

**THE STORY OF RĀMA
IN
JAIN LITERATURE**

V M Kulkarni

**SARASWATI PUSTAK BHANDAR
Ahmedabad**

No work of Indian literature has perhaps enjoyed a greater popularity in India down to date than the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki. There are many forms of the story of Rāma in later Hindu works. The Jains too have their versions of the story of Rāma. This volume studies all the noteworthy Jain versions with reference to the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki, their areas of agreement and divergence. It also presents a literary evaluation of these versions. It could justifiably be claimed that this is the first ever comparative, comprehensive and critical study of the Jain versions as presented by the Śvetāmbara and Digambara poets in Prakrit, Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa languages.

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THE STORY OF RĀMA IN JAIN LITERATURE

**(AS PRESENTED BY THE ŚVETĀMBARA AND DIGAMBARA
POETS IN THE PRAKRIT, SANSKRIT
AND APABHRAMŚA LANGUAGES)**

BY

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DEDICATED
TO
MY PROFESSORS
THE LATE K.V. ABHYANKAR
THE LATE A.N. UPADHYE
AND
A.M. GHATAGE

We gratefully acknowledge that the present volume is based on the thesis which was accepted for the award of the Ph.D. degree of the University of Bombay in the year 1952.

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THE STORY OF RĀMA IN JAIN LITERATURE

Preface

Nature and Scope of the Theme : The present work reproduces in the main the thesis which I submitted to the University of Bombay in 1952 for the Ph. D. degree in Sanskrit. The thesis is entitled “*The Story of Rāma in Jain Literature*”—as presented by the Śvetāmbara and Digambara poets in the Prakrit, Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa languages. No work of Indian literature has enjoyed a greater popularity in India down to the present day than the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. It is truly a popular epic, as it has become the property of the whole of India and has tremendously influenced the thought and poetry of the nation for more than 2000 years. For centuries the story of Rāma has remained alive in India and it continues to live among all grades and classes of people. Everyone is familiar with the characters and stories of the great epic. Teachers of the various religious schools refer to it and draw upon it to propagate religious and moral doctrines among the people. The story of Rāma occurs in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas such as *Brahma*, *Padma*, *Garuḍa*, *Nārada*, *Bhāgavata*, *Agni*, *Skanda*, *Vāyu* and so on. We have, further, the *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa*, *Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa*, and *Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa*. Many eminent Sanskrit poets including Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and Rājāśekhara have again and again drawn the material for their poems and plays from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and worked them up anew. There are the Buddhist forms of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (e.g., *Dāśaratha Jātaka*) and Jain forms of the story of Rāma also exist—well-known among them are the *Pañcama-Cariya* of Vimala Sūri, the *Padma-Purāṇa* of Raviṣeṇa, the *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra, and the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākā-puruṣa-Carita* of Hemacandra. Versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are found in the principal languages of India such as Hindi (e.g., *Rāma-Caritamānasa* of Tulasidasa) Bengali (e.g., *Kṛttivāsa-Rāmāyaṇa*), Kashmiri (Kashmiri *Rāmāyaṇa*), Marathi (e.g., *Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa*), Gujarati (e.g., *Rāmāyaṇa-sūtra*), Tamil (e.g., *Tamila-Rāmāyaṇa* by Kambana), Telugu (e.g., *Dvipāda-Rāmāyaṇa*), Kanarese (e.g., *Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa*) and others. It has been translated into almost all modern Indian languages and other languages of the world such as English, German, French, etc. Then there are the forms of the *Rāmāyaṇa* that are known to exist outside India such as the one in Java and China.

Celebrated scholars both of the West and the East such as Dr. Jacobi, Sri D.C. Sen and many others have dealt with the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the spirit of critical scholarship. They have raised and answered a number of questions, e.g., of its date, its recensions the historicity of Rāma, the nature of the authorship—single or multiple the various forms that the story has taken where it has travelled (and it has travelled widely) Vālmiki's indebtedness to others for the outline and the details, the foreign origin, the genuine and the spurious in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and so on. A comparative study of all the forms of the Rāma story—the Hindu, the Buddhistic and the Jain and the forms available outside India is indeed too vast a subject for a thesis like this. To bring the subject-matter within moderate compass I have confined it to a critical and comparative study of the Jain forms of the Rāma story available in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, and to an investigation of their interrelation and of the origin and development of the Jain forms of the story of Rāma, which are definitely later in relation to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the great epic *Mahābhārata* attributed to Vyāsa.

Some scholars have dealt with the subject of the present thesis, but only with a few isolated aspects and that too partially. Rightly, therefore, Winternitz remarks in his *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, (p. 494, f.n. 3) "It is very desirable, however, that a careful comparison of all the Jinistic adaptations of the Rāma legend be made".

The method of study and approach to the problem: As the story of Rāma occupies a very prominent place in the Mythology of the Jains, I have first set forth the nature of Jain Mythology and its salient features in comparison with the Hindu Mythology as a proper background for the study of the present problem. Then every one of the original Jain *Rāmāyaṇas* is studied thoroughly and critically in separate chapters. Attention is specially drawn in the footnotes to information of cultural value offered in the work, such as references to customs, beliefs, etc. and to motifs of stories, striking subhāṣitas and stylistic merits of the work. As far as possible these notes are comparative and critical. The study of each work is prefaced with an account of the life-history, date and other works, if any, of the poet. As the *Paūma Cariya* is the earliest extant Jain poem dealing with the story of Rāma, it is studied exhaustively.

Then I have studied the versions of *Rāmāyaṇa* based on the *Paūmacariya* only in their deviations from it so as to avoid repetition. The Rāma-story given by Guṇabhadra is markedly different from that of Vimala. It is compared with Vimala's story and an attempt is made to trace the sources of its remarkable differences. The version of *Rāmāyaṇa* given by Puṣpadanta is then treated as it is based on Guṇabhadra's. The *Rāmāyaṇa* versions of Saṅghadāsa and Hariṣeṇa are then dealt with fully as they show remarkable divergences with the works of Vimala and Guṇabhadra. In the case of other Jain works that casually deal with the Rāma story only a few general remarks are offered. In conclusion, I have dealt with the interrelation of the Jain forms of the Rāma story and traced the origin and development of *Rāmāyaṇa* in Jain literature, discussing the mutual relation of the Jain tradition and the tradition represented by Vālmiki.

Although this is not the first study of the Rāma story in Jain Literature it claims originality in :

- (a) a critical and comprehensive study of the original Jain Rāmāyaṇas,
- (b) an all-embracing review of the various aspects of the problem which has been only partially dealt with by other scholars,
- (c) the bringing out of the inter-relation of the various Jain versions and a comparative study of the two representative versions of the Jains' with Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*,
- (d) the treatment of the problem with Jain Mythology as the background, and
- (e) a literary appreciation of the Jain versions.

When the views of other writers are accepted and restated, some additional evidence is brought forward in support of them and when the conclusions of other scholars are not accepted, I have offered reasons for rejecting them which appear convincing to me.

In preparing the manuscript for the present work I have revised the thesis in many points in the light of many constructive and valuable suggestions made by Dr. Alsdorf. I have rearranged the matter of the different chapters, and treated the question of Vimala's date and the language of the *Paṇḍarīkā* at greater length. I have discussed more elaborately the version of Guṇabhadra to find out how far it is dependent on Vālmiki or the Hindu *Rāmāyaṇa* in general or whether it does not also contain an independent Jain tradition. I have added to the thesis the chapters treating the important versions found in the *Vasudevahindī* the *Cauppannamahā-purīṣacariya*, the *Kahāvalī* and the *Yogaśāstra-svopajñā-vṛtti* of Hemacandra. It is hoped these changes and additions will enhance the value of the work.

An author is seldom satisfied with his work, much less several years after he has finished it. There is no doubt that, if I were writing this book now, it would be pretty different. Yet, such as it is with all its limitations, I still consider it very useful and stimulating.

I am happy to acknowledge a heavy debt of obligation to my Guide, Prof. K.V. Abhyankar, M.A. I find it difficult to express in words my gratitude to him. I wish I could express adequately how much I owe to my teachers Dr A.N. Upadhye M.A., D.Litt, and Dr. A.M. Ghatage, M.A. Ph. D. They have been a perennial source of inspiration to me since they initiated me into the study of Prakrit languages and literature. I derived valuable benefit from personal discussions with all the three teachers on the various aspects of the subject of this work, and their suggestions and criticism while the work was in progress, were very welcome to me. I am indebted to all the predecessors in the field and I tender grateful thanks to them. I offer my

(x)

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V.M. Kulkarni

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CHATER 1

INTRODUCTION : THE CHARACTER OF JAIN MYTHOLOGY

1. RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

Religion and mythology are always intimately connected with each other. Works on mythology clothe with flesh and blood, the bony framework of spiritual truths and ethical code as set forth in sacred literature. Without such a body of flesh and bone, the mere life-force of the sacred texts cannot function with effect. It is of course, equally true that without such life-force the mere mass of flesh and bone will decay. The Purāṇas popularize the truths taught in the sacred books by presenting them in relation to individual men and women and to the events of their lives. They explain, illustrate and inculcate the moral principles stated in them.

2. THE DEFINITION OF MAHĀ-PURĀṆA

Jinasena, the author of the Ādi-Purāṇa, says : “I shall describe the narrative of 63 ancient persons, viz., the (24) Tīrthakaras, the (12) Cakravartins, (9) Baladevas, (9) Ardha-Cakravartins (i. e, Vāsudevas) and their enemies (i. e., Prativāsudevas). The word Purāṇa meant ‘old or ancient narrative’. It is called ‘great’ because it relates to the great (personages), or because it is narrated by the great (Tīrthakaras, Gaṇadhara or Ācāryas) or because it teaches (the way to) supreme bliss. Other learned men say that it is called Purāṇa because it originates with an old poet and it is called great because of its intrinsic greatness. The great ṛṣis called it a Mahā-purāṇa as it relates to great men and teaches (the way to) supreme bliss”¹. And he adds that “the Mahā-Purāṇa is regarded ‘Ārṣa’ because it was composed by ṛṣis, ‘Sūkta’ as it expounds truth and ‘Dharma-śāstra’ as it declares Dharma. It is also looked upon as Itihāsa, Itivṛtta, or Aitihiya or Āmnaya as it contains many stories about ‘Iti-ha-āsa’ (- ‘so it has been’ i. e., ‘traditional history’)². Thus according to Jinasena, Purāṇa and Itihāsa are synonymous terms. A Tippiṇa-kāra of Puṣpadanta’s

-
- 1 तीर्थेशामपि चक्रेशां हलिनामर्धचक्रिणाम् । त्रिषष्टिलक्षणं वक्ष्ये पुराणं तद्विषामपि ॥
पुरातनं पुराणं स्यात् तन्महन्महदाश्रयात् । महद्भिरुपदिष्टत्वात् महाश्रेयोऽनुशासनात् ॥
कवि पुराणमाश्रित्य प्रसृतत्वात् पुराणता । महत्त्वं स्वमहिम्नैव तस्येत्यन्यैरुच्यते ॥
महापुरुषसम्बन्धि महाभ्युदयशासनम् । महापुराणमाम्नातमत एतन्महर्षिभिः ॥

— Jinasena. M. P. I. 20-23

- 2 ऋषिप्रणीतमार्षं स्यात् सूक्तं सूनृतशासनात् । धर्मानुशासनाच्चेदं धर्मशास्त्रमिति स्मृतम् ।
इतिहास इतिष्टं तद् इति हासीदिति श्रुतेः । इतिवृत्तमर्थेतिह्यमाम्नायञ्चामनन्ति तत् ॥

— Jinasena. M. P. I. 24-25

Mahāpurāṇa, however, makes a distinction between the two, saying that Itihāsa means the narrative of a single individual while Purāṇa means the narratives of 63 great men of the Jain faith³. The Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra (I. 5) in its definition of Itihāsa enumerates 'Purāṇa' and 'Itivṛtta' as belonging to the content of Itihāsa. As Itivṛtta can only mean a 'historical event', Purāṇa probably means 'mythological and legendary lore'.

3. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF JAIN MYTHOLOGY

It is believed that Jainism is comparatively of a later origin. Jain works speak of 24 Tirthakaras. A majority of eminent scholars however, accept that Mahāvīra and Pārśvanātha (and Neminātha too, according to a few,) were historical personages and they consider the rest of the Tirthakaras to be mythical figures.⁴ Jainism received great impetus under Mahāvīra's religious leadership. A few centuries after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, the Jains felt the necessity of having their own mythology which would provide an excellent means for reaching popular thought and propagating their own views, ideals and doctrines. To meet the requirement the religious teachers and masters of Jainism invented myths, accepted popular legends with necessary modifications and borrowed the most popular stories from the Hindu Mythology-adapting them so as to make them suitable vehicles to convey the truths of their own religion, philosophy and ethics. Jain Mythology centres in the personalities of sixty three great figures. The material for their lives is found partly in the *Kalpa-sūtra* and, in its basic elements, in the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* and *Āvaśyakabhāṣya*. These lives have assumed a definite pattern, though the extent of details and poetic descriptions etc., differ from author to author. The names of all the Tirthakaras are handed down with a multitude of details. "Yet the minutiae are precisely the same for each, with changes of name and place, and with variation as to the details of complexion and stature, as well as the designations of the attendant spirits, who are a Yakṣa and a Yakṣiṇī, of the *gaṇadhara* (leader of disciples), and of the Āryā (first woman convert)." A minor alteration here and there is remarkable : thus the 20th Tirthakara, Muni-Suvrata and twenty-second, Ariṣṭa-nemi⁵ are said to have been of the Harivamśa,

3 Puṣpadanta-M. P. Vol. I, P. 9.

The definition of Purāṇa found in the Hindu Purāṇas may be noted here :

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।

वंशानुचरितं चैवं पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

The Brahmaparivartapurāṇa, however, says that the five lakṣaṇas are only for the Upapurāṇas, while Mahapurāṇas ("the great Purāṇas") have "ten lakṣaṇas" including "praise of Viṣṇu and the gods individually". The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa likewise mentions "ten lakṣaṇas" of the Purāṇa in two places (II. 10.1 and XII. 7. 8 ff.)

4 Jacobi. Winternitz, Glasenapp, to mention a few only.

5 The word अरिष्टनेमि occurs in R̥gveda I. 89. 6, but it has nothing to do with the Jain Tirthakara.

and not like all the others, of the Ikṣvāku family; such alterations we find in a few cases regarding the place where some Tīrthakaras attained Mokṣa or perfect knowledge or the posture at the time of final release. But for the most part the Jain narratives include precisely the same miracles in regard to the birth and other events in the lives of the Tīrthakaras.

The Jain tradition traces the origin of the Purāṇas to Lord Mahāvīra himself; and provides a succession of teachers through whom they were handed down, some of whom cannot be said to be historical personages. The traditions as recorded in the different Purāṇas of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digāmbaras differ considerably and are conflicting. It is possible that the origin is traced to Mahāvīra in order to invest the Purāṇa concerned with sanctity and authority—in the present state of our knowledge we cannot summarily brush aside their claim that they were given in the Pūrva texts which are irretrievably lost to us—but this much we can say that ‘strings of names’ (Nāmavalī), such as are found in the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, were contained in the Pūrvas and their oral exposition from his teacher was received by Vimala. Sūri who composed the earliest extant Jain epic—Purāṇa—the *Pauma-cariya*—written according to his own statement 530 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra.

Modern scholars like Jacobi, Glasenapp and Winternitz hold that *the mythology of the Jains is to a great extent derivative*. The *Mahābhārata* attributed to Vyāsa and the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki—these two epics of the Hindus were very popular and had made a deep impression on the lives of millions of people in the land. Again some of the oldest Purāṇas, which tradition attributes to Vyāsa, must have been widely prevalent in those days. Especially the exploits of Rāma and of Kṛṣṇa were such as made the Hindus look upon them as the Avatāras of God Viṣṇu. The Jain writers, coming later, may have wished to make a popular appeal to rival the influence of Brahmanical works on the masses and therefore could not ignore the great heroes—Rāma and Kṛṣṇa—and their lives. It was thus natural for the Jains to adopt the Rāma story and the Kṛṣṇa—legend and to give them a Jain background and atmosphere.

Besides adopting the legends of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa they incorporated a large number of popular legends in their mythology in order to propagate Jain virtues. These legends have their counter-parts in Hindu and Buddhist literature : e. g., the well-known legends of Bharata, Sagara - the descent of Gaṅgā and the destruction of 60000 sons of Sagara—Brahmadatta, Śreṇika and R̥ṣyaśṛṅga. They also introduced a number of purely Jain legends in their mythology. To this category belong the biographies of the first 22 Tīrthakaras (for the last two are historical ones), of some of the Cakravartins and some of the 27 heroes (Baladevas etc.). Not only the Tīrthakaras themselves but other holy men too have been glorified in their works by the Jains, e. g. Śālibhadra, a famous legendary hero, Jivandhara, who is celebrated

first in the *Uttarapurāṇa* and then in many later works in Sanskrit and Tamil, Yaśo-dhara, Karakaṇḍu, Nāgakumāra and Śrīpāla. Thus we have the Jain Mythology built up out of considerable borrowings from the Hindu epics and mythology, popular legends from the common stock of Indian literature and pure Jain legends created to give Jainism a background of ancient tradition and to propagate Jain virtues of Ahimsā, Satya, etc.

4 THE SIXTY-THREE GREAT FIGURES OF JAIN MYTHOLOGY

Sixty-three Śalākā-Puruṣas : As already remarked it is mainly the lives of the sixty three excellent men (Śalākā Puruṣas) that form the subject matter of Jain mythology. These prominent personages are classified into five groups : (1) 24 Tīrthakaras, (ii) 12 Cakravartins—sovereign rulers of the world, (iii) 9 Baladevas, (iv) 9 Vāsudevas and (v) 9 Prativāsudevas.

Now let us first give a clear idea as to what these words signify. The word Śalākā-puruṣa is taken to mean by all as 'Pravara-puruṣa', 'Uttama-puruṣa' or 'Mahāpuruṣa'⁶ i.e., great or eminent or prominent personages. But how the word came to be equated with Mahāpuruṣa is not properly explained by any writer. The commentary on *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* III. 364 explains thus : 'Śalākāpuruṣaḥ puruṣeṣu jātarekhā itya-rthaḥ', meaning thereby probably—"Those who are marked, characterised, distinguished (by 'Mukti') from amongst the people at large"⁷. Śalākā means, a small bamboo stick which a Buddhist monk used as an identity badge. Śalākā-puruṣa would probably mean "legitimised, characterised men" so that Śalākā-puruṣa and Lakṣaṇa-puruṣa are synonymous. *Abhidhānarājendra*, however, explains the term differently⁸. The interpretation of the word as 'Men characterised by Mukti-liberation' seems to be more correct. Another meaning may be suggested here. In ancient days lines were drawn for counting 'number'. So Śalākā-puruṣa were those distinguished men whose number would be counted by drawing lines.

The word Tīrthakara or Tīrthamkara means 'saviour', 'spiritual guide', 'one who shows the way to cross the ocean of worldly existence', or to follow tradition, one who establishes the four-fold order of the Jains consisting of (i) 'Sādhu', (ii) Sādhvī, (iii) Śrāvaka and (iv) Śrāvikā. The two words, viz., Jina and Arhat are often used as synonyms of Tīrthakara. Jina means "one who subduing love or hatred towards *saṃsāra*, has been liberated" and Arhat—one who deserves to be honoured and worshipped (by even Indra and other gods etc.). Tīrthakaras are the prophets

6 For example of the title of. Śilācārya's work — "Caūpanna-mahāpurisacariya" or the word 'Uttama-purisa' used in this connection in the "Samavāyāṅga".

7 Winternitz (Hist. of Indian Lit. Vol. II, p. 505) translates it as "which form as it were lines of demarcation among the monks".

8 कस्यचिद् वस्तुनोऽनेकभेदज्ञापनार्थं कोष्ठकरेखासु २४ तीर्थकराः १२ चक्रिणः ९ बलदेवाः ९ वासुदेवाः ९ प्रतिवासुदेवाश्चेति त्रयषष्टि शलाकापुरुषाः ।

of Jainism, they promulgate *dharma* and by their precept and example help their followers to attain *mukti*.

The word *Cakravartin* or *Cakrin* means 'one who rules over the six Khaṇḍas of Bhārata-varṣa'. He possesses a wondrous Cakra (Disc) whereby he is called a 'Cakrin'. Dr. Ghatage gives the explanatory gloss as :

"The classical Indian idea of a Cakravartin is that of a universal monarch, a paramount ruler. Vedic literature knows the word Sam-rāṭ but Cakravartin comes into vogue only in the later parts of the epics. In the popular literature such rulers are also assigned to the Vidyādharas, semi-divine beings, as in the case of Nara-vāhana-datta, the son of Udayana and the hero of the *Bṛhat-Kathā*. The original meaning appears to be a king, whose chariot-wheel meets no obstacle in his conquests.

With the Buddhists the Cakravartin got associated with a disc, a jewel, which precedes him and procures for him success. He represents the secular authority as the Buddha does the spiritual power. It is said of Buddha 'धम्मचक्रं पवत्ति'. The Jain idea of a Cakravartin is similar and he is said to win 14 *rajas*, including the disc. These ideas are all developments from the popular identification of the *carka* with the disc in the hand of Viṣṇu, a solar symbol. There are twelve such universal monarchs in Jain Mythology. They have further created the category of Bhara-tārdha-cakravartins who rule only half the Bharata country, and who are having the nine Vāsudevas with them.

Scholars have explained the word चक्रवर्तिन् in different ways. Wilson considered it to mean 'one who abides in (वर्तते) a large territory called a चक्र. Kern takes वर्तिन् to mean वर्तयति 'who rules'. Senart regards him to be one who owns a चक्रवाल while Jacobi thinks that चक्र here stands for the political term मण्डल."

The word *Baladeva* (also *Balabhadra*) or *Haladhara* or *Halin* is used for the elder step-brother of Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva, who is a mighty human king ruling over three parts of the earth. For example, in the story of Rāma, Padma (another name of Rāma) is the Baladeva and Lakṣmaṇa is the Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva; and Rāvaṇa who is antagonistic to Vāsudeva is called Prativāsudeva.

According to one tradition there are 54 great men only, as it does not count the Prativāsudevas in the list of 'Uttama-puruṣas'. This tradition is recorded in the Samavāyaṅga-Sūtra and Śīlacārya too speaks of 54 great men.

It is to be noted that all these 63 Śalākā-Puruṣas are "great men" and are bereft of any divine element. In the Hindu Mythology Nārāyaṇa is an epithet of Viṣṇu Kṛṣṇa and Balabhadra or Baladeva (or Balarāma) is the name of the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa is the supreme God and Baladeva too is sometimes regarded as

an incarnation of the serpent Śeṣa and sometimes as the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu. And so also the Hindus regard Rāma as the Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmaṇa as the incarnation of Ananta (the serpent Śeṣa). Now the Jains agree with the Hindus in regarding Kṛṣṇa as Nārāyaṇa and Balarāma as Baladeva; they however, invert their order in the case of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa whom they regard as Baladeva and Nārāyaṇa respectively. It appears they deliberately introduced this change for the sake of uniformity—for in the case of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa the elder brother is Baladeva and the younger one Nārāyaṇa and it is not unlikely that the name 'Rāma' was to some extent responsible for his being regarded as Baladeva.

With these preliminary remarks we now take up a detailed consideration of these five groups of great men of Jainism :

The Twenty-four Tirthakaras : Besides the 24 Tirthaṅkaras belonging to the present age, Jain Mythology takes account also of a past and future age and to each of the aeons are assigned 24 Tirthakaras. And further, they are said to be born in ten different regions of Jain cosmography such as Bharata-Kṣetra, Haimavata-Kṣetra and the like. Thus we have in all 720 Tirthakaras. The 24 of the present aeon are, however, described with great details. Their biographies follow a uniform pattern. The lives of the two famous Tirthakaras—Pārśva and Mahāvīra are described in Jain works with a wealth of detail and in the case of others only remarkable events are recorded. As a rule, in the case of each Tirthakara, the following particulars are mentioned.

(1) The previous births, (2) the name of the heavenly region from which he descends, (3) his parent's names, (4) birth-place, (5) 'Nakṣatra' or the Zodiacal sign of his birth, (6) his height, (7) his colour, (8) his age, (9) the tree under which he obtains Kevala or perfect knowledge, (10) his place of Nirvāṇa, (11) the number of his *gaṇadhara*s or chief disciples, and of sādhus, sādhvīs, śrāvakas and śrāvikas, (12) the Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī that wait upon him, (13) the interval between him and his predecessor and (14) the periods of time during which he lived as a householder, etc., and the date of his Nirvāṇa. The names of 24 Tirthakaras are :

1. Rṣabha, 2. Ajita 3. Sambhava, 4. Abhinandana, 5. Sumati, 6. Padma-prabha, 7. Supārśva, 8. Candraprabha, 9. Puṣpadanta, 10. Śitala, 11. Śreyāṃsa, 12. Vasupjūya, 13. Vimala, 14. Ananta, 16. Śāntinātha, 17. Kunthu, 18. Aranātha, 19. Malli, 20. Muni Suvrata, 21. Naminātha, 22. Nemi (or Ariṣṭa-nemi), 23. Pārśva and 24. Mahāvīra. Excepting the last two (or three) who are historical persons, others are from the sphere of Jain Mythology.

The twelve Cakravartins are the sovereign rulers over six parts of the Bharata country. Like the Biographies of the Tirthakaras, those of the Cakravartins too follow a uniform pattern. As a reward of the good Karman done in the previous births or as a result of 'Nidāna' (an evil resolution to utilise the merit of ones'

penance to get the desired object in the next life) they are born as Cakravartins in the dynasty of the Ikṣvaku, etc. They expand their empire on the strength of their superior valour. They are handsome mighty heroes; defeating their enemies they rule over the Bharata country—when gods descend from heaven, they bestow encomium on them and coronate them as “Emperor”. They rule for a very long time over the country—enjoying pleasures in the company of women and the glory due to an Emperor. What is extraordinary about them is their possession of 14 ‘*ratnas*’ and 9 ‘*nidhis*’. The *ratnas* or gems are : 1. Cakra (disc), 2. Daṇḍa (a staff), 3. Khaḍga (sword), 4. Chatra (Parasol) 5. Carma (Marvellous hide), 6. Maṇi (jewel), 7. Kākīṇī and 8. Senāpati, 9. Gṛhapati, 10. Vārdhakī, 11. Purohita, 12. Gaja (Elephant), 13. Aśva (Horse) and 14. Strī (woman). The ‘*nidhis*’, which they possess, are, according to some, a work treating of nine lores while according to others, treasures kept in Caskets. Their names are : 1. Naisarpa (mansion), 2. Pāṇḍuka (food-grains), 3. Pingalaka (ornaments), 4. Sarvārathaka (14 jewels), 5. Mahāpadma (other jewels), 6. Kāla (astrology), 7. Mahākāla (mines of metals and gems), 8. Māṇavaka (the art of war) and 9. Śaṅkha (Poetry, dramatic sciences and music). We do not get an exact idea about the nature of 9 ‘*nidhis*’.

The names of the twelve Cakravartins are :

1. Bharata, 2. Sagara, 3. Maghavan, 4. Sanatkumara, 5. Śāntinātha, 6. Kunthunātha, 7. Ara(ha)-nātha, 8. Subhauma, 9. Padmanābha, 10. Hariṣeṇa, 11. Jayasena and 12. Brahmadatta.

Of these, the names of Bharata, Sagara, Maghavan and Brahmadatta are celebrated in Hindu Epics and Purāṇas.

The 9 Baladevas, 9 Vāsudevas and 9 Prativāsudevas : Baladeva, Vāsudeva and Prativāsudeva are great heroes, born as contemporaries. Baladeva and Vāsudeva are step-brothers and Prativāsudeva is antagonistic to them. The complexion of Baladeva is white and he wears blue garment. His banner is emblazoned with a palm-tree. He possesses four Āyudhas : 1. Dhanus (Bow), 2. Gadā (Mace), 3. Musala (Pestle) and 4. Hala (Plough). According to Digambara tradition he has all these except the first for which they substitute ‘Ratnamālā’. His birth is indicated by four dreams which his mother sees.

Vāsudeva, also called Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, is the younger step-brother of Baladeva. He plays a very active role in the narrative and may be looked upon as the hero of the story. It is he who finally kills the Prativāsudeva. He is rather hot-tempered whereas his elder step-brother is very pious and gentle by nature. His is a dark complexion and he wears a yellow garment. He bears on his chest the sign of Śrīvatsa. He possesses a white parasol and chowries and his banner is marked with the figure of ‘eagle’. He possesses seven Āyudhas : 1. a Pāñcājanya conch, 2. Sudarṣana (Disc), 3. Kaumodakī-mace, 4. Śārṅga bow, 5. Nandaka sword, 6. Vanamālā,

a garland of wild flowers and 7. Kaustubha jewel. According to the Digambara tradition he possesses all the seven except the last two for which they substitute Daṇḍa and Śakti. From the number of Ayudhas and also from the number of dreams – 7 according to the Śvetāmbaras and 5 according to the Digambaras – which appear to his mother and announce his birth, it can be seen that the Jains represent him to be more powerful than his elder step-brother.

Prativāsudeva is a mighty hero, no doubt, but he is portrayed as a tyrant. His birth is announced by 1-4 dreams, dreamt by his mother. Baladeva and Vāsudeva are deeply attached to each other and for one reason or the other the two entertain hostility to the Prativāsudeva, who is an Ardha-Cakrin – one who rules three parts of the earth. In the war it is Vāsudeva who kills the Prativāsudeva; the latter after death, sinks into hell as a result of his sinful deeds. Vāsudeva then becomes an Ardha-Cakrin, enjoys the pleasures of kingdom for a long time and after death goes to hell as a result of 'himsā' that he has committed in war etc., and to counteract which he has not performed *tapas* after entering the ascetic order. After the death of Vāsudeva, Baladeva finds no joy in Saṃsāra, enters the ascetic order, practises austerities and finally obtains heaven or attains to Nirvāṇa.

The names of these heroes are :

<i>Baladeva</i>	<i>Vāsudeva</i>	<i>Prativāsudeva</i>
1. Vijaya	Triprṣṭa	Aśvagrīva
2. Acala	Dviprṣṭa	Tārvka
3. Dharmaprabha or Bhadra	Svayambhū	Meraka
4. Suprabha	Puruṣottama	Madhu-Kaiṭabha
5. Sudarśana	Puruṣasimha	Niṣumbha
6. Ānanda	Puṇḍarīka	Balin
7. Nandana	Datta	Prahlāda
8. Padma (Rāma)	Lakṣmaṇa	Rāvaṇa
9. (Bala-) Rāma	Kṛṣṇa	Jarāsandha

From amongst these heroes we note that some are glorified in the Hindu Mythology and the Epics, e.g., the 8th and the 9th sets of Baladevas, Vāsudevas and Prativāsudevas. Thus these 63 great men form the backbone, as it were, of Jain Mythology. From the schematic treatment of the lives of these heroes we note that *the Jain Mythology 'has all the appearance of a purely constructed system'*. At the same time it must be admitted that the heroes of the Rāmāyaṇa and of Kṛṣṇa-story may not have been absolutely fictitious characters. Reputed and eminent scholars of the Hindu Epics and Purāṇas do hold that Rāma, Kṛṣṇa etc., may have lived as actual human beings.

5. THE EXTENT OF JAIN MYTHOLOGY

The narrative literature of the Jains is very vast in extent and varied in scope. The Purāṇas, the Mahā-Purāṇas, and the 'Caritras' together form one of its main types. They are written in Prakrit, Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa. They treat of the biographies of the 63 Eminent Men (Śalākā Puruṣas) that is to say the 24 Tīrthakaras, and their contemporaries, the 12 Cakravartins or rulers of the world and the 27 heroes – 9 Baladevas, 9 Vāsudevas and 9 Prativāsudevas of antiquity. These works are usually called 'Purāṇas' by the Digambaras while 'Caritras' by the Śvetāmbaras. The Mahā-Purāṇa contains the lives of all the 63 prominent personalities, whereas a Purāṇa or Carita generally deals with the life of a single Jina or some other hero.¹⁰ The number of these works is very large and a few of them are very wide in their scope, while others confine themselves to narrow limits.

Winternitz, in his *History of Indian Literature*,¹¹ briefly reviews the well-known Digambara Purāṇas (Padma-Harivamśa-, Triṣaṣṭīlakṣaṇa-, Mahā- and Uttara-Purāṇa) and Śvetāmbara Caritas like Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭī-Śalākā-puruṣa-Carita.¹² The Jains adopted almost all the favourite popular themes from Brahmanical and general Indian Literature to offer their coreligionists all that they could find elsewhere too. They also created poems of their own, which were to serve the Jain Community as a substitute for the great epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*.

6. THE SUBJECT MATTER OF JAIN MYTHOLOGY

Besides the lives of the sixty three great figures the Purāṇas expound various topics such as the 'Anāditva' of the universe, the origin of different races, genealogies and accounts of kings, the duties of a Śrāvaka and of a Śramaṇa, philosophy, ethics, metaphysics, criticism of the cult of animal sacrifice and of the priestly religion. No single work treats of all these subjects but, taken collectively, they may justly be described as a popular encyclopaedia of Jainism representing all phases, religious, philosophical, historical, and cultural. The Purāṇas claim to expound also the four subjects which comprise all human endeavour – Dharma (righteousness), Artha (wealth), Kāma (love) and Mokṣa (liberation)¹³. Certain Purāṇas claim to give a 'history of the world' and present at the same time an encyclopaedia of all that is edifying to the pious Jain and that is worthy of his study. Thus, for example, the Ādi-Purāṇa des-

9 See Dr. Upadhye's Introduction to *Bṛhatkathakośa*, and Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature* Vol. II.

10 For example, the Mahāpurāṇa of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra or the Triṣaṣṭī-Śalākāpuruṣa-carita of Hemacandra and Pārśvanātha-Caritra of Bhāvadeva Suri.

11 Vol. II. pp. 486-519.

12 For a list of the works giving the various Jain versions of the Rāmāyaṇa see below.

13 See, e. g., Pc. 118.111.

cribes the Saṃskāras¹⁴, which accompany the life of an individual from conception to death, the interpretation of dreams¹⁵, and short treatises on town planning and the duties of the warrior¹⁶ and the art of governing (Nīti)¹⁷ – besides ornate descriptions of cities, mountains, rivers and the like in accordance with the rules laid down by Ālambārikas for a Mahākāvya. The same Ādi-Purāṇa mentions eight topics or subjects which a Purāṇa ought to deal with : (i) the universe (Loka), (ii) the country with its mountains, sea etc., – (Deśa), (iii) the city or capital (Pura), (iv) kingdom (Rājyam), (v) the life of a Jina which acts as a ford to cross the ocean of Saṃsāra (Tīrtha) (vi) giving of alms and donations and austerities (Dāna-tapas), (vii) the four conditions of existence such as hells etc., and (viii) the fruit of ‘puṇya’ and ‘pāpa’, the highest reward being ‘mokṣa’.¹⁸

7. A COMPARISON WITH THE HINDU EPICS AND PURĀṆAS

The *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and some of the oldest Purāṇas are undoubtedly older than the Jain Purāṇas. And these served the Jains as a model – though not a perfect one – in composing their epics about Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Purāṇas of the 63 prominent personalities. Broadly speaking the Jain Purāṇas and the Hindu Epics and Purāṇas treat of a large number of common subjects including biographies of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, origin of the universe, dissolution and recreation of the universe, the divisions of time assigned to Manus (Kulakaras), ancient royal genealogies, and accounts of persons mentioned therein; religious instruction, the four Puruṣārthas, viz., Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa, the Tīrthas and the benefits which they confer on pilgrims, medicine, architecture, astrology, grammar, the rights and duties of a king, gnostic sayings both on morality and on worldly wisdom and the like.

The method of presentation adopted by the Jains is the same as that of the Hindus. The legends of the Tīrthakaras and others are presented in the style of ornate epic following the compilers of the Hindu Purāṇas. Each Purāṇa is constructed as a discourse delivered by some person of authority to one or more hearers¹⁹ : the subjects are expounded, often in the form of question and answer and not always methodically; and into the narration are woven stories and discourses uttered by other persons. These Purāṇas are mainly in verse. Like the Hindu Epics and Purāṇas which afford us insight into all aspects and phases of mediaeval Hinduism, the Jain Purāṇas too constitute a popular encyclopaedia of mediaeval Jainism – religious, philosophical, historical, social and cultural

14 Chs. 38-40.

15 Ch. 41.

16 Ch. 16.

17 Ch. 42.

18 J. M. P. 4. 3.

19 e. g., Gautami expounds the Paṇini-śāstra to king Śreṇika on his request.

8. THE DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF JAIN MYTHOLOGY

The Hindus have got besides the 18 Purāṇas proper, an equal number of secondary works of the same class called Upapurāṇas, the Jains have nothing to correspond to these Upapurāṇas. While the Hindu Purāṇas are primarily an extension, amplification and illustration of the spiritual truths stated in the Vedas in the form of injunctions and commands, the Jaina Purāṇas criticise and condemn the Vedic cult of animal sacrifice and the priestly religion, and amplify and illustrate the Jain ethics, the duties of a Jain householder, and of a Jain monk; in unequivocal words they condemn the incredible legends and doings of the Hindu Purāṇic deities; they illustrate the inexorable law of Karman that governs every one's destiny and there is no place for any god bestowing favours and meting out punishments. There are, however, a few stories and incidents in which semi-divine or heavenly (to be distinguished from the liberated) beings come to the rescue of Jain devout souls at crucial moments in their life. Exceptional sanctity is bestowed on life and Ahimsā is the highest moral principle guiding all human affairs. Śramaṇic ideology is always kept in the forefront. Tīrthakaras and munis are introduced who give discourses on Jain ethics, dogmatics and philosophy, preach the worthlessness of worldly pleasures and inculcate love for liberation. The principal heroes and important personages are shown to have accepted the duties of a Jain householder or entered the ascetic order and in the end attaining to heaven or liberation. Whereas the heroes of the Hindu epics move in an entirely Brahmanical atmosphere in the Jain Purāṇas the dharma preached by the Jains is everywhere very much to the fore. No doubt the Hindu epics and Purāṇas speak of belief in transmigration and refer to past births but in the Jain epics and Purāṇas the past and future lives of the heroes are told with a great wealth of detail. Whereas the epics and the Purāṇas of the Hindus regard Rāma and Kṛṣṇa as human beings who walked the earth veiling their supreme divine glory – incarnations of God Viṣṇu and glorify the trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśa and many other deities, the Jain Purāṇas empty the stories of their divine elements – to them Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are no divine incarnations and gods such as Indra etc., do not shine prominently in their mythology. It is the 63 Śalākā-Puruṣas that are celebrated in the Jain epics and Purāṇas. These Śalākā-Puruṣas include the Tīrthakaras whom the Jains venerate and worship as the Hindus do their gods – theoretically the Jains refuse to recognise gods and although their Jinas bear the appearance of deities on account of the irresistible Brahmanical influence, the Jinas are still bereft of the power of creation and destruction of the universe, of punishment or forgiveness of sins. Although all the Vedic gods do not retain their prominent position in the Brahmanical Epics and Purāṇas still a few of them such as Indra, Agni, Varuṇa, the Sūrya etc., hold important positions. The Jain Purāṇas do refer to a few Vedic deities such as Indra, Varuṇa, etc., but they do not occupy places of supreme importance – they are subordinated to the great Tīrthakaras. Some of the godlings mentioned in the Ṛgveda are termed as a class of Vyantaras and given comparatively greater prominence.

9. THE RĀMA STORY IN JAIN MYTHOLOGY

The three principal characters of the Rāma legend are drawn from among the 63 Śalākā-puruṣas. They are Padma (Rāma), Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa who form the 8th set of Baladeva, Vāsudeva and Prativāsudeva. Of all the 27 heroes they enjoy supreme popularity and Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha stand next to them in popularity. That the Rāma story is most popular with the Jains can be seen from the number of works which treat of it right from the first century down to 17th century A.D. We give below a list of important works which sing of the glory of Rāma :

1. Paūma-cariya of Vimala Sūri (4 A.D. or 62 A.D.)
2. Vasudevahiṇḍi of Sanghadāsa (not later than 609 A.D.)
3. Padmapurāṇa of Raviṣeṇa (678 A.D.)
4. Paūma-Cariū of Svayambhū (middle of the 8th century A.D. ?)
5. Caūpannamahāpurisacariya of Śīlācārya (868 A.D.)
6. Uttarapurāṇa of Guṇabhadra (9th century A.D.)
7. Bṛhat-Kathakośa of Hariṣeṇa (931-32 A.D.)
8. Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta (965 A.D.)
9. Kahāvalī of Bhadrēśvara (11th century A.D.)
10. Yogaśāstra-svopajña-vṛtti of Hemacandra (latter half of the 12th century A.D.)
11. Triṣaṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita of Hemacandra (—do—)
12. Śatruñjaya-māhātmya of Dhaneśvara (14th century A.D.)
13. Puṇyacandrodayapurāṇa of Kṛṣṇadāsa (1528 A.D.)
14. Rāmacarita of Devavijayaṇin (1596 A.D.)
15. Laghutriṣaṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra of Meghavijaya (second half of the 17th century A.D.)

The Dhūrtākhyāna of Haribhadra (750 A.D.) and the Dharmaparikṣā of Amita-gati (1014 A.D.) casually treat of the story of Rāma. The work of Svayambhū is not yet published in full. The works of Kṛṣṇadāsa, Devavijaya and Meghavijaya are not accessible to me.

Jinaratnakośa notices some other Jain works which treat the subject-matter of the *Rāmāyaṇa* :

1. Sīyācariya of Bhuvanatuṅga Sūri.
2. Rāmālakṣhaṇacariya of Bhuvanatuṅga Sūri.
3. Padmapurāṇa by Somasena.
4. Padmapurāṇa by Dharmakīrti.

2

5. Padmapurāṇa by Candrakīrti.
6. Padmapurāṇa by Candrasāgara.
7. Padmapurāṇa by Śīcandra.
8. Padmapurāṇa (also known as Rāmadevapurāṇa) by Jinadāsa, pupil of Sakalakīrti (the author follows Raviśena's Padmapurāṇa in his work).
9. Padmapurāṇa (also known as Rāmāyaṇa) by Pampa.
10. Cāmuṇḍarāyapurāṇa (also called Triṣaṣṭi-Śalākā Purāṇa or Triṣaṣṭi Purāṇa) by Cāmuṇḍarāya (pupil of Jinasena) in Kanarese language.
11. Triṣaṣṭimahāpurāṇa (also called as Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpurāṇa or Mahāpurāṇa) by Malliṣeṇa (pupil of Jinasena). It is in Sanskrit. It was composed in 1077 A.D.
12. Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇamahāpurāṇa (or simply Mahāpurāṇa) (or Laghumahāpurāṇa) by Candramuni.
13. Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra (in Sanskrit prose) by Vimala Sūri.
14. Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita (Gadya) by Vajrasena.
15. Triṣaṣṭismṛti by Āśādhara Pandit (in 1236 A.D.)
16. Dviśandhānakāvya (also called Rāghavapāṇḍaviya) by Dhanañjaya, a Digambara writer.
17. Mahāpuruṣacarita (also called Dharmopadeśaśataka or Upadeśaśataka) in five cantos by Merutuṅga (pupil of Candraprabhasūri of the Nāgendra Gaccha).
18. Mahāpuruṣacarita (in 8790 Prakrit Gāthās) by Āmrasūri. No MSS. are known so far.
19. Raghuvilāsanāṭaka by Rāmacandra (pupil of Hemacandra).
20. Rāghavābhyudayanāṭaka by (do).
21. Saptasandhānamahākāvya (a small poem in nine cantos, in which every verse is capable of seven interpretations connected with the seven great persons – five Jinas, Kṛṣṇa and Rāma) composed in 1704 A.D. by Meghavijayagaṇi (pupil of Kṛpāvijaya of the Tapā Gaccha).
22. Sītā-Carita (in Prakrit) anonymous.
23. Sītā-Caritra (in Prakrit) anonymous.
24. Sītā-Caritra by Śānti Sūri.
25. Sītā-Caritra by Brahma Nemidatta.
26. Sītā-Caritra of Amaradāsa.
27. Sītā-Caritra (a Kāvya in four cantos containing 95, 99, 153 and 209 stanzas respectively).
28. Sītā-prabandha (in Sanskrit) anonymous.

29. Sītānāṭaka (also called Maithilī-Kalyāṇanāṭaka) by Hastimalla, son of Govindabhaṭṭa.

30. Triṣaṣṭisāra by Hariṣeṇa, pupil of Vajrasena.

These works noticed in the *Jina-Ratna-Kośa* probably do not contain any new remarkable features but repeat in their own language what the older Jain writers have already said. This long list of unpublished works is given here only to indicate the tremendous popularity of the Rāma legend with the Jains.

With this background of the character and extent of the Jain Mythology and its distinguishing features from the Hindu Mythology we now turn to the study of the Jain Rāmāyaṇas, accessible to us.

Chapter II

PAÜMA-CARIYA OF VIMALA SÛRI

Paümacariya is the earliest Jain work dealing with the story of Rāma. It is written in Prakrit¹ and in the Āryā metre. The life of Padma – another name of Rāma is told here in 118 Cantos, of which the first 35 are called *Uddeśas* and the rest Parvans.² As this epic forms the basis of many poems by later Jain poets we give here a detailed summary of its contents.

CANTO I :

The poet opens his work with the customary benediction. He pays homage to Tirthaṅkaras and other venerable ones such as the Gaṇadharas etc. He then discloses his intention of describing the 'Life of Rāma' as handed down by tradition.³ He mentions the seven topics that constitute his *Purāṇa*.⁴ They are (1) Origin of the Universe, (2) Origin of the various dynasties, (3) Rāma's departure to the forest, (4) War between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, (5) Birth of Lava and Aṅkuśa, (6) the various existences, and (7) Emancipation from the cycle of birth and death. Then he sets forth the synoptic contents.⁵ (Table of Contents)

CANTO II :

The country of Magadha, the city of Rājapura and the king Śreṇika are described at length. Then follows a short description of Mahāvīra's life.⁶ Once Mahāvīra,

1 Modern scholars designate the Prakrit of the Pc as Jain Māhārāṣṭrī.

2 Why the poet uses two words for 'a canto' and not one consistently we cannot say.

3 The poet repeatedly stresses the point that the story he is telling, is handed down by tradition right from Lord Mahāvīra. See e. g., the following verses : I. 10, 29, 31, 33, 90; and see also Pc. 118, 102.

We will, later on, discuss the significance of this tradition.

4 The nature of and definition of *Purāṇa* according to the Hindus and the Jains we discuss under General Remarks.

5 Instead of reproducing these synoptic contents we give at the end of summary of each canto the title (in translation) which is eloquent of its contents.

6 This account does not speak of the transference of the foetus from the womb of Devānandā, a Brāhmaṇa lady to that of the queen mother of the royal household. Nor does it mention whether Mahāvīra was married. This significant fact would indicate that Vimal was a Digambara.

v. 65 of this canto tells us that Pṛthivī, Jala, Agni, Vāyu, Vanaspati are Sthāvara (immobile). It is in accordance with the Digambara view. According to the Śvetāmbaras Pṛthivī, Jala, and Vanaspati alone are Sthāvara.

v. 30 speaks of Mahāvīra, when he obtains, 'Kevala-jñāna as free from 8 kinds of karmas'. This is very extraordinary! Normally, we are told, only 4 Ghāti-Karmas are annihilated on this occasion.

on Gautama's request gave a sermon upon Jīva and Saṃsāra on the Vipula hill in the presence of gods etc.⁷ Among those present was king Śreṇika. When the king had returned home, he dreamt about the Jina, and the next morning he made the following reflection :

"I entertain grave doubts regarding the popular Rāma story. How is it possible that the mighty demon (Rākṣasa) heroes were killed by the monkeys (Vānaras) ? And the Rākṣasas with Rāvaṇa at their head, who were of noble descent are described as meat-eaters ! Again it is said that, in spite of all disturbances, Kumbhakarna slept for six months and then after waking up, devoured elephants and the like and then again slept for six months. Then again it is said that Indra, the lord of the three worlds, was taken prisoner by Rāvaṇa. If we believe this account we might as well as believe that the lion is killed by a deer and the elephant by a dog. These Rāma stories are indeed full of absurdities and lies.⁸ The king naturally desired to see the Jina with a view to obtaining enlightenment on such matters of doubt. (Śreṇika's Reflection.)

CANTO III :

The king with his retinue repairs to Gautama; and expresses his desire to hear the true story of Rāma in view of the perverted account given by the heretics. For example, they say that Rāvaṇa, the demon, was routed by Monkeys; that Rāma pierced a golden-deer with his arrow; that he killed Vālin treacherously to favour Sugrīva and Tārā; that Rāvaṇa put Indra in prison; that Kumbhakarna slept for half a year; that the Monkeys constructed bridge across the great sea.⁹ He, therefore, requests Gautama to instruct him correctly regarding the life of Rāma. Gautama declares his willingness to impart to the king what Mahāvīra himself proclaimed.¹⁰ For, Rāvaṇa was neither a demon nor a flesh-eater. All the which bad poets relate about Rāvaṇa is indeed false."¹¹ Gautama declares his intention to instruct the king first as to place and time and then as to the lives of great men.

The narrative begins in a true *Purāṇa* style,¹² with a description of the universe and the life history of Rṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, who lived in the Golden Age.

7 This is how a Digambara narrative opens, whereas the work of a Śvetāmbara poet begins with Sudharman's address to Jambū !

8 vv. 106-117. Under General Remarks that follow the summary we take up a critical discussion on the recension of the Rāma story presumed by these questions.

9 We shall discuss later on in what recension or recensions of Rāmāyaṇa we get such statements.

10 vv. 8-14.

11 अलियं दि सव्वमेयं, भणति जं कुकइणो मूढा । III. 15

12 The poem calls itself a *Purāṇa* in the opening (I. 32) and concluding (C XVIII. III) Cantos.

when there were only three castes, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The origin of the Vidyādhara, a kind of demigods is related. Nami and Vinami due to Indra's favour founded their kingdom on the ranges of the Vaitādhya mountain. (Description of the region of the Vidyādhara.)

CANTO IV :

Canto IV relates the wanderings of Rṣabha and his obtainment of perfect knowledge. The battle between Bharata and Bāhubali is described; and the origin of the Brāhmaṇas¹³ during Rṣabha's period is related. The canto at the close informs us of Rṣabha's *nirvāṇa*. (The topics of the arrangement of the things in the world, Rṣabha and the origin of Brāhmaṇas)

CANTO V :

Canto V speaks of the origin of four great families – Ikṣvāku, Soma, Vidyādhara and Harivamśa; it narrates the story of Ajita, the second Jina with all manner of preliminary stories and of Sagara;¹⁴ it also describes the history of the Rākṣasa dynasty of Lāṅkā-dvīpa. It is interesting to note the etymology of the word Rākṣasa.¹⁵ (The Topic of the Dynasty of the Rākṣasas.)

CANTO VI :

Canto VI tells the story of the Vānara dynasty. On the Vānaradvīpa there was the city of Kiṣkindhī. Śrīkaṇṭha, at the instance of the Lord of Lāṅkā ruled over it. Śrīkaṇṭha found there troops of Vānaras whom he held in regard. The arches of gates, banners and the like were decorated with the paintings of Vānaras who were looked upon with veneration by the kings in the family of Śrīkaṇṭha. The Vidyādhara race of Śrīkaṇṭha came to be called Vānaras owing to

13 vv. 115-17 of the previous canto speak of the origin of the three castes – Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. It is said there that Rṣabha was the author of the threefold order of castes according to their varying functions. And vv. 79-84 of this canto speak of the Brāhmaṇas. Note why the Brāhmaṇas are so-called

मा हणसु पुत्त एए जं उसमज्जिणेण वारिओ भरहो ।

तेण इमे सयल च्चिय वुच्चंति च माहणा लोए ॥

As against this we are told in the Hindu scriptures (e. g., see Manusmṛti Ch. I. vv. 87 ff.) that the four castes are created from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of the creator and that of them the Brāhmaṇas are the highest. The account given here, demonstrates the profound antagonism of the Jains towards the Brāhmaṇas.

14 The story of Sagara and his 60000 sons, told here, is very much different from the one given in the Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa (Book I. 38-44).

15 रक्खंति रक्खसा खलु दीवा पुण्णेण रक्खिया जेण ।

तेण चिय खयरणे रक्खसनामं कय लोए ॥ – V. 257

this badge of Vānaras.¹⁶ The canto, further, relates the fight between the Vidyādhara on one side and the Vānaras and the Rākṣasas on the other, the defeat of the latter, their shelter in the Pātāla-Lāṅkā, the revenge taken by the sons of the defeated heroes, and finally the entering into ascetic order of the heroes and their followers. (The topic of Entering the Ascetic Order of the Rākṣasas and Vānaras.)

CANTO VII :

Canto VII treats of Indra, the overlord of the Vidyādhara, of Soma, Varuṇa, Kubera and Yama, the guardians of the universe, of Vaiśramaṇa (who is distinct from Kubera, a cousin of Rāvaṇa) and the birth of Rāvaṇa, his sister Candranakhā, and his brothers Bhānukarṇa and Vibhiṣaṇa. Rāvaṇa and his brothers acquire enormous magic powers by virtue of penance.¹⁷ v.v. 135-145 give the names of these different lores. These are : (1) Ākāśa-gāminī (the power to travel in the air), (2) Kāma-dāyini, (3) Kāma-gāmi, (4) Durnivārā, (5) Jagat-Kampā, (6) Prajñāpti (esoteric knowledge), (7) Bhānumālīni, (8) Laghimā (power of assuming excessive lightness at will), (9) Aṇimā (power of becoming as small as an atom), (10) Manas-stambha-kāriṇī (the power to cast spell on others), (11) Akṣobhyā (unconquerable will), (12) Saṁvāhīni, (13) Suradhvaṁsī, (14) Kaumārī, (15) Vadha-Kāriṇī, (16) Suvidhānā, (17) Tamorūpā, (18) Vipulākārī, (19) Dahanī, (20) Śubhadāyini, (21) Rajorūpā, (22) Dina-rātri-vidhāyini (the power by which day and night can be produced at one's will), (23) Vajrodarī, (24) Samākṣṭi, (25) Ajarāmarā, (26) Viśaṁjñā, (27) Jala-stambhanī (power of making oneself water-proof), (28) Agni-stambhanī (power of making oneself fire-proof), (29) Giri-Dārīni, (30) Avalokanī (power to see through all things), (31) Aridhvaṁsī, (32) Ghorā, (33) Vīrā, (34) Bhujāṅgini (the power to live upon air), (35) Vāruṇī, (36) Bhuvanā, (37) Dāruṇī, (38) Madanāśini, (39) Ravi-tejā, (40) Bhaya-janani, (41) Aiśānī, (42) Jayā, (43) Vijayā, (44) Bandhanī, (45) Vārāhī, (46) Kuṭilākṛti (the text separates the two words as 'Kudilā' and 'Kitti'), (47) Vātodbhavā, (48) Śakti, (49) Kauberī, (50) Śaṅkarī, (51) Yogeśī, (52) Bala-mathanī, (53) Caṇḍālī, (54) Varṣiṇī. These lores Rāvaṇa acquired. And the lores acquired by Bhānukarṇa are : (1) Sarvārha, (2) Rati-vṛddhi, (3) Ākāśa-gāminī, (4) Jṛmbhanī, (5) Nidrānī and by Vibhiṣaṇa : (1) Siddhārthā, (2) Aridamanī, (3) Nirvyāghatā, (4) Kha-gāminī. Rāvaṇa was not a ten-headed monster. He was called 'Daśa-mukha' because his face reflected in the

16 The interpretation of the 'Vānaras' as Vidyādhara with monkeys as their badge is obviously realistic.

17 In this canto we are told of the severe austerities which Rāvaṇa and his brothers practise. They all stand heroically all the horrible and dreadful upasargas caused by the Yakṣa-chief of Jambūdvīpa. 'This tapas invests them with a spiritual glory and grandeur which is at once striking. Especially Rāvaṇa proves the most heroically calm of the brothers when he faces the heart-rending apparitions. He remains motionless (like the prince among mountains) deeply absorbed in his yogic contemplation. This shows his high character and a wonderful command over passion, worthy of a prince of ascetics.'

nine gems of the wondrous string of pearls which his mother hung around his neck.¹⁸
(Acquisition of magic lores by Rāvaṇa)

CANTO VIII :

Canto VIII tells us of Rāvaṇa's marriage with Mandodarī, the daughter of a Vidyādhara king called Maya. He, on one occasion marries by Gāndharva form of marriage 6000 Vidyādhara damsels. Kumbhakarna marries Taditmālā, daughter of Mahodara – the king of Kumbhapura, Vibhīṣaṇa the daughter of Vīra, the king of Jyotiḥprabha. Mandodarī gives birth to two sons Indrajit and Meghavāhana. As Kumbhakarna violated the territory of Vaiśramaṇa, the lord of Laṅkā, there was a hard battle between Rāvaṇa and the lord of Laṅkā; the latter was routed. Vaiśramaṇa accepted asceticism. Rāvaṇa took possession of the wondrous Puṣpaka Vimāna. On his way to Laṅkā he paid homage to the Jinālayas on the Sammata mountain.¹⁹ These Jinālayas were constructed by Hariṣeṇa, the 10th Cakravartin.²⁰ There he captured an elephant-jewel whom he named Bhuvanālaṁkāra. The canto relates Rāvaṇa's fight with Yama whom he defeats. Yama seeks Indra's shelter. Indra bestows on him the kingdom of 'Suraggiya' and leaves the matter there. Rāvaṇa then enters in all pomp and glory, the city of Laṅkā. This canto specifically mentions that Kumbhakarna was really a pious man and that the heretics have misrepresented him in their accounts.²¹ (Rāvaṇa enters the city of Laṅkā.)

CANTO IX :

Rāvaṇa sends a messenger to Vālin, the lord of Kiṣkindhi asking him to salute him (Rāvaṇa) and offer his sister in marriage to him. Vālin owing to his vow of not saluting any one except the Jinas refuses to accede to his request. Rāvaṇa invades Kiṣkindhi. Vālin, although a match for Rāvaṇa takes to asceticism putting his brother Sugrīva on the throne. Sugrīva complies with Rāvaṇa's request. Once Rāvaṇa's aerial car is found to be stopped on the Aṣṭāpada mountain owing to the presence there of the monk Vālin; Rāvaṇa, enraged, lifts the mountain with a view to throwing it down along with Vālin in an ocean. In order to protect the Jain shrines Vālin presses with his thumb, the mountain down. Gods are pleased at Vālin's performance.

18सो जणणीएँ पिणद्धो कंठे बालस्स वरहारो ॥

रयणकिरणेसु एत्तो मुहाइ नव नियवयणसरिसाइ ।

हारे दिट्ठाइं फुडं तेण कयं दहमुहो नामं ॥

This is clearly a realistic interpretation of the epithet of Rāvaṇa who in the Rāmāyaṇa (III. 9 f.) of Vālmiki is a ten-headed monster and is therefore called Daśagrīva.

19 See v. 138 : धवलभसंनिगासा विरइयपायारगोउराडोवा ।

दीसेति पुत्त एए जिणालया रयणविच्छुरिया ॥

20 Noté : vv. 143-210 give his life-story,

21 Read vv. 58-60.

He then withdraws the pressure. Rāvaṇa, who is now free, pays homage to the monk, and sings the glory of the Jinas. Dharaṇa, the lord of the Nāgas is pleased with Rāvaṇa's devotion and bestows on him an Amogha-Vijayā Śakti. The canto concludes saying Vālin attained Liberation.²² (Vālin attains Nirvāṇa)

CANTO X :

Tārā was the daughter of a Vidyādhara King. Sāhasagati, a Vidyādhara prince and Sugrīva seek her hand in marriage. Knowing from a monk that Sāhasagati's span of life was short, Tārā's father gives her in marriage to Sugrīva. Aṅgada and Jayānanda are born of her. Sāhasagati, who is consumed by passion of love for Tārā, now begins to attain a lore for changing one's form. Rāvaṇa sets out to conquer all the world. Kharadūṣaṇa, the lord of Pātāla-Laṅkā, and Sugrīva accompany Rāvaṇa in his march. Rāvaṇa comes across the river Narmadā, enters it to have a bath. Now there was a king, Sahasrakirāṇa by name, of Māheśvara. He, with his 1000 ladies was enjoying water-sports in that river. His water sports come in the way of Rāvaṇa who was worshipping the idols of Jinas on the bank of the river after he had finished his bath. Knowing this Rāvaṇa sends his army to punish the guilty. His army was, however, defeated. Rāvaṇa then himself marches against the king, defeats him and takes him prisoner. A monk, who was the father of Sahasrakirāṇa in his *gṛhasthāśrama*, intervenes and tells Rāvaṇa to free him. Rāvaṇa agrees to his request. Rāvaṇa is prepared to look upon Sahasrakirāṇa as his brother and offer him his sister-in-law, called Svayamprabhā. He declines and enters the ascetic order. He sends a message to Anaraṇya, the lord of Ayodhyā, informing him of his *dikṣā*. He too, entrusting the kingdom to his son, called Daśaratha, enters the order. (March of Rāvaṇa and Sugrīva and entering the Ascetic order by Sahasrakirāṇa and Anaraṇya.)

CANTO XI :

Rāvaṇa establishes sovereignty over the whole world; and being a great devotee of the Jinas, he restores ruined Jain shrines.²³ The canto tells of the Origin of

22 In this canto we are told that Kharadūṣaṇa abducts Candrapākhā; Rāvaṇa on knowing it is enraged, wants to kill the ruffian, Mandodari intervenes in the interests of her sister-in-law and Rāvaṇa is pacified. Kharadūṣaṇa driving away Candrodara, a Vidyādhara who ruled over Pātāla-Laṅkā, usurps that kingdom. Now after the death of Candrodara, his pregnant wife with no shelter left, wanders in forests. She gives birth to a son called Virādhita. This Virādhita - later on we are told in canto 45, vv. 1-4 - goes to help Lakṣmaṇa, and with the aid of the two brothers he wins back his kingdom of Pātāla-Laṅkā. Vālmiki (in *Āraṇya-kāṇḍā*) tells of Virādhita a man-eating giant that was killed by Rāma.

23 'Rāvaṇa defeats and makes the kings his vassals, and not kills them. Kings seldom die at his hands.' Unlike the Rāvaṇa of Vālmiki this Rāvaṇa has great reverence towards Jain ascetics. He restores ruined Jain-shrines and stops animal sacrifices. All this certainly demonstrates his nobility and largeness of heart.

Animal-sacrifice.²⁴ A Brāhmaṇa had a son Parvata and two pupils, Nārada and prince Vasu. Once hearing the words of a *sādhu* that one of them would go to hell, the Brāhmaṇa turned a monk. One day thereafter there arose a dispute between Nārada and Parvata as to the true meaning of 'Aja'. The former thought that 'Aja' means the 'Yava corn (three years old)' while the latter held that it means 'a goat'. Parvata however agreed to accept the explanation given by Vasu as true. He sent his mother to Vasu, who was now king, to persuade him to take his side. The next day they all went to Vasu's Durbāra. He told a lie to support Parvata, whereupon he entered hell. Parvata practised 'blame-worthy ascetic practices' (Kucchiya-tavaṃ), died and was born as a Rākṣasa, and in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa he introduced animal-sacrifices. Now, once, king Marut was performing animal sacrifice. Nārada declares to him that the sacrificial acts should be interpreted in the spiritual sense : "The sacrificial animals which are to be killed, are the passions and the senses, the sacrificial fee, which is to be paid, is truth, forbearance, and *ahimsā*, right faith, conduct and self-control are the gods Brahmā and others; the reward (to be expected) is (not heaven, but) *nirvāṇa*; those, however, who really slaughter sacrificial animals, go to hell like hunters after their death." At this the Brāhmaṇas get enraged and beat Nārada. Rāvaṇa goes to his rescue. He beats the Brāhmaṇas, sets free the sacrificial animals, breaks the sacrificial arrangements, and enjoins on the Brāhmaṇas not to perform such sacrifices. At Nārada's instance he stopped beating the Brāhmaṇas; king Marut seeks Rāvaṇa's favour; he offers his daughter in marriage to Rāvaṇa. In the end the canto tells us how people everywhere accorded a hearty welcome to Rāvaṇa.²⁵ (Destruction of Marut's animal-sacrifice and Love of the People towards Rāvaṇa.)

CANTO XII :

Rāvaṇa offers his daughter, Manoramā in marriage to Prince Madhu of Mathurā, whom an Asura had given as gift a wondrous Śūla (Indrabhūti narrates the previous life-history of Madhu to satisfy Śreṇika's curiosity). Conquering the whole world within eighteen years Rāvaṇa goes to Aṣṭāpada mountain with a view to worshipping the Jinas. The canto then describes the fight between Rāvaṇa and Nalakūbara, the Lokapāla. With the help of Uparambhā, the wife of Nalakūbara, who falls in love

24 'The animal sacrifices of the Brāhmaṇas are based on the Vedas. According to Jain tradition, the Vedas were at one-time based upon the doctrine of Ahimsā and became perverted later on through the personal rivalry between the two teachers Parvata and Nārada at the time of king Vasu. It holds that animal-sacrifices were introduced later on. 'Curiously this story occurs in the Mahabhārata also and the same king Vasu was responsible for the mischievous interpretation introducing animal sacrifice'.

The Jains, like the Buddhists, are bitterly opposed to bloody sacrifices. In many Jain works we find that the animal sacrifices are condemned and that they interpret these sacrifices spiritually. One whole chapter, 'The True Sacrifice (Uttarādhyaṇa, Chapter XXV) is directly written against the Brāhmaṇas. This story of the 'Origin of the Sacrifice' is found in the Vasudeva-hiṇḍi (Anāriya-veduppatti, pp. 189 ff.).

with him (Rāvaṇa), he is able to take Nalakūbara prisoner. Rāvaṇa exhorts Upa-rambhā to enjoy pleasures in her husband's company and thus keep up her chastity.²⁵ He sets her husband free.

Rāvaṇa then goes to Vaitāḍhya mountain. Then follows the description of a fight between Rāvaṇa and Indra, the lord of the Vidyādhara. Ultimately Indra is defeated, taken captive and is brought in triumph to Laṅkā.²⁶

(Rāvaṇa's march towards Vaitāḍhya mountain; Taking prisoner of Indra and his entrance in Laṅkā)

CANTO XIII :

Sahasrāra, Indra's father, goes to Laṅkā and requests Rāvaṇa to release Indra. Rāvaṇa sets him free on condition that Indra daily carries out the job of sweeping Laṅkā clean etc. Indra is not happy at his release. Once he meets a monk called Nirvāṇa-saṅgama. Indra requests him to tell him about his previous life. The monk narrates to him his past births. In one of those births he was born as Taḍitprabha, the king of Sūryāvarta. There was then another king by name Ānandamālin, who ruled over Candrāvarta. Once they attended the *svayamvara* of Ahalyā, who chose Ānandamālin as her husband. Taḍitprabha (i.e. your soul) entertained enmity towards Ānandamālin for this reason. Later on Ānandamālin became a monk. You recognized him and molested him. As a result of that you suffered this humiliation at Rāvaṇa's hands. Indra, learning this, places Viryadatta, his son, on the throne and turns a monk. Destroying all Karman he attains to bliss. (Indra attains Nirvāṇa)

CANTO XIV :

Rāvaṇa visits Jain shrines on the Meru mountain, where the gods are paying homage to Anantavīrya, who has obtained perfect knowledge and he hears the sermon of the latter upon karman, dāna, the duties of monks and the duties of householders. Thereupon Rāvaṇa takes the vow that he would not enjoy (lit. seek) another's wife,

25 Vide vv. 77-81.

26 Note : vv. 105-107 describe Rāvaṇa's handsome figure. This description of Rāvaṇa is in sharp contrast to the one given by Vālmiki.
vv. 108-110 show that Rāvaṇa was a model king and at that a very popular one.

27 This incident of Uparambhā shows Rāvaṇa in favourable light. Although she offers herself to him, he regards her as his Guru for she teaches him a wondrous Āśalikā lore. Note his words :

...वेसा परमहिला विव, न रुचमंता वि पत्येमि । XII. 57b

उवरम्मा मह तुमं गुरु भदे । XII. 69 a

28 Note that Rāvaṇa defeats Indra, the overlord of the Vidyādhara and not that Indra, the lord of gods !

howsoever beautiful she might be nor his own if she be disinclined towards him.²⁹
(Religious sermon by Anantavīrya.)

CANTO XV ;

This sermon is also responsible for the conversion of Hanūmat, the son of Pavanañjaya who, in turn, is the son of Kīrtimatī and Prahlāda, the king of Ādityapura on Vaitāḍhya mountain. Mahendra, the Vidyādhara king of Mahendra-nagara had offered his beautiful daughter, Añjanāsundarī by name, to Pavanañjaya in marriage. (Wedding of Añjanā-sundarī with Pavanañjaya.)

CANTO XVI :

Pavanañjaya abandons his wife suspecting that she secretly loved another youth Vidyut-prabha. The canto then tells of the fight between Rāvaṇa and Varuṇa. Kharadūṣaṇa is taken captive; Rāvaṇa seeks shelter in Pātāla-Lāṅkā; from there he sends word to all his tributary princes and thus intends to mobilise his forces again. Pavanañjaya sets out to help Rāvaṇa. On his way he comes across a lake where he sees a female *cakravāka* bird suffering the terrible pangs of separation from her mate. Pavanañjaya at once remembers the sad plight of his wife deserted for a period of twenty-two years. He puts his minister in charge of the army and with a friend of his returns to Añjanā's mansion. There he tenders his apology to her and the two enjoy love sports. Next morning Pavanañjaya starts to join his party. Finding Añjanā nervous as she fears conception, he hands over to her his signet-ring. (Enjoyment of pleasures by Pavanañjaya and Añjanā.)

CANTO XVII :

Finding Añjanā to be pregnant, her mother-in-law, who is not prepared to believe her account drives her out of her house; the people at her paternal home too repudiate her. She enters a dense forest; meets a monk called Amitagati. He narrates the past lives of the soul in her womb and predicts that her son would be a great pious hero. He also tells of Añjanā's past life. In that life she had thrown out of her house an idol of Jina and that this sin of hers is responsible for her present misery.³⁰ In due course Añjanā gives birth to a son. A Vidyādhara, who proves to be her maternal uncle meets her and consoles her. Then they all leave that forest and wander through the sky. The child falls on a mountain-slab but is unhurt. They, then, all enter Hanuruha city. The child's birth-day ceremony is celebrated with great pomp by the Vidyādharas. The child that broke the mountain-slab

29 जइ वि हु सुरुववंता परमहिला तो वि हं न पत्येमि ।

नियया वि अप्पसण्णा विलया एयं वयं मज्झ ॥ Canto XIV. v. 153.

30 Such motifs are frequently made use of by Jain authors with a view to bringing out the greatness of Jainism.

by its fall was appropriately named Śrīśaila. He was also called Hanūmat as he was accorded a warm reception in the city of Hanupura.³¹ (Birth of Hanūmat.)

CANTO XVIII :

Now, Pavanañjaya goes to Varuṇa, makes peace with him and gets Kharadūṣaṇa released. Rāvaṇa is pleased with him. He returns home. He is impatient to meet Añjanā. He comes to know of Añjanā's sad plight. He makes a determined effort to find her out. Ultimately he is united with Añjanā and their son Hanūmat.³² (Union of Pavanañjaya and Añjanā.)

CANTO XIX :

Canto XIX tells of Rāvaṇa's fight with Varuṇa. Hanūmat is an ally of Rāvaṇa. Hanūmat has some heroic exploits to his credit. Rāvaṇa takes Varuṇa prisoner. Later on he takes pity on Varuṇa and sets him free.³³ Through Rāvaṇa Hanūmat receives a thousand wives. Now, without any rival, Rāvaṇa rules over the whole world and obtains a *cakra* and *daṇḍa-ratna*—the symbols of sovereignty over the entire earth. [Rāvaṇa's sovereignty (lit. kingdom).]

CANTO XX :

Canto XX treats of the Jinas, the rulers of the world, the Baladevas and Vāsudevas.³⁴

(The Proclamation of the Tirthakaras and others.)

CANTO XXI :

Canto XXI tells us of the life of muni-Suvrata; in the same dynasty (Harivamśa) is born Janaka as the son of Vāsavaketu and Ilā. The canto further describes the Ikṣvāku dynasty wherein are born Vijaya, the lord of Śāketa, his sons Vajrabāhu and Purandara; Vijaya and Vajrabāhu become monks. Purandra now becomes the king. Kirtidhara is born as a son to him. He, in due course, becomes the ruler, enjoys the kingdom for some years, places his son called Sukośala on the throne and himself accepts asceticism. (Proclamation of the greatness of Suvrata, Vajrabāhu and Kirtidhara.)

31 Vide vv. 120–21.

32 vv. 49 and 51 give the etymology of Śrīśaila and of Hanūmat in a slightly altered form as compared with vv. 102–21 of Canto 17.

33 Rāvaṇa on finding that the city of Varuṇa was being plundered to the great misery of the people there, stops his Rakṣasa warriors from doing so and feeling pity for them sets their ruler Varuṇa (and his son) free !

34 vv. 97–98 indicate that Malli, Ariṣṭanemi, Pārśva Mahāvira and Vāsupūjya renounced Saṃsāra as kumāras. This reference, where Malli is one of the 'kumāra-siṃha's (for acc. to the Digambaras Malli was a male Tirthaṅkara) and Mahāvira is said to have not married, is favourable to the Digambara authorship of the epic.

CANTO XXII :

Canto XXII relates the greatness of Sukośala who accepts *dīkṣā*. In that *Ikṣvāku* dynasty of Śāketa, is born, after a long succession of kings, Anaraṇya. He has a wife called Prthvī. She gives birth to two sons Anantaratha and Daśaratha. Anaraṇya with his elder son accepts asceticism, after placing Daśaratha on the throne. Daśaratha marries Aparājītā (better known as Kausalyā), the daughter of king Sukośala and his wife Amṛtaprabhā. He also marries Sumitrā,³⁵ the daughter of king Subandhu-tilaka of the city Kamalasaṅkulapura. (Birth of Daśaratha and the greatness of Sukośala)

CANTO XXIII :

Once Nārada comes to Daśaratha and informs him that while he was wandering in Pūrva-vidya he heard an astrologer saying that Rāvaṇa would meet his death at the hands of Daśaratha's son, the daughter of Janaka being the cause of their fight; Vibhīṣaṇa in order to remove danger to Rāvaṇa's life intends to kill Daśaratha himself. Nārada informs Janaka also. Both the kings run away and wander in disguise. The ministers keep ready their replicas made of clay. Vibhīṣaṇa arrives at Ayodhyā, kills the 'supposed' Daśaratha and ignoring Janaka returns home (Laṅkā³⁶). (Vibhīṣaṇa's vow)

CANTO XXIV :

King Daśaratha wins Kaikeyī, the daughter of King Śubhamati, who ruled over Kautukamaṅgala town in the North. Others who were present at the *svayamvara* are enraged at Kaikeyī's choice and fight against Daśaratha. In the fight Kaikeyī conducts the chariot of her husband and thus receives a boon from him which she keeps in reserve. (Obtainment of a Boon by Kaikeyī.)

CANTO XXV :

Daśaratha's three wives give birth to four sons. Padma (better known as Rāma) is born of Aparājītā, Lakṣmaṇa of Sumitrā; Bharata and Śatrughna are born to him by Kaikeyī. They are handed over to a teacher to train them in the art of throwing missiles etc. In due course they become expert in arts and science of war. (The topic of the four brothers.)

35 Her name is mentioned in the text as Kaikeyī. We, however, stick to the well-known name Sumitrā to avoid confusion.

36 The poet very skilfully introduces here the prophecy about Rāvaṇa's death. Vibhīṣaṇa, alarmed at the prophecy, intends to kill Daśaratha and thus remove the prime source of danger to Rāvaṇa's life. Alas ! poor Vibhīṣaṇa 'kills' the clay image only (and not Daśaratha) and thinks he has removed the source of danger to Rāvaṇa's life. Here destiny deceives him !

CANTO XXVI :

A king Cakradhvaja had a daughter Atisundarā who eloped with a fellow-student called Madhupīṅgala, the son of a Purohita. The couple lived together in Vidarbha. Once, a prince Kuṇḍala-maṇḍita, enamoured of her, took her away. Madhupīṅgala wandered in search of her and then became a monk. Kuṇḍalamāṇḍita lived in an inaccessible fort and began to invade the territory of king Anarāya. A vassal of the king, however, took Kuṇḍalamāṇḍita captive. The king after some time released him. He wandered in order to obtain his father's kingdom. But on his way he met his death. The soul of a Devī and of this Kuṇḍalamāṇḍita are, as a result of *karman* conceived in the womb of Videhā, the wife of Janaka. Meanwhile Madhupīṅgala is dead, and born as a god. He knows by his *avadhi* knowledge that his enemy, Kuṇḍalamāṇḍita is conceived in the womb of Videhā. When she delivers a son and a daughter, the god immediately takes away the boy and then leaves him in a garden, from where a Vidyādhara, called Candragati takes him up and adopts him as his son. He named the son as Bhāmāṇḍala. The daughter of Janaka is named as Sītā and grows to her youth. (Birth of Sītā and Bhāmāṇḍala.)

CANTO XXVII :

The country of Janaka was once invaded by the Mlecchas.³⁷ Janaka sought the help of Daśaratha. Rāma persuaded his father to allow him to go against the Mlecchas. Then Rāma accompanied by Lakṣmaṇa and his army left Ayodhyā to help Janaka. There ensued a fierce fight between the Mlecchas and the armies of Rāma and Janaka. Rāma defeated the Mlecchas to the great rejoicing of Janaka. Being pleased with the valour of Rāma, Janaka decides to offer in marriage his daughter, Sītā to Rāma. (Description of the defeat of the Mlecchas)

CANTO XXVIII :

Once Nārada went to the mansion of Sītā with a view to seeing her excellent beauty. Seeing him Sītā was frightened and ran away to the inner apartment. Nārada who was following her was insulted by the door-keepers and officers. Getting angry Nārada decided to bring Sītā into difficulties. He went to Ratha-nūpura, the capital of Vidyādhara; there in a garden he drew the figure of Sītā. Bhāmāṇḍala was enamoured of the maiden in the picture when he had a look at it. Nārada made it known to Bhāmāṇḍala that the maiden in the picture was no other than Sītā. Having come to know the lovesickness of his son, Candragati managed to bring Janaka there. He asked Janaka to give Sītā in marriage to Bhāmāṇḍala. Janaka refused as Sītā was already betrothed to Rāma. Candragati proposed that Rāma should marry

37 vv. 5-8 speak of Ardha-barbara country (lying to the North of Kailāsa Mountain), peopled with Mlecchas and their ruler 'Āyaramga' and of Kāmboja, Śuka and Kapota countries inhabited by Śabarās. Mayūramāla was the capital of Āyaramga, the king of barbarians. He with his army of Kirātas starts plundering Janaka's territory.

Sītā only if he strings the Vajrāvarta bow and not otherwise. Being a captive Janaka agreed to the proposal. The Vajrāvarta bow was then brought to Mithilā and preparations for the *Svayamvara* of Sītā were made. The Vidyādhara and other kings were present on that occasion. All the kings tried to string the bow but in vain; Rāma, however, strung the bow with great ease; and won Sītā. Lakṣmaṇa too bent the bow. The Vidyādhara offered eighteen maidens in marriage to him. Bharata was very sorry at Rāma's valour. Kanaka, Janaka's brother arranged a *svayamvara* of his daughter Subhadrā, at the instance of Daśaratha. Subhadrā chose Bharata as her lord. Then the weddings of Rāma and Sītā, of Bharata and Subhadrā were celebrated in great pomp. (Acquisition of the gem-like bow by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.)

CANTO XXIX :

Performing the ablution (*abhiṣeka*) of Jina idols, Daśaratha sends the sacred water to his wives. The principal queen, however, does not receive it, feels slighted, intends to hang herself. Daśaratha surprises her by his visit. She tells him her grievance. Just then the chamberlain brings the sacred water and pours it on the head of the queen. She is pacified. The king demands an explanation of the chamberlain who excuses himself on the ground of oldage. That comes to the king as a warning that he too is ripe to say farewell to worldly things.³⁸ Once a monk called Sarvabhūtaśaraṇa arrives there. Daśaratha listens to his religious discourse. (Daśaratha's disgust with worldly life and Arrival of the monk called Sarvabhūtaśaraṇa.)

CANTO XXX :

Bhāmaṇḍala who is deeply in love with Sītā starts for Sāketa; on the way he sees the Vidarbha town, recollects his past birth and knows that Sītā is his sister. He then explains the whole mystery to Candragati, who gets disgusted with *samsāra*, becomes a monk at the hands of the monk Sarvabhūtaśaraṇa. Next day Daśaratha goes to the park to pay homage to the monk. From him he learns the whole story of Bhāmaṇḍala.³⁹ To the rejoicing of all they all embrace each other. Daśaratha informs Janaka who comes there with his retinue. The parents' joy knows no bounds when they meet their long lost son. (Reunion of Bhāmaṇḍala with his parents.)

CANTO XXXI :

Sarvabhūtaśaraṇa narrates various past births of Daśaratha. Hearing the account of his previous lives Daśaratha decides to enter the ascetic order. He orders his ministers to make preparations for Rāma's *abhiṣeka*. Bharata is enlightened at Daśaratha's resolution to become monk. Kaikeyī but feels very sorry. She is about to lose

38 Similar motifs responsible for causing 'vairāgya' in a person are frequently met with in Jain literature.

39 Psychologically it is quite possible that a brother who is, from the very beginning, brought up separately might fall in love with his own sister – being unaware of the circumstance that the girl whom he loves is his own sister!

her husband and son who desire to take to asceticism. She wishes to keep back her son,⁴⁰ and hence requests the king to grant her boon. She wants him to bestow the kingdom on Bharata. Daśaratha agrees. He sends for Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and puts before them his dilemma : "Kaikeyī has asked the kingdom for Bharata. Bharata intends to retire from *saṃsara*. In his absence Kaikeyī would die. I would be known in history as a liar if I don't grant her boon." Rāma requests him to keep his promise. Daśaratha and Rāma persuade Bharata to accept the throne. Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa take their leave of all and start from the palace to lead a forest life. People follow them and refuse to go back home. At night Rāma and party stay in a Jain temple. Mothers of Rāma go there and meet them. They meet Daśaratha, who is bent on becoming a monk. (Daśaratha's resolution to accept asceticism.)

CANTO XXXII :

At midnight when all people are asleep Rāma and party leave the temple and go out of the city. They come to a forest and a river Bhīmā. Taking their leave of the warriors that follow them, Rāma and party cross the river. Seeing them on the other side of the river the warriors return. On their way back they meet monks in a Jain temple. Some of them become monks and the rest accepting the duties of layman return to Sāketa and report to Bharata that Rāma and party have gone to a forest. At this Bharata grieves. Daśaratha, on account of separation from his sons, places Bharata on the throne and himself becomes a monk. Although an ascetic he still bears love for his son. Once, however, he realizes his mistake and purifies his mind. As a result of their sons' going away to another country and the *dīkṣā* of their lord, Aparājita and Sumitrā are extremely grieved. Kaikeyī and Bharata go to bring back Rāma, who politely refuses their request and there in the forest he places Bharata on the throne. Rāma and party start towards the South, Bharata returns and rules the kingdom. He meets a Jain monk Dyuti in a temple and in his presence takes a vow to renounce the world as soon as Rāma returns home and he governs as a pious Jain layman without giving himself up to pleasures. (Daśaratha's taking to asceticism, Rāma's departure, and Bharata's rule.)

CANTO XXXIII :

Rāma and party reached a settlement of ascetics. After a night's stay there they resumed their journey to reach Citrakūṭa. Thence they go to the country of the Avanti where suddenly they see a desolate tract of land. Rāma asks Lakṣmaṇa to find out some place of rest for Sītā who is fatigued. Lakṣmaṇa proceeds accordingly and sees a large deserted city and a man in it. Lakṣmaṇa gets the man to Rāma. Rāma asks him as to why the country is deserted and desolate. The man tells Rāma all about it. Simhodara, Emperor of Ujjain attacked Vajrakarna, his vassal, king of

40 It should be noted that Kaikeyī in putting forth her demand is actuated by a noble motive. Motherly love proves too strong and she chooses to retain her son with her than her husband. Again, it deserves to be noted that she makes no demand for Rāma's banishment into forest.

Daśapura, and laid waste his territory for no other fault than his ardent and unflinching devotion to Jainism.⁴¹ Rāma plays the part of the Defender of Faith (Jainism) in this episode, since he sends Lakṣmaṇa to rescue Vajrakarṇa and succeeds in bringing about reconciliation between the haughty and intolerant Simhodara and the pious Jain layman, Vajrakarṇa. Lakṣmaṇa is offered in marriage many princesses by Simhodara and other kings; but he promises to marry them only after regaining the kingdom of Rāma. Then Rāma and party resume their journey at dawn, leaving behind in grief the people of Daśapura. They arrive at Kūpavardā and take shelter in a garden outside it. (Episode of Vajrakarṇa.)

