pkt. *kaccarā*, “dirt, slander”; but perhaps used to mean “difficulty” (cf. *kiccheṇa*, p. 91, st. 88; and *kṛcchrād*, “with difficulty,” in Priyadarśikā IV, 9): *pisuṇā cacciyaṇva-maha-kaccaḍam karissanti* (14, st. 33).

kārai, causative of *kar* (Skt. *√kr*), this form of causative not in P.S.M.: *purohio sūri-niggam’ovāc kārai aṇesaṇ’āiṇi* (12, st. 35).

khaḍikkara, *khaḍikara*, n., derived from Skt. *skhalī* *√kr*; cf. Pkt. *khaliyāra* and Apabhraṃśa *khaṭi* *√kr* (Jacobi, Sanatkumāracaritam, Abhandl. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissen., Philos.-philol. und histor. Klasse, Vol. 31, Abhandl. 2, p. 116, 1921). The meaning is “tripper up,” “trickster.” Found in 1, p. 48, line 28, and in 16, p. 104.

khetta, pf. pass. pcpl., not in P.S.M. for *khitta*, Skt. *kṣipta*, “cast, put” (12, st. 6).

cappu or *cappū*, m. or f. (?), not in P.S.M., related to Pkt. *cappuḍi*, *cappuḍiyā*, "pinch, small quantity": *to jogācunna-cappuṇṇ mittanṇ pakkhivī* (read °vai) *iṭṭagāpāgaṇṇ* (3, st. 49; in 1 the word is *cahuṇṭiyā*, p. 41, line 25).

tanta, n., from Skt. *tantra*; to meanings in P.S.M. add that of "spell, charm": *tao Kālayasūri iṭṭho egassa sāhino samāve āvajjio ya so manta-tanā'āliṇṇ* (1, p. 40, line 13).

naraya, m.-f., for Pkt. *nārāya* (Skt. *nāraka*), "inhabitant of hell": *naraya-tirikkha-kumāṇṇusa-kudeva-gaṇṇamaṇa-saṇṇkaḍ'āvaḍio* (1, st. 52). Possibly the first vowel is shortened metri causa.

nānīh, verb, not in P.S.M., onomatopoeic, "to bray": *jayā esā gaddahī nānīh-kāmā tayā muhaṇṇ pasārcchi* (16, p. 103).

niraisaya, adj., from Skt. *niratisaya*, means "degenerate" (Jacobi "kümmerlich") not "sarvādhika" as in P.S.M.: *bhayavaṇṇ Bhārahavāse iya suhuma-nigoya-vannaṇaṇṇ kāmṇ, kiṇṇ muṇṇai ko vi sampai niraisae dūsamā-kāle* (1, st. 131 J., st. 129); *niraisae vi hu kāle nāṇaṇṇ viṇṇhurai nimmalanṇ jassa, vimhāviya telokkanṇ tassa namo hou tuha sāmī* (1, st. 144; J., st. 142).

nivāyai, verb, equivalent to Pkt. *nivāḍai*, °dei, causative of Skt. *ni√pat* (for Pkt. *pāḍai* as causative of Skt. *√pat*, cf. Pischel 553), "to cause (jaw) to fall, open": *jayā iyaṇṇ rāsahī sadda-karaṇ'attham muhaṇṇ nivāyai tayā akaya-saddāe ceva eyāe tubbhe narāheṇṇ muhaṇṇ bharejjaha* (1, p. 42, line 14).

pairicchan (*pairittham*), adv., not in P.S.M., from Skt. *pratirathyam* (both Pkt. forms admissible, see Pischel 280; for assimilation of vowels cf. Pischel 177), "along the highways": *bhamai ummatta-veso pairiccham* (B MSS. °rittham) *imo tti cavamāṇo* (12, st. 10); for meaning note *tiya-caukka-mahāpaha-tṭhāṇesu ya imam palavanto luṇḍai* (1, p. 39, line 25).

pāmari, m. or f. (?), not in P.S.M., equivalent to Pkt. *pāmara* or fem. *pāmari*, "farmer": *sāli-vaṇa-rakkhaṇ'ujjaya-pāmari-gijjanta-mahura-giēhiṇṇ* (1, st. 41).

pāventi, verb, present of Pkt. *pāv* (Skt. *pra√āp*); P.S.M. records no present type except *pāvai*. See 1, st. 54.

bhaṇḍiya, m., not in P.S.M., from Skt. *bhāṇḍika* (lexical citations only), "barber"; see above under Skt. *bhāṇḍivaha*: *jattha rāyā sayanṇ coro bhaṇḍio ya purohio, disanṇ bhayaha nāgarayā jayanṇ saraṇao bhayanṇ* (5, st. 20).

bhūi, f., from Skt. *bhūti*; to meanings given in P.S.M. add "magic power": *Gaddahilleṇa ya sui-bhūiṇā houṇṇ sumariya gaddahi-vijjā* (16, p. 103).

viṭṭha, m., not in P.S.M., from Skt. **viṣṭha* (from *vi√sthā*), with meaning of "resistance" (both derivation and meaning tentative): *ittha na sandhi na viṭṭho ko vi uvāo vi vijjāe n' eya* (14, st. 46).

viḍahara, n., not in P.S.M., possibly from Skt. *viḍ-grha(ghara)*, parallel form to Pkt. *viṭṭhāhara*. There may be confusion between Skt. *viḍa*, meaning a purgative salt, and *viḍ*, a compositional form of *viṣ* "excrement"; the salt *viḍa* is commonly known as Vitlaban or Bitnoben, and the Skt. *viḍlavāṇa* is cited lexically. The word *viḍahara* would translate well as "latrine": *etth' antarammi ya sāhi-purisa-damsiya-viḍahare gao dūo* (1, p. 40, line 20). Jacobi renders "Absteigequartier" and derives questioningly from Skt. *viṭa-ghara* (which I should think would mean "whorehouse") or Skt. *piṭa-ghara* (storehouse"?). Cf. also Pkt. *jhaḍa-tti* for Skt. *jhaṭiti*.

visajjāve-, causative stem of Pkt. *visajj* (Skt. *vi√srj*); P.S.M. records only *visajje-* for causative stem, but the gerund *visajjāviṇṇa* appears in 1 (p. 44, line 8).

veluya, adj., from Skt. *vāluka*; we seem to have here a case of Skt. *ā* represented in Pkt. by *e*, a correspondence which I do not find in Pischel, but cf. Pkt. *dera* for Pkt. *dāra* (from Skt. *dvāra*), and see Pischel 112. The word hardly seems to be the Pkt. *veluya* which is for Skt. *venuka* "bamboo pipe." The meaning is "of sand": *veluya-patthayao te bohiya sūri bhaṇai evaṇṇ* (14, st. 111); cf. at the corresponding point in the story *ammayā vāluyāe patthayanṇ bharāvittā . . .* (1, p. 50, line 18).

Sagakūla, *Pārasakūla*, *paścimapārsvakūla*, *Sakakūla*, n., "Saka-bank, Persian bank, western bank, Saka bank." These Prakrit and Sanskrit words occur synonymously in the versions to indicate the place from which the *sāhis* came to Surat and Malwa. This group makes clear that the

Saka-bank is the western, Persian, bank of the Indus, rather than its delta, as is understood by Rapson (Cambridge History of India I.532), and also that the element *kūla* is hardly likely to represent a "misunderstood foreign word," as is suggested by Konow (Kharoshthi Inscriptions, being volume 2, part 1 of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, p. xxvii, 1929). The region seems to be the modern Seistan.

sami, m., "monk," derived in P.S.M. from Skt. *śamin*, but perhaps better taken from Skt. *śramin*, for which see above.

saṃbhāsi, stem appearing only in MS. of 1 (st. 55) published by Jacobi, and cited from his edition in P.S.M. All other MSS. show a stem *saṃbhāsa*, and the word *saṃbhāsi* should be killed.

sāraṇiya, adj. or m., not in P.S.M., from Skt. *śāraṇika*, "coming for protection": *jaha saraṇam uvagayāṇaṃ jīvāṇa nikintae sire joo, evaṃ sāraṇiyāṇaṃ āyario asārao gacche* (1, st. 114; J., st. 112).

