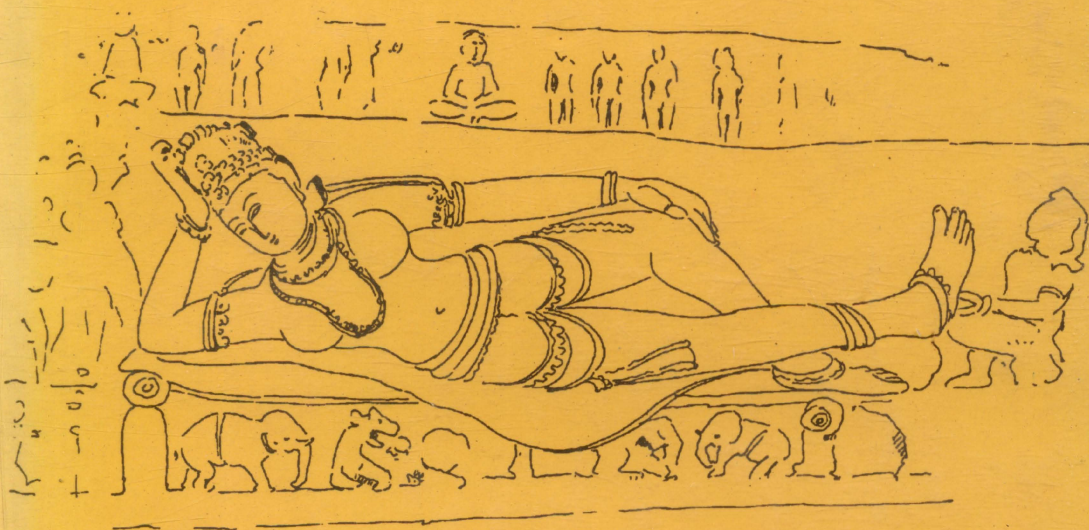# STUDIES IN EARLY JAINISM

DR. JAGDISHCHANDRA JAIN

About the book

The book Jain *Studies-Selected Papers* is a series of 25 research articles. All the articles deal with various aspects of Jainism. A few of them are related to Prakrit which was originally presumed to have been used by early preceptors of Jainism. Some other articles are based on the study of the Vasudevahiṇḍi, composed around the 3rd or 4th Century AD in archaic Jain Maharashtri, which is said to be one of the lost versions of Guṇaḍhya's Brhatkathā, written in Paiśāci dialect. All these rare articles published for the first time will be of use to research scholars of ancient Indian History and Culture, concerning Jain studies. It will also be found useful as a reference material since it highlights the development of Prakrit through expression of thoughts and philosophy by the early preceptors of Jainism. Prakrit is considered to have been the popular dialect of Magadha (Bihar) and, therefore, was widely accepted because of its simplicity and practicality.

The aspects covered in these articles include Status of women, Satī, Popular Tales, Omens, Magical spells, Place of bhakti, Disposal of the dead, Early Jainism, Jain Rāmāyaṇa, Trade and Commerce and so on. These articles have been most painstakingly written by studying the original Ardhamagadhi sacred literature of the Jains, including the Vasudevahiṇḍi, the Aṅgavijjā and other important works from the point of view of history and culture. The articles have been composed after studying works written in Prakrit, Pali, Sanskrit, Apbhramsha, old Hindi and old Gujarati; some of them difficult to procure and invariably without critical editions, without any notes and index, and some of course were in manuscript form. This series of articles have been completed over the last 15 years in India and overseas and some of them have even been printed in leading international Indian and foreign Oriental Journals.

Cover : Illustration 'Mother of Jina'

STUDIES IN EARLY JAINISM

STUDIES IN EARLY JAINISM

(Selected Research Articles)

By

Dr. Jagdishchandra Jain

NAVRANG, NEW DELHI
1992

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

STUDIES IN EARLY JAINISM is a series of research articles completed over the last 15 years in India and overseas. There are 25 articles included in this publication. They are significant as they reflect the traditional beliefs, practices, legends and the tales of the common people through the medium of Prakrit literature, related to Jain studies. In order to explain his teachings to the common people Revered Mahavira used to employ similes, examples, parables and anecdotes from day-to-day life so that they felt convinced and satisfied.

These articles deal with various aspects of Jainism through Prakrit which was originally presumed to have been used by Mahavira and the early pontiffs of Jainism. Various Conferences, Seminars and University lectures in India and abroad offered the author opportunity to present his findings. These articles have been published from time to time in leading international Indian and foreign Oriental Journals.

The study of the *Vasudevahindi* (The Wandering of Vasudeva), composed around the 3rd or 4th century A.D. in archaic Jain Mahārāṣṭrī, is very significant as it is said to be one of the lost versions of Guṇāḍhya's *Baḍḍakahā* (*Bṛhatkathā*), written in Paiśācī dialect. The author got an opportunity to study this archaic text in the university of Kiel, West Germany, in the year 1970-1974. It is noteworthy that first of all Professor Dr. Ludwig Alsdorf of Hamburg University drew the attention of scholars to this text by presenting a paper titled *Eine neue Version der verlorenen Bṛhatkathā des Guṇāḍhya* (A New Version of the lost Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya) at the International Oriental Congress held in Rome in 1935. During his tenure in Kiel the author got an opportunity to discuss with him several important points with regard to the study of the *Vasudevahindi*. Dr. Alsdorf was also good enough to lend him his notes in German, he had prepared for further study of this text.

The present book contains several research articles on this Prakrit text. The *Majjhimakhaṇḍa* (the *Madhyamakhaṇḍa*), also known as *Diviṭīyakhaṇḍa* by Dharmasenagaṇi Mahattara (c. 7th century A.D.) is another important work. A photocopy of the manuscript of this work, partly collated with several manuscripts by late Muni Puṇyavijaya, in the possession of the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, was taken to the university of Kiel for his study. The

text contains 71 *Lambhas* in all, the first one being the *Pabhāvatī lambha* (pp.1-137 of the manuscript.) Though this *lambha* also forms a part of the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, the account provided of *Prabhāvatī* here is meager and is supplemented by that given in the *Majjhimakhaṇḍa*. The author has translated this *lambha* for the first time into English, published in the columns of the *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 1975 (pp 41-56) under the title " The Missing *Lambhas* in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* and the Story of Pabhāvatī" which later formed a part of the Introduction of his work, The *Vasudevahiṇḍi-An-Authentic Jain Version of the Bṛhatkathā* (pp 91-130), published by the L.D. Institute, Ahmedabad, 1977. It is to be noted that as the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* of Saṅghadāsgaṇi Vācaka stands in comparison with the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha* , still another version of the *Bṛhatkathā* , of Budhasvāmin, not only in contents but also at times verbally, so is the case with the *Majjhimakhaṇḍa* which can be compared to the *Kathāsaritsāgara* still a different version of the *Bṛhatkathā*, of Somadeva (11th century A.D.). It is only recently, in 1987 that only part I (containing 1-18 *lambhas*) has been edited with Introduction by H.C. Bhayani and R.M. Shah. It is not declared as to when the part II will be out. It can be very well noted that as the *Bṛhatkathā* had more than one version, the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* (in archaic Jain Mahārāṣṭrī), the *Majjhimakhaṇḍa* (in Śauraseni), the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (by Kṣemendra) both in Sanskrit, represent the different versions of the lost *Bṛhatkathā* . From this aspect the study of the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* and the *Majjhimakhaṇḍa* is very important as they can be helpful in reconstruction of the lost work of Guṇāḍhya.

Prakrit Jain narrative literature is important for the study of the traits of ancient Indian culture. Unlike Sanskrit it consists of elements of folkore which is a part of unwritten culture of primitive people, including their knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, practice, magic, sorcery and so on. Prakrit has a wide range of narrative literature and was developed by Jain authors to a great length. They never hesitated to incorporate fascinating tales from any source available to make their religious sermons interesting. They adapted the *Baḍḍakahā* of Guṇāḍhya, a great storehouse of Indian tales and full of wonderful meaning by substituting the name of Naravāhanadatta, the hero, by Vasudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. Similarly, when they found Bhagvān Viṣṇu of the Brhamanic legend as all-powerful God, he was adapted and transformed into all-powerful Jain ascetic Viṣṇukumāra, who as a saviour of Jain religion, protected the community of monks by punishing the minister Namuci by means of his spiritual power. They also composed numerous amusing stories, including the stories of rogues, knaves, thieves, artful cunning people, scoundrels, fools, evil-minded people, instructing the readers to be careful and alert from such persons who artfully deceived virtuous people. In this connection the *Dhuttakkhāṇa* (the *Dhūrtākhyāna*) or A Narrative of rouges, by Haribhadrasūri can be mentioned. Here the author in his amusing style has ridiculed the exaggerated mythological legends narrated in the Brahamanic scriptures. Then, the stories from the

Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā, the *Pañcatantra* and such other works have been quite popular with Jain authors and the stories from these texts have been incorporated in their works. Jains also produced the stories related to acquiring wealth (*artha-kathā*). It is stated that without wealth one cannot lead a virtuous life and without virtue there cannot be happiness. Prakrit Jain works contain numerous fascinating tales of trading merchants, who in order to reach the foreign lands, had to encounter insurmountable obstacles. They had to cross inaccessible rivers, mountains and dense forests; even at the risk of their lives, they were flown by huge birds, as we are told, across the sea to their destination, the island of riches. Such adventures of trading merchants are innumerable. Though there was huge amount of forefather's wealth, the young merchant boys, without caring for it, undertook long perilous journey to a foreign land. The common dangers of sea-voyage such as cyclones, pirates, attack from huge *timiṅgala* fish and other water animals, want of food and drinking water, loss of proper direction and so on could not deter them from their objective. There were shipwrecks, the passengers were stranded, they had to remain on water for days together and were considered lucky if somehow they reached the shore. However, they firmly believed that Prosperity lies in human efforts.

Though Jainism like other Śramanic religions favoured abstaining from worldly pleasures and consequently did not admit contact with women-folk, yet as the people were more inclined to listen to popular love stories, they could not ignore them for practical reasons. They argued that as a physician administers a 'sugar-coated' pill to an unwilling patient, similarly, a virtuous story should be told under the pretext of a love story. The study of *Kāmasūtra* is considered essential as it is stated that it gives delight to one's wife, who in turn can bear a son, and then one can lead a virtuous life. Various works on love stories are mentioned in Prakrit Jain literature, some of which are lost and no more available.

There were also tales pertaining to presence of mind which included riddles, enigmatic tales, problematic tales and puzzles. Jain authors were keen to compile such interesting stories in *Kathākośas* (Treasury of Tales). Such compilations were prepared not only in Prakrit but also in Sanskrit, Apabhraṃśa, Kannada, Tamil, Old Hindi, Old Gujarati and Rajasthani. We can mention, Hariṣeṇa's *Bṛhatkathākośa*, Maladhāri Rājaśekhara's *Vinodakathāsaṃgraha*, also known as the *Kathākośa* and Hemavijaya's *Kathāratnākara*, all in Sanskrit. The last two have a collection of numerous delightful tales composed in the style of *Pañcatantra*. The stories narrated in the last work are interspersed with Sanskrit, prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, Old Hindi and Old Gujarati Verses. A number of stories of these compilations are common with the popular tales prevalent on the names of Birbal, Gonu Jha of Bihar and some tribal folk tales. This indicates the popularity of story literature not only in India but also abroad. This literature is also important as it reflects the socio-religious life of ancient Indian people.

Vidyās or magic arts as well as vidyādharas or masters of magic art, play an important role in Jain mythology. Ṛṣabhadeva, the first Tīrthaṅkara of Jains, is said to be the protector of vidyādharas, who as a respect for their Master, established his statue in their cities and assembly-halls. The place of Dharaṇendra, who is said to be the King of the Nāgas, is equally important. He actually is said to have offered important magic lores to the vidyādharas, who started enjoying divine pleasures on the Himalaya territory.   He is depicted as a moral authority for the acts of omission and commission of the vidyādharas and he punished them for their act of violation of a Jain temple, a monk or a couple by depriving them of their lores. The vidyādharas honoured him and erected his statue on an excellent alter made of gems in the law-court along with the statue of Ṛṣabha. It is stated that his statue had been installed in the law-court from generations to maintain law and order. According to another tradition, he is said to have protected Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, by employing his hood as an umbrella over his head. He also is said to have cured Ācārya Abhayadevasūri by licking his body with his tongue. It has been stated that due to his magnanimous virtuous deeds he is to attain the status of a gaṇadhara or a Tīrthaṅkara in the following birth.

The art of magic that purports to control or forecast natural events, effects or forces by invoking the supernatural, played an important role in the life of primitive people. They lived in forests, mountains, hills or valleys. They did not have control over natural phenomena, therefore they practised charms, spells or rituals to produce supernatural effect or to control events in nature. In order to encounter natural calamities, they chanted incantations and performed magical dances. This indicates that the belief, practice or rite unreasonably upheld by faith in magic, chance or dogma, belongs to antiquity. The early Jain texts refer to various omens, portents, auguries and signs related to birds, animals, trees, lightening, stick and so on . Ancient Indian people used to get up early morning, had their bath, made offerings to household deities and observed auspicious and expiatory rites. Auspicious nakṣatra was taken into consideration while undertaking a journey or performing some important work. Such things had nothing to do with religious performances as such and were considered customary, normal and in conformity of the general rules of society.

The vidyās or spells referred to in Prakrit Jain texts are associated with mountains, bamboo-creepers, roots of trees and so on, as these were the dwelling places of the tribal people. They are also directly associated with the tribals themselves such as the Śabaras, the Pulindas, the Draviḍas, the Mātaṅgas, the Śvapākas, the Ḍombas and the like. These vidyās are said to have been accomplished by assuming the forms of these tribes. The Śabarī vidyā, for example, was executed by assuming the form of a Śabara. His ornaments were set aside, his body was covered with bark and leaves and his tuft of hair was tied with creepers and plants. Then he held his bow and arrow in hands. The execution of the spell could be practised in the company of his

wife, who was adorned with *guñjā* fruits and looked pretty. In order to pay homage to Master Ṛṣabha, flowers and furits were offered to him. Prayers were offered to the Master and while standing in a meditative posture, Dharaṇendra, the King of the Nāgas, was propitiated.

Like the Śabarsas, the Mātaṅgas also belonged to an important tribal clan. They are included in the category of *vidyādharas*, which indicates their skill in magic lores. The Mātaṅgas had their own yakṣa and a Mātaṅga is represented as a presiding deity (*śāsana-devatā*) of Supārśva, the 7th Tīrthaṅkara and Mahavira, the twenty-fourth. The Mātaṅgas, the Śvapākas, the Kirātas, the Pulindas, the Śabaras, the Ḍombas and many other Indian tribes were powerful tribal people. The mention of the Mātaṅgī, the Śvapākī, the Śabarī, the Drāviḍī and other spells is notable. The Mātaṅgī and the Śvapākī are grouped with the Pārvatī, the Vaṃśalatā and the Vṛkṣamūlā which shows these lores were closely associated with mountains, trees and plants, The Kirātas are characterised as powerful, arrogant and great fighters. A Kirāta is mentioned who ruled over Koṭivarṣa, the capital of Lāḍha *janapada* and is said to have become a follower of Mahavira. The Pulindas lived in forests or on mountains. They are depicted as attacking the caravans passing through the forests. They wore tribal dresses like the Kāpālikas, the Mātaṅgas, the Rākṣasas and the Vānaras. A Pulinda prince is referred to in the *Kuvalayamālā*. The kingdom of Pulindas is mentioned in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The Śabaras are mentioned alongwith the Pulindas who dwelt in dense jungles and attacked caravans. Similarly the Ḍombas are said to have been the early inhabitants of India. But later on as the grip of observing rituals became tight, these tribal people, the custodians of primitive past, rich in heritage of our culture, were made to lead a most degraded life. They were made to dwell on the outskirts of a village, eating dead animals for their survival, cooking dog and eating its flesh, carrying dead bodies to crematorium, living by singing and playing music. They were categorised as Śūdras, Māṅgas (in Marathi), Ḍoms (in Hindi), Bhaṅgīs, Chūḍhas and untouchables, belonging to the lowest rank of society.

Jains believed in the science of prognostication, foreboding, prediction, augury, omen, spell, charm, magic and sorcery. They have composed numerous works on the subject taking into consideration the well-being of the people. The *Aṅgavijjā* (*Aṅgavidyā*) is one such important work dealing with the movements of limbs of the body. It is based on the teachings of the earlier *ācāryas*. It seems there was a plenty of literature on this subject, much of which has gone into oblivion. Bhaṭṭotpala, the commentator of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* has referred to a number of such works and has cited quotations from them. Early Jain texts have mentioned numerous Jain preceptors, who under exceptional situation, had to take recourse to magic spells and charms for the protection of the Jain *Saṅgha* and the welfare of human society. In this connection the names of Ārya Kālaka, Ārya Bhadrabāhu, Siddhasena, Viṣṇukumāra, Dharasena, Pādalipta, Harikeśa and many others can be

mentioned, who employed various types of *ṛddhi, siddhi vidyā, mantra, yoga, cūrṇa,* medicine, antidotes and so on.

The tribal community around the region of Magadha played an important role in the development of society of early days. The Vajjis, the Mallas and others had a republican government where important discussions related to the community were taken in the Parliament-House (*saṃthāgāra*). Buddha had publicly praised the unity and integrity of the Vajjis, observing that as long as they are disciplined, dutiful, pure and noble, no one can do any harm to them. But the ambitious monarch of Magadha, Ajātaśatru, launched a trecherous attack on them and completely destroyed the beautiful city of Vaiśālī. Mahavira and Buddha must have been inspired to introduce their democratic system in their community. They also must have been moved by the trecherous war leading to violence and bloodshed to satiate one's egoistic ambition which must have prompted them to introduce the code of morality such as non-violence and the abandonment of wordly pleasures with more emphasis.

Since the principles of Jainism were intended for one and all, without any distinction of caste or creed, Jain authors were prompted to incorporate popular beliefs in their tenets. There were numerous social and other forms such as education and learning, arts and crafts, superstitious beliefs, feasts and festivals, sports and amusements, funeral obsequies and so on which were observed by society. Regarding disposal of the dead, for example, elaborate rules are laid down by both Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras; such rules were also observed by other communities. This subject is dealt with in this book under the title 'Disposal of the Dead in the Bhagavatī Ārādhanā'. Regarding the worship of God Jina, the question arises, if in Jainism, God is not admitted as creator, preserver and annihilator and is not capable of doing and undoing things, nothing can be achieved by worshipping and showing devotion towards him. Further, though Jain pontiffs did not encourage ritualism, numerous gods and goddesses, including various yakṣas and yakṣīs and guardian-deities (*śāsana-devatā*) were admitted in the Jain cult. Brahamadeva is represented at the top of the Five Pillared 'yakṣa-residence', adjoining a Digambar Jain temple at Guruvayankere in South Canara. Then various *stutis* and *stotras* were composed in honour of the Tīrthaṅkaras and other liberated souls. Some of these *stotras* are designated as *Upasarga-hara-stotra* (Misfortune Removing Hymn), *Viṣāpahāra-stotra* (Poison-Removing Hymn) and so on. Mānatuṅga, accepted by both Digambara and Śvetāmbara sects, composed the *Bhaktāmara-stotra* by reciting which, it is believed, the author automatically was relieved from the fetters in which he was tied. The probable answer to all these questions may be that if Jainism was to be made more popular, Jains had to incorporate the widespread popular cult of *bhakti* . Jain authors in South India could be successful in propagation of their religion only by accepting this compromising catholic spirit. Jains developed their own *Rāmāyaṇa* and the

Mahābhārata, accepting rationalistic approach. They asserted that Rāvaṇa of Laṅkā was not a meat-eater, nor his brother Kumbhakarṇa went on sleeping for half a year and when hungry, swallowed everything, including elephants and buffaloes.

There is lot of scope of research in Jainism. There seems to be a considerable difference between Jainism preached by Mahavira and the Jainism of today, the latter seems to have followed more of ritualism and formalism. He emphasised more on course of conduct. As Mahavira himself was known by the name of *Niggaṇṭha-nātaputta* (*Nirgrantha-jñātṛputra*), the religion he preached was styled as *Niggaṇṭha-dhamma* (*Nirgrantha-dharma*), the religion of non-attachment to wordly sensual pleasures. How and under what situations Jainism was deprived of its all-embracing accommodative spirit and confined to rituals can be a subject of research. And under what circumstances, Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras bifurcated maintaining their separate indenties. A critical study of early works of both the sects will demonstrate the identical contents in the indentical *gāthās*.

The position of women is the same in Jainism as in other Śramanic religions. Perhaps they had to be condemned if the ascetic practices have to be kept unobstructed. Though here and there, there are references in early Jain works when women were honoured and respected. After all, the Great Personalities, including Tīrthaṅkaras and other liberated souls, were born of women and it is because of them the continuity of human race was maintained. In Jain tradition, it was Ṛṣabhadeva, the first Tīrthaṅkara, who initiated the institute of marriage for the well-being of the people. The admittance of the practice of committing 'sati' is rarely noticed in Jainism. Jainism and Buddhism both have been progressive cults in the sense that they did not admit the superhuman origin of the *Vedas*, both condemned the sacrificial rites leading to virtuous deeds and there was a denial of supremacy of priestly class and all-powerful God as a creator of the universe.

In course of time, Buddhism gained popularity and people from foreign lands started visiting the land of Buddha in order to have the first hand knowledge of Buddhism. Hieun Tsang, also known as Mokṣācārya, a very enthusiastic Chinese pilgrim, took more than two years to reach this land in the 7th century A.D. He had to encounter insurmountable difficulties passing through mountains, rivers, dense jungles and deserts on foot. He arrived at Nālandā, an international centre of Buddhist studies, stayed there for a period of five years and studied various subjects in Sanskrit and Pali under the renowned Buddhist teacher Śilabhadra. He travelled around India visiting Buddhist holy places and making a record of what he had seen during his journey. He expressed his gratitude to the people of India who respected him and looked after him during his sojourn in their land. He made them a reverential godbye and left for his homeland, loading 22 ponies with manuscripts, Buddha's statues and relics. Hieun Tsang will always be

remembered not only as an ardent devotee of Buddhism but also an extraordinary personality who prepared an unshakable bridge between the two great countries, India and China and bringing their ancient civilisations closer.

The study of Prakrit is essential for the knowledge of Indian history and culture in their various aspects. Unfortunately, the study of prakrit language has been neglected for some time in India for various reasons. Prakrit like Sanskrit had been a unifying force in the past. The Middle Indo-Aryan which covers a long span of 1600 years (from 600 B.C. to 1000 A.D.), incorporating the teachings of Mahavira in Ardhamagadhi, teachings of Buddha in Pali and Aśoka's inscriptions. It was during this period that trade and commerce developed in India and therefore the duration of the Middle Indo-Aryan is more important than the Old Indo-Aryan as far as the social, political, religious and cultural developments are concerned.

Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit is abundantly rich as far as poetry and narrative literature are concerned. Daṇḍin, the well-known rhetorician, and various other Sanskrit poets have praised the elegance of Prakrit dialects. Since Prakrit was a spoken dialect by people it has a finer emotional appeal in the minds of the readers. Prakrit poetry has been characterised as "charming, full of melodious words, dear to the heart of young ladies and abound in erotic sentiments." The *Gāhāsattasaī*, a collection of 700 Prakrit love poems, has greatly influenced not only Sanskrit lyrical poetry but also Hindi and Gujarati poetry. It is significant that the well-known Sanskrit rhetoricians, in order to illustrate examples of *rasa, guṇa , doṣa, alaṃkāra* etc , instead of citing from Sanskrit poetry, have preferred to quote verses from Prakrit. Bhoja, who considers *śṛṅgāra* as the supermost sentiment of poetry, has cited as many as 1600 *gāthās* from Prakrit Poetic works. Prakrit is also very rich in narrative literature. The *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya which is no more extant, was a well-known work in Paiśācī Prakrit which has been tried to make a model by later Prakrit as well as Sanskrit writers. The study of narrative literature is very important from the point of view of folklore and socio-religious life of the people. Prakrit has also contributed a good deal in the development of Sanskrit drama. The employment of variety of different Prakrit dialects is responsible for providing realistic touch in Sanskrit drama. Important works on grammar, metrics, lexicon and poetics were also written in Prakrit. There have been numerous works on secular literature such as astronomy, astrology, medicine, prognostication, movements of limbs of the body, bodily signs, interpretation of dreams, alchemy, art of cooking, planting trees, testing of coins et al, some of them are published, others are lying in manuscripts. As the Middle indo-Aryan is a link to the New Indo-Aryan, its study is very essential from the point of view of the development of medieval and modern Indian languages.

An unnamed Sai Baba had prompted me to get these research articles

published in a book form. I thought of Dr. Narendra Bhattacharya of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of Calcutta University, whom I happened to meet in International Seminar on Folklore in Cuttack (Orissa) in 1978. I approached him with a request if he could spare some of his valuable time to edit my articles, and when he readily agreed I was very happy. Dr. Bhatacharya went through the manuscript minutely and offered various valuable suggestions for which I shall remain grateful to him.

My son Anil, who is always ready to do anything and everything, was at my services. He assisted me in all kinds of works. He got the required reference books from the university library, arranged to get xerox of important documents and articles and got these articles nicely typed. I must mention the name of Shri Digambar Pai who did the job of typing enthusiastically. My wife Kamalshri has always stood by my side. Inspite of her indisposition for quite some time she always showed her anxiety for my work which she calls 'endless', and encouraged me to carry it on. I should offer my thanks to Mrs. Nirmal Singal who expressed her willingness to publish the manuscript as early as possible. I also express my thanks to all those who directly or indirectly helped me in my research work, including the organisers of the Seminars, the research institutes or the Universities in India and abroad who invited me to deliver lectures and those editors and publishers who published my articles in their Research Journals.

It is hoped that the reader will find this work useful and the author invites any comment for revision at later state.

1/64 Malhar Cooperative Housing Society   JAGDISHCHANDRA JAIN
Bandra Reclamation (W)
Bandra, Bombay-400050
October 2, 1990

1

THE IMPORTANCE OF VASUDEVAHINDI*

Introduction: Jain Narrative Literature

The study of Jain narrative literature is significant in several respects. It represents the common life of ancient Indian peoples – their aspirations, hopes, poverty and hunger, love and quarrels; its characters are trading merchants, robbers, gamblers, knaves, lovers, prostitutes, and bawds. The stories include worldwide travels, shipwrecks, and all kinds of adventures.

The Brahamanic mythological stories were generally exaggerated and endowed with fanciful ideas; hence they remained more or less individual types. Vimalasūri in his *Paumacariya* has discarded some of the legendary conceptions found in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana* as too fanciful and unreliable[1]. Haribhadrasūri in his *Dhuttakkhāna* has criticized the mythological stories of the Purāņās in the same way[2]. Merutuṅga in his *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* described the mentality of the people in his day declaring that the oft-repeated mythological stories did not delight the minds of wise people[3].

The Buddhists, of course, made a great headway in the field of narrative literature. The big difference between Buddhist and Jain stories is, as J. Hertel has pointed out, that the Buddhist tales are always interwoven with some aspect of Buddha's past life, creating an impression of direct teaching, whereas the essential story element in Jain tales is preserved and the moral drawn only at the end[4].

The period from the 11th century to the 15th century A.D. was the most important and fruitful in the development of Jain literature. During that time Gujarat was under the Cālukyas, Malawa under the Parmaras, Rajasthan under the Guhilotas and Cāhamanas dynasties, which were all dominated by Jains.

The present chapter will be divided into two major sections. In the first we shall elaborate on the theme of romantic love within Jain literature in

---

general, and discuss why and how this particular wordly theme was so very popular. With this in mind, and emphasizing Saṅghadāsagaṇi Vācaka's VH (*Vasudevahiṇḍi*) throughout, we shall go on in the second section to discuss the Jains' absorption of techniques, characters and themes from the great body of popular literature, and how they created from this medium their own individual style and message.

I. The Kāma Theme

A. Types of stories

The commonly accepted order of virtues in ancient Indian literature is *dharma* (righteousness), *artha* (attainment of wealth), and *kāma* (love, or desire of sensual enjoyments). The *Ṭhāṇāṅga* gives preference to *artha* over *dharma*, followed by *kāma*[5]. The *Dasaveyāliya-Nijjutti* goes even further by placing *dharma* last of all on the virtue list[6]. The idea seems to be that one should first of all concentrate on worldy prosperity, then enjoy wordly pleasures and finally turn to a virtuous life. Since the Jains were always a mercantile community, and therefore were more attracted to stories relating to wealth, the above literary emphasis on *artha* is understandable. What is more problematical is why so many of the Jain stories are so rich in the theme of *kāma* or romantic love.

B. The prominence of romantic love stories

It is striking how the Jain authors, who strongly believed in renunciation and in general did not favour any contact with women at all could take such frequent recourse in love stories (*kāma-kathā*). The Jain monks are textually forbidden to indulge in love stories "flaming with the sentiment of sexual passions, blazing with infatuation and exciting the audience"[7]. The Buddha also issued instructions to his monks to look down upon meaningless tales regarding a king, a thief, a country or a woman[8]. The Jain canonical literature mentions four *vikathās* or irrelevant expressions concerning a woman, food, country or a king, to be avoided as a great hindrance to self-restraint[9].

So it is clear that love stories in and for themselves were frowned upon. But they abound in Jain literature. Several reasons for the romantic emphasis are offered by the Jain authors themselves.

The first was a question of holding the listeneer's interest. If the so-called irrelevant, irreligious love stories had no place in religious sermons, how were these sermons to be made lively enough to appeal to the common mind? Love stories were the solution: romantic tales could be offered first, followed eventually by moral-religious teaching when a receptive audience was assured. An illustrative story is told by Maladhāri Rājaśekharasūri in his

Vinodakathā, a collection of humourous tales: In order to save his son from bad company, a certain merchant entrusts him to a Jain monk. While pretending to listen to the monk's sermons the son instead counts the monk's Adam's apple as it goes in and out 108 times. The disappointed father sends him to another monk. This time the son counts a train of 108 ants entering their dwelling hole in the earth. Then the son is entrusted to the care of a third monk. This monk begins his sermons with fascinating stories about women. The young man is entranced and begins visiting this monk regularly; in the course of time he comes to accept the religious vows. The desired effect was thus created in the young mind[10]!

A far bolder concession to romantic love is found voiced by a character in Haribhadrasūri's *Samarāiccakahā*. The story's hero prince and his friends are totally engrossed in the sensual life. They admire the dramas, discuss the science of erotics (*Kāmaśāstra*), enjoy paintings, praise the union of the crane with his mate, reproach the ruddy goose, indulge in stories about women, enjoy water-sports and personal adornment, rock in swings, prepare flower beds and praise the god of love. One of the friends then claims that *kāma* is more important than the remaining three human aims (*artha, dharma, mokṣa*). He argues that only one who studies the science of erotics, gives delight to his wife who in turn can bear him a son, can then later on lead a virtuous life. Although at the end of the tale, as is customary, the prince elightens his friends and leads them to the righteous path of renunciation, the friend's attitude and argument set the romantic, sensual tone for the most part of story[11].

Another, more common technique was to disguise moral teachings in the form of love stories. In the introduction to his unpublished *MKH* (*Majjhimakhaṇḍa*), Dharmasenagaṇi Mahattara (only part I is published now in 1987) describes the problem in a very straightforward way. He affirms that people listening to popular love stories take delight in them exclusively, so that even the desire of listening to religious stories is not left in them. He compares such people to those under the effect of bilious fever, who taste even sweet things as bitter. Therefore in his opinion "as a physician administers his own nectar-like medicine to an unwilling patient under the pretext of giving what the patient desires, so should a virtuous story be told under the pretext of a love story[12].

Love stories under such a guise are extremely common in Jain literature. Sometimes the disguise is so good, however, that the moral or teaching element – often merely added to the ending of a traditional or folk tale – is difficult to find. For instance, Udyotanasūri calls his *Kuvalayamālā* (779 A.D.) a religious story, comparing it to a newly wedded bride in form and beauty[13]. The tale concerns the passionate desire of prince Kuvalayacandra to possess the beautiful princess Kuvalayamālā. He impatiently entertains all kinds of wild schemes for obtaining her, and finally manages to meet her in a

romantic bower. Here the prince receives the heroine in his arms, to her pleasant embarrassment.   Then comes the wedding ceremony, followed shortly after by the ceremony inside the bed chamber, which is decorated gorgeously and adorned with a charming white bedstead. The companions of the bride make a lot of fun at her.

This delicate situation is elabroated in great detail. As the friends begin leaving the bed chamber, the bride tries to follow them, bashfully crying out, "Where are you going and leaving me here all alone?" But when she also tries to leave, the prince catches her by the border of her garment and says, "If you want to go away you can, but you have to return my things, which you have stolen!"

"Have I stolen something of yours?" she retorts.
"Yes, my heart you have stolen, "he replies.
"You have stolen mine, "she retaliates.

At this point the companions are called back in to act as arbitrators. After a good deal of argument and dicussion, they decide that the couple should embrace each other heartily. This satisfying suggestion leads to the couple passing three nights in amorous fulfilment[14].

Of cource the story eventually ends with their both renouncing wordly life and sesnsual pleasures. This last pious sentiment has to make amends for the entire tale's lively remoantic tone.   It was an admirable literary and emotional feat of the Jains that they managed to incorporate such tales of life and love and with only minor adjustments be able to justify it as ascetic, edifying, and "religious".

II. Vasudevahiṇḍi

The VH by Saṅghadāsagaṇi Vācaka contains many such romantic episodes, and can only be called in this sense a religious story under the guise of love stories.

This work of antiquity – decidedly earlier than 600 A.D. – deals with the wanderings of Vasudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa, cousin brother of Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains. Vasudeva's tale is full of adventures and amorous episodes. Vasudeva's grandson once says to him: "O grandfather! After 100 years of wandering, we finally have our grandmothers! But just look at that Samba, who got 108 girls, collected originally for Subhānu, in no time at all!" At this Vasudeva retorts: "Samba is simply a frog in the well, satisfied with those who come easily to him; but the happiness and sorrow I have undergone during my wanderings would be hardly borne by any other person"[15].

The VH was composed in archaic Jain Maharashtri, and has been edited by Munis Caturavijaya and Punyavijaya in 1930-31, using 12 manuscripts. This work is incomplete and contains only 28 *lambhas* – the 19th and 20th are missing.

Dharmasenagaṇi, who is not a contemporary of Saṅghadāsagaṇi Vācaka, claims that since Vasudeva married 100 girls after wandering for 100 years, the VH ought to have contained 100 *lambhas*. Accordingly, in his MKH which is supposed to be the second part of the VH he has added another 71 *lambhas*[16]. Curiously enough, these *lambhas* are not added at the end of the work, but in the middle, after the 18th *lambha*. However, except for this model from Dharmasenagaṇi, we have no other reference to the original number of *lambhas* in the VH.

Amongst the non-canonical literature of the Jains, the VH seems to have been a model for later Jain writers. Jinaasena (783 A.D.) in his *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, and Hemacandra (12th century A.D.) in his TŚP (*Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-carita*) have similarly narrated various marriages of Vasudeva. Guṇabhadra (897 A.D.) and Puṣpadanta (10th century A.D.) have also recorded some of Vasudeva's marriges in the UP (*Uttara-purāṇa*) and the MP (*Mahā-purāṇa*) respectively. The story of Cārudatta and his adopted daughter Gandharvadattā has been described in Hariṣeṇa's BKK (*Bṛhat-kathā-kośa*) (931 A.D.), Nemicandrasūri's AMK (*Ākhyāna-maṇi-kośa*) (1073 A.D.) and Rāmacandra Mumukṣu's PKK (*Puṇyāsrava-kathā-kośa*) (between 931-1331 A.D.).

Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara (600-650 A.D.) in his *Āva-Cū* has not only referred to the VH but has quoted the work *verbatim* on several occasions[17]. Haribhadrasūri[18] (8th century A.D.) and Malayagiri[19] (12 century A.D.) have also mentioned this work in their commentaries on the *Āva-Cū*. A number of stories from the VH are also recorded in *Pariśiṣṭa-parvan* of Hemachandra[20] and other jain writers[21]. This certainly shows the significant role the VH played in the history and development of Jain narrative literature.

STORY OF A PROSTITUTE'S LOVE

As mentioned earlier and discussed at length in the first part of this paper, the VH abounds in stories of sensual romantic love. The following love story of Prince Samba and Suhiraṇṇā is a good example of this theme.

Suhiraṇṇā, the daughter of the prostitute Kalindaseṇā, falls in love with Prince Samba at first sight. Once when her mother is about to visit the royal palace, Suhiraṇṇā begs to accompany her. But the mother does not permit her daughter to visit the royal palace very often. Thus being disappointed in love, Suhiraṇṇā tries to commit suicide by hanging herself, but is saved by her friend. Questioned about her taking such a desperate step, she tells all about

her hopeless love, crying out with a broken heart that even a distance glance of the prince had become impossible.

Immediately a strategy is formed to bring the two together. Buddhiseṇa, one of Samba's good friends, is taken to the dwellings of the prostitutes, where young men and women are engaged in envious teasing and conciliatory talks. Buddhiseṇa is soon surrounded by several beautiful maidens, but none proves an attraction to him. Finally a young girl called Bhogamālinī appears, and asks him to enter an inner apartment where a bed is ready for resting. Buddhiseṇa goes there and stretches out on the bed. The young girl first massages his feet gently, then begins to massage his chest by pressing it with her breasts. She makes Buddhiseṇa enjoy sexual pleasures as a female elephant makes a male elephant enjoy them. Eventually she tells him the sad story of Suhiraṇṇā's suffering, and asks him to help. By this means Suhiraṇṇā is finally brought to prince Samba, who is advised not to hesitate to accept her just because she is a prostitute's daughter. Samba is told the past history of prostitutes by Buddhiseṇa, who stresses that they had always been royal attendants in the past and should be taken as belonging to the royal lineage. The full consent of Kṛṣṇa, Samba's father, is obtained, and Suhiraṇṇā is to be honoured along with the other princesses. Samba's mother, Queen Jambavatī, deputes female attendants with cosmetics, clothes, and jewellery, and later on the wedding with Suhiraṇṇā is celebrated along with other girls from royal families. Suhiraṇṇā is thus supplied with lawful wifely status[22], just as is the prostitute Vasantasenā in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*[23]. Illicit passion is not made the focal point, but rather the proper justification of overwhelming sensual attraction remains the theme, with even the kind-heartedness of professional prostitutes playing a role.

It is remarkable that this story, with exactly the same details, is also narrated in the BKŚS, the only difference being that the heroine Madanamañjukā falls in love with the hero, Naravāhanadatta[24], instead of Prince Samba. Indeed a detailed study of the VH and the BKŚS leads one to believe that both of them have derived their material from some common source, and that source could be the *Bṛhatkathā*. In this respect the VH can be highly valuable in the reconstruction of Guṇāḍhya's great work, which has unfortunately been lost to us.

INCORPORATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF BRAHAMANIC LEGENDS IN THE VASDEVAHIṆḌI

Like many other Jain works, the VH incorporates a great many tales and legends from Brahamanic mythology prevalent at the time. The many in which the famous Viṣṇu-Bali legend is treated serves as a good example.

A comparative study of the story told in the VH and the BKŚS reveals that the status of God Viṣṇu in the Vedic mythology has been transferred to

the celebrated Jain monk Visṣṇukumāra in the VH[25].

GANDHARVA MARRIAGE

The whole practice of kidnapping, or *gandharva* marriage as it was called, was quite common in those days, and is revealed throughout the VH where we come across stories of *vidyādharas* who kidnap the wife of others. It is because of the popularity of this simplest of marriages that Manu seemed to have been obliged to consider it one of the eight kinds of legal marriages.

The kidnapping of Rukmiṇī by Kṛṣṇa is of course a well-known legend, and it also finds a place in the VH. Rukmiṇī was betrothed to Śiśupāla, but her aunt sends a secret letter to Kṛṣṇa in Dvārakā, naming a meeting place. At the appointed time, Rukmiṇī under the pretext of worshipping Nāga, goes to the bank of the Varadā river and is carried away by Kṛṣṇa in his chariot[26].

Kṛṣṇa's father Vasudeva, the hero of the VH, is also married to a great number of girls by *gandharva* rites during the course of his wanderings, as well as winning wives through the *svayaṃvara* method. Since Vasudeva often faces a great deal of opposition and trials, the *svayaṃvara* sometimes becomes in effect *gandharva* marriage when he has to resort to simple violence or kidnapping to win the lady. A good example of this is the story of princess Rohiṇī's *svayaṃvara*, where a large number of distinguished kings and princes are present. Out to try his luck, Vasudeva also joins the assembly, carrying his musical drum. The female scribe introduces the eminent personalities to her mistress, but none of them interested her. At last, after hearing Vasudeva's drum music, the princess finds herself attracted to him, and places the garland around his neck. At this there is a great commotion in the assembly. One of the kings present taunts Rohiṇī's father by crying out, "So she has chosen a simple drummer! If you have no control over your family, why did you bother to invite the noble kings and princes?"

However the father answers, "In a *svayaṃvara*, the girl is free to choose whomever she best likes, so I cannot do anything about it." But this is not enough to satisfy the pride of the other contestants. Ultimately a fight ensues between Vasudeva and the assembled kings in which, of course, the girl is won by the hero[27].

The story of Agaḍadatta also contains a colourful example of *gandharva* marriage. Agaḍadatta, the son of a charioteer, is studying archery in Kosambī. Sāmadattā, a young lady from a neighbouring house, often disturbs him by throwing leaves and fruits at him. The young boy says to her: "I have come here to study and am staying in the house of my teacher. It would be a disgrace on my part if I were to encourage your love." The young lady replies: "If you do not give me shelter I am sure to die, tormented by your separation."

Then she adds: "Who is lustful?   He is not lustful who guards the family blemishes". After some time she is brought to the young man. Thrilled with joy he embraces her and leaves with her in his chariot.   Upon leaving Agaḍadatta cries out this challenge to anyone who might wish to oppose his abduction of the girl: "O beloved of the gods! If anybody wants to drink the milk of a new mother, come forward ! I, Agaḍadatta, am carrying away Sāmadattā"[28].

POPULAR TALES WITH A RELIGIOUS TINGE

Giving a religious colouring to popular tales and thereby making them fascinating or instructive for their followers was a great contribution of the Jains and Buddhists.

The parable of the honey drop (*madhu-bindu*) found in the VH is a good example[29].

There are many other such short stories and parables contained within the VH often with very explicit morals drawn in conclusion.   Many times, particularly in relating episodes within love stories, the idea of renunciation dominates.   Even the romantic story of Agaḍadatta ends in extolling renunciation, emphasising the infidelity of women. The general philosophical trend circumscribing the conclusions, if not the contents, of the Jain stories can be summarized in the verse:

> Every song is babbling;
> Every dance is deceit;
> All ornaments are burdens;
> All desirs bring pain[30].

Practically all the stories, or chapters, of the VH are interwoven with sub-stories, stories within stories, and various flash backs which describe previous births, usually narrated by some Jain monk, or underline a particular moral point.   Religious topics and terms are often brought into the story fabric itself, with mention made of *aṇuvrata* (the lesser vows), *mahāvrata* (the greater vows), the innovation of salutation (*namokāra-mantra*), the existence of the soul, the Aryan and non-Aryan *Vedas*, the biographies of the Tīrthaṅkaras and Cakravartins, the Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* and so on.

The Jain authors also moulded certain scenes of ordinary stories to emphasize a religious question or clarify a doctrine. A good example of this occurs in the adventurous story of Cārudatta found in the VH[31].

CONCLUSION

Unfortunately not only Guṇāḍhya's BK is lost to us, but there were other

important works, also dominated by love stories, which are no longer available. The commentary of *Nisi-Bhā* mentions *Nanavāhanadatta-kathā* as a popular love story and the *Tarangavatī*, the *Malayavatī* and the *Magadhasenā*, as extrordinary (*lokottara*) stories[32]. The *Tarangavaikahā* by Pādaliptasūri, a contemporary of Hāla, has received a great compliment from Udyotanasūri in his *Kuvalayamālā*[33]. This work, which seems to be the oldest composition on Jain narrative literature, is mentioned in the *Anuyogadvāra sūtrā*[34]. It deals with the love story of Tarangavatī and Padmadeva, who leave together on a boat and marry in accordance with *gandharva* rites. the *Malayavatī* is referred to along with the *Anangavatī*, the *Indulekhā*, the *Cānumatī*, the *Bṛhatkathā*, the *Mādhavikā*, the *Śakuntikā* and others in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* by Bhojarāja (993-1051 A.D.). He mainly quotes from Prakrit works dominated with romantic love sentiment.

Like the BKSS the VH is also incomplete. Despite its 12 manuscripts, it has come to us only in a corrupt and mutilated form. After careful study of its contents, it appears that there were additions and subtractions made to it from time to time. It is possible that Sanghadāsagaṇi Vācaka was not the real author of the work, but just a redactor; in the case, the date of the VH would have to be considrably pushed back to the 3rd or the 4th century A.D[35].

We may never know why so many of these Jain works are lost or incomplete. It may be the unavoidable ravages of time, or it may possibly have to do with the effects of prejudice against the kinds of romantic and erotic literature that flourished among the early authors. Is it then perhaps possible that because the later Jain writers preferred directly religious stories and looked down on works dominated with the love theme, that so many of these important compositions are now unfoirtunately lost to us?

NOTES

1. II. 117, *PTS*, 1962.
2. Edity by A.N. Upadhya, *SJS*, 1944.
3. Introduction, p.1, *SJS*, 1933.
4. See J. Hertel: *On the Literature of the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarqt*, Leipzig, 1922.
5. 3, 189.
6. 3, 188.
7. Ibid, 212.
8. See *Vinayapiṭaka, Mahāvagga* (5.7.15, p.208), Nalanda ed.
9. *Ṭhā.* 282; *Sama.* 4.
10. Story 1.
11. *Bhavq* 9.
12. P.3 (pp.1-2 printed edition), the manuscript partly edited by late Muni Punya Vijaya, in the possession of the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, a photocopy of which was brought by the author to the Seminar für Orientalistik, Abteilung für Indologie, Universität Kiel, for his studies in 1970.
13. 8, 18, p.4.
14. *Ibid*, pp. 158-173.

15. *VH*, p.110, 19-23.
16. P.4 (printed ed. pp.2-3).
17. I, pp.,164,460; II, p. 324.
18. p.146.
19. P.218.
20. See Jacobi, Synoptic Table, pp.viii-x, second ed., Calcutta, 1932.
21. Compare the story of testing the sage Jamadagni by two heavenly gods assuming the forms of two birds in the VH (p.236) with that of the BKK (59,45-76) of Hariṣeṇa.
22. VH, pp. 101-04.
23. See Act X.
24. See X.1-265; XI. 1-106; XII. 83-84.
25. See further "The Adaptation of Viṣṇu-Bali legend by Jain writers," pp. 105-110.
26. *VH*, pp. 80-82.
27. *Ibid*, pp.364-365; also p.307, 10.
28. *Ibid*,pp.35-42.
29. See further "Some Old Tales and Episodes in the Vasudevahiṇḍi", pp.79-84
30. *Ibid*, 105, 14-15; 166-167:

सव्वं गीयं विलबियं सव्वं नट्टं विडंबियं ।
सव्वे आभरणा भारा सव्वे कामा दुहावहा ।।

   cf. *Uttarā*, 13.16
31. See further "Some Popular Jain Tales and World Literature", pp.90-96.
32. 8.2343; 16.5211.
33. 6.20, p.3.
34. 130.
35. See author's 'Introduction' to his *The Vasudeva (The Vasudevahiṇḍi — An Authentic Jain Version of the Brhatkathā)*, under the title "the antiquity of the Vasudevahiṇḍi".

2

IS VASUDEVAHIṆḌI A JAIN VERSION
OF THE BṚHATKATHĀ?*

The *BK* of Guṇāḍhya is lost to us and perhaps there are no chances of its restoration. Before the publication of the *BKŚS* of Budhasvāmin in 1908, Somadeva's *KSS* (*Kathā-sarit-sāgara*) and Kṣemendra's *BKM* (*Bṛhat-kathā-mañjarī*) were considered true versions of the *BK*, but Locôte in his "Essay on Guṇāḍhya and Bṛhatkathā" has shown that 9/10th of the above works do not represent *BK*. In his opinion the two Kashmirian versions exhibit two different independent sources and *BKŚS* is more authentic than *BK*.

The publication of the *VH* by Saṅghadāsagaṇi Vācaka which came out in 1930-31 has thrown new light on the study of the lost *BK*. This prose work in archaic Maharashtri Prakrit has been edited with the use of 12 manuscripts. Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara (6th century A.D.) not only mentions this work but has quoted it *verbatim* in his *Āva-Cū*. The wanderings (*hiṇḍi*) of Vasudeva and his marriages accounted in the *VH* have been described by Jinasena, by Guṇabhadra, by Puṣpadanta and by Hemacandra. The story of Cārudatta and his adopted daughter Gandharvadattā, elaborately told in the *VH*, also finds a place in the works of Hariṣeṇa, Nemicandrasūri, Rāmacandra Mumukṣu, and Hemacandra. This demonstrates a considerable popularity of the *VH* with the Jain authors. As far as Jain narrative literature and the history of the Great Men (*Śalākā-puruṣa*) are concerned, the place of the *VH* is unique in the non-canonical literature of the Jains. Here the stories of the *vidyādharas*, which are more interesting than human beings or even gods, are woven into the Kṛṣṇa legend.

Unfortunately the *VH*, like the *BKŚS*, is also incomplete; it is missing its 19th and 20th *lambhas*. The work is divided into 6 sections, the last of which is missing. From the contents of the work it appears that there were additions and subtractions in it from time to time.

The *VH*, also contains the second part by Dharmasenagaṇi, known as

MKH. It contains 71 *lambhas*. The author belongs to a later date than Saṅghadāsagaṇi Vācaka. It is interesting to note that Dharmasenagaṇi preferred to add his *lambhas*, in the middle (after the 18th *lambha*) of the *VH* instead of adding them at the end of the incomplete work. It is also important that the 18th *lambha*, just before the missing *lambhas*, is the most corrupt and difficult to understand.

During the last several decades the *VH* has drawn scholars' attention all over the world. The late Ludwig Alsdorf of Hamburg University read out a paper on the lost *BK* of Guṇāḍhya at the 19th International Oriental Conference held in Rome in 1935. He also published some paper on the subject. Sten Konow of Oslo University, besides contributing an article on the *Bṛhatkathā*, published an abridged translation of the *VH* in Norwegian. Bhogilal Sandesara published a Gujarati translation of the *VH* and presented its cultural data[1]. De Jong of Lyden University published another article on the *VH*. The present author delivered a course of three lectures on behalf of the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad in 1971, published in Hindi under the title *The Development of Prakrit Jain Narrative Literature*.

The publication of the *BKŚS* by Felix Lacôte with its French translation and his Essay on Guṇāḍhya have proved significant in the study of the lost *BK*. Unfortunately, only one-fourth of this important work is available, comprising of 28 chapters, which give an account of only 6 of the 26 marriages of Naravāhanadatta, an emperor of Cakravartins. The story of Sānudāsa (Sānudāsa-kathā), which forms an integral part of *Gandharvadattā-lambha* is elaborately told here. This account and several other narrations of the *BKŚS* are so identical with the accounts in the *VH* that by careful reading one is able to correct the doubtful pieces of the other. Naravāhanadatta and Sānudāsa of the *BKŚS* play the role of Vasudeva and Cārudatta respectively in the *VH*, and Madanamañjukā, the heroine of the *BKŚS*, is designated as Suhiraṇṇā in the *VH*.

Lacôte has pointed out that some words of the *BKŚS* are decidedly Prakrit, and some are mentioned only by lexicographers, and that Budhasvāmin's language reveals a taste for archaism and a perfect knowledge of Pāṇini. In this respect a comparative study of the *VH* and the *BKŚS* is fascinating. The astonishing similarity between both these works convinces us that both must have derived their material from some common source, which can only the *BK*.

Take the story of Gandharvadattā details of which are extremely similar in both versions, whereas the tale is very much condensed in the *KSS* and *BKM*. This story must have been the original part of the *BK*.

The first-person narration of Cārudatta (Sānudāsa) incorporates his birth, the company of his friends, participation in a festival, cutting the lotus

leaves, a discussion about the footprints, proceeding to a grove, finding a *vidyādhara* (Amitagati) nailed to a tree, application of life-restoring medicines, the kindnapping of the *vidyādharī* and the *vidyādhara's* flight in pursuit of his enemy are episodes common in both, whereas they find no place in the *KSS* or the *BKM*.

The same is the case with Cārudatta's (Sānudāsa's) further narration. He is made to drink lotus mead (*puṣkara-madhu*), dwells in the house of the prostitute Vasantatilakā (Gaṅgadattā), spends all his wealth, is driven out of the house by the prostitute's mother, is prevented by the doorkeeper to reenter his own house, his reunion with his mother and wife and his departure to earn money are all common. Then Cārudatta begins his adventurous journey. He deals in cotton which is burnt by a mouse knocking over a wick from a burning lamp. While proceeding to Tāmralipti he is attacked by robbers (*pulindas*). In the company of merchants he crosses over inaccessible mountains and rivers by following various tracks such as the nail-track (*śaṅku-patha*), the creeper-track (*vetra-patha*) and the goat-track (*aja-patha*). After arriving in the country of the Ṭaṅkaṇas (Kirātas) they purchase goats and slip into the sacks made of goat skin. Then they are carried by *bhāruṇḍa* birds to the island of Ratnadvīpa. Cārudatta falls into a pond, but he cuts open the sack with his knife and gets out. He arrives at Campā where he joins his mother, his wife and Vasantatilakā who is waiting for him there. These details are almost identical in both versions, although the exact sequence of events differs at times.

According to Lacôte the marriage of Madanamañjukā, daughter of a harlot, with the prince supplies us with a most decisive proof of the superior accuracy of the *BKŚS*. Like Vasantasenā of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, who is raised to the status of a lawful wife of Cārudatta, Madanamañjukā is also awarded a royal origin in the *BKŚS*. Curiously enough, the same status has been allotted to Suhiraṇṇā, a counterpart of Madanamañjukā in the *VH*, whereas she has been assigned an insignificant role in the Kashmirian versions.

The only difference is that in the *VH* Suhiraṇṇā has been snatched from Vāsudeva, the hero, and transferred to Samba, son of Kṛṣṇa. Otherwise the details of the story, such as falling in love with the prince at a young age, participating in a dance competition, the division of men in accordance with wealth, religion and desire, the entry into a dwelling place of prostitutes, entertainment by Bhogamālinī (Padmadevikā) first by massaging the feet and then by pressing with the breasts, the narration of her mistress' sufferings, Suhiraṇṇā's attempt at suicide, Buddhisena's (Gomukha's) carrying the message to the prince, the origin of prostitutes, the union with the prince and the wedding are all one and the same in both versions, with the exception of the later abduction of Madanamañjukā, which is described only the *BKŚS*.

Another strikingly exact resemblance is the story of Kokkāsa (Pukvasa in

the *BKŚS*) who learned the art of building flying-machines from the Greek artists. Under no circumstances was he prepared to divulge this secret to anyone, and when he was pressed for it by his father-in-law, he disappeared with his wife to some unknown place. This reference and other references about the contacts between India and Greece have led Winternitz to remark that Guṇāḍhya's work was written during the 1st century A.D.

There are other identical narrations in the *VH* and the *BKŚS* which are worth noticing:

The marriage of Nīlayaśā of the *VH* bears resemblance to the marriage of Ajinavatī in the *BKŚS*. The meeting of the cowherds outside the village mentioned in the chapter of *Ajinavatī-lābha* in the *BKŚS* finds a place in *Somasiri-lambha* of the *VH*. As Gomukha (Āryakaniṣṭha) goes in search of Naravāhanadatta (Āryajyeṣṭha), so does Aṃśumān (brother of Vasudeva's wife) go in search of Vasudeva. The chapter *Puṇḍrā-lambha* of the *VH* has interesting similarities to *Priyadarśanā-lābha* (comprising 21-27 chapters of the *BKŚS*). Vasudeva and Aṃśumān decide to visit Bhadrilāpura (Vārāṇasī in the *BKŚS*). On their way Vasudeva asks Āryakaniṣṭha to tell some interesting story to relieve their fatigue (here types of stories are described in both). After reaching their destination, Āryakaniṣṭha goes in search of a resting place in the city and makes some money in a gambling house. They meet Nanda and Sunanda (Nanda and Upananda), the two renowned cooks. They come across a nun (Ṛṣidattā in the *BKŚS*), a follower of the Jain religion. Aṃśumān (Gomukha) marries Sutārā (Ṛṣidattā). After singing a song in an assembly of citizens Vasudeva falls ill and no physician can cure him. It is discovered that since the time he saw a young king (Priyadarśana) in the music assembly, he was feeling love-stricken. This young king was born as a maiden, but after some medicine was thrust into her thigh (in the *BKŚS* some magic plant was tied around her neck), she appeared like a young boy. Vasudeva pays tributes to Aṃśumān (Naravāhanadatta to Gomukha; the words are almost identical). Vasudeva marries Puṇḍrā (Priyadarśanā).

It is noteworthy that these episodes are totally absent in the Kashmirian versions.

Lacôte pointed out in his Essay that the work of Guṇāḍhya had been continually altered, not only in language but also in subject matter. So there is no wonder if the authors of the *VH* and the *BKŚS* have utilised the material from the *BK* as it was available to them. Winternitz thinks that Buddhasvāmin stands closer to the work of Guṇāḍhya than its Kashmirian version does.

The work of Guṇāḍhya was such a fantastic novel of adventures that it could not be overpassed by Jain authors. But the question was how to adjust it to their traditional framework, since the universal history comprising 63

Great Men was already accepted. So instead of disturbing Kṛṣṇa's legend they made Vasudeva, Kṛṣṇa's father, a hero so that during his wanderings they could utilise interesting material of the *BK* and insert their own traditional history.

As a result the biography of the Tīrthaṅkaras, Cakravartins, Baladevas, Vāsudevas and Prativāsudevas was added in between the narration. The story of Pippalāda, composer of the *Atharvaveda*, and the story of the Jain monk Viṇhukumāra, which seems to have been based on the Brahmanic Viṣṇu-Bali legend[2], were inserted during the course of Cārudatta's self-narration. During the story of Dhammillahiṇḍi, which seems to be a later addition, the story of the monk Agaḍadatta and the story of Kokkāsa, taken out from its proper context, were introduced. The legend of Kṛṣṇa was made colourful by adding the accounts of Pradyumna, Samba and Subhāṇu and a number of religious and secular tales were inserted to make the work more interesting.

Regarding the date, Locôte has placed Budhasvāmin in the 8th or 9th century A.D., but the structure of his language rather puts him in the Gupta period. With regard to the *VH*, Alsdorf in his article "Vasudevahiṇḍi a Specimen of Archaic Jain Maharashtri" printed in 1936-7, pushes its date close to the canonical text of the Jains. In his opinion, the *VH* is a Jain version of the *BK*, independent of the two Kashmirian and Nepalese versions, and highly valuable for the reconstruction of the lost *BK*. Then the old *veḍha* metre, often used in the *VH* and unknown outside the Jain Canons, is considered by him another proof of the antiquity of this version.

As mentioned above, the wanderings of Vasudeva are described by Jinasena, Hemachandra and other Jain writers with small variations to the *VH*. It is possible that the *VH* had more than one version and in that case Saṅghadāsagaṇi Vācaka can be taken as a redactor of the text and not its author. That the present edition based on 12 manuscripts is still corrupt reflects its long text history.

Locôte in his Essay has referred to the story of Gandharvadattā mentioned in Tawney's translation of *Kathākośa*, but unfortunately he made no reference to Hemacandra's *TŚP* which gives details of Vasudeva's marriages. Had he known it he would have given due consideration to the Jain version of the lost *BK*.

NOTES

1. Dr. B.J. Sandesara submitted a peper entitled "Cultural Data in the Vasudevahiṇḍi, a Prakrit story-book by Saṅghadāsagaṇi (circa 5th century A.D.)" before the 25th International Congress of Orientalists, Moscow, 1960 and the same was published in the *JOIB* Vol.X, No.1.
2. See Further 'The Adaptation of Viṣṇu-Bali Legend by Jain writers", pp. 105-110.

3

STORIES OF TRADING MERCHANTS AND THE VASUDEVAHIṆḌI*

Introduction: The Importance of wealth

The ancient authors of Jain narrative literature very often centered their tales around heroes whose essential task was going out in the world to gain wealth. Far from decrying this aim in life, as one might expect after perusal of certain ascetic religious tenets of Jainism, the Jain authors lauded the goal with enthusiasm. Restrained by a proper respect for religion and an eventual turn towards renunciation in old age, the active pursuit of wealth by young men was considered more than honourable; it appeared often to be viewed almost as a supreme moral duty.

We are told in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* (circa 3rd or 4th century A.D.) that "one who enjoys himself and at the same time can add to the wealth of his forefathers is the best, one who at least doesn't let his forefather's wealth diminish is average, and he who exhausts all the wealth of the family is the worst kind of man". (101, 20-22).

Heroic youths are those who passionately believe in this maxim, and need not be sermonized or heckled into earning wealth by their parents, but rather insist on doing so themselves. Udyotanasūri narrates in his *KVLM* a story of a rich merchant's son who begs leave from his father in order to earn his fortune in trade. The father replies: "O my son! I myself possess a huge amount of wealth, which will last for many generations to come. You don't have to worry about earning any more".

But the son retorts: "O father! Whatever money we possess is by no means ours. I wish to earn my wealth by my own strength of arms". (65, 127, 2-12; 128, 15-18).

A similar story has been told by Somaprabhasūri in the *Kumāravāla-paḍiboha*. When Sundara, the son of a merchant, attains youth, he begins thinking of earning money by making a trip to a foreign country. He goes to his mother and argues with her for her permission by saying: "O

---

mother! The wretched man who does not earn money in his youth is as useless
as a fleshy nipple hanging down from the neck of a goat. A wise man should
never depend on his forefathers' wealth. If new wealth is not added to the old,
it perishes even though huge, the way an ocean in want of additional river
water would eventually dry up". Ultimately, the mother allows her son to
leave the country (3, 245).

The same idea is revealed in another episode contained elsewhere, when
Sāgaradatta, a merchant's son, is spontaneously moved to give a festival actor
a large sum of money for his fine performance. But someone in the audience
remarks: "Is it creditable for a merchant's son to announce such a prize, since
the money belongs to his forefathers and not to him?

The saying goes:

> "Praiseworthy is he who gives money
> earned by his own strength;
> Otherwise he is as good as a thief."
> (*KVLM* 103, 185, 15-23, 104, 4).

One is, however, occasionally allowed to thieve to earn wealth, as long as
it is performed by oneself, since the vigorous emphasis on materialistic
individualism does not always overlap with other moral codes of society.
People were not so scrupulous about the means of obtaining wealth as long as
it was done by one's own efforts and added to the family fortune. A wide
assortment of means for gaining wealth is listed in the *Das Nir.* (3.188),
including learning art, courage, hoarding, tact, appeasement, punishment,
disunion and bribery. The *KVLM* also offers us another good example of this
point. Thāṇu and Māyāditya, two friends, are discussing about their future.
Thāṇu remarks: "O friend! One who has not achieved any one of the three
human ends is worthless. We are not giving any charity, so we are deprived of
virtue (*dharma*), and we do not possess any money (*artha*), which hinders us
from gratifying our desires (*kāma*)! Therefore let us go out and earn money.

To this Māyāditya replies: "O friend! in that case Vārāṇasī is the best
place to go. There we can make money by playing dice, committing burglary,
picking pockets and employing other fraudulent means."

Thāṇu then elaborates even more means of earning money, adding that
wealth could also be gained by visiting foreign countries, making friends,
serving a king, being shrewd in receiving honour and dishonour, minerology,
alchemy, employing charms, propitiating the gods, sea-voyages, digging a
mountain mine and by trade. The two eventually set out on a long journey to
seek their fortune, crossing various mountains, rivers, and forests on their way
(57, 113, 11-26).

Many Jain stories are in fact detailed narratives of such journeys, where the main characters employ their wit and cunning as well as plain struggle for survival against a vast assortment of human and natural obstacles to attain earthly prosperity. Part of the religious reasoning behind this emphasis was contained in the remark made by Thāṇu: without wealth, one could not be sufficiently charitable or virtuous to attain a meritorious life or *dharma*. Money, then, was simply a means to obtain eventual virtue and happiness (*dhanād-dharmas-tataḥ sukhaṃ*). However this point is not made clear in all the narrations.