CANTO XXXIV :

Lakṣmaṇa goes to lake to fetch water for Sītā. Prince Kalyāṇamālin (really, Princess Kalyāṇamālinī) sees him and falls in love with him. Kalyāṇamālin tells the party her tale and why she has to move in man's attire. She entreats Rāma to secure the release of Vālikhilya, her father, from the bonds of Rudrabhūti, the chief of the Kāṇḍanda Mlecchas. Lakṣmaṇa promises her to secure her father's release before long. After a three days' stay there, Rāma resumes his journey. They come to the Narmadā. Crossing that river they get to a Vindhya-forest. They behold a Mleccha army and defeat it. The Mlecchas run to their chief, Rudrabhūti, who comes to the battlefield himself, but vanquished by Lakṣmaṇa, he sues for mercy. Rāma intercedes for the release of Vālikhilya. Rudrabhūti, accordingly releases and conducts him to Rāma. Vālikhilya praises Rāma for his kindness. Rāma then resumes his journey. (Episode of Vālikhilya.)

CANTO XXXV :

Rāma and party come to a dreary tract of land through which flows the river Tāpti. Next day they come to the residence of Kapila in Aruṇagrāma. He turns out Rāma. He is punished by Lakṣmaṇa but saved by Rāma. Rāma resumes his journey. Being drenched by rain-water they take shelter under a Nyagrodha tree. Pūtana, a Yakṣa chief, creates Rāmapurī for Rāma and party. Kapila sees Rāmapurī; he is told of Rāma's charity. He goes there and adopts Jainism. Returning home he tells his wife of his conversion. His wife has, however, already adopted Jainism. Kapila and his wife go to Rāmapurī. At the sight of Lakṣmaṇa Kapila takes fright and tries to run away, but is called back by him. Kapila pays his homage to Rāma and party and expresses his regret for having once ill-treated them. Rāma consoles and honours Kapila. He attains to good fortune by the grace of Rāma. Kapila in the end accepts asceticism. (Episode of Kapila.)

41 He accepts the duties of a Jain householder and resolves not to salute any one excepting (the Jinas and) Jain monks (v. 49). This resolve of Vajrakarṇa strongly reminds us of a similar resolve made by Vālin.

CANTO XXXVI :

Pūtana bestows gifts on Rāma and party then winds up the 'Rāma-purī'. Rāma and party cross the forest and reach Vijayapura. There was a king Mahīdhara who had a daughter Vanamālā. She was in love with Lakṣmaṇa. The king learning of Lakṣmaṇa's departure to forest decides to offer her in marriage to a prince of Indragarā. Vanamālā would rather die than marry any one else except Lakṣmaṇa. Under the pretext of worshipping the Vanadevatā she goes out to the region where Rāma was sojourning. At night she attempts suicide but Lakṣmaṇa saves her. Lakṣmaṇa reveals his identity. They all then meet. Mahīdhara is happy at the meeting of Lakṣmaṇa and his daughter. Rāma and party were taken to the city. There they stayed enjoying king Mahīdhara's hospitality. (Vanamālā.)

CANTO XXXVII :

King Ativīrya in order to conquer Bharata seeks the help of Mahīdhara. Rāma and party who have an understanding with the king leave for the capital of Ativīrya. A Jain goddess whose temple Rāma has visited promises to help him in his mission. She turns them all into beautiful women.⁴² Now Rāma and others, thus disguised, visit the royal assembly; and the dancing girl (who is really Rāma) impresses one and all with her performance. She exhorts the king to accept Bharata's sovereignty. Ativīrya is enraged at this, wants to kill her. She, however, holds the king by his hair and tells him that she would set him free on condition that he accepts Bharata's sovereignty. Rāma takes him to the Jain temple. At the word of Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa sets Ativīrya free. He is, however, enlightened. Placing Vijayaratha on the throne Ativīrya accepts asceticism. (Ativīrya's Entering the Ascetic Order.)

CANTO XXXVIII :

Vijayaratha gives his sister Ratimālā in marriage to Lakṣmaṇa and Vijayasundarī to Bharata. Then Rāma and party go to the town Kṣemāñjali. There Lakṣmaṇa withstands the five powers (Śaktis) of king Śatrudamana and thus wins his daughter Jitapadmā. (Narrative of Jitapadmā)

CANTO IXL :

Rāma and party cross a forest and reach Vamśa-sthala town near Vamśagiri. There they find people running hither and thither. They learn that a very terrific sound is heard on the mountain-peak and people taking fright are running to seek king's shelter. Rāma and party go to the mountain. There they free two monks called Deśabhūṣaṇa and Kula-bhūṣaṇa from their *upasarga* (calamity) caused by their former enemy. The monks obtain perfect knowledge. One of the monks narrates

42 It is indeed very strange that we are told here of Rāma and others being transformed into women in order to humiliate king Ativīrya (and avoid himsā).

their previous life and the cause of the *upasarga*. [Narrative of Deśabhūṣaṇa and Kulabhūṣaṇa (who obtain perfect knowledge).]

CANTO XL :

Then Suraprabha, the king of Vamśasthala invited Rāma to visit his capital. But Rāma refused. At the behest of Rāma the king built many Jain temples on the Vamśa-mountain, and therefore the mountain came to be known as Rāma-giri. Then Rāma and party left for Daṇḍakāraṇya. (Episode of the Rāmagiri mountain.)

CANTO XLI :

Rāma and party reach Daṇḍaka forest and the river Karna-ravā. While staying there, once two monks called Trigupti and Sugupti arrive there. Sītā offers them alms. At that time a bird falls at the feet of the monks. Trigupti then narrates the previous birth of that bird in which he was born as a king called Daṇḍaka. Sugupti tells his own story to enlighten the bird; and asks Sītā to look after that bird. They named the vulture Jaṭāyus. That Jaṭāyus lived with them practising Dharma. (Episode of the bird Jaṭāyus.)

CANTO XLII :

Rāma and party move about in a chariot offered them by gods. They enter deep inside the forest and come across the river Krauñca-ravā. That particular region of the forest is so very attractive to them that Rāma thinks of inviting his relations to live there. Then the rainy season sets in and the party lives there happily. (Stay at the Daṇḍaka-forest.)

CANTO XLIII :

Once Lakṣmaṇa sees a sword (called Sūryahāsa) hanging near a bamboo-grove. He takes it and tries it on the grove from which falls the head of Śambūka, the son of Candrarākhā, who was practising austerities to win some lore.⁴³ Candrarākhā comes there and makes a search of the murderer of her son. When she finds Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa there, she falls in love with them instead of getting angry with them. She requests Rāma to accept her as his wife. Neither Rāma nor Lakṣmaṇa pays heed to her entreaties. She thereupon goes back to her city Pāṭāla-Laṅka. [Slaying of Śambūka (the son of Kharadūṣaṇa).]

43 The Uttarakāṇḍa of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa, tells the story of the ascetic Śambūka, belonging to the Śūdra caste, whose head Rāma strikes off; for this act Rāma is commended by the gods, because a Śūdra should not take it upon himself to practise asceticism. It is a truly Brahmanical legend with an exaggerated tendency. "Vima'la takes up this incident and cleverly manages to achieve his own ends. Śambūka is represented as the son of Candrarākhā wife of Khara and sister of Rāvaṇa—killed unwittingly though by Lakṣmaṇa. But its consequences are disastrous ending in the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa. Vima'la has made this incident the central point in the plot of his story and from artistic point of view this change is creditable".

CANTO XLIV :

Candraṇakhā narrates to Kharadūṣaṇa how their son was slain, and she was molested although she has such a mighty husband as Kharadūṣaṇa and the emperor Rāvaṇa as her brother. Then Kharadūṣaṇa, with his 14,000 warriors, starts out of his capital to fight the two brothers. A messenger is sent to Rāvaṇa asking for his help. A fierce fight between Kharadūṣaṇa and Lakṣmaṇa follows. Rāvaṇa arrives in his Puṣpaka vimāna rather late. Seeing Sītā he falls in love with her.⁴⁴ By his supernatural lore, called Avalokanī, he knows the names etc., of Rāma and others. He then thinks to himself : "I will produce *simha-nāda* resembling that of Lakṣmaṇa which will mislead Rāma, who will go to help his brother leaving behind Sītā. I can then abduct Sītā. And Dūṣaṇa will kill these brothers." Accordingly he produces the roar of a lion. Rāma hastens to the aid of his brother leaving Sītā in charge of Jaṭāyus. Rāvaṇa descends from his vimāna, takes up Sītā in his arms; when Jaṭāyus offers resistance, Rāvaṇa crushing his limbs flings him down on the ground. Rāvaṇa gets Sītā in his vimāna. Sītā, knowing that she is being abducted, weeps bitterly. With the thought that sooner or later Sītā would accept his love he takes her to Laṅkā. Now Rāma realises that somehow he has been duped. On return he does not find Sītā at his residence. He falls in a swoon, regains consciousness, makes vigorous search for her, comes across the dying Jaṭāyus, utters that famous *namaskāra-mantra* for the bird's benefit; the bird after death becomes a god. He continues his search accompanied by lamentation; but in vain. Disappointed he returns and sleeps in his residence. (Rāma's Lamentation at the Abduction of Sītā.)

CANTO XLV :

Now Virādhita, the son of Candrodara, who was deprived of his kingdom in Pātāla-Laṅkā, with his army comes to Lakṣmaṇa's aid. Killing Khara and other heroes of the Rākṣasas they rout the Rākṣasa army and return victorious. From Rāma they learn of Sītā's abduction. Virādhita at Lakṣmaṇa's instance sends his followers to make a search of Sītā on land, in water and air. Now, Ratnajaṭin, hearing the piteous cries of Sītā, thought of fighting against Rāvaṇa and thus obliging his lord - Bhāmaṇḍala. Rāvaṇa, however, fells him on Kambūdvipa. Virādhita's followers do not find any trace of Sītā and return unsuccessful. Rāma blames his own *karman*. At Virādhita's proposal they go to Alaṅkāra, the Pātāla-Capital. Sunda with his army gives a fight but is defeated; with his mother Sunda finds shelter in Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa stay in Kharadūṣaṇa's palace. Rāma is naturally very uneasy. But saluting the Jina idol he feels at ease. (Torment at the Separation of Sītā.)

44 Rāvaṇa, although good otherwise, has weakness for woman. At her very first sight he falls in love with Sītā. He was possibly aware of this weakness when he took the vow of not enjoying pleasures in the company of another's woman who is unwilling (see Canto 14, v. 153). His tragic passion for Sītā brings about the ruin of this otherwise virtuous king !

CANTO XLVI :

Rāvaṇa tries to win Sītā with sweet words. Sītā scolds him. Arriving at Laṅkā he keeps Sītā in Devaramaṇa park and goes home. Sītā takes a vow of not taking food until she gets good news about Rāma. The news of Dūṣaṇa's death throws Laṅkā into grief. Rāvaṇa pacifies Candrapakhā saying that he would take revenge by putting the enemies to death. Rāvaṇa then enters his chamber. Mandodarī, his principal queen, learns of Rāvaṇa's deep passion for Sītā. She suggests to him to rape Sītā and thus satisfy his passion. He explains to her how owing to a particular vow he cannot enjoy love-sports with a woman against her will. He asks Mandodarī to go and persuade Sītā to accept his love. She, accompanied by young women, goes to Sītā and tries to persuade her. But Sītā is as firm as a rock. Rāvaṇa comes there personally, makes a fresh attempt to win her love, but to no effect. He then tries to intimidate her with lions etc. created by magic but in vain. Next day Vibhīṣaṇa comes to know of Sītā's misery, exhorts his elder brother to refrain from evil act but Rāvaṇa is adamant. He then sits in his car along with Sītā and takes her to an Udyāna on Puṣpa-giri. He keeps Sītā in a part of Padma-udyāna covered with Aśoka trees. She is humoured by young damsels but Sītā is dejected and indifferent to what happens around her. Rāvaṇa is informed of this. He is all the more anxious and love-sick.

Vibhīṣaṇa holding consultations with the ministers creates by magic a very strong rampart round Laṅkā. (Construction of a Rampart by Magic)

CANTO XLVII :

A sky-rover, Sāhasagati by name, took form of Sugrīva, the king of Kiṣkindhī, with a view to seducing Tārā, the wife of Sugrīva,⁴⁵ and thus deprived the real Sugrīva of his throne. Sugrīva seeks the help of Hanumat. He comes with his army to his aid. But finding no difference between the two Sugrīvas he goes back, then Sugrīva knowing of the might of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa seeks their aid. Rāma assures him that he would accomplish his object but in turn requests him to trace Sītā. Sugrīva makes a vow that if he does not trace Sītā within seven days he would burn himself to death. Then he takes the two brothers to Kiṣkindhī. In the fight Sugrīva is wounded by the 'alleged Sugrīva'. Rāma, unable to distinguish between the two Sugrīvas does not use his weapon. Knowing why Rāma kept silent Sugrīva again challenges the 'alleged' Sugrīva. Rāma obstructs him. At Rāma's sight the supernatural lore of the sky-rover vanishes, and he regains his original form as Sāhasagati. Rāma showers arrows on him who falls dead on the ground.⁴⁶ Sugrīva honours the two

45 This incident of Māyā-Sugrīva strongly reminds us of the story of Ahalyā whose chastity was violated by Indra in the guise of Gautama, her husband. Of course, here Sūtārā recognises the Impostor before he seduces her.

46 Rāma kills the impostor in a straight fight. In the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki, Rāma is shown to have slain Vālī treacherously which act lowers him in our estimate.

brothers; and now he is united with his wife Sūtārā. Thirteen beautiful daughters of the Vānarapati offer themselves to Rāma but he, devoted to Sītā, does not find happiness in their company. [Narrative of the slaying of Sugrīva (the Impostor)]

CANTO XLVIII :

When Sugrīva forgot his promise Lakṣmaṇa angrily reminded him. Collecting all Vānaras, he told them to make a vigorous search for Sītā. A Vānara youth was sent with a letter to Bhāmaṇḍala. He is grieved at the news and ready to assist Rāma. Sugrīva himself goes to Kambūdvīpa, meets Ratnajatin and learns from him about the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa. Sugrīva brings him to Rāma. He narrates to Rāma the whole account of Sītā's abduction. The Vānaras are disheartened to know that Rāvaṇa has abducted Sītā. They regard him to be really invincible. Lakṣmaṇa lifts the Kcīṣīlā and thus convinces them that he would kill Rāvaṇa for the monk Ananta-vīrya had predicted that he who would lift that Koṭīṣīlā slab would slay Rāvaṇa. Next day some old Vānaras advise Rāma not to go on war with Rāvaṇa, who is invincible but to persuade Vibhiṣaṇa, who is very reasonable, whose word Rāvaṇa would honour. It is then decided that Śrīśaila (i.e., Hanūmat) who is very well fitted for this mission should be sent to Laṅkā as an envoy. Hence they send a messenger to Hanūmat to get him at Kiṣkindhi. [Lifting of the Koṭīṣīlā Slab (by Lakṣmaṇa)]

CANTO IXL :

The messenger meets Hanūmat and tells him the whole account. Anaṅgakusumā is grieved at the news of the slaying of Śambūka and Dūṣaṇa, her brother and father. She is consoled by the ministers. Hanūmat who is glad to hear of the help given by Rāma to Sugrīva flies to Kiṣkindhi to meet Sugrīva. Then both of them go to Rāma. Rāma then gives a message for Sītā and a ring as a sign of his being a true messenger; and he asks him to bring back Sītā's crest-jewel. Saying yes Hanūmat flies in a car towards Laṅkā. (Hanūmat's Departure)

CANTO L :

On his way, Hanūmat comes to Mahendra-nagarī, where his grandfather stays. With a view to punishing him for having driven out innocent Añjanā, his mother, while he was still in her womb, he sends a challenge to him to fight. In the fight he overpowers him and his army, and then begs his pardon. Mahendra admires the valour of his grand-son. Hanūmat tells him of his mission and requests him to go to Kiṣkindhi; he himself goes in the direction of Laṅkā. Mahendra honours Rāma, and then Añjanā and Mahendra meet after a very long time. [Meeting of Mahendra and his daughter (Añjanā)]

CANTO LI :

Further on his way to Laṅkā, Hanūmat comes across three girls who have been practising penance to secure supernatural power. He removes the *upasarga* of fire in

their way, caused by their enemy. They obtain the lore Manogāminī which yields itself after six months of successful *tapas*, praise Māruti for his help and narrate to him their history. 'They would marry the slayer of Sāhasa-gati' - this is the prediction of a monk. Hanūmat directs their father Gandharva, the lord of Dadhimukha, to take them to Rāma. He does accordingly. (The Obtaining of the daughters of Gandharva by Rāma)

CANTO LII :

Hanūmat's movement towards Trikuṭa is obstructed by the rampart. He overpowers Āśālikā lore and kills Vajra-mukha, the guardian of the rampart. Laṅkā-sundarī, enraged at her father's slaying, fights with him. But both of them fall in love with each other. He stays there at night and in the morning starts ahead. Laṅkā-sundarī too follows him (Hanūmat's winning of Laṅkā-Sundarī)

CANTO LIII :

Hanūmat reaches Laṅkā, enters Vibhīṣaṇa's palace and asks him to persuade Rāvaṇa to set Sītā free. Vibhīṣaṇa expresses his helplessness. Then Hanūmat goes to Padmodyāna where Sītā was kept. He offers the ring to her. Sītā is very much pleased. Knowing of Sītā's joyous mood Mandodarī and other women go to her and ask her to enjoy pleasures with Rāvaṇa. Sītā tells them that her joy is due to good news about Rāma. Hanūmat then tells her the whole account of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa since she was abducted. Mandodarī praises Hanūmat's valour. Sītā is now sure that Rāma would cross the ocean and put Rāvaṇa to death. Hanūmat asks her to take food since her vow is fulfilled. Next morning food is brought and Sītā has had her meal. Then Hanūmat proposes to her that she should get on his shoulders so that he would take her to Rāma. Sītā replies that Rāma himself should come there and release her. She offers him the crest-jewel as a token of their meeting. Hearing the news of his arrival Rāvaṇa sends Kiṅkara-army with the order to kill him. He thereupon destroys the park and routs the army. Angered by the destruction of his park Rāvaṇa asks Indrajit to produce Hanūmat before him. Binding him by the Nāgapāśas Indrajit produces him before Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa pours curses and abuses on Hanūmat. Hanūmat warns him that he would bring ruin of his family owing to his passion for Sītā. Rāvaṇa now orders that Hanūmat should be paraded through the streets of Laṅkā and then killed. Hanūmat getting angry breaks to pieces the Nāgapāśas, flies up, breaks portions of Rāvaṇa's palace, pulls down the rampart and goes away. Mandodarī conveys all this to Sītā who is very much pleased to hear it. (Hanūmat's visit to Laṅkā)

CANTO LIV :

Hanūmat returns to Kiṣkindhi. He and Sugrīva meet Rāma. Hanūmat conveys to Rāma the message of Sītā and gives him the crest-jewel. Rāma is happy to know that Sītā is all right. But he is anxious to learn that she would perish if he does not hasten to rescue her. Rāma and Sugrīva with the army of Vānaras commence

their march towards Laṅkā in the morning of the fifth day of the dark half of Mārgaśīṣa. In the course of their march they reach Velamdhara mountain, defeat king Samudra of that region; he offers in marriage four of his daughters to Lakṣmaṇa. After spending a night there they march ahead in the direction of Laṅkā. Near Laṅkā there is a Haṁsa-dvīpa. They defeat king Haṁsa-ratha and encamp there. Rāma sends a message to Bhāmaṇḍa'a. (March against Laṅkā)

CANTO LV :

At the news of the arrival of the Vānara army Rāvaṇa mobilises his own. He does not pay heed to Vibhīṣaṇa's advice to return Sītā. Rāvaṇa and Indrajit pour ridicule and abuse on him. Rāvaṇa is so very angry that he desires to kill him. He ultimately asks Vibhīṣaṇa to leave Laṅkā. Vibhīṣaṇa with his army goes to Haṁsa-dvīpa. Rāma accepts him as a worthy ally. Bhāmaṇḍala securing lores joins them. Staying there for eight days Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa march against Laṅkā. Rāvaṇa too keeps his forces ready for war. Rāvaṇa's army numbers 4000 Akṣauhiṇis whereas that of Rāma 1000 Akṣauhiṇis only. (Alliance with Vibhīṣaṇa)

CANTO LVI :

The army of Rākṣasas is getting ready. The beloveds converse with their husbands that are about to leave for battle. The armies led by Rāvaṇa and Indrajit march ahead. They meet with evil omens such as the cries of inauspicious birds. Yet for battle they go ahead. (March of Rāvaṇa's army)

CANTO LVII :

Renowned heroes on the side of Rāma start in the direction of Laṅkā. War-drums are being beaten. The two hostile armies face each other. In the battle once one side retreats and another time the other side retreats. Nala and Nīla kill Hasta and Prahasta respectively. (Slaying of Hasta and Prahasta)

CANTO LVIII :

Canto LVIII tells of the previous lives of Nala-Nīla and Hasta-Prahasta. As a result of wicked deeds done in previous lives the two, viz., Hasta and Prahasta meet their death at the hands of their adversaries. (Description of the previous lives of Nala-Nīla and Hasta-Prahasta)

CANTO LIX :

Canto LIX continues the description of battle. In the beginning the Rākṣasa-army suffers reverses at the hands of Hanūmat. Later on Indrajit leads their side and he binds Sugrīva and Bhāmaṇḍala by Nāgapāśas and Bhujāṅgapāśas respectively. At this juncture Vibhīṣaṇa comes on the scene and advises Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to see that Sugrīva and Bhāmaṇḍala are not taken prisoners by the Rakṣasas. Aṅgada engages Bhānukarṇa. Hanūmat, Lakṣmaṇa etc., cheer up their army. Now Indrajit comes across Vibhīṣaṇa. He is as good as father to him. And naturally he does not want

to fight against him. As he thinks that the two great heroes on Rāma's side would meet death as they are bound by Nāgapāśas and Bhujaṅgapāśas he decides to withdraw from the battle-field. Taking the two heroes with them Indrajit and Meghavāhana retire. Now Lakṣmaṇa is asked by Rāma to invoke the help of Mahālocana god who had promised them a boon. Lakṣmaṇa appeals to that god. The god bestows on Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa various lores, missiles, Hala (plough) and Musala (club), chariots, etc. [Receiving of lores (and missiles by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa)]

CANTO LX :

Seeing Lakṣmaṇa with Eagle as his banner the Bhujaṅgapāśas vanished. Bhāmaṇḍala and Sugrīva are set free. The warriors ask Rāma how he secured such Vibhūti (superhuman power) in a moment. He replies that these are due to a boon granted by Garuḍādhīpa. [Reunion of Sugrīva and Bhāmaṇḍala (with Rāma and party)]

CANTO LXI :

In the fight Lakṣmaṇa takes Indrajit captive and Rāma captures Bhānukarṇa. Rāvaṇa fights with Vibhīṣaṇa. Lakṣmaṇa, however, making Vibhīṣaṇa withdraw, himself fights with Rāvaṇa. He strikes Lakṣmaṇa on his chest with a deadly Śakti (a missile) whereupon Lakṣmaṇa falls in a swoon. Rāma then faces Rāvaṇa, attacks him severely; deprives him of his chariots six times. As night approaches Rāvaṇa retires to his palace. (Hit of the Missile)

CANTO LXII :

Rāma is overpowered with grief on account of the grave condition of his brother Lakṣmaṇa. In grief and despair he asks Sugrīva and other heroes to repair to their own country. He wishes to burn himself to death on a funeral pyre. Jāmbavat comforts him. He tells him that if proper remedies are resorted to Lakṣmaṇa would revive. Then the Vānaras erect three Gopuras (gates) and seven ramparts and guard the doors of that fort created by magic. [Lamentation of Rāma (on account of his severely wounded brother)]

CANTO LXIII :

Rāvaṇa grieves over the sad loss of his brother Bhānukarṇa and his sons Indrajit and Meghavāhana. Sītā is grieved at the sad news of Lakṣmaṇa's death. But Khecari cheer her up and tell her that it is not yet definitely known that Lakṣmaṇa has expired. Then a Vidyādhara, called Candra-maṇḍala, tells Rāma of the means of saving Lakṣmaṇa. Rāma should obtain the ablution-water of Viśalyā the daughter of King Droṇa-megha, and sprinkle Lakṣmaṇa with it so that he would be cured. The previous history of Viśalyā is then told; it explains how she obtained this wonderful power of effecting cure. (Description of the past lives of Viśalyā)

CANTO LXIV :

At Rāma's instance, Bhāmaṇḍala, Hanūmat and Angada go to Śāketa to bring the ablution-water of Viśalyā. They meet Bharata and inform him of their mission.

King Droṇa-megha is approached by Bharata and others. He offers Viśalyā and 1000 maidens in marriage to Lakṣmaṇa. Then the party with Viśalyā returns to the battle-ground. Viśalyā touches Lakṣmaṇa. The Śakti instantaneously leaves his body. Hanūmat catches hold of her. She explains who she is. Hanūmat allows her to go. Lakṣmaṇa regains his consciousness; all are overjoyed at Lakṣmaṇa's recovery. Lakṣmaṇa then marries Viśalyā [Arrival of Viśalyā (on the battle-ground to cure the wounded hero Lakṣmaṇa)]

CANTO LXV :

Rāvaṇa learns that Lakṣmaṇa is cured. He then consults his ministers as to what he should do to effect the release of his brother and sons. They advise him to return Sītā to Rāma and make peace with him. He, however, is adamant. He sends an envoy to Rāma with the message that if Rāma releases Bhānukarṇa, Indrajit and Meghavāhana and that he agrees to Sītā's living with Rāvaṇa, he is prepared to share his kingdom with him and offer him 3000 virgins in marriage. Rāma replies that Rāvaṇa must return Sītā and that he cares little for kingdom. The envoy goes on prattling, he is then driven out; he reports to Rāvaṇa Rāma's reply and the ill-treatment he has received at Rāma's assembly. (Visit of Rāvaṇa's envoy)

CANTO LXVI :

Rāvaṇa now decides to secure the great lore, called Bahurūpā; he sits in front of the image of Śāntinātha with that object in view. Mandodarī by a proclamation asks the citizens of Laṅkā to observe Ahimsā for full eight days. If any one fails to obey this order, he will be put to death. (Eight-day Festival in the month of Phālguna and Regulating of the life of the people)

CANTO LXVII :

Vibhīṣaṇa advises Rāma to capture Rāvaṇa who is engaged in meditation. Rāma refuses to disturb Rāvaṇa in his religious performance. Vānara Kumāras led by Aṅgada enter Laṅkā with a view to disturbing Rāvaṇa in his religious meditation. At the arrival of the Vānaras, the citizens of Laṅkā are filled with terror. Then the gods from Śānti's temple, getting angry rout the Vānara Army. At this gods from other temples are enraged and fight with those gods and defeat them. Then Vānaras again attack. Pūrṇabhadra, the lord of the Yakṣas requests Rāma to see that his army does not disturb Rāvaṇa in his meditation. Sugrīva pacifies him. (Description of gods possessed of right faith)

CANTO LXVIII :

Aṅgada and others again go to Laṅkā and cause *upasarga* in Rāvaṇa's meditation but to no purpose. Rāvaṇa is successful in securing the lore Bahurūpā, which is now ready to do anything for him. [Securing of the Lore Bahu-rūpā (by Rāvaṇa)]

CANTO LXIX :

Rāvaṇa's wives complain to him against Aṅgada who molested them. He consoles them saying he would put Sugrīva and others to death. He meets Sītā and tells her that he would enjoy her (discarding his vow of not enjoying another's woman who is unwilling. Sītā requests him not to kill Rāma and Bhāmaṇḍala, otherwise she would die. She then faints. Then Rāvaṇa thinks that it was bad on his part to have abducted Sītā. He would like to return Sītā to Rāma. But it would be misconstrued as cowardice on his part. He would, therefore, take Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa captive and then offer Sītā to them.⁴⁷ With this thought he goes to his palace, resolves to kill Sugrīva etc. He is not deterred by evil omens⁴⁸ and is resolved to carry on fight. (Rāvaṇa's Reflection)

CANTO LXX :

Mandodarī appeals to Rāvaṇa to hand over Sītā to Rāma [as he cannot overpower Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, the Haladhara and the Cakraḍhara (Baladeva and Vāsudeva)] and take to asceticism. Rāvaṇa, however, is adamant. Next morning at the beating of wardrums, all the warriors get ready for war. (Preparations for war)

CANTO LXXI :

The two hostile armies meet face to face. A fierce fight ensues. Maya, Rāvaṇa's father-in-law encounters with Hanūmat, Bhāmaṇḍala, Sugrīva and Vibhiṣaṇa. Rāma then overpowers Maya, Rāvaṇa rushes ahead to fight with Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa however, comes forward and he and Rāvaṇa carry on fierce fight. (Fight between Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa)

CANTO LXXII :

In the terrible fight Lakṣmaṇa cuts off, after a long struggle, Rāvaṇa's head. But owing to that Bahurūpā lore Rāvaṇa comes to have double the number of heads that Lakṣmaṇa cuts off. Rāvaṇa ultimately invokes the Cakra (wheel, disc), the symbol of an Ardha-Cakrin. That presents itself before Rāvaṇa. He discharges

47 vv. 30-41 of this Canto reveal to us the intrinsic goodness and nobility of mind of Rāvaṇa. He is full of remorse for the wrong he did to poor Sītā in separating her, by abduction, from her be'oved husband and the untold misery he inflicted upon her. He hates himself for the sinful deed he has perpetrated, and the stigma he has brought on his good family. Self-respecting as he is, he resolves to fight against Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, conquer them and then honourably return Sītā to them.

48 vv. 46-53 refer to various evil omens that indicate Rāvaṇa's ruin and total destruction. Some of these portents are :

The dreadful halo round the sun, the total disappearance of the moon throughout the night, earth-quake, the occurrence of meteor, the dreadful howling of female jackal in the northern direction, the hoarse neighing of horses, the inauspicious trumpeting of elephants, the images of deities shedding tears, the cawing of crows, the breaking down of huge trees, and the toppling down of mountain-peaks; the drying up of lakes, showers of blood from the sky. In spite of these omens foreshadowing disaster he, full of pride, decides to fight.

it at Lakṣmaṇa. It circumambulates Lakṣmaṇa and mounts his hand. [Manifestation of the jewel (-like) (or the best) Cakra-Disc]

CANTO LXXIII :

Lakṣmaṇa, the Cakrapāṇi, is Nārāyaṇa and Rāma Baladeva. Vibhīṣaṇa makes an eleventh hour appeal to Rāvaṇa to hand over Sītā to Rāma but in vain. Now Lakṣmaṇa hurls the disc at Rāvaṇa; it splits open his chest and he falls to the ground dead. The poet gives the date of Rāvaṇa's death as the eleventh day of the dark half of the month of Jyeṣṭha.⁴⁹

Sugrīva and Vibhīṣaṇa assure the Rākṣasa army that began to flee at Rāvaṇa's death. [Slaying of Rāvaṇa (the ten-faced one)]

CANTO LXXIV :

Vibhīṣaṇa attempts suicide at his brother's death; Rāma, however, prevents him from that. Rāvaṇa's wives appear on the scene and piteously weep. Rāma comforts the weeping Vibhīṣaṇa.⁵⁰ Bhāmaṇḍala tells the story of Priyaṅkara, which enlightens Vibhīṣaṇa.⁵¹ [Priyaṅkara-upākhyānam (Episode of Priyaṅkara)]

CANTO LXXV :

Kumbhakarna, Indrajit and Meghavāhana are released. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa press them to enjoy royal glory. They decline. Rāvaṇa's sons ask a monk, Aprameyabala (i. e. Anantavīrya) about their past lives. Hearing the account they become monks. Kumbhakarna, Mā'ichi, Mandodarī and Candranakhā also accept asceticism. (Renunciation of saṃsāra by Indrajit and others)

CANTO LXXVI :

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa enter Laṅkā; Rāma anxiously inquires about Sītā who is in Padmodyāna. He and Sītā are united⁵²; gods testify to Sītā's purity and chastity. Lakṣmaṇa and others pay their respects to Sītā. [Union of Sītā (with Rāma)]

49 Canto LXVI speaks of the festival observed in the month of Phālguna; and Canto LXXIII tells of Rāvaṇa's death on the eleventh day of the dark of Jyeṣṭha. Now the interval between these two dates does not agree with the actual days taken by the mighty heroes to bring the war to an end.

50 Rāma pays compliments to Rāvaṇa when he speaks of him as 'Bahu-śāstra-panḍitah'.

51 This tale of Priyaṅkara is introduced to illustrate the truth that

जो जरथ सुमुपज्जइ सो तरथ रइ' कुणइ जीवो ।

.... 'A being finds delight in whichever condition of life he is born.' Priyaṅkara, who is foretold that he would be born as a worm in his latrine, asks his son to kill him when he is so born. Actually, however, when he is so born, he at the sight of his son runs away to save his life thus providing the truth contained in the line quoted above.

52 It is noteworthy that Rāma has absolutely no doubt about Sītā's purity and chastity and he readily embraces her to his bosom. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vā'miki, Rāma, we are told, repudiates Sītā on suspicion of infidelity. Poor Sītā has to undergo a fire-ordeal to prove her innocence.

Rāma and Sītā, seated on the elephant Bhuvanālamkāra go to Rāvaṇa's palace and pay homage to Śāntinātha. Rāma consoles Sumālī and Vibhiṣaṇa etc., dwelling on *karman* and the nature of *saṃsāra*. At the request of Vibhiṣaṇa they go to his mansion. There is the sanctuary of Padmaprabha whom they honour. Vibhiṣaṇa makes all preparations for Rāma's Abhiṣeka. He, however, declines the honour lest Bharata would feel offended. Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma send for the brides to whom they were betrothed; they arrive, and are married to.⁵³ Rama and party thus spend happily six years at Laṅkā.

The Rākṣasa heroes who took to asceticism attain Nirvāṇa. Maya practising penance obtains many supernatural powers. In the end the Canto tells us about the previous life of a king as described by Maya.⁵⁴ (Lecture of Maya)

CANTO LXXVIII :

Aparājītā laments the separation of Rāma. Nārada going to Laṅkā informs Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa of the miserable plight of their mothers. Rāma tells Vibhiṣaṇa that he must leave for Śāketa. Vibhiṣaṇa requests him to stay on for 16 days. Then messengers are sent to Bharata. The city of Śāketa is decorated to welcome the brothers. (Description of the City of Śāketa)

CANTO LXXIX :

Rāma and party on the scheduled day start for Śāketa in the Puṣpaka vimāna. On Sītā's inquiry, Rāma points out to her the different places they had wandered over together. They reach Śāketa. Bharata meets Rāma. They all then enter the city, eagerly looked at by the public. The mothers Aparājītā etc., are overjoyed at the sight of their sons. (Union of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with their mothers)

53 Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa (and Hanūmat) are married here to many women. According to the Rāmayaṇa of Vālmiki Hanūmat is an ideal Brahmachārin, Lakṣmaṇa is married to Urmilā only and Rāma to Sītā alone; and he is portrayed there as an ideal husband deeply devoted to Sītā. The change introduced by Vimala Sūri seems to mar the intensity of love between Rāma and Sītā and so does not appear to be praiseworthy.

54 vv. 69-70 tell us that a sati like Sītā obtains (by virtue of her chastity) heaven, and that there is considerable difference between man and woman.

vv. 73-113 give the story of king Śrīvadhita. He was the son of a teacher called Bhārgava. In Vyāghrapura he learns at the feet of a teacher, then elopes with Śilā, the daughter of the king of that town; he is pursued by his brother-in-law called Śimhendū. He defeats him and his army, pleases king Kararuha, obtains the kingdom of Potana. Now, after the death of Sukānta, his father, Śimhendū is routed by his enemies, he and his wife escape through an under-ground passage (Surāṅgā : this is one of the test words which make Jacobi assign the epic to a late date.) to find shelter with Śrīvadhita. On his way he is bitten by a snake; is taken on her shoulders by his wife to Muni Maya by whose grace her husband regains consciousness. Śrīvadhita is sent for, they all meet. Maya tells the king the story of his previous life; and that of his mother's. Maya then flies through the air to some other place,

CANTO LXXX :

Canto LXXX opens with a description of the glory and prosperity of Sāketa. Rāma erects temples of Jinās and makes the city as lovely as Indra's capital. The people are happy and prosperous. They, however, find one fault with Rāma. They express their disapproval of his having received Sītā back who was abducted and sported with by the lord of Laṅkā. Such a reprehensible act does not become men who are born in noble Kṣatriya families and are proud and have a sense of honour.

Now Bharata is not interested in *samsāra*. Rāma comes to know of Bharata's disgust with worldly life through Kaikeyī. He requests Bharata to carry on the administration of the kingdom as before. Sītā and Bharata's wives try to divert his mind by water-sports in a lake. He comes out of the lake and worships the Jinās in his heart. Just then the Tribhuvanālamkāra elephant breaks loose destroying everything that comes in his way. He goes to Bharata. He remembers his past birth and decides to act in such a way as to obtain liberation. (Commotion caused by the elephant Tribhuvanālamkāra).

CANTO LXXXI :

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa bring that elephant under control and hand it over to the care of the prime-minister. The elephant does not take any interest in things of the world. This serious condition of his is reported to the two brothers who think their kingdom is not worthwhile without that elephant. (Cause of heart-rending grief of Bhuvarālamkāra)

CANTO LXXXII :

Canto LXXXII tells of the past lives of that elephant through the sage Deśa-bhūṣaṇa. He further tells that the elephant desires to take to asceticism. (Description of the past lives of Tribhuvanālamkāra)

CANTO LXXXIII :

Canto LXXXIII speaks of the Dīkṣā accepted by Bharata and later on by his mother Kaikeyī. (Initiation of Bharata and Kaikeyī)

CANTO LXXXIV :

That elephant, devoted to Sāṅghāraddharma, becomes a god after his death. Bharata by virtue of his penance attains first perfect knowledge and then liberation, (Bharata's attaining to liberation)

CANTO LXXXV :

Virādhita informs Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa of Bharata's Nirvāṇa. They are naturally grieved to hear it. Now kings approach Rāma requesting him to accept the throne. He declines and then Lakṣmaṇa takes the throne. Rāma appoints Vibhīṣaṇa as the lord of Laṅkā, Sugrīva of Kiśkindhī and so on. (Coronation Ceremony)

CANTO LXXXVI :

Śatrughna requests Rāma to give him the town of Mathurā. Rāma tells him that Madhu, the ruler of Mathurā, who is in possession of a divine Sūla is invincible. Śatrughna persists in his demand. Rāma then agrees to his request on condition that he overpowers Madhu taking advantage of his loop-hole, viz., when he does not have his Sūla with him. He then marches against Mathurā and kills Lavaṇa, the son of Madhu, in the battle and overpowers Madhu himself as he is not having his Sūla with him. Madhu with the object of practising Sādhu-dharma tears out his hair and engages himself in Dharma-dhyāna. After death he is born as a god. (Defeat of Madhu (-sundara ?)]

CANTO LXXXVII :

The Sūla goes back to its master, and reports to him the news of Madhu's death at Śatrughna's hands. Camara, the god, getting angry starts towards Mathurā to punish the enemy. He goes to Mathurā and creates terrible *upasarga* to the people there. The Family-deity informs Śatrughna of this. He with his army goes back to Sāketa. [Upasarga (Calamity, Trouble) caused to Mathurā]

CANTO LXXXVIII :

Canto LXXXVIII gives the past lives of Śatrughna and Kṛtāntavadāna, his general. [Description of the (past) lives of Śatrughna and Kṛtāntamukha]

CANTO LXXXIX :

Canto LXXXIX tells of the arrival of seven monks at Mathurā. Owing to their presence the epidemic of Cholera caused by Camara is rooted out. Śatrughna with his mother returns to Mathurā. The monks ask him to practise true Dharma and see to it that each house in Mathurā worships a Jina-idol after installing it therein. This done, there would not spread any disease. Śatrughna does so and the city prospers.⁵⁵ [Founding of Mathurā (by Śatrughna)]

CANTO XC :

Canto XC describes how Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma come to marry Vidyādhara princesses Manoramā and Śrīdāmā respectively. [Obtainment of Manoramā (as wife by Lakṣmaṇa)]

55 The Canto contains a prophetic account as follows :

"Here in India after the time of the Nanda Kings the Law of the Jinas will become scarce. The number of heretics would swell; the kings would behave like thieves; people would slander the 'sādhus'; bad practices would be the order of the day; people would indulge in himsā, false-hood and thefts; the ignorant people would bestow gifts on the ignorant, censuring the 'sādhus'".

"Perhaps this refers more specially to Magadha and the adjoining countries, where under the reign of the Mauryas, Buddhism soon attained the position of a popular religion, and must have become a formidable rival of Jainism." See Jacobi : Jainism (E. R. I. Vol. VII).

CANTO XCI :

Lakṣmaṇa conquers a number of Vidyādhara kings. The poet tells us that he had 16000 wives of which eight - Viśalyā etc., - are the principal ones. Rāma has got 8,000 wives of which four - Sītā and others - are the chief ones. The two brothers establish their supreme rule over the three continents. The canto also gives the names of some sons of Lakṣmaṇa. (Demonstration of the greatness of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa)

CANTO XCII :

Canto XCII narrates Sītā's dream which indicates that she would give birth to two sons, brave and handsome, but also forebodes some impending evil; it further tells of Sītā's pregnancy-longing to visit Jina shrines which is fulfilled by Rāma. [Sita's Pregnancy-longing to worshipping the Jina(-idols)]

CANTO XCIII :

Sītā's right eye throbs. She is worried and tells Rāma about it. She is asked to devote herself to Jina worship. Now people approach Rāma and declare to him the scandal about Sītā. They report to him that the wicked public finds fault with him for having received Sītā back after she had been abducted and sported with by the lord of the Rākṣasas. As is the king so are his subjects. They, therefore, need not reproach a woman if she is attached to a person other than her husband. Rāma is very sad about this. The model king in him cannot bear the reproach that he is setting a bad example. He feels that Sītā had brought a stigma on his family and fame. He condemns woman kind. He feels very unhappy and miserable owing to this evil report about Sītā. (People's Reflection)

CANTO XCIV :

Rāma sends for Lakṣmaṇa; tells him of the scandal about Sītā. Lakṣmaṇa is furious as he is convinced of Sītā's purity and innocence. Rāma holds that Sītā is a stigma on the glory of his Ikṣvāku family. Mightily afraid of infamy he is ready to abandon his innocent wife. Lakṣmaṇa protests; Rāma argues that the very fact that he received back Sītā after she had been abducted is bound to reflect on his character. He also puts forth the plea that Sītā during her stay in the Padmodyāna must have consented to Rāvaṇa's proposal of enjoying love-sports. In spite of Lakṣmaṇa's protest Rāma orders Kṛtānta-vadana, the general to take Sītā to Jina shrines on Sammata mountain and then abandon her in a dreadful forest. On their way Sītā hears a charming sound, inquires whether it is that of Rāma⁵⁶ but learns that it was the sound of Gaṅgā. They cross Gaṅgā. Kṛtāntavadana breaks the news to Sītā⁵⁷, with it Sītā breaks down. She is somehow recovered. Full of submission

56 A fine natural touch !

57 Rāma hears the ugly gossip and s'ānder about Sītā. He would rather abandon Sītā than bring a stain on the good name of his family. Lakṣmaṇa pleads for Sītā but in vain.

to her fate she only sends Rāma friendly greetings, and then falls in a swoon. Awakening she laments her lot. Now Vajra-jaṅgha, the king of Puṇḍarikapura goes to that side of the forest to capture elephants. Men from his army are surprised to hear the weeping of a woman in that dreadful forest (Banishment of Sītā)

CANTO XCV :

Vajrajaṅgha, who knows the Svara-Vidyā, infers that the weeping lady must be Sītā. His men approach her, convince her of the virtues of their king; she then goes to the king and narrates to him her tale and remarks that this act of rejection does not befit prince Rāma. The king looks upon her as his sister and comforts her.⁵⁸ (Comforting of Sītā)

CANTO XCVI :

Sītā is taken to Puṇḍarikapura. She passes her time in listening to the religious stories and doing religious duties. Kṛtāntavadana returns home reports to Rāma the scene of the abandonment of Sītā and conveys her message to him. She has particularly asked him not to abandon Jina-dharma. Rāma faints; coming to senses he laments, Lakṣmaṇa consoles him. In course of time Rāma forgets his sorrow due to Sītā's abandonment. (Rāma's lamentation)

CANTO XCVII :

Sītā gives birth to twin children who are called Anaṅga-lavaṇa and Madanāṅkuśa.⁵⁹ They are brought up and are taught by Siddhārtha who is very proficient in arts and sciences. The twin brothers become experts in various art and sciences. Their great qualities are described. (Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa)

CANTO XCVIII :

Canto XCVIII tells of the marriage of Lavaṇa with Śaśicūḍā and of Aṅkuśa with Kanakamālā after his flight with Pṛthu, the father of Kanakamālā. The twins go on conquering countries one after the other. They then return to Puṇḍarikapura. Sītā is glad to see them back victorious. (Conquest of countries by Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa)

Rāma shrinks from ill fame; it appears that he is torn by feelings of jealousy and suspicion against his wife (see vv. 18-19). He orders the commander to banish Sītā. Lakṣmaṇa once more tries to plead for Sītā. Rāma tells him not to talk to him about that matter or contradict him. He decrees that Sītā shall be banished.

Rāma sinks low in our estimation. He banishes pregnant Sītā and that too secretly!

In the Rāmāyaṇa the unpleasant duty of deserting Sītā in the forest is assigned to Lakṣmaṇa while here to the commander Kṛtānta-vaḍana.

58 In the Rāmāyaṇa Vālmīki consoles her and gives her shelter in his āśrama; here it is Vajra-jaṅgha who regards her as his sister and comforts her in her distress.

59 In the Rāmāyaṇa the twins are called Kuśa and Lava; here Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa.

CANTO XCIX :

Nārada incites the twins to obtain the glory and splendour of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Sītā is unhappy to find sons going to fight their father. The Kumāras in spite of Sītā's warnings march against Ayodhyā, and encamp with their army on the river-bank. Rāma gets his army ready for war. Bālmaṇḍala is informed of this by Nārada. He goes to Sītā and taking her with him visits the battlefield. A fight ensues. Rāma encounters Lavaṇa, while Lakṣmaṇa Aṅkuṣā. [Fight of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuṣā (with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa respectively)]

CANTO C :

The fight continues. Lakṣmaṇa is helpless. Siddhārtha and Nārada narrate to him the account of the twins. Rāma is visibly moved to hear the account. They approach the twins who salute their elders. Seeing their union Sītā goes back to Puṇḍarikapūra. They all then enter Ayodhyā. [Union of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuṣā (with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa)]

CANTO CI :

Sugrīva and others request Rāma to receive Sītā back. He agrees on condition that Sītā proves her innocence and purity before the eyes of the people. Sugrīva and others bring Sītā to Ayodhyā. Rāma cannot stand her presence; he asks her to stand aside. She gives expression to her righteous indignation. Sītā has to pass through fire-ordeal to prove her purity.

Indra is told of this fire-ordeal by Hariṇagaveśi.⁶⁰ He asks him to assist Sītā through her ordeal. He accordingly goes to Sītā. (Arrival of God Hariṇagameṣin)

CANTO CII :

A pyre is erected and lighted and Sītā paying homage to the Jinas and other dignitaries declares on oath that she is innocent and pure and rushes into the flames. By virtue of her chastity the flames turn into water and Sītā is unscathed. Now that water rising in volume spreads everywhere; people are afraid and invoke Sītā's help. At her touch the waters become still as those of a well. Rāma apologizes to her and proposes to her to enjoy pleasures in his company. Sītā firmly declares her intention to become nun and tears out her hair. Rāma faints. Sītā accepting the ascetic order approaches a Muni. Regaining his consciousness Rāma goes in search of Sītā, arrives in the presence of that Muni (Sakalabhūṣaṇa) where Sītā was. Sakalabhūṣaṇa delivers a long sermon on Dharma. He predicts that after enjoying the glory of a Haladhara, one day Rāma too would attain perfect knowledge. (Rāma's listening to a religious discourse)

60 The name of this god is spelt sometimes as Hariṇagaveśi (Pc. 3, 103) or Hariṇegameṣi (Antagaḍaśāo p. 12) or Hariṇegaveśi (v. 74) or occasionally as Hariṇakesi (v. 70). He is the god who commands the foot-soldiers of Śakra (Indra). The Sk. equivalent given for the Prakrit name is 'Hariṇagameṣin'.

CANTO CIII :

Canto CIII narrates the previous births of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā, Rāvaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa, Sugrīva and Vālin through the monk Sakalabbhūṣaṇa.

In a town there are two merchant-sons, Dhanadatta and Vasudatta. A Brahmin called Yājñavalkya is their friend. In the same town there is a merchant Sagaradatta and his wife is Ratnaprabhā. She gives birth to a son called 'Guṇa' and a daughter named 'Guṇamatī'. She is, by her father, betrothed to Dhanadatta but her mother, greedy of wealth, secretly offers her to a merchant-prince by name Śrīkānta. Knowing this Yājñavalkya conveys the news to his friend Vasudatta. He gets enraged, attacks the merchant-prince and in the duel both kill each other. After death they are born as deer. Dhanadatta owing to the death of his brother and loss of Guṇamatī wanders from one country to another. Guṇamatī after death is born as a female deer. The two deers kill each other on her account. Dhanadatta in course of his wanderings meets a monk; owing to his sermon he becomes a Śrāvaka; after death he is born as a god. Descending from there he is born as Jinapadmāruci in a town called Mahāpura. Once he teaches an old bull the Pañca-Namaskāra formula. The soul of that bull is born as Vṛṣabha-dhvaja the son of the king of Mahāpura. He cleverly manages to find out his benefactor in the past birth and the two, possessed of great glory, become pious Śrāvakas. After death they are born as gods. The soul of Dhanadatta descends and is reborn as Nayanānanda, a Vidyādhara prince. He becomes a monk, after death is born as a god. Descending he is born as prince Śricandra. He enters the ascetic order, dies and is born as Indra in Brahmaloḥa. Descending now he is born as Rāma, the son of Daśaratha.

Now we turn to Vasudatta and Śrīkānta, the merchant prince. In Mṛṇālakuṇḍa there was a prince 'Vajra-kañcu' and his wife Hemavatī. That Śrīkānta is born as Svayambhū of her. That Guṇamatī, passing through many births is born as Vegavatī of a Purohita devoted to Jina-Dharma. This Vegavatī once holds up a monk to ridicule but her father checks her. She becomes a Śrāvikā. The prince Svayambhū is enamoured of her. Her father, however, declares that he won't offer his daughter to a prince of wrong faith. Svayambhū is enraged, kills him, forcibly kidnaps Vegavatī and rapes her. Vegavatī solemnly says : 'In the next birth I will be the cause of your death since you killed my father and have raped me'. She then enters the ascetic order. She after her death was born as a god and now in the present birth she is born as Sītā. Svayambhū after his death wanders in hells, then is born as Prabhāsakuṇḍa, a Brahmin boy and later becomes a monk. Seeing the glory of Kanakaprabha, the lord of Vidyādharas, he entertains a (remunerative) desire that by virtue of his austerities he should be able to enjoy in a future birth the glory and prosperity of the chief of Vidyādharas. After death he was born as a god in Sanat-kumāra heaven and descending from there he was now born as Rāvaṇa. That Vasudatta (who was later on born as Śrībhūtī, as Bhāmaṇḍala, that Yājñavalkya as Vibhīṣaṇa, and Vṛṣabha-dhvaja as Sugrīva).

The Canto then tells of the past lives of Vā'in; the cause of Sītā's abduction, viz., Svayambhū had passion for Vegavatī as a result of that passion he (who is now born as Rāvaṇa) abducted Sītā (the soul of Vegavatī); it also furnishes the explanation of Rāvaṇa's death at Lakṣmaṇa's hands (viz., the two were enemies of each other in their previous births) and of scandal about Sītā [viz., Vegavatī (the soul of Sītā) had scandalized an innocent monk but later on she had declared that she had told a lie and consequently in this birth Sītā came out of the fire-ordeal unscathed thus proving her innocence and purity]; that Kṛtāntavadana takes to asceticism and Rāma goes to Sītā, the nun and pays homage to her. (Sītā's accepting of Asceticism and Past Lives of Rāma)

CANTO CIV :

Canto CIV describes the past lives of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa. (Description of the past births of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa)

CANTO CV :

Sītā practising austerities is born as a Prati-Indra with a span of life numbering twenty-two Sāgaropamas. Madhu and Kaiṭabha practising penance for 64000 years were born in Acyuta heaven with the same life period. Descending from there they were born as Kṛṣṇa's sons called Śāmba and Pradyumna. The Tīrthaṅkaras have said that a period of 64000 years separates Bhārata and Rāmāyana.⁶¹ The Canto then relates the narrative of Madhu and Kaiṭabha. Incidentally, the Brāhmaṇas are condemned. (Episode of Madhu and Kaiṭabha)

CANTO CVI :

At the *svayamvara* of two maidens, called Mandākinī and Candramukhī, Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa are chosen as bridegrooms. Lakṣmaṇa's sons are enraged at this. They are pacified and instructed by Rūpamatī's son. Then being enlightened, with the consent of Lakṣmaṇa they become monks at the hands of Mahābala, a monk. [Renunciation of *samsāra* by (Lakṣmaṇa's) Kumāras]

CANTO CVII :

Bhāmaṇḍala enjoys pleasures in his capital. For one reason or the other he postpones his idea of accepting asceticism. Once he is struck by lightning and dies. (Death of Bhāmaṇḍala)

CANTO CVIII :

Hanumat, with his 1000 wives, enjoys pleasures of senses. Once he goes to Mt. Meru to pay homage to Jinās. On his way back his army is held up on a mountain

61 चउसट्टि सहस्साइं वरिसाण अन्तरं समक्खायं ।

तिथ्यरेहि म्हायस भारहरामायणाणं तु ॥ —Canto 105. v. 16.

as the sun was set. He, reflecting on the transitory nature of *samsāra* accepts *Dīkṣā*. His wives being grieved at his separation become nuns. Hanūmat in due course attains to Nirvāṇa. (Hanūmat's attaining to Liberation)

CANTO CIX :

Rāma, absorbed in pleasures of senses, laughs at Hanūmat and others for accepting asceticism. Now, once, Indra gives a talk on *samsāra*, Dharma, and greatness of Jainism and the importance of birth as a human being - to the gods. One god interrupts him pointing to Rāma's case. Thereupon Indra tells him that affection for one's friends and relatives etc., is the greatest hindrance in the realization of Nirvāṇa. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa bear abundant and deep love for each other. Lakṣmaṇa would certainly die at Rāma's separation. [Conversation between Indra (and a God)]

CANTO CX :

Two gods go to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to test their affection for each other. At the illusory show of Rāma's death put up by them Lakṣmaṇa crying 'alas' dies. The gods are sorry at this, are helpless and return to heaven. Rāma hearing the terrible and shocking news goes to Lakṣmaṇa's mansion; he out of deep love for his brother regards him still to be alive. Hearing of their uncle's death Lavaṇa and Aṅkuṣa become monks. At the loss of his brother and his own sons Rāma sinks into profound grief and misery. (Entrance of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuṣa in the Grove of Penance)

CANTO CXI :

Canto CXI portrays the lamentation of Rāma, overpowered with profound sorrow at the death of his brother. (Rāma's Lamentation)

CANTO CXII :

Sugrīva, Vibhīṣaṇa and others arrive and try to console Rāma in his grief. Vibhīṣaṇa gives a sermon on the nature of *samsāra* and urges on Rāma to give up grieving for his dead brother. (Vibhīṣaṇa's Plea to Rāma at his loss of Lakṣmaṇa)

CANTO CXIII :

Rāma refuses to be reconciled to the idea of Lakṣmaṇa's death. He caresses the dead body of his brother.

Hearing of this news Rāma's old enemies such as Vajramāli etc., think of attacking Ayodhyā. They still nurse enmity towards him for having been deprived of Pātāla-Laṅkā's rule. They invade Ayodhyā. Keeping Lakṣmaṇa's body on his lap Rāma takes up his Vajrāvarta bow. Gods now come to his help. The enemies seeing the army of gods there flee away. Araid and a-hamed of showing their face to Vibhīṣaṇa, the sons of Indrajit and Sunda take to asceticism.

Now the two gods Jaṭāyus and Kṛtāntavadana adopt various artifices and succeed in convincing Rāma that Lakṣmaṇa had expired. He then performs the funeral rites of his dead brother. He thereafter asks Śatrughna to take over the kingdom as he himself wants to take to asceticism. Śatrughna, however, declines. (Arrival of Celestial friends, the gods)

CANTO CXIV :

Rāma then installs Aṅgaruḥa (son of Lavaṇa) on the throne. Vibhīṣaṇa, Sugrīva too act accordingly. Rāma accepts asceticism at the hands of Muni Suvrata. All other heroes follow Rāma. Now Rāma all alone wanders about, acquires Avadhī knowledge and passes his time in the study of scriptures. [Renunciation of *samsāra* by (Muni) Baladeva]

CANTO CXV :

Once, Muni Rāma enters Syandanasthali to break his fast; the people of that place shower love on him and pressingly invite him to go to their houses to break his fast. The policemen are forced to keep order. Muni Rāma, without accepting food, goes to the forest. [Agitation caused in the course of (Rāma's) begging tour]

CANTO CXVI :

Now Rāma takes a vow of not to enter any town. Now a king goes to that forest, encamps on the bank of a lake, Rāma goes there, alms is offered to him. He accepts it. That gift of alms is praised by gods in heaven. (Praise of the gift of pure alms)

CANTO CXVII :

In the course of his wanderings Rāma goes to where that Koṭīśīlā was. Standing on it he observes Pratinā. Now Indra (the soul of Sītā) goes there. He with a view to be in a position to enjoy pleasures in Rāma's company causes Upasargas, but Rāma is undisturbed, and attains perfect knowledge. Gods go there to celebrate that event. That Indra (formerly Sītā) too participates in the celebrations. Rāma advises him to give up attachment and practise Dharma. [Acquisition of perfect knowledge (by Rāma)]

CANTO CXVIII :

(Sītā-) Indra goes to hell to enlighten Lakṣmaṇa. He asks him to observe right faith and returns. He then once meets Rāma and inquires of him of the fortune of Daśaratha and his wives who, he informs him, are born in heaven. Lava and Kuśa would obtain Nirvāṇa. The Canto then tells the story of Bhāmaṇḍala, and about the future lives of Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa. These last named two heroes in due course, after wandering through some births, would obtain Nirvāṇa. Sītādevya too would attain liberation along with the Arhat - Induratha (the soul of Rāvaṇa).

Living for a period of 17,000 years Rāma obtains Mokṣa. (Rāma's attaining to Nirvāṇa)

(B) PAUMACARIYA : A STUDY

THE DATE OF VIMALASŪRI

In the subscription to the *Paumacariya* Vimalasūri gives the date of the completion of the work as 30 A.V.¹ Two different dates are given for the year of Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra : (i) The traditional date, namely 56 B.C. and (ii) the date fixed by Jacobi, viz., 467 B.C. They indicate two different dates of the completion of the *Paumacariya*, viz., 4 A.D. and 64 A.D. That is to say, according to poet Vimalasūri's own statement the *Paumacariya* was written in the first century A.D.²

Jacobi, however, holds that the *Paumacariya* was of a much later age. In his paper³ called "Some ancient Jain Works" he observes : "As it (the *Paumacariya*) gives a lagna in which some planets are given under their Greek names, the book, for example, must have been written after Greek astrology had been adopted by the Hindus, and that was not before the 3rd century A.D. Therefore unless the passage which contains the lagna is a later addition the book itself may be placed in the 3rd century A.D. or somewhat later." In another place⁴ he speaks of its age

1 पंचेव य वाससया, दुसमाए तीसवरिसंजुत्ता ।

वीरे सिद्धिमुवगए, तओ निबद्धं इमं चरियं ॥ XVII. 103

- 2 Leumann considers the date 4 A.D. as unassailable (Winternitz : A History of Indian Literature. Vol. I, p. 514, f.n. 1, and Vol. II p. 478, f.n.). Winternitz accepts 64 A.D. as the date of the composition of the *Paumacariya* (Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 513-514 with f.n. 1, and Vol. II, p. 477 with f.n. 3, p. 478 and p. 479). Pandit Hargovind Das Sheth assigns this work to the first century A.D. (*Paia-Sadda-mahāvay*, Vol. IV, Introduction, p. 13), Pandit Premi accepts the date given by Vimalasūri as correct (*Jain Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa*, revised edition 1956' p. 91). Dr. Jyotiprasad Jain appears to be in favour of the date as recorded by the poet himself (*Srimad Rajendrasuri Smāraka Granth Vimalāya Aura Unakā Paumacariyam*, pp. 444-445). Prof. C. V. Abhyankar refutes some of the arguments against an early date for the poet : The occurrence of words like *Dināra*, *Suruṅgā* and the like which betray the Roman and the Greek influence on India "can at the most make us disinclined to put a writer (who uses these words) before the beginning of the Christian era". The astronomical date are probably not genuine. The argument based on the influence of later poets and playwrights on Vimalasūri he rebuts thus : "The descriptions of the seasons, water-sports, hells, and amorous gestures have been more or less conventional ones, ever since the time of the earliest Indian epics, and similarity of thought and expression in this matter can never be a criterion for the fixing of the dates of any two writers whose writings show much resemblance in those matters". On the strength of the primitive language, archaic forms and the old matters." On the stren of the old metres he assigns the work to the first century A. D. (Forward to *Pauma-Cariyam* (Chs. 27-28, edited by Sri S. C. Upadhyaya, Ahmedabad, 1934).

3 Modern Review, December 1914.

4 Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VII, p. 467.

as 'perhaps of the third century A.D.' In another place still⁵ he writes : "Since the word 'cīnāra', 'lagna', 'Yavana' and Śakas are mentioned in the work itself the latter must have been composed earliest in the second or the third century A.D." In the introduction to *Paṇḍitaśaṅkara*⁶ he writes : "For Vimalasūri, author of Prakrit poem *Paumacariya*, states at the end of his work to have written it in 530 A.V. The date, if interpreted as a regular Vira date is inconsistent with the author's statements in cxxviii. 117-118. He gives his spiritual lineage : Rāhu, Vijaya, and Sūri Vimala who belong to the Nāilakulavamsa. The latter is no doubt identical with Nāilī sālā which according to the Theravāli, was founded by Vajra's disciple Vajraena Vajra having died about 575 A.V., Vajrasena may be confidently placed in about 580-600 A.V. As Vimala was a member of the Nāilī he was removed from its founder by an uncertain number of generations. He therefore cannot have lived before the later part of the 7th century A.V., and thus it is certain that his date 530 is not a regular Vira date. In the common Vira era starting from 526 B.C. the year 530 corresponds to 4 A.D. But the *Paumacariya* was written in a much later age. For in it the Yavanas and Śakas are mentioned not as newly settled in India, but as living there since time immemorial, the same holds good with cīnāra".

5 Introduction to *Bhavisattakahā* (German) 1918, Translation by Dr. Ghosal, Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, June 55, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 363-65.

6 *Bibliotheca Indica* Work No. 96 (Calcutta, 1832), edited by Jacobi, p. XIX. Keith (A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 34 p. 40, f. n. 2), Woolner (Introduction to Prakrit, 1928, p. 83), Glasenapp (Jain Dharma, p. 118, -A Gujarati Translation of Jainism, Jain Dharma Prasarak Sabha, Bhavnagar), Dr. Upadhye (Introduction to Pravacanasāra-p. XXIII, and f. n. 1 thereon, R. J. Śāstramālā, Bombay 1935, and Introduction to Paramātma-prakāśa, p. 56, f. n. 1, R. J. Śāstramālā, Bombay 1937), Dr. Ghatage (ABORI, Poona, Vol. XVI, 1934-35 : Narrative Literature in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, p. 30; Progress of Indic Studies, BORI, Silver Jubilee, 1942, Poona : "A Brief Sketch of Prakrit Studies", p. 169; Sāraha Śatābdi Commemoration Volume : A Locative Form in Paumacariya) follow Jacobi in dating Vimalasūri.

Prof. Laddu and Gore appear to be of two minds regarding the date of Vimalasūri. They assign him "to a period between the latter half of the first century B. C. and the first half of the first century A. D." or "To somewhere between the latter half of the second century A. D. and the first half of the third century A. D." (*Paumacariya* of Vimalasūri, Cantos 33-35, Poona, 1941 Introduction pp. viii-ix). Shri S. C. Upadhyaya assigns Vimalasūri to the seventh century A. D. on the basis of the influence of other poets and writers on him (*Paumacariyam*, Chs. 27, 28, Ahmedabad, 1934). He, however, subsequently changed his view and defended the date 530 A. V. as correct (Jainacarya Sri Ātmārānji Janmasatābdi Grantha : Mahākavi Vimalasūri ane temanu Racelun Paumacariya-an article in Gujarati pp. 100-123, 1935 Principal Chaugule and Vaidya place Vimalasūri in the second century A. D. (*Paumacariyam*, Chs. 27-28, 1934 Chaugule. Chs. I-IV 1936, Chaugule and Vaidya, Chs. 33-35, 1941. Principal V. M. Shah too places Vimalasūri in the second century A. D. (*Paumacariya*, Chs. I-IV, 1936, Surat). Dr. U. P. Shah casually suggests that it would be preferable to understand 530 A. V. as 530 V. S. (*Śrīmad Rājendrasūri Smāraka Grantha : Prācīna Sāhitya men Mudrāsambandhi Tathya*, p. 539, an article in Hindi.)

Muni Jinavijayaji⁷ thinks that probably the work is not so ancient as it claims to be. He believes with Jacobi that Vimala's date 530 is not a regular Vira date and that Vimalasūri is not later than the 3rd century A.D.

K. H. Dhruva⁸ was inclined to assign the Paūmacariya to the period between 678 A.D. and 778 A.D. He fixed the upper limit 678 A.D. on the ground that the Paūmacariya was, according to him, a Prakrit rendering of Raviṣeṇa's Padmacarita Purāṇa (678 A.D.). The lower limit is unassailable as Kuvalayamāṇā (778 A.D.) mentions Vimala. Dhruva advanced a few more arguments for dating it so late as that (i) Vimalasūri's use of some metres of comparatively later origin such as Gāhīṇī, Śārabha and Āryāskandhaka, (ii) the employment of Sragoharā at the end of a canto and of Yamaka in Gīti and of the poet's own name Vimala as a key-word or catchword in the concluding stanza of every canto, and the (iii) comparatively modern Prakrit of Vimalasūri.

Pandit Paramanand Jain Shastri⁹ points to the use of the word Siyambara (= Svetāmbara, Canto XXII. 78) by Vimalasūri and opines that its use suggests a late date. He finds resemblance between four gāthās from *Paumacariya* and the *Cariṭṭapāhuda* (and also one gāthā, with slight variation, common to the *Paumacariya* and the *Pravacanasāra*). He shows the great resemblance of ideas between some gāthās of the *Paumacariya* and the Sūtras from the *Tattvārthasūtra* (Digambara recension in particular). He quotes the line एत्ताहे विमलेण सुत्तसहि ये गाहानिबद्धं कये । Pc. CXVIII v. 102 (d) and interprets it to mean that the poet Vimala has versified the Sūtras from the *Tattvārthasūtra*.¹⁰ He, therefore, holds that Vimalasūri must have flourished after Kundakunda and Umāsvāti.

7 In a personal discussion which I had with him recently he expressed this opinion.

8 Jain Yuga, Vol. I, part 2, 1981 V. S. (pp. 68-69) and Vol. I, part 5, 1982 v. s. (pp. 180-182).

9 Anekānta (Kīraṇa 10-11), 1942 : Paumacariyakā Antah-Parikṣaṇa, pp. 337-344 (f. n. Bhūla-sudhāra on p. 352). This article is quoted in full in the Hindi Introduction to Padmapurāṇa, Vol. I, Bhāratiya Jñāna-piṭha, Kāśī, 1958, without correcting the mistake referred to in the foot-note on p. 352 !

10 This interpretation of the word 'Suttasahiyaṃ' is indeed extraordinary ! The expression 'Suttasahiyaṃ' in this stanza has nothing to do with the *Tattvārthasūtra*. In the opening canto the poet Vimalasūri describes the source of his work as the words of Lord Mahāvīra himself (Read in this connection, *Paumacariya*, I. 8-10, 13, 29-31, 33 and 90 and the title of the first Chapter 'Sūtra-vidhāna' and CXVIII. 118). The word sūtra in the title "Table of Contents", means 'Contents'. That the expression 'sutta-sahiyaṃ' means 'in accordance with the sacred texts (सुत्त=आगम)' is quite clear if we read the following gāthā :

सुत्ताणुसारसरिसं (०सरसं ?), रइयं गाहाहि पायडकुडरयं ।

विमलेण पउमचरियं संखेवेण निसामेह ॥ —Pc. I. 31

The various arguments advanced by Jacobi and others for rejecting the date assigned to the end of the work itself and assigning it to a much later period may be conveniently summarised up as follows: (i) The words Yavanas, Śaka, dīnāra and Surungā (or Surungā) are mentioned in the work. (ii) It gives a lagna in which some planets are given under their Greek names. (iii) The word 'Siyamba' (Sk. Śitāmba) in reference to a Jain muni occurs in the work. (iv) There is resemblance of ideas, thought, and words between the work and *Cārittapāhuda* and between the work and the *Taittārthasūtra*. (v) The work presents some comparatively modern names and the author's own name as a key-word. (vi) The work contains a number of vulgarisms which foreshadow the Apabhraṃśa stage. (vii) The work is a Prakrit rendering, in an abridged form, of the Sanskrit *Padma-carita*. And lastly (viii) the *Nāṇakulavamśa*, to which *Vimālasūri* belonged, is identical with the *Nāṇī Sālā* which was founded by Vajrasena (580-600 A.V.).

Let us now examine these arguments one by one. As regards the mention of Yavanas it may be noted the word Yauna, meaning the Greeks, is found used in the *Mahābhārata*, XII, 207-43 and that the earliest use of the Sanskritized form Yavana can be traced in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (circa 5th century B. C.) and that of the Prakrit form Yona in the Inscriptions of Aśoka. It is a historical fact that "the people of Uttarapatha at least had direct knowledge of the Greeks as early as the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. It is not improbable that officers of Greek and Indian origin in the service of the Achaemenian Government as well as merchants of the empire belonging to both the nationalities often met one another at the metropolis and the provincial headquarters... The conquest of North Western India in 327-325 B. C. by Alexander and the foundation by the Macedonian king of such cities as... Alexandria peopled partially by some of the Greek followers of the Conqueror, must have led to an intimate association between the Yavanas and the Indians..."¹¹ Again, says Sarkar, "As early, however, as the time of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* the Yavanas as well as the Śakas found a place in the Indian Society as 'aniravasita' (pure) *Śudras* while the *Manusmṛitī* regards them as degraded Kṣatriyas.... The *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Manusmṛitī* appear to speak of the Greeks of Bactria and Afghanistan who established themselves in India in the early years of the second century B. C."¹² In fixing the age of *Manusmṛitī* (200 B.C. to 200 A.D.) Keith remarks: "The former limit arises from the mention of Yavanas, Śakas, Kāmbojas, and Pahlavas, showing that the work was written when the frontiers were no longer safe from invasion...."¹³ As regards the words 'dīnāra' (the Latin denarius) and 'Surungā' (Greek Syrtinx, an underground passage) Keith observes that they suggest

11 The Age of Imperial Unity (Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay), p. 102.

12 Ibid., p. 103.

13 A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 441.

a date not before the second century A.D.¹⁴ His statement, however, is by no means beyond dispute. The term 'Surangā' occurs in the Arthaśāstra. As shown above the Indians were in contact with the Greeks centuries before the Christian era. They may have borrowed the word surangā from them. Regarding the word 'dīnāra' we must not forget the fact that trade and commerce was regularly going on between India and Rome from even before the second century B.C. It is reasonable, therefore, to believe that the gold coin dīnāra must have been very familiar to the Hindus (especially from Western India) since that time.

Regarding the argument based on the Greek influence, we must remember that Jacobi himself qualifies his statement regarding the passage thus "Unless the passage which contains the lagna is a later addition."¹⁵ He appears to have entertained doubt regarding the genuine character of the passage. Prof. Abhyankar writes about this passage thus : "the astronomical data found in the book are very inaccurate and if they are taken as genuine they would be a proof of the ridiculously poor knowledge of astronomy on the part of the author who has felt no hesitation in placing Venus and Mercury at a distance of more than 60° and 120° from the sun."¹⁶ The passage is not quite essential in the context and probably is an interpolation. Even if it is accepted as genuine it need not necessarily suggest a late date. For Jacobi's view about the period when the Hindus adopted Greek astrology is not incontestible. Dixit¹⁷ holds that the Zodaic names Meṣa and other words current in India round about five hundred years before the Śaka or the Christian era and the names of week days about a thousand years before these eras started. Prof. Abhyankar¹⁸ believes in the identity of Mīnarāja or Mīnendra, the author of the Yavana-Jātaka and King Menander (150 B.C.) and adds that the date of King Menander (about 150 B.C.) also well agrees with the date which can be assigned to the work on strength of internal and external evidences."

The word 'Siyambara' (Śvetāmbara) used in the work appears not to have the later connotation which it acquired after the great schism of the Jain community into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras. In fact, the absence of the word Digambara in the whole of the work, the presence of some beliefs and details of dogma which are in agreement with the Digambara tradition (and Raviṣeṇa's use of the work as the basis of his *Paṇḍitarī* (or *purāṇa*) clearly suggest an early date for the work when sectarian prejudices had not as yet developed.

14 Ibid., pp. 65, 248, 445 for dīnāra and pp. 28 and 460 for suruṅgā.

15 "Some Ancient Jain Works" – Modern Review, 1934.

16 Foreword to Paumacariyam (Chs. 27, 28) edited by Sri S. C. Upadhyaya. published by R. P. Kotlari and Co., Gandhi Road, Ahmedadd, 1934.

17 Bhāratiya Jyotiṣaśāstra (pp. 139, 511). by S. B. Dixit. Āryabhūṣaṇa Press, Poona. 1931.)

18 The Upadeśa-sūtra of Jaimini (p. 87) edited by Prof. K. V. Abhyankar, Gujarāt Vidyāsabhā, Ahmedabad, 1951.

There is striking resemblance between the *Paumacariya* and the works of Kunda-kunda and Umāsvāti as pointed out by Pandit Paramanand Jain. This kind of resemblance regarding doctrinal details, however, does not necessarily or invariably indicate the borrowing by one from the other but it only proves their common heritage. If there is striking resemblance between two Kāvya, it suggests that one has borrowed from the other unless both have drawn upon the same source. Regarding matters of doctrinal and ritualistic interest if there is resemblance between a Kāvya and other authoritative works and when their dates are incontestible it is reasonable to infer that the poet has borrowed from the authoritative texts and not the other way. The *Paumacariya* being a Purāṇa-Kāvya includes matter of doctrinal interest. If the dates of the authoritative texts were definitely and decisively known to be earlier than that of the *Paumacariya* one could have argued for its indebtedness to them in regard to these points of doctrinal interest. But their dates are disputed by scholars. It stands to reason, therefore, to say that the *Paumacariya* embodies ancient traditions and beliefs of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras, their common heritage before they parted ways. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the gāthā "Jam annāpatavassī" etc. (Canto 102, v. 177] from the *Paumacariya* which has a parallel in *Pravacanasāra*, III. 38 is also found in the sacred works of the Svetāmbaras¹⁹ such as *Marāṇa-Samādhi* etc. The *Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra* reads this gāthā as follows :

जं अन्नानी कम्म, खवेइ बहुयाहि वासकोडीहि ।
तं नाणी तिहि सुत्तो, खवेइ ऊसासमेत्तेण ॥

As regards the use of metres of comparatively later origin by Vimalasūri, we must always bear in mind that it is not always safe to judge the age of a work on the evidence of metres only. Again, if we believe in Jacobi's hypothesis that "In the early centuries A.D. there existed a large literature in Prakrit, probably popular epics, which have been lost to us, and of which the *Paumacariya* is the only remnant"²⁰ it follows that in the absence of works belonging to that early period we are not in a position to judge correctly whether a particular metre is old or not. If Professor Dhruva places the work in the 7th or the 8th Century A.D. on the basis of metres, Professor Abhyankar holds that "The work can be said to be old enough on the strength of the language, the grammatical forms and the metres. The peculiar Gīti varieties and one or two old metres which are governed by Mātrās and not by Gaṇas show that the work belongs to a period immediately after the period of the Āgama works."²¹

Regarding the use of the poet's own name Vimala—as a key-word it is easy to see that it does not necessarily speak of the modernity or antiquity of the work.

19 Cf. *Pañcavastuka*, v. 564, *Samistārkaprakīrṇaka*, v. 115 *Marāṇasamādhi*, v. 935, *Bṛhatkalpa-sūtra* (Part II. 1170, p. 363 edited by Muni Śrī Caturvijayajī and Puṇyavijayajī.

20 "Some Ancient Jain Works"—*Modern Review*, December 1914.

21 Foreword to *Paumacariyam* (Chs. 27 & 28) edited by S. C. Upadhyaya, Ahmedabad, 1934.

In regard to the language of the *Paumacariya* it is very surprising that Prof. Dhruva should describe it as 'modern'. Jacobi notes the peculiarities of the language of the *Paumacariya*, "the oldest Kāvya in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī that has come down to us" and observes that "It is therefore a primitive and not yet grammatically refined Prakrit."²² Dr. Ghatge, while discussing the relation between Ardhamāgadhī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, remarks "The various Nijjantis and narrative works like *Paumacariya*, *Vasudevahinçī* and others may be taken to represent the archaic form of JM. (Jain Māhārāṣṭrī), the language of the non-canonical books of the Svetāmbara writers."²³ The work does present a number of vulgarisms which foreshadow the Apabhramśa stage. Jacobi analyses and illustrates the vulgarisms of various nature that appear in the *Paūmacariya*.²⁴ He, however, does not describe the language of the *Paūmacariya* as Modern on the strength of the Apabhramśa vulgarisms. In this connection it is pertinent to reproduce Dr. Ghatge's observation :

"In this context, it must be clearly understood that this so called Ap (Apabhramśa) influence originates from the spoken languages (in all probability the mother tongues of the writers) and traces of it can be detected even in the Amg. (Ardha-Māgadhī) canon (acchahim U. 22.16) and the older works in JM. (Jain Māhārāṣṭrī)."²⁵ It is, therefore, not legitimate to infer from the absence of early Apabhramśa works and the fact of Apabhramśa not being mentioned by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* and of the Apabhramśa language or dialect not being treated of by Vararuci's Prakrit-Prakāśa, that works showing Apabhramśa influence must be late.

The hypothesis that the *Paūmacariya* is an abridged edition in Prakrit of Raviṣeṇa's Padmacarita (-Purāṇa) in Sanskrit has been refuted by Pandit Premi.²⁶ He has advanced a number of arguments, some of which are thoroughly sound and convincing, and established that the work of Raviṣeṇa is an enlarged edition in Sanskrit of the Prakrit *Paūmacariya*. A few more arguments may be adduced here in support of Pandit Premi's view :

Raviṣeṇa clearly states that his work is based on a *written Rāma-Kathā*²⁷ whereas Vimalasūri states that the Rāma-story before him was handed down by oral

22 "Some Ancient Jain Works"—Modern Review, December, 1924.

23 Introduction to Kahāṇaya Tīgam (p. 62), Kolhapur, 1951.

24 Introduction to Bhavisattakahā (Translated from the original German by Dr. Ghosal) : Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, June 55, Vol. IV- No. 4 (pp. 36-365).

25 Introduction to Kahāṇaya - Tīgam, p. 63, Kolhapur.

Many MSS of the Vikramorvaśiyam include Apabhramśa verses in the 4th Act to be recited by King Pururavas, who is love-lorn and 'unmatta'. There is a controversy regarding their genuineness as well as regarding the age of Kālidāsa. These Apabhramśa verses cannot, therefore, be of any use in the present context.

26 Jain Saṃtiya Aura Itihāsa (second edition, 1936) : Padmacarita Aura Paumacaria, pp. 89-91.

27 वर्धमानजिनेन्द्रोक्तः सोऽयमर्थो गणेश्वरम् । इन्द्रभूतिं परिप्राप्तः सुधर्मं धारणीभवम् ॥

प्रथमं क्रमतः कीर्तिं ततोऽनुत्तरवाग्निनम् । हिंसितं तस्य संप्राप्य खर्वेयस्नोऽयमुदगतः ॥ I-xx.41-42

tradition and that it was only 'Nāmāvalīyanibaddham'²⁸ and thus indicates that for the first time he gave it a literary shape composing it in the Gāthā metre.²⁹

Raviṣeṇa's work has a very distinct Digambara stamp. If the *Paumacariya* were later there is no reason why its author should retain only some Digambara traits and in some other cases introduce Śvetāmbara traits.

Raviṣeṇa displays his great dialectical skill and arguments ability and high proficiency in philosophical erudition, as for example, when he launches a vigorous and spirited attack against the Vedic sacrifice, the creation theory etc. If this highly important portion of the text were before Vimalasūri, he would have certainly incorporated this criticism in his *Purāṇa-kāvya* and enhanced its value. His silence in this regard is very significant and probably suggests that in his days he had not felt the need of rebutting the opponent's point of view by resorting to dialectics.

The horoscope of Hanūmat as given in the *Paumacariya* is astronomically not correct, whereas the one found in the *Padmapurāṇa*³⁰ is astronomically correct. This clearly proves that Raviṣeṇa has corrected the obvious error found in the *Paumacariya* that was before him.

The arguments (for late dating) so far considered have not much force behind them and one cannot seriously challenge the date given by the author on their basis; the last argument based on the identity of the Nāila-kulavamśa and 'Nāilī Sāhā' is, however, very weighty and highly plausible. Jacobi has absolutely no doubt in his mind regarding the identity. Pandit Lalchand B. Gandhi believes that Nāila-gaccha and Nāgendra gaccha (and Nāilī Sāhā) are, possibly identical.³¹ The writers of "*Jaina Paramparāno Itihāsa*" hold that the two are identical.³² In his celebrated work called "*Vīra Nirvāṇa Samvat* aura Jain Kāla-gaṇanā" Muni Kalyāṇa Vijayajī supports the view that Nāila Kula, Nāilī Sāhā, Nāila gaccha and Nāgendra gaccha or Kula are all identical, although he points out that the equation Nāila = Nāgendra is not

28 नामावलिनिबद्धं, आयरियपरंपरागयं सव्वं ।

वोच्छामि पउमचरियं अहाणुपुट्ठिं समासेणं ॥ -I-8

29 सुत्ताणुसारसरिसं, रइयं गाहाहि पायडकुडत्थं ।

विमलेण पउमचरियं संखेवेणं निसामेह ॥ -I-31

एयं धीरन्निणेण रामचरियं सिद्धं महत्थं पुरा,

पच्छाऽऽखडलभूइणा उ कहियं सीसाणं धम्मासयं ।

भूओ साहुपरंपराए सयल लोए ठियं पायडं,

एत्ताहे विमलेण सुत्तसहियं गाहानिबद्धं कयं ॥ CXVIII-102

30 Padmapurāṇa, Parvan XI, vv. 164-251.

31 Paumacariya, Parvan XVII, vv. 106-111.

32 Padmapurāṇa, Parvan XVII, vv. 360-377.

33 Jain Yuga, Vol. I, part 2 (pp. 68-69), Āśvina 1981.

34 Jain Paramparāno Itihāsa, Part I (pp. 305-410), by Tripuṭī Mahārāja, Ahmedabad, 1952.

in accordance with grammatical rules.³⁵ In a recent letter³⁶ written to the present writer, however, he unhesitatingly accepts Jacobi's dating of the *Paumacariya* (about the end of the third century A.D.). Jacobi's hypothesis regarding the age of the *Paumacariya* finds strong support from Muniśrī Kalyāṇavijayjī, who writes in his letter³⁷ :

"An error has crept into the Gāthā giving the date of the work through the carelessness of some scribe. The expression in the present text of the Gāthā must have originally read as तिसयवरिससेजुत्ता. Due to scribal error the syllable य from तिसय may have been left out and subsequently on noticing the metrical flaw तिस may have been corrected to तीस." This emended text would give 274 A.D. as the date of the *Paumacariya*. "The age of the work could not", he asserts, "be earlier than the third century A.D., as it mentions 'lagna', etc., contains repeated exhortations to the people to perform the worship of the Jina-images, and 'Abhiṣeka' (ablution) and lays down that the people should consecrate Jina-idols in each and every house and condemns the loose practices of Jain monks. These references³⁸ better fit in with and indicate the Gupta age and not the first century of Vikram Samvat."

Although it is hard to persuade oneself to agree with Muniśrī Kalyāṇavijayjī regarding his emendation, as it indicates an extremely *unusual* way of giving the date of a work, his arguments based upon the 'Aṣṭavidha Pujā, Abhiṣeka, Jina-Pratimā-Pratiṣṭhāpanā, etc., are weighty and confirm Jacobi's late date for the work.

2. VIMALASŪRI'S LIFE

It is, indeed, a misfortune that we have no biographical records of our well-known ancient poets, playwrights or writers in other fields. The lack of reliable personal life-history produces a sense of something missing. All that Vimalasūri chooses to tell us is stated in the colophon of his *Paumacariya*. He gives his spiritual lineage : He was a pupil of Vijaya, who was the joy and glory of the Nāilakulavarmśa. Vijaya, in his turn, was a pupil of Rāhu, who had mastered the doctrines of his own faith as well as those of his religious adversaries. It is clear that Vimalasūri like his teacher belonged to the same Nāilakulavarmśa. Muniśrī Kalyāṇavijayjī informs me that "The Nāila-Kula (varmśa) continued to be known as Nāgila-kula or Nāgendrakula up to the twelfth century (V.S.). From that time onwards it continued under the name Nāgendragaccha and it altogether disappeared from the fifteenth century (V.S.). It appears from references in the exegetical works on the Sūtras that the monks belonging to this Kula were somewhat of independent

35 Nāgarīpracārīnī Patrikā (page 707), Part X, No. 4, Kāśī. Samvat 1986.

36 Letter (in Hindi) dated 9th September, 1959.

37 Ibid., paragraph 2. The English translation of the original Hindi passages is free, but brings out his point of view correctly.