√sāh used with *viḥḥaṇi* means "effect, conjure up," and is derived from Skt. *√sādh*; it is to be distinguished from Pkt. *√sāh* derived from Skt. *√śās*: *Gaddabhillo uvavāsaṃ kāūṇa gaddabhīṇi mahāvijjaṇi sāhai* (1, p. 42, line 8); notice at corresponding point of story in another version: *sa gardhabhīṇi sādhaṇatīha vidyāṃ* (13, st. 44).

simālaya, adj. and m., not in P.S.M., from Skt. *śīmālaya*, "situated at the border, border-lands"; cf. Pkt. *śīmāla*: *sāmattheṇaṇi śīmālae ganjei aggaṇi je* (14, st. 44).

sesīhūa, pf. pass. pcpl., not in P.S.M., from Skt. *śeṣībhūta*, "had a remainder" (1, p. 50, line 19; Jacobi's MS. incorrectly reads *sesīhūo*).

APABHRAṂŚA

ittilaya, demonstrative pronoun, not in P.S.M., from Apabhraṃśa and J.M. Pkt. *ittiya* (equivalent to *cttiya*, for derivation of which see Pischel 153 and Jacobi, Sanatkumāracaritam, Abh. Bayerischen Akad. Wiss. Philos.-philol. und hist. Klasse, vol. 31, Abh. 2, p. 111, 1921) with infixed pejorative suffix *-la* (**ayat*, **ayattya*, **ayattiya*, *ettiya*, *ittiya*, *ittilaya*), "such a base thing": *anna'tthī āsatta-maṇa je ittilaṇi karenti taha* (read *taham*?) *saṃgāmi mahabbhaḍaḥa* (read *°ham*?) *kara-thakkā na vahanti* (1, st. 23, at end, being lines found only in B MSS.).

ṇunna, pf. pass. pcpl., not in P.S.M., from Skt. *munna* (*√nud*): *dhaṇu pariyaṇu sayāṇu pavāṇa-ṇunna-ghaṇa-paḍala-vibbhamu* (1, st. 104; Jacobi had a corrupt MS. and printed this as prose).

naya, m., not in P.S.M., from Skt. *nada*, "river": *tārunna naya-vega-samu* (1, st. 104; Jacobi had a corrupt MS. and printed this as prose).

CHAPTER X

ILLUSTRATIONS¹

The illustrations are listed according to the chronological order of the manuscripts from which they have been taken, except for Plate 10. In the case of the undated manuscripts the chronological position I have assigned them is naturally not entirely certain.

FROM PALM-LEAF MANUSCRIPTS

PLATE I

- FIG. 1. A Tīrthakara.
From MS. 6.2, the Jñātasūtra and the next three Aṅgas of the Śvetāmbara canon, with the commentary of Abhayadeva *Sūri*, in the Śāntinātha temple (Nagin Dās) Bhaṇḍār, Cambay. Dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1184 (A. D. 1127).
- FIG. 2. The goddess Sarasvatī (or Cakreśvarī ?).
From the same MS. as Fig. 1.
- FIG. 3. A Tīrthakara (Nemi ?).
From MS. 18.1, Hemacandra's Nemīcaritra, in the Śāntinātha temple (Nagin Dās) Bhaṇḍār, Cambay. Dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1298 (?) (A. D. 1241).
- FIG. 4. The goddess Ambikā.
From the same MS. as Fig. 3.

PLATE 2

- FIG. 5. Monk and disciple.
From folio 2 recto, left-hand side of MS. of the Sāvaga-pāḍīkammaṇa-sutta-cuṇṇi, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1317 (A. D. 1260).
- FIG. 6. The goddess Sarasvatī.
From folio 2 recto, right-hand side of same MS. as Fig. 5.

PLATE 3

- FIG. 7. Two monks.
From MS. 234, Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā, in the Sanghavīke-pāḍāka Bhaṇḍār, Patan. Dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1335 (A. D. 1278).
- FIG. 8. Two laywomen.
From same MS. as Fig. 7.
- FIG. 9. The god Śakra.
From folio 151 verso of MS. 4.2, Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā, in the Sanghākā Bhaṇḍār, Patan. Dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1336 (A. D. 1279).
- FIG. 10. A goddess (Ambikā ?).
From folio 152 recto of the same MS. as Fig. 9.

¹ The illustrations are reproduced in the natural size of the originals.

FROM PAPER MANUSCRIPTS

PLATE 4

- FIG. 11. Tīrthakara (Mahāvīra ?) in *hrīmkāra* symbol.
From folio 1 verso of MS. Sanskrit d. 102, a commentary on Hemacandra's Śab-dānuśāsana, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Not dated, probably late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.
- FIG. 12. The goddess Sarāsvatī in *omkāra* symbol.
From folio 1 verso of the same MS. as Fig. 11.

PLATE 5

- FIG. 13. The god Vishnu on his throne.
From folio 32 recto of a Vaishnava MS., Māghapurāṇa, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Not dated, probably middle of the fifteenth century.

PLATE 6

- FIG. 14. Kālaka receives his parents' permission to become a monk.
From folio 1 recto of a MS. of the Kālakācāryakathā belonging to W. N. Brown. Not dated, probably first half of the fifteenth century.

PLATE 7

- FIG. 15. Kālaka converts the bricks to gold.
From folio 8 recto of the same MS. as Fig. 14.
- FIG. 16. The siege of Ujjain and defeat of the She-Ass magic.
From folio 9 verso of the same MS. as Fig. 14.
- FIG. 17. King Gardabhilla brought captive to Kālaka.
From folio 11 recto of the same MS. as Fig. 14.
- FIG. 18. Kālaka forgives the vainglorious Sāgaracandra.
From folio 21 recto of the same MS. as Fig. 14.

PLATE 8

- FIG. 19. Kālaka with Śakra disguised.
From folio 23 recto of the same MS. as Fig. 14.
- FIG. 20. Kālaka with Śakra revealed.
From folio 24 recto of the same MS. as Fig. 14.
- FIG. 21. Kālaka and the Sāhi.
From folio 94 verso of MS. 38.3.3, Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā, in the Lohar Pol Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedabad. Dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1513 (A. D. 1458).

PLATE 9

- FIG. 22. Kālaka and the Sāhi.
From folio 70 verso of MS. 1632.75, the Kālakācāryakathā, in the Vijaya Dharmā Lakṣmī Jñāna Mandira Library, Agra. Not dated but apparently earlier than Vikrama Saṃvat 1549 (A. D. 1492).

PLATE 10

- FIG. 23. (1) Kālaka exercises the horse; (2) Kālaka in the initiation palanquin.
From folio 73 of MS. 17.2277, Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1554 (A. D. 1497).

- FIG. 24. (1) King Gardabhilla brought captive to Kālaka; (2) Kālaka leaves his disobedient disciples.
From folio 76 of same MS. as Fig. 23.
- FIG. 25. King Gardabhilla in court.
From folio 100 recto of MS. 17.2276, Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Not dated, probably fifteenth or sixteenth century.

PLATE II

- FIG. 26. (1) Kālaka exercises the horse; (2) Kālaka hears Guṇākara preach.
From folio 112 verso of the MS. of the Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington. Not dated, probably second half of fifteenth century or early sixteenth.
- FIG. 27. The abduction of the nun Sarasvatī.
From folio 114 verso of the same MS. as Fig. 26.
- FIG. 28. Kālaka and the Sāhi.
From folio 116 verso of the same MS. as Fig. 26.
- FIG. 29. Kālaka converts the bricks to gold.
From folio 118 verso of the same MS. as Fig. 26.

PLATE 12

- FIG. 30. The siege of Ujjain and defeat of the She-Ass magic.
From folio 120 recto of the same MS. as Fig. 26.

PLATE 13

- FIG. 31. Kālaka with Śakra disguised.
From folio 123 verso of same MS. as Fig. 26.
- FIG. 32. Kālaka with Śakra revealed.
From folio 124 recto of same MS. as Fig. 26.
- FIG. 33. (1) Kālaka and the Sāhi; (2) Kālaka recovers the princes' ball from the well.
From folio 4 recto of MS. 206, Kālakācāryakathā, in the Daśa Osavāla Bhaṇḍār in the Ananta Nātha temple, Bombay. Not dated, probably late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.
- FIG. 34. (1) Kālaka exercises the horse; (2) Kālaka hears Guṇākara preach.
From folio 1 verso of MS. of the Kālakācāryakathā belonging to the Heeramanek Galleries, New York. Not dated, probably late sixteenth century.

PLATE 14

- FIG. 35. (1) Kālaka exercises the horse; (2) Kālaka hears Guṇākara preach.
From folio 1 verso of MS. 18.20, Kālakācāryakathā, in the Delā Upāśraya Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedabad. Not dated, probably late sixteenth century.
- FIG. 36. The abduction of the nun Sarasvatī.
From folio 3 verso of the same MS. as Fig. 35.
- FIG. 37. Kālaka converts the bricks to gold.
From folio 5 verso of the same MS. as Fig. 35.