Elsewhere we have illustrated and explained the prominence of *kāma* or romantic love in Jain tales, a theme which also had its adherents in the name of forwarding religion and *dharma*. Here we would like to explore the honoured position given to *artha-kathā*, or attainment of worldly prosperity, found in much of Jain literature, and its contribution to the development of trading merchants as heroic figures.

Adventures of Jain Merchants

The Jain merchants or their sons who set out in search of wealth travelled in caravans and visited far-off countries by land and water, facing many real dangers on the way. They risked their lives passing through inaccessible mountains, rivers, and forests, where there was always the added fear of wild animals, robbers and pirates.

The daily difficulties and adventurous experiences of these merchants are recorded in many ancient Jain tales dealing with the theme of *artha-kathā*, or gathering wealth. Of course the stories are highlighted with extraordinary events and improbable adventures to make them more exciting, but the essential description of the hardships such business ventures entailed, and the risks involved in travelling through harsh landscapes amongst stange peoples, can tell us a great deal about the actual history and practice of Jain merchants at the time. Lives were lost on such journeys and many sufferings undergone, but fortunes were also made through lucrative overseas trade, which was considered well worth the high risks involved.

The careful precautions taken before a sea-voyage highlight the awareness of danger which the merchants had on setting out from home. The details of preparation are recorded in Jain canonical literature (*Nāyā*, 8; see also *VH*, 253, 15; KVLM 67-68; *Samarāiccakahā* 4). After loading the ship with various merchandise to sell and commodities for the journey, the sea-fairing merchants would mark the ship with the stamp of their hand dipped in red sandalwood, burn incense, worship the seawinds, raise white flags on the mast, observe the omens and finally after securing the royal passport would board the ship amidst the beating of drums.

Ceremonial prayers and precautions did not prevent some tragedies from happening, however, and in practically every Jain tale of travel something goes amiss. An ancient Buddhist work (*Divyāvadāna*, XVIII.229) mentions some of the most common dangers of a sea-voyage as those from whales, waves, a tortoise, destruction on land or in water, underwater rocks, cyclones and pirates. Shipwrecks in general were very common, and occur often in Jain tales. For instance, in the Jain canonical work, the *Nāyā* (17) we are told of a vessel that was terribly tossed about a sea due to a mighty cyclone (*kālikā-vāta*), and the passengers, losing all hope for life, began propitiating deities such as Indra, Skanda and so on. Ships were also attacked by whales of enormous size known as *timiṅgala* ("swallowing the ocean"), and other water animals which could not be prevented by beating drums or burning fire (Guṇacandragaṇi's *Kahārayaṇa-kosa*, Sujayarājarṣi-kathānaka). We are also told (in Ratnaśekharasūri's *Sirivāla-kahā*) that when the ship did not make any progress even at full sail, then a person was offered to the deity to propitiate the sea-god.

Prosperity Lies in Human Efforts

In spite of such tremendous difficulties and dangers, the merchants were determined to achieve worldly prosperity and refused to give up their efforts. In Campā, two merchant sons had undertaken sea-voyages eleven times, but they desired to take still another voyage to the Indian Ocean (Lavaṇasamudra; *Nāyā* 9). The *Mahājanaka-Jātaka* (539, 35-36) records an interesting dialogue between the hero and Maṇimekhalā, a well-known South Indian sea-deity, testifying to the courage and determination of Mahājanaka. Except for Mahājanaka all the other passengers had lost their lives in a shipwreck. The coast was nowhere to be seen, but Mahājanaka nevertheless was struggling hard to reach the shore. Seeing him fighting the waves the deity cries, "O passenger! The ocean is fathomless and you will die before reaching the shore!" But Mahājanaka is not disheartened. He simply replies, "O deity! Why are you saying this to me? Even if I die, I will have been able to save myself from public condemnation. No, as long as there is strength and energy left in me, I will continue making efforts to cross the ocean!"

In Udyotanasūri's *KVLM* (66, 129, 7-10; 130, 18-24) we find a rich and colourful argument supporting the entrepreneurial spirit and praising the rewarding value of steady efforts. It was known that precious stones could be easily secured in Ratnadvīpa, but the sea-journey itself was full of peril and insecurity. The hero Lobhadeva is determined to undertake the journey at any cost, the kernel of his argument being that there cannot be any happiness without taking risk. His following statement could become a supportive model to anyone undertaking a difficult task, but for merchants about to undergo dangers for the sake of prosperity it is particularly apt. Lobhadeva tells his companions: "As Lakṣmī, the wife of Viṣṇu, leaves her husband and

goes away, similarly the one who makes no effort is abandoned by the goddess of wealth, and one who does make an effort is welcomed by her. As a devoted wife, whose husband mistakenly calls her by his lover's name (*gotra-skhalana*) leaves her husband in embarrassment, similarly the goddess of wealth, even after embracing a man, abandons him if he is found devoid of impetuousness. As a new bride from a noble family looks at her husband bashfully while he is occupied in something else, similarly the goddess of wealth casts her glances at a person, knowing that he is busy elsewhere. As a woman who goes to meet her lover (*abhisārikā*) rests on his chest, similarly the goddess of wealth rests on the chest of one who, even in a difficult situation, does not give up endeavours once begun. As a wife whose husband has gone abroad (*proṣita-patikā*) accepts her husband after his return, so does the goddess of wealth accept the one who has subdued her by prudence and valour. As a woman whose husband is guilty of infidelity (*khaṇḍita-mahilā*) puts him to humiliation, so does the goddess of wealth humiliate the one who does not hold fast to the work he has begun".

The Journey of Cārudatta

The story of Cārudatta contained in the *VH* is essentially the story of a man who has lost all his wealth, pride, and honour, and by journeying to foreign lands not only seeks to reinstate his former prosperity but also his worthiness as a son and husband. The tale is a prime example of the kinds of stories we have been discussing, unique only in its total degradation of the hero before his travels and the extremely rich variety of adventurous experiences which he has before returning home. Cārudatta's attempt to regain wealth and pride are prompted and supported by that determined faith in individualistic assertion so well expressed in the metaphors of Lobhadeva.

A brief recapitulation of the major episodes in the Cārudatta's story can illustrate some of the important aspects of the *artha-kathā* theme as well as reveal some of the other particular characteristics of Jain narrative literature. It is interesting to note here that this very same story under the title of *Sānudāsa-kathā*, is also told in the *BKŚS* of Budhasvāmin. A comparison of the two versions can lead to extremely interesting literary and historical insights.

Cārudatta is born the son of a well-off Jain merchant in Campā and has a happy childhood. His downfall occurs as a young man, when he is cunningly entrusted to the beautiful prostitute Vasantatilakā. During his extended stay with her he manages to completely exhaust all his wealth, and he is eventually thrown out by the prostitute's mother. To his surprise and horror he finds that his family's house has been sold and that his mother and wife are living miserably in the slums.

At this point Cārudatta decides to make up for all the sufferings and

wrongs which his self-indulgence had inflicted on his family, and he declares
to his mother: "O mother! people are calling me a good for nothing, and so I
must leave town and return only after acquiring wealth; if I don't succeed,
then I shall never return." His mother tries hard to dissuade him from going,
but Cārudatta is adamant. He asserts: "O mother, don't talk like this. I am
the son of Bhānu, how can I stay at home and be supported by you?" One
may notice here that what mostly worries Cārudatta is the social pressure
against his previous behaviour and the reputation of the family which he now
wants to live up to.

Cārudatta immediately sets out on his journey, and here his personal
troubles begin. He starts by buying and selling cotton, which was cheap and
yielded high profits. He purchased a large stock of cotton but unfortunately a
mouse sets the piles ablaze by overturning the flame of a burning lamp, and
everything is lost.

Undaunted, Cārudatta does not give up; he fortifies himself by saying, "I
must not give up my efforts and return home now, as prosperity dwells in
exertion (*ucchāhe siri vasati*). A poor man is as good as dead. A wise man
humiliated by his own men lives on somehow". He is determined to make
something of himself, even in the face of temptations which would bring
immediate relief to his financial affairs. In the *BKŚS* version of the story (18,
220-242), upon arriving in Tāmralipti the hero Sānudāsa visits his uncle, who
places a large amount of money at his nephew's disposal and advises him to
return to his mother. But Sānudāsa declines the offer, protesting that it is
improper for the uncle to encourage a healthy person like himself to live off
somebody else's wealth. He quotes a verse saying: "One who lives with his
mother on the money of his maternal uncle is simply kept alive by them and is
just as good as impotent"[1].

And so Cārudatta makes preparations for a sea-voyage, and sets sail for
the country of China. From there he proceeds to Suvarṇabhūmi (the region
east of the Bay of Bengal), and after wandering about in the eastern and
southern cities he visits Kamalapura (Khmer in Central Asia) and
Yavanadvīpa (Java). After doing business in Siṃhala (Ceylon) he arrives in
Babbara (Barbaricon) and Yavana (Alexandria) in the west. From there he
proceeds to the shores of Saurāṣṭra, where he meets with a bad shipwreck and
only after seven terrible nights clinging to a wooden plank, he finally reaches
the shores of Umbarāvatī.

Again Cārudatta is left with nothing but his own life, but he still does not
give up. Instead, he purchases screens, ornaments, dye, red garments and
bangles to sell and once more sets out with a caravan. They cross the river at
the confluence of Sindhusāgara (the port of western barbaricon), and passing
through the north-east they arrive in the lands of Hūṇas, Khasas, and Cīnas.

Here begins the most difficult part of the journey, when the merchants are forced to travel through inaccessible mountains and over dangerous rivers. At one point they cross the ridge of a mountain whose peak is shaped like the edge of a broken hatchet. The entire region has to be crossed by *śanku-patha* or spike-tracks, where the mountainous ascents can only be negotiated by scaling the heights with the help of spikes carefully driven into the mountainside. Falling into the deep fathomless lake below was a constant danger, particularly when the climbers' hands became sweaty with the exertion and they lost grip on the spikes. For this reason they all carried packets of *tumburu* powder with them, which could be applied to the hands for a better grip.

Later on the caravan has to cross a treacherously deep and swift river by catching hold of cane thickets on the river bank and swinging over to the other side when the wind is blowing just right. Overcoming his fear and intent upon acquiring wealth by his own strength, Cārudatta successfully completes this part of the journey as well.

They exchange their goods in the country of the Ṭaṅkaṇas (the Kashgar area of Central Asia), and receive saddled goats and fruits in return. Their route continues through the mountains, and they have to follow a dreadful, high, narrow path known as *aja-patha* or the goat-track, which is so horrible that they ride their goats with their eyes bandaged shut, since a man could not stand seeing such danger.

The very final leg of the journey demands incredible courage and daring. The caravan leader instructs the merchants to kill their goats, eat the flesh and climb into the bloody skin bags. In this disguise the huge flesh-eating *bhāruṇḍa* birds would mistake them for raw meat and carry them off to their destination, Ratnadvīpa, in their beaks. Once in Ratnadvīpa, the merchants could collect enough jewels to make their fortune[2].

At this point in the *VH* version, we come to an incident with definite religious overtones and a moral lesson. After hearing the leader's amazing instructions, Cārudatta, as a devotee of the Jain religion, refuses to indulge in committing such violence, and he lodges a firm protest against such heinous deeds. He claims that had he known the plan beforehand, he would never had joined the caravan on such a venture, arguing that he at least could not kill the very goat who had enabled him to pass through the impenetrable mountains and forests. But his efforts fail to dissuade the leader from his fixed plan, and although Cārudatta threatens to commit suicide rather than destroy the animal, the other merchants protest and make ready to kill the goat. Cārudatta then becomes resigned and decides that if he cannot save the goat's life, he could at least manage to save his soul. While the animal gazes at him timidly, Cārudatta preaches a sermon on piety, renunciation, and forgiveness, which appears to effect the goat before he is slaughtered by the others. Later

on the efficacy of Cārudatta's preaching is confirmed when he meets the reincarnated soul of the goat in the form of a heavenly god. It is worthy to mention here that in the *BKŚS* version of the story, the caravan leader inspires Sānudāsa to kill his own goat by reciting verses from the *Bhagavadgītā*, as Arjuna was inspired to violence by the words of Kṛṣṇa.

After this religiously-tinged interlude, Cārudatta's good fortune runs out. The *bhāruṇḍa* birds carrying him in his goat-skin start fighting and let go of their quarry, so that Cārudatta drops into a large pool, far away from his destination of Ratnadvīpa. He is unhurt, but as penniless as before. Deeply disappointed and dejected, blaming no one for his fate except his own previous *karmas*, Cārudatta decides to commit suicide. His intention is cut short, however by the sudden meeting with a mountain ascetic who recognises him, a *vidyādhara* whose life Cārudatta had previously saved as a young boy. With the help of the *vidyādhara's* two sons, and heavenly gods (including the reborn soul of the goat and the soul of another man to whom he had preached while he was dying), Cārudatta is brought back to prosperity and honour.

His adventures end on a positive note. It is perhaps somewhat ironic that the man who was so determined to live up to his father's good name and earn wealth and honour by his own efforts in the end accepts the aid of gods and *vidyādharas* alike. His actual personal efforts at gaining wealth had failed. But Cārudatta's final good fortune, seen in a morally consequential perspective, need not be viewed as pure chance or luck. Certainly the author meant it otherwise. Although the sufferings and hardships of his journey do not in themselves reward him with wealth and happiness, his previous acts of compassion and religious concern are rewarded, since the gods and *vidyādharas* who come to his aid in the end are all persons whom Cārudatta had spontaneously helped in some way at some time. In a religious sense of justice, Cārudatta simply had to go through the "penance" of a long, difficult, and fruitless journey before his previous good actions could make up for his previous indulgence. And reunited with his family, honoured by the citizens and blessed with wealth, Cārudatta naturally becomes a good and pious family man.

As the Cārudatta story shows, traders and merchants acted as connecting links from one country to another. In literature this is especially apparent: not only did individual stories find their way to other countries through oral transmission of tourists and traders, but a great number of important Indian works became common to people of different countries through adaptation and translation.

If Indian stories and ideas travelled to far-off lands, Indians also got their share in turn. Merchants and travellers exchanged new views, art forms, mechanical inventions, medicines, food and spices with the Middle East, Central and Southeast Asia. Widened contacts with different peoples

broadened the horizons and understanding of the travellers, who could share their new knowledge and experiences amongst their own people. Buddhist merchants spread their cultural ideas throughout Asia, for instance, which had a profound lasting effect on the area. The rich experiences resulting from the Indian merchants' entrepreneurial spirit of adventure was certainly just as much a reward for them and their people as the wealth they sought.

NOTES

1. Compare *Śukasaptati* (7):

उत्तमाः स्वगुणैः ख्याता, मध्यमाश्च पितुर्गुणैः।
अधमा मातुलैः ख्याता, श्वशुरैश्चाधमाधमाः॥

2. A close parallel is found in the Sindabad legends of the *Arabian Nights*.

4

VIDYĀDHARAS IN THE VASUDEVAHIṆḌI*

The *vidyādharas*[1], or masters of magic art, are endowed with supernatural power. They are essentially spirits of the air and are described as travelling in heavenly cars. According to the Jains, they are devotees of the Jain religion and often visit Jain holy places situated high in the Himalayas. They seem to be amiable beings and friends of the oppressed. They dwell in the Himalayas, where they have their own cities, kings, laws and law-courts. They are represented as having their matrimonial relations with human beings; at times they also fight battles with them.

Usabha, the Protector of Vidyādharas

It has been stated that after seeing nami and Vinami serving the first Tīrthaṅkara Usabha with drawn swords, Dharaṇa, the King of the Nāgas, was much impressed and gave them the two *vidyādhara* territories situated on both sides of the Veyaḍḍha mountain. Later they established the image of their Master Usabha in the cities and assembly-halls[2].

The *KSS* mentions the Himalaya mountains as an abode of the *vidyādharas* which was divided into two mythical regions, the northern and the southern (*vedyardha*). The northern region is situated on the other side of the Kailāśa mountain and the southern on this side. These two regions form different kingdoms assigned to the most distinguished *vidyādharas*. However, once a certain Ṛṣabha propitiated God Śiva with such powerful austerities that he was granted sovereignty over both regions and therefore over all the *vidyādharas*[3].

Dharaṇa, Moral Authority over the Vidyādharas

Dharaṇa, the King of the Nāgas, seems to have played a very important role in Jain mythology[4].

A *vidyādhara* is also often represented as licentious, jealous, and an abductor of women. The *vidyādhara* King Māṇasavega is well-known for abducting Somasiri (Madanamañjukā in the *BKSS*), one of the wives of

---

Vasudeva. But Mānasavega kept her only in his pleasure garden, not daring to take her into his harem against her will, since according to Dharaṇa's curse the deprivation of his magic art might ensue from the violation of another man's wife by force[5]. A similar episode has been described in the *MKH* with regard to Nīlajasā, who was abducted by a *vidyādhara* named Nīlakaṇṭha. When Vasudeva asked her how she had managed to get rid of her powerful abductor, Nīlajasā replied that Nīlakaṇṭha had been aware of the consequences of violating the moral law laid down by Dharaṇa[6]. Dhūmasīha is mentioned as another *vidyādhara* who tied up his friend Amiyagati and carried his wife away from the lonely bank of a river[7].

Hepphaa or Hephaa is mentioned as another such *vidyādhara*. Vasudeva had to fight with him along with Aṅgāraka and Nīlkaṇṭha when they joined Mānasavega's army[8]. Hepphaa seems to be the same as Ipphaka of the *BKŚŚ* and Ityaka of the *KSS*. In the *BKŚŚ* he belongs to the low class of Mātaṅga *vidyādharas* and is represented as cruel by nature. He is also called the abductor of Suratamañjarī, the wife of Avantivardhana[9].

Bharata, the Cakravartin and Naravāhanadatta, the Vidyādhara-Cakravartin

A Cakravartin or sovereign king means who abides in a wheel or discus. It is said that his wheel meets with no obstacles when he goes to war with his enemies. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (IV.15,16) Viṣṇu presents the first King Pṛthu with a discus called Sudarśana at his coronation, while the other gods give him precious things. The word Cakravartin first occurs in the *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, a late work, where he is regarded as a human being and inferior to the demi-gods[10].

According to the Jains, the 12 Cakravartins are counted among the 63 Great Men (*śalākāpuruṣa*)[11]. The first Tīrthaṅkara Usabha is called a religious-Cakravartin (*dhamma-cakkavaṭṭi*)[12] and three out of twelve Cakravartins afterwards became Tīrthaṅkaras[13]. Since according to the Jains *Vidyādharas* could have relations with human beings, therefore besides the Cakravartins of the *vidyādharas* they also have human Cakravartins.

It is interesting to draw a parallel between Bharata, the first Cakravartin represented in the *VH* and other Jaina works[14], and Naravāhandatta, the hero of the *BK*, who attained the status of a *vidyādhara-Cakravartin* by predestination[15]:

(1) The career of Bharata begins with obtaining 14 jewels[16] while marching on his adventurous conquest of the Bharata region (Bharahavāsa). Naravāhanadatta first attains sovereignty over the *vidyādharas*, and then comes into possession of the seven jewels (*ratna*)[17].

(2) The *cakra*-jewel is generated in Bharata's palace and shows him the

way to his conquest. After marching through various regions he comes to the
river Sindhu, which he crosses with the help of the *carma*[18]-jewel serving him
as a ship. Then he marches towards the Veyaḍḍha mountains, where he
comes across the cave Timisa[19] guarded by the god Kṛtamāla. The
cakra-jewel started in the direction of the cave. The sovereign king
concentrated his mind on the god, who appeared saying: "I am like a
door-keeper of the cave". Then the king struck the door of the cave with his
daṇḍa-jewel and the door opened with a loud noise. The sovereign king
Bharata mounted his *hasti*-jewel and entered the cave with his army. He took
the *maṇi*-jewel and the *kākiṇī*-jewel which were as the sun dissipating the
darkness, and the cave shone as the Cakravartin advanced with his army.

In the case of the *vidyādhara*-emperor Naravāhanadatta, we find almost
the same description. The emperor encamped, guarded by the haughty king
Devamāya, at the mouth of the cave Triśīrṣa. He saw the underground
passage where there was no sunshine. The next day he offered worship and
entered the cave in his chariot, assisted by glorious jewels which presented
themselves to him as soon as he thought of them. He dispelled the guards of
the cave with other jewels, thus passing through the cave with his army and
emerging at its northern gate.

(3) After conquering the enemy, the sovereign king Bharata marched
through the Himavanta Mountain and arrived at Ṛṣabhakūṭa. He struck the
mountain with the front of his chariot. Then he took the *kākiṇī*-jewel in his
hand and inscribed his name on the Ṛṣabhakūṭa Mountain, saying: "I am
Bharata, the first sovereign king of the entire continent known as Bharata."

After gaining victory in a fierce battle with the *vidyādhara*-lord
Mandaradeva, the *vidyādhara*-emperor Naravāhandatta was asked to proceed
to the Ṛṣabha Mountain for the great ceremony of his coronation.

(4) At last the sovereign king Bharata arrived at Mount Vaitāḍhya. He
sent an arrow announcing his arrival to the *vidyādhara*-lords Nami and
Vinami, who were proud of their magic art. They summoned the emperor to
battle, and there ensued a terrible fight between the two armies. Ultimately
the *vidyādhara*-lords surrendered and requested Bharata to allow them to
remain at his command on both sides of the Vaitāḍhya, in the northern and
southern half of the Bharata region. Then they offered the emperor
Subhadrā[20] in the form of a wife-jewel, who later was consecrated as a consort
of the sovereign king. Bharata came to rule over the entire continent, thus
giving Bharahavāsa (Bhāratavarṣa) its name.

The *vidyādhara*-emperor Naravāhanadatta likewise marched forward.
He was accompanied by Hariśikha and Caṇḍasiṃha with his mother, the wise
Dhanavatī, as well as the brave Piṅgalagandhāra, Vāyupatha the strong, and
Vidyutpuñja, Amitagati, the lord of Kālakūṭa, Mandara, Mahādaṃṣṭra, his

own friend Amitaprabha, the hero Citrāṅgada, Sāgaradatta and many others. His army confronted the army of Mandaradeva, who was accompanied by a number of kings. A fierce battle ensued between the two armies, and the three worlds trembled. Mount Kailāśa was red with the blood of heroes. Mandaradeva, the *vidyādhra*-chief, surrendered and Naravāhanandatta was appointed emperor over both divisions of the territory. Then the maiden Mandaradevī was offered to him in marriage, and a heavenly voice was heard saying that she should be the consort of the emperor. In this way, having conquered the southern and northern divisions of the land, Naravāhandatta obtained the great honour of being emperor over all the kings of the *vidyādharas* in both divisions. Then a coronation ceremony was held with great pomp on the holy Ṛṣabha mountain, and Madanamañjukā occupied half of the emperor's throne[21].

NOTES

1. A *vidyādhara* is a supernatural being dwelling in the Himalays attending upon Śiva, and possessed of magical power, *MW*; also see Lacôte, "Essay on Guṇāḍhya", pt. III, ch.III, pp 202-3.
2. *VH*, 163, 25-164, 17.
3. 109, 61-74; 110.8. As suggested by Alsdorf, most probably the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya was the common source for both versions, "Zur Geschichte der Jaina-kosmographie und Mythologie", ZDMG, 92 (1938) p. 479. The similarity between Ṛṣabha, the first Emperor of the vidyādharas and Usabha (Ṛṣabha), the first Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains, is also noteworthy, *ibid*, p. 490.
4. See further "The Role of Dharaṇendra in Jain Mythology", pp. 128-135.
5. *VH*, 227, 14-15.
6. 1.23 (printed p.14).
7. *VH*. 140, 5. In the *BKŚS* (XX.124-127) he is called Aṅgāraka. When Gaurimuṇḍa, the *vidyādhara*-lord, was subduing the magic art, he was guarded by his two brothers Vyālaka and Aṅgāraka. The *KSS* (109.109-112) mentions Dhūmaśikha, a principal companion of Mandaradeva. There was a terrific fight between Naravāhanadatta and Dhūmaśikha in which Dhūmaśikha was taken captive.
8. *VH*, 308, 19; also 217,21-22.
9. III.60,88 also *KSS* (112. 14-15; 210).
10. See H. Jacobi's article under "Cakravartin" in the *ERE*, pp.336-337.
11. In the Brahmanic literature the 12 princes beginning with Bharata are especially considered as Cakravartins, *MW*. The 63 Great Men are: 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, 12 Cakravartins, 9 Baladevas, 9 Vāsudevas and 9 Prativāsudevas. The *VH* narrates the life-history of 7 Tīrthaṅkaras and 10 Cakravartins only.
12. See *Jambu*, 2.
13. The twelve Cakravartins are : Bharaha, Sagara, Maghava, Saṇakkumāra, Santi, Kunthu, Ara, Subhoma, Mahāpauma, Harisena, Jaya and Bambhadatta; *Sama* 12, out of these Santi, Kunthu and Ara became Tīrthaṅkaras.
14. See for references *VH* 186, 11-24; *Jambu*, 3; *Āva-Cū*, 182-203; *Uttarā*, 18.34-44 and commentary by *Devendragaṇi*, pp. 232-249a; *TŚP*. 1.4.39-587.
15. See *KSS*, XV: Mahābhiṣeka, Chs. 109-110 (Vol.VIII, pp.70-93).
16. They are : the wheel (*cakra*), the parasol (*chatra*), the sword (*khaḍga*), the rod (*daṇḍa*), the cowrie (*kākiṇī*), the piece of leather (*carma*), the gem (*maṇi*), the wife (*yuvati*), the general (*senāpati*), the steward (*gṛhī*), the household priest (*purohita*), the architect (*vardhakī*), the elephant (*hasti*), and the horse (*aśva*). Out of these the *VH* actually refers

to only four, *viz. cakra, chatra, carma and yuvati;* in addition to the nine treasures (*navanidhi;* see *Ṭhā 448a*), 14 jewels (*caudasa rayaṇa*) are referred to (*202, 8-9; 301, 6; 304, 6*). However, the *Āva-Cū (I, 207)* includes *navanidhi* among the 14 jewels instead of *yuvati* jewel. This is the list given by Jacobi in his article. In his opinion the jewels *kākiṇī, maṇi, carma* and *cakra* have been adopted from mythology. In the Jain canonical literature only 7 jewels are mentioned: *senāpati, gṛhapati, vardhaki, purohita, strī, hasti* and *aśva; Ṭhā. 7.*

17. They are: elephant (*hasti*), sword (*khaḍga*), moonlight (*candrikā*), wife (*kāminī*), charm (*vidyā*), lake (*sarasa*), and sandalwood tree (*candana*), KSS (*109. 19-23*). In *BKM (17.11, p.595)* the list is : flag (*dhvajā*), parasol (*chatra*), moon (*sudhābimba*), sword (*khaḍga*), chariot (*ratha*) and elephant (*kuñjara*). It is noteworthy that in both versions *cakra* is missing.

18. Jacobi draws a comparison with a miraculous hide of King Vikramāditya, on which he and his army flew through the air, *ibid.*

19. Timisā in *Ṭhā*, Tamisa in *Jambu*, Tamisra in *JHP*, Tamisrā in *TŚP*. Alsdorf draws similarity between Tisisa (in Sanskrit Triśirṣa — name of Śiva) and Timisa which according to him are so similar that the linguistic connection cannot be ruled out totally, *ZDMG, ibid.,* p.488.

20. She was the daughter of Vinami, *TŚP, 1.4.534.*

21. The incomplete *BKŚS* does not contain the chapter on the Great Coronation, and this chapter in the *BKM* is very short. Therefore, we have to depend on the *KSS*, where the *Mahābhiṣeka* has been described in a separate *lambaka* comprising two chapters. *109 and 110.*

5

AN OLD VERSION OF THE JAIN RĀMĀYAṆA*

Introduction

The narration of the well-known Rāma story which is given in the VH[1], the KSS[2] and the BKM[3] shows that the tale was also included in the original BK of Guṇāḍhya which unfortunately no longer exists as an extant work but which was used as source and model for much of ancient Indian literature. Since the BKŚS is incomplete, it contains only a few stray references[4] to the episode[5]. The VH which it is argued here seems to contain the oldest Jain version of the Rāmāyaṇa, reveals some interesting transformations of the popular Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa.

The Role of Vidyādharas

Guṇāḍhya chose vidyādharas, masters of magic art, as heroes of his popular narration. "Tales of vidyādharas are, even more interesting than tales of the gods," says Śiva to Pārvatī when she asks him to tell her some extraordinary story. The imaginative tales later form a part of the BK influencing ancient Brahmanic and Jain literature as well. "Divine beings are always happy, whereas humans are continuously sad and grieved," proclaims Somadeva, author of the KSS, "and therefore, I want to narrate the life of the vidyādharas, who are full of mirth and variety". Somadeva's composition only summarizes the most essential parts of the BK. Vidyādharas are also mentioned in the well-known versions of the Rāmāyaṇa and MBH and later in Buddhist works[6], but in these narrations they do not appear as real heroes the way they do in the BKŚS, the Kashmirian works (KSS and BKM), and Jain narratives.

A particular Jain contribution to the popular Rāmāyaṇa tale is that their version displays the Rākṣasas not as meat-eating demons but rather as vidyādharas, and so is the case with the vānaras. In general, the vidyādharas seem to be amiable beings, and befitting pious tradition they renounce the world and join an ascetic order.

The Jain Rāmāyaṇa Presented in the Vasudevahiṇḍi

The Rāma story contained in the *VH* seems to be the oldest version of the Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* and it is based more or less on Vālmīki's popular version. The following are some of the main features of the tale:

(1) After accomplishing the magic art *paṇṇatti*, Rāvaṇa, is honoured by the *vidyādhara*-lords and is attended upon by them in Laṅkā.

The magic art *Paṇṇatti* seems to have been quite popular among the *vidyādharas*. Dharaṇa bestowed this magic art along with many others to Nami and Vinami (*VH*, 164). Pradyumna (the son of Kṛṣṇa by his queen Satyabhāmā) obtained it from Kanakamālā, a *vidyādharī* girl (92). Pradyumna gave it to Samba (son of Kṛṣṇa by Jambavatī, 108), and Prabhāvatī bestowed it on her husband Vasudeva so that he could defeat his enemy (308). Prajñaptikauśika is mentioned in the *BKŚS* (XX. 304), the KSS (25.258, 289) and *BKM* (5.160) as a *guru* of the *vidyādharas*. We are told in the *KSS* (111.52) that princc Naravāhanadatta concentrated on the science of *Prajñapti*, who thereupon presented herself to him, and he asked her about his parents.

(2) A *vidyādhara* called Maya approaches Rāvaṇa with a proposal of marriage to his daughter Mandodarī. The experts in reading marks predict that the first product of her womb will cause the destruction of the family. But thinking that her first child could be abandoned, she was married anyway. In the course of time, Mandodarī gave birth to a girl who was enclosed in a casket and concealed by the magic art *tirakkharaṇi*[7], and then placed under the ground of King Janaka's garden. But while the ground was being polughed the casket was caught in the ploughshare and was handed over to the king, who entrusted the live child to his queen Dhāriṇī and had it brought up like a daughter.

There are various versions regarding the birth of Sītā: a) since she is said to have sprung from a furrow (*sītā*)[8] made by Janaka while ploughing the ground, she is called *ayonijā*, i.e. not womb-born. (b) According to the *MBH*, Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and Vimalasūri's *Paumacariya*, she is daughter of Janaka, born in a natural way. (c) In the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, she is daughter of King Daśaratha and the wife of her own brother Rāma. (d) In the *VH*, Guṇabhadra's *UP* (9th Century A.D.) and the *Mahābhāgavata Devipurāṇa* (10th or 11th Century A.D.)., she is daughter of Rāvaṇa by his queen Mandodarī. An echo of this tradition can be found in the Tibetan and Khotanese versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* dating from about the 8th or 9th Century A.D. as well as in the versions of Indonesia and Thailand. In the Tibetan version Sītā is enclosed in a copper vessel and floated on the water, where she is found and adopted by an Indian peasant who names her Rol-rñed-ma (i.e. Līlāvatī)[9]. In the Khotanese version a sage living on the

bank of a river opens the box and rescues the girl out of compassion for her plight[10]. Sītā's leading to the annihilation of Rāvaṇa's family and her discovery in front of Janaka's plough must be older than the composition of the *VH*. However, it seems that the Tibetan version of the *Rāmāyana* was influenced by the *BK* of Guṇāḍhya[11].

(3) The achievement of the two boons by Kekai: (1) King Daśaratha, pleased with his queen Kekai for her expertise in the art of "serving in bed". (*sayaṇovayāra-viyakkhaṇa*)[12] granted her a boon. (2) Kekai led an army and got her husband released from the enemy's custody, for which she was granted another boon.

A kind of "service in bed" has been described in the *VH*[13] and *BKŚS*[14] when Buddhiseṇa (Gomukha in the *BKŚS*), a close associate of Prince Samba (Naravāhanadatta in the *BKŚS*) is entertained by a young prostitute named Bhogamālinī (Padmadevikā in the *BKŚS*) by employing a technique of massaging known as *stana-piḍitaka* (pressing with the breasts). As the original *BK* was full of passionate love stories, it might well have contained such episodes, which were later utilised by other writers. De Jong and Bulcke have called this form of legend "primitive"[15].

(4) After becoming infatuated by the beauty of Sītā, Rāvaṇa directs his minister Mārīca to assume the form of an illusory deer studded with gems (*rayaṇacitta*)[16] in order to tempt the young warriors living in the forest as hermits. As soon as Sītā beholds the deer she asks for it as a pet. Rāma follows the animal with a bow and arrow in hand. First the deer goes along slowly, but after that swiftly moves off. Rāma begins to suspect that it is not an ordinary deer but an illusory one.

Earlier in the *Nīlajasā-lambha* (181, 15-20) of the *VH* a very similar description is given when Nīlajasā asks Vasudeva to catch a baby peacock as a plaything for her. Vasudeva later remarks that as Rāma was deceived by a deer, so was he by a peacock. Ultimately Nīlakaṇṭha assumes the form of a peacock and abducts Nīlajasā while Vasudeva remains helpless. In similar circumstances Ajinavatī, the prototype of Nīlajasā, is kidnapped by a *vidhyādhara* named Vikacika who flies through the sky like a hawk carrying of a cukoo (*BKŚS*, XX. 202-226). In the *BKM* (13,45-47) Vegavatī is kidnapped by a demon (Rākṣasa) called Maṇimat who assumes the form of a peacock.

This all indicates that the kidnapping of women by *vidyādharas* or *Rākṣasas* was common in early Indian literature, at least at the times of the author of the *BK*. Under the circumstances we can easily take Sītā's abduction as an important part of the *BK* narration; moreover we should not forget that the whole theme of the *BK* is based on the abduction of Madanamañjukā by the *vidyādhara* Mānasavega.

(5) Rāvaṇa, the ruler of Laṅkā, his brother Vibhīṣaṇa, his sister's sons Khara and Dūṣaṇa as well as the characters of Hanumān, Sugrīva, Vāli and Jaṭāyu are all *vidyādharas*.

Here, as in the Rāmopākhyāna in the *MBH* the story of Rāma (*Rāmāyaṇa*) begins with a long genealogy of Rāvaṇa, which is supported by Guṇabhadra's *UP*. Though not specifically mentioned, Rāvaṇa never tries to violate Sītā's virtue while she is being kept in his custody in Laṅkā. The reason given by Guṇabhadra is that had Rāvaṇa dared to even touch Sītā he would have been deprived of his magic art of flying through the air. According to the author, Rāvaṇa did not touch Sītā while carrying her off, but by means of his magic art he transformed his divine car Puṣpaka into a palanquin, making Sītā get into it by herself[17].

Similarly, the character of Vibhīṣaṇa has been elevated. After preparing a bridge when Rāma's army (accompanied by Sugrīva and protected by *vidyādharas*) reached Laṅkā, Vibhīṣaṇa approaches Rāvaṇa and requests him: "Although unpleasant to hear, beneficial advice must be spoken by the teacher, a servant or a relative. By abducting Sītā, the wife of Rāma, you have not done any good. It may be that the error has already been committed, but you should now return her back to her husband. It is no use destroying the family. Rāma is so powerful that he killed Khara, Dūṣaṇa and Vāli without effort, even though, they possessed the magic art. The master should not desire even the wife of his own servant, much less the wife of a person who is powerful. The real victory of a king is his restraint of his senses. You are wise and intelligent, and so somehow or other you must succeed in your endeavours, but nevertheless you are devoted to an evil deed. That is why I am requesting you to stop. The morsel which is easily eaten, digested properly after eating and which proves wholesome after being digested, should be taken. Take my friendly advice: return Sītā to Rāma. Let your family members be happy"[18].

Also Hanumān, who is a *vidyādhara* and not a monkey-king as in the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*, is a well-wisher of Rāma. It is he who for the first time brings news about Sītā's presence in Laṅkā. When Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are wandering about grieved in the forest, Hanumān approaches them and learns of their sorrow. He introduced himself as one of the *vidyādharas* under the leadership of Sugrīva. Then Hanumān proposes friendship with Rāma, and fire is a witness to their pact.

Jaṭāyu is another fine character. He fights with Rāvaṇa while the latter is carrying Sītā off. Rāvaṇa overpowers Jaṭāyu and after crossing the Kikindhi mountain[19], he reaches Laṅkā. But before his death Jaṭāyu is able to pass the news to Rāma that Sītā was kidnapped by Rāvaṇa[20].

(6) When Rāvaṇa does not listen to the advice given to him by Vibhīṣaṇa

accompanied by his four ministers, he approaches Rāma. The *vidyādharas* in Vibhīṣaṇa's family join the army of Rāma and the battle between the *vidyādharas* and earth-dwellers began, also a common feature of the *BK*[21].

(7) After Rāma's army enters the city of Laṅkā, Lakṣmaṇa marches forward. Rāvaṇa intends to kill Lakṣmaṇa and releases his disc, but the weapon does not work. Lakṣmaṇa casts the same disc back at his enemy and succeeds to chop off Rāvaṇa's head.

(8) After the war is over, Vibhīṣaṇa brings Sītā back from Laṅkā. Then Vibhīṣaṇa is coronated King of Ariñjayapura and Sugrīva of a certain city in the *vidyādhara* territory (*vijjāhara-seḍhī*). Rāma and Sītā are taken to the city of Ayodhyā in a heavenly car brought by Vibhīṣaṇa and Sugrīva.

The Vasudevahiṇḍi, the Oldest version of the Jain Rāmāyaṇa

The following points are worth considering while estimating the *VH's* real period of composition:

(1) It seems to be the oldest version of the *BK* of Guṇāḍhya among the presently available Sanskrit or Prakrit works.

(2) Its mention in the *Viśeṣaṇavatī* (610 A.D.) of Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa only indicates that the work was available to him in his time.

(3) Some years ago, after making a study of archaic peculiarities and taking into the consideration the use of the old *vedha* metre, unknown outside of Jain canonical literature, Alsdrof showed that this work must have been of great antiquity and closer to the date of the canonical text[22].

(4) After making a study of the mutilated and corrupted *VH* text, which was edited after consulting 12 manuscripts, and making a note of a variant (*ettha pāḍho*)[23], it seems that the text already existed at the time of Saṅghadāsagaṇi, who just put it into its final shape. In that case the original text's date should be pushed back quite a bit. In this regard the Jain versions of the *BK* represented by *JHP* and *TSP* by Hemacandra and others should also be taken into account.

(5) While considering the composition date of the *VH* one has to also consider whether the Rāma and Kṛṣṇa legends of the Jain cosmography were borrowed from the *BK* or whether they already existed before the *BK* composition[24].

(6) In his *Paumacariya* (end of the 3rd century A.D.)[25], Vimalasūri attacks Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* saying that the *Rākṣasas* are not meat-eating demons and the *Vānaras* as lower animals lashing their tails and uprooting

mountains. He has tried, in effect, to rationalise the tale in the Jain version of Rāma's story. On the other hand, Saṅghadāsagaṇi, the author of the *VH*, simply accepts the popular tale as it existed in his day, without any conscious editorialising or protest. Most likely he follows a different tradition. It may very well be that since Vālmīki composed his *Rāmāyaṇa* based on the ancient ballads prevalent at his time, the author of the *VH* likewise based his tale on a slightly different version arising out of some different ballads. Perhaps he followed the same version offered in the *BK*[26].

Whatever it is, the explanatory and critical tone of the *Paumacariya* as well as its entire language strongly suggests that the work was composed after the *VH*. We can therefore assert that this work must have been composed before the composition of the *Paumacariya*. Certainly the contents of the Rāma story contained in the *VH* reflect a very old tradition. There is no mention of an ordeal by fire imposed on Sītā here, this episode is also absent in the Rāmopākhyāna of the *MBH*, the *UP* of Guṇabhadra and the Tibetan and Khotanese versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Without adding too many Jain religious touches to the story, the *Rāmāyaṇa* as presented in the *VH* is an extant version of one of the oldest traditions of the popular tale.

NOTES

1. *Rāmāyaṇam* in the *Mayaṇavegā-lambha*, 240-45.
2. 107, 12-26; Prabhāvati is telling the *Rāmāyaṇa-vṛttānta* to Naravāhanadatta.
3. *Rāmākhyāyikā* (15, 1-51).
4. IV, 52; XVIII. 503.
5. A comparative study based on different narrations of the *VH*, the *BKŚS*, *KSS* and *BKM* has been presented by the author in his work *The Vasudevahiṇḍi-an authentic Jain version of the Bṛhatkathā*, 1977.
6. The earliest reference is found in the *Milindapañho* (267), see H. Lüders, *Kleine Schriften*, "Die Vidyādharas in der buddhistischen Literatur und Kunst", pp. 104-119.
7. Also *tirikkhariṇī* (84) or *tirikkhamaṇi* (164). *Tiraskariṇikā* is used in the sense of a curtain in the *BKŚS* (XVII. 81; also the *Rāmāyaṇa*, ii, 15,20) and in the sense of a rod (XVII, 157).
8. She is invoked as presiding over agriculture (*Ṛgveda*, IV, 57,6). *Sītā-kara* is counted as one of the 18 taxes (*Āva-Nir*, 1078); *Bṛh-Bhā* (1.3647) has mentioned *Sītā-janna* (*Sītā-yajña*), a festival when cooked rice was distributed to the monks.
9. See De Jong, "Three Notes on the Vasudevahiṇḍi," *Samjñāvyākaraṇa, Studia Indologica, Internationalia*, 1954; Rev. Father C, Bulcke. *Rāma-Kathā*, 1962, p. 261 ff.
10. H.W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, Vol.X, p.564.
11. C. Bulcke, *ibid.*, p. 262.
12. Elsewhere called *paviyāra-sukha*, 133, 2. The 16 arts of *śayanopacāra* are mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra* (1.3.14, Jayamaṅgalā commentary).
13. 102, 17-21.
14. X, 140-152.
15. See Jong's above-mentioned article; Bulcke. *ibid.*, p.402.
16. *Maṇi-nirmita* in the *UP* (68,197). The *KSS*, *BKM*, and Hariṣeṇa's *BKK* have all referred to a golden deer. However, Vimalasūri has omitted this episode in his *Paumacariya* with the explanation that since Rāma was observing a vow (*vratastha*) he could not kill a deer.
17. *UP* (68,213,207); Compare the abduction of an earth-dwelling woman, Somasiri

(Madanamañjukā in the *BKSS*) by the *vidyādhara* Māṇasavega. He could not violate her by force because of a dangerous curse which would bring him instantaneous death. See *VH* (227, 14-15), *BKSS* (XIV, 89-90), *KSS* (105, 69-71), and *BKM* (13. 2. 51-52).

18. Exactly the same advice is offered by Rāvaṇa's Minister Mārica in the *UP* (68, 115-118).

19. The mountain's locality is not known, but it seems to be somewhere in the Himalayas. According to Hemacandra, Mount Kiṣkindha was situated on *Vānara-dvīpa*. Kiṣkindhi is said to have founded Kiṣkindhapura on Mount Madhu where he settled with his followers like Śiva on Kailāśa (*TŚP*, VII, *Jain Rāmāyaṇa*, Vol. IV, p. 109, 113).

20. In the Khotanese version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāvaṇa, while fighting with the bird Jaṭāyu, gathers lumps of tin red with blood and forces the bird to swallow them. As a result Jaṭāyu became heavy and died. Bailey, *ibid.*, p.565.

21. The battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa has been condemned by Hariṣeṇa as a battle for the sake of a woman costing many lives (*BKK*, 84,56-57). This has been supported by the Khotanese *Rāmāyaṇa* (*ibid.*, pp. 568 ff.) where two senior ministers are talking about the kings of Jambudvipa, who destroyed the land for a woman's sake.

22. See "The Vasudevahiṇḍi, a specimen of Archaic Jain Maharashtri", *BSOAS*, VIII, 1935-37, pp. 319-333.

23. *VH*, 306. See author's introduction to *The Vasudevahiṇḍi-an authentic Jain version of the Bṛhatkathā*.

24. See Alsdorf, Introduction to *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*: "*Ein Abschnitt aus der Apabhraṃśa— Welthistorie Mahāpurāṇa Tisaṭṭhimahāpurisaguṇālaṃkāru*" von Puṣpadanta, p. 121, Hamburg 1936. Here criticising the date proposed by Bühler, he formulates that Guṇāḍhya must have flourished at least in the 1st or 2nd Century B.C.

25. V.M. Kulkarni, Introduction to *Paumacariya*, ed. by Jacobi, *PTS*, 1962.

26. According to Lacôte, the author of the *BK* draws inspiration from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but Vālmiki drew his heroes from national legends and old myths, whereas Guṇāḍhya used accounts of fairy travels to the country of enchanters, "*Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛhatkathā*", translated by Rev. A.M. Tabard, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, Vol.IV, No.3, 1913-14 and the following years; pt. III, ch. III, p. 169.

6

THE MISSING LAMBHAS IN THE VASUDEVAHIṆḌI AND THE STORY OF PABHĀVATĪ*

In the introduction to his MKH[1], also known as the second part of the VH, Dharmasenagaṇi Mahattara claims that the VH originally contained 100 lambhas, describing the 100 marriages of Vasudeva which took place during his 100 years of wandering. But the author of the VH, says Dharmasenagaṇi, narrated only 29 of these lambhas, leaving out the rest in order to avoid a too lengthy description of the tale. The author of the MKH thus claims to present the entire second part of the VH, fitting his work into the latter between the Piyaṅgusundarī-lambha (the 18th lambha) and the Keumatī-lambha (21st lambha). He thereby presents the 'missing link' in the VH, which lacks the important 19th and 20th lambhas.

It is most interesting to note that the very first lambha of the MKH is the Pabhāvatī-lambha, which deals with the conquest of Pabhāvatī (Prabhāvatī) and gives many more interesting details not found even in the KSS or BKM versions of the BK. There is no mention of Prabhāvatī in the existing incomplete edition of the BKŚS.

I. The Brief Story of Pabhāvati found in the VH

Although the VH contains an independent lambha called the Pabhāvatī-lambha (22) and mentions Pabhāvatī in a few sentences in the very beginning of the Keumatī-lambha (21), the whole account of her is so merge that the complete story of Pabhāvatī remains fully unexplained.

II. The Keumati-lambha in the Vasudevahiṇḍi

The following points concerning the Keumatī-lambha are worthy of note:

(1) In this lambha preceding the Pabhāvatī-lambha we come across the name of Pabhāvatī for the very first time. In the very beginning of the lambha which supposedly deals with the marriage of Keumatī (Ketumatī), we are told

that Pabhāvatī carries Vasudeva from his wife Piyaṅgusundarī to his beloved
Somasiri in Suvaṇṇapurī, the city ruled by Vegavati's brother King
Māṇasavega (Mānasavega). There Vasudeva manages to live in disguise until
he is discovered by Māṇasavega, who has him bound and files a case against
him in the court of Balasīha. Then a fight ensues between Vasudeva on the
one side and Māṇasavega and his followers on the other. But with help of the
magic art *Paṇṇatti* (*Pannatti*), bestowed by Pabhāvatī, Vasudeva manages to
win the battle. Later on, for the sake of a promise made to Somasiri,
Vasudeva lets Māṇasavega go after discharging only a little blood.
Māṇasavega then serves Vasudeva as a servant and carries him and Somasiri
to Mahāpura in his heavenly car.

Needless to say, this account is far too brief and sketchy to give any clear
picture of Pabhāvatī.

(2) The *Keumatī-lambha* is one of the longest *lambhas* in the *VH*,
comprising the biographies of the three Tīrthaṅkaras Santi, Kunthu and Ara,
and narrating numerous details of their previous births. Obviously this
account has nothing to do with the subject matter, i.e. the marriage of
Keumatī.

(3) Regarding the nomenclature of Keumatī there is no uniformity
among the various Jain versions. In the *VH* (349, 4-5) she is called the sister
of Jiyasattu, in the *JHP* (30.45) the daughter of Jarāsandha and in the *TŚP*
(8.2.580) the daughter of Jitaśatru. Further, in the *VH* (348, 17-349, 14)
Vasudeva simply cures Indaseṇā, who is called the daughter of Jarāsandha
and the wife of Jiyasattu, but he marries Keumatī; in the *JHP* (30, 46-56)
Vasudeva cures Ketumati and marries Prabhāvatī. In the *TŚP* (8.2.578),
however, Nandiṣeṇā is mentioned as the daughter of Jarāsandha and wife of
Jitaśatru in place of Indaseṇā.

(4) Both *JHP* (26.52) and the *TŚP* (8.2.487-8) record a very brief account
of Ketumatī. Here the *TŚP* introduces an additional *lambha* known as the
Kanakavatī-lambha, which forms Chapter III of the *parvan* VIII and contains
1077 verses, more than double the number of Chapter II, which deals with all
the marriages of Vaduḍeva.

The incongruity in the different versions leads us to doubt the
authenticity of the *Keumatī-lambha*, crowded with its biographical accounts of
the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras which have nothing to do with the original *BK* and must
have been added later.

(5) It is here, between the *Piyaṅgusundarī-lambha* and the
Keumatī-lambha, the 19th and 20th *lambhas* are missing in the *VH*. At this
point Dharmasenagaṇi begins his *Majjhimakhaṇḍa* with the full story of
Pabhāvatī.

III. The Pabhāvatī-lambha in the Vasudevahiṇḍi

The *Pabhāvatī-lambha* in the *VH* (350, 31ff) also provides a very brief account of Pabhāvatī. The details are as follows: Bhagīrahī[2] is the queen of Narsīha, a *vidyādhara*-king who rules in the southern city of Vejayantī. Bhagīrahī's son Balasīha[3] looks after the city, and her daughter Amitappabhā is married to King Gandhāra[4] in the city of Pukkhalāvatī[5]. Pabhāvatī is the daughter of this couple. Bhagīrahī carries Vasudeva to Pukkhalāvatī and brings him to her granddaughter Pabhāvatī. Vasudeva first goes to meet the girl's father, King Gandhāra. Then he is led to the sleeping chamber, where Pabhāvatī, "like the magic art *Paṇṇatti* herself"[6], is given to him.

From this account we learn no details concerning the reasons why Pabhāvatī carried Vasudeva from Piyaṅgusundarī to Somasiri, or how Vasudeva was introduced to his beloved who was being held in the custody of her abductor Māṇasavega. We learn nothing about Vasudeva living with Somasiri under disguise, or how he was noticed by Māṇasavega, what part was played by Vegavatī's mother, or how Vasudeva was taken to the court of the *vidyādharas*, which eventually led to a fight between him and Māṇasavega. Nor are any details given about the promise given to Somasiri, what ultimately happened after Vasudeva's victory and what led Vasudeva to let Māṇasavega go free after having committed such a serious offense as kidnapping the hero's own wife.

IV. The Account of Pabhāvatī Supplemented by the MKH

There is no proof to ascertain whether the original *VH* contained 100 *lambhas* or not, or whether these *lambhas* were not incorporated into the present edition simply to avoid excessive details, but one thing is certain: the account of Pabhāvatī narrated in the VH is not detailed enough to obtain a clear picture of that episode. The few details that are given are scanty and inconsistent. It is clear from the missing *lambhas* that the latter part of the story was incorporated into the preceding *Keumatī-lambha*, and the first part in the following *Pabhāvatī-lambha* in the existing edition of the *VH*.

Before presenting a summary of the account contained in the *Pabhāvatī-lambha* that forms the beginning of the *MKH*, let us note the following points with regard to the *MKH* as a whole:

(1) Dharmasenagaṇi starts his work at the point where in the *VH* two *lambhas* are missing. In the *Rohiṇī-lambha* (27) in the *VH*, the wandering of Vasudeva comes to an end and he is united with his own family. Therefore it would have been awkward to introduce the additional *lambhas* at the end of the hero's journey.

(2) The style of the *MKH* is fluent, lively, and highly interesting, with

flowery descriptions, dramatic touches, and fine dialogue.

(3) In the introduction to the work the author declares that by using a story of erotic sentiment as a frame, he has actually narrated a religious tale. In this respect, however, his tone is not nearly as didactic as that of the VH, and his narrations are not interwoven with religious stories as in the *VH*.

(4) The story is told in the first person, as is the *VH*.

(5) The story of Pabhāvatī, presented here in a realistic and romantic manner with many explicit details, is not found elsewhere. This leads us to think that this portion could well be a part of the original *BK*. At any rate, it seems to leave little doubt that the contents of the *Pabhāvatī-lambha* in the *MKH* reflect the contents of the missing *lambha* in the *VH*.

The following account supplied by the *MKH* is corroborated in part by the *JHP*[7] and the two Kashmirian versions[8], which both supply at certain places almost identical details.

V. Pabhāvatī in the MKH: A Summary

Pabhāvatī is the daughter of Piṅgalagandhāra, a *vidyādhara*-king, by his chief queen Amitappabhā (Pṛthivī in the *JHP*) in the city of Pukkhalāvatī. Once Vasudeva was sleeping with his beloved Piyaṅgusundarī when he heard a voice of a maiden crying "Ah how sad! Oh, his love for poor Somasiri has absolutely no meaning!" Then, taking Vasudeva aside, she tells him: "Oh, the noble lady Somasiri is undone! She is torturing herself by remembering you, a man who is devoted to another woman". Then she tells Vasudeva why she has come: "Once I went to the city of Suvaṇṇapurī[9] to see my friend Vegavatī. I was told by her attendants that she had won Vasudeva as her husband[10] and was staying in the city of Mahāpura. I went and saw Somaisiri, who had been abducted by Māṇasavega, the *vidyādhara*-king of Suvaṇṇapurī. Somasiri looked thin and pale and was afflicted with the grief of your separation. When she asked me, I told her with the help of my magic art Āhoginī[11] that you were enjoying the company of Piyaṅgusundarī. Somasiri asked me to fetch you to her. So I have come here".

Then Vasudeva asks Pabhāvatī to take quickly to his beloved. Pabhāvatī looks at Vasudeva amorously, holds his hand and takes him off through the air. On the way she notices a celestial tree emitting a light like a burning lamp (*dīva-rukkhasa*)[12] and she circles it three times[13]. In the course of the journey Pabhāvatī points out numerous romantic scenes which excite their passion. Further away, Vasudeva hears a man singing the following song:

> *"Since Piyaṅgusundarī has entered the harem, the goddess of fortune has conquered the region of Uttarakuru[14] on the earth"*!

Further on still, Pabhāvatī shows Vasudeva a female monkey riding on an excellent species of elephant. Vasudeva says to himself: "Oh, she wants to compare me with the elephant and my beloved with a female monkey!" After thinking about this a bit, Vasudeva says to himself: "Has Pabhāvatī fallen in love with me? First of all, she mentions the astrologer's prediction that she is going to be the wife of the father of Vāsudeva, then she takes me around a celestial tree emitting a light of a lamp, she shows me various erotic scences, she makes me hear that song about Piyaṅgusundarī, she points out a female monkey riding an elephant, and furthermore, she woke me up when I was sleeping with my beloved with the words 'Ah, how sad!' But above all, a young lady is carrying me all alone like this through the lonely night!"

At this point Vasudeva decides to put Pabhāvatī to the test. He asks her for some drinking water, saying he feels terribly thirsty. Pabhāvatī takes him to a clear lake, surrounded by beautiful trees. She fills a lotus leaf with water and makes him drink from it. Then she goes into a thicket of trees and takes a seat under the shade of a lovely *saptaparṇa* tree. Vasudeva approaches her there, and enamoured of her beauty, asks her if she loves him. He invites her to the bed of flowers to propitiate the god of love.

But Pabhāvatī heroically resists the temptation, although she herself is full of passion. She argues that it would be impossible to fulfil Vasudeva's desire, since it would be a direct betrayal of her suffering friend, Somasiri. Pabhāvatī's reluctance simply excites Vasudeva all the more, however, and she has a great deal of difficulty in restraining him. In tones of condemnation to herself she says: "Though I am born of a noble family, even after obtaining a desired lover and such an extremely beautiful place, I could not fulfil the object of my own youth and beauty." Furthermore, she adds, he should at least think of his beloved Somasiri, who was so anxiously waiting for him already. Then Pabhāvatī tells Vasudeva that when she was taking leave of Somasiri, the poor girl specifically told her not to be like Vegavatī, who had stolen Vasudeva for herself. She reassured her then that she was not Vegavatī but Paṇṇatti, the daughter of Pavaṇajava.

The danger is past, and without further incident Pabhāvatī carries Vasudeva through the air again to Somasiri. The hero is shocked to see Somasiri, dressed in unclean clothes, with no ornaments whatsoever on her body, bearing the burden of her hair with its permanently tied braid. She appeared like a female hermit whose body was emaciated due to severe penance.

As soon as Somasiri notices her beloved, her eyes fill with tears and she falls to his feet, embracing him tightly. After a while she lets Vasudeva console her, and then she boldly states that she will never be free from sorrow until Vasudeva splits the body of Māṇasavega and shows it to her gushing with blood. Without hesitation Vasudeva promises Somasiri to fulfil this vow.

Then he proceeds to lovingly untie her thick braid of hair.

In order to protect Vasudeva from his arch-enemy Māṇasavega, Pabhāvatī then gives the hero her own shape before leaving. Somasiri now begins to address Vasudeva by the name of Pabhāvatī, and both of them pass their time in happy reunion. Māṇasavega's attendants are delighted to see Somasiri in such a good mood.

Then Somasiri narrates to Vasudeva the story of her abduction by Māṇasavega, and her captivity. She tells how she was threatened by Māṇasavega, how he has deputed his sister Vegavatī to persuade her to yield to his wishes, and how Vegavatī has managed to marry Vasudeva instead, both of them not caring enough to worry about Somasiri. She had even thought of committing suicide in despair, but was prevented by Aṅgāravatī, the good mother of Vegavatī. Aṅgāravatī had been sending her food, Somasiri explains, since she did not want to eat anything offered by the enemy.

In this way, enjoying his own form during the night and assuming the body of Pabhāvatī during the day, Vasudeva passes some days in the company of his beloved. Then one day Somasiri wakes up in the morning and notices that Vasudeva still has his own form, and she starts crying. She becomes frightened that there must have been some negligence on Pabhāvatī's part and she fears for Vasudeva's life.

When they see a man inside the pleasure-garden with Somasiri, the maid-servants of Māṇasavega begin whispering among themselves. They remark that the stranger must be the husband of Lady Somasiri. These whisperings are overhead by a maid-servant hiding nearby, and the news is immediately reported to Māṇasavega.

When he hears that some man entered the pleasure-garden and is sporting with the beautiful Somasiri, Māṇasavega becomes furious. He has Vasudeva bound and orders his men to take him to a lonely place and chop off his head. But Māṇasavega's mother intervenes, falling to her son's feet and requesting him to spare the husband of his sister who had come to their house. She adds that Vasudeva is a prominent personality and could not be so easily slain; his death would also create great enmity with the *vidyādharas*, who are related to him. She suggests to her son that at the most he could bind Vasudeva. Māṇasavega reluctantly abides by his mother's advice and keeps Vasudeva bound for three nights. But then he himself appears with a sword to kill him. Somasiri utters a loud cry of lamentation, Aṅgāravatī again appears on the scene and scolds her son for bringing shame upon the family by his impetuous behaviour. If he is really determined to kill Vasudeva, she says, then he must first produce the offender before the court of the *vidyādharas*.

Again Mānasavega agrees, and Vasudeva is led to the court. A large drum, decorated with garlands, is struck by Mānasavega. After hearing the sound of this drum, the *vidyādharas* flock there from all directions and occupy their seats in the court. Vāuvega, the lord of the *vidyādharas*, is seated on the presidential throne.

The court proceedings commence. Mānasavega pleads that he had caught 'that earth-dwelling person' red-handed in the act of entering his harem without permission, and that the latter therefore deserved severe punishment. Besides, Mānasavega adds, Vasudeva had violated his sister Vegavatī by marrying her without the proper consent of her elders.

In his defense, Vasudeva says that the complainant had abducted his wife Somasiri while she was sleeping in her palace and had confined her against her will here in his pleasure-garden, which was no harem, and when he came to see her Mānasavega bound him unjustly and brought him to court. Regarding Mānasavega's sister, he says, he need not talk; the honourable judge could view the true state of affairs with the help of his magic art.

After hearing both sides of the case, Vāuvega gives judgment in favour of Vasudeva. But Mānasavega, unsatisfied by the court of law, insists that the culprit must be killed and he urges his followers to proceed against him. He is still arguing with the judges when all of a sudden a loud cry is heard from Somasiri, who is lamenting the probable fate of her beloved.

Just then Vāuvega draws Mānasavega's attention to the image of Dharaṇa, the King of the Nāgas, which was placed by his forefathers in the hall of the court. He remarks that according to tradition he who creates disturbance and he who tries for appeasement must both suffer the consequences according to proceedings of the court. But Mānasavega, paying no heed to Vāuvega's words of advice, draws out his aword and rushes to kill Vasudeva.

Just then the King of the Nāgas rises up, takes Vasudeva and flies off quickly into the air. Vasudeva feels himself taken to the world of the Nāgas by the great deity. Vasudeva tries to bow down to him when all of a sudden he sees Pabhāvatī there, crying "No, don't do that!" Whereupon Vasudeva is relieved from his bondage, and Pabhāvatī expresses her deep sorrow for her negligence during the time of his stay with Somasiri. She asks for his pardon and falls to his feet.

Then Pabhāvatī proceeds to tell the surprised Vasudeva the latest news: Mānasavega had lost the case in court and was defeated in the following battle. Somasiri, she adds, was made aware of Vasudeva's victory and safety and was staying happily with Aṅgāravatī.

At this point Vasudeva mentions that since they had already gone around the burning lamp in the city of Sāvatthī, they had already gone through the rites of marriage. Therefore there could be no hesitation or reluctance to enjoy mutual pleasures together.

After happily spending some time in this way, Vasudeva expresses his desire to pay homage to the Jain images, and to do so he asks Pabhāvatī to carry him to the Siddhāyayaṇa mountain. Then Pabhāvatī has to confess her inability to carry him up the mountain. She explains why:

"After bringing you together with Somasiri I returned home in the dead of the night, but I could not sleep. I kept thinking of you, and I despised myself for not being faithful to you by responding to your love; I was tormented by my refusal of your request. Deeply grieved for your sake, I passed a few unhappy days. And as soon as I learned that you had fallen into the enemy's hands I rushed to Suvaṇṇapurī, but it was too late. I watched the proceedings of the court. Then, when Māṇasavega rushed at you with his sword I assumed the form of Dharaṇa, King of the Nāgas, and brought you here to this mountain. But listen: there is an old tradition that if any *vidyādhara* or *vidyādharī* assumes the form of some great deity, Dharaṇa, or some other magic deity, he or she will be deprived of his or her magic art. So I have lost my magic power and have become a common earth-dweller, unable to fly through the air[15]. I knew about this beforehand, but in order to save your life I took this bold step. Although I am now deprived of my magic art, I shall still be able to wander about happily in your company on this mountain, and therefore I have brought you here."

Upon hearing this, Vasudeva consoles his beloved and tells her not to worry any further, since no one has control over destiny.

Two Versions of the Pabhāvaṭī Story

There are two versions of the Pabhāvatī story: One may be called the 'distorted Jain version of the *BK*' represented by the *VH* and supplemented by the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* of Jinasena (*JHP*), a Sanskrit Jain work of the 8th century A.D. The other and more authentic version of the *BK* is represented by the *MKH*, likewise a Jain work, and supplemented by the two Kashmirian versions.