38 The use of the expression 'Dharma'abha' and the allusion to restoration of ruined Jain shrines also point in the same direction.

nature. They introduced some new practices as a result of which they lost caste with the orthodox kulas like the Koṭika sometime in the eighth century after Mahāvira's Nirvāṇa. This probably explains why Vimalasūri or succeeding Ācāryas of this Kula do not find mention in the Paṭṭāvalis and the absence of independent paṭṭāvalis or Gurvāvalis of their own. The colophon also informs that Vimalasūri wrote his Rāghava-Carita (the same as Padma Carita, Jain Rāmāyaṇa) after having heard the lives of Nārāyaṇa (here Lakṣmaṇa) and Baladeva (here Rāma) as described in the Pūrvas.³⁹

The Puṣpikā at the end of the work describes Vimalācārya as the 'Praśiṣya' (pupil's pupil) of Rāhu a veritable sun to the Nāḍavamśa, a man of great soul and a Pūrvadhara (one who possesses the knowledge of Pūrva texts). The statement that Vimalasūri was a Pūrvadhara admits of neither refutation nor proof.⁴⁰ The name of Vimalasūri does not find mention in the traditional list of Pūrvadharas. The Śvetāmbara tradition, however, states that the Pūrvadharas flourished for a period of about a thousand years after the Nirvāṇa of Lord Mahāvira.

From the graphic description of the founding of Mathurā (Canto LXXXIX) and the strong influence of Jainism suggested therein one gets the impression, and it is an impression only, that Vimalasūri may have been intimately connected with Mathurā. Further, one may not be far wrong if one were to infer from the poet's vivid and glorious description of the Jina-pūjā, the Jinābhiṣeka and the Jinavandana-bhakti

- 39 राहू नामायरिओ, ससमयसरसमयहियउवमाओ ।
विजओ य तस्स सीसो, नाइलकुलवसन्दिशो ॥
सीसेण तस्स रइयं, राहवचरियं तु सूरिविमलेण ।
सोऊणं पुव्वंगए नारायणसीरिचरियाइ ॥ —CXVIII. 117-118.

Incidentally it may be noted here that the word 'सीरि' in the above verse is misunderstood by some. Śrī S. C. Upadhyaya takes it to mean "श्री" (at pp. 100, 104, 109, 117 in his article referred to above. It is so misunderstood by Dr. Jyotiṣprasaḍa Jain too (see his paper referred to above, p. 439). The word सीरि is an equivalent of Sanskrit सीरिन् (an epithet of Balarāma) and stands for Baladeva or Balabhiṣṭ, Haladhara, the elder (step-) brother of Nārāyaṇa (or Vāsudeva). Thus in the present context Nārāyaṇa and Siri stand for Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma. According to Jyotiṣprasaḍ Jain the words सोऊणं पुव्वंगए नारायणसीरिचरियाइ (meaning the life of Śrī Nārāyaṇa, that is, Kṛṣṇa-Carita or Harivaṁśa!) suggest that Vimalasūri had composed his Harivaṁśa before his Paumacariya. It is quite clear that he entirely misunderstood the whole point. Here Vimalasūri points only to the trustworthiness of the source of his Paumacariya. His statement that Svayambhū pays homage first to Vimalasūri (as ancient poet) and then to Raviṣeṇa is open to doubt. The name Vimalasūri is nowhere mentioned in the passage concerned. If he has in mind the identity of विमलसूरि and कीर्तिधर, the अनुत्तरवाग्मिन् he should have made the point explicit and given his reasons for the identification.

- 40 In the introduction to the Paumacariya Vimalasūri states :

एवं परंपराए परिहाणी पुव्वंगथ-अत्थाणं ।

नाऊण कालभावं, न रुसियव्वं वुहज्जेणं ॥-I.11

The word परिहाणा, however, does not necessarily indicate total extinction.

(Canto XXXII) that Vimalasūri was probably a 'Caityavāsin' or at least under the influence of Caityavāsins.

Vimalasūri : The Scholar : Paūmacariya reveals that Vimalasūri was very well acquainted with the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki and some other early versions of it. On the analogy of the Paūmacariya one may safely infer that his Harivaṃśa-cariya, if ever found, would reveal his deep acquaintance with the Bhārata epic. The description of Rāvaṇa's marvellous palace and the adventures of Vānara warriors (Pc. LXVIII.5-15) strongly reminds one of Yudhiṣṭhira's palace built by Mayāsura and Duryodhana's adventures in it (Sabhāparvan). In his extant work he displays sound knowledge of the cosmography, ontology, mythology, religion and ethics of the Jains. Some cantos reveal his good acquaintance with the *Kāmasūtra*, the *Arthaśāstra* and *Yogaśāstra*. Certain descriptions in the *Paumacariya* remind us of similar passages in the Āgama works. Although he is indebted to Vālmīki, he is not a slavish imitator. He has given prominence to the Vidyādhara, added some beautiful romantic episodes and displayed originality in the conception of his characters like Rāvaṇa, Kaikeyī and Vālin. Vimalasūri's Rāvaṇa is eminently a tragic hero. He refers to Vedic sacrifices and to the Vedas with their aṅgas, but these references are not sufficient to attest his knowledge of the Vedic texts or the ritual of the Brāhmaṇas. Nowhere does he show his acquaintance with the Upaniṣads unlike Raviṣeṇācārya. The horoscope of Hanūmat, if accepted as genuinely his work, would reveal his poor knowledge of Astrology. He was conversant with the science of omens and dreams. From the poetic portion of the Paūmacariya one may legitimately infer that he was conversant with some early works dealing with Poetics and Metrics. He knew many plants and creepers that he mentions by name in the Paūmacariya. From his reference to the Gāruḍa and the seven Uragavegas (XV. 45-48) it appears he was acquainted with the Gāruḍa śāstra dealing with charms against snake-bites which is noted in the Sthānāṅga.

3. VIMALASŪRI'S WORKS

Next let us consider the works he wrote. A didactic poem, called Praśnottaramāla⁴¹ or Vimala-Praśnottaramālā or simply Ratnamālīkā is attributed to Vimala. Haridāsaśāstrī is of opinion that this Vimala is identical with the author of the Paumacariya. In the closing verse the author is called simply Sitapaṭaguru, i.e., "the teacher clad in white." The two Śvetāmbara commentaries, one by Devaprabha (1186 A.D.) and the other by Devendra and Maṇibhadra (1373 A.D.) ascribe the

41 This small yet highly important didactic poem is claimed by Buddhists and Brāhmaṇas as belonging to their writings. See Winternitz : A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, pp.559-560, Dr. Jyotiprasada Jain : Studies in the Jaina Sources, Chapter IX. Haridāsa Śāstrī (Indian Antiquary, 1890, 378 f.); Bhandarkar, Early History of the Dekkan, 2nd edition, p. 68 f.; J. F. Fleet in Indian Antiquary 33, 1904, 193 ff.

work to Vimala (-candra) Sūri. It is now generally accepted that king Amoghavarṣa (or his court poet) who reigned in the 9th century wrote this poem.

The works known for certain to be Vimalasūri's are the *Paumacariya*⁴² and the *Harivaṃsacariya*. The *Paumacariya* is the work of concern to us at present, and is studied exhaustively further on. The *Harivaṃsa-Cariya* is, however, unfortunately lost. But the fact of Vimalasūri's authorship of this work is attested by *Kuvalayamālā*.⁴³ Uddyotanasūri pays a very handsome tribute to Vimalasūri and his *Harivaṃsa* in these words :

बुहयण-सहस्र-दइयं हरिवंसुत्पत्तिकारये पदमे⁴⁴ ।

वंदामि वंदियं पि हु हरिवरिसं चेय (हरिवंसं चेय, v. l.) विमलपद्ये ॥

As the *Harivaṃsa* of Vimalasūri is lost, it is not possible to know definitely what its contents were like and what version of *Harivaṃsa* it presented. Pandit Premi thinks that it would be no wonder if Jināsena's *Harivaṃsa* (A.D. 783) like the *Padma-carita* (of Raviṣeṇa) were found to represent (on discovery of the Manuscript of *Harivaṃsa*) an extended recension of the *Harivaṃsa* in Sanskrit.⁴⁵ Another plausible surmise is that Svayambhu's *Ritthamemicariu*⁴⁶ may be a slightly modified recension of Vimalasūri's lost work, just as his *Paumacariu* is a modified recension of Vimalasūri's Prakrit *Paumacariya*. These are, however, only conjectures. A very close and comparative study of the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara works dealing with the subject matter of *Harivaṃsa* may help us to form some idea of the nature and contents of the lost work of Vimalasūri, the earliest Jain work of its kind. The main topics dealt with in it may probably have been the Dynasties of Yādavas, the Kurus, the great war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, the aftermath of war, the

42 The hypothesis of Prof. K. H. Dhruva that probably there were two Vimalasūris – the earlier one, belonging to the first century A.D., who was the writer of the *Rāghavacariya* and the later one, belonging to the 7th century, who was the author of the *Paumacariya*, has been shown to be untenable by Prof. K. V. Abhyankar who observes : "Theories about two writers of the same name require to be based upon two separate works of similar names being actually available with differences in style, expression and method".

See Introduction, pp. 7-8, and Foreward, pp. iii-iv, to *Paumacariyam*, Chapters 27 and 28, edited by S. C. Upadhyaya, R. P. Kotheri & Co., Gandhi Road, Ahmedabad, 1934.

43 *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I (p. 3, l. 29), edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Singhi Jain Granthamālā (No. 45), Bhāratiya Vidyābhavana, Bombay 7.

44 Pandit Premi translates : ... प्रथम वंदनीय और विमलपद हरिवंश की वंदना करता हूँ । (Jain Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa, 2nd edition, pp. 113-114). Dr. Bhayani construes the word 'Paḍhamam' differently when he says : "Uddyotanasūri refers – Paranomastically to Vimalasūri as first author of *Harivaṃsa*". *Paumacariu*, Part I (p. 16, f.n. 4), edited by Dr. H. C. Bhayani, Bhāratiya Vidyābhavana, Bombay 7.

45 Jain Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa (p.114), 2nd edition, 1956, Hindi-Grantha-Ratnakara (Private) Limited. Bombay.

46 This surmise is put forward by Dr. Jyotiprasad Jain in his paper referred to above. The colophon of the work reproduced by Pandit Premi (p. 216) and Dr. Bhayani (p. 117) does not mention any written work, unlike in the case of his *Paumacariu*, as its source.

destruction of the city of Dvārakā and the tragic end of Kṛṣṇa, the renunciation of the principal characters and their past births.

4. VIMALASŪRI'S SECT

Let us now proceed to discuss and determine, if possible, the sect to which Vimalasūri belonged. That he cannot be described as a *fanatical* follower of any one sect is evident from his *Paumacariya*. At the end of his *Paumacariya* he gives his spiritual lineage but does not tell us whether he belonged to any particular sect. Most probably in the early centuries of the Christian era it was not felt necessary by writers to give such details. It might appear rather impertinent on our part to make any further inquiry regarding his sect when he himself is silent about it. However, as inquiries have already been made in this direction by scholars,⁴⁷ it will not be altogether irrelevant to discuss Vimalasūri from this aspect.

The *Paumacariya* of Vimalasūri is a work of high antiquity dealing with the Rāmāyaṇa from the Jain point of view. It is, therefore, no wonder if its author is equally claimed by both the sects as one of their own. As a solution to this baffling problem an interesting hypothesis has been put forward that probably Vimalasūri belonged to the Yāpaniya Saṅgha. A careful investigation of the *Paumacariya* from this point of view reveals that some beliefs and dogmas are in harmony with the Śvetāmbara tradition whereas some others, with the Digambara tradition. A few statements in the work are mutually contradictory.

Beliefs and Dogmas which are in agreement with the Digambara tradition⁴⁸ :

- (i) The author states that king Śreṇika put the question⁴⁹ about the story of Rāma to Gautama, one of the principal disciples of Mahāvīra. This way of introducing a story is a peculiarity of the Digambara writers.
- (ii) The author does not speak of Mahāvīra as married.⁵⁰

47 For example, Pandit Premi, Muni Mahārāja Amaravijayajī Dr. Upadhye and Dr. Jain, Pandit Paramanand Jain Śāstri. Jacobi unquestioningly accepts the Śvetāmbara authorship of the work (Some Ancient Jain Works, Modern Review, 1914). Glasenapp also takes the author to be a Śvetāmbara (Jain Dharma, p. 118).

48 See for the treatment of this aspect of the question Pandit Premi's Jain Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa, pp. 98 (2nd edition), pp. 283-285 (1st edition); Pandit Paramanand Jain Śāstri : Anekānta, year 5, Kiraṇas 10-11, pp. 337-344 (with f.n. on p. 352 – Bhūlasudhāra); Dr. Jain and Dr. Upadhye : Sampadakiya, pp. 5-8, and Prastāvanā (Pandit Pannalal Jain) to Padmapurāṇa, Vol. I, Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha Kāśī; Muni Mahārāja Amaravijayajī : Jain Yuga; Vol. I, Part IV, Mārgaśīrṣa 1982, pp. 133-137.

49 Cf. Pc III. 7-13 (and I.34).

50 Cf. Pc. II.28-29, III.57-58. Pandit Dalasukhabhai Malavania, however, points out that this tradition of Mahāvīra not having married is found in the Sthānāṅga, Samavāyāṅga and Bhagavati texts; the other tradition of his having married is well-known since the days of Kalpasūtra (see his Sthānāṅga and Samavāyāṅga (in Gujarati) p. 330).

- (iii) The *Paumacariya* states that Maḥāvira was conceived in the womb of Triśalā⁵¹ and that there is no reference to the event of 'the transference of foetus'.
- (iv) The work states that there are five 'Sthāvara-kāyas'.⁵²
- (v) There are, according to the *Paūmacariya*, fourteen Kulakaras.⁵³
- (vi) The author gives Samādhi-marāṇa as the fourth Śikṣāvratā (XIV. 115). Nowhere in the Śvetāmbara canon this tradition is found. But this tradition is commonly found in the Digāmbara works of Kundakunda and others.
- (vii) The *Paumacariya* at CII.145 speaks of 'anudiks'. This acceptance of 'anudiks' is not supported by any Āgama text of the Śvetāmbaras. Many Digāmbara works like *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, etc. support this statement.
- (viii) Rṣabha, while entering the ascetic order, is described as discarding garments (III.135-186). Bharata is also described as discarding garments when he accepted the ascetic order (LXXXIII.5).⁵⁴
- (ix) The number of Narakas given in the *Paumacariya* (CII.67) closely agrees with the recension of the *Tativārthādhigamasūtra*, preserved by Ācārya Pūjya-pāda. The Śvetāmbara recension does not have the corresponding Sūtra. The same is the case with the names of the fourteen rivers listed in the *Paūmacariya* (C II.107-108) and with the statement that the division of time into Utsarpiṇī and Avasarpiṇī exists only in the Bhārata and the Airāvata Kṣetras (regions) and not in the remaining Kṣetras (III. 33, 41).⁵⁵

Beliefs and Dogmas that are in close agreement with the Śvetāmbara tradition :

(i) In the Introduction (I.10) Vimalasūri states⁵⁶ :

- 52 Cf. Pc II.65 and CII.93. Pandit Premi drops this reference in his revised edition. Sthānāṅga, 482 speaks of six kinds of souls. The sixth is called trasa by implication, the other five are Sthāvara. The Daśavaikālikasūtra preserves this tradition (see Chapter IV). Sthānāṅga, 164 and 393 preserve two different traditions, namely, the Sthāvaras are three or five.
- 53 Pc. III.50-56. According to Glasenapp (Gujarati translation, p.270), the Digāmbara tradition recognises fourteen Kulakaras. Jambūdvīpaprajñapti, Vakṣaskāra, speaks of fifteen Ku'akaras, the last one being Rṣabha, there is some divergence between these names found in the *Paumacariya* as regards the order of their mention; and instead of Yaśasvi we have Payāṇanda in the *Paumacariya*. There is similar divergence from the list contained in the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*.
- 54 These references, however, do not necessarily suggest the 'Digambaratva', as held by Pandit Paramanand Jain Śāstri.
- 55 This argument for the Digāmbara authorship of the *Paumacariya* cited by Pandit Paramanand Jain Śāstri is not convincing for we come across corresponding passages in the sacred works of the Śvetāmbaras on which Vimalasūri may have drawn.
- 56 In this connection read the following gāthā as well :

तो अद्धमागहीए, भासाए सव्वजीवहियजणणं ।
जलहरगंभीररवे, कहेइ धम्मं जिणवरिंदो ॥

जिणवरमुहाओ अरथो, जो पुढिंव निग्गओ बहुवियप्पो ।
सो गणहरेहि धरिउं, संखेवमिणो य उवइट्ठो ॥

Muniśrī Kalyanavijayaji takes this as an important reference in favour of the Śvetāmbara authorship as it agrees with the Śvetāmbara belief regarding the character of Jina's speech.

- (ii) The *Paumacariya* (II.26) refers to the extraordinary feat of 'Meru-Kampana' by his thumb by the Jina just in sport; on account of this fact gods gave the Jina the name Mahāvira.⁵⁷
- (iii) The *Paumacariya* (II.36-37) describes that Lord Mahāvira after obtaining perfect knowledge wandered from place to place enlightening 'Bhavya' souls and arrived at the Vipula mountain. According to Dr. Hiralal Jain and Dr. Upadhye this statement favours the Śvetāmbara authorship. The Digambara tradition states that Mahāvira observed silence for sixty-six days and then reaching Vipula mountain preached his first discourse.
- (iv) The *Paumacariya* (II.33) refers to the supernatural power (atīśaya), viz., of Mahāvira's treading lotuses placed in front of him by gods.⁵⁸
- (v) *Paumacariya* (II.82) gives 20 as the number of Jina-kāraṇas,⁵⁹ which agrees with the number of Jina-kāraṇas given in the Nāyādharmakāhā, VIII.1-2.
- (vi) The *Paumacariya* (III.62, XXI.12-14) gives 14 as the number of dreams dreamt by Marudevī and Padmāvatī, the mothers of R̥ṣabha and Muni-Suvrata (the Jinās) respectively.⁶⁰

It deserves special attention that the gāthā गय-वसह etc. (XXI.13) is in complete agreement with the Nāyādharmakāhā, I.1.

- (vii) The number of the wives of Bharata, the Cakravartin, is given as 64000 in the *Paumacariya* (IV.58); similarly the number of the wives of Sagara, the Cakravartin, is given as 64000 in the *Paumacariya* (V. 168).⁶¹

57 Ācārya Raviṣeṇa (II. 76) too describes this supernatural feat. It should not, therefore, be regarded as a peculiarly Śvetāmbara belief. Ācārya Gūṇabhadra, however, records a different tradition regarding the marvellous feat which was responsible for the name Mahāvira (Uttarapurāṇa, LXXIV. 289-295).

58 Ācārya Raviṣeṇa (II. 98) refers to this 'atīśaya' of Lord Mahāvira. It should not, therefore, be considered as a peculiar Śvetāmbara feature.

59 Ācārya Raviṣeṇa (II.192) gives the number as 16. The Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra, however, gives 16 as the number. So this statement is not very significant in the present context.

60 Ācārya Raviṣeṇa (II. 123, f. XXI.13f) gives the number of dreams as 16.

It should be noted here that the *Paumacariya* specifically gives the number of dreams as 14 (XXI. 12,14). Pandit Premi's argument (based on the number 15) that *Paumacariya* preserves a tradition quite different from that of either Śvetāmbaras or Digambaras proves, therefore, untenable. It should also be noted that Raviṣeṇa gives 'Minayugala' in place of 'Dhvaja', adds Simhāsana after 'Sagara', and makes 'Vimāna' and 'Bhavana' as two separate dreams.

61 Ācārya Raviṣeṇa (IV. 66 v. 247) states the number of wives to be 96000.

- (viii) The *Paumacariya* (V. 54-61)⁶² describes the sight of a bed of lotuses that withered in a very short time as the cause of Ajitasvāmin's Vairāgya; the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (IV. 608) mentions the fall of a meteor as the cause of his Vairāgya. The *Paumacariya* gives 99991 as the number of Sādhus in his fold; the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (IV. 1092) gives this figure to be 100000. The *Paumacariya* gives the number of his 'Saha-dikṣitas' as 10000 whereas the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (IV.669) gives it as 1000.
- (ix) The *Paumacariya* (XXI.22)⁶³ states that Muni-Suvrata was filled with Vairāgya at the sight of the autumnal clouds that were disappearing. The *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* mentions 'Jātismaraṇa as the cause of Vairāgya'.
- (x) The *Paumacariya* (V. 154) sets forth the names of 9 Baladevas. The names and the order in which they are mentioned are in agreement with the Śvetāmbara sacred works.⁶⁴
- (xi) The *Paumacariya* (LXXXIII.12) states that Kaikeyī attained to 'Uttamaṃ siddhipadam', that is, liberation. This statement is very favourable for proving the Śvetāmbara authorship. The value of this statement is, however, considerably lost on account of the presence in the text of two contradictory statements (XCV.26 and CXVIII.42).⁶⁵
- (xii) The *Paumacariya* (LXXV. 35-36; CII. 142-144) gives 12 as the number of Kalpa regions. Ācārya Raviṣeṇa (LXXVII.63, CV.166-168) gives the number of Kalpas as 16. As both the traditions are preserved in the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (Mahādhikāra 8, vv. 120-121, and vv. 127-128) this number of Kalpa regions cannot be regarded as a point of difference of dogma between the two sects.
- (xiii) The *Paumacariya* (XVII. 42, LXXXIX, 18, 36) uses the term 'Dharma-lābha' to indicate the blessings given by a Sādhu. According to Muniśrī Kalyāṇa-vijayajī⁶⁶ this practice well accords with the Śvetāmbara tradition. The Digambara Sādhus give their blessings to their devotees by saying 'Dharma-Vṛddhi'.

62 Ācārya Raviṣeṇa (V. 66-73) partly agrees with Vimalasūri. Vimalasūri mentions 12 years as the interval of time between Ajitasvāmin's Dikṣā and Kevalajñāna; Ācārya Raviṣeṇa gives it as 14 years (as against 12 years given by Vimalasūri and *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*).

63 Ācārya Raviṣeṇa agrees with Vimalasūri on this point. So this statement is not of much significance in the present context.

64 Ācārya Raviṣeṇa does not give the names of Baladevas in the corresponding passage; nor does he mention these names in Canto XX as expected. The list given in the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (4. 1411) shows some divergence as regards the order of mentioning the names as well as regarding few names too.

65 Ācārya Raviṣeṇa does not refer to Kaikeyī's Mukti or Svaragaprāpti in the corresponding passage (LXXXVI. 25-27). He, however, states in XCVIII. 39 and CXXIII. 80 that she attained to heaven.

66 In his letter to the present writer referred to above.

- (xiv) The *Paumacariya* (CII.181) defines a Samyak-dr̥ṣṭi person as one who has full faith in the nine *padārthas* such as Jīva etc. The *Paumacariya* nowhere makes a reference to the seven *tattvas*. Pandit Fulacandra Jain Śāstrī appears to hold that this tradition of nine *Padārthas* is more commonly found among the Śvetāmbaras.⁶⁷

These references in the *Paumacariya* point to three logical probabilities : (i) The work was composed sometime before the division of the Jain community into two sharply antagonistic sects. Or, (ii) The work is the product of a writer who flourished after the sharp division, but who was motivated by a spirit of compromise and rapprochement between the two sects. Or, (iii) Vimala belonged to the Yāpanīya Sect.

Pandit Premi's hypothesis that Vimalasūri was probably of the Yāpanīya sect has certainly an air of plausibility as the work shares the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara peculiarities. He argues that Svayambhū (678-960 A.D.) who belonged to the Yāpanīya sect did not follow the Rāma story, preserved by Guṇabhadra, but followed that of Vimalasūri (through Raviṣeṇa) while composing his *Paūmacariū*. If Vimalasūri was of the Yāpanīya sect and if the *Paūmacariya* was long preserved, as Pandit Premi argues, by the Yāpanīya sect it is hard to believe why Svayambhū, himself a Yāpanīya should not give the *Paūmacariya* as his source. He mentions Ācārya Raviṣeṇa as his fountain source. This could be explained on the ground that Svayambhū was more fascinated by the story of Vimalasūri than by the one preserved by Guṇabhadra.

The second hypothesis does not stand critical examination. If the author were moved by a spirit of compromise, he should have dealt with the fundamental points of difference such as 'Acelakatva', 'Strī-Mukti', Kevali-Bhukti, the Āgama-prāmāṇya etc.

It would thus seem more reasonable to accept the first hypothesis that the work was composed sometime before the division of the Jain community into two antagonistic sects occurred. The fact that a radical Digambara like Raviṣeṇa followed the story of Vimalasūri, concealing his source, is significant. It suggests that prior to Raviṣeṇa the work of Vimalasūri was looked upon as the common property of both the sects. When the differences between the two sects began to assume a serious character, Raviṣeṇācārya may have felt the need of writing a *Padma-carita*, entirely in harmony with the Digambara tradition. If it is insisted that a specific religious denomination be given to Vimalasūri, it would be more correct to describe him as a Śvetāmbara writer rather than as a Digambara writer, for the following reasons :

- (i) The Nāilakulavamśa is generally identified with the Nāli Sāhā and the Nāgendra Gaccha. The *Nandisūtra* describes the Śvetāmbara Ācārya Bhūi-

67 Anekānta, year 5, Kiraṇa 1-2, : *Tattvārthasūtrakā* Antahparikṣaṇa (p. 51). This argument based on the absence of any reference to the seven *tattvas* and on the allusion to the nine *padarthas* however, is not at all weighty.

dinna as 'Nāilakulavarnāṇandikara'. Vimalasūri describes his own teacher Vijaya by the same epithet. As far as it is known the Nāilakulavarnāṇsa does not find mention in any Digambara work.

- (ii) The use of the word 'Siyambara' to denote a Jain Muni and use of the word Siyambara or Seyambara four or five times, without any special sectional colour by Vimalasūri, coupled with their expulsion by Raviṣeṇācārya in his *Padmacarita* favour the Śvetāmbara authorship.
- (iii) The language of the *Paumacariya* is Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, which is used by the Śvetāmbara writers for their non-canonical works. No Digambara work is so far known to have been composed in the Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī.

5. VIMALASŪRI : AS POET

Vimalasūri calls his work a "Purāṇa" in the introduction (Canto I 32) and at the end (Canto CXVIII. 111). His real aim is edification and instruction. He is full of burning enthusiasm for the Jain faith. He writes with an eye to the liberation of mankind by means of Jainism. He delights in singing the glory and greatness of Jainism. The *Paumacariya* is to him only a means to propagate the doctrines of his faith. He is primarily a preacher and only secondarily a poet. Naturally, he touches on the various aspects of Jain ethics, philosophy, dogma, mythology, cosmography, the dreadful consequences of killing and of the eating of flesh, the gruesome torments of hell, the worthlessness of this worldly existence, the denigration of women, the doctrine of Karma, the past and future births of various characters figuring in the narrative, and thus renders his work open to the charge of "the extreme difficulty in making anything picturesque out of the dry and scholastic Jaina tenets and the somewhat narrow views of life prevalent in Jain circles" (A history of Sanskrit literature, Keith, P.295) or that it is "of the type of respectable dullness" or that "it does not attain the level of literature". Jacobi observes that "it (the *Paumacariya*) has very little poetic value". This observation of Jacobi is true only so far as this portion of the work is concerned. It is, however, extremely unfair to Vimalasūri to condemn the whole work as poetically worthless.

It is equally unjust to Vimalasūri to institute any comparison between him and Vālmiki, the Ādikavi whose *Rāmāyaṇa* is a popular epic and *ornate poetry* at the same time. It is idle to compare him with Kālidāsa, Bhāravi or Māgha. Their Mahākāvya are chiefly meant to give pleasure, whereas the Purāṇas like the present one are mainly intended to serve the purpose of instruction. A close and careful study of the *Paumacariya* shows that we cannot claim for Vimalasūri rich poetical genius of high descriptive powers. It is, indeed, very difficult to point to any single canto in the whole work which is poetically of high merit. We, however, come across many pretty and beautiful descriptions of towns, rivers, mountains, seasons, water-sports, love-scenes, etc. in the work which demonstrate that Vimalasūri is capable of some

moderately good poetry. The attention of readers is particularly drawn to the descriptions of the water-sports at Canto X.36-44, of the rainy-season at Canto XI.119, of the evening at Canto XVI. 46-54, of Sītā at Canto XXVI. 98-102, of old age at Canto XXIX. 21-28, of the winter season at Canto XXXI. 41-47, of the Vānara-warriors visiting the marble palace of wondrous beauty at Canto LXVIII. 5-15, of the fire-flames produced on the occasion of Sītā's fire-ordeal at Canto CII. 7-12, and of the cremation ground at Canto CV. 52-61. These descriptions will bear out the statement made above regarding Vimalasūri's poetic abilities. Vimalasūri shows his high proficiency in the expression of pithy observations on life, religion and morals. He ever and ever again flings at the reader beautiful 'Subhāṣitas' touching various aspects of human life. Only a few of them may be referred to here : Canto I. 17-27 dealing with various limbs of the human body : Canto IV. 26, 50, LXXV. 18, LXXXV. 60, CIII. 52, 72, CVIII. 38, CXIII. 71, CXVII. 42 dealing with 'dharma' : III. 46-47 with 'dāna'; CII. 177 with knowledge, XII. 81; LXII.22, LXV. 30, LXXIII. 17 with good men; XXXV. 66 with the importance of wealth; III. 123-125, LXXVII-15, CVI.41-42 with the nature of worldly existence; LXXVII 13, CV.39-40, CX.11 with the karma doctrine; CIII. 73, CVI. 38, CVIII. 31, CXVIII. 107 with the pleasures of senses; LXXIII. 14, and CVIII. 25 with Death; LXXXIV. 80-84 with the lot of a servant; and XVII. 33-34, LXIX. 39, LXXXIII. 35-36 with women.

Vimalasūri flings at the reader some good 'arthāntaranyāsas' too such as :

- (i) किं वज्रसूडभिन्ने, न रियइ तत् महारायणे⁶⁸ । -I-13b
- (ii) नक्खेण जं विलुप्पइ तत्थ य परसूण किं कज्जं । -XII. 101b
- (iii) नटं हियं च भद्दे ! न सोइयव्वं बुहजणेण⁶⁹ । -XXX. 35
- (iv) तुल्लावत्थाण जए, होइ सिणेहो नराण निययं पि । -XLVII. 5
- (v) पत्ते विणासकाले, नासइ बुद्धी नराण निक्खुत्ते⁷⁰ । -LII. 138b
- (vi) किं दिणयरस्स दीवो, दिज्जइ वि हु मग्गण्ठाए । -LXX. 27
- (vii) किं रासहस्स सोहइ, देहे रइया विजयघंटा । -LXXI. 54
- (viii) मरणंताइं हवन्ति वेराणि⁷¹ । -LXXV. 1
- (ix) सग्गसरिसो वि देसो, पियविरहे रण्णसण्णिहो होइ⁷² । -LXXVII. 42a
- (x) भिच्चस्स जीवियाओ, कुक्कुरजीयं वरं हवइ । -XCIV. 80
- (xi) सव्वस्स वि कोउयं सरिसं । -C. 53d

68 Cf मणौ वज्रसमुत्कीर्णं सूत्रस्येवास्ति मे गतिः । —Raghu I. 13b

69 Cf गतं न शोच्यम् ।

70 Cf विनाशकाले विपरीतबुद्धिः ।

71 Cf मरणान्तानि वैराणि । —Rāmāyaṇa, VI. c 112 v. 25

72 Cf गृहं तु गृहिणीं विना कान्तारादतिरिच्यते ।

(xii) जह राया तह पया सव्वा⁷³। CV. 106d

(xiii) जायस्स धुवं मरणं⁷⁴। CVI. 26a

He uses a few proverbial and colloquial expressions occasionally :

- (i) न य गेहम्मि पलित्ते, कूवो खम्मइ सुत्तमाणेहिं ।
धाहाविए ण दम्मइ, आसो च्चिय तक्खणं चेव⁷⁵ । -V. 249
(पज्जलियम्मि य भवणे, कूवतलायस्स खणणमारम्भो ।
अहिणा दट्ठस्स जए, को कालो मंतजवणंमि ॥ -LXXXVI. 60)
- (ii) ...वेज्जनरिंदाण मित्तपुरिसाणं । आहाणओ य लोए, एयाण कुडं कहेयव्वं ॥ -XII. 17
- (iii) किं वा तुसेसु कीरइ, तंदुलसारम्मि संगहिए । -XII. 138
- (iv) दुसहं हवइ समक्खं चिय उब्भवे जणवयस्स ।
गयवेयणं तु पच्छा, जणम्मि एसा सुईममइ ॥ -XXVI. 239
- (v) तो दहहस्स नामं, पियरस्स कुडं न गेण्हामि । -LXXXVI. 9
- (vi) को सयलजणस्स इहं करेइ सुइवंधणं पुरिसो । -XCIV. 70b
- (vii) वीरपुरिसाण भोज्जा, वसुहा किं एत्थ विद्धेहिं । -XCVIII. 22
- (viii) रयणं तु पुहइमोहं, दिन्नं चिय सागमुट्ठीए । -CIII. 10
- (ix) असमिक्खियकारीणं पुरिसाणं एत्थ पावहिययाणं ।
सयमेव कयं कम्म, परितावयरं हवइ पच्छा⁷⁶ ॥ -CX. II
- (x) सल्लिं मंथिज्जंते सुद्धु वि न य होइ नवणीयं ।
सिकयाए पीलियाए, कत्तो च्चिय जायए तेहलं ॥ -CXIII. 33
- (xi) वालग्गकोडिमत्तं, दोसं पेच्छसि परस्स अइसिग्घं ।
मंदरमेत्तं पि तुमं, न य पेच्छसि अत्तणो दोसं⁷⁷ ॥ -CXIII. 40
- (xii) सरिसा सरिसेसु सया, रज्जंति सुई जणे एसा । -CXII. 41b

He is very fond of paraphrasing proper names for example, Bhānukarṇa=Bhānu-Śravaṇa, Ghana-vāhana = Megha-vāhana, Ākhaṇḍalabhūti=Indra-bhūti, Vajrakarṇa = Kuliśa-śravaṇa, etc.

He uses a very large number of Deśī words with a view to making Prakrit more readily intelligible to the common people. As the work was of a religious and propagandistic nature and meant for a large number of readers and the masses ('lokabhogya'), he did not hesitate to use the non-Prakritic forms and idioms – so-called vulgarisms from the popular speech of his days – Apabhraṃśa. He is very fond of onomato

73 Cf यथा राजा तथा प्रजा ।

74 Cf जातस्य वि ध्रुवो मृत्युः । —Bhagavadgītā. II. 27a

75 Cf संदीप्ते भवने तु क्षूपखननं प्रत्युद्यमः कीदृशः । —Bhartṛhari. Vairāgyaśataka. 75

76 Cf खलः सर्षपमात्राणि परच्छिद्राणि पश्यति ।

आत्मनो बिल्वमात्राणि पश्यन्तपि न पश्यति ॥ —Bhārata I. 3069

77 Cf अतिरमसकृतानां कर्षणामात्रिपत्तेर्मवति हृदयदाही शश्वतुल्यो विपाकः ।

Bhartṛhari, Nītiśataka, 95 cd

poetic words too (For illustrations see the Section on the language of the *Paumacariya* below).

The figures of speech which are commonly met with in this work are Upama and Rūpaka. Some other figures which we come across in the work are Utprekṣā, Atiśayokti and Arthāntaranyāsa. Anuprāsa and Yamaka are found to be rarely used. Vimalasūri, no doubt, delineates the sentiments in the narration of the principal story and in the romantic episodes that he has added. The fact, however, remains that his supreme interest lies in the development of 'Varāgya' that leads the various characters in the story to the renunciation of worldly life and acceptance of Jain order.

Vimalasūri's style is lucid and fluent and, wherever necessary, forceful. The Purāṇa portion of the work, although otherwise important, makes extremely dull reading, but the style of this portion of the work too is quite simple and easy. In the course of his narration when he chooses to give poetic descriptions we come across comparatively long compounds but they are not difficult to understand.

Vimalasūri devotes 106 pages out of a total of 335 pages to narrating the background of the principal narrative. This certainly detracts from his merit as a story-teller. He increases the bulk of the story by adding many legendary stories and romantic episodes; some of these, e. g., the episodes of Bhāmaṇḍala and Vṛtasugrīva, are indeed quite beautiful. He claims at the end of his work that his *Paumacariya* is 'Visuddha-laliyakkharaheṇūjuttam' and 'Akkhāṇesu vivihesu nibaddha-attham'.⁷⁸ This claim is partially just and legitimate as the language of the work is not pure and chaste but shows many unprakritic forms and idioms. Jacobi⁷⁹ rightly observes that the work "is very fluently written, in an easy epic style". Uddyotanasūri pays a handsome tribute to Vimala as follows :

जारिसयं विमलंको विमलं को तारिसं लहह अत्थं ।

अमयमइयं च सरसं सरसं चिय पाइयं जस्स ॥ - Kuvalayamālā

This high compliment Vimalasūri richly deserves.

6. THE FORM OF THE PAUMACARIYA

The narrative literature of the Jains is vast in extent and varied in scope.⁸⁰ It is generally divided into four broad categories as follows : (a) the Purāṇas and the Mahāpurāṇas, (b) the Caritras, Kathās and Ākhyānas, (c) the Prabandhas and (d) the Kathākoṣas. We are here concerned with the first category only as the work under study calls itself a Purāṇa (I.32, CXVIII.111). The term Purāṇa originally meant nothing but 'Purāṇam Ākhyānam', i. e., 'old narrative'. Then in the course

⁷⁸ CXVIII. 101

⁷⁹ Some Ancient Jain Works, Modern Review; December 1914,

⁸⁰ See Winternitz : History of Indian Literature, Vol. II (pp. 475 onwards); Dr. A. N. Upadhye Introduction to Bṛhatkathakośa (pp. 17-30).

of time it came to denote 'a species of literature' comprising works of religious and didactic contents in which were collected ancient traditions of the creation, the deeds of the gods, heroes, saints, and distant ancestors of the human race, the beginnings of the famous royal families and so on. The term Purāṇa is defined in Hindu literature as follows⁸¹ :

A Purāṇa treats of five subjects : (1) Sarga, 'Creation', (2) Pratisarga, 're-creation', i. e., the periodical annihilation and renewal of the worlds, (3) Vamśa, 'account of the genealogy, viz., of the gods and the Ṛsis, (4) Manvantaras, 'Epochs between the Manus—the great periods, each of which has a Manu or primal ancestor of the human race, and (5) Vamśānucarita, 'the history of the dynasties whose origin is traced back to the sun (solar dynasty) and the Moon (lunar dynasty)'. The *Brahma-vaiyartapurāṇa*, however, says that the five 'lakṣaṇas' are only for the 'Purāṇas' and the 'Upapurāṇas', while the Mahāpurāṇas (the great Purāṇas) have ten 'lakṣaṇas' including praise of Viṣṇu and the gods individually.⁸² Vimalasūri does not define either Purāṇa or a Mahāpurāṇa. Among the Jaina authors, Jinasena is probably the first to define Purāṇa and Mahāpurāṇa. Says he : "I shall describe the narrative of sixty-three ancient persons, viz., the (24) Tīrthamkaras, the (12) Cakravartins, (9) Baladevas, (9) Ardha-Cakravartins (i.e., Vāsudevas), and their (9) enemies (i.e., Prativāsudevas). The word Purāṇa means 'old or ancient narrative'. It is called 'great' because it

81 सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।

वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥ —Matsyapurāṇa LXV. 63

82 एतद्रूपपुराणानां लक्षणञ्च विदुर्विधाः ।

महताञ्च पुराणानां लक्षणं कथयामि ते ॥

सृष्टिश्चापि विसृष्टिश्चेत् स्थितिस्तेषाञ्च पालनम् ।

कर्मणां वासना वार्ता चामूनाञ्च क्रमेण च ॥

वर्णनं प्रलयानाञ्च मोक्षस्य च निरूपणम् ।

उत्कीर्तनं हरेरेव देवानाञ्च पृथक् पृथक् ॥

दशाधिकं लक्षणञ्च महतां परिकीर्तितम् ।

संख्यानञ्च पुराणानां निबोध कथयामि ते ॥

Śrīmad-Bhāgavata-Mahāpurāṇa likewise mentions the ten topics of a Mahāpurāṇa as follows :

अत्र सर्गो विसर्गश्च स्थानं पोषणमूतयः ।

मन्वन्तरेषानुक्त्या निरोधो मुक्तिराश्रयः ॥ —Skandha II, Adhyāya 10, v. 1

and

सर्गोऽस्याथ विसर्गश्च वृत्ति रक्षान्तराणि च ।

वंशो वंशानुचरितं संस्था हेतुरपाश्रयः ॥

दशमिलक्षणैर्दुक्तं पुराणं तद्विदो विदुः ।

केचित्पञ्चविधं ब्रह्मन् महदल्पव्यवस्थया ॥ —Skandha XII, Adhyāya 7, vv. 9-10

concerns the great (figures), or because it is narrated by the great (Tīrthamkaras, Gaṇadharas, Ācāryas) or because it teaches the way to supreme bliss. Other learned scholars say that it is called Purāṇa because it originates with an old poet and it is called great because of its intrinsic greatness. The great Ṛṣis called it a Mahāpurāṇa as it relates to great men and teaches the way to the highest bliss.⁸³ Further he adds that the "Mahāpurāṇa" is regarded as Ārṣa because it was composed by Ṛṣis, 'Sūkta' because it expounds truth and 'Dharmaśāstra' because it declares Dharma. It is also looked upon as Itihāsa, Itivṛtta, or Aitihiya or Ānṇāya as it contains many stories about 'Iti-ha-āsa' ('-so it happened', i e., 'traditional history').⁸⁴

Thus according to Jinasena Purāṇa and Itihāsa are synonymous terms.⁸⁵ The Tīppaṇakāra of Puṣpadanta's Mahāpurāṇa, makes, however, a distinction between the two, saying that Itihāsa means the narrative of a single individual while Purāṇa means the narratives of sixty-three great men of the Jain faith.⁸⁶ In its definition of Itihāsa Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra (1.5) enumerates Purāṇa and Itivṛtta as belonging to the content of Itihāsa. As Itivṛtta can only mean 'a historical event' Purāṇa probably means 'mythological legendary lore'.

The Hindu definition of Purāṇa (or Mahāpurāṇa) is applicable only partly to the work of Vimalasūri. He speaks of seven Adhikāras (subjects, topics) as constituting his Paūmacariya, viz., (1) The eternal nature of the Universe which was never, created, (2) the origin of the dynasties, (3) Rāma's departure to the forest, (4) War between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, (5) The birth of Lava and Ankuṣa, (6) the liberation from worldly existence, and (7) The various existences (past as well as future).⁸⁷

- 83 तीर्थेशामपि चक्रेशां हलिनामर्धचक्रिणाम् ।
त्रिषष्टिलक्षणं वक्ष्ये पुराणं तद्विषयमपि ॥
पुरातनं पुराणं स्यात् तन्महन्महदाश्रयात् ।
महद्भिरुपदिष्टत्वात् महाश्रेयोऽनुशासनात् ॥
कवि पुराणमाश्रित्य प्रसूतत्वात् पुराणता ।
महत्त्वं स्वमहिम्नैव तस्येत्यन्यैर्निरुच्यते ॥
महापुरुषसम्बन्धि महाभ्युदयशासनम् ।
महापुराणमाप्नोतमत् एतन्महर्षिभिः ॥ —Ādipurāṇa I-20-23.

- 84 ऋषिप्रणीतमार्षे स्यात् सूक्तं सुवृत्तशासनात् ।
धर्मानुशासनाच्चेदं धर्मशास्त्रमिति स्मृतम् ॥
इतिहास इतीष्टं तद् इति हासीदिति श्रुतेः ।
इतिवृत्तमथैतिह्यमाप्नोतमन्नायञ्चामनन्ति तत् ॥ —Ādipurāṇa I 24-25

- 85 पुराणमितिहासाख्यं यत्प्रोवाच गणाधिपः । —Ādipurāṇa I. 26a

- 86 See Puṣpadanta's Mahāpurāṇa (edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya) Vol. I (p. 9).

- 87 ठिइवंससमुपपत्ती पत्थावरणं लवकुसुपपत्ती ।
निव्वाणमणेयमवा, सत्त पुराणेत्थ अहिगारा ॥

Out of these seven topics, Rāma's departure to the forest, the war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa and the birth of Lava and the Kuśa (Aṅkuśa) are peculiar to a Rāma Carita or Purāṇa. The remaining four topics are some of the general features distinguishing Jain Purāṇas. A study of the contents of the Paūmacariya reveals that it describes, though briefly, the lives of the Tirthaṅkaras Ṛṣabha, Ajitanātha, Munisuvrata and Mahāvira, and of the sovereign rulers Bharata, Sagara and Hariṣeṇa, besides mentioning the names of the sixty three great figures, their places of birth, their parents, their span of life, their respective trees, places of liberation, etc. It describes also the fourteen Kulakaras, the Kalpa-Vṛkṣas, the duties of a Jain monk, the horrors of hell, the joys of heavenly worlds, the Jina-pūjā, the Jinābhīṣeka, the Jinavandanabhakti, the origin of the four castes, the condemnation of Vedic sacrifice and of the Brāhmaṇas, the dreadful consequences of killing and of the eating of meat. Most of these topics are generally found to be dealt with in all the Jain Purāṇas. None of the definitions of a Purāṇa or Mahāpurāṇa given above covers fully these various topics. The Ādipurāṇa attempts to cover some of these topics when it lays down that a Purāṇa ought to deal with the eight topics or subjects given below :

(1) The Universe, (2) the country with its mountains, sea, etc., (3) the city or capital, (4) the kingdom, (5) the life of a Jina which acts as a ford for crossing the ocean of Saṃsāra, (6) liberality, munificence and austerities, (7) the four conditions of existence such as hells, etc., and (8) the fruit of Puṇya and Pāpa (meritorious deeds and sinful deeds).⁸⁸

Although the Paūmacariya is undoubtedly a Purāṇa, it answers some of the salient features of a Mahākāvya. The subject-matter is the lives of great figures of antiquity. The work is composed in Cantos (Uddeśa, Samuddeśa or Parvan); it is chiefly in the Āryā metre but as the definition of an epic requires, the concluding stanzas of each canto are composed in a variety of metres. He interweaves his name (Nāmamudrā) in the closing verse of every canto. It contains many descriptions of towns, mountains, seasons, the rising and setting of the sun and moon, water-sports, love-sports, separation, marriage, battles and the triumphs of the hero. It is embellished with figures of speech such as Upamā, Rūpaka, Utprekṣā, Arthāntaranyāsa,

88 लोको देशः पुरं राज्यं तीर्थं दानतपोऽन्वयम् ।

पुराणेष्वष्टधाख्येयं गतयः फलमित्यपि ॥

In the article called Jain-Purāṇa (Jain Siddhānta Bhāskara, Vol. VIII, part I, p. 4, June 1941) Pandit K. Bhujabali Śāstri mentions the eight topics of a Jain Purāṇa according to the view of Pampa, a great Kānnada poet :

(१) लोकाकार-कथन (२) देशनिवेशोपदेश (३) नगरसम्पत्तिवर्णन (४) राज्यरमणीयकाख्यान (५) तीर्थमहिमासमर्थन (६) चतुर्गतिस्वरूपनिरूपण (७) तपोदानविधानवर्णन (८) तत्फलप्राप्तिकथन

It is very obvious that Pampa's source is Jinasena.

etc. in the poetic portion of the work. The principal sentiment is that of renunciation and quietude, although in some cantos the sentiments of Śṛṅgāra, Vīra, Karuṇa, Hāsyā, Bibhatsa, and Adbhuta, are portrayed. The style of the work is, on the whole, fluent and in descriptive passages only reveals long compounds. In short, the Paūma-cariya may be rightly and justly described as partly exhibiting the features of a Purāṇa and partly of a Mahākāvya.

7. THE TITLE PAŪMACARIYA

The present work is known as Paūmacariya. The poet mentions this title in his work, not always but frequently.⁸⁹ The title means 'The Life of Padma' (—another name for Rāma). Rāma was so called because he was 'Paūmuppaladalaccho' (possessed of eyes as lovely as the petals of a lotus) and 'Viyasiya-vara-pauma-sarisamuham' (having a face like an excellent blooming lotus).⁹⁰ In the course of the work the

-
- 89 ... चरियं वोच्छामि पउमचरियं ... । (I,8),
 को वणिऊण तीरइ नीसेसं पउमचरियसंबंधं । (I,9),
 अह पउमचरियतुंगे, वीरमहागयवरेण निम्मविए । (I,29),
 सुत्ताणुसार-सरसं रइयं गाहाहि पादडफुडत्थं ।
 विमलेण पउमचरियं संखेवेणं निसामेह ॥ (I,31)
 पउमस्स चेडियमिणं..... (I,33)
 एयं अट्टमरामदेवचरियं (I,90)
 पउमचरियंमि एत्तो (II,105)
 पउमचरियं महायस, अहयं इच्छामि परिफुडं सोउ' । (III,8)
 ..महइमहापुरिसाण य चरियं च जहकमं सुणसु । (III,17)
 एयं राहवचरियं पुरिसो जो पढइ सुणइ भावियकरणो । (CIII,175)
 एयं हलहरचरियं निययं जो पढइ सुद्धभावेणं । (CXVIII,93)
 दुब्भासियाइ... । नासंति पउमकित्तणकहाएँ दूरं समत्थाइ । (GXVIII,97)
 एयं रामारविंदचरियं तु सुयं समत्थं, नासेइ दुग्गइपहं... । (CXVIII,101)
 एयं वीरजिणेण रामचरियं सिद्धं महत्थं पुरा । (CXVIII,102)
 ...इमं चरियं । (CXVIII,103)
 एयं राहवचरियं... । (CXIII,114)
 ...रइयं राहवचरियं... । (CXVIII, 118)
 90 अवराइया कयाई, गुरुभारा सोहणे तिहिमुहुत्ते ।
 पुत्तं चेव पसूया, वियसियवरपउमसरिसमुहं ॥
 जम्मूसवो महंतो तस्स कओ दसरहेण तुट्टेणं ।
 नामं च विरइयं से, पउमो पउमुप्पलदलच्छो ॥ -(XXV. 7-8.

poet often refers to Pauma as Rāma, Rāhava, Rāmadeva, Sīri, Halahara, etc. It is, therefore, obvious that the various names Rāhavacariya, Rāmacariya and Halaharacariya used in the work stand for the Paumacariya and by no stretch of imagination can we ever speak that the Rāhavacariya was a work quite different from the Paūmacariya of Vimalasūri. Professor K. H. Dhruva, however, appears to have advanced this highly fanciful hypothesis of two separate works called Rāhavacariya and Paumacariya⁹¹ to suit his late dating of Paumacariya based on grounds of 'late' metres and 'modern' Prakrit.

No doubt, the poem deals with the life-story of Rāma, but it also deals with the life of Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa at great length. That is Vimalasūri presents to his readers the lives of three of the great figures (viz, the 8th Baladeva, Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva, and Pratinārāyaṇa or Prati-vāsudeva). Although Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa are, with Rāma, Śalākā-puruṣas, they are spiritually inferior to him for he alone at the end of his life here attains Nirvāṇa and the other two sink in hell. This consideration might have weighed with the poet when he named his work as Paūmacariya. In the popular story of Rāma, he being the first and foremost hero, the work is naturally named after him (e.g, the Rāmāyaṇa); and it is not unlikely that this factor too might have influenced the poet in calling his poem Paūmacariya. As the date of the Padma-purāṇa of the Hindus is not known definitely we cannot say that this name Padmapurāṇa might have influenced Vimalasūri in naming his Purāṇa dealing with the life of Rāma.

8. THE EXTENT OF THE PAŪMACARIYA

The Paumacariya is divided into 118 chapters or cantos, the first thirty-five of which are called Uddeśas (Uddeśakas, or occasionally Samuddeśakas) and the rest Parvans.⁹² In the extent of individual cantos there is great disparity : the shortest is the 60th canto with nine stanzas only and the longest is the eighth with 286 stanzas. Comparatively speaking, the cantos in the first half of the poem are longer whereas those in the second half are shorter. The total number of stanzas compri-

From these stanzas embodying the circumstance or factor responsible for the name Pauma it will be evident to the readers that the following statement of Dr. Jyotiprasad Jain is absolutely erroneous :

महाराजा रामचन्द्र का मुनि अवस्था का नाम पद्म था, अतः जैन परंपरा में रामकथा का पद्म-चरित या पद्मपुराण नाम ही रूढ हुआ ।

—(Vimalārya Aura Unakā Paumācariyaṇi, P. 438).

91 See Introduction (pp. 7-8) to Paumacariyaṇi (Cha. 27 and 28), edited by Sri S. C. Upadhyaya.

92 Why the poet uses two words for 'a chapter' or 'a canto' and not one consistently we cannot say.

sing the work is 8651.⁹³

9. VIMALASŪRI'S AIM IN WRITING THE PAŪMACARIYA

Vimalasūri holds that the Rāmāyaṇa stories (of the Hindu poets) are most certainly lies; he thinks that the absurdities which are related regarding the life of Rāma. Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarna and others are not worthy of belief, and that the poets who composed Rāmāyaṇa were liars.⁹⁴ Through the mouth of Sreṇika and Gautama the poet gives expression to all this :

“How is it possible that the great Rākṣasa heroes, though very strong, were killed by the Vānaras (monkeys) ? It is reported in the popular scriptures that all the Rākṣasas led by Rāvaṇa used to eat meat and drink blood and marrow, and that Rāvaṇa's brother Kumbhakarna used to sleep for six months without a break; even though his body would be crushed by big elephants and his ears filled with pot-fuls of oil he would not wake up; he would not hear the sound of drums beaten near him nor would he get up from his bed if the period of six months was not over ! When he got up, being overpowered with fierce hunger he would devour whatever would be near him at the time, such as elephants and buffaloes. Having filled his belly by devouring gods, men, elephants and the like he would again go to bed for another six months. . . .” Again, it is said that Indra, when defeated in battle by Rāvaṇa, was bound in chains and taken to Laṅkā. How can anyone take Indra captive-Indra who rules over Jambūdvīpa with its gods and men ? One would be reduced to heaps of ashes at the mere thought of attacking him, who has Airāvata, the elephant-jewel and Vajra, the thunderbolt at his command ! At that rate we might as well affirm that the lion is overcome by the deer, the elephant by the dog ! Further, it is reported that Rāma during his sojourn in the forest killed a (wondrous) golden deer and that (at Kiṣkindhā) Rāma treacherously killed Vālin in order to oblige (his ally) Sugrīva and win (Su-) Tārā for him (Sugrīva). It is also said that the Vānaras constructed a bridge across the ocean.”⁹⁵

It is with a view to removing all such absurdities, inconsistencies and incredible elements found in the popular Rāmāyaṇa stories that Vimalasūri undertakes the composition of the *Paumacariya*. It is the poet's intention to present faithfully the

93 The Uddyōtā to the Bhavanagar edition gives the total number to be approximately 9000 stanzas (Āsanna-nana-sahasre-Śloka-pramitaṁ). Pandit Premi states the total number of Verses, to be 10000 Anuṣṭup Ślokas (Jain Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa, p. 89 of the revised edition) Professors Gore and Laddu remark in their edition that the poem contains more than 9000 stanzas. This statement needs to be corrected.

94 अलियं पि सव्वमेयं, उववत्तिविरुद्धपच्चयगुणेहि ।

न य सदहति पुरिसा, हवन्ति जे पंडिया लोए ॥ -II 117

95 Cf. Canto II.105-117, III.8-15 (and VII.58-60).

life of Rāma as was proclaimed by Lord Mahāvīra himself.⁹⁶ That the poet is intent on the propagation of the teachings of the Jinas is evident to every reader of the *Purāṇa* or *Carita*. In the concluding portion of his work *Vimalasūri* exhorts his readers (or hearers) to practise the Dharma as expounded by the Jinas :

बहुएण किं व कीरइ, अव्वो भणियव्वएण लोयम्मि ।
एकपयम्मि वि बुज्झह रमह सया जिणवरमयम्मि ॥
जिणसासणाणुरत्ता होऊणं कुणह उत्तमं धम्मं ।
जेण अविघ्नं पावह, बलदेवाई गया जत्थ ॥ -CXVIII. 112-113

It is thus very clear that *Vimalasūri* aims mainly at propagation of Jain Dharma through his *Paumacariya*.

10. VIMALASŪRI'S CONCEPTION OF RĀKṢASAS AND VĀNARAS

Vimalasūri's conception of *Rākṣasas* and *Vānaras* is markedly different from that of *Vālmiki*'s. The *Rākṣasas* are not man-eating demons with fearful and hideous appearances. Nor are the *Vānaras* animals having long tails living on fruits etc., and using their nails and teeth as their weapons. They are, in reality, a race of the *Vidyā-dharas*, "A class of beings endowed with many supernatural qualities, if not human beings in the correct sense of the term. Beastly and uncouth behaviour and appearances are not therein attributed to them. On the other hand, they are depicted as having been highly civilized, who, far from killing and devouring all animals that they could obtain, strictly adhered to the vow of *Ahimsā*."⁹⁷ The dynasty of *Vidyā-dharas* at *Laṅkā* came to be called *Rākṣasas* after the great and celebrated *Vidyādhara* hero named *Rākṣasa*.⁹⁸ The author gives also another explanation as to why the *Vidyādharas* were *Rākṣasas* :

रक्षन्ति रक्षसा खलु, दीवा पुण्णेण रक्खिया जेण ।
तेणं चिय खयराणं, रक्खसनामं कयं लोए ॥- V. 257.

96 तो भणइ गणहरिंदो, सुणेहि नरवसह दिननकणमणो ।

जह केवलीण सिद्धे अहमवि तुम्हं परिकहेमि ॥

न य रक्खसो त्ति भणइ, दसाणणो णेय आमिसाहारो ।

अलियं ति सव्वमेयं, भणंति जं कुकइणो मूढा ॥ -III. 14-15

97 "Tradition about *Vānaras* and *Rākṣasas*" -Chakravarti C in I. H. Q. Vol.I(1925).

98 ए तुवं महावंसे, बोलीणे मेहवाहणो जाओ ।

रक्खससुओ महप्पा, मणवेगाए समुप्पन्नो ॥

तस्स य नामेण इमो, रक्खसवंसो जयम्मि विक्खाओ । . . . ॥ -V. 251-52.

The Vidyādhara of Kīśkindhipura received the name of Vānaras because of their custom of wearing the pictures of monkeys as symbols or totems on their banners and crowns.⁹⁹

This conception of Vimalasūri about the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras is born of the growing spirit of rationalism of his age. The fanciful and highly exaggerated poetic descriptions of the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras given in the popular Rāmāyaṇa stories were unacceptable to Vimalasūri, a champion of rationalism. He, therefore, portrays the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras as Vidyādhara, possessed of supernatural powers and are thus, capable of the heroic exploits attributed to them. He gives a realistic interpretation of the epithet of Rāvaṇa when he writes : Rāvaṇa's mother hangs around his neck a wondrous necklace of Ratnas, in which his face is reflected nine times, hence his epithet of Daśamuka "The man with ten faces" (VII. 95-96) :

..... ।
 सो जणणीँ पिण्डो, कंठे बालस्स वरहारो ॥
 रयणकिरणेसु एत्तो मुहाइ नव निययवयणसरिसाई ।
 हारे दिट्ठाईं फुडं, तेण फुडं दहमुहो नामं ॥

11. CHARACTERISATION IN PAUMACARIYA

Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa is generally regarded as one of the most beautiful and moving of all stories in literature. One very important factor contributing to its greatness and beauty is its unique characterization. The story of Rāma presented by Vimalasūri agrees only partly with Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa and considerably differs from it on account of the many omissions, additions and modifications effected by him. These changes powerfully affect the characterization in *Paumacariya*. Consideration of space prevents us from undertaking here a review of the characters of the important men and women that play a conspicuous part in the story. We rest content by pointing only to some of the more noteworthy aspects of the characterization in *Paumacariya*. Vimalasūri's aim at elevating his characters is very obvious. According to the Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa, Kaikeyī is a selfish, greedy and intriguing

99 जं जस्स हवइ निययं नरस्स लोगम्मि लक्खणावयवं ।
 तं तस्स होइ नामं, गुणेहि गुणपच्चयनिमित्तं ॥
 खग्गेण खग्गधारी धणुहेण धणुधरो पडेण पढी ।
 आसेण आसवारो हत्थारोहो य हत्थीणं ॥
 इक्खूण य इक्खागो जाओ विज्जाहराण विज्जाए ।
 तह वाणराण वंसो, वाणरच्चिधेण निव्वडिओ ॥
 वाणरच्चिधेण इमे, छत्ताइनिवेसिया कई जेण ।
 विज्जाहरा जणेण वुच्चंति हु वाणरा तेण ॥ VI. 86-89

woman. Rāma kills Vālin treacherously and is guilty of killing Śambūka. Rāvaṇa is a tyrant, an oppressor of mankind violently obstructing sacrifices, and he abducts women. Vālin is a usurper, and unlawfully takes possession of his brother's wife and kingdom. Vimalasūri takes a very sympathetic view of these characters and attempts to clear them of blame. He represents Kaikeyī as a mother par excellence who is prepared to let her husband accept asceticism but desperately tries to retain her loving son. She does not demand Rāma's exile. Vālin, a mighty Vidyādhara hero, though capable of inflicting a crushing defeat on Rāvaṇa, voluntarily appoints Sugrīva to the throne and himself becomes a monk. This account acquits Vālin of the shameful charge of living with his brother's wife, and Rāma of the charge of treacherously slaying Vālin, who had done no harm to him. Lakṣmaṇa kills Śambūka by accident and this exonerates Rāma completely from the guilt of slaying a man who, though a Śūdra, was a Tapasvin. Rāvaṇa is a pious and devout Jain. He restores ruined Jain shrines. As far as possible he avoids Himsā, whenever he has to fight. In his world-conquest he is shown to have subdued his enemies whom he later on sets free and restores to them their kingdom. His only weakness is his passion for Sītā. Vimalasūri is probably the first poet to represent Rāvaṇa as a hero eminently suited to a great tragic play of the western type. The poet presents Kumbhakarna and other Rākṣasa heroes as very pious souls devoid of all the ugly and ferocious traits attributed to them in the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa. Another remarkable aspect of the characterization in the Paūmacariya is to be seen in the large number of wives of some principal characters. According to Vimalasūri, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumat had 8000, 16000 and 1000 wives respectively. Sagara and Hariṣeṇa, two sovereign rulers had each 64000 wives. Rāvaṇa at a time had married 6000 wives. Vimalasūri probably believed that the greater the number of wives a person has, the greater is his glory ! According to Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa Rāma was devoted and faithful to his only wife Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa was married to Urmiṇī only and Hanumat was celibate. One more noteworthy aspect of the characterisation in the Paūmacariya is that all the principal characters in the Paūmacariya barring Lakṣmaṇa (and Rāvaṇa) are pious Jain laymen who retire from the world at the end and become Jain monks and attain to liberation or heaven. Lakṣmaṇa is shown to have sunk into hell after death for having failed to adopt Jain Dharma. Kaikeyī, Sītā, etc., become Jain nuns. Again, in Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa Rāma is the central figure but in the Paūmacariya Lakṣmaṇa plays a leading part. It is he, not Rāma, who kills Rāvaṇa.

12. THE LANGUAGE OF THE PAŪMACARIYA¹⁰⁰

The language of the Paūmacariya is Prakrit. Jacobi points out some of its peculiar features and remarks : "It is, therefore, a primitive and yet grammatically

100 The Paūmacariya is the oldest Prakrit Kavya preserved to us. It is, therefore, linguistically of very great importance. A full grammatical analysis of the whole work is a desideratum.

In writing this small section on the language of the Paūmacariya I have made full use of

refined Prakrit."¹⁰¹ This Prakrit is designated by Jacobi and others as Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, the language of the non-canonical books of the Śvetāmbara writers. The various Nijjuttis and narrative works like Paumacariya, Vasudevahiṇḍī and others represent the archaic form of Jain Māhārāṣṭrī. Haribhadra's Samarādityakathā represents its classical form in which it comes nearest to pure Māhārāṣṭrī and shows some influence of Sanskrit. The stories of Devendra in his commentary on Uttarādhyayanasūtra and the anthology Vajjālagga show its late form.¹⁰² In the introduction to Bhavisattakahā Jacobi states that the Paūmacariya, which was composed before the appearance of literary Apabhramśa, contains many Apabhramśas (vulgarisms-the words of the vulgar speech which have penetrated into the literary Prakrit). He classifies 'Apabhramśa' forms into three groups. The first consists of forms which also occur in the Ap. language as a regular feature, like the gerund in -evi, the pronoun *Kavaṇa* or the negative particle *navi*. The second comprises linguistic peculiarities, which are analogous to Ap. : (i) Besides the genuine infinitive in -um and -ium there occur also for them the absolutes in-Uṇa, and -iUṇa, which is also the case with Ap. gerunds in -eppi, -eppiṇu, -evi, eviṇu. (ii) The Loc. plu. in -esu appears for the Inst. plu. and vice versa. In Ap. both the cases sound alike : Ap. *narahi*, *narchi* (iii) the Acc. sg. of the stems in ā. ī (i), ū (u), ends in *aṃ*, -*iṃ*, *um* according to grammar, but the MSS often show for them ā, ī, ū, irregularly and without agreement among themselves. The reason for interchange is to be sought in this that in the popular speech as in Ap. the stems referred to sound alike in the Nom. and the Acc. (iv) Forms of the pronominal base *etad* in the Fem. : The Nom. sg. often ends in a short 'a' instead of a long one, e. g., *esa* Puri (35, 31 f. 46), *esa ṭhii* (39.62) *esa kahā* (38.5) and in the Acc. sg. instead of *eyam* also *esa* is used, e. g., *esā dehi suyā* (98.7). In Ap. in the Nom. and Acc. the same base in the Fem. is *eha*; possibly the older popular speech had for it the word 'esa' in the Nom. and Acc. which the poet has accepted in Prakrit. The third group consists of those vulgarisms which seem to be the predecessors of the forms usual in Ap. Such a form is *najjai* (= *jñāyate*). This word frequently occurs in the Paūmacariya to express an *Upamā* or *Utprekṣā*, and is the forerunner of the Ap. *nāvai* (which originated from *navvai* in Prakrit, and Hemacandra informs us that *navvai* and *najjai* can be used for *jñāyate*).¹⁰³

Dr. Ghatage critically examines the Loc. forms (in -su) in Paūmacariya. He shows how in a few cases the Loc. Pl. form is used for other cases, e. g., (i) for

Jacobi's remarks about it and of Dr. Ghatage's Introduction to Kahāṇaya-Tigāṇi and his paper : "A Locative Form in Pauma-cariya".

101 Some Ancient Jain Works, Modern Review, December, 1914.

102 Introduction to Kahāṇaya-Tigāṇi.

103 Introduction to the Bhavisattakahā (Translated from the Original German by Dr. Ghosal), pp. 363-65, Vol. IV, No. 4, (June 55), the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.

the Acc. of the OIA to denote the object of verbs implying motion towards, (ii) for serving the function of the Abl. and (iii) for the regular Genitive, and further adds that "All these usages are rare and only show how the Prakrit syntax was losing the precision of the OIA stage". He shows also how in a large number of cases the form in -su is used as Inst. pl., as Loc. sg. and pl. He explains the anomalies as follows : "The real cause of all such anomalies can only be the habit of the writer due to the current usage of his mother tongue or the language of his daily intercourse. The spoken language of the writer must have a usage in which the three forms of the Inst. plu., the Loc. sg. and plu. were indiscriminately used and this fact has led the writer to take the same liberty in the literary language also in which he has chosen to write his epic."¹⁰⁴

In the introduction to the *Bhavisattakahā* Jacobi writes that one MS. of the *Paūmacariya* offers a number of orthographic peculiarities which rest upon the phonological features of Ap. namely, the change of the intervocalic m to nasalized v, which the MSS represent as MV or V. The said MS of the *Paumacariya* often writes *jāmva*, *tāmva* for Pkt. *jāva*, *tāva* (Ap. *jāma*, *tāma*, *jāva*, *tāva*), almost always *savara* for *samara* and conversely *Rāmaṇa* and *Rāmvāṇa* for *Rāvāṇa* and only once *Nemāla* for *Nevāla*. For *Haṇumā* demanded by grammar, the MSS of the *Paumacariya* show *Haṇumo*, *Haṇuvo*, *Haṇuo*, which suppose *Haṇuvo* according to the characteristics of Ap.

Mahārājaśrī Puṇyavijayajī has noted a few more cases : *emva*, *Tāvalitti* (*Tāmralipti*), *nivisa* (*nimiṣa*), *Harīṇagavesī* (*-gamesī*), *paṇāvemī* (IX.99), *Vajjasamaṇa* (= *vajraśravaṇa* = *Vajrakarṇa*, XXXIII. 147) and *Parimio* (= *Parivṛtaḥ*, V. 218, XXXVII. 14).

A few striking features of the language of the *Paūmacariya* are noted here below :

- (i) Disagreement in number : 'Bhogābhiḷāsiṇo ahaṃ' (XIV.108).
- (ii) Unwarranted insertion of *ma* (a Sandhi-consonant) : *Chattamatṭhamādīe* (XIV-131).
- (iii) Non-doubling of a consonant : *Aṇathante* (XIV.134).
- (iv) The word *Kailāsa* is spelt as *Kavilāsa* (IX.51).
- (v) False analogy : *Dulaḥaṃ* (on the analogy of *Sulaḥaṃ*; CVI.24), *dukaya* (on the analogy of *Sukaya*; CXVIII.109), *Soggai* (CII.190).
- (vi) Use of Gen. for the Abl. : *Imassa dukkhassa moḷum amhe* (CXVIII.27); *Bhogāṇaṃ viratto* (XXI.74); for the Acc. : *Rāhavassa sāhe* (XLI.6).
- (vii) Uninflected forms : *Vāyā me dehi* (CX.8), *Daṭṭhūṇa siddhapadi*. (CVIII.17).

- (viii) Use of weak bases like Sāhava (XXX. 30), Gurava (CXIII.14), Kurava (CXVIII.83), 'Aha bhanai Sāhavo' (LXXIV.41).
- (ix) Direct corruption of Sanskrit forms : Jaṇayanti (CXIII.28), Siḍhiḷāyai (CXI.21), Siḍhilibhūyassa (LIII.24), Pabhāsayanto (CVIII.33), Lilāyanto (CVIII.2), Cintayantassa (CVII.9), Gavesayanto (XLVIII.39).
- (x) Va-śruti : Roṇāṭhiṃ (CX.36), Bhuvantarammi (CX.31), Khevaṃ (=Khedam, XCVII.23).

A future form pavissehaṃ (VIII.191 is regarded by some as a peculiarity of the archaic stage of Jain Māhārāṣṭrī. It is, however, possible to read the text as 'Pavisse han'.

- (xi) In one place we find the use of saha with the Loc. : Karemi mahilāsu saha nehaṃ (CVIII.39).

Vimalasūri uses simultaneously many synonymous words where one of them would do e. g., Caḍakkasarisovamehi (VII.29), Mohandhayāratimira (IX.90), Soma-sasivayaṇaṃ (XVIII.27), etc.

Vimalasūri's language shows also many onomatopoeic words and their Multipliers : Gumagumagumanta (II.40), Chimachimachimanta (XXVI.48), Kadhakadhakadhenta (XXVI.50), Caḍacaḍacaḍanti (XXVI.51), Khaṇakhaṇakhaṇanti, Kaṇakaṇakaṇanti, Maḍamaḍamaḍanti (XXVI.53), Kilikilikilanta, ḍuḥḍuḥḍuḥhunta (XCIV.94.41, 43), Ghughughughughenta (CV.59), etc.

Vimalasūri uses profusely Deśī words, such as Cumpālaya (XXVI.80), hakkhuvai (XLIV.39), ghattai (LIII.148), Savaḍahutta (LVI.22), Vipparaddha (LIX.50), bokkiya (LIX.54), Caḍḍiya (III.83), Dhāhāvia (V.239), āyallaya (VI.162), purahutto (LXXI.52), Sayarāha (LXXXVIII.10), tattilla (XCIV.14), ābhiṭṭa (LXXI.22) and many others.

From this survey, though very brief, the readers will get an idea about the language of the Paūmacariya which represents an archaic form of Jain Māhārāṣṭrī.

13. METRES IN THE PAŪMACARIYA

The Paūmacariya is chiefly written in the Āryā (or Gāthā) metre, which is the real metre of Prakrit poetry. Jacobi pays a high compliment to Vimalasūri for his command of the Gāthā when he says "The Gāthās conform to the nicest rules of metrics, not only those rules which are given by writers on metrics but also one which we have found by analysing the Gāthās of classical Prakrit works like Hāla, Setubandha, etc."¹⁰⁵ In Canto LIII.79 Vimalasūri uses the Daṇḍa'ā with 84 syllables

¹⁰⁵ Some Ancient Jain Works - Modern Review, December, 1914.

It is, however, to be noted that metrical exigency forces the poet on many occasions, to

in each line; and in the same canto in the middle he employs the Pañca-cāmara (vv. 107-11a). In Canto XXVIII.47-50 he uses the Galitaka¹⁰⁶. Vamśasthavila, Sarabha (or Śarabha)¹⁰⁷ and Toṭaka respectively.

He uses a variety of metres for the closing verses of the various cantos as shown below :

Gīti	: 16, ¹⁰⁸ 96 ¹⁰⁹ (embodying Yamaka)
Gāhīnī ¹¹⁰	
Or Gāhīnī	: 116
Or Gāthīnī	
Skandhaka ¹¹¹	: 48, 79, 102, 103, 108, 110, 111, 112, 114, 117.
Āryāskandhaka ¹¹²	: 115
Galitaka	: 52 ¹¹³

lengthen or shorten a vowel, to nasalize or denasalize a letter or to use verse-fillers. Here are given below only a few examples :

- (i) Lengthening of a vowel : XXXIII.32 आरण्णे, XXXIII.101 याणई, XXXV.13 भामई
XXXVII.37 पेच्छस्सु, XLI.23 साहरेमी, LXXVI.26 निसेवस्सु, etc.
- (ii) Shortening of a vowel : XXXIII.1 जड० (for जडा), XXXV.31 एस (for एसा ?),
XXXVIII.32 दुहिय (for दुहिया).
- (iii) Nasalization : इहं (for इह) in XXXIII.44, XXXIV.4, etc. इहइं (nasalization
and metrical protraction of इह) in XXXV.68, XLIV.20, XLVII.39, etc.
- (iv) Denasalization : एव (for एं) in XXXIV.28.
- (v) Verse-fillers : जे in I.14, CXIII.29, ह in LXIII.16

In addition to these, we find that some lines involve the flaw called yatibhaṅga, e. g., XXXV.73b, CXVIII.119a.

- 106 The normal Galitaka has 21 Mātrās in a quarter and is characterized by Yamaka at the end. For the definition of Galitaka and its varieties read Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana, IV.17f.
- 107 For the definition of Sarabha or Śarabha, see Prakrit-Paṅgalam, pp. 494-496, Bibliotheca Indica edition, Calcutta, 1900.
- 108 Here onwards the figures stand for the concluding verses of the corresponding cantos. Thus the figure 16 represents Canto XVI.90.
- 109 In XCVI.49, the first quarter is metrically defective as it contains 14 Mātrās instead of 12.
- 110 For the definition of Gāhīnī (nī or Gāthīnī (according to Hemacandra) see Prakrit-Paṅgalam, pp. 126, 127 (edition noted above).
- 111 For the definition of Skandhaka, see Prakrit-Paṅgalam, pp. 129-130.
- 112 The first half of the verse has 27 Mātrās, the second half, 32 Mātrās.
- 113 This verse presents 23 Mātrās in the first quarter and 22 Mātrās in the other three quarters, and is taken here as a variety of Galitaka (with 22 Mātrās).

Indravajrā	: 14, 21, 36, 64, 80, 83, 85, 91.
Upendravajra	: 49, 60, 62, 63, 113.
Upajāti	: 4, 9, 27, 32, 34, 40, 41, 43, 57, 69, 71, 81, 86, 89, 90, 104.
Dodhaka	: 17, 22, 35, 46, 58, 87, 94.
Indravamśā	: 50.
Upajāti ¹¹⁴	: 31.
Vamśasthavila	: 105.
Rucirā	: 3, 5, 10, 12, 13, 19, 25, 37, 39, 42, 44, 47, 55, 61, 66, 67, 68, 74, 77, 88, 92, 93, 99, 100, 101, 106, 118. ¹¹⁵
Mālinī	: 2, 6, 15, 18, 23, 24, 26, 38, 53, 59, 65, 95. ¹¹⁶ 109.
Mandākrāntā	: 29, 45, 54, 56.
Śārdūlavikrīḍita	: 1, 11, 20, 30, 75, 97.
Sragdharā	: 7, 33, 73, 82, 107.

14. GLIMPSES OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE AS REFLECTED IN PAUMACARIYA

Apart from its moralising and didactic character Vimalasūri's work is highly interesting to an antiquarian as it gives a picture of contemporary Indian society in general and Jain society in particular. The Paumacariya contains a prophetic account¹¹⁷ as follows :

‘Here in India after the time of the Nanda Kings the Law of the Jinas will become scarce. The number of heretics will swell, the kings will behave like thieves; people will slander the ‘Sādhus’; bad practices will be the order of the day; people will indulge in Himśā, falsehood and thefts; the ignorant people will bestow gifts on the ignorant, censuring the ‘Sādhus’...’

Jacobi interprets this tradition thus : “Perhaps this refers more specially to Magadha and the adjoining countries, where under the reign of the Mauryas,

114 The first half of the verse is in Indravamśā and the second half, in Vamśasthavila.

115 The concluding verse of the Canto is really 101 and it is in the Vasantatilakā. The rest of the verses (102 to 119) form the colophon. They are in the Āryā.

116 The fourth quarter of the verse is metrically defective as it contains 16 syllables.

117 Canto LXXXIX.42-49.

Buddhism soon attained the position of a popular religion, and must have become a formidable rival of Jainism".¹¹⁸

Vimalasūri gives a very graphic description of the eightfold Jina-pūjā, Jinā bhiṣeka, Jinavandanabhakti¹¹⁹, Jinastuti¹²⁰, the restoration of ruined Jain temples¹²¹, construction of Jain temples¹²², and their existence in every village, town, Sangama (a place where two rivers meet), mountain peak, public square etc.¹²³ and the images of Jinas made of gold and bedecked with jewels¹²⁴ and his exhortation to the people to install the images of Jinas in every house¹²⁵ certainly point to a period when some 'Sādhus' had already started residing in Caityas and people had started worshipping idols in their own houses besides those in the public temples. He strongly denounces Godāna, Stri-dāna, Bhūmi-dāna and Suvarṇadāna (which Munis do not accept).¹²⁶ while praising Jina the author addresses him as Svayambhu Caturmukha, Viṣṇu (or Nārāyaṇa or Ananta), Śaṅkara (or Rudra).¹²⁷ This

118 E. R. I. Vol. VII.

119 Canto XXXII.71-93.

120 Canto V.120-122; Canto XXVIII.46-50; CIX.12-13.

121 For example,

कारेइ जिणहराणं, समारणं जुणभग्गपडियाणं ।

XI.3a; also VIII. 136-139.

122 For example,

जो जिणवराण भवणं, कुणइ जहाविहवसारसंजुत्तं ।

सो पावइ परमसुहं सुरगणअहिणंदिओ सुइरं ॥ —XXXII.95

123 Canto LXVI.6-12, especially read :

सो नत्थि एत्थ गामो नेव पुरं संगमं गिरिवरो ।

तिय चच्चरं चउक्कं, जत्थ न भवणं जिणिंदाणं ॥ —LXVI.9

124 कंचणरयणमईणं, जिणपडिमाणं सुपुण्णाइ । —LXVI.116

125 Canto LXXXIX.51-54, especially read :

ठावेहि जिणवराण घरे घरे देवपडिमाओ ।

अंगुष्ठपमाणा वि हु, जिणपडिमा जस्स होहिइ घरम्मि ।

तस्स भवणाओ मारी, नासिहिइ लहुं न संदेहो ॥

126 XIV.50-53

127 नाह तुमं बंभाणो तिलोयणो संकरो सयं वुड्ढो ।

नारायणो अणंतो, तिलोयपुञ्जारिहो अरुहा ॥ XV.122

तुहं सयंभू भयवं चउम्मुहो, पियामहो विण्हु जिणो तिलोयणो । XXXXVI.48.a

सो जिणवरो सयंभू, भाणु सिवो संकरो महादेवो । CIX.12

विण्हु हिरण्यगन्धो महेसरो ईसरो रुद्रो ॥

reveals the author's catholicity of outlook no doubt but it also reveals the immense popularity of the Trinity of Hindu gods in those centuries. The author gives a good description and closes on the full-moon day of Āṣāḍha, Kārtika and Phālguna.¹²⁸ during these days fasts are observed and the temples of Jinas are decorated, the Jinābhiṣeka is performed and the images of Jinas are worshipped. He refers to the dispute regarding the processions of Brahma-ratha and Jina-ratha.¹²⁹ He speaks of Bhavanapāli devatā attending on the Jina and devas and the Yakṣa lords Pūrṇabhadra and Māṇibhadra attending on the Tirthaṅkara (Śāntinātha).¹³⁰ The poet's severe condemnation of the Brāhmaṇas and his bitter attack against the Vedic cult of animal sacrifice¹³¹ probably suggest that the Brāhmaṇas had sway over the masses and animal sacrifices frequently performed during the time of the poet. His repeated and vehement denunciation of meat-eating¹³² probably point to the fact that the habit of meat-eating was prevalent among large sections of the populace. The poet refers to the custom of not eating meat during the 'eight-day' festival.¹³³

The author refers to Tāpasas (Brāhmaṇas, who have renounced society and live in the woods)¹³⁴ and to Brāhmaṇas serving as king's priests, to astrologers and dream-interpreters who were in the service of kings. The astrologers were consulted and their advice valued,¹³⁵ Belief in good omens and evil portents was widely prevalent. People implicitly believed that dreams indicate coming events.

The author gives a very vivid description of the Mlecchas or Yavanas or Anāryas.¹³⁶ He gives a list of many Ārya and Anārya Deśa's¹³⁷ some of which are easy to identify with some parts of India and bordering countries but some are very difficult to identify.

128 Canto XXIX.I-6 and Canto LXVI.

129 Canto VIII.147f.

130 Canto XXXVII.43 and LXVII.28-49.

131 Canto IV.64-90 and XI.6-61, CV.44-46,

132 Canto XXII.83-90; XXVI.33-61.

133 Canto XXII.72.

134 Canto XXXIII.

135 Canto V.68

136 के एत्थ कज्जलामा, सुयपिच्छसमप्पभा तहिं अन्ने ।

अवरे तंबयवण्णा वामणदेहा चिबिडनासा ॥

वक्कलपत्तनियच्छा, मणिमयकडिसुत्तयाभरणदेहा ।

धाऊकयंगरागा विरइयसिरिमंजरीकुसुमा ॥ —XXVII-32-33

137 Read Canto XCVIII.57-67, especially,

आहीरवोय जवणा कच्छा सग-कीरला य नेमाला । वरुला य चारुवच्छी, वरावडा चेव सोपारा ।

As regards the position of women the author portrays them as socially inferior to men. The repudiation of Anjanāsundarī and of Sītā on mere suspicion and public scandal respectively and the treatment meted out to Anjanāsundarī by her own parents as described by the poet will illustrate the point. It is regarded as a wonder that a woman should be born in another birth as man (CXVII. 10). The sentiments expressed by Anjanāsundarī about her pitiable condition on her being banished by her mother-in-law and her own parents, who did not care to know what the truth was,¹³⁸ are eloquent of woman's position in Indian society. From the accomplishments of princess Kaikeyī¹³⁹ it appears that girls coming from higher strata of society received education. Sītā is said to have given advice to Rāma regarding war¹⁴⁰ She is described as performing dance.¹⁴¹ A Cāraṇa-Kanyā's wondrous dance in the royal court is described.¹⁴² This indicates that the art of dancing was a respectable one in the days of the author. The description of Svaya-mīvaras shows that girls at the time of their wedding were of marriageable age. The two parties of the bride each and the bridegroom valued highly the 'Kulavaṃśa' of each side.¹⁴³ The sentiments of Vira-mahilās when their husbands go out to fight (and the response of their husbands as well) are very noble and speak of their high culture.¹⁴⁴

The Paūmacariya while describing Rāvana's bath, refers to fragrant unguents for rubbing and cleaning the body, a bathing stool made of Vaidūrya, and pitchers of gold studded with jewels. Musical instruments were played upon while Rāvana was taking his bath. It describes also Rāvana taking his meal. Āstaraka, Masūraka, Vetrāsana and golden seats are mentioned. The food is said to have consisted of 108 eatables, 64 condiments and boiled rice of 16 kinds.¹⁴⁵ Elsewhere, the work refers to Nāranga, Panasa, Inguda, Kadali, Kharjūra, Nālikera and food prepared with cow-milk as being offered to monks.¹⁴⁶ It refers also to Pāyasa (rice boiled

कसमीर-विसाणा विय विज्जा तिसिरा हिडि'बयंबट्टा । सूला वव्वरसाला गोसाला सरमया सवरा ॥
आणंदा तिसिरा विय खसा तहा चेव होंति मेहलया । सुरसेणा पद्धीया खंधारा कोलउलुगा य ।
पुरिकोबेरा कुहरा अंधा य तहा कलिंगमाइया । एए अन्ने य बहू लव्वकुसेहि जिया देसा ॥

—xxVII.32-33.