PLATE 15

- FIG. 38. (1) Kālaka with Śakra disguised; (2) Kālaka with Śakra revealed.
From folio 11 verso of MS. 18.24, Kālakācāryakathā, in the Delā Upāśraya Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedabad. The MS. has a *praśasti*, presumably contemporaneous with the MS. itself, dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1682 (A. D. 1625).

FIG. 39. The Tīrthakara Nemi in the Vimāna Aparājita heaven.

From the single folio of a MS. in the possession of the Heeramanek Galleries, New York. The folio is not dated, but the MS. is presumably of the seventeenth century.

TYPES APPEARING IN PAINTINGS NOT ILLUSTRATING THE KĀLAKA LEGENDS

Type	Figures
Tīrthakara	1, 3, 11, 39
Monk	5, 7
God	9, 13
Goddess	2, 4, 6, 10, 12
Layman	2, 13
Laywoman	8

ILLUSTRATIONS OF INCIDENTS IN THE KĀLAKA LEGEND

The following incidents from the Kālaka legend are illustrated in the paintings reproduced in this book. They are listed in the order of their occurrence in the legend. Of the four major episodes of the Kālaka legend only the second, which tells how the Paryuṣaṇā came to be changed from the fifth to the fourth of the light half of the month Bhādrapāda, is not represented.

Incident	Figures
Kālaka exercises the horse.....	23, 26, 34, 35
Kālaka hears Guṇākara preach.....	26, 34, 35
Kālaka receives his parents' permission to become a monk.....	14
Kālaka in the initiation palanquin.....	23
Abduction of the nun Sarasvatī.....	27, 36
King Gardabhilla in court.....	25
Kālaka recovers the princes' ball from the well.....	33
Kālaka and the Sāhi.....	21, 22, 28, 33
Kālaka converts the bricks to gold.....	15, 29, 37
The siege of Ujjain and defeat of the She-Ass magic.....	16, 30
King Gardabhilla brought captive to Kālaka.....	17, 24
Kālaka leaves his disobedient disciples.....	24
Kālaka forgives the vainglorious Sāgaracandra.....	18
Kālaka with Śakra disguised.....	19, 31, 38
Kālaka with Śakra revealed.....	20, 32, 38

PLATE I

FIG. 1. A Tirthakara. From palm-leaf MS. 6.2, the Jñātasūtra and next three Aṅgas of the Svetāmbara canon, with the commentary of Abhayadeva, in the Śāntinātha temple (Nagin Dās) Bhaṇḍār, Cambay. Dated Saṃvat 1184 (A. D. 1127). Previously published by me in Indian Art and Letters, vol. 3, pp. 16 ff., 1929. This and its companion piece, illustrated in our Figure 2, are the oldest examples of Western Indian miniature painting so far known.

The central figure is of a Jina, presumably Mahāvīra, seated on a pedestal like that common in Jain temples for the accommodation of Jina images. He is attended by two fly-whisk bearers, probably gods. The background is the natural palm leaf. The bodies are in yellow, with the Jina's halo and the rectangular background for the Jina's body in red. The attendant figures wear a kind of blue vest, scarf, and *dhotī* (lower garment). Over the Jina's head is an ornament of pendant leaves (cf. figs. 3, 39).

FIG. 2. The goddess Sarasvatī (or Cakreśvarī ?). From the same MS. as Figure 1. Previously published by me in Indian Art and Letters, vol. 3, pp. 16 ff., 1929.

The central figure is a four-armed goddess, bearing in her upper hands lotuses and in her lower hands a rosary and a manuscript. Before her is a swan. The attributes and the swan as vehicle are characteristic of Sarasvatī, who with the Jains is the *śāsanadevī* (tutelary divinity) of Mahāvīra (cf. Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, pl. 27, 1925), presumably illustrated in Figure 1. However, a Jain monk identified the goddess for me as Cakreśvarī, who is the *śāsanadevī* of the first Tirthakara, Rṣabha (cf. Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 362). On each side of the goddess is a layman in an attitude of worship, the two probably depicting the patrons of the manuscript, that is, the persons who paid to have the manuscript copied. The goddess wears a blue bodice, the man on the left a green vest. The background is brick red. The other colors used are yellow and black. Two lotuses fill in the upper corners.

FIG. 3. A Tirthakara (Nemi ?). From palm-leaf MS. 18.1, Hemacandra's Nemīcaritra, being the eighth parvan of the Triṣaṣṭīśālākāpuruṣacaritra, in the Śāntinātha Temple (Nagin Dās) Bhaṇḍār, Cambay. While at Cambay I made a note that the date of this MS. was given as Saṃvat 1198 (A. D. 1141), but this seems clearly to be an error (cf. chapter II, footnote 14); possibly the date should be Saṃvat 1298 (A. D. 1241), which would suit the stylistic requirements of the paintings as well as the demands of literary history. Previously published by me in Indian Art and Letters, vol. 3, pp. 16 ff., 1929.

The scene is a Jina enthroned, here probably Nemi, the twenty-second Tirthakara. On the center of the bottom part of the pedestal is a device which may be meant to represent a conch, which is Nemi's cognizance. On each side of the Jina is a god as fly-whisk bearer (cf. fig. 1). Above him are two elephants in the posture of sprinkling water (*gaḍalakṣmī* or *diggaḍa* or *diṇṇāga* motif). Behind his halo is an ornament of leaves (cf. fig. 1), which in later representations of Jinas merges with the headdress (cf. fig. 39).

Just as this type of representation of an enthroned Jina is an elaboration of that illustrated in Figure 1, so that illustrated in Figures 11 and 39 (and in the Kalpasūtra, for which see my forthcoming catalogue of illustrations of the Kalpasūtra) is an elaboration of this.

FIG. 4. The goddess Ambikā. From the same MS. as Figure 3. Previously published by me in Indian Art and Letters, vol. 3, pp. 16 ff., 1929.

On a cushion sits a four-armed goddess, fully ornamented, dressed in *dhotī* and scarf. In her upper hands she holds lotuses; in her lower right hand she carries a baby; in her lower left hand an object of uncertain character. Her waist is unusually narrow. Below her is crouched a lion, which is her vehicle. The iconography of the figure is close to that of an inscribed brass figure (Saṃvat 1517=A. D. 1460) marked Ambikā belonging to the Pennsylvania Museum of Art. Ambikā shows interesting iconographic correspondences with the Buddhist Hārītī and the Hindu Pārvatī. The goddesses of the older Jain miniatures frequently have a vertical mark on the forehead (cf. fig. 10), which usually belongs to laymen and gods (cf. figs. 9, 13, 14, etc.). The mark for women is regularly a dot (cf. fig. 2). For Ambikā, correctly identified in the Indra Sabhā cave at Elura, where she is associated with Śakra, see J. Burgess, Report on the Elura Cave Temples, pp. 45-7, plate 40, London, 1883.