I. The JHP Version Supporting the VH

The *JHP* version follows the *VH* and gives the following account:

Prabhāvatī is the daughter of King Gandhāra[16] by his chief queen Pṛthivī in the southern city of Gandhasamṛddha. Prabhāvatī goes to Svarṇābha, Māṇasavega's city, where she asks Vegavatī's mother Aṅgāravatī about her

daughter.   Vegavati's girl friends tell Prabhāvatī that Vegavatī is with Vasudeva[17]. After learning that Vasudeva's beloved Somasiri was being held captive there by Mānasavega, Prabhāvatī immediately goes to see her. She finds the poor lady sorely afflicted and sorrowful[18]. Somasiri begs Prabhāvatī to bring a message to Vasudeva, pleading him to set her free from the custody of his enemy Mānasavega[19]. Prabhāvatī duly reports this do Vasudeva, who immediately wants to be taken to Somasiri.

Prabhāvatī carries Vasudeva through the air to the city of Svarṇābha. Their bodily contact excites them, causing their hair "to bristle with joy". Furthermore, Prabhāvatī's girdle and siken garment become dishabille (*srasta-rasanāṃśuka*)[20]. Prabhāvatī carries Vasudeva straight to Somasiri, however.

Vasudeva is struck by Somasiri's sorrowful face and pale cheeks. Her lips, once so red, appear greyish as she looks like "a withered creeper covered with faded leaves"[21]. They embrace one another and in so doing seem to unite into one person, so as never to be separated again[22]. Then Prabhāvatī uses her magic power to bestow her own form on Vasudeva for his protection, and after doing so she disappears[23]. Vasudeva lives for some days with Somasiri in this fashion in the same house with Mānasavega, being unnoticed by him.

Once, however, Somasiri wakes up first and sees her husband in his natural form.   Frightened for his welfare, she cries out and wakes him. Vasudeva consoles her, saying that the magic has no effect during sleep[24]. After this incident Vasudeva continues living with Somasiri as before.

The rest of the story continues fairly smoothly in brief section found in the beginning of the *Keumati-lambha* in the VH.

One day Mānasavega detects Vasudeva staying with Somasiri.   He approaches King Balasīha of Vaijayantī, who is devoted to justice, and lodges a complaint.   Mānasavega loses the case and starts fighting with Vasudeva. Vegavati's mother offers a divine bow and a pair of quivers to her son-in-law. Prabhāvatī bestows the magic art Paṇṇatti upon him. Thus Mānasavega is defeated and bound by Vasudeva. Mānasavega's mother begs Vasudeva to let her son free, and after he is taken to Somasiri, Vasudeva does let Mānasavega go. Impressed by the hero's generosity, Mānasavega becomes his 'friend' and carries him and Somasiri to the city of Mahāpura in his heavenly car[25].

In the Jain versions found in the *VH, JHP*, and *TŚP*, this is the harmless and quiet ending of an elongated and interrupted quest for Somasiri. The battle between Mānasavega and Vasudeva does not end in violent bloodshed but rather in peaceful compromise. According to the *JHP* version[26] moreover, Mānasavega even freely offers his sister to Vasudeva in marriage.

II. The MKH Version compared to the Kashmirian Versions

It is significant and interesting that in the *MKH*, although a Jain work, many of the explicit details of the Prabhāvatī story tally to a great extent with the two Brahmanic Kashmirian versions. The following major points of comparison are worth noticing:

(1) Piyaṅgusundarī of the *VH* and the *MKH* is Bhadrayaśas of the *BKŚS*, *KSS* and *BKM*. In all three versions of the story in the *MKH*, *KSS*[27] and *BKM*[28] Prabhāvatī reproaches Vasudeva (Naravāhanadatta) for being devoted to another woman while neglecting his beloved Somasiri (Madanamañjukā; Madanamañcukā in *KSS* and *BKM*; Madanamañjūṣā in the *KKC*), who meanwhile suffers in anguish in the custody of the enemy.

(2) During their air-borne journey, Prabhāvatī moves around a celestial tree emitting a light 'like a burning lamp', thus symbolizing a wedding ceremony with Vasudeva in the *MKH*. In the *BKM*[29] she goes around a burning lamp, and in the *KSS*[30] around a fire.

(3) The romantic scenes on the way are narrated at length and in great detail in the *MKH*; these are just barely mentioned in the Kashmirian versions.

(4) In the *MKH* Vasudeva, excited by the romantic scenes pointed out by Prabhāvatī, decides to test her to see if she too is excited with love. To do so he pretends to feel thirsty, and gauges her love by her reaction. In the *KSS*[31], however, Naravāhanadatta asks for water simply because he is actually tired and thirsty from the long journey in the air. The episode finds no place at all in the *BKM*.

(5) The *MKH* records a very interesting, lively dialogue of romance between Vasudeva and Prabhāvatī after the hero begs her to satisfy his craving for love right there in the grove. This scene is simply narrated cursorily in the *KSS*[32]. It is stated here that after Naravāhanadatta's craving for water was satisfied, a fresh craving arose in him to embrace the lovely lady. The *BKM*[33] only mentions that Naravāhanadatta wants to enjoy pleasures with Prabhāvatī.

(6) Prabhāvatī's resistance against the hero's craiving for her is common to all three versions. Prabhāvatī insists that it is not the time for enjoying pleasure, since she had been entrusted with the carrying out of the request of her friend Somasiri, who had begged her to fetch Vasudeva and relieve her sufferings; this same errand had been asked before of Vegavatī, who did not keep her trust due to her infatuation with the hero[34].

(7) In the *MKH* the scene of the reunion between Vasudeva

(Naravāhanadatta) and his beloved Somasiri (Madanamañjukā) is much more elaborate and dramatic than the Kashmirian versions.

(8) In the *MKH* Somasiri does not allow her abductor Māṇasavega to go scot-free, but asserts that she will be free from sorrow only when his body is split and shown to her spilled with blood. Vasudeva promises to fulfil her wishes. In the *KSS*[35], Madanamañjukā exclaims that only when Mānasavega is killed would she let down her braid of hair; otherwise it would be loosened by the birds, or consumed by fire.

(9) In the *MKH* Somasiri narrates to Vasudeva that when Māṇasavega tried to approach her, a voice was heard saying that Somasiri, being the wife of an excellent person, could not be offended even by the heavenly gods, and if Māṇasavega did not stop from his pursuit, he would be killed. Here the name of Dharaṇa, the King of the Nāgas, is mentioned; according to the Jains[36] Dharaṇa, is supposed to be the guardian of moral law. IN the *KSS*[37] it is Lord Śiva who appears in a terrible form, threatening Māṇasavega not to disrespect Lady Madanamañjukā as long as he, Śiva, is there. Obviously the author of the *MKH* is presenting a Jain version of the original *BK*.

(10) In the *MKH* version an explanation is given for Vasudeva's losing his disguise as Prabhāvatī. It is explained that since Prabhāvatī could not satisfy Vasudeva's desire for love earlier during their journey together, she returns home dissatisfied and unhappy after bestowing her shape to Vasudeva. Her worry prevents her from sleeping for several nights. As a result she gets up late one morning and thus, due to her negligence at this time, Vasudeva loses her form and wakes up in his own body. In the *KSS*[38] we are simply told that one night Prabhāvatī goes to her father's house and since she is such a long distance away, Naravāhanadatta loses her shape.

(11) The episode where Vasudeva (Naravāhanadatta) is bound and led to the court of the *vidyādharas* is common to the *MKH* and the *KSS*[39] versions. The beating of a drum by the complainant seems to have been common practice.

(12) The court is presided over by King Vāuvega (Vāyupatha in the *KSS* and *BKM*). Replying to the charges of Māṇasavega and asserting the sanctity of this court of justice, Vasudeva exclaims in the *MKH*:

> *"There is no court without the elderly people;*
> *They are not elderly who are not virtuous;*
> *There is no virtue without truth, and*
> *There can be no truth which is full of deceit"*[40].

(13) In the *MKH* version, a miraculous image of Dharaṇa, King of the Nāgas, is placed in the court. When the fighting ensues between the

vidyādharas on both sides, the King of the Nāgas breaks out of his own image and rushes out. At the sight of this terrible form, Māṇasavega becomes frightened. Then the great deity takes Vasudeva up in his arms and flies off into the sky. Vasudeva is taken to the beautiful region on the top of the golden mountain, and he feels as if he has ascended the Cullahimavanta mountain. In the *KSS*[41] we find almost exactly the same description, the only difference being that Lord Śiva is the deity assuming the terrific form, who in order to protect Naravāhanadatta, carries him up to the mountain Ṛṣyamūka. This is another clear instance where the author of the *MKH* has presented a Jain version of the original *BK*, once more by introducing Dharaṇa, King of the Nāgas in Jain mythology, in order to avoid the supreme Hindu deity Lord Śiva.

(14) According to the *MKH* Prabhāvatī all of a sudden appears as soon as Vasudeva has reached the mountain. She explains that due to her own negligence Vasudeva had had to suffer from the hands of Māṇasavega; therefore she had felt bound to assume the form of Dharaṇa and bring him safely to this pleasant mountain. After hearing this, Vasudeva expresses his desire to visit the Siddhāyayana mountain (Siddhāyayana-kūḍa) and pay homage to the Jain shrines there. But Prabhāvatī has to admit her inability to carry him there, as she had lost her magic art while protecting him. She explains that according to the custom, if any *vidyādhara* or *vidyādharī* assumed the form of an elderly deity, Dharaṇa, or a magic deity, their magic art would be taken away from them. We have exactly the same reasoning in the *KSS*[42], where Prabhāvatī says that she produced the delusion of the god's appearance and thus was able to bring Naravāhanadatta to the mountain (Ṛṣyamūka in the *BKM*, 13.5-136). "Though the *vidyādharas* are mighty", she adds, "their influence does not extend over the mountain, for this is the domain of the *Siddhas*; my magic science is of no avail for that reason."

After hearing this, Naravāhanadatta remains there with Prabhāvatī, relishing fruits and roots of heavenly flavour. Again the author of the *MKH* has followed the original *BK's* story, adding merely an overtone of religious Jain sentiment to the details.

III. The Authenticity of the Pabhāvatī-Lambha in the MKH

Before we say something about the authenticity of the *Pabhāvatī-lambha* in the *MKH*, it is worthwhile to ascertain the period of Dharmasenagaṇi, the author of the *MKH*. In this connection the following points are worth noticing:

(1) He was not a contemporary of Saṅghādasagaṇi Vācaka, the author of *VH*; his declared purpose was to complete the unfinished *VH*, obviously an extant manuscript in his time. Although specific proofs are lacking to pinpoint a particular period for the author of the *MKH*, it seems that his work

is much later than the *VH* and earlier than the two Kashmirian versions[43].

(2) So far no proof is available in support of Dharmasengani's statement that the *VH* originally contained 100 *lambhas*, 71 of them having been left out by its author to avoid excessive detail. This statement is most likely a devise to justify the length of his own work, the *MKH*.

(3) It is possible that the big gap in the *VH* formed by the two missing *lambhas* (the 19th and 20th) inspired Dharmasenagaṇi to insert his own *lambhas* in this place and to call his work the *Majjhimakhaṇḍa*, using the *VH* framework to promote his own work.

(4) Aside from the *Prabhāvatī-lambha*, a glance through the remaining *lambhas* of the *MKH* reveals accounts of women who marry Vasudeva.

(5) The author of the *MKH* does not feel obliged to complete the last incomplete *lambha* of the *VH*.

Arguing on the other hand for the authenticity of Dharmasenagaṇi's *MKH*, the following points need to be considered:

(1) The 19th and 20th *lambhas* of the *VH* were definitely missing at the time of Dharmasenagaṇi.

(2) The *VH* contains a very brief account of Prabhāvatī which has been supplemented by the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, a later Sanskrit work of the 8th century A.D.

(3) Dharmasenagaṇi says that he fills the gap of the missing *lambhas* in the *VH* by inserting the *Pabhāvatī-lambha*, the first and most important *lambha* of his entire work. The richness of detail and consistency of dramatic flow in this *lambha* are remarkable.

(4) The contents of the *Pabhāvatī-lambha* of the *MKH* differ from the *VH*, the *JHP*, and the *TŚP*, which represent a Jain version of the story. But whereas the other Jain versions minimize both erotic and violent detail, the *MKH* is in most places more explicit and colourful. One of the most important differences is the fact that the *MKH* is far more akin to the two Kashmirian versions with regard to Māṇasavega's fate: in the *MKH* Somasiri blandly demands the body of her abductor 'bursiting with blood'.

(5) At more than one place, the *TŚP* refers to traditions contained in the *MKH* which are not found in the *VH* or the *JHP*[44]. The author of the *TŚP* might either have had access to the *MKH* or else shared common traditions mentioned there.

(6) As has been stated, the narration of the *Pabhāvatī-lambha* in the *MKH* is much more elaborate, realistic and dramatic than the two Kashmirian versions. At the same time there is a remarkable similarity not only in the contents of the narrations but also in certain verbal expressions. Under the circumstances it cannot be surmised that the *MKH* has borrowed from these other versions.

(7) Lacôte in his '*Essays on Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛhatkathā*', emphasising the importance of the 14th *lambaka* (with the *Taraṅgas* 105-108) of the *KSS*, has noted that each episode of the narration concerning the hero's history allows us to surmise that the whole material was available in much more detail in the *BK*. It is no wonder, then, that the elaborate contents of the *Pabhāvatī-lambha* narrated in the *MKH* do indeed prove valuable for the reconstruction of the lost *BK*.

After considering these various facets of the situation, we can come to the fairly certain conclusion that the author of the *MKH* did at least not compose the *Pabhāvatī-lambha* simply from imagination and random borrowing. The extensive use of some other detailed manuscript is evident; in this respect the use of the *MKH's* first *lambha* becomes invaluable in understanding the original story of Pabhāvatī narrated in the *BK*.

NOTES

1. The unpublished manuscript, partly prepared after comparing several manuscripts by the late Muni Puṇyavijaya of Ahmedabad, is now being edited in its final form by Dr. H.C. Bhayani and Dr. R.M. Shah in Ahmedabad and will be published by the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad (Part I is published now in 1987). A photocopy of the manuscript was brought by the author to Kiel for the Seminar for Indology, University of Kiel, West Germany. The manuscript is in four volumes containing 71 *lambhas* in all. Volume one (pp.1-137) has been edited by Muni Puṇyavijaya, who gives variants from several manuscripts. This volume contains the *Pabhāvatī-lambha* (pp. 1-129), the only part edited so far. The number of lines on the pages varies from 13 to 15, each containing 34-35 *akṣaras*. Volume Two (pp.86-276) of the original manuscript contains the *lambhas* 2-44. The lines on the pages vary from 21 to 24, each containing 29-30 *akṣaras*. The remaining part is the Third *Khaṇḍa*, also known as *Uttarārdha*. Volume one (pp.1-132) contains the *lambhas* 45-57. The lines on the pages vary from 23-26, each containing about 31 *akṣaras*. Volume Two (pp. 131-290) contains the *lambhas* 57-71, the lines varying from 27 to 28, containing 31-33 *akṣaras*. The end of the manuscript (pp.290-300) describes how Vasudeva and Somasiri are united. The whole work of 71 *lambhas* contains as many as 17,000 *ślokas*.
2. The *JHP* (30.52-55) mentions Bhagiratha, the grandfather of Prabhāvatī, who takes Vasudeva to the city of Gandhasamṛddha on the top of the Vijayārdha mountain, where he is married to Prabhāvatī.
3. Balasīha of Vejayantī is referred to in the *Keumatī-lambha* of the *VH* (308, 18).
4. Or Piṅgalagandhāra, a variant, *VH* App. 1, p.4.
5. Gandhasamṛddhaka in the *TŚP* (8.2.560).
6. In the *MKH* (1, p.85; printed ed. p.50). Pabhāvatī calls herself Paṇṇatti.
7. 30. 6-32.
8. *KSS* (106. 73-148); 107, 53-57; 108. 124); *BKM* (13.5,87-149).

9. Identical with Suvaṇṇanābha, in the country of Āsāḍha, However, in the *JHP* it is called Svarṇābha, and in the *KSS* Āṣāḍhapura.

10. The Same in the *JHP* (30.9), but according to the *KSS* version (106.75) she had gone to practice austerities.

11. By muttering this magic art one is able to know the minds of others, *Bṛh-Bhā*, 3, 4633.

12. It is one of the desire-yielding trees. They are: *Mattāṅgaka, Bhṛtāṅga, Tūryāṅga, Dipāṅga, Jyotiraṅga, Citrāṅga, Citrarasāṅga, Manyaṅga, Gṛhākāra* and *Anagna; Sama*, 10.

13. An indication of a wedding ceremony. The *BKM* (13.5.103) mentions moving around a burning lamp, whereas in the *KSS* (106.83-85) moving around the fire is mentioned.

14. Situated in the Mahāvideha region of Jambudvipa according to Jain mythology.

15. Compare Vegavatī's deprival of her magic art by helping Vasudeva.

16. In the *TŚP* (8.2.586) version Gandhārapiṅgala, the king of Gandhārasamṛddhaka, asks the goddess of magic art about Prabhāvatī's future husband, and receives the name of Vasudeva. This has been mentioned in the *MKH*.

17. Also mentioned in the *MKH*.

18. The description of the lady's anguish comparable to the versions in the *KSS* and the *BKM*.

19. At this point an important dialogue between Somasiri and prabhāvati is recorded in the *TŚP*: Somasiri sighs, and referring to the earlier betrayal she exclaims: "I know you will bring my husband in the same way as Vegavati brought him". But Prabhāvati retorts, "Do you think I am Vegavati?" A similar interchange is mentioned in the *MKH*.

20. It is a symbol of love. Compare the *Piyaṅgusundari-lambha* (289, 1) in the *VH*, where the slipping of the girdle is also mentioned.

21. It is worth comparing the descriptions in the *KSS* (106. 107-108) and the *BKM* (13.5.115).

22. *Ekatāmiva tau gatau* in the *JHP* (30.25); compare *ekatāmiva jagmatuḥ* in the *KSS* (106. 110).

23. *Rūpaṃ nāma ca tasyāsau* in the *JHP* (30.27); *atarkyaṃ rūpaṇtātmiyaṃ* in the *KSS* (106. 121); *tadrūpacchanna-vigrahaḥ* in the *BKM* (13. 5. 117).

24. For explanations why Prabhāvati is unable to attend to Vasudeva, see the summary of the *MKH* story above.

25. The same story has been narrated in the *TŚP* (8.2. 560-587). Also compare the *KSS* (106. 186).

26. 32. 30.

27. 106. 81.

28. 13. 5. 101.

29. 13. 5. 103.

30. 106. 84.

31. 106. 88.

32. 106. 90.

33. 13. 5. 105.

34. *Ibid.*, 13. 5. 106-109. Compare the *BKŚS* (XIV, 124).

35. 106. 114; also the *BKŚS* (XIV, 125).

36. Also see *VH*, 264, 19-24. Dharaṇa, who was a devotee of Usaha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, ᵃ, bestowed upon Nami and Vinami a number of magic arts and made them the kings of the southern and northern regions of the Veyaḍḍha mountain, Later on the *vidyādharas* established the Lord's image in their cities and the assembly-halls, 164. 1-17.

37. 106. 126-128.

38. 106. 148.

39. 106. 162-163.

40.
न सभा वुड्ढ-विहूणा, वुड्ढा वि ण ते होंति जे अधम्मिट्ठा।
धम्मो न सच्च-रहिओ, न य सच्चं होइ छल-जुत्तम्॥

MKH, 1,p. 113; printed ed., p.65.
Compere a similar verse in the *KSS* (106. 168):

सा सभा यत्र सभ्योऽस्ति, स सभ्यो धर्ममाह यः।
स धर्मो यत्र सत्यं स्यात्, तत्सत्यं यत्र न छलम्॥

Also compare The *BKM* (13. 5. 130):

विभान्ति ये सदा न्यायैः, सभा भाति च सज्जनैः।
ते धर्मेण प्रकाशन्ते, न सोऽस्तीह किमुच्यते॥

Also cf. *Hitopadeśa*, vigraha, Verse 61, Kale ed., Delhi, 1976.
41. 106. 181-184; also see *BKM* (13. 5. 135-137).
42. 107. 3-7.
43. According to Dr. B.J. Sandesara, no later date than the 7th or 8th century A.D. can be assigned to the *MKH* on the basis of the language (introduction to the Gujarati Translation of the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p. 15).
44. See footnotes 16 and 19.

7

TRADE AND COMMERCE IN ANCIENT INDIA*
(From Jain Sources)

Earning money is given importance in the *Vasudevhiṇḍi* as already stated. While discussing the types of men, it is said: "One who enjoys himself and at the same time can add to the wealth of his forefathers is the best; one who at least does not let his forefathers' wealth diminish is average; and the one who exhausts all the wealth of his family is worst kind a person".

Jain writers, along with *dharma*, also emphasised the importance of *artha*. Jains being a business community, occupied high positions, such as that of a minister, a treasurer, a *śreṣṭhin* or a *Jagat seth* and a *sārthavāha* or a caravan-leader. Therefore it was natural that they felt interested in enterprising stories related to *artha*.

Development of Trade and Commerce

In Indian history the Āndhra-Sātavāhana age (2nd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D.) has been noted for the development of trade and commerce in ancient India. India developed trade with Western Asia, Greece, Rome and Egypt and as a result the Indian port-towns, such as Tāmralipti (Tamluk), Bhṛgukaccha (Broach) and Śūrpāraka (Sopara) had a roaring business and soon turned into centres of ship-building. The findings of Andhra coins of the 2nd century A.D., bearing marks of Indian ships, indicate the prominence of maritime trade in India. The celebrated Guṇāḍhya, the court-poet of Sātavāhana kings, composed his well-known *Bṛhatkathā*, containing delightful thrilling stories of Indian merchants.

Story of Cārudatta

The *VH* narrates the story of Cārudatta, a merchant's son of Campā who undertakes an undaunted journey in order to acquire wealth. The story has been narrated previously. Driven out from a prostitute's house he sets out to do business. He proceeds to Tāmralipti in the company of a caravan but the party is attacked by a band of robbers and nothing is left with him. While

---

proceeding to Saurāṣṭra he meets a shipwreck caused by a disastrous sea-wind. Clinging to a wooden plank, being tossed about for seven terrible nights, he reaches the shores of Umbarāvatī. He purchases saleable commodities and again sets out with a caravan. He struggled hard but unfortunately, failed to succeed to reach his destination of Ratnadvīpa.

The Heroic Youths of Merchant Class

In Prakrit narrative literature we meet the ambitious sons of traders and merchants, who instead of depending on their parents' wealth insist on travelling to foreign countries to make their fortune. They argued that a man who did not earn money in his youth, was called as useless as the fleshy nipple hanging down from the neck of a goat, and begged leave of their parents to go abroad[1]. The parents asked their sons to stay at home as they possessed plenty of wealth, but the sons would not pay any heed to their advice. They made trips after trips of the Indian Ocean but still were not satisfied.

Travelling Difficulties

Travelling was most arduous and troublesome in those days. The party of the merchants had to pass through forests and deserts which were beset with various kinds of dangers. The forests were full of wild beasts and there was always fear of being attacked by robbers and wild tribes. Due to excessive rains, the marshy route of the jungle was difficult to pass through, the bamboo tracts prevented people from going ahead, and a herd of elephants obstructed the road. Then there was the fear of forest-conflagration, the poisonous trees were to be taken care of, and there were state restrictions for travel.

Many a time the caravan was led asray for want to proper direction. To pass through the sandy desert was no easy task. We are told in the *Āva-Cū* (p. 553) that around Siṇavalli (Sinavan, Dist. Muzaffargarh, Pakistan) there was a formidable desert where there was no shade to protect oneself from the burning heat nor any water to drink. The party of the trading merchants travelled fast during night, and children and old people were carried in a *kāvaḍa* (a bamboo pole with baskets attached to both its ends)[2]. In the desert the travellers followed the nails that were struck in the earth indicating direction[3].

The Movement of the Caravan

Five types of caravan are mentioned in the *Bṛh-Bhā* (4th century A.D.): some carried their goods by carts and waggons (*bhaṇḍi*); others by camels, mules and bullocks (*bahilaga*); some carried their load by themselves (*bhāravaha*); the working people travelled from place to place (*odariyā*); and the *kārpāṭika* mendicants carried a bamboo pole with baskets attached to both its ends[4]. Some continued their journey at sun-rise, others halted at sun-rise,

some encamped in cow-houses, and others had their meals at midday[5].

The tradesmen marched equipped with carts (aṇuraṅgā), litters, horses, buffaloes, elephants and bullocks so that they could carry the sick, the wounded, the boys and the old people who were unable to walk[6].   They carried essential goods with them which were useful for the journey, particularly at the time of rainy season, floods or any unforeseen calamity[7]. The *KVLM* (p.152) gives an interesting account of the trading merchants who flocked to the city of Vijayā from different countries, such as Golla (the region near Godavari), Madhyadeśa, Magadha, Antarvedi (the region between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā river), Kīra (Kullu, Kangra), Dhakka (Panjab), Sindha, Maru (Rajasthan), Gurjara, Lāṭa, Mālava, Karnāṭaka, Tājika (Tajikistan), Kosala, Maharashtra and Āndhra for business.   They all spoke their native dialects, haggled to bargain and shouted while transacting business.   The author has provided us with some interesting details about their temperament, habits, built and colour of the body and other things.

Sea-Faring Merchants

We come across interesting details about the life of sea-faring merchants.   We are told in the *Nāyā* (8,pp 97ff) that the merchants of Campā loaded their boats with merchandise,   offered flowers and *bali* to gods, worshipped the sea-winds, raised the white flags on the mast, stretched the oars, noticed good omens, secured the passport and amidst the beating of drums boarded the boat.   The friends and relatives who had gathered on the port bade them good-bye, wishing them a speedy return and success in their enterprise.

The sea-voyage was not without perils.   There were disturbances from terrible cyclones (kālikāvāta) when the passengers on the boat, clinging to each other, losing all hopes for life, began propitiating the deities, such as Indra, Skanda etc., for protection.   The sailors and crews were flabbergasted, missed the direction and felt utterly desperate[8].   We learn from the *Uttarā* commentary of Devendragaṇi (18, p.252a) that when the sea-faring merchants were proceeding to Vitibhaya (Bhera, Dist. Shahapur, Pakistan), on account of distrubances the vessel went on tossing in the sea for about six months. The ships were attacked by whales of enoromous size, known as *timiṅgala* (*timiṅgla* is shown attacking a ship in the Bharhut inscription of the 2nd century A.D.) and other water animals.   It was not easy to prevent these animals even by beating drums or burning fire[9].   There was also trouble from pirates who made an attempt to capture the ships and robbed the passengers. It is mentioned in the *Sirivalākahā* (14the century A.D.) that when the ship did not make any headway even at full sail, a human being equipped with 32 bodily marks, was offered to the deity.   At shipwreck many passengers lost their lives, only the lucky ones, with the help of a wooden plank, were able to reach the shores.   When Śrīpāla was pushed out into the sea, by accident he

got on the back of a corcodile and reached the shores of Ṭhāṇā (modern Ṭhāṇe, near Bombay) in Koṅkaṇa. It was customary that in order to attract the attention of the ship merchants, the shipwrecked passengers put up a banner on the top of a tree or burned fire as a means of communication. Noticing this the passers-by merchants halted their ship and picked up the deserted companions[10].

Nautical Information in Jain Works

The Jain texts provide us with quite a few important details about the maritime trade. The sea-going vessel was known by the names of *pota*, *potavahana*, *vāhana* or *pravahaṇa*. The *Āva-Cū* (II 197) refers to the ship, known as Vārivṛṣabha which sailed from Pāṇḍu Mathurā to Saurāṣṭra. The ships made their onward journey by the force of wind; they were fitted with oars and rudders (*valayabāhā*), sails and anchors. The pilot (*niryāmaka*) piloted the ship. The others who worked on the ship were boatsmen (*kukṣidhāraka*), helmsmen (*karṇadhāra*) and crew (*gabbhijja*)[11], The *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra* (2.3.1.342) refers to oars (*alitta*), rudders (*pīḍhaya*), bamboo to fathom water (*vaṃsa*), rope (*rajju*) and other nautical implements. Various types of boats and ships have been recorded. The boats are denoted by the word *nāvā*, *agaṭṭhiyā* (*ekaṭhā*; came from Nepal, carried 40 to 50 maunds of grain), *antaraṇḍakagoliyā* (canoe) and *koñcaviraga* (a ship resembling the flank of a cart according to *Niśī-Cu*, 16, 5323). There were boats made of the shape of an elephants's trunk. The *Niśī-Bhā* refers to four types of boats: that which went along the current of the river (*anuloma-gāminī*), which sailed against the current (*pratiloma-gāminī*), which sailed from one shore to another easily (*tiryak-saṃtariṇī*) and which sailed in the ocean (*samudra-gāminī*). The last one was used for travelling from the port of Teyālapaṭṭaṇa (modern Veraval in Gujarat) to Dvārakā. The *Aṅgavijjā* (p. 166) under the heading *"Jānajoṇi"*, gives an important list of boats and ships; some of these are Greek names mentioned by Periplus in his *Erythrean Sea*. The list includes the names of *nāvā*, *pota*, *koṭṭimba*, *sālikā*, *saṃghāḍa*, *tappaka*, *plava*, *piṇḍikā*, *kaṭṭha*, *velu*, *tumba*, *kumbha* and *dati*. Out of these *nāvā* and *pota* were of big size; *koṭṭimba*, *sālikā*, *saṃghāḍa*, *plava* and *tappaka* of medium size; *kaṭṭha* and *velu* of still smaller size; and *tumba*, *kumbha* and *dati* were of the smallest size. Out of the list *koṭṭimba*, *tappaka* and *saṃghāḍa* have been identified with cotyamba, trappaga and sangara ships in respective order mentioned by Periplus[12]. The *Siṅvāla-kahā* refers to some other names: *vaḍasafara*, *pavahaṇṇa*, *bediya* (*beḍā* in Hindi), *vegaḍa*, *silla* (a kind of boat) *āvatta* (a round boat), *khurappa* and *bohittha*. The *Sudaṃsaṇa-cariya* (7) of Devendrasūri (13th century A.D.) adds *kharakulliya*, *bedulla* and others.

Importance of Jain Sources for the History of Indian Culture

Though Jainism, like Buddhism, did not cross the boundary of India, the

ambitious Jain merchants made adventurous journeys to foreign countries. They visited Siṃhala, Pārasa (Persia), Joṇiya or Javaṇa (Greece), Ārabaka (Arabia) and other countries with their merchandise and carried on business. There was a regular trade between India and Persia. Ujjaini had been an important centre of trade and commerce. Merchants of Ujjaini travelled to Pārasakūla and returned with various commodities such as conch, nuts, sandalwood, aloe, madder (*mañjiṭṭha*), silver, gold, gems, pearls and corals. A certain trader while returning from Pārasa declared a part of his goods but concealed gold, silver, gems and other precious stones in his bag. At the discovery of the goods he was put under arrest[13].

The Jain canonical literature refers to female slaves who were brought from Babbara, Joṇiya, Palhava, Siṃhala, Ārabaka, Pārasa, Bahalī (Vāhlīka, Balkh in Afghanisatan) and many other countries. They put on dress of their countries, were accomplished and skilful[14].

Jain writers, though they have not given details about trade routes, etc., have collected details concerning trade and commerce and other important things about Indian culture, not generally recorded in non-Jain literature. The main reason is that the Jain monks were supposed to get themselves well-acquainted with the customs, practices and conventions of the country where they stayed so that they could not be an object of ridicule. With this background we come across a number of references and general information which can be of great use in carrying out a sociological study of Indian society. The people of Ujjaini, for example, are denoted as very clever in discriminating between good and bad[15]. They have been associated with the people of Sindhu known for their harsh language[16]. They are grouped with the people of Mahesara (Mahiṣmati) and Śrīmāla (Bhinmal) who were addicted to drink[17]. It has been stated that the people of Magadha were extremely clever as they were able to grasp a thing simply if it was indicated to them, whereas people from Kosala were required to have a look at it, people from Pañcāla must hear it partly before they grasped it, and to make a thing intelligible to the residents of Dakṣiṇāpatha, it must be told explicitly[18]. Abhayadevasūri has characterised women of different countries as follows: He has admired the Chālukya daughters for their bravery as they entered the burning pyre of their husband, even though they had no love for him and the women of Lāṭa for their beauty, but he was not happy with the women of North, who covering their body from top to the bottom with clothes, deprived the young men to enjoy their youthful charm[19].

NOTES

1. See Somaprabhasūri, *Kumāravālapaḍiboha*, Story of Sundara, son of merchant Dhanapati.
2. *Niśī-Bhā*, 16.5652 and *Cū*.
3. *Sūyagaḍa* com., 1.11, p.196.

4. *Bṛh-Bhā*, 1.3066ff.

5. *Ibid*, 3083f.

6. *Ibid*, 1,3071.

7. *Ibid*, 3072; also 3075ff.

8. *Nāyā* 17, p.201.

9. Guṇṇacandragaṇi, *Kahārayaṇakosa*, Sujaya-Rājarṣi-kathānaka.

10. *KVLM*, p.89.

11. *Nāyā*, 8,98; also *Aṅgavijjā*, 79, 24f.

12. See Moti Chandra, Intr. to *Aṅgavijjā*, p.49.

13. *Uttarā* Com. 3,64.

14. See *Nāyā*, 1,21.

15. *Uttarā* Com.3,60.

16. *Bṛh-Bhā*, 6.6126.

17. *Ācā-Cū*, 2.1,p.3.

18. Vya-*Bhā*, 10.192.

19.
अहो चौलुक्य-मुत्रीणां साहसं जगतोऽधिकम् ।
पत्युर्मृत्यौ विशन्त्यग्नौ या प्रेम-रहिता अपि ।।
चन्द्रवक्त्रा सरोजाक्षी सद्गीः पीन-घन-स्तनी ।
किं लाटी नो मता साऽस्य देवानामपि दुर्लभा ।।
धिग् नारीरौदीच्या बहु-वसनाच्छादितांग-लतिकत्वात् ।
यद्यौवनं न यूनां चक्षुर्मोदाय भवति तदा ।।   – Com. on *Thā*

8

MAGICAL SPELLS IN PRAKRIT
JAIN LITERATURE*

The study of folk culture is imperative to appreciate Prakrit narrative literature which provides a vivid picture of realistic life of ancient Indian people – their practices, customs, beliefs, traditions, superstitions, religion, magic and cults, songs and dances, arts and crafts and so forth. It is a treasure-house of popular stories, fairy tales and all kinds of narrative poetry. It has been stated that Jains were good story-tellers and they have preserved numerous Indian tales which would have otherwise been lost to us. Since Prakrit tales are mainly based on Indian folk tales, Prakrit Jain literature abounds in innumerable motifs more than what we notice in Sanskrit. It reflects a state of remote culture which becomes difficult for us to understand and evaluate correctly. The study of these motifs expresses the life of a primitive man, who lived a simple life free from any inhibition, suppression or taboos, with an innocent natural attitude towards sex. A motif reveals pre-history of tale-types, and as the study of motifs is helpful in tracing the common origin of world-wide story literature, it is very useful for establishing an international human relationship. In other words, motifs form a part of common treasury of universal literature.

A critical study of Prakrit Jain narrative literature throws considerable light on socio-economic condition, hence it is indispensable in reconstructing the social and cultural history of ancient Indian people. It helps in unfolding the traditional and dynamic elements in ancient Indian society and how they are relevant to modern times.

Prakrit Jain literature has not been fully explored. It has not drawn the attention of scholars as it deserves, though scholars like Jacobi, Hertel, Bloomfield, W. Norman Brown, Emeneau, Tawney, Penzer, Winternitz and others have contributed a great deal in this field almost till the end of the third decade of the twentieth century. The publication of numerous Prakrit texts and important researches conducted since then needs a thorough study of the

---

subject.

The *Baḍḍakahā* or the *Bṛhatkathā* by celebrated Guṇāḍhya seems to be the oldest composition of fantastic Indian tales written in Paiśācī dialect. This work full of wonderful meaning became so popular that a number of distinguished Prakrit and Sanskrit writers drew from this great novel. Saṅghadāsagaṇi Vācaka (circa 3rd or 4th century A.D.) assimilated the whole story of the *BK* in his *VH* to such an extent that it was difficult to distinguish between the old and the new composition, until recently, in 1938, Professor Alsdorf pointed out in the Oriental Conference held in Rome that the *VH* was a new version of the lost *BK* of Guṇāḍhya[1]. The *MKH* by Dharmasenagaṇi Mahattara[2] is another important work worth mentioning here. Though this work is called the second part of the *VH*, it seems to have followed a version of the *BK* different from what we have in the *VH*.

Jain authors were also interested in narrating popular tales of the *Pañcatantra* or the *Hitopadeśa*-type. The *Textus Simplicior* of the *Pañcatantra*, known as the *Pañcākhyāna* has been assigned to Pūrṇabhadrasūri (1199 A.D.), a Jain, who made the old *Pañcatantra* popular not only in India but also outside. It gained so much popularity outside that Jains themselves forgot that it belongs to them[3]. The other popular works such as the *Siṃhāsana-dvātriṃśikā*, the *Vetāla-pañcaviṃśatikā*, the *Śuka-saptati*, the *Bharaṭa-dvātriṃśikā* etc. either have been composed by Jains or have been used in their narratives for the purpose of edification of their votaries.

Jain monks, barring the four months of the rainy season, wandered from country to country preaching their religious sermons. They were expected to know the local dialects and get themselves acquainted with the customs, practices and etiquetts of the country so that they could get on with their mission undistrubed. They provided us information with regard to social and political life of the people of that period. Here we propose to deal with magical spells presented in Prakrit Jain narrative literature.

Importance of Magic

Magic plays a significant role in the life of a primitive man. He had no control over natural forces; he was subject to the powers of nature, to the hills and valleys, rivers and forests. He lived in dense forests and on the outskirts of hills and mountains, covered with a dense mass of trees which were difficult to negotiate even in broad day light. He had to face the danger of wild animals and poisonous snakes. To procure daily food was the most difficult thing for which he had to struggle hard. If there were no rains, there was scarcity of food which resulted in deaths due to starvation. He had to encounter natural calamities, pestilence and various kinds of deadly diseases. In order to overcome these obstacles, primitive man chanted incantations and

performed magical dances. He danced for hunt, for good harvest, for rains and for warding off evil spirits. He had a sun-dance, a wind-dance or a bear-dance, the tiger-dance, the deer-dance, the elephant-dance, the vulture-dance, the sparrow-dance, the cock-dance and various other dances were popular. In order to guard the crop against the evil spirits hostile to fertility, he suspended a gourd, a jackal's head or a black pot with white lines. In order to avert drought, the Munda went to the hilltop and threw down stones so that the rumbling sound of stones resembling the sound of clouds, would provide rain. The songs of the early ancestors of the Vedic people fulfilled their desires and saved them from hunger and extinction. Thus a primitive man lived happily in a fabulous mythical world surrounded by fairies and snake queens where he could fly through the air, making himself small or big, became invisible, changed his sex and procured precious stones from some imaginative island.

In fact, magic in itself had no effect; it was based on the principle of creating suggestibility. A magician had to feel a super-normal power within himself so that he was able to bring the forces of nature under control. The magic power could not be a material reality, it only created illusion of controlling reality. The primitive magician had to feel that he possessed the power to control natural forces. In course of time, when his magic failed, he had to take recourse to higher powers and tried to appease them through prayers and practising rites.

Mountains in Jain Literature

In order to achieve the goal of their life, Jain ascetics practised penance on the top of a mountain or a solitary place in a jungle. It has been stated that when Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara of Jains, was practising penance on the Mount Aṣṭāpada (Kailāśa), Dharaṇendra, the King of Nāgas, bestowed upon Nami and Vinami various magical spells. Since both of them were in possession of the *vidyās*, they were now called *Vidyādharas* and enjoyed pleasures like divine beings[4].

Mountains were known for accomplishing magical spells. Sīmaṇaga (not identified), located at the confluence of five rivers, had a shrine of revered Ṛṣabha and many ascetics attained omniscience here[5]. The mountain Hrīmat (unidentified) was another holy place where the image of Dharaṇendra was installed[6]. Śrīparvata which has been compared with the mountain Meru in its splendour, was another holy place assigned for practising meditation[7]. Besides we have numerous other mountains and hillocks such as Samrnedaśikhara, also known as Samādhiśikhara or Malla-parvata or Śikhara (Pārasnāth Hill in Hazaribagh district), Rajgir and Mandāragiri in Bihar; Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri in Orissa; Śatruñjaya, Girnār, Tāraṅgāgiri and Pāvāgiri in Gujarat; Ābu in Rajasthan; Daśārṇapura, Kuñjarāvarta, Rathāivarta and Siddhavarakūṭa in Malwa; Muktāgiri and Kunthalagiri in

Maharashtra; Droṇagiri, Naināgiri and Sonāgir in Madhya Pradesh; Śravaṇa Belgol and Karkal (meaning black stone) in Karnaṭaka and many others which are considered the places of pilgrimage, visited every year by Jain community.

Association with Tribal People

The country of Magadha, the birth-place of Jainism, which comprises modern south Bihar, west of Bengal and the region south of the Gaṅgā, was surrounded by the Muṇḍas, the Santhalas, the Orāons, the Bhuiyas, the Kharias, the Hos and other tribal people. It is interesting that Pārśvanātha, though born in Varanasi, had to travel to Sammedaśikhara in South Bihar for attainment of salvation. This hilly area is surrounded by Santhal Pargana, Birbhum and Bankura districts in the east, Purulia and Dhalbhum in the south and Lohardagā in the west. Pārśvanātha must have made this region a centre of his activites. The worship of Maraṅg Buru (or Baṛpāhāḍī), deity of the Muṇḍas, is popular in this area. The people assemble to meet the deity and hold council with him. The Mahā-pāṭ or the great Pāṭ, was another mountain-deity worshipped by the Pauri Bhuiyas and other tribesmen. A hut temple was provided to the deity and the tribesmen came to offer him sacrifice[8]. Here in the Manbhum district we meet a community known as Sarāk (*Śrāvaka* or hearer of Jain faith). The Sarāks call themselves the followers of Pārśvanātha; they use filtered water and do not eat after sunset[9]. The members of the community must have been initiated to Jain faith at some earlier stage.

The worship of Manasā, the serpent-deity, is popular among the tribes of Birbhum and Bankura districts; its *pūjā* is performed during the four months of the rainy season[10]. It is noteworthy that Pārśvanātha is associated with Dharaṇendra, the lord of the serpents, protecting the Tīrthaṅkara with its hood. There is no wonder if Jain practices were affected by the manners and customs of tribal people of this region.

Mahavira was a native of Vaiśāli. During his ascetic life he travelled in the interior of this region. He travelled through the country of Lāḍha (Rāḍha in West Bengal, comprising the districts of Hooghly, Howrah, Bankura, Burdwan and eastern portion of Midnapore) which was divided into Vajjabhūmi (Vajrabhūm or Bīrbhūm)[11] and Subbhabhūmi (the country of Suhmas or Singhbhum). Thre was no easy regular route in this region and Mahavira is said to have undergone extreme hardships. It has been stated that due to eating coarse food, the inhabitants of this land were furious by nature. As soon as they came across an ascetic travelling through their land, they set their dogs on him, hit him, with stick, fist, or lance, tore his hair and flung dust on his body. In the absence of clothes, they covered their body with grass. There were very few villages in this wild region, therefore a person had to travel a long distance before arriving at a village[12]. The other places visited

by Mahavira in this region included Puṇṇakalasa (unidentified), Lohaggala (Lohardagā in the Central and North-western portion of Chota Nagpur Division of West Bengal)[13], Gobhūmi (Gomoh), Daḍhabhūmi (Dhalbhum)[14], Tosali (Dhauli in Cuttack district in Orissa) and others[15]. We learn from ancient Jain scriptures that the tribal people accepted the teachings of Mahavira. We are told of a *mleccha* King, Kirāta, the ruler of Koṭivarṣa (the capital of Lāḍha), who became Mahavira's follower[16]. The Cilātaputra (son of a Kirāta) has been mentioned a Jain monk, who suffered extreme pain during his ascetic life[17]. Does it not indicate the penetration of Jainism among tribal people?

Magic Spells and Tribals

Various kinds of *vidyās* have been referred to in ancient Jain texts. The Pārvatī *vidyā* is related to mountain, the Vaṃsa-latā to the bamboo-creeper and the Vṛkṣa-mūlikā to the root of trees[18]. This shows that magical spells were closely associated with mountains, bamboo-thickets and trees, which were generally the dwelling places of aborigines. It is interesting that the *vidyās* have been described as directly related to the tribal people — the Śabaras, the Pulindas the Rākṣasas, the Vānaras, the Draviḍas, the Gāndhāras and the Kaliṅgas, the Mātaṅgas, the Ḍombas, and the Śvapākas[19].

Udyotanasūri in his KVLM has provided some important information in this connection. It is said that some of the *vidyās* were accomplished within a limited time; others were acquired in places with fire, bamboo-groves, city crossways, dense forests and on mountains. Also to acquire these *vidyās* one had to assume the form of a Kāpālika, a Mātaṅga, a Rakṣasa, a Vānara or a Pulinda. The Śabarī *vidyā* was to be acquired by assuming the form of a Śabara clan. It could be acquired in the company of one's own spouse with observance of strict rules of celebacy which was as difficult as walking on the blade of a sword[20]. First of all, the homage was paid to Lord Rṣabha by offering him flowers and various kinds of eatables and fruits. Then, simultaneously, offering the divine prayers to the Lord, one had to stand in meditation (*kāyotsarga*) in order to propitiate Dharaṇendra, the King of Nāgas. The second *kāyotsarga* should be practised in honour of the chief queen, who is dearer than one's own life, and the third one to conciliate the Śabarī spell. Then after reciting the incantation, the *Namokāra*, the ornaments and jewels of the body were set aside and the accomplisher covered his body with bark and leaves. Then in order to assume the form of a Śabara, the accomplisher held the bow and arrow in his hand and tied the tuft of his hair with creepers and leaves of plants. His *vidyādharī* wife adorned with a garland of *guñjā* fruits (*Abrus precatorious*) looked beautiful like a female Śabarī. After that the lord of Śabaras, the supreme sovereign king, whispered the spell in the ears of the young couple. Both accepted the spell with a handful of flowers. In this manner the spell was to be cultivated for some time. Then the couple observed silence, paid obeisance to the Lord,

and bowed down to the elders and the people of the same faith[21].

At this time, a *vidyādhara* from amongst them, with folded hands, uttered: O protectors of the world, O masters of the spell, listen to the declaration: Formerly, there was Śabaraśīla, the lord of the *vidyādharas*, who was exceedingly powerful and a treasure-house of all accomplished Śabara *vidyā*. In course of time, disgusted with worldly pleasures, he relinquished his splendorous kingdom and began practising austerities in a mountain-cave. His son Śabarasenāpati, out of devotion to his father and affection towards elders, installed the crystal image of the revered Ṛṣabha in the cave. From that time onwards, this place was known to be the abode of achievement (*siddhi-kṣetra*) for the *vidyādharas* belonging to the group of the masters of the Śabara *vidyā*. With this holy image carrying in front, one should move about in the forest. To older people all *vidyās* are accomplished all the time. So by the power of Lord Ṛṣabha, by the name of Dharaṇendra and by the attachment for the *vidyā* let this *vidyā* be acomplished by this lord of Śabaras, the son of the master of the Śabaras, assuming the form of a Śabara. Let all the *vidyādharas* exclaim with all the auspices, "let the *vidyā* be accomplished by the prince." All of them uttered these words simultaneously, "Let the *vidyā* be accomplished, let the *vidyā* be accomplished" and they flew in the air. The man and woman in the form of Śabaras remained[22].

The association of magical spells with Ṛṣabha, Dharaṇendra, the mountain-cave, the forest and the apparel of a tribesman, is very significant. It indicates how the manners and customs prevalent among tribal people formed a part of our folk literature. Even after a lapse of hundreds of centuries, people believed that if a magical spell was to be cultivated, it was essential to take refuge to mountains, caves and forests and assume the form of a tribesman.

The Status of Mātaṅga Tribe

Like the Śabaras, the Mātaṅgas belong to an important clan. They have been ranked with the Ḍombas, the Śvapākas, the Caṇḍālas, the Pāṇas and the other so-called degraded classes. The Mātaṅgas belonged to the *vidyādhara* clan indicating their skill in magic lores[23]. The magical lores, the Mātaṅgī and the Śvapākī are noted along with the Pārvatī, the Vaṃśa-latā and the Vṛkṣa-mūlikā[24]. It is said that a certain Mataṅga was in possession of a *vidyā* which could not be transferred to King Śreṇika Bimbasāra unless the king agreed to give up his royal throne and occupy the Mātaṅga's seat below[25]. We meet a Mātaṅga sage, who while sojourning in the Tinduga garden of Vārāṇasī, was protected by Gaṇḍitinduga Yakṣa[26]. As the Ghaṇṭika Yakṣa belonged to the Ḍombas, so the Āḍambara or Hiriḍikka Yakṣa was related to the Mātaṅgas. The shrine of the Āḍambara Yakṣa is said to have been built on the bones of recently-dead human beings[27]. The Mātaṅga Yakṣa has been assigned a high status by being appointed a presiding deity (*śāsana-devatā*) of

the seventh and the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkaras[28]. In course of time, it seems, the rank of the Mātaṅgas was lowered. We are told that Hepphaga belonged to the lower category of the Mātaṅgas and was cruel by nature[29]. The Mātaṅgī spell is grouped with Gaurī and Gāndhārī which were considered despised as they were difficult to be acquired, though we are told that once acquired they fulfilled all the desires[30]. It is also noteworthy to mention that the *vidyādharas* were required to associate with low class of people – perhaps members of some old tribe – who were supposed to know how to win the ear of a goddess. We are told of the two *vidyādharas*, who are said to have resolved to marry a girl of low extraction. Each one of them got a deformed girl with whom they lived in chastity for a year[31]. Mātaṅgī is known as a favourable popular goddess of the South, who is noted as an unmarried Mādigā (Telugu Pariah) woman; she spit upon people and touched them with stick. Her touch and her saliva were believed to cure all uncleanliness of body and soul[32]. The Mātaṅgas, the Śvapākas, the Kirātas, the Pulindas, the Śabaras and many other Indian tribes were aborigines, or the native inhabitants of our land. In course of time by caste ridden Hindu domination, they were declared of low rank and were forced to lead a contemptible life by dwelling outside the precinct of a village, eating dead animals for their survival. A mātaṅga (*Māṅg* in Marathi) became a Caṇḍāla, a man of the lowest rank in society. A Śvapāka became known for co ;ing dog, a person of low and outcaste tribe, acting as public executioner, carrying out dead bodies of those who were without kindred. A Kirāta was transferred to the category of a Śūdra for neglecting religious rites. A Ḍomba (*Ḍom* in Hindi) was treated a low caste person living by singing and playing music[33]. Later Jain writers have depicted him as quarrelsome, harsh through wrath and slander[34].

The priestly class was responsible to bring about this change in the social structure in Indian society. Our hills and forests, the custodians of our primitive past, are abounding in rich heritage of our culture. Our ancestors – the tribal people or the so-called Backwad Class people – have suffered a lot and have toiled and endeavoured ceaselessly for their survival, and we have to be grateful to them for what we are today. It is really noteworthy that in spite of encountering innumerable humiliations and calamities, they lived a life full of joy and happiness. An ardent desire has been expressed to live for a hundred autumns in a Vedic hymn. Though they are removed by hundreds of centuries from us, yet the conditions still surviving amongst the tribal people of our country are most essential for the purpose of reconstructing the history of not only of Indian civilisation, culture, art and literature but of the world at large.

Tribal influence on Ethical Codes – Unity and Co-operation

The country of Magadha or South of Bihar which has been a centre of activities of Mahavira and Buddha was surrounded by various clans: the Aṅgas, the Vajjis, the Mallas, the Kāsīs, the Kosalas, the Śākyas and the

Koliyas. Mahavira was born among the Vajjis and Buddha among the Śākyas, both having republican government. There was a strong unity among these clans and their administrative and judicial business was conducted in public assemblies in Mote Hall (*saṃthāgāra*) in the presence of young and old, who participated in discussion of various matters of importance. At every instance, an assembly of the congregation was called, a resolution was placed, it was declared to the assembly and a ballot was taken to ascertain the majority opinion. The conception of *saṅgha* or *gaṇa* in Jainism and Buddhism seems to have been modelled on the principle of tribal organisaition and unity. It need not be added that in common with Hindu lower castes, the tribal people insist on equality in social behaviour within their ethnical group, they grant equal status to women and have a strong sense of co-operation.

Brotherhood and Non-violence

The primitive man developed a code of social life based on his interpretation of his enviorning conditions. He has been surrounded by birds, animals, plants and insects and as he gets acquainted with their habits and behaviour, he identifies himself with them. In India many tribes and castes are found to claim mystic ties with these objects. The tribes who are named after animals or plant species, are called totemistic people. There are numerous beliefs of tribes and nations that they are descendants of a particular animal, bird or tree. These birds and animals appear frequently in folk-tales and songs of aborigines. The Orāons, for example, have a monkey totem and abstain from killing or injurying or even domesticating the animal. The Santhalas have more than a hundred totemic clans, all named after animals, plants and material objects. The Kharias of Chota Nagpur are divided into eight totemic clans, indicating an animal, plant or a material object. In the Hindu mythology, various *gotras* such as the *vatsa* (calf), the *śunaka* (dog), the *kauśika* (owl), the *māṇḍūkya* (frog) and so on are associated with birds and animals. The bull, the lion, the elephant and the horse, the four auspicious animals, have been depicted on the round drum of the Sāranātha Lion Capital of Aśoka. The twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras are linked with animals and plants in the form of emblematic divinity. As cow, monkey, and snake are venerated by Hindus, so are tortoise, duck, fish and egg by Muṇḍas and lion by Africans.

Thus primitive man established relationship between himself and his fellowmen, various deities and the animal world. It has been found about the Orāons that they lived on terms of good fellowship with all around him, with men and beasts, with nature and the gods, with spirits that rise above in the air and souls of the dead that cling to the earth below. His ideal of a good man is who never quarrels with his neighbours, nor causes them any harm. He does not covet the property of others, keeps up his promise and offers charity to the needy[35]. Indian folktales are full of stories of grateful animals. In the *Jātaka*-tales snake, mouse, parrot, frog, lion and various animals are depicted

as grateful, showing gratitude towards their benefactors[36]. In a Santhal story, a snake whose life is saved by some person gives him a ring which provides him everything he wants. Jainism lays emphasis on compassionate feeling towards all living beings, animate, or inanimate, including eath-bodied, water-bodied, fire-bodied and air-bodied living beings. In this sense, Jains may be called the propounders of animistic belief attributing soul to natural objects and phenomena. There is nothing to wonder if the identification between the Indian aborigines and the animal world might have given rise to the doctrine of ahiṃsā[37].

Code of Discipline

Tapas or austerltles play an important role in moulding the life of a tribesman. Austerities have to be undergone so that a primitive man could face hardships of life without show of pain. It includes self-mortification in the form of fastings, abstinence from specific food or drink, silence and so on. It is stated that if one wished to become a sorcerer, one had to sacrifice a black fowl to the deity and fast for two days. Then the deity appeared in dream assuming the fcrm of a chilli. Later he assumed the form of a human being. He took out the sorcerer's soul from his body and showed him the way to the forests and hills where the magic herbs are believed to grow. Here the deity intiated him and told him how to enchant people by magic[38].

As indicated already, in order to cultivate magic spells, various practices have been enjoined in Jainism. The accomplisher had to lead a pure and simple life and observe self-restraint. In order to fulfil the preganancy-whim of queen Dhāriṇī, prince Abhayakumāra entered a fasting-hall, set aside his ornaments, garlands and perfumes and set in meditation observing fast[39]. Various rites had to be performed on the dark nights in a burial ground, holding a dead body of an uninjured person, equipped with auspicious marks[40]. We are told of Satyakī, who in order to achieve Mahārohiṇī *vidyā*, visited a burial ground. He set fire to the pyre of an orphan's dead body, then covered himself with a moist skin and moved about on his left toe till the pyre was kindled. He acquired the desired *vidyā* within seven nights[41]. It is said that while standing in meditation, the ascetic Rudra lost his control and fell in love with some *vidyādhara* maidens. He proposed them to make love with him but they refused saying that the moment they were negligent in their viture they would be deprived of their magic spell[42]. We are told that Śiva lost control over his magic spells at the time of enjoying pleasures with Umā[43]. We have numerous examples when sexual excitement represented a threat against which the ascetic is warned to guard himself constantly. It has been stated in the *Matsyapurāṇa* that when Brahmā desired his daughter, all his *tapas* was lost which he had accumulated in order to create, and a nymph fell down from heaven and destroyed her *tapas* by falling in love with a mortal[44]. The emphasis on observation of strict rules of morality and the introduction of the vow of *brahmacarya* by Mahavira to the original *cāturyāma* (four *vratas*)

preached by Pārśvanātha, is very significant in this context and needs the attention of scholars. The study of folk culture is very important from the point of view of analysing the folk elements prevailing in folk traditions of our country and the world at large. Thurston, Risley, Russell, Iyer, Elwin and others have done valuable work on tribes and castes of our country. Besides, various institutions and scholars have rendered invaluable service by studying the problems of tribals of India. It is heartening that the International Seminar is going to take up a survey of the folk culture of the world. The study of Prakrit Jain literature, which hitherto remains unexplored, is bound to prove an asset in this survey.

NOTES

1. See Jagdishchandra Jain, *The Vasudeva*.
2. It is being published by the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad; now (1987) published only Part I.
3. J. Hertel, *On the Literature of Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat*, 8.
4. VH, 153, 25-164, 17; *The Vasudeva*, 29f.
5. *VH*, 264, 25; 319, 6, 16; 250, 21.
6. *VH*, 318, 16-7; also *JHP* 27. 13; 26, 46; Hemacandra, *TŚP* 8.2.473.
7. *VH*. 325, 19; 328, 8; also mentioned in the TŚP, VII. 252-89; III 248.
8. Sharat Chandra Roy, *The Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa*, 217f.
9. *Bengal Dist. Gaz. Manbhum*, 49,51, 83ff.
10. *Bengal Dist. Gaz. Birbhum*, 33; *Bengal Dist. Gaz. Bankura*, 51.
11. 'Bir' in Santhali language is 'Jungle'.
12. *Ācā* 9.1-4; Jacobi, *Jain Sūtras*, XXII, 1,8.3, 84f.
13. Of Muṇḍa origin. In Muṇḍa 'da' is water and 'rohar' is 'dried up'. Here there existed a water-spring which dried up in course of time, Roy, *The Muṇḍas and their Countries*, 73n.
14. The Bauris of Bengal (in the Bankura district) is a depressed caste and is divided into four classes: Malla, Dhala, Sekhoria and Māna. The Mallas are from 'Malla-bhūmi', the Dhalas from Dhalbhum and the Māna from Manbhum, D.N. Majumdar, *Races and Cultures of India*, 137.
15. *Āva-Cū*, 290, 301, 312.
16. *Āva-Nir* 1305; *Āva-Cū*, II, 203.
17. *Āva-Cū.*, 497.
18. *VH*, 164, 9-14; 155, 18-20; *The Vasudeva*, 311.
19. See *Sūyagaḍa*, II.2. 13, 317a; KVLM, 132, 2-3.
20. *KVLM*, 132, 1-4. Hariṣeṇa in his *BKK* (75. 1-9) adds: The Śabaras dwelt on the top of the Mātaṅga mountain. In order to acquire magical spells, the husband and wife had to lead a life of celebacy for six months or a year. They entered a thick forest and could achieve their goal only by following truth and celebacy, otherwise the spells vanished.
21. *KVLM*, 131, 32-132, 4; 132, 13-133, 7; *Kathākośa-prakaraṇa*, 2.
22. *KVLM*, 133, 8-18.
23. *The Vasudeva*, 311n; *BKŚS* XIV. 30; XX. 108.
24. *VH*, 164, 9-14; 155, 18-20; *The Vasudeva*, 311.
25. *Das-Cū*, 45. A king could acquire the magic lore from two Ḍombas only after showing reverence to them, *BKK* 19.64-68.
26. *Uttarā Com.* by Nemicandrasūri, 12, 173a ff.
27. *Āva-Cū*, II, 227f.
28. Balchandra Jain, *Pratimāvijñāna*, 72, 82; Plates 12 and 20; Figs. 7 and 24.
29. *The Vasudeva*, 34.
30. *Bṛh-Bhā*, III, 2508, p. 709.

31. *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, 2. 645-55.
32. Thurston, *Omens and Superstititions of Southern India*, 27.
33. *MW*, under 'mātaṅga', 'śvapāka', 'kirāta' and 'ḍomba'; LAI, 192ff.
34. *Niśi-Cū*. 4. 1816.
35. Sharat Chandra Roy, *The Orāons of Chota Nagpur*, 435
36. See Jagdischandra Jain, *Prāchīn Bhārat Kī Kahāniyān* (Hindi), 65ff.
37. See Elwin, *Folk-tales of Mahakoshal*, 393-96.
38. Elwin, *The Religion of an Indian Tribe*, 234f.
39. *Nāyā* 1, 16f.
40. *Ācā Com*, 1.6.65a.
41. *Āva-Cū*, II, 175.
42. *BKK*, 97.84-113.
43. *Ibid.*, 97.179-80.
44. 3.38-40; 14. 1-8, after Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva*, 40.

SOME OLD TALES AND EPISODES IN
THE VASUDEVAHIṆḌI*

The *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, which has been called "full of wonderful meaning" (*apūrva*), is placed under the same category as the great epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *MBH*. This great novel is not only highly admired by the celebrated authors Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇabhaṭṭa but a number of distinguished Jain writers have paid great tribute to this work. The *BK*-tales full of romance and adventurousness were so delighting that they could not escape the attention of Jain authors who were always in search of some popular theme to propagate their religion. They skilfully assimilated the new theme in their compositions in such a manner so that it was impossible to distinguish it from the original. In this connection the *JHP*, the *TŚP* of Hemacandra, the *BHBH* of Maladhāri Hemacandra, the *UP* of Guṇabhadra, the *MP* of Puṣpadanta and other Jain works are worthy to note. Several episodes of the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra and those of the *VH* are common, though based on two different versions. These authors have followed the tradition contained in the *BK* which is different from the tradition maintained by the author of the *VH*. It appears that once the *BK* was declared lost, several versions gained popularity which were interwoven by various authors in their compositions.

When we say that the *VH* is a Jain version of the lost *BK* it means that the whole narration of the *VH* is based on the narration of the *BK*, intermingled with tales and anecdotes with religious overtones. The adventures of Naravāhanadatta, the hero of the *BK*, have been put in the mouth of Vasudeva, Kṛṣṇ's father; the heroine Madanamañjukā has been split into Suhiraṇṇā and Somasiri; and the heroines Gandharvadattā, Vegavatī and Prabhāvatī bear identical names.

Here we propose to discuss a few popular tales and episodes of the *VH* which can be compared with Brahamanic, Buddhist and world literatures. Some believed that India was the home of all fairy tales and stories, but as Winternitz has remarked; "One place cannot be the origin for all stories and tales in the world, though numerous stories current all over the world can be

---

traced back to Indian sources"[1].

These tales either travelled from East to West, or had a common origin; some of them belonged to the ethical ideal of 'ascetic poetry'.

I(A) "A Quarrel between two mothers" has been a popular story all over the world.   It has been narrated in the *VH* (*Bhaddamittā-Saccarakkhiyā-lambha*-23, 354, 12-19) where in order to settle a dispute between the two wives of a caravan leader, Vasudeva asks them to divide their riches as well as the child. The sawyers were brought and instructed to split up the child into two. When the sawyers were measuring out the child's head the first woman did not bother as she was interested in getting riches. But the second woman, unable to bear the sight of her child being killed, cried requesting the judge to hand over the child to the first woman. Vasudeva declared that the child belonged to the second woman and it was delivered to her.

A similar story occurs in the *Holy Bible* (3.26-28) where King Solomon decides a dispute between two prostitutes and delivers a similar judgement. To split up the child a sword is used here instead of a saw.   In the *Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka* (No. 546) in order to test the motherly love the wise Mahosadha draws a line on the floor and places the child in the middle. Then he orders one woman to pull the child by the hands and the other by the feet. When the child is being pulled the real mother starts crying and lets go the child. It was given to her[2].

(B) "The story Prasannacandra and Valkalacīrin" has also travelled abroad. It occurs in the *VH* (*Kahuppatti*, 16, 16-20,2) and other Jain works such as the *Āva-Nir* (1164), the *Āva-Cū* (456-60) where it has been quoted *verbatim* from the *VH* and Hemacandra's *Pariśiṣṭaparavan* (1,91-258).