138 Canto XVII.32-35; also note CII.43-46 and CV.64-67

139 Canto XXIV.5-8.

140 Canto XXXVII.34-36.

141 Canto XXXIX.22.

142 Canto XXXVII.47-59.

143 Canto XCVIII.8

144 Canto LVI.13f

145 LXIX.6-16.

146 XLI.9

in milk), curds, milk and Modakas prepared with molasses and sugar.¹⁴⁷ In another place still, it refers to Laddukas (round balls of sugar, wheat or rice-flour, ghee, etc.) and Maṇḍas.¹⁴⁸ Meat-eating is referred to. King Simhasodāsa is said to have been fond of human flesh.¹⁴⁹ Lakṣmaṇa is described as being fond of wine.¹⁵⁰

As regards ornaments, it mentions Cūḍamaṇi, Santānaka-śekhara, ear-ornaments, bracelets studded with gems, waist-band, pearl-necklace, a signet-ring.¹⁵¹ (In one place it mentions China cloth.)¹⁵²

It refers to various weapons such as 'Asi-kanaka, Cāpa, Kheḍaka-Vasunandaka, Cakra-Tomara-paraśu, paṭṭisa, Mudgara śara, Jhasara, bhindipāla, gadā, śakti, Khurapra, ardha-candra, dhanus, triśūla, kunta, laṅgala, kṣurikā,¹⁵³ and the like and missiles like Vāruṇa, Samīraṇa, Āgneya, Tāmasa, Divākara, Uraga, Garuḍa, and Vināyaka.¹⁵⁴

It refers to the following musical instruments of a martial character : Paṭu-Paṭaha-Bheri-Jhallari-Kāhala-Timila-Bhambhā-Mṛdaṅga-Damaru. Dhakkā, Śaṅkha-Kharamukhī-Huḍukka-Pāvaya-Kāṁcyatālikā¹⁵⁵; Viṇā and Vamśa, too, are mentioned.¹⁵⁶

It refers to the code of honour according to which 'Śramaṇas, Brāhmaṇas, cows, women, children and the old people were not to be killed even if they gave offence.¹⁵⁷ It states that people, frightened at the invasion of an enemy, used to bury underground their gold, silver, ornaments, etc.¹⁵⁸

The descriptions of Magadha, Rājagṛha, etc., are more or less conventional hence we make only a passing reference to them.¹⁵⁹ Some stray references, which

145 LXIX.6-16

146 XLI-9

147 CXV.8-10

148 LXXXIV.4

149 XXII.74-75

150 CXIII.74-75

151 III.98-99

152 VIII-273

153 LVII.28-29; LIX.14,23 LXXI.21, etc.

154 LXXI.60-67

155 LVII.22-23

156 LXXXV.19

157 XXXV.15; LXV.30

158 LXIV.10

159 II.1-14

are of interest to an antiquary are given below. The *Paūmacariya* speaks of :

- (i) A gem bored by a diamond (Vajra)¹⁶⁰ – I.13b.
- (ii) The ears of a Jester (Vidūṣaka) made out of wood (I.19).
- (iii) Elephants with their temples decorated with red mineral fluid (sindūra) and who were adorned with 'Nakṣatramālā', and bells (II.39).
- (iv) A hunter looking upon the sight of a Jain monk as an evil omen (VI.139–140).
- (v) Floor-decoration with five coloured powders (Raṅgāvali : XXIX.2; XL.5; LXVI.21).
- (vi) Ornamental drawings (Bhakti) with various mineral metals or fluids (Dhāturasa¹⁶¹, XXXIX.3).
- (vii) A large number of wives of kings.
- (viii) A large number of supernatural lores (VII.135–42).
- (ix) Kanduka-kīḍā (a game with a ball, XV.13).
- (x) The exact replica of Daśaratha made of clay (Lepya, XXIII).
- (xi) The celebrations on the birth of a son (XXV.14).
- (xii) The drawing of life-like pictures on cloth (XXVIII.9).
- (xiii) Various plants and creepers giving their names (LIII.79).
- (xiv) Dīnāra (a gold coin, LXVIII.32), Ratna and Kākinī (CXVIII–107), and of false weights and measures and their use (XIV.26).
- (xv) Sending a 'Lekha' (letter, XXXVII.2; LXXVII.45).
- (xvi) The cremation of Rāvaṇa with fragrant substances like gośirṣa, candana, Aguru, Karpūra, etc. (LXXV.4).
- (xvii) The remarkable mode of 'Śapatha-grahaṇa' by Lakṣmaṇa (XXXVIII.18); and by Śatruḡha as well (LXXXV–9).
- (xviii) The five Ordeals (Divyas), only four are mentioned by name 1 Tulārohaṇa, 2 Agni-praveśa, 3 Phāla-grahaṇa, 4 Viṣa-pāna, (CI.38–39).
- (xix) The honour done to a Dūta by presenting him Tāmbūla etc. (LXXVIII.44) and of his being 'Avadhya'.
- (xx) The Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa. It deserves notice that Vimalasūri knows Mahābhārata as Bhārata (CV.16).

Finally, the author reproduces many Ābhānakas and Janaśrutis which appear to have been taken up from the popular speech directly, and have no parallels in Sanskrit literature.

These gleanings (and their interpretation) will enable the reader to get some idea of the social and cultural conditions as reflected in *Paūmacariya*.

160 Mallinātha (on Raghu 1.4) explains : 'Vajreṇa maṇivedhakasūciviśeṣeṇa' (a steel instrument pointed with a diamond pin). In passing, it may be noted that this verse strongly reminds one of Raghu 1.4.

161 Mallinātha (on Kumāra 1.7) explains the term as 'Sindūrādidraveṇa'.

Chapter - III

PADMA-PURĀṆA OF ĀCĀRYA RAVIṢEṆA

1. RAVIṢEṆA'S PERSONAL HISTORY

In the year 678 A.D. Raviṣeṇa wrote his *Padma-Purāṇa*.¹ It is composed in Sanskrit and consists of 123 Parvans (Cantos). It is mainly in Anuṣṭup metre. The poet observes the convention of introducing a change of metre in the last stanza (or stanzas) of each canto. He skilfully interweaves his name in the closing stanza of every canto of this poem whence the *Padma-Purāṇa* is technically called the Ravyaṅka (marked by the word Ravi in a special way.)²

We know very little of Raviṣeṇa's life. His spiritual descent as recorded by him (Canto CXXIII. 167) may be thus shown :

Indra-guru
|
Divākara-yati
|
Arhanmuni
|
Lakṣmaṇasena
|
Raviṣeṇa

Raviṣeṇa makes no mention regarding his 'saṅgha', 'gaṇa' or 'gaccha' or his place of birth etc. Pt. Premi infers from the name Raviṣeṇa that possibly he belonged to Sena-saṅgha. No other work he is said to have written. His *Padma-Purāṇa* (or *Padma-Carita*) is the first work in *Sanskrit* as far as Jain Story-Literature is concerned.

1. The edition referred to in our study is that of Pandit Darbari Lala in M.D.J.G. Nos. 29-31. Another edition with Hindi translation by Pt. Pannalal Jain has since been published by Bharatiya Jnanapitha, New Delhi 110 001, in three volumes (1977-78).

Regarding the date of the composition of the work the poet says :

द्विशताभ्यधिके समासहस्रे समतीतेऽर्धचतुर्थवर्षयुक्ते ।
जिनभास्करवर्धमानसिद्धे चरिते पद्ममुनेरिदं निबद्धम् ॥

- i. e. the work was written 1203 years and a half after the death of Mahāvira (527 B.C.). Pandit Nāthurāma Premi mentions, perhaps inadvertently, V. S. 834 (instead of 734) as the date of composition of this work (See p. 1 of his *Prākāthana* to Vol. 29).
2. Cf. the *Vimalāṅka-kāvya* of Vimala; or just as the *Kirātārjuniya* of Bhāravi is Śryaṅka or Śiṣupālavadhā of Māgha is Lakṣmyaṅka.

The poem is sometimes referred to as *Padma-Carita*.³ There is strong internal evidence to support this alternative title.⁴ Although the poet nowhere expressly mentions *Padma-Purāṇa* as the title, in one place he refers to the present work as *Purāṇa*.⁵ On another occasion he tells us that 'Ceṣṭita', 'Carita' 'Karaṇa' and 'Cāritra' are synonyms and hence the history of adventures of Rāma are called 'Rāmāyaṇa'.⁶ A study of this work reveals beyond any shadow of doubt that Raviṣeṇa had placed before him *Paūma-Cariya* of Vimāla as his model while writing the present poem. It is not therefore unlikely that the author had all along in his mind *Padma-Carita* as the title of the poem.

Even a mere glance at the titles of the cantos of the two works—*Paūmacariya* and *Padmapurāṇa*—is enough to show that the Rāma-story, presented by Vimāla and Raviṣeṇa, is identical and that Raviṣeṇa who is, chronologically speaking, later than Vimāla must have borrowed wholesale from him—unless of course, we suppose that both have based their works on a common source. (The interrelation between the two works is dealt with at length in the section that follows). Here we give a comparative table of the titles of the cantos of the two works :

2. A COMPARISON OF THE TITLES OF THE EPICS

Paūma-Cariya	vv	Padma-Purāṇa	vv
1. सुत्तविहाणो नाम उद्देसो	90	सूत्रविधानम्	102
2. सेणियच्चिताविहाणो नाम समुद्देसओ	119	श्रेणिकचिन्ताभिधानम्	255
3. विज्जाहरलोगवण्णो नाम उद्देसओ	162	विद्याधरलोकभिधानम्	339
4. लोगट्ठिइ-उसभ-माहणाहिगारो उद्देसओ	90	ऋषभमाहात्म्याभिधानम्	132
5. रक्खसवंसाहियारे उद्देसओ	271	राक्षसवंशाधिकारः	406
6. रक्खस-वाणर-पव्वज्जाविहाणो उद्देसओ	244	वानरवंशाभिधानम्	573

3. Thus Pandit Nathurama Premi advocates the alternative title (His *Prākkathana* to pp.33 part I).

4. e. g. these statements of the poet :

पद्मस्य चरितं शुभम् । I.14,

पद्मस्य चरितं वक्ष्ये । I.16.

गदिदु' चरितं शक्तः केवलं श्रुतकेवली । I.17.

चरितं यस्य... तच्चरितं... । I.18.

बुधपंक्तिक्रमाद्यतं चरितं रामगोचरम् । I.21.

चरितं पद्ममुनेरिदं निबद्धम् । CXXIII.182

5 See v. 44 of the first canto : सप्त पुराणेऽस्मिन्नधिकारा इमे स्मृताः ।

6 Canto 123, v. 155 :

चेष्टितमनघं चरितं करणं चारित्रमित्यमी यच्छब्दाः ।

पर्याया रामायणमित्युक्तं तेन चेष्टितं रामस्य ॥

Pauma-Cariya	vv	Padma-Purāṇa	vv
7. दहमुहविज्जासाहणो उद्देसो	173	दशग्रीवाभिधानम्	395
8. दहमुहपुरिपवेसो उद्देसो	286	दशग्रीवाभिधानम्	573
9. वालिनिव्वाणगमणो उद्देसो	106	वालिनिर्वाणाभिधानम्	223
10. दहमुह-सुग्रीवप्रस्थानसहस्रकिरण- अणरणपव्वज्जाविहाणो उद्देसो	88	दशग्रीवप्रस्थाने सहस्ररश्म्यनरण्य- श्रामण्यभिधानम्	179
11. मरुयजन्न-विद्धं सण जणवयाणुरागो उद्देसो	121	मरुत्तयज्ञध्वंसनपदानुगाभिधानम्	383
12. वेयड्ढगमण-इंदबधण-लंकापवेसणो उद्देसो	114	इन्द्रपराभवाभिधानम्	376
13. इंदनिव्वाणगमणो उद्देसो	52	इन्द्रनिर्वाणाभिधानम्	113
14. अणंतविरियधम्मकहणो उद्देसो	158	अनन्तबलधर्माभिधानम्	381
15. अज्जणासुंदरीवीवाहविहाणो उद्देसो	100	अज्जनासुन्दरीविवाहाभिधानम्	227
16. पवणंजयअज्जणासुंदरीभोगविहाणो उद्देसो	90	पवनाञ्जनसंभोगाभिधानम्	243
17. हणुयसंभवविहाणो उद्देसो	123	हनुमत्संभवाभिधानम्	406
18. पवणंजय-अज्जणासुंदरी-समागम- विहाणो उद्देसो	58	पवनाञ्जनासमागमाभिधानम्	136
19. रावणरज्जविहाणो नाम उद्देसो	54	रावणसाम्राज्याभिधानम्	141
20. तिथयराइभवानुक्तिणो उद्देसो	208	तीर्थङ्करादिभवानुकीर्तनम्	250
21. सुव्वय-वज्जबाहु-कित्तिधरमाहप्प- वण्णणो उद्देसो	93	सुव्रत-वज्रबाहु-कीर्तिमाहात्म्यवर्णनम्	165
22. सुकोसलमुणिमाहप्प-दसरह-उप्पत्तिभि- हाणो उद्देसो	110	सुकोशल-माहात्म्य-युक्त-दशरथोत्पत्त्य- भिधानम्	181
23. विहीसण-बयण-विहाणो उद्देसो	26	विभीषण-व्यसन-वर्णनम्	66
24. केगईवरसंपायणो उद्देसो	40	केकयावरप्रदानम्	135
25. चउभाइविहाणो उद्देसो	20	चतुर्भ्रातृ-संभवाभिधानम्	59
26. सीया-भामंडल उप्पत्तिविहाणो उद्देसो	103	सीताभामण्डलोत्पत्त्यभिधानम्	171
27. मेच्छ-पराजय-कित्तिणो उद्देसो	42	मेच्छपराजय-संकीर्तनम्	94
28. राम-लक्ष्मण-घणुरयण-लाभविहाणो उद्देसो	141	राम-लक्ष्मण-रत्नमालाभिधानम्	275

Pāṇḍya-Cariya	vv	Padma-Purāṇa	vv
29. दसरह-वइराग-सव्वभूयसरणागमो उद्देसओ	49	दशरथ-वैराग्य-सर्वभूतहितागमाभिधानम् 116	
30. भामंडलसंगमविहाणो उद्देसओ	89	भामण्डल-समागमाभिधानम् 172	
31. दसरह-पव्वज्जानिच्छय-विहाणो उद्देसओ	128	दशरथ-प्रव्रज्याभिधानम् 242	
32. दसरहपव्वज्ज-राम-निग्गमण-भरहरज्ज- विहाणो उद्देसओ	97	दशरथ-राम-भरतानां प्रव्रज्या- वनप्रस्थानराज्याभिधानम् 196	
33. वज्जयण-उवक्खाणो उद्देसओ	148	वज्रकर्णोपाख्यानम् 336	
34. वालिखिल्ल-उवक्खाणं नाम उद्देसओ	60	वालिखिल्लोपाख्यानम् 106	
35. कविलोवक्खाणं नाम उद्देसओ	81	कपिलोपाख्यानम् 195	
36. वणमालानां पव्वं*	42	वनमालाभिधानम् 104	
37. अहविरिय-निकलमणं	70	अतिवीर्यनिष्क्रमणाभिधानम् 166	
38. जियपउमा-वक्खाणं	57	जितपञ्चोपाख्यानम् 143	
39. देसभूसण-कुलभूसण-वक्खाणं	133	देशकुलभूषणोपाख्यानम् 236	
40. रामगिरि-उवक्खाणं	16	रामागिर्युपाख्यानम् 45	
41. जडागी-पक्खि-उवक्खाणं	78	जटायूपोपाख्यानम् 169	
42. दण्डगारण-निवास-विहाणं	35	दण्डकारण्यनिवासाभिधानम् 102	
43. संखुक्क-वहणं	48	शम्भूकवधाख्यानम् 123	
44. सीयाहरणे रामविप्पलाव-विहाणं	67	सीताहरण-रामविलापाभिधानम् 151	
45. सीया-विप्पओग-दाह-पव्वं	45	सीतावियोग-दाहाभिधानम् 105	
46. माया-पायार-विउव्वणं	98	माया-प्राकाराभिधानम् 232	
47. सुग्रीव-पहाण-वक्खाणं	57	विटसुग्रीववधाख्यानम् 148	
48. कोटिसिला-उद्धरणं	125	कोटिशिलोत्क्षेपणाभिधानम् 250	
49. हणुय-परधानं	39	हनुमत्प्रस्थानम् 118	
50. महिंद-दुहिया-समागम-विहाणं	22	महेन्द्रदुहितासमागमाभिधानम् 55	
51. राघव-गंधर्वकन्नालाहविहाणं	57	गन्धर्वकन्यालाभाभिधानम् 51	
52. हणुव-कन्नालाभ-लंकाविहाण	29	हनूमत्लङ्कासुन्दरीकन्यालाभाभिधानम् 85	

* As we have already noted before, Vimāla, calls the first 35 cantos of his poem as 'Uddesas' and the rest 'Parvans'. Raviṣeṇa throughout names the cantos as Parvans.

Pauma-Cariya	vv	Padma-Purāṇa	vv
53. हणुव-लंका-निगमणं	149	हनुमत्प्रत्यभिगमनम्	274
54. लंकापस्थाणाभिहाणं	47	लङ्काप्रस्थानम्	80
55. विभीषण-समागम-विहाणं	60	विभीषणसमागमाभिधानम्	95
†		56. उभयबलप्रमाणविधानम्	36
56. रावणबलनिगमणं	47	57. रावणबलनिर्गमनम्	74
57. हृत्थपत्थ-वहणं	36	58. हस्तप्रहस्तवधाभिधानम्	49
58. नल-नील-हृत्थ-पहृत्थ-पुव्वभवानुकित्तणं	19	59. हस्त-प्रहस्त-नल-नील-पूर्वभवानुकीर्तनम्	34
59. विज्जासंनिहाणं	88	60. विद्यालाभः	143
60. सुग्गीव-भामंडल-समागमं	9	61. सुग्रीव-मामण्डल-समाश्वासनम्	24
61. सत्तिसंपायविहाणं	74	62. शक्तिसंतापाभिधानम्	100
62. राम-विप्पलावं	36	63. शक्तिभेद-रामविलापाभिधानम्	40
63. विसल्लापुव्वभवानुकित्तणं	72	64. विशल्यापूर्वभवाभिधानम्	115
64. विसल्ला-आगमणं	46	65. विशल्यासमागमाभिधानम्	81
65. रावणदूयाभिगमणं	50	66. रावणदूतागमाभिधानम्	95
66. ††		67. शान्तिगृहकीर्तनम्	28
66. फग्गुणद्रुठाहिकमहो-लोगनियमकरणं	36	68. फाल्गुनाष्टाहिकमहिमाविधानम्	24
†††		69. लोकनियमकरणाभिधानम्	19
67. सम्मद्दिट्ठीदेवकित्तणं	50	70. सम्यग्-दृष्टि-देव-प्रातिहार्यकीर्तनम्	101
68. बहुरूवासाहणं	50	71. बहुरूपविद्यासंनिधानाभिधानम्	73
*69. रावणचिंताविहाणं	59	72. युद्धनिश्चयकीर्तनाभिधानम्	97
70. उज्जोय-विहाणं	71	73. उद्योगाभिधानम्	180
71. लक्खण-रावण-जुज्झ	69	74. रावण-लक्ष्मण युद्धवर्णनाभिधानम्	116
72. चक्करयणुप्पत्ति	37	75. चक्ररत्नोत्पत्तिवर्णनम्	62

† उभयबलप्रमाणविधानम् is an additional canto in the Padma-Purāṇa for which no corresponding Canto is found in the 'model' epic.

†† शान्तिगृहकीर्तनम् is an additional Canto not found in Vimala's epic.

††† Canto 66 of Pauma-Cariya is split up in two by Raviṣeṇa.

The contents of Pc. 69 and Pp. 72 are, although the titles are differently worded, the same.

Paṭma-Cariya	vv	Padma-Purāṇa	vv
73. दहवयण-वह-विहाणं	35	76. दशग्रीववधाभिधानम्	43
74. पीयंकर-उवक्खाणयं	42	77. प्रीतिकरोपाख्यानम्	72
75. इंदई-आदि-निक्खमणं	85	78. इन्द्रजितादिनिष्क्रमणाभिधानम्	95
76. सीयासमागमविहाणं	26	79. सीतासमागमाभिधानम्	70
77. मय-वक्खाणं	117	80. मयोपाख्यानम्	208
78. साण्यपुरी-वण्णणं	56	81. साकेतनगरीवर्णनम्	126
79. राम-लक्खण-मायाहिं समागमविहाणं	34	82. राम-लक्ष्मण-मातृ-समागमाभिधानम्	65
80. तिहुयणालंकारसंखोभविहाणं	73	83. त्रिभुवनालङ्कारक्षोभाभिधानम्	134
81. भुवणालंकारसल्लविहाणं	15	84. त्रिभुवनालङ्कारशमाभिधानम्	35
82. तिहुणालंकारपुव्वभवानुकित्तणं	121	85. भरत-त्रिभुवनालङ्कारसमाध्यनुभवानु- कीर्तनम्	175
83. भरह-केगई-दिक्खाभिहाणं	13	86. भरतकेकयानिष्क्रमणाभिधानम्	27
84. भरहनिव्वाणगमणं	11	87. भरतनिर्वाणगमनम्	18
85. रज्जाभिसेयं	30	88. राज्याभिषेकाभिधानं विभागदर्शनं नाम	44
86. महुसु'दरवहाभिहाणं	73	89. मधुसुन्दरवधाभिधानम्	117
		90. मधुरोपसर्गाभिधानम्	29
88. सतुग्घ-कयंतसुह-भवानुकित्तणं	43	91. शत्रुघ्नभवानुकीर्तनम्	51
98. महुरा-निवेस-विहाणं	64	92. मधुरापुरीनिवेशश्रृषिदानगुणोपसर्ग- हननाभिधानम्	92
90. मणोरमालंभविहाणं	30	93. मनोरमालम्भाभिधानम्	57
91. रामलक्खणविभूहईसणं	29	94. रामलक्ष्मणविभूतिदर्शनीयाभिधानम्	40
92. ज्णिणूयणडोहलविहाणं	28	95. जिनेन्द्रजूजादोहदाभिधानम्	57
93. ज्णचित्ताविहाणं	39	96. जनपरीवादचिन्ताभिधानम्	73
94. सीयानिवासाणविहाणं	108	97. सीतानिर्वासनविप्रलापवज्रजङ्घागमना- भिधानम्	192
95. सीयासमासासणं	68	98. सीतासमाश्वासनम्	105
96. रामसोयविहाणं	49	99. रामशोकाभिधानम्	117
97. लवणंकुसभवविहाणं	29	100. लवणाङ्कुशोद्भवभाभिधानम्	83
98. लवकुसदेसविजयं	73	101. लवणाङ्कुशदिग्विजयकीर्तनम्	106

Paūma-Cariya	vv	Padma-Purāṇa	vv.
99. लवणंकुसजुञ्जविहाणं	74	102. लवणाङ्कुशसमेतयुद्धाभिधानम्	202
100. लवणंकुससमागमविहाणं	63	103. रामलवणाङ्कुशसमागमाभिधानम्	97
101. देवागमविहाणं	75	104. सकलभूषणदेवागमनाभिधानम्	202
102. रामधम्मसवणविहाणं	03	105. रामधर्मश्रवणाभिधानम्	267
103. *रामपुव्वभव-सीयापव्वज्जाविहाणं	175	106. सपरिवर्गरामदेवपूर्वभवाभिधानम्	248
		107. प्रव्रजितसीताभिधानम्	68
104. लवणंकुसपुव्वभवानुकित्तणं	34	108. लवणाङ्कुशपूर्वभवाभिधानम्	52
105. महु-केढम-उवक्खाणं	114	109. मधूपाख्यानम्	173
106. कुमार-निकखमणं	48	110. कुमाराष्टकनिष्क्रमणाभिधानम्	95
107. भामंडल-परलोगगमण-विहाणं	15	111. भामण्डलपरलोकाभिगमनम्	21
108. **हणुयनिव्वाणगमणं	50	112. हनुमन्निर्वेदं नाम	99
		113. हनुमन्निर्वाणाभिधानम्	45
109. सक्कसंकहाविहाणं	26	114. शक्रसुरसंकथाभिधानम्	56
110. लवंकुसतवोवणपवेसविहाणं	44	115. लवणाङ्कुशतपोऽभिधानम्	64
111. रामविप्पलावविहाणं	23	116. रामदेव-विप्रलापम्	44
112. लक्खणविओगविहीसणवयणं	22	117. लक्ष्मणवियोग-विभीषण-संसारस्थितिवर्णनम्	45
113. कल्लाणमित्तेदेवागमणं	71	118. लक्ष्मणसंस्कारकरणं कल्याणमित्रदेवाभिगमा- भिधानम्	127
114. बलदेवमुणिरस्स निकखमणं	34	119. बलदेवनिष्क्रमणाभिधानम्	62
115. गोयरसंखोभावेहाणं	23	120. पुरसंक्षोभाभिधानम्	47
116. दाणपसंसाविहाणं	17	121. दानप्रसङ्गाभिधानम्	28
117. केवलनाणुप्पत्तिविहाणं	46	122. केवलोरपत्यभिधानम्	76
118. पउमनिव्वाणगमणं	119	123. बलदेवसिद्धिगमनाभिधानम्	18
		<u>8651</u>	<u>16942</u>

* Canto 103 of Pc. is split in two by Raviṣeṇa as Cantos 106 and 107 of his poem.

** Canto 108 of Pc. corresponds to Canto 113 of Pp. whereas Canto 112 of Pp. is an additional one.

3. EXTENT, FORM, ETC., OF THE TWO EPICS

This comparison of the titles of the cantos of the two poems indisputably establishes that Raviṣeṇa has placed before him Vimala's *Paūma-Cariya* as his model, and has adopted *almost* the same plan of division of the poem into suitable Cantos. We say 'almost' because Raviṣeṇa has made a few alterations and additions in the naming and numbering of Cantos. While *Paūma-Cariya* has 118 Cantos, the *Padma-Purāṇa* has 123 Cantos. The titles of the corresponding 118 Cantos in the two poems are in agreement with each other notwithstanding slight verbal differences. The additional five Cantos in the *Padma-Purāṇa* are obtained by splitting the Cantos of *Paūma-Cariya* as shown above. Vimala's work is in Prakrit while Raviṣeṇa's is in Sanskrit. The *Paūma-Cariya* is in the Āryā metre, while the *Padma-Purāṇa* is in Anuṣṭup metre.⁷ The *Padma-Purāṇa* is easily double in extent as compared with the *Paūma-Cariya*.⁸ The longest canto of the *Padma-Purāṇa* is the 6th with 573 stanzas and the shortest is the 87th with 18 stanzas, while in the case of *Paūma-Cariya*, the longest canto is the 8th with 286 stanzas and the shortest is the 60th with only 9 stanzas. The *Padma-Purāṇa* throughout calls the divisions of the poem as Parvan while the *Paūma-Cariya* calls the first 35 as Uddesas and the rest Parvans.

4. CANTOWISE SUMMARY OF PADMAPURANA DISPENSED WITH

The story of Rāma in *Padma-Purāṇa* is identical with that of *Paūmacariya*. In order to avoid repetition we dispense with the cantowise summary of *Padmapurāṇa*, and rest content by drawing attention to statements of Raviṣeṇa which set forth the Digambara tradition regarding the origin of the Rāma story and a few others which deviate from those of Vimalasūri.

(i) In the opening⁹ and the closing¹⁰ cantos Raviṣeṇa records the Digambara tradition of the handing down of the story of Rāma from Mahāvīra to Indrabhūti

7 विमलेण...गाहाणिबद्धं कथं... | Pc canto 118 v. 102

And, शास्त्रमानुष्टुपश्लोकैस्त्रयोविंशतिसङ्गतम् | Pp. canto 123-186

8 The Pc contains about 9000 gāthās while the Pp. has a total of 18023 anuṣṭup-slokas, Pp. in its concluding stanza gives the total number of its verses as 18023.

9 वर्धमानजिनेन्द्रोक्तः सोऽयमर्थो गणेश्वरम् ।

इन्द्रभूतिं परिप्राप्तः सुधर्मं धारिणीभवम् ॥

प्रभवं क्रमतः कीर्तिं ततोऽनुत्तरवाग्मिनम् ।

लिखितं तस्य संप्राप्य रवेर्यत्नोऽयमुद्गतः ॥—I.vv 41-42

10 निर्दिष्टं सकलैर्नतेन भुवनैः श्रीवर्धमानेन यत्

तत्त्वं वासवभूतिना निगदितं जम्बोः प्रशिष्यस्य च ।

(Gautama) then to Sudharman, the son of Dhāriṇī, then to Prabhava, then in succession to Kīrtidhara, the unrivalled orator (anuttara-vāgmin) and keeping his text in front of himself Raviṣeṇa composed his *Padmapurāṇa*.

In Canto IV we come across a remarkable etymology of the word Brāhmaṇa in the course of relating the account of the origin of the Brāhmaṇa caste :

यस्मान्मा हननं पुत्र कार्षीरिति निवारितः ।

ऋषभेण ततो या 'माहना' इति ते श्रुतिम् ॥

The word 'māhana' is not accepted, as already pointed out by Pt. Nathuram Premi,¹¹ in Sanskrit literature (of course, excluding the present Jain *Padmapurāṇa*) or lexicons. The word 'Māhana' (rather māhana) in the sense of 'Brāhmaṇa' is of frequent occurrence in Jain āgama literature of the Śvetāmbaras and its derivation from Prakrit expression 'māhana' ('Don't kill or strike or beat') is significant, and it is actually offered in *Paūmacariya* in identical context; viz., the origin of Brāhmaṇa as :

मा हणसु पुत्त एए, जं डसमज्जिणेण वारिओ भरहो ।

तेण इमे सयल च्चिय, बुच्चंति य माहणा लोए ॥

Thus this fact leads us to the inference, says Nathuram Premi, that the source of Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* is *Paūmacariya*.

Canto XI is highly interesting and contains logical and philosophical discussions and citations from the sacred texts of the Brāhmaṇas like the Upaniṣads and *Bhagavadgītā* and sets forth a vigorous refutation of the creation theory. The canto is far superior to the corresponding one of Vimalasūri and admirably attests to Raviṣeṇa's wide scholarship, high education in philosophy and great power of and masterly skill in argumentation.

In canto XXV Raviṣeṇa informs us that Aparājītā, Sumitrā, Kekayā and Suprabhā the four wives of Daśaratha, gave birth to Padma (=Rāma), Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna respectively.¹² This is a departure from *Paūmacariya*, which mentions that

शिष्येणोत्तरवाग्मिना प्रकटितं पद्मस्य वृत्तं मुनेः

श्रेयः साधुसमाधिबुद्धिकरणं सर्वोत्तमं मङ्गलम् ॥ —CXXIII. 167

It may be noted that the name of Kīrtidhara does not figure in the list of Ācāryas; and we know next to nothing about his written text of the Rāma-story.

11 Jain Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa (in Hindi, 1st edn. 1942, 2nd edn. 1956).

12 असूत तनयं कान्त्या विशालमपराजिता ।
पद्मनेत्रस्य पद्माख्या पितृभ्यां तस्य निर्मिता ॥
सुमित्रापि ततः पुत्रमसूत परमद्युतिम् ।
सुलक्ष्मा लक्ष्मणाख्यायां पितृभ्यामेव योजितः ॥
तनयं केकयासूत दिव्यरूपसमन्वितम् ।
यो जगाम महाभाग्यो भुवने भरतश्रुतिम् ॥

Daśaratha had three wives only and that Bharata and Śatrughna were born of Kaikeyī.

In Canto XXVIII *Padmapurāṇa* relates that two bows Vajrāvarta and Sāgarāvarta were bent and strung by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa respectively.¹³ This is a departure from *Pañmacariya* which speaks of only one Vajrāvarta bow, bent and strung by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa on the occasion of *Sītā-svayamvara*.

In this canto itself¹⁴ Raviṣeṇa gives the name of Bharata's wife as Lokasundarī, the daughter of King Kanaka. According to Vimala her name is Subhadrā.

Again in this very canto¹⁵ Raviṣeṇa tells us that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa assume of their own the form of dancing girls on the occasion of subduing King Ativīrya who posed a danger to Bharata's rule. According to Vimala it is a Jain goddess who turns them into beautiful women (Canto XXXVII.42-45).

In Canto CII Raviṣeṇa relates that Hanūmat on learning the account of the birth of Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa deserted Rāma and came over to the side of these twin brothers¹⁶ when the two hostile armies were about to engage themselves in battle. According to Vimala's account Hanūmat remains neutral (Canto XCIX).

In canto CIV Raviṣeṇa informs us that it is god Meṣaketana,¹⁷ who is deputed by Indra to help Sītā out of the fire-ordeal. Vimala's account gives the name of the god as Hariṇaigameṣin (Canto CI).

सुषुवे सुप्रभा पुत्रं सुन्दरं यस्य विष्टपे ।
ख्यातिः शत्रुघ्न-शब्देन सकलेऽद्यापि वर्तते ॥

13 Canto XXVIII. 223-241; v 247

14 The v. no. 263, at the first reading, produces the impression that Suprabhā is the name of Kanaka's daughter (Kānakī) who chooses Bharata as her husband. But Suprabhā is the name of Kanaka's wife (v. 258). It would mean, Raviṣeṇa nods here ! To get over the inconsistency we have to take 'suprahā' as an adjective of Subhadrā.

15 स्थापयित्वा कृती सीतां कृत्वात्मानं च वर्णिनीम् ।
स्त्रीवेषधारिभिः सार्वं सुरुपैर्लक्ष्मणादिभिः ॥
... नरेन्द्रभवनद्वारं प्रतस्थे लीलयान्वितः ॥

16 लवणाङ्कुशसंभूतिं श्रुतवानथ तत्त्वतः ।
वैदेहीसुतयोः पक्षं वायुपुत्रोऽप्यशिश्रियत् ॥ —VV 169-170

17 अवलोक्य ततः सीतावृत्तान्तं मेषकेतनः ।
शक्रं जगाद देवेन्द्र पश्येदमपि दुष्करम् ॥
आखण्डलस्ततोऽवोचद्. ।
...कर्तव्यं त्वमिहाश्रय ॥ —VV 123- 4

5. GENERAL REMARKS

(i) *The tradition stated* : Raviṣeṇa records the tradition of the origin of the story of Rāma thus : Lord Mahāvīra first delivered the contents of the *Padma-Purāṇa* to Indra-bhūti Gautama who handed them down to Sudharman who in his turn delivered them to Jambūsvāmin and Jambūsvāmin to Prabhava and thus through a series of disciples it was handed down to Kīrti and through him to Anuttaravāgmin.¹⁸ And on the basis of the last named one Raviṣeṇa based his *Padma-Purāṇa*.

(ii) *Scrutiny of the tradition* : Like his predecessor Vimala Sūri, Raviṣeṇa too traces the origin of the Rāma story to Mahāvīra. It is really very strange that in the tradition recorded he does not speak of the *Paūma-Cariya* of Vimala Sūri upon which his *Padma-Purāṇa* is based – not only that his *Padma-Purāṇa* very closely follows the narrative in the *Paūma-Cariya*, canto by canto of course with negligible variations. We have already shown how the *Padma-Purāṇa* is an enlarged edition of Vimala Sūri's Prakrit epic in Sanskrit. How is it then that Raviṣeṇa omits any reference to the *Paūma-Cariya* ? There is a logical possibility that the two poems are derived independently from a lost common source. But then logical possibilities, unfortunately, do not carry us very far in historical investigations. We hold firmly to the opinion formed after a close comparative study of the two poems separated from each other by about a few centuries that the *Padma-Purāṇa* is derived from the *Paūma-Cariya* of Vimala Sūri and very probably sectarian prejudice prevented Raviṣeṇa a Digambara author from acknowledging his indebtedness to a Śvetāmbara work. As we have already pointed out, Raviṣeṇa has reproduced the narrative of the *Paūma-Cariya* with some alterations to suit the Digambara tradition. He has studiously avoided the use of the word Śvetāmbara from the narrative of Vimala by substituting Digambara or Anambara in its place. The tradition that he has recorded does not give the true source of this epic. Of course, it may readily be admitted that Raviṣeṇa might have done this in good faith – or possibly Anuttaravāgmin, the last named one in the tradition upon whose work Raviṣeṇa has drawn, might have been responsible for not acknowledging his indebtedness to Vimala Sūri's epic.

In this connection it is no longer necessary to discuss the theory that the *Paūma-Cariya* is an abridged edition in Prakrit of Raviṣeṇa's *Padma-Purāṇa*. It has been thoroughly answered by Pt. Premi (*Jain Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, pp. 274-276). It is no more even a mere literary curiosity.

18 'Anuttaravāgmin' is rather a very unusual name. It is, however, possible to take the expression 'anuttaravāgminam' in the present context as an adjective of Kīrti (Kīrtidhara). A. N. Upadhye in fact, has construed this way. He has cited Svayambhū's line from *Paūmacariya* 'Kittihareṇa anuttaravāg' to show that Svayambhū too has taken the expression as an adjective of Kīrtidhara (vide Bharatiya Jnapitha edn, Vol. I, Introduction p.22 f.n.1).

(iii) *Raviṣeṇa's style and his rank as a poet* : Raviṣeṇa's work is an enlarged edition of *Paūmā-Cariya* in Sanskrit. Naturally his work cannot claim any originality regarding the unfolding of the story, characterization, conception of the whole epic etc. As far as it is a translation in Sanskrit we must judge his ability to render elegantly Prakrit into Sanskrit. This he has done tolerably well. Being a translation it lacks the perfect ease and spontaneity and grace of the original epic. Being a Digambara writer he has taken the freedom of removing from the original all traces of its being a Śvetāmbara work. The original epic consists of about 9000 verses whereas that of Raviṣeṇa is almost double in its extent. The growth in extent is due to the poetic descriptions of various situations, places episodes and expanding of ideas and inclusion of copious Jain teachings etc. These additions of ornate descriptions etc., often interfere with the progress of the story and fail to preserve the beauty and grace of the original. But it must be admitted that on the whole his style is simple and lucid. As may readily be imagined, many words are met with in Raviṣeṇa applied in peculiar senses belonging to Jain terminology like 'Samavasaraṇa', 'Samyaktva' 'mithyātva', 'deśanā', 'Caitya', 'Saṅgha', 'Nidāna', 'Kevala-jñāna', and so on. At places the language of Raviṣeṇa betrays Prakritisms. But as a rule his language is chaste, and pure.

We may point out here to two descriptions which the poet adds to the original in order to demonstrate how in his hand the epic has grown double in its extent : Vimala Sūri describes the love-sports of the couple Pavana and Anjanā in vv. 77-79 (Canto 16) whereas Raviṣeṇa devotes vv. 183-204 (Canto 16) – here Vimala, with admirable restraint, describes the love-sports in 3-4 verses while Raviṣeṇa describes them at length and this description borders on obscenity. Again Vimala tells us of Kaikeyī's proficiency in various arts in a few verses (Canto 24, vv. 4-8) whereas Raviṣeṇa employs a large number of verses (Canto 24, vv. 5-84).

In the portion of ornate descriptions of towns, rivers, mountains and varied situations and episodes which Raviṣeṇa has added we get a good idea of his poetic abilities. Here he exhibits distinct power of description and command of language. He shows his profound knowledge of the different arts and sciences and philosophy both Hindu and Jain. A student who is acquainted with Jain philosophy and is sufficiently familiar with the Sanskrit language can very well follow the easy and fluent style of Raviṣeṇa. In spite of his indebtedness to his predecessor he may justly be included in the class of second-rate poets, and he deserves our congratulations for introducing the Prakrit epic to the students of Sanskrit literature in his lucid and pleasant Sanskrit.

(iv) *His open partiality for the Digambara Creed* : It is but natural that the poet, who himself is a Digambara, should show his bias for the Digambara Creed. Unquestionably his source was the Śvetāmbara work. He does not care to acknowledge his debt of gratitude to that great Śvetāmbara poet-Vimala Sūri. He delibera-

tely wipes out all the traces betraying Śvetāmbara inclinations terms and introduces expressions and ideas eloquent of his own creed and thus marks upon his epic a Digambara stamp.

(v) *His contribution to the story of Rāma* : Raviṣeṇa closely follows Vimala Sūri and reproduces his Rāma story without effecting any remarkable changes. A few points, however, deserve mention in this connection.

- (i) Wiping out all the Śvetāmbara traces from the *Paūma-Cariya* he presents the Rāma epic with a Digambara colouring.
- (ii) Besides the three queens mentioned in the *Paūma-Cariya* he gives Daśaratha one more queen called Suprabhā and it is she who gives birth to Śatrughna.
- (iii) According to him the clay-image of Janaka also was mistaken for Janaka and cut off with a sword by the assassins employed by Vibhiṣaṇa.
- (iv) *Paūma-Cariya* speaks of only one Vajrāvarta bow that was bent first by Rāma and then by Lakṣmaṇa. According to Raviṣeṇa there were two bows Vajrāvarta and Sāgarāvarta bent by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa respectively on the occasion of Sītā's Svayaṁvara.
- (v) According to the *Paūma-Cariya* Bharata's wife was called Subhadra. Raviṣeṇa gives her the name of Loka-sundarī.
- (vi) On the occasion of subjugating Ativīrya who rose against Bharata, Rāma himself assumes the form of a dancing girl, while the *Paūma-Cariya* attributes the temporary transformation into women of Rāma and others to a deity.
- (vii) Hanūmat remains neutral on the occasion of the fight between Lavaṇa and Ankuśa on one side and Rāma's army on the other. This is Vimala's representation while Raviṣeṇa makes Hanūmat side with the twins.
- (ix) The god who rushes to Sītā's help on the occasion of Sītā's fire-ordeal is called by Raviṣeṇa as Meṣa-ketana.

CHAPTER-IV

THE RAMĀYAṆA VERSION OF SAṄGHADĀSA

(as found in his *VASUDEVAHINDĪ*)

Introductory Remarks : The *Vasudevahindī*¹ of Saṅghadāsa is a very extensive prose work, interspersed with verses. This work is less popularly styled as *Vasudevacarīya*.² It describes the peregrinations and adventures of Vasudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa. It is an early work³ (not later than A.D. 609) representing the Jain Counterpart of the Bṛhat-kathā of Guṇāḍhya.⁴ It is written in Prakrit, which, according to modern scholars, is a specimen of the archaic form of Jain Māhārāṣṭrī⁵—the language of the non-canonical books of the Śvetāmbara writers. It is indeed unfortunate that we have no information available regarding the life of the author of this great work. Beyond his personal name—Saṅghadāsa—and the titles ‘Gaṇi’ and ‘Vācaka’ we know nothing. The fact that he was a Śvetāmbara Jain is implicitly accepted by all.

His *Vasudevahindī* is “a memorable storehouse of a lot of heroic legends, popular stories, edifying narratives extended over many births, and sectarian and didactic tales”. Here we are concerned with his Rāmāyaṇa only. His version of the story of Rāma⁶ though short is very important as will be clear from the present study.

Saṅghadāsa's Version of the story of Rāma

Saṅghadāsa's version of the story of Rāma is as follows : In the race of king Bali were born Sahasragrīva, Pañcaśatagrīva, Śatagrīva, Pañcaśadgrīva, and Viṃśatigrīva. Viṃśatigrīva had four wives : Devavarṇinī, Vakrā, Kaikeyī and Puṣpakūṭā. Devavarṇinī had four sons : Soma, Yama, Varuṇa and Vaiśramaṇa. Kaikeyī had three sons—Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarna and Vibhīṣaṇa and two daughters : Trijaṭā and Śūrpaṇakhā. Of Vakrā were born (four sons) Mahodara, Mahāratha, Mahāpāśa and Khara and (a daughter) Āśalikā. Of Puṣpakūṭā were born Trisāra, Dviśāra, Vidyujjihva and (a daughter) Kumbhināsā.

As a result of conflict with Soma, Yama and others, Rāvaṇa went out and settled in Laṅkādvīpa. There he mastered the Prajñāpti lore whereby the Vidyādhara kings began to serve him.

1 Ātmānanda Jain Granthamālā volumes No. 80 and 81—published by Jain Ātmānanda Sabhā, Bhavnagar.

2,3 See Introduction to the Gujarati translation by Prof. Sandesara.

4 The reader is referred to the masterly essay : ‘Eine neue version der Verlorenen Bṛhatkathā der Guṇāḍhya’—by Dr. Alsdorf; its abstract in Gujarati is given in Prof. Sandesara's edition.

5 See Dr. Alsdorf's article in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies Vol. VIII.

6 The story occurs in the 14th Section called *Mayana-ṛga* ambho : pp. 240-245 of *Vasudevahindī*—Prathama-Khaṇḍam.

Once Maya, a Vidyādhara, took with him his daughter called Mandodarī and approached Rāvaṇa (with a view to offering Mandodarī to him in marriage). She had been shown to persons, able to interpret or explain marks as on the body, who had declared that the first child of Mandodarī would prove the cause of the annihilation of her family. As Mandodarī was very beautiful, Rāvaṇa did not refuse the offer of marriage with her. He married her with the thought that he would desert her first born child and thus save his race.

Now in Ayodhyā there was a king called Daśaratha. He had three wives: Kauśalyā, Kaikeyī and Sumitrā. Rāma was born of Kauśalyā, Lakṣmaṇa of Sumitrā and Bharata and Śatrughna were born of Kaikeyī. They, with godlike forms, grew up in their father's house.

Mandodarī, the principal queen of Rāvaṇa gave birth to a daughter. She was put in a box full of jewels. Mandodarī then asked a minister to take the box and desert the baby. He took that box to the park of Janaka, King of Mithilā. As the ground of the park was being ploughed, he, covering the box with a magical veil,⁷ kept it in front of the plough. It was reported to the king that the girl had sprung from a furrow. The girl was handed over to queen Dhārīnī. In course of time she grew up into a lovely maiden and her 'Svayamvara' was arranged by her father-Janaka. From amongst the many princes that had assembled for the Svayamvara, Śitā chose Rāma as her husband. Other princes (of Ayodhyā) too were given maidens in marriage and with all of them Daśaratha returned to Ayodhyā.

Now, once Daśaratha, who was pleased with Kaikeyī for her skill in attending to her relations, had offered a boon to her. She, however, had reserved the right of asking for its fulfilment on a future occasion. Once again, in a fight with a frontier king, King Dasaratha was taken prisoner. Kaikeyī was informed of this and requested to withdraw from the battle-ground. She replied that if the enemy so desired, he could overtake them all while retreating and therefore she would herself resume the fight. So long as she was not defeated, it could not be said that they were routed. Then getting ready she mounted a chariot; with an umbrella held over her she began to fight. Giving the order to kill anyone who retreated, she started attacking her enemy. Then the warriors on her side began to fight heroically. Defeating the enemy she got Daśaratha released. He paid her handsome tributes saying that her exploit was like that of an excellent man, and asked her to choose a boon. She kept in reserve this second boon also.

After many a year, Daśaratha, who had grown old, issued an order for Rāma's coronation. Crooked Mantharā reported the news to Kaikeyī who rejoicing at it gave her a gift of love. Mantharā, however, instigated Kaikeyī to demand by way of fulfilment of her two boons, Bharata's coronation and Rāma's exile, lest she (Kaikeyī) would have to wait upon Kauśalyā and Rāma and live at Rāma's mercy. Kaikeyī then pressed Daśaratha

7. Tīraska (skā)riṇī-Vidyā: A kind of magical veil (or spell) rendering the wearer invisible.

to grant her two gifts. Although unwilling in the beginning, he was compelled to send for Rāma and ask him to act in such a manner as would enable him (Daśaratha) remain true to his word. Rāma accepted Daśaratha's order. Then, Rāma, accompanied by Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, set out for leading the life of an exile, causing deep pain to the people; Daśaratha, unable to bear the sorrow caused by Rāma's separation, died lamenting piteously for the loss of Rāma.

Bharata returned to Ayodhyā from the country of his maternal uncle. On hearing the whole account he rebuked his mother. With his relatives he approached Rāma, reported the death of their father to him. Rāma then performed the funeral rites. Kaikeyī, overcome with repentance, asked Rāma to return to Ayodhyā and rule over it. Rāma politely but firmly declined the offer; and he asked Bharata to carry on the administration and not to reprove his mother-Kaikeyī. Bharata requested Rāma to favour him with his (Rāma's) 'Pādukās' - sandals. Rāma agreed and then Bharata went to Ayodhyā.

Now Rāma with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa proceeded towards the South and in due course arrived at Vījanasthāna.⁸ There, Śūrpaṇakhā, Rāvaṇa's sister, being enchanted by Rāma's handsome form, requested Rāma to enjoy pleasures of sense in her company. Rāma replied that he was in penance-grove and would not enjoy the company of another's wife. Sītā scolded her for her shamelessness. She then got wild and threatened Sītā that she would kill her. With the thought that 'a woman is not to be killed' Rāma let her go, with her ears and nose cut. She then went to Kharadūṣaṇa⁹ and bitterly complained against Rāma for his wicked act. They promised their mother that they would soon take revenge and went to Rāma. But Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, who were equal to Yama and Varuṇa in strength, overpowered and killed Khara and Dūṣaṇa. Śūrpaṇakhā then approached (her brother) Rāvaṇa and informed him of her maimed nose and the death of her sons and then described to him the wondrous beauty of Sītā whom she thought to be fit for Rāvaṇa's harem.

Rāvaṇa, enamoured of Sītā, asked Mārīca, his minister, to go near Rāma's Āśrama and entice the two ascetic heroes away by assuming the form of a golden deer so that he could accomplish his purpose. Mārīca did accordingly. Rāvaṇa, disguised as an ascetic, abducted Sītā, who had been left alone. The two brothers then went back to their Āśrama, but could not trace Sītā. Rāvaṇa was intercepted by Jaṭāyus, a Vidyādhara. Rāvaṇa, however, defeated him and went to Laṅkā via., Kīṣkindhigiri. Rāma lamented the loss of Sītā. Lakṣmaṇa said to him: "It does not become you to weep for a woman. If you

8. Note that the place is called here Vījanasthāna, and not Janasthāna as in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki.

9. There is confusion regarding 'Kharadūṣaṇa'. Whether it is one person or two- 'Khara' and 'Dūṣaṇa' - is not quite clear. Once we have it as referring to 'puttam,' i.e. singular, but at other places to 'ruṭhā,' 'gayā,' 'ṇehim', 'Jujjhamitā' where clearly Khara and Dūṣaṇa - two individuals - are spoken of.

desire to die, why don't you (at least) try to overpower your enemy?" On the way Jaṭāyus reported to them the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa and added that "There is either victory or death for one who fights, but death only for one who is depressed at heart."

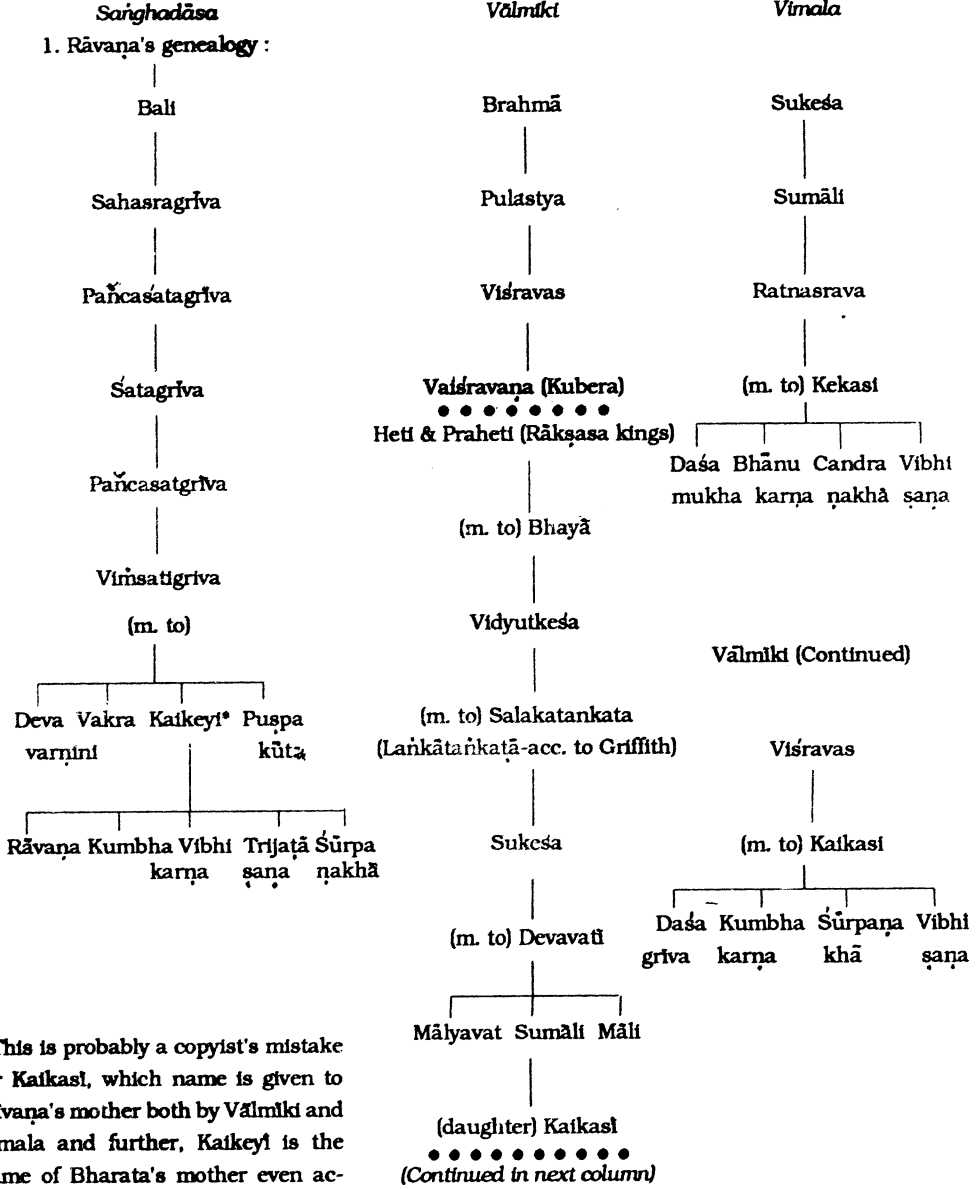
Then Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in due course arrived at Kiṣkindhi-mountain. There lived two Vidyādhara brothers called Vālin and Sugrīva. On account of a woman they had fought; Vālin defeated Sugrīva, who thereupon with Hanūmat and Jāmbavat- his ministers- stayed in a Jain temple. Seeing Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with bows in their hands, Sugrīva was frightened and was about to run. Hanūmat cheered him up, met the two brothers. Hanūmat and Lakṣmaṇa in their talk came to know about each other. Then Rāma and Sugrīva entered into a pact of mutual help with 'Fire' as witness. Sugrīva assigned to Rāma the work of slaying Vālin after having tested his (Rāma's) strength. The two brothers were exactly alike in form and in their combat Rāma could not make out who was Vālin and therefore did not shoot his arrow. Sugrīva was naturally defeated. Next time Sugrīva was made to wear a garland of wood-flowers in order to distinguish him from Vālin. Rāma killed Vālin with a single arrow and placed Sugrīva on the throne. Hanūmat then proceeded to get Sītā's tidings. He returned and reported to him the good news of Sītā's whereabouts. Then at Rāma's command Sugrīva sent Vidyādharas to Bharata. He despatched the fourfold army. It duly reached the seashore. A bridge was built over the ocean. The army crossed the bridge and encamped on Suvēla near Laṅkā. Rāvaṇa with his (strong) army did not care for Rāma.

Now, Vibhiṣaṇa counselled Rāvaṇa to return Sītā to Rāma and save their own race but the latter did not accept his advice. Vibhiṣaṇa then, with his four counsellors, went over to Rāma. with Sugrīva's consent Rāma honoured Vibhiṣaṇa as his follower. Then there ensued a war between the two sides of Rāma, aided by Vibhiṣaṇa, and Rāvaṇa. Everyday Rāma's side grew more powerful. With his principal warriors killed, Rāvaṇa began to practise the all-powerful lore called Jvālavatī. Knowing this, Rāma's soldiers entered the city and began to attack; getting wild Rāvaṇa came forth to fight a grim battle. Later on he engaged Lakṣmaṇa in a single combat. As a last resort he hurled his disc at Lakṣmaṇa. But that disc did not hurt him at all. Now Lakṣmaṇa took up that disc and hurled it at Rāvaṇa. It cut off Rāvaṇa's head, and went back to Lakṣmaṇa. The deities showered flowers and declared Lakṣmaṇa to be the 8th Vāsudeva.

Then Vibhiṣaṇa brought Sītā and returned her to Rāma. With Rāma's approval he performed Rāvaṇa's obsequies, and took Rāma, Sītā and others in vimānas to Ayodhyā. Bharata and Śatrughna honoured Rāma and with the consent of counsellors and citizens appointed him to the throne. Later on Rāma, assisted by Sugrīva and Vibhiṣaṇa, conquered half of Bharata.

Chronologically speaking Saṅghadāsa's (Jain) version ranks second. It is, therefore, but proper to examine its relation to the Hindu version and the first Jain version of Vimala. The following comparison will help us to determine this relation :

*A comparison of Saṅghadāsa's Rāmayaṇa with Vālmīki's Rāmayaṇa and
Vimāla's Paūmacariya*



* This is probably a copyist's mistake for Kaikaśī, which name is given to Rāvaṇa's mother both by Vālmīki and Vimāla and further, Kaikeyī is the name of Bharata's mother even according to Saṅghadāsa.

Saṅghadāsa

Vālmīki

Vimāla

2. *Mandodari's Marriage*

Prediction by Lakṣaṇajñas that Mandodari's first child would bring destruction on her family - Rāvaṇa, enchanted by her charms, marries her with the thought that he would desert the first child born of her.

No such prediction- VII c. 12 tells us how Maya offers his daughter to Rāvaṇa in marriage and the latter accepts her.

No such prediction. Maya holding consultations with his counsellors offers Mandodari in marriage to Rāvaṇa.

3. *The birth of Sītā*

Sītā, born of Mandodari and Rāvaṇa, was, on account of the prediction, deserted; the foundling was brought up by Janaka and Dhāriṇī.

Sītā was no common mortal; she had come forth out of the earth- from a furrow made by Janaka while ploughing the field; and hence also her epithet 'Ayonijā'.

Sītā, daughter of Janaka and his wife Videhā, born in a perfectly natural manner.

4. *Sītā's Svayamvara*

We are simply told that Sītā chooses Rāma from amongst many princes as her husband.

Sītā to be given in marriage only to the man who could bend a wonderful bow which Janaka possessed. Rāma bent the bow so that with a thundering crash, it broke in two. Janaka gave him Sītā in marriage.

The account of the bending of the bow is given but differently (See canto 28).

5. *The parentage of Śatrughna*

(Bharata and) Śatrughna born (Lakṣmaṇa and) Śatrughna

(Bharata and

<i>Śaṅghadāsa</i>	<i>Vālmīki</i>	<i>Vimala</i>
of Kaikeyī (and Daśaratha).	born of Sumitrā (and Daśaratha).	Śatrughna- born of Kaikeyī (and Daśaratha).

6. *Daśaratha's promising two gifts to Kaikeyī*

Once, pleased with her skill in attending to her relations, he offers her one boon and another time, being pleased with her marvellous exploits in a fight with a frontier-king, he promises her another boon.

Book II canto 9 tells us that when gods and demons fought of old, Daśaratha, with Kaikeyī, sped to the war to aid Indra. He heroically fought long but at length fell wounded by the demon's darts. He fell unconscious, and removed by Kaikeyī from the battlefield and wounded nigh to death, he was by her care restored to health. Well pleased, the great monarch promised to grant her two boons.

Daśaratha wins Kaikeyī in the Svayamvara. The disappointed kings fight against Daśaratha. In the fight Kaikeyī conducts the chariot of her husband, who, pleased with her, promises her a boon

7. *Mantharā's role in the Court-Intrigue*

Mantharā instigates Kaikeyī, as in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, to send Rāma into exile and get the throne for Bharata by way of fulfilment of the two boons. Śaṅghadāsa, however, does not speak of any particular period of years for Rāma's exile, which according to Vālmīki is of 14 years.

Mantharā finds no mention in Vimala's account. Kaikeyī seeks throne for Bharata in order to hold him back from entering 'pravrajyā'. 'There is no court-intrigue. Rāma voluntarily chooses to lead a forest-life.

Saṅghadāsa

Vālmīki

Vimāla

8. *Daśaratha's death*

On account of profound grief for the loss of Rāma, Daśaratha expires.

Daśaratha becomes a Jain monk after Rāma's departure to the forest.

9. *The Sandals of Rāma*

Bharata, unable to persuade Rāma to go back to and rule over Ayodhyā, secures from him his 'Pādukās' - sandals, installs them on the throne as symbols of Rāma's authority, and rules in Rāma's name.

Bharata, on failing in persuading Rāma to rule over Ayodhyā, takes a vow to become a monk on Rāma's return and in the interval to rule Ayodhyā as a pious Jain householder.

10. *The forest where the exiles stay*

It is called here Vijana-sthāna.

It is named Janasthāna (a part of Daṇḍakāraṇya).

It is styled as daṇḍakāraṇya simply.

11. *The episode of Rāvaṇa's sister*

It is substantially the same in the two stories of Saṅghadāsa and Vālmīki.

It is told differently: She is named chandraṇakhā--How her son is accidentally killed by Lakṣmaṇa, her wrath, search of the enemy, love at first sight on seeing Rāma, her amorous advances ignored by Rāma, her departure and complaint to her husband-Khara-dūṣaṇa, etc. (For de

Saṅghadāsa

Vālmīki

Vimāla

tails see Cantos 43,44).

12. *The name Kharadūṣaṇa*

Kharadūṣaṇa is once spoken of as one individual and at other places, Khara and Dūṣaṇa-two individuals-are meant. They are called the sons of Śūrpaṇakhā.

Khara-name of a demon, half-brother of Rāvaṇa and slain by Rāma; Dūṣaṇa: name of a demon, one of the generals of Rāvaṇa, slain by Rāma.

Kharadūṣaṇa is one individual; he is spoken of as the husband of Candrapākhā.

13. *The golden deer incident.*

It is substantially the same in the versions of Saṅghadāsa and Vālmīki.

Here it is dropped.

14. *Vālīn episode*

This episode of Vālīn, as depicted by Saṅghadāsa, is in agreement with that of Vālmīki.

It is told quite differently. Vālīn is portrayed as a noble Vidyādhara who entrusts the kingdom to Sugrīva's care and himself becomes a monk and ultimately attains 'Nirvāṇa' (For details see canto 9).

15. *Bharata sends army to aid Rāma against Rāvaṇa*

This is according to Saṅghadāsa's version.

No such reference.

Bharata helps in securing Viśalyā for the wounded Lakṣmaṇa (for details see cantos 63-64).

Saṅghadāsa

Vālmiki

Vimala

16. *The construction of bridge over the sea*

This is described by both Vālmiki and Saṅghadāsa.

This is omitted by Vimala.

17. *Vibhīṣaṇa's alliance with Rāma*

This is common to all the three versions of Saṅghadāsa, Vālmiki and Vimala.

18. *The Vidyā which Rāvaṇa practises to become invincible in war:*

It is called, here, 'Jvālavatī'.

Vālmiki speaks of a 'Homa'.

It is called, here, Bahrūpā.

19. *Rāvaṇa's death*

Lakṣmaṇa kills him with a 'Cakra'.

Rāma kills him.

Lakṣmaṇa kills him with a 'Cakra'.

20. *Rāma's coronation at Ayodhyā after his triumphant return from Laṅkā*

With this the story of Saṅghadāsa comes to an end.

After this coronation we have the whole later history of Rāma.

After the coronation, we have here the later history of Rāma-though told differently from Vālmiki.

The result of the comparison of these three versions: This close comparison of the three versions clearly reveals that Saṅghadāsa is, for his version, heavily indebted to the Hindu version represented by the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki/the Rāmopākhyāna of Vyāsa. Regarding many principal features of the story (viz., 7,8,9,11,13,14,16,17 and 20), he is in complete agreement with Vālmiki. He ends the story with Rāma's coronation- after the Rāmopākhyāna of Vyāsa. And it may be noted, in passing, that he does not mention the specific period of years for Rāma's exile- in accordance with Vyāsa's version (Compare Vanaparvan, Adhyāya 277 v.26). A few features of the Hindu version he gives in a modified form. For example, he narrates the circumstances that make Daśaratha grant two boons to Kaikeyī in a different way. This may be due to his endeavour to remove the supernatural element from the story. The inference is supported by the fact that throughout the story, Rāma etc. are, unlike in Vālmiki, portrayed as human heroes.

Here possibly he was under the influence of Vimala, who empties the Rāmāyaṇa of its supernatural elements. He has again drawn on the Śvetāmbara version represented by Vimala's Paūma-cariya while describing Śatrughna as the son of Kaikeyī, and Rāvaṇa's death at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa.

His own contribution : Saṅghadāsa's contribution to the development of the story of Rāma lies in his description of Mandodari's marriage with Rāvaṇa and of the birth of Sitā as Rāvaṇa's daughter. It appears that Saṅghadāsa introduced this innovation in order to explain the mystery of Sitā's birth as we find it in the Hindu version. It may be noted here, in passing, that the genealogy of Rāvaṇa, given by Saṅghadāsa only partially agrees with their counter-parts in the Hindu version or the Paūmacariya. Probably he invented the names of Rāvaṇa's ancestors such as Sahasragrīva, Pañcaśatagrīva, Satagrīva, etc. with a view to making the name Daśagrīva not sound strange or fantastic.

Saṅghadāsa's influence is seen in the work of Guṇabhadra, who borrows, with slight modification, this account of the birth of Sitā and some names of Rāvaṇa's ancestors such as Sahasragrīva etc.

Critical appreciation : Saṅghadāsa presents an abridged version of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa (excluding the later history of Rāma)/Vyāsa's Rāmopākhyāna, adding one or two original features and certain Jain traits with a view to transforming it into a Jain story. He attempts the difficult task of reducing the very complex and variegated epic-tale into a simple well-knit story. He fairly well does the feat of reducing the diversified and complex epic-tale into a simple coherent story in two ways. He emphasizes the main story and omits all the Brahmanical myths and legends that have hardly any connection with the main story. He excludes all descriptions of towns, oceans, seasons, mountains and rivers, the rising and setting of the sun and the moon, in short, all scenes of nature and of the charms of maidens. He boldly omits all passages of poetry and worldly wisdom and general morality. And it must be said to Saṅghadāsa's credit that he rightly does so, as they interfere with the progress of the story, which is after all the main thing for the reading public. By this serious literary 'operation' he gives the narrative the regular form of a connected story; and he adds to his style such qualities as brevity, directness, lucidity and raciness. Lovers of ornate poetry would, however, dub this abridged version as a rather dull story from which all the poetry of the original epic has disappeared. And Vālmiki's admirers would, with some justification, allege that the Jain traits introduced by the author disfigure the beautiful story of the original epic. Lastly, it may be noted that Saṅghadāsa unlike many Jain writers, refrains from adding sermons to elucidate Jain doctrines.

CHAPTER-V

THE RĀMĀYAṆA VERSION OF GUṆABHADRA

(as found in his MAHĀPURĀṆA)

UTTARA-PURĀṆA OF GUṆABHADRA

1. PERSONAL ACCOUNT AND DATE OF JINASENA AND GUṆABHADRA

The **Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇa-Mahā-Purāṇa-Saṅgraha**, also named briefly **Mahā-Purāṇa**, is a work of dual authorship. It consists of the **Ādi-Purāṇa** in 47 Parvans, of which 42 are written by Jināsena and the last five by his pupil Guṇabhadra, and the **Uttara-Purāṇa**, which is exclusively the work of Guṇabhadra. The **Ādi-Purāṇa** or the "First Purāṇa" gives the life-story of Ṛṣabha, the first Tirthaṅkara, and of the first Cakra-vartin; while the **Uttara-Purāṇa** or the "Later Purāṇa" narrates the lives of all the remaining **Śālākā-Puruṣas**- great men of antiquity. This work is a **Mahāpurāṇa** and at the same time a **Mahā-kāvya**, or rather an encyclopaedia treating of mythology, ethics, science of politics, Dharma, history of the world from the Jain point of view, and so on.

About the age of these poets we have fairly accurate information. Virāsena, Jināsena and Guṇabhadra are very well known Digambara writers. These three authors' age and works are discussed at length by Pt. Premi in one of his critical essays¹ and his findings about the age of Jināsena and Guṇabhadra seem to be acceptable.

Jināsena II mentions, in the Maṅgala of his **Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa**, Virāsena and Jināsena with praise. This **Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa** was completed in 783 A.D. Our Jināsena was probably born in 753 A.D. He completed his commentary **Jayadhavalā** in 837 A.D. i.e., at the (probable) age of 84; he might have begun writing his **Mahā-Purāṇa** at this age and must have taken at least 5 to 6 years to compose 10000 verses when, leaving his work unfinished, he might have died, say at the age of 90, in 843 A.D.

Guṇabhadra was probably 25 years of age when his teacher expired. The **Praśasti** to **Uttara-Purāṇa** mentions that the work was consecrated on the 23rd June, 897 A.D. during the reign of the Rāṣṭra-Kūṭa King Kṛṣṇa II Akālavarṣa by Guṇabhadra's pupil Lokāsena. Guṇabhadra does not indicate the date when he completed his work. It is possible that he began writing soon after his teacher's death and took about 5 to 7 years to complete it. And it is likely that the ceremony of consecrating the **Mahā-Purāṇa** occurred after the death of Guṇabhadra.

1. Jain Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa (Hindi), pp. 497-523.

As to the personal history of these two writers we know very little. In the Praśasti to **Jayadhavalā** Jinasena introduces himself thus:

He was a pupil of Vīrasena; although his ears were not bored, they were bored with Jñāna-śalākā. he observed celibacy from his childhood, he was not very good looking, nor very wise yet Sarasvatī attended on him. He propitiated his teachers with his inborn qualities such as intelligence, gentleness and modesty.

He was thin physically but not spiritually he was proficient in the Ātma-vidyā; he spent all his time in the pursuit of true knowledge. And hence he was called 'Jñānamaya-Piṇḍa' - "a mass of consciousness - knowledge, pure and simple".²

(a) **JINASENA'S WORKS:**

He completed the **Jaya-dhavalā** work, left unfinished by his teacher Vīrasena. The first 20000 stanzas are from the pen of Vīrasena while the last 40000 are exclusively of Jinasena's composition.

Another work of his is the Pārśvābhyudaya - a lyric poem containing 364 verses in Mandā-krāntā. This minor poem is of great poetic value.

The third work, which he left unfinished, is his Mahā-Purāṇa (first 42 parvans only are from his pen). It was completed by his pupil Guṇabhadra. This Ādi-Purāṇa ranks very high as a Mahā-Kāvya. Guṇabhadra pays a very high tribute to this work in the Praśasti at the end of his Uttara-Purāṇa.³

Hearsay has it that when Jinasena knew that his end was drawing near and he could not finish his Mahā-Purāṇa, he sent for his two best pupils and asked them to describe a dried up tree standing before them. One said: 'Śuṣkaṁ Kāṣṭhaṁ tiṣṭhatyagre' and the other: 'Nīrasataruriha vilasati Puratah'. Jinasena found the second pupil a worthy one who could successfully finish the rest of the work. This pupil was none else than Guṇabhadra.

(b) **GUṆABHADRA'S WORKS :**

Besides his Uttara-Purāṇa there are two works to Guṇabhadra's credit: Ātmānuśāsana and Jinadatta-Caritra. Ātmānuśāsana is in the style of Bhartṛhari's Vairāgya-Śataka and contains 272 verses. It is composed in very easy and fluent style. Jinadatta-carita is a Khaṇḍa-Kāvya in nine Cantos. It is composed in Anuṣṭup metre. Its story is very fascinating, and its diction and style graceful.

2. Praśasti to Jayadhavalā : vv. 27-34.

3. vv. 17 and 18 and

Sudurlabhaṁ yadanyatra cīrādapi subhāṣitaṁ ∞

Sulabhaṁ svāśrasaṅgrāhyaṁ tadīhāsti pade pade ∞∞∞

That our Guṇabhadra was a celebrity of his age is clear from a reference to him in Darśana-Sāra⁴. And he held his Guru in uttermost devotion. This is patent from the way he takes up the unfinished work of his teacher⁵. "If my words are sweet it is owing to the greatness of my Gurus. these words spring from my heart where my Gurus reside. They would polish my language, I have not to take any trouble". In such words he demonstrates his utmost devotion to his Gurus.

With this preliminary information we come to our immediate objective, viz., a study of the Rāma story as given by Guṇabhadra in the 67th and 68th Parvans.

2. SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS OF GUṆABHADRA'S RĀMĀYAṆA:

Severed of poetic descriptions and digressions we have the following story of Rāma as related by Guṇabhadra:-

During the period of Muni-Suvrata⁶ the 8th Rāma and Keśava, by name Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, are born:

In Malaya-deśa there was a town ratnapura. King Prajāpati ruled over it. He had a wife Guṇa-Kāntā. Candracūla was born of them. He was an intimate friend of Vijaya the son of a minister to the king. Both of them were wicked. In that city there was one Kubera. He had a daughter called Kuberadattā. She was betrothed to Śrīdatta, son of merchant Vaiśravaṇa and Gautama. A servant told the prince of Kuberadattā's wondrous beauty. He and Vijaya decided to abduct her. The merchant community lodged a complaint with the king. The king ordered the Pura-rakṣaka to kill his wicked son. After

4. Tassa ya sisso guṇavam Guṇabhaddo divvapāṇaparipunṇo ∞

Pakkhavarāsumañḍī mahatavo bhāvalīngo va ∞∞

5. Read vv. 14-17, 18 and 19.

6. Parvan 67 opens with the story of Hariṣeṇa, the 10th Cakravartin who flourished in the period of Muni Suvrata, the 20th Tīrthaṅkara. He was born of Padmanābha (of Ikṣvāku dynasty, who ruled over Bhogapura) and his wife Aīra. His span of life was 1000 years; he was twenty dhanus in height. His father put him on the throne and accepted samyama; he became a Śrāvaka at the feet of muni Anantavīrya; when his father obtained Kevala-jñāna, there appeared in his armoury **four 'ratnas'** : (i) Cakra, (ii) Chatra, (iii) aśi and (iv) daṇḍa and in his **Śrigha three ratnas** : (1) Kākinī, (2) Carma and (3) Maṇi, and in **his town four ratnas** : (1) Purohita, (2) Gṛhapati, (3) Sthapati and (4) Camūpati and Vidyādhara bring for him **three ratnas from the Vijayārdha-mountain** : (1) Hasti, (2) Aśva and (3) Kanyā. And Ganavaddha gods bring for him the usual nine treasures. With the gods he sets out on world-conquest and achieving his ambition returns home. In the month of Kārtika he performs, during the eight Nandīśvara days, Mahāpūjā and Upavāsa on the last day. Seeing the Moon eclipsed by Rāhu he is full of disgust towards Saṃsāra, accepts Samyama at the hands of Śrīnāga and ultimately obtains Sarvārtha-siddhi.

a grim fight he took the prince captive and produced him before the king who ordered that the prince be hanged. The minister and the citizens pleaded before the king to reduce the capital punishment. The king was, however, very firm. The minister undertook to execute the king's order. He took the prince and Vijaya to a forest, met a Jain monk, Mahābala by name who predicted that the two youths were destined to be Nārāyaṇa and Balabhadra in their third birth. The minister made the youths accept samyama at the hands of Mahābala. They practised severe penance and once near Khadḡapura Candracūla saw Suprabha Baladeva and Puruṣottama Vāsudeva entering with great pomp the city. Candracūla entertained a Nidāna (that he should have a similar fortune in one of his next births). Both the young monks after their death were born as gods Maṇicūla (soul of Candracūla) and Svarṇacūla (soul of Vijaya) in Kanaka-Prabhā-vimāna. Their life period extended to seven sāgaro-pamas.

Now Daśaratha was the ruler of Vārāṇasī. He had a wife called Subalā. The soul of Vijaya (god Svarṇa-cūla) was born of her. He was the prospective Halabhr̥t (= Balabhadra, Baladeva or Haladhara). The day of his birth was Phālguna-Kṛṣṇa-trayodaśī, Maghā Nakṣatra, He was named Rāma. His span of life extended to 13000 years. And the soul of Candra-cūla (god Mani-cula) was born of Kaikeyī, another wife of king Daśaratha, on Māgha-sukla-pratipad, Viśākhā-nakṣatra. His birth was announced by five lucky dreams⁷ that came to Kaikeyī. His body was marked with a Cakra. He was named Lakṣmaṇa. these two half-brothers were 15 dhanus in height, possessed of 32 lakṣaṇas and were very powerful. Rāma was very fair in complexion like a swan and Lakṣmaṇa dark-blue like a blue-lotus.

Now in Ayodhyā there was born king Sagara (of Ikṣvāku dynasty) 1000 years after Hariṣeṇa. In the Svayamvara of Sulasā, daughter of king Suyodhana he insulted prince Madhu-pingala, who becomes an ascetic. After his death he was born as Mahākāla, a Vyantara god. In order to annihilate the race of Sagara who had insulted him he, disguised as a Brahmin made him perform animal-sacrifices. As a result of these animal sacrifices he went to hell and his whole race was blotted out of existence. Daśaratha who was of Ikṣvāku dynasty then with his two sons shifted to Ayodhyā and ruled over it. There were born to him from two queens⁸ Bharata and Śatrughna respectively.

Now in Mithilā there was a king by name Janaka. He had a wife called Vasudhā, and a daughter named Sitā. Once Janaka asked his Senāpati by name Kuśalamati about the performance of a sacrifice that would take him to Svarga as Sagara and others obtained, it is said, Svarga by such a performance of sacrifice. He replied that a sacrifice of that kind would be interrupted by Vidyādhara and Rāvaṇa, and added that if Sitā were given in marriage to Rāma and his protection sought, they could perform the desired

7. These dreams are : 1) a lake, 2) the sun, 3) the moon, 4) a paddy-field and 5) a lion.

8. Their names are not mentioned in the text.

sacrifice without any interruption whatsoever. Janaka appreciating his opinion sent a messenger to Daśaratha promising the hand of Sītā in marriage to Rāma and requesting in return the help of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in protecting the sacrifice.

Daśaratha on receiving the message consulted his ministers. Āgamasāra was in favour of accepting the proposals. Atisāyamati was, however, deadly against the performance of animal-sacrifices and he spoke vehemently condemning the institution of sacrifices enjoined by the Vedas and suggested that king Daśaratha should not countenance such a dangerous proposal involving the protection of sacrifice⁹. Mahābala, his Senāpati, however held the view that they were not interested in the religious merit or otherwise occurring from the performance of a sacrifice, but they were certainly in favour of demonstrating the power of the young princes to the people. Daśaratha thereupon asked the opinion of his Purohita who told him that the sacrifice would help the princes win glory as they were destined to be Balabhadra and Nārāyaṇa.

Now there was in the city of Nākapura a king called Naradeva. He renounced the world and accepted asceticism at the hands of Ananta, a Gaṇadhara, practised austerities. On seeing a Vidyādhara king called Capalavega he, however, entertained a Nidāna (that he should enjoy a similar fortune in one of his next births). After his death he was born as a god in the Saudharma heaven.

Now there was a king Sahasra-grīva, born in the Vidyādhara dynasty of Nami, who ruled over Meghapura situated on the southern ranges of Vijayārdha Mountain. Being driven away by his powerful nephew he went to Laṅkā and ruled over it for 30,000 years. His son Śata-grīva ruled over it for 25000 years, his son Pañcāśat-grīva for 20,000 years and his son Pulastya for 15,000 years. He had a wife called Meghaśrī; the soul of Naradeva was born of her as Daśānana. He was destined to live for 14,000 years. Once he went out, in the company of his wife Mandodarī and others, for 'vana-kṛīḍā'. There in that forest he saw Maṇimati. She was the daughter of Amitavega, the Vidyādhara lord of Acālaka town on the Vijayārdha mountain. She practising austerities had obtained a Vidyā. At the very first sight Daśānana was enamoured of her; he deprived her of her Vidyā. She in rage entertained a nidāna as follows: "I will be born as his daughter and bring about his death". After her death she entered the womb of Mandodarī; at the time of her birth there occurred many evil omens such as earth-quake. The sooth-sayers predicted that she would bring about the downfall of Rāvaṇa, who getting panicky, ordered Mārīca to desert his new born babe somewhere. Mārīca went to Mandodarī and informed her of Rāvaṇa's order. Mandodarī consented to what he said; she took a box and put her daughter in it along with wealth and a letter. She handed over that box to Mārīca and asked him to put it at some safe spot. As she was after all her mother, she was overpowered with emotion on this occasion. Mārīca went to a jungle near Mithilā,

9. Guṇabhadra describes here (Parvan 67, v. 212 ff.) through Atisāyamati how the sacrifice of animals originated at the time of King Sagara.

While people were testing the ground for constructing houses they found that box raised up by a plough-share. The king was informed of this 'discovery'. He read the letter inside, came to know the history of the foundling, named the deserted child Sītā and entrusted her to the loving care of his wife called Vasudhā. The queen secretly brought her up and naturally Rāvaṇa did not know that his deserted daughter was alive. When Sītā was grown up into a maiden of wondrous charms, Janaka undertook the performance of a sacrifice. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with their army arrived there to attend and protect the sacrifice; Janaka welcomed them.

After the successful performance of the sacrifice Janaka offered Sītā in marriage to Rāma. After a few days' stay there Rāma, whom Droṇratha's minister came to take home, went to Ayodhyā. Just then the spring set in.

Now Daśaratha got Rāma married to seven princesses and Lakṣmaṇa to sixteen including Prthvī-devī.

Once the two brothers-Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa sought Daśaratha's permission to go and stay at Vārāṇasī, which belonged to them but remained neglected. Daśaratha out of affection for them was not willing to let them go to Vārāṇasī. They then told him how Lakṣmī (Fortune) deserts one who is devoid of Utsāha (efforts or energy to exert oneself), and in a long speech, eloquent of their mastery of Arthaśāstra¹¹, they marshalled strong and very convincing arguments with a view to winning his consent. The king was pleased; he, appointing Rāma king and Lakṣmaṇa heir-apparent, sent the two brothers to Vārāṇasī. They kept their subjects pleased by showering on them various gifts and extending honour to them. They protected the virtuous and punished the wicked, and were solely devoted to looking after the welfare of their subjects.¹²

Now Rāvaṇa was ruling over three continents of Bharata. Once Nārada¹³ went to him in his Durbāra and told him that Rāma was ruling over Vārāṇasī; and that inviting him at the performance of a sacrifice king Janaka had given him Sītā in marriage and that Janaka did not invite him (Rāvaṇa) at the Svayamvara of Sītā of wondrous beauty and added that as he could not bear Rāma's glory he had gone to him (Rāvaṇa). Hearing of the

10. Here the poet treats us with a charming description of Sītā.

11. Parvan 68, vv. 58-72 bear testimony to the author's knowledge of *Artha-śāstra*. He mentions here three kinds of Śakti, fourfold strategy (Upāya), the sixfold Policy (guṇa), and seven elements of sovereignty (prakṛti) which are in close agreement with Kautilya's *Artha-śāstra* (see pp. 261, 74, 263, 257 of that work edited by R. Shamasastri).

12. 'Duṣṭānigraha-śiṣṭānupālana-pravidhāyinau; and 'Prajāpālana-kāryaikaṇiṣṭhau' etc. Parvan 68, 81-83.

13. He is called 'Kudhīh'; his fondness for provoking quarrels is well known to Hindu Mythology. Here he is approaching Rāvaṇa to start a quarrel.

ravishing beauty of Sītā Rāvaṇa fell in love with her. He at first thought of taking that Sītā away by force but on Mārīca's advice he sent Śūrpaṇakhā to her to know her mind. She quickly went to Vārāṇasī. Rāma and Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa with his wives had gone to Citrakūṭa for 'Vanakrīḍā'. There Sītā took offence at Rāma's observation of the beauty of 'Latās' - creepers. He propitiated her.

Now Śūrpaṇakhā arrived there, assumed by "Rūpa-Parāvartana" the form of a Sthavirā and began to move about in the vicinity of the queens. They made fun of her when she inquired of them what religious deeds would bring her similar fortune of enjoying love-sports in the company of Balabhadra like that. Sītā, however, seriously told her that the life of a woman is misery incarnate¹⁴; and that in a woman her chastity alone is praiseworthy. Śūrpaṇakhā knew how impossible it was to win Sītā for Rāvaṇa, went back to Laṅkā and informed Rāvaṇa of the impossibility of getting Sītā for him (- of course, willingly). He, then, accompanied by Mārīca went in his Puṣpaka Vimāna to Citrakūṭa. Mārīca assumed the form of a golden deer, of course at Rāvaṇa's command. Sītā was fascinated by that wonderful deer¹⁵; Rāma pursued it with a view to catching it alive¹⁶. That deer went a long way off and flew in the sky. Rāma was simply bewildered at this phenomenon. In the meantime Rāvaṇa, disguised as Rāma, asked Sītā to get in the Palanquin (which was really his Puṣpaka-Vimāna) and by his māyā produced the illusion that he himself was riding a horse. He brought her to Laṅkā, got her down in a park and then discarding 'māyā' told her the true state of affairs. Knowing her fate Sītā fainted. Rāvaṇa being afraid of losing his Ākāśa-gāminī lore¹⁷ did not touch that pure and chaste lady. Sītā after regaining her consciousness spoke in noble words of chastity and took a vow of not to speak or eat until she heard of Rāma's welfare. She looked upon herself as a 'widow' and cast away all ornaments.¹⁸ Evil portents occurred in Laṅkā such as the appearance of a Cakra in his armoury.¹⁹ The Cakrotpatti pleased Rāvaṇa. His ministers did their best to persuade Rāvaṇa to restore Sītā to Rāma. But he was adamant. He thought that the Cakrotpatti was not an evil omen, but an indication of his becoming

14. Parvan 68. 163-174 vividly describe the miserable and pitiable lot of a woman. All possible weaknesses to which a woman is liable are listed here.