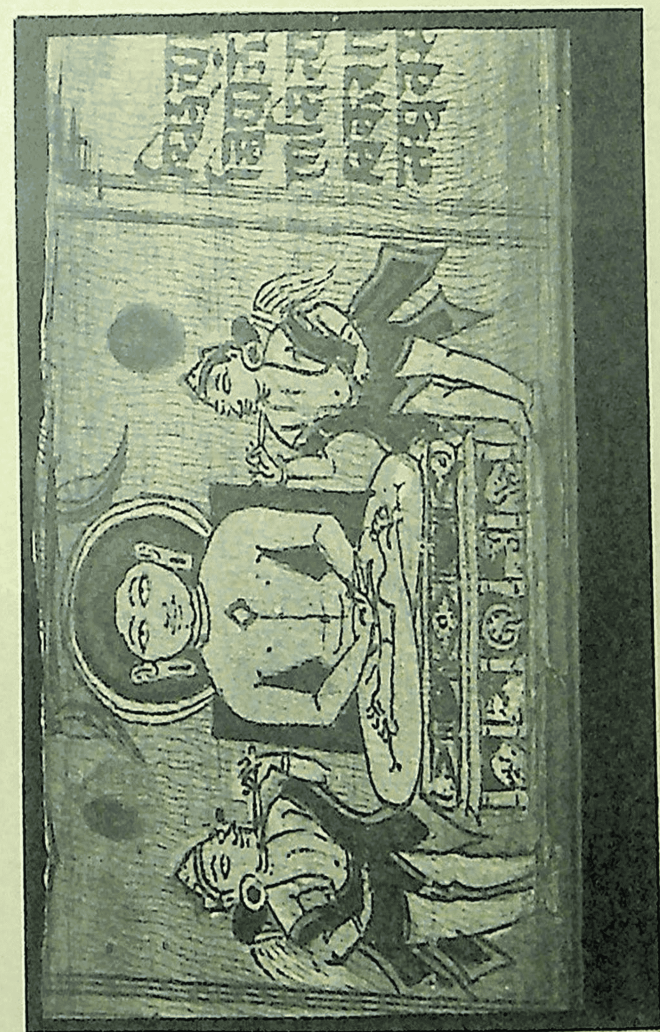


FIG. 1



FIG. 2

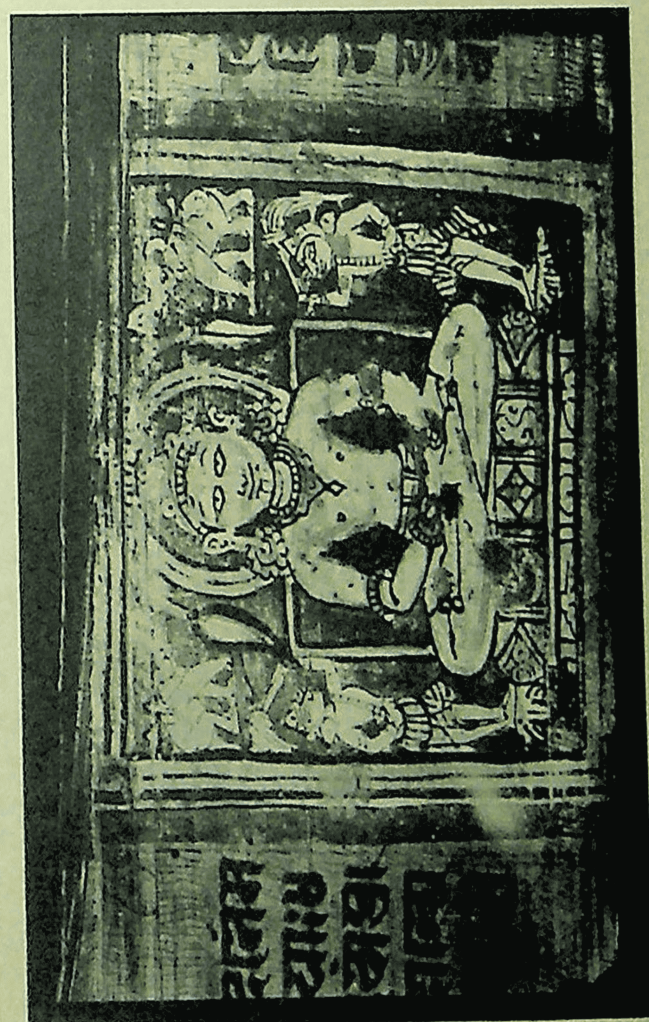


FIG. 3



FIG. 4

PLATE 2

FIG. 5. Monk and disciple. From folio 2 recto of a palm-leaf MS. of the *Sāvaga-paḍikammaṇa-sutta-cuṇṇi* belonging to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Previously published in black and white illustration by Coomaraswamy, *Eastern Art*, vol. 2, pp. 236-240, 1930.

At the left is a miniature showing in an architectural setting two monks. One is seated on a monk's seat of the sort used to-day by elder monks, and is giving instruction to the other who is done smaller and sits on a cushion. The latter appears to be a disciple. The elder monk holds his broom in his right hand, and in his left his mouth cloth. The younger holds in his two hands a manuscript, which possibly the elder is expounding. Between the two is a stand of the sort used to-day by Śvetāmbara monks to bear the symbolic representation of the absent *guru* (spiritual master) which a monk must always have before him when engaged in meditation or preaching without his master being present. The disciple may be considered to be the author of the work exemplified by the manuscript, and the elder monk his *guru*. The seat of the elder monk seems to be a reduction of the ideal spired throne of Jain worthies as illustrated in Figures 17, 18, etc. The rounded board at the back is vestigial of the spire.

FIG. 6. The goddess Sarasvatī. From folio 2 recto of same MS. as Figure 5.

At the right in an architectural setting is the goddess Sarasvatī (cf. under fig. 2) seated in the *vīrāsana* posture. She wears a bodice open in the front, a *dhori* (lower garment), and a scarf. In her upper right hand is a book; in the upper left hand a lotus; with her two lower hands she carries her lute (*vīṇā*).



FIG. 5



FIG. 6

PLATE 3

FIG. 7. Two monks. From palm-leaf MS. 234, Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā, in the Sanghavike pādāka Bhaṇḍār, Patan. Dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1335 (A. D. 1278).

Beneath a canopy sit two Śvetāmbara monks preaching. Each has in his left hand the mouth cloth and in his right hand a flower. The robes cover the body fully, instead of leaving the right shoulder bare as is usually done (cf. fig. 5). The monk in front is probably the spiritual master of the one behind, who is done smaller.

FIG. 8. Two laywomen. From the same MS. as Figure 7. A companion piece to Figure 7, which is on the same side of the folio.

Two laywomen, richly dressed in bodice, *dhotī*, and scarf, sit facing the two monks of Figure 7, listening to their words, with hands raised in an attitude of reverence. The headdress is characteristic of laywomen in Western Indian miniature painting. These women are presumably the patrons of the manuscript.

FIG. 9. The god Śakra. From folio 151 verso of palm-leaf MS. 4.2, Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā, in the Sanghākā Bhaṇḍār, Patan. Dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1336 (A. D. 1279).

The god Śakra, bearded like a human king, is seated on a cushion. In his upper right hand he holds the elephant gād; in the upper left an umbrella; the lower hands are without attributes. He is dressed in *dhotī* and scarf. Below his right leg is his elephant. Flowers fill in the composition.

FIG. 10. A goddess (Ambikā ?). From folio 152 recto of the same MS. as Figure 9.

A four-armed goddess, dressed in bodice, *dhotī*, and scarf, sits on a cushion. In her two upper hands she holds lotuses; her lower right possibly holds a rosary; in the lower left an object which I cannot identify. The iconography is close to that of Lakṣmī in the 14 significant dreams that come to the mothers of Tirthakaras, as shown in the Kalpasūtra illustrations (cf. Coomaraswamy, Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, pt. 4, Jaina Paintings and Manuscripts, pl. 1, folio 34, and pl. 5, folio 13, 1924), but the association with Śakra makes one suspect it is meant to represent Ambikā (see under Fig. 4).



Fig. 8



Fig. 10



Fig. 7



Fig. 9

PLATE 4

FIG. 11. A Tīrthakara (Mahāvīra ?) in the *hrīṃkāra* symbol. From folio 1 verso of paper MS. Sanskrit d.102, a commentary on Hemacandra's Śabdānuśāsana, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Not dated, probably late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. This miniature is at the left-hand side of the page, and is a companion piece to that of our Figure 12.

The setting is a temple of the familiar North Indian spire type, like those of the Jains on Mount Girnar, and shows the main spire and four subordinate spires. Attached to the main spire is a pole with a small rectangular wooden top ornamented with festoons and a banner (the whole called *dhvaja*), which is meant to be above the main image in the temple. These *dhvajās* are characteristically present on Śvetāmbara temples. Two parrots appear above the spire, one having a sprig of some plant in its bill. Within the temple is seated a Jina inside the auspicious *hrīṃkāra* symbol (cf. Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 385), a drawing of the combination of the sounds *h*, *r*, *ī*, *m*, over which is a crescent with a dot to indicate the released soul in Īṣatprāgbhāra. For a similar temple setting cf. Coomaraswamy, Jaina Paintings and Manuscripts, pl. 9, folio 72; for the *hrīṃkāra* symbol cf. ibidem, plate 39. The Jina is possibly Mahāvīra.

FIG. 12. The goddess Sarasvatī in the *omkāra* symbol. From same MS. and same page as Figure 11, which this faces.

The setting is a temple similar to that in Figure 11. The goddess bears in her upper left hand the lute (*vīṇā*), in the upper right an object which I cannot identify; in the lower left a lotus, in the lower right a rosary. She is attended by a swan as vehicle, which appears twice. The attributes and vehicle are those of the goddess Sarasvatī. She sits in a frame, which looks like an angular drawing of the auspicious *omkāra* symbol (see Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 384), the combination of the letters *o* (*a*, *u*) and *m*, a companion symbol of the *hrīṃkāra* symbol, which is illustrated in the companion painting (our fig. 11). Above the frame in which Sarasvatī sits is the crescent and dot, signifying a soul in the region of the blest, which appears with the *omkāra* symbol as well as with the *hrīṃkāra*. For illustrations of the two symbols see Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, plate 27. The goddess Sarasvatī is the attendant deity of the Tīrthakara Mahāvīra (cf. under fig. 2).