King Somacandra retires from the world along with his queen in favour of his elder son Prasannacandra. After some time the queen who was in her family way gives birth to a child. She dies in the childbirth. As the child was kept in the bark (*valkala*) he was called Valkalacīrin. He grows up in the jungle where there was no chance for him to meet a woman.   His elder brother, King Prasannacandra, deputes some courtesans to the hermitage. They try to seduce the young hermit by offering delicious fruits and speaking sweet words. They make their escape as soon as the father of the young hermit returns.   The hermit goes in search of the courtesans and roaming about here and there enters a countersan's house.   The courtesan calls a barber and gets him cleaned and shaved. Then she gives him her daughter in marriage. When King Prasannacandra knows about this he invites his brother to his palace and marries him with other girls of royal birth.

We find the same story with variations in the Bālakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (sarga 8-10), the Āraṇyakaparvan of the *MBH* (Vol.

III.3.110.1;3.113.25, Poona, 1942), and several Buddhist versions, including Tibetan and Chinese translations.   Valkalacīrin of the Jains is called Ṛṣyaśṛṅga ('gazelle-horn'; Isisiṅga in Pali) in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Ekaśṛṅga ('unicorn') in the *Mahāvastu* (Vol.III, pp.136-47, London, 1956) of the Buddhists.   D. Schlingloff connects the Jain version of the story with that of the *Gilgamesh* epic of Babylon.   He thinks that the Ekaśṛṅga version of the *Mahāvastu* has gone to the West where unicorn got an eminent position among the legendary creatures of the middle ages[3].

II(A) "The Parable of Honey-drop" (*madhu-bindu-dṛṣṭānta*) or "Parable of Man in the Well" which is 'a genuine production of ancient Indian poetry' has found a place in universal literature.   The parable is recorded in the *VH* (*Kahuppatti*, 8,3-23) as well as in the *Samarāiccakahā* (2, pp. 134-39) of Haribhadra with slight variation,   *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* (2,191-291) and *Dharmaparīkṣā* of Amitagati.

A certain man overtaken by a wild elephant in a forest, catches hold of a overhanging branch of a banian tree and swings himself down into an old well. At the bottom of the well there is a huge serpent with hood raised, and four hissing snakes confront him on all sides.   Two mice are busy gnawing the branch from which the man hangs.   The wild elephant stands over the well, touching the poor man's hair with his trunk.   On the tree is a behive, swarming with bees.   The elephant shakes the tree and some drops of honey fall into man's mouth.   This parable is represented by Jains that the worldly existence which is full of troubles and perils no matter where one turns. Humans, however, still indulge in occasional sensual pleasures which happen to fall into man's mouth (*VH*, 8,3-23).

In the Śāntiparvan (2-7) of the *MBH* the parable is related by Vidura to Dhṛtarāṣṭra to console him at the loss of his sons.   Vidura describes the misery of the worldly existence and the power of death.   The moral of the story is explained here by means of metaphors as in the *VH*.   The Buddhist versions of the story are found in the *Avadānas* from Chinese translations.   As with Brahamans,   Jains and Buddhists the parable also finds favour with Muhammadans, Christians and Jews which indicates the universal nature of the story.   In the opinion of Winternitz this narrative is neither Buddhist, nor Jain in origin but belongs to an earlier stratum of ascetic poetry[4].

(B) Another tale belonging to this group is that of "The Hawk and the Dove." It is story of self-sacrifice and abnegation which has been recorded in the *VH* (*Keumatī-lambha* -21; 337, 5-338, 4).

When king Megharatha was observing fast in his fast-chamber there appeared a dove pursued by a hawk.   The dove asked the king for refuge which was granted.   Immediately after, the hawk flew there and demanded of the king to surrender his prey as it was his food and he was feeling hungry.

The king offered to give his own flesh instead. A scale was brought and the king started weighing the pigeon with his flesh. He cut off his flesh and threw it on the scale but the dove seemed to weigh more and more in the balance. Thereupon the king threw his whole body on to the scale. Seeing this the hawk assumed his real form of a celestial being, praised king's compassion and went away. The story is presented partly in prose and partly in verses.

Exactly the same version of the story is given in the *KSS* (1.88-107) excepting that the king is Sibi; Indra assumes the form of hawk and Dharma that of the dove. In the *MBH* (III, 100f, 197; XIII. 32) we are told how a compassionate king gives his flesh and blood to save the life of a pigeon.

In the well-known *Sivi-Jātaka* (No.499) of the Buddhists the self-sacrificing King Sivi tears out both his eyes[5] in order to give them to a beggar. We are told that Buddha gave his flesh to the hawk as King Sivi in a former existence[6]. In the *Avadānaśataka* (No.34) King Sivi cuts his skin with a knife in order to satisfy the stinging flies. The Śakra appears before him first in the form of a vulture, then as a Brahman and asks for both his eyes. The king allows him to take away his eyes when the Śakra assumes his real form and declares that the king would attain enlightenment.

We have still another version of this story of self-sacrifice and self-denial in the *MBH* (XII. 143-149)[7] and the *Pañcākhyāna* (Book III, Tale viii, pp.200-204), a Jain recension of the *Pañcatantra*, based on the *Tantrākhyāyikā* (200 B.C.), by a Jain monk Pūrṇabhadra (1199 A.D.). This narrative is known as "The Huntsman and the Doves". We are told how the male dove burns himself in the fire in order to satisfy the hunger of a wicked hunter, who has caught his beloved wife, because he has nothing to offer to his 'guest'. The female dove as a faithful wife follows her husband by jumping into the fire. Finally the wicked hunter, deeply touched by the love and self-sacrifice of the pair of doves, gives up his sinful life and becomes an ascetic. In the *Pañcākhyāna* version, after death, the pair of doves and the hunter are born in heaven and enjoy the divine pleasures as a result of their virtuous deeds. The whole story is presented in verses.

Winternitz favours the Jain origin of this narrative[8], though R.C. Temple thinks that such ideas are very old and are found in the east and in Europe[9].

III(A)   There are a number of tales and narratives which are common to Jains and Buddhists. Obviously these tales have been intermingled in the narratives for the sake of propagating religion. "The Story of Prince Soyāsa, The Meat-Eater" is narrated in the *VH* (*Mittasiri-Dhaṇasiri- lambha-*6; 197, 5-21). It also finds a place in Vimalasūri's *Paumacariya* (22. 72-78, 90), Haribhadra's commentary on the *Āva* (11, p.40lf), Raviṣeṇa's *Padmacarita* (22.132-148) and Hemacandra's *TŚP* (7.4.85-100).

The prince Soyāsa was fond of eating meat. One day his cook had prepared the meat of a peacock which was carried away by a cat. Out of fear of the prince the cook brought a recently dead child and cooked its flesh. Since then the prince became fond of eating only the child's flesh. Later hearing the complaints of the citizens that their children were missing, the king banished the prince from his country. The prince wandered in forests passing his time in eating raw or cooked human flesh. Finally he was killed by Vasudeva.

The Buddhist versions of this tale have been narrated in the *Mahāsutasoma-Jātaka* (537), *Jātakamālā* (Story 31) and Chinese and Tibetan literature. In the *Jātaka* story the meat prepared for Sudāsa was carried away by a dog. Sudāsa's habit of eating meat was broken off by Bodhisattva Sutasoma. in the *Jātakamālā*, Saudāsa was the son of Sudāsa, born by a lioness. In Raviṣeṇa's *Padmacarita* since Saudāsa was attached to meat eating like a lioness, he was called Siṃhasaudāsa[10].

As Winternitz has pointed out in this case "genuine popular fairy tale motifs have mingled with moral tendencies[11]."

(B) "The Story of Vasudattā" has been narrated in the *VH* (*Dhammillahiṇḍi*, 59, 19-61, 19). After her marriage Vasudattā gave birth to two sons. The third one was expected when her husband went abroad. Disobeying her parents-in-law she took her sons and left for Ujjeni where her parents lived. In the meantime her husband returned home. When he was told about his wife and children, he followed them. He found Vasudattā wandering in a forest. At this time Vasudattā delivered a child. In the darkness of night, attracted by the smell of blood, a tiger took away her husband. The new-born baby died for lack of mother's milk. Vasudattā proceeded further with her two children. On her way she had to cross a river. She had made one child cross over and while she was taking the other one across, her foot slipped and she fell down. The child slipped out of her hand. Seeing this the other child, standing on the other side of the river, thew himself into water. Vasudattā was carried away by the current. She was caught by robbers and was handed over to their leader. The leader kept her as his wife. Finally she reached Ujjeni, met her parents and joined the order of nuns.

The story of Paṭācārā, the daughter of a wealthy merchant, noted in the Pali Buddhist literature, is identical except that she joins the order of the Buddha[12].

The *VH* seems to be the oldest non-canonical work of Prakrit narrative literature of Jains. Saṅghadāsagaṇi has pointed out that his work is a compilation (*saṅgahaṃ*) which has been handed over through a succession of teachers[13]. There is no wonder if the work has undergone several recensions and therefore inspite of making use of 12 manuscripts by the editors, still

remains corrupt, multilated and incomplete. Nevertheless, it is composed in archaic language, and contains valuable material in the form of stories, tales, episodes, anecdotes, parables etc. which reflects the antiquity of the work.

NOTES

1. *'Some Problems of Indian Literature'*, Indian Literature and World Literature p.71.
2. In Bertolt Brecht's drama *Der Kaukasiches Kreiderkreis* (Surhkamp Verlag, 1964) the judge asks both the women to pull the child from a circle drawn with a piece of chalk. Grusche who is not the real mother but has carefully brought up the child, refuses to carry out the order of the judge. The judge decides the case in her favour and the child is given to her.
3. See his article "The Unicorn", *German Scholars on India*, Vol.I, pp. 294 ff, Varanasi, 1973. Also see Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol.I, pp. 399ff, 540.
4. Winternitz, *op.cit.*, p.30.
5. This Sibi motif is noticed in the parable of a selfish religious Brahman and the unselfish barbarian (*pulinda*), *Bṛh-Bhā Vṛ-Pī*, p.253.
6. Compare the story of the Persian hero Hatim Tai who cuts a slice of flesh from his own thigh to feed the wolf who was in a pursuit of a milch-doe; *The Ocean of Story*, I,p. 85, fn 2.
7. For different versions of the story in the *MBH*, see Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol.II, p.409f.
8. *Some Problems of Indian Literature*, p.36.
9. Foreword to *The Ocean of Story*, Vol.I, p.xxiv.
10. For other references see Jagdishchnadra Jain, *The Vasudeva*; Translation, *Mittasiri-Dhaṇasiri-lambha*, 342ff, fn. 4.
11. *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p.132.
12. Buddhaghoṣa's commentary on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, the *Manorathapūraṇī*; Burlingame, *Buddhist Parables*, p. 94ff; after Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol.II. p. 199f.
13. *VH*. 1,16.

10

EARLY JAINISM

Now-a-days there seems to be a tendency among some scholars to support the view that Jains formed a pre-Aryan population of India, Jainism formed a part of pre-Vedic Indus civilisation discovered at Mohenjodaro, and the Śramaṇic culture is antiquated to the Brahmanic culture.

(i)   It was in 1935 that the late Professor Prananath Vidyalankara of the Banaras Hindu University published an article in the columns of "Illustrated Weekly", Bombay, that in 1140 B.C. a certain ruler of Babylonia came down to Kathiawad where he built the temple of Bhagavān Nemīnātha, the 23rd Tīrthankara of Jains.

(ii)   The Kāśyapa *gotra* (which etymologically is related to the Kāśyapa *gotra* of Brahmans) is said to be associated with Caspia of the Central Asia.

(iii)   The 449th Seal discovered at Mohenjodaro refers to Jineśvara or Jineśa.

(iv)   The Rākṣasas referred to in the Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* are condemned as they were the followers of Jainism.

(v)   There is a mention of Ṛṣabha, Ajita and Supārśva Tīrthankaras in the *Vedas*.

(vi)   Ariṣṭanemi and Kṛṣṇa were cousin brothers.

(vii) The terms mentioned in the early Vedic literature such as '*vāta-raśanā*', '*śiśnadeva*', '*vrātya*', '*muni*', *keśī, digvāsas, digambara, yogin* and so on indicate the nude Jain ascetics.

In this connection a few works written by learned Jain scholars are worth mentioning:

(i)   *Jainism the Oldest Living Religion*, published by Jain Cultural Research Society (now called the Pārśvanātha Vidyāśrama), Varanasi, 1951.

---

* A talk delivered in the Seminar held under the auspices of the Mahavira Chair For Jain Studies, Panjabi University, Patiala, 1979.

(ii) *Jain Dharma kā Yogadāna* (*Bhāratīya Saṃskṛiti men*) (chapter one), by Dr. Hiralal Jain, Madhya Pradesh Shasana Sahitya Parishad, Bhopal, 1962[1].

(iii) *Bhāratiya Dharma evaṃ Ahiṃsā* by Pandit Kailashchandra Jain Shastri; Lectures delivered under the auspices of Shri Rajakrishna Memorial Trust, Delhi, in Bauddha Darshan Vibhaga, Delhi University, published by the Trust, 1983[2].

Before we enter into discussion with regard to the important points raised above, we would like the readers to read the article entitled "Origin of Indian Monachism" by Dr. (Miss) Durga Bhagavat, a well-known Buddhist and Marathi scholar, published in the *JUB* Bombay, Vol.VIII, pt.II, September, 1939 (pp. 104-130).

(i)   Here explaining the term *tapas*, she writes: it is not penance or austerity; it is primarily used in the sense of heat, sun or fire. In the *Yajurveda*, *tapas* is nothing but heat, energy, exhaustion and pain. In the Brahmanic literature "it is rather a magic power as which is found in primitive people, but not a moral factor. Asceticism for the *ṛṣis* is a means of obtaining supernatural power which even makes the king of the gods tremble." (See M. Winternitz, *Ascetic Literature in Ancient India*, 1923, p.3).

(ii)   Dealing with the terms '*muni*', '*keśin*', '*yati*' and '*vrātya*', she has stated: The word *muni* occurs four times in the *Ṛgveda*, but it is not ascetic here. The *keśin*, according to Sāyaṇa, is either sun or wind or fire. Here the picture is provided of a 'seer' and a 'thinker' rather than a wandering ascetic. The *yatis* are associated with Bhṛgus, and are said to be the people of strength. They cannot be called 'an ancient race of hermits'. In the *Sāmaveda* a *yati* is a fighter and is said to be classed with Indra and Mitra in killing Vṛtra. A *vrātya* is also not a wandering mendicant. The creed of the *vrātyas* was altogether different from the renunciation of the world.

(iii) Regarding the stone statuette in Mahenjodaro, she has stated: it is not a representative of one seemingly in the pose of a *yogin*, an ascetic. It is not a figure of an ascetic engaged in meditation... The figure therefore, appears to be that of a royal person and neither of a *yogin*, nor of a deity (read John Marschell's interpretation and R.C. Chanda's Presidential Address, *Śramaṇism*, I.S.C., 1934).

(iv)   Asceticism in the *Āraṇyakas* and *Upaniṣadas* is devoted mainly to the creed of renunciation. Here the words *parivrājaka*, *bhikṣu*, *śramaṇa*, *yati* and so on are used in this literature as synonyms.

Now coming to the main discussion of the subject the following points are to be noted:

(i)   So far we have not come across anything authentic in support of the theory that Jains were a pre-Aryan or a non-Aryan race associated with a particular ethnic people. It need not be emphasised that the pre-Aryan or the non-Aryan society was just primitive, passing through a primitive stage, employing only antiquated means for their survival.

(ii)   Nothing has come out so far as a definite proof to say that the figure in meditation in the 449th Seal at Mohenjodaro is associated with a Jain deity in *yoga mudrā* and not with the Śiva-cult of phallus worship. *Yoga* practices have been quite common in ancient India.

(iii)   The earliest designation given to Jain-*dharma* (*dhamma* preached by Jina, a conqueror) is *nigganṭha dhamma* and not *yati-dhamma* or *muni-dharma*.

(iv)   The term *vāta-raśanā-muni* referred to in the *Ṛgveda* signifies wind-girt or having only air for a girdle, associated with vedic *munis* and *ṛṣis*. The following seven *ṛṣis* are referred to in the *Bhāgavta-Purāṇa*: Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, Etaśa, Karikrata, Jūti, Vāta-jūti, Vipra-jūta and Vṛṣāṇaka. The *Taittarīya Āraṇyaka* has referred to Digambara or *dig-vāsas* or a naked monk. This indicates that in the Vedic tradition also certain *munis* and *ṛṣis* preferred to remain naked. Really speaking, the schism of Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras in Jain-*dharma* came much later, originally both were the followers of the *niggaṇṭha-dhamma* as indicated.

(v)   *Śiśna-deva* or 'having the generative organ for a god' is another reference we come across in the *Ṛgveda*; it means a phallus-worshipper. The commentator Sāyaṇa has explained it as 'one who sports with the generative organ'. The *Nirukta* (iv.19) has explained the word as 'unchaste or lustful'. Obviously, it does not seem to indicate a Digambara or a naked Jain monk.

(vi)   *Keśin* is referred to in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*. The grammarian *Pāṇini* (v.2.109) has explained the word as 'having fine or long hair', said of Rudra, of his female attendants, of female demon and of men. The term is also explained as 'having a mane as Indra's and Agni's horses'; also as 'having tips as rays or flames'. It is also used as a name of Rudra, of Viṣṇu, of a horse, of a lion or of an *asura* slain by Kṛṣṇa.

In this connection it is significant to note that our learned scholar, the author of the *Bhāratīya Saṃskriti men Jain Dahrma kā Yogadāna* (p.15) has tried to interpret '*keśin*' as having hair and associated him with Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, and Keśī as a disciple of Pārśvanātha. Not only that, by stretch of his imagination, he goes as far as to connect this word with Kesariyājī, a Jain pilgrimage in Udaipur district, Rajasthan (undoubtedly, this Jain holy place must have been quite modern). He has also attempted to offer a new interpretation to a Vedic hymn (iv. 58.3):

त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महादेवो मर्त्यानाविवेश

Here he interprets the word '*tridhā*' as *samyak-jñāna, darśana* and *cāritra*, stating that following this trinity, Vṛṣabha declared his religious principles and entered into the arena of human beings in the form of a great God (*ibid*, 16). Thus he has traced the origin of Jainism to 1500 B.C. which is the latest period of the composition of the *Vedas*. Further, on page 19, our scholar has identified *vrātya* with a *vrata-dhārī* of Jainism.

(vii) The term Vṛṣabha means mainly, mighty, vigorous and strong. It is an epithet of various gods, as of Indra, Bṛhaspati, Parjanya and so on. According to Sāyaṇa's interpretation '*varṣayitrī*' is a shower of bounties, a benefactor. Several other meanings of the word are provided in Sir M. Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

(viii) *Yati, muni* or *vrātya*, these expressions were never used in ancient days for Jain monks or Jains. Originally, a *yogin* was so-called as he got ecstasy through the juice of *soma*.

(ix) The term 'Ariṣṭanemi' has several meanings. It conveys the meaning of the felly whose wheel is unhurt. It also signifies the name of a man named together with Tārkṣya. He is also said to be the author of a hymn of the *Ṛgveda* (x.178). In the *MBH* it signifies various princes. In the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* it is a *gandharva*. 'Nemi' is also noticed in the Hebrew language. Nemi signifies the name of a *daitya*.

(x) In Patañjali's time, a *vrātya* seems to have been a tribe living by use of weapons, implements, or guild crafts, but retaining the tribal chief and structure. He was a low or vile person who lost his class by non-observance of ten *saṃskāras*. He was a man of particular low caste descended from a Śūdra and a Kṣatriya. In the *Atharvaveda* the Rājanyas and even the Brāhmaṇas are said to have sprung from the *vrātya* who is identified with the Supreme Being.

(xi) Ara, the 18th Tīrthaṅkara, is also known as Nandyāvarta in an isolated inscription at Mathura. The *stūpa* to which the erect figure of this Arhat belonged, was supposed to have been the work of gods (*deva-nirmita*). It is noteworthy that some scholars have tried to identify Ara with Araka *titthayara* of the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* of the Buddhiats. A similar attempt is made to identify the Ajita Tīrthaaṅkara with the Ajita *thera* of the Buddhists.

(xii) Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan in his *Indian Philosophy* (I.p.187) has stated the names of Ṛṣabha, Ajita and Ariṣṭanami Tīrthaṅkaras as occurring in the *Yajurveda*, but this is denied by W. Schubring in his *The Doctrine of the Jainas*.

(xiii) The Kṛṣṇa-legend in Jainism: It is to ascertain as to when this legend became a part and parcel of Jain mythology. In this connection according to Professor H. Jacobi, the Jain Harivaṃśapurāṇa (in the form of Kṛṣṇa-legend)

goes back to the 3rd century B.C., although in his view the whole mythology concerning the Kṛṣṇa-legend was given final shape about the beginning of the Christian era. He says that out of 63 *Śalākā-puruṣas* or Divine Personages (they are 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, 12 Cakravatins, 9 Vasudevas, 9 Baladevas, and 9 Prativāsudeva), 27 (i.e. 9 Baladevas, 9 Vasudevas and 9 Prativāsudevas) are multiplications of Kṛṣṇs-legend. He further surmises: "It seems that the adaptation of the latter motivated the Jains to build up the whole history." He writes, "But most probably Jains have canonised Kṛṣṇa when they spread and settled in the original area of the Kṛṣṇa-legend". (*ZDMG*, 42, 1888, p. 494).

Regarding the 63 *Śalākā-puruṣas*, it seems there had been no uniformity of names in Jain works:

(i)   The *VH* narrates the life-history of 7 Tīrthaṅkaras, 10 Cakravartins, 3 Vāsudevas, 2 Baladevas and 3 Prativāsudevas only.

(ii)   Jinasena in his *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* and Hemacandra in his *TŚP* mention 63 *Śalākā-puruṣas*; the *Sama* (132) and Śīlāṅka in his *Cauppanna-mahāpurisa-cariya* only 54 (excluding 9 Prativāsudevas), whereas Bhadreśvara in his *Kahāvali* makes them 72 (including 9 Nāradas).

(iii)   Since Śanti, Kunthu and Ara are both the Tīrthaṅkaras as well as the Cakravartins, after deleting them from 54 *Śalākā-puruṣas*, there remain only 51. Out of this number of 51, a few of them are related to one another as father and son and elder brother or younger brother, so after deducting 11, they remain 40. Out of this number, the life-story of 21 is almost dismissed in 5 or 6 lines, thus ultimately only 19 *Śalākā-puruṣas* are left out.

CONCLUSION

It is true that certain terms related to Divine Personages recognised by Jains occur in the early Vedic literature, but there is nothing to prove so far that they signify the same meaning as known to Jain authors. Besides, a number of non-Aryan words and expressions have crept into the Vedic literature from time to time. These words and expressions need an analytical study at the hands of philologists and sociologists.

In order to penetrate deeper into early Jainism, it is essential to make a comparative and critical study of the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara early works as the *Ācārāṅga*, the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, the *Uttarādhyayana*, the *Daśavaikālika*, the *Chedasūtras*, the *Prakīrṇakas*, the *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti*, the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, the *Mūlācāra*, the *Bhagavatī-Ārādhanā*, the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (of Jinasena), the *Bṛhatkathākośa* (of Hariṣeṇa) and various other *Kathākośas* and other works. Thus we can arrive at a common source of inspiration for both the sects, when there was no difference of opinion whatsoever between the two, when there was only *niggantha-dhamma (nirgrantha-dharma; dharma*

without 'attachment'). This was the *dharma*, preached by Mahavira, the *Niggaṇṭha-nātaputta*, and other Tirthaṅkaras.

NOTES

1. A review of this work was published by the author in the columns of the '*Dharmayuga*' (Hindi), Bombay.
2. Regarding this publication a letter was addressed to a Senior professor of the Buddhist Study Department, Delhi University, unfortunately there had been no response.

11

SOME POPULAR JAIN TALES AND
WORLD LITERATURE*

India has been called a home of story telling. In the opinion of N.M. Penzer, the learned editor of *the Ocean of Story (KSS)*, the warm temperature produces a general laxity in habits which associated "with the exclusion of women and consequential gatherings of men in the cool evenings, has given great impulse to story telling[1]. As far as the literature of fairy tales and fables is concerned India played no insignificant role in the history of world literature. In this field Theodore Benfey (1809-1881) has contributed a good deal in order to popularise the Indian tales in western countries through his well-known valuable work, the *Pañcatantra*. The Indian narrative literature penetrated into the West principally through the stories of "Barlaam and Joseph" (Josaphat) (Bhagavān and Bodhisattva of Buddhists) and "Kalilah and Dimnah" (Karkaṭaka and Damanaka of the *Pañcatantra*) which became international.

The Contact with Greeks

India came into contact with Greeks at the time of Alexander's invasion in 326 B.C. After that a number of Greek artists came into India and helped to build and ornament the Buddhist monuments. The Greek art left an enduring mark on the sculpture of the Gandhāra school in India. Lord Buddha in human form arose in this school modelled on the Greek god Apollo. Along with the art forms came mechanical inventions, medicines, narratives and various customs. Javaṇa, Joṇa or Yavana is mentioned together with Aṅga, Sīhala, Babbara, Cilāys (Kirāta), Ārabaka, Romaka, Alasaṇḍa and Kaccha, the countries conquered by Bharata[2]. The female servants known as Javaṇīs were brought from Javaṇa[3]. Then Javaṇī is mentioned as one of the 18 scripts (*livi*) in the Jain canonical literature[4]. Javaṇa has been described as a beautiful land and a treasure-house of excellent gems, gold and jewels[5]. Intermarriages between Indians and Greeks are recorded[6].

Knowledge of Medicine

The *VH* refers to an emissary (*dūo*) deputed by the King of Javaṇa to the royal court of Kosambī. The emissary was invited to his house by the king's minister. Seeing the minister's son afflicted with leprosy he remarked: "Have you no medicine and are there no physicians in the country who could cure the disease". Thereupon he suggested to give a bath to the patient in the blood of a young horse[7].

A similar episode is mentioned in the *Arabian Nights*. In Persia a monarch called Yoonan was afflicted with leprosy which the physicians and sages could not cure. A great sage known as Dooban arrived in the city. He was acquainted with Greek, Persian, Arabic and Syriac books. The king took a gold-stick from the sage, grasped it in his hand and mounted his horse. A ball was thrown before the king, who urged the horse to overtake it. He struck the ball with all his force. Then the king bathed and slept and was cured[8].

This shows that the Greek envoys visited India and the Greeks were acquainted with the cure of leprosy.

Mechanical Skill of Greeks

We come across descriptions of Indian traders who loaded their ships with merchandise and went for trade to the country of Javaṇa. The *VH* refers to the story of Kokkāsa, a carpenter (*koṭṭaga*) of Tāmralipti, who accompanied by a sea-faring merchant, reached the country of Javaṇa. There he lived in the house of a carpenter and mastered the art of carpentry (*kaṭṭha-kamma*). Kokkāsa returned to Tāmralipti and manufactured a pair of mechanical doves (*kapota-juvalaya*). The doves flew every day in the sky and picked up the king's rice drying on the floor. Later the artisan was produced before the king, who asked him to manufacture a flying machine (*āgāsa-gamaṇa-jantaṃ*)[9], so that he could visit the desired countries. When the machine was ready, the queen also insisted to travel by air with the king. The machine could not bear the load of three persons as a result it fell to the ground. Kokkāsa was captured by the king of Tosali. Here he prepared two mechanical horses (*ghoṭaka-janta*) who could fly in the air. This seems to be an example of migration of Indian story to foreign country[10].

The story of Kokkāsa under the name of Pukvasa[11] is told in the *BKŚŚ*[12] (V.190-279). It has been stated that the science of flying machine (*ākāśa-yantra*) was known only to the Yavanas and the carpenter of King Udayana could only manufacture the water-machine (*jala-yantra*), the stone machine (*aśma-yantra*), the mud-machine (*pāṃśu-yantra*) and so on. It has been said that the manufacturing of an aerial car was a matter of secrecy with the artisans. Pukvasa was an artisan (*vardhakī*) who was in the service of King

Mahāsena of Ujjayinī and father of Vāsavadattā. His father-in-law, named Viśvila, had specialised in the art of wood. He cut the wood from the forest and prepared a machine out of it. He also prepared valuable cooking utensils, conducive to health and longevity according to the principles of *Vṛkṣāyurveda*[13].

We come across another reference about the mechanical skill of the Greeks in the *Bṛh-Bhā* of Saṅghadāsagaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa (4th century A.D.). We are told here about a mechanical image (*janta-paḍimā*) of a human figure which could walk and open and shut its eyes. It has been stated that such images turned out in plenty in the country of Yavana[14].

Prostitutes in Ancient Greece

The *Nammayāsundarī-kathā*, a Prakrit Jain work of Mahendrasūri of the 12th century A.D. gives an interesting account of the prostitutes' dwelling in a Greek city. Maheśvaradatta, a Jain merchant, in order to earn money, leaves for the country of Javaṇa, accompanied by his wife Narmadāsundarī. On his way he gets suspicious of her fidelity and deserts her. The forsaken Narmadā wanders from place to place. One day by chance she happens to see her uncle Vīradāsa who takes her with him to Babbarakūla (Barbaricon). There lived a group of 700 prostitutes under the leadership of Hariṇī. They used to earn wages for their mistress, who paid one-third or even one fourth of it to the royal treasury. As soon as Hariṇī learnt about the arrival of a merchant from India (Jambudvīpa) she deputed her maid-servant to him with a pair of precious garment. But Vīradāsa would not accept her invitation; he gave the maid-servant 500 *drammas* and dismissed her. Hariṇī sent another maid-servant who succeeded to pursuade Vīradāsa to come to her house. Hariṇī was pleased to see her guest and she showed extraordinary love and affection towards him. She occupied him in the game of dice which went on for a long time. In the meantime, by her strategy she succeeded in getting Narmadā there. She detained her in an undergound cell. Narmadā was asked to follow the profession of a prostitute but she hated even to listen to such an awful thing. Hariṇī cited verses from the scriptures to persuade her but it was of no avail. She engaged violent lustful men to harass Narmadā and struck her with sharp canes, but she would not yield. Narmadā retorted that she was prepared to earn money for her by spinning or cooking, but in no circumstances she would accept such a degrading profession. In the course of time, Hariṇī breathed her last and Narmadā was installed in her place as a head prostitute. After some time when the king heard of Narmadā's beauty and charm he ordered his servant to fetch her to his palace. After hearing the king's command Narmadā dressed herself properly and set out to meet the king. On her way she feigned behaving abnormally. Thereupon the king let her go. He entrusted her to the care of an Indian merchant from Bharuyakaccha (Broach) who had come there to sell *ghee*[15].

The episode reflects the life of prostitutes in ancient Greece. They were held in high esteem in the country and even exercised political influence. They paid a part of their income to the royal treasury which has also been mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. The chief prostitute was installed with pomp as in ancient India. The innocent women were forced to accept the profession as usual. It is said that the first public brothel of which we have any record was established by Solon in Athens[16].

The other Universal Jain Tales

The story of Cārudatta, already narrated has been quite popular with Jain writers. Cārudatta in order to earn money leaves his mother and wife and sets out on his journey. His caravan is attacked by a band of robbers. He had to travel through inaccessible mountains and pass through dangerous rivers. The peak of a mountain had to be crossed by spike-tracks (*śaṅku-patha*), by goat-track (*aja-patha*) and the deep and swift river by holding of cane thickets (*vetra-patha*). Finally the caravan leader asks the merchants to kill their goats, and slip into the remaining skin-bags so that the huge *bhāruṇḍa* birds could carry them to Ratnadvīpa[17]. This account can also be compared with that recorded in the *Arabian Nights*[18]. An aerial voyage is undertaken by Es-Sindabad. It is said that when Es-Sindabad was brought on the earth by the bird *rukh* (*bhāruṇḍa* as counterpart), he saw a deep valley by the side of a mountain where there were diamonds and jewels, and this valley was situated in India. Still another example of migration of an Indian story to a foreign land.

The story of Five Rice-Grains narrated in the *Nāyā* (7) is a story of a rich merchant of Rājagṛha, named Dhanya. Once in order to test the wisdom of his four daughters-in-law he gave each one of them five unbroken rice-grains and asked them to hand them back whenever he demanded. The first daughter-in-law threw them away carelessly thinking that there are plenty of them in the granary of her father-in-law and whenever he would demand she would give him back. The second daughter-in-law had a similar feeling, she took out the chaff of the grains and swallowed them. The third one wrapped the rice-grains in a clean piece of cloth, kept them in a jewel-casket and putting it under her pillow, guarded it day and night. The fourth daughter-in-law called the household servants to plant them in the field. At the beginning of the monsoon they sowed the rice-grains, transplanted them in the field. At the beginning of the monsoon they sowed the rice-grains, transplanted them and guarded them by putting a fence around the field. In the course of time when they were ripe the crop was reaped. In this way the servants continued sowing and planting the rice every year and at the end of four years they collected a good crop containing hundreds of earthen pitchers.

After four years the merchant called his daughters-in-law and demanded the rice-grains, handed over to them. He made the first daughter-in-law in

charge of cleaning and scrubbing the floor, the second one in charge of cooking, the third one in charge of the treasury and the fourth one was appointed as the mistress of the house.

Ernst Leumann has pointed out to a corresponding story handed down in *Matthew* (25.14-30) and *Luke* (19.12-27) of the *New Testament*. Gustav Roth is of the opinion that the version of the story contained in the Hebrew Gospel which was the very Gospel of the Jewish Christians, is more original than those of *Matthew* and *Luke*[19].

The story is significant from the point of view of the history of world literature.

There are numerous popular tales and anecdotes recorded in the Prakrit Jain narrative literature which are worth studying from the point of view of the history of universal literature. All Indian tales are not necessarily the origin of all stories and tales of the world. Some must be having common origin. Some must have travelled from East to West along with the trading merchants who visited foreign countries from time to time.

The story of Kaṇṭikā is such a story. Kaṇṭikā was caught by robbers and handed over to their leader. The leader kept her as his wife. Finally she reaches Ujjayini, meets her parents and joins the order of nuns. The story of Paṭācārā, noted in the Pali Buddhist literature, is identical with the above story[20]. Another common story with Buddhist literature is that of courtesan Kuberasenā, who married her own son. It is recorded in the *VH* (*Kahuppatti*, 10,27-15,12) as well as in the *Kattigeyāṇuvekkhā* (64-65) and the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* (2,293-306) of Hemacandra.

Kuberasenā, a courtesan of Mathurā, gave birth to twins, a male and a female. They were floated in the Yamunā river. In the course of time they were picked up by two merchants of Śaurika-nagara, and came to be known as Kuberadatta and Kuberadattā. Both grew up and betrothed to each other. Kuberadattā found out the true relation between Kuberadatta and herself. Similarly Kuberadatta also came to know that Kuberadattā was his sister. Thereupon Kuberadattā felt very much disgusted and renounced the world. Later on she learned that Kuberadatta was living in the house of Kuberasenā as husband and wife and a son was born to them. Kuberadattā goes to them and reveals their mutual relations. Consequently Kuberadatta becomes a monk and Kuberasenā accepts the vows of a laywoman. The story of Utpalavarṇā in Buddhist literature bears similarity[21] with this story in several aspects.

NOTES

1. Introduction Vol.I, p. xxxvi.
2. *Jambu.* 52,p.217a; *Āva-Cū*, p.191.
3. *Nāyā* 1,p. 23.
4. *Sama*, 18.
5. *Āva-Cū*, p.191.
6. *BKŚS* (XVIII. 335) refers to a merchant of Rājagṛha who had a Greek wife.
7. 38, 26-39,5. Also see Puṣpadanta, *M.P.* I,20,23-24.
8. *The Thousand and One Nights*, I, Story 2, Edward Lane, London 1859 pp. 75-77. Leprosy is cured by bathing in the blood of innocent maidens; Grimm, *Household Tales*, I,p. 396.
9. The *Āva-Cū* (p.540-41) which presents a different tradition of the Kokkāsa story, mentions *garuḍa-janta* and *sauṇaga-janta*. *Garuḍa-yantra*, the vehicle of Lord Viṣṇu, is mentioned in the *Pañcatantra*.
10. Professor L. Alsdorf draws a parallel between these horses and the ebony horses of the *Arabian Nights*. Regarding the flying horses mentioned in the Jain version of the Kokkāsa story, the *Pañcatantra* and the *Arabian Nights*, he finds that the story of the *Arabian Nights* has more similarity with the Jain version of the story. In his opinion the Kokkāsa story seems to be the origin of the *Pañcatantra story*, *ZDMG*, 89, pp. 294-314.
11. An offspring of a Niṣāda man and a Śūdra woman, *Manusmṛti* (10.18).
12. Felix Lacôte places its author Budhasvāmin in the 8th or 9th century A.D. According to Vasudevsharan Agrawala, however, he can be placed in the 5th century A.D., Introduction to *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Hindi), p.7, Patna, 1960.
13. Viśvila's story is also found in the *Kandjur* which mentions the wonderful skill of the Greeks. It has been published by Schiefner in the *Bul.de l' Acad. Imper, des Sciences de Saint-Petersbourg, XXI, 1876 p. 139*; Lacôte, Essay on Guṇāḍhya, *ch. IV, p.200*. For Vṛkṣāyurveda *see, chapter IX (Secular Literature) in author's* History and development of *Prakrit Literature* to be published soon.
14. 4, 4915. The *Bhaiṣajyavastu* (Kashmir Texts and Studies, Gilgit Mss. Vol.III, Part I, ed. Nalinaksha Dutt, pp. 166-68) mentions an Indian artist who went to the Yavana country and called at the house of a *yantrācārya* (constructor of machines). He made a mechanical doll (*yantra-putrikā*) who remained in the service of the Indian artist. For references in the works of Bāṇa and Daṇḍin, See V. Raghavan, *Tantras or Mechanical Contrivances in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., 1956, pp. 5-15.
15. This work is published in the *SJS*, 1960.
16. George Rylay Scott, *History of Prostitution from Antiquity to the Present Day*, London, 1940. p.78.
17. *VH*, p. 145, 1-149, 30; also *BKŚS*, XVIII.
18. Vol.I, Story 3, pp. 169-73; Vol.I, Notes XX, 23; Vol.III, 14-22 and Note 26.
19. See "The Similies of the Entrusted Five Rice-Grains and Their Parallels", *German Scholars on India*, Vol.I, Varanasi, 1973 pp. 234-44.
20. See Supra, p.83
21. Tale of Utpalavarṇā, *Tibetan Tales* translated into English by Ralstor, London, 1822.

12

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD IN
THE BHAGAVATĪ-ĀRĀDHANĀ*

The disposal of the dead in early primitive society was problematic. The early man was not prepared to believe that his companion who was moving around with him all the time, has ceased to be. He exposed his body on trees with the hope that some day he would survive and act as previously[1].

The sub-aerial deposit or leaving the body in the open air was the earliest and the simplest method of disposing of the dead. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VI. 16.2.3) has enjoined casting away of mendicants dying in a forest. The *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (iii.7.1) has laid down that those who died of wounds caused by weapons, administration of poison, choking by a string, drowning in water, falling from a mountain or a tree etc. need not have any funeral, but should be flung into water or cast away into forest. It is interesting to note that the Parsi community, a branch of the ancient Aryans, still retains the custom of exposure of their dead bodies to be devoured by carnivorous birds and beasts.

The early Jain texts throw a flood of light on the custom of leaving the dead bodies at the mercy of birds and wild animals. The *Bhag-Ārā* (1994) has referred to devouring of the dead bodies of Jain monks by birds and quadruped *(khaga-caduppada)*[2]. We are told that at the command of the king, the dead body of a monk was left in a ditch *(agaḍa)*[3] near the wall of a rampart *(varaṇḍaka)*, a pond *(dīrghikā)*, or flung into a flowing river or cast away in burning fire *(Bṛh-Bhā, 3.4824)*. The *Niśī-Sū* (11.92), a canonical text of antiquity, refers to *giddha-piṭṭha (gṛddhra-spṛṣṭa)*, a kind of death, in which a person after applying red juice to his back, belly and other parts of the body, cast himself among the corpses of human beings, elephants, camels, donkeys, jackals etc. and allowed himself to be devoured by vultures[4]. We are told that the bodies of criminals were cast away into ditches to be devoured by wolves, dogs, jackals, *kolas* (a rat-shaped animal), cats and birds[5].

The dead bodies were also buried underground. According to the *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (iii.6.2), the abortive child should be buried. In ancient Jain literature this custom was in vogue among the tribal people (*mlecchas*), who instead of cremating their dead bodies, buried them in the house of the dead (*mataga-giha*), located in their own houses (*gharabbhintare*). Such houses existed, we are told, in the country of Dīva (identified with the island of the Arab, known as '*Jazirat al Arab*' (see *LAI* 1984, p. 367) and Joṇa (Alexandria)[6].

Elaborate Rules for disposing of the Dead

Early Jain texts have laid down elaborate rules for disposing of the dead bodies of Jain monks. The *Bhag-Ārā* (1974-2000), *Āva-Nir* (II,94-130, pp.71a-76, *Niryukti-Dīpikā* by Māṇikyaśekharasūri), *Bṛh-Sū* (4.29) and *Bhā* (4.5497-5565), *Vya-Bhā* (7.442-46; with *Niryukti, Bhāṣya* and the commentary of Malayagiri, *Āva-Cū* (II, pp. 102-109) and the *Āva* commentary by Haribhadra have described these rules in detail. The *Bhag-Ārā* under the section of *Vijahanā* (*vihāna* meaning the entirely abandoned body), the *Āva-Nir* and the *Āva-Cū* under *Pariṭṭhāvaṇiyā* (*Pariṣṭhāpanikā* or placing of the dead) and the *Bṛh-Bhā* under *Visumbhaṇa-Sutta* (*viśvagbhavana* or separation of soul from body) deal with the topic extensively. The *Bhag-Ārā* does not comprise regular sections with regard to *Vijahana* like the *Āva* literature which seems to be more organised, providing details.

The *Bṛh-Sū* (4.29), a part of the early portion of Jain canonical literature, has laid down the following prescriptions: "If a monk dies during the night or in the day, the fellow-monk should borrow the wooden frame of a layman for carrying the dead (*uvagaraṇa-jāya*, explained as *vahana-kāṣṭha* in the commentary), and keep the body at a solitary place free from living beings, and return the career to the owner." As this practice finds a place in the ancient texts of both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras, it must have existed earlier than the split in the two sects, in about the first century A.D. The section has been divided as follows: 1. *Paḍilehaṇā* (*Pratilekhanā*), 2. *Disā*, 3. *Ṇantaga* (meaning *vastra*), 4. *Kāla* (comprising *jaggaṇa, bandhaṇa* and *chedaṇa*), 5. *Kusa-paḍimā* (*Kuśa-pratimā*), 6. *Niyattaṇa* (*Nivartana*), 7. *Mattaga* (*Mātraka*), 8. *Sīsa* (*Śīrṣa*), 9. *Taṇa* (*Tṛṇa*), 10. *Uvagaraṇa* (*Upakaraṇa*), 11. *Kāussagga* (*Kāyotsarga*), 12. *Padāhiṇa* (*Pradakṣiṇya*), 13. *Abbhuṭṭhaṇa Abhyutthāna* 14. *Vāharaṇa* (*Vyāharaṇa*), 15. *Khamaṇa* (*Kṣapaṇa*), 16. *Sajjhāya* (*Svādhyāya*), 17. *Vosiraṇa* (*Vyutsarjana*), 18. *Avaloyaṇa* (*Avalokana*)[7].

Precepts Laid down in the Bhagavatī-Ārādhanā

First of all, *nisihiyā*[8] or the place for disposing the dead body has to be properly inspected. It should be a solitary place, having visibility, not too far, not too close, extensive, ruined (*vidhvasta*), secure, very pure, without any

cavity, without grass, illuminating, even, not slippery, free from living beings, free from dust, steady and unobstructed (1964-66)[9]. The career for the dead is known here as *siviyā* (*śibikā*)[10] and not *uvakaraṇa* or *vahana-kāṣṭha* as stated earlier.

Then one has to look for proper direction (*diśā*). The south-western, the southern and the western directions are considered auspicious for the disposal of the dead. If it is south-west, it will result in all concentration of mind; if south, to easy availability of food to the *saṅgha*, and if west, it will result in smooth wandering of the *saṅgha* and the religious paraphernalia would be easily available to the monks. If above directions are not handy, the following can be chosen: the east-southern, the west-northern, the eastern, the northern and the north-eastern. But even these directions are considered inauspicious: if it is east-south there is 'speech-strife' (*tumaṃ tumaṃ; tū tū main main* in Hindi), if west-north, there is a dispute, if east, there is going to be a split, if north, there is leg-pulling among the members of the *saṅgha* (1967-79)[11].

Then we have *ṇantaga*. It is laid down in the *Āva* literature that at the time of disposing the dead, the monk should possess three pieces of cloth; one to spread below[12], another to cover the body, and the third one which is very white and clean should be employed to cover the whole body properly (*Bṛh-Bhā*, 5510-13; *Āva-Cū*, 103)[13]. It is important to note that this section does not find place in the *Bhag-Ārā*. The reason seems to be that the controversy with regard to the use of cloth by a monk between the two sects was gaining ground gradually. Moreover, Śivārya, the author of the *Bhag-Ārā*, belonged to the Yāpanīya sect, whose followers went about naked, carried a bunch of peacock feathers and had their food in the hollow of their palm, perhaps could not entertain the idea of cloth even being used for covering the dead body.

About the time (*kāla*), it has been stated: "Whenever, whether during the day or night, a monk dies, he is to be taken out as soon as possible. In case it is not possible to do so, the fellow-monks should keep awake, tie his toes[14] and thumbs (*bandhaṇa*) and strip his finger and cut it through slightly[15]. The monk who keeps awake, should not be a child, aged, newly initiated, devoted to austerities, coward, sick, distressed or holding the status of an *ācārya*, but should be brave and courageous, who could control his sleep (1072)[16]. The monks who are learned, vigilant, strong, valorous and come under the category of great saints should tie and strip the thumb and the toes of the dead monk[17]. If these rites are not followed, it is possible that some deity might enter the dead body, rise, play and create disturbances to the *saṅgha* (1974)[18]. Here the *gāthā* (No.1975) has not been explained either by Pandit Sadāsukha in his *Bhāṣā-Vacanikā* or the early commentators of the work. However, under such conditions, it has been stated in the *Bṛh-Bhā* (5526) that holding the urine in his left hand, the monk should sprinkle it over the corpse, invoking the deity not to rise. Besides, the *Bṛh-Bhā* provides the following

additional information here: "In case there had been a terrible snow-fall during night, or there was trouble from robbers or wild beasts, or the city gates were closed, or terrible noise was going on, or carrying out of the dead during night was prohibited by order, or the relatives of the monk had requested earlier not to dispose of the body without informing them, or the diseased happened to be a renowned *ācārya* or a great *tapasvī*, he is not to be taken out during night (5519)". Similarly, "If the monks did not have white clean clothes or the city gates remained closed as the king accompanied by his retinue of queens, had entered the town, or made exit together with his attendants and warriors, the body of the diseased should not be taken out during the day (5520)."

About placing the head of the dead monk, it is stated that having placed it on a couch it should be tied up so that it may not rise with its head directed towards the village (1977)[19].

While carrying the dead body the monks should pass through the road which has been known already. They should not stop in the middle, nor turn back or look behind (1978)[20]. One of the monks should walk ahead carrying a handful of *kuśa* grass (*kusa-muṭṭhi*)[21]. He should not stop in the middle, nor should turn back or look behind (1979)[22].

Then by strewing the handful *kuśa* grass of unbroken edge he should make the ground in level (1980)[23]. If the ground is not in level, there is a possibility of death of an *ācārya*, a *vṛṣabha* or a *yati* (1982)[24]. If the *kuśa* grass is not within the reach, the filament of flowers (*kesara*), ashes or brick-powder can be used inscribing the sign of *ka* and *ta*, one below the other (1988)[25].

Coming to the section of religious paraphernalia (*upakaraṇa*), it is stated that the articles should be properly inspected and placed by the side of the diseased (1989)[26]. Explaining the reason of placing the religious articles by the side of the dead, it is stated that it is possible that a monk, having violated the right faith, was born in heaven, and later on the earth, and he might get enlightened to right faith after noticing the religious articles placed by the side of his corpse (1984)[27]. It is interesting to note that here the later commentators of the Digambara sect specify the peacock-feather and *kamaṇḍalu*, as an integral part of *upakaraṇa*, whereas the Śvetāmbaras mention *rajoharaṇa, mukhapatti* and *colapaṭṭaka*.

Then the proper constellation has to be noticed while laying down the dead. It is stated that if one died in *abhijit* constellation (*ṇattābhāye; nattābhiye?* is not clear in the text), it would result in the welfare of the *saṅgha*, if it is the *sama*[28] constellation, another monk might die, and if it is *divaḍḍha* (*dvyapārdha*, meaning one and a half)[29], the two might be deprived of their life (1985). Therefore in order to give protection to the Order, in the *sama* constellation, an image of *darbha* grass, similar in figure of the diseased,

has to be prepared, and in the *divaḍḍha* constellation two such images have to be made (1986). Then having placed the *darbha* grass image by the side of the dead, one should declare that 'your own image has been offered to you' (1987)[30].

Then for the sake of devotion to the *saṅgha*, the monks should observe *kāyotsarga* (meditation in standing posture) and invoke the deity of their dwelling place (*vasati-devatā*) saying that the monks would like to stay there with his permission (1990)[31]. If a monk belonging to one's own *gaṇa* died, the members of the *gaṇa* should observe fast and should not perform *svādhyāya* (reading of scripture). In case the diseased belongs to another group, one should not perform *svādhyāya* but he may or may not observe fast (1991)[32].

Then the monk should go for inspection of the dead on the third day of his death so that the migration of his soul could be known (1992)[33]. The number of days the corpse remained unimpaired, by the beasts of the jungle, for the same number of years were available plenty of food, security and prosperity in the country (1993)[34]. The direction in which the parts of the corpse were taken by birds and beasts, would be safe and the *saṅgha* could travel in that direction without difficulty (1994)[35]. If the head or the teeth of the diseased were found on the top of a mountain, it should be taken for granted that the monk had attained perfection (1995). And if his head was seen on a raised ground, he would be born among *vaimānika* gods, if on a flat ground, among *jyotiṣka* or *vyantara* gods, and if it was found in a ditch, he would be born among *bhavanavāsī* gods (1996)[36].

Other References about the Disposal of the Dead

The differences between the *Bhag-Ārā* and the *Āva* literature, noted above, indicate that there were strong traditions with regard to the disposal of the dead, observed by Jains. Kṣemakīrti (13th century A.D.) in his commentary on the *Bṛh-Bhā* has cited references pointing out to old tradition (*vṛddha-sampradāya*).

Like the *Bṛh-Bhā* and the *Niśī-Bhā*, the *Vya-Bhā* too has an important place in ancient Jain canonical literature. It provides certain details with regard to the disposal of the dead bodies of monks. It was customary, for example, in the city of Ānandapura that the dead bodies of monks and ascetics were laid down in the north direction. If the village was crowded with farms, the body could have been placed on a royal road or a spot left out at the border of two villages. In case no such place was available, it could have been removed to cemetery (*śmaśāna*). If the guardian of the cemetery asked for tax, he should be pacified by preaching sermons, or providing him with the covering of the dead. If he was not satisfied with that, the monk should go to the village and beg of cloths from some one to be given to him. If the guardian still remained unsatisfied, the monk should report the matter to the

royalty. If the king replied that he had no control over the cemetery guardian, the monk should keep the corpse at the cemetery entrance, in an open ground on green grass, presuming that he was keeping it on *dharmāstikāya* (a substance that helps motion)[37].

Directions are prescribed to carry the dead body. At first, it is laid down that it should be carried by monks, or by laymen, or carried in a bullock cart[38], or by Mallas. The laymen should report the matter to the royalty. If the dead body was carried by *caṇḍālas*, there was a possibility of getting Jain teachings humiliated[39]. In case there were only four persons (including the guardian of the dwelling-place) to carry the bier, three of them should take rest on the way and then proceed further. One who paused should carry the grass and the pot. Under extreme conditions, the Jain monks were allowed to assume the form of a non-Jain ascetic and dispose of the corpse. In case there was only one monk, ascetics or laymen should be called from neighbouring villages. If they were not available, women should be called, or the members of the Malla *gaṇa*, Hastipāla *gaṇa* or Kumbhakāra *gaṇa* should be approached. In case that was not possible, the monks were permitted to seek assistance from village-headman, people from degraded caste, sweepers, barbers and others. If they refused to work without payment, they should be preached sermons or be given a piece of cloth[40].

Concluding Remarks

1.   The *Bhag-Ārā* preserves certain practices of great antiquity with regard to the disposal of the dead. It reflects the pre-Vedic early society when instead of burying or cremating the dead, people preferred to abandon it in an open space to be devoured by birds and beasts. Such practices have been referred to in Brahmanic scriptures such as the *Atharvaveda*, the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and the *Gṛhyasūtras*.

2.   It is significant that (i) though the *Bhag-Ārā* is composed by a Digambara author, it refers to the Śvetāmbara canonical works as an authority; (ii) a number of verses concerning the disposal of the dead are identical in the *Bhag-Ārā* and the *Āva-Nir* and the *Bṛh-Bhā* and convey the same meaning at times with slightly different wordings; (iii) a number of *gāthās* of the *Bhag-Ārā* are identical with the *Mūlācāra* of Vaṭṭakera, the *Āva-Nir* and the *Prakīrṇaka* texts; (iv) a number of narratives such as those of Dhanya and Śālibhadra, Avantisukumāla, Gajasukumāra, Medārya, Eṇikāputra, Cilātaputra, Sukosala, Cāṇakya and others; at many places with identical verses, are common in the *Bhag-Ārā* and the *Prakīraṇka* texts and other ancient texts of the Śvetāmbaras.

3.   The material contained in the *Bhag-Ārā* belongs to the time of early Jainism when the division of Śvetāmbara and Digambara did not exist in the Jain *saṅgha*. Both of them have followed common traditions without any bias

or prejudice.

4.   This ancient literature needs a critical and comparative study at the hands of scholars which is bound to throw flood of light on early history and development of Jainism.

NOTES

1. See *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, iv, 5.2.13.
2. See also *Mahā-Nī* (ch. 6,p.25, Gujarati translation in manuscript by Narsingh Bhai Patel, of W. Schubring's *Das Mahānisīha*, Berlin, 1918. The translation was kindly lent to the author by late Muni Jinavijayaji.
3. Compare *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (iii,11) where it has been stated that the body of a *parivrājaka* should be laid down in a ditch.
4. See also *Cū*, 11.3806; *Ovāiya*, commentary, 38 pp., 162f. This custom prevailed in the vicinity of Takṣaśilā, Pusalkar, A.D., *Bhasa - A Study*, Lahore, 1940, 20, p.469.
5. See *Paṇha*, *Sū* 12, pp.55f, Commentary by Abhayadeva, Bombay, 1919. According to Manu (Vīra Mitrodaya Saṃskāra Prakāśa, 87-90), a person who has abandoned his religion, who is born of a *pratiloma* marriage, who has committed suicide, a heretic, an adultress, a woman causing abortion or hates her husband, should not be given a funeral. The *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (iii, 1.6) adds thieves to this list, R.B. Pandey, Hindu *Saṃskāras*, Banaras. 1949, p.479.
6. *Nisī-Sū*, 3.72; *Cū*, 3. 1535; also *Ācā-Cū*, p.370.
7. *Bṛh-Bhā*, 5500-5502, *Āva-Cū*, II, 102; *Āva-Nir*, 94-95, p.71a.
8. Mentioned in the *Anuyoga-Sū*, 20, Commentary by Haribhadra; *VH*, 214, 18; 264,25. It is known as *thaṇḍila* (*sthaṇḍila*) in the *Āva* literature. It is explained as *chāra-citi-vajjitaṃ*, *Nisī-Cū*, 3. 1536.
9. Compare with *Āva-Nir* 96; *Bṛh-Bhā*. 4,5504.
10. *Śibikā* indicates a bier in the *MBH*, *MW*. According to *Bṛh-Bhā* (5503), the *vahana-kāṣṭha* is made of bamboo or wood, is thick, smooth, not in use at the moment and strong. In the *Gṛhyasūtras*, the dying couch is said to be made of bamboo, R.B. Pandey, *op. cit*. p.432.
11. These *gāthās* are almost identical with those in the *Āva-Nir* (97-99) and the *Bṛh-Bhā* (5505-5506); also *Āva-Cū*, 103. Here two different traditions seem to have been followed. Contrary to the *Bhag-Ārā* tradition, it has been stated: "The south-western direction is the best as by disposing the dead here the plenty of food and cloth is available. But in its absence if southern direction is chosen there would be no availability of food, and if it is west, the religious paraphernalia would not be readily accessible to the monk, *Bṛh-Bhā* (4.5506); *Āva-Cū*, 103.
12. In the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (iv,1), a piece of black antelope skin is used.
13. The use of pure and new cloth is mentioned in the *Gṛhyasūtra*, R.B. Pandey, *op. cit*., 433.
14. The big toes were tied together with a bunch of twigs so that the dead should not walk back to the house after the corpse was taken out, see *Atharvaveda*, V.1.
15. This *gāthā* is identical with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5518); *Āva-Nir* (102); *Āva-Cū* (104). It is noteworthy that in the *Bhā* (5524) and *Cū* 'covering the mouth with *puṭṭi* or *mukha-potika*' (a piece of cloth held before the mouth) is added.
16. Compare with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5522) and *Āva-Cū* (104) with slight different wordings.
17. Compare with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5524). The Digambara commentator Pandit Sadāsukha (middle of the 19th century) expresses his inability to ṛxplain *bandhana* and *chedana*, referred to in the context.
18. Compare with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5526).
19. Partially identical with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5531); *Āva-Nir* (116); *Āva-Cū* (105).
20. Compare with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5528-29); *Āva-Nir* (111); *Āva-Cū* (105).
21. *Kuśa-muṣṭhi* is mentioned in the *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* and the *MBH*, *MW*. *Kuśa* grass was scattered on sacrificial vessels and other articles and the cremation was performed

when no clue was traced of the person gone abroad, R.B. Pandey *op. cit*, 477. In case of funeral ceremony, the man leading the procession, carries a firebrand in his hand, *Ibid.*, 434.

22. Compare with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5530); *Āva-Nir* (110); *Āva-Cū* (105).
23. Identical with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5532); *Āva-Nir* (112); *Āva-Cū* (105).
24. Compare with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5533-34); almost identical with 5533.
25. The *gāthā* is almost identical with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5535); *Āva-Nir* (115); *Āva-Cū* (105f).
26. Compare with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5536); *Āva-Nir* (117); *Āva-Cū* (106). Placing the begging-bowl and the *kamaṇḍalu* on the right hand are mentioned in the *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (iii. 11).
27. Compare with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5537); *Āva-Nir* (117); Āva-Cū (106). Here the story of the monk of Ujjayini has been cited and the commentator has suggested the readers to refer to the Āva commentary by Haribhadra.
28. The constellation is supposed to last for 30 *muhūrtas*. There are 15 such constellations: aśvini, kṛttikā, mṛgaśirā, puṣya, maghā, pūrvāphālguni, hasta, citrā, anurādhā, mūla, pūrvāṣāḍhā, śrāvaṇa, dhaniṣṭhā, pūrvābhādrapada and revati, *Bṛh-Bhā*, 5527 commentary.
29. It continues for 45 *muhurtas* or half a day. There are six such constellations: uttaraphālguni, uttarāṣāḍhā, uttarābhādrapadā, punarvasu, rohiṇi and viṣākhā, *ibid*.
30. Compare with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5527), condensed in one *gāthā*; also *Āva-Nir* (105-108); *Āva-Cū* (105). In the funeral ceremony of Hindus the *darbha* grass is arranged in the figure of a man and the remains are laid upon it and covered with an old cloth, R.B. Pandey, *op. cit.*, 463.
31. Compare with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5538); *Āva-Nir* (123); *Āva-Cū* (106). Here *kāyotsarga* is to be performed in the presence of a teacher. Then for happiness and peace an eulogy in praise of Ajita Tīrthaṅkara has to be recited (5548-49). Compare *śāntikarma* or pacificatory rites for the well-being of the living in the *Gṛhyasūtra*, R.B. Pandey, *op. cit.*, 457.
32. Compare with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5550); *Āva-Nir* (124); *Āva-Cū* (107).
33. Compare with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5554); *Āva-Nir* (125); *Āva-Cū* (107). In place of the third day the following day is mentioned here.
34. Compare with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5556); *Āva-Cū* (108).
35. Compare with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5555), partially identical; also *Āva-Nir* (126); *Āva-Cū* (108).
36. The *gāthā* is identical with *Bṛh-Bhā* (5558); *Āva-Nir* (127); *Āva-Cū* (108).
37. *Vya-Bhā* (7. 442-46, p.75a ff).
38. The *Atharvaveda* (2.56) refers to the corpse removed on a cart drawn by two bulls and not by men, R.B. Pandey, *op. cit.*, 426.
39. An orphan monk was removed by *caṇḍālas* by making payment, *Vya-Bhā* (7.37); also *Manusmṛti* (X.55).
40. *Vya-Bhā* (7. 449-62).

13

THE ADAPTATION OF VIṢṆU-BALI LEGEND BY JAIN WRITERS*

A close study of the *Chedasūtras* with their extensive commentaries reflects the extreme conditions through which Jain monks had to pass in order to propagate their religion. Even to get a temporary dwelling-place in far off countries was a problem. They had to occupy a deserted place (*suṇṇaghara*), generally infested with women, eunuchs, wild beasts, snakes, mosquitos, ants, dogs and robbers[1]. There were political disturbances when lawlessness prevailed in the country. The monks were held as spies and prosecuted. If the ruler was not a Jain, as it often happened, Jain ascetics had to undergo lot of trouble. At the time of the coronation of a king the monks were supposed to attend the ceremony and offer congratulations to the newly appointed king. There were religious disputes and public discussions in the presence of a king as a presiding officer.

The rules of asceticism were strictly observed by Jain monks. As a general rule, under unbearable conditions, they were supposed even to commit suicide rather than violate their long-cherished vow. But at times, under unavoidable calamities, they were advised to follow *apavāda-mārga* or exception to the rule by setting aside *utsarga-mārga* or a general rule. The monks have been exhorted to guard themselves even at the risk of violating their self-restraint (*sañjamāo appāṇameva rakkhanto*). It has been observed, "If a monk comes out safe of calamity, he can purify himself by the act of atonement (*pāyacchitta*) and can practise more righteousness[2].

In this context the monk Viṇhu (Viṣṇu), a great saviour of Jain religion, is cited as an example. It has been stated: "The holy persons who help the cause of religion like the monk Viṣṇu, or those who render help to holy persons in their enterprise, are not only called pure and meritorious but are entitled to achieve liberation within a short time[3]."

Muni Viṇhu or Viṇhukumāra is mentioned in the *VH*. Here in the

---

Gandhavvadattā-lambha (126, 21-128, 7) Vasudeva, the hero, participates in a music concert, held every month in the city of Campā, in order to win Gandhavvadattā, the beautiful daughter of Cārudatta. Vasudeva is asked to sing a song in exaltation of Viṇhu (*Viṇhu-giiyā* = *Viṣṇu-gītikā*). Several *viṇas* were presented to him for use but he rejects them all pointing out minute defects in their construction. Ultimately, a perfect instrument is presented and the hero proceeds to harmonise with Gandhavvadattā. Both start playing their instruments singing the beautiful song in exaltation of Viṣṇu. The music was accompanied by the regulated rise and fall of *gandhāra* note, harmonised by the clapping of hands (*tāla*), the pause (*laya*) and the grip (*graha*) and perfected by the accomplishments of three bodily sites. The hero ultimately wins Gandhavvadattā and marries her.

The Origin of Viṣṇu-gītikā

The VH contains the following legend: The minister Namuci of King Mahāpauma of Hastināpura was publicly defeated by the Jain monks in a religious debate. The minister grew hostile to the monks, and in the meantime he managed to get a boon from the king to rule over the kingdom. When Namuci was installed on the throne he asked the monks to pay him respects. The monks showed indifference and the minister began giving them lot of trouble. He ordered them not to stay any longer in his country. The monks asked the minister to let them stay at least during the rainy season as the earth was full of living beings and they were prohibited to roam about in the season. But Namuci would not listen and asked them to quit the kingdom within seven nights. The monks called upon Viṇhu (or Viṇhukumāra) who was practising penance at Aṅgamandira. The ascetic comes and asks Namuci to permit the monks to stay for the rainy season. But the minister insisted that they must quit the kingdom within the appointed time. Thereupon the monk asks Namuci to grant him a space of three steps in which the Jain monks can live unmolested during the rainy season. Namuci reluctantly agrees. Then Viṇhu flares up in great anger, his body growing larger and larger. He lifts up one huge foot to measure out the land and Namuci falls to his feet in fright. Seeing a huge body, all gods became terrified and began to tremble. He puts his right foot on the peak of the Mount Mandara. At this point everyone gets frightened that Viṇhu's rage will destroy the whole world. Heavenly nymphs perform dances and the Gandharvas, Tumburu, Nārada, Hāhā, Hūhū and Viśvavasu begin singing beautiful soothing songs to calm the monk's fury. They are soon joined by the *vidyādharas*, who also recite praises to Viṇhu. The Gandharvas, pleased with the participation of the *vidyādharas*, favour them with the beautiful song of *Viṇhu-giiyā*. It is stated that Vasudeva learnt this song of seven musical scales from Sāmāli, one of his wives[4].