15. Here we have a fine description of the movements of that antelope.

16. Here the poet gives two beautiful subhāṣitas : 'Vāme vidhau vidhīh' and 'Kutah kṛtyaparāmarśah strīvaśīkṛtacetasām' vv. 199 and 202.

17. i.e., the lore which enables one to move through the air.

18. Widows do not put on rich attire or ornaments; they are expected to live a very simple and pious life after the death of their husbands. This custom of not wearing any ornaments is yet followed by orthodox sections of the Indian society.

19. The poet uses here a fine simile : Cakraṁ vā kālacakravat

Yajñśālāprabaddhasya vastakasyaiva śādvalam v. 227.

a lord of Śaṭkhaṇḍas.

Now Rāma returned, did not find Sītā, fainted; after a while he came to his senses; he then made a search for her but in vain; he found only a torn piece of Sītā's garment. Just then a messenger from Daśaratha arrived there and handed over a letter to Rāma. From the messenger he learnt that Daśaratha had a dream in which Rāhu had carried away Rohiṇī and the Moon was wandering alone. The dream indicated that Sītā was abducted by Rāvaṇa. Rāma touched the letter-casket with his head and then opening the casket read the letter inside²⁰. From that letter he definitely knew that Rāvaṇa of Laṅkā had abducted Sītā by deceiving her with the assumed form of Rāma. The letter contained a suggestion that Rāma should send an envoy to cheer up poor Sītā. Reading that letter Rāma was enraged with Rāvaṇa. Lakṣmaṇa, Janaka, Bharata and Śatrughna on receiving the news of Sītā's abduction approached Rāma and tried to pacify his anger by pouring abuses on Rāvaṇa.²¹ They suggested that Rāma should think out some suitable plan to get Sītā back. At this juncture two Vidyādhara approached Rāma. They are Sugrīva and Aṇumān.²² Sugrīva introduced himself and his companion to Rāma thus:

"There is a town called Kilakila²³ on Vijayārdha mountain. A Vidyādhara king named Vālīndra was ruling over it. He had a wife by name Priyaṅgu-sundarī. She gave birth to two sons Vālin and Sugrīva. After Vālīndra, Vālin became the king and I, Sugrīva became the crown-prince. He, overpowered by greed, deprived me of my position and banished me; this my companion is the son of a Vidyādhara king Prabhañjana²⁴ and his wife Añjanā-devī. He is a mighty hero gifted with supernatural powers. Once he put his right foot on the summit of the Vijayārdha mountain and with his left kicked the sun; then he reduced his form to that of a trasareṇu and since then he is known as Aṇumān. He is a master of grammar and my most intimate friend. Once we had gone to Sammeda mountain and on its peak called Siddha-kūṭa we paid homage to the Jina-images. There we met Nārada whom I asked whether I would regain my position. He told me that my desire would be fulfilled if I carry out the mission that would be entrusted to me by Rāma (and Lakṣmaṇa), the prospective Balabhadra and Nārāyaṇa. He told me further that

20. The custom of touching the casket (sent by elderly person) with one's head came in vogue by way of demonstrating one's respect for the elder person.

21. Daśaratha in his letter speaks of Rāvaṇa as 'māyāvī', 'Khala', 'loka-kantaka', 'nyāya-dūraga' and strīsu lampāṭah. Janaka and others call him 'paradārāpahārin', 'paridrogdhā', 'durātmā', 'Adharmavartanah', 'Akāryakṛt', etc.

22. Aṇumān, as we will be told shortly, was so-called because once he had reduced his form to that of a 'trasareṇu'.

23. Otherwise known as Kiṣkindhā.

24. A synonym of Vāyu.

Rāma wanted some suitable person to be sent to Laṅkā to accomplish their purpose. That is how we came to you." Then Aṇumān volunteered to go in search of Sītā carrying with him Rāma's signet ring as an 'abhijñāna'. He flew through the air over the ocean and Trikūṭa mountain and reached Laṅkā.²⁵ Assuming the form of a bee he went in search of Sītā. He went to Rāvaṇa's court and observed his great glory. He did not find Sītā there, nor in Rāvaṇa's harem. He ultimately found her seated under Śimsīpā tree in the Nandana park near Rāvaṇa's Antaḥpura. Sītā was surrounded by Vidyādhari, expert in the art of winning a woman for Rāvaṇa. Aṇumat waited for a suitable moment to meet Sītā. At the moon-rise Rāvaṇa with his harem went to meet Sītā whom he had abducted; seven days ago. First through a go-between called Mañjarikā he tried to know her mind. When she failed to persuade Sītā, he himself appeared on the scene and used sweet language and violent threats alternately to win her²⁶. But Sītā was firm as a rock. Rāvaṇa was then enraged. Mandodarī tried to pacify him. If he were to molest a chaste lady like Sītā he would lose all lores such as Ākāśa-gāmini; she begged of him the freedom of Sītā. Replying that she is 'samam Praṇairiyam tyājyā', he went away. Mandodarī felt that Sītā was her own daughter whom she had deserted. She told Sītā not to yield to Rāvaṇa's passion even when faced with death. Mandodarī's breasts spontaneously oozed milk. Sītā too felt that she had met her own mother. Mandodarī begged of her to take food in order to sustain her body,²⁷ and then left that park.

Now Aṇumān by his 'Plavaga-Vidyā' transformed himself into a monkey²⁸, put the guardians of Sītā under sleep and approached Sītā. That monkey (Aṇumān) saluted her, told her that he was Rāma's messenger, and put before her the letter-casket. Sītā brushing aside her doubts and hesitation opened that letter, was pleased to hear from Rāma. She looked upon Aṇumān as her father. Aṇumān, however, told her that she was like a mother to him, and that he would have easily taken her away to Rāma but that would not be in keeping with the dignity and honour of Rāma. Rāma would certainly invade Laṅkā, kill his enemy and thus vindicating his honour he would take her back again. Taking his leave of Sītā he returned to Rāma, reported to him the news about Sītā. Rāma was happy to hear it. Aṇumān also told him about the 'Cakrotpatti' and the evil omens that had occurred in Laṅkā.

Now he asked Rāma to find out a means of getting Sītā back. Rāma then appointed Aṇumān the Commander-in-chief, and Sugrīva was given the coronet for sovereignty.

25. The poet treats us here with a fine description of the splendour of Laṅkā.

26. Rāvaṇa, it appears in spite of his failure to win Sītā, was very expert in the art of love-making.

27. Here is a Subhāṣita :

Sarvasya sādhanā dehatathāhārah susāadhanam v. 357.

28. Aṇumān was really a Vidyādhara; he assumed the form of a monkey and stood before Sītā. This explains, acc. to Jain Mythology, the reason for the belief that Hanumat was a monkey.

They all then thought of some plan to win back Sitā from the Lord of Laṅkā. On Angada's advice²⁹ Rāma decided to send Aṇumān as an envoy to Rāvaṇa. He was instructed to meet Vibhīṣaṇa, the pious brother of Rāvaṇa and do all that was in Rāma's interests. Aṇumān, accompanied by Manovega, Vijaya, Kumuda, Ravigata and other Vidyādhara Princes left for - and soon reached Laṅkā. He met Vibhīṣaṇa, told him Rāma's message and added that a vast army consisting of 508400000 human beings and 35000000 Vidyādharas had gathered round his banner and that he would easily destroy Rāvaṇa. He further told him to take him (Aṇumān) to Rāvaṇa. Vibhīṣaṇa introduced Aṇumān to Rāvaṇa. Aṇumān conveyed the message of Rāma to Rāvaṇa asking him to return honourably Sitā. Rāvaṇa was very firm. He claimed to possess her by right,³⁰ as all ratnas, especially a strī-ratna, belong to a king. When Aṇumān again pleaded for the return of Rāma's wife, Rāvaṇa told him that he had abducted Sitā as Janaka had given her in marriage to Rāma without his consent.³¹ Aṇumān pointed out to him that there was no bravery in abducting a helpless woman. Rāvaṇa was enraged at hearing those words and asked him to clear out. He would let him escape scotfree only because an envoy is not to be killed.

Kumbhakarna and other heroes shouted at him. Vibhīṣaṇa persuaded him to go away peacefully. Aṇumān first saw Sitā in that park and then went to Rāma and reported to him the failure of his mission. Rāma thereupon mobilised his forces and went to Citrakūṭa. He spent the rainy season there.

Now once a messenger from Vālin came to Rāma and told him that Vālin was willing to act as his envoy, humiliate Rāvaṇa and bring Sitā back on condition that he would stop accepting Sugrīva and Anila-putra (i.e. Aṇuman) as his servants. Rāma then consulted his counsellors. On the advice³² tendered by Aṅgada, Rāma decided to annihilate Vālin, the enemy of his ally Sugrīva. And with that object in view he sent with that envoy his own with the message that Vālin should first give him as a gift his elephant called Mahāmegha and go with him to Laṅkā and then only he would give thought to his proposal of rejecting Sugrīva and Aṇumān as his servants. Vālin was infuriated at that message and threw

29. He says : "There are three types of kings : 1) 'Lobhaviṣayah', 2) 'Dharmaviṣayah' and 3) 'Asuraviṣayah'; the first is to be won by 'Dāna', second by 'Sāman' and the third by 'Bheda' and 'Daṇḍana'. Rāvaṇa belongs to the third type as he is 'nīcā' and 'Krūrakarmakṛt'. Bheda and 'Daṇḍa' should be employed in his case. But better for us not to violate the proper order - 'Krama'. First we should try 'Sāman'." This three-fold classification is found in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra : read in this connection Book 12 ch. 1 ("Invaders are of three kinds : a just conqueror, a demon-like conqueror, and a greedy conqueror").

30. Mamaiva sarvaratnāni strīratnam tu viśeṣataḥ v. 416a.

31. See vv. 423 and 424.

32. He says : There are three kinds of kings : hostile, friendly and neutral (Śatruh-mītramudāsina iti bhupāstrayo matāḥ). Rāvaṇa is our enemy : Vālin is the enemy of our friend. It is therefore right to annihilate Vālin first.

a challenge to Rāma either to fight with him or accept his overlordship. The envoy reported to Rāma how Vālin had become a 'Kṛtrima-satru'. Rāma then sent his whole army with Lakṣmaṇa as the Supreme Commandant to Khadira-vana where Lakṣmaṇa routed the hostile army of Vālin. Then Vālin himself appeared on the scene. Lakṣmaṇa killed him. And then Sugrīva and Aṇumān got their position back.³³ Sugrīva took Rāma and others to his capital Kiṣkindhā. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa etc., stayed in a park. Just then the autumn set in. The total strength of Rāma's forces was 14 Akṣauhīnis.

Now Lakṣmaṇa on Jagat-Pāda mountain observed seven days' fast and obtained Prajñapti lore. Sugrīva too on Semmeda mountain at Siddha-Silā adored Mahāvidyās. Then the whole army marched against Laṅkā.

Now here when Aṇumān had left Laṅkā, Kumbhakarna and other brothers of Rāvaṇa did their best to persuade Rāvaṇa to return honourably Sītā to Rāma. Vibhīṣaṇa's words were eloquent of his wisdom.³⁴ His speech however angered Rāvaṇa. He in a mighty rage banished his brother Vibhīṣaṇa, who then formed an alliance with Rāma. The vast army of Rāma after many marches (Prayāṇas) reached the shore of the ocean. Aṇumān made a proposal that if allowed he and other Vānara-Princes would go to Laṅkā, destroy Rāvaṇa's park, burn his capital and thus infuriate him, and added that thus enraged he would come out for fight and then it would be easy to defeat him. Rāma allowed him to have his way. The Vānara-Princes went accordingly to Laṅkā, destroyed that park, killed the Rākṣasa guards there; Rāvaṇa was not there but on Āditya-pāda mountain to obtain Vidyās. He was guarded by Indrajit - while he (Rāvaṇa) was observing eight-days'

33. Here is a generalisation :

Sadyah phalati samsevā prāyeṇa prabhumāśritā v. 465

34. In the mouth of Vibhīṣaṇa the poet puts these words :

Balānāmaṣṭamaṁ Rāmaṁ v. 492b

Āmananti Purāṇajñāh v. 493a

The poet is guilty of anachronism for the Puranas were composed centuries after the war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa.

Note: Parastrīharaṇam nāma pāpam pāpeṣu dustaraṁ v. 484b.

Prāṇairapi yaśah krayaṁ satām v. 487a.

and his psychologically correct observations :

Atya utsukyamanāpteṣu Prāpteṣu paritoṣaṇaṁ

Bhuñjamāneṣu vairasyaṁ viṣayeṣu na vetsi kīṁ

Here we have Anuprāsa :

Bhāṣā Vibhīṣaṇāyaivaṁ bhāṣamāṇāya bhīṣaṇaḥ v. 495b.

fast. Vibhīṣaṇa made a proposal that they should interrupt Rāvaṇa's acquisition of powers and besiege his capital. Rāma agreed.³⁵ Then Sugrīva and Aṇumān bestowed their Vidyās - Garudavāhinī, Sinhavāhinī, and Bandhamocanī and Hananavāraṇī, on Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa respectively. With the Prajñapti-lore the two brothers created many 'vimānas' and carried their army across the sea in the open maidan outside Laṅkā. The Vidyādhara- (Vānara-) Kumāras interrupted Rāvaṇa's 'vidyā-sādhana'. Rāvaṇa without acquiring Vidyās, with his son Indrajit then went to Laṅkā. He heard of the siege of Laṅkā.³⁶ Rāvaṇa then ordered his Commander-in-chief, Ravi-Kīrti by name, to beat the war-drums and mobilise Rākṣasa forces. Then Rāvaṇa came out of the city to fight the enemy. Rāma too was ready to meet the enemy.³⁷ Rāvaṇa and Rāma were mounted on Mahagandha and Añjana-parvata elephants respectively; and Lakṣmaṇa rode an elephant called Vijaya-Parvata.³⁸ An unheard of war started.³⁹ Seeing that the Rākṣasa army was being defeated Rāvaṇa cut off the head of illusory Sītā and threw it before Rāma, who at the sight of it was overpowered with 'moha'. Vibhīṣaṇa told him, however, that it was all the māyā of Rāvaṇa. Rāma then fought fiercely. Rāvaṇa now resorted to Māyā-Yuddha. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with their Garudavāhinī and Sinhavāhinī vidyās gave him a very tough fight. The principal heroes on both the sides then were engaged in single combats: Rāvaṇa - Rāma, Indrajit - Lakṣmaṇa, Kumbhakarna - Sugrīva, Ravikīrti - Aṇumān, Kharadūṣaṇa - Nīla etc. encountered each other. Indrajit intervened, Rāma however routed him, Rāvaṇa then fought a terrible fight, Lakṣmaṇa challenged him. Rāvaṇa in the course of the fight discharged his 'Cakra' - disc - against him. It however mounted Lakṣmaṇa's hand. With it he cut off the head of Rāvaṇa.

Rāma gave the kingdom of Laṅkā to Vibhīṣaṇa. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa became the

35. It deserves our notice that Rāma here agrees to the interruption of Vidyā-sādhana by Rāvaṇa. It is in the fitness of things that he should do his best to prevent his formidable enemy from becoming almost invincible by the acquisition of lores. In the Paūma-Cariya Rāma is shown to have flatly refused to interrupt Rāvaṇa in his religious meditation. There he is portrayed as a very pious soul.

36. Here we have a striking poetic figure :

Hariṇairharitrāruddhah paśya kāla-viparyayam v.530.

Incidentally we may note here that in the text form v.528 onwards upto v.555, the verses are wrongly numbered thus e.g. v. 429 for v. 529 and so on.

37. Rāma is said here to have five-fold army. Normally army is said to be fourfold, consisting of elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry; the fifth number here is 'Mahāvīdyā-samūha' - 'host of great lores'.

38. Then we are told that the horses hailed from countries such as Yavana, Kashmīra, etc.

39. A long poetic description is then given in vv. 541-611.

8th Balabhadra and Nārāyaṇa. Now Rāma was united with his long-lost queen.⁴⁰ Then the two brothers went to Pīṭhagiri, where they were coronated. There Lakṣmaṇa lifted that Koṭiśilā. The Sunanda Yakṣa of that place offered him his Saunanda sword. Then we are told of Lakṣmaṇa's world conquest⁴¹ that took 42 years. He became an 'Ardha-Cakrin'. Then they entered Ayodhyā, were coronated. Lakṣmaṇa had 16000 queens including Pṛthivī-sundarī etc., whereas Rāma had 8000 wives such as Sita etc. Then the poet describes the glory of Balabhadra and Nārāyaṇa.

Rāma had a (1) 'halāyudha', (2) 'amogha' arrows, (3) Kaumudī club and (4) Ratnāvatānsikā Mālā⁴² and Lakṣmaṇa had a (1) 'Sudarśana Cakra', (2) Kaumudī gadā, (3) Saunandaka sword, (4) Amogha-mukhī Śakti, (5) Śārṅga-bow, (6) Pañcajanya Conch and (7) Kaustubha Mahāmaṇi.⁴³

They enjoyed pleasures of senses for long. Rāma had eight sons, Vijayarāma and others and Lakṣmaṇa had several, Pṛthvīcandra and others from his wife Pṛthivī. Once they paid a visit to Jain monk Śiva-gupta by name. Listening to his sermon Rāma becomes a Śrāvaka. On account of his 'nidāna' Lakṣmaṇa did not accept Samyaktva (right faith). Then they handed over the kingdom of Ayodhyā to their sons and themselves went to Vārāṇasī. Once Lakṣmaṇa dreamt three dreams: (1) 'the uprooting of a banyan tree by an intoxicated elephant', (2) the sun eclipsed by Rāhu entering the Rasātala and (3) a portion of white-washed royal palace crumbling. He informed Rāma of those dreams. The Purohita interpreted the dreams as follows:-

The first dream indicated that Lakṣmaṇa would suffer some incurable disease, the second-the end of worldly enjoyments and the third-Rāma's going to the forest.

Rāma then issued a proclamation that no animal was to be killed, performed worship of the Jinas and gave away gifts.

40. The poet uses striking alamkāras while describing their re-union, read vv. 637-638. Here is a subhāṣita :

Santo vicārānucarāḥ sadā v. 642.

41. vv. 649-659 give a description of his Digjaya.

42. See below foot note No. 43.

43. According to Guṇabhadra's earlier statement Vāsudevas and Baladevas have the following seven and four marks respectively :

Asiḥ śaṅkho dhanuscakram śaktirdaṇḍo gadābhavat

Ratnāni sapta cakreṣu rakṣitāni marudgaṇaiḥ

Ratnamālā haṁsa bhāsvad-rāmasya musalam gadā

Mahāratnāni catvāri babhuvurbhavinirvṛteḥ U.P. 62, 148-49.

Here instead of 'daṇḍa' he mentions 'Kaustubha mahāmaṇi' and instead of 'musala', 'Amogha' arrows.

Lakṣmaṇa died on Māgha-Kṛṣṇa-Amāvāsyā and went to Panka-prabhā hell.

Rāma put Lakṣmaṇa's eldest son on the throne, gave the position of Crown-prince to the youngest son of Sītā and offered him the kingdom of Mithilā as well.

Rāma one day accepted Samyama at the hands of Śiva-gupta-the Kevalin. Sugrīva, Aṇumān, Vibhīṣaṇa etc., and many Kumāras followed Rāma by accepting Samyama.

Rāma passed 395 years as a 'Chadmastha' and then destroyed the Ghāti-Karmas and obtained Kevala knowledge. He lived as a Kevalin for 600 years and attained Nirvāṇa on the 14th day of the bright half of Phālguna.

Sītā became an Āryikā and in the next birth was born as a god. Lakṣmaṇa in due course would attain Nirvāṇa after passing through many births.⁴⁴

3. GUṆABHADRA'S RĀMĀYAṆA - A CRITICAL STUDY

The summary of the contents of Gunabhadra's version at once shows how it is markedly different from the version of Vimala Sūri. We undertake a comparison of the two versions with a view to bringing out their exact differences:

(I) A COMPARISON OF THE UTTARA-PURĀṆA AND THE PAṬMA-CARIYA

(a) STORY ELEMENT :

Uttara-Purāṇa

1. It opens with the description of the Pūrva-Bhavas of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā and Rāvaṇa. Two of Sītā's pūrva-bhavas are described and three each of the rest.
2. i) Rāma's mother is named Subalā.
ii) Lakṣmaṇa's mother is named Kaikeyī.
iii) The name of Bharata's mother is not given.
iv) The name of Śatrughna's mother is not given.
3. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were born at Vārāṇasī. Bharata and Śatrughna were born at Ayodhyā.
4. Rāvaṇa's parents are called Pulastya and Meghaśrī.
5. Rāvaṇa's genealogy :
Sahasra-grīva

Paṭma-Cariya

- It describes the previous births nearly at the end (Canto 103) of the epic. These births are told differently and their number varies e.g., 8 of Rāma's births are given.
- Rāma's mother is named Aparāṇḍita.
Lakṣmaṇa's mother is named Sumitrā.
Bharata's mother is named Kaikeyī.
Śatrughna's mother is named Kaikeyī.
- All the four were born at Ayodhyā.
- Rāvaṇa's parents are called Ratnaśravā and Kekasī.
Rāvaṇa's genealogy :
Sukeśa

44. vv. 724-31 give synoptic review of the contents of this Rāma-Purāṇa.

Uttara-Purāṇa

Śata-grīva

Pañcāśat-grīva

Pulastya

(m. to Meghaśrī)

Daśānana Kumbhakarṇa Śūrpaṇakhā
Vibhīṣaṇa.

6. Daśaratha was originally the ruler of Vārāṇasī; he shifted to Ayodhyā only after the death of Sagara and his whole family.
7. Sitā, daughter of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī but was deserted by them, Janaka and his wife Vasudhā bring up Sitā - 'the foundling.
8. Janaka seeks help of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa for successful termination of his sacrifice and gives a promise to offer Sitā in marriage to Rāma.
9. After the performance of Yāga, Janaka offers Sitā to Rāma in marriage.
10. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with the permission of their father go to Vārāṇasī, their original capital that was neglected.
11. At Nārada's instigation Rāvaṇa falls in love with Sitā, sends Śūrpaṇakhā to Sitā as a Dūtī, at Citrakūṭa where Rāma etc., had gone for 'Vanakriḍā'. Her mission fails; Rāvaṇa with Mārīca goes in his Puṣpaka car to Citrakūṭa.
12. Mārīca assumes the form of a golden deer enchants Sitā, takes away Rāma to a far off place, flies into the sky. Rāvaṇa disguised as Rāma carries Sitā off in Puṣpaka vimāna to Laṅkā.
13. It is through Daśaratha's letter that Rāma learns of Sitā's abduction by

Paūma-Cariya

Sumāli

Ratnaśrāva

(m. to Kekasi)

Daśamukha Bhānukarṇa Candrapākhā

Vibhīṣaṇa

Pc. speaks of his rule over Ayodhyā only.

Sitā, daughter of Janaka and his wife Videhā, born in a natural way - Sitā and Bhāmaṇḍala are twins.

Janaka seeks the help of Rāma for driving out the Mlecchas; Janaka pleased at Rāma's heroism in the fight, decides to offer Sitā in marriage.

Rāma wins Sitā after bending the divine Vajrāvarta bow. In addition, we are told of the weddings of Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata. Kaikeyī's demand for the kingdom of Ayodhyā for Bharata; and the voluntary exile of Rāma and party into the forest. As Candrapākhā's amorous advances were rejected, she incites Kharadūṣaṇa to fight with Rāma and party on the excuse of 'Sambūka-vadha' etc., Rāvaṇa on getting the news goes in his Puṣpaka car to the scene of fight in the Daṇḍaka forest and falls in love with Sitā at first sight.

Rāvaṇa himself produces Sindhanaḍa, Rāma goes away to Lakṣmaṇa's help, Rāvaṇa there seizes Sitā, mortally wounds Jatāyus who comes to her rescue, and takes away Sitā to Laṅkā - in his Puṣpaka car.

It is through Ratnajaṭin that Sugrīva comes to know of Sitā's abduction by

Uttara-Purāṇa

Rāvaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa etc., approach Rāma after knowing his misfortune.

14. Sugrīva and Aṇumān go to Rāma at Nārada's instance, Aṇumān volunteers to visit Laṅkā, flies across the sea, makes a search for Sītā by assuming the form of a bee, presents himself before Sita as a 'Monkey', returns to Rāma with the news of Sītā.
15. Aṇumān is sent as envoy to Rāvaṇa with some heroes he goes to Laṅkā; meets Vibhīṣaṇa, who takes him to Rāvaṇa. His mission fails; he reports the failure to Rāma who mobilises his forces at Citrakūṭa.
16. Vālin sends a messenger to Rāma, his terms for alliance, Rāma's counter-terms, war between the two armies, Lakṣmaṇa kills Vālin, and restores their lost positions to Sugrīva and Aṇumān. Rāma and his army go to Kiṣkindhā.
17. Lakṣmaṇa acquires Prajñapti lore by fasting for a week; Sugrīva too adores Vidyās. Then the army marches to Laṅkā; Vibhīṣaṇa's quarrel with Rāvaṇa over the question of the return of Sītā, his alliance with Rāma, the army reaches the sea-shore, Aṇumān and others with Rāma's permission attack Laṅkā, decide to disturb Rāvaṇa in his austerities for obtaining Vidyās; Sugrīva and Aṇumān bestow their Vidyās on Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, they

Pāuma-Cariya

Rāvaṇa.

Hanūmat flies across the ocean in a car, his exploits on the way are told; reaching Laṅkā meets Vibhīṣaṇa, then Sītā, destroys the park, kills the troops sent for his capture; Indrajit takes him captive, Rāvaṇa wants him to be paraded through the streets of Laṅkā and then killed; Hanūmat effects his escape, destroys parts of Laṅkā and goes back. It does not report this second visit of Hanūmat to Laṅkā.

Vālin a devout Jain, in order to avoid blood-shed renounces Saṃsāra, placing Sugrīva on the throne. It was Māyā-Sugrīva who had deprived him of his kingdom. Sugrīva seeks Rāma's help, Rāma kills that Māyā-Sugrīva and restores the kingdom of Kiṣkindhi to Sugrīva. It is then that Hanūmat is sent to Laṅkā for getting the news of Sītā, etc. The Vānara army in the course of its march overpowers king Samudra, and King Hamsaratha of the Hamsadvīpa, Vibhīṣaṇa's alliance with Rāma; the preparations for war on both the sides - fight begins. Many Rākṣasa heroes are killed, then Rāvaṇa attempts Vidyā-sādhana, Rāma does not give his consent to the interruption of the Vidyā-sādhana, Rāvaṇa acquires ultimately Vidyā and fights with double vigour.

Uttara-Purāṇa

produce Vimānas through the Vidyās, take the army across the ocean; the Vidyādharaś interrupt Rāvaṇa's 'vidyā-sādhana'.

18. Rāvaṇa cuts off the head of illusory Sītā and throws it before Rāma who falls in a swoon. Vibhīṣaṇa tells Rāma about Rāvaṇa's trick. Rāvaṇa then resorts to Māyā-yuddha. Cases of single combats, finally Lakṣmaṇa kills Rāvaṇa.
19. It is at Piṭhagiri that Lakṣmaṇa lifts the Koṭiśilā.
20. Rāma obtained the following 'ratnas': 1) Halāyudha, 2) Amogha arrows, 3) Kaumudī gadā and 4) Ratna-mālā; and Lakṣmaṇa : 1) Sudarśana Cakra, 2) Kaumudī gadā, 3) Saunandaka sword, 4) Amogha-mukhī Śakti, 5) Śārṅga bow, 6) Pāñca-janya śaṅkha and 7) Kaushtubha-Mahāmaṇi.
21. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa return to Ayodhyā after 42 years during which Lakṣmaṇa completes his world-conquest.
22. Handing over the kingdom of Ayodhyā to their sons, they go to Vārāṇasī.
23. Lakṣmaṇa dreams three dreams indicating that he would suffer an incurable disease and so on
24. Rāma becomes a monk at the hands of Śiva-gupta, Sītā becomes an Āryikā.

Paūma-Cariya

In Pc. there is no reference to the illusory head of Sītā, it however speaks of the capture of Sugrīva and Bhāmaṇḍala, their escape, Lakṣmaṇa's transfixation due to Śakti, the episode of Viśalyā etc., which are not found in Uttara-Purāṇa. Lakṣmaṇa lifts the Koṭiśilā long before they start for Laṅkā. He does it in order to convince the disheartened Vānaras of his strength to overpower Rāvaṇa.

Lakṣmaṇa obtained : 1) Cakra, 2) Chatra, 3) Dhanus, 4) Śakti, 5) Gadā, 6) Maṇi and 7) Asi (sword).

After six years' stay at Laṅkā the brothers return to Ayodhyā.

No such reference to correspond to this.

No such reference to his dreams. The test of Lakṣmaṇa's affection for Rāma by gods is introduced by Vimala.

Vimala tells us of Sītā's repudiation by Rāma her twin children Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa, their fight with Rāma etc., their union with Rāma, Sītā's fire-ordeal, her Dikṣā, Rāma's grief at it, etc. ; (all these episodes are dropped by Guṇabhadra).

(b) **OMISSIONS:**

- (i) Guṇabhadra omits the account of any attempt on the part of Bharata's mother to secure the throne for her son.
- (ii) He omits also the account of Rāma's forest-life.
- (iii) He drops the account of Lakṣmaṇa's transfixion by Rāvaṇa's Śakti.
- (iv) He completely drops Rāma's later history-the scandal regarding Sītā's purity, her abandonment into forest by Rāma, the shelter that she finds, the birth of twin children, their fight with Rāma, etc., -their union with their father Rāma, Sītā's fire-ordeal are conspicuous in his version by their absence.
- (v) The episode of Viṭa-Sugrīva is left out.

(c) **ALTERATIONS:**

- (i) Sītā was really Rāvaṇa's daughter but on account of evil portents she was abandoned, found by and brought up by Janaka.
- (ii) As Rāma protected his sacrifice, Janaka gave him in marriage his daughter Sītā.
- (iii) Rāma and party go to the old capital-Vārāṇasī of Daśaratha and not into exile.
- (iv) It is at Nārada's instigation that Rāvaṇa is enamoured of Sītā of wondrous beauty.
- (v) Rāma learns of the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa through Daśaratha's letter.
- (vi) Aṇumān-Hanūmat-twice visits Laṅkā-of course on two different missions.
- (vii) It is the three dreams that come to Lakṣmaṇa that indicate his death etc.

(d) **ADDITIONS:**

- (i) Daśaratha's original capital was Vārāṇasī, later on he shifts to Ayodhyā.
- (ii) The golden deer incident is an addition by Guṇabhadra-of course, this incident is common to Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa.
- (iii) Lakṣmaṇa kills Vālin.
- (iv) Rāvaṇa cuts off the head of illusory Sītā and throws it before Rāma who falls in a swoon-of course we have an account of the Magic Head of Rāma to dupe Sītā and the Magic head of Sītā (Cantos 31 and 81 respectively) to dupe Rāma (Hanūmat etc.)-in the Vālmīki's epic.

As these two versions of Vimala and Guṇabhadra are representative of all the Jain versions of the Rāma Story - excepting, of course, Hariṣeṇas' version which is nothing but a minimum abridgment of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa-we attempt to give here **an outline of the Rāma Tale common to all the Jain forms:**

(ii) **OUTLINE OF THE RĀMA STORY COMMON TO ALL THE JAIN FORMS**

There was a king called Daśaratha of the Ikṣvāku family, who ruled over Ayodhyā.

He was blest with four princes called Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna. Now there was a mighty king named Janaka who ruled over Videha. He had a daughter by name Sītā. Janaka gave her in marriage to Rāma.

Now there was a mighty king called Rāvaṇa who ruled over Laṅkā. He was fascinated by the wondrous beauty of that princess Sītā. He carried her off by force to Laṅkā. Rāma was stricken with profound sorrow at his misfortune.

Now there was Sugrīva who was deprived of his rightful place in Kiṣkindha. He sought Rāma's alliance. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa helped Sugrīva regain the kingdom of Kiṣkindhā. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and the army of Sugrīva marched against Laṅkā; Vibhīṣaṇa, the righteous brother of Rāvaṇa, did his best to persuade Rāvaṇa honourably to return Sītā to Rāma, but in vain. He deserted Rāvaṇa and formed an alliance with Rāma. A terrible war was fought between the two hostile armies of Rāma and Rāvaṇa. Finally Rāvaṇa was killed, Vibhīṣaṇa was made king of Laṅkā and Rāma was united with his lost queen.

After vindicating his honour, Rāma, with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā returned to his capital. Rāma had 8000 queens among whom Sītā and three others were the principal ones. Lakṣmaṇa had 16000 queens among whom Prthvisundarī and others were the chief ones. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa very deeply loved each other. After Lakṣmaṇa's death Rāma became a monk, practised austerities, obtained perfect knowledge, and in due course attained to Mokṣa. Lakṣmaṇa as he did not accept the path laid down by the Jinās sank into hell. Rāvaṇa, for his lapse from the code of correct behaviour, had to go to hell. Both of them after passing through many births would attain to liberation. Sītā, after leading the life of an Āryikā, was born in heaven, she too would in course of time obtain Mokṣa.

According to the Jain version Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa are the 8th set of Baladeva, Vāsudeva and Prativāsudeva.

Excepting the number of the queens of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, the killing of Rāvaṇa by Lakṣmaṇa and the Jinistic conclusion this Rāma Tale (which is common to all the Jain forms of Rāmāyaṇa barring Hariṣeṇa's story) is basically and essentially the same as found in the Hindu versions of Vyāsa and Vālmiki.

Now we turn to other points of distinction between the versions of Rāmāyaṇa of Guṇabhadra and Vimala Sūri.

(iii) NAME, EXTENT, FORM, LANGUAGE, METRE, AND STYLE OF THE TWO VERSIONS

Uttara-Purāṇa

Paūma-Cariya

The Rāma story forms only one of the many Purāṇas that constitute the Mahā-

The epic mainly deals with Rāmāyaṇa; and does not form a part of a bigger work.

Uttara-Purāṇa

Purāṇa. In the title equal prominence is given to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā and Rāvaṇa. The whole of the narrative forms a part of Parvan 67 and Parvan 68. The verses number just a little over 1200. It reads more like a Purāṇa and less like a Kāvya. It is entirely in Sanskrit and the metre commonly used is the Anuṣṭup. The style is on the whole easy yet elegant, marked by the presence of oft-used alaṃkāras such as UpamāUtprekṣā, Rūpaka, Dṛṣṭānta and Arthāntaranyāsa.

Paūma-Cariya

The title rightly includes the name of Padma - Rāma - only as he alone attains in that very birth the highest goal of a devotee. It treats of the story in about 9000 verses. It is Purana and Kāvya at the same time. It is wholly in Prakrit, and the widely used metre Āryā is throughout employed excepting the change of metre at the end. The work is written in easy yet elegant style marked by ornate descriptions that are very often introduced.

All these points are rather unimportant if not altogether out of the court-in connection with the present problem.

(iv) CHARACTERISATION**RĀVAṆA :**

Rāvaṇa is represented as a tyrant and wicked and evil-minded person.

Rāvaṇa is portrayed as a Pravara-Puruṣa with only one major weakness - his passion for Sītā - Rāma's wife.

KAIKEYĪ :

Kaikeyī (who contributes so much to the progress and development of action in Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki and in the Vimala's version) is only once casually mentioned as the wife of Daśaratha and mother of Lakṣmaṇa; and then she is as it were completely forgotten, by the poet as we do not find her any more on the scene.

Kaikeyī, the mother of Bharata, is sympathetically represented throughout the epic as a noble and loving mother. When faced with 'Sarva-nāśa' - loss of her husband and son - she tries to retain her son at home allowing Daśaratha to become a monk (she is not guilty of the court-intrigue in the Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa.)

RĀMA :

Rāma is shown on the whole a pious and righteous soul. He, however, gives his consent to the interruption of Rāvaṇa's vidyā-sādhana. It is Lakṣmaṇa

Rāma refused to permit the Vānaras to go and interrupt Rāvaṇa in his meditation. He kills the Viṭa-Sugrīva.

Uttara-Purāṇa :

Paūma-Cariya :

who kills Vālin.

MANDODARĪ :

Mandodarī is shown to be a noble and sympathetic woman. She does her best to persuade her husband to set Sītā free but fails; she then exhorts Sītā not to yield to Rāvaṇa's passion.

Mandodarī suggests to Rāvaṇa to enjoy Sītā by force; she acts the part of a Dūti trying to persuade Sītā to accept Rāvaṇa's love.

ŚŪRPAṆAKHĀ:CANDRAṆAKHĀ :

Śūrpaṇakhā plays the part of a Dūti only. She meets Sītā, learns how she is a very chaste lady, reports to Rāvaṇa about it.

She falls in love with Rāma and makes amorous advances to the two brothers - though one of them had killed her son - Śambūka. Disappointed she incites her husband to fight against the two brothers who had killed Śambūka, and who, she alleges, had molested her.

The two versions of Guṇabhadra and Vimāla Sūri markedly differ from each other in regard to story element, characterisation, etc., as demonstrated above. Further, we may note that Vimāla shows that Hanūmat, Sugrīva and Rāvaṇa were relatives, that Hanūmat had helped Rāvaṇa in his fight against Varuṇa etc., tells of the 'later history of Rāma'-introduces about a dozen Upākhyānas, gives a **detailed** history of the dynasties of the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras and the Ikṣvāku, narrates the account of Vālin and Sugrīva differently. It is but right then if we say that the two versions should be regarded as independent forms of the story of Rāma.

Vimāla Sūri starts one school of Jain Rāmāyaṇa. He is followed by Raviṣeṇa, Dhaneśvara, and Hema-candra.

Guṇabhadra starts another school of Jain Rāmāyaṇa. He is followed by Puṣpadanta (and we may add-on the authority of Dr. Narsimhacar - some Kannada Jain poets, who treat of the Rāma story in their works, including **Cāmuṇḍarāya-Purāṇa** and **Puṇyāśrava-Kathāsāra**).

Hariṣeṇa's version as found in the **Bṛhat-Kathākośa** represents a minimum abridgment of the Hindu epic with only two or three Jain features added at the end.

Why Guṇabhadra did not follow his Digambara Predecessor-Raviṣeṇa? Raviṣeṇa was a Digambara. We expect, therefore, Guṇabhadra, a Digambara poet to follow his predecessor. But our expectation is belied. As we have shown above, Guṇabhadra's Rāma story is vastly different from that of Vimāla Sūri (with whose story

that of Raviṣeṇa almost perfectly agrees). So to find an answer to the question raised we may set forth the following logical possibilities:

- (i) Guṇabhadra was not aware of the existence of the epics of Vimala and Raviṣeṇa.
- (ii) Even if he was aware of their existence he did not think the narrative embodied therein to be good enough for his acceptance.
- (iii) He gives the story in some work of his predecessor belonging to his Guru - Paramparā - which work is now lost to us.
- (iv) He gives literary shape to the oral tradition as handed down by a line of successive teachers of his Sangha.
- (v) He gives shape to some local version that was then current.

Now let us examine these logical possibilities:

Guṇabhadra flourished in the 9th Century A.D. So it is not likely that he was not aware of the existence of the works of Vimala (and/or) Raviṣeṇa; or that he gave literary shape to local version as he is a 'modern writer' compared with the celebrated Hindu poets Vyāsa and Vālmiki and the Śvetāmbara poet Vimala-there must have been current their versions with some slight variations at the time of Guṇabhadra. So alternatives (i) and (v) we may dismiss as improbable. Alternative (ii) also may be dismissed as improbable as a man of Guṇabhadra's calibre cannot be accused of lack of balanced judgment.. Of the remaining two alternatives it is difficult to say which is more probable. It is quite likely that he embodied in his Purāṇa the story of Rāma as it came to him through Ācārya-Paramparā.

We have some reason to believe however that Guṇabhadra may have been indebted to Kavi Parameṣṭhi or Parameśvara. He is said to have composed a Purāṇa glorifying 63 Śalakā-Puruṣas-celebrities of the Jain Church. Guṇabhadra himself says that it was a gadya-kathā and that it was used by Jinasena for his Ādi-Purāṇa⁴⁵. Jinasena calls it Vāgartha-saṃgraha⁴⁶. Now if Jinaṣeṇa followed Kavi Parmeśvara in composing his Ādi-Purāṇa it is not unlikely that Jinaṣeṇa's pupil, who completed his teachers' unfinished

45. Kaviparameśvaranigaditagadyakathā-mātrkaṃ puroscaritaṃ

Up. Prasasti 17.

46. Sa Pūjyaḥ Parameśvarah

Vāgarthasaṃgraham..... purāṇaṃ yaj samagrahit

Ādi-Purāṇa I. 60.

47. Cāvuṇḍarāya (978 A.D.) in his Ādipurāṇa declares that the Mahāpurāṇa was composed formerly (even before Jinasena and Guṇabhadra) by Kūci Bhaṭṭāraka and Śrīnandi Muni.

48. See Jain Sāhitya aur Itihāsa p. 280.

Mahā-Purāṇa by adding to it his Uttara-Purāṇa too, based his Rāma story on that of Kavi Paramesvara.⁴⁷

(vi) THE RELATION OF GUṆABHADRA'S VERSION WITH THE
DAŚARATHA JĀTAKA AND THE ADBHUTA-RĀMĀYAṆA

In his paper on 'Padma-Carita Aura Pauma-Cariya' Pt. Premi suggests that Guṇabhadra describes the birth of Sītā as Rāvaṇa's daughter after the **Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa**, and the Kingship of Daśaratha over Vārāṇasī and the absence of the incidents such as Sītā's abandonment, the birth of Lava and Kuśa, the twin sons of Sītā after the Buddhistic Jātaka.⁴⁸ Dr. Narasimhachar points to the facts of Sītā's birth, her abduction in the precincts of Vārāṇasī, intensely ascetic nature ascribed to the character of Rāma, the golden deer incident and remarks that "it seems to be a conglomeration of various legends pertaining to Rāma" and that "It has no unitary source".⁴⁹

Now let us examine this question of Guṇabhadra's sources. Chronologically speaking **Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa** is very much later than Guṇabhadra's **Uttara-Purāṇa**. Grierson remarks: "the **Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa** is a comparatively modern work. It is distinctly Śākta in character, exalting Sītā above Rāma. It is also an attempt to introduce the terrible cult of Śaiva Śaktism into the altogether alien soil of Vaiṣṇavism". **Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa** is later than **Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa** (14th or 15th century⁵⁰). So it cannot be taken as a possible source of Guṇabhadra's Rāma story. Again, the way Sītā is born according to the story of **Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa** is indeed Adbhuta!

"Rāvaṇa in the course of his conquest comes to the Daṇḍaka forest, summons the Ṛṣis there to submit without resistance, and with this demand, draws from each with the tip of an arrow a little blood, which he collects in a jar.

One of the Ṛṣis is Gṛtsamada, the father of a hundred sons. His wife has begged from him that she may have a daughter, and that this daughter may be Lakṣmī herself. In order to fulfil her desire, the Ṛṣi has been day by day sprinkling, with appropriate **mantras**, milk from a wisp of Kuśa-grass into a jar, so that thereby it may become inhabited by Lakṣmī. He does this, as usual, on the morning of the day on which Rāvaṇa appears, and, before the latter's arrival, goes out into the forest. It is in this same jar that Rāvaṇa collects the Ṛṣis' blood. He takes it home with him, and gives it to his wife Mandodarī to take care of, telling her that the blood in it is more poisonous than poison itself. She may on no account taste it, or give it to anyone to taste.

49. He suggests the sources possible, viz., **Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa**, **Daśaratha Jātaka**, and **Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa**.

50. Rāghavan, V. : "Music in the **Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa**", *Journal Music Academy* Vol. 16, p. 66 ff. and Grierson, G.A. - "On the **Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa**", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* Vol. IV, pp. 11 ff.

Rāvaṇa again goes forth on his career of conquest and in Mount Mandāra debauches the daughters of the gods etc. Mandodarī seeing them preferred to her, determines to kill herself. With this object, she drinks the contents of the jar of R̥ṣis' blood, which Rāvaṇa has told her is a deadly poison. Instead of dying, she immediately becomes pregnant with Lakṣmī, who has been installed in the sprinkled milk by the power of Gṛtsamada's mantras.

When she finds herself pregnant in the absence of her husband, in fear of his reproaches she sets out for Kurukṣetra under pretence of making a pilgrimage. There, freeing herself from the foetus, she buries it in the ground and returns home, keeping the whole affair a secret.

Shortly afterwards Janaka comes to perform a sacrifice at Kurukṣetra. In order to prepare the ground for the sacrifice, he ploughs it with a golden plough, and while doing so turns up the foetus, - a girl child. Being warned by a voice from heaven, he adopts her and names her Sītā. After completing the sacrifice, he takes her home, and brings her up."

Lakṣmī (Sītā) is born as the daughter of Mandodarī on account of a curse: "Nārada, while attending a concert in heaven, is hustled aside by Lakṣmī's attendants, who are conducting her to her seat. He promptly curses her to become incarnate as the daughter of a Rākṣasī."

This fantastic birth-story is greatly different from that given by Guṇabhadra where Sītā is born of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī in a perfectly natural way! The **Daśaratha Jātaka** is definitely older than Guṇabhadra's **Uttara-Purāṇa**. But as said in Chapter I, it is a distorted version of the story of Rāma as given in the Mahābhārata and the **Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa**. So merely because the later history of Rāma is absent both in the **Daśaratha Jātaka** and the Guṇabhadra's version we cannot say that the former is the source of the latter. It is true the Jātaka speaks of Daśaratha as a ruler of Vārāṇasī, and Guṇabhadra represents him as shifting his capital from Vārāṇasī to Ayodhyā. But this is too slender a thread to connect the two stories. The Jātaka speaks of Rāma and Sītā as brother and sister, staying in the Himālaya mountain for years together at Daśaratha's suggestion, and the marriage of Rāma and Sītā - brother and sister! All this is absent in the Jain version. So properly speaking we cannot point to **Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa** and **Daśaratha Jātaka** as Guṇabhadra's source for his Rāma story.

We might account for these divergences in a different way: The birth of Sītā is a mystery according to Vālmiki's **Rāmāyaṇa**. The Jain poets wanted to give a realistic interpretation of her birth. Vimala straightway calls her the daughter of Janaka and Videhā born in a natural manner. Guṇabhadra (or the Ācārya who first gave the version found in the Uttara-Purāṇa) makes Sītā the daughter of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī. He gives the reason why Sītā was abandoned by the parents and how Janaka and his wife **Vasudhā** come across this foundling! This change introduced by the Jain poet has something dramatic about it. A father falling in love with his own daughter, being unaware of the fact that she is his own daughter is psychologically not improbable. And as far as

we know Guṇabhadra (or his predecessor whom he follows) is the first poet to represent Sītā as Rāvaṇa's daughter.

Guṇabhadra omits altogether the court-intrigue of Kaikeyī by making her Lakṣmaṇa's mother. He wants to show, however, the progress of the story. There is no reason to send Rāma and party into exile so possibly he invents the idea of Vārāṇasī being the former capital of Daśaratha; and Rāma etc., with his father's permission go there to look after the subjects there - so long neglected. And he shows the Citra-kūṭa, as the scene of Sītā's abduction by Rāvaṇa.

CHAPTER-VI

THE RĀMĀYAṆA VERSION OF ŚĪLĀCĀRYA

(as found in his CAŪPPANNA-MAHĀPURISA-CARIYA)

Introductory Remarks :

Śīlācārya (or Śīlāṅkācārya) was a pupil of Mānadeva who belonged to the Nirvṛtikullinagaccha. He is said to have written commentaries in Sanskrit on the eleven 'Aṅgas' of the Jain Canon. The **Caūppannamahāpurisacariya** is a work written by him in Prakrit prose interspersed with verses in V.S. 925 (=A.D. 868). It is a little known work. As the title itself indicates, the work deals with the fifty-four eminent men of Jainism—the Śālākāpuruṣas. Although it treats of all the sixty-three Great Men it does not, in accordance with the earlier tradition in the Samavāyāṅga-sūtra which knows only 54 "excellent men" (Uttamapurisa), count the 9 Prativāsudevas as great or excellent men. This work is a precursor of the later and more famous Triṣaṣṭi-śālākā-puruṣa-carita of Hemacandra. The fifth part of this Prakrit work gives the life of Ariṣṭanemi, which includes the lives of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma also".

Here we are concerned only with Śīlācārya's version of the story of Rāma. He opens the narrative with verses (1-3) then changes over to prose (about six lines) and again resumes verse form (vv.27). The colophon reads: : इति महापुरिसचरिण राम-लक्ष्मण-

चरियं परिसमत्तं ति ।

We give below a close summary of this version and then examine its relation to the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki and make remarks regarding the style of the author.

Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa Caritam : Summary

There was a city called Ayodhyā. King Daśaratha ruled over it. He had three wives: Kosalā, Kekayī and Sumitrā. Rāmabhadra was born of Kosalā, Bharata and Śatrughṇa were born of Kekayī, and Lakṣmaṇa was born of Sumitrā. When Rāma was about to be coronated, Kekayī, under some pretext, sent Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa into exile, and

Caūppannamahāpurisacariyam by Ācārya Śrī Śīlāṅka ed by Pt. Amritlal Mohanlal Bhojak, Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad Varāṇasi, 1961, **available from** L.D. Institute of Indology Ahmedabad, 380 009

1. Here we have an echo of Kālidāsa's thought found in :

दधत्तो मङ्गलक्ष्मै वसानस्य च वल्कले ।
दहशुर्विस्मितास्तस्य मुखरागं समं जनाः ॥

placed Bharata on the throne. Rāma accepted, with equal pleasure, the exile as he would the coronation.² Having accepted the command of his father, Rāma, self-possessed and rejoicing in heart, and accompanied by his wife and Lakṣmaṇa went to the forest. There in a secluded spot he lived quite happily. He was very happy in protecting his followers Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa.

There ruled at that time Rāvaṇa in Laṅkā. He tormented the world, as he possessed the Rākṣasī lores. He was also of bad conduct. Hearing the words of Śūrpaṇakhā, who was punished (by the exiled princes), Rāvaṇa was enamoured of Rāma's wife, Rāvaṇa - who was dragged by the hand of Time and a victim of his own destiny. Having duped the two brother - princes by the cry of the deer - who was really Mārīca - he abducted Sītā who ultimately proved the sole cause of the destruction of his own army, of the Rākṣasas, and of all his glory.

Realising that they were beguiled by the māyā of the Rākṣasas, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were deeply distressed. They were sad at the rape of Sītā; at their lamentation ascetics approached them. They killed the army of Kharadūṣaṇa, were tormented with the account of Jaṭāyuṣ were at a loss to know what to do; entered into alliance with Sugrīva; Rāma slew Vālī, the Vānara-Chief, of immeasurable strength, who was weaponless², and sent Hanūmat to bring the tidings of Sītā. Hanūmat crossed the ocean, went to Laṅkā, and there in the park called Nandanavana he came across Sītā, who was being consoled by Trijaṭā. Then dismissed by Sītā, he ruined the park, overpowered the lord of the Rākṣasas, set Laṅkā on fire and speedily repaired to where Rāghava was.

Then knowing well the course of duty before him, Rāma accompanied by Lakṣmaṇa and the army of Sugrīva, set forth in the direction of Laṅkā. Crossing the ocean he, with his army and that of Vibhīṣaṇa, encamped on the Suvela hill³ near Laṅkā.

Now Rāvaṇa, who could not brook the presence of a hostile army led his forces against them.⁴ Then there began a war between Sugrīva and his army - powerful on

2 Note that it is Rāma who kills Vālī, who was a mighty hero, when the latter was unarmed!

3. Sucela is the reading, v.1. Susela probably a copyist's mistake for 'Suvela'.

4. The couplet here is obscure:

अहं रामणो वि परब्रह्ममसंहृतो नी (-णी-)इ तस्स पच्चोणिं ।
अलसाययंतं पलोयइ (पलोइय, v. 1.) रामबलो भणइ तव्वेलं ॥

Then follows a fine verse:

मज्झ वि रिवुणो तत्थ य तावसा ते वि लंकमह v. 1. हि हविउं ।
चिट्ठति किण्ण (किण) दीसइ अहो जियंतेहि अच्छरियं ॥

which reminds us of the famous stanza often quoted in the works of Alarika rasastra:

न्यक्कारो ह्यमेव

account of Vānara-lore-on one side and the Rākṣasas - haughty with their own Rākṣasa lores - on the other. The mighty Vānara heroes overthrew Prahasta, Kumbhakarna and Megha-Nināda⁵ now Rāvaṇa began a single combat with Lakṣmaṇa, which was fierce, dreadful and in comparable. Rāvaṇa (as a last resort) hurled his disc at Lakṣmaṇa. Approaching Lakṣmaṇa it settled on his hand. Then with that disc Lakṣmaṇa cut off the head of Rāvaṇa (lit. the ten headed one) who was wicked and cruel. On the death of Rāvaṇa, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, who got back Sītā, placed Vibhīṣaṇa on the throne of Laṅkā. Vāsudeva, who obtained the jewel of the disc, conquered the earth and Rāma acquired merit. Having practised self-control, and destroyed the accumulated Karman he attained to liberation, Lakṣmaṇa, however, went to hell. Both of them had a span of life, as long as 12000 years; they had a height of 16 'dhanus'. Thus is narrated in brief the life-history of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, which is described at length in works like 'Paṭimacariya'.

Now let us undertake a comparison of the three versions of Śīlācārya, Vālmiki and Vimala with a view to setting the relation of the first with the second and the third :

Śīlācārya	Vālmiki	Vimala
1. <i>Parentage of Satrugna :</i> He is the son of Kaikeyī and Daśaratha.	He is the son of Sumitrā and Daśaratha.	He is the son of Kaikeyī and Daśaratha.
2. <i>Circumstances that lead to Rāma's exile :</i> Not mentioned.	The Court-intrigue culminating in Rāma's exile - fully described.	Kaikeyī with a view to holding Bharata back from taking to the path of renunciation and without any ill-will towards Rāma demands throne for Bharata; Rāma voluntarily chose to lead a forest-life.
3. <i>The name of Rāvaṇa's sister :</i> is Śūrpanakhā.	is Śūrpanakhā	is Candranakhā.
4. <i>The golden deer incident :</i> is common to the versions of Śīlācārya and Vālmiki.		Vimala omits it.
5. <i>The overthrow of Kharadūṣaṇa's army :</i> It occurs after the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa. We are told Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa do the feat.	Khara and Dūṣaṇa are two separate personalities - slain by Rāma before the golden deer incident.	It occurs after the abduction of Sītā. But it is Lakṣmaṇa aided by Virādhita, who does the feat.
6. <i>Vāli-episode :</i> According to both Śīlācārya and Vālmiki it is Rāma who killed Vālin.		Vālin was a noble Vidyādhara; he makes a gift of his kingdom to his brother Sugrīva and himself takes to 'pravrajya'; in the end he attains 'Nirvāṇa.'

Śīlācārya	Vālmīki	Vimala
7. <i>Trijaṭā's role :</i>		
Trijaṭā consoled Sītā when she was retained as a captive in the Nandanavana.	A female demon, one of the Rākṣasa attendants kept by Rāvaṇa to watch over Sītā, when she was kept as a captive in the Aśoka-vāṭikā. She acted very kindly towards Sītā and induced her companions to do the same.	No reference to Trijaṭā.
8. <i>Rāvaṇa's death :</i>		
It is Lakṣmaṇa who kills him with the 'disc.'	It is Rāma who kills Rāvaṇa.	It is Lakṣmaṇa who kills him with the disc.
9. <i>The condition of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa after death :</i>		
Rāma attains Nirvāṇa; Lakṣmaṇa descends to hell.	Rāma to keep his promise to Time "abandons Lakṣmaṇa who goes to the river Sarayū, suppresses all his senses, and is conveyed bodily by Indra to heaven.-- Rāma enters the glory of Viṣṇu with his body and his followers."	Same as in Śīlācārya's account.
10. <i>The span of life and height of Rāma :</i>		
Rāma's span of life-12000 years; 16 'Dhanu's height.	"Then thousand years Ayo-dhyā, blest with Rāma's rule, had peace and rest."	17000 years -- span of life. 16 Dhanus--height.

The Relation of Śīlācārya's Version to the Versions of Vālmīki and Vimala :

The close comparison instituted above clearly points out that in regard to some features (viz., 3, 4, 6 and 7) Śīlācārya is in agreement with Vālmīki and in regard to some other features (viz, 1, 5, 8 and 9) with Vimala. As regards feature 10, he partially agrees with Vimala. About feature 2, however, we have no clue at all to say whether he agrees with the former or the latter. Śīlācārya, unlike his distinguished predecessor Saṅghadāsa, ends his story with the statement that Rāma attained liberation and Lakṣmaṇa descended to hell. He, however, boldly omits, in accordance with Saṅghadāsa, the later history of Rāma as found either in Vālmīki or Vimala. This omission of almost the whole latter history of Rāma is not easy to explain. May be, he did not find it interesting enough or sufficiently important to be included in his abridged version. At the end of his version he declares: "Thus is narrated in brief the life-history of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, which is described at length in works like Pāṇinīya". From this statement of his it is obvious that Vimala's work was before his mental eye when he prepared this abridged version. He has, however, introduced some remarkable features from Vālmīki's version

directly, possibly because of their popularity in his days or indirectly through Saṅghadāsa whose version also shares these features. It deserves our notice that Śīlācārya's Rāvaṇa is after Vālmīki's as he speaks of him in such terms as: भुवणतावणो, ~~बलवमन्त्रजायरणेन दूषितो~~ कलुषितचरितो, 'विज्जागव्विओ' उल and क्रूर Vimala's Rāvaṇa is nearly a perfect hero with one defect only, viz, his passion for Sītā. He does not count the Prativāsudevas, such as Rāvaṇa, among the 'Uttama' - or 'Mahā'-or 'Śalākā' - puruṣas. Naturally the name Rāvaṇa does not find place in the title 'राम-लक्षणचरियं,'

Śīlācārya's Influence on Hemacandra?

Winternitz observes in connection with Hemacandra's work-*Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-carita*- that the *Caṭṭuppannamahāpurisa-carīya* of Śīlācārya must be taken into consideration while investigating sources which Hemacandra drew upon for his poem (see pp. 505-506). As far as the version of Rāmāyaṇa is concerned, it can definitely be asserted that not Śīlācārya's but Vimala Sūri's *Paṭimacariya* is Hemacandra's source.

Conclusion :

From the preceding discussion it is abundantly clear that Śīlācārya's version of Rāmāyaṇa is derivative and made up by adding some Jain features from Vimala's version to the original Hindu version represented in the two great epics, and that his contribution to the development of the Rāma-legend is next to nothing.

A Critical Appreciation :

Śīlācārya, like his predecessor-Saṅghadāsa gives an abridged version of the Hindu epic-theme, adding some Jain features. His version is, however, inferior to that of Saṅghadāsa. It is careless, inartistic, imperfect and far from satisfactory. He is careless when he describes to us that the army of Kharadūṣaṇa was killed by the exiled princes after the abduction of Sītā. He does not feel it necessary to mention the circumstances that led to Rāma's exile or why Rāma killed the 'weaponless' Vālin.

His style is simple and easy; however, two verses are obscure but that is due to the corrupt text. As already pointed out in the foot-notes to the summary, once he echoes Kālidāsa's thought and another time the excellent idea as found in the famous stanza --

'न्यकारो ह्यमेव.....' etc. -- from works on Poetics. He opens his narrative with two *Subhāṣitas*:

ण सहइ माणब्भसं इयरा इयरं पि कि पुण महप्पा ।
णियभज्जागयपरिहवकलकिओ कि पि ववसेइ ॥
भसणकयत्थो साणो सीहो उण होइ कोइ ओसंतो ।
णियवीरियाणुसारेण पसमणं होइ गरुयाणं ॥

The first cleverly suggests the subject of the narrative. From the second it is not quite clear as to what the author wants to allude to.

CHAPTER-VII

THE RĀMĀYAṆA VERSION OF ĀCĀRYA HARIṢEṆA

(as found in his BRĤATKATHĀKOŚA¹)

1. PERSONAL HISTORY AND DATE OF THE AUTHOR

Hariṣeṇa, the author of this Br̥hat-Kathākośa, belonged to the Punnāṭa-saṁgha. Punnāṭa country was a part of Karṇāṭaka (territory whose capital was Kirtipura, the present Kittura). The ascetic group that hailed from Punnāṭa and settled down at Vardhamānapura and round about came to be known as Punnāṭa-saṁgha there. In the South, originally it was perhaps known as Kittura-Saṁgha, a name derived from the capital of Punnāṭa country, which is mentioned in one of the Śravaṇa Belgola inscriptions of C. Śaka 622. Besides our Hariṣeṇa, the only author that mentions Br̥hat or simply Punnāṭa-Saṁgha or -gaṇa is Jinasena, who completed his Harivaṁśa at the same Vardhamāna-nagara (the present Waḍhawān in Kathiawar) in A.D. 783, just 148 years earlier than this Kathākośa.

As to the year of composition the author is quite explicit: he wrote this Kośa in Vikrama Sam. 989 or Śaka 853, i.e. about 932 A.D.

The contemporary king was Vināyakapāla of the Pratihāra dynasty. Hariṣeṇa's spiritual ancestry as given by him in his Praśasti is: Mauni Bhaṭṭāraka - Sri Hariṣeṇa - Bharatasena - and Hariṣeṇa (our author). Hariṣeṇa speaks of his teacher in these terms: "he was a poet well-versed in different branches of learning, metrics, rhetorics, poetics, dramaturgy, grammar and logic, and was attended upon by the learned." And about himself he writes that he did not possess any (expert) knowledge of grammar, metrics and logic - this is of course his modesty.

No other work of Hariṣeṇa has come to light. His Kathākośa (or Treasury of Stories) contains 157 Kathānakas - tales which illustrate the veiled and explicit allusions found in the Bhagavatī Ārāḍhanā. He tells us that the tales are drawn out, extracted or chosen from the (Bhagavatī) Ārāḍhanā, perhaps inseparably connected with some Prakrit commentary that gave all these tales. Hariṣeṇa uniformly calls this treasury, Kathākośa. The term Br̥hat connotes bulk and extent and was probably added later on to the title to distinguish the work from smaller collections of Prabhācandra and Nemidatta. The whole work is composed mostly in Anuṣṭubh metre.

1. Edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M.A., D. Litt., S.J.S. No. 17.

The chief object of most of the tales is to glorify Jainism and impress on the minds of readers the greatness and power of Jainism and thus propagate the religio-moral ideals upheld by Jainism. These tales are strewn with secular topics which provide instruction and often give entertainment.

With this general information we now turn to the two tales which give the Jain form of Rāma Story (Kathānaka Nos. 84 and 89)².

2. SUMMARY OF THE TWO RĀMĀYAṆA KATHĀNAKAS

RĀMĀYAṆA -- KATHĀNAKAM

In the country of Vinītā there was a city called Sāketa. Daśaratha ruled over it. He had four Mahādevīs (principal wives): 1) Sukośalā, (2) Sumitrā alias Prabhā, 3) Kekayā³ and 4) Suprajā. Rāmadeva, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna were born of them respectively. Janaka gave his daughter, Sītā, in marriage to Rāmadeva. Once Daśaratha thought of bestowing the kingdom on Rāma and becoming himself an ascetic. He made all preparations for Rāma's coronation and he was about to celebrate the great festival of Rāma's coronation in the presence of his vassals. Bharata's mother hearing the news of Rāma's coronation decided to get the kingdom for Bharata. With that intention Kekayī went to the royal assembly and said: "I now demand the boon pledged with you then. You, who are bent on maintaining your fame for truth, grant me my prayer: you enthrone my son - Bharata and now forth drive Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa into forest".

On Kekayī's request Daśaratha placed Bharata on the throne. Rāma, accompanied by Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, renouncing all possessions went to Daṇḍaka's forest⁴ lying to the South.

Now there was in Lākṣā a king called Rāvaṇa. He had a wife named Mandodarī; they had two sons Indrajit and Akṣakṣā⁵ who were brave, handsome, modest and well-behaved and devoted to their parents. Rāvaṇa had a younger sister Śūrpaṇakhā by name. He gave her in marriage to Kharadūṣaṇa.⁶ In the course of her wanderings

2. Kathānaka No. 76 deals with the story of Nārada and Parvata and the origin of animal sacrifice. This story is given in some of the Jain forms of the Rāma story. But as it does not form an essential part of the Rāmāyaṇa we skip over it.
3. The spelling 'Kekayā' deserves notice. v. 12 spells the name as 'Kekayī'. The other recorded forms are 'Kaikeyī' and 'Kekeyī'.
4. v. 20 spells the word as Daṇḍakyāraṇya.
5. v. 18 mentions the name as Akṣakṣā and the v. 1 gives us only Akṣa.
6. The author writes here as if Kharādūṣaṇa is one individual - Kharādīdūṣaṇāntāya (to one whose name has Khara at the beginning and Dūṣaṇa at the end i.e. Khara-dūṣaṇa). But vv. 24 and 25 give Khara as the name of Śūrpaṇakhā's husband and in v. 27 we are told that Khara, Dūṣaṇa and Trīśaras (or according to v.1 Trīśiras) were three brothers. Thus we find the author guilty of confusion and inconsistency.

she once came across Rāmadeva who was living in Daṇḍaka-forest. She made him a request to accept her as worthy bride. Rāma thereupon said: 'I have a wife, you better approach Lakṣmaṇa'. She then went near Lakṣmaṇa as directed by Rāma and spoke: 'I will be your wife'. Lakṣmaṇa in anger cleft her nose and ears away, and drove her away from that place. She then went to Khara. When Khara saw her in that condition he was in rage and asked her who it was that maimed her and marred her thus. At these words of her husband she replied that it was Lakṣmaṇa who brought her to that distress. At this Khara was enraged; and the three brothers Khara, Dūṣaṇa and Trisiras⁷ with their forces went to where Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā were staying. Rāmadeva in the battle killed those three brothers along with their army consisting of 14000 Rākṣasas. Sūrpaṇakhā then went to her brother Rāvaṇa. Seeing his sister maimed he was furious and went to where Rāmadeva was. At the sight of Sītā he was overpowered with passion for her. Mārīca assuming the form of a golden deer went near Sītā. She called Rāma to view that wondrous deer (and bring it for her). Rāma followed the deer and struck it with an arrow. That Mārīca in the form of that deer gave a lion's roar and called aloud with eager cry ('Ho, brother Lakṣmaṇa! I am dead!') Sītā thereupon asked Lakṣmaṇa to run and seek Rāmadeva. Lakṣmaṇa told her that Rāma had asked him not to leave her alone unguarded in that dreadful forest. Sītā, then, blind with rage, accused him of guilty love of her. At those words of reproach Lakṣmaṇa, leaving her, hastened to Rāma's aid. While Lakṣmaṇa was away Rāvaṇa in the red garb of a mendicant stood before Sītā for begging alms. 'Give me alms, O fair one!' saying thus he seized her and went to Laṅkā. When Daśānana had gone to Laṅkā, Rāma asked Lakṣmaṇa why he, leaving Sītā alone, had gone to him. He replied that it was Sita who had sent him to his aid. Rāmadeva thereupon exclaimed that some danger must have overcome that lonely Sītā! The two brothers then arrived at the spot where Lakṣmaṇa had left her. Not finding his beloved Sītā, Rāma with fond lament⁸ roamed in that forest but in vain. Lakṣmaṇa tried to comfort him. Then with the aid of Vānara army led by Sugrīva, Angada, Hanūmat, Nala, Nīla etc., Rāma got constructed a bridge and crossed the ocean and reached Laṅkā. Then in a fierce battle Rāma killed Rāvaṇa and became himself a sovereign ruler. The great war involving the death of many beings was fought between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, the cause being a woman. There have been fought many other dreadful wars by men just for the sake of a woman. Alas! Women are the source of war !

7. The text, accepted by the editor gives Trisaras; and the v. 1. gives Trisiras.

8. It is extraordinary that the author devotes full four verses to Rāma's lament whereas many other important events he disposes of in one verse only, e.g., the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa.

The Tale of Rāmāyaṇa relating Rāvaṇa's death for having abducted Sītā

The Tale of Sītā⁹

In the country of Vinītā there was a city called Sāketa. It was ruled by king Rāmadeva. He had a wife called Sītā. As there were (slandorous) reports about her and Rāvaṇa, Rāma asked her to undergo fire-ordeal and thus prove her innocence and purity. "If my heart has ever strayed from Rāmadeva, you burn me, otherwise, O Fire, protect me" - with these words Sītā entered Agni-kunḍa¹⁰, from which issued wild flames of fire. As soon as Sītā entered the Agni-kunḍa, that Agni-kunḍa turned into a lake. Thus attended upon by gods¹¹, Sītā became a nun at the hands of a Jain muni called Samyamasena. Seeing that miracle many other women and men too entered the Order. Some others became Jain house-holders; while some others still, who were destined to be liberated praised Sītā for her virtue of chastity.

The Tale of the Innocence of Sītā (established by trial),

Sītā - the wife of Rāmadeva

3. A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE TWO KATHĀNAKAS ABOUT RĀMA

The two Rāmāyaṇa Kathānakas, though very short, are highly important for our study as they come from the pen of a Digambara writer. That Hariṣeṇa's version is strikingly different from all other Digambara or Śvetāmbara versions and but for a few Jain traits it is only a minimum abridgment of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa - will be crystal clear if we compare the representative Śvetāmbara and Digambara versions with it.

(i) A COMPARISON OF HARIṢEṆA'S VERSION WITH THOSE OF VIMALA AND GUṆABHADRA

Śvetāmbara Paūma-Cariya	Hariṣeṇa's two Kathānakas	Digambara Uttara-Purāṇa
1. Daśaratha of Sāketa has three queens:	Daśaratha of Sāketa has four queens : 1) Sukośalā, 2)	Daśaratha, formerly of Vārāṇasī and now of
1) Aparājitā, 2) Sumitrā and 3) Kaikeyī.	Sumitrā, 3) Kekayā and 4) Suprajā.	Ayodhyā has four queens : 1) Subalā, 2) Kaikeyī, and 3-4) unnamed.

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9. As Kathānaka No. 89, though separated from Kathānaka No. 84, really forms a part of the Rāmāyaṇa Kathānaka we treat them for our study as one continuous narration.
 10. An enclosed space for keeping the fire.
 11. In 'Jain Sanskrit' Prātihārya (Pk. Pāḍihera) means 'service rendered by gods' - 'Devatākṛta Pratihāra-Karma', Devakṛta Pūjāviśeṣa' - P.S.M.
 12. Padma, Rāmadeva are to be identified with Rāma of Vālmīki; Aparājitā, Sukośalā or simply Kośalā, Subalā replace Vālmīki's Kausalyā.

Śvetāmbara Pauṃa-Cariya	Hariṣeṇa's two Kathānakas	Dīgambara Uttara-Purāṇa
2. Padma is born of Aparājitā, Lakṣmaṇa of Sumitrā, Bharata and Śatrughna are born of Kaikeyī.	Rāmadeva is born of Kośalā, Lakṣmaṇa of Sumitrā, Bharata of Kekayā and Śatrughna of Suprajā.	Rāma is born of Subalā, Lakṣmaṇa of Kaikeyī, Bharata and Śatrughna of the two unnamed queens.
3. Bending the Vajrāvarta bow, Rāma wins Sītā.	Janaka gave his daughter Sītā in marriage to Rāma.	Janaka gave Sītā to Rāma in marriage as a reward for his protection of the sacrifice he had organised.
4. Kaikeyī demands the kingdom for Bharata by way of fulfilling the boon; Rāma volunteers to go into exile.	Kaikeyī demands the kingdom for Bharata and exile for Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa into forest.	Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa voluntarily go to look after the kingdom of Vārāṇasī.
5. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa reject the amorous advances of Candrapākhā.	Rāma directs Śūrpaṇakhā to Lakṣmaṇa who mutilates her nose and ears.	Śūrpaṇakhā is sent, by Rāvaṇa, to Sītā as a Dūtī.
6. Lakṣmaṇa, assisted by Virādha, kills Khara-Dūṣaṇa with his 14000 excellent warriors - in the Daṇḍaka forest.	Khara, Dūṣaṇa and Triśiras with their 14000 Rākṣasas were killed by Rāmadeva in the Daṇḍaka forest.	No mention of this episode and Daṇḍaka; Rāma etc., are at Citrakūṭa for sport.
7. The incident of wondrous deer - omitted.	Rāmadeva kills the wondrous deer (Mārica).	Rāma pursues the golden deer which finally flies into the sky.
8. At the hearing of 'Simhānāda' Rāma leaves Sītā behind (guarded by Jaṭāyus) and goes to Lakṣmaṇa's aid when Rāvaṇa abducts Sītā.	Sītā, by her bitter and biting speech, forces Lakṣmaṇa to go away in aid of Rāma. Rāvaṇa, disguised as an ascetic, abducts Sītā.	While Rāma was away in pursuit of the deer, Rāvaṇa disguised as Rāma abducts Sītā.
9. Jatāyus is mortally wounded by Rāvaṇa, and Ratnajaṭin, deprived of his lore, when they attempt to rescue Sītā.	No mention of this episode.	No mention of this episode.
10. Vālin entrusts the	Vālin's episode omitted.	After Aṇumān's two visits

Svetāmbara Paūma-Cariya	Hariṣeṇa's two Kathānakas	Digambara Uttara-Purāṇa
kingdom of Kiṣkindhā to Sugrīva and becomes a monk.		to Laṅkā in the capacity of a messenger to Sītā and an envoy to Rāvaṇa, Vālin proposes terms for alliance with Rāma who proposes counter-terms which Vālin does not accept, finally Lakṣmaṇa kills and gets the kingdom for Sugrīva.
11. No mention of building a bridge across the sea but the capture of king Setu is described.	With the assistance of Sugrīva and other Vānara heroes Rāma constructs a bridge across the sea and takes his army to Laṅkā.	Rāma and Vānara army cross the sea by 'aero planes' and reach Laṅkā.
12. Lakṣmaṇa kills Rāvaṇa.	Rāma kills Rāvaṇa.	Lakṣmaṇa kills Rāvaṇa
13. Passing the fire-ordeal Sītā becomes a nun.	Undergoing the fire-ordeal Sītā accepts asceticism at the hands of a Jain Monk called Saṁyamasena.	After Rāma's joining the ascetic order, Sītā becomes a nun - no reference to fire-ordeal.

This comparison clearly shows how Hariṣeṇa's version is markedly different from those of Vīmaia and Guṇabhadra.

The points regarding which it differs from the Rāmayaṇa of Vālmiki are:

(II) VĀLMIKI-RĀMĀYAṆA AND HARIṢEṆA'S VERSION

Vālmiki's Rāmayaṇa	Hariṣeṇa's version
1. Daśaratha has three principal queens: 1) Kausalyā, 2) Sumitrā and 3) Kaikeyī.	In addition to these three he had a wife called Suprajā.
2. Rāma is born of Kausalyā, Lakṣmaṇa and Satrughna are the sons of Sumitrā and Bharata of Kaikeyī.	The four queens give birth to four sons respectively.
3. Khara and Dūṣaṇa are brothers of Śūrpaṇakhā and Trisīras a Senāpati in the service of Khara.	Hariṣeṇa's account is somewhat confused. Once he mentions Kharadūṣaṇa as the husband of Śūrpaṇakhā while on another occasion he mentions Khara as her husband and Dūṣaṇa and Trisīras as Khara's brothers.

Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa

Hariṣeṇa's version

4. After Rāvaṇa's death Sītā undergoes a fire-ordeal at Laṅkā and in Uttarākaṇḍa she prays to Earth to grant her a hiding place which request is fulfilled by the Earth.

Here apparently there is reference to a fire-ordeal once only (and that too obviously not at Laṅkā but at Ayodhyā). Here she successfully comes out of the ordeal and becomes a nun.

Here it may be noted that Sītā becoming a nun is definitely a Jain trait, whose source may be traced to Padma-Purāṇa; Kharadūṣaṇa is the husband of Sūrpaṇakhā (Candraṇakhā) according to the Padma-Purāṇa. So the author has confused this account with that of Vālmiki according to whom Khara and Dūṣaṇa are two different individuals and brothers of Sūrpaṇakhā. According to Padma-Purāṇa Daśaratha has four queens: Aparājitā, Sumitrā, Suprabhā and Kekayā. Hariṣeṇa follows him, only he spells the name as Suprajā. Leaving aside these variations Hariṣeṇa's version constitutes a very brief epitome of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. It may be stated here that the first Kathānaka does not carry the story beyond the slaying of Rāvaṇa and Rāma's becoming a sovereign ruler. This is how Rāmopākhyāna also ends. This is perfectly understandable as the author aims at driving home the truth that woman is the cause of many a devastating war.

(iii) PURPOSE OF THE KATHĀNAKAS

The author directly tells us at the end of Kathānaka No. 84 that the great war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa involving the death of many beings, was fought for the sake of one woman. Many other fierce wars have been fought on this earth for the sake of woman. It is indeed (in many cases) that woman is the cause of war. It is to impress upon the mind of the reader this general truth that the author epitomises Rāmāyaṇa.

In Kathānaka No. 89, the author gives the episode of Sītā's fire-ordeal that she undergoes in order to establish her purity and innocence. After successfully passing through the ordeal she becomes a nun and many other women follow her. Some people become Śrāvakas and others praise the chastity and act of renunciation of Sītā. The purpose here seems to be of the nature of religious propaganda.

(iv) LITERARY APPRECIATION

Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa is an epic of great length (traditional number of verses being 24000); besides the main story of Rāma it relates the legends of many other heroes. Hariṣeṇa epitomises the main story omitting altogether secondary threads of the story. The original epic contains numerous passages of superb poetry which Hariṣeṇa boldly omits as they interfere with the progress of the story. Hariṣeṇa does not care to preserve the beauty and spirit of the original while he reduces the Rāmāyaṇa to a minimum. He devotes, strangely enough, in this very brief epitome (total verses 57) full four verses to Rāma's lamentation.

CHAPTER -- VIII

THE RĀMĀYAṆA VERSION OF PUṢPADANTA

(as found in his MAHĀPURĀṆA)

1. PERSONAL HISTORY AND DATE OF PUṢPADANTA

Puṣpadanta came of a Brahman family of Kāśyapa gotra. His father's name was Keśava and mother's Mugdhā-devī. Both of them were devotees of Śiva, but were later converted to Jainism. Puṣpadanta had a dark complexion and a lean frame. He does not seem to have married. He was poverty-stricken, and yet he possessed a lord's noble mind. He was perhaps in the court of a king Bhairava or Vīrarāja, and had written a poem on him, but being insulted there, left his court and came over to Mānyakheṭa, which was then the capital of the Rāṣṭra-kūṭas. There he stayed in a grove of trees, outside the capital; two citizens, Indrarāja and Annaiya by name, saw him there and persuaded him to see Bharata, a minister to the Rāṣṭra-kūṭa king, who later proved to be his esteemed patron. At his request Puṣpadanta began composing his **Mahā-Purāṇa** or **Tisatthi-Mahāpurisa-Guṇālaṅkāra** in 959 A.D. After he had completed his Ādi-Purāṇa, he was out of mood and stopped writing. At Bharata's keen desire and the inspiration given by the goddess of learning he resumed his work and completed it in 965 A.D. He was greatly pleased with his own performance and proudly wrote to say that 'What is not here cannot be found elsewhere' in the same spirit of Vyāsa, the author of the **Mahābhārata**. And it is a very well-deserved compliment paid to his own laborious attempt. After Bharata, his son Nanna stepped into his father's office and extended his patronage to the poet; Nanna requested him to write two more poems in Prakrit: Jasaharacariu and Nāyakumāracariu. The glory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas however soon came to an end. Their capital, Mānyakheṭa was plundered in 972 A.D. and the poet once again became destitute.

He was nicknamed as Khaṇḍa. Abhimāna-meru, Kāvya-ratnākara, Kāvya-pisāca, etc., were his titles. He was highly self-respecting. He was shy of haughty kings and the wicked people. He had a very austere life. He was formerly a Śrāvaka only but at heart a Muni. His poetry had its source in his uttermost devotion to the Jinas. Although he was not good-looking his face always beamed with joy. Self-respect and humility - these two qualities he combined in himself in a remarkable way. His works reveal that he was a poet of a very high order, was well-versed in Brahmanic lore as well as Jainism, and had a mastery over Apabhraṃsa language.

His works : - Three works in Apabhraṃsa are to his credit. His **Mahā-Purāṇa**¹ is

1. Edited by Dr. P.L. Vaidya, M.D.J.G. No. 37.

the earliest of them. It is divided in two parts: Ādi-Purāṇa and Uttara-Purāṇa. The first describes the life of Ṛṣabha, the first Tirthaṅkara, and the second the remaining Tirthaṅkaras and their contemporary great men. The Uttara-Purāṇa includes the story of Rāma and of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas. The first Purāṇa contains 80 sandhis and the later one 42 sandhis. The whole work contains about 20,000 verses.

Nāyakumāracarīu² is a Khaṇḍa-Kāvya in nine Sandhis. It is stamped with the name of Nanna, his patron. He composed this work at Nanna's mansion at the keen desire of Nanna and others. It was undertaken with the express intention of illustrating the fruit of observing a fast on Pañcamī.

Jasaharacarīu³ also is a Khaṇḍakāvya in four Sandhis dealing with the life of Yaśodhara. The story of this Yaśodhara is very popular with the Jains. Digambara and Śvetāmbara writers have treated this life of Yaśodhara in their works written in Sanskrit and Prakrit. The poet wrote this poem also for Nanna. And it is referred to as an 'Ornament to Nanna's ears' at the end of each Sandhi.

Both the Khaṇḍa-Kāvyas are poetically of great worth. His works have earned him great fame as a prince among Apabhraṁśa poets.

2. PUṢPADANTA'S RĀMĀYAṆA - A TABLE OF CONTENTS

In the present study of ours we are chiefly concerned with the 'Story of Rāma' as found in Sandhis (or Paricchedas) LXIX-LXXIX (both inclusive) of his Mahā-Purāṇa. These eleven Sandhis are of varied length, each Sandhi being divided into Kaṇḍavakas, unequal in number. Thus Sandhi LXIX has the largest number of Kaṇḍavakas, viz., 35 while Sandhi 76 has the fewest number of them, viz., 10. The titles of the various Sandhis are eloquent of their subject matter. These titles serve as a table of contents:-

Sandhi LXIX	: Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa-Bharata-Śatrughna-Utpatti Nāma Yāga-Nivāraṇa Nāma
Sandhi LXX	: Sītā-Vivāha-Kalyāṇam
Sandhi LXXI	: Nāradaḡamanam and Rāvaṇa-manah-Kṣobhanam
Sandhi LXXII	: Sītā-Haraṇam
Sandhi LXXIII	: Sugrīva-Hanūmat-Kumārāḡamanam and Sītā-Darśanam
Sandhi LXXIV	: Hanūmat- Dūta-Gamanam
Sandhi LXXV	: Vāli-nihananam Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa-Vidyāsāadhanam Nāma
Sandhi LXXVI	: Nandana-Vana-Moṭanam Laṅkā-Dāham
Sandhi LXXVII	: Rāghava-Rāvaṇa-Bala-Sannahanam

2. Edited by Prof. Hiralal Jain, D.J.S. Vol. I.

3. Edited by Dr. P.L. Vaidya, Karanja Jain Series Vol. I.

Sandhi LXXVIII : Rāvaṇa-nihananam Vibhīṣaṇa-Paṭṭabandho Nāma

Sandhi LXXIX : Rāma-Lakṣmaṇādi-Guṇa-Kīrtanam⁴

3. 'SANDHI' - WISE SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS

With these preliminary remarks we now give below a brief outline of the contents of the Rāmāyaṇa of Puṣpadanta:

SANDHI LXIX :

The poet undertakes the composition of Rāmāyaṇa at the desire of Bharata. Although he does not have the necessary qualifications⁵ to carry out the work undertaken, he makes himself bold to sing the adventures of Rāma as a poem attains to beauty by virtue of its contents. He cannot compete with his great predecessors - Kaviṛāja Śvayambhū and Caturmukha.⁶

King Śreṇika of Magadha requests Indrabhūti Gautama to instruct him correctly regarding the life of Rāma, in accordance with Mahāvīra's own instructions. For Vyāsa and Vālmīki have spread false notions about the great men figuring in the Rāmāyaṇa; thus for example we are told that (i) Rāvaṇa had ten heads, (ii) his son (Indrajit) was older in age than his father, (iii) Rāvaṇa was a demon and not human being, (iv) he had twenty eyes and twenty hands and that he worshipped god Śiva with his heads, (v) Rāvaṇa was

4. For the sake of convenience the titles, which are originally in Prakrit, are given here in Sanskrit; the full title of the last Canto is "Muni-Suvrata-Tīrtha-Sambhūta-Hariṣeṇa-Cakravartī-Rāma - Baladeva - Lakṣmaṇa - Vāsudeva - Rāvaṇa - Prativāsudeva - Guṇa - Kīrtanarṇ".