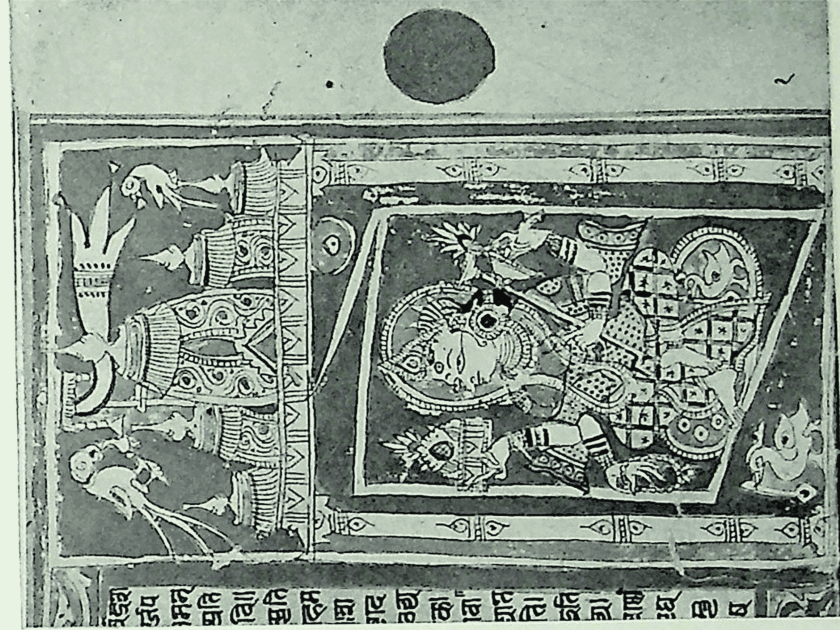


FIG. 12



FIG. 11

PLATE 5

FIG. 13. The god Vishnu on his throne. From folio 32 recto of a paper Vaishnava MS., the *Māgha Purāṇa* (?), in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Not dated, probably about middle of the fifteenth century. Previously published by me in *Eastern Art*, vol. 2, pp. 167-206, 1930 (this painting being Fig. 21, discussed on p. 197).

Krishna, as Vishnu, four-armed, is seated on a throne. He carries in three of his hands mace, discus, and conch. His vehicle, the man-bird Garuḍa, kneels in front of the throne. Behind Vishnu is a female fly-whisk bearer. Above are two honorific parasols. Facing Vishnu at the right under a canopy is a male figure with a halo, who offers the god a garland. The body of Vishnu is blue. The male figure is perhaps that of the author, who is often represented in the series from which this illustration is taken, although usually with somewhat less splendid appearance than here.



Fig. 13

कंशावमक्तुलसीदलपुष्पमा
 लेवकृष्णालोहमिताकासुसको
 तिजालोपद्मोत्तलरजनीकरा
 चारुभालंवदामदेसुवदभसुद
 वबालो॥ दृष्टञ्जलमविलसन्मुधा
 स्निग्धस्मितं वज्रसुंदरीमदनकद
 नस्तिन्नधत्तं वदत्तवदनांबुजात्तरु
 णायाम्नाकृन्मधुतिस्त्रापिताधरं
 यतिवियतिप्रणीरणदृशामदय
 नमदः॥ दृष्टशम्भक

PLATE 6

FIG. 14. Kālaka receives his parents' permission to become a monk. From folio 1 recto of a paper MS. of the Kālakācāryakathā belonging to W. N. Brown. Not dated, probably first half of fifteenth century.

The pages of this manuscript, as doubtless of other manuscripts, were manufactured in two parts, as is indicated by a close study of the relative position of the writing ink and the paint. (1) The copyist's part. On each page the spaces for the text were marked off with vertical red lines from the top edge to the bottom. On certain pages spaces were reserved for the miniature paintings. A colored background (red, blue, or black on different folios) for the text was then washed on. On this background gold lines were drawn from top to bottom to delimit the area for the text. A faint gold guiding line was drawn for the top line of writing. The text was then written on with golden ink. (2) The artist's part. The artist, after receiving the pages, first blocked off his space; then he drew in the scene; then he painted it. The gold seems to have been applied first, either as liquid or as leaf, next came the red, then the blue and the white. After this the artist put on the ornamental arabesque borders around the page, and finally the red dots in the center and on the reverse of the folio at the sides, using the same paint as that of the red in the miniatures, which is different from the red of the background. In the old palm-leaf MSS. the red dot in the center marked the place of the hole through which ran the string that kept the folios together; the dots on the sides carried the folio numbers, those at the left often having the number indicated by the use of letters, those at the right indicating the number by figures. In the paper MSS. the dots still appear, but they no longer serve any useful purpose and are only conventional and vestigial. The necessity for the use of string to hold the folios together has disappeared and the folio numbers are written at the lower right hand corner of the reverse side of each folio.

The painting here shows Kālaka taking leave of his parents to be initiated into the order of Jain monks. Under a canopy sits King Vajrasimha on a throne, dressed in a lower garment (*dhotī*) and a scarf. In his hand is a sword, which is the regular attribute in Western Indian miniature painting of a king in official dress; above him is the parasol of royalty. Before him sits Queen Surasundarī on a cushion, wearing bodice (*colī*), scarf, and lower garment (*dhotī*). The king and queen both wear jewellery and an elaborate headdress. Between them, facing his father, is Kālaka dressed in the monk's robes. The white robes of the Śvetāmbaras are represented in varying ways: by red dots on a gold background as here, by white dots over gold (fig. 30), by white (fig. 22), or by a variety of dots and lines in designs (fig. 36).



PLATE 7

FIG. 15. Kālaka converts the bricks to gold. Cf. Figures 29, 37. From folio 8 recto of the same MS. as Figure 14.

At the left is the potter's kiln with the pile of bricks. Kālaka faces the bricks, his left arm holding his broom, his right arm extended while he sprinkles over the bricks the magic powder which transmutes them into gold. Behind Kālaka stands a Saka dressed in a long garment and carrying a long heavy sword. At the bottom are four more Sakas, the one at the extreme left apparently bearing a shield, the next one carrying a load, possibly of the gold, the next one, who is mounted on horseback, being the king (*sāhi*), with a fourth Saka behind him holding the parasol of royalty.

In this entire series the background is red. The Sakas are represented with almost full face, without having the farther eye protrude beyond the contour of the cheek, as it does in the representations of Indians.

FIG. 16. The siege of Ujjain and defeat of the She-Ass magic. Cf. Figure 30. From folio 9 verso of the same MS. as Figure 14.

At the left is the city wall of Ujjain with its towered gate in the center. Within it sits King Gardabhilla, before him a brazier with a fire which he has used in effecting the magic. The She-Ass magic is just above the fire at the gateway, its mouth wide open braying. Above King Gardabhilla is the nun Sarasvatī, with a water pitcher before her. Outside the city wall are two Sakas, one being on horseback with drawn bow. Below them are Kālaka on horseback with drawn bow—he was a skilled archer—and a monk attendant upon him. Flowers fill in the composition. Kālaka's horse is excellently done.

Although the background of this painting is red, the background for the writing of the text is blue.

FIG. 17. King Gardabhilla brought captive to Kālaka. Cf. Figure 24. From folio 11 recto of same MS. as Figure 14.

Under an elaborate architectural cornice (or canopy) sits Kālaka on a spired throne. This is a temple spire with platform, open in the front so that the figure it covers in honor may be seen, and tilted back and reduced in relative size to the figure (cf. my remarks in *Eastern Art*, vol. 2, p. 177). Kālaka's broom is in the hollow of his right arm, and in his upheld right hand he holds the mouth cloth, while he preaches to Gardabhilla. The latter stands before Kālaka with his hands bound and his hair firmly grasped by a Saka, who stands at the extreme right of the picture.

FIG. 18. Kālaka forgives the vainglorious Sāgaracandra. From folio 21 recto of the same MS. as Figure 14.

Under the usual canopy (cf. fig. 17) sits Kālaka on the spired throne (cf. fig. 17), holding the broom in his left hand over the head of Sāgaracandra. The latter kneels before Kālaka to take the dust from his feet. Above Sāgaracandra in the picture is the stand bearing the symbolic representation of the absent spiritual master, usually consisting of five shells or pebbles wrapped in cloth, which must always be present before a monk when he meditates or preaches without having the master present.



FIG. 16



FIG. 18



FIG. 17

PLATE 8

FIG. 19. Kālaka with Śakra disguised. Cf. Figures 31, 38. From folio 23 recto of same MS. as Figure 14.

Under a canopy, on a spired throne sits the monk Kālaka holding a flower in his outstretched left hand. Before him stands the bent figure of Śakra disguised as an old Brahman, leaning upon a staff and extending his right hand to have his fortune told.