Identical Account in the BKŚS

In the *BKŚS* of Budhasvāmin we come across exactly the identical

account of the episode with the difference that Vasudeva is Naravāhanadatta, Cārudatta Sānudasa, the song of Viṇhu-gīiyā the song of Nārāyaṇastuti[5] and the minister Namuci the demon Bali. It has been stated: "In ancient times Viṣṇu, the holder of the disc, took the form of a dwarf in order to humble the demon Bali, and overpowered the heaven with three steps[6]. Then Viśvavasū, served by a host of Gandharvas, appeared in heaven and quickly made three circumambulations around Viṣṇu. While praising Lord Viṣṇu and holding a banner marked with Garuḍa bird, he sang a wonderful song known as Nārāyaṇa-stuti. The song was obtained from Viśvavasū by Nārada, from Nārada by Arjuna, and then by Uttarā, Parīkṣita, Janamejaya, Udayana, the father of Naravāhanadatta and finally from the father by the son[7].

Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya – the Common Source

As there are strikingly identical details of contents between the *VH* and the *BKŚS* there must have been some common source from which both have derived their material, and this common source seems to be the *BK* of Guṇāḍhya[8]. The Viṣṇu-Bali legend like the episode of Ganadharvadatta's marriage of which it forms an essential part, seems to have been derived from the *BK*. As a religious overtone is visible throughout the narration of the VH, it can be postulated that the author has conveniently transferred God Viṣṇu of the Vedic mythology to ascetic Viṇhu or Viṇhukumāra and the demon Bali to the minister Namuci (or minister Bali by later Jain writers).

Traditions Recorded in Later Jain Writings

The popular BK which was "full of wonderful meanings" has influenced Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa literature from time to time. Besides the *BKŚS* of Budhasvāmin, the *KSS* of Somadeva and the *BKM* of Kṣemendra, Sanskrit versions of the *BK* were known to Bhoja[9]. The *BK* was quite popular with Jain writers who have assimilated the tales of this great work in their writings in different contexts. Jinasena (8th century A.D.) in his JHP, Hemacandra (12th century A.D.) in his *TŚP*, Guṇabhadra (9th century A.D.) in his *UP*, Hariṣeṇa (10th century A.D.) in his *BKK*, Puṣpadanta (10th century A.D.) in his *MP* and Nemicandra in his commentary on the *Uttarā* have all followed traditions which appear to be different from contained in the *VH*.

It is quite interesting that the later Jain writers, instead of following the *VH* traditions of the Viṣṇu-Bali legend, have followed the Brahmanic legend more faithfully. Jinasena mentions Bali as one of the four ministers, others being Bṛhaspati, Namuci and Prahlāda, of King Śrīdharma of Ujjayinī. A congregation of Jain monks arrives in the city. Accompanied by his ministers the king pays visit to the monks. A religious debate is held between the monks and the ministers resulting in the defeat of the latter. The king banishes his ministers. Bali and other ministers reach Hastināpura and remain in the service of King Padma. In the meantime, the Jain monks happened to arrive

in the city. Bali manages to get a boon from the king to rule over the kingdom for a week and starts giving trouble to the monks. Viṣṇukumāra arrives in the city and tries to dissuade Bali from his wicked intention. After he failed in his endeavours he asks Bali to allow him three steps on the earth. Then he expands his body to such an extent that it reaches the heavenly spheres. He took one step onto the Meru mountain, the other on the Mānuṣottara mountain, and when there was no space left for the third one it went on round and round in heaven. The monk was pacified by the gods, the *vidyādharas* and the flying ascetics. Then gods tied Bali up and banished him from the town[10]. The *vīṇās* were brought and given to the *vidyādharas*. Viṣṇukumāra later on made atonement for the deeds in the presence of his teacher[11]. Almost the same narration is recorded by Guṇabhadra in his *UP*, Hariṣeṇa in *BKK* and Puṣpadanta in *MP*, all of them following the Digambara tradition.

Guṇabhadra seems to have followed the Brahmanic mythology more closely. Instead of four he mentions only one chief minister, named Bali, who lights a fire under the pretext of performing sacrifice and the Jain monks are enveloped in smoke. Then Viṣṇukumāra assumes the form of a dwarf and asks Bali to give him charity. Bali was prepared to offer him anything what he wished but the Brāhmaṇa asked only as much earth as could be covered in three steps. After Bali was tied up he becomes a follower of Jain faith[12]. Puṣpadanta almost follows Guṇabhadra[13].

Another tradition of the Viṣṇu-Bali legend followed by Jain writers is represented by Nemicandra in his commentary of the *Uttarā* and the *TŚP* of Hemacandra. Though both represent the Śvetāmbara tradition like that of the *VH*, it is different from the latter. Nemicandra and Hemacandra both mention King Paumuttara or Padmottara instead of Paumaraha in the *VH* (Megharatha in the *UP* and *MP*). According to them, king Paumuttara had two queens, Jvālā and Lakṣmī. The former, who was the mother of Viṣṇukumāra and Mahāpadma, was a follower of Jain religion, whereas the latter followed the Brāhmanic faith. Namuci was a well-known minister of Śrīdharma (Śrīvarman in the *TŚP*). Both describe the adventures of Mahāpadma which are not found either in the *VH* or the Digambara tradition. Mahāpadma leaves the city and arrives at a hermitage. After visiting other places he returns home with all the magnificence of a Cakravartin. Both of them mention *seyabhikkhu* (the Śvetāmbara monks) instead of the Jain monks. Then Gaṅgamandira and Mandara are mentioned by Nemicandra and Hemacandra respectively in place of Aṅgamandira in the *VH*. Nemicandra refers to the atonement of Viṣṇukumāra, who practised penance and attained liberation according to both. Both, unlike the author of the VH, address the monk Viṣṇu by the purifying name Tivikkama or Trivikrama (three steps; Viṣṇu in his dwarf incarnation) as stated in the Brahmanic legend. Both introduce the Viṣṇu-Bali legend in the context of narrating the life of Mahāpauma or Mahapadma, the ninth Cakravartin; it does not form a part of the Gandharvadattā tale as in the *VH*, or the Digambara tradition or the

non-Jain version of the *BK*.

A comparative study of the Viṣṇu-Bali legend recorded by Jain authors can be a subject matter of further research. An earlier reference to the song in praise of Viṣṇu related to the Viṣṇu-Bali episode, however, seems to have been made in the *BK* from which the authors of the *VH* and the *BKŚS* seems to have borrowed.

Adventurous Story of Cārudatta

Like the episode of Viṣṇu-Bali legend the adventurous story of Cārudatta also forms an integral part of the Gandharvadattā tale. This story has been extremely popular among the Jains including Saṅghadāsagaṇi Vācaka and other Jain writers who were tempted to use it as their own theme. Jinasena in his *JHP* (21.6.36), Hariṣeṇa in *BKK* (93), Nemicandra in *AMK* (23.210.17), Maladhāri Hemacandra in *BHBH* (1814-29), Hemacandra in *TŚP* (8.2.190-302) and Rāmacandra Mumukṣu in *PKK* (12-13) have incorporated the Cārudatta tale to such an extent that it is difficult to distinguish from the original as contained in the BK.

We have seen how God Viṣṇu has been transformed into ascetic Viṣṇukumāra by Jains. In the story of Cārudatta we notice a religious colouring though of somewhat different nature. The story has been already narrated earlier. It need not be repeated that the Cārudatta (Sānudāsa in *BKŚS*) should have been an essential part of the Gandharvadattā tale contained originally in the BK.

This only shows that the Jain writers were always in search of some popular fascinating tales so that they could make them suitable for their religious sermons. As a result they picked up all sorts of stories and converted them to their requirements. The adaptation of Viṣṇu-Bali legend of the Vedic mythology is such an example which reflects the spirit of harmony and understanding of Jain writers.

NOTES

1. *Bṛh-Bhā* (1.2493-99); *Niśī-Bhā-Cū* (5. 1914); *Ogha-Nir*, 218).
2. *Niśī-Cū-Pī* (451); *Bṛh-Bhā-Com.* (1.2900); *Bhag-Ārā* (625). Compare: *Jīvan dharmaṃ cariṣyāmi, MBH* (XII, 141.67).
3. *Vya-Bhā* (7.545-47; 1,90f. p. 76f) and com.
4. 128, 18-133, 1.
5. *Vaiṣṇava-stuti* or *Keśava-stuti* in the *KSS* (106, 12, 18) and *Viṣṇu-stuti* in the *BKM* (13.71).
6. According to the Brahmanic legend, Bali was a powerful demon who oppressed the gods. The gods in turn went to Viṣṇu and asked for his protection. Viṣṇu descended to the earth, assuming the form of a dwarf. Disguised as a mendicant, he went to Bali and begged of him as much earth as he could cover in three steps. Bali acceded to dwarf's request. Then Viṣṇu assumed the mighty form and covered the entire earth with his first

step, all the heavens with his second, and not knowing where to place the third one he stepped directly on Bali's head. Afterwards Viṣṇu sent Bali to the underworld by way of punishment, Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

7. XVII. 112-116.

8. For detailed discussion see the author's *The Vasudeva*.

9. See Raghavan, V., *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, pp. 839ff.

10. In *BKK* (11, 139) the five fruits of *vilva* tree were tied to Bali's forehead, then he made to ride a donkey and roam about the city.

11. JHP (20. 1-65).

12. *UP* (70.274-300).

13. *MP* (LXXXIII, 14-19).

ANIMAL TALES IN JAIN
NARRATIVE LITERATURE*

The Jain monks who were recruited from all classes of society, while travelling from place to place in order to propagate their religion, were supposed to 'examine the local region' (janapada-parīkṣā). Travelling for them was considered an act of piety and the monks were required to gain proficiency in various local customs and the regional dialects. It has been stated that only after having a command over the local dialects they would expound the religious tenets without difficulty[1]. Hence the Jain monks had to be familiar with the popular tales, including the tales of animals, and anecdotes related to artisans, workers, women and common illiterate people.

Origin of Animal Tales

The primitive man had a close affinity with animals, plants, trees, mountains, rivers and such other natural phenomena. There were strange customs and beliefs, magic and sorcery, talking animals and helping birds with which he was familar. A totem or an animal, plant or natural object served him as an emblem of his clan or family by virtue of an asserted ancestral relationship. Thus totemism proved the basis of social organisation such as of hunting and pastoral stages among primitive people. There are numerous beliefs of tribes and nations descending from particular animals. In other words, "Totemism" as observed by Richard Lannoy, the author of *The Speaking Tree: A study of Indian Culture and Society*, "would unite the tribal people in a sympathetic relation with nature in a more concrete way than the caste system" (p.188). A tiger and a bear, for example, appear frequently in the folk-tales and folksongs of the Muria. The Orāons have their totem related to animals, birds, trees and vegetables. They have a monkey-totem where a monkey is considered 'amiable-looking' (priyadarśana) and 'good fellow', therefore the members of the tribe are supposed to abstain from killing or injuring or even domesticating the animal. A parrot has been considered a marriage-totem among the Dravidian race[2]. Some Negro families would not touch certain animals because their ancestors owed them a deep debt of gratitude; others would not eat pigeons for the same reason,

---

* To be published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch Asiatic Society, Bombay.

although in some cases, by eating a totem-animal on certain occasion, one could acquire the attributes and nature of the animal[3]. Hanumat or Hanumanta (meaning having a jaw), the great monkey-god of the Hindus, with the aid of great army of monkeys (Dravidian hill-men) built a causeway across the sea to Laṅkā, the city of Rāvaṇa. He is fabled to have assumed any form at will, removed mountains, mounted the air and rivalled Garuḍa in swiftness of flight. Hanumanta is still worshipped in southern and northern parts of India. Hanumanta seems to be a pre-Aryan god, worshipped by pre-Aryan people, the original inhabitants of India. In Tamil he is called *aṇa-manti* (the male monkey), which after the Aryans came into contact with the pre-Aryan people of the land, was taken over to the Vedic language as *vṛṣā-kapi* (the male monkey; *Ṛgveda*, X.86), and gradually introduced in the pantheon of the Aryan gods[4]. Besides, various other Hindu gods and goddesses are associated with animals, birds, trees and plants. Śiva, also known as Paśupati (the lord of animals) is associated with the Nandi Bull; Viṣṇu, who moves on the waters and reclines on Śeṣa, the Serpent of infinity, with Garuḍa bird[5], chief of the feathered race; the Airāvata Elephant, prototype of the elephant race and supporter of the east quarter, with Indra; and the Uccaiśravas (the long-eared or neighing aloud) Horse, prototype of king of horses[6], is associated with the Sun. These four are considered the auspicious animals highly esteemed in the Hindu mythology. Further, Haṃsa (the Swan) is associated with Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning; Mūṣaka (the Mouse) with Gaṇeśa, the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, and god of wisdom; and Mayūra (the Peacock) with Kārtikeya, the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, and the god of war. Then, Matsya (the Fish), Kūrma (the Tortoise), Varāha (The Boar) and Narasiṃha (the Man-Lion) are mentioned as the first four incarnations of Viṣṇu. The last incarnation of Man-Lion finds similarity with Sphinx, a monster of Greek mythology with the head of a woman and the body of a lioness. This monster strangled those travellers who could not answer his riddles. In Egyptian mythology he is depicted as having the body of a lion and the head of a man.

In Jain tradition, each of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras are provided with a holy tree (*caitya*); each one is supposed to have an emblem of an animal. Even *vyantara* gods are assigned different *caitya-trees*. The festival in honour of the *caitya-tree* (*caitya-maha*) is referred to in the *Rāyapaseṇiyasutta*. The festival of garden (*ujjāṇa-maha*) was associated with the festival of tree. The *Aṅgavijjā*, a valuable Jain text of the fourth century A.D., which provides an important list of Jain and non-Jain gods and goddesses, refers to the goddess of vegetation (*vanaspati-devatā*), of hills (*parvata-devatā*), of seas (*samudra-devatā*), of rivers (*nadī-devatā*), of wells (*kūpa-devatā*), of tank (*taḍāga-devatā*), of ditch (*palvala-devatā*) and so on. Even the goddesses of crematorium (*śmaśāna*), of 'excretion-pit' or privy (*varca*) and of dung-hill (*ukkuruḍikā*)[7] are mentioned in this text.

The language of Birds and Animals

Śakuna-ruta or sounding of birds, plays an important role in the development of folk-tales. The knowledge of the aborigines of the animal world is preserved in ancient beliefs in the form of animal tales in folk literature. There are numerous tales of grateful animals who speak and talk like human beings and have friendly relations with them[8]. In this connection Maria Leach, well-known for her *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, has observed: "An animal tale is one of the oldest forms, perhaps the oldest of the folklore, and found everywhere on the globe at all levels of culture. At its simplest, the animal tale is an attempt to explain the form and habits of several animals, a fruitful source of material for the primitive story teller. These stories underlie the mythologies of various people as is evidenced by animal attributes of a many gods in their pantheons[9]." These animal tales belong to common heritage of mankind and are opposed to animals of fairy tales with supernatural powers. Such tales of animal characters are seen in the works like the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitopadeśa*, the *Jātaka* stories and numerous Jain tales.

As the hero is supposed to be efficient in seventy-two arts he is endowed with the knowledge of the language of birds (*śakuna-ruta*). In ancient folklore a parrot finds a most significant place among birds. In the *KVLM* of Udyotanasūri (8th century A.D.) a royal parrot is said to have known the alphabets, besides dancing and archery; it could recognise the marks of elephant, ox, cock, men and women[10]. In the *Śuka-saptati*, a collection of seventy stories narrated by a parrot, the parrot is said to have guarded the chastity of a merchant's wife in his absence[11]. The *Āva-Cū* (seventh century A.D.) records a story of a parrot, who entertained his mistress narrating 500 fascinating stories[12]. Another parrot saves his master's son from the clutches of a prostitute[13]. An interesting dialogue between the parrot couple is noted in the *VH*, overhearing which the sage Jamadagni felt guilty and decided to give up asceticism and enter into a household life as a married man[14]. The parrot Hīrāman (a golden-coloured parrot) has been mentioned in the *Karakaṇḍucariu*, a work of Apabhraṃśa by Puṣpadanta (tenth century A.D.) and the *Padmāvata* of Jāyasī (sixteenth century A.D.) in Avadhī dialect. Besides, the stories of talking jackals, chirping lizards, chattering owls, talking cobras and twittering birds have ben narrated[15]. It is stated that overhearing of birds and spirits is a good device to save people from death, sickness, calamity or great danger, or to provide wealth and prosperity.

The animal tales have the element of secularism, therefore they can be made use of by any country or religious teacher. Such tales are more realistic than moralistic where animals appear as characters talking and gossiping among themselves about their hunt, their shelter, warding off danger, safeguarding themselves, their unity and friendship. The *Pañcatantra*, which is called the work of *Nīti-śāstra* (worldly wisdom) contains such animal stories,

fables and epigrams which help teaching the practical wisdom.

Jain Authors Interested in the Pañcatantra

It is interesting to note that Jain writers were immensely interested in the popular *Pañcatantra* tales which they employed in the furtherance of their religious cause. There had been a number of Jain editions of the *Pañcatantra*, one such edition being the *Pañcākhyāna* of Pūrṇabhadra, who composed his work in 1199 A.D. This work has been composed with the help of the "*Textus Simplicior*[16] and the later recension of the *Tantrākhyāyikā*. In the words of Pūrṇabhadra, he has revised the *Pañcatantra* "syllable by syllable, word by word, sentence by sentence, story by story and verse by verse". Linguistic peculiarities of the *Pañcākhyāna* show that the author has among other things used also Prakrit works or narratives in popular dialects. It is to be noted that this work made the old *Pañcatantra* popular not only in India but also in foreign countries and from this have sprung up various recensions in Sanskrit and also in popular dialects[17]. In course of time, this work in its different forms became so popular that the readers, including Jains, completely forgot its Jain origin[18]. Then we have *Pañcākhyānoddhāra* by Jain monk Meghavijaya (composed in 1659-60 A.D.), "for imparting simple instructions to the boys". This text contains a number of new stories, many of which are important for the study of comparative folk-lore and for the discussion of the question of relationship of Greek and Indian poetical fables[19]. The *Vinoda-kathā-saṃgraha*, also known as *Kathā-kośa* by Maladhāri Rājaśekhara (middle of the fourteenth century A.D.) is an important work from the point of view of animal tales. It has been influenced by *Pañcatantra* in style and subject matter, containing delightful stories, some of which later on gained popularity in the name of Akbar and Birbal. This Treasury of Tales contains popular stories such as 'A Monkey and a Crocodile'[20], the former outwitting the latter; 'Day Dreamer'[21]; 'Two friends and Acquisition of Treasure'[22]; 'Scholars bereft of Practical Wisdom'; 'Father and Son with their Bull', with the implication that there is no remedy to satisfy all at one and the same time; and 'Deaf Family'[23]. Under the title 'The Story of Producing a false Witness' a crow wants to take a female swan as its mate. According to the author, though the story is fabricated and such stories are not allowed for the propagation of religious tenets, yet it has been incorporated in his composition for enlightening readers.

The *Kathāratnākara* of Hemavijaya (1600 A.D.) is another such work comprising 258 stories, composed in the style of the *Pañcatantra* in elaborate Sanskrit prose, interspersed with Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, Old Hindi and Old Gujarati verses. Besides including the tales of artfulness of women, tales of rogues, and tales of fools, it comprises various tales of animals. Some of the titles of this popular Jain work are 'The Louse and the Flea', 'The Credulous Lion', 'The Sea-gull', 'The Dog and the Thief', 'The Crow and the Owl', 'The Hungry Lion', 'The Clever Daughter of a Cowherd' and so on.

Like the *Pañcatantra* and such other popular works it contains wise-sayings interspersed with tales. Barring a few places such as the opening stanzas and the moralising instructions to the tales, the compiler can hardly be called a Jain monk[24]. The *Pañcaśatī-prabodha* by Śubhaśīlagaṇi (15th century A.D.) is a book of 500 stories composed to awaken the right faith. According to the author himself, his work is based on the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitpadeśa* and several important popular Jain works. At times the author has adapted the tales according to his requirement. The work is composed in simple Sanskrit, sanskritising the popular words used in local dialects, with quotations of wise-sayings from Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa works. It contains stories under stories in the style of the *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* predominant with the familiar phrase such as *'ato'haṃ bravīmi'* (therefore I say). Some of the titles of the stories can be noted here: (i) the Story of two Jackals and two Turtles[25] – the moral being the restraint of sense organs; (ii) The Story of a Lion and a Hare[26], where a lion intoxicated with pride was made to fall into a well; (iii) The Story of a Swan and a Crow[27] – the moral being that the company of the vile brings death; (iv) The Story of a Sparrow and a Monkey[28] – an arrogant monk is compared with the monkey; (v) the Tale of the Clever Jackal[29] indicates the presence of mind when encountered with difficulty; (vi) The Story of a Housewife and a Mangoose[30] – it serves as a warning against thoughtless action; (vii) The Story of a Jackal in Indigo Pot[31] – the moral being haughtiness leads to destruction.

Incorporation of Animal Tales by Jain Authors

Animal tales have been recorded in numerous ancient Jain narrative works. For instance, the *VH* has noted (i) the tale of a monkey who was attached to the pleasure of senses[32], (ii) the story of crows and dead elephant; here the crows are compared with worldly souls, their entry in the body of the elephant through its anus with the acquisition of human life, eating elephant's flesh while remaining inside with the enjoyment of sensual pleasures, the stoppage of the way of exit with fastening to the birth, death of the elephant with mortality and the exit of the crows with transmigration of soul[33], (iii) the story of the hawk and the dove[34] is a motif of self-sacrifice and abnegation, also noticed in the Brahmanic and Buddhist literature.

Numerous animal tales have been recorded by Jain writers in their works with the idea of propagating their religion. Many of these are based on folk-tales and many seem to be taken from the *pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*. It is difficult to ascertain which narrative actually originated from the *Pañcatantra* and which one formed a part of popular folk-tale. We have seen that some of the *Pañcatantra* type of narratives are noted in the *VH* which is earlier even than the *Āva-Cū*. The story of the greedy jackal is narrated in the *VH* (168, 26-169,2), where a jackal notices three carcasses, one of an elephant, another of a man and the third one of a serpent. But instead of actually eating them, out of greed, he prefers to gnaw the sinew-end of the

hunter's bow first which results in his death. The story is also found in the
Āva-Cū (168f), with variations in the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitopadeśa*, the *KSS*,
and the *Sarvāstivāda Vinayavastu* (121f). Jain authors were always in search of
some interesting popular tales which they could incorporate in their teachings.
They have utilised the mass of animal tales in their literature which needs a
comparative and critical study at the hands of anthropologists.

NOTES

1. See *Adhva-prakaraṇa* in *Bṛh-Sū*. 1.46 and *Bhā*, 3038-3138.
2. William Crooke, *The Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, II, 252.
3. J.A. Maculloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, ch. VIII, 249f; ch. II, 48.
4. See *The Vedic Age*, Vol.I, VIII, p.164, Bharatiya Itihas Samiti, 1951.
5. Cf. *Garuḍa-dhvaja*; Kṛṣṇa's chariot was endowed with *garuḍa* bird in its banner. *Garuḍa*
   is mentioned as a specific military array. In English language Eagle Scout is the highest
   rank in the Boy Scouts.
6. *Aśva* is associated with horse-sacrifice, a Vedic ceremony of antiquity. The Sun moves
   through the sky in a chariot drawn by seven horses. The English race is supposed to have
   descended from a horse.
7. The worship of dung-hill is prevalent even to day in certain parts of Uttar Pradesh.
8. Read the story of the prince called Rascal in *Saccaṃkira-Jātaka* (No.73), who after
   becoming a king, causes the ascetic, his benefactor, to be whipped and wants to have him
   executed, whereas the snake, the mouse and the parrot prove their gratitude to him.
   Compare the story in V. Elwin's *Folk-tales of Mahakoshal*, XVIII, pp.393f.
9. *Standard Dictionary*, 1, 61.
10. 123, 24-25.
11. In the *Arabian Nights*. I, Story 2,79f "A bird reveals the truth and often identifies
    murderers, traitors, debauchers and other wrong-doers", Maria Leach, *op. cit.*, I, 142.
12. pp.522-26.
13. Maladhāri Rājaśekhara, *Vinoda-kathā-saṃgraha*, 58.
14. 236, 10-27; Hariṣeṇa, *BKK*, 59.44ff.
15. In Santhal stories an interpretation of the language of ants and those of vultures is
    mentioned, Bompas, C.H., *Folklore of Santal Parganas*, London 1909, pp. 394,408f.
16. That is the version of the text that has been for the lognest period of time best known in
    Europe and upto the time of the discovery of the *Tantrākhyāyikā* was considered to be the
    Pañcatantra, Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, III, pt. I. p.353.
17. *Op.cit.*, pp. 356,357.
18. J. Hertel, *On the Literature of Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat*, p.8.
19. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, 357.
20. This story has several variants in the Buddhist *Jātakas*; also found in the *Tantrākhyāyikā*
    (Nos. 57, 208); among the Suahelis in Africa; see Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*,
    II, p. 126, note 3.
21. In *PNL*; it has been dealt under the motif "Count not your Chicken before they are
    hatched". It is a motif of ancestory of hundred years. For various versions in different
    languages see p. 60.
22. Also found in the *Āva-Cū* p.551; *Śukasaptati*, 39; *KSS*, *Kūṭavaṇija-Jātaka* and
    Pañcatantra.
23. For other parallels see *PNL*, p. 53f.
24. Translated into German by Johannes Hertel, München, 1920; recently published under
    the title *Das Perlenmeer* (*The Sea of Pearls*) in the German Democratic Republic, Leipzig
    and Weimar, 1979.
25. The story occurs under the title "*Kūrma*" in the 4th chapter of the *Nāyā*.
26. The same story is told in the *Vya-Bhā-vṛ*, 3, p. 7a: Hitopadeśa, 2.6; *The Ocean of Story*, V,

49f; *Śukasaptati*, 31; *Nigrodha-Jātaka* (445); also see W. Skeat, *Fables and Folk-tales*, Cambridge, 1901, Story 12, p. 28; a different version of an Afrcian Negro folk-tale has been noted by Maria Leach, *op.cit.*, II. 626; see *PNL*, 2, p. 82.

27. For parallel reference see *PNL*, 2, 59; elsewhere crow is replaced by owl, *Bhag-Ārā* 348; Hariṣeṇa, *BKK*, 32.

28. For parallel references see *Bṛh-Bhā-Vṛ*, 1.909f; *Āva-Nir*, 681; *Āva-Cū*, 345 records the story in Prakrit verses; *Āva* commentary by Haribhadra, p.262; *Pañcatantra*, 2.6.

29. Also found in the *MBH* I. 140.50-1; also see S.A. Dange, *Legends in Mahābhārata*, Delhi, 1969, p. 330f.

30. For other references see *PNL* 2, p.62. The story is also found in *Hitopadeśa*, 4.11; also see V. Elwin, *Folk-tales of Mahakoshal*, XII, 294f under "The Story of the Faithful Mangoose".

31. See *Bṛh-Bhā* and *Vṛ*. 1.3251; *Vya-Bhā*, 3.27; in *Pañcatantra* the jackal is called Caṇḍarava.

32. p. 6, 5-13; for English translation see, *The Vasudeva*, 559; also see Hemcandra, *Pariśiṣṭaparva*, II, 720-45.

33. See *VH* 168, 7-19; also *Āva-Cū*, 168; *Pariśiṣṭaparva*, II, 381ff; This motif is compared with a Kota folk-tale motif, see M.B. Emeneau, *Studies in the folk-tales of India*, *JAOS*, 67.

34. See infra 'Some Old Tales and Episodes in the VH' pp. 79-84.

15

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF PRAKRIT JAIN NARRATIVE LITERATURE*

1.   Folklore is the earliest form of romantic and imaginative unwritten literature of primitive people all over the world. It is a part of culture which includes, knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by men as a member of society. Folklore is primarily based on early conventions, ideas and beliefs which give rise to short narratives which might be called story germs. These germs develop into a story and later form a part of narratives. Prakrit Jain narrative literature has elements of folklore. Here the tales handed down from generation to generation have been transferred and adapted to suit the new environment expressing new feelings and thoughts. India had been a land of tales. She has played an important role in the history of world literature with her numerous stories migrating abroad. The entire stories or story traits go on repeating themselves throughout Indian Literature. We have traits of new feelings and thoughts which continue in Prakrit, Sanskrit, Apabhraṃśa, Old Hindi and Old Gujarati literature. "The beginnings of fictional ideas are not revealed by existing literature, and are doubtless with primitive folklore ideas of which we have no record." These stories and tales had been in existence long before they found their entry into literature. These tales first of all found their place in Prakrit literature.

2.   The material contained in folk-tales is pre-historic which centres around strange customs, magic, sorcery, talking animals and helpful beasts — everything familiar to the savages. Primitive man framed stories about his birth, death, heaven, the region below the earth, destruction of the world, disease and its cure, deities and so on. These stories and anecdotes reflected everyday beliefs and customs of the savages which might appear irrational to us, but were credible to them. In fact, these stories helped primitive man to escape from the hardships of life, to gain freedom from guilt and punishment and to lead a life full of vitality.

3.   These folk-tales are very simple, endowed with secular elements, therefore they were devoid of any moral or teaching. Simple wishes and fears of the people were expressed in these tales and they had nothing to do with elaborate philosophical, spiritual or artistic speculation. A story teller simply narrated the things which he saw around him, emphasised certain events and put them in a dramatic manner making the audience spell-bound. These stories were free from any sectional or regional touch and not bound by any caste, creed or colour. They could be accommodated by any religious teacher or saint. Later, these tales were transformed into the tales of morality, forming a part of didactic literature due to the social demand of the time.

4.   Once the folk-tales, fairy tales and animal tales were transformed into tales of morality, the narrative literature started growing. Stories were divided into various categories and Jain authors got an opportunity to embellish their teachings with narratives related to love, acquiring of wealth, wit, humour, wise people, artless simple fools, rogues, scoundrels, prostitutes, bards and so on. It is stated that the stories related to love were not without purpose as they were conducive to virtuous life. Jain authors made their religion popular among mercantile community by writing stories related to earning of wealth. They have provided thrilling stories of daring merchants, who at the risk of their life set out for a difficult journey, returning with plenty of precious gems and jewels. Regarding the tales of fools and stupid fellows, it is stated that by listening to such tales the listener could guard himself against victimisation.

5.   Jains also wrote secular works like the *Pañcatantra*. The *Pañcākhyāna* of Pūrṇabhadrasūri became a part of world literature so much that the readers, forgot the Jain origin of the work. Jain authors incorporated numerous stories from the *Vetāla-pañcaviṃśatikā*, the *Śuka-saptatikā* and other popular works and made them a part of their religious teaching. They exploited the story of the *BK* of Guṇāḍhya and assimilated its contents.

6.   With a view to edification, Jain authors often improved on popular tales. The story of Nala and Davadanti (Damayantī) told in the *Kathā-kośa* furnished an admirable instance of this statement. This can be considered a contribution in the field of the science of folklore as pointed out by Tawney[1]. The *Kathā-ratnākara* of Hemavijaya (1600 A.D.) is written in elaborate Sanskrit prose, interspersed with Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, Old Hindi and Old Gujarati stanzas. Most of the tales contained here are similar to those of the *Pañcatantra*, including the tales of artfulness of women, tales of rogues, tales of fools and various other fables and fairytales of interest. It contains saying from the *Bhartṛhari-śataka*, the *Pañcatantra* and other non-Jain popular works. The *Vinoda-kathā-saṃgraha* of Malādhari Rājaśekhara has been influenced by *Pañcatantra* in style and subject matter, comprising delightful stories. The *Uttamacarita-kathānaka* or "The Story of the Life of (Prince) Most Excellent" by an unknown author is a fairy-tale full of most wonderful adventures[2]. The *Pāla-Gopāla-Kathānaka* by Jinakīrti (15th

century A.D.) comprises a story of two brothers who go on their wanderings and after various adventures attain honour and fame[2]. The *Aghaṭakumāra-kathā* by an anonymos author is a story of prince Aghaṭa which is based on the fairy tale of the lucky child and the fatal letter which has been exchanged[2]. The *Campakaśreṣṭhi-kathānaka*, another work by Jinakīrti, comprises the story of the merchant Campaka. Several sub-stories are inserted in the main story. In the last sub-story, a merchant who had hitherto deceived everyone, was deceived by a courtesan[2]. The *Ratnacūḍa-kathā* by Jñānasāgarasūri (middle of the second half of the 15th century) is a story of Ratnacūḍa, containing a witty and entertaining story of the city of rogues where the king "Unjust" rules, the prime minister is "Unwise", the priest is "Restless" and in which only thieves and cheats reside. There are several inserted stories in the main frame-work of the narrative. In one story, the prostitute mother narrates four excellent stories. Then there is story of clever Rohaka[2] which can be compared with Mahosadha Paṇḍita story of the *Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka*.

7.   The present Jain narrative literature has influenced the literature of Indian mediaeval period. The love story of King Ratnaśekhara of Ratnapura and the princess Ratnavatī of Siṃhaladvīpa narrated in the *Rayaṇasehariкahā* of Jinaharṣagaṇi has influenced the story of the *Padmāvata* of Malik Muhammad Jāysī[3] as already stated. In Jain tradition, one of Sītā's co-wives requested her to draw a painting of Rāvaṇa. After she did it, it was shown to Rāma which caused her banishment. This tradition has been preserved in the folksongs of Braj dialect[4]. The *Mahāvira-cariya* of Guṇacandrasūri (11th century A.D.) contains the story of prince Naravikrama, who separated from his wife and children, undergoes hardships and ultimately is united with them. This story is noticed in several versions of a Gujarati folk-tale, known as *Candana-malayagiri*[5]. Between the 12th and 15th century A.D. Jains have composed a number of stories about the life of King Vikramāditya of Ujjain. In these stories, the king has been converted to a Jain saint, who cannot refuse the request of any beggar and is ready to sacrifice himself for others. The *Pañca-daṇḍa-cchatra-kathā* of Vikramāditya has been popular with Jains. A later work known as *Pañca-daṇḍātmakaṃ Vikrama-caritaṃ* was composed by Rāmacandra in the 15th century A.D. The language used here is not pure Sanskrit but is mixed with popular Marwari dialect[6].

The Study of Motifs

The enormous variety and richness of motifs in Prakrit Jain narrative literature reflects a state of culture which it has passed through. The motifs are mainly based on popular folk-tales and the variety of them noticed in Prakrit tales establish their relationship with world literature. The study of these motifs is helpful in tracing the common origin of world-wide story literature, the development of stories and how they are linked with

international relationship and which of the stories at what stage, transmigrated to the other part of the world. Unfortunately, much of the precious material that was of curiosity and interest has been entirely lost to us, and is disappearing fast under the impact of urbanisation, and scientific and technological advancement. In the circumstances, whatever little remains in the form of primitive manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads and proverbs of olden times, has to be rescued with great effort. A yeoman service has been rendered in this field by a number of western scholars. Besides the 266 tales contained in the *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon* (in three parts) by H. Parker, 300 stories from India and adjacent countries like Ceylon, Tibet, Burma and Malay Peninsula have been published. "These stories are of folk-tale types, including myths, hero legends, fables, drolls, märchen of all sorts, cumulative stories and ballads"[7].

NOTES

1. C.H. Tawney, Intr. to *Kathākośa*, 1975, p.xxi.
2. These stories are included in *Der Prinz als Papagei* (The Prince as a Parrot) published in the German Democratic Republic (Berlin, 1975) with an introduction by Roland Beer.
3. See *PSI*, 417ff.
4. For Jain tradition, see *Upadeśapada*, *PSI*, 426-27 and footnote. The story is also recorded in the *Kahāvali* of Bhadreśvara, *JSBI*, VI, 70.
5. Ramesh N. Jani, "Jain and Non-Jain versions of the popular Tale of Candana-Malayagiri from Prakrit and other Early Sources", *Mahāvira Vidyālaya Suvarṇamahotsava Grantha*, Bombay, year not mentioned.
6. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, III, pt. 1,377; JSBI, VI, 374-80.
7. W. Norman Brown, "The Relation of Modern Indian Folk-Tales to Literature", I-54, JAOS, 39. In part II of the article, the author deals with the *Pañcatantra* stories represented in the Hindu folklore; part III contains discussion of individual stories. In Appendix, Bibliography of Indian Folk-Tales (43-54) is provided.

16

TWO GREAT RELIGIONS OF MAGADHA*

\

The sixth century B.C. was an age of great spiritual upsurge. Ascetics and hermits roamed about from place to place throughout the Gangetic valley, advocating mental discipline and asceticism as means of salvation. As the ceremonial acts and sacrificial rites prescribed in the Vedic texts could not satisfy the urge of the philosophers, it became necessary to go deeper to fathom the ultimate truth. Here comes the period of the *Upaniṣadas* (700 B.C. – 600 B.C.) which is that of inquiry and investigation. Here was an ardent desire to know, to go beyond the *Vedas*. The basic questions asked were of the following nature: What is *Brahman* (ultimate reality)? Wherefrom do we come? How should we live? Where is our final rest? Who controls happiness and misery? What is this universe like? How did it start? When will it end and so on.

The region of Magadha (South Bihar) situated east of Kashi on the right bank of the Gaṅgā, was the centre of intellectual and spiritual activities. Among those who fostered the ferment were the Buddha, Mahavira and others. It is to be noted that Magadha was not favoured by Brahmanic scriptures and was considered a land of sin (*pāpa-bhūmi*) where the performance of sacrificial rites was prohibited. The inhabitants of this region were considered as aliens and infectious fever was invoked to leave the land of Brahmarṣi, comprising of Kurukṣetra, the country of the Matsyas, Pañcālas and Śūrasenakas, and enter Magadha to harass its residents (*Atharvaveda*, V,22.14). In comparison with the scared Kashi, Magadha was considered unholy.

These neo-philosophers denied the authority of the *Vedas* as having superhuman origin and rejected the usefulness of sacrificial rites, enunciated by the priestly class. They denied the existence of an intelligent first cause of this universe. They did not believe in efficacy of caste but enunciated the thesis that it is not through birth but through one's own deeds, a person is born either an untouchable or a Brāhmaṇa.

The Lokāyatas (= extended to people) or the Cārvākas, the upholders of the philosophy of materialism, were most prominent and the strongest

---

opponents of the doctrine propounded in the *Vedas*. They did not believe in the existence of the soul apart from the body. They held that consciousness was not the quality of any unperceived non-material or spiritual entity, but a by-product of material elements such as the earth, water, fire, air and ether. In support of their view, Cārvākas have quoted a passage from the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*[1]. If there is no separate existence of soul, it is useless to believe in the next world, rebirth, good or bad deeds and merit and demerit. Therefore, in the opinion of the Cārvākas, as long as we live we should live happily because there is no life after death. The Cārvākas also do not believe in God. According to them, there cannot be any God other than a world-renowned king. The question is asked: Who makes the fire warm? Who makes the water cold? Who makes the wind cool? Who creates sharpness in thorns? Who creates mültiformity among birds and beasts? All this may be created by nature. In the same way, the world comes into existence by spontaneous combination of material elements. They have quoted Bṛhaspati, the propounder of their philosophy, saying: "Oblation to fire, the three *Vedas*, the three staves and besmearing ashes to the body – all are nothing but the means of livelihood for those ˙who are devoid of intelligence." They are more sacrcastic about the priestly class. They point out, "if killing of animals for sacrificial purposes, leads to heaven, why does the sacrificer not kill his own parents? And, in case the *śrāddha* ceremony observed in honour and benefit of dead relatives, causes them satisfaction, provision for those who undertake a journey from one place to another is not required? Furthermore, if the same colour of blood flows in the veins of a Brāhmaṇa and a *Caṇḍāla*, and both look alike, where lies the question of their being either high or low?"

Numerous philosophical schools outside the pale of Brahmanism in the days of the Buddha and Mahavira have been mentioned in ancient Buddhist and Jain texts. The *Dīghanikāya* (I,48ff) mentions the following six teachers of renown:

Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla (Maṅkhaliputra according to Jains), Pakudha Kaccāyana, Ajita Kesakambalin (of the hairy blanket which was his garment), Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta (of the Belaṭṭhi clan) and Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta (Mahavira of the Nāta or Jñātṛ clan). Each one of them is described as the leader of a school, learned, celebrated, Tīrthaṅkara, revered by people, experienced and long-initiated. Most of these religious teachers arose from the tribal Kṣatriya clans like Buddha and Mahavira and founded their own sect. This indicates that the tribal society had reached a state of disintegration and a new society came up which could meet the demands of the new age. A new type of philosophy and religion, distinct from Brahmanic ritual, had to emerge which could consolidate the various elements and components together for the benefit of a new society. These religious teachers preached self-restraint, detachment from worldly pleasures, penance and renunciation with a view to restore the disintegrated tribal institution.

Unfortunately, none of their religious or philosophical texts has survived, except those of Mahavira and the Buddha and whatever scanty information we have about their religious tenets, we have to fall back upon Buddhist and Jain works only.

The Great Personalities

The Buddha and Mahavira were contemporaries, born in Magadha. Both renounced worldly pleasures and joined the ascetic Order. After observing the strict discipline of monks, they achieved enlightenment and were commonly known as *Buddha* (the Enlightened) and *Jina* (the Conqueror). After achieving enlightenment, they travelled in the same land and also the same city, preaching their sermons to enlighten people. The Buddha's real name was Siddhārtha; he was born in the Śākya clan. He was known as Śākyaputra (son of Śākya). ¦Similarly, the real name of Mahavira was Vardhamāna but as he was born in Jñātṛka clan, he was known as Jñātṛputra. The Buddha was slightly older than Mahavira; he attained *Nirvāṇa* at Kuśīnārā at the age of 80, in 483 B.C., while Mahavira passed away at Majjhima Pāvā at the age of 72, 527 B.C.

The Buddha and Mahavira had a common objective. Neither of them believed in the superhuman (*apauruṣeya*) origin of the *Vedas*. They did not enjoin sacrificial rites which were supposed to lead to virtuous deeds. They did not accept the supremacy of priestly class and did not admit God as a creator of this universe. They condemned metaphysical and theological assumptions, insisting on moral precepts, right conduct and self-discipline. In order to attain tranquillity of mind, the Buddha has prescribed the eight-fold path (*aṣṭāṅga-mārga*)[2] and Mahavira the three jewels (*ratnatraya*, i.e. right faith right knowledge and right conduct). Both had a message of universal love, irrespective of caste or religion. They preached that never in this world does hatred destroy hatred, but it ceases through love; anger is not killed by anger but by kindness; and evil, not through evil but through goodness. The following passage from the *Sūyagaḍa* (1,2, 1, 13, translated by Jacobi in S.B.E. Vol.45. p.251) reads: "It is not myself alone who suffers, all creatures in the world suffer; this a wise man should consider, and he should patiently bear (such calamities) as befall him, without giving way to his passions", – which might as well be a Buddhist passage. There are numerous stanzas, particularly pertaining to ascetic poetry, consisting of gnomic aphorisms, parables and similes, dialogues and ballads which are common in Buddhist texts such as the *Dhammapada*, the *Suttanipāta*, the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, the *Jātakas* etc., and the Jain texts such as the *Uttarādhyayana*, the *Daśavaikālika*, the *Bṛhatkalpa-Bhāṣya*, the *Āvaśyaka* and so on.

The Buddha has always emphasised the importance of the Middle Way (*madhyama-mārga*). While preaching the "Sermon of the turning of the Wheel of the Law" (*Dhamma-cakka-pavattana-Sutta*) to his first disciple at

Benaras, he has commanded: "There are two ends not to be served by a wanderer. What are those? The pursuit of desire and of the pleasure which springs from desires, which is base, common, leading to rebirth, ignoble and unprofitable; and the pursuit of pain and hardship, which is grievous, ignoble and unprofitable. The Middle Way of the Tathāgata avoids both these ends" (*Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, V, 421-23). The theory of the Middle Way has also been used in philosophical spheres. The Buddha neither approved the doctrine of perpetual eternity (*śāśvata-vāda*) held by Brahmavādins, nor of those Nihilists (*uccheda-vādins*) who believe consciousness to be a product of material elements, which is destroyed along with the destruction of the body. This doctrine can be well compared with the doctrine of *anekānta-vāda* propounded by Mahavira. The doctrine of *anekānta* (several ends or points of view) postulates that truth is many-sides and it can be looked at from many points of view. Therefore there is nothing which can be called absolute affirmation or absolute negation. In order to explain the theory of *anekānta-vāda*, Jains have used the parable of the blind men and the elephant (*andha-gaja-nyāya*). The latter was brought before the blind folk. Each one felt a different part of the animal. One who touched its head, said: "An elephant is like a plough-share"; and the last one who touched its tail, maintained: "An elephant is like a broom," thus, they went on quarrelling among themselves. But regarding the real shape of the elephant, according to the theory of *anekānta-vāda*, each one of them has seen only a part of the truth. It is interesting to note that the same parable has been used by the Buddha in the *Udāna* (Vl.4). Some ascetics and Brāhmaṇas were quarrelling among themselves, some maintaining that the world is eternal, others saying that it is not eternal. Some declare that it is finite, others say that it is infinite. Some teach that the body and the soul are separate entities, others deny the thesis. The debate goes on until both of them approached the Master, who after narrating them the above parable, concluded that like the aforesaid blind persons, the ascetics and Brāhmaṇas see only a part of the truth.

Saṅgha or the group or community played an important role in the organisation of Buddhist and Jain religions. The *Buddha*, the *Dhamma* (religion) and the *Saṅgha* are considered as the 'three gems' in Buddhism. The *Vinayapiṭaka* gives the precepts for various details of the Order (*Saṅgha*) and regulates the entire conduct of the monks and nuns. In order to consolidate his organisation Mahavira has divided his community (*Saṅgha*) into monks, nuns, laymen and lay-women. There was a collective body of monks who lived together under the leadership of one teacher and who followed a code of rules and regulations laid down in the text. Among the clan of the Licchavis, to which Mahavira belonged, if some member fell sick, the others of the clan considered it to be their duty to attend upon him, and if a religious saint visited the town, they all gathered together and paid homage to him.

The Buddha advised his monks to spread out all over the world to

preach *dhamma*. He declared: "Go unto all lands and preach the gospel. Tell them that the poor and the low, the rich and the high are all one, and that all castes unite in this religion as do the rivers in the sea." Mahavira has laid emphasis on the importance of *janapada-vihāra* (travelling in various regions). It has been stated in the *Janapada-parīkṣā-prakaraṇa* of the *Bṛhkalpa* (*Sū* 1.46; *Bhā*. 3038-3138) that a religious mendicant, before undertaking travelling, should be accomplished in various colloquial dialects; and correct utterances. He should be able to expound th *sūtras* in different regional dialects. Travelling from region to region for the purpose of delivering sermons to people, was considered an act of piety.

As Sanskrit was considered to be the language of the learned people, the Buddha and Mahavira both preferred to preach their sermons in the dialects of Magadha, the Māgadhī or the Ardhamāgadhī. Buddhist and Jain authors have composed numerous works in Pali and Prakrit respectively pertaining to various popular subjects.

Message for Today

1.   The Buddha and Mahavira were progressive thinkers of ancient India; they laid emphasis on advancement of society. They tried to establish the new rules in place of the old ones which were fast losing their validity.

2.   They discarded dogmatism and authoritarianism, did not favour miracles and superstitious beliefs and appealed more to logic, reasoning and experience.

3.   They stood for moral and social values instead of metaphysical and dogmatic discussions.

4.   They asked to avoid two extremes in thinking. There is no absolute truth, it is only relative, therefore one should try to understand the point of view of others.

5.   They preached non-violence, brotherhood and love. Their motto was that hatred never kills hatred. They emphasised self-control and discipline in life.

6.   They condemned superiority or inferiority of caste and held that every one can attain the highest status through perseverance and discipline.

NOTES

1. इदं महद्भूतमनन्तपारं विज्ञानघन एवैतेभ्यो भूतेभ्यः सयुत्थाय
   तान्येवानुविनश्यति न प्रेन्य संज्ञास्तीत्यपरे ब्रवीमिति-होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः

   (2.4.12). According to Das Gupta, such views were as old as the *Vedas, A History of Indian Philosophy*, III, 537, also see pp. 528ff.

2. Right view, right resolve, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right recollection, and right meditation.

17

THE ROLE OF DHARAṆENDRA IN JAIN MYTHOLOGY*

The 14th Book of the *Arthaśāstra* describes a number of rites and practices producing miraculous effects such as bringing on blindness, killing people on mass scale, causing various kinds of diseases, changing one's appearance, making objects glow at night, remaining without food for days together and so on. Here we come across a priest, supposed to be expert in warding off divine and human calamities by means of remedies described in the *Artharvaveda*.

Vimalasūri (4th century A.D.) in his *Paumacariya* gives a description of the *vidyādhara*-world. According to him, Hanumān was not a monkey but belonged to the *Vānara* race of the *vidyādharas* as much as the Rākṣasa prince Rāvaṇa was not man-eating demon but an adherent of the *vidyādhara* race. The *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu refers to the *Vijjāhari* (*vidyādhari*) as one of the four *śākhās* of the well-known Koṭika *gaṇa* of Jain preceptors, the others being the *Uccānāgari*, *Vairi* and *Majjhimillā*. Further we are told that *ācārya* Jinadatta, the teacher of renowned Haribhadrasūri (8th century A.D.) was related to the *vidyādhara-gaccha*.

Dharaṇendra, the Donator of Magic Art

The earliest reference to Dharaṇendra, the lord of the Nāgas, occurs in the *Ṭhā* (II.3). As has been stated earlier. Nami and Vinami, the two princes related to revered Ṛṣabha, with drawn swords, were serving the Master while he was engrossed in meditation[1]. At that time Dharaṇa, the lord of the Nāgas, who had come there to pay homage to the Tīrthaṅkara, happened to see them serving the Master. He inquird: "What were they doing there?" They replied: "The Master has given land to his sons and the Kṣatriyas, while they were away. Now they are serving him to ask for his favour." Thereupon the lord of the Nāgas remarked: "Look, the Master is devoid of like or dislike and he possesses nothing. But as you have been serving him since long, I shall give both of you the two *vidyādhara* territories (*vijjāhara-seḍhīo*)[2], situated on both

sides of the Veyaḍḍha[3] mountain. And since you will not be able to move about the region by foot, I bestow upon you some magic arts by which you will be able to reach the territories by flying in the sky." Thereafter, Dharaṇendra conferred upon them various arts such as *Mahārohiṇī, Paṇṇatti, Gori, Vijjumuhi, Mahājālā, Tirikkhamaṇi, Bahurūviyā* and others[4]. Nami occupied the southern region of the territory and Vinami the northern one, each one of them establishing a number of cities in their territories[5]. Then each one fixed eight groups of the *vidyādharas*[6], and with their magic lores, surrounded with their people, enjoyed divine pleasures. Later, they installed the image of revered Ṛṣabha in the cities and the assembly halls[7].

The Story of Dharaṇendra

This story is important as besides the *VH*, it also finds place in *JHP* (8th century A D.) and Hariṣeṇa's *BKK* (10th century A.D.). King Saṃjaya[8] was the ruler of Vītaśokā, situated in Aparvideha. His queen Saccasiri[9] gave birth to two sons, namely Saṃjayanta and Jayanta. In the course of time, the king renounced the world and joined the ascetic order along with his sons. Later while leading the life of a monk, Jayanta violated the rules of monkhood and was reborn as Dharaṇa, the King of the Nāgas[10]. His brother Saṃjayanta, while practising asceticism, was brought to the Veyaḍḍha mountain in order to be killed by Vijjudāḍha, a powerful *vidyādhara*-lord, the ruler of Gaganavallabha, situated in the northern region of the Veyaḍḍha mountain. While cautioning the *vidyādhara*-kings he told them, "This unexpected occurrence, if allowed to grow further, will lead to our destruction, therefore, with your arms, you should kill him without further delay. Don't be negligent[11]." Thereupon the *vidyādharas* got their arms ready to hit the ascetic. In the meantime, Dharaṇa while proceeding to pay homage to the Aṣṭāpada shrine saw the *vidyādharas* ready to kill the monk. Dharaṇa was annoyed and scolded them in the following manner: "O the killers of the sage! why have you come down here when your place is in the air? It is not proper on your part. You do not understand what is right and what is wrong." With these words Dharṇa seized their magic arts. Thereupon the *vidyādharas* bending their heads with humility, requested the King of the Nāgas to pardon them[12]. Dharaṇendra enraged with their behaviour, cursed them as follows: "From now on you will have to make efforts to accomplish the magical spells, and if one who has accomplished them, shall violate a Jain temple, a monk, or a couple, will be deprived of them. In the line of Vijjudāḍha (Vidyuddaṃṣṭra) the great spells will not be accomplished by males, but only by females with great difficulty"[13].

Dharaṇa's Association with Holy Mountains

1.   Sīmaṇaga: It is stated that from that time on, the mountain Sīmaṇaga or Sīmaṇarā[14], situated at the confluence of five rivers[15], became known for accomplishing magic spells[16]. Elsewhere in the same work we are told that a

hermitage was situated near the confluence of five rivers (*pañc-anadī-saṅgama*) which was visited by Vasudeva with his beloved Vegavatī. Vegavatī had lost her magic powers while protecting her husband against the attack of Śūrpaṇakhī and consequently had become an earth-dweller. Both of them had their bath in the Varuṇodikā or Varuṇodaka river[17]. Then they proceed to the Simaṇara[18] mountain, the source of various minerals, and as extensive as the sky, with its foot being washed by the water of Varuṇodikā river. The mountain Sīmaṇaga was also known for the shrine of revered Ṛṣabha, and it was here that Acala, one of the Baladevas, attained omniscience. The mountain was also visited by Amitatejas, the lord of the *vidyādharas*[19].

2. Hrīmanta, Hirimanta or Hrīmat seems to be another holy mountain associated with Dharaṇa. We are told that the image of Dharaṇendra was installed here along with the image of revered Saṃjayanta, and that Amitatejas, the lord of the *vidyādharas*, in order to accomplish the *Mahājvālā* spell, visited this mountain[20]. Hrīmanta also finds a place in the *MKH* of Dharmaseṇagaṇi (circa 7th century A.D.), Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* and Hemacandra's *TŚP*. It has been stated in the *MKH* that a festival was celebrated in honour of the Jain shrines on this mountain, situated in the southern half of Bharata, when the *vidyādharas*, accompanied by their wives and children, stood in front of the shrines chanting magic formulae[21]. In the *JHP*, at the order of Dharaṇendra, in order to accomplish magic spells, the *vidyādharas*, built a statue of the monk Saṃjayanta out of gold and precious stones which they installed on the mountain. And since the *vidyādharas* felt ashamed at their doings and were seated with their heads bending dowin in disgrace, this mountain was said to be known as Hrīmat[22]. In the *TŚP* Hrīmat is mentioned as a large mountain covered with forest, which was ruled by flying ascetics. We are told that the *vidyādhara*-lord Aṅgāraka was engaged here in accomplishing his lost magic spell. Vasudeva too in order to acquire magic spells, visited this mountain in the company of his wife Nīlayaśas. He noticed *vidyādharas* heading to the mountain in order to acquire magic spells[23].

<div align="center">

**The Account of Enmity between Vijjudāḍha and
Saṃjayanta in Previous Births**

</div>

It is interesting to make a comparative study of the long account of enmity between Vijjudāḍha and Saṃjayanta in their previous births, provided in the *VH* (253, 7-262, 12), the JHP (27, 20-127) and the *BKK*, under the narration of *Śrībhūti-purohita-kathānakaṃ* (78.28ff). It is said that King Sīhasena was ruling in the city of Sīhapura with his queen Rāmakaṇhā[24]. His priest's name was Siribhūi (Śrībhūti), who was dwelling with his wife Piṅgalā[25]. Once a certain merchant named Bhaddamitta[26], in order to undertake a sea-voyage, arrived at Sīhapura. He deposited his precious money[27] with the priest and set out for journey with the hope of earning

wealth. In the course of time, as luck would have it, his ship was drowned in the middle of the sea and with great difficulty he could reach the shores. He returned to Sīhapura and approached the priest, asking for his deposit. But the priest Siribhūi refused to recognise him. Ultimately, the merchant made an access to the king and narrated the story. The king in order to find the truth, thought of a stratagem. He invited Siribhūi to play the game of dice with him. While playing, the king exchanged his finger-ring with the priest. Later a maid-servant was dispatched to the priest's house and thus the king got the money deposited by Bhaddamitta[28]. The merchant got back his deposit and the priest was banished from the city.

This led to the enmity between the priest Siribhūi and King Sīhasena[29]. Consequently, in order to take revenge on Sīhasena, Siribhūi is born as his enemy in successive births: (i) Siribhūi is reborn as an *agandhana*[30] snake, and he stung Sīhasena as he was entering his store-house. (ii) Siribhūi was reborn as *kukkuṭa* snake and Sīhasena as an elephant in a śalyakī forest[31]. The elephant was named as Asaṇivega by forest-dwellers. Once he got stuck in a pool of mud and could not move. The elephant was stung by a snake. (iii) Siribhūi was reborn as an *ajagara*[32] snake and Sīhasena a prince named Rassivega. Rassivega renounced the world and joined the ascetic order. Once while engrossed in meditation in a cave, he was stung by a snake. (iv) Siribhūi was reborn as son of a butcher, named Atikaṭṭha and Sīhasena a prince named Vajrāyudha. In the course of time, the prince joined the ascetic order and when he was practising penance, he was struck with a sword by the butcher's son. (v) Siribhūi was reborn as son of a *tāpasa*, named Migasiṅga. Once he happened to see a *vidyādhara*, moving in the sky freely, like a divine being. He developed a *nidāna* that if his practice of asceticism had some reward, let him be reborn as a *vidyādhara*. As a result Siribhūi was reborn in the city of Gaganavallabha as son of a *vidyādhara*-lord and was named Vijjudāḍha. Simultaneously, Sīhasena was reborn in the city of Vītaśokā as Saṃjayanta, son of king Saṃjaya. This is the reason of their enmity and that is why the monk Saṃjayanta had been brought by Vijjudāḍha to the mountain to be killed[33].

Dharaṇendra Destined to be a Tīrthaṅkara

Dharaṇendra has been depicted as a moral authority for the acts of omissions and commissions as we have already seen. The *MKH* provides some important references about Dharaṇendra. When *vidyādhara* Māṇasavega abducted Somasiri, the wife of Vasudeva, and brought her to his pleasure-garden, Dharaṇa is said to have made the following declaration for all *vidyādharas*: "They must not do any harm to a husband before his wife, and they must not enjoy a woman by force against her will." Dharaṇa was greatly respected by the *vidyādharas* and his statue was placed on a divine memorial (*māṇavaga-khambha*)[34] in the law-court along with the statue of revered Ṛṣabha. The first *lambha*, known as the *Pabhāvatī-lambha* of the *MKH*

provides some interesting details about the part played by Dharaṇendra in deciding the judicial cases in the court of law of the *vidyādharas*. We are told that when Mānasavega and Vasudeva approached the jewelled court, they noticed the statue of Dharaṇa placed at the centre of an excellent alter made of gems. The proceedings of the court continued in the presence of Vāyuvega, the lord of the *vidyādharas*. The arrival of Vāyuvega was welcomed by the beating of musical instruments, by fanning a pair of flywhisks, by holding a white umbrella, with his body adorned with all kinds of invaluable ornaments. It is said that the law-court was instituted by Vāyuvega's forefathers and was endowed with a miraculous image of Dharaṇa. According to tradition, one who created disturbance during the proceedings of the court or tried for an appeasement, was to suffer the consequences. But Mānasavega, paying no heed to the tradition, drew out his sword and rushed to kill Vasudeva, his opponent. Seeing this violation of the law, Dharaṇa, the King of the Nāgas, broke out his image and with great tumult, covering the sky with his expanded hood, emitting sparks like flames of fire, frightening the *vidyāharas* with his roar, terrifying with his tremulous pair of tongue, rushed out into the air. He took Vasudeva with his arm and flew off into the sky. In a moment they arrived at the top of the golden mountain. No Sooner Vasudeva tried to bow down before the King of the Nāgas, to his utmost surprise, he noticed his beloved Prabhāvatī, standing before him. She had assumed the form of Dharaṇendra[35].

Dharaṇendra has been depicted as a guardian of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara. He is said to have protected the Tīrthaṅkara, employing his hood as an umbrella over his head. According to tradition, this place is known as Ahicchatrā, situated in the district of Rampur in Uttar Pradesh, and is considered holy in honour of Pārśvanātha[36]. According to another Jain tradition, Dharaṇendra, the King of Pātāla, is said to have cured Abhayadevasūri, a renowned Jain *ācārya* of the twelfth century A.D. by licking his body with his tongue. Later he showed the *ācārya* the Stambhana, the holy place of Pārśva[37]. According to the *Kathākośa*, he is said to have saved King Ceṭaka when he fell into a well holding an image of Jina[38].

Dharaṇendra has been highly honoured by Jains. It has been stated that he is to be reborn as a Tīrthaṅkara[39] due to his virtuous deeds. He had six chief queens, i.e. Allā, Akkā, Saterā (Śaterā), Soyāmaṇi (Saudāminī), Indā (Indrā) and Ghaṇavijjuyā (Ghanavidyutā). Out of them, except the first one, the rest of the queens are going to occupy the status of his *gaṇadharas* (chief disciples)[40].

Concluding Remarks

1. By making a comparative study of the *VH* by Saṅghadāsagaṇi Vācaka, a Śvetāmbara, *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* by Jinasena in 8th century. A.D. and *BKK* by Hariṣeṇa in the 10th century A.D., both belonging to the Digambara sect, we

come to the conclusion that both Śvetāmbara and Digambara writers dealt with one and the same narration freely without any sectarian prejudice. The *JHP* and the *BKK* both seem to follow a somewhat different tradition from what is recorded in the *VH* as we have seen. This study is very useful as it throws a good deal of light on ancient history of Jainism.

2.   In the above-mentioned account certain points with regard to the names of mountains and rivers have not come out clearly:

(a)   The *JHP* mentions Varuṇa as a mountain, situated on the confluence of five rivers, in the southern region of Vaitāḍhya. Further, Varuṇodaka or Varuṇodikā is stated to be a river.

(b)   The mountain Sīmaṇaga or Simaṇarā is mentioned only in the *VH* and not in the two Digambara works mentioned above. The mountain was said to be located on the confluence of five rivers.

(c)   The mountain Hrīmat is identified with Veyaḍḍha in the *VH*, which is known as Śrīmat in the *BKK*.

3.   It is worthwhile to draw a comparison between certain Jain traditions and those recorded in the *KSS* of Somadeva (11th century A.D.) and the *BKSS* of Budhasvāmin (4th or 5th century A.D.) the two Sanskrit versions of Guṇāḍhya's lost *BK*:

(a)   Ṛṣabha, the first emperor of the *vidyādharas* and the first Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains, can be compared with the Hindu deity Śiva, both practising penance in the Himalayas.

(b)   The Veyaḍḍha or Vaitāḍhya stands comparison with Vedyardha of the *KSS* and Vetārddha of the *BKSS*. As in the Jain tradition, the Himalaya mountain (the abode of Lord Śiva) is said to have been the dwelling-place of *vidyādharas*.

(c)   The Veyaḍḍha or Vedyardha is divided into the northern and the southern regions. In the *KSS* these regions form different kingdoms assigned to the most distinguished *vidyādharas*. It is stated that certain Ṛṣabha propitiated Lord Śiva with such powerful austerities that he was granted sovereignty over both the regions.

(d)   Dharaṇa, the King of the Nāgas, stands comparison with God Śiva, both appearing in a terrible form, threatening Māṇasavega, an abductor of Somasiri (Madanamañjukā of *KSS*, *BKSS*). Breaking of his own image and taking Vasudeva (Naravāhanadatta of *KSS* etc.) in arms and his flying off in the air is common in both versions. Vasudeva is carried to the top of the golden mountain, whereas

Naravāhanadatta to the mountain called Ṛṣyamūka (see *The Vasudeva*, 135-37).