5. This is but the modesty of the poet.

6. Svayambhū is the author of 1) Paūmacariu, 2) Riṭṭaṇemi-Cariu and 3) Pañcamī-cariu, who probably flourished some time between 678 A.D. and 784 A.D. His Pauma-Cariu deals with the story of Rāma. As it is not yet published we are not in a position to say how far he has influenced Puṣpadanta in the composition of his Rāmāyaṇa. Pt. Premī tells us that the Paūma-Cariu consists of 90 Sandhis and is spread over 12000 verses. It is divided into five books : 1) Vidyādhara, 2) Ayodhyā, 3) Sundara, 4) Yuddha and 5) Uttara-Kāṇḍa. These books contain 20, 22, 14, 21 and 13 sandhis respectively. Of these the last seven Sandhis are from the pen of his son Tribhuvana Svayambhu.

Caturmukha preceded Svayambhū. He was known for his choice diction. He is the author of Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa and probably of one Paūma-cariu. We so far know of his works through references by later writers. No work of his has yet come to light. For details read 'Mahākavi Svayambhū and Tribhuvana Svayambhū' - an article in the Jain Sāhitya aur Itihāsa of Pt. Premī.

In Kadavaka 2 he mentions the land-marks in the story of Rāma : 1) Sītā-haraṇa, 2) Hanūmat-Guṇa-Vistarāṇa, 3) Viṭa-sugrīva-rāja-māraṇa, 4) Tārā-pati-Abhyuddharaṇa, 5) Lavaṇa-Samudra-taraṇa and 6) Rāma-Rāvaṇa-yuddha.

killed by the arrows of Rāma, (vi) the arms of Lakṣmaṇa were long and unbending, (vii) Vibhīṣaṇa is a Cirañjivin, (ix) Kumbha-karṇa sleeps for six months and feels satisfied by eating one thousand buffaloes. 7Indrabhūti Gautama thereupon narrates the life-history of Rāma as follows:-

In the city of Ratnapura in the Malaya country there was a king Prajāpati. His wife Guṇakāntā gave birth to a son called Candracūla. Vijaya, the son of the King's minister, was a great friend of Candracūla.

In that city there was one Kubera. He had a daughter Kuberadattā who was betrothed to Śrīdatta, a merchant-son. On hearing the description of the wondrous beauty of that Kuberadattā, Candracūla, with the help of his friends, abducted her. This affair was reported to the king who ordered the Police-officer to kill the culprit. The citizens and the ministers requested him not to punish the prince with his life, but banish him into forest. The king yielded to their prayer. The minister took the two Kumāras to a forest and showed them to a Jain monk Mahābala by name. He told the minister that the two Kumāras were destined to be Baladeva (Vijaya) and Vāsudeva (Candracūla) in their third subsequent birth as Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. They then became monks, and practised severe austerities. Candracūla once saw Suprabha Baladeva and Puruṣottama Vāsudeva on their way and entertained a 'Nidāna' that he should enjoy a similar fortune in his future birth. The two monks after their death were born as Suvarṇacūla ('Vijaya') and Maṇicūla ('Candracūla'). In their subsequent birth they were born as sons to king Daśaratha (of Vārāṇasī) by his wives Subalā and Kaikeyī and named Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa respectively. Rāma was born on Phālguna-Kṛṣṇa-Trayodasī, Maghā Nakṣatra; and Lakṣmaṇa on Māgha Śukla-Pratipad, Viśākhanaṣṭra. Rāma was of fair complexion while Lakṣmaṇa of a dark one.⁸ When the family of Sagara at Ayodhyā was made extinct⁹, Daśaratha leaving Vārāṇasī migrated to Ayodhyā. There Daśaratha had two more sons, called, Bharata and Śatrughna, from some other two wives.

Now there was a king Janaka who ruled over Mithilā. He was a follower of the sacrifice-cult. He expressed his willingness to give his daughter¹⁰ Sītā in marriage to him who would protect the sacrifice. On the advice given by his ministers he sent an envoy

7. In Kaṭavaka 3, Puṣpadanta expressly mentions Vyāsa and Vālmīki as being responsible for the wrong notions about eminent men figuring in the Rāmāyaṇa - that have gained currency in the public. It is clear from this statement that the poet was acquainted with the stories of Rāma as given by Vālmīki and Vyāsa. We will later on discuss whether we get support for these 'false notions' in the poems of Vyāsa and Vālmīki.

8. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are fancied to be the two wings, one white and other black, of the Pārthiva-garuda, namely Daśaratha (the Ghatta to K. 12) and in the next Kaṭavaka they are conceived to be the streams of Gaṅgā and Yamunā.

9. A little later we are told how the family of Sagara was annihilated.

10. That Sītā was foundling (and adopted by Janaka as his daughter) is mentioned later on.

to Daśaratha to seek Rāma's aid promising in return the hand of Sitā in marriage to Rāma. Buddhi-viśārada greeted the proposals with approval. Atiśayamati¹¹ however took a strong exception and narrated the story as to how the sacrifice of animals originated.¹² He exploded the belief that Sagara and others obtained heaven by virtue of animal-sacrifice and suggested that they should not be a party to the performance of a sacrifice by Janaka.

**The Birth of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna
and the Preventing of the Sacrifice.**

SANDHI LXX :

On hearing the good speech of Atiśayamati Daśaratha's mind became firm in the dharma preached by the Jinas. His commander-in-chief, Mahābala, by name, however recommended that Rāma should be sent to Mithilā with a view to testing his prowess. Daśaratha then asked his Purohita whether Rāma's going to Mithilā would bring him prosperity. He predicted that wherever Rāma, accompanied by Lakṣmaṇa, would go, he would win glory and that the two Kumāras were destined to be, as the Purāṇas have described, the eighth Baladeva and Vāsudeva and that killing Rāvaṇa on the battle-field they would rule over the earth. Daśaratha asked him then about the rise and prosperity of Rāvaṇa. The Purohita then narrated the history of the life of Rāvaṇa,¹³ and predicted that Rāma by protecting Janaka's sacrifice would definitely marry Sitā. Daśaratha then sent Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with Mahābala and the army to Mithilā. Janaka accorded them a hearty welcome. The sacrifice was performed and Sitā was married to Rāma. After a few days he was called home by Daśaratha. After his arrival in Ayodhyā Daśaratha performed the worship of Jina-idols and got Rāma married to seven other maidens and Lakṣmaṇa to sixteen damsels.

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11. These are the names of two ministers in the service of Daśaratha.
 12. This story of the origin of animal-sacrifice is in complete correspondence with the one given by Guṇabhadra and hence in order to avoid unnecessary repetition we here skip over it.
 13. This history of the previous life of Rāvaṇa - his birth as king Naradeva, his renunciation of the world, his Nidāna on seeing a Vidyādhara king, his next birth as a god, then the subsequent birth in the family of the Vidyādharas at Laṅkā, his marriage with Mandodarī, the terrible 'nidāna' of Maṇimatī whose wrath he incurred by disturbing her in her severe austerities, the birth of Sitā to Rāvaṇa, her desertion by Mārīca, her discovery by a farmer, and her adoption as a daughter by Janaka - is entirely identical with the account of the Uttara-Purāṇa.

In this portion, however, we find the distinct power of description of the poet revealed. We give only a few examples:

Rāvaṇa is, as it were, a violent goad to the elephants presiding over directions, and a pike (Śūla) in the heart and head to formidable foes (K. 5-2) -- and the blazing fire, as it were, at the time of universal destruction (K. 5-7).

Just then the spring set in.¹⁴ Rāma then requested his father that they should not neglect the capital Vārāṇasī and the kingdom of Kāśī which they have inherited.¹⁵ Daśaratha heeding his advice sent Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to Vārāṇasī. They then went to Vārāṇasī were given a warm reception by the people who raised banners, flags, and arch-gates in their honour; they then entered, looked at wistfully by the city-women, the palace. While they were living at Vārāṇasī, Rāvaṇa¹⁶ was ruling over Laṅkā.

The Happy Wedding of Sītā

SANDHI LXXI :

Then Nārada who is fond of strife¹⁷ paid a visit to Rāvaṇa. He sang of Rāvaṇa's incomparable prowess and glory and then incited him to carry off Sītā of wondrous beauty (the wife of Rāma) who only befitted him (Rāvaṇa). Rāvaṇa first thought of slaying Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in the battle and then bringing Sītā by force to Laṅkā. Nārada explained to him how very difficult it was to conquer the two Kumāras of Daśaratha. Rāvaṇa was sure of his prowess; Nārada thought that there would definitely be a war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa and left Rāvaṇa's court. Rāvaṇa then sought the advice of his ministers. Mārīca brought to his notice the enormity of abducting a woman. Rāvaṇa however had fallen madly in love with Sītā. He felt that his kingdom had absolutely no meaning so long as he could not get Sītā to dally with. Mārīca then put it to him to send Candraṇakhā as a go-between and get to know whether Sītā could be persuaded to accept his love.¹⁸ Rāvaṇa thereupon sent her on that mission to Vārāṇasī. There she saw Nandanavana

Sītā is thus described : She is, as it were the digit of the moon on the second day (of the Sukla-Pakṣa); the graceful arrangement of words, as it were by a great poet, a key, as it were, to the knowledge of love, the perfection, as it were, of womanly beauty, the lasting fame, as it were, of the good.

The passionate description of Sītā's charms must be read in the original in order to appreciate fully its excellence. We give here only a 'sample' and that too in translation: It is but proper that the eyes were long. How otherwise could they reach (penetrate) the hearts of people? Her breasts were full of 'liquid-love'-Ratirasa - How otherwise could they have satisfied the thirst for love ?..... (K. 10 and K. 11)

14. Kaṇḍavakas 14 and 15 give a picturesque and vivid description of Vasanta - the Spring.
15. Then follows Rāma's 'Rāja-Śāstropadeśa' (which is essentially the same as in Uttara-Purāṇa) to his father (Kaṇḍavakas 16-17).
16. He is described as 'Sāmadehu' and 'Kāma-mehu', as it were, descended on earth.
17. He is called 'Sangama-piyarau'; he was of fair complexion and he wore crystal bracelets; and he therefore appeared as it were to be fame in concrete form. He is later on described as a vertical column of resplendent lightning as it were and to be as if a mass of foam of the waters of Celestial Gaṅgā (Sandhi LXXIII, 10-4).
18. Kaṇḍavakas 6-10 describe the various characteristics of four types of ladies - Bhadrā, Mandā, Latā and Haṁsī - in accordance with Vātsyāyaṇa's Kāma-sūtra.

which was, as it were, the dancing youthfulness of the 'Mahī-mahilā'.

There Candrapākhā found Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa engaged in water-sports with their wives.¹⁹ After some time they came out of the lake with their wives and sat under Mango-tree. Then that Vidyādhari - Candrapākhā assuming the form of an old lady saw Sītā who was being decorated by her maid-servants. She was struck with the incomparable beauty of Sītā. A certain queen asked her what she was looking for. She replied that she would be obliged if she was told the vows that rewarded them with the enjoyment of pleasures in the company of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, the Baladeva and the Vāsudeva. Sītā then replied to her condemning the birth as a woman, the abode of all misery, unhappiness and defects²⁰; and suggested to her to devote herself to the worship of the Jinas. She thus found that Sītā was a chaste lady and would never surrender her honour to Rāvaṇa or anybody else. She returned home and reported to Rāvaṇa the utter failure of her mission.²¹ Rāvaṇa then replied²² that 'where there is a will there is a way', and observed that "It is all right to talk of the chastity of a Saṁ or of the enchanting view of a mountain from distance but on approaching near them we find the case to be contrary". He made up his mind to abduct Sītā disregarding the advice of Candrapākhā and got in his celebrated Puṣpaka-vimāna.

19. Then follows a charming description of these sports which is rich in wonderful fancies; we give here a few of them :-

"The ear-lotus of a lady faded, it was as if surpassed in beauty by her eyes ! A damsel exhibited her fruit-like plump breasts; she was, as it were a lovely creeper of Cupid ! A certain beautiful woman rising up to the surface of water drew up her garment tremulous, superfine, white; which was as it were, the very skin of the water (Pāṇiyacchallī) ! A certain lady mounted the chest of Lakṣmaṇa; she was as if the lightning on a dark-blue cloud ! Finding a few water drops on a lotus-leaf she looked at her breasts and was happy to see that her necklace was in tact !"

20. Sītā's reply to Candrapākhā represents the general Indian ascetic view of women, which is upheld by the Jains as well :

During the menses a woman becomes untouchable. She never has an opportunity to become the real master of her family. She is born in one family and a total stranger takes her (after marriage) to his house, notwithstanding her sorrow at the separation from her relations. She is not taken into confidence. Throughout her life she can never enjoy independence. She has to carry on with her husband in spite of his being wicked, blind, deaf, or poverty-stricken or diseased and so on. (One great thing about her is, however, that) She should keep her chastity in tact notwithstanding the amorous proposals of even the lord of gods. A widow, then, must shave her head. Her father protects her in childhood, in youth her husband, and in old age her son. She is thus always a prisoner as it were."

21. Candrapākhā, though in a conventional manner, yet beautifully conveys the idea of how it is impossible to make Sītā surrender her chastity. Read K. 21. 3-5.

The Arrival of Nārada and the Mental Distraction of Rāvaṇa.

SANDHI LXXII :

Rāvaṇa with Mārīca drove in his Puṣpaka Vimāna, arrived at Vārāṇasī and saw there that 'vana' and the blooming youth of Sītā. And he thought to himself that 'Vidhi is clever in bringing about the union of equals'.²³

Struck with her charms he decided to abduct her deceitfully; with that aim in view he asked Mārīca to assume the form of a deer and help him in the execution of his plan. Mārīca had to carry out his master's order. He changed his form as directed and went near Sītā, who was fascinated by its sight and asked Rāma to get the golden-deer for her. Rāma pursued the deer in order to catch it. But it duped²⁴ him and tempted him to a far off distance and ultimately vanished jumping high up in the sky. Rāma breathing heavily stood there, lost in amazement. The illusion-deer i.e., Mārīca reported to his master how he had successfully duped Rāma. Rāvaṇa then assumed the form of Rāma and holding the golden deer in his hand approached Sītā and told her how he caught the deer, and asked her to divert her mind with it. Then as it was getting rather dark he asked her to get in his palanquin-like vimāna and he produced an illusion that he was riding a horse. He carried her to Laṅkā, and made her stay in his Nandana-vana park. Then discarding his guise he revealed his true form to that poor Sītā. Sītā then realized her misfortune, and fainted. As he was afraid of losing his Ambara-cāriṇī vidyā²⁵ by dallying with an unwilling woman, Rāvaṇa did not rape Sītā. He however asked some Vidyādhariś to persuade Sītā to making love to him. They first brought her back to consciousness, when she thought that it would have been better if she had died. She then asked them about the king and the city. One of them told her that it was the mighty king Rāvaṇa and the celebrated city Laṅkā. And she recommended her to respond to Rāvaṇa's love and thus become his principal queen. Sītā however paid no attention to her foolish advice. She resolved that she would take food only on getting good news of her Rāma. And that she would resort to Sallekhanā²⁶ fast and meet her death if she failed to get any good news of him. About that time Rāvaṇa obtained the Cakra indicating his status of an Ardha-Cakrin.

22. Rāvaṇa's reply is very brief, pointed and forceful. We have, in fact, in this whole Kaṭavaka a number of Subhāṣitas, e.g., अवसु वि वसि किञ्जइ जं रुच्चइ ।

and अलसह सिरि दूरेण पवच्चइ ।

23. Vihi samasanjoṇa-viyakkhanu

24. Here (Kaṭavaka 4) we have an excellent description of the movements of an antelope.

25. A lore, which enables one to move through the air.

26. 'A mortal emaciation', 'act of emaciation or fasts which would lead to death.'

Abduction of Sītā

SANDHI LXXIII:

When Rāma pursued the golden deer and went a long way off the sun set.²⁷ Rāma, exhausted with a long journey returned when it was sun-rise. He made anxious enquiries about Sītā but could not get any information whatsoever about her. He sent servants in all directions in search of Sītā and he himself wandered in the forest to find her out. He piteously asked of a swan, an elephant, an antelope, a bee, a peacock and a parrot to give him Sītā's news. His servants traced only her upper garment, brought it to Rāma; he embraced it; he thought that the wicked Vidyādhara might have carried off Sītā by force. Just then arrived there a messenger of Daśaratha with a letter which read as follows:

A dream came to me that Rāhu abducted Rohiṇī, the consort of the moon; and that the moon all alone wanders in the sky. I asked the Purohita the significance of this dream. He interpreted it thus: "Rāvaṇa has carried off Sītā, the wife of Rāma. This Rāvaṇa is the lord of Laṅkā; he is the chief of the Vidyādhara." Hearing the tragic news of the abduction of Sītā, Bharata, Śatrughna and Janaka and the tributary princes went to Rāma. Lakṣmaṇa was furious and roared that he would kill that Vidyādhara chief if he would come within the range of his sight. While Rāma was plunged in profound grief for his lost Sītā, Sugrīva and Hanūmat²⁸ came to see him. Hanūmat taking Rāma's letter

27. Here (Kaṭavaka 1) we have a fine description of the sunset. "The setting sun was, as it were, a heap of stones piled up by the sea ! ; the earth as if devoured the wheel of the chariot of Rati ! ; the crying birds seemed to say : Even a god undergoes a fall when he comes in contact with Vāruṇī (the West, and wine)."

Then follows (Kaṭavaka 2) a marvellous description of Nabhas-śrī who has become a widow:

"She has put on a red garment, as it were, of the evening red glow; the crescent moon is as if her broken bangle, the withered lotus is as it were her faded face; the stars are, as it were, the scattered pearls of her broken necklace."

From this poetic description we may reasonably infer that in those days the Jain Society recommended the wearing of red-coloured saris for widows, breaking of bangles and not wearing of ornaments like necklace.

We have in the later portion of Kaṭavaka 2 a striking description of the sun-rise :

The sun who destroyed the frost of the lotuses (who caused the separation of Rāma and Sītā) shone like a second Rāvaṇa ! It was as if the blazing fire of separation in the case of Sītā !, as if a red flower worn on the head by the woman in the form of the East !, as if a lake of blood from the body of Rāvaṇa.

28. The account of Sugrīva and Hanūmat is in full agreement with the one given by Guṇabhadra in his Uṭṭara-Purāṇa.

and ring went to Laṅkā after crossing the sea. Assuming the form of a bee he visited Rāvaṇa's palace to find out Sītā. He saw Rāvaṇa, seated on his throne, in his glory. He then entered the harem where he rested on the different limbs of young women sleeping there.²⁹

He knew from Rāvaṇa's face, eyes etc., that he was madly in love with Sītā. Leaving the harem he went to the Nandanavana park and found there Sītā in a very miserable state. He first thought of killing Rāvaṇa and taking Sītā to Vārāṇasī. But then on second thoughts he realised that after all he was an envoy, and that he must not transgress the order of his master. And therefore he waited for an opportune moment to meet Sītā. The sun set and the moon rose in the sky. It was, as it were, the bulbous root of the creeper in the form of Sītā's grief.³⁰

Rāvaṇa suffering the terrible pangs of love approached Sītā and tried to win her heart by sweet words and threats alternately. Mandodarī reproached Rāvaṇa for his lust for Sītā. Rāvaṇa, who felt ashamed, went home. Mandodarī then went near Sītā, recognised her to be her own daughter whom she had deserted; terribly shocked at the fact that a father was pining to dally with his own daughter and the impending destruction of her husband Mandodarī fell in a swoon. She was brought back to consciousness. She told Sītā that she was her mother and Rāvaṇa her father, and cursed destiny for its cruel working. The mother in her woke up at the sight of crying Sītā and milk began to ooze from her breast.³¹ She asked Sītā not to yield to Rāvaṇa's passion; and added that she should take food to sustain her body, for if one be alive one can gain one's object. She then went away. Now Hanūmat putting those Vidyādhara under sleep, assumed the form of monkey³², approached Sītā and explained to her who he was; and in order to convince her thoroughly he told her some secrets between her and Rāma. Hanūmat then asked her to take food with a view to keeping body and soul together. Next morning Hanūmat returned to where Rāma was and gave the news about Sītā to him.

29. In Kaṭavaka 16 we have a very charming description full of beautiful striking fancies; a few of them are : While resting on the necklace of some woman the bee appeared like 'indranīla'; while he sat on the forehead he appeared like a tilaka (sectarian mark on the forehead).
30. A very unusual (but quite characteristic of Puṣpadanta) poetic fancy indeed. He heaps one upon another many 'Utprekṣās' here: the moon is as if a white lotus in the lake of the sky, a mirror for the sky-goddess, a luminous casket sealed with the deer-spot!
31. Here we have a grand 'Utprekṣā'. A widow does not wear a necklace (see Kaṭavaka 2-6). The poet therefore fancies here that milk flowing from Mandodarī's breasts is, as it were, a necklace leaving her bosom on account of the (impending) widowhood.
32. Hanūmat, really a Vidyādhara, assumed the form of a monkey and stood before Sītā. This is why, according to the poet Hanūmat was since then called a monkey.

**The Arrival of Sugrīva, Hanūmat and the Kumāras and
(Hanūmat's) audience with Sītā.**

SANDHI LXXIV :

Rāma, immensely pleased at Hanūmat's good work, embraced him. Lakṣmaṇa requested then to Rāma to send him with Hanūmat to Laṅkā so that he would slay Rāvaṇa and vindicate Rāma's honour. Rāma pacified him and then held consultations with his ministers. On Sugrīva's advice he decided to send Hanūmat as his envoy to Rāvaṇa to see whether Rāvaṇa would restore Rāma his wife (Sītā) honourably. Rāma appointed Sugrīva as the Vidyādhara king of Kilakila-pura and Hanūmat Commander-in-chief. He then asked Hanūmat to go to Laṅkā as his envoy.³³ He asked Ravigati, Vijaya, Kumuda, and Pavanavega to go with Hanūmat. He instructed Hanūmat first to go to Vibhīṣaṇa and speak gently to him and tell him that if Rāvaṇa failed peacefully to return Sītā, Rāvaṇa would have to face death. Lakṣmaṇa told him that Rāvaṇa could continue to live as a slave if he returned Prosperity, Sītā and the kingdom of the earth. Hanūmat then started on his sacred mission.

He reached Laṅkā, the women there fell in love with Hanūmat the incarnation of Madana. He went straight to Vibhīṣaṇa's palace. He praised the virtues of Vibhīṣaṇa and asked him to persuade Rāvaṇa to return Sītā; and in case Rāvaṇa failed to comply, he and his capital would be destroyed by 508400000 human beings and 35000000 Vidyādharas. Vibhīṣaṇa paid a handsome tribute to him and took him to Rāvaṇa, who taunted Hanūmat for being in the service of Rāma - a human being. Hanūmat told him that Rāma was the eighth Baladeva and Lakṣmaṇa the eighth Vāsudeva (Nārāyaṇa or Dāmodara). He requested Rāvaṇa to return Sītā honourably.³⁴ Rāvaṇa replied that he would not heed 'Raṇḍā-Kathās'; Janaka, Daśaratha and Daśaratha's son were his vassals. He would not tolerate Sītā's being given in marriage to Rāma. He would certainly dally with Sītā - his 'Gṛha-dāśī'. He was certainly not going to return Sītā. He was prepared for war. He would never contemplate concluding peace with Rāma. Hanūmat again told him to restore Rāma his wife, otherwise Janārdana (i.e., Lakṣmaṇa) would kill him on the battlefield. Rāvaṇa's generals like Nikumbha, Kumbha and Kharadūṣaṇa were enraged at

33. The poet humorously compares Hanūmat to an excellent bull that is yoked to a cart a second time :

Jottiu dūyabharī puṇu so jji dhavalu ṇihayāvai

K. 4, Ghatta - 2.

34. Hanūmat puts his case ably before Rāvaṇa : If a lamp produces darkness then will a stone shine? You being the king should in fact be a sure protection but you behave in such a manner as leads people to believe that you are a danger!

K. 12.

Hanūmat's speech and got up to kill Hanūmat.³⁵ Vibhīṣaṇa intervened and said that a 'dūta' is 'avadhya'. Then Rāvaṇa sent a counter-message through Hanūmat that he would slay Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Daśaratha, Janaka, Sugrīva and other Vidyādhara: heroes and capture the towns Kośalā and Vārāṇasī. Hanūmat thereupon went back to Rāma. Vibhīṣaṇa then thought that none can escape the law of Karman.

The visit (to Laṅkā) of Hanūmat as an Envoy

SANDHI LXXV :

Hanūmat returned and reported to Rāma the failure of his mission. At that time a messenger from Vālin arrived there and reported to Rāma that Vālin would kill Rāvaṇa and bring back Sītā for Rāma, provided Rāma drove away Sugrīva and Hanūmat. Rāma replied that Vālin should first accompany him to Laṅkā, make a gift of his best elephant Mahāmegha. Afterwards he would do as desired by Vālin; and sent his own man to Vālin with that messenger. Vālin proudly told him that he would prefer war to making gift of his elephant. On receiving the reply Rāma sent Sugrīva, Lakṣmaṇa and his army to fight against Vālin. The two hostile armies met at Khadira-forest. In a single duel Lakṣmaṇa slayed Vālin.³⁶

Lakṣmaṇa with Sugrīva came to Rāma and reported to him how Vālin was slain in the fight. Then they all went to Kiṣkindhapura. There the ladies flocked to see Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. They talked among themselves that it was indeed Cupid who had assumed two forms one white and another dark-blue. All the people, men and women, young and old kept on intently gazing at both Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma so much so that the eyes themselves turned black and white, as it were, they were stamped with the lustre of the bodies of Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma.³⁷ Sugrīva took the two princes home and highly honoured them. While they spent some days there, the rainy season set in.³⁸ The rains intensified Rāma's grief for his lost Sītā.

In due course the autumn set in. Sugrīva advised Lakṣmaṇa that they all should acquire supernatural lores by performing austerities. Then they obtained lores by fasts

36. Here the poet uses a fine metaphor:

The lotus (in the form) of head of Vālin with the unsteady stalk of the stream of blood, in the lake of the battle-field, with water in the form of the foamy horses' mouths, is plucked by a Sārasa bird in the form of Lakṣmaṇa with the beak in the form of his sword. The poet is very fond of employing such sustained metaphors.

37. Here the poet gives us one of his best and very original Utprekṣās :

Vara-ruvāluddhaiṃ juṅṅjiyāi accantapaloyanarañjiyāi

Jaṇavayaṇayaṇaiṃ kasaṇaiṃ styāiṃ ṇaṃ hari-bala-taṇu-chāyaṅkiyātm ||

38. Here we get a beautiful description of the rains. (K. 12)

and worships of the idols of Jinas. Lakṣmaṇa obtained Prajñapti lore; and Sugrīva and Hanūmat acquired various lores on Sammeṭa mountain.

The Slaying of Vālin and the Acquisition of Lores by

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.³⁹

SANDHI LXXVI :

Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and their army then began their historic march against Rāvaṇa. Having crossed the country they reached the shore of the ocean and encamped there. Rāvaṇa's spies reported to him of the invading army. Vibhīṣaṇa hearing the news made a fervent appeal⁴⁰ to Rāvaṇa to restore Rāma his Sītā. Daśūmukha, enraged at his speech, accused him of cowardice, and asked him to go wherever he willed. Vibhīṣaṇa, greatly offended, with a view to retaining the glory of his dynasty allied himself with Rāma who solemnly promised to install him as king of Laṅkā after Rāvaṇa's death. With the permission of Rāma Hanūmat and other Vidyādhara Kumāras having transformed themselves into Vānaras by Vānara-vidyā went to Laṅkā with a view to burning it and breaking the Nandanavana park. They destroyed the park when the Rākṣasa guardians of the park surrounded Hanūmat. Hanūmat routed them. Then the Vānaras entered Laṅkā and with their tails ablaze they jumped from mansion to mansion and burnt thousands of those mansions.⁴¹ Having burnt the suburb of the city, Hanūmat returned to where Rāma was.

The Destruction of the Park Nandanavana and the Burning of Laṅkā

SANDHI LXXVII :

Vibhīṣaṇa told Rāma that Rāvaṇa was on the mountain Ādityapāda observing eight-days' fast and was engaged in religious meditation and was protected there by Indrajit so that none could interrupt him in his Vidyā-sādhana- and that he was acquiring these vidyās in order to conquer Rāma who was aided by the mighty Lakṣmaṇa, the slayer of Vālin, and by Sugrīva. Rāma thereupon sent Vidyādharas to Āditya-pāda to interrupt Rāvaṇa's religious meditation. The Vidyādharas assuming the form of Vānaras besieged that mountain, and caused dreadful upasargas including the illusive cutting off of the heads of Rāvaṇa's brothers and the seizing of Mandodarī by her tresses. Rāvaṇa was

39. We may note here that the poet does not state in his description whether Rāma acquired any vidyā although he names the Sandhi as "..... Rāma Vidyāsādhana."

40. He said to Rāvaṇa: "You are the mightiest of all heroes. Who can dare face you? But I do not approve of your one act, viz., the rape of Sītā. A man who is attached to another's wife sinks down into hell. You better return Sītā to Rāma, the 8th Vāsudeva. The appearance of the disc indicates some evil consequences. The acquisition of Prajñapti vidyā etc., by Lakṣmaṇa supports my inference. I therefore advise you to return Sītā to Rāma".

41. Then the poet gives us a graphic description of City of Laṅkā on flames (Kaṭavakas 9 and 10).

disturbed in his meditation. He asked for his Candrahāsa sword. Indrajit told him that the Upasargas were nothing but the "Māyā" of the Vidyādhara on Rāma's side. Rāvaṇa then thought of the Vidyā-devatas who destroy calamities. They appeared before him and explained to him that they were afraid of Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma, the Nārāyaṇa and the Baladeva. Rāvaṇa then asked them to go away and boasted that he would overpower the enemy on the strength of his arms. Indrajit in the meanwhile fought with the Vānaras but was defeated; the Vānaras flew up in the sky. Rāvaṇa was full of courage even in the face of calamities. He went to Laṅkā while the Vānara princes returned to where Rāma was. Hanūmat and Sugrīva bestowed their supernatural lores Kesari-vāhinī and Garuḍa-vāhinī on Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Then Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and their army crossed the ocean in a huge Vimāna built by the Prajñapti lore and then besieged the capital of Rāvaṇa. They beat the war-drums.⁴² Hearing that sound Rāvaṇa asked Kumbhakarna whether it was the noise of falling of worlds standing one upon the other. Kumbhakarna told him that the army of his enemy had arrived. Rāvaṇa then mobilised his forces and marched out of Laṅkā to meet the enemy. The two armies of Māyā-vānaras and Rākṣasas came face to face.⁴³

When the Māyā-vānaras destroyed the fort, Ravi-kīrti with his soldiers came out to fight the enemies. Later on Rākṣasa Generals such as Kumba, Nikumbha, Indrajit, Kharadūṣaṇa, Maya, Hasta, Prahastā and so on got ready for fight. A fierce battle raged. And warriors on both the sides hurled at one another different weapons and missiles.

The Preparation for war of the Armies of Rāma and Rāvaṇa

SANDHI LXXVIII

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa rode the elephants called Añjana-giri, and Vijaya-parvata. Sugrīva then bestowed on them the lores called Bala-vistirṇā and Praharāṇāvaraṇī. The

42. Here we have an instance of 'Atiśayukti' : The seven underground worlds quaked the snakes on account of fear, vomitted poison, the blazing stars swerved from their positions and assembled in one place. The three worlds were agitated at the terrible sound of the war-drums.

43. The fight between the two hostile armies is described at great length in Kaṭavakas 9 onwards. In Kaṭavakas 9, 5-17 we have a very vivid, graphic and realistic yet poetic description of a column of dust raised by horses:

A cloud of dust, dug up by the shovels in the form of the hoofs of horses, as if afraid of death, clung to the hoofs and rose. It obscured the burning Sun; while it was falling it was saved by the banner that came of a noble vaṁśa (family, bamboo); then it rested on lotus-like umbrella and there it appeared like honey (makaranda); then it sank into the temples of elephants oozing rut; who is not attached to 'dāna'śīlas? ('Dāna' - rut, charity); then it rested on the water of swords (asī-salīla i.e. very sharp shining swords) but would not turn into mud; swept off by the breeze of the camaras it dashed against the crown. From there it rushed towards the ear-rings like a cloud towards the orb of the sun, and finally it sank in the blood-river flowing from the wound-springs of elephant-mountains."

two hostile armies fought a hard battle. There were some cases of single combats between the chief heroes of the two sides; thus Rāvaṇa- Rāma, Indrajit - Lakṣmaṇa, Kumbhakarna - Sugriva, Ravi-kīrti - Hanūmat, and others engaged themselves into single combats. Indrajit intervened and fought against Rāma. With the discharge of his 'Śakti' Rāma hit him on his chest. Rāvaṇa then told Rāma to get away before he killed him with his Cakra. Rāma replied that he would first kill him (Rāvaṇa), install Vibhīṣaṇa on the throne of Laṅkā, keep his word thus and then with his Sītā would go back to his capital. Rāvaṇa then threw in front of Rāma the severed head of Sītā and told him to take back his Sītā. Rāma seeing his beloved dead fell in a swoon. He was somehow brought to senses. Vibhīṣaṇa told Rāma that Sītā was not dead; the severed head of Sītā was all sorcery of Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa poured abuse on Vibhīṣaṇa for what he said⁴⁴; and challenged him to fight. Vibhīṣaṇa replied that he would regard Rāvaṇa his brother and master only if he returned Sītā to Rāma.

Rāma and Rāvaṇa engaged themselves in a terrible fight. In its course Lakṣmaṇa arrived there and requested Rāma not to fight till his brother was alive and sought his permission to kill Rāvaṇa. Rāma agreed; Lakṣmaṇa contemptuously spoke of Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa too belittled Lakṣmaṇa's prowess.⁴⁵ Vibhīṣaṇa told Lakṣmaṇa that Rāvaṇa would resort to 'Māyā-yuddha' and that he should withstand him by the strength of his Prajñapti lore. The two mighty heroes fought. Rāvaṇa as a last resort hurled his disc at Lakṣmaṇa. That disc which was as it were the ear-ring of the goddess of war (Raṇa-srī), the disc of the rising sun, a leaf of the creeper of fame⁴⁶, mounted the hand of Lakṣmaṇa. Then Lakṣmaṇa discharged that disc at Rāvaṇa. It hit him on his chest and he fell down dead on the ground. Gods rained showers of flowers on Lakṣmaṇa as a sign of their joy at his victory. The great war was over.⁴⁷ The Rākṣasa dames visited the battle-field and from their lips burst a wild lament. The royal dames including Mandodarī wept bitterly by the side of their dead lord Rāvaṇa. Vibhīṣaṇa too moaned the death of his brother.

44. "You have uprooted your own family; 'Sarasvati leaves one if he fails to study and Lakṣmī leaves when you are involved in family-quarrels'. This you did not consider; you are the ruin of our family, you are wicked, you are 'durmukha'; what did you achieve by joining our enemy? You have simply ruined yourself." K. 11 - 10-13.

45. In his reply are recorded two popular sayings :

(i) Tallarajali kailāsu vi jalayaru i.e., in a small lake even a crab is called 'jalacara' (which term really means a 'shark') and (ii) 'Adumagāmi eraṇḍu vi taruvaru' i.e., in a village where there are no trees even 'eraṇḍa' becomes a big tree. cf. 'Nirastapādape deṣe eraṇḍopi drumāyate'

46. This is an excellent example of Mālotprekṣā.

47. The poet describes (in Kaṭavaka 20) the broken things of various kinds lying on the ground, which was a veritable lake of blood. Among other things he speaks of the fallen 'camaras' as dead swans and of white umbrellas with their handles broken as lotuses without their stalks.

Rāma told him not to weep for Rāvaṇa, who was unequalled in the three worlds. He had only one defect - weakness for another's wife. At Rāma's command four persons lifted the dead body of Rāvaṇa, put it in a palanquin, the palanquin was decked with plantain trees and umbrellas were held over it.⁴⁸ Instrumental music accompanied the funeral of Rāvaṇa.⁴⁹ Rāvaṇa's dead body was placed on pyre and that Rāvaṇa, who was consumed with Sītā's curse, his own anger and unbearable separation, was now caressed (burnt) by flames of fire!

Now by Rāma's order Sītā was brought by Vidyādhara kings, such as Sugrīva, to Rāma and Sītā was united with her husband Rāma like Gaṅgā with the ocean.⁵⁰

Then comforting the weeping Mandodarī and Indrajit, Rāma invited all, banished the fear from the minds of citizens, first performed Jinābhiṣeka and then installed Vibhīṣaṇa on the throne of Laṅkā. Rāma thus kept his word by placing Vibhīṣaṇa on the throne of Laṅkā.⁵¹

Offering the kingdom, treasure, army, in short, everything that was Rāvaṇa's to Vibhīṣaṇa, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa set out to conquer the whole world.

Rāvaṇa's death and the Coronation of Vibhīṣaṇa

SANDHI LXXIX :

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in the course of their wanderings on earth went to Pīṭha-giri. Lakṣmaṇa there lifted the Pūrva-Koṭi-śilā to the amazement of all. A Yakṣa, called Saunanda, was very pleased with Lakṣmaṇa's feat and offered him the Saunanda sword. Then they wandered from place to place for a period of 42 years and acquired the kingdom of three 'Khaṇḍas'. They went back to Ayodhyā, where they were coronated by their vassals. They enjoyed prosperity and glory as did the first Baladeva and Vāsudeva named Vijaya and Tripr̥ṣṭha. Once, they saw Śiva-gupta, a Jain monk, in the Nandana-vana grove. They requested him to explain the true Dharma. He then expounded the true

48. The poet speaks of the umbrellas as the leaves of the creeper of grief and of flags as the long branches of the huge tree of sorrow.

49. The poet imagines that the instruments too experienced sorrow at Rāvaṇa's death :

The conch says : I am now without my lord ! I shall not sound, why should I live on other's breath !

The flute says : I'll enter the forest, as my master is dead, will not sound; this wretched drum sounds on getting a morsel of rice ! It is not ashamed of taking food even when the master is dead !

50. Here the poet heaps a number of fancies. Read Kaṇḍavaka 27, 10-14.

51. The poet exclaims : Mellivi Paṭimu Kasu suyaṇattaṇu
Who but Rāma is so noble?

Dharma as propounded by the Jinas and incidentally refuted the views of heretical schools.⁵²

Hearing his sermon Rāma accepted the duties of Jain house-holder. Lakṣmaṇa, however, because of the Nidāna in his previous life did not accept the vows of a Jain householder. On the death of Daśaratha the two brothers, entrusting the kingdom of Ayodhyā to the care of Śatrughna and Bharata, went to Vārāṇasī, and they ruled there. Vijayarama was born of Sītā and Rāma, and they had seven other sons. Of Lakṣmaṇa and his wife Pṛthivī was born Pṛthivī-candra and they had many other virtuous sons. They enjoyed the kingdom of the earth for a very long time. Once Lakṣmaṇa dreamt a dream wherein he saw the uprooting of a banyan tree by an elephant, the eclipsing of the sun by Rāhu, and its sinking into Pātāla, and the falling down of the topmost portion of his palace. The significance of the dream was explained by the Purohita⁵³: "Lakṣmaṇa would suffer an incurable disease, the end of their enjoyment of pleasures was near and Rāma was going to practise penance". Rāma thereupon proclaimed the granting of freedom from fear, performed the Jinābhīṣeka and the worship of the Jina-idols; and gave away wealth as desired by the suppliants themselves. Then on Māgha-Purnimā Lakṣmaṇa died⁵⁴ on account of some incurable disease. He was then born in the fourth Naraka where he met his foe Rāvaṇa. Rāma was overpowered with grief at Lakṣmaṇa's death. He fell unconscious. On regaining consciousness he wept bitterly. Later on he put Pṛthivīcandra on the throne and himself became an ascetic at the hands of Muni Śiva-gupta. Sugrīva, Hanūmat and Vibhīṣaṇa followed Rāma in accepting Dikṣā. Sītā and Pṛthivī became nuns. In due course Rāma and Hanūmat attained liberation. Sugrīva and Vibhīṣaṇa and others became gods. Sītā and Pṛthivī too became gods. Lakṣmaṇa in course of time would rise up from hell, practise penance and obtain Mokṣa.⁵⁵

Glorification of the virtues of Hariṣeṇa, the Cakravartin, of Rāma, the Baladeva, of Lakṣmaṇa, the Vāsudeva and Rāvana, the Prati-Vāsudeva, who were born in the period of Muni Suvrata, the Tīrthāṅkara.

4. PUṢPADANTA'S RĀMĀYAṆA : A CRITICAL STUDY:

(i) GENERAL REMARKS :

As we have already pointed out in the foot-notes to the summary of the Rāmāyaṇa of Puṣpadanta, his story of Rāma is the same as found in the version of Guṇabhadra. It

52. See footnote at the end of the chapter.

53. The dream and its significance are identical with the corresponding account as given by Guṇabhadra.

54. Here our poet piles a number of Utprekṣās. Two of them are very original and striking :
The blazing fire of prowess was as it were extinguished, 'the royal swan in the world-lake, as it were, vanished.'

55. The poet moralises : "Don't follow in the foot-steps of Lakṣmaṇa but worship the Jina."

* While writing these foot-notes I have made full use of Parab's Paper "Some Bold and Most Striking Fancies of Puṣpadanta."

is, however, surprising that he does not speak of his predecessor and his indebtedness to him although he mentions the names of Caturmukha, Svayambhū and Tribhuvana Svayambhu with respect in the opening Kaḍavaka of his Rāmāyaṇa. And so long as the **Paūma-Cariu** of these two poets (Caturmukha and Svayambhū) composed in Apabhraṁśa, is not available to us we are not in a position to say how far Puṣpadanta is indebted for his style to these his predecessors in the field. As far as the story-element is concerned he has drawn upon Guṇabhadra's version. The story in the Apabhraṁśa Paūma-Cariu is after Raviṣeṇa's Padma-Purāṇa as Svayambhū himself states in the second Kaḍavaka of his poem :

Puṇu Raviṣeṇāyariya-pasāe buddhie avagāhiya kairāem I

This tradition regarding the origin⁵⁶ of the story of Rāma is the same as recorded by Raviṣeṇa.

It is not unlikely that Puṣpadanta who is writing his Mahāpurāṇa in Apabhraṁśa deliberately mentions the Apabhraṁśa poets only; and as Guṇabhadra's work is in Sanskrit he did not think it necessary to record his name there. We cannot accuse such poets as Puṣpadanta of plagiarism- after all the story has come down to them through paramparā. So his narrative is identical with that of Guṇabhadra.

(ii) PUṢPADANTA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF RĀMA STORY

As already remarked above, his version of Rāmāyaṇa is identical with that of Guṇabhadra. He has, however, in the style of Raviṣeṇa, added at the beginning (Sandhi 69, Kaḍavaka 3 3-10) the criticism of the Rāmāyaṇa versions of Vālmīki and Vyāsa - in the form of doubts raised by king Śreṇika. Passages from the **Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa** evoking most of these doubts have been already pointed out in the study of the **Paūma-Cariya**. Two important points of doubt, added by Puṣpadanta, are:

- (a) Indrajit, though a son of Rāvaṇa, was older in age than Rāvaṇa, his father, and
- (b) Vibhiṣaṇa is a 'Cirañjivin'.

Let us attempt to find the passages from the version of Rāmāyaṇa (given by Vālmīki and Vyāsa) which evoke these doubts:

- (a) So far we have not been able to trace the source which raises this doubt. Amitagati in his Dharma-Parīkṣā also criticizes this irrational story. There he represents the story in detail: Mandodarī conceives at the contact of her father's semen, has her foetus restrained in the womb for seven thousand years and delivers Indrajit after

56. He records the tradition of the origin of Rāma story thus : Mahāvīra-Gaṇadharas especially Indrabhūti, - Sudharman Kīrtidhara (who is anuttaravak) - Raviṣeṇa - Kavirāja (Svayambhū). In our study of the Padma-Purāṇa we have taken 'Anuttaravāgmin' as a separate individual. From Svayambhū's writing it appears that it is just an attribute or title of Kīrti I

being married to Rāvaṇa. Now, it is possible that some local version was current in those days which is being criticised here.

- (b) **Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa** (VII. 10. vv. 29-35) describes how Vibhīṣaṇa asks as his boon that "even amid the greater calamities he may think only of righteousness". The god Brahmā grants his request, and adds the gift of immortality.

The only change that Puṣpadanta introduces is: According to him Śūrpaṇakhā is Candrapakhā. No doubt this change of name is significant but then Śūrpaṇakhā is called Candrapakhā by Vimala Sūri and Raviṣeṇa. So it is not an invention of Puṣpadanta, and further this change does not help in any way the progress or action of the story. That is true of his criticism of Rāmāyaṇa of Vyāsa and Vālmiki.

He has contributed to the **form** of the story for he divides the story of Rāma into various cantos, names these cantos, the titles being eloquent of the subject-matter. But more than that he presses into service his great power of description and ability to use striking and appropriate Alaṅkāras and presents in a poetic garb the prosaic story of Guṇabhadra.

(iii) AN ESTIMATE OF PUṢPADANTA AS A POET

Unquestionably Puṣpadanta is a born poet and occupies a high place in the galaxy of poets. In the introductory verses (Sandhi I. 9) he declares that he does not possess the necessary qualifications to undertake the great Purāṇa. But that only shows his humility, characteristic of a really cultured and rich mind. That he was endowed with the divine gift called pratibhā and that he had acquired proficiency in various sciences (Vyutpatti) would be evident to even a casual reader of this Rāmāyaṇa portion. His command of language is simply marvellous. Words come to him as easily and naturally as leaves to a tree. His vocabulary is almost unlimited. He embellishes his work with a variety of Alaṅkāras that possess strikingness and originality (- we have pointed out some of these excellent Alaṅkāras in the footnotes to the summary of the contents -) Utprekṣā is his forte. His epic abounds in 'rasas' such as the erotic, the heroic, the marvellous and 'Karuṇa'. His style is, on the whole, marked by 'ojas' (vigour) but not rarely does he write in the graceful and elegant Vaidarbhī style. His poetry reveals the excellence of 'Arthagauravatva' - profundity of meaning. He employs variety of metres (such as 'Duvāī, Hela, Āvalī, Āṇālam, Racita etc.) and thus his work is free from the fault of monotony, and his poem possesses the charming quality called 'geyatā'. He uses a large number of Deśī words and extends its attractiveness to the 'masses'. He possesses a delightful sense of humour and at times entertains us at his own cost (e.g., Sandhi 69. I. 6-7). He is indeed a Mahā-Kavi although according to the strict rules of Ālaṅkārikas his Mahā-Purāṇa cannot be called a Mahā-Kāvya.

52. Śiva-gupta's sermon is a pretty long one and covers Kadavakas 5-8 (both inclusive). He explains the nature of Saṁsāra, how a soul wanders through various births in accordance with his Karman, Atman and Pudgala undergo various modifications but as dravya are permanent. He refutes the Buddhist doctrine of Kṣaṇavāda, and of Sūnya-vāda, the Vedānta view and the Śaiva tenets, and condemns the cult of sacrifice.

CHAPTER - IX

THE RĀMĀYAṆA VERSION OF DHANEŚVARA SŪRI

(as found in his ŚĀTRUṆJAYA MĀHĀTMYA)

1. PERSONAL HISTORY AND DATE OF DHANEŚVARA

Dhaneśvara Sūri, according to his own statement¹ wrote the **Śātruṇjaya-Māhātmya** in Valabhī, being prevailed upon by (Āgrahāt) Śīlāditya, King of Surāṣṭra. History knows of six different rulers of the Valabhī dynasty named Śīlāditya who ruled between 605 and 766 A.D. With what particular Śīlāditya our poet was associated we are not able to state for the poet speaks of "Śīlāditya, King of Surāṣṭra", only. Even if we connect him with Śīlāditya I, we will have to place him in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. But this does not agree with the date given by the poet, 477 years, V.S. (i.e. 421 A.D.)². The editor of the work throws a suggestion that our poet and Malla-vādī who defeated the Bauddhas might be identical.³ This Malla-vādī is quoted by Haribhadra who flourished in the middle of the 8th century A.D. "There are a few quite definite chronological date in the epic itself;⁴ these contradict one another to such an extent that it is not possible to assign an exact date to the work."⁵ Jain Literature knows of seven different Dhaneśvaras.⁶ The writer of the present work is accepted by common consent to be the earliest of them all.⁶

We know very little of the personal life history of our poet. From the introductory and concluding stanzas of the work we learn that he was the moon to the ocean of the Moon (Candra-) Gaccha. He was prevailed upon to write this work by Śīlāditya, King of Surāṣṭra. This work is a carefully prepared abridged edition of a voluminous work (containing 24000 stanzas) of Sudharmā whose work in its turn was an epitome of a still

1. शत्रुञ्जयोद्धारकर्तुरष्टादशानुपेशितुः । वलभ्यां श्रीसुराष्ट्रेशशिलादित्यस्य चाग्रहात् ॥
तत्प्रतिश्रुतितुल्यं तत्माहात्म्यं सुखबोधकृत् । वक्ति शत्रुञ्जयस्याद्रेर्भक्त्या श्रुणुत हे जनाः ।

- Canto I.14-15

2. सप्तसप्ततिमब्दानामतिक्रम्य चतुःशतीम् ।
विक्रमार्काच्छिलादित्यो भविता धर्मवृद्धिकृत् ॥

- Canto XIV. 187

3. See pages 3-4 of the Upodghāta - introduction to the work.

4. See I. 13-14, XIV. 101-102; 164-167; 281-88.

5. See Winternitz : **History of Indian Literature** Vol. II, p. 503ⁿ. Winternitz concludes that Dhaneśvara would have lived in about 1100 A.D.

6. See the Sanskrit Introduction to **Surasundarī-Cariyam**.

more voluminous work (containing 125000 stanzas) of Puṇḍarīka, a Gaṇadhara. He had humiliated the Bauddhas on the strength of his Syādvāda dialectics, he was well-versed in Yoga, was totally indifferent to worldly pleasures, was a pious soul, was the ocean of Vairāgya-sentiment, proficient in all Vidyās (arts and science). His work bears testimony to his vast erudition. No other work is known to have composed by him.

2. NATURE AND CONTENTS OF THE WORK

The present work is after the style of the Māhātmyas of the Purāṇas. It is an epic, mostly in Ślokas, in fourteen (or rather fifteen) cantos. Its theme is the glorification of the sacred Śatruṅjaya hills. A table of contents of the epic may be given as follows:

Canto I	: On Cosmology.
Canto II	: The Life-history of King Mahīpāla.
Canto III	: The Story of Ṛṣabha, the first Jina.
Canto IV	: The battle between Bharata and Bāhubali.
Canto V	: Bharata's Pilgrimage and restoration of sacred temples to the Jinas.
Canto VI	: Ṛṣabha and Bharata's Nirvāṇa and the Story of Sūrya-yaśas.
Canto VII	: The Life history of Draviḍa and Vālkhilya and restoration of sacred places.
Canto VIII	: The story of Ajita-svāmī, Sagara and Śānti-Jina.
Canto IX	: The Legend of Rāma.
Cantos X-XIII	: The Story of the Pāṇḍavas connected with the legend of Kṛṣṇa and the life of Ariṣṭa-nemi.
Cantos XIV	: The Legend of Pārśva-nātha - the Jina, and a long prophecy of
(or XIV-XV)	: Mahāvīra, 'which contains all manner of historical allusions, the significance of which is, however, not yet explained'.

The work is placed in the mouth of Mahāvīra who on the occasion of a solemn assembly upon the Śatruṅjaya mountain itself, at the request of Indrā, relates the legends connected with the mountain sacred to Ṛṣabha - the First Jina. It is interesting, however, to note that the poet brings in the stories of the **Rāmāyaṇa** and the **Mahābhārata** and of Kṛṣṇa adapting them so as to fit them in Jain setting. We are here concerned mainly with the Rāma Story. Hence we give below a detailed summary of the contents of that 9th canto where the Rāma legend occurs.

3. AN OUTLINE OF THE RĀMA STORY AS TOLD BY DHANEŚVARA

After many Kings in the Ikṣvāku dynasty had passed, there ruled over Ayodhyā, a prince called Vijaya. By his wife Himacūlā he had two sons Vajra-bāhu and Pūrandara. Pūrandara begot Kīrtidhara and he begot Sukośala who abdicated the government in

favour of his pregnant wife and became an ascetic. After a number of kings that rule over Ayodhyā we come to Daśaratha⁷ (vv. 1-92).

Daśaratha has four wives Kausalyā, Kaikeyī, Sumitrā and Suprabhā. He is presented by Kausalyā with a son, whose birth has been announced by four lucky dreams, and by Sumitrā too a son whose birth has been indicated by seven lucky dreams. The first is named Rāma - Padma, and the second Lakṣmaṇa. His sons Bharata and Śatrughna are born to him by Kaikeyī and Suprabhā respectively.⁸ Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were greatly devoted to each other so too were Bharata and Śatrughna (vv. 93-98).

Now in the town of Mithilā there was a king named Janaka, born of Vipulā and Vāsavaketu⁹ (of the Hari-vaṁśa). He had a wife called Videhā who gave birth to twin children, a boy and a daughter. The boy was kidnapped by a god called Piṅgala (on account of enmity in previous life). But later on taking pity on him he left him in a forest of the Vaitāḍhya mountain. Now Candragati, lord of Rathanūpura, took him up and brought him up as his own son and named him Bhāmaṇḍala. Janaka, in spite of his vigorous search, was not able to trace his boy. He named his daughter Sītā. She attained to youth. Janaka thought of arranging her Svayamvara.

7. The genealogy of the Ikṣvāku family given here entirely agrees with the one given by Vimala Sūri. We are told here of an episode relating to king Anaraṇya and the image of Pārśva, the 23rd Tirthaṅkara, which, in brief, is as follows :-

King Anaraṇya, though oppressed by 107 diseases on account of Karman done in previous lives, sets out on the world conquest. In the course of his march he reaches Surāṣṭra country and Śatruṅjaya mountain sacred to Jains. Through a sea-faring merchant named Ratnasāra he obtains the image of Pārśva; at the mere sight of that image all his diseases leave him. At night he dreams a dream in which the diseases tell him that they tormented him simply because in a previous birth he had molested a Jain monk and that at the sight of the image of Pārśva they are powerless to harass him any longer. He lives there worshipping the Pārśva-image. One day a monk possessed of knowledge arrives there and tells the king and others of the greatness and unfailing power of Pārśva-image. The king founds a city Ajayapura and erects a temple to Pārśva; and that becomes a sacred place. This episode is inserted by the poet with the obvious aim of glorifying the place of pilgrimage.

8. Instead of Kausalyā Vimala has Aparājitā. In the Pc. three dreams (A lion, the sun and the moon) announce the birth of Rāma and three dreams (Lakṣmī, the moon and the sun) that of Lakṣmaṇa. Here we have four (three+elephant) and seven (three+a lion, ocean, fire, elephant) dreams that announce the birth of the two sons respectively.
9. It is, of course, incorrect when Weber says, "Prince Janaka is called here Vāsavaketu". He is also incorrect when he says "... he had a son named Vajrabāhu who begot Pūrandara". In fact Vajrabāhu and Pūrandara are brothers. See I.A. Vol. XXX.

In the meantime Mlecchas, led by Mātaraṅga¹⁰, started attacking his country. He sought his friend Daśaratha's help. Rāma volunteered to go to Mithilā. He chased away the enemy. Janaka, pleased at Rāma's performance, intends to offer Sītā in marriage to him. Now Nārada arrived there, Sītā ran away at his frightening appearance. Her maid-servants man-handled him. Nārada, who was enraged, drew her picture on a piece of cloth, showed it to Bhāmaṇḍala, who fell in love with Sītā - not knowing that she was his sister. Janaka was brought to Ratha-nūpura through a Vidyādhara. He agreed to give Sītā to him (in marriage) who would bend the Vajrāvarta bow, presided over by deity. In the Svayamvara Rāma bending the bow won Sītā. Lakṣmaṇa too bent the other divine bow called Āṇavāvarta¹¹ and obtained 18 Vidyādhara damsels. After the wedding Daśaratha and party returned to Ayodhyā.¹²

Then we are told as in the Pc. how Daśaratha was inclined to accept Saṁnyama (Self restraint i.e. Asceticism) hearing the words of his Kaṇḍukin about old-age; and of the union of Bhāmaṇḍala with his sister and parents.¹³ (vv. 99-162)

Now, Daśaratha, eager to accept Dīkṣā, sent for his sons. On that occasion, Kaikeyī the 'Kūṭa-petā' (Craftiness incarnate) requested of the king to grant her two wishes which she had till then kept pending: her two requests are: the king should appoint Bharata (her son) as heir to the throne and that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa should be sent away into banishment in the forests for a period of 14 years.¹⁴ Daśaratha was overwhelmed by this unexpected crisis. Now Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, with exemplary filial devotion, made preparations to go into exile at once, without a murmur. The people lamented this loss of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa (and Sītā). The city appeared almost dead in the absence of Rāma and party. The king put Bharata on the throne and himself accepted Dīkṣā. Rāma and party reached a forest. At Rāma's behest Lakṣmaṇa conquered Simhodara King and put Simhakarna, a devotee of the Jinas on the throne.¹⁵ Now Sītā once offered alms to two

10. Pc. : Āyaraṅga.

11. The Pc. speaks of Vajrāvarta bow only.

12. The account of the birth of Bhāmaṇḍala and Sītā and the Sītā-Svayamvara is in agreement with the corresponding portion of the Pc. - with this difference that the Śatruñjaya-Māhātmya does not speak of Bharata's marriage with Subhadra, Janaka's niece.

13. After the union, Daśaratha and party go out on a pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya and other sacred places, restore old dilapidated Jain shrines, erect new ones and they return to Ayodhyā. This is an addition by Dhaneśvara, quite expected in a work like this. The places, the party visited, are Candra-prabhāsa, Raivata-gīri, Barata-gīri, Dhankā, Valabhī, Kāmpilya and Vāmanapura.

14. This is a departure from the Pc. Kaikeyī is called here 'Kūṭa-petā' and she expressly says that she wants the king to banish Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa for fourteen years. Pc. portrays Kaikeyī in favourable light. We may remark here that even the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa tells us that Kaikeyī asks for the banishment of Rāma only and not of Lakṣmaṇa as well.

15. Vajra-karna of the Pc. is called here Siṅha-karna.

Vidyādhara-munis who had gone there to break their fast. Gods showered scented water. A bird Jaṭāyus smelling that scent arrived there. Hearing the sermon of the munis he remembered his past birth and stood by Sītā. (vv, 168-181).

Now in the era of Ajita - the Jina there was a king Ghana-vāhana who ruled over Laṅkā (in the Rakṣodvīpa). Bhīma, the lord of Rākṣasas, bestowed on him the Rākṣasī Vidyā and since then that (Vidyādhara-) dynasty came to be known as Rākṣasas. After many kings of this dynasty had passed, there ruled in Laṅkā, a king called Kīrti-dhavalā who gave Śrīkaṇṭha, a Vidyādhara, the kingdom of Kiṣkindhā (in the Kapi-dvīpa). These Vidyādharas were known as Vānaras on account of the Vānara-dvīpa where they lived. In course of time they acquired the lore called. Vānarāṅgatva-Kāriṇī. After many kings had passed, in the era of Muni suvrata, the Jina, there was born the vānara prince Kiṣkindhi and in Laṅkā was born the Rākṣasa-Prince called sukeśa. Now aśanivega, the lord of the Vidyādharas defeated both Kiṣkindhi and sukeśa who thereafter sought shelter in Pātāla-Laṅkā. There of Sukeśa and Indrāṇī were born three sons Māli, sumāli and Mālyavān and of Kiṣkindhi and śrīmālā were born Ādityarajā and Rkṣarajā. Kiṣkindha, who frequently visited Meru mountain to pay homage to the Jina shrines, once on his way back founded Kiṣkindha-pura on the Madhu-Parvata and stayed there. Now the sons of Sukesha attacked Lanka, killed the governor (lit. a servant) there appointed by Aśanivega, and Māli, the eldest son became the king of Laṅkā. Āditya-rāja became the ruler of Kiṣkindha. These two kings were great friends. Now Aśanivega begat Sahasrāra who begat Indra. This Indra was very powerful, like Indra he appointed four Lokapālas, defeated the Vānara and rākṣasa chiefs and drove them away into Pātāla-laṅkā. Now Sumāli who was living there, begat Ratnaśravā. He had a wife called Kaikasī. She gave birth to Daśānana who was so called because his face was reflected nine times in the Nava-Ratna-Hāra (a wondrous necklace strung with nine gems) hung round his neck. Kaikasī gave birth to three more children: Kumbhakarṇa, Śūrpaṇakhā and Vibhīṣaṇa.¹⁶ Then we are told of the penance observed by Rāvaṇa and his brothers, their Vidyā-sādhana, and the heroic exploits of Rāvaṇa, the abduction of Śūrpaṇakhā by Khara and his taking over the kingdom of Pātāla-Laṅkā, the birth of Virādhā, the episode of Vālin¹⁷, Sugriva's succession to the throne, the humbling of Rāvaṇa's pride by Vālin, the monk, Rāvaṇa's great devotion to the Jinas, his receiving

16. The Pc. names them as Bhānukaṇṭha, Candrapāṇkhā and Vibhīṣaṇa (of course later on Pc speaks of Bhānu- as Kumbha-). The name Śūrpaṇakhā is well known in Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa.

17. This episode is a departure from the Pc : Knowing that Vālin has grown very strong Rāvaṇa asks him through an envoy to go and bow down to him (Rāvaṇa). Vālin would not bow down to any one except the Jina. Rāvaṇa, enraged, invaded the Vānara territory. Vālin fought with Rāvaṇa for long, captured him under his arm-pit and moved round the four oceans. Then disgusted with his kingdom, he took Dikṣā after putting Sugriva on the throne. The Pc. does not mention this exploit of Vālin, who, according to Vimala, becomes a monk with a view to saving blood-shed.

the Amoghavijaya Śakti from the Dharaṇendra, Sugrīva's marriage with Tārā, Śahasagati's effort to acquire lore in order to get Tārā, the episode of Sahastrāṁśu, the stopping of animal-sacrifice organized by Marutta king at Rāvaṇa's hands, the episode of Uparambhā, the wife of Nala-Kūbara, of Indra's defeat by Rāvaṇa, Rāvaṇa's vow not to violate the chastity of an unwilling woman, the marriage between Pavanañjaya and Añjanā-Sundarī, the birth of Hanūmat, the reunion of Pavanañjaya and his banished wife and their son, the defeat of Varuṇa by Hanūmat, Hanūmat's marriage with Satyavatī and the daughter of Khara, Rāvaṇa's conquering the Vidyādharaś such as Sūrya and employing them in his service (vv. 182-309).

Now we are told of the death of Śambūka, son of Śūrpaṇakhā, at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa's obtaining the Candrahāsa sword, Śūrpaṇakhā's overtures to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in turn, who rejected her; she then went to her husband, told him the account of Śambūka's death. Khara with 14000 Vidyādharaś went to Daṇḍaka forest to punish the offenders. Lakṣmaṇa went ahead to meet the enemy in the battle-field. He fought severely. Finding him invincible she went to Laṅkā to seek Rāvaṇa's aid. She incited him to gain possession of Sītā of wondrous beauty¹⁸. Rāvaṇa drove in his Puṣpaka car through the air; sent away Rāma by producing a roaring sound like that of Lakṣmaṇa (which indicated that Lakṣmaṇa was in danger of losing his life), abducted Sītā. The efforts of Jaṭāyus and Ratnajaṭin to rescue Sītā miserably failed. Rāvaṇa carried her to Laṅkā. Finding her unwilling to become his wife he put her in the Devaramaṇa park under the watch of Vidyādharaś. (vv.310-349)

Rāma knowing from his brother that some one had duped him returned home, did not find Sītā, made a search for her, came across the dying Jaṭāyus bird, repeated in his hearing the famous Namaskāra formula, as a result of which the bird was, after death, born as a god. Lakṣmaṇa by the aid of Virādhā killed Khara and other Vidyādhara heroes, went to Rāma, learnt of Sītā's abduction; then they all made a vigorous search for Sītā but in vain. They then went to Pātāla-Laṅkā, defeated Sunda, the son of Khara, and put Virādhā on the throne of Pātāla-Laṅkā. (vv.350-361). Then we are told of Sāhasagau's arrival in the town of Kiṣkindhā and of his assuming the form of Sugrīva, the defeat of Sugrīva at the hands of Māyā-Sugrīva, Sugrīva's going to Pātāla-Laṅkā and making galliance with Rāma, Rāma's visit to Kiṣkindhā, his challenge to Māyā-Sugrīva and the latter's death at Rāma's hands with a single arrow. He restored the kingdom to Sugrīva who collected his army and sent Hanūmat in search of Sītā. (vv. 362-378)

As regards the advice of Vibhīṣaṇa, Rāvaṇa continued his efforts to persuade Sītā to become his wife. Then the poet tells us how Hanūmat crossed the ocean etc., met Sītā and conveyed Rāma's message to her, taking her crest-jewel Hanūmat started to go back. He in order to show a sample of his prowess, broke the garden trees, killed the guardians of that park. Indrajit took him captive and produced him before Rāvaṇa. At Rāvaṇa's

18. See vv. 331-35 (Canto IX).

abusive language Hanūmat broke off the Nāga-pāśas, pulverized Rāvaṇa's Crown¹⁹, destroyed portions of the capital and flew in the air, approached Rāma, offered him the crest-jewel. Now Rāma and all the heroes marched towards Laṅkā in Vimānas; on the shore of the ocean Rāma took captive Samudra and Setu, the partisans of Rāvaṇa. He defeated Suvela king of Suvela Mt. and Haṁsa-ratha of hamsataṭa, and with his army reached Laṅkā. Now Vibhīṣaṇa tendered Rāvaṇa advice to return Sītā honourably. Rāvaṇa being infuriated at this, banished his brother who then joined Rāma's side. Rākṣasa warriors numbering 30 Akṣohiṇis, followed Vibhīṣaṇa, and allied themselves with the Rāma-army. Then follows a description of the terrible battle between the two hostile armies and of single combats between eminent heroes on both the sides which essentially agrees with the account given by Pc.²⁰ (vv.379-515)

After the death of Rāvaṇa at Lakṣmaṇa's hands, Rāma set free Kumbhakarṇa and others who were taken captive. They performed funeral rites in honour of Rāvaṇa; the principal personages including Mandodarī of the Rākṣasa side entered the ascetic order. Rāma accepting his innocent Sītā lived in Laṅkā at Vibhīṣaṇa's request for six years and then in order to meet his mothers he and party in Vimānas left Laṅkā for Ayodhyā. In Ayodhyā they received a very warm welcome. The mothers and their sons met after a long period of painful separation. Bharata handing over the kingdom to Rāma became a monk and in due course attained liberation. Sītā proving her chastity by undergoing a fire-ordeal became a nun, practised penance and after death became a god in Acyuta heaven. Once hearing from one of the two gods, who had come there to test their affection, that Rāma was dead, Lakṣmaṇa instantaneously fell dead on the ground. At this Lavaṇa and Ankuṣa accepted Dīkṣā (and in due course obtained liberation). Rāma was overpowered with grief, but enlightened by God-Jaṭāyus, he performed the obseques in honour of Lakṣmaṇa and put Anangadeva, Lakṣmaṇa's son, on the throne, and himself, along with Śatrughna, Vibhīṣaṇa and Sugrīva and 10000 kings, entered the ascetic order, in due course obtained perfect knowledge on Koṭi-Śīlā and living 15000 years he ultimately reached Nirvāṇa²¹ (vv.516-542).

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19. Pc. does not say that Hanūmat broke into pieces Rāvaṇa's crown. There he is said to have destroyed portions of Rāvaṇa's palace.
 20. There are a few minor deviations : S.M. relates that Kumbhakarṇa in the course of the fight caught Hanūmat under his armpit after having struck him with his club (Gada). When Angada challenged him to fight, he raised his hands when Hanūmat escaped. Droṇa-ghana, here, at Bharata's request offers Viśalyā whereas in Pc. we are told he turns out Bharata's envoy, Kaikeyī herself has to go and persuade the king. Here we are told that the Vānaras did not interrupt Rāvaṇa's Vidyā-sādhana during those eight-days when all the citizens were devoted to Jain-dharma, whereas in Pc. we read of attempts on the part of Vānaras to interrupt Rāvaṇa in his Vidyā-sādhana.
 21. The poet here seems to be in a great hurry to bring the story to a close somehow. The later history of Rāma he dismisses in eight stanzas. That shows the poet had no definite plan in his mind as to the proper abridgment of the epic.

4. CRITICAL REMARKS

(I) HIS STYLE AND POETIC ABILITY

Dhaneśvara claims that his work is full of various Rasas and desires continued duration for his work so long as the sun and moon rise to dispel darkness.²² The work is in glorification of the Śatruñjaya mountain which is decidedly the most sacred place of pilgrimage to the Jains. It should naturally therefore enjoy certain amount of popularity. Dhaneśvara's language is noble and powerful and his style is on the whole easy, fluent and lucid. He makes judicious use of poetic embellishments such as Upamā, Utprekṣā, Śleṣa, Rūpaka and Atiśayokti²³. Many words belonging to Jain terminology are frequently met with in his work. A peculiarity of his style is that very often he uses 'Itas', 'Itaśc' while introducing another thread of the story. Occasionally we meet with otherwise rarely used words such as Asūryarīpaśyā. In him we find a tendency to juxtapose homophonous words.

As a story-teller, however, his abilities are not distinct. The way he narrates the legend of Rāma shows that he does not know the 'art of abridging'. In his abridged version he has retained certain narratives which are not an essential part of the story of Rāma and skipped over most touching and soul-stirring events in the life of Rāma. Thus for example he gives in detail the narrative of Pavanañjaya and Añjanā-Sundarī, the parents of Hanūmat, which could have been altogether dropped or given in brief; whereas he mentions in passing the most important and major event in Rāma's life, viz., the Repudiation of pregnant Sītā by Rāma on account of public scandal. Indeed it is very amazing and extraordinary that the whole of the later history of Rāma is told in 8 stanzas only.

The summary of the contents as given above shows that the Śatruñjaya-Māhatmya gives the story after Vimala's Pc. Dhaneśvara has introduced certain changes in the narrative which may be classified as follows:-

22. See verse 250 of the last Canto.

23. e.g. पतद्गृहमिवासाध्यमर्धोल्मूलितवृक्षवत् ।
स्थिराकर्तुं न शक्तोऽत्र कोऽपीदृक्ष कलेवरम् ॥

- v. 140 (Upamā).

And vv. 168-70 which tell how Ayodhyā lost all her splendour at the departure of Rāma and party (Vinokti and Mālopanā); and v. 416 :

शरपाषाणसम्पेक्षभक्तो वृक्षभृतिष्वलम् ।
रणतीर्थे दहन् वृक्षान् सस्कारायभवत्तदा ॥

(Atiśayokti).

v. 431 (Upamā), v. 30 (Śleṣa) : योऽयं जीवनदो मेघः स मेऽधरभ्रारितः ।

v. 28 (Utprekṣā).

(ii) ADDITIONS :

He has added the story of Anaraṇya and the image of Pārśvanātha with a view to glorifying the power and grace of the Pārśvanātha's image and the Śatruṅjaya mountain.

(iii) MODIFICATIONS :

Kaikeyī asks, here, for the banishment of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa for fourteen years, and the poet calls her 'Kūṭapeṭā'. The Pc. tells us that Rāma volunteers to go into exile and that Kaikeyī, who is faced with the danger of losing both husband and son, asks for kingdom for Bharata in order to hold him back from taking Dikṣā. The poet tells us of the fight between Vālin and Rāvaṇa and of the latter's humiliation at the hands of the former. In the Pc. Vālin in order to avoid blood-shed becomes a monk, and consequently there is no such fight between the two heroes. In introducing these modifications the poet is obviously influenced by Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. Then Dhaneśvara makes a departure when he says that the Vānaras did not interrupt Rāvaṇa in his acquisition of Bahurūpā Vidyā. There are a few unimportant changes such as the following: Aparājita (of the Pc.) is called here Kausalyā (after Vālmiki's), Bhānukaṛṇa (of the Pc. where the popular name Kumbhakaṛṇa also is sometimes met with) is named as Kumbhakaṛṇa (of course after Vālmiki).

(iv) OMISSIONS :

Dhaneśvara has effected so many omissions. A number of Upākhyānas (such as that of madhu or of Vālikhilya or of Kapila) and the lives of Tīrthaṅkaras etc., discourses on Jain ethics, philosophy and metaphysics, and narration of the past lives of principal characters and descriptions of nature - all these are omitted by Dhaneśvara, his object being to give an abridged edition of the Paūma-Cariya, although he does not specifically state so.

We know that an abridged edition by its very nature is bound to be imperfect. But in abridging a work care must be taken to see that the essentials of the story are not impaired. Here we find that the characters of Kaikeyī and Rāvaṇa are more in consonance with Vālmiki's conception of those characters than with Vimala's who ennobles them. The inexorable law of Karman plays a very conspicuous role in Vimala's work but Dhaneśvara has, while abridging the story, almost ignored it. When the great epic, like Vālmiki's **Rāmāyaṇa** was before him we expect a better performance from Dhaneśvara. His desire that the work should enjoy continued popularity, though natural, seems rather extravagant.²⁴

24. This is the impression one would form by reading the 9th Canto only. A study of the complete text may lead us to revise this impression.

CHAPTER - X

THE RĀMĀYAṆA¹ OF BHADREŚVARA

(as found in his KAHĀVALI)

Introductory Remarks :

Kahāvali (Sk. Kathāvali) belongs to the Kathānaka literature of the Jains. Only one Ms. of this work has come to light. It is written by Bhadreśvara Sūri, a Śvetāmbara writer. Dalal assigns him to the reign of Karṇa (A.D. 1064.94) while Jacobi would like to identify this author with one Bhadreśvara who lived in the 2nd half of the 12th century of the Saṃvat Era². According to Jacobi (and Dalal too) this work is to be put earlier than the *Parīṣiṣṭa Parvan* of Hemacandra, for he remarks: "No wonder that it (Hemacandra's work) superseded the older work (Kahāvali) to such a degree that for a long time the Kahāvali seemed to be lost, till but lately one single Manuscript was brought to light."

Kahāvali is 'a huge work in Prakrit prose³. It relates the history of the 63 *Mahāpuruṣas* and includes also an account of the patriarchs who came after Mahāvīra. The whole work covers 302 palm leaves. The last 64 leaves contain 'the *parīṣiṣṭa parvan*.' Jacobi makes some observations on this last part of the work and concludes: "Bhadreśvara's work has few literary merits. It is scarcely more than a collection of disconnected materials for the history of the Śvetāmbara church, culled from the ample literature of the Cūṛṇis and Ṭikās. The Kahāvali compares unfavourably with the *Sthavirāvalī-carita* by Hemacandra which reads like a connected history of the patriarchate from Jambū down to Vajrasena, told in fluent Sanskrit verses and spirited Kāvya style." Nobody has, however, so far made any observations on the first part of the Kahāvali viz., the history of the 63 *Mahāpuruṣas*. It would be interesting to compare this part of the work with those of his predecessors and successors and find out how far he is indebted to the former and has influenced the latter. Here I confine my study only to the Rāmāyaṇa portion of this work.

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1. Thanks to the kindness of Mahārāja Puṇya-vijayaji, I have been able to secure for my study the Rāmāyaṇa portion of the transcript of the Kahāvali. The transcript betrays many errors and naturally so for the Ms. "is faulty to such a degree that it is frequently impossible to make out the meaning of the context."
 2. See the Introduction to the *Sthavirāvalī-carita*, 2nd ed. by Jacobi, Calcutta 1932.
 3. The Rāmāyaṇa portion contains, however, many verses, some of which are quoted later in this paper. These are not quotations but form an essential part of the narrative. It is not unlikely that the rest of the work too is inter-spersed with verses.

The Rāmāyaṇa of Bhadreśvara covers pp. 61-117 of the transcript. It opens thus:

: महापउमचक्रवट्टिभविस्समाणनमिजिणाणं च विचाले रामायणं ति । रामायणकहा भएणइ । तत्थ वि दूमेणमिमं रामायणं हि । निरुत्तीओ पढमो रामो ति । रामकहा भएणइ ।

The concluding portion runs thus:

एवं च रामरामणसीयाचरिंहि परिसमत्तेहिं ।
रामायणं समत्तं भदेसरसूरिरइयं ति ॥

It would be superfluous to give here an outline of the story of Rāma as told by Bhadreśvara for it is very near that of Vimala excepting two important and original features⁴ that he has added while narrating the later history of Rāma. Not only does Bhadreśvara adopt the story of Vimala but very frequently he also borrows phrases and lines from his predecessor. To illustrate this point I give here only a few of the numerous parallel passages noted by me:-

Bhadreśvara:

P. 80b

महिलासहावचवलाए दीहपेहिणीए सडाए माया-
बहुलाए जं किंचि ववहरियं मए तुम्हं पडिकूलं तं
सवं खमिज्जउ...अंवे महाकुलप्पसूयाणं खत्तियाणं
किं कयावि हवइ अलियवायत्तणं ।

P. 83

रामेण तओ भणिया भदे किं पुरिसेण वेसेण ।
कीलसि वरतणुयंगे साहसु निययंमि रज्जमि ॥

P. 97b

गेरहइ अमोहविजयं सत्ति उक्कं व जलमाणं ।

Vimala:

Canto XXXII. 51 etc.

महिलासहावचवला, अदीहपेही सहावमाइत्ता ।
तं मे खमाहि...पडिकूलं कयं तुज्ज ॥
...अम्मो किं खत्तिया अलियवाइ ।
होति महाकुलजया... ॥

Canto XXXIV. 17

....भदे किं पुरिसेण वेसेण ।
कीलसि वरतणुयंगी, कजे निययंमि रज्जमि ॥

Canto LXI. 56

गेरहइ अमोहविजयं सत्ती उक्का इव जलंती ।

Bhadreśvara:

P. 107b:

तं पभणइ लच्छिदरो मा मा मा दुक्खिया हवह एवं ।
पिमुणजणभासिएणं मा मुंच महासइं सीयं ।
लोओ कुडिलसहावो पिमुणो गुणमच्छरी भसणसीलो ।
जंपइ अमुयमदिट्ठं परतत्तिपरो दुराराहो ।

4. Vide infra: Bhadreśvara's contribution to the development of the story of Rāma.

~~Vimala's Story~~

रामो वि भणइ एवं जह भणसि तुमं न एत्थ संदेहो ।
 तह[वि] बहुलोयविह्वं अयसकलकं न इच्छामि ।
 एवं वामूढमणो सेणाहिबई कयंतवयणं सो ।
 आणवइ गव्भवीयं सीयं रणंमि छुट्टेह ।
 इय भणिए सोमिन्ती राहवपाएसु पडिऊणं ।
 न हु जुत्तमिमं सामिय परिव [च] यणं तुम्ह सीयाण ।
 तं आह तओ रामो न एत्थ तुम्हेहिं किं पि भणियव्वं ॥

Vimala:

Canto XCIV. 13-23:

अह भणइ लच्छिनिलओ, नरवइ मा एव दुक्खिओ होहि ।
 पिसुणवयणेण संपइ, मा चयसु महामइं सीयं ॥
 लोगो कुडिलसहाओ परदोसगहणनिश्चित्तो ।
 अज्जवजणमच्छरिओ दुग्गहहियओ पटुट्टो य ।
 भणइ तओ बलदेवो, एव इमं जइ तुमं समुल्लवसि ।
 किं पुण लोगविह्वं, अयसकलकं न इच्छामि ।
 एवं समाउलमणो, सेणाणीयं कयंतवयणं सो ।
 आणवइ गव्भवीयं, सीयं छुट्टेहि आरणे ॥
 एव भणिए पवुत्तो, सोमिन्ती राहवं कयपणामो ।
 न य देव तुज्ज जुत्तं, परिचइऊणं जणयभूयं ॥

 पउमो भणइ कणिट्ठं, एत्तो पुरओ न किं चि वत्तव्वं ॥

(Note: महाणइ which very well suits the context, must have been the original reading in the Pc. and not सहामइ)

Bhadresvara's narrative differs, however, from the Paumacariya in some respects. His is a continuous narrative in prose interspersed with verse without any divisions into Ucchvāsas or Paricchedas whereas the Pc is entirely in verse and divided into several cantos (Uddesās or Parvans). It may be, however, added that frequently Bhadresvara introduces new topics with such remarks as: 'रामकहा भणइ ।' 'रामणकहा भण[ण] इ ।' 'वाणरकहा भणइ ।' 'हणुमंतकहा भणइ ।' 'सीयाकहा भणइ ।' 'नारयकहा भणइ ।' and the like. Further, he changes slightly the order of events in narrating his Kathā. Thus he straightway opens his narrative with the description of the dynasty of Rāma whereas Vimala first narrates the story of the dynasty of Rākṣasas and of Vānaras and it is only with Canto XXI that the story of Rāma really begins. As his Ramāyaṇa is only an

abridgment, he omits detailed descriptions of mountains and forests, battles and long sermons which occupy so much space in the Pc. After giving the Jain names of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Śūrpaṇakhā, Kumbhakarna etc., he hastens to add:

एसो (पडमो) य रामो नाम लोए पसिद्धो [द्वि-] गयो । एसो (नारायणो) य लक्खणो नाम लोए पसिद्धो ।...चंदनही नाग जा लोए पसिद्धा गुप्पनहा नाम । एसो (भागुयणो) य कुंभकरणो नामलोए पसिद्धो and so on. From these remarks it is evident that the Jain writers did not succeed in their attempt to popularise the names given by them to some of the important characters in the Hindu Rāmāyaṇa. There are some very minor and unimportant details where he differs from his model: e.g., Aparājītā sees four objects in her dream-- 1 An elephant, 2 a lion, 3 the sun and 4 the moon, and Sumitrā seven: the four mentioned above and 5 fire, 6 ocean and 7 Lakṣmī⁵ He mentions 1 Rohiṇī 2 Prajñapti 3 Gaurī and 4 Gāndhārī as the principal among the Vidyās obtained by Rāvaṇa. Of these 1st, 3rd and the 4th are not to be found in the long list given by Pc. The reason put forward by the exiled brothers while declining Śūrpaṇakhā's amorous advances is quite characteristic:

पिउणा अदिगणनारिं अग्हे कइथा पि नेच्छामो । Rāma sends Lakṣmaṇa after Śūrpaṇakhā to find out who she really was. Lakṣmaṇa goes a little distance, returns and reports to Rāma of the disappearance of that lovely maiden. Rāma remarks : न एसा सुंदरा महिला अवसरसिगीण मितेसा म्हे संभवी कोवि विवाधो ति । Bhadrēśvara gives 15000 years as the period of Rāma's life as against 17000 years mentioned in the Pc. There are to be found slight changes also in the spelling of some names e.g., 'Rāmaṇa,' Candraṇakhī, Kekkasī (mother of Rāvaṇa) and so on. The most important changes are, however, the additions he has made to the later history of Rāma.

Bhadrēśvara's Contribution to the development of the story of Rāma

A dream dreamt by Sitā indicates that she would give birth to two heroic sons. Sitā is very happy at this⁶ Her co-wives, however, become extremely jealous of her. They manoeuvre to get Rāvaṇa's feet delineated by Sitā and try to poison Rāma's mind saying

5. Cf. Pc. XXV vv. 2-5.

6. The original passages are as follows :-

अह सीया-रामाणं पेम्मं दट्ठुण सेसदेवीओ ।
गुरुमच्छरेणं सीयागोद्धीटियाओ भणंतिव ॥
रामणकवे लिहिउं सीए दरिसमु जममबोजं (?) ति ।
सीया वि निव्वियप्पा रामणकमजुयलमाहिइइ ।
सेसे तु तरस रुवे न मण दिट्ठं ति बोचुं जाइ गिहं ।
तट्ठाणागयरामे ताओ वि भणंति सामीने ।
रामणकम्म [-म-] जुगमज्जवि सरित्तु सीयाए पेच्छ जं लिहियं ।
रामो न किपि जंपइ गंगीरत्तेण दट्ठु पि ।
सेवेइ तदेव सीये देवीहि वि सिक्खयित्तु दासीउ ।
तं सीया खुदपयं करावियं । खुदजण भत्तियं (?) ॥

that Sītā still remembers Rāvaṇa and as a proof of this show to him the picture of Rāvaṇa supposed to be drawn by her.⁷ Rāma even after seeing that picture keeps silence and continues to attend to Sītā. The co-wives of Sītā through the maid-servants give publicity to the picture-incident. Later on, when the spring sets in, Sītā entertains a 'dohada' (pregnancy-longing) of performing Deva-pūjā. Rāma makes arrangements to fulfil her longing. While Rāma and Sītā are witnessing in the pleasure-park various sports, Sītā's right eye throbs. She tells about it to Rāma. He fears that some calamity might visit Sītā. She is perturbed, finds fault with her fate which had once separated her from her lord and once again is about to bring misery to her. Rāma tells her that none can escape destiny, and asks her to go home and engage herself in religious duties such as 'dāna' etc., and promises to go to her after some time. Sītā follows Rāma's instructions and issues a proclamation that people should worship the deities according to their means. People act accordingly.