FIG. 20. Kālaka with Śakra revealed. Cf. Figures 32, 38. From folio 24 recto of same MS. as Figure 14.

Under a canopy, which varies in detail from that of the companion scene (fig. 19), on a cushion (rather than the throne of fig. 19) in a spired seat is Kālaka holding his mouth cloth while he addresses Śakra, who now faces him in full regalia, having his four arms, two of which are upraised in a posture of worship. Between the two is the stand for the symbolic representation of Kālaka's absent *guru* (spiritual master).

FIG. 21. Kālaka and the Sāhi. Cf. Figures 22, 28, 33. From folio 94 verso of paper MS. 38.3.3, Kalpasūtra and Kālākācāryakathā, in the Lohar Pol Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedabad. Dated Vikrama Samvat 1513 (A. D. 1458).

This is a characteristic page of a manuscript of the second half of the fifteenth century and early part of the sixteenth century. The page is plain, and the dots rubricating the dots of the string hole and dates of the palm-leaf manuscripts are simple.

The Sāhi sits on a lion throne in a room with painted walls, holding his sword in his right hand. Three parasols are over him. Kālaka faces him, also in an architectural unit, and preaches. In front of Kālaka is the bowl which the overlord's messenger has brought. Above Kālaka is a Saka with sword and shield, and below Kālaka are two more Sakas, standing with folded hands, who are perhaps meant to represent the messengers the Sāhi sent to his 95 fellows.



Fig. 20



Fig. 19



Fig. 21

मुणिउंममउउममहवामाप्र
ह्वमिमाहिचवमाणामयम
रुवलासयंराडाततःकिम
यदिचनगरीसयंगमपततःम
तःपरममपिमियदिवाश्याग
किमतःपरममपिमियदिवा
कोततःकिमतःपरममपिमि
यंनिवंचावादिमंतिमामता
नगणउउवगसंगंइणोदहनिय

ए२

PLATE 9

FIG. 22. Kālaka and the Sāhi. Cf. Figures 21, 28, 33. From folio 70 verso of paper MS. 1632.75, Kālākācāryakathā (but obviously once of the Kalpasūtra and Kālākācāryakathā), in the Vijaya Dharma Lakṣmī Jñāna Mandira Library, Agra. The MS. itself is not dated, but at its conclusion is a subscription, now scratched out, dealing with the later history of the manuscript and containing a date Vikrama Samvat 1549 (A. D. 1492). The inference is that the MS. is at least that old. The style of the pages and the painting is such that it might be that old or even older.

At the left on a lion throne with a spired back sits the Sāhi dressed in an elaborately ornamented costume. The inside of the spire is ornamented with flowers, possibly to indicate wall painting. The Sāhi wears a pointed cap (cf. chapter 1, footnote 48), long coat and boots, common in the array of Sakas but not used in these paintings by Indians. His face is shown almost from the full front without the protruding eye that is characteristic of Indians in this art, and the face itself has a Mongoloid cast. Before the king sits Kālaka, also in an architectural setting, the broom under his left arm, the mouth cloth in his right hand while he preaches to the king. The ochre color of his body is peculiar. Two honorific parasols appear at the top of the picture. Above Kālaka is a cluster of crossed military standards. At the lower right, in the corner, is the messenger who has come from the Sāhi's overlord, bringing the sword with which the Sāhi is to cut off his own head and the bowl in which he is to send it to the overlord.

This painting uses yellow instead of gold and depicts the white robe of Kālaka by a glistening substance like nacre.



FIG. 22

PLATE 10

FIG. 23. (1) Kālaka exercises the horse; (2) Kālaka in the initiation palanquin. Cf. Figures 26, 34, 35. From folio 73 of paper MS. 17.2277, Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Dated Vikrama Samvat 1554 (A. D. 1497). Previously published by Coomaraswamy, *Jaina Paintings and Manuscripts*, p. 49, plate 9.

In the upper register is Kālaka mounted on the horse he is to exercise, and apparently he means to hunt; for he carries a spear and an antelope is running beside him. Before and behind him are two attendants armed with sword and shield.

In the lower register Kālaka is being carried in a palanquin (*śibikā*) to his initiation, as is the custom with all Jain monks at the time of initiation. Young men carry the palanquin; dancing girls surround it; and musicians accompany it, one blowing a horn and another ringing a bell, appearing as though on the roof, but the intention is to indicate that they are beside the palanquin.

FIG. 24. (1) King Gardabhilla brought captive to Kālaka; (2) Kālaka leaves his disobedient disciples. Cf. Figure 17. From folio 76 of same MS. as Figure 23. Previously published by Coomaraswamy, *Jaina Paintings and Manuscripts*, p. 49, plate 10.

In the upper register is the captive Gardabhilla before Kālaka, the subject and treatment being close to those of Figure 17; here both Gardabhilla and the Saka who holds him are more elaborately dressed.

In the lower register we see at the right two of the disobedient disciples asleep. At the left is Kālaka going out of the door of the monks' resthouse, carrying in his hand the staff which monks are allowed to use for walking. The time is night. The reclining figures are really upright figures turned down (cf. *Eastern Art*, vol. 2, p. 199).

FIG. 25. King Gardabhilla in court. From folio 100 of paper MS. 17.2276, Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Not dated, fifteenth or sixteenth century. Previously published by Coomaraswamy, *Jaina Paintings and Manuscripts*, p. 43, plate 3.

King Gardabhilla sits in his palace on a spired throne, the royal umbrella above him. He is elaborately dressed and carries the sword to indicate he is holding court. Before him sits a male figure, possibly one of his ministers expostulating with him for his treatment of the monk Kālaka when the latter came to protest the abduction of Sarasvatī. At the left-hand side of the picture is a section marked off into six sub-sections. In the bottom sub-section are horses; in the two above are soldiers armed with sword and shield; in the next soldiers armed only with sword; and in the next unarmed persons. In the uppermost sub-section is a small porch or pavilion.



Fig. 23



Fig. 24

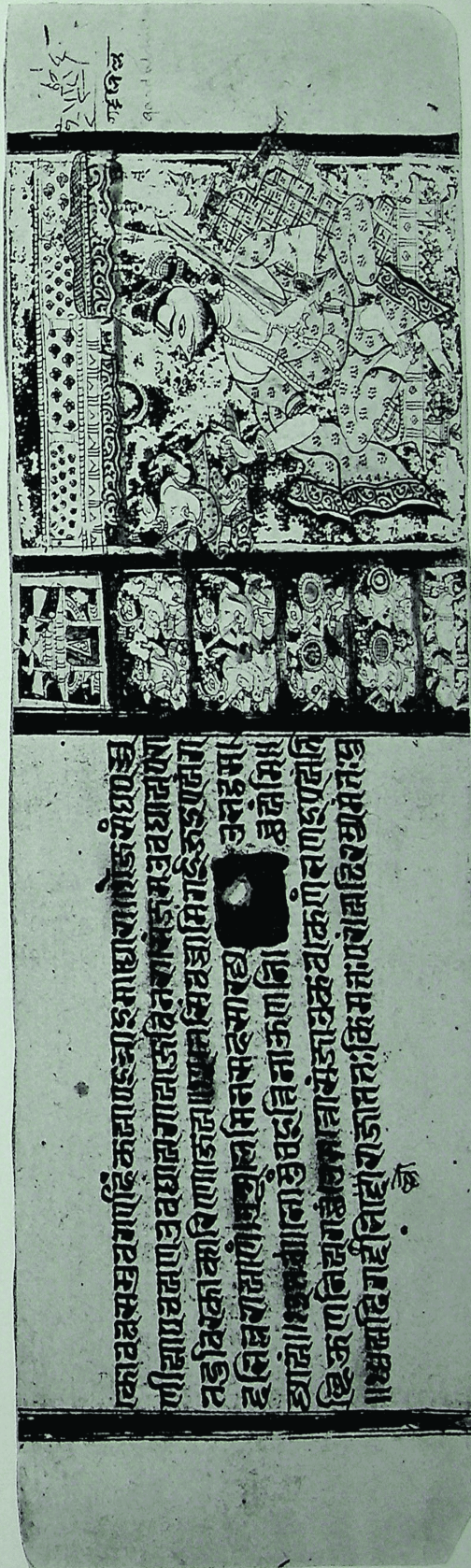


Fig. 25

PLATE II

FIG. 26. (1) Kālaka exercises the horse; (2) Kālaka hears Guṇākara preach. Cf. Figures 23, 35. From folio 112 verso of the MS. of the Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakāthā in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington. Not dated, probably second half of fifteenth century or early part of sixteenth.