NOTES

1. Cf. Girimuṇḍa, the *vidyādhara*-lord, while subduing magic arts, was guarded by his two brothers, *BKŚS*, XX, 24-27

2. Vaitārddha in *BKŚS*, XIII, 28; synonym of *vedyardha* of the *KSS* (Penzer, Vol.IV pp. 1-2; Vol.III, 47), meaning two mythological districts of the *vidyādharas* of the Himalayas.

3. Also Veaḍḍha, Vaitāḍhya, Vijayāḍhya, or Vijayārdha. It divides Bharata into the northern and the southern regions. In each region there is a group of *vidyādharas* dwelling in cities. Veyaḍḍha is derived from *vedyardha*, meaning the base of the mountain. Thus we have vedyardha: vediyaḍḍha: veiaḍḍha: ve (ya)-aḍḍha, Alsdorf, Zur Geschichte der Jaina-Kosmographie und Mythologie, *ZDMG*, 92 (1938), 485f.

4. *Gori, Gandhāri, Rohiṇi* and *Paṇṇatti* are known as great magic arts (*mahāvijjā*) in *Āva-Cū*, 161, See also *VH*, pp.29, 29n,13n; *PNL*, 104, 186.

5. Compare the *vidyādhara*-emperor Naravāhanadatta, having conquered the southern and the northern divisions of the land, was declared emperor over all the kings of the *vidyādharas*, *KSS*, chapters 109-110 on *Mahābhiṣeka*.

6. For the groups of the *vidyādharas* see *PNL*, 97, 104, 161n.

7. *VH*, 163, 25-164, 17.

8. Vaijayanta in *JHP* (27.5) and *BKK* (78.2).

9. Sarvaṣri in *JHP* (27.6) and *BKK* (78.2).

10. In the *JHP* (27.9) and *BKK* (78.12), the monk having seen Dharaṇendra, developed a desire for the reward for a penitential act (*nidāna*), and was reborn as Dharaṇendra in the next birth. Compare the story of Migasiṅga, who as an ascetic, developed *nidāna* and was reborn as Vijjudāḍha in Gaganavallabha, *VH*, 261, 30-262, 44.

11. In the *JHP* (27.10-17) and *BKK* (18.13-23) the monk was practising, penance in the dreadful cemetery of the town, when Vidyuddaṃṣṭra, having sported with his queens, was returning home. He brought him to the mount Varuṇa, situated in the southern region of Vaitāḍhya. However, there is no mention of Varuṇa in the *BKK*. He brought him to the confluence of five rivers and went away. He returned in the morning and told the *vidyādharas* that in dream he had seen a huge-bodied *Rākṣasa*, who would surely destroy them, therefore he should be killed as soon as possible. Consequently the monk was killed. Then in order to pay homage to the dead body, there appeared Dharaṇendra, who taking away the magic lores of Vidyuddaṃṣṭra, got ready to strike him. The *BKK* provides a somewhat different version. Vidyuddaṃṣṭra is said to have repeated the warning of a divinity that the monk, being in a nude state, agitating the mind of respectable people, would devour the *vidyādharas*. Hence, unless the ascetic, bearing the dreadful is put to death with red iron bars, there cannot be peace to the *vidyādharas*. Hearing these words, all of them assembled and pierced the monk's body with iron bars (78. 238-242).

12. *VH*, 251, 25-252, 21; *The Vasudeva*, 454; also *JHP* (27.134).

13. *VH*, 264, 20-23. For a similar statement see *JHP* (27.130-131).

14. Simaṇṇaga a variant (*VH*, 319, 6); 264, 25. Siman in *TŚP*, V.I. 240-393; III.222.

15. The *JHP* (27.12-13) mentions the mountain Varuṇa situated on the confluence of five rivers, namely Haridvati, Caṇḍavegā, Gajavati (Jagavati in *BKK*, 78-16), Kusumāvati and Suvarṇavati. It is to be noted that elsewhere (26.45) the holy place (*tirth*) Pañacanada is said to have been situated on the mountain Hrimat. Also see *TŚP*, 8.2.473.

16. *VH*, 264, 25.

17. As stated earlier, Varuṇa is mentioned as a mountain in *JHP* (27.12).

18. "*Simaṃ nayaraṃ* (?)" in the text (*VH*, 250, 13-23) seems to be an error.

19. *VH*, 319, 6-16.

20. *Ibid*, 318, 14-18.

21. 1,59 (printed 1,34).
22. 27.134 (seems to be a fanciful explanation).
23. V. 58-59; also *JHP* (22.142-45). It is to be noted that in the same context this mountain is identified with Veyaḍḍha in the *VH* (181, 12). It is known as Śrīmat in the *BKK* (78, 253) where an idol of Saṃjayanta, measuring 55 *dhanuṣ* (1 *dhanuṣ* = 4 *hastas*) was built by the *vidyādharas* so that they could accomplish the magic arts.
24. Rāmadattā in *JHP* and *BKK*.
25. Śrīdattā in *JHP* and *BKK*.
26. Sumitradatta in *JHP* and *BKK*.
27. Five precious jewels in *JHP* and *BKK*.
28. Besides the finger-ring, two other tests are mentioned in the *JHP* and *BKK*. This motif is common in narrative literature, see e.g. Maheśvarasūri's *Nammayāsundari-kahā*. Compare the story of Agniśarmā and Guṇasena in the *Samarāicca-kahā*; also see *PNL*, 55f.
29. The motif is known as *nidāna*.
30. The *agandhana* snakes belong to noble species, they are supposed to be dreadful. Once they bite a person, they never take back their poison. The *gandhana* snakes are their opposite.
31. Significantly, this part of the story is narrated in the *Maraṇasamāhi*, 512f, p. 131.
32. A huge serpent (boa constrictor) who is said to swallow goats.
33. *VH*, 253, 7-262, 12; *JHP* (27. 20-127); *BKK* (78, 28f).
34. I,116 (1,67 printed); 40, 216 (MSS).
35. See *The Vasudeva*, pp.117, 123, 127f. This account can be compared with that provided in the *KSS* of Somadeva.
36. Dharaṇa is portrayed as an ornament of Pārśva's forehead, *Ācā-Nir* 335, commentary, p.385.
37. Popular among the tribes of Birbhum and Bankura districts in Bengal, the region around Sammedaśikhara, the place of Pārśvanātha's achieving liberation. Merutuṅga, *Prabandha-cintāmṇi*, 311. Compare the worship of Manasā, the Serpent-deity
38. Page 184; Bloomfield, M. *Pārśvanātha-caritaṃ — The life and Stories of the Jain Saviour*, Intr. 22, Baltimore, 1909.
39. He is going to attain the status of a *gaṇadhara* of Tīrthaṅkara Śreyāṃsanātha, according to the *JHP* (27.137-38) and the *BKK* (78.260)
40. *VH*, 305, 24-25. They appear to be the names of some foreign goddesses etc.

18

THE SCHOOL OF SARVĀSTIVĀDA FROM
JAIN SOURCES*

Various philosophical schools and religious sects have been recorded in
Jain[1] and Buddhist canonical texts which seem to have exerted considerable
influence in forming and developing the Jain and Buddhist doctrines. Out of
these, many have disappeared without leaving any trace behind them, and
whatever knowledge we have about their tenets from Buddhist, Jain and
Brahmanic sources, is inediquate, very often vague and obscure.

The Four Buddhist Schools

The four main Buddhist Schools of some philosophical importance are
the Sarvāstivādins, including the Sautrāntikas and the Vaibhāṣikas, the
Yogācāra or the Vijñānavādins and the Mādhyamikas or the Śūnyavādins.
The Sautrāntikas are so called as their tenets are based on the authority of the
Buddhist *Sūtras*, whereas the Vaibhāṣikas take their stand on the commentary
(*vibhāṣā*) of the *Abhidharma*. As the Sautrāntikas and the Vaibhāṣikas both
are incorporated under the school of the Sarvāstivāda and many of their
doctrines are common, very often the Indian philosophers get mixed up and
consider their doctrines as one and the same. In Buddhism these schools are
taken as four logical steps in the process of thought from common sense to
the highest wisdom.

Vasubandhu (420-500 AD), a great exponent of the Vaibhāṣika School,
was a teacher of the celebrated logician Diṅnāga, the author of the
Pramāṇasamuccaya. He composed the *Abhidharmakośa* in 600 memorial
verses (*kārikās*) together with his own *Bhāṣya*. Although it is written from the
point of view of the Sarvāstivāda School of the Hīnayāna, it is an authoritative
work on all schools of Buddhism. It deals with the important topics of
ontology, psychology, cosmology, ethics and the doctrine of salvation. Later,
Yaśomitra, a Sautrāntika, wrote a commentary (*vyākhyā*) on this important
work. It is to be noted that at a later stage, Vasubandhu was converted to
Mahāyāna Buddhism by his brother Asaṅga, and he composed a large

---

number of important commentaries on the Mahāyāna *Sūtras*. Paramārtha translated it into Chinese between 563 and 567 A.D.; another translation was made by the celebrated Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang, known as Mokṣācārya in India, between 651 and 654 A.D. Besides, Saṅghabhadra, a contemporary of Vasubandhu, composed *Samayapradīpa* and *Nyāyānusāra*, both available in Chinese translation on strict Vaibhāṣika lines.

The School of Sarvāstivāda

According to the Sarvāstivāda ("The All is Doctrine"), all things are real and everything exists permanently. It is said to have been founded by Rāhula, the son of Gautama Buddha. It affirms the existence of things in all the three dimensions of time: past, present and future. This view is supported by the *Abhidharmakośa* (V.24). But apparently it goes against the view of perpetual flux enunciated by the Buddha. The same charge has been brought about against it by celebrated Vasubandhu, who turned to be a follower of Vijñānavāda in later life. In the opinion of Vasubandhu the theory of the Sarvāsivādins was an innovation of the 'exegetical literature', i.e. it was introduced by the *abhidharmikas* and it is not found according to him in the genuine discourses of the Buddha. The school of the Sautrāntikas, the school which proclaimed on its banner a return to the genuine doctrine of the discourses, denied therefore the permanent essence of the elements and re-established the doctrine that reality consists of momentary flashes, that the elements appear into life out of non-existence and return again to non-existence after having been existent for a moment only[2].

I-tsing (7th century A.D.), another Chinese traveller, calls Sarvāstivāda as Āryamūla Sarvāstivāda and mentions the schools of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, the Dharmaguptas, the Mahīśāsakas, and the Kāśyapīyas as its sub-divisions. The Sarvāstivāda school of the Hīnayāna had a Sanskrit canon of its own and the principal tenets of the Mūlasarvāstivāda canon were translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by I-tsing in 700-712 A.D.

Jain Traditions of the School

Guṇaratnasūri (14th century A.D.), the commentator of Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya* records certain important traditions regarding the custom and the ways of living of the mendicants of philosophical schools. Guṇaratna calls the Vaibhāṣikas by the name of the Āryasamitīya. He describes their tenets in the following way: "Things exist for four moments, the moment of production (*jāti*), the moment of existence (*sthiti*), the moment of decay (*jarā*), and the moment of annihilation (*vināśa*). The self called *pudgala* also possessed these characteristics. Knowledge was formless and was produced along with its object by the very same conditions (*artha-sahabhāvī ekasāmagryadhīnaḥ*)". Regarding the doctrines of the Sautrāntika school he continues: "There was no soul except the five *skandhas* i.e. *rūpa*, *vedanā*,

vijñāna, *saṃjñā* and *saṃskāra*; only these *skandhas* are transmigrated. According to them, the past (*atīta*), the future (*anāgata*), annihilation (*vināśa*), *ākāśa* and *pudgala* are but name (*saṃjñā-mātraṃ*), mere assertions (*pratijñā-mātraṃ*), mere limitations (*saṃvṛti-mātraṃ*) and mere phenomena (*vyayahāra-mātraṃ*). Here *pudgala* stands for that which other people called eternal and all pervasive soul. External objects are never directly perceived (*nityamapratyakṣa eva*) but are only inferred as existing for explaining the diversity of knowledge[3]. Definite cognitions are valid; all compounded things (*sarva-saṃskārāḥ*) ⎟ are momentary. The atoms of colour, taste, smell and touch and cognition are being destroyed every moment. The meanings of words (*śabdārthaḥ*) always imply the negations of all other things, excepting that which is intended to be signified by that word (*anyāpohaḥ*). Cognition is produced by object (*tadutpatti*) and cognition bears the form of object (*tadākāratā*). Salvation comes as the result of the destruction of the process of knowledge through continual meditation that there is no soul (*nairātmya-bhāvanāto*)[4].

Criticism of the Sarvāstivāda Doctrines

Malliṣeṇasūri (13th century A.D.) in his well-known commentary, known as *Syādvādamañjari*, on the *Anya-yoga-vyavaccheda-dvātriṃśikā-stavana* of Hemacandra, while critising Buddhist philosophical system, discusses the doctrines of the Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika schools without mentioning their names:

(i)   Let us take the philosophy of *kṣaṇabhaṅga-vāda* first. This doctrine is common to all other Buddhist schools, but here it is discussed with reference to the Vaibhāṣika school. It is asserted by the upholders of the theory of *kṣaṇabhaṅga-vāda*: "Nothing perishes unless it is in its nature to perish. It means that perishability is its nature, and since the nature of a thing does not depend on anything other than the thing itself, perishability amounts to actual perishing. As regards the apparent persistence of a jar (for example) in time, similarity is mistaken for identity, as no jar being existent for more than a single moment (*kṣaṇa*); the seemingly persistent jar being nothing more than a series of perishing jars." The statement is as follows:

सर्व सत् क्षणिकं। यतः सर्व तावद् घटादिकं वस्तु मुद्गरादिक-सन्निधौ नाशं गच्छद् दृश्यते। तत्र येन स्वरूपेणान्त्यावस्थायां घटादिकं विनश्यति तच्चैत-त्स्वरूपमुत्पन्नमात्रस्य विद्यते तदानीमुत्पादानंतरमेव तेन विनष्टव्यम्।[5]

— everything is momentary, because everything perishes in the presence of the destroying agent. And the same nature which it possesses at the last moment it must possess at the beginning on coming to existence. Thus, a *mudgara* (hammar) cannot produce a new nature in jar when it destorys it; the nature which the jar possesses at the end it must possess at the start – and thus it should perish immediately after the start. In other words, it is

momentary (*kṣaṇika*)[6].

The doctrine of momentariness is rejected by Jains on the ground that it is one-sided (*ekānta*). They disown the doctrine of absolute eternalism (*nitya-vāda*) as well as the doctrine of absolute momentariness (*kṣaṇika-vāda*). They believe that reality is permanent (*dhrauvya*) as well as possessed of production (*utpāda*) and destruction (*vyaya*) every moment. The former (permanence) belongs to *dravya* (substance) and the latter (change) to *paryāya* (modes). Reality is possessed of innumerable characters and it is not possible to explain it at a time; it is possible only with the help of *syādvāda* or *anekānta-vada*[7]. Jains hold that there is a series of modifications (*paryāya*) which are new every moment occurring in every substance (*dravya*); this may be called the doctrine of *kṣaṇabhaṅga-vāda*. While the *drvya* is the permanent principle which connects the past, present and future modifications (*paryāyas*); this may be called *vāsanā* in Buddhist terminology[8].

(ii) According to the Vaibhāṣikas, there is a relation of cause and effect between cognition (*jñāna*) and object (*artha*); cognition is produced by object. This is called *tadutpatti*, i.e. the production of cognition. While recording the statement of the Buddhists (Vaibhāṣikas) it is stated:

अर्थेन ज्ञानं जन्यते। तच्च ज्ञानं तमेव स्वोत्पादकमर्थं गृह्णातीति। "नाकारणं विषयः" इति वचनात्। ततश्चार्थः कारणं ज्ञानं च कार्यमिति।[9]

—*Jñāna* is produced by *artha*, and the same *jñāna* which is the effect cognises the *artha* which is its cause. It is said, "Nothing can be a subject of *Jñāna* which is not also a cause of the same *jñāna*", therefore the *artha* is the cause and the *jñāna*, the effect.

In support of their view, the Vaibhāṣikas argue that unless the reality of *artha* were recognised as a cause of *jñāna*, anything would be the object of that *jñāna* and that it would be difficult to distinguish between right and wrong knowledge.

Jains have criticised the above view of the Vaibhāṣikas in the following way:"

यतो यस्मिन् क्षणेऽर्थस्य स्वरूपसत्ता तस्मिन्नद्धापि ज्ञानं नोत्पद्यते, तस्य तदा स्वोत्पत्तिमात्रव्यग्रत्वात्। यत्र च क्षणे ज्ञानं समुत्पन्नं तत्रार्थोऽतीतः। पूर्वापरकालभावनियतश्च कार्यकारणभावः। क्षणातिरिक्तं चावस्थानं नास्ति। ततः कथं ज्ञानस्योत्पत्तिः, कारणस्य विलीनत्वात्। तद्धिलये च ज्ञानस्य निर्विषयतानुषज्यते, कारणस्यैव युष्मन्मते तद्विषयत्वात्। निर्विषयं च ज्ञानमप्रमाणमेवाकाशकेशज्ञानवत्।[10]

- The whole theory is inconsistent with the Buddhist's theory of *kṣaṇikatā*. In the moment in which an *artha* just exists it cannot produce the *jñāna*, for one *kṣaṇa* must be fully taken up in the act of existing, and there is no time left for the second act – the act of producing the *jñāna*. And in the next moment – the moment in which *jñāna* comes into existence – the *artha* has already passed off according to the hypothesis of *kṣaṇikatā*. Remember that the causal relation is a relation of antecedent and consequent (*pūrvāpara-kālabhāva*). But your antecedent is incapable of entering into a causal relation; since it lasts only for a single moment of time, in which it can do nothing beyond coming into existence. Moreover, the *jñāna* will be found to be *nirviṣaya* (without a *viṣaya*) according to the third theory of *kṣaṇikatā*. For, the *viṣaya* has passed away before the *jñāna* comes into being and when the *jñāna* turns towards the object, it is more than one moment since it has been dead. And a *nirviṣya jñāna* is a wrong *jñāna* like the *jñāna* of hairs of *ākāśa* (*ākāśa-keśa*)[11].

(iii) The Sautrāntikas believe that the *jñāna* bears the form of *artha*; this is known as *tadākāratā*, i.e. bearing the form of *artha*. They argue; "If *jñāna* is not produced by a particular *artha* (*tadutpatti*), or does not bear the form or stamp of that *artha* (*tadākāratā*) it would be equally related to all the *arthas* in the universe, and so anything and everything would be the subject of that *jñāna* which is absured"[12].

The text runs as follows:

नन्वर्थाजन्यत्वे ज्ञानस्य कथं प्रतिनियतकर्मव्यवस्था? तदुत्पत्तितदाकारताभ्यां हि सोपपद्यते। तस्मादनुत्पन्नस्यातदाकारस्य च ज्ञानस्य सर्वार्थिन् प्रत्यविशेषात् सर्वग्रहणं प्रसज्येत।[13]

Jains criticise the above view arguing as follows:

Jñāna is not produced by the *artha*, and yet reveals the particular *artha* because it possesses the capacity (*yogyatā*) to destroy or keep down the 'obscuring veil of ignorance' (*āvaraṇa-kṣayopaśama-lakṣaṇayā*) in the particular case. Even if you hold the view that *jñāna* is produced by *artha*, you will have to admit the doctrine of capacity, for you will have to explain why a particular *artha* produces a particular *jñāna*, which you can do only on the hypothesis of a special capacity. Then, again, the particular character of *jñāna* you cannot explain by the hypothesis of *artha* imparting an *ākāra* (form) to the *jñāna*. For, that would make *jñāna sākāra* (with form), and *artha nirākāra* (without form), the latter being no longer required to possess *ākāra*, the *ākāra* of the former being sufficient to account for the *vyavahāra* of distinctions. What *sādṛśya* or likeness could there be between *artha* and *jñāna*, one of which is *mūrta* (with shape) and the other *amūrta* (without shapes)? Therefore the particular *arthākāratā* (the form of the *artha*) of *jñāna* must be supposed to be the *pariṇāma* (*kārya*) of the apprehension of a particular *artha*[14].

The text is as follows:

तदुत्पत्तिमन्तरेणाप्यावरणक्षयोपशमलक्षणया योग्यतैव
प्रतिनियतार्थप्रकाशकत्वोपपत्तेः । तदुत्पत्तावपि च योग्यतावश्यमेष्टव्या । अन्य
शेषार्थसान्निध्ये तत्तदर्थासान्निध्येऽ पि कुतश्चिदेवार्थात् कस्यचिदेव ज्ञानस्य जन्मेति
कौतस्कुतोऽयं विभागः । तदाकारता त्वर्थाकारसंक्रान्त्या तावदनुपपन्ना, अर्थस्य
निराकारत्वप्रसंगात् ज्ञानस्य साकारत्वप्रसंगाच्च । अर्थेन, च मूर्तेनामूर्तस्य ज्ञानस्य
क्रीदृशं सादृश्यम्? इत्यर्थविशेषग्रहणपरिणाम एव साभ्युपेया ।[15]

Concluding Remarks

The above short survey of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhist philosophical thought leads us to arrive at certain observations with regard to the development of Indian philosophical systems. The basis of Indian philosophy is contradiction. There is a clash of ideas and through the clash of thesis (*pakṣa*) and anti-thesis (*vipakṣa*) we arrive at a final ascertainment or the synthetic view of speculative thinking. In this respect there is a good deal of contribution provided by the Nyāya System of Indian philosophy.

The Jain view of *anekānta-vāda* or Many-sidedness of Truth has made contribution in the development of Indian philosophical systems. Truth is not absolute according to this view. There are various philosophical views propounded by great thinkers, taking into consideration different substance (*dravya*), place (*kṣetra*), time (*kāla*) and mode (*bhāva*). This can be called the root of the six systems of Indian philosophy. Each system tried to solve the philosophical problems of its time in its own way. Each seemed to have advocated opposite and contradictory views, but really speaking, they demonstrated the divergence of reality viewed from different angles. For example, as has been stated earlier, the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness, denying the reality of an abiding substance, is true from the analytical standpoint, whereas the doctrine of the Vedāntins, holding that the Being is eternal and absolutely unchangeable, can be considered true from the synthetic standpoint. To demonstrate the spirit of accommodation in this doctrine, Ānandaghana, a Jain mystic saint of the 18th century, has proclaimed the six systems of Indian philosophy as six main constituents of God Jina. He asserts that the Buddhists and the Mīmāṃsakas are the two hands, and the Sāṃkhya and Yaga two feet, and the Lokāyata system the cavity of abdomen (*kūkha*) of Jinavara (the best of the Jinas).

According to the theory of Relativity, each of the different schools represents a certain aspect of truth (*naya*) and is so far true. Thus partial truth (*vikalādeśa*) belongs to the several philosophical systems, while absolute and complete truth is revealed, according to Jains, in the method of *syādāda* which is known as *sakalādeśa*. In this regard the following remark of Haribhadrasūri is notworthy:

— The Buddhist religion is worth hearing, the Jain religion worth practising, the Vedic religion worth applying and the prominent God Siva is worth meditating.

NOTES

1. The *Sūyagaḍa* mentions 369 philosophical schools. For other schools and sects see *LAI*, 1984, ch. 21, pp.312ff.
2. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, I,111, after Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, *What is Living and what is Dead in Indian Philosophy*, p.547.
3. It is to be noted that according to Mādhavācārya, the author of the *Sarva-darśana-saṃraha* (chapter II), the Vaibhāṣikas believed that external subjects were directly perceived, whereas the Sautrāntikas held that the existence of the external objects could be inferred from the diversified knowledge, see Das Gupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, I, ch. V.p. 114.
4 *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya-Vṛtti*, pp. 18a-19, Atmanand Sabha, Bhavnagar, V.S., 1974; also see, Das Gupta, *op.cit.* pp. 114f.
5. Jagdischandra Jain, *Syādvādamañjarī* (Hindi translation), 1979, verse 16, p.148.
6. Translation by A.B. Dhruva, *Syādvādamañjarī*, 1933, pp.185f.
7. Read verses 21-28, *Syādvādamañjarī*.
8. स्याद्वादिनामपि हि प्रतिक्षणं ·नवनवपर्यायपरम्परोत्पत्तिरभिमतैव । तथा च क्षणिकत्वम् । अतीतानागतवर्तमानपर्यायपरम्परानुसंधायकं चान्वयिद्रव्यं । तच्च वासनेतिसंक्रान्तरभागप्यभिमतमेव ।
Jagdishchandra Jain *op. cit.*, verse 19 p. 188.

9. *Ibid.*, verse 16, p.152f.
10. *Ibid.*
11. A.B. Dhruva, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
12. A.B. Dhruva, *op. cit.*, p. 191f.
13. Jagdischchandra Jain, *op. cit.*, 154.
14. A.B. Dhruva, *op. cit.*, 192.
15. Jagdishchandra Jain, *op. cit.*

19

PRAKRIT IN THE BACKGROUND OF HINDI*

There is a saying in Hindi: "*Ek kos pai pāni badlai pāñch kos pai vānī*" i.e. there is a change of water at every *kos* (a mile and a quarter) and there is a change of speech at every five *kos*. The language or the dialect goes on changing from place to place and from time to time. One feels a considerable difference in pronunciation and accent of a South Indian and a North Indian reciting a Sanskrit *śloka*. There are certain alphabets in Devanāgarī which are pronounced differently by people of different regions, e.g. r pronounced as *ri* - or *ru*; *jña* as *gna*, *jña* or *gya*; *śa* as *sa* or vice versa; *ṣa* as *kha*; *kṣa* as *kha*; *sa* as *ha*; *ra* as *la*; *ra* as *ha* (*arroz* pronounced as *ahoz* in Portuguese); *la* as u (Brazil as Braziu) *ya* as *ja*, *la* as *ḷa* and so on.

There are thousands of languages and dialects spoken all over the world. The Indo-Aryan Languages are divided into the Old Indo-Aryan (from 2000 or 1500 B.C. to 600 or 500 B.C.), the Middle Indo-Aryan (6th or 5th century B.C. to the 10th or 11th century A.D.) and the New Indo-Aryan (after 1000 A.D. uptill now). Here we are more concerned with the Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) which is an important link between the old and the new. This period is significant as it is at this time that certain phonetic changes and grammatic variations were taking place which had produced a language different from the Old Indo-Aryan. Here we find various phonetic, morphological and conjugational changes as the MIA advanced, particularly the verbs had undergone greater changes than the nouns. A man is forced to change by his geography, economic resources, food supply, climatic and physical conditions and contact with other civilisation. So is the case with language; numerous factors such as physical, geographical, historical, variation in vocal physiology, economy of effort, refinement in cities, softening influence of a semi-tropical climate and influence of speech habits of non-Aryan peoples (in this case) are responsible in bringing out the changes in language.

Prakrit as a Unifying Force

No culture in the world is absolutely original, isolated or unaffected. Indian culture which is one of the most ancient cultures of the world has

advanced with the amalgamation of outside forces of cultural currents, submerged into it from time to time. Though India has a multiplicity of languages, there had been a linguistic unity either through Sanskrit or Prakrit in the past. The Middle Indo-Aryan covers a span of about 2600 years and during this period it has contributed immensely towards the development of Indian culture. It incorporates the teachings of Mahavira (in Ardhamagadhi) and Buddha (in Pali) who revolutionised the Indian society by their secular teachings against the creed of caste and colour. It contains the precious Aśoka's Inscriptions inscribed in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī. In one of his inscriptions it is stated:

> "All sects deserve reverence for one reason or another. By thus acting a man exalts his own sect and at the same time does service to the sects of other people[1]."

As trade and commerce developed during the Buddhist and the Jain period in India, the Middle Indo-Aryan procured a more important position than the OIA in social, political, cultural and religious spheres. Much more cultural and historical material can be had from the literature of this language than Sanskrit. Prakrits are also known for richness of their narrative literature. The *VH* by Saṅghadāsagaṇi Vācaka and the *MKH* by Dharmasenagaṇi Mahattara in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit are considered as the Jain versions of the Paiśācī *Baḍḍakahā* of Guṇāḍhya. Then, we have the works of Digambara Jain doyens such as Puṣpadanta, Bhūtabali, Kundakunda, Vaṭṭakera, Śivārya, Nemicandra Siddhānta-cakravartī and others. Though strictly speaking, Hemacandra, known as "The Omniscient of Kali Age" (*Kalikāla-sarvajña*), is not covered under the MIA, we are tempted to mention his name. He was one of the most versatile and prolific writers among Śvetāmbara Jains. It was due to his endeavours that Gujarat, under the reign of King Kumārapāla, became the main stronghold of Jainism and had remained so for centuries. The *Deśīnāmamālā* is his greatest contiribution in the field of lexicography. This work includes a number of even Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa words besides numerous words current in New Indo-Aryan.

Prakrit (Mahārāṣṭrī) poetry is considered par excellence. Daṇḍin, a great rhetorician, has declared it as the most elegant dialect containing a jewel-mine of beautiful sayings like the *Setu-bandha* and other literary compositions[2]. It is stated that since the Prakrit has been a commonly spoken dialect by the people, it could produce a better sentimental appeal than Sanskrit. The *Gāhā-sattasaī*, also known as *Gāhā-kosa*, is a collection of 700 Prakrit erotic verses par excellence. It is on the model of this lyrical poetry of Hāla that Govardhana (11th century A.D.) was tempted to write his *Āryā-sapta-śatī* wherein he has stated:

> "He has for the first time carried over Sanskrit by force to the type of poetry that usually found elegant expression in Prakrit[3]."

Another important point that goes in favour of excellence of Prakrit poetry is that the well-known rhetoricians in order to illustrate the examples of *alaṃkāra, rasa, vyañjanā* etc., instead of drawing from Sanskrit poetic compositions, have preferred to quote from Prakrit works. Bhojarāja of Dhārā, who holds that the erotics (*śṛṅgāra*) is the only sentiment (*rasa*) in poetry, quotes more than 1600 prakrit *gāthās* from the *Gāhā-sattasaī*, the *Rāvaṇa-vaho* and other works. Bihārī, the well-known Hindi poet has composed his *Bihārī-satasaī* on the model of this work. Besides, we have poet Sūryamalla's *Vīra-satasaī* in Ḍiṅgala and Dayārāma's *Satasayyā* and Dalapatarāma's *Dalapata-satasaī* in Gujarati.

The Prakrits have also made their contribution in the development of Sanskrit dramas. Since drama is a story of life, it depicts the actions and conduct of people with force, vividness and emotional touches. To make the Sanskrit drama more realistic, there is introduced a great amount of variation in the use of language spoken by high and low class of people. Mahārāṣṭrī, Śauraseni and Magadhi are the chief dialects used by Sanskrit dramatists. The rules with regard to the use of these dialects by different characters are laid down in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata. The recent discovery of *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa*, also known as *Śāradvatī-putra-prakaraṇa*, has to be mentioned in this connection. It is to be noted that the forms of Śauraseni, Magadhi and Ardhamagadhi dialects, used here are much older than those employed in later orthodox classical Sanskrit dramas. Keith in 'The Sanskrit Drama (p.75) observes that the Prakrit of Aśvaghoṣa's drama was closely akin to Sanskrit. The Ardhamagadhi of Aśvaghoṣa is quite different from the Ardhamagadhi used in canonical literature of Śvetāmbaras. The composition of the *Saṭṭakas*, which were written only in Prakrit, was another development in the sphere of Prakrits.

There were also compositions on grammar. As Mahavira and Buddha preached their sermons in the spoken dialect of Magadha; there seemed no need of a book on grammer. The earliest writer on Prakrit grammar is Vararuci, who is said to have flourished in the 6th century A.D. (?) This shows that long after the development of prakrit literature, the necessity of writing Prakrit grammar was felt[4]. It is to be noted that the *Prākṛta-prakāśa* of Vararuci fails to throw any light on the language of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas, of the *Dhammapada* written in Kharoṣṭhī, of Aśoka's inscriptions, the Ardhamagadhi of the canonical literature of Śvetāmbaras and so on. Similarly, Vararuci has laid down the rules of the Paiśācī dialect but no work is available of this dialect. Hemacandara (1088-1172 A.D.) was another stalwart in the field of Prakrit grammar. In the 8th chapter of his *Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana*, he has laid down the rules of Prakrit dialects but at several places he does not agree with Vararuci and moreover no light is thrown here on the language of th Jain canonical literature. However, this literature has been very useful for making a comparative study of Prakrit grammar and science of linguistics.

The MIA has also contributed a good deal in the field of secular literature. A number of important treatises have been composed in Prakrit on astronomy, astrology, science of medicine, alchemy, testing of precious stones and coins, cooking, training of elephants, horses, birds and animals, planting trees and flower plants, budding of flowers, science of prognostication, omens and augury, prediction of future events by interpreting the notes of birds and animals, knowledge with regard to ants and so on. The *Ramalaka* or the *Pāśaka-vidyā* deals with foretelling events by casting dice. The *Tājika-sāra* (in Persian '*tazi*' means Arabic) was another important work of this type. Both these works were developed by Muslims. They were available in the country of Yavana (Persia) and we are told that a Śvetāmbara teacher who was taken to Khurāsān (a city of Persia) from Gujarat, learnt this science and after returning to India composed *Tājika-sāra*, based on the *Yavanikā-śāstra*.

The secular literature in Prakrit gained so much popularity that in course of time it was deemed necessary to compose it into Sanskrit. Take for instance, the *Vivāha-paḍala* (consulted at the time of wedding) which has been mentioned in the *Niśī-Cū* (13.5362, p.400), finds mention in the *Bṛhajjātaka* (XXV.16;XXVIII.3) of Varāhamihira (6th century A.D.). Bhaṭṭotpala, the commentator of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, refers to two versions of the *Vivāhapaṭala* and is reported to have commented on it. The *Agghakaṇḍa* was another Prakrit work mentioned in the *Niśī-Cū* (*ibid*) which deals with the profit and loss in the commodity purchased or sold, forms a chapter (42nd) of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira. Durgadeva (11th century A.D.) is another author of the *Arghakāṇḍa*. Similarly, the *Rukkhāyuvveya* which deals with the art of planting and cultivating trees, referred to in the *VH*[5] forms the 55th chapter of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*. Then the *Laggasuddhi* or *Langnakuṇḍalikā* (also by Yākinīsūnu Haribhadrasūri) which deals with the auspicious moment for marriage, has been referred to in the commentary of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (LIII, 113, p.493). The *Aṅgavijjā* which deals with the science of deviation, not through the movement of stars or constellations or reading the horoscope, but through physical signs and symbols and which is a compiled work of antiquity, also forms the 51st chapter of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* under the title *aṅgavidyā*[6]. This shows the popularity of Prakrit and how the important Prakrit works were adapted in Sanskrit.

Prakrit also passed through a period what is called a period of "Mixed Sanskrit" or the *Gāthā* dialect. The works of Mahāyāna Buddhism[7] were composed in this dialect and so was the *Cūṇi* (i.e. mixed) literature of the Jains. The *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara* of Northern Buddhism are composed in "mixed Sanskrit". The latter consists of a continuous narrative in Sanskrit prose, and numerous, often long metrical passages in "Mixed Sanskrit". These metrical verses rarely form a part of the narrative but they are rather independent songs and belong to the old religious ballad poetry of the early centuries after the Buddha. So is the case with the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, another work of Mahāyāna Buddhism; its prose is in

pure Sanskrit and the "*Gāthās*" in "mixed Sanskrit". It is contended that originally this work consisted only the verses with short prose passage by way of introduction. According to H. Lüders, the original text of this work was written in Prakrit which was gradually Sanskritised[8]. The *Cūrṇi* literature (earliest about the 7th century A.D.) of the Jains was also composed in "mixed Prakrit and Sanskrit". On the whole, this literature was written in Prakrit, but in a varying degree, it was interspersed with Sanskrit, and in many cases, the Sanskrit passages being marked as later by their contents[9]. Then, some Sanskrit works composed by Jains such as the *Pariśiṣṭa-parvan* of Hemacnandra, the *Dharma-parikṣā* of Amitagati, the *Samarāditya-saṃkṣepa* of Pradyumnasūri and the *BKK* of Hariṣeṇa (10th century A.D.) do not seem to be free from the influence of Prakrit[10].

Influence of Prakrit on Hindi and its Dialects

We have seen that the New Indo-Aryan period commenced from 1000 A.D. onwards. The Apabhrṃśa which actually forms the third and the final stage (600 to 1000 A.D.) of the MIA, reached the position of ordinary colloquial speech when the Prakrit of dramas and the Prakrit grammar lost its charm and became stereotyped. Apabhraṃśa had been an important link between Prakrit and the modern Indian vernaculars.

It was restricted to the new phase of the speech distinguished from the well attested Prakrit of the earlier epoch. Its popular dialects came to be employed by the masses for their songs and couplets. Later these dialects came to be recognised by scholars, and Hemacandra has quoted numerous beautiful couplets in his grammar.

India had been a vast country where with the gradual spreading of the Aryan immigrants from the west to the East and South, a large number of dialects grew and developed. Thus we see that with the rise of the New Indo-Aryan, in course of time, there emerged the regional languages such as Bengali, Maithili, Oriya, Avadhī, Panjabi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi. These modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars had developed out of the Middle-Indian dialects, and the 12th century onwards, literature was available in these languages. The most important of these is Hindi, the language of the ancient Madhyadeśa or Midland where Aryans become the most dominant people in northern India. It covered the greater portion of the Gangetic *Doab* and the adjacent plain to the Himalayas in the north, to the valley of the Narbada in the south, beyond Delhi in the west and as far as Kanpur in the east. The Middle-Indian dialects which are related to Hindi and its dialects are Śauraseni (the language of Śūrasena, or the middle Gangetic *Doab* or its neighbourhood), Magadhi (the language of Magadha or the South Bihar) and Ardhamagadhi (the region between Śauraseni and Magadhi). For lack of sufficient evidence it is difficult to point out exactly from which Prakrit dialect evolved the Hindi dialects. But it can be said that the above-mentioned

Prakrits through their Apabhraṃśa dialects must have influenced Hindi. For instance, Śaurasenī, the western Prakrit, through its Apabhraṃśa dialect, must have influenced the dialects of Braj (the language of the Mathura district), Kanaujī and Bundelī; Magadhi, the Eastern Prakrit must have influenced the Bengali, Assami, Oriya; Maithili (in the beginning of the 19th century literary Bengali has diverged considerably from this dialect), Magahi and Bhojapuri, the three main dialects of Bihar; the Ardhamagadhi dialect must have influenced the Avadhī (in which Tulasī Dās wrote his well-known *Rāma-carita-mānasa*), Bagheli and Chattīsagarhi, known as Eastern Hindi dialects. With regard to the dialect of Avadhī, also known as Kosalī or Puraviyā, the *Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa* by Dāmodara Śarmā (12th century A.D.) which was written to teach Sanskrit through the medium of local dialect, can be mentioned. This work composed in the Avadhī dialect is over 400 years older than the composition of Tulasī. It is significant that the dialect of Avadhī was quite developed at this time which had received due recognition from Sanskrit pandits. Regarding the Maithili dialect the name of Jyotirīśvara Ṭhākur, the author of the *Varṇa-ratnākara* and the well-klnown Vidyāpati Ṭhākur, the author of the lyrical songs and the *Kīrtilatā* must be mentioned. Both of them have called their language by the name of Avahaṭṭa, a secondary position of Apabhraṃśa, along with the Ḍiṅgala dialect of Rajasthan. From the study of these works, it seems that the use of *tatsama* words was on the increase at this time.

Then we have Panjabi, Rajasthani and Gujarati to the adjacent regions, closely related to the language of the Midland. Panjabi is spoken in the north-west, Rajasthani and Gujarati in the west; Mewani, Jayapuri, Marwari, Mewadi and Malwi are the dialects of Rajasthani. Rajasthani and Gujarati are closely related and formerly they were written in the same script. Marathi which is spoken throughout Maharashtra must have been influenced through Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhraṃśa. In ancient days Maharashtra was not confined to a small region like today, it covered a bigger domain. Urdu or Hindustani dialect with a strong admixture of Perso-Arabic elements, written in Persian-Arabic character can be added here. Urdu (meaning camp) was a camp language which originated in the 12th century A.D. in the neighbourhood of Delhi, the centre of Mohamadan rulers.

The influence of Prakrit, the mother of New Indo-Aryan, is manifold on Hindi:

(i) Pronunciation of certain alphabets: ऋ pronounced as रि or रु ; indiscrimate use of श, ष, स; ख used for क्ष; ख for ष; ज for य; the occurrence of ँ (*candrabindu*) for ं (*anusvāra*) – an indication for a nasal sound in eastern languages (at least from the end of the 11th century).

(ii) The absence of 'ne' in Eastern Hindi dialects.

(iii) Regarding metre: Prakrit *gāthā* has been replaced by *dohā* (couplet). As the *gāthā* is used in the *Gāhā-sattasaī*, the *Vajjā-lagga* and other Prakrit works, so the *dohā* is a prominent metre of Apabhraṃśa and the Hindi poetry. It was pre-eminently used by Joindu (Yogīndra) and Rāmasiṃha (in his *Pāhuḍa-dohā*) and by the Buddhist Siddhas in their *Dohā-kośa*. Hemacandra is known for the use of the outstanding Apabhraṃśa *dohās* in his Prakrit grammar. *Ḍholā Mārū-rā Dūhā* is a well-known folk-tale of Rajasthan. In Hindi it is a well-known metre of lyrical poetry for which Bihārī, Matirām, Mubārak and others are known. Then Tulasi, in his *Rāma-carita-mānasa* and Jāyasī in his *Padmāvata* have favoured *dohā*. The *dohās* of Kabīra are remarkable, some of them can be compared with the Apabhraṃśa *dohās*, composed by Jains. Similarly, the *caupāī*, the well-known metre of Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, find an important place in Hindi. Candabaradāī has used it in his *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso* and Keśava, Jaṭamala and others in their poetry describing the sentiment of heroism. Tulasi, Kutuban, Jāyasī and others also have used this popular metre.

(iv) A large number of narratives which appear in Prakrit works can be noticed in the mediaeval Hindi literature. Jain authors were fond of employing the popular folk-tales for the purpose of preaching their religious sermons. In order to achieve this end they added some moral lesson at the end of the original tale. The *Bhavisayatta-kahā* of Dhanapāla, an Apabhraṃśa work of the 10th century A.D., based on a traditional popular tale, has influenced Mailik Muhammad Jāyasī's *Padmāvata*, a composition favouring sūfi thought[11]. There is also a similarity between the story of princess Ratnavatī of Siṃhaladvīpa mentioned by Jain author Jinaharṣagaṇi (15th century A.D.) and the story of *Padmāvata* and Jaṭamala's *Gorā Bādal kī Bāt*. Similarly, the description of a *yogī* in the Jogīkhaṇḍa of the *Padmāvata* can be compared with the similar description in Koūhala's *Līlāvatī*, Rājaśekhara's *Karpūra-mañjarī* and Puṣpadanta's *Jasahara-cariu*.

(v) Treatment of Motif: There is enormous variety of richness of motifs in Prakrit literature and early Hindi writings. A motif represents the historical truth in the form of imaginative ideas which add to the beauty of narration. Various motifs such as the satisfaction of pregnancy desire, the chastity or act of truth, the imaginary conversation of birds, carrying water in a sieve, count not your chicken before they are hatched, magical impregnation, deputing parrot as a messenger, sea-voyage and wrecking of ship, journey to the Golden Land and so on are noticed in the Hindi folk literature, the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso* and many other works.

(vi) Various literary forms such as dialogues, questions and answers, completing an incomplete stanza (*samasyā-pūrti*) riddles, test of wisdom, eloquent speech (*vāk-kauśala*), witty sayings, pithy sayings (*subhāṣita*), proverbs, *carcarī* (a popular song of the 12th century; during the time of Spring it was sung in Agra and the neighbouring area), song (*gīta*) etc. can be

noticed in Prakrit and the works of early Hindi literature. These forms are incorporated in a narration to make it fascinating.

(v)   The style of writing, variety of descriptions and the framework of words and expressions are similar in Prakrit and Hindi compositions.

Concluding Remarks

Hindi is a final stage in the development of the Middle Indo-Aryan. It has a rich heritage of Prakrit, Sanskrit and Apabharaṃśa languages and literatures. It is in agreement with roots, words, morphology, syntax and idioms not only with Indo-Aryan but also with the Dravidian languages. During its history of about 100 years it has passed through various important stages of Piṅgala, Ḍiṅgala, Avahaṭṭa, medieval dialects, Old Hindi, Urdu (which developed under the Muslim rulers in Delhi) and so on. It has assimilated all that was good in Indian culture with its background of physical, geographical, historical and social factors.

Kabīra (14th century A.D.), a well-known Hindi poet, has declared the language of his poetry as *bahatā nīr* (the flowing water) to the contrast of *kūpa jal* (the stagnant water of a well). The poet has used simple words, to be understood by a common man, whether they belonged to Braj, Avadhi or Khaḍī Bolī dialects. This popular language is compared with the 'flowing water' without any restriction of grammatical rules etc.; Sanskrit or literary Prakrit or literary Apabhraṃśa is compared with the stagnant water of a well. This was called *'sadhukkaḍī bhāsā'* which became a language of communication of medieval Indian saints of Northern India, including Gujarat and Maharashtra. It was a *liaison* or a link language for communication which tried to unify the country, at the time of the foreign invasion. Through their immortal songs of devotion (*bhakti*), the Indian saints tried to preserve the unity and integrity of Indian people. It was declared: "There is no distinction of caste or creed, the one who is devoted to God, becomes His"[12].

There have been numerous foreign words in Indo-Aryan. Suniti Kumar Chatterji has traced such words from pre-Aryan languages of India, Dravidian and Kol and Tibeto-Burman, Greek, Persian, Tamil, Telugu, Kannaḍa, Malayalam and so on. He observes: "The term *deśi* embraces a numerous class of words which can not be traced to Aryan roots and which obviously were derived from pre-Aryan languages of the country, Dravidian and Kol"[13]. We have already referred to *Hariṣeṇa's BKK* which has incorporated numerous *deśi* and some Kannaḍa words. Śubhaśīlagaṇi, a Śvetāmbara author of the 15th century has included a number of Arabic, Persian and Gujarati words and has Sanskrtised the latter in his *Prabandha-pañcaśati* (also known as *Kathā-kośa*). Hindi as a *lingua franca* or Hindustani had to assimilate foreign words for its survival. Consequently it has borrowed words of Austric

origin, and those from Greek, Persian, Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch, English and other languages[14].

Suniti Kumar Chatterji has characterised Hindi or Hindustani as a *mardãni zabãn* or *purukh ki boli* (Man's language). He writes: "Hindi (or Hindustani) an important expression, a symbol of Indian unity and Indian nationality (recognised literary vehicle of over 150 million people according to the *Linguistic Survey of India*, based on census figure of 1891). It is a representative language of India. Like its cousins and sisters Bengali, Marathi and Panjabi and the rest, it inherits the 'speech-commodity' of roots and words of the Old Indo-Aryan speech (typified by Sanskrit) as one of its direct descendants. Like the other Indo-Aryan languages, it has approximated itself to the syntax and thought processes of the non-Aryan speeches of the country – Dravidian and Kol (Munda) so that a Dravidian or Kol speaker may find Hindi (or Hindustani) roots and words different from those of his own language, but the mental atmosphere as indicated by the order of words and idioms he does not find to be different; it is a familiar habit of thinking which he gets in Hindi, not a quite different and foreign as in English. It is a great *liaison* language. Sanskrit, the Dravidian languages (through some fundamental points of agreement in the spirit of morphology, in syntax and in idiom), and Persian or Arabico-Persian – all these find a common meeting ground in Hindi (or Hindustani)"[15].

NOTES

1. यो हि कोचि आत्मपासंडं पूजयति परपासंडं वागरहति एवं आत्मपासंडभतिया किं ति आत्मपासंडं दीपयेम इति सो च पुन तथ करातो आत्मपासंडं वाढतरं उपहनाति । 12th Rock Edict Girnar.

2. महाराष्ट्राश्रयां भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः ।
सागरः सूक्तिरत्नानां सेतुबन्ध्यादि यन्मयम् ।। *Kãvyãdarśa*, 1.34

3. वाणी प्राकृतसमुचितरसा, बलेनैव संस्कृतं नीता ।। 5.52 ।।

4. Cf. B.C. Law's observation: "We may venture to suggest that there was no book of Pali grammar in existence till the time of the three great Pali commentators, Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla. All of them appear to have explained the grammatical construction of Pali words by the rules of Pāṇini, quoted *verbatim* in Pali, e.g. *Suttanipāta* – Com., Vol. I, p.23, *vattamānasamipe, vattamāna-vacanalakkhaṇa*, Pāṇini, III, 3.131; *A History of Pali Literature*, 1933, p.632.

5. p. 50, 27; *The Vasudeva*, pp. 615, 629n; also mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* (2.24.1); BKSS (5.225); Dāmodara Gupta, *Kuṭṭinimata* (124).

6. Also in the *Arthaśāstra* (1.11.17); *Manusmṛti* (VI.20), *Dighanikāya*, Brahmajāla Sutta (tr. by Rhy Davids, 16-18).

7. The first two centuries of the Christian era is the period of early Mahāyāna texts.

8. See Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, II, pp. 242, 253, 302.
9. L. Alsdorf, Jaina Exegetical Literature and the History of the Jaina Cannon, *Mahavira and his Teachings*, Bombay 1977, p. 3f.
10. A.N. Upadhye, Introduction to *BKK*, pp. 95f, 110-12.
11. See Namvar Singh, *Hindi ke Vikās men Apabhraṃśa kā yoga*, 1961, pp. 258-63.
12. जाति पांति पूछै ना कोई
    हरि को भजै सो हरि का होई।।

13. *Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, Part I, Introduction, 1970, Appendix.
14. See for further study, P.C. Bagchi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, 1929; S.K. Chatterji, Non-Aryan Elements in Indo-Aryan, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Calcutta, 3,421. Also see the Glossary of some important Prakrit words recorded in Appendix 3 of the *Jain Āgama Sāhitya Men Bhāratīya Samāj*, 1965, pp. 526-541; Appendix of *Prakrit Sahitya ka Itihās*, 1985, pp. 583-92. This list is important for the study of development of Middle Indo-Aryan.
15. S.K. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan Hindi*, 1942, p.137.

20

THE SCIENCE OF PROGNOSTICATION:
NIMITTA-ŚĀSTRA*
(with special reference to
the Aṅgavijjā, a Prakrit text of antiquity)

The science of prognostication has been handed down in India from time immemorial. It has been called 'the Eye of Wisdom'. *Joisa* or *Jyotiṣa* is mentioned as one of the fourteen branches of learning along with Arithmetic (*Saṅkhāna*), Phonetics (*Sikkhā*), Ritual (*Kappa*), Grammar (*Vāgaraṇa*), Metre (*Chanda*) and Exegesis (*Nirukta*)[1]. The *Sūriyapaṇṇatti*, the *Candapaṇṇatti*, the *Joisakaraṇḍa* and the *Gaṇivijjā* form a part of Jain canonical literature. Among non-canonical literature, we have the *Vivāhapaḍala*[2], the *Agghakaṇḍa*[3], the *Rukkhāyuvveya*[4], the *Laggasuddhi*[5], the *Joṇipāhuḍa*[6] by Prajñā-Śramaṇa (Ascetic of Wisdom) Dharasena (between the first and second century A.D.), who is acceptable to both the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras, the *Ramala* or the *Pāśaka-vidyā*[7] by Muni Bhojasāgara (18th century A.D.), the *Bijāropaṇa-nakṣatra*[8] or the proper constellation for planting a seed, the *Aṅgavijjā*, composed by earlier teachers (*puvvāyariya-viraiyā*) and many others.

The Aṅgavijjā

This important work of antiquity was edited by renowned scholar Muni Puṇyavijaya with the help of several manuscripts with the introduction of Motichand and *bhūmikā* of V.S. Agrwala, published in 1957 by the *PTS*. It deals with the Science of Divination, not through the movement of stars or constellations or reading the horoscope, but through physical signs and symbols (*aṅga*). *Nimitta* or the science of indication as to what is to happen by signs or symbols, is included among 74 and 64 arts, essential to know for a man and a woman respectively. The *Nimitta-śāstra* has eight important branches, known as *Aṣṭāṅga-Mahānimitta*. They are: (1) *Aṅga* or movement of limbs of the body, (2) *Svara* or notes of birds, (3) *Lakṣaṇa* or the science of interpreting bodily signs, (4) *Vyañjana* or the marks of distinction such as

---

moles, black spots, etc., (5) *Svapna* or dreams, (6) *Chinna* or rending of clothes, (7) *Bhauma* or related to earth), (8) *Antarīkia* or related to sky[9].

Aṅga literally means limbs or gestures. It is used in a wider sense indicating the knowledge of victory and defeat, a king's death or recovery from disease, anarchy, calamity, profit and loss, happiness and misery, life and death, famine, good harvest, drought or good rainfall, loss of wealth or acquiring desired wealth[10]. The subject related to *aṅga* or science of prognostication is described in the *Aṅgavijjā* which has been compiled on the teachings received from the earlier *ācāryas*. We are told that this science formed a part of the *Diṭṭhivāya*, the twelfth *aṅga* of the Jain canonical literature, which is no more extant now, and that it was taught by Mahavira to his *gaṇadharas*. The author claims that he has described the title, the etymology and the chapter-headings of the work as preached by Mahavira to his disciples[11]. *Aṅga* or the science of prognostication is considered the most prominent among all other *Nimittas* just as the sun is most prominent among all appearances. We are told that as all the rivers submerge into the ocean so also all the *Nimittas* submerge into the *Aṅga*, and as Perfect Knowledge (*Kevalajñāna*) is the highest among all kinds of knowledge so is the *Aṅga* among all other *Nimittas*[12]. It is stated that the *Aṅgavijjā* text was to be taught in a *gurukula* to those who led the life of celebacy and honoured gods, guests and monks[13].

It seems that looking to its usefulness for common people the science of prognostication gained much popularity. There were earlier teachers who were proficient in the *Nimitta-śāstra*. Makkhali Gosāla, who is supposed to be the 24th Tīrthaṅkara of the Ājīvika sect, was considered well-versed in the knowledge of the *Aṣṭāṅga-Mahānimitta* and could therefore foretell the profit and loss, happiness and sorrow and life and death of people.

We are told in the *Pañcakalpa-Cūrṇi* that *ācārya* Kālaka deputed his disciples to Gosāla in order to acquire knowledge in *Nimitta*. *Ācārya* Kālaka himself is said to have been well-versed in *Nimitta*, he is said to have given demonstration of his knowledge in the assembly of King Sātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhānapura. Bhadrabāhu II[14] is another Jain monk who gained proficiency in the science of *Nimitta*, he was known as *Nimitta-vettā*. It is said that in order to protect Jain *saṅgha* he composed the *Upasarga-hara-stotra*. *Ācārya* Dharasena was yet another well-known teacher who gained proficiency in the eightfold knowledge of *Mahānimitta* (*Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, I). There were numerous Jain teachers, who are said to have possessed extraordinary supernatural powers. Some of them were able to cure disease simply by touching the patient with their hand, or by application of their body's dirt, phlegm, excrement or urine. Leprosy is said to have been cured if the patient's body was rubbed with a particle of their phlegm. The bad effects of poison disappeared from wind that had touched their body. The food that was infected with poison, if placed in their dishes or their mouths, became

free from poison and even their nails, hair, teeth etc., acted as medicines to cure patients. These monks endowed with spiritual powers could assume any form of their body at will, they could rise through the air, were able to repeat the whole stanza simply by knowing a part of it and their speech turned as sweet as milk[15].

It seems, when the monks got accustomed to make use of these powers for their personal benefit, they had to be condemned. It is stated that a *bhikkhu* should not feel fascinated himself nor make others fascinated by employing *vidyā*, *mantra*, *tapopalabdhi* (acquisition of power by means of austerities), *indrajāla* (magic power), *nimitta,*, *antardhāna* (power of being invisible), *pāda-lepana* (application of ointment on feet) and so on; if one lives by employing these powers, his austerities get crippled[16].

The *Aṅgavijjā*, though a Jain work, has very tittle to do with laying down the tenets of Jainism. It is a non-religious secular work like so many other popular treatises such as on *Āyurveda*, *Arthaśāstra*, *Gandharvaveda*, Personal Hygiene and Toilet, *Sāmudrika*, *Svapna-śāstra*, *Śakuna-ruta*, *Dhātu-vidyā*, *Ratna-parīkṣā*, *Vāstusāra*, *Aśva-śāstra*, *Mṛga-pakṣi-śāstra* and so on.

This work is divided into 60 chapters, dealing with various topics related to social, cultural and historical matter which is rarely noticed in non-Jain literature. The 8th chapter, known as *Bhūmi-kamma*, consists of magical incantations for the attainment of the *aṅgavijjā* which is named as *Bhagavatī*, bestowed by great men (*mahāpurisa-dinna*). One *mantra* is related to *khiriṇī*, *udumbara* and *vīraṇa* trees (8). This chapter is divided into 30 *Paṭalas*. A list of *āsanas* (seats) is provided in the 6th *Paṭala* (13-18). The conveyances such as *sītā*, *asandana* etc. are mentioned (26, line 9). The 9th chapter records 270 items of interest, including flowers, drinks, foods, textiles, clothes, ornaments, utensils, seats, jars, grains and coins[17] (57-66). Then we have synonyms for women, feminine names formed after the profession etc., the names of goddesses (names of foreign goddesses included)[18]. Then a list of coverings, ornaments, pots and pans, implements (*āyudha*) and coins is supplied (67-72). The 11th chapter gives a list of architectural terms (135-38). The 25th chapter deals with a list of *gotras* which is important for the study of ancient Indian community (149-50)[19]. The 26th chapter is devoted to stars, planets, directions etc. (151-53). The 27th chapter describes the names of officers such as royal officers, ministers etc. The 28th chapter provides a list of professions (159-61). The 29th chapter provides some details about ancient Indian cities. They were divided according to the four *varṇas*, i.e. Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra (161-62). Then a list of ornaments (30th), textile materials (31st), food-grains (32nd) and conveyances (33rd) is provided[20]. Chapter 36th is devoted to *dohala* or pregnancy longing (170-72). Chapter 37th is devoted to *lakṣaṇas* or favourable signs and the 38th to *vyañjanas* or modes and other peculiarities of the body; the 40th chapter describes food. Chapter 41 is devoted to the topic related to sexual intercourse, kissing and embracing

(182-86). Chapter 42 deals with dreams (*suvina*) and 43 with travel (*pavāsa*). Chapter 45 deals with the topic of home-coming, 46 with entering the house. Chapter 47th is devoted to military expedition (*jattajjhāo*). Chapter 51, *Devatā-vijaya*, is devoted to the propitiation of gods and goddesses. The list is important as it includes Vedic and other popular deities, worshipped by common men. Besides the goddesses of vegetation (*vanaspati*), hills (*parvata*), seas (*samudra*), rivers (*nadī*), well (*kūpa*), tank (*taḍāga*) and ditch (*palvala*), we have the goddess of crematorium (*śmaśāna*), of an abode of voiding excrement (*varca*) and of dunghill (*ukkuruḍika*) mentioned. Chapter 55 is devoted to treasure (*nidhāna*) and the last 60th chapter to previous births (*pūrva-bhava*).

Thus we see that the study of the *Aṅgavijjā* is very important not only from the point of view of social and cultural study of Indian people but also from the linguistic point of view as it contains numerous peculiar grammatical forms which are not available elsewhere. It is full of technical terms relating to the subject and the text can be properly rendered intelligible only with the help of the ancient works of the sages. Though the work is competently edited by a learned scholar, yet it remains broken in between in absence of a good manuscript. The matter contained here belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era.

Aṅgavijjā and Bṛhatsaṃhitā Compared

There seemed to have been a vast literature on astrology, prognostication, augury, divination, fortune-telling, omens and bodily signs in ancient India. The *Arthaśāstra* (1.11.17) of Kauṭilya has referred to the *aṅgavidyā* described as the science of interpreting the touch of the body by means of which are ascertained the events such as a small gain, burning by fire, danger from thieves, killing of a traitorous person, a gift of gratification, news about happenings in a foreign land, the statement such as "this will happen today or tomorrow", or 'the king will do this'[21]. The *Aṅgavidyā* has been referred to in the *Manusmṛti* and the *Dīghanikāya* of the Buddhists as we have noted. Varāhamihira (*mihira* means the sun in Persian; *mitra* in Old Indo-Aryan) was a renowned scholar of the 6th century A.D. He is said to have obtained a special boon from the Sun God and his *guru* was his own father, *Āditya-dāsa* (the servant of the Sun) by name. His life's mission was to revive the ancient learning of astronomy as well as astrology which was fast disappearing at his time. Utpala or Bhaṭṭotpala (10th century A.D.), the commentator of his *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, calls him *ācārya* or a teacher, who was known for the compilation of works on the science of *Jyotiṣa* (*jyotiṣ-śāstra-saṃgrahakṛt*)[22]. This shows that the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, also known as *Aṅga-viniścaya*, was just a compilation like the *Aṅgavijjā*, and not the original work. As the *Aṅgavijjā* is based on the teachings of the earlier *ācāryas* so is the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*. Varāhamihira in the course of his writings refers to *pūrva-śāstra, eke, tajjñāh, bahūnām matam* – which are interpreted by Utpala

as the works of Vṛddha Garga, Parāśara, Kāśyapa, Devala, Nandin, Ṛṣiputra and so on[23]. Utpala has mentioned several authorities and quoted extensively from their works in his commentary, including Īśvara (his work on Perfumery, the *Gandhayukti* in Prakrit has been quoted)[24] Ṛṣiputra[25], Garga, Asita, Devala[26], Nagnajit[27], Parāśara[28], Bāhulaka[29], Bhadrabāhu[30], Yavaneśvara[31], Vīrasoma[32], Samudra (or Sāmudrika)[33], Siddhasena[34] and many others[35].

'Aṅgavidyā' – A Chapter in the Bṛhat-saṃhitā

It is interesting that Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* has devoted a chapter (51) entitled *Aṅgavidyā* containing 44 verses. During the course of writing his commentary on this chapter, Utpala has given several quotations from Parāśara. In the last verse the author declares: "Thus I have explained clearly the science of prognostics of touching the limbs, after carefully examining the treatises on the subject so that the people may attain their cherished object. An intelligent and noble astrologer who knows all this will always be honoured by the kings and the people[36]."

It is noteworthy that this very chapter (containing all the 44 verses, except the first one which is interchanged with a somewhat different verse) finds a place under the First Appendix (*Prathamaṃ Pariśiṣṭaṃ*) of the *Aṅgavijjā* (pp. 272-80). The title given to this Appendix by the learned editor is '*Saṭīkaṃ Aṅgavidyā-śāstram*' with a footnote that he got this work broken, without a beginning and end and that he himself had given this title to the work:

(ग्रन्थोऽयमाद्यन्तविरहितः खण्डित एव प्राप्तोऽस्ति, अतो नामाप्यस्येदं
मत्परिकल्पितमेव ज्ञेयमिति)

At the end of the 44th verse, he adds: 'Further, this work is broken' (अग्रे खण्डितोऽयं ग्रन्थः). M.R. Bhat, the editor of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, while introducing this chapter, writes (p.432): "The commentator (Utpala) is of the opinion that this chapter may not be by Varāhamihira himself". But as Bhat himself has suggested, any way, "the science of Limbs forms a part of the contents of the second chapter of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*" (JCJ).

We have already noted the contents of the *Aṅgavijjā* and these contents are very much similar to those of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*. Even certain titles of the chapters bear identical names, e.g., the *Uppātaṇajjhāo* (53) of the *Aṅga* and the *Utpātādhyāya* of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (46); the *Vuṭṭhidārajjhāo* (20) of the *Aṅga* and the *Sadyovarṣaṇādhyāya* (28) of the *Bṛhat-saṃ*; the *Jattajjhāo* (47) – *Pavāsajjhāo* (43) of the *Aṅga* and the *Yogayātrā* (March under an auspicious constellation) of the *Bṛhat-saṃ*. Besides, there are numerous identical topics related to prognostication and augury such as architecture, sculpture, various kinds of omens through birds and beasts, eroticism, gems and their values, list of gods and godesses and so on. Seventy-two *kalās* which are frequently mentioned in Jain canonical literature, which incorporate the knowledge of

various distinguishing marks (*lakkhaṇa*) of men, women, horses, elephants, kine, cocks, umbrellas, swords and gems etc. are described in detail under chapters 68 (*puruṣa*), 66 (*aśva*), 67 (*hasti*), 61 (go), 63 (*kukkuṭa*), 73 (*chattra*), 50 (*khaḍga*), and 80 (*ratna*) in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*.