Now Rāma dismisses all his retinue, and in disguise moves about and comes to the park. There,⁸ he himself hears the people reproaching him for accepting Sītā back whom Rāvaṇa, being enamoured of her beauty, had abducted and taken home to Laṅkā. Rāma's mind is assailed by conflicting thoughts. He goes home, and in the presence of Lakṣmaṇa, Sugrīva, Vibhīṣaṇa, Hanūman and the like asks the spies to report correctly

7. In my Thesis entitled "The Story of Rāma in Jain Literature," I wrote that the incidents regarding the-picture of Rāvaṇa-is for the first introduced in his Rāmāyaṇa by Hemacandra. Dr. Bulcke

in his article - "The Repudiation of Sītā" in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. I No. I, (Sept. 1951) too says:

"The earliest Indian document to mention it (the motif of the picture of Rāvaṇa) is the Jain Rāmāyaṇa by Hemacandra (12th Century.)"

This study shows that the credit of introducing the picture motif goes to Bhadrēśvara and not Hemacandra as the former's Kahāvalī is earlier than Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭīśālākāpuruṣa-carita.

8. The original passages read as follows :-

ताव सुणइ जणवायं जणाओ परदोसगहणपडराओ ।
 एगागी वियरंतो रामो पच्छएणवेसेणं ।
 पेच्छइ रामेण इमा सीया नीया वि रक्खसिंदण ।
 पुणरवि इह आसीया अगणियगुणदोसपारेण ।
 जो जस्सैसमणुरतो अहवा सव्वो वि तस्स गुणदोसे ।
 न कथावि एत्थ पेच्छइ जहू रामो जणयतणयाए ।
 ता परपरंमि पत्ता पेम्मासत्तेण रक्खसिंदणं ।
 अवहरिऊण न भुत्ता को एवं एत्थ पत्थियओ (?) गरुओ वि लहू रामो ।
 भो सीयावज्जियं जयमसेसं मणणइ महिलाहीणं केणवि नेहानुबंधेण
 ता एव कुणत्तेणं कुसिया सुकुलाण निययमजाया ॥

whatever they heard. First, they hesitate but later on come out with the truth. Lakṣmaṇa is blind with fury to hear the scandal. Rāma⁹ tells him how he himself has heard the talk and that the spies were so interrogated with a view to convincing persons like him and that people should not accuse him of having abandoned Sītā without knowing her fault.¹⁰

This is what Bhadrēśvara has added to the later history of Rāma. It is evident from this edition that Bhadrēśvara is the first writer, as far as our present knowledge goes, to introduce the picture-motif Rāma's moving about in disguise and personally hearing Sītā-apavāda and his going to the jungle, after receiving the message of Sītā in search of her.

Hemachandra too introduces in his narrative the picture-motif and Rāma's visit to the forest in search of Sītā. Obviously he is then indebted to Bhadrēśvara- unless of course we imagine that both of them borrowed from some common source which has not been available to us.

Literary Estimate :

The Kahāvali is a voluminous work. Unless the whole work is critically studied we cannot correctly estimate Bhadrēśvara's art and ability as a story teller. If, however, we regard his Rāmāyaṇa as a fair sample we cannot help remarking that he is only a mediocre writer. Here he gives us, as already pointed out, an abridged version of the Paṭimacariya with the only exception of what he has added to the later history of Rāma. In his addition he shows a flash of originality and the narrative undoubtedly gains in interest on account of this clever addition. He omits all the long descriptions of nature, dreary sermons and dull account of several past births of some characters that figure in the story. Vimāla, the author of the Paṭimacariya, takes every opportunity of propagating Jain Dharma, whereas Bhadrēśvara shows greater concern--and rightly so--for the narrative. Bhadrēśvara has made some change in the order of events in narrating the story. This change, however, is hardly an improvement. Not only does he

9. The original passages are:-

एवं रुष्टं नाउं लच्छिहरं भणइ रामदेवो वि ।
 भाउग मए वि निमुयं सव्वमिमं मा तुमं रुस ।
 एए हेरियपुरिसा तुम्हं पच्चयनिमित्तमाणेउं ।
 इय पुच्छिया महायस अववायस्स भीएणं ।
 मा पुणरवि एस जणो भण्णिही सीया अदिट्ठमुयदोसा ।
 रामेण द्ढिया कह पहुणा होऊण सहस त्ति ।

10. The account that follows, viz.: the abandonment of Sītā, her lament, her message to Rāma through the Senāpati, the arrival of Vajrajangha, the shelter given to her by him-is entirely in agreement with Pc.

adopt the narrative of the *Paūmacariya* but he also borrows some phrases and lines from that poem. His prose is, on the whole, simple and fluent; and if it is frequently impossible to make out the meaning of the context, certainly it is the fault of the scribe and not of the author. The verses that are interspersed in the narrative are devoid of any poetry. The language¹² of the work may be said to be the same as found in the *Paūmacariya*--that is, Jain *Māhārāṣṭrī*.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that his *Rāmāyaṇa* (at least) does not speak of any distinct literary ability on the part of Bhadreśvara.

12. Unless a critical edition of the text is prepared we cannot definitely say how far it deviates from the language of the *Pc*.

CHAPTER - XI

THE RĀMĀYAṆA VERSION OF ĀCĀRYA HEMACANDRA

(as found in his TRIṢAṢṬI-ŚALĀKĀ-PURUṢA-CARITA)

1. HIS LIFE AND DATE

Hemacandra was born at Dhandhukā (District Ahmedabad), in 1089 A.D., as the son of a merchant. His parents were pious Jains. His mother handed over him to a monk Devacandra as a pupil while still in his early childhood. As a Jain teacher he spent the greater part of his life in the capital of Gujarat (called Pāṭan). There, by royal favour, an honourable career as author and promoter of his faith lay open to the Sūri. His first patron was the Caulukya King Jayasimha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A.D.). This king favoured literature, science and philosophy. He was a devout worshipper of Śiva, and yet tolerant of other sects and religions. Hemacandra attracted his attention, and with a view to winning the king's sympathy for Jainism he made it his business to emphasize more specially the points of agreement between the Jainism and authoritative Brahmanical works. Jayasimha's successor was Kumarapāia who was originally also a devotee of Śiva but was converted to Jainism by Hemacandra in 1159 A.D. After his conversion he tried to make Gujarat a model Jain State. He himself renounced the sport of hunting, and prohibited the slaughter of animals, the eating of meat, drinking of wine and the like. He erected Jain temples and favoured literary and scientific efforts of the Jains. During the reign of these two patron-kings Hemacandra enjoyed a period of intense literary activity. He died in 1172 A.D. at the age of 83 years.

2. HIS WORKS

He was indeed one of the most versatile and prolific writers both as a poet and a scholar. It is due to him that Gujarat became a main strong-hold of the Śvetāmbara Jains and has remained so for centuries and that Jain literature flourished there particularly in the 12th and 13th centuries. He has a place of honour in general Sanskrit literature as a compiler of useful and important works on grammar, lexicography, poetics and metrics. His learned books are not distinguished by any great originality; they rather display a truly encyclopaedic erudition and an enormous amount of reading besides a practical sense which makes them very useful. On account of the astounding many-sidedness of his literary achievements he earned from his co-religionists the title Kalikāla-sarvajña "The Omniscient of the Kali Age".

Among his poetical works his huge epic on the "Lives of the Sixty-three Excellent Men" (**Trisaṣṭi-Śalākāpuruṣa-Carita**) is perhaps best known. Though not without merit as a work of poetry a Mahā-Kāvya, yet its purpose is instruction and edification. It is invaluable as a storehouse of ancient legendary lore and tradition. The appendix to this work, the **Parīṣiṣṭa-Parvan** is even more important by its wealth of folk-lore and stories of all kinds.

As a devout Jain he also composed some hymns of praise (Stotras). His **Vitarāgastotra** [Hymn to the Passionless (Mahāvīra)] is a Stotra and at the same time a manual of Jainism.

Hemacandra is always more of a scholar and a moralist than a poet, though not without taste and considerable skill in the use of the Kāvya style. This is also shown by his didactic poem, the **Yogaśāstra**, consisting of a text in simple Śloka and a commentary in the style of ornate poetry, containing also stories.

In one epic poem Kumarapāla-Carita (also known as Dvyāśraya-Kāvya, because it is written in two languages, Sanskrit and Prakrit) Hemacandra proves himself a poet, a historian and a grammarian, all at the same time. The poem describes the history of his patrons, but at the same time it is intended to illustrate the rules of his own Sanskrit and Prakrit grammars.

His grammar called **Siddhahemacandra** is hardly more than an improved edition of Śākatāyaṇa's grammar and yet is valuable on account of its practical arrangement and terminology. He also added himself a commentary and both Uṇādiganaśūtra and Dhātupāṭha to this grammar. The eighth chapter of **Siddhahemacandra** is devoted to Prakrit grammar, which is still the most important grammar of the Prakrit dialects we possess. In his Prakrit grammar he has preserved some pretty Apabhraṃśa songs. And in his manual of metrics he even composed Apabhraṃśa songs himself in illustration of Apabhraṃśa metres and has thus shown his interest in popular poetry.

His **Kāvyañuśāsana** is a manual of poetics and **Chandonuśāsana** of metrics and each is accompanied by the author's own commentary.

His **Abhidhānacintāmaṇimālā** is a Synonymic lexicon and Anekārthasamgraha a homonymic lexicon. His **Deśināmamālā** is a Prakrit lexicon. His **Nighaṇṭuseṣa**, a glossary of botanical terms, is supplement to his **Abhidhānacintāmaṇi**. All these works are of inestimable value.

His **Pramāṇa-Mīmāṃsā** "Examination of the Means of Proof" is a work on logic, - with his own commentary. And his **Anyayogavyavacchedadvātrīṃśikā**, 32 verses in praise of Mahāvīra is at the same time a treatise on logic.

With this brief outline of the life and works of Hemacandra we now turn to his **Trisaṣṭi-Śalākāpuruṣa-carita**, Parvan VII for a detailed study as it contains the story of Rāma:

3. SUMMARY (CANTO-WISE) OF THE 7TH PARVAN TREATING OF RĀMA'S STORY

CANTO I :

Now I narrate the lives of Padma-Baladeva, Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu, and Rāvaṇa-Prati-
viṣṇu, who lived in the Age of Suvrata the Tīrthaṅkara.

In the age of Ajita, the Tīrthaṅkara, there was in Laṅkā situated in the Rakṣodvīpa, Ghanavāhana, the founder of the Rākṣasa dynasty.¹ After many kings such as Mahārākṣasa and Devarākṣasa in his line was born Kīrtidhavalā in the age of Śreyāṁsa, the Tīrthaṅkara. At that time there was, in Meghapura, on the mountain Vaitāḍhya, a Vidyādhara king, called Atīndra. He had a son called Śrīkaṇṭha and a daughter named Devī. In Ratnapura there was a Vidyādhara king Puṣpottara. He had a son Padmottara and a daughter Padmā. He asked for the hand of Devī in marriage for his son. Atīndra, however, offered her in marriage to Kīrtidhavalā. Naturally enough Puṣpottara nursed enmity towards Atīndra and Śrīkaṇṭha. Padmā, however, fell in love with Śrīkaṇṭha and eloped with him. Puṣpottara pursued him. He sought the shelter of Kīrtidhavalā, who sent an envoy to Puṣpottara and impressed on him how it was not proper on his part to fight against his 'son-in-law' for his was a love-marriage. Padmā too through a Dūtī told her father that she had eloped of her own accord with Śrīkaṇṭha. Thereupon Puṣpottara was pacified.² He got the two - lover and his beloved - married and returned to his city. Kīrtidhavalā persuaded Śrīkaṇṭha to live on the Vānaradvīpa lying to the North-west of Laṅkā. In that dvīpa there was a mountain called Kīṣkindhaṇa and on it a city named Kīṣkindhā. Kīrtidhavalā made Śrīkaṇṭha king of that Dvīpa. Śrīkaṇṭha found there on that Dvīpa a vast number of Vānaras (monkeys) of huge form, who lived on fruits. He issued 'a-Māri' proclamation and well-fed them.³ Others too extended hospitality to the monkeys.⁴ Since then the Vidyādharas there drew the figures of Vānaras on their flags and umbrellas and in mouldings - just out of curiosity. And that is why the Vidyādharas living there came to be called Vānaras.⁵

1. The story of Megha - (or Ghana-) vāhana, the founder of the Rākṣasa dynasty is related by Hemacandra in Parvan II. Bhīma, the lord of the Rākṣasa, out of affection for Meghavāhana, who was his son in a previous life, bestowed on him the kingdoms of Laṅkā and Patāla-Laṅkā in the Rākṣasa-dvīpa and gave him a large necklace made of nine jewels, and also the magic science of the Rākṣasas. From that time Meghavāhana's family became a Rākṣasa family.

2. A Subhāṣita here: Prāyo vicāraṇcūnām kopah suprasamaḥ khalu

v. 23.

3. 'a-Māri' -ghoṣa: 'Nobody shall kill these Vānaras.'

4. For it is well said : Yathā rājā tathā prajāḥ v. 33.

5. Read vv. 33-35. This explanation is identical with the one given by Vimala Sūtri.

Now in the age of Suvrata, the Tirthaṅkara, Taḍit-keśa ruled over Laṅkā and Ghanodadhī over Kiṣkindhā. They were great friends. Once Taḍit-keśa went to Vānaradvīpa where in a park a monkey planted nail-marks on the breasts of his chief queen. He got angry,⁶ struck the monkey with an arrow; the wounded monkey went to a Muni who instructed him in the 'Namaskāra Mantra'. That monkey was then born as Abdhī-kumāra god. Taḍit-Keśa's men harassed the monkeys at which this god was enraged. He began to harass the Rākṣasas. Taḍit-keśa propitiated him. They two then went to that Muni who narrated their past history. They, putting Sukeśa and Kiṣkindhī on the thrones of Laṅkā and Kiṣkindhā respectively, entered the order.

Now on the mountain Vaitāḍhya there was a town Ratha-nūpura where king Aśanivega ruled. He had two sons Vijayasīmha and Vidyut-vega. And on the same mountain there was another town Āditya-pura where Mandiramālī, another Vidyādhara king ruled. He had a daughter Śrīmālā, who in the Svayamvara chose Kiṣkindhī as her husband. Vijaya-sīmha was infuriated at this, fought a fierce fight against Kiṣkindhī⁷ but was himself slain by Andhaka a younger brother of Kiṣkindhī. Then Śrīmālā and Kiṣkindhī went to their capital of Vānaradvīpa. Now Aśanivega in mighty rage invaded Kiṣkindhā. Kiṣkindhī and his Rākṣasa friend Sukeśa went out to meet the enemy. Andhaka was killed. The Vānaras and the Rākṣasas fled in all directions. Kiṣkindhī and Sukeśa with their retinue went to Pātāla-Laṅkā. Aśanivega placed a Vidyādhara called Nirghāta on the throne of Laṅkā and returned to Ratha-nūpura. Once he became disgusted with Saṁsāra, put his son Sahasrāra⁸ on the throne and became a monk.

Now in Pātāla-Laṅkā Sukeśa (ex-Rākṣasa lord of Laṅkā) and Indrāṇī, his wife, gave birth to three sons Mālī, Sumālī and Mālyavān. And of Kiṣkindhī and Śrīmālā were born Ādityarāja and Rkṣarāja, two mighty sons. Kiṣkindhī, on his way back from a visit to Mt. Meru in order to pay homage to the Arhats there came to Mt. Madhu; there he founded a new city Kiṣkindha-pura and lived there with his retinue. Now the sons of Sukeśa attacked Laṅkā, routed the king Nirghāta and Mālī, the eldest of them ruled over Kiṣkindhā at the behest of Kiṣkindhī.

6. For : Asahyo hi strī-Parābhavaḥ v. 46.

7. Says Vijayasīmha : 'They - the evil-doers had been formerly banished from the capital of Vaitāḍhya like Dasyus from a Surājya. Who brought them here who are a disgrace to one's noble family? So will I to-day kill them like beasts so that they could never come back here'. The reference here is obviously to Śrīkaṇṭha who eloped with Śrīmālā, for Kiṣkindhī is a descendant of this family of Śrīkaṇṭha.

8. The poet speaks of Vidyutvega as the second son of Aśanivega. After the death of his elder brother he is entitled to the throne. Sahasrāra is obviously his younger brother. The poet does not mention what happens to Vidyutvega, the rightful heir to the throne. Vimala Sūri takes care to mention that Vidyut- (or Taḍit-) vegā became an ascetic with his father. (Pc. VI, 205).

Now in Ratha-nūpura, Sahasrārā's wife Citra-Sundarī dreamt a dream, auspicious as it was, some god conceived in her womb. In due course she had a pregnancy-longing of enjoying sexual intercourse with Indra.⁹ As this longing was difficult to express and difficult to be satisfied, she grew very weak and emaciated. Her husband pressed her to reveal her longing. On knowing it he through Māyā assumed the form of Indra and satisfied her longing. In due course she gave birth to a son who was, because of the longing during pregnancy, named as Indra. When he attained to youth, his father appointed him king, and himself became a monk. This Indra regarded himself as Indra, the overlord of gods and bringing under his sway all the Vidyādhara kings, appointed, like God Indra, the guardians of the world, etc., and ruled over his kingdom, being surrounded by Vidyādharas bearing the names of Indra's Parivāra. Māli felt jealous of Indra's glory, went to Vaitāḍhya but was killed in the fight. The Rākṣasa and Vānara armies being routed, again sought shelter in Pātāla-Laṅkā under the leadership of Sumālī. Indra appointed Vaiśramaṇa as the ruler of Laṅkā.

Now Ratnaśravā was born of Sumālī. He once went to a park to acquire supernatural lores. There he met Kaikasī, the sister of Kauśikā who was the wife of Viśravā and of whom Vaiśramaṇa, the lord of Laṅkā was born. At Kaikasī's request Ratnaśravā married her.

Kaikasī once dreamt a dream in which she saw a lion entering her womb. As a result of her conception she behaved dreadfully. In due course she gave birth to a son with a span of life covering 14000 years. As a young baby he took out that wonderful necklace strung with nine gems (- which was a gift by Bhīma, the Rākṣasa chief to Meghavāhana, the founder of the Rākṣasa dynasty -) and wore it round his neck. His face reflected in those nine gems. Hence his father named him Daśamukha.¹⁰ It was predicted that he, who would drag out of the casket the Ratnahāra, would become Ardha-Cakrin. Kaikasī in course of time gave birth to Bhānukarṇa (also known as Kumbhakarṇa whose birth was announced by a Bhānu-svapna), Candranakhā (also known as Śūrpanakhā) whose nails resembled the crescent-moon, and Vibhīṣaṇa (whose birth was announced by Śaśāṅka-svapna).

9. Vimala states her dohada thus : Icchāmi surāhivassa saṃpatti

Pc. VII, vv. 4-5.

Raviṣeṇa expresses her dohada in these words :

.....vāñchāmi bhoktumindrasya saṃpadaṃ

pp. VII. v. 8.

Whereas Hemacandra take her dohada to be :

Dohadastasyāḥ śakrasaṃbhogalakṣaṇaḥ

It is indeed extraordinary that Hemacandra should so interpret that longing.

10. The interpretation of the name Daśamukha given here is the same as found in the Pc. and the Pp.

**Description of the Origin of the Dynasty of Rākṣasas and of the Dynasty of
Vānaras and of the Birth of Rāvaṇa**

CANTO II :

Daśamukha once saw king Vaiśramaṇa moving in his Vimāna. From his mother he knew how they were robbed of their kingdom of Laṅkā. Vibhīṣaṇa, Kumbhakarna and Rāvaṇa then went to a forest Bhīma to practise austerities and secure supernatural powers. Anāṇḍṛta, the Yakṣa-chief of Jambu-dvīpa who had come there with his harem for sports sent his women to interrupt their religious meditation. They by their lovely ways tried to win the brothers from their avowed course of austerities. The damsels smiled and appealed to the brothers in the most fascinating words of love, but they did not swerve in the least degree from their great spiritual vows. Without change, the more confirmed in their attitude of calm, they spoke not a word. Then Anāṇḍṛta himself came there but his words too the brothers did not heed to. He got enraged and sent his servant-deities (Vānamantara) to interrupt the brothers' austerities by causing dreadful Upasargas. They then turned into lions, etc., and surrounded the brothers. They all set up a loud uproar and tried to frighten the ascetics, but in vain. Then the illusion of their father, mother and sister appeared before them. They piteously appealed to them for help saying that they are horribly oppressed by the beasts, and requested the Rākṣasa ascetics to come to their rescue. But these illusions also could not move the brothers. The lions, etc., then tore their parents and sister before their very eyes. Though it was a heart-rending sight they were not moved. Next, all of a sudden, fell before Kumbhakarna the heads of Rāvaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa. Kumbhakarna felt a sudden thrill but gradually controlled himself, and Vibhīṣaṇa also did so when he was confronted similarly with the heads of Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarna. But Rāvaṇa proved the most heroically calm of the brothers when he faced similar apparitions. He, the knower of supreme bliss, did not care about the danger, but remained absorbed in his high contemplation, immovable like the prince of mountains. Now the Yakṣas fled away. Then one thousand Vidyās¹¹ appeared before Rāvaṇa and yielded to him. Kumbhakarna and Vibhīṣaṇa too acquired some Vidyās by virtue of their penance. The Yakṣa-chief then created a town for the brothers, their parents, sister and other relations. Later on Rāvaṇa observing fasts obtained Candrahāsa sword.

Then Rāvaṇa got married to Mandodarī, daughter of Hemavati and Maya, the Vidyādhara king of Surasāṅgita. Once he went for sport to Mt. Megharava. There he married 6000 Vidyādhara damsels by Gāndharva form of marriage. Kumbhakarna and Vibhīṣaṇa were married to two Vidyādhara damsels Sūrupanayanā and Paṅkajaśrī

11. We have given above a detailed summary of the Vidyā-sādhana as it throws a flood of light on the character of the three brothers. The severe austerities they practise invest them with a spiritual grandeur and strength that are at once striking. The list of the Vidyās is not materially different from the one given in the Pc.

respectively. Mandodarī gave birth to two sons Indrajit and Meghavāhana (Meghanada according to Vimala).

Then we are told of the various exploits¹² of Rāvaṇa such as his conquest of Lankā and Puṣpaka Vimāna after the defeat of Vaiśramaṇa, acquisition of Bhuvanālamkāra elephant, the Defeat he inflicted upon Yama and the appointment of Ādityarajas to the throne of Kiṣkindhā and of Ṛkṣarajas to that of Ṛkṣapura.

Now Vālin, Sugrīva and Śrīprabhā were born of Āditya-rajās and his wife Indumālīnī; and Nala and Nīla were born of Harikāntā and Ṛkṣarajas. When Vālin succeeded the throne he appointed Sugrīva as Crown-prince for Sugrīva was of right faith, just, compassionate and fiery.

Now while Rāvaṇa was away on a visit to Mt. Meru, Khara, a Vidyādhara, eloped with Candranakhā, went to pātāla-Laṅkā, drove away Candrodara, a son of Ādityarajas, and took possession of that city. Rāvaṇa was made to acquiesce by mandodarī; they two got married.

Now the exiled king Candrodara died; his wife Anurādhā gave birth to a posthumous child called Virādhā in some forest.

Then we are told of the episodes of Vālin¹³; Vālin declined to salute Rāvaṇa on account of his vow of not saluting any one excepting the Arhats and Jain monks. Rāvaṇa and Vālin fought, Vālin overpowered him and humbled his pride, by placing him under his arm-pit and going in that way round the world; Vālin let him off, placed Sugrīva on the throne and himself became a monk. He practised penance and obtained many lores.

Now Sugrīva got Śrīprabhā married to Rāvaṇa, appointed Candrarasmi, a son of Vālin, heir-apparent.

Once Rāvaṇa started for Nityalokapura in order to marry a princess called Ratnāvalī. His Vimāna was obstructed while he was crossing Mt. Aṣṭāpada. Knowing that it was Vālin who had held up his Puṣpaka vimāna Rāvaṇa was infuriated; he lifted the Mt. Aṣṭāpada in order to throw it with Vālin in the ocean. Vālin pressed it with his thumb, Rāvaṇa started vomiting blood and crying.¹⁴ Vālin taking pity on him set him free.

12. These are substantially the same as found in the Pc., and have their parallels in the account given by Vālmīki - of course with remarkable variations : cf. Uttarakāṇḍa Cantos 11, 14, 15, 20-22.

13. The episode of Vālin is told differently : According to Vimala Vālin instead of fighting against Rāvaṇa becomes a monk after placing Sugrīva on the throne. Here we are told as in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa that Vālin placed Rāvaṇa under his arm-pit and took him round the earth thus proving his superior strength.

14. From that time he was called Rāvaṇa:

Rāvaṇa then tendered apology to the Muni for his misbehaviour, manifested his uttermost devotion to the Jinas by playing upon his "Bhujavīṇā" with "Snaśa-tantri".¹⁵ Dharaṇendra was pleased with Rāvaṇa, bestowed on him Amogha-vijayā-Śakti and Rūpa-vikāriṇī vidyā. Then Rāvaṇa went to Nityalokapura, married Ratnāvalī and returned to Laṅkā. Vālin in due course attained Mokṣa. Sugrīva married Tārā, daughter of Jvalanaśikha. Sāhasagatī, who loved Tārā felt disappointed, went away to secure Śemuṣī vidyā (that enables one to change one's form). Aṅgada and Jayānanda were born of Tārā.

Now Rāvaṇa set out for world-conquest. We are told of his heroic deeds such as the defeat of King Sahasrārṁśu of Māhiṣmati¹⁶, putting a stop to the animal sacrifice¹⁷ organised by King Marutta of Rājapura, his visit to Mathurā where he was warmly received by king Harivāhana and his son Madhu (who had a wondrous Trīśūla)¹⁸, the Defeat he inflicted on Nalakūbara,¹⁹ the guardian of the East, who lived in Durlanghanagara, the overthrow of Indra,²⁰ the lord of the Vidyādhara, at Rathanūpura; now Rāvaṇa became the sovereign king of the Vidyādhara kingdoms on both the ranges of the Vaitāḍhya mountain. Once he visited Muni Ananta-vīrya on Svarṇatunga who had obtained perfect knowledge. From him he learnt that he, the Prati-vāsudeva would die at the hands of Vāsudeva, the cause being his attachment to another's wife. Rāvaṇa then took the vow in the very presence of that Muni that he would never dally with an unwilling woman.

The incident of pressing the mountain lifted up by Rāvaṇa is common to both Pc. and Hemacandra's work. This incident has a parallel in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa for we are told in Uttarakāṇḍa. Canto 16 that Rāvaṇa lifted up the Kailāsa mountain with his arms, Śiva with his thumb pressed it down thus crushing Rāvaṇa's arms; Rāvaṇa started crying; the etymology of the word Rāvaṇa is given there too, read vv. 43-44.

15. This worship of the Jinas with the lute of his arm and the string of his sinews has a faint resemblance with the austere observance of his oblation of nine heads into the fire, one after the other when Brahmā appears and offers a boon.
16. This king and his friend Anaraṇya king of Ayodhyā accept Dikṣā; the latter places Daśaratha on the throne. These incidents are told here differently so as to show Rāvaṇa in favourable light. According to Vālmīki, Arjuna (Kārtavīrya) who is called here (and in Pc. and Pp.) Sahasrārṁśu, took Rāvaṇa prisoner. And he was let off on the request of Pulastya, Rāvaṇa's father. The Jain accounts tell us exactly the opposite of what Vālmīki reports.
17. This story about the origin of the animal-sacrifice is the same as given by Vimala Sūri.
18. The story of Madhu with the Magic-Trīśūla and his god-friend agrees in all details with the one related by Vimala. As in Pc., here too we are told that Rāvaṇa gave his daughter Manoramā in marriage to Madhu.
19. The episode of Uparambhā given here is identical with the one told by Vimala.
20. Indra's defeat, his being taken captive, release at his father's request and all other details closely resemble Vimala's corresponding account.

Rāvaṇa's Conquest of the World

CANTO III :

Canto III relates the account of the marriage of Pavanañjaya with Añjanā-sundarī and of the birth of Hanūmat and the exploits of Pavanañjaya and Hanūmat who, as allies of Rāvaṇa, took part in the invasion of the kingdom of Varuṇa by Rāvaṇa on two different occasions and of Hanūmat's marriage with Satyavatī, daughter of Varuṇa, and with Anangakusumā, daughter of Candraṇakhā and with thousands of other maidens including those of Sugrīva and Nala.²¹

The Birth of Hanūmat and the Subjugation of Varuṇa (by Rāvaṇa)

CANTO IV :

Here we are told of the Ikṣvāku dynasty wherein was born Daśaratha and of the Harivaṁśa wherein was born Janaka, the prophecy about Rāvaṇa's death Vibhīṣaṇa's resolve to kill Daśaratha and Janaka in order to avoid the future disaster, the wanderings in *cognīto* of Daśaratha and Janaka, the destruction of their waxen images by Vibhīṣaṇa, Daśaratha's marriage with Kaikeyī (he was already married to Aparājītā, Sumitrā and Suprabhā), Kaikeyī's aid to Daśaratha in fighting the hostile kings, Daśaratha's promise to grant her boon, 'Return-home' of Janaka, Daśaratha's conquest of Magadha and stay in Rājagṛha; the birth of Rāma to Aparājītā, announced by four dreams, and of Lakṣmaṇa to Sumitrā, announced by seven dreams; finding his two sons quite strong and powerful Daśaratha returned to Ayodhyā; there Bharata and Śatrughna were born of Kaikeyī and Suprabhā.

Then the Canto narrates about the birth of Sītā and Bhāmaṇḍala to Videhā, the kidnapping of Bhāmaṇḍala and his story, Rāma's feat of driving away the Mlecchas who had invaded the kingdom of Janaka, the Svayaṁvara of Sītā, the bending of the Vajrāvarta bow, etc., Rāma's wedding with Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa's with 18 Vidyādhara virgins, the incident of the delay by an old chamberlain in taking Abhiṣeka-jala to Aparājītā, which was responsible for Daśaratha's vairāgya, the recognition and union of Bhāmaṇḍala with his parents and other relations, the past life of Daśaratha, his keen desire to become a monk, Kaikeyī's demand to place Bharata on the throne, Rāma's self-imposed exile into forest, the departure to forest of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, the failure of Bharata and Kaikeyī's attempt to bring back Rāma to Ayodhyā, Bharata's coronation in the forest by Rāma, Bharata's return to Ayodhyā, his indifference to royal glory and the departure of the exiles from Citrakūṭa to Avantī.²²

21. The account given here is materially the same as found in the Paṭima-Carīya (Cantos XV-XIX both inclusive).

**The Birth of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa; the Wedding of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa
and the Departure to Forest as exiles of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa (and Sītā)**

CANTO V :

Canto V sings of the adventures of the exiles, (or rather of Lakṣmaṇa) - we come across the Vajrakarṇa episode, the tale of Vālikhilya and his daughter Kalyāṇamālā, the narrative of Kapila, the tale of Vanamālā, the episode of King Ativīrya, the narrative of Jitapadmā, the tale of Rāmagiri, the account of Kulabhūṣaṇa and Deśabhūṣaṇa (ascetics who obtain perfect knowledge), the tale of Jaṭāyus, the death of Śambūkā (at Lakṣmaṇa's hands) and the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa, and the failure of the attempts of Jaṭāyus and Ratnajatin to rescue Sītā from Rāvaṇa's clutches.²³

22. This portion of the story of Rāma is substantially the same as found in Paūma-Cariya (Cantos XXI-XXXII both inclusive). There are, however, a few changes introduced here and there, e.g., Hemacandra tells us that Daśaratha after his marriage with Kaikeyī did not return to Ayodhyā but went to Rājagṛha, conquered the king of Magadha, and stayed there; he sent for his wives and lived there for a long time out of Rāvaṇa's fear. It was there that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were born; and when he felt himself invincible on account of his mighty and powerful sons he went back to Ayodhyā (vv. 170-202). Vimala straight way after the marriage of Kaikeyī makes Daśaratha return to Ayodhyā (XXIV, 33-34).

Again, here, the birth of Rāma (Baladeva) is announced by four dreams - 1) an elephant, 2) a lion, 3) the moon and 4) the sun and that of Lakṣmaṇa by seven dreams - 1) an elephant, 2) a lion, 3) the sun, 4) the moon, 5) fire, 6) Lakṣmī and 7) a sea (vv. 175-185); according to Vimala, Aparājītā dreams three dreams only - 1) a lion, 2) the moon, 3) the sun, 4) and the earth bounded by oceans (XXV : vv. 2 and 4-5).

Again Rāma was named Padma for he was "Padma-nivāsa-padmāsya" whereas according to Vimala he was so named because he was (Viyasiya-vara-pauma-sarisamuharī or) 'Paumuppadalaccho'. Further Vimala simply says that Daśaratha celebrated the festival on the birth of a son; Hemacandra gives us details:

"He gave away gifts to the suppliants; the citizens, who were overjoyed, brought Kalyāṇa-pātras and Pūrṇa-pātras filled with 'dūrvā' grass, flowers, fruit and the like to the palace; the city was resounding with music notes, saffron was sprinkled everywhere, arches were erected at all possible places."

As usual we get some good Subhasitas in this canto as well:

Samayajñā hi dhīmanto na tiṣṭhanti yathā tathā v. 171

Śoko harṣaśca saṁsāre naramāyāti yāti ca v. 253

23. The contents of this Canto entirely agree with those of the Paūma-Cariya (Cantos XXXIII-XLIV both inclusive). We, however, notice very minor alterations here and there, e.g. Vimala Sūri narrates that Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and their army go to a Jain temple, there 'Bhavanapālī' deity transforms them all into women, Rama then goes to the assembly, there a dance ravishing the heart of all is performed.

The Abduction of Sītā

CANTO VI:

Here we are told of Rāma's lament at the loss of Sītā, the voluntary help given by Virādha to Lakṣmaṇa in his terrible battle with Khara, the Brothers' visit to Pātāla-Laṅkā on Virādha's suggestion, their fight with Sunda, Sunda's Refuge in Laṅkā, the episode of Sugrīva, the impostor (Māyā-Sugrīva) - his death at Rāma's hands, the Brothers' stay in a park outside Kiṣkindhā, Laṅkā's lament over the death of Khara and Dūṣaṇa, Rāvaṇa's efforts to win over Sītā, righteous Vibhīṣaṇa's advice to Rāvaṇa to return Sītā honourably, Rāvaṇa's demonstration of his splendour to Sītā who, however, remained perfectly calm and quiet, Vibhīṣaṇa's deliberations with the ministers and fortification of Laṅkā, Rama's lament at Sugrīva's delay in keeping his word, Lakṣmaṇa's mission as an envoy to Sugrīva, vigorous search for Sītā instituted by Sugrīva, the report to Sugrīva by Ratnajaṭin about Sītā's rape by Rāvaṇa, lord of Laṅkā, the nervousness of the Vānaras who felt that Sītā could not be rescued from the clutches of Rāvaṇa. Lakṣmaṇa's lifting up of the Koṭiśilā, which act convinced the Vānaras of his superior strength in overpowering Rāvaṇa, the sending of Hanūmat to Laṅkā to bring the tidings of Sītā and to comfort her in her distress, Hanūmat's exploits on the way (such as his fight with his grand-father Mahendra, his removing the Upasarga caused to three damsels in their austerities, defeat of Śālikā lore, marriage with Laṅkā-sundarī after brief but terrible fight, his meeting with Vibhīṣaṇa, then with Sītā, Her doubt, Hanūmat's speech, Rāma's ring, Sītā's speech, and her Gem, the ruin of the park, the death of Akṣakumāra, the capture of Hanūmat by Indrajit, Rāvaṇa's arrogant speech, Hanūmat's angry reply, his breaking asunder the Nāgapāśas, his powdering Rāvaṇa's crown, his return to Kiṣkindhā and his reporting to Rāma the news of Sītā.²⁴

The dancing damsel then makes a proposal to Ativīrya that he should be a vassal of Bharata (Canto XXXVII).

Hemacandra does not refer to Jain temple or the performance of dance by that lovely dancing damsel. As in other Cantos here too we have some fine 'Subhāṣitās' :

1. Śakunaṁ cāśakunaṁca gaṇayanti hi durbalāḥ v. 103.
2. Santo hi natavatsalāḥ v. 229.
3. Mahatsu jāyate jātu na vṛthā prārthanārthinām v. 406.

and a proverb :

Ito vyāghrā itastaḥ v. 427.

24. The contents of this Canto agree with the Paūma-Cariya (Canto XLV-LIII both inclusive and the opening verses of Canto LIV). There are a few insignificant changes :

According to Vimala, 'Kharadūṣaṇa' is one man (43. 16, 44. 2, 45. 5 etc.) whereas according to Hemacandra 'Khara and Dūṣaṇa' are two different persons (vv. 31 and 32).

Obtaining the Tidings of Sītā

CANTO VII :

Canto VII gives an account of Rāma's march against Laṅkā; the subjugation of Samudra and Setu, kings of Velandhara city; and of king Suvela and of king Haṁsa, encamping of his troops at Hansadvīpa, War-preparations in Laṅkā, Vibhīṣaṇa's counsel, Vibhīṣaṇa's banishment, his alliance with Rāma; the siege of Laṅkā, a grim battle between the hostile armies, the single combats between the principal heroes on both the sides (e.g., Nala- Hasta, Nīla - Prahasta, Hanūmat - Māli, - Vajrodara, - Jambumāli, - Mahodara, Sugrīva - Kumbhakarṇa, - Indrajit, Bhāmaṇḍala - Meghavāhana). Hanūmat captured by Kumbhakarṇa but set free by Angada; Sugrīva and Bhāmaṇḍala taken captive by Rāvaṇa's sons but set free by Vibhīṣaṇa; Acquisition of divine weapons through God Mahālocana by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa; Vibhīṣaṇa's counsel to Rāvaṇa on the battle-field; single combats between Vibhīṣaṇa - Rāvaṇa, Rāma - Kumbhakarṇa, Lakṣmaṇa - Indrajit, Nīla - Sinhajaghana, Angada - Maya, Bhāmaṇḍala - Ketu, Hanūmat - Kumbha; the three Rākṣasa heroes - Kumbhakarṇa, Indrajit and Meghavāhana taken prisoners by means of Nāgapaśas, Rāvaṇa's discharging of Trisūla at Vibhīṣaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa's intervention, Lakṣmaṇa hit by Rāvaṇa with his Amoghavijayā Śakti, his falling to the ground in a swoon; single combat between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, at the approach of night Rāvaṇa's retiring to his camp, at the sad plight of Lakṣmaṇa Rāma's swoon, on regaining consciousness his lament, Lakṣmaṇa guarded by the Vidyādharas raising forts around, the episode of Viśalyā, Lakṣmaṇa's recovery, Rāvaṇa's negotiations unsuccessful, the eight-day observance of the vow of Ahimsā and Rāvaṇa's acquisition of Bahurūpā vidyā in spite of interruption by the Vānaras; Rāvaṇa's threat to Sītā, Sītā loyal to Rāma even in face of death, Rāvaṇa's remorse for his evil deed, Rāvaṇa's march to the field, disregarding portents and unfavourable omens, Rāvaṇa and Lakṣmaṇa engaged in a grim combat, Rāvaṇa's hurling his disc at Lakṣmaṇa the disc without

In this Canto also we have a few beautiful 'Subhāṣitas' :

1. Satām saṅgo hi puṇyataḥ v. 97.
2. Svakāryādadhiko yatnaḥ parakārye mahīyasām v. 102.
3. Na dvitīyā capetā hi harerharimāraṇe v. 114.
4. Dhigaho kāmāvasthā baliyasī v. 142.

In v. 135 Sītā finely brings out the contrast between Rāma and Mandodari's husband :

.... Kva sīmhah kva ca jambūkah

Kva suparnah kva vā kākah, kva Rāmah kva ca te patih

v. 135.

hurting him mounted his hand, Lakṣmaṇa discharging it killed Rāvaṇa.²⁵

Rāvaṇa's Death

CANTO VIII :

Canto VIII narrates the account of Vibhīṣaṇa's lament over Rāvaṇa's death, the release of Kumbhakarṇa and Rāvaṇa's sons, the past births of Rāvaṇa's sons related by Muni Aprameyabala, initiation into the Order of Kumbhakarṇa, Maṇḍodari and Rāvaṇa's sons, reunion of Rāma and Sītā, Vibhīṣaṇa's coronation, the arrival of virgins betrothed and their marriage with Lakṣmaṇa; Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā's stay in Laṅkā for long six years; obtaining of Nirvāṇa by Kumbhakarṇa and Rāvaṇa's sons, the sad plight of Daśaratha's queens at Ayodhyā, returning to Ayodhyā of Rāma and party, their happy union with their mothers, the episode of Elephant Bhuvanā-laṅkāra and Bharata and Kaikeyī's renunciation; Lakṣmaṇa's coronation; the overthrow of Madhu, king of Mathurā by Śatrughna, Ruin of Mathurā by a god-friend of Madhu, the past births of Śatrughna and Kṛtāntavadana, rehabilitation of Mathurā, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa married to Śrīdāmā and Manoramā respectively; the glory and splendour of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa- Lakṣmaṇa's 16000 wives (8 of them chief ones); 250 sons (8 of them being the chief ones); Rāma's four wives, Sītā's dream, her conceiving of twins, the jealousy of her co-wives, their prevailing upon Sītā to draw Rāvaṇa's portrait, poisoning of Rāma's mind against Sītā; the scandal given publicity to, evil reports about Sītā obtained by Rāma, Rāma's repudiation of his beloved Sītā, Sītā's piteous lamentations, and her message couched in moving words to Rāma.²⁶

25. The account told in this Canto is in agreement with the Paūma-Cariya (Cantos : LV- LXXIII both inclusive) but for a few unimportant changes : e.g., Hemacandra drops the account of the past lives of Nala, Nīla, Hasta and Prahasta and also of Viśalyā (as given in the Paūma-Cariya - Cantos LVIII and LXIII), the explanation of the word Akṣauhiṇī (Pc. Canto LVI).

26. The contents of this Canto agree with the account as given in the Paūma-Cariya (Canto LXXV-KCIV, both inclusive). Hemacandra drops the tale of Priyaṅkara related by Vimala in Canto LXXIV, and the episode of May given in Canto LXXVII of the Paūma-Cariya; he describes the decoration of Ayodhyā to welcome the brothers in one line, (v. 73) when Vimala devotes 8 stanzas (Canto LXXVIII, vv. 47-55) to that topic; he speaks of four Mahadevīs of Rāma (v. 253), whereas Vimala explicitly mentions that Rāma had 8000 wives of whom four were the principal ones (Canto XCI, vv. 17-18). Hemacandra makes a very important addition to the story of Rāma:

Sītā is to be a mother; Rāma loves her all the more; naturally her co-wives become jealous of her. Those deceitful co-wives ask her to show how Rāvaṇa was - by drawing his portrait. Sītā told them that she had not seen Rāvaṇa's whole figure but only his feet. They asked her to draw his feet only in a picture to satisfy their curiosity. That straight-forward Sītā

Sitā's Repudiation

CANTO IX :

Canto IX narrates that Sitā was honourably received by king Vajrajaṅgha of Puṇḍarikapura; on receiving Sitā's message Rāma lamented his folly, went to the forest in search of Sitā, but in vain; Sitā gave birth to twin sons who received the names Anaṅgalavaṇa and Madanāṅkuśa, they were carefully brought up and taught various arts and sciences by Siddhārtha; Rāvaṇa was married to a daughter of King Vajrajaṅgha; King Pṛthu refused to give his daughter in marriage to Aṅkuśa as the family of the boy was not known; invading Pṛthu's kingdom the twins proved their valour; Nārada gave the story of the birth of the twins, the marriage of Aṅkuśa with Pṛthu's daughter was celebrated; the twins, invaded Ayodhyā; Bhāmaṇḍala learning of Sitā's repudiation went to her, took her to the camp of her twins, the twins disregarding Bhāmaṇḍala's advice fought and overpowered Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in the fight; Siddhārtha and Nārada effected the union of the twins with their father Rāma; Sitā returned to Puṇḍarikapura; Rāma and others entered Ayodhyā; Sitā's fire-ordeal, god Hariṇa-gaveśin at Indra's order came to help the chaste and pure lady; Rāma proposed her to go with him and enjoy pleasures; Sitā was disgusted with **Samsāra**, she tonsured her head, Rāma fainted, Sitā then entered the ascetic order at the hands of Muni Jayabhūṣaṇa.

then drew Rāvaṇa's feet in a picture. As chance would have it, Rāma, at that time, came there. Those co-wives then told Rāma to note that Sitā was still remembering and desiring Rāvaṇa and to corroborate what they said, they showed him that painting. Noble-minded Rāma returned as he came. They then spread the scandal, through their female attendants, among Rāma's subjects. People then started slandering Sitā and finding fault with Rāma for his blind folly in taking back to his bosom the wife who was so long a captive in the palace of Rāvaṇa.

The motif of jealousy thus utilised by Hemacandra heightens the artistic beauty of the poem. In this Canto Hemacandra as usual gives some good Subhāṣitas :

1. Vitrā hi prajāsu samadrṣṭayaḥ v. 3.
2. Viveke hi na raudratā v. 148.
3. Naikatra munayaḥ sthirāḥ v. 235
4. Dharmah śaraṇamāpadī v. 274.

²⁷Sītā's Purity and her Entering the Order of nuns

CANTO X :

Canto X gives an account of the past lives of Rāma, Sugrīva, Rāvaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā, Viśalyā, Bhāmaṇḍala, Rāvaṇa, Aṅkuśa and others, Kṛtāntavadana's Dīkṣā, who later on was born as a god, the birth of Sītā as a god, the Dīkṣā of Lakṣmaṇa's sons, Bhāmaṇḍala's death, Hanūmat's Dīkṣā at the sight of sunset and later his attaining liberation; Lakṣmaṇa's death brought about, though unwittingly, by gods; the Dīkṣā of Lāvaṇa and Aṅkuśa and their obtaining Mokṣa; Rāma's sad plight at Lakṣmaṇa's death; invasion of the kingdom of Ayodhyā by the sons of Indrajit and Sunda, their fleeing away when they knew that gods were on Rāma's side, later on their entering the Order, Coronation of Anaṅgadeva (son of Lavaṇa) and the renunciation of Rāma and other heroes, Rāma's obtaining gradually Avadhī-jñāna and Kevala-jñāna, the Upasarga caused to Rāma by Sītā-god, Rāma's prediction (that Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa who were born in hell would ultimately obtain Nirvāṇa - Lakṣmaṇa as a Cakravartin and Rāvaṇa as a Tīrthaṅkara and that the soul of Sītā would be born as a Gaṇadhara of Rāvaṇa -

27. The account given here is in agreement with the Paūma-Cariya (Cantos XCV-CIII both inclusive). There are some remarkable changes introduced by Hemacandra, e.g., Rāma, at Lakṣmaṇa's suggestion, goes to the forest in search of Sītā whom he has abandoned, in order to please his subjects who slandered her. He makes a minute search but in vain. Taking her to be devoured by some wild animal and losing all hopes of regaining her he returned to Ayodhyā and performed her funeral rites (vv. 27-33); whereas according to Vimala, Rāma was comforted by Lakṣmaṇa who explained to him the nature of Saṁsāra and the unrestrained working of the law of Karman (Canto XCVI, vv. 38-42); Hemacandra drops entirely the long sermon by Muni Sakalabhūṣaṇa (Vimala, Canto CII vv. 63-203) and he narrates the past lives of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (Vimala, Canto CIII) in Canto X.

Hemacandra describes very suggestively the different conflicting emotions that overpower Rāma when he hears the account of his twin sons from Nārada :

Rāmōpi vismaya-vrīḍā-kheda-harṣa-samākulaḥ v. 154.

Wonder - on account of the heroism of his sons,

Shame - on account of his own defeat,

Dejection - on account of his remembering anew the sad event of Sītā's repudiation, and

Joy - on account of union with his sons.

28. The account given here entirely agrees with the Paūma-Cariya (part of Canto CIII and Cantos CIV-CVIII both inclusive).

As elsewhere, here too we get a few fine Subhāṣitas e.g.,

1. Karmaṇām viṣamā gatiḥ v. 115.

2. Gatayaḥ karmādhīnā hi dehinaṁ v. 231.

Tīrthaṅkara - of course all this after a number of births); Sītā-god's visit to hell and her advice to Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa, and Rāma's liberation.

Rāma attains Nirvāṇa

4. HEMACANDRA'S RĀMĀYAṆA - A CRITICAL STUDY

(I) ITS RELATION WITH THE WORKS OF VIMALA AND RAVIṢEṆA

As we have already pointed out in the footnotes to the summary of the contents of Hemacandra's Rāmāyaṇa, it is based on the Paūma-Cariya of Vimala Sūri with some variations here and there. In a few places it shows acquaintance with the Padma-Purāṇa of Raviṣeṇa. Hemacandra divides the narrative of the story of Rāma in ten cantos of unequal length. The shortest is the first canto with 164 verses; and the longest is the second canto with 654 verses. The total number of verses comes to 3718. He employs like Raviṣeṇa the Anuṣṭubh metre. Like Raviṣeṇa he speaks of Suprabhā, the fourth queen of Daśaratha and the mother of Śatrughna. As in the Padma-Purāṇa he mentions the bending of Vajrāvarta and Ārṇavāvarta (= Sāgarāvarta) by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa respectively. But for these points it is in agreement with the Paūma-Cariya in its essential features.

(II) HEMACANDRA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RĀMA STORY

(a) Vālin fights with Rāvaṇa, overpowers him, puts him under his arm-pit and in that position he circumambulates the earth thus proving his superior strength. This incident is not to be found in the epics of Vimala and Raviṣeṇa but that of Vālmiki.

(b) Daśaratha, after his marriage with Kaikeyī, does not return to Ayodhyā but goes to Rājagṛha, conquers the king of Magadha, stays there, gets there his family and lives there for a long time out of Rāvaṇa's fear. It is there that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are born. And when he feels himself to be invincible on account of his powerful heroic sons he goes to Ayodhyā with his whole family; and it is at Ayodhyā that Bharata and Śatrughna are born.

Again, the number of dreams that come to the mothers of Baladeva and Vāsudeva differs from that given by Vimala. Aparājitā here sees four dreams as against the three in the Paūma-cariya and Sumitrā sees seven dreams as against the four in the Paūma-Cariya.

(c) Daśaratha names 'Rāmā' Padma as he was 'Padma (=Lakṣmī) nivāsa-padma'.

(d) Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and the army are transformed into women by Kṣetradevatā on the occasion of fighting the king Ativīrya (Vimala attributes this to a Jain deity

Bhavanapālī; and speaks of a lovely dance by a Nartikā. Hemacandra omits this reference).

(e) According to Vimala, Kharadūṣaṇa is one individual, the husband of Candraṇakhā; Hemacandra states : Khara was the husband of Candraṇakhā and Dūṣaṇa and Trīśīras were his younger brothers.

(f) Hemacandra omits, perhaps as unimportant, the account of the past lives of Nala, Nila, Hasta, Prahasta and of Viśalyā and the explanation of the term 'Akṣauhiṇī'.

(g) Hemacandra drops the tale of Priyaṅkara and the episode of Maya.

(h) He speaks of four Mahadevīs of Rāma: 1. Maithilī, 2. Prabhāvatī, 3. Ratnibhā and 4. Śrīdāmā. The word Mahadevī does presuppose his other queens. Paūma-Cariya specifically mentions that Rāma has had 8000 queens. Hemacandra does not refer to them.

(i) Hemacandra makes a very important addition to the story of Rāma. Sītā is to be a mother; Rāma loves her all the more; naturally her cowives become jealous of her. They deceitfully manoeuvre to get Rāvaṇa's feet drawn in a picture by that innocent Sītā. They tell Rāma that Sītā still pines for Rāvaṇa and to support their accusation they show that painting by Sītā to Rāma. Rāma silently goes back. They then spread the scandal among Rāma's subjects through their trusted maid-servants. People then openly start talking about Rāma's folly in accepting Sītā back.

This motif of jealousy, skilfully used by Hemacandra, certainly heightens the artistic beauty of the poem.

(j) Hemacandra also adds that Rāma goes in search of his deserted Sītā. His minute search is in vain. Taking her to have been devoured by wild beast and losing all hope of regaining her he returns to Ayodhyā and performs her funeral rites. This his going in search of Sītā- whom he has himself repudiated in order to please his subjects which he considered to be his highest duty - reveals his deep and abiding love for Sītā.

(k) Hemacandra entirely drops the sermon of Sakalabhūṣaṇa.

(v) APPRECIATION OF HEMACANDRA AS A POET AND STORY-TELLER

As far as his Rāmāyaṇa is concerned, he does not display any originality. His work is modelled on the Paūma-Cariya. He has reduced the original to about half its size by omitting many details, episodes, long sermons, details regarding past births of principal characters and so on. He presents in simple, lucid and fluent Sanskrit the narrative of Vimala Sūri. His judicious use of Alaṅkāras like Upamā, Rūpaka, Utpreksā, Arthāntaranyāsa etc., adds grace to his poem. His descriptions of seasons, love scenes, war, and so on in the style of ornate poetry justify his claim that it is a Mahākāvya. The main purpose of his epic is instruction and edification. The narrative is sometimes interrupted by sermons on religion and morality. The doctrine of Karman and especially Nidāna is illustrated in the course of the epic. His abilities as a story-teller are of no mean

order. His Rāmāyaṇa is a testimony to his art of story-telling. Again, he does not slavishly imitate his predecessor as we have demonstrated before. He reveals his artistic and dramatic skill by introducing the drawing of Rāvaṇa in a picture by Sītā. This picture-incident has been later on incorporated in their works by many poets. One may not appreciate the didactic method of the poet. But unquestionably he is a story-teller of a high rank.

CHAPTER - XII

SĪTĀ RĀVAṆA KATHĀNAKA OF ĀCĀRYA HEMACANDRA

(as found in his commentary to his own YOGAŚĀSTRA)

Hemacandra¹ (A.D. 1089-1172) fully and elaborately treats of the story of Rāma in his huge epic on "The Lives of the Sixty-three Excellent Personages" (Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣa-carita)². He, however, presents the "Tale of Sītā and Rāvaṇa" very briefly and excluding the 'Uttara-Rāma-Carita' in his own commentary on his Yogaśāstra³. The object of this paper is to examine the relation between the two versions and study the Ys version as a narrative poem. With a view to finding out whether the Ys version is earlier or later it is necessary to compare the two versions. The following table gives their comparison:

YS

vv. I-II tell us of Rāvaṇa (his two brothers Kumbhakarṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa); once, Rāvaṇa saw in his house a necklace made of nine rubies, was struck with its splendour, learnt from the Elders that it had been

TSPC

I. 152-160: Rāvaṇa as a babe out of natural restiveness lifts the necklace; his mother reports this wonder to his father who, seeing Rāvaṇa's face reflected in the nine rubies styles him Daśamukha and recounts the prediction that the wearer of

1. For the Life, Date and Works of Hemacandra, refer to "The Life of Hemacandrācārya", Singhi Jaina Series Vol. No.II.
2. Vide Chapter XI *supra*. This Rāmāyaṇa version is now available in its English Translation. The translation which is generally accurate is, however, at some places erroneous. For example, प्राणैरप्युपकुर्वन्ति महान्तः किं पुनर्गिरा ।—II. 436b; अर्थिनोऽर्थेषु न तथा दोषमन्तो विजये यथा ।—पूजां मत्तोऽपि वाञ्छति ।—II. 601b; नार्यो राज्येन नः कश्चित्प्राज्येनापि महासुज ।—VIII. 16a, and 'सोऽथ प्रसारिताक्षोऽस्याह्यमूर्तिरिवाक्रियः । X.—124b—

these lines have been erroneously translated as. "For the great confer benefits just by existing, how much more by speech"-(p. 146); 'just as the rich are not greedy for money, neither are the powerful greedy for victory'-(p. 156); 'so he is crazed (with pride). Even crazed, he asks for a Pūjā-(p. 158); 'there is no advantage to us in kindoms nor in subjects, O King'-(p. 298); 'He remained seated.....like an image to be anointed'-(p. 543). The Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣa-carita is hereafter referred to as TSPC.

3. Bibliotheca Indica edition (Pp. 360-387); Bhavanagar edition (folios 125b-134). My thanks are due to Dr. F.R. Hamm for drawing my attention to this version.

The Yogaśāstra is hereafter referred to as YS.

acquired as a gift by his ancestors and that he who wore it, would be an Ardhabharateśvara. Thereupon Rāvaṇa put it around his neck. Because his face was reflected in the nine rubies, he came to be widely known as 'tenfaced'.

Prajñapti and other supernatural lores waited on him like his army. He easily conquered half of Bhāratavarṣa.

vv. 12-42 describe the conquest of Indra--the lord of the Vidyādhara. Rāvaṇa sent a messenger to Indra with the message that he should either accept his sovereignty or come forward for a fight. Indra throws a counter-challenge. A fierce fight ensues between the two armies of Indra and Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇi (=Meghanāda) took Indra captive after a fierce battle. Soma, Yama, Varuṇa and Kubera then besieged Rāvaṇa, who easily overpowered them and took them prisoners.

vv. 43-46: Rāvaṇa marched against Pātāla-Laṅkā, killed Candrodara, gave his kingdom and his own sister (Candraṇakhā) in marriage to Khara, the elder brother of Trisīras and Dūṣana. Khara took everything belonging to Candrodara excepting his pregnant wife who managed to escape. Rāvaṇa returned to Laṅkā and happily ruled there.

the necklace would be an 'ardha-cakrin'.

II. 21-66 describe in detail how Rāvaṇa attained the divine lores.

II. 578-633 describe the defeat of Indra. Rāvaṇa after fierce fighting himself captured Indra. He returned to Laṅkā; threw Indra into prison. Indra's father (Sahasrāra) with the regents of the quarters went to Laṅkā, besought Rāvaṇa to release Indra. Rāvaṇa released him on condition that Indra with the regents and attendants should perform various tasks for Rāvaṇa.

II. 172- 182: Once, while Rāvaṇa had gone to Mt. Meru to pay homage to the shrines, a Khecara, Khara by name, saw Candraṇakhā, kidnapped her, having fallen in love with her and she with him. He went to Pātāla-laṅkā, expelled Candrodara and took it himself. Rāvaṇa on returning to Laṅkā, heard of the kidnapping of Candraṇakhā, was very angry, started out in order to kill Khara. Mandodarī, however, intervened, gave him advice to get reconciled with the situation; his younger brothers too gave the same advice. Rāvaṇa then sent his representatives-- Maya and Mārīca--to Pātāla-Laṅkā and married Candraṇakhā to Khara, who lived there as Rāvaṇa's vassal vv. 62-381

vv. 47-52 describe how Rāvaṇa made king Marutta stop the Vedic sacrifice.⁴

vv. 53-54 mention that Rāvaṇa went on pilgrimage to Sumeru etc., and returned to Laṅkā.

vv. 55-59 tell us of Daśaratha, king of Ayodhyā, his four wives--Kausalyā, Kaikeyī, Sumitrā and Suprabhā and their respective sons: Rāma, Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna. Rāma (bhadrā) married Śītā, the daughter of Janaka and sister of Bhāmaṇḍala.

vv. 60-68 give the episode of the bath-water, and the fulfilment of Kaikeyī's two boons who demanded them of Daśaratha at Mantharā's words.

vv. 69-72: Rāma and party went to the Daṇḍaka forest, lived in a hermitage at Pañcavatī. The arrival of two flying Monks, Śītā's offering of alms to them, shower of fragrant water by gods, and the story of Jaṭāyus--all this is briefly described.

describe this episode and vv 382-592 recount the story of the origin of animal sacrifices.

II. 649-654 mention that Ravana went to Mt. Svarnatunga (i.e. Meru) to pay homage to Anantavīrya, who had obtained omniscience; from him he learnt that he (Rāvaṇa) would meet his death from Vāsudeva on account of his attachment to another's wife and that Rāvaṇa took the vow of not making love to another's wife against her will and returned home.

IV. 116-352 relate this account in great detail.

IV. 355-371 give this episode of the bath-water, and IV. 419-442 relate of only one boon the fulfilment of which Kaikeyī had kept in reserve and in order to keep her only son with her she asked her husband to appoint Bharata to the throne. There is no instigation by Mantharā. Rāma of his own took the decision of dwelling in a forest.

V. 322-327: In the course of their wanderings Rāma etc., went to the Daṇḍaka forest. Rāma made a mountain-cave his dwelling. The arrival of the flying Monks and other details are identical.

4. vv. 48-52 are identical with TSPC II. 377-381 but for three words.

5. v 62=IV. 368b, 360a; v. 64=IV. 370 (with slight changes).

vv. 73-85 give the incident of the killing of Śambuka and of Chandraṇakhā's advances to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa alternately⁶.

vv. 86-117 describe the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa?

vv. 118-132: Rāma went to help Lakṣmaṇa. Lakṣmaṇa who had killed his enemies met Rāma on the way. They, realizing that some one had duped Rāma in order to abduct Sītā, returned to their dwelling. Rāma not finding Sītā fell in a swoon. Lakṣmaṇa comforted him on his regaining consciousness. Virādhā sought the help of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to regain Pātālalaṅkā. They promised him their help, and started out for Pātālalaṅkā. On their way they met the Vidyādhara follower of Bhāmaṇḍala, who informed them of Sītā's abduction by Rāvaṇa. They then went to Pātālalaṅkā and put Virādhā on the throne⁸.

vv. 133-194 recount the episode of Sāhasagatī, Sugrīva and Tārā⁹.

v. 378-410 elaborately describe the same happenings.

V. 411-460 give the episode of Sītā's abduction.

VI. 1-32: Lakṣmaṇa had not finished fighting when Rāma approached him. He sent Rāma back to protect Sītā. Virādhā with his army, went to Lakṣmaṇa to help him. Lakṣmaṇa, single handed, killed Khara and others. Then he with Virādhā returned to Rāma. Lakṣmaṇa comforted Rāma in his grief and requested him to put Virādhā on his ancestral throne of Pātālalaṅkā.

VI. 59-188: This is for the most part in agreement with its counterpart. vv. 79-80 add that Sugrīva had summoned Hanūmat for assistance. As Hanūmat looked on unable to distinguish between the two, the false Sugrīva crushed the real Sugrīva.

6. vv 74-79a=v 387-393a, with the dropping of v. 389 and a few verbal changes. vv 80-83=v. 395-398; v 84b=v 409b; and v. 85=v.410.

7. vv 86-107=v. 411-432; vv 110-111=v 442-444 and v 112=v 439 (with a slight change). It is to be noted that Jaṭāyus rushed forward after hearing Sītā's cries for help (vv 110-111) whereas according to TSPC, he rushed ahead while Rāvaṇa attempted to put the weeping Sītā in his Vimāna.

8. v 119=VI. 3; vv 120-21=VI.4-5 (with two little changes).

9. vv 144-158 agree, word for word with VI, 63-77; vv 159-178a with VI. 80-99a, and vv 179-194 with VI. 100-115.

vv. 195-222: Hanūmat brings the tid-
ings of Sitā after visiting Laṅkā¹⁰.

vv. 223-231: Rāma took Samudra
and Setu, two patrols of Rāvaṇa captive,
camped with his army at Haṁsa-dvīpa
and besieged Laṅkā. Bibhīṣaṇa who
counselled Rāvaṇa to return Sitā to
Rāma was banished by Rāvaṇa from
Laṅkā. He then joined Rāma's side.
Rāma conferred on him the Kingdom of
Laṅkā.

vv. 232-276 describe the war be-
tween the armies of Rāma and Rāvaṇa.
Kumbhakarṇa in his encounter with
Sugrīva took him under his strong
arm, and started towards Laṅkā.
Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa challenged
Kumbhakarṇa and Meghanāda re-
spectively to fight. Sugrīva escaped
from the arm-noose of Kumbhakarṇa.
Rāma captured Kumbhakarṇa and
Lakṣmaṇa Meghanāda Rāvaṇa then ap-
peared on the scene. Lakṣmaṇa fought
against him, was struck on his breast
by Amogha-vijayā Śakti (Spear).
Rāma fell fainting to the ground.
Sugrīva and others made eight walls
with four gates around Rāghava (and
Lakṣmaṇa). They acted as guards at
the gates. Rāvaṇa then retired from the
battle-field with the thought that
Lakṣmaṇa would die that very day and
without him Rāma too would die and
that fighting was of no use.

VI. 231-36, 317-408: These verses
describe how Hanūmat obtained the news
of Sitā.

VII. 1-44 describe these events.

VII. 45-259: describe the war with some
remarkable changes. According to this
account Sugrīva overpowered
Kumbhakarṇa who fell to the ground
struck by a stroke of lightning
(Taditdaṇḍa). Indrajit and Meghavāhana
bound Sugrīva and Bhāmaṇḍala by
snake-nooses. Kumbhakarṇa put Ha-
nūmat under his armpit. Hanūmat es-
caped from the noose of Kumbhakarṇa's
arm when he raised it to fight against
Aṅgada. In order to save Bibhīṣaṇa from
the Amoghavijayā Śakti discharged by
Rāvaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa stood in front of
Bibhīṣaṇa and was pierced by it. Rāma
angrily fought against Rāvaṇa, made him
chariotless; Rāvaṇa then retired to
Laṅkā with the thought that out of
extreme affection for Lakṣmaṇa Rāma
would die and that fighting was of no use.
Sugrīva and others made seven walls with
four gates around the two Rāghavas. The
Vidyādhara requested Bhāmaṇḍala who
was guarding the Eastern gate¹¹ to take him

10. vv 202-213, but for two slight changes are identical with VI. 332-343; v. 215=VI. 354 (with
a small change, Sitā breaks her fast not after 19 but 21 days); v. 221=VI. 405 and v. 222
abc=VI. 406 abc.

11. Hemacandra nods here for (in VII. 245) he has stated that Bhāmaṇḍala was guarding the
Southern gate.

A Vidyādhara leader approached Bhāmaṇḍala who was a guard at the Southern gate, and disclosed to him the means of curing Lakṣmaṇa, namely, the bath-water of Viśalyā. Bhāmaṇḍala conveyed it to Rāma, who ordered him and Hanūmat to bring Viśalyā's bathwater. They then brought Viśalyā herself with 1000 maidens to be married to Lakṣmaṇa. At her touch Lakṣmaṇa revived. At Rāma's command other warriors were sprinkled with her bathwater and revived. Rāma further ordered that Kumbhakarna and others be brought there for being sprinkled with the bathwater. The guards told him that they had just then accepted asceticism. Thereupon Rāma ordered that the high-souled ones who had accepted asceticism be released. Lakṣmaṇa then married Viśalyā and other maidens¹⁸.

Then Rāvaṇa arrived on the battleground. Restraining Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa fought against Rāvaṇa. Finally, Rāvaṇa discharged the Cakra against Lakṣmaṇa. It did not hit him at all. He took it up, hurled it at Rāvaṇa and cut off his head.

vv. 277-278: Rāma accepted Sitā (of pure character) and placed Bibhīṣaṇa on the throne of Laṅkā. Destroying his enemy, Rāma with his wife and others returned to his city-Ayodhyā. Rāvaṇa invited the destruction of his

to Rāma. He was taken to Rāma. Then the Vidyādhara himself gave the account of Viśalyā¹².

VIII. 9-16: At the time of Rāvaṇa's cremation Rāma released Kumbhakarna and others. After the cremation Rāma asked them to rule their kingdom as before. They, however, preferred to accept asceticism.

Lakṣmaṇa pierced Rāvaṇa's chest, with the Cakra.

VII. Rāvaṇa after death sank into hell.

VIII. 1-97 Rāma was reunited with his noble wife Sitā; he then returned to Ayodhyā.

12. According to YS version, Rāma ordered Bhāmaṇḍala and Hanūmat to bring Viśalyā's water whereas according to TSPC, Bhāmaṇḍala, Hanūmat and Aṅgada were assigned this task.

13. v. 258=VIII. 283 with a slight change. vv. 260-267=VIII. 285-292 (with slight modifications).

family by a mere desire of enjoying the love of another's wife and sank into hell.

The interrelation of the two versions : It is, indeed, remarkable that though the author of the two versions is the same, they betray some noteworthy divergences. Thus, the incident of Rāvaṇa's wearing the 'navaratnamālā', of his fight against Indra and the four 'dikpālas', of his slaying Candrodara, the lord of Pātālalaṅkā and bestowing that kingdom and his own sister on Khara, of the two boons of Kaikeyī and the instigation of Mantharā, Rāma's stay at the Pañcavaṭī-āśrama, the meeting of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with Virādha after the destruction of the enemy, Sitā's breaking fast after 19 (and not 21 as in the TSPC) days, the account of war between the principal heroes, the construction of eight (and not seven as in the TSPC) Vapras to guard Lakṣmaṇa, the intimating to Rāma of the means to save his brother by Bhāmaṇḍala, (and not by the Vidyādhara himself directly), the release of Kumbhakarna, etc. before the slaying of Rāvaṇa, and the cutting off of Rāvaṇa's head by the disc -- all these are differently told in the two versions. It is, further, remarkable that out of a total of 278 verses of the YS version 82 verses are identical, word for word, and 28 verses nearly identical--nearly because there are slight verbal but immaterial and insignificant changes--and broadly speaking--leaving aside the divergences noted above--the two versions are in agreement in their essential features. It is evident that the identical or nearly identical passages have been taken over from one version in the other version. Now, the question is whether the composition of the commentary to the YS falls earlier to or later than that of the TSPC. The TSPC (Parvan 10, Praśasti verses) mentions that the Yogasāstra was already composed. One might venture to state that probably its commentary too was already composed. Bühler without any hesitation remarks that "Its (TSPC) composition falls later than that of the Yogasāstra, for it is not quoted in the commentary on the latter..." (*italics mine*). Prof. M.C. Modī is inclined to believe that the commentary on the YS may have been written after the completion of the TSPC or that the TSPC and the commentary on the YS were being simultaneously written¹⁴. The view of Bühler seems to be more reasonable for nowhere in the commentary on the YS Hemacandra mentions the TSPC. He generally introduces quotations from his own works with the remark 'यद्वचोचाम or यदुक्तमस्माभिः'. The present narrative poem he introduces--while commenting on the YS II. 99--with the remark 'अयं चार्थः संप्रदायगम्यः, स ज्ञायम्'. The word indicates some ancient authority or authorities, which he has made use of while penning this narrative poem. What precisely his source for this poem was it is impossible to state in the present state of our knowledge. The YS version shows, it may be conceded without any hesitation, acquaintance with the Paūmacariya of Vimala Sūri, the Padmacarita of

14. Hema-samikṣā (in Gujarati) by Prof. M.C. Modī, Ahmedabad, 1942.

Raviṣeṇa, the Vasudevahiṇḍī version of Saṅghadāsa¹⁵. Further, the divergences between the two versions could be better explained on the assumption that Hemacandra had already written the YS version based on some original or originals. If we were to assume with Prof. Modi that Hemacandra first wrote the TSPC or simultaneously composed the TSPC and the Commentary on the YS, we shall have to accuse Hemacandra of careless and hasty composition.

Sītā-Rāvaṇa-Kathānaka as a narrative poem: The title is striking in that the name of Rāma, the great hero, is missing therein. This omission is easily explained as Hemacandra relates this story with the avowed intention of illustrating the ethical truth, namely that even a mere desire to enjoy the love of another's wife brings total ruin. Rāvaṇa invited his complete destruction on account of his passion for Sītā, the faithful wife of Rāma. Naturally enough, Rāvaṇa and Sītā find place in the title of the story. Another point that strikes a reader is that in this short narrative of 278 verses, the episode of Sāhasagati extends over full sixty verses. One is likely to find fault with Hemacandra for not showing a sense of proportion. Hemacandra, probably, deliberately devoted so many verses to the episode for it goes to confirm what he is out to illustrate by the main narrative.

The YS version is a narrative poem. It is uniformly written in the heroic metre except the concluding verse which is in the Vasanta-tilakā metre. As a narrative poem, it is interesting. "Hemacandra is an agreeable narrator who knows how to tell a tale and to interest his readers. His style is always fluent and rarely hampered by obscurity of language."¹⁶ A characteristic feature of his style is the very frequent use of proverbial sayings e.g. अहो बभूवुरतदसाववस्कन्दो निजैह्यैः ।— v. 162; ; उदस्ते शकटे हन्त किं कुर्वीत गणाधिपः ।— v. 258b, and मुष्टौ धृतः कियत्कालं न तु तिष्ठति पारदः ।—v. 242b.

He at times gives homely and novel generalizations, e.g. धुने हि सर्वथा मूढे शरणं तरणिः खलु ।— v. 180b, and न द्वितीया चपेटा हि हरेर्हरिणमारणे ।— v. 193b.

He makes a humorous reference to Brahmanas' fondness for food in रणाय नालसाः शूरा भोजनाय द्विजा इव ।— -v. 187b, and has a hit against the morals of the actor in 'स कुशीलत्वकुशलः कुशीलव इवादिदे ।'—v. 139b.

15. The story is in general agreement with the Paūmacariya. Following the Padmapurāṇa it gives Daśaratha four wives (Suprabhā is the fourth queen and Saṅgha is born of her); the two boons of Kaikeyī, the instigation of Mantharā, Rāma's stay at Pañcavati, the cutting of Rāvaṇa's head by Cakra are common to the version of Saṅghadāsa. A few minor changes about the sequence of events might be due to the author's anxiety to narrate the story in brief. May be, they are possibly taken from some version which has not as yet come to light.

16. Jacobi: Preface to Parisīṣṭa-parvan.

The course of his narrative runs smooth, unhampered by long descriptive passages. He makes his narrative attractive and interesting by introducing happy and appropriate Arthāntaranyāsas. This narrative poem contains over twenty five apt generalizations. The poet, accomplished as he is, decorates his narrative with 'anuprāsas' and 'yamakas' with 'upamās', 'utprekṣās', 'rupakas'--which fact every reader of the narrative will easily notice. Hemacandra's command of language is simply marvellous. This command of language helps him to introduce 'anuprāsas' and 'yamakas' without giving the appearance of their being laboured. Hemacandra is a moralist and poet rolled in one. He takes delight in the expression in verse of pithy observations on life and morals. He freely and liberally flings at the reader maxims, proverbial sayings and generalizations. Occasionally, he repeats himself, e.g., the idea of 'अवस्कन्दो निजैर्हयैः' in v. 162 is repeated in v. 276. For achieving 'yamaka' he uses the unusual appellation खरस्थ¹⁷ for Rāvaṇa in अश्वस्येव पदे तरय खरं खरस्थोऽकरोत् :-
- v. 125. In v. 91 'गत्वा... रावणं रावणस्वसा' we have a trivial yamaka, and in v. 139 'स कुशीलत्वकुशलः कुशीलवः...' a laboured anuprāsa. Occasionally, his construction is not quite happy as in v. 63. Such blemishes are, however, very few.

The narrative poem dealing with Sītā and Rāvaṇa is, thus, it will easily be seen, aimed at edification as well as amusement.

17. This epithet, incidentally, reveals that the custom of yoking mules or asses was prevalent in the days of Hemacandra.

CHAPTER - XIII

THE ORIGIN OF THE STORY OF RĀMA IN JAIN LITERATURE

I. THE DIFFERENT JAIN FORMS OF THE STORY OF RĀMA : THEIR INTERRELATION

Among the various Jain adaptations of the Rāma legend Vimāla's *Paūmacariya* stands, chronologically speaking, first. The study of the different Jain Rāmāyaṇas undertaken in the preceding chapters clearly reveals that Raviṣeṇa, Svayambhū, Śīlācārya, Bhadreśvara, Hemacandra and Dhaneśvara, follow Vimāla. Raviṣeṇa does not state that his *Padmapurāṇa* is based on Vimāla's *Paūmacariya*. The comparative study of the two versions given in Chapter III establishes firmly that Raviṣeṇa is heavily indebted to Vimāla. Svayambhū expressly states to have followed Raviṣeṇa in composing his *Paūmacariya*. At the end of his version of the Rāma story Śīlācārya states: "Thus is narrated in brief the life history of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa which is described at length in works like the *Paūmacariya*". From this statement it follows that he has used Vimāla's work in preparing his abridged version. Bhadreśvara does not indicate his source but the study of his Rāmāyaṇa version proves beyond any shadow of doubt that he adopts the story of Rāma as given by Vimāla and frequently also borrows phrases and lines from him. Hemacandra does not care to mention his source for his two Rāmāyaṇa versions--one found in his *Yogasāstra-svopajña-vṛtti* and the other in his *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*. We have already established by undertaking a comparative study that Hemacandra has based his version mainly on Vimāla. Dhaneśvara's version too closely follows the tradition represented by Vimāla. Incidentally, we also find that Devavijaya himself says that he is following Hemacandra. Meghavijaya's *Laghu-Triṣaṣṭi* is an abridged version of Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*.

Guṇabhadra's version which is largely dependent on Vālmīki contains some features which have their parallels in the Daśaratha-Jātaka and the version of Saṅghadāsa, and some traits peculiar to the Jaina forms of the Rāma legend, and this conglomeration of different elements gives Guṇabhadra's version a new look and form. It is, therefore, generally regarded--and rightly too, for it has many important divergences with the *Paūmacariya*--as forming another independent version. Puṣpadanta, although he does not expressly state so, follows Guṇabhadra. Kṛṣṇadāsa

is another writer who follows him. From the number of authors, who follow Vimala, it is evident that his tradition is highly popular among the Jains.

The versions of Saṅghadāsa and Hariṣeṇa, however, are more related to the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki or the Rāmopākhyāna of the **Mahābhārata** than to the version of either Vimala or Guṇabhadra.

The different works noticed in the **Jīnaratnakosa** but not studied here probably do not contain any new features but reproduce, with some variations, one or the other of the versions treated here. It would not be correct to designate the schools of Vimala and Guṇabhadra as Śvetāmbara and Digambara, for some Digambara writers too follow the so-called Śvetāmbara version of Vimala. The three groups of Jaina Rāmāyaṇas may conveniently be represented in a tabular form as given on the next page.

II. THE ORIGIN OF THE RĀMA STORY IN JAIN LITERATURE

I. The Problem

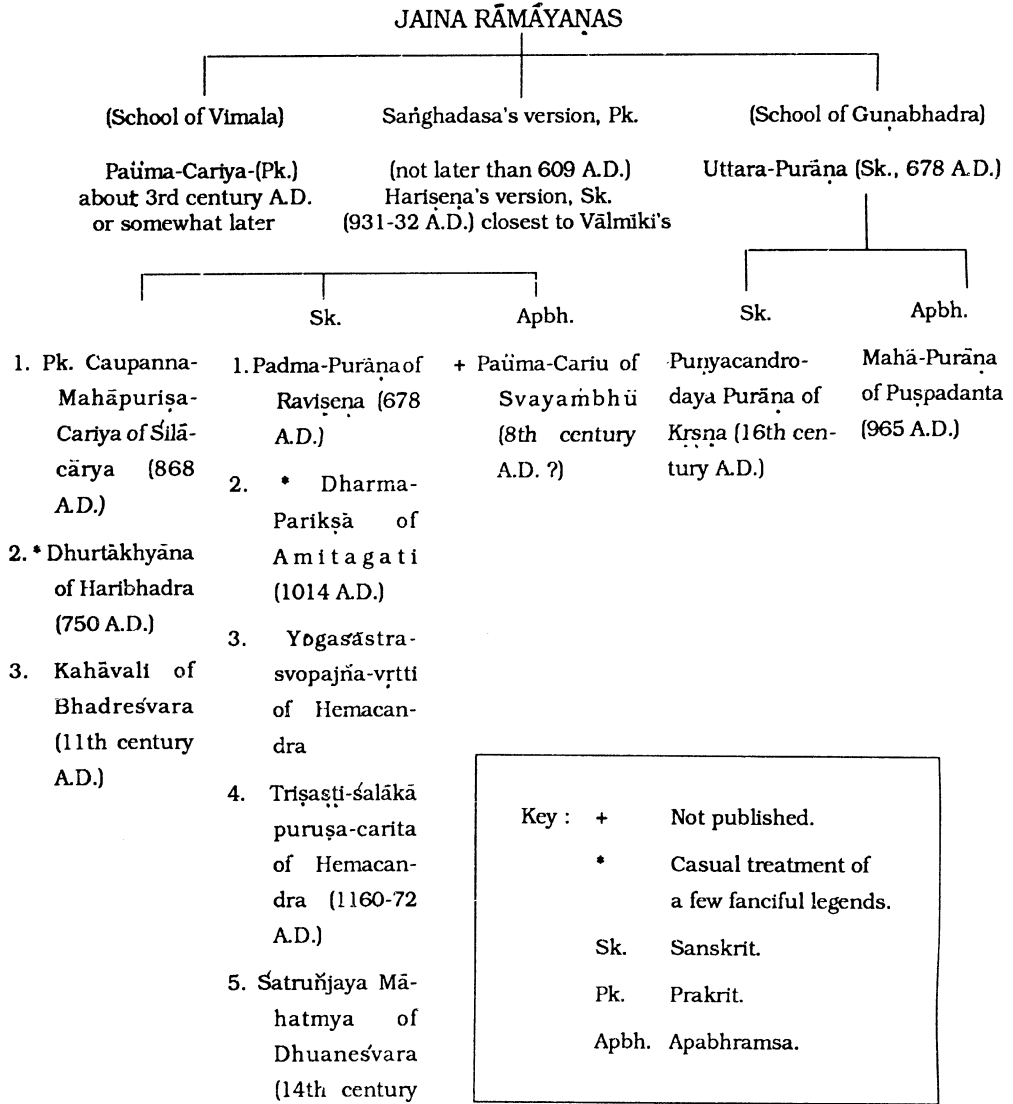
With regard to this problem of the origin of the Rāma story in Jain literature three logically possible answers suggest themselves: the story of Rāma in Jain literature (i) preserves an independent tradition anterior to that of Vālmīki, (ii) is derivative in nature being borrowed from the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa or the Hindu Rāmāyaṇa in general with suitable changes, (iii) partly preserves some features of the very ancient tradition prior to that of Vālmīki and partly borrows some features of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa on account of their vast popularity among the masses. For this purpose it is necessary to investigate the oldest Jaina tradition preserved in the Paūmacariya. According to the statement of the poet himself it was composed in 530 A.V. (4 A.D if we accept the traditional date (527 B.C.) of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa, or 64 A.D. according to Dr. Jacobi's date (467 B.C.) of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa). The researches of modern scholars lead us to believe that Vimala cannot be assigned to a later date than second century A.D. Whatever date we choose to accept, the fact remains that the Paūma-Cariya is the earliest extant Jain form of the story of Rāma. Let us now see what this earliest poet of Jain Rāmāyaṇa has to say regarding the origin of the story of Rāma.

2. The tradition regarding the Origin of the Paūma-Cariya

(as recorded by Vimala Sūri himself is as follows)

The **Paūma-Cariya** was in the form of a list of names and was handed down in regular succession from teacher to his disciple.¹ It was first told by Lord Mahāvīra to Indrabhūti Gautama who retold it to his disciple. It became known to generations of people through

1. नामावलिनिबद्धं आदरियपरंपरागतं सत्त्वं ।
वोच्छामि पउमचरियं ||—PC, I, 8.



a succession of 'Sādhus'.² Rāhu was his grand-teacher and Vijaya was his teacher. He composed this epic, 530 years after the Nirvāṇa of Lord Mahāvīra, having heard (from his Guru) the lives of Nārāyaṇa and Baladeva as were given in the Pūrvas.³

Scrutiny of this tradition : It is difficult to accept this tradition as founded on facts. It is probably true that the poet had before him a Namāvalī and known its elucidation from his teacher. But that the story was first told by Lord Mahāvīra himself is difficult to believe. For in the Jain Canon we do not find the story of Rāma recorded anywhere, although the story of Kṛṣṇa who lived centuries after Rāma--according to the statement of the Jain writers themselves--occurs in *Antagaḍadasāo*.⁴ It is not likely that such a well-known story which admirably illustrates the disastrous consequences of passion for another's wife should find no place in their sacred works. Again, it is very probable that the story of Rāma was not sufficiently popular in the days of Mahāvīra and hence he may not have made use of that story for religious purpose. This surmise is strengthened by the fact that the story of Rāma was popularised by Vālmīki in the 3rd century B.C.⁵ Although it is said that the lives of Nārāyaṇa and Baladeva were given in the Pūrva texts, we unfortunately are not in a position to verify the truth of the statement as these Pūrva texts are irretrievably lost. Again the traditions recorded by different poets in their Purāṇas dealing with the lives of 63 heroes are conflicting. Even the later poets of Jain Rāmāyaṇas (such as Hemacandra) do not appear to have taken this tradition of Vimala seriously. Otherwise how could they effect modifications in the principal narrative which Mahāvīra is said to have told to his pupils? They would have then remained contented

2. एयं वीरजिणेण रामचरियं सिद्धं महत्त्वं पुरा, पच्छाऽऽखंडलभूङ्गणा उ कहियं सीसाण धम्मासयं ।

भूओ साहुपरपराणं सयलं लेण टियं पायडं, एत्ताहे विमलेण सुत्तसदियं गाहानिबद्धं कयं ॥

-Canto 118, v. 102

3. पक्षेव य वाससया, दुसमाए तीसवरिसंस्तुता ।

वीरे सिद्धिमुवगए, तओ निबद्धं दमं चरियं ॥

-Canto 118, v. 103.

and,

राहू नामाचरिओ, ससमयपरसमयगदियसच्चाओ ।

विजओ य तस सीसो, नाइलकुलवंसतंदियरो ॥

सीसेण तरस रहयं, राइवचरियं तु सुखिमलेण ।

सोऊण पुच्चगए, नारायणीसीरिचारेयाई ॥

-Canto 118, v. 117-118.