In the lower register is Kālaka leading his horse, which is well caparisoned. The figures are full of movement. Overhead are clouds.

In the upper register is Guṇākara on a spired throne preaching with mouth cloth in hand to the prince Kālaka (now with a beard!), who sits with hands upheld in a gesture of reverence. Between the two is the stand holding the symbolical representation of Guṇākara's absent *guru*.

FIG. 27. The abduction of the nun Sarasvatī. Cf. Figure 36. From folio 114 verso of the same MS. as Figure 26.

In the upper register are two nuns, one of them Sarasvatī, their sex clearly indicated by the continuation of the robe behind the neck up the head. With nuns as with monks the outer robe is outlined and the outline of the under robes is clearly indicated. Riding up to them on a well-executed horse is the impressionable King Gardabhilla. In the lower register King Gardabhilla appears at the left, his horse now having entirely different trappings, while in front of him is one of his soldiers carrying away on his shoulder Sarasvatī.

FIG. 28. Kālaka and the Sāhi. Cf. Figures 21, 22, 33. From 116 verso of the same MS. as Figure 26.

The subject and treatment are close to those in Figures 21 and 22, but the quality of the miniature as a work of art is superior. The Sāhi sits in the spired throne with painted walls, which is the same as that used by gods, monks, and Indian kings, but with the Sāhis is presented from almost the full front instead of the side, just as their faces are viewed by the artist almost from the full front instead of from the side as is the case with the faces of Indians. Above are three parasols, on two of which stand peacocks. Kālaka faces the Sāhi. Above him is a compartment with a bow, a quiver of arrows, and some other objects which I cannot identify. In a compartment below him is the Sāhi messenger. The Sāhi's crown is much like that of Shāpūr I in the rock-carving at Naqsh-e-Rustam (see illustration facing p. 48 of E. D. Ross, *The Persians*, 1931).

FIG. 29. Kālaka converts the bricks to gold. Cf. Figures 15, 37. From folio 118 verso of the same MS. as Figure 26.

The subject and treatment are similar to those of Figure 15. Above Kālaka is sprinkling the magic powder on the bricks and a Saka carries away a brick on his head. Below is the Sāhi on horseback, with a Saka soldier before him carrying away a pile of the gold bricks on his head.

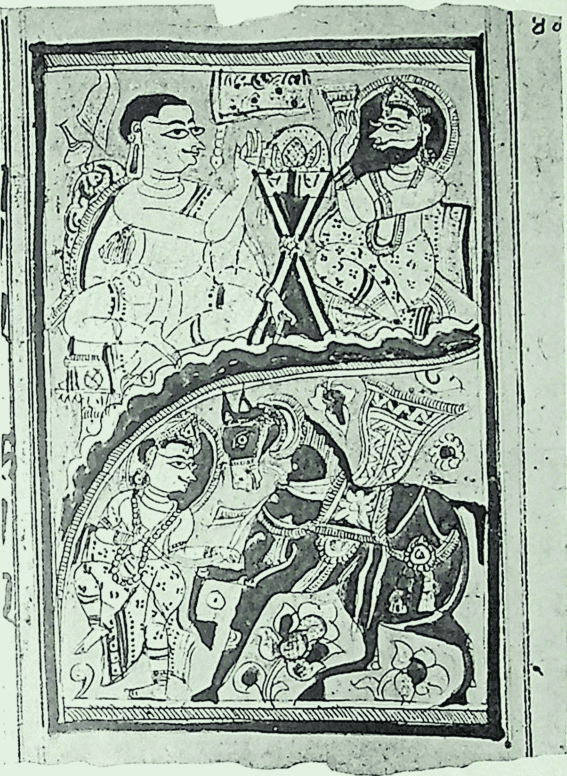


FIG. 26



FIG. 27



FIG. 28



FIG. 29

PLATE 12

FIG. 30. The siege of Ujjain and defeat of the She-Ass magic. Cf. Figure 16. From folio 120 recto of the same MS. as Figure 26.

The treatment is close to that of Figure 16. The city wall of Ujjain appears with a towered gate. King Gardabhilla sits within weaving his spells before a brazier and the She-Ass magic appears before him standing upon one of the towers. Its mouth is wide open to bray. Above King Gardabhilla is the captive nun Sarasvatī, who observes a fast that she may be kept safe from the advances of Gardabhilla. Before her are two vessels. Outside the city wall are the besiegers, three Saka bowmen on foot with drawn bows, and Kālaka on horseback, also with drawn bow. There is a cloud in the upper right-hand corner. At the bottom is a vegetation scroll to fill in the composition, and another appears on the upper part of the city wall.



गव्वमंडइमसिद्वअ॥१५॥कुइंतदतीमसरत्ता॥सरनो
 तंडइमद्वइगुरुमद्व॥किंबज्जमणिणकुव्वुदअं
 ॥ इ ॥ तकराअसासुरी॥१६॥इअसणिअगण
 पासलिवमालवतिवाअतयसिमुदंरा
 नगणव्वछणिणपज्ञासुदालिसंतत्तिं॥१७॥
 गतिणद्वमणकसिणदमीइसुमरिअममागंयंविद्धं॥
 दहुंकाद्वसुन्नरामदिस्सवंसणइसुरी॥१८॥कासिउमि

FIG. 30

PLATE 13

FIG. 31. Kālaka with Śakra disguised. Cf. Figures 19, 38. From folio 123 verso of the same MS. as Figure 26.

The treatment is almost the same as that in Figure 19. Under a canopy is Kālaka on a seat, his white robes represented by white dots on a gold background, a mouth cloth in his right hand, his broom under his right armpit. Before him is the aged bent Brahman, who is Śakra in disguise, holding out his hand to have his length of life foretold.

FIG. 32. Kālaka with Śakra revealed. Cf. Figures 20, 38. From folio 124 recto of the same MS. as Figure 26.

The treatment is approximately that of Figure 20. Kālaka appears as in the companion scene (fig. 31). Śakra is in four-armed guise, heavily ornamented, with halo, his headdress elaborate, two of his hands in a gesture of reverence.

FIG. 33. (1) Kālaka and the Sāhi; (2) Kālaka recovers the princes' ball from the well. Cf. Figures 21, 22, 28. From folio 4 recto of paper MS. 206, Kālakācāryakathā, in the Daśa Ośavāla Bhaṇḍār in the Ananta Nātha temple, Bombay. Not dated, probably late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

In the upper register is Kālaka with the Sāhi, as described in connection with Figures 21, 22, 28, but with many of the accessory elements omitted.

The incident illustrated in the lower register does not appear in the older versions of the Kālaka legend. It is as follows: When Kālaka fled from Ujjain and came to the land of the Sakas, he chanced upon a number of boys (princes) standing beside a well and weeping because they had lost a ball in it and could not get it out. Kālaka, who was an expert bowman, called for a bow and arrows. With the first arrow he pierced the ball; with the second arrow he pierced the first; with the third he pierced the second. He continued so doing until he had a chain of arrows with which he drew out the ball. The boys were the son of the local Sāhi and his playmates. They reported the occurrence to the Sāhi, who thus was predisposed to welcome Kālaka. The top of the well is drawn full toward us, although we are shown also the vertical cross section of the well with water in it and the ball at the bottom. Two of the arrows can be seen inside the well. Outside is Kālaka with drawn bow, also three of the Saka boys with drawn bows. Cf. p. 25.

FIG. 34. (1) Kālaka exercises the horse; (2) Kālaka hears Guṇākara preach. Cf. Figures 23, 26, 35. From folio 1 verso of a manuscript of the Kālakācāryakathā belonging to the Heera-manek Galleries, New York. Not dated, probably late sixteenth century.

The style of page, with well ornamented dots, is likely to indicate lateness.

In the lower register is Kālaka, a halo behind his head, mounted on the horse. Facing him is a retainer mounted on an elephant.

In the upper register is Guṇākara seated on a spired throne, preaching to Kālaka who sits facing him.



FIG. 31



FIG. 32



FIG. 33



FIG. 34

PLATE 14

FIG. 35. (1) Kālaka exercises the horse; (2) Kālaka hears Guṇākara preach. Cf. Figures 23, 26, 34. From folio 1 verso of MS. 18.20, Kālakācāryakathā, in the Delā Upāśraya Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedabad. Not dated, probably late sixteenth century.

The illustrations from this MS. are among the most decorative of the Western Indian style that I have seen. There is plentiful use of blue in the background; drawing and composition are very fine; and the detail is full. The dots of the palm-leaf manuscripts for hole and place numbers are here represented by lozenges with blue ornamental borders.