Various omens, portents and signs are referred to in early Jain texts which were taken into account while going for some auspicious work. Auspicious *tithi*, *karaṇa* and *nakṣatra* were consulted with regard to undertaking a journey and people were keen with regard to choosing a particular direction. Elaborate rules have been laid down while studying the holy scriptures. The *svādhyāya* is prohibited if it is frosting (*mahiyā = dhūmikā*), there is a shower of dust (*paṃsu*), flesh (*maṃsa*)[37], blood (*rudhira*), hair (*kesa*) or hailstorm (*śilā*), or there is an earthquake (*bhūmi-kampa*), or appearance of aerial town in the sky (*gandhavva-nagara*), glow at horizon (*disā-dāha*) or lightning (*vijju-bhavaṇaṃ*), or falling of fiery meteor from the sky (*ukkā-paḍaṇaṃ*) or thundering of clouds (*gajjita-karaṇaṃ*) or the conjunction of evening twilight and the moonlight (*jūvaga = yūpaka*)[38] or appearance of fiery *piśāca* in the sky (*jakkhālittaṃ*) or there was an eclipse of the moon (*candoparāga*) or a violent gust of wind (*nigghāta*)[39]. It is noteworthy that most of these phenomena have been described in detail in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* under separate chapter-headings, i.e.30. (*saṃdhyā-lakṣaṇa*), 31 (*dig-dāha-lakṣaṇa*), 32. (*bhū-kampa-lakṣaṇa*), 33. (*ulkā-lakṣaṇa*), 34 (*pariveṣa-lakṣaṇa*), 36 (*gandharva-nagara-lakṣhṇa*), 38 (*rajo-lakṣaṇa*) and 39 (*nirghāta-lakṣaṇa*)[40].

The Common Source

As we have seen, the secular topics such as astrology, palmistry, omens, prognostication, augury, archery, politics, medicine, testing of precious stones, architecture, training of horses, of elephants, of birds and of animals etc., dealing with the well-being of human society, have the common source and they have very little to do with a particular religion or belief as such. As we have seen, the material contained in the *Aṅgavijjā* and the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* is based on the teachings of the early *ācāryas* and preceptors. The commentator Utpala has referred to these teachers and has quoted from their works in his commentary. He gives a quotation from Kāśyapa with regard to erotics and quotes Garga and Manu as authorities on temple-architecture; he also quotes 32 verses of the *Akṣarakośa* of Yavaneśvara[41]. Varāhamihira possessed vast knowledge of his subject, therefore he must have studied both Prakrit and Sanskrit compositions on the subject. The *Vivāhapaḍala*, the *Agghakaṇḍa*, the *Rukkhāyuvveya*, the *Gandhayukti* etc. were written in Prakrit, but our author, as we have seen, composed a separate work entitled *Vivāhapaṭala* in Sanskrit, and the *Arghakāṇḍa* and the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* formed a part of his *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*; *Gandhayukti*, a Prakrit work by Īśvara has been referred to by Utpala in his commentary, as we have noted earlier. This indicates that the Indian authors

whether a Brāhmaṇa, a Jain or a Buddhist, drew from the common sources, though at times they might not have mentioned the particular teacher or his work. The well-known Jain author Ṭhakkura Pheru (14th century A.D.), who was a treasurer of Alauddin and Kutubuddin, the Muslim Kings of Delhi, in his *Jyotiṣa-sāra*, has specially referred to Haribhadra, Naracandra, Padmaprabhasūri, Varāha, Lalla, Parāśara, Garga and others whose works he had studied before writing his thesis. The science of Prognostication or the *Aṣṭāṅga-Mahānimitta* had a vast literature which is no more extant at present. According to Abhayadeva, the commentator of the *Sama* (29,40), there existed the *Sūtra*, the *Vṛtti* and the *Vārtika* on these eight branches of learning where a detailed exposition was provided on the subject. However, in the Jain tradition the *Aṣṭāṅga-Mahānimitta* formed a part of the *Pūrva* literature. *Aṅgavidyā* had been a common topic with the ancient authors; it has been mentioned by Kauṭilya, Manu, *Dīghanikāya*, Varāhamihira and others as stated. The well-known Jinaprabhasūri in his *Vidhimārgaprapā* has pointed out the way by which this lore could have been accomplished.

Jain authors have quoted Prakrit and Sanskrit verses from some unknown works in their writings. On *Aṅga* Nemicandrasūri has quoted 7 Prakrit *gāthās* in the commentary of the *Uttarā* (VIII, 13, p. 130f); he has quoted 2 *gāthās* on *Svara* or omen from articulation (*ibid.*, XV, 7, p.215a); the commentator Abhayadeva too has quoted Prakrit *gāthās* related to the topic in his commentary on the *Ṭhā* (VIII, 608, p.405). On *Lakṣaṇa* or auspicious marks on the body, Nemicandrasūri has quoted 1 *gāthā* (*ibid.*, XV, 7, p.216) and 18 Sanskrit verses (*ibid*, VIII, 13, p. 129). Sāmudrika is a sub-branch of *Lakṣaṇa*, according to Udyotanasūri which he describes briefly in 1 *gāthā* and in detail in numerous *gāthās*. Nemicandra has quoted 14 *gāthās* (*ibid.*, VIII, 13, p.129f) on *Svapna*. The *Suminasittari* and the *Suviṇaviyāra* of Jinapāla are other works on the Science of Dream in Prakrit. *Chinna* or rending of clothes, provides favourable and unfavourable prediction, after seeing a piece of cloth soiled by black pigment, lampblack or dirt, or gnawed by rats or burnt by fire or cut through or torn at the borders[42]. *Bhauma* deals with terrestrial disturbances such as earthquake. *Antarikṣa* deals with atmospheric omens when colours and forms of the sky are formed from some unnatural phenomena.

Thus we see that the Science of *Aṣṭāṅga-Mahānimitta* which was considered a branch of *śrutajñāna* (scriptural knowledge), was very popular, not only with Jain authors, but also with numerous other authors. The *Aṅgavijjā* as we have seen, has given more prominence to *Aṅga* or the Science of Divination with the movements of limbs of the body, and has provided details of the subject. Later, Varāhamihira, a learned scholar of *Jyotiṣa-śāstra*, composed his *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* on the same line. Both these encyclopaedic works are a treasure-house of information regarding the study of ancient Indian society.

In the end, we would like to say a word about magical practices and holding supernatural powers by ancient Indian people. Such practices go back to primitive people, who in want of food and shelter, had to struggle hard to sustain life. Under these circumstances, in order to overcome natural calamities, disease and hunger, victory over the hostile enemy and to gain life and fortune, they had to take recourse to various practices such as dancing, praying to deities, undergoing physical torture and numerous other omens, signs and portents so that they were able to create an illusion of controlling natural forces which did not actually affect the control, but produced a psychological efficacy in the mind of the person. How this basic concept developed into a regular art (or science), will be an interesting study to explore the history of ancient Indian culture by Indologists.

NOTES

1. *Viyāha*, 2.1.
2. The *Bṛhajjātaka* (XXIV.16; XXVIII. 3) of Varāhamihira mentions *Vivāhapaṭala* and *Yātrā* as future works, M.R. Bhatt, *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, Part I, Introduction, p. xiv. Vindhyavāsin is mentioned as the author of the *Vivāhapaṭala* (*Bṛhat-Saṃ.*, CIII); see Jagdischandra Jain, *History and Development of Prakrit Literature*, ch. 9, under publication.
3. See Jagadischandra Jain, *op. cit.*
4. Ancient sages like Kāśyapa and Parāśara have laid down rules about the trees to be planted and cultivated. Among later works can be included the works of Kṛṣiparāśara, the *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*, the *Viśvavallabha* of Cakrapāṇimiśra, the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* of Surapāla, the *Upavanavinoda* and so on, M.R. Bhat, *Ibid.*, p.527; also *History and Development of Prakrit Literature*, *op. cit* (under publication).
5. See *History and Development of Prakrit Literature*, *op. cit.* (under publication).
6. For further information see *PNL* p.148.
7. According to the author, this science was brought from the country of Yavana (Iran) by *ācārya* Kālaka. This shows the cultural contact between the two countries. The *Tājika-sāra* was another important work. Śubhaśilagaṇi (1424 A.D.) in his *Pañcaśatī-prabandha* (1, 75, pp.40-41) has provided an interesting account of the composition of this work. Keith has mentioned Nīlakaṇṭha's *Tājika* in two parts, *Saṃjñā* and *Varṣatantra*; this work was written in 1587 and exists in numerous manuscripts and editions. Further, he has referred to the *Ramalaka-rahasya* of Bhayabhañjana Śarman of late date. Of much earlier date are two treatises under the style *Pāśa-kevalī* preserved as parts iv and v of the Bower Manuscript in bad Sanskrit with many signs of Prakritic influence. The language of the manuscript is of a peculiar character, being popular Sanskrit heavily affected by Prakritism (perhaps of the 4th century A.D.). A reference is made to J.E. Schröter's *Pāśa-kevalī* (1900). Later tracts are known, ascribed to Garga, which show the knowledge of the term *horā*, and therefore postulates the period of Greek influence. *A History of Sanskrit literature.* London, 1928, under Astronomy, Astrology and Mathematics, p.534.
8. In Kannaḍa; recorded in the *Kannaḍa-Prāntīya Tāḍapatrīya Grantha-sūci* — A Catalogue of Jain Maṭha of Mūḍabidri, Jain Maṭha of Kārkal and Ādinatha Grantha-Bhaṇḍāra of Abyoor, etc., *Bhāratīya Jñāna Peeth*, 1944.
9. अंगं १ सरो २ लक्खणं ३ च वंजणं ४ सुविणो ५ तहा।
   छिण्ण ६ भोम्मं ७ इंतलिक्खाए ८ एमेव अट्ठ आहिया।।
   Aṅgavijjā, 1.1, p.1.

The *Sama* (29.477) has the following order : भौम, उत्पात, स्वप्न, अन्तरीक्ष, अंग, स्वर, व्यंजन, लक्षण, विकथानुयोग, विद्यानुयोग, मन्त्रानुयोग, योगानुयोग, अतीर्थिकानुयोग।

The *Thā* (8.608) considers them as forms of a sinful science : उत्पात, निमित्त, मंत्र, आख्यात (आइक्खिय), चिकित्सा (आयुर्वेद), कला, आवरण (वास्तुविद्या), अज्ञान, मिथ्याप्रवचन।

The *Uttarajjhayaṇa* (15.7) enumerates them as follows : छिन्न, स्वर, भौम, अंतरीक्ष, स्वप्न, लक्षण, दंड, वास्तुविद्या, अंगविकार, स्वरविजय।

10. जयं पराजयं वा राजमरणं वा आरोग्गं वा रण्णो आतंकं वा उवद्दवं वा मा पुण सहसा वियागरिज्ज णाणी। लाभाऽलाभं सुह-दुक्खं जीवितं मरणं वा सुभिक्खं दुब्भिक्खं वा अणावुट्ठिं सुवुट्ठिं वा धणहाणिं अज्झप्पवित्तं वा कालपरिहाणं अंगहियं तत्तत्थ णिच्छियमई सहसा उण वागरिज्ज णाणी।
Aṅgavijjā, 11.18-20, p.7.

11. *Ibid.*, 1.8-12, pp. 1f.
12. *Ibid.*, I.4-7, p.1.
13. *Ibid.*, III. 36-37.
14. One Bhadrabāhu has been cited by Bhaṭṭotpala, the commentator of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (IX. 37). Meghavijaya in his *Varṣaprabodha* has quoted some Prakrit verses under the name Bhadrabāhu which shows that he had composed a work on *Nimitta*, Kapadia, H.R., *Pāiya Bhāsāo ane Sāhitya*, p.168. It can be noted that according to Vijayavimalagaṇi, the commentator of the *Gacchāyāra-painnā*, Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira both were brothers and that after making a study of the *Candapannatti* and other Jain canonical texts, he composed his well-known *Varāhiamhitā* (or *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*). It is difficult to say as to how far this statement can be relied upon.
15. See *LAI* (revised 2nd ed.), p. 262f.; *PNL*, pp. 53, 102f.
16. *Niśī-Sū*, 11.66.67; Bhā 3337; 11.3341 and Cū. Manu (VI.20 has enjoined that a Brāhmaṇa should not receive alms from those who practise *utpāta*, *nimitta*, and *aṅgavidyā*. Similarly the sciences of *nimitta*, *uppādo*, *aṅgavijjā*, *vatthuvijjā* and *khattavijjā* and *supina-pāṭhakas* and *nemittas* are condemned, *Dīghanikāya, Brahmajāla Sutta* (tr. by Rhys Davids, 16-18).
17. See Agrawala, V.S., Coin Names in the *Aṅgavijjā*, 88f.
18. See Motichandra, Introduction, p.42.
19. Compare the *Sūr* (10,16) where the *gotras* of various *nakṣatras* have been mentioned.
20. Here we have some names of Greek boats and ships, see Motichandra, Introduction, p.49.

21. . . .. अंडुविद्धया शिष्यसंघाभिश्च कर्माण्यभिजनेऽवसितान्यादिशेत्तुग-अल्पलाभं अग्नि-दाहं चोरभयं दूष्यवधं तुष्टिदानं विदेशप्रवृत्तिज्ञानं, 'इदमद्य श्वो वा भविष्यति,' 'इदं वा राजा करिष्यति' इति।

22. Bhat, M.R., Introduction to *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, I, p.xiv.
23. *Ibid.*, p. xvi.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. xxxviii, xxxix.
25. He is mentioned as son of Garga and author of *Nimitta-Śāstra, Prākṛta Sahitya kā Itihās*. 1985, p.561.
26. He can be compared with Asita and Devala mentioned in the *Isibhāsiya* and the *Sūyagaḍa*, 3,4-2,3,4.p. 94a-5.
27. Naggai or Nagnajit is counted as one of the *Pratyeka Buddhas* in the *Uttara* (18); in the

Ovāiya (38) as one of the Kṣatriya *parivrājakas*; these *parivrājakas* were supposed to have the knowledge of the four *Vedas, Itihāsa, Nighaṇṭu*; they were expert in the *Ṣaṣṭhitantra* and were masters of *Gaṇita, Sikṣā, Kalpa, Vyākaraṇa, Chanda, Nirukta* and *Jyotiṣa* etc. According to Bhat, he might have written on architecture and sculpture, *ibid.,* xxii.

28. In the *Sūyagaḍa* (3,4-2,3,4, p. 94a-95) he is said to have attained liberation along with Asita, Devala, Dvipāyana and other great men; in the *Ovāiya* (38) Dvipāyana and Parāśara are counted among Brāhmaṇa *parivrājakas*.

29. Utpala in his commentary on LXXVIII. 12, quoting from a work entitled *Bāhulaka*, provides the definitions of *bhāvas* etc.

30. Vide foot note 14 supra. He is also said to have written *Niryukti* on the *Sūr* which is no more extant.

31. He has been referred to several times by commentator Utpala in his commentary on chapter 19 entitled *Grahavarṣaphalādhyāya* (Planetary Years and Effects). He should have been a Yavana teacher. He has translated the *Yavana-Jātaka* (manuscript in Nepal) from Greek in 169 A.D. and was probably reproduced in verses by Sphūrtidhvaja, a century later. See, Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol.III, Part II, p.658. Our author acknowledges the greatness of the Greek (Yavana) astrology in the following verse:

म्लेच्छा हि यवनास्तेषु सम्यक् शास्त्रमिदं स्थितम्।
ऋषिवत्तेऽपि पूज्यन्ते किं पुनर्दैवविद् द्विजः॥ 2.32

— The Yavanas are no doubt *mlecchas* in origin, still this science has found a stable position with them. When even they are honoured as sages, how much more a Brāhmaṇa astrologer?

32. Author of Elphant's Treatment, M.R. Bhat, *ibid.*, p. xxxviii.

33. Udyotanasūri (8th century A.D.) in his *KVLM* has mentifoned *Samudra-śāstra* or *Sāmudrika* as an offshoot of *Lakṣaṇa*. Bhavadevasūri (13th century A.D.) in his *Pārśvanātha-carita* expounds the codes of *Sāmudrika-śāstra* (7.595-630), Bloomfield, *The Life and story of Pārśvanātha*, 158. One *Sāmudrakatilaka* was composed by Durlabharāja, see *PNL*, pp. 145, 146.

34. He seems to be a Jain author. Bhadrabāhu and Siddhasena are mentioned together in Jain literature. Siddhasena is quoted by Utpala in his commentary on chapter 21 (*Garbhalakṣaṇam*) as stated earlier.

35. See Bhat, *ibid.*, p. xxxviii.

36. इति निगदितमेतद् गात्रसंस्पर्शलक्ष्म प्रकटमभिमताप्त्यं वीक्ष्य शास्त्राणि सम्यक्।
विपुलमतिरुदारो वेत्ति यः सर्वमेतन्नरपतिजनताभिः पूज्यतेऽसौ सदैव॥ '51.44

37. *Maṃsa-varṣin* is rendered as raining flesh (locusts?) in *MW*.

38. *Yūpaka* is a particular conjunction of the class *ākṛti-yoga* (a certain class of constellation, when all the planets are situated in the first, second, third and fourth houses) mentioned in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā, MW*.

संझप्पभा चंदप्पभा य जेण जुगवं भवति तेण जूवगो, सा य संझप्पभा चंदप्पभा
वरिता फिडंति न नज्जति, सुक्क-पक्ख-पाडिवगादिसु तिसु दिणेसु, संझच्छेदे य
अणज्जमाणे कालवेलं न मुणिति अतो तिण्णि दिणे पादोसियं कालं न गेण्हति,
तेसु तिसु दिणेसु पादोसियं सुत्त-पोरिसियं न करेंति। *Āva-Cū*, II, 221.

39. *Niśī-Bhā*, 19, 6088-6117; also *Āva-Cū*, II, pp. 217-241, the section on the *asajjhāya-nijjutti*

in both the *gāthās* are identical, except that in the *Āva-Cū*, the *Nir* and *Bhā-gāthās* are mixed up; also see the *Mūlācāra* (5.77-79):

दिसदाह उक्कपडणं, विज्जु-चडुक्कासणिंदधणुगं च।
दुग्गंध सज्झदुद्दिण चंदग्गह सूरराहुजुज्झं च॥
कलहादिधूमकेदू धरणीकंपं च अब्भगज्जं च।
इच्चेवमाइ बहुया सज्झाए वज्जिदा दोसा॥

40. The commentator of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (32.23) quotes the following verse from Garga:

निर्घातोत्कामहीकम्पाः स्निग्धगम्भीरनिःस्वनाः।
मेघाः स्तनितशब्दाश्च सूर्येन्दुग्रहणे तथा॥
परिवेषेन्द्रचापं च गन्धर्वनगरं तथा।
मण्डलैरेव बोद्धव्याः शुभाशुभफलप्रदाः॥

41. Bhat, M.R., *ibid.*, pp. xiii, xiv, xvi.
42. *PNL*, 147.

21

POSITION AND STATUS OF WOMEN IN JAIN
LITERATURE*

While dealing with the position of women in ancient Jain literature, the question arises as to what actually led to the renunciation of worldly comfort and lead an austere life of self-discipline, particularly when our ancient Arnyans aspired to live for long 100 autumnal years. This is a question which has to be pondered over seriously. The socio-economic conditions of the age have to be scrutinised thoroughly for the answer.

Another important question is as to how all of a sudden women were looked down upon contemptuously in Jain and Buddhist tradition when they were actually the creators of primordial elements of civilisation, symbols of power and position and people worshipped them as deities, praying them to bestow health, strength and progeny. Sir William Hunter has pointed out: "Among Garos of Assam, women enjoy a power and position quite unknown among more civilised tribes and people". Similarly, ancient Aryanas never condemned women, on the other hand, they respected and honoured them. Several of them were composers of the Ṛgvedic hymns. In Chinese language, the word 'good' is represented by 'hāo', symbolised by a Chinese ideogram of a mother and a son together, and the word 'peace' by 'ho pin g', represented by a symbol of a woman under roof.

Ascetic Practices

The life of an ascetic was tough and hard. The rules of conduct laid down for him were most difficult to practise. The path he had to resort to was as difficult as swimming against the current of the Gaṅga, crossing the sea by the strength of arms, eating the lump of sand, treading on the edge of a sword, biting an iron ball, catching the flames of blazing fire and measuring a mountain in a scale[1]. It has been stated that a Jain monk should walk mindfully, sit mindfully, sleep mindfully, eat mindfully and talk mindfully so that he does not accumulate unwholesome *karmas*[2]. He was not allowed to eat or drink anything which was prepared for him, purchased for him, set aside

---

for him or cooked for him. He spent most of his time in meditation, studying and preaching. We are told that *Bhagavān* Mahavira stood practising austerities in dreadful winter when people shivered and their teeth clicked together quickly from cold and they would light the fire and cover themselves with warm clothes. Similarly, he was seen meditating in scorching sun. But the most difficult thing was to keep away from the feminine charm. Out of the twenty-two *parisahas* (afflictions), there is one known as *strī-parisaha* (affliction from women) which a monk has to be guarded against. It has been stated in the *Sūyagaḍa* (4.1.27; 4.1.11): "As a pot filled with lac catches fire immediately, so a monk will be ruined through association of women"[3]. "Therefore he should avoid women, knowing them to be like a thorn smeared with poison. One who under the influence of family, goes there alone to preach a woman, is not called a *nirgrantha*[4]." "He has been advised to give up life by suspending in the air (*viha = vehāyasa*) if found himself unable to control against the afflictions of women and cold[5]." "A monk is warned to avoid a woman even if her hands and feet are stripped off and her ears and nose multilated even though she is of hundred years old[6]." He is supposed to observe the rules of celibacy in mind, words and deed for which he should keep himself occupied in studying, practising mediation and preaching religious sermons to his followers[7]. But inspite of all this it was not easy to have control over his sex instinct for a monk.

We come across numerous instances in Jain literature when monks fell victims to the infatuation of a woman[8]. Read the following dialogue between a monk and a nun:

MONK: "Why didn't you go for collecting alms today?"
NUN: I am on fast."
"Why ?"
"I want to remedy my passions. And what about you?"
"I am doing the same."
"Why did you join the Order?"
"Because my husband died; it created aversion in my mind. And what about you?"
"My wife died"
Seeing the monk glancing at her with a passionate look, she inquired: "What are you looking at ?"
"I am comparing the two. In your laugh, your talk and in your beauty you just look like my wife. Your appearance creates infatuation in me."
"So is the case with me[9]."

Why Women Barred from Achieving the Highest Goal?

The question arises why women were not permitted to achieve salvation when Mahavira made no discrimination between men and women, regarding their caste, creed, colour or sex. Why were they condemned and depicted as

fickle-minded, treacherous, deceitful and unfaithful by nature? According to Jain tradition, Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara of Jains, the founder of the rules of morality, promulgated the measures of marriage institution so that the continuity of human race be maintained. We are told that when the Tīrthaṅkara Ariṣṭanemi was going to renounce the worldly pleasures, he was dissuaded from his determination by citing examples of Ṛṣabha and other Tīrthaṅkaras, who enjoyed the married life, raised children and ruled over the earth looking after the welfare of the subjects. Then why should he not follow their examples? Why should he think of relinquishing the world at such a young age[10]? Moreover, women give birth to sixty-three Great Personalities, known as *Śalākā-puruṣas*, which include Tīrthaṅkaras, Cakravartins, Baladevas, Vāsudevas and Prativāsudevas. But still they have been placed under more rigorous discipline than the monks and are prohibited to study a certain portion of the *Ācārāṅga*, the *Aruṇopapāta* and the *Dṛṣṭivāda*! They have been described as "cruel in their hearts and charming in body, speech and glance, and resemble a knife inlaid with gold"[11]. As a matter of fact, looking to the sexual urge etc. a man should have been condemned more.

What is stated in the *Sūyagaḍa-Niryukti* (the fourth chapter of the first *Śrutaskandha*, known as *Itthipariṇṇā*) in this respect is very important. It is said: "As far as the violation of the rules of chastity are concerned, both sexes are to be blamed equally. The violation depends on one's moral strength whether a man or a woman. As a man falters on account of his infirmity of moral strength while coming into contact with a woman, similar is the case with a woman, who slips while coming into contact with a man. Therefore, the fault does not lie with a woman alone." A similar view has been expressed by *ācārya* Śivakoṭi in his *Bhag-Ārā* (987-996), a Digambara work of antiquity. It is stated here: "The faults which are indicated in women are also noticed in men, perhaps in greater quantity as they are more powerful. As men are condemned by virtuous women so are women by virtuous men. Both gain eminence by their virtues. Particularly women, who have given birth to Great Men such as a Tīrthaṅkara, a Vāsudeva, a Balabhadra or a *Gaṇadhara*, have been adored by divine beings and excellent people . . . . As a matter of fact, one is deteriorated by one's own slackness"[12].

We come across an episode of glorious Rājimatī in the Rathanemiya chapter (23) of the *Uttarā*. Rājimatī, after following the footsteps of her would-be husband Ariṣṭanemi, started practising penance on the mountain Raivataka. By chance the monk Rathanemi, the brother of Ariṣṭanemi, was also engaged in meditation on the same mountain. Once it so happened that she was caught by heavy rains and tried to seek shelter in a mountain cave. When Rājimatī took off her wet clothes, her brother-in-law Rathanemi, who happened to be in the same cave, seeing her nude, coveted her and proposed to enjoy pleasures together and afterwards return to monkshood. The virtuous Rājimatī resisted him boldly and baffled his attempts by offering him 'to drink again what has been vomited'[13]. Besides, there have been numerous

strong-minded righteous women, who not only were able to safeguard their chastity against advances of evil-minded persons, but also by their skilful designs, taught them a lesson by making them captive in an underground pit[14]. We come across a story of Ratnavatī, the princess of Siṃhaladvīpa in the *Rayaṇasehari-kahā* of Jinaharṣasūri (15th century A.D.). A dialogue is recorded here between the princess and the Minister of king Ratnaśekhara. The Minister covered the face of the king with a towel, saying that he would never like to see the face of a woman.

Princess: "What great crime have they committed that he does not want to see their face?"

Minister: "Whatever is said about them is not enough. They swear and tell lies and create many problems. Their brain is not even the size of a small pea."

Princess: "But men drunk with power, youth, wealth and superiority, commit sins after sins. They neglect even their parents and friends and do not pay any heed to elderly people".

Minister: "Women are always in habit of using harsh and deplorable words."

Princess: "But men never consider good or bad, they spoil the good virtuous women and hardly adopt the good way of living."

Minister: "Women are always scheming by nature, they get things done cleverly by others. They are bound by traditional ways and never budge an inch from their determination."

Princess: "Men, on the other hand, utter harsh words, are unable to grasp the basics of religion and put blame on women of noble family[15]."

Thus we see that as far as the chastity of a woman is concerned she is not to be blamed more than a man; on the other hand, she is found more careful with regard to preservation of her virginity than man.

The question arose as how to keep up monkhood, once it is accepted. It must be safeguarded by prescribing strict code of discipline and instructing monks to keep control over their mind, speech and body so that love and passion, particularly, the allurements and charms of women, may not create disturbance in their mind and harm the ascetic practices. How far and to what extent it was successful is difficult to say, but one thing is certain that women were condemned outright as the root cause of violation of a monk's chastity; it was declared that she should be steadfastly kept at bay if the monk is to be called a victor or a hero.

Is Nudity Prerequisite of Salvation?

Mahavira, the 24th Tīrthaṅkara of Jains, called Nigaṇṭha Nāyaputta or Nātaputta (*nigaṇṭha* or *nirgrantha* meaning free from all ties and hindrances; without possession, or unattached; Nāyaputta or Jñātṛputra is his lineage name). In course of time, in about 609 years of Mahavira's attainment of salvation (in about 83 A.D.), a controversy arose about the real meaning of *nirgrantha*. Does it mean relinquishing of internal possession (*antar-parigraha*) or external possession (*bāhya-parigraha*) also? This was the beginning of the epoch-making dissension of the two important sects of Digambaras (meaning Sky-clad) and Śvetāmbaras (White-clad). As the name Digambara implies, the practice of nudity seemed to be an absolute prerequisite for the attainment of salvation. Digambaras believed that this is the only mode of conduct through which one can become truly free of shame and sexuality and thus can attain *mokṣa*. Śvetāmbaras, on the other hand, emphasised the optional nature of this practice; they did disapprove attachment to clothing but at the same time they did not consider that nudity is prerequisite for attaining *mokṣa*. Now in case nudity is made prerequisite to achieve salvation, the question arises whether a woman should be allowed to move about sky-clad in public. Perhaps that was not possible in Indian Society. That is how, it seems, a woman had to be deprived of attainment of the highest goal of life.

It has to be admitted that to consider nudity as prerequisite to achieve salvation, created some more problems. We have already referred to *strī-parīṣaha* (affliction from women) which a monk has to get over in order to practise asceticism. Likewise there is another *parīṣaha* known as *nāgnya-parīṣaha*. As a monk should strive for equanimity to face afflictions created by hunger, thirst, cold, heat, bite of insects, similarly, he should get over the affliction of nudity. He should keep control over his sex instinct and should not be moved by the sight of a pretty woman. This must have been most difficult to practise on the part of the monks. According to Śvetāmbara tradition, Bhadrabāhu practised the strict rules of nudity enunciated by Mahavira. Then Ārya Mahāgiri, a disciple of Sthūlabhadra, towards the end of his life, practised *jinakalpa* (state of nudity)[16]. We are told that after Ārya Rakṣita initiated his family members to the ascetic order, his father felt ashamed to move about nude in the presence of his daughters and daughters-in-law. Thereupon he was persuaded to accept *kaṭipaṭṭa* (a piece of cloth worn round the loins)[17].

The Yāpanīya sect of the Jains, which came into being in south India about the time of the formation of the Digambara and Śvetāmbara sects in about the 1st century A.D., played an important role regarding the achievement of liberation of women. The followers of this sect tried to bring about a compromise between the above-mentioned two sects. The greatest contribution of this sect in the soco-religious sphere is advocacy of liberation

of women. This must have provided a great stamina to the women of the region. The upholders of this sect maintained a regular monastic order of nuns (*āryās*) who were placed as teachers and preceptors of women in place of male teachers. In some cases they occupied the status of a pontiff and even menfolk received instructions under them. It appears that the adherents of this sect were not rigid in upholding their dogmas and they tried to accomodate to the existing conditions of the region. They opened the way to liberation even to non-Jains, the adherents of other faith (*para-śāsane mokṣa*) and even to those who were with possession (*sagranthānāṃ mokṣa*).

The land of Karnāṭaka in south India has been a centre of Jain activates from the 2nd to the 15th century A.D. During this period Jains occupied an important position in the sphere of social and political life of the country. They were rulers, ministers, generals, commanders and business magnets, who contributed a good deal in the upliftment of the land. Women were given freedom like men; they were permitted to achieve the highest pursuit of human life, i.e. *mokṣa*, the final emancipation. Women distinguished themselves in multifarious activities of life. They were not only poets and administrators, who donated land and money to the people but also actively participated in battles in defence of their motherland, being honoured as 'the Lady of Victory'.

Position and Status of Women

We are not directly concerned here whether a woman is entitled to achieve liberation, i.e. freedom from the suffering of the world. In Jain tradition, in the existing *Pañcama-kāla* (the Fifth Era), no one, including man, is entitled to achieve that goal. We know that during the early Vedic period, when the matriarchal system prevailed, women dominated the society. There existed certain sacrificial rites which were performed only by women, men were not allowed to participate in them. In early primitive society a woman was corn-producer, water-career and rain-maker; in other words, she was the 'Ruler of the House'. But in course of time as the society developed, man gave up hunting and tending cattle, he took up to cultivation of land and became the master of means of production. The pattern of society changed giving rise to patriarchal system, where men dominated. A woman who was economically productive, lost her productive capacity, was entrusted to look after the household work and thus was subjugated to man. She became a source of sexual pleasure for man. In Hindu society, a son is needed to discharge the father's debt. It is stated: "A woman has been created to beget a son. She is the field and the man, who sows, the seed. The field should be entrusted to the one who has seed, one who has no seed does not deserve to have field." She was also expected to prove her chastity whenever asked for, for which she had to undergo various ordeals. She had to hold red-hot metal in hand, plunge into boiling oil, even drink poison and weigh into a scale. Five ordeals were suggested for Sītā, Rāma's Wife, to put her virtue to test: entering into a

blazing fire, eat rice, mount the scale, drink the heated bath-water of gods and seize the plughshare by her tongue; out of which she preferred the first one[18].

Simon De Beauvior, a great advocate of women's cause, has remarked about the chastity of women: "Chastity has been enforced upon a woman for economic and religious reasons, since each citizen ought to be authenticated as the son of his proper father[19]." A question is asked: "Why the bride goes to the house of the groom? Because he has money and power". It has been stated: "a woman can never be as important as man, any more than the soil can be as important as seed[20]." Further: "What has emancipated a woman is not the franchise or her right to vote, but birth control which delivers her from a recurring series of exhausting pregnancies[21]." Babel has rightly said: "Women and proletariat both are downtrodden. Both are to be set free through the economic development consequent upon the social upheaval brought about by machinery[22]."

Though we are talking of the 21st century, our women are facing insurmountable problems: they are illiterate, superstitious, unemployed, they have no income of their own and have to depend on their husband for every trifling thing, the society is overridden with a distinction between male and female, they have to get prepared for being sacrificed at the altar of the awful dowery system, and over and above, in order to demonstrate their utter devotion and faithfulness to their family, they are forced to burn themselves alive at the pyre of their dead husband! Women can be emancipated from such a drudgery only if social and economic equality and appropriate opportunities are provided to them.

NOTES

1. लोहमया इव जवा चावेयव्वा, बालुगाकवले इव निरस्साए, गंगा इव महानई पडिसोयगमणाए, महासमुद्दो इव भुयाहिं दुत्तरे, तिक्खं चंकमियव्वं, गरुअं लंबेयव्वं, असिधाराव्वयं चरियव्वं। *Nāyā*, 1,28.

2. जयं चरे जयं चिट्ठे, जयमासे जयं सए।
   जयं भुंजंतो भासंतो पावकम्मं न बंधइ॥ *Das*, 4.7.

3. जउ-कुंभे जोइ-उवगूढे आसुभितत्ते नासमुवयाइ।
   एविस्थियाइ अणगारा संवासेण नासमुवयंति॥

4. तम्हा उ वज्जए इत्थी विसलित्तं च कंटगं नच्चा।
   ओए कुलाण वसवत्ती आघाए न से वि निग्गंथे॥

5. जस्स णं भिक्खुस्स एवं भवति, 'पुट्ठो खलु अहमंसि, नालमहमंसि सीतफासं अहियासेत्तए', से वसुमं सव्वसमण्णागतपण्णाणेणं अप्पाणेणं केई अकरणयाए आ-उट्टे। तवस्सिणो हु तं सेयं जमेगे विहमादिए। *Ācā*, I.212, p.252.

6. हत्थ-पाय-पाडिच्छिन्नं कण्ण-नास-विगप्पियं।
   अवि वाससई नारिं बंभयारी विवज्जए।।
   Das, 8.56.
7. *Ibid.*, 2.7-11.
8. *LAI*, 1984, p.297: *PNL*, p.117.
9. तेण पुच्छिता : किं ण गतासि भिक्खाए ?
   सा भण्णति : अज्ज! खमणं मे।
   सो भणति : किं निमित्तं ?
   सा भणति : मोहतिगिच्छां करेमि ।
   ताए वि सो पुच्छिओ भणति: अहं पि मोहतिगिच्छं-करेमि
   कहं बोधि त्ति लद्धा? परोधरपुच्छाति।
   तेण पुच्छिता : क हं सि पव्वइया?
   सा भणति: भत्तारमरणेण तस्स वा
   अचियत्त त्ति तेण पव्वतिता।
   ताए सो पुच्छितो भणति: अहं वि एमेब त्ति।

   Nisī-Cū, 4. 1682f., p.257.
10. *Dharmopadeśa-mālā-vivarṇa* of Jayasiṃhasūri (9th century A.D.), *SJS*, 1949, p.11.
11. हिययंमि निट्ठुराओ, तणुअं-पियया पएहिं रम्माओ।
    जुवईओ सरिच्छाओ, सुवन्न-विच्छुरिय-छुरियाओ।।
    Uttarā, com. of Devendragaṇi, 4, p.93.
12. Compare with Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (Chapter 76) where it has been stated: "All the defects that have been attributed to women exist in men as well. Women, however, try to remove them, while men are supremely indifferent in the matter".
13. धिरत्थु ते जसोकामी! जो तं जीवियकारणा।
    वंतं इच्छसि आवेउं, सेयं ते मरणं भवे।।
    23,42; also *Das*, 2.7.
14. Read the Story "A Pair of Birds," rendered into English from Somadevasūri's *Yaśastilaka-campū* (12th century A.D.) in author's *Women in Ancient Indian Tales*, 1987, pp. 31-36; also the story of Nammayāsundari, *ibid.*, pp. 56-61.
15. Read the story of Ratnavati in author's *Women in Ancient Indian Tales*, pp. 53-55.
16. *Āva-Cū*, II 155f.
17. *Ibid.*, 406f.
18. *PNL*, pp. 48-50.
19. *The Second Sex*, Book I, Part III, H.M. Parshley (tr.), Great Britain, 1953, p.204.
20. David and Vera Mace, *Marriage: East and West*, under 'I The Region of Patriarch', London, 1960.
21. *Ibid.*, under '3 What is a Woman Worth?"
22. *The Second Sex*, Part I, p.81.

22

JAIN WORSHIP: A CRITICAL VIEW*

Emotion plays a very important role in life. Joy, sorrow, reverence, hate or love are the outcome of emotional feeling involving physiological changes. A man's mind is full of quest; again and again the restless mind peeps out, ever seeking, ever questioning: What is the ultimate goal? What is the ultimate reality? How are we born? Why there is death? Thus begins the investigation of Brahma (*athāto brahma-jijñāsā*).

Śankarācārya, a great exponent of Advaita Vedānta or philosophy of non-dualism, maintained that the only ultimate reality is the *Brahma*, the Absolute. That is subjective, all else is objective. He believed in identity of spirit and matter. "Only the *Brahma* is true, the world is false" (*Brahma satyaṃ jaganmithyā*). It is on account of ignorance (*avidyā*) or illusion (*māyā*), we can not achieve emancipation from worldly existence which is supposed to be full of suffering.

But it seems, a man is rarely satisfied with abstract subtleties, existing only as a mental concept, which often led to the indescribable nature (*anirvacanīyatā*) of reality. He wants something concrete, solid, definite and well-defined so that he can fall back upon and continue aspiring his objective. This task was accomplished by theologicians like Rāmānuja (1037-1137 A.D.), Madhva (13th century A.D.) and Nimbārka· (12th century A.D), the great thinkers of South India. Rāmānuja preached intense devotion to God asserting that the devotee is a fragment of God and he has to depend on him for his emancipation. These teachers did not make any distinction between man and man and declared that irrespective of caste or creed, anyone, who follows the way to *bhakti* (*bhakti-mārga*) is released from this worldly existence. Long back *santa* Kabir had sung in his melodious tone:

जाति पाति पूछै ना कोई
हरि को भजै सो हरि का होई

— no one questions caste or creed, one who is devoted to Hari becomes His.

Later Rāmānanda, a great disciple of Rāmānuja brought *bhakti-mārga* to the North[1]. He had his disciples from the so-called degraded castes, including the followers of Islam.

Bhakti-cult in Mediaeval India

The period from the 13th or 14th century to the 17th or 18th century A.D. is considered of great significance in Indian religious history. Buddhism had ceased to exercise its influence, and as Alberuni, a Muslim traveller of the 11th century, has noted: "the Aryans who felt very proud of their learning, caste, religion and their race, turned to be conservative and self-conceited." Besides, rivalry and conflict were growing between the owners of the petty states in Indian territory. There was a Hindu-Muslim confrontation and the Hindus strived vigorously to resist the spread of Islam in India. This produced a galaxy of mediaeval saints such as, Dādu, Sūra, Tulasī, Mīrā, Guru Nānaka in North India; Jñāneśvara, Tukārām and Ekanāth in Maharashtra and Narsī Mehtā, Akhai Bhagat and others in Gujarat. This movement of great magnitude was extensive and wide spread which proved to be wider even than the spread of Buddhism, in the word of George Grierson. Undoubtedly, this movement had a great impact on religions of India. Now religion was not confined to *jñāna* (knowledge) but it reaffirmed *bhakti*, emotional feeling, devotion, adoration, glorification and paying homage to God.

Jain Worship (Pūjā)

The *bhakti*-cult had a great impact on Jainism and Buddhism. Both do not hold that God is the creator, preserver and annihilator of this universe. According to Jains, God (Or Gods; they are many and any one can achieve Godhood by practising penance thereby annihilating one's *karmas*) is free from attachment and aversion, is not eternal and omnipresent, is not capable of doing or undoing things at his sweet will, therefore, really speaking, devotion towards him cannot lead to the achievement of liberation. Vaṭṭakera (circa 2nd century A.D.), a Jain *ācārya* from South India, has supported this view in his *Mūlācāra* (7.69-70). He has stated that a saint who, out of his devotion to God Jina, wishes freedom from birth and death, achievement of enlightenment (*bodhi-lābha*) and preservation of auspicious thoughts at the time of *samādhi-maraṇa* (death while in meditation), does not do it as a reward to his penitential act, but this devotional language should be considered as a false speech (*asatya-mṛsā*)[2]. Almost the same idea is conveyed by Samantabhadra, another renowned Digambara Jain author of the 5th century A.D. in his *Āptamīmāṃsā* (Examination of God). He addresses God Jina saying: "O Venerable One, you are not great because you are endowed with supernatural qualities such as the arrival of divine gods, movement in the sky, waiving of fly-whisks and other manifestation of power; such qualities are noticed even among those who possess magical powers (*māyāvī*)[3]. You are

great as you are free from ignorance (*doṣa*) and the power of illusion which obscures the real nature of things (*āvaraṇa*), and you have been able to put an end to external and internal impurity (*bahirantarmala*)[4]. You alone are free from ignorance, attachment and aversion (*nirdoṣa*) whose teachings are not contradictory to reason and commandments and whatever is preached by you is compatible with testimony[5]."

Is the Concept of Pūjā Non-Aryan?

The Vedic Aryan were fond of performing *homa* making an oblation to heavenly gods by casting clarified butter, milk, cakes of barley, *soma* juice etc. It is to be noted that these gods were not symbolised by an image, but were supposed to dwell in the sky and received their oblation through fire (or smoke of fire). The *homa* was a kind of sacrifice which involved *paśu-karma* or act of offering the victim. *Pūjā* is considered a pre-Aryan or Dravidian form of worship in which flowers, leaves, fruits and water etc. were offered to the deity. It was considered a 'flower-ritual' (*puṣpa-karma*) contrary to *homa*, involving a religious service causing the slaughter of an animal[6]. Thus the Vedic Aryans seem to have developed the concept of *pūjā* after coming into contract with the non-Aryans of this land.

Buddhist Concept of Worship

The concept of worship and prayer seems to be rare and faint in the primitive *Theravāda* of Buddhism. The word *cetiya* (in Pali; *ceiya* in Ardhamagadhi; *caitya* in Sanskrit) or sacred memorial or shrine denotes a sacred tree growing on mound, indicates mound-worship like the tree-worship in primitive society. A *cetiya* must have antedated a Buddhist *Stūpa* or a sacred mound. It has been stated in the Buddhist canonical literature that after Buddha's death in Kuśīnārā (Kasaya in Gorakhpur district in Uttar Pradesh) it was proposed that a *Thūpa* be erected at the crossing of four roads which should serve as a memorial to the Master. At this time several clans who had assembled there received the relics of his body and subsequently the *Stūpas* were erected in Vaiśāli, Kapilavastu, Pāvā, Kuśīnārā and several other places[7]. Since these *Stūpas* were erected in sacred memory of the Master, they have to be adorned and worshipped. This was the beginning of the widely prevalent *Stūpa*-worship in Buddhism of the Aśokan age.

Thus the devotees started placing garland or perfume or paint[8]. In fact, initially, the worship of Buddha (*Buddha-pūjā*) was conceived as a purely mental act[9]; later in Mahāyāna Buddhism, it came to be known as an essential requisite for salvation[10]. Later on it developed into a regular ritual, consisting of *vandanā* (salutation) and *pūjā* by offering flowers, garlands, burning incense and so on. In course of time the theory of *karuṇā* (compassion) was established and the Bodhisattva, who had only one birth to undergo before

attaining Buddhahood and *nirvāṇa*, exerted utmost for the *nirvāṇa* of all living beings. This naturally led a devotee to take refuge in him. This turned to be the beginning of the concept of the Threefold Refuge (*tisaraṇa*): Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. It was an essential characteristic of *bhakti-cult* in Buddhism.

Rituals Accepted by Jains

We have seen that in fact there is no place of *bhakti* or *pūjā* in Jain religion, yet the impact of *bhakti*-cult was so great that it could not remain without adoration, chanting hymns, paying homage, counting rosary and making salutation to the Tīrthaṅkaras and other Great Personalities. In Jainism the *Arhanta* (worthy of worship), the *Siddha* (liberated soul), the *Sādhu* (monk) and the *Dharma* preached by an Omniscient Being are considered the four *Maṅgalas* (auspicious) and the four *Lokottamas* (best in the world). Then, *Caturviṃśati-stavana* (eulogy to 24 Tīrthaṅkaras) and *Vandanā* (salutation to God Jina – *Arhanta* and *Siddha* – and to those who excel in austerities, scriptures and virtues) are considered among six obligatory duties (*Ṣaḍāvaśyaka*)[11]. Vaṭṭakera dealing with the *Ṣaḍāvaśyaka* in the 7th chapter of his *Mūlācāra* has devoted 41-76 and 78-113 *gāthās* for the treatment of the *Cauvīsa-nijjutti* and the *Vandanā-nijjutti* respectively. The *Bhag-Ārā* of Śivārya and the *Vijayodayā* Commentary of Aparājitasūri have also dealt with these duties[12]. Then the ten types of *bhakti* are mentioned in the *Dasabhatti*[13]. They are: *bhakti* to Tīrthaṅkara, to *Siddha*, to *śruta* (scripture), to *cāritra* (conduct), to *yogin* or *anagāra* (monk), to *ācārya* (spiritual teacher), to *nirvāṇa* (emancipation) to *Pañcaguru* (five teachers), to Nandīśvara continent, and to *śānti* (peace). Kundakunda's *Pañcāstikāya* (166) has mentioned *bhakti* towards *Arhanta*, *Siddha*, *caitya* and *pravacana* (teaching), and his *Pravacanasāra* (1.69) has referred to *pūjā* of *devatā* (God Jina), *yati* (monk) and *guru* (teacher).

In later works we come across elaborate details of *pūjā* and *bhakti*. For instance, Jinasena II (who is different from Jinasena I, the author of the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*), the pupil of Vīrasena, the author of the *Dhavalā-Ṭīkā* on the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, began composing the *Ādipurāṇa* during the reign of King Amoghavarṣa, but died without completing it in 848 A.D. In his *Ādipurāṇa* (38.24) he has laid down six-fold sets of practices for a layman: worship (*ijyā*), an acceptable profession (*vārttā*), charity (*dāna*), study of scriptures (*svādhyāya*), restraint (*saṃyama*), and austerities (*tapa*)[14]. *Ijyā* is of four types: (i) *nitya-pūjā* (daily worship); (ii) *caturmukha-pūjā*, also known as *sarvatobhadra-pūjā*; it is performed by big-crowned emperors, it is called *mahā-pūjā* (great worship); (iii) *kalpadruma-pūjā* is so called as like a desire-yielding tree, it fulfils the desire of the devotees; (iv) *aṣṭahnika-pūjā* lasts for 8 days (*ibid*. 26). Somadeva, a contemporary of Jinasena II, is another important Digambara Jain author who in his *Upāsakādhyayana*[15] (which forms the last three chapters of the *Yaśastilaka-campū*) deals with the conduct

of a Jain layman (*śrāvakācāra*). This work has been largely influenced by the Brahamnic rituals. Somadeva in the 34th Chapter of his work has prescribed *ācamana* (sipping water from the palm of the hand), *homa* (making an ublation to gods casting clarified butter into the fire) and *bhūta-bali* (offering of food etc. to all created beings), actually not commanded by Jains. The 35th chapter directs the details of *deva-pūjā*. The next chapter is called the *abhiṣeka-pūjana-vidhi*. It deals with *snapana, arcana, stava, japa, dhyāna* and reverence to *śruta-devatā*. Describing *pūjā* it is laid down that the 8 guardians of the quarters such as Indra, Agni etc. and the 8 evil planets such as Sūrya, Śukra etc. should be propitiated. Here the details of 6 types of *pūjā* such as *prastāvanā, purākarma, sthāpanā, sannidhāpana, pūjā* and *pūjā's* acquisition have been described. It should be noted that these types of *pūjā* prescribed by Somadeva are not compatible with other Jain authors. For example, the *Dharma-saṃgraha-śrāvakācāra* (about 1462 A.D) and the *Lāṭī-saṃhitā* (1584 A.D) have referred to the different types of *Pūjā* by which the deities are invoked (*āhvānana*), installed (*sthāpanā*) requested to stay near (*sannidhi-karaṇa*), worshipped (*pūjana*) and discharged at the end of the ceremony (*visarjana*)[16]. Needless to say that since God Jina has nothing to do with such formalities, this cannot be applicable to Him. The mention of the consecration ceremony (*abhiṣeka*) of God Jina by five divine food such as milk, sugarcane juice, clarified butter, curds and water (*pañcāmṛta-abhiṣeka*)[17] clearly indicates the influence of Vedic rituals on the contemporary Jain authors.

Really speaking, the period from the 9th century to the 12th century was very important from the point of view of various changes that were taking place in the course of conduct of a laymen. It was a time when rituals were getting into prominence in place of the basic principles of religion. People were looking for various forms and manners of performing divine services, as a result the code of ceremony and performance of rites were gaining popularity. Consequently numerous compendiums prescribing a code of conduct for laymen (*śrāvakācāra*) were composed in Sanskrit by Amṛtacandra (*Puruṣārtha-siddhyupāya*), Jayasena (*Dharma-ratnākara*), Amitagati (*Upāsakācāra*), Padmanandi (*Pañca-viṃśatikā*), Vīranandi (*Ācārasāra*), Āśādhara (*Sāgāra-dharmāmṛta*), Rācamalla (*Lāṭī-saṃhitā*) and many others.

As the Jain authors were new to South India, they had to encounter numerous difficulties while propagating their religion there. As a result, to make their religion popular and acceptable to the people, they had to adjust certain codes of conduct prevalent in the land. While adjusting to new circumstances, they were particular that their conduct remained inviolable and their faith in their cult unshakable. Somadeva has said, "Where there is no loss to the right faith (*samyaktva*) and where there is no violation of vows, the local standard (*laukika vidhi*) prevails[18]."

In the 10th century A.D. the Yakṣas and the Yakṣis came into

prominence due to the *bhakti*-cult of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in the South. According to tradition, God Jina needs no protection from anybody as no harm could be done to him at any stage, yet *śāsana-devatās* or guardian-deities were installed to protect the Tīrthaṅkaras. Each Tīrthaṅkara is said to have been attended by a Yakṣa and a Yakṣiṇī[19]. These deities became so popular that they were supposed to fulfil earthly desires of their devotees. In course of time, as a result of introduction of Yakṣī-cult in Jainism, certain gods and goddesses gained prominence in the popular imagination. For example, the goddess Cakreśvarī (belonging to Ṛṣabha), the Padmāvatī (belonging to Pārśvanātha), the Jvālāmālinī (belonging to Candraprabha), the Ambikā (belonging to Neminātha), the Siddhāyikā (belonging to Mahāvira) and the Brahmadeva (belonging to Śītala) were honoured and respected. Out of them, the Padmāvatī is considered most popular in Karnāṭaka; her residence is supposed to be on a Lokki tree hence she is known as Lokkiyabbe. She is known as Tāntrik deity invested with occult powers[20]. The Candraprabha Basati at Śravaṇabeḷgoḷ has an iconographic representation of this deity. Ambikā also known as Kūṣmāṇḍī or Kūṣmāṇḍinī, is called as 'obstacle-remover'. The goddess Siddhāyikā is represented as a warrior demi-god seated on a lion. Brahmadeva is represented at the top of the five-pillered "Yakṣa-residence", adjoining a Digambara Jain temple at Guruvayankere, South Canara[21]. It appears that in course of time, the worship of the Yakṣa and the Yakṣiṇī gained such a popularity that they were considered equal to a Tīrthaṅkara. Somadeva has declared "The one who considers Jina, the knower of all the three worlds, and the *vyantara* semi-gods equal in showing reverence, heads downwards. These semi-gods have been conceived just for the defence of Jain religion, therefore the persons with right vision, show reverence towards them just by offering a part of oblation (*yajña*)[22]."

Composition of Stotras

There was a belief in efficacy and all-powerfulness of all-competent God, therefore in order to achieve the desired object the devotees composed hymns in His eulogy. Accordingly, various *Stutis* and *Stotras* were composed in honour of the Tīrthaṅkaras by Jains. The *Uvasagga-hara-thotta* (*Upasarga-hara-stotra*; the Misfortune-removing Hymn) by Bhadrabāhu II; the *Ajiya-santi-thava* by Nandiseṇa; the *Ṛṣabha-pañcāśikā* by Dhanapāla; the *Isi-maṇḍala-thotta* by Dharmaghoṣasūri and many more can be added to the list. Jinasena II, the author of the *Ādipurāṇa*, on the pattern of the *Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma-stotra*, composed the *Jina-sahasra-nāma-stotra*, containing 1000 names of God Jina, calling him by the designations of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Buddha, Bṛhaspati, Indra and so on. It is to be particularly noted that the author has called Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, as the Creator of the Universe (*jagatāṃ sraṣṭā*), Vāmadeva (the designation of Lord Śiva), of tawny colour (*piśaṅga*), possessing 8 forms (*aṣṭa-mūrti*) i.e. five elements, mind, egotism and matter, and the last of ten incarnations

(*daśāvatāra-carama*). Jinasena has accepted the importance of *saṃskāras* (scared ceremony which purifies from the taint of sin contracted in the womb and leading to regeneration) beginning from the conception till death. He believes in the conformity of sacrificial rites (*yajña*) from the practical point of view (*vyavahāra-naya*) and refers to the thread ceremony (*yajñopavīta*) to be adopted by Jains[23].

Among more popular *stotras*, mention may be made of Siddhasena's *Dvātriṃśikā-stotra*; Samantabhadra's *Devāgama-stotra* (also known as *Āpta-mīmāṃsā*), *Bṛhat-svayambhū-stotra* and *Jinaśataka*; Hemacandra's *Vītarāga-stotra*. Among still more popular Hymns Mānatuṅga's *Bhaktāmara-stotra* (popular among both Digambaras and Śvetambaras), Siddhasena Divākara's *Kalyāṇa-mandira-stotra*, Dhanañjaya's *Viṣāpahāra-stotra* (Poison-removing) and Vādirāja's *Ekībhāva-stotra* can be noted[24]. It is stated that Mānatuṅga was schakled in 48 iron fetters and locked up in a house. Thereupon he went on composing his *stotra*, comprising 48 verses and was automatically relieved from the fetters[25].

Representing his devotional sentiment to God Jina, Muni Vādirāja has declared, "O venerable one! notwithstanding deep intellectual attainments and untainted moral accomplishments, the doors of the edifice of liberation locked up by delusion, are incapable of being thrown open by the aspirant without applying the key of profound devotion[26]."

The question remains as to why the sentiment of *bhakti* was introduced in Jainism when God Jina, devoid of *rāga* and *dveṣa*, kindness and malice, was unable to show any favour to his devotee? The probable answer is, if Jainism had to be made popular, and if people have to be proselytised, it could scarcely have avoided contact with other systems of religion, and particularly with those who were converted and were to exercise their influence in shaping the religion. It is in this manner alone that perhaps a religion or a set of culture remains dynamic.

NOTES

1. भक्ति द्राविड उपजी, लाये रामानन्द।
   परगट किया कबीर ने सप्तद्वीप नवखंड।।

2. आरोगबोहिलाभं दिंतु समाहिं च मे जिणवरिंद।
   किं ण हु णिदाणमेयं णवरि विभासेत्थ कायव्वा।।
   भासा असच्चमोसा णवरि हु भत्तीय भासिदा एसा।
   ण हु खीणरागदोसा दिंति समाहिं च बोहिं च।।

3. देवागम-नभोयान-चामरादि-विभूतयः।
   मायाविष्वपि दृश्यन्ते नातस्त्वमसि नो महान्।। 1

4. दोषावरणयोहीनिर्निश्शेषास्त्यतिशायनात्।
   क्वचिद्यथा स्वहेतुभ्यो बहिरन्तर्मलक्षयः।। 4

5. स त्वमेवासि निर्दोषो युक्तिशास्त्राविरोधिवाक्।
   अविरोधो यदिष्टं ते प्रसिद्धेन न बाध्यते।। 6

6. S.K. Chatterji, 'Race movements and prehistoric culture', *The Vedic Age*, London, 1951, Ch. VIII, p.160.
7. For almost an identical description of celebration of *Nirvāṇa* of Ṛṣabha Tīrthaṅkara, See the *Jambu* (2.30-33); The *VH* (185, 1-19) and the *Āva-Cū* (p.181); author's introduction to *Dhamma-kahāṇuogo*, pp. 9-11. *Agama Anuyoga Trust*, Ahmedabad, V.S. 2039.
8. मालं वा गंधं वा वन्नकं वा आरोपेस्सति,
   Dīghanikāya, Mahāparinibbāna suttanta, V, 26, after Sukumar Dutt, *The Buddha and Five after Centuries* 1978, Appendix to XVII, P.239.
9. See *Dhammapada* (195-196), after Sukumar Dutt, *ibid.*, pp. 202-203, 239.
10. स्वल्पा हि अत्र भक्तिर्भवति मतिमतां निर्वाणफलदा।
    Divyāvadāna, p.360, Sukumar Dutt, *ibid.*, p.234.
11. See *Āva-Sū*; others are Sāmāyika, Pratikramaṇa, Kāyotsarga and Pratyākhyāna.
12. Ed. Pandit Kailash Chandra Shastri, *gāthā* 118 and commentary, p.153f.
13. Prabhācandra has written a commentary on this work. According to him, Kundakunda and Pūjyapāda Devanandi are the authors of the Prakrit *Dasabhatti* and the Sanskrit *Daśabhakti* respectively.
14. Somadeva's list is similar except that *gurūpāsti* is substituted in place of *vārttā*:
    देवसेवा गुरूपास्तिः स्वाध्यायः संयमस्तपः।
    दानं चेति गृहस्थानां षट् कर्माणि दिने दिने।। 46.91f
15. Ed. Pandit Kailash Chandra Shastri, Jñānapīṭha Murtidevi Jain Granthamālā, Delhi, 1964.
16. For details see Pandit Kailash Chandra Shastri, introduction to *Upāsakādhyayana* of Somadevasūri, p.52.
17. Also mentioned by Jinasena I, *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (22.21). Among Vaiṣṇavas they are milk, sour milk, butter, honey and sugar.
18. सर्व एव हि जैनानां प्रमाणं लौकिको विधिः।
    यत्र सम्यक्त्वहानिर्न यत्र न व्रतदूषणम्।। 34.480
19. For their list according to Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, see Balchandra Jain, *Jain Pratimā Vijñāna*, pp. 66-104. This list was finalised in the 12th century A.D. For their figures see plates 1 to 32. They are also inscribed in the sculpture of Jain Temple at Devagarh.
20. See Nathuram Premi, *JSI*, 1956, p. 316 note.
21. See Padmanabh S. Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*, Barkley, 1979, plate 22, p.214.
22. देवं जगत्रयीं नेत्रं व्यन्तराद्याश्च देवताः।
    समं पूजा विधानेषु पश्यन् दूरं व्रजेदघः।।

ताः शासनाधिरक्षार्थं कल्पिताः परमागमे।
अतो यज्ञांशदानेन माननीयाः सुदृष्टिभिः।। 39.697-98

23. See *Ādipurāṇa*, 14.26, 27, 37, 44, 47, 51; also chapter 40.
24. For details see author's *History and development of Prakrit Literature* (to be soon published), Chapter III, under 'Religious Lyrics'; also C.B. Tripathi, *CJMS*, Leiden, 1975, Sections 5.3 and 5.4, pp. 322-357.
25. Cf. Poet Mayūra's *Surya-Śataka*, reciting which he was relieved from leprosy. Poet Bāṇa's limbs were restored to him by reciting his *Caṇḍī-śataka*; Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, II, 559.
26. *Ekībhāva-Stotra* (13); translation by K.C. *Sogani, Ethical doctrine in Jainism*, Solapur, 1967, p. 191.

23

SATĪ IN ANCIENT INDIA*

(With Reference to Jain literature)

"There is no joy on the birth of a girl in our society and therefore there is no sorrow on her death," remarked Mr. Justice Chandrasekhara Dharmadhikari while inaugurating the National Convention of the Indian Federation of Women Lawyers, demanding the vigourous implementation of the prevention of Satī Act.

The Ṛgvedic society predominantly followed patriarchal system in which the descent and the succession are traced through the male line. In this social organisation the most important thing is that a man becomes the father of a son which is more significant even than his wealth, honour, fame or sainthood. The father is the authority, the rule and the domination. He sees in his son the continuation of himself into the future which he must relinquish. A son preserves from the hell called *put*, therefore he is known as *putra*[1]. He gets married and brings home a girl. He begets offspring from her and thus the continuity of his clan is preserved. In this manner he gets rid of the obligation which he owes to the manes, what is known as *pitṛ-ṛṇa*. The son is believed to be more intelligent, more resourceful and more powerful as the money power is concerned. It is stated, "Women are created for procreating offspring, they are the soil and men the seed, the seed should be provided to the soil, without seed there is no use of the soil[2]." The son should be legitimate regardless of the owner of the womb. The womb should be pure, it should not contain the seed of any other male. To conspire with another man's wife is considered as good as cheating him and depriving him of his exclusive sexual right over his wife, and thereby endangering the integrity of his family line. In a patriarchal society a son gained so such importance that the all-protector deities such as the Fire, the Indra, the Varuṇa and others were invoked to provide a son to a women, who was often blessed by elderly people as *putravatī bhava* or *śata-putravatī bhava* (may you be blessed by a son or hundred sons) An injunction is laid down in the scriptures: "Failure to produce a son leads to the great disaster" (*aputrasya gatirṇāsti*).

In the earlier matriarchal society, a woman ruled the family, clan or tribe. Women were the first potters, basket-weavers and agriculturists, cultivating with hoe. They practised sorcery and were believed to possess supernatural power through the assistance of evil spirits and therefore had a command over the society. In the earlier Vedic community, we meet numerous women sages such as Ghoṣā, Lopāmudrā, Apālā, Sūryā, Indrāṇī, Viśvavārā and others, who not only composed hymns in praise of the Agni and the Indra but also performed the important function of a priest (*ṛtvik*). Here we come across individuals whose mothers are known, whereas there is no trace of their father. When Satyakāma asked his mother about his father's name she expressed her ignorance saying that it was not possible for her to tell him exactly who his father was; henceforth he should call himself Satyakāma Jābāla (her mother's name was Jābāla). Kuntī's case is well-known. She was one of the wives of Pāṇḍu. As he was living apart from his wife; with her husband's approval, she made use of her charm and gave birth to three sons, Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma and Arjuna by Dharma, Vāyu and Indra respectively. We can take the worship of mother-goddess Śakti, which is prevalent in the form of Durgā, Bhavānī, Kālī, Cāmuṇḍī and so on; these are said to be pre-Aryan goddesses.

The status of a women was considered enviable in the primitive society, but as patriarchy came into vogue, individual property developed and the class division came into being. A Chinese poet Fu Hsuan (3rd century B.C.) has remarked, "How sad it is to be a woman! Nothing on earth is held so cheap." In Chinese mythology there are two principles, the Yang and the Yin. The former represents the male elements, depicting heaven, sun, height, light, strength and activity, whereas the latter represents the female elements, depicting earth, moon, depth, darkness, weakness and passivity – all weaker counterparts of the male elements. As we all know, Manu, the law-giver has declared: "A woman is guarded by father in her childhood, by husband in her youth and in old age by her son; never she be allowed to remain independent."

Since a woman lost her independent status, she lost her productive capacity, she was asked to attend the household affairs, she became an object of pleasure, a plaything, a chattel and losing her identity remained only *bhogyā* – to be enjoyed, to be used. She became a personal property of man, who could be bought and sold and could be used as a pawn or security to pay debts.