4. *Antagaḍa-dasāo*, Varga III. The Nandi and the Anuyogadvāra Sūtra texts (forming part of the Jain Canon) mention 'Bhārata' and 'Rāmāyana' but they refer to the great epics of the Hindus and not to any Jain Mahābhārata, or Jain Rāmāyaṇa.
5. Winternitz has discussed the age of Rāmāyana. He holds that "It is probable that the original Rāmāyana was composed in the 3rd century B.C. by Vālmīki on the basis of ancient ballads".

with merely adding poetic descriptions of cities, towns etc., without tampering with the principal narrative of Rāma believed to have been delivered by Mahāvīra. It appears that the poet traces the origin of the story to Lord Mahāvīra in order just to invest it with authority and sanctity and the statement that the lives were given in the Pūrva-texts is just intended to induce devout readers to accept the truth of the story⁶ when, he found it necessary to give the followers of Jain faith a worthy substitute for the enormously popular epic of Vālmiki. That Vimala Sūri is considerably indebted to Vālmiki and that his **Rāmāyaṇa** was used by him when he composed his own work is quite obvious.⁷

3. The Version of Rāma story attacked by Vimala Sūri

The author of the Paūma-Cariya does not specifically mention the name of the poet and the name of his work which, according to him, is full of inconsistencies and lies and absurdities,⁸ and to replace which he himself undertakes to narrate the true life of Rāma. But the various points of doubt he has raised⁹ clearly point to the fact that he has in mind Vālmiki's **Rāmāyaṇa**. The questions or doubts that presume some versions of **Rāmāyaṇa** and the corresponding passages from the **Rāmāyaṇa** of Vālmiki which give rise to these doubts are set forth as follows :

- (a) How the great Rākṣasas, though very strong, were killed by the Vānaras--monkeys? 2. 105

How that mighty hero of the Rākṣasas, viz. Rāvaṇa, was defeated by the Vānaras, who are 'tiryak'--lower animals? 3. 9

Vālmiki **Rāmāyaṇa** does represent the Vānaras as lower animals, e.g., Yuddha-kāṇḍa Book VI (Canto 4, vv.63-67) speaks of their 'kilakila' cries and lashing of their tails,

6. We have many parallels in the Hindu literature: e.g., the author of Manusmṛiti (Chapter I) traces its origin to the Creator; so too Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra (Chapter I) finds divine origin. Such fictitious traditions are fabricated intentionally in order to show that these works possess divine authority. Vimala Sūri, being a Jain, introduces a tradition representing Mahāvīra, the Jina, as the expositor of the Rāma story and thus claims his story to be a genuine account.

7. See the next Section

8. He only says : ... तह विवरीयपयत्थं, कईहि रामायणं रइयं । II.116

Again, पउमचरियं महायस, अहयं इच्छामि परिफुडं सोउं ।
उप्पाइया पसिद्धी, कुसत्थंवादीहि विवरीया ॥ III.8

and, अलियं ति सव्वमेयं भणेति जं कुकइणो मईमूढा ॥ III.15

The reading in the text as given by Jacobi is 'कुकइणो (मि) मूढा'

9. See Canto 2, vv. 105-117 and Canto 3, vv. 8-13.

and **Sundara-kāṇḍa** Book V (Canto 53, vv. 5-8) speaks of the tail of Hanūmat--the Vānara hero; and Book V (Canto 10, v.55) clearly brings out that he belonged to the monkey-race: "He struck on the ground his tail, kissed his own tail, rejoiced, jumped about, sang, ran about, went up the pillars and fell down, thus showing in many ways that he belonged to the monkey race".

Rāvaṇa's defeat was due to the valour of Vānara chiefs and the Vānara army no less than to the valour of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. This is evident from the description of single combats and battles as given in the Yuddha-kāṇḍa. It tells us that Sugrīva killed three of the biggest giants of Rāvaṇa's side viz., Kumbha, Virūpākṣa and Mahodara. Hanūmat brought down Rāvaṇa's son, Akṣa, and among the most important Rākṣasas he killed were Devāntaka, Triśīras and Nikumbha. Nala, Nīla, Aṅgada and other great heroes have also many exploits to their credit. In fact, excepting Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa with his four counsellors, the whole of the army led by them against the Rākṣasas consisted of lower animals who ultimately caused the downfall of Rāvaṇa.

- (b) It is reported in the popular scriptures that all the Rākṣasas led by Rāvaṇa used to eat and drink meat, blood and marrow.

Sundara-kāṇḍa (V. Canto 5, v. 11 f) tells us of Hanūmat's visit to Rāvaṇa's Banquet hall where he found various kinds of birds' and beasts' flesh kept ready for Rāvaṇa's consumption, and cups of wine. In the **Aranya-kāṇḍa** (III. Canto 2 vv. 12-13), the Rākṣasa Virādha himself tells us that he used to seize a saint to make meal of him and that his lips would quaff the blood of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. In **Aranya-kāṇḍa** (III. Canto 19, vv. 19-20) we are told of Śūrpaṇakhā's desire to drink the blood of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā. **Aranya-kāṇḍa** (III. Canto 38, v.3) speaks of Mārica as one given to eating the flesh of Ṛṣis. In the **Sundara-kāṇḍa** (V. Canto 22, v. 9)--Rāvaṇa addresses Sītā as follows:.....if after two months' time you do not bend to your lover's will, my cooks shall mince your limbs and serve you for my morning meal.¹⁰ **Uttara-kāṇḍa** (VII. Canto 10, 38-39) tells us that Kumbhakarna had eaten seven Apsarases and ten followers of Indra.

- (c) It is reported that Rāvaṇa's brother named Kumbhakarna used to sleep for six months without a break; even though his body would be crushed by big elephants and his ears filled with pot-fuls of oil (he would not wake up), he would not hear the sound of drums beaten near him nor would he get up from his bed if the period of six months was not over! When he got up, being overpowered with fierce hunger he would devour whatever would be near him at the time, such as elephants and buffaloes. Having filled his belly by devouring gods, men, elephants and the like he would again go to bed for another six months....."

10. This threat in the same words occurs in Book III, Canto 56, vv. 24-25. From such threats which Rāvaṇa gives to Sītā in order to bend her to his passion we, however, may not be justified in saying that Rāvaṇa was a cannibal.

This statement of Vimala Sūri is based on **Yuddha-kāṇḍa**, Canto 60, vv. 23-64.

- (d) It is said that Indra, when defeated in battle by Rāvaṇa, was bound in chains and taken to Laṅkā. How can anyone take Indra captive--Indra who rules over Jambudvīpa with its gods and men? (One would be reduced to heaps of ashes at the mere thought of attacking him, who has Airāvata the elephant-jewel and Vajra--the thunder-bolt at his command!) AT that rate we might as well affirm that the lion is overcome by the deer, the elephant by the dog! Pc. 2, 113-116.

How Indra was overpowered by Rāvaṇa's son and taken captive to Laṅkā and then Brahmā at the request of gods waited in deputation on Rāvaṇa etc.,--is described in detail in **Uttara-kāṇḍa** Cantos 29-30.

- (e) It is reported that Rāma during his sojourn in the forest killed a (wondrous) golden deer. Pc. 3, v. 10.

This incident of the golden deer is described at length by Vālmīki in the **Aranya-kāṇḍa**, Cantos 43 and 44.

- (f) It is said that Rāma treacherously killed Vālin in order to oblige (his ally) Sugrīva and win *Sutārā*¹¹ for him (Sugrīva). Pc. 3, v. 10.

Rāma's alliance with Sugrīva and his killing of Vālin with the discharge of a single arrow from a covert position is described in the **Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa**, Cantos 8-26.

- (g) It is said that the Vānaras constructed a bridge across the ocean! Pc. 3, v. 12.

In the **Yuddha-kāṇḍa** (VI. Canto 22) we are told by Vālmīki that Nala, who inherited a share of his father's-- Viśvakarman's--celestial art and skill, with the aid of hosts of Vānaras, who uprooted mountains, rocks, etc., and overthrew them into the ocean, built a bridge of wondrous strength across the sea.

We thus find that the various doubts regarding the life of Rāma raised by Śreṇika have full support in the passages of Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki and we, therefore, arrive at the legitimate inference that Vimala Sūri had in his mind at the time of composing his **Paṭima-Cariya**, the **Rāmāyaṇa** of Vālmīki.

4. Vimla Sūri's indebtedness to Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa

Vimla Sūri puts down Vālmīki as a liar and accuses him of presenting perverted and false account of Rāma's life, and undertakes to narrate the true biography of Rāma as handed down by unbroken tradition. A comparative study of his work with the Hindu epic, however, reveals, in spite of remarkable divergences, alterations, modifications and omissions, a profound influence of Vālmīki over Vimla Sūri. He follows Vālmīki as far as the principal features of the story of Rāma are concerned: Rāma's wedding with Sītā.

11. *Sutārā* is known in the Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa as simply 'Tārā'.

Bharata's appointment to the throne of Ayodhyā by Daśaratha, the exile into forest of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa, the Rākṣasa chief of Laṅkā; the sending of Hanūmat as a messenger to bring the tidings of Sītā after Rāma's alliance with Sugrīva, the fights with Rāvaṇa and his downfall, the bringing home of Sītā, the scandal-mongering in which the citizens of Ayodhyā indulge, the repudiation of Sītā and the lamentations of Rāma, the birth of twin sons to Sītā--these landmarks in the story of Rāma are common to both the epics, notwithstanding numerous divergences regarding the details. We point here to certain noteworthy 'minor' things which are highly eloquent of Vālmiki's influence over Vimala Sūri :

- (a) Padma is the name of Rāma in the poem, yet the names Rāma, Rāghava, Raghunātha occur very frequently.
- (b) Śrīśaila is the personal name of Hanūmat but the name Hanūmat is very often met with in the poem.
- (c) Pavanāñjaya and Añjanā-sundarī were, we are told, the names of Hanūmat's parents but later on the poet uses the names as Pavana and Añjanā.
- (d) The names of Sītā's twin sons were Anaṅga-lavaṇa and Madanāṅkuśa but the names Lavaṇa (or Lava) and Aṅkuśa (which have close affinity with lava and Kuśa of the Rāmāyaṇa) are used frequently enough.
- (e) Bhānukarṇa is the name of Kumbhakarṇa but the poet uses very often the name Kumbhakarṇa.
- (f) Sūtārā is the name of Tārā, the wife of Sugrīva, yet the name Tārā is more often used.
- (g) Indra who, according to Vimala Sūri, was the overlord of Vidyādhara and not the chief among gods is often called 'Surendra', 'Surādhipati', 'Devendra' and 'Surapati' (see Cantos 12 and 13).

This one fact alone is a proof of the profound influence which Vālmiki's **Rāmāyaṇa** has had on the author of the **Paṭma-Carita**.

- (h) On a close comparison of verses which treat of the same subject we do not find any remarkable verbal resemblance between the two epics although occasionally we come across rare Subhāṣita-like lines that seem to be borrowed by Vimala from his predecessor, for example,

(1)	मरणान्तानि वैराणि... ।— मरणंताइ हवेति वैराणि ।—	--V.R. VI. 112.25 --Pc.C. 75.v.1.
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(2)	पुत्रकामश्च पुत्रान् वै धनकामो धनानि च । पुत्रत्वी...पुत्रं । लब्धं धनत्वी महाधनं... ।	V.R. VI. 131.107 Pc.C. 118. vv. 94-95
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- (3) समागमं प्रवृत्तान्ते लभते चापि बान्धवैः । V.R. VI. 131.112
लङ्घ्य परदेसगमणे समागमं चेव बंधूणं । Pc. C. 118. v. 96

It is, however, clear that such striking resemblances between the two epics are very rare and that Vimāla is not a slavish imitator of his predecessor in point of diction and style.

On the whole, Vimāla Sūri's work is profoundly influenced by the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki.¹³

5. Vimāla Sūri's aims in the Paṭima-Cariya

The poet holds that the Rāmāyaṇa stories are most certainly lies; he thinks that the absurdities which are related regarding the life of Rāma, Rāvaṇa and others are not worthy of belief, and that the poets who composed Rāmāyaṇa were liars. It is with a view to removing all the absurdities, anomalies, inconsistencies and incredible elements that the poet undertakes the composition of the present epic. It is the poet's intention to present faithfully the life of Rāma as was proclaimed by Lord Mahāvīra himself.¹⁴ That the poet is intent on the propagation of the teachings of Lord Mahāvīra is evident to one who throws even a cursory glance at the epic. In the concluding portion of his epic, he exhorts his readers (or hearers) to practise the Dharma as expounded by the Jinas:

- रमह सया जिणवरमयम्मि । --118. 112.
जिणसासणाणुरत्ता होऊणं कुणह उत्तमं धम्मं । --118. 113.

It is thus very clear that the poet aims mainly at propagation of Jain doctrines.

This will be further obvious if we bear in mind the changes and modifications made by Vimāla Sūri in the Rāma story as given by Vālmiki and analyse the motives which most probably inspired these changes. The changes effected by Vimāla Sūri give the story a totally different form and purpose. These changes, however, cannot be explained by assuming that Vimāla has preserved any original and important traits of the Rāma legend anterior to the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa.

For, **Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa presents the oldest version of the story of Rāma:** "As an epic the Rāmāyaṇa is very far removed from the Veda, and even the Rāma legend is only bound to Vedic literature by very slender threads.....Neither is there anything to indicate that songs of Rāma and Sītā already existed in the Vedic times."¹⁵ The story

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13. As the story of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa is wellknown these changes and modifications need not be shown specifically.
14. Through the mouth of king Śreṇika and Gautama the poet gives expression to all this-see Pc. Canto 2, vv. 116-117, canto 3, vv. 9-15.
15. Winternitz: Hist. of Ind. Lit. Vol. I, p. 515.

of Rāma and Sītā is to be found, for the first time, in the Rāmopākhyāna--The Rāma episode--in the **Mahābhārata** and the **Rāmāyaṇa** of Vālmīki. Eminent scholars like Jacobi, Sukthankar and Winternitz hold, in spite of the objections of A. Ludwig and Hopkins, that the Rāma episode is an epitome of the **Rāmāyaṇa** of Vālmīki, on the evidence of the numerous verbal agreements between the two poems, and other good reasons.¹⁶ 'It is probable', says Winternitz, 'that the original Rāmāyaṇa was composed in the third century B.C. by Vālmīki on the basis of ancient ballads.'¹⁷

Now, there are some scholars of eminence who hold that the **Rāmāyaṇa** of Vālmīki has for its source the story of Rāma as found in the Daśaratha Jātaka and a few other jātakas.¹⁸ But there are equally eminent scholars¹⁹ who hold firmly to the opinion that the Daśaratha jātaka is not really older than the Rāmāyaṇa but only a distorted version of the latter. According to Dr. Narasimhachar, it is difficult to decide the problem either way. The case put forth by Jacobi and others, however, appears to be nearer the truth.

In any case, as far as the problem of the present thesis is concerned, the question of Daśaratha Jātaka does not assume importance as the Jain Rāmāyaṇas do not show any appreciable acquaintance with the Rāma story as given by the Jātakas. And the earliest Jain version of Rāma story available to us belongs to first (or second century) A.D. That is, the Jaina Rāmāyaṇa falls centuries after the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. In fact, Vimala is prompted to effect these changes in the Rāma story on account of motives more than one. These motives may be enumerated as follows:-

(a) Removing of exaggerated and incredible elements

In the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki we have an exaggerated account of the Rākṣasas, Vānaras, Rṁsas and so on. For example, Rāvaṇa had ten mouths and twenty hands. It is said that in spite of all efforts to wake up Kumbhakarna by loud noises, Kumbhakarna used to sleep for half a year, and then after his awakening, would devour elephants etc. and would again slumber for half a year. Then again Indra, though he rules over gods and men, is said to have been taken captive to Laṅkā by Rāvaṇa! Then again it is said that the demon heroes in all their mighty strength were defeated by the monkeys! Again how can the monkeys build a bridge across the sea by throwing the rocks, hills and trees uprooted by them? It is these and similar elements that are obviously absurd and exaggerated that Vimala deliberately removes from his story.

16. Jacobi: Das Rāmāyaṇa, pp. 71ft.; Sukthankar: S. Memorial ed. pp. 387ft.; Winternitz: Hist. of Ind. Lit. Vol. I, p. 384; also Bulcke, Rāmāyaṇa, pp. 41-51.

17. Hist. of Ind. Lit. Vol. I, p.517.

18. Weber: On the Rāmāyaṇa; Sen: Bengali Rāmāyaṇas; Grierson: J.R.A.S., 1922.

19. Jacobi, m. Monier-Williams, Vaidya C.V., Mahārāṣṭrīya and also Bulcke.

(b) Realistic Interpretation

Some of the changes which Vimala brings about are due to his desire of giving realistic form to the story. For example, Rāvaṇa is described by the Valmiki-**Rāmāyaṇa** as a ten-headed monster--Dasagrīva or Daśānana or Daśa-mukha. According to Vimala, Rāvaṇa's mother hangs around his neck a wondrous string of pearls, in which his face is reflected nine times, hence his epithet of Daśamukha "the man with ten faces". This is obviously a realistic explanation of the epithets of Rāvaṇa. Again, in the Valmiki-**Rāmāyaṇa** the Vānaras are represented as animals having long tails and using their teeth and nails as weapons and living on fruit etc. According to Vimala, "On the monkey island there is the city of Kiṣkindhi-pura. The "Monkeys" (Vānaras) are in reality a race of Vidyādhara, which is so called; because these Vidyādhara had monkeys by way of badges on the arches of gates, banners and the like." This interpretation of the term 'Vānaras' is also realistic. Then again, about the Rākṣasas: They are, in the Valmiki-**Rāmāyaṇa**, represented as demons with fearful appearances, and devouring all kinds of animals including even human beings; according to Vimala the Rākṣasas belonged to a race of the Vidyādhara, who, far from killing and devouring animals that they could obtain, strictly adhered to the vow of Ahimsā. "The Rākṣasas were so called because one high-souled 'Rākṣasa' was born in that dynasty of the Vidyādhara"²⁰. This also is a realistic interpretation of the term Rākṣasa. Sītā, in the Valmiki-**Rāmāyaṇa**, comes forth out of the earth, here she is born of Videha in the natural way. This too is an illustration of realistic representation! We can multiply such instances of realistic representation from Vimala's epic.

(c) Ridding the story of divine elements

Valmiki **Rāmāyaṇa** represents Rāma as a divine being, an incarnation of god Viṣṇu. The story of Vedavati in the Uttara-kāṇḍa leads us to believe that Sītā was Lakṣmī. Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna are Amśāvatāras of Viṣṇu. The Vānaras, Rākṣas etc. too possess some divine element. Jainism does not admit of the supremacy of the trinity of Hindu gods. Naturally Vimala rids the story of Rāma of the divine elements.

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20. Vimala tells us that Bhīma-the Rākṣasapati-bestowed the kingdom of Laṅkā on the Rākṣasa-island on Meghavāhana a Vidyādhara. In his family were born Mahārākṣasa, Devarākṣasa, Āditya-rākṣasa, Rākṣasa..... By mentioning these fabricated names he prepares the ground for us to accept his etymology of the word Rākṣasa.

Curiously enough, the poem contains another interpretation of the name Raksasa:

रक्षति रक्षता खलु दिवा पुष्णेण रक्षिया जेण ।

तेण चिय खयराणं रक्षसतामं कयं लोप ॥—

V.257

Uttara-kāṇḍa relates through Agastya that when Brahmā created the waters, he formed certain beings, some of whom received the name of Rākṣasas to guard them (Canto 5).

(d) Elevation :

According to the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa, Kaikeyī is a selfish, greedy and intriguing woman. Rāma kills Vālin treacherously and is guilty of killing Śambūka. Rāvaṇa is a tyrant, an oppressor of mankind etc., violently obstructing sacrifices, and he abducts women. Vālin is a usurper, and unlawfully takes possession of his brother's wife and kingdom. Vimala Sūri takes a very sympathetic view of these characters, and attempts to clear them of blame. He represents Kaikeyī as a mother **par excellence** who is prepared to let her husband accept asceticism but desperately tries to retain her loving son. She does not demand Rāma's exile. Vālin, a mighty Vidyādhara hero, though capable of inflicting a crushing defeat on Rāvaṇa, voluntarily appoints Sugrīva to the throne and himself becomes a monk. This account acquits Vālin of the shameful charge of living with his brother's wife, and Rāma of the charge of treacherously slaying Vālin, who had done no harm to him. Lakṣmaṇa kills Śambūka by accident and this exonerates Rāma completely from the guilt of slaying Tapasvin. Rāvaṇa is a pious and devout Jain. He restores ruined Jain shrines. As far as possible he avoids 'Himsā' whenever he has to fight. In his world-conquest he is shown to have subdued his enemies whom he later on sets free and restores to them their kingdom. His only weakness is his passion for Sītā!

Thus it will be seen that Vimala is very keen on elevating his characters.

(e) Purging the story of Rāma of its Brahmanical atmosphere :

In the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa the heroes move in an entirely Brahmanical atmosphere. From the beginning to the end the poem breathes this atmosphere. Numerous Brahmanical legends and myths such as those of Vaśiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, Agastya, Vedavati, and so on, are inserted in the narrative. The performance of Aśvamedha sacrifice is described with approval. The main characters are represented as Avatāras of the great Hindu god--Viṣṇu. Vimala Sūri, who is out "to give his co-religionists a complete substitute for the Hindu epic", cannot allow such atmosphere to colour his poem. He simply omits all these legends and Avatāra-Kathās that have no essential connection with the story of Rāma. In certain cases he modifies the legends to suit Jain atmosphere, e.g., the story of Sagara and his 60000 sons. He speaks of the Vedas and animal sacrifices but only to criticise them.

(f) Creating of Jain atmosphere in its place :

Having purged the Rāma-story of its Brahmanical atmosphere, he sets himself to create Jain atmosphere by introducing various Upākhyānas such as those of Vajrakarṇa, Kapila etc., which show the importance of Jainism, by adding at appropriate places the sermons of Jain munis, by explaining the duties of a Jain householder and a monk, by making the main characters of the stories devout followers of Jainism, by describing the existence of Jina shrines at almost all the places and their worship,

eulogising the Tīrthaṅkaras etc., by giving the stories of the previous existences of the heroes as is done in all the narrative poems of the Jains, by describing Jain festivals such as Aṣṭāhnikā-Pūjā, by emphasizing the Law of Karman and denouncing the entertaining of Nidāna, by portraying the kings as pious Jains who in their old age retire from the world and become Jain monks, and so on.

(g) Propagation of the special doctrines of Jainism

"The Rāmāyaṇa in India is not — and never will be, let us hope — a dead mythology. It is full of the noblest examples of virtue and truth, of devotion and self-sacrifice. Its characters have been for centuries, and still are, living forces moulding the actions and aspirations of the men and women of India."²¹ Now long before Vimala flourished, the Rāma story of Vālmīki was immensely popular. Vimala thought that this story would provide an excellent means for reaching the popular thought and propagating Jain views, ideals and doctrines. With this thought he modified the story of Rāma to suit the Jain view of life. Through this story he teaches the Jain ethics, especially emphasizing the doctrine of Ahimsā, and recommends the reader to take up to asceticism as a sovereign remedy against all ills of Saṃsāra. He exhorts his reader or hearer to keep Mokṣa as is highest goal. He fully explains the working of the all - powerful and inexorable law of Karman and illustrates it with a number of stories. He incidentally points out to us how Nidāna, a special phase of the law of Karman, is a cause of bondage in this Saṃsāra. He sings the glory of virtues like non - violence, truthfulness etc., and depicts the evil consequences of harassing or molesting a Jain monk or nun. In one word, Vimala presses into service this popular story of Rāma for propagating the tenets of Jainism.

The motives enumerated and illustrated above must have prompted Vimala Sūri in effecting the various changes in the story of Rāma as detailed under the heads of omissions, additions and modifications.

(h) Consideration of some of the changes not covered by general discussion

With this general discussion about the motives behind these changes, we do not think it is necessary to account for each and every change introduced by Vimala. We may, however, account here for the striking ones among these changes not covered by the above general discussion :

21. S.K. Belvalkar : *Rāma's Later History*, Part I, p. LXiii.

Omissions :- Vimala omits the famous incident of 'golden deer', for Rāma, who is 'vratastha', cannot kill a deer. According to Vimala all the principal characters abstain from meat-eating and are pious Jains. The incidents of **the Illusory Head of Rāma** and the beheading of Māyā-Sītā are left out as they do not fit in with the elevated character of Rāvaṇa.

The fire-ordeal of Sītā at Laṅkā is omitted possibly for this reason that he did not like to show Sītā undergoing the same ordeal **twice** for establishing her purity and innocence, for in the later history of Rāma she undergoes one fire-ordeal. Or it may be that he is influenced by Ramopākhyāna in the Mahābhārata, where there is no mention of any ordeal.

Instead of Anāranya's curse Vimala speaks of a prophecy predicted by an astrologer (Canto 23, vv. 10-11).

The occasion for Nalakūbara's curse on Rāvaṇa (viz., Rāvaṇa's forcibly carrying away of Rambhā, who was proceeding to the house of her lover, Nalakūbara) does not agree with the character of Rāvaṇa as conceived by Vimala.

Vibhīṣaṇa and Hanūmat are gifted with immortality : According to Jainism not even gods are immortal.

Additions :- The pretty episode of Bhāmaṇḍala is a pure invention of Vimala. Lakṣmana's lifting of Koṭiśīlā has a faint and distinct parallel in the **Rāmāyaṇa** where Rāma cleaves with a single arrow seven palm trees standing in a line.

The account of Virādhita (the name has some similarity with Rāmāyaṇa's Virādhā) is an innovation introduced by Vimala with poetic skill. The large number of wives of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa perhaps reflects the idea that the larger the number of queens, the greater would be the glory of that King ! And it is possible that in the days of Vimala it was a custom among Kṣatriya kings to marry many women.

Modifications :- We have accounted for almost all the modifications in our general discussion. Kauśalyā is called Aparājītā and Vimala is the first poet who so names her. Śatrughna is born of Kaikeyī whereas in the Rāmāyaṇa he is born of Sumitrā. Kharadūṣaṇa is one individual, according to Vimala, and the husband of Rāvaṇa's sister — Candranakhā. This does not agree with Vālmiki's version, where Khara is Rāvaṇa's brother and Dūṣaṇa, one of his generals; and Vidyutjīhva is the name of the husband of Rāvaṇa's sister. Indrajit and Meghavāhana are two different persons, both sons of Rāvaṇa. According to Vālmiki, Meghanāda was later named Indrajit. The episode of Viṭa-Sugrīva is an invention by Vimala to bring together Rāma and Sugrīva.

(i) Vimala's conception of the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras

This is markedly different from that of Vālmiki. "The Rākṣasas are not man-eating

demons with fearful and hideous appearances. Nor are the Vānaras animals having long tails living on fruits etc., and using their nails and teeth as their weapons. They are in reality a race of the Vidyādharas, a class of beings endowed with many supernatural qualities, if not human beings in the correct sense of the term. Beastly and uncouth behaviours and appearances are not therein attributed to them. On the other hand, they are depicted as having been highly civilised, who, far from killing and devouring all animals that they could obtain, strictly adhered to the vow of Ahimsā.²² The dynasty of Vidyādharas at Laṅkā came to be called Rākṣasas after the celebrated and great Vidyādhara hero named Rākṣasa. The Vidyādharas of Kiṣkindhipura received the name of Vānaras because of their custom of wearing the pictures of monkeys as symbols on their banners and crowns.

This conception of Vimala is born of the growing spirit of rationalism of his age. The fanciful and exaggerated poetic descriptions of the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras given by the Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa were unacceptable to Vimala, a champion of rationalism. He, therefore, portrays the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras as Vidyādharas, possessed of supernatural powers and gives realistic interpretations of the appellations 'Rākṣasa' and 'Vānara' and of Rāvaṇa's name Daśamukha.

These aims satisfactorily explain the changes effected by Vimala in the Rāma story of Vālmiki.

Apart, however, from any question of aims, there is one single episode which establishes beyond any shadow of doubt the fact that Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa is Vimala's source, and it is that of Indra's defeat by Rāvaṇa.

At the end of Canto 2 Vimala says: "Indra, though he rules over gods and men, is said to have been taken captive to Laṅkā by Rāvaṇa! One will be reduced to a heap of ashes at the mere thought of him who has the best elephant -Airavata and the unfailing weapon thunderbolt. At that rate we might as well affirm that the lion is overcome by gazelle, the elephant by the dog. The Rāmāyaṇa stories are most certainly lies."

Now Vimala in Canto 7 tells us of Indra, the Vidyādhara-chief. Here he describes Indra in such a way as to lead us to believe that he is another Indra (especially read his appointment of four Lokapālas, his elephant Airāvata, his minister Bṛhaspati, his weapon Vajra, his son Jayanta, etc.). But this very Vimala when he describes the fight between Rāvaṇa and Indra, employs so many times such words as 'Suravai', 'Surabhada', 'Surinḍa', 'Surabala', 'Surasenna', 'Sakko', 'Suraṇāho', 'Surāhivai' for Indra, the overlord of Vidyādharas. The use of the words Surendra etc. clearly demonstrates the truth of the remark made above that although Vimala professes to give the faithful story of Rāma as handed down by Jain tradition, in actual practice he reveals, though unconsciously, his source viz., Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa. Otherwise how could he

22. Tradition about Vānaras and Rākṣasas'-Chakravartī C. in I.H. Q. Vol. I (1925).

condemn in one breath the description of the defeat of the overlord of gods-Indra, and himself describe Indra-the Vidyādhara-chief as Surendra, Surādhipa and so on? This description has misled even Dr. Winternitz who writes: Cantos XII and XIII tell of a fight between Rāvaṇa and the God Indra (**History of Indian Literature**, Vol. II, p. 492).

We thus find that the origin of Vimala's **Paūma-Cariya**, which is the earliest Jain form of Rāma story (not later than the third or fourth century A.D.), is the **Rāmāyaṇa** of Vālmīki.

6. Sen's view about an independent Southern legend of Rāvaṇa

An interesting thesis is, however, advanced by Rai Saheb D.C. Sen regarding an independent Southern legend about Rāvaṇa. This thesis has a bearing on our problem, and it becomes necessary to examine it.

In his celebrated work called "**The Bengali Rāmāyaṇas**", Sen examines the material found in the Jatakas such as the Daśaratha Jātaka and the Jain Rāmāyaṇa of Hemacandra and arrives at the conclusion that "there were two distinct legends--an early Northern Āryan legend about Rāma without any connection with the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras and a Southern Dravidian legend in which Rāvaṇa figures, independent of all touch with Rāma. These two distinct legends were at a very remote period of history, much earlier than the 4th century B.C., when Vālmīki is said to have composed his epic, mixed by the ballad-mongers, who invented the story of the abduction of Sītā, or somehow linked the broken chain of a story of some princess who was abducted, fancying her to be Sītā, and thus bridged the gulf between the two legends now presented as a homogeneous story, and Vālmīki came latterly as the most eloquent exponent of this mixed story." We confine our discussion to the so-called Southern Dravidian legend--especially the Jain Rāmāyaṇa of Hemacandra.

Sen holds that "Hemacandra's version of Rāma's story, though comparatively modern, gives us a historical clue to the traditions that were extant in the Deccan--in the olden times. At the time when this Jain Rāmāyaṇa was written, Vālmīki's Epic was known and read all over India. So it is but natural that the story as given in the latter is found incorporated in the Jain work. But the striking feature of this book is the elaborate description to be found in it of the dynasties of Rākṣasas and apes. The story of Rāma is rather short. The descriptions of the Rākṣasas and monkeys occupy a very considerable space, and many legends and stories about them are found in it which are not mentioned in the great epic. This shows that in the Dravidian traditions the Rākṣasas and monkeys had a far greater hold on popular fancy than the story of Rāma himself. The character of Rāvaṇa as given in this book rises to heights not scaled by the Rāvaṇa of our national magnum opus. The tapasyā or the austerities.....undergone by Rāvaṇa show his high character and a majestic command over passions, worthy of a sage, which unmistakably prove him to be the real hero of the Dravidian legend." Again, "the Jain Rāmāyaṇa begins with the description of the Rākṣasas and monkeys and

introduces Rāma only in the later chapters. This is quite unlike what we find in the great epic. The Rāmāyaṇa, as a matter of course, should give the story of Rāma first. The supposition naturally grows strong that in Southern India the story of Rāvaṇa and of the monkeys had been widely known, and the Northern legend was introduced, later on, as a supplementary story." Further, Sen corroborates his stand by adducing evidence from the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, a Buddhist text composed in the second or third century A.D. and the statement of Dharmakīrti who flourished in the 6th Century A.D.

We have quoted the words of Sen *in extenso* so that the reader should get a complete idea of Sen's view in the matter in his own words.

7. Sen's view regarding the Southern independent Rāvaṇa legend examined

(a) *The narrative method* : Jain Rāmāyaṇa begins with the description of the Rākṣasas and Vānaras and introduces Rāma only in the later chapters; and moreover it gives an elaborate description of the dynasties of Rākṣasas and Vānaras and many stories and legends about them.

The **Uttarakāṇḍa**, although a later addition, was known to the author of *Paūma-cariya*, as we have already shown in the preceding section. The **Uttarakāṇḍa** is intended as a supplement and relates only events antecedent and subsequent to those described in the original poem. Thus the early history of Rāvaṇa with the Rākṣasa and Vānara families fills nearly forty cantos in the **Uttarakāṇḍa** and we have a full account of Rāvaṇa's wars with the gods and his conquest of Laṅkā, which all happened long before the action of the poem begins; and the latter Cantos continue the narrative of the hero Rāma after his triumphant return to Ayodhyā's kingdom and his coronation and the poem closes with his death and that of his brothers and the founding by their descendants of various kingdoms in different parts of India. Now what Vimala Sūri does is that he opens his epic with the description of the universe etc., and the various dynasties of the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras, the world-conquest of Rāvaṇa, etc., with a view to furnishing the reader with the proper background and setting of the real story. This way of treatment will only facilitate the understanding of the story by the reader. The narrative method of Vimala Sūri follows the chronological method of representing the beginning first, then the middle and finally the end. In **Uttarakāṇḍa** we have events antecedent and subsequent to the main story. One might appreciate Vimala's way of unfolding the story but in itself it does not indicate that the Rākṣasas and Vānaras and their legends were widely known and that the Rāma-story was added later on as a supplement only. We may also point out in this connection that *the Rāmopākhyāna in the Mahābhārata opens with an account of Rāvaṇa and his family, and the Vānaras. Vimala may have taken a hint from this opening in the Rāmopākhyāna.*

(b) *The elevated notion about the Vānaras and the Rākṣasas in the Jain Rāmāyaṇas*: Vimala Sūri represents the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras as a class of Vidyādharas and devout followers of Jainism; Rākṣasas are not man-eating demons and the Vānaras are

not monkeys with tails, etc.

To this we answer as follows :

The descriptions of the Vānaras in the Valmiki **Rāmāyaṇa** are open to the charge of inconsistency. They are generally represented as semi-divine beings with preternatural powers living in houses and eating and drinking like men; sometimes as monkeys pure and simple, living in woods and eating fruits and roots. The highly exaggerated descriptions of ten-faced Rāvaṇa, etc., are definitely inconsistent with other descriptions of Rāvaṇa where he is a Rākṣasa with one face and two arms, etc. So too there is sometimes allusion to the eating of human flesh and drinking of human blood by some Rākṣasas. But as a rule, leaving aside these exceptional instances of grossly exaggerated descriptions, the Rākṣasas as a class are not spoken of as cannibals.

Vimala Sūri removing the inconsistencies and absurdities in the epic represents them as a class of Vidyādhara and adherents of Jainism. He was inspired probably by the legitimate purpose of representing the Jain faith as superior to the Brahmanical traditions by removing from the legend of Rāma elements which the people may have found difficult to swallow.

(c) *Rāvaṇa depicted as noble and grand* : No doubt Rāvaṇa is represented by Vālmīki as an oppressor of gods and others; he is shown guilty of abducting Sītā; he is also depicted as interrupting the performance of sacrifices. But even according to Vālmīki (or Vyāsa) he is not evil incarnate. Vālmīki (or rather the author of Uttarakāṇḍa) tells us how Rāvaṇa and his two brothers perform austere penance for thousands of years and obtain boons from the god Brahmā. He is said to have been born in a celebrated Brahmin family. In spite of his serious weaknesses he did possess some commendable virtues. He misuses and misdirects his power and might.

Vimala, as we have already pointed out, looks upon Rāvaṇa as a Śalākā-puruṣa — a great man, according to Jain tradition; he conceives the character of Rāvaṇa as the noblest man, a devout Jain and ideal king. His only defect is his passion for Sītā which brings about his death. Thus it will be seen that the elevation of Rākṣasa princes is no indication of Rāvaṇa's having been the hero of an independent legend. In fact, so far no legend of Rāvaṇa independent of any connection with the story of Rāma has come to light. Further, we have established that Vimala was acquainted with the **Rāmāyaṇa** of Vālmīki and that his work is a special edition of the Hindu story brought out to serve the adherents of Jainism as a substitute for the highly popular **Rāmāyaṇa** of Vālmīki.

Thus the differences in the treatment of the character of Rāvaṇa, and in the general account of the Rākṣasa and the Vānara families, as between the Vālmīki **Rāmāyaṇa** and the Jain versions of the story, can all be explained as due to difference of purpose and emphasis. It is not necessary to assume the existence of an independent Rāvaṇa legend as a hypothesis to explain these differences, unless there is independent evidence to prove the existence of such a legend. And therefore the view put forward by Sen that

there was a Southern Dravidian independent Rāvaṇa legend cannot be accepted.

8. The Digambara version of Guṇabhadra

Now, in connection with this problem of the origin of the Jain Rāmāyaṇas, the '**Digambara**' version of Guṇabhadra, deserves to be carefully investigated, for the two versions of Guṇabhadra and Vimala Sūri markedly differ from each other in regard to story element, characterisation, etc., as can be seen from the table setting forth their comparison. Further, we may note that Vimala shows that Hanūmat, Sugrīva and Rāvaṇa were relatives, that Hanūmat had helped Rāvaṇa in his fight against Varuṇa etc., tells of the 'later history of Rāma' — introduces about a dozen Upākhyānas, gives a **detailed** history of the dynasties of the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras and the Ikṣvāku, narrates the account of Vālin and Sugrīva differently. It is but right then if we say that the two versions should be regarded as independent forms of the story of Rāma.

The first question that comes to mind about Guṇabhadra's version is: "Why was it that Guṇabhadra did not follow Raviṣeṇa, his Digambara predecessor? Raviṣeṇa was a Digambara. We expect, therefore, Guṇabhadra, a Digambara poet, to follow his predecessor. But our expectation is not fulfilled. As we have stated above, Guṇabhadra's Rāma-story is vastly different from that of Vimala Sūri (with whose story that of Raviṣeṇa almost perfectly agrees). So to find an answer to the question raised we may set forth the following logical possibilities:

- (i) Guṇabhadra was not aware of the existence of the epics of Vimala and Raviṣeṇa.
- (ii) Even if he was aware of their existence he did not think the narrative embodied therein to be good enough to be followed by him.
- (iii) He gives the story as he found it in some work of a predecessor of his, belonging to his Guru -parampārā, which work is now lost to us.
- (iv) He gives literary shape to the oral tradition as handed down by a line of successive teachers of his Sangha.
- (v) He gives shape to some local version that was then current.

Now let us examine these logical possibilities :

Guṇabhadra flourished in the 9th century A.D. So it is not likely that he was not aware of the existence of the works of Vimala and/or Raviṣeṇa, or that he gave literary shape to local version. As he is a 'modern writer' compared with the eminent Hindu poets Vyāsa and Vālmiki and the Jain poet Vimala, their versions, with some slight variations, *were widely known at the time of Guṇabhadra*. So alternatives (i) and (v) we may dismiss as improbable. Alternative (ii) also may be dismissed as *improbable as a man of Guṇabhadra's calibre cannot be accused of lack of balanced judgment*. It is impossible to imagine that a writer coming at a sufficiently late stage in a literary tradition would

invent highly extraordinary variations in an established legend, especially if the legend had a religious significance. Guṇabhadra must, therefore, have had some authority for the version of the story that he gave. However, of the alternatives (iii) and (iv) it is difficult to say which is more probable. It is quite likely that he embodied in his *Purāṇa* the story of Rāma as it came to him through Ācārya-Parāṃparā. We have some reason to believe, however, that Guṇabhadra may have been indebted to Kavi Parameṣṭhi or Parameśvara. He is said to have composed a *Purāṇa* glorifying 63 Śālākāpuruṣas, celebrities of the Jain faith. Guṇabhadra himself says that it was a Gadya-kathā and that it was used by Jinasena for Ādi-Purāṇa.²³ Jinasena calls it Vāgartha-saṅgraha.²⁴ Now if Jinasena followed Kavi Parameśvara in composing his *Ādi-Purāṇa* it is not unlikely that Jinasena's pupil, who completed his teacher's unfinished *Mahā-Purāṇa* by adding to it his *Uttara-Purāṇa*, too, based his Rāma-story on that of Kavi Parameśvara.²⁵

Let us now turn to the views of Pt. Premi and Dr. Narasimhachar regarding the sources of Guṇabhadra.

9. The relation of Guṇabhadra's version with the Daśaratha Jātaka and the Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa

In his paper on 'Padma-Carita Aura Paṭima-Cariya' Pt. Premi suggests that Guṇabhadra describes the birth of Sītā as Rāvaṇa's daughter after the Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa, whereas the Kingship of Daśaratha over Vārāṇasī and the absence of the incidents such as Sītā's abandonment, the birth of Lava and Kuśa, the twin sons of Sītā, can be traced to the Buddhistic Jātaka.²⁶ Dr. Narasimhachar, referring to the elements in the story such as Sītā's birth, her abduction in the precincts of Vārāṇasī, the intensely ascetic nature ascribed to the character of Rāma, and the golden deer incident, remarks that "it seems to be a conglomeration of various legends pertaining to Rāma" and that "it has no unitary source."²⁷

23. Kavi-parameśvaranigaditagadyakathā-mātrkāṃ puroṣcaritairṇ

U. Prasasti 17.

24. Sa Pūjyaḥ Parameśvaraḥ

Vāgarthasaṅgratharṇ Purāṇarṇ yaḥ samagraḥ.

Ādi-Pūraṇa 1.60.

25. Cāvuṇḍarāya (978 A.D.) in his Ādipūraṇa declares that the Mahāpurāṇa was composed formerly (even before Jinasena and Guṇabhadra) by Kūci Bhaṭṭāraka and Śrīnandi Muni.

26. See Jain Sāhitya aurā Itihāsa, p. 280.

27. He suggests the sources possible, viz., Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa, Daśaratha Jātaka and Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa.

Now let us examine this question of Guṇabhadra's sources. Chronologically speaking **Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa** is very much later than Guṇabhadra's **Uttara-Purāṇa**. Grierson remarks: "The **Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa** is a comparatively modern work. It is distinctly Śākta in character, exalting Sitā above Rāma. It is also an attempt to introduce the terrible cult of Śaiva Śaktism into the altogether alien soil of Vaiṣṇavism." **Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa** is later than **Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa** (14th or 15th century²⁸). So it cannot be taken as a possible source of Guṇabhadra's Rāma- story. Again, the way Sitā is born according to the story of **Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa** is indeed Adbhuta!

"Rāvaṇa in the course of his conquest comes to the Daṇḍaka forest, summons the Ṛṣis there to submit without resistance, and, with this demand, draws from each with the tip of an arrow a little blood, which he collects in a jar.

One of the Ṛṣis is Gr̥tsamada, the father of a hundred sons. His wife has begged from him that she may have a daughter, and that this daughter may be Lakṣmī herself. In order to fulfil her desire, the Ṛṣi has been day by day sprinkling with appropriate 'mantra's, milk from a wisp of Kuśa-grass into a jar, so that thereby it may become inhabited by Lakṣmī. He does this, as usual, on the morning of the day on which Rāvaṇa appears, and, before the latter's arrival, goes out into the forest. It is in this same jar that Rāvaṇa collects the Ṛṣis's blood. He takes it home with him, and gives it to his wife Mandodarī to take care of, telling her that the blood in it is more poisonous than poison itself. She may on no account taste it, or give it to anyone to taste.

Rāvaṇa again goes forth on his career of conquest and in Mount Mandara debauches the daughters of the gods etc. Mandodarī, seeing them preferred to her, determines to kill herself. With this object, she drinks the contents of the jar of Ṛṣis's blood, which Rāvaṇa has told her is a deadly poison. Instead of dying, she immediately becomes pregnant with Lakṣmī, who has been installed in the sprinkled milk by the power of Gr̥tsamanda's 'mantra's.

When she finds herself pregnant in the absence of her husband, in fear of his reproaches she sets out for Kurukṣetra under pretence of making a pilgrim image. There, freeing herself from the foetus, she buries it in the ground and returns home, keeping the whole affair a secret.

Shortly afterwards Janaka comes to sacrifice at Kurukṣetra. In order to prepare the ground for the sacrifice, he ploughs it with a golden plough, and while doing so turns up the foetus,--a girl child. Being warned by a voice from heaven, he adopts her and names her Sitā. After completing the sacrifice, he takes her home, and brings her up."

28. Raghavan, V.: Music in the Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa, Journal Music Academy, Vol. 16, pp. 66ff. and

Grierson, G.A.: On the Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. IV, pp. 11 ff.

Lakṣmī (Sītā) is born as the daughter of Mandodarī on account of a curse: "Nārada, while attending a concert in heaven, is hustled aside by Lakṣmī's attendants, who are conducting her to her seat. He promptly curses her to become incarnate as the daughter of a Rākṣasa."

This fantastic birth-story is greatly different from that given by Guṇabhadra where Sītā is born of Mandodarī as the daughter of Rāvaṇa. The Daśaratha Jātaka is definitely older than Guṇabhadra's Uttara-Purāṇa. But it is a distorted version of the story of Rāma as given in the **Mahābhārata** and the **Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa**. So merely because the later history of Rāma is absent both in the Daśaratha Jātaka and Guṇabhadra version we cannot say that the former is the source of the latter. It is true the Jātaka speaks of Daśaratha as a ruler of Vārāṇasī, and Guṇabhadra represents him as shifting his capital from Vārāṇasī to Ayodhyā. But this is too slender a thread to connect the two stories. The Jātaka speaks of Rāma and Sītā as brother and sister, staying in the Himalaya mountain for years together at Daśaratha's suggestion, and the marriage of Rāma and Sītā brother and sister! All this is absent in the Jain version. So properly speaking we cannot point to Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa and Daśaratha Jātaka as Guṇabhadra's source for his Rāma-story.

We might account for these divergences in a different way: The birth of Sītā is a mystery according to Vālmiki's **Rāmāyaṇa**. The Jain poets wanted to give a realistic interpretation of her birth. Vimala straightway calls her the daughter of Janaka and Videhā born in a natural manner. Guṇabhadra (or the Ācārya who first gave the version found in the Uttara-Purāṇa) makes Sītā the daughter of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī. He gives the reason why Sītā was abandoned by the parents and how Janaka and his wife **Vasudhā** come across this foundling! This change introduced by the Jain poet has something dramatic about it. A father falling in love with his own daughter, being unaware of the fact that she is his own daughter is psychologically not improbable. And as far as we know, Saṅghadāsa (not later than 609 A.D.) is the first poet to represent Sītā as Rāvaṇa's daughter. It is not unlikely that this account of the birth of Sītā and the names of some of Rāvaṇa's ancestors such as Sahasragrīva and others, have been taken over by Guṇabhadra (or his predecessor whom he follows) from Saṅghadāsa's version. A guess may be hazarded that Saṅghadāsa possibly had in mind the story of Karṇa's birth, when he relates the account of Sītā's birth. Karṇa is generally regarded as the son of a charioteer. The Mahābhārata story, however, goes that in reality he was begotten by Sūrya, the Sun-god, and Kuntī, when the latter was as yet a maiden, in a miraculous manner, so that Kuntī's virginity was not violated. But after she had given birth to Karṇa, she was filled with shame, and put the boy out on the river in a little water-tight basket. There he was found by a charioteer, who brought him up. Karṇa is, therefore, really an elder brother to the Pāṇḍavas. The names Sahasragrīva and others as the ancestors of Rāvaṇa were probably invented with a view to making the name Daśagrīva not sound utterly strange or fantastic.

From this discussion it becomes evident that there is no ground to believe that the Daśaratha Jātaka and the Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa were Guṇabhadra's sources.

Let us now examine whether the version of Guṇabhadra is entirely dependent on Vālmīki or contains an independent tradition. Guṇabhadra shares with Vālmīki the following features:

- (i) Maṇimatī's curse on Rāvaṇa (corresponds with Vedavati's).
- (ii) The names Daśānana, Kumbhakarna, Śūrpaṇakhā and Vibhīṣaṇa.
- (iii) The stratagem of golden stag.
- (iv) The slaying of Vālin.
- (v) Rāma's giving of his signet ring to Hanūmat as an 'abhijñāna'.
- (vi) Hanūmat's assuming the form of a bee (a cat, according to Vālmīki) on the occasion of entering Laṅkā.
- (vii) Hanūmat's presenting himself (before Sītā) as a Vānara.
- (viii) Vibhīṣaṇa's alliance with Rāma.
- (ix) Hanūmat's (Aṇūmat, according to Guṇabhadra) laying waste the grove and setting Laṅkā ablaze.
- (x) Causing disturbance to Rāvaṇa in his Vidyāsādhana.
- (xi) Cutting off the illusory head of Sītā and throwing it in front of Rāma.
- (xii) Depicting of Rāvaṇa as 'adhama', 'khala', 'loka-kaṇṭaka', 'paradārāpahārin', etc., and of Vibhīṣaṇa as dharmajña, prājña, etc.

Notwithstanding these common features Guṇabhadra shows some important divergences from Vālmīki as regards :

- (i) The parentage of Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata, Śatrughna and the place of their birth.
- (ii) Daśaratha's rule over Vārāṇasī.
- (iii) The birth of Sītā as the daughter of Rāvaṇa and Mandodari.
- (iv) The circumstances and conditions preceding the wedding of Rāma and Sītā.
- (v) The Court-intrigue by Kaikeyī for securing the throne for Bharata and Rāma's exile (which is absent in Guṇabhadra's version).
- (vi) Śūrpaṇakhā's visit to Sītā as Rāvaṇa's dūtī.
- (vii) Daśaratha's informing Rāma of Sītāpaharaṇa.
- (viii) The later history of Rāma (which is almost wholly absent in Guṇabhadra).

It is, therefore, right to conclude that Guṇabhadra's version is largely dependent, if not entirely, on Vālmīki. The version of Guṇabhadra gains a new look and form by the assimilation, to the frame-work of the story as taken from Vālmīki's, of some novel

features as listed above and of remarkable features from the Jain tradition, such as Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa having a large number of wives as every Baladeva and Vāsudeva should have, their devotion to Jainism, renunciation of the world by Rāma, Sītā, Vibhīṣaṇa, Hanūmat, etc., and their acceptance of the monastic order, Lakṣmaṇa's sinking into hell, the representation of the Vānaras and the Rākṣasas as Vidyādhara and followers of Jainism, and so on. Consequently, this Digambara version is generally regarded as an independent Jain form of the Rāma legend.

It is, however, obvious from the preceding discussion that Guṇabhadra had always a purpose in view in introducing these changes and that like Vimala Sūri, Guṇabhadra too, took Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa as his starting point and introduced important changes and modifications in the received legend to suit his aims, artistic, religious or ethical. The differences between the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa and Guṇabhadra's version cannot, therefore, be taken as a basis for arguing that Guṇabhadra's version preserves any original features or traits of the legend as it flourished prior to Vālmiki, more faithfully than Vālmiki does. Such a hypothesis cannot be advanced except on the basis of independent evidence to prove the existence of a Rāma legend prior to Vālmiki and substantially different from the version as given by Vālmiki. There is no such independent evidence.

The versions of Saṅghadāsa and Hariṣeṇa are very near to the Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa and are clearly based on it, excepting of course, quite a few Jain features. The versions of Vimala and Guṇabhadra are typical of all the Jain forms of the Rāma legend. We, therefore, give here a brief outline of Rāma's story common to all the Jain forms:

10. Outline of the Rāma-story common to all the Jain forms

There was a king called Daśaratha of the Ikṣvāku family, who ruled over Ayodhyā. He was blest with four princes called Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna. There was, at the time, a king named Janaka who ruled over Videha. He had a daughter by name Sītā. Janaka gave her in marriage to Rāma.

Now there was a mighty king called Rāvaṇa who ruled over Laṅkā. He was fascinated by the wondrous beauty of that princess Sītā. He carried her off by force to Laṅkā. Rāma was stricken with profound sorrow at this misfortune.

There was a Vānara prince, Sugrīva, who was deprived of his rightful place in Kiṣkindhā. He sought Rāma's alliance. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa helped Sugrīva regain the kingdom of Kiṣkindhā. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and the army of Sugrīva marched against Laṅkā; Vibhīṣaṇa, the righteous brother of Rāvaṇa, did his best to persuade Rāvaṇa honourably to return Sītā to Rāma, but in vain. He deserted Rāvaṇa and formed an alliance with Rāma. A terrible war was fought between the two hostile armies of Rāma and Rāvaṇa. Finally Rāvaṇa was killed, Vibhīṣaṇa was made king of Laṅkā and Rāma was united with his lost queen.

After vindicating his honour, Rāma, with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, returned to Ayodhyā, his capital. Rāma had 8,000 queens among whom Sītā and three others were the principal ones. Lakṣmaṇa had 16,000 queens among whom Pṛthvisundaṛī and others were the chief ones. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa very deeply loved each other. After Lakṣmaṇa's death Rāma became a monk, practised austerities, obtained perfect knowledge, and in due course attained to Mokṣa. Lakṣmaṇa, as he did not accept the path laid down by the Jinās, sank into hell. Rāvaṇa, for his lapse from the code of correct behaviour, had to go to hell. Both of them after passing through many births would attain to liberation. Sītā, after leading the life of an Āryikā, was born in heaven, but she too would in course of time obtain Mokṣa.

According to the Jain versions, Rāma Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa are the 8th set of Baladeva, Vāsudeva and Prativāsudeva.

It is quite obvious that excepting the number of the queens of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, the killing of Rāvaṇa by Lakṣmaṇa and the Jinistic conclusion this Rāma-story is basically and essentially the same as that found in the Hindu versions of Vyāsa and Vālmīki.

This investigation of the problem of the origin of Rāmāyaṇa in Jain Literature clearly and unmistakably points to the only conclusion that the Jain forms of the story of Rāma are derivative in character, that they are largely dependent on the Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa and that they do not preserve any features of the ancient ballads about Rāma which had gained currency through the bards before Vālmīki gave them the literary shape and form of a unified poem in his widely known Rāmāyaṇa. It would not do to say that the Jain versions of Rāma legend preserve the true Rāma story and it is Vālmīki who presents its distorted version. The reason for not accepting the Jain versions as truer to the original oral tradition than the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa may briefly be stated as follows:-

- (i) Chronologically the Jain versions are definitely later than the Hindu Rāmāyaṇa. The later a work in date of composition the less probable it is that the work embodies the original legend more truthfully.
- (ii) The traditions regarding the origin of the Rāma-story recorded by the Jains in their works are conflicting. If the story of Rāma were told by Mahāvīra, it should have found a place in sacred works of the Jains. The story of Kṛṣṇa is found in the canonical texts. It is not easy to explain the absence of the Rāma-story in the cannon unless we hold that it was taken up later by the Jain poets to popularize the Jain teachings.
- (iii) The Jain versions unmistakably point to the influence of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa (or The Rāmopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata). For example, Vimala Sūri who criticizes the Hindu Rāmāyaṇa for representing the defeat of Indra, the overlord of the gods, at the hands of Rāvaṇa when, in reality, Indra, the lord of Vidyādhara, was defeated, himself describes that Vidyādhara lord as 'Surādhīpa', 'Surapati', etc. He uses personal names of heroes after Vālmīki

although he gives them different personal names.

- (iv) The tendency of the human mind to find fault with fanciful and highly exaggerated and coloured descriptions as absurd and unreasonable found in the Jain works speaks of their 'modernism'.
- (v) The Jain version idealizes the characters of Kaikeyī, Rāvaṇa and Vālin. If their representation of these characters were more faithful to the original legend, it would be difficult to understand how Vālmiki could distort the idealism of the original, and give touches of realism in representing the part played by Kaikeyī in bringing about Rāma's exile, Rāma's slaying of Vālin in a manner unbefitting a superhuman hero. In view of Vālmiki's intense desire to idealize the character of Rāma and represent him as an ideal warrior, an ideal son, an ideal husband and an ideal king, it is difficult to understand Vālmiki's motives in slightly degrading the character of Rāma in the episode of his fight with Vālin, as also in some others such as his killing of Tāṭaka and Khara, his rather unchivalrous treatment of Śūrpaṇakhā, etc., unless we assume that Vālmiki had felt compelled to retain these incidents because he found them as part of the popular tradition.
- (vi) The divergences which the Jain Rāmāyaṇas show from the Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa are easily accounted for, as proceeding from artistic, or religious or ethical motives thus dispensing with the hypothesis that the Jain versions preserve more faithfully the ancient Rāmastory that was prevalent prior to Vālmiki.

Establishing thus firmly that Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa is the fountain source of the Jain versions of the story of Rāma we now turn to the development of the story of Rāma in Jain literature.

CHAPTER - XIV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STORY OF RĀMA IN JAIN LITERATURE

(i) *Paūma-Carīya*--a model for later poets : Although Vimala borrows the main story from Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa, he gives it a Jain background and setting, invests it with Jain atmosphere, decorates it with the teachings of Jainism, humanises the divine characters, elevates the characters of Kaikeyī, Rāvaṇa, Vālin etc., gives an altogether new interpretation of the terms 'Rākṣasas' and 'Vānaras', removes the incredible elements of the original poem and thereby succeeds in giving us quite a new Rāmāyaṇa. He sets in a way a model for all the later Jain poets to imitate. Let us survey the important Jain Rāmāyaṇas which were composed during a long period after Vimala Sūri and note the contribution of these later poets to the story of Rāma.

(ii) *The Vasudeva-hiṇḍī version (not later than 609 A.D.)* : Saṅghadāsa is, for his version, heavily indebted to the Hindu version represented by the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki/ the Rāmopākhyāna of Vyāsa. Regarding many principal features of the story such as Mantharā's role in the Court-Intrigue, Daśaratha's death on account of grief for his son, Rāma's delegating of his authority to the Pādukas in all affairs of state, the Śūrpaṇakhā episode, the golden stag, the slaying of Vālin, the great bridge built across the ocean, Vibhīṣaṇa's alliance with Rāma, and Rāma's coronation, he is in complete agreement with Vālmīki. He ends the story with Rāma's coronation--after the Rāmopākhyāna of Vyāsa. And it may be noted, in passing, that he does not mention the specific period of years for Rāma's exile--in accordance with Vyāsa's version (Compare Vanaparvan, Adhyāya 277, v. 26). A few features of the Hindu version he gives in a modified form. For example, the circumstances in which Daśaratha grants two boons to Kaikeyī are narrated by him in a different way. This may be due to his endeavour to remove the supernatural element from the story. This inference is supported by the fact that throughout the story, Rāma etc. are, unlike as in the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa, portrayed as human heroes. Here possibly he was under the influence of Vimala, who empties the Rāmāyaṇa of its divine elements. He has again drawn on the version represented by Vimala's *Paūma-carīya* while describing Śatrughna as the son of Kaikeyī, and Rāvaṇa's death at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa.

His own contribution : Saṅghadāsa's contribution to the development of the story of Rāma lies in his description of Mandodarī's marriage with Rāvaṇa and of the birth of Sītā as Rāvaṇa's daughter. It appears that Saṅghadāsa introduced this innovation in order to explain away the mystery of Sītā's birth as we find it in the Hindu version.

It may be noted here, in passing, that the genealogy of Rāvaṇa as given by Saṅghadāsa only partially agrees with their counter-parts in the Hindu version or the Paūma-cariya. Probably he invented the names of Rāvaṇa's ancestors such as Sahasagrīva, Pañcasatagrīva, Satagrīva, etc. with a view to making the name Daśagrīva not sound strange or fantastic.

Saṅghadāsa's influence is seen in the work of Guṇabhadra, who borrows, with slight modification, this account of the birth of Sītā and some names of Rāvaṇa's ancestors such as Sahasagrīva, Śatagrīva, etc.

(iii) *Padma-Purāṇa of Raviṣeṇa* (678 A.D.): It is merely a slightly extended recension of the Paūma-cariya in Sanskrit, agreeing with it in all essential points. Vimāla was presumably a Śvetāmbara author. Raviṣeṇa, who is himself a Digāmbara, while giving an enlarged edition of the Paūma-cariya which (presumably) is a Śvetāmbara work, has introduced, wherever possible, Digāmbara traits, and removed the Śvetāmbara features of the original poem.

Raviṣeṇa's contribution to the story of Rāma : It may be briefly summarised as follows:--

- (a) The story is presented with a bold Digāmbara colouring.
- (b) Suprabhā is the fourth queen of Daśaratha and Śatrughna is born of her.
- (c) The image of Janaka too is destroyed by Vibhīṣaṇa.
- (d) Vajrāvarta and Sagarāvarta are the two bows bent by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa on the occasion of Sītā-svayamvara.
- (e) Bharata's wife is called here Loka-sundarī.
- (f) In the Ativīrya-Episode Rāma himself assumes the form of a dancing girl.
- (g) Hanūmat sides with the twins against Rāma.
- (h) It is god Meṣa- Ketana who assists Sītā in her fire-ordeal.

(iv) *Upadeśapada of Haribhadrāsūri* (700-770 A.D.): Haribhadrāsūri alludes to the story of Rāma in one of the Saṅgraha-gāthās in his Upadeśapada²⁹ The gāthā embodying details of the story of Rāma runs as follows :

लक्ष्मणरामे देवीद्वारे सोममि आलिहे चल्गा ।
उर्वरि ण दिट्ठ जोगो अत्थित्तासासणे चेव ॥

From the peculiar method of summarising the essential details of the story of Rāma it is crystal clear that a story of Rāma containing these features already existed in an oral or written tradition; for without such traditional information the verse referred to

29. Śrīmatmuktikamala Jainamohanamālā, Puṣpam 19, Baroda, 1923. P. 84, Gāthā No. 14. I am obliged to Dr. J.C. Jain for drawing my attention to this reference through Dr. Bulcke.

above would not be quite intelligible. In his commentary on the Upadeśapada composed in V.S. 1174 Muncandra adds a short story of Rāma in thirty verses to explain the Saṅgraha-gāthā. His version agrees with that of Vimalasūri except in two details: (i) Muncandra speaks of three principal queens of Daśaratha, viz., Kauśalyā, Sumitrā and Kaikeyī, and their three sons, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata respectively and (ii) he elucidates the picture motif alluded to in the Gāthā.

The particular version which existed before and was utilised by Haribhadrāsūri has not come down to us. The fact, however, remains that the credit of introducing the picture-motif in the story of Rāma for the first time goes to an unknown writer who must have flourished before Haribhadrāsūri and not to Bhadreśvara³⁰ as I had claimed elsewhere.

(v) *Paūmacarī of Svayambhūdeva* (middle of the 8th century A.D. ?): Svayambhū himself states that he is presenting the story of Rāma as given by Raviṣeṇa. He, however, does not slavishly imitate his predecessor. He is perhaps the first Jain poet to divide the poem into Kāṇḍas. Of his five Kāṇḍas four have titles common with Vālmiki's poem--only instead of Bāla-kāṇḍa he speaks of Vidyādhara-kāṇḍa. He does not have the two titles Araṇya-kāṇḍa and Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa. He effects omissions, abridgements, additions and alterations with a view to presenting the story in a more attractive and poetic form. His changes, however, do not relate to the principal story of Rāma but to such topics as Kṣetravarāṇa, Kālavaraṇa, Pūrvabhavakathana, Upākhyānas and descriptions. His work certainly gains by these changes in its poetic value.

(vi) *Caūppannamahāpurīṣa-cariya of Śīlācārya* (868 A.D.): Śīlācārya declares: "Thus is narrated in brief the life-history of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, which is described at length in works like Paūma-cariya." From this statement of his it is obvious that Vimala's work was in his mind when he prepared this abridged version. He has, however, introduced some remarkable features from Vālmiki's version directly possibly because of their popularity in his days or indirectly through Saṅghadāsa whose version always shares these features. These features include the golden stag incident and the Vāli-episode. It deserves our notice that Śīlācārya's Rāvaṇa is after Vālmiki's as he speaks of him in such terms as भुवणतावणो, 'वलवमकज्जायरणे दूसिओ कलुसियचरित्तो' विज्जागन्विओ, खल and दूर.

Vimala's Rāvaṇa is nearly a perfect hero with one defect only, viz., his passion for Sītā. He does not count the Prativāsudevas, such as Rāvaṇa, among the 'Uttama'--or 'Mahā'--or 'Śalākā'--puruṣas. Naturally, the name Rāvaṇa does not find place in the title.

Śīlācārya's Influence on Hemacandra?

Winternitz observes in connection with Hemacandra's work--*Triṣaṣṭīśalākā-puruṣa-carita*--that the *Caūppannamahāpurīṣa-cariya* of Śīlācārya must be taken

30. Vide Chapter X : "The Rāmāyaṇa of Bhadreśvara (p.184, f.n. 7) *supra*.

into consideration while investigating sources which Hemacandra drew upon for his poem (see pp. 505-506). As far as the version of Rāmāyaṇa is concerned, it can definitely be asserted that not Śīlācārya's but Vimala Sūri's Paṭimacariya is Hemacandra's source.

(vii) *Uttarapurāṇa of Guṇabhadra* (9th Century A.D.): Guṇabhadra, who is a Digambara poet, presents Rāma-story which is widely different from that of his Digambara predecessor. His version is largely dependent on the Hindu Rāmāyaṇa, borrows a few features from Saṅghadāsa, speaks of Daśaratha's rule over Vārāṇasī for the first time, possibly after the Daśaratha Jātaka, and has some traits peculiar to Jain versions of Vimala and others. As a result of this conglomeration of features from various sources Guṇabhadra's version gains quite a new look and form and naturally it is regarded as presenting an independent tradition.

Guṇabhadra's Contribution to the story of Rāma: According to Guṇabhadra, Vārāṇasī was originally the capital of Daśaratha, who migrated to Ayodhyā (and made it his capital) after Sagara's family was completely annihilated; Janaka gave his daughter, Sītā, in marriage to Rāma who protected the sacrifice undertaken by him; Rāma, with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, went to Vārāṇasī, their old capital, in order to safeguard the interests of their subjects; at Nārada's instigation, Rāvaṇa was enamoured of Sītā; Rāvaṇa sent Śūrpaṇakhā, his sister, as a dūti to Sita; Lakṣmaṇa fought against Vālin and killed him; and finally, Rāvaṇa cut off the illusory head of Sītā and threw it before Rāma (this detail is borrowed from Vālmīki).

Guṇabhadra's influence over later writers: Guṇabhadra's story, however, does not seem to be as popular as that of Vimala. We find his version given by Puṣpadanta only. On the authority of Dr. Narsimhachar we may add here that a Sanskrit work **Puṇyacandrodaya Purāṇa** of Kṛṣṇa (1528 A.D.) and two works in Kanarese, viz., **Cāmundaṛāya-Purāṇa** (978 A.D.)^a and **Puṇyāśrava-Kathā-Sāra** (1331 A.D.), present the version of Guṇabhadra.

(viii) *Bṛhat-kathā-Kośa of Hariṣeṇa* (931-32 A.D.): This Kośa contains two Rāmāyaṇa Kathānakas. Hariṣeṇa, though a Jain (Digambara), gives a Rāmāyaṇa version, which is widely different from the Digambara (or Svetāmbara) version of Guṇabhadra (or Vimala) and represents a very brief abridgement of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa. The first Kathānaka does not carry the story beyond the death of Rāvaṇa and Rāma's becoming a sovereign ruler. This is how Rāmopakhyaṇa also ends. The only deviations are: Daśaratha has a fourth wife Suprajā (Suprabhā of Raviṣeṇa) who gives birth to Śatrughna; Kharadūṣaṇa is the husband of Śūrpaṇakhā (after Raviṣeṇa's account)--in the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa Khara is her brother and Dūṣaṇa is the name of one of Rāvaṇa's generals. At another place (v. 27), however, Hariṣeṇa mentions Khara and Dūṣaṇa as two individuals, which is confusing. In the second Kathānaka Sītā is shown to have become a nun, after her fire-ordeal, being initiated by Saṃyamasena.

(ix) *Mahā-Purāṇa of Puṣpadanta* (965 A.D.): Puṣpadanta's Rāmāyaṇa-story is

identical with that of Guṇabhadra.

Puṣpadanta's contribution to the story of Rāma : He criticises the Rāma-versions of Vālmīki and Vyāsa--in the manner of Raviṣeṇa and Vimala, and adds to the list of incredible incidents and statements (found in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki) as given by his predecessors, the following three:

- (a) Indrajit, though a son of Rāvaṇa, was older in age than Rāvaṇa, his father.
- (b) Vibhīṣaṇa is a 'Cirañjivin'.
- (c) The arms of Lakṣmaṇa were long and unbending.

Further, he names Rāvaṇa's sister as Candra-ṇakhā instead of Śūrpaṇakhā. Of course, Vimala and Raviṣeṇa too give her name as Candraṇakhā. But all this hardly means any real contribution to the story of Rāma as these changes do not help the progress or action of the story.

He has, however, we might say, contributed considerably towards the form of the story, which is made more poetic. If Guṇabhadra's version is rather less poetic and more prosaic, Puṣpadanta's Rāmāyaṇa is written in a grand poetic style. Unlike Guṇabhadra, he divides his Rāmāyaṇa into eleven Sandhis or Cantos and gives them titles which are sufficiently eloquent of their respective subject-matter.

(x) *Kahāvālī of Bhadreśvara* (11th century A.D.): Bhadreśvara's version of the Rāmāyaṇa is based on the Paūmacariya. For the motif of the picture of Rāvaṇa drawn by Sītā which is not found in the Paūmacariya, Bhadreśvara seems to be indebted to Haribhadrāsūri.

Hemacandra adopts this highly important feature in the Rāma legend which he gives in the Triṣaṣṭi-Śālākāpuruṣa-Carita.

(xi) *Yogaśāstra-Svopjñā-Vṛtti* and (xii) *Triṣaṣṭi-Śālākāpuruṣa-Carita of Hemacandra* (12th century A.D.): In spite of the fact that the two versions are by one and the same author, they betray some remarkable diversions which we have already noted. The Ys version is in general agreement with the Paūmacariya; it shows acquaintance also with the Padmapurāṇa, and the version of Saṅghadāsa.

(a) In his TSPC version (based on the Paūmacariya and the Padmapurāṇa) Hemacandra follows Vālmīki in relating the episode of the fight between Vālin and Rāvaṇa and the latter's humiliation.

(b) Daśaratha, after his marriage with Kaikeyī, does not return to Ayodhyā but goes to Rājagṛha, conquers the king of Magadha, stays there, gets his family there, and lives there for a long time, out of fear of Rāvaṇa. It is there that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are born. And when he feels himself invincible on account of his powerful sons, he goes to Ayodhyā with his whole family; and it is at Ayodhyā that Bharata and Śatrughna are born.

(c) Aparājītā dreams four dreams and Sumitrā seven which indicate the birth of two mighty sons.

(d) Khara was the husband of Caṇḍraṇakhā, and Dūṣaṇa and Trisīras were his younger brothers.

(e) Hemacandra speaks of four Mahadevīs of Rāma but does not refer to the larger number of 8,000 wives.

(f) According to Hemacandra, Rāma goes in search of his wife whom he has repudiated. Not finding her, he believes her to be devoured by some wild beast. He goes home and performs her Śrāddha.

(xiii) *Śatruñjaya-Māhātmya of Dhaneśvara Sūri* (14th century A.D.): Dhaneśvara adds the episode of king Anaraṇya and the image of Pārśvanātha with a view to glorifying the power and grace of Pārśvanātha's image and the Śatruñjaya mountain. Kaikeyī asks for the banishment of Rāma (and Lakṣmaṇa too) in addition to her demand of the kingdom for her son Bharata. This is after Vālmiki's version, although there Lakṣmaṇa is not mentioned in this connection. According to Dhaneśvara, the Vānaras do not interrupt Rāvaṇa in his acquisition of Bahurūpā-vidyā. Again, we meet with a few unimportant changes--Aparājītā is called here Kauśalyā, and Bhānu-karṇa called Kumbhakarṇa (of course, after Vālmiki).

While condensing the story of Hemacandra (although the poet never states this) he has omitted many episodes, stories of previous births etc., as they have practically no significance for the course of the narrative.

(xiv) *Puṇyacandrodaya-Purāṇa of Kṛṣṇadāsa*: Kṛṣṇadāsa wrote this Purāṇa in 1528 A.D. "Judged from the contents of the work as given by Rajendralal Mitra (Notices of Sanskrit MSS, Vol. VI, 70-74), it appears to belong to the tradition of Guṇabhadra."³¹

(xv) *Rāma-Caritra of Devavijayagaṇin*: In the year 1586 A.D. Devavijayagaṇin, a pupil of Rājavaljaya Sūri, wrote a Rāma-Caritra in prose. The author himself says that he is following Hemacandra's Rāmāyaṇa. As the work is not published, it is not possible to say whether Devavijaya contributes towards the development of the story of Rāma.

(xvi) *Laghu-Trisastī of Meghavijaya Gaṇivāḥ*: Meghavijaya (17th century A.D.) composed his work after the famous *Trisastī-Śalākāpuruṣa-Carita* of Hemacandra. It is no more than an abridged edition of Hemacandra's Rāmāyaṇa.³²

After settling the problem of the origin of the Jain Rāmāyaṇas and tracing the development of the Rāma-story in Jain literature we now touch upon the question of the

31. Dr. Narasimhachar, I.H.Q., Vol. XV.

32. The Dhurtākhyāna of Haribhadra casually treats some legends from Rāmāyaṇa, so too Dharma-Parikṣā of Amitagatī. We may therefore ignore these works.

JAIN INFLUENCE ON THE HINDU RĀMĀYAṆAS

Sr. No.	Particular feature	Name of the Jain author	Name/s of the Hindu work/s	Remarks
1	Bharata and Śatrughna are uterine brothers (born of Kaikeyi)	Vimala Sūri	Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa (16th century, Marāṭhi)	
2	Daśaratha had four wives (Aparājītā, Sumitrā, Kekaya and Suprabhā)	Raviṣeṇacārya	Padmapūraṇa (Pātālakhaṇḍa)	Names of the queens are not identical.
3	Rāma Bent and strung the bow in the presence of other princes who had arrived there at Mithilā to participate in the Sītā-svayamvara	Vimala Sūri	Nṛsiṃha-purāṇa, Bhāgavata-purāṇa, Tamila Rāmāyaṇa, Telugu Rāmāyaṇa, Maithilī-Kalyāṇa and Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa	The Hindu works are all later than Vimala's Paṭi-macariya.
4	Sītā was born of Mandodari and Rāvaṇa	Sanḥhadāsa (and Guṇabhadra)	Mahābhāgavata (-Devi-) Purāṇa, and Kasmirī Rāmāyaṇa.	The Hindu works are later than Jain versions.
5	Bhāmaṇḍala and Sītā were born as twins of Videha and Janaka	Vimala Sūri	Although Vālmiki speaks nowhere of Janaka's son, Viṣṇupurāṇa and Vāyupurāṇa speak of Bhānumān as Janaka's son.	These Purāṇas are assigned to the 4th and the 5th centuries A.D.
6	Candraṇakhā (=Śūrpaṇakhā) assumed the form of a lovely maiden and approached Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa (no dismemberment of her nose and ears)	Vimala Sūri	Tamila Rāmāyaṇa	With greater details and some variation Kam-bana describes this episode.
7	Rāvaṇa himself cuts off the illusory head of Sītā.	Guṇabhadra	Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa	Is later than Guṇabhadra's work.
8	The motif : Sītā draws the picture of Rāvaṇa at the direction of her co-wives - this picture is the cause of scandal against her.	Bhadreśvara (and Hemacandra)	Bengali Rāmāyaṇa, Kasmirī Rāmāyaṇa, Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa, etc.	The Hindu works are later than the Jain versions.
9	The sons of Sītā fight against Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.	Vimala Sūri	Kathāsaritsāgara, Ānanda, Uttara-Rāmācarita, and Jaiminiya Aśva-medha	With a good deal of variation.
10	Lakṣmaṇa kills Sam-būka, the son of Śūrpaṇakhā.	Vimala Sūri	Telugu Rāmāyaṇa and Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa	With some variation.

Jain influence on the later Hindu Rāmāyaṇas. The Purāṇas of the Hindus are of uncertain dates. Consequently, it is very difficult to trace the influence exerted by the Jains on the Hindu Purāṇas. On account of the difficulty of dates no strict proof is available whether the Jains have influenced the Hindu Purāṇas or vice versa. We, therefore, simply note the points which are common to the Jain Rāmāyaṇas and the Purāṇas of uncertain dates, and where we know certainly that the Hindu Purāṇas or works are later than the Jain versions concerned we treat these common traits as part of the Jain influence.

These points which are common in the Jain Rāmāyaṇas and later Hindu works or Purāṇas of uncertain dates we set forth, for the sake of convenience, in a tabular form :

*From the foregoing table it becomes evident that the Jain influence on the later Hindu Rāmāyaṇas is not very striking. The explanation for this lack of strong influence is probably to be sought in the wide gulf that existed between the two communities. The Jain poets and authors were, as a rule, conversant with the Hindu works both of sacred and secular character. The Hindu writers, on the contrary, may not have cared to read the Jain works in the belief that they were of inferior workmanship and probably in their intellectual arrogance thought that they had nothing to learn from their opponents and antagonists.

Before we close at this point let us say a word about the story of Rāma as adopted by the Jains and the best Jain Rāmāyaṇa. To a dispassionate reader it will appear that the Jains have taken over the story of Rāma as given by Vālmīki and made it their own. In doing so, however, they have lowered its ethical value. The story is emptied of its deep human interest and dramatic value by removing the Court-Intrigue. The story gives Rāma, who is universally known as intently and solely devoted to his only wife--Sītā, and Hanūman, who is described as an ideal Brahmācārī, a large number of wives. This feature of the story is undoubtedly repugnant to the popular mind. Further, according to this story, Lakṣmaṇa sinks into hell. The reader is not prepared to accept such a terrible end to the glorious career of Lakṣmaṇa. The antagonism of the Jains to the cult of Vedic sacrifice and Himsa, the sense of superiority of the Brāhmaṇas and their superstitious beliefs is perfectly understandable. One, however, would have wished that in making the beautiful Rāma-story their own the Jain poets had been able to avoid reducing its human and ethical content.

Vālmīki is the 'Ādi-kavi' and his Rāmāyaṇa, the 'Ādi-kāvya'. It is admittedly "one of the greatest epics that were ever composed by man". It is one of the most beautiful and moving stories in world literature. It is sung "in words of matchless beauty". It is a story full of tenderest pathos and the most moving emotions". "It is a work that is a popular epic and ornate poetry at the same time". This great epic is, no doubt, disfigured by additions and interpolations of numerous myths and legends, still it has a fairly unified Form and continues to hold the rank of 'Ādi-kāvya'! No Jain Rāmāyaṇa, as will be seen from the literary estimates already given, can bear comparison with Vālmīki's

Rāmāyaṇa for its poetic value. In fact, none of the poets whether Hindu or Jain, equals Vālmīki, who remains thus unsurpassed. The Jain poets do not primarily aim at the Kāvya style, though some of their works do possess poetic qualities. Bearing this in mind if we examine the Jain Rāmāyaṇas from the point of view of poetry, we find that Swayāmbhu and Puṣpadanta stand out as poets of distinct poetic ability. They display the wealth of their poetic gift by giving us poetic ideas and flights of poetic fancy which are refreshingly original. Hemacandra stands next to them. His command of language, metre, and alaṅkāras and his descriptive skill are beyond question. However, the fact remains that there is an air of conventionality about his descriptions. Ācārya Raviṣeṇa impresses us by his profound scholarship but not poetry.

On the whole, we may conclude that the Jain Rāmāyaṇas, as a rule, are essentially Purāṇas. They are written not as Kāvya pure and simple but to glorify the Dharma of the Jinas and teach the people Jain doctrines and criticise the Brahmanical Dharma. It will, therefore, not be fair to the Jain poets to judge their works by the standard which we apply to the Mahā-kāvya like the Raghuvamśa, Kumārasaṁbhava, etc., and condemn them on the ground of artistic defects.

Appendix

Select Bibliography

(Note :—In addition to the works, mentioned in the Preface, I have made full use of the works and papers, noted below, in the course of the present study. I acknowledge with pleasure my indebtedness to the writings of scholars mentioned here. The works marked with asterisk are not consulted in the original but in translations summaries or thereof or as quoted by other writers.)

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Preface P. ix, para 3,		P. 46, L.7,	Read : Añkuśa
L. 4	Read : <i>Paūmacariya</i> at	P. 47, last line	Read : Sugrīva
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P 12, L. 14, read 5	Cauppannamahāpuri-	L. 21	Read : era
	sacariya	P. 56 L 26	Read : popular
L. 27, 28 The work is since published in-		P. 60, f. n. 40,	
full; <i>Paūmacariū</i> of Kavirāja Svayambhū-		last line,	Read : परिहाणी
deva, ed. by Dr. Harivallabh C. Bhayani		P. 61, L.2	Read : Triśalā.
and pub. in S.J.S by Bharatiya Vidya		f. n. 56, add at the end—PC.II. 61	
Bhavan		P. 66, f. n. 65,	Read : Svargaprāpti,
Bombay, Vol. 34 Part First 1953 A.D., Vol.		P. 69, L. 20,	Read : flings.
35 Part Second, 1953 A.D., and Vol. 36,		P. 72, f. n. 82 first	Read : एतदुपपुराणानां.
Third part 1960 A.D.		line,	
P. 13, L. 1 Drop the figure 2.		P. 73, f. n. 87	Read : पत्थाणरणं
P. 16, L. 1	Read : Gautama's	first line,	
f. n. 11	Read : अलियं हि	add at the end—Pc. I-32,	
P. 20 f.n. 23 L. 1	Read : die.	P. 74, f. n. 88	Read : तीर्थं
P. 28, L. 14,	Read : forest.	first line,	
f. n. 40, L. 1	Read : noble.	P. 75, f. n. 90,	Read : तुट्टेणं
P. 43, f. n. 55,	Read : (E.R.E.	third line,	
last line	Vol. VII).	P. 78, L. 21,	Read : great.
P. 44, L. 11,	Read : Worship	P. 80, L. 10,	Read : living.
f. n. 57, last line	Read : pleads	L. 13,	Read : a man.
P. 45, L. 8,	Read : rejection	P. 88, L. 15,	Read : the bride and.
L.9,	Read : comforts	P. 92, L. 5,	Read : is called.
L.21,	Read : various arts	P. 92, L. 7,	Read : Raviṣeṇa
P. 46, L. 4,	Read : Sītā's	P. 97, L. 4	Read : 203.

- P. 117 Last para, L. 1 Ratnapura
P. 118 first para last line Sāgaropamas
P. 124 line 10 Ratnas, strī
P. 140 chapter VI f.n., L. 1 Śīlāṅka
P. 141 last but one line Alaṅkāraśāstra
P. 145 Chapter VII, para 1
last but two lines *Harivaṁśa*
P. 149 column 3 L. 10 Rāma and
P. 150 l. 11 (from below) The points
P. 154 f.n. 6 ll 3-4 drop : As it is not yet
published...Rāmāyaṇa
P. 159 f.n. 26 would
P. 164 f.n, 41 The City
P. 168 L. 3 a Jain
P. 170 last para, L.7 (from below) a variety
P. 172 para 2 L. 5 to have been
P. 175 para 2 L. 8 Suvrata Vānara
P. 175 para 2 L. 9 Sukeśa Aśanivega
L. 10 Sukeśa
L. 12 Sumāli Śrīmālā
P. 178 f.n. 23 L. 2 पीदृक्षं
P. 179 para 3, L. 2 Madhu
P. 182 para 2, L. 3 निययततिल्लो
P. 199 f.n. 26 last two lines P. 203 (i)
Read, however p. 184, f.n. 7, and P. 185
paras 2&3.
P. 209 column 1, L. 5 Harṁsa
P. 216 L. 7 Cauppanna
column 5 L. 3 Dhaneśvara
P. 232 L. 2 (from below) of a balanced
P. 247 last but one line Form
last line—From

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Prakrit Verses In Sanskrit Works on Poetics : Volume I dealing with over 3000 Prakrit (and Apabhraṃśa) passages and their Sanskrit *chāyā* and Alphabetical Indexes, (B. L. Institute)

Śṛṅgārārṇavacandrikā of Vijayavarṇi : A work dealing with Sanskrit Poetics critically edited on the basis of a very rare manuscript, (Bharatiya Jnanapitha, Delhi, 1969)

Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* with a hitherto unpublished commentary of King Mānāṅka, (L.D. Institute, Ahmedabad)

An Anthology of Jain Texts (Sahitya-Ratna-Kośa Jain Sangraha) — (Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi.)

Ācārya Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* (with *Alaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi* and *Viveka*), second revised edition, in collaboration with Prof. R.C. Parikh, (Mahāvīra Jain Vidyalaya, Bombay)

Some Aspects of the Rasa Theory - Edited-A collection of Research papers, (B.L. Institute).

He has also contributed :

A critical Introduction to *Paumacariya* of Vimalasūri, (Prakrit Text Society)

A Critical Introduction, Notes and several Appendices to *Mallikā-Makaranda*, a Prakaraṇa type of play by Rāmacandra, (L. D. Institute, Ahmedabad)

A Critical Introduction to *Pañca-sūtraka*, critically edited by Muniśrī Jambu Vijayajī, (B.L. Institute)

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