In the lower register is Kālaka with the horse, which he holds by the bridle. The horse bears trappings, including a cloth across the head, which is pierced for the eyes. An antelope crouches beside it. Clouds separate the lower part of the picture from the upper.

In the upper register is Guṇākara seated on a spired throne, his broom tucked under his right armpit, his mouth cloth in his right hand, which is held out before him while he preaches. Kālaka sits facing him with his hands joined in a gesture of reverence. Between them is the stand on which is the symbolic representation of Guṇākara's absent *guru* (spiritual preceptor).

FIG. 36. The abduction of the nun Sarasvatī. Cf. Figure 27. From folio 3 verso of the same MS. as Figure 35.

In the lower register is King Gardabhilla riding on his horse and seeing Sarasvatī, who is attended by another nun. The indication of the white robes is by elaborate white patterns on a gold background.

In the upper register King Gardabhilla sits upon his horse, now fully caparisoned, and watches one of his soldiers carry away Sarasvatī. The king holds a spear. His umbrella of royalty is just over the horse's head, where the artist has put it to complete the composition.

FIG. 37. Kālaka converts the bricks to gold. Cf. Figures 15, 29. From folio 5 verso of the same MS. as Figure 35.

In the upper part of the picture is Kālaka standing before the flaming brick kiln, his right hand outstretched to sprinkle upon it the magic powder that converts the bricks to gold. Behind him is a Saka, with Mongolian face, moustache, and chin-whiskers, but Indian *dhoti*, carrying away two bricks on his head. In the bottom part of the picture is the Sāhi, equally Mongolian in appearance, seated on his horse watching another Saka carry away two bricks. The armor of the Sāhi consists of a long coat of linked mail, much like that in Mongol-Persian paintings (cf. in Blochet, Musalman painting XIIth-XVIIth Century, pls. 56, 62). The Saka in front of the king has a curved sword with a straight guard at the hilt.

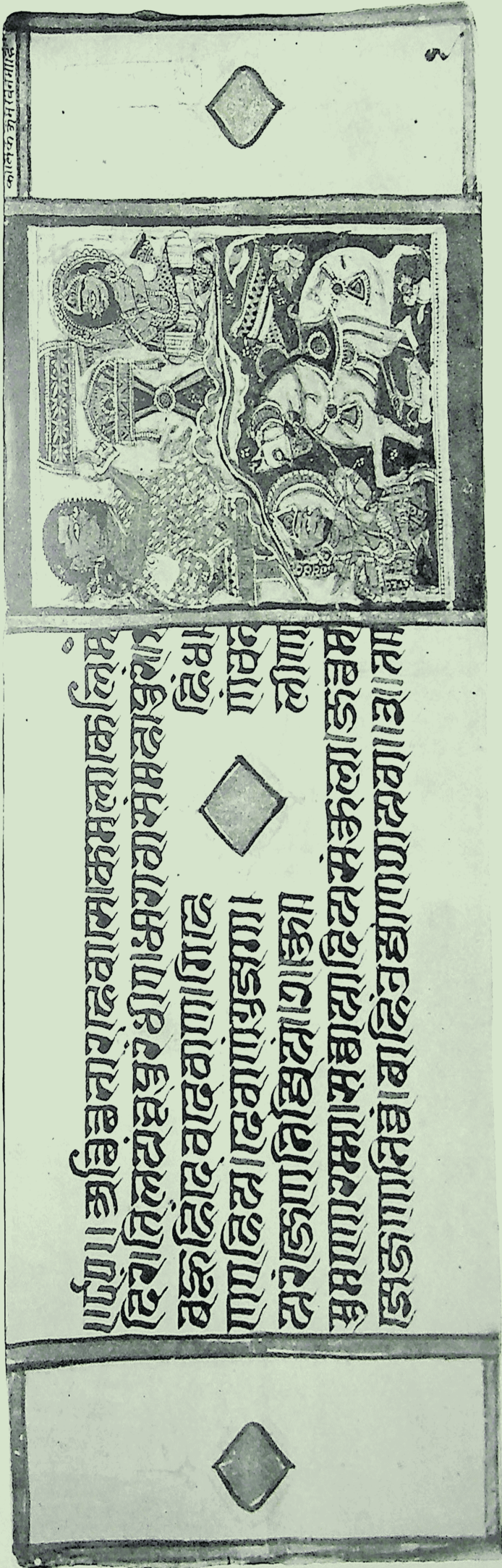


FIG. 35



FIG. 36



FIG. 37

PLATE 15

FIG. 38. (1) Kālaka with Śakra disguised; (2) Kālaka with Śakra revealed. Cf. Figures 19, 20, 31, 32. From folio 11 verso of MS. 18.24, Kālakācāryakathā, in the Delā Upāśraya Bhaṇḍār, Ahmedabad. This folio bears an invocation of long life and prosperity dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1682 (A. D. 1625). The invocation is in smaller handwriting than that of the text, which was done by an expert calligraphist, and might, of course, be later, but it would on its face pertain to the donor of the money for the copying of the MS. and be contemporaneous with the copying. If it is, the date of the MS. would then be A. D. 1625, a date that is entirely probable in view of the style of the page, with its representation of the dots for the string hole and numbers by a square and two lozenges, festooned with blue ornamentation.

The paintings are discernible with comparative difficulty; for I made the photograph with imperfect equipment. The scenes are the same as those described in Figures 19, 20, 31, and 32.

FIG. 39. The Tīrthakara Nemi in the Vimāna Aparājita heaven. From a single folio of a MS. belonging to the Heeramanek Galleries, New York. The folio does not give the name of the work, but the text shows that it was a history of the twenty-second Tīrthakara, Ariṣṭanemi or Nemi. The folio also does not carry a date, but the style of the page and the painting shows that it is probably of the seventeenth century.

The painting illustrates the last stage of the Western Indian style. Faces are given in full profile, with only one eye showing, as is common in many schools of Rajput painting. Yet other features of the old style persist, as in the posturing, composition, ornamentation, color scheme, technique of drawing, and application of color.

The picture shows Nemi in the Vimāna Aparājita heaven, whence he was born on earth as the son of King Samudravijaya and Queen Śivā to become a Tīrthakara. Elephants appear above him in the attitude of sprinkling water (cf. fig. 3), while gods attend him. He is fully ornamented. On the pedestal is his cognizance, the conch. Below are other creatures. This type of composition is used throughout the paper MSS. of the Kalpasūtra to illustrate the future Jinas in heaven before birth on earth.

In the text the first symbol (*ve*) is clearly the end of *vasudeve*, nominative form of the name of Vasudeva, father of Krishna. Vasudeva's wives Rohiṇī and Devakī are mentioned in stanza 2, and Duṭṭharāma (Duṣṭarāma=Balarāma) and Kesava (Keśava=Krishna). Samudravijaya and Śivā are mentioned in stanzas 3 and 4, and Ariṣṭanemi in stanza 4. So the story goes on.

मंदत १६२ वर्षिका त्रिक मासे शुक्ल प
 तिथौ बुधता सवे श्री विजयराजग के श्री पूज्य श्री गुल सागर वि
 जयराजे उ सव सज्ञा नित्य ज्ञा तदङ्गा त्रै मा उद्ये ना नायी न्ना
 का देत स्प पुत्र सु श्री वक्क हव ता र्थ सुद रत स्य पुत्र या दक
 उदा आचक इ नित स द्भ सप रिवा रः चिरं जी या त न्नी य श्री
 व स या ल न द वी ह रा वी व्या ग रा म ध य न् न त या व श्री र म् ॥

Lechmere



त्वन्निनामपां गायत्र्यन्तरकरणमुञ्जपा॥२॥ तस्मलश्याङ्गावश्यासि
 गरादिणीदिवर्द्धनदासांसिदाएंदोपादापुत्राङ्गनागोमाकसया
 गाशसावियुर्गमिनयशेअसिगयामदिहिणममुद्विज्जप
 न्नामंगायत्रकरणमुञ्जपा॥३॥ तस्मसदश्यासि वासाभातीस्य
 पुत्रामदायसासगवंप्रशिनमित्राला गमाददम
 मारा॥४॥ साशिशिनमित्रानमित्राभाअवेज्जपा॥ स्मरसंज
 नेअष्टमदस्मलरक्सपाधारागायमोका लगच्छदीप
 वअरिमदसमद्ययोगासमचअंगमाऊमाद नातस्मराइम
 ङ्कमंसंनद्यङ्गासद्वकसवाद्या अदसारायवरक्तासुम
 लाचरुपादिणीमब्रलरकासंप्रमविद्यतासायामपिपात्ता
 पा॥ अदादकणउत्तीसावासुदिवंसदिहिणसद्वरुपाअउकम



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