THE CULT OF SATI

The word *sati* means a good and virtuous faithful wife. In Hindu mythology Pārvatī, the spouse of Śiva, was known as *sati*. It is stated that when her father, the sage Dakṣa, quarrelled with her divine lord, she flung herself into the flames of his sacrificial fire. But it was just out of wrath over the insult

to her lord and not that she wanted to commit *sati*, lying on her husband's pyre. A woman was called *sati* or virtuous as she was faithful to her husband, helping him in procreation, giving birth to a son so that his clan continued from generation to generation and he was free from the debt of his ancestors.

It will be an interesting socio-economic study as to how this original meaning was suppressed and a *sati* was called the one who burnt herself with her husband's corpse on his pyre.

There was a common belief that the feudal lords who enjoyed a most luxurious and pompous life, commanding all powerful authority over their subjects, desired the same princely paraphernalia for their enjoyment in the next life. In China the graves of the Shang Dynaty, belonging to the 14th century B.C. could not be dug out as there was a belief that the ancestors should not be disturbed while resting in peace in their graves. They could be dug out only after the year 1935 and it was found that they contained not only most precious and costly articles such as the valuable furniture mounted with the choicest brocades of gold and silver threads, dining room with valuable porcelain and gold and silver vessels and other cherished professions, but also women, concubines, slaves, attendants and horses etc. buried with the corpse. In India, in the Middle ages, we find, specially in the Deccan that in order to ensure the success of the king, many religious people lept from pillars and broke their necks, some of them cut their own throats and drowned themselves in a sacred river. This sort of performance may not come strictly under the category of committing *sati*, but certainly it was a form of human sacrifice or religious suicide, comparable to the *sati*-cult.

Coming to the Vedic period, one of the earliest hymns of the *Rgveda* (X.18.8) has recorded : "Rise, come unto the world of life, O woman (spoken by husband's brother etc to the wife of the dead man, and he is to make her leave her husband's body), come, he is lifeless by whose side thou liest[3]." This indicates that the custom of *sati* may have been prevalent in some form or the other in those early days, though, nothing is stated here regarding the burning of a woman with her husband's corpse.

In general, the condition of a widow was not very happy. In the Rgvedic period we find a sanction that childless widow could marry with her brother-in-law (*devara* = *dvi-vara* or second husband) until a son is born to her. This ancient custom is known as *niyoga* which means the appointing a brother or any near kinsman to raise up issue to a diseased husband by marrying his widow. However, in course of time, this practice was discontinued and Manu had to declare: "Nowhere is a second husband permitted to respectable women (V.162)[4]."

The life of an Indian widow was most miserable. She lived an extremely hard life, sleeping on the ground, eating simple food without spices and salt,

wearing simple clothes without ornaments, using no perfumes. She was expected even to shave her head, living like an ascetic. Most of her time was spent in offering prayers and performing religious rites on behalf of her dead husband with whom she hoped to unite in the next world. A widow was not welcomed in the society, her presence was considered inauspicious at the family functions. The members of the family often picked up quarrel with her, making her responsible for the death of her husband. She went on accusing her own self for the deeds performed in the previous life which were responsible for her husband's premature death. Under the circumstances, it does not seem unnatural that she dared to end her life by committing *sati* on the pyre of her husband.

We are told that if a woman voluntarily burns herself with her diseased husband, she will reside in heaven for many thousands of years as there are hairs on human body. We come across Kunti and Mādri, the two wives of King Pāṇḍu. When the king died, his wives disputed hotly with each other as which of the two have a previlege to commit *sati*. It was learnt that Mādri was loved most, therefore she carried the point and got a chance to perform *sati* at her husband's pyre[5], though some of the sages present there tried to dissuade her from what they thought an unrighteous act. The Purāṇas contain references to *sati* sacrifice (*Agnipurāṇa* 222.19.23)

There is scarcity of references to self-immolation or committing *sati* in Jain and Buddhist scriptures. In the *Mahā-Ni* we are told about a certain princess, who in order to save her family from disrepute, wanted to commit *sati* but as this custom was not prevalent in her father's family she refrained from self-immolation. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* also does not mention this practice. The Tāntrika writers have condemned it branding it a barbaric practice. The *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* (X.79-80) has declared: "If a woman in her blindness climbs her dead lord's pyre, she goes to hell." Bāṇa, the well-known writer of the *Kādambari* (7th century A.D.) has not favoured this custom.

The earliest datable reference to the practice of self-immolation of *sati* is noticed in the Greek accounts of Alexander's invasion. The places where women performed *sati* are memoralised by stone-shrines which can be noticed throughout India. These memorials were supposed to inspire other women to make similar sacrifice. There are about 140 major *sati* temples in India; out of these, 40 are situated in Rajasthan and 5 in Delhi. The first monument of a *sati* is found at Eran, near Sagar in the Madhya Pradesh. This place is important from the point of view of archaeology, having a huge Varāha temple of the Gupta period. A. Cunningham discovered here a number of *sati* memorials (See *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol.10.p.89-90). Here we have an inscription engraved on a pillar in 510 A.D.[6]

The 'handmarks' of women who committed *satī* were imprinted on walls with turmeric paste. These women were honoured and their virtues and fortitude were inscribed on these stones, specially constructed in their honour. We have a famous Mahāsatī Tower, constructed at Chittorgarh in Rajasthan. Hindu widows are also depicted seeking permission to become a *satī* from Mughal princes. Such monumental *satī* stones are found in Karnāṭaka, Tamil Nadu, Hampi, the capital of the Vijayanagar empire and other places. A number of foreign travellers have recorded the *satī* custom in India. Abu Zaid, an Arab traveller, who visited India in 916 A.D. has mentioned this practice in South India. Similar is the case with Marco Polo, who visited the Pāṇḍya kingdom in 1923, Friar Odoric (1321-22), Friar Jordanus (1323-30) and others. Ibn Batuta, an Arab traveller, actually fainted viewing the horrible scene of burning of a widow near Dhār (Ujjain) in 1342. Abbe Dubois[7] and others have recorded the systematic coercion of women who were obliged to commit *satī* when their half-burnt body was thrust back on the pyre, uttering their loud cries for mercy. The pyre was laid in a pit to avoid this horrible scene. If it was prepared on the surface the widow was tied to the logs or chained. In case she tried to escape she was hit by a bamboo pole on her head ans was dragged to the fire. Some women were drugged into unconsciousness with opium or some such intoxicating object. The late professor A.S. Altekar, the Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archeology of the Banaras Hindu University, whose sister performed *satī* in 1946 has remarked, "Even widows intensely anxious to follow their husbands were likely to recoil and jump out under the agony of flames." Nicolo dei Conti, another traveller of the 15th century, has stated that as many as 3000 of the wives and concubines of the kings of Vijayanagar were pledged to be burnt on the pyre of their lord.

There is a record that from time to time numerous Hindu widows committed *satī*, It is said that from 1815 to 1828 8000 widows died after committing satī[8]; between 1817-1818 there were 839 *satīs* in Bengal, out of which 534 were only from Calcutta division. The major episodes of committing *satī* have been recorded in 1979, 1980, 1982 and 1983. Coming to the recent period, it is officially reported that in 1985 there were 837 cases of 'bride burnings' which is still more horrible than committing *satī*. Among the Peshavas, in general, this custom was not in vogue but we read most pathetic heart-rending description of Ramābāi's *mahāyātrā*, following the *pālakī* procession (funeral procession) of her husband Madhavrao Peshava[9].

The most deplorable story of our times recorded is that of the 20 year old Rajput girl, Roop Kunvar who committed *satī* in Deorala on January 17, 1987, on her wedding day with her husband Mann Singh. Some orthodox people arguing in favour of this heinous custom, say that a *satī* is a rare woman who receives the power of goddess *satī* and therefore she deserves the highest respect. In their view it does not manifest the worst form of cruelty and injustice towards women, but on the other hand, such women are blessed

with the possibility of divine transformation. But we must not forget that we are living in a civilised intellectual world, the age of advancement of science and technology, therefore to support the legend of burning of women in the remote past, upheld by feudalist lords, will be nothing but inhuman, barbaric and turning back the cycle of civilisation and freedom which we have achieved after a hard struggle of centuries.

We must be grateful to Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), the greatest Brāhmaṇa reformer of modern days, who launched a campaign against *sati* burning. Needless to point out that his movement was opposed by orthodox pandits, the so-called protagonists and the 'protectors' of Hindu religion. In this connection the name of Raja Kant Deb, known as Christo Kanto Das or Kantu Babu, who was appointed by Warren Hastings in 1775 as the Head of the British Courts, held to settle the disputes with regard to the religious sanctions of the Hindus, has to be mentioned. It is to be noted that the anti-*sati* feeling was so strong that Roy was threatened of the consequences of his campaign and had to be provided with a body-guard. At this time Lord William Bentinck was appointed as Governor-General of India and it was he who showed courage to pass a legislation on December 4, 1829 against widow burning inspite of the vehement opposition of the Hindus. The declaration ran as follows: "The practice of *sati* burning or burying alive, widows of Hindus, whether the sacrifice be voluntary in part or not, is illegal, and punishable by the crime courts." There is no doubt that this courageous decree had a solitary effect in Bengal where the custom of *sati* was practised on a large scale as well as in other parts of India. However, orthodox Brāhmaṇa pandits, opposing the anti-Hindu legislation, passed by the Governor-General of India, made an appeal in the Privy Council in London; at this time Ram Mohan Roy proceeded to London and tried to convince the authorities in favour of the anti-*sati* legislation.

After the Deorala tragic incident of the burning of Roop Kunwar on September 4, 1987 there was a hue and cry in the country. Consequently, an anti-*sati* law was passed on October 1, 1987, still the pro-*sati* sentiment was so strong amongst some dogmatists that a *Dharma Rakṣhā Samiiti* (Religion Protecting Society) was formed to spearhead the pro-*sati* movement. Even the man of status of Jagadguru Śaṅkarācārya disfavoured the *sati* Act, calling it anti-Hindu and anti-religion. And the latest is that a medical practitioner, also the President of an Oriental Institute of Thane (Bombay), has come out in favour of *sati* practice. He has also criticised the telecasting of a film "From The Dying Embers" on Doordarshan recently. He has written to the Minister of State for Home: 'I possess deep reverence and respect for all those women of the past who have committed *sati* voluntarily."

Needless to say that this is putting the clock back and entering the arena of savagery and barbarism. We have to be extremely cautious of such anti-national people who are bent upon to put obstacles in our progress which

we are pursuing after our hard-earned freedom from a foreign domination. We have got to mobilise all our resource and wage a war on war footing against widow burning, child marriage, dowery, illiteracy and female infanticide. We must not forget that the burning of Roop Kunwar involves pecuniary considerations of inheritance of the diseased husband's share in property.

NOTES

1. पुन्नाम्नो नरकाद्यस्मात्त्रायते पितरं सुतः।
   तस्मात्पुत्र इति प्रोक्तः स्वयमेव स्वयंभुवा॥   *Manu*, IX.138.

2. अपत्यार्थं स्त्रियः सृष्टाः स्त्री क्षेत्रं बीजिनो नराः।
   क्षेत्रं बीजवते देयं नाबीजी क्षेत्रमर्हति॥   *Narada*, XII.19.

3. *Hymns of the Rgveda*, 2nd edition, Book tenth, Banaras, 1986 trans. by Ralph T.H. Griffith.

4. नारी तु पत्यभावे वै देवरं वृणुते पतिम्।

   MBH, XIII.12.19. As stated earlier, Kunti raised three sons by *niyoga*. Pāṇḍu wanted more but she protested saying that the custom permitted only three. A number of heroes of the *MBH* and the *Purāṇas* were born out of this practice. However, it is to be noted that later on, we are told in Bhāsa's *Dūtavākya* that Duryodhana refused to recognise Pāṇḍavas as heirs because they were born out of *niyoga*.

5. This custom was prevalent amongst the Thracians, the Getes and the Greeks. The Teutonic mythology also preserves some traces of this practice, Clarisse Bader, *women in ancient India* (Moral and Literary studies), part1, chapter3, London, 1925.

6. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. 3, p.92, London, 1888-1929, after A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that Was India*, New York, 1954, P.188f.

7. He was a French missionary, who was paid some thousand rupees by Lord William Bentinck for writing his book entitled *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*. In those days some of the English scholars tried to emphasise that the Hindu caste system has been an important factor to keep up the unity and integrity of the Hindus.

8. Amit Sen, *notes on the Bengal reminiscence*, p.7

9. Read Ranjit Desai's Marathi novel *Svāmi*, Kolhapur, 1962; it is an award winning novel and has undergone 10 editions (Till 1980).

24

MEMORABLE PILGRIMAGE BY
HIEUN TSANG[1] – A CHINESE TRAVELLER

"When I look back on what I have gone through, my heart is involuntarily moved and the perspiration flows forth. That I encountered danger and trod the most perilous places without thinking of or sparing myself was because I had a definite aim, and thought of nothing but to do my best in simplicity and straightforwardness. It was therefore that I exposed my life where death seemed inevitable so that if I might accomplish but a thousandth part of what I hoped" – Fa Hsien, a Chinese pilgrim, who left for India in 399 A.D.

Hieun Tsang whose common name was Chin-Shi, known as *Mokṣācārya* by his Indian name, was a native of Honan province of China, or Mahācīna as it was called in India. He became a *śrāmaṇera* or a novice at the age of 13 and was fully ordained as a *bhikṣu* at the young age of 20. He was so much enthusiastic about getting instructions in the religion of Buddha that he went in search of a genuine instructor. Ultimately he made up his mind to undertake a most adventurous, enterprising perilous journey to India, the land of Buddha, to get the first-hand knowledge of his teachings.

When the Tāng dynasty (618-907 A.D.) came into power in China, Buddhism entered the most glorious period of its history. It was during this period that in the famous Tung Huang Caves (The Caves of a Thousand Buddhas) various scenes from the life of Buddha were depicted. This place turned into the biggest establishment for the teachings of Buddha and the Buddhist monks from Persia, Bactria, India and other places, assembled here and had religious discussions before proceeding to China. We are told that before proceeding to the land of Buddha, Hieun Tsang paid a visit to the royal court when the Tāng Emperor mixed a handful of dust in a drink and offered this to him, saying," You would do well to drink this cup, for are we not told that a handful of one's country's soil is worth more than thousand pounds of foreign gold."

What a terrific journey it must have been ! What tremendous zeal this young traveller must have possessed to travel to the land of In-tu or Indu (India), covering a long distance of 15,000 miles, passing through the Gobi Desert, Turfan and Kucha, Tashkand and Samarkand, Balkh, Khotan and Yarkand and the ranges of the difficult Himalaya mountain. During the

course of his journey which lasted for 28 months, more than two years, he must have encountered endless hardships, disasters and unforeseen calamities. The dense forests were occupied with ferocious wild beasts where bands of robbers moved freely to plunder the passers-by. At times the traveller had to carry on with his journey tired and fatigued without food and water. We are told that once as our good-hearted pilgrim was going along, he was caught hold by some devotees of a sylvan deity, thinking that he would be the most suitable victim to be offered to her. According to the rules, the person to be sacrificed at the alter of the deity, must be perfect and accomplished physically. But after examining the pilgrim's body it was noticed that one of his hand's fingers was damaged. Consequently, he was declared unfit for sacrificial purposes and was let off.

We have already referred to Fa Hsien, another enthusiastic Chinese traveller, who undertook his journey to India with the avowed intention of collecting Buddhist works and removing the imperfection from which his country suffered. Like Hiuen Tsang, he too has given a graphic description of his pilgrimage to India. While on a sea-voygae, he has given a vigorous description of a hurricane which raged for 13 days and nights continuously. After sailing for 90 days and more they arrived at Java (perhaps Sumatra). Often Fa Hsien entreated Avalokiteśvara (The Lord who looks down, a Bodhisattva) and all the priesthood of China to exert their divine power and their favour to protect them till daylight. When it was dawn, all the Brāhmaṇas, after consulting one another, said, "It is because of this *śramaṇa* on board that we have no luck, and have incurred this great mischief; come let us land this *bhikkhu* on any island we meet, and let us not all perish for the sake of one man[2]. While undertaking a sea-voyage, sometimes, no water was left out for cooking purposes, in that case the passengers had to use salt water and were provided with only about 2 pints of fresh water for drinking. Then after sailing for 12 days they arrived at a land where they could obtain good fresh water and vegetables. They were unable to detect the right direction of their movement and did not know where they were. There was none to inquire what land it was. It was only due to the movement of the sun that they were able to know the direction they were proceeding along. Thus they passed through nearly 30 different countries after crossing the sandy desert[3].

Nālandā, Centre of Religious Activities

Nālandā (Na-lan-tu in Chinese), situated in the north-east of Rājagṛha (modern Rajgir), figures an important location in ancient Jain and Buddhist literature. It was a prosperous suburb (*bāhirikā*) of Rājagṛha where about the 6th century B.C. Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta (Mahavira), after joining the ascetic order, arrived from Rājagṛha and passed his second *cāturmāsa* (rainy season), in a weaver's house. It is interesting to note that Makkhali Gosāla was already here passing his *cāturmāsa*, and according to Jain tradition, he accepted the discipleship of Mahavira. Elsewhere in the *Pajjosaṇākappa* or the *Kalpasūtra*

(V.123) it is stated that Mahavira during the 30 years of his career as a Teacher, passed the following *cāturmāsas* at the following places : 4 in Vesālī and Vāṇiyagāma, 14 in Rāyagiha and Nālandā, 6 in Mithilā, 2 in Bhaddiya, 1 in Ālabhiyā, 1 in Paṇiyabhūmi, 1 in Sāvatthi and 1 in Pāvā. Here we notice that Mahavira sojourned in Nālanadā (a suburb of Rājagṛha) for the maximum period which signifies the importance of this place.

The *Suyagaḍa* (II.7), one of the ancient *āgamas* of the Śvetāmbaras, contains a chapter known as Nālandaijjaṃ (Nālandakīyaṃ), i.e. regarding Nālandā. This chapter was composed by Gautama *gaṇadhara*, the first disciple of Mahavira, in Nālandā. It is stated: There was a town named Rāyagiha; it was rich, happy, thriving etc. Outside the town, in its north-east lay the suburb of Nālandā which contained many hundreds of buildings etc. In that suburb of Nālandā there lived a householder called Lepa; he was prosperous, famous, rich in high and large houses, beds, seats, vehicles and chariots; abounding in riches, gold and silver; possessed of useful and necessary things; he distributed plenty of food and drink to the needy; he owned a number of male and female slaves, cows, buffaloes and sheep and he never felt inferior to anybody. This householder was a follower of the *śramaṇas* and he comprehended the doctrine of living beings and non-living beings. He possessed a water-shed (*udaga-sālā*), named Sesadaviyā, containing numerous pillars; it was beautiful, situated north-east of the suburb. In the north-east of the water-shed was located a park called Hatthijāma (Hastiyāma). Here in this park sojourned Udayapeḍhālaputta of meyajja *gotta* (medārya *gotra*), a Nigaṇṭha follower of Pārśva (Pāsāvaccijja). There was a religious discussion between Gautama *gaṇadhara* and Udayapeḍhālaputta. Gautama took him to Mahavira where he abandoned the doctrine of *cāujjāma-dhamma* (the fourfold *vratas* preached by Pārśva) and accepted the *pañca-mahāvvaya* (the fivefold *vratas*) preached by Mahavira.

The earliest mention of Nālandā in Buddhist literature we have in the Bahmajālasutta (1) and the Mahāparinibbānasutta (16) of the *Dīghanikāya*. We are told that from the mango grove of Ambalaṭṭhikā which was situated between Rājagṛha and Nālandā, Buddha proceeded to Nālandā where he sojourned in the mango gorve of Pravārika, one of the favourite resorts of the Master[4]. In the Kevaṭṭasutta (11) of the *Dīghanikāya* we notice Buddha roaming about in Nālandā which has been called a city of prosperity, furnished with money and grain and thickly populated. The suburb was also known for the sojourn of *Nigganṭhas*. Elsewhere, in the *Saṃyuttanikāya* (Part IV,2f,311f) it is stated that when Nālandā was struck with famine, Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta Mahavira was sojourning there with his large assembly. Buddha also happened to be there in the mango grove of Pravārika. At that time Asibandhaputta was sent by Nātaputta to Buddha to question about the purpose of his visit to Nālandā during famine. According to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, the commentary on the *Dīghanikāya* by Buddhaghoṣa (1,p.35; III,p.873) the distance between Nālandā and Rājagṛha is stated to be

1 *yojana* (today it is about 8 miles).

Sāriputta and Moggalāna (Maudgalyāyana) were the favourite disciples of Buddha. It was in the outskirts of Nālandā that they were born. Sāriputta also is said to have attained his *parinibbāna* in the ancient limits of the old Nālandā.

We are told that the venerable Sāriputta was very fond of his mother Sāri. When he knew that his end was approaching, he went to her and breathed his last lying in her lap. Later Emperor Aśoka built a *vihāra* at this place[5].

Identification of Nālandā

It is said that Nālandā was abounding in wealth and the monks received their alms to their heart's content[6]. The term has been derived from *na alaṃ dā*, i.e. where there is no end of alms or where enough charity is offered. Hieun Tsang has mentioned Kumārarāja Śilāditya of Kannauja, who had erected *puṇyaśālās* (house of charity) throughout his region providing four kinds of alms, i.e.food, drink, medicine and clothing to the *śramaṇas* and thus his treasurers were emptied[7]. But there is another derivation of the word offered by Hiranand Sastri in his *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India — Nālandā and its Epigraphical Material* (p.4). According to him the word should be derived from *nālaṃ dā*, i.e. the giver of lotus stalks (*nāla*), which seems a better explanation. On the whole, the land of Bihar is full of *pokharas* or *puṣkaras* (ponds), containing beautiful lotus flowers. Vaiśāli's *abhiṣeka-puṣkariṇi* is well-known whose holy water was used for consecration of the Licchavis. It is probable that this locality had abundance of lotus-stalks for sale in the market.

Nālandā is identified with Bargāon, seven miles north-west of Rajgir. Later on when Nālandā was deserted and fell into the ruin about 1200 A.D. after the Muslim invasion, the village Bargāon continued to be the place of pilgrimage. Vāṭagrāma is the old name of this village as it had some prominent banyan tree or trees in olden days[8].

Nālandā, International Centre of Buddhist Culture

The cultural relationship between India and China are of a very long standing. We are told that during the Han Dynasty in 65 A.D. Buddhist missionaries from India arrived in China. The Emperor Ming Ti (58-75 A.D.), an ardent follower of Buddhism, deputed his emissaries to the west, inviting Dharmaratna and Kāśyapa Mātaṅga from India. These learned monks were given arousing reception when they entered the capital Loyang, riding on a white horse. Later a monastery, known as Śvetāśva (= white horse) *Vihāra* was erected to commemorate this incident. In course of time numerous

Buddhist scholars, in order to propagate the Master's teachings, visited China. Amongst them Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva, Paramārtha, Dharmaruci, Ratnakīrti, Bodhiruci and others can be mentioned. Dharmarakṣa visited China in 266 A.D. and translated a large number of Sanskrit Buddhist works into Chinese. Kumārajīva, another great scholar of Buddhist philosophy, reached in 385 A.D., lived there for 16 years, translating Buddhist works into Chinese and propagating the creed of the Master. At the request of the Chinese Emperor, Paramārtha was deputed to China at the behest of the king of Magadha, carrying a large number of manuscripts he had translated. Padmanābha was another Buddhist scholar of Nālandā, who proceeded to Tibet at the invitation of the Tibetan King in 747 A.D. He was a disciple of the renowned Śāntarakṣita, the author of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*; he was the founder of Lamaism in Tibet.

It was due to the efforts of these scholars that after the 5th century A.D. the cult of Buddha remained no longer a foreign religion in China. We are told that in Loyang, the capital of Wei Dynasty, there were 3000 Buddhist monks, out of whom 70 were great scholars of learning. The Emperor Wu Ti (502-549 A.D.), the first ruler of Loyang, known as Aśoka of China, was an ardent promoter of Buddhism. He publicly expounded Buddhist *Sūtras*, got acquired a Chinese edition of the *Tripiṭaka*, issued edicts against animal sacrifices and retired to the monastery three times a day. It was this Emperor who deputed a mission in 539 A.D. to collect the Mahāyāna Buddhist texts from India and secure the services of a competent scholar who could translate them. It was under these circumstances that renowned scholars such as Fa Hsien, Hieun Tsang and I-Tsing were inspired to visit India, called as the Western World. Fa Hsien's original name was Kung, who later assumed the title of Śākyaputra, i.e. the son of Śākya. He was a native of Shansi province, left his home and became a *śrāmaṇera* at the age of 3. He left for his Indian pilgrimage in 399 A.D., visited various holy places in India, and returned after 15 years to his native land. He translated various Buddhist works into Chinese and wrote the history of his travels in India[9].

Hieun Tsang had been away from China since 629 A.D. As we have seen he took more than two years to reach his destination. At that time the great Tāng Dynasty had flourished in China and Emperor Harṣavardhana was ruling in North India. Harṣa ascended the throne in 606 A.D. at the age of sixteen and during his forty-one years of reign, he succeeded in restoring the glories of the Guptas to some extent. Besides being a ruler, he was a successful playwright in Sanskrit. He was an ardent follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism and honoured Hieun Tsang by offering an honoured place in his court. Hieun Tsang travelled far and wide in India visiting Buddhist holy places. His work (*Si-Yu-Ki* or *The Record of the Western Kingdom* — meaning India) gives a valuable eyewitness account of the Indian people: their character, habits, customs, writings, languages spoken, royal family, troops, weapons, plants, trees, agriculture, food and drink, cookery, commercial transaction et al. He

visited the country of Gandhāra which had been a centre of activities of Nārāyaṇadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dharmatrātā, Pārśva and so on – all exponents of Buddhist philosophy. He had gone through Takṣaśilā, an important centre of education, Kāśmira, Jālandhara, Mathurā, Sthāneśvara, Kānyakubja, Ayodhyā, Prayāga and Viśākhā (Saketa). He visited Śrāvasti, well known for the philonthropist Anāthapiṇḍaka and Aṅgulimāla the robber-turned monk in Buddhist literature, but at that time this glorious town was deserted and ruined. Then our pilgrim paid homage to Kapilavastu, Kuśīnagara, Vaiśāli, Vṛjji, Nepāla, Pāṭaliputra and various other places. On the whole, the accounts given here are precise and hence historically valuable.

Five Years In Nālandā

Out of his 16 years sojourn in India, he spent five years in Nālandā, studying under the guidance of venerable Śilabhadra (the sage of moral conduct), the disciple of *ācārya* Dharmapāla. The pilgrim has mentioned the system of education, followed in the university of Nālandā. In order to have a thorough grounding in Sanskrit, Pāṇinī's grammar (*śabda-vidyā*) was taught. Among other subjects, arts and crafts (*śilpa-vidyā*), medicine (*cikitsā-vidyā*), logic (*hetu-vidyā*) and philosophy (*adhyātma-vidyā*) are mentioned. It was a centre of education like Takṣaśilā, Vikramaśilā, Odantapurī (Bihar Sharif) and Vajrāsana (Gaya) where the students from all over, including China, Japan, Tibet, Sri Laṅkā, Nepal and Burma used to come for admission. There were 10,000 resident students here, who besides undertaking the study of Mahāyāna Buddhism, also studied the *Vedas*, the *Atharvaveda* and other 'miscellaneous works'. To get admission in this *saṅghārāma* (convent) was very difficult and strict discipline was maintained here. Hieun Tsang has recorded:

"The priests, to the number of several thousands, are men of the highest ability and talent. Their distinction is very great at the present time, and there are many hundreds whose fame has rapidly spread through distant regions. Their conduct is pure and unblamable. They follow in sincerity the precepts of the moral law. The rules of this convent are severe, and all the priests are bound to observe them. The countries of India respect them and follow them. The day is not sufficient for asking and answering profound questions. From morning till night they engage in discussion; the old and the young mutually help one another. Those who cannot discuss questions out of the *Tripiṭaka* are little esteemed and are obliged to hide themselves for shame. Learned men from different cities on this account, who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion, come here in multitude to settle their doubts, and then the stream of their wisdom spreads far and wide. For this reason some persons usurp the name of Nālandā students and in going to and fro receive honour in consequence. If men of other quarters desire to enter and take part in the discussions, the keeper of the gate proposes some hard questions; many are unable to answer, and retire. One must have studied deeply both old and new

books before getting admission. Those students, therefore, who come here as strangers, have to show their ability by hard discussion; those who fail compared with those who succeed are seven or eight to ten. The other two or three of moderate talent, when they come to discuss in turn in the assembly, are sure to be humbled, and forfeit their renown."

Here are mentioned the celebrities "of conspicuous talent of solid learning, great ability, illustrious virtue, distinguished men, such as Dharmapāla (a native of Kāñcīpura, author of the *Śabda-vidya-saṃyukta-Śāstra*), and Candrapāla, who excited by their bequeathed teaching the thoughtless and wordly, Guṇamati and Sthiramati (pupil of Ārya Asaṅga), the streams of whose superior teaching is spread abroad even now; Prabhāmitrà (resident of Central India, Kṣatriya by caste) with his clear discourses; Jinamitra, with his exalted eloquence; the sayings and doings of Jñānacandra reflect his brilliant activity; Śighrabuddha and Śīlabhadra (the favourite teacher of Hieun Tsang) and other eminent men whose names are no more extent. These illustrious personages, known to all, excelled in their virtue all their distinguished predecessors, and passed the bounds of the ancients in their learning. Each of these composed some tens of treatises and commentaries which are widely diffused, and which for their perspicuity are passed down in the present time[10]."

Later when Bhāskaravarman, the ruler of Kāmarūpa, heard that a *śramaṇa* from China had come to the Nālandā *saṅghārāma* to study with diligence the profound law of Buddha, he sent a message inviting him to his kingdom thrice. Thereupon Hieun Tsang consulted his venerable teacher Śīlabhadra, who advised him not to fear of the long journey he had to undertake and proceed to the land regardless of life, indifferent to fame or failure and only to think of doing good to the people and the world at large[11].

Journey to Homeland

After studying Sanskrit and Buddhist philosophical texts, meeting learned people, visiting holy places and collecting Buddhist manuscripts for 16 years, our celebrated pilgrim bade good-bye to the people of the land, who respected him, honoured him and looked after him. In order to continue his study of Buddhism and to spread the message of the Master in far-off lands, he wanted to carry with him as much valuable material as possible. But he had to select only a few things such as 124 *Sūtras* of Mahāyāna Buddhism, 520 fasciculi loaded on 22 ponies, 500 grains of relics of Buddha's body, and some golden, silver and sandalwood statuettes of Buddha. Our pilgrim had to return the same way he came via Central Asia, this time loaded with a large number of manuscripts and other material. The moment he stepped into his native land a jubilant ovation was awaiting for him. A huge celebration was organised in his honour in which a grand reception was accorded to the celebrated scholar by the public unprecedented in the history of China.

After he settled down, he undertook the laborious task of translating Buddhist works into Chinese. It is to be noted that some of the original Sanskrit works which are declared lost in India, would never be known to us but for their Chinese and the Tibetan translations. The translations of Indian works have also been discovered in Central Asian languages. Hieun Tsang's scholarship and his devotion to the religion of Buddha was so great that people started calling him by the name of Śākyamuni (*Shih jā moni* in Chinese). He is not only credited with doing lot of work in the propagation of Buddhist culture in China, but also helping in building an unshakable bridge between the two great countries. He will certainly be remembered as a remarkable symbol of bringing the two ancient civilisations together. It was due to the endless and perpetual efforts of Indian Buddhist monks, who risking their life, travelled as far as China, as well as the spirited and enterprising Chinese pilgrims, who passing through the barriers of mountains, rivers, deserts and dense forests, arrived in India, the land of Buddha (*Phūsā* in Chinese). This helped in introducing various kinds of Indian customs such as creating icons of Buddha, Amitābha (*Ami to Pho* in Chinese), Avalokiteśvara (*Kuan Yin*) and others, besides a number of Sanskrit words forming a part of Chinese language with a somewhat changed pronunciation[12].

Unforgettful Reminiscences

Our celebrated pilgrim must have been spending time in narrating heart-rending incidents about his journey to the land of Buddha, to his countrymen: how he had to cross the Gobi desert facing insurmountable difficult mountains, rivers and jungles, how he was robbed by bandits, how he was going to be slaughtered at the alter of the goddess Durgā, how he met Buddhist rulers and visited monasteries in central Asia, how the Turks were ardent followers of Buddhism, how he travelled all over India visiting holy places and noting down important events, and above all how greatly he was honoured and respected by Indian friends everywhere!!

NOTES

1. Also spelt as Hsuan Tsang or Huan Chwang or Yuvan Chwang (in Chinese: Shyven Chwang).
2. *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (Translated from Chinese of Hiuen Tsang — A.D. 629, by Samuel Beal, Popular edition, 2 vols. put in one, London, pp. lxxf. Compare the boat-journey of a Jain *śramaṇa* when the passengers on board, considering him to be a heavy load, suggested to the boatman to throw him away into the water. *Āyā* II,3.2., pp. 347a ff; *LAI* revised ed., 1984, p.293f.
3. *Si-Yu-Ki*, pp. lxxiif.
4. Also see the Upālisutta (56) of *Majjhimanikāya*.
5. Hiranand Sastri, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India: Nālandā and its Epigraphical Material*, 1942, pp. 5f.
6. *Sūyagaḍa*, commentary by Śīlāṅka, II.7.68; also see *Dīghanikāya*, p.211.
7. *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, pp. 213ff.
8. Hiranand Sastri, *ibid.*, p.5.

9. See *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, trans. by J. Legge, Oxford, 1886.
10. *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 170f.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
12. Here are some of the Sanskrit words with their Chinese equivalents: *dhyāna (chān), sphaṭika (po li), vaiḍūrya (liu li), kṣana (i shyā), saṅgha (sanga) kāśyapa (chā shā), mallikā (mo li), Mañjuśrī (Wen Shu),* stūpa *(Tā),* Jain (my Chinese students used to call me Chia An), Chakresh (my daughter's name, they called her Chia Ko li) and so on.

25

THE SCOPE OF RESEARCH IN JAIN STUDIES

A man by nature has been a seeker, an inquirer, an investigator, an examiner and a scrutiniser. This can be taken as the background of research, inquiry, investigation, inquest, exploration, trial and analysis. The Vedic Aryans were mystified to see the natural phenomena around them and started their query: What are these stars shining for in the sky? How this earth and sky are joined together? How these variegated cows eating green grass supply white milk? How this vast universe came into being? From existence? from non-existence? It was a period of original research.

In European countries much more emphasis is laid on research. In Universities and Research Institutes numerous scientists and research scholars are occupied in carrying out their research work. In Germany, for instance, full six years or twelve Semesters are assigned for Fundamental Research. In carrying out a research project, first of all, we have to speculate and ponder over the problem, i.e. what problem are we going to handle. This stage of speculations has nothing to do much with the proper subject of research. Further, we have to pass through various stages in course of our research work. First, there is observation, we contemplate and take cognizance of the subject. It is called *darśana* or perception in Indian philosophy. Then comes the study of the problem, i.e. what is the problem which we are going to study and what are the main issues which we are going to discuss and the puzzling questions which need a solution. After going deep into the problem comes the stage of intellectual thinking. This is a long process of research which continues from beginning till end. This process is essential for the constant development of research to be carried out. Once we understand this process, we shall see that research is not difficult, nor complicated but very easy, simple and practical.

We go to buy vegetables in the market, we visit certain shops, inquire about the price, examine the stuff and ultimately pay the price to have it. It was a part of our research but the whole process was so quick that we could not differentiate the various stages we have passed through. We come across aeroplanes, motor-cars, bullock-carts and other moving vehicles. Here we observe a wheel – a solid rigid circular ring connected by spokes to a central part of the wheel. It is designed to turn around an axle passed through the centre. Its turning around produces force that provides energy, movement or direction. We have a spinning wheel, a water wheel and so on. It takes us to a

potter's wheel, a device composed of a revolving, treadle-operated horizontal disk upon which potter's clay is modelled for making pottery. This was a very useful substantial research in the life of a primitive man for which he had to apply his brain. Take another instance; we come across electric machines, an atom bomb, a furnace and so on. We try to think deeper and reach the root cause of such performances. We find that the fire-cult played an important role in the life of ancient Indians. As the fire was a necessity for life, they used to generate it with the primitive manner of fire-drill. It consists of two friction-sticks (*arani*) of which the one is a small board, the other a pointed stick which is turned round in the small board until a flame comes out. This fire-producing implement is still popular among the tribal people. When the fire was generated the ancient Indians used to cheer with joy while reciting hymns in praise of the Fire. This was another useful research on the part of a human being.

A researcher has to be pitilessly just to truth and not consider anything of value except truth. He develops an objective attitude in place of the subjective one, pertaining to an individual element in one's own experience. He has to accept hard and straight thinking instead of soft, emotional or sensational one. A true research must prove logically derived conclusions and not defend at all costs pious wishes and pleasing imaginings. He should try to announce what is true, never mind whether it pleases or creats irritation. Haribhadrasūri, a prominent Jain scholar, has stated: "The reasoning of a man of obstinate inclination follows his intellect, whereas the intellect of the one who wants to remain impartial follows his reasoning":

आग्रही बत निनीषति युक्तिं, तत्र, यत्र मतिरस्य निविष्टा।
पक्षपातरहितस्य तु युक्तिर्यत्र, तत्र मतिरेति निवेशं॥

Foreign scholars, particularly the Germans, have made a substantial contribution towards Jainism and Prakrit studies. About a century ago, F.M. Maxmüller (1823-1900), a professor of Comparative Religion in the Oxford University, was General Editor of the Scared Books of the East Series (SBE), comprising 40 volumes, out of which 31 contained the translation of important Indian texts. Maxmüller was invited to deliver a series of Cambridge lectures in England to young English men who were recruited for the Indian Civil Service to work in India as administrators. These young men, ignorant of Indian culture, did not like Indians and called them 'natives' as an indication of disrespect. Professor Maxmüller, in order to emphasise the richness of Indian culture, delivered lectures, which later were published under the Title *India – What it can Teach Us*. He exhorted these young men saying: "If I were to search the world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power and beauty that nature can bestow – in some parts a very paradise on the earth – I should point out to India."

Soon the interest developed in Germany about the study of Indian

studies and as a result the Chairs of Indology were established in Bonn, Tübingen, Göttingen, München and Hamburg. Hermann Jacobi (1850-1937), a pupil of A. Weber (1825-1901), was a distinguished German scholar and a pioneer in the field of Jain and Prakrit studies, who for the first time established that Jainism was not only an independent of Buddhism but even older. He was only 23 when he made a trip to India in search of Jain manuscripts. Subsequently he translated some of the important *Jain Sūtras* under *XXII* and XLV volumes in the *Sacred Books of the East Series*. His another monumental work was "Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭrī" (*Selected Stories in Mahārāstrī*), published in 1886. This important work on Prakrit studies was dedicated by him to his revered, *guru* Weber. Jacobi was conferred an honorary title of '*Jain Darshan Divākara*' (*The Sun of Jain Learning*) in a Jain Conference held at Ahmedabad. In order to satisfy his queries about his studies he had a correspondence with Muni Shri Vijayadharmasūri. Jacobi gained so much popularity in his own country that his Bronze Placket, designed by an Italian artist, was hung with pride in the houses of scholars of Indology. This memorable placket is still preserved in the Department of Indology of the University of Kiel where he had worked as a professor.

Richard Pischel (1849-1908) had specialished in Prakrit Studies. He wrote his monumental work "*Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*" (*Grammar of Prakrit Languages*) in 1874. As much of the Prakrit literature was not available in print, Pischel had to work hard in reading the hand-written manuscripts. This work has been translated into English and Hindi. Pischel also worked in the university of Kiel for a number of years. He was invited to deliver a series of lectures on Prakrit grammar and literature in Calcutta University. He had already reached Madras but unfortunately he developed ear trouble and he breathed his last.

G. Bühler, who was in-charge of collecting Indian manuscripts, published a monograph entitled *Über die indische Sekte der Jainas* (1887); it was translated into English under the title *On the Indian Sects of the Jainas*. Then, E. Leumann, a pupil of A. Weber, published *Die Āvaśyaka Erzählungen* (1897) which was based on the study of the *Āvaśyaka Niryukit*. Later he brought out a comprehensive work under the title *Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka Literatur*. He also made a comparative study of Buddha and Mahavira and published his monograph under the title *Buddha und Mahavira*. W. Schubring made a thorough study of the Śvevtāmbara Jain canonical literature and published it under the title *Die Lehre der Jainas*, translated into English as *The Doctrines of the Jainas* by W. Beurlen (1962). Schubring also published other important works such as *Worte Mahaviras* (1926; *Words of Mahavira*), *Das Mahānisīha-Sutta* (1918; *The Mahāniśītha-Sūtra*) with German introduction.

Ludwig Alsdorf, who recently died, was still another distinguished

scholar of Prakrit and Jainism. After the death of his *guru* Schubring, he occupied the Chair of Indology in the University of Hamburg. He visited India several times, making an extensive tour of important places, including Jaisalmer, Patan, Ahmedabad, Kolhapur, Belur etc. He came into contact with Muni Shri Punyavijaya Maharaj, a renowened scholar of Jain Āgamas. He presented Alsdorf a copy of the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* by Saṅghadāsagaṇi Vācaka. Alsdorf was so much fascinated by this work that he read a scholarly paper entitled "Eine neue Version der Verlorenen Bṛhatkathā des Guṇāḍhya" (A New Version of the Lost Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya) in the International Oriental Congress held in Rome in 1938. Alsdorf was Editor-in-Chief of a *Critical Pali Dictionary* which was begun by V. Treckner. Earlier he had worked as a lecturer in German in the University of Allahabad where he made a study of Sanskrit and Indian vernaculars. He contributed a scholarly article under the title "The Vasūdevahiṇḍi, a Specimen of Archaic Jaina-Mahārāṣṭri", published in the *BSOAS* (8), 1935-1937. He had also made a critical study of Puṣpadanta's well-known Apabhraṃśa work "*Tisaṭṭhi-Mahāpurisa-guṇālaṅkāru*", also styled as *Mahāpurāṇa* in German with a scholarly introduction. His articles have been incorporated in *Ludwig Alsdorf Kleine Schriften*, edited by A. Wezler in 1974.

Needless to say that these and many other works written on Jain and Prakrit studies by Western scholars are still considered standard for the study of the subject.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
(REFERENCE WORKS)

Ānandasāgarasūri : . *Alpaparimita Saiddhāntika Śabdakośa*, Devchand Labbhai Jain Pustakoddhāra, Chaukasi Motichand Maganbhai, 1954.

Apte, V.S. : *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Delhi, 1968.

Archaeological Survey of India Reports.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. Hastings J., New York, 1908-1925.

Hemacandra : *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, ed. by Böhtlingk, O, St. Petresburg, 1847 (reprint Osna brück, 1972); ed. Nemichandara Shastri, Varanasi, 1964.

Hemachandra : *Deśīnāmamālā*; ed. R. Pischel, Bombay, 1938.

Kannaḍa-prāntīya Tāḍapatrīya Grantha-sūci, ed. by K. Bhujabali Shastri, Kashi, 1948.

Mahābhārata, Critical edition, V.S. Sukthankar et al, Poona, 1933-1972.

Maria Leach (ed.) : *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, New York, 1949, 1950.

Monier Williams (Sir) : *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, New Delhi, 1976.

Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, Critical edition, I-VII, Baroda, 1960-75.

Ratnachandraji Maharaj : *Ardhamagadhi Dictionary*, 5 Vols., 1923-1932.

Sheth Hargovinddas, T. : *Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo*, PTS, Varanasi, 1963 (second ed.).

Sūri, Ācārya Vijaya Rajendra (ed.) : *Abhidhānarājendrakośa*, Ratlam, V.S. 1946-1960.

Tripathi, C.B. : *Catalogue of the Jaina Manuscripts of Srassbourg*, Leiden, 1975.

Varṇi Jinendra : Jainendra *Siddhānta-kośa* (in Hindi), 4 vols., BJP, Delhi, 1970-1973.

Velankar, H.D. : *Jinaratnakośa*, Poona, 1944.

Yuvācārya Mahāprajña, *Āgama Śabdakośa* (in Hindi), Jain Vishvabaharati, Ladnun, 1980.

GENERAL WORKS

Agnipurāṇa : ed. Upādhyāya Āchārya Baladeva, Varanasi, 1966.

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, ed. Kangle, R.P., Bombay, 1960-63.

Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra, ed. Ganapati Śāstri with com. of Haradattācārya, Trivandrum Sanskrit series, 1923.

Atharvaveda, ed. Roth, R. Whitney, W.D., Berlin, 1856.

Jainism : A Select Bibliography by Satyaprakash, Gurgaon (Haryana), 1984.

Baudhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra, ed. by L. Śrīnivāsācārya, Mysore, 1904.

Bhagavadgītā, Sanskrit text with English trans. by F.Edgerton, Cambridge, 1946.

Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa, Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1897.

Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, 1,2, with Hindi *vyākhā*, Gorakhpur, V.S. 2008, 2018.

Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, Thirteen Principal Upaniṣadas, trans. by R.E. Hume, Oxford, 1921.

Kāmasūtra by Vātsyāyana; Chakaldar, H.C., *Social Life in Ancient India – Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra*, Calcutta, 1929; Shri Devdatta Shastri, Chokhamba, Varanasi, 1964.

Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra, ed. by A. Weber, *The White Yajurveda*, Vol. III.

Mahābhāgavata Devī -Purāṇa, English Trans. by Manmatha Nath Dutta, Calcutta, 1895.

Maitrāyaṇa-Upaniṣad, ed. with the Com. of Ramtirtha, by E.B. Cowell, revised by Satischandra Vidyabhushan, Bibliotheca Indica, 1913ff.

Manusmṛti, Niranayasagar Press, Bombay, 1946; trans. by G. Bühler, SBE, Oxford 1886.

Matsya-Purāṇa, published in Anandashrama Sanskrit Series, No. 54; Enghlish translation in Sacred Books of the Hindus, Vol.17.

Patañjali, *Mahābhāṣya*, Bhargava Shastri, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay 1951.

Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, ed. by Böhtlingk, O., Leipzig, 1887; later Hildesheim, 1964.

Ṛgveda, ed.by F. Maxmüller, London 1892; with the commentary of Sāyaṇa, I-V, Poona, 1933-1951.

Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha, Madhavācārya, Poona, 1906.

Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, the text published by A. Weber, Berlin and London, 1855; English trans. with introduction etc. by Julius Eggeling, in 5 vols. SBE.

Yāska, *Nirukta*, first ed. by R. Roth, Göttingen, 1852; with commentaries and useful indexes by Satyavrata-Sāmaśrami in Bibl. Ind., 1882-91; with Durgadeva's Com. ed. by V.K. Rajvade, Ānandaśrama Sans. Series, 1921; ed. by Lakshman Sarup, Oxford, 1920.

BUDDHIST WORKS

Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya of Vasubandhu, Sanskrit text by P. Pradhan, Patna, 1967.

Aṅguttaranikāya, 5 vols, Pali text, ed. by R. Morris and E. Hardy, PTS, London, 1885-1900. *Aṭṭhakathā (Manorathapūraṇī)*, ed. by Walleser and Hermann Kopp, 4 vols, London 1924-1940; E.W. Burlingame, New Haven, 1922.

A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, trans. by J. Legge, Oxford, 1886.

Avadānaśataka, ed. by J.S. Speyer, 2 vols, St. Petersburg, 1906.

Buddhist Logic, by Stcherbatsky, Th., Leningrad, 1932.

Dhammapada, ed. and trans. by Rhys Davids, C.A.F., London, 1931.

Dīghanikāya, ed. by Rhys Davids and J. Carpenter, 3 vols, PTS, London, 1889-1911; *Aṭṭhakathā (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī)*, 3 vols, PTS, London, 1886-1932.

Divyāvadāna ed. by Cowell, E.B. and R.A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886.

Jātaka, ed. by Fausböll, M.V., London 1877-1897; trans. by Cowell, E.B., 1895-1913 (reprint Delhi, 1973): Kūṭavaṇija; Daśaratha; Nigrodha; Mahāummagga; Mahājanaka: Mahāsutasoma; Saccaṃkira; Sivi; Yavana.

Jātakamālā of Ārya Śūra, ed. by Kern, J.H. Boston, 1891 (reprint Cambridge Mass., 1914; trans. by Speyer, J.S., London 1895 (reprint Delhi, 1971).

Lalitavistara, ed. by Lefmann and A.S. Halle, London, 1902 and 1908.

Law, B.C., A. *History of Pali Literature*, 1933.

Mahāvastu, ed. by Senart, É., Paris, 1882-1897; trans. by Jones, J.J., London, 1949-56.

Majjhimanikāya, ed. by V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers, 3 vols, London, 1888-1899.

Milindapañha, ed. by V. Trenckner, London, 1880.

Pramāṇa-Samuccaya, by Diṅnāga, with Com., Mysore, University Series.

Saṃyuttanikāya, ed. by Leon Feer, 5 vols, London, 1884-1898.

Sāriputra-prakaraṇa by Aśvaghoṣa, *Das Sāriputraprakaraṇa, ein Drama des Aśvaghoṣa*, Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1911, 388ff.

Si-Yu-Ki : Buddhist Records of the Western World, Trans. by Samuel Beal, London, 1883.

Sukumar Dutt : *Buddha and Five After Centuries*, Calcutta 1978.

Suttanipāta, ed. by Anderson and Smith, PTS, London, 1913; trans. by Hare, E.M., SBB, London 1945.

Tattvasaṃgraha of Śāntarakṣita with Com. of Kamalaśīla, ed. Embar Krishnamacharya, Baroda, 1926.

Tibetan Tales, derived from Indian Sources, trans. from Tibetan into German by A. Shiefner; from German into English by Ralston, W.R.S., London, 1882 (reprint London 1906, 1926).

Vinayapiṭaka, ed. by Oldenberg, 5 vols, London, 1879-1883.

Vinayavastu : Bhaiṣajyavastu, Gilgit Mss, Vol. III, pt. I, ed. by Nalinaksh Dutt, 1947-50

JAIN CANONICAL WORKS

Ācārāṅga : Niryukti by Bhadrabāhu; *Cūrṇi* by Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara (Ratlam, 1944); *Vṛtti* by Śīlāṅka (AGS, 1935); ed. by H. Jacobi, PTS, London, 1882; trans. by H. Jacobi, SBE, XXII, Oxford, 1884; part I ed. by W. Schubring, Leipzig, 1910; German trans. by the same author in *Worte Mahaviras*; Jain Sahitya Saṃśodhaka Samiti, Poona, 1924; ed. Muni Jambuvijaya, Bombay, 1977.

Aṅgavidyā (Aṅgavijjā) : One of the *Painnas*, ed. by Muni Punyavijaya with English Introduction of Motichandra and Hindi Intr.of Vasudevasharan Agrawal, PTS, 1957.

Anuyogadvāra : *Cūrṇi* by Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara (Ratlam, 1928); *Ṭīkā* by Haribhadra (Ratlam, 1928); *Ṭīkā* by Maladhāri Hemacandra (Bhavnagar, 1930); ed. by Punyavijaya et al under the title *Nandisuttaṃ and Aṇuogadārāiṃ*, Bombay, 1968; A critical Study By Hanaki, T., Vaishali, 1970.

Āvaśyaka : *Niryukti* by Bhadrabāhu; *Bhāṣya* (*Viśeṣāvaśyaka Mahābhāṣya* by Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa); *Cūrṇi* by Jinadāsagaṇi mahattara (Ratlam, 1928); *Śiṣyahitā Ṭīkā* by Haribhadra together with the *Niryukti* (AGS, Bombay, 1916-17); *Ṭīkā* by Malyagiri togethr with the *Niryukti* (AGS Bombay, 1928-32-36); *Pradeśa-vyākhyā* by Maladhāri Hemacandra (DLJP, Bombay, 1920); *Niryukti-dīpikā* by Māṇikyaśekharasūri (Surat, 1939); Ernst Leumann, *Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka Literatur* (ed. by W. Schubring, Hamburg, 1934); ed. by Muni Punyavijaya et al under the title *Dasaveyāliya-suttaṃ, Uttarajjhayaṇāiṃ and Āvassaya-suttaṃ* (Bombay, 1977); Klaus Brhun, *Āvaśyaka Studies 1*, published in *Studien Zum Jainismus und Buddhismus – Gedenkschrift für Ludwig Alsdof* Wiesbaden, 1981.

Bṛhatkalpa : *Sūtra*, ed. by W. Schubring with notes etc. in German, Leipzig, 1905; in Nagari script, Poona, 1923; *Niryukti, Laghu-Bhāṣya* and *Ṭīkā: Bhāṣya* by Saṅghadāsagaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa; *Ṭīkā* by Malayagiri and Kṣemakīrti, AGR, Bhavanagar, 1933-42; W. Schubring, *Drei Chedasūtras des Jaina-Kanons*, Hamburg, 1966.

Daśavaikālika : *Niryukti* by Bhadrabāhu; *Cūrṇi* by Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara, Ratlam, 1933; *Cūrṇi* by Agastyasiṃha, Ahmedabad, 1973; Com. by Haribhadra, Bombay, 1918; *Sūtra* and *Niryukti* ed. by E. Leumann, ZDMG 46 (1892), pp. 581-662; with introduction and notes by W.Schubring, Ahmedabad, 1932.

Dhamma-kahāṇuoga : text compiled by Muni Kanhaiyalal, 'Kamal' and Pandit Dalsuck Malavniya, with English introduction by Jagdischandra Jain, Agam Anuyoga Trust, Ahmedabad, 1982.

Gacchācāra : Com. by Vijayavimalagaṇi, Ahmedabad 1924.

Gaṇivijjā : Published with ten *Painnas*, AGS, 1927; ed. by W. Schubring in *Kleine Schriften*, pp.137-41; also in IIJ, XI (1968-1969).

Jambudvīpaprajñapti : Com. by Śānticandra, Bombay, 1920.

Jonipāhuḍa by Dharasena (in manuscript); one of the *Painnas*.

Jyotiṣakaraṇḍa (*Joisakaraṇḍa*), one of the *Painnas*, published by RKŚS, Ratlam, 1928 in a collection of other works; also see Vidyādhar Johrapurakar's article in the Siddhāntāchārya Pandit Kailashchandra Shastri – Abhinandan Granth, Rewa, 1980.

Kalpasūtra (also known as *Paryūṣaṇakalpa*): critical edition by H.Jacobi, Leipzig, 1879; an English translation by the same author in SBE, vol. 22, 1884; with Samayasundara's Com., Bombay, 1939; ed. by Muni Punyavijaya with *Kalp-Niryukti, Kalpa-Cūrṇi* and Pṛthvīcandra's *Ṭippanaka*, Ahmedabad, 1952.

Mahāniśitha : *Das Mahānisīha-Sutta* with German introduction by W. Schubring, Berlin, 1918; Gujarati trans. of the same by Narisimha Bhai Ishvar Bhai Patel of Sojitra (manuscript with late Muni jinavijayaji); F.R. Hamm and W. Schubring, Hamburg, 1951; J. Deleu and W. Schubring Chs. I-V, Hamburg, 1963.

Index : An alphabetical Index of the aphorisms etc. occuring in Nandisūtra, Anuyogadvāra, Āvaśyaka, Daśavaikālika and Uttarādhyayana by Anandsagarsūri, Bombay, 1928.

Maraṇasamādhi : one of the *Paiṇṇas*, published with the *Paiṇṇas*, AGS, 1927.

Nāyādhammakahāo (Jñātādharmakathāḥ) : ed, by N. V. Vaidya, poona, 1940; Com. by Abhayadeva, AGS, Bombay, 1919; Gujarati trans. by Bechardas Jivraj Doshi, Ahmedabad, 1931; with Abhayadeva's Com. Ānandacandra-grantha-ratnākara, Bhavnagar, 1951-1952.

Niśītha : *Sūtra*; *Niśītha* and *Vyavahāra*, ed. by W. Schubring, Leipzig, 1918; Jain Sāhitya Saṃśodhaka Samiti, poona, 1923; *Bhāṣya–Cūrṇi*, ed. by Upādhyāya Kavi Amar Muni and Muni Kanhaiyalal 'Kamal', Agra, 1957-1960 (formerly ed. by Vijaya Prem Sūrīshvara, V.S., 1995, an encyclostyled copy, from the Manuscript of Patan Jain Bhandar); Dalsukh Malvniya, *Niśītha ek Adhyayana* (in Hindi); Mdhu Sen, *A Cultural Study of the Niśīthacūrṇi*, Varanasi, 1975.

Prakimakas (Paiṇṇas) : ten in number, AGS, Bombay, 1927.

Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama (Chakkhaṇḍāgama) of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali, with *Dhavalā* Com. by Virasena, 16 vols, Prakrit and Sanskrit texts with Hindi trans. by Hiralal Jain, Amaraoti, 1939-1959; *Mahābandha* (also known as *Mahādhavala*, pts. 1-7 with introduction and Hindi trans., BJP, 1947-1958.

Samavāyāṅga : Com. by Abhayadeva, Ahmedabad, 1938.

Sthānāṅga (Ṭhānāṅga) : Com. by Abhayadeva, Ahmedabad, 1937.

Uttarādhyayana (Uttarajjhayaṇa) : *Niryukti* by Bhadrabāhu; *Cūrṇi* by Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara, Ratlam, 1933; Com. by Vādivetāla Śāntisūri, DLJP, Bombay, 1916-1917; Com. by Devendragaṇi, Bombay, 1937; English trans. by H. Jacobi, SBE, XLV, 1895; ed. J. Charpentier, Upsala, 1922; L. Alsdorf, *The Āryā Stanzas of the Uttarajjhāyā*, with notes etc., Mainz, 1966.

Viyāhāpannatti (Vyākhyāprajñapti, also known as *Bhagavatī)* : Com. by Abhayadeva, AGS, 1918-1921; Gujarati trans. by Bechardas Jivaraj Doshi and Pandit Bhagvandas in 4 vols, Jinagama Prachar Sabha, Ahmedabad, V.S. 1974-88; A. Weber, *Ein Fragment der Bhagavatī* in Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademi der Wissenschaften (Memoirs of the Berlin Academy), 1865, pp. 367-444; 1866, pp. 155-352; W. Schubring, *Worte Mahaviras*, p. 10, 18ff; some portions have been trans. into German by Schubring, *Die Jainas*; J. Deleu, *Viyāha-pannatti*, Rijks University of Gent, 1970.

Vyavahāra : *Sūtra*, ed. by W. Schubring, Leipzig, 1918; Jain Sahitya Saṃśodhaka Samiti in Devanagari script, Poona, 1923; Schubring, *Drei Chedasutras*, Hamburg, 1966; ed. by Muni Manek with *Niryukti, Bhāṣya* and Malayagiri's *vivaraṇa*, in 12 parts,Bhavnagar, 1926-28.

NON-CANONICAL WORKS

Aghaṭakumāra-kathā (author anonymous), the shorter metrical version, NSP, Bombay, 1917; German translation by Charlotte Krause, Leipzig, 1922, published in *Der Prinz als Papagei* (*The prince as a Parrot*) under the title *Das Glückkind mit Todesbrief* (*the Lucky Child and Fatal Letter*) along with other stories in the GDR, Berlin, 1975 with an introduction by Roland Beer.

Amitagati : (i) *Upāsakācāra*, also known as *Śrāvakācāra*, Anantakīrti Granthamālā, Bombay V.S. 1979; Surat V.S. 2484.

(ii) *Dharmaparīkṣā*, N. Mironov, *Die Dharmaparīkṣā des Amitagati*, leipzig, 1903; Jain Siddhanta Prakashini, Calcutta, 1908; Hindi trans. Bombay, 1908.

Amṛtacandrasuri : *Puruṣāarthasiddyupāya*, also known as *Jinapravacana-rahasya-kośa*, ed. in RJS, Bombay, 1905.

Āśādhara : *Sāgāradharmāmṛta*, with his own commentary, MDJG, V.S. 1972

Baitāla-paccīsī, a Hindi trans. of *Vetāla-Pañcaviṃśatikā*, by John Platts, 1871.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa, (i) *Kādambarī*, ed. by P. Peterson, Bombay, 1883; trans. by C.M. Ridding, London, 1886; NSP, Bombay, 1940.

(ii) *Caṇḍīśataka*, ed. with Com. in Kāvyamālā, part IV, 1ff.

Battīsa Puttalikā-Kathā (in Kannaḍa), by Jain author (manuscript in Karkal Jain Bhandar, South Canara).

Bhadrabāhu II, *Uvasagga-hara-thotta* (*Upasarga-hara-stotra*), several editions; ed. by H. Jacobi with English translation, *Kalpasūtra,* Introduction, p. 12f, 1881; with *Saptasmaraṇa*, with commentaries of Jinaprabhasūri, Siddhacandragaṇi and Harṣakīrtisūri, *DLJP*, Bombay, 1933; H.R. Kapadia, *Uvasagga-hara-thotta*, Mohanlalji Grantha, Bombay, 1964.

Bhadreśvara, *Kahāvali*, unpublished.

Bharata-dvātriṃśikā, author, a Jain according to J. Hertel, Leipzig, 1921.

Bhāratendu Hariścandra, *Bhārtendu Granthāvali*, 3 vols, Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi.

Bhartṛhari, *Bhartṛhari-śataka*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1946.

Bhāsa, *Dūtavākya*, ed. by C.R. Devadhara, Poona, 1957.

Bhaṭṭa, Dāmodara, *Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa*, SJS, 1953.

Bhetāla-Pañcaviṃśatikā (in Kannaḍa) by Jain author, manuscript in the Karkal Jain Matha, South Canara.

Bhoja or Bjojarāja, *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Dr. V. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Madras, 1963.

Bhojasāgara, composed *Tājika-sāra* (or *Ramala-vidyā*) based on the *Yavanikāśāstra* (not known).

Bihārī, ed. by Vishvanath Prasad Mishra, Benaras, 1951; *Bihārī-satasai*, composed on the model of the *Gāhāsattasai* of Hāla. Numerous commentaries written on this work; Padmasiṃha's *Sañjīvana-Bhāṣya* can be mentioned.

Budhasvāmin : *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha*, ed. and trans. in French by Felix Lacôte and L. Renou, Paris, 1908-1928; 'Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et La

Bṛhatkathā' by F. Locôte, trans. into English by Rev. A.M. Talbard, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1913-1914 and onwards; E.P. Maten, *Budhasvāmin's Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha*, Leiden, 1973; ed. with notes etc. by V.S. Agrawala, Varanasi, 1974; with English trans. by R.P. Poddar, Tara Publications, Varanasi, 1986.

Bulcke, Camille, Father, *Ramakathā* (in Hindi), Prayag, Ist ed. 1950.

Candabaradāī, *Pṛthvirājarāso*, ed. by Shyamsundardas et al, Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi, V.S. 1905-1913; Motilal Banarsi Dass, Lahore, 1938.

Desai, Ranjit, *Svāmī* (a Marathi Novel), Kolhapur, 1962.

Devendragaṇi (also known as Nemicandrasūri) : (i) *Akkhāṇamaṇikosa* (*Ākhyānamaṇikośa*) contains only 52 *gāthās*; Āmradevasūri has composed a *vṛtti* on this work, ed. by Muni Punyavijaya, with English introduction by U.P. Shah, PTS, 1962; (ii) *Sukhabodhā Ṭīkā* on *Uttarā*, Bombay, 1937.

Devendrasūri, *Sudaṃsaṇā-cariya* (*Sudarśanā-carita*), published in Ātmavallabha Grantha Series, Valad (Ahmedabad), 1932.

Dhanañjaya, *Viṣāpahāra-stotra*, ed. by Pandit Pannalal Shastri, Sanskrit Com. by Chandrakīrti, trans. in Hindi verses by Nathuram Premi, Bombay, 1956.

Dhanapāla, *Ṛṣabhapañcāśikā* published in *ZDMG*, vol. XXXIII; Kāvyamālā, Part VII, Bombay, 1890; with *Avacūrni* along with *Vīrathui*, DLJP, Bombay, 1933.

Dhanapāla, *Bhavisattakahā*, also known as *Sūyapañcamikahā* (in Apabhraṃśa), H. Jocobi, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XXIX, 4, München, 1918; partly ed. by C.D. Dalal and completed by P.D. Gune in GOS, 20, Baroda, 1923.

Dharasena, *Joṇipāhuḍa* (See under *Joṇipāhuḍa*).

Dharmasenagaṇi Mahattara, *Majjhimakhaṇḍa* (in manuscript); part I recently published, edited by H.C. Bhayani and R.M. Shah, Ahmedabad, 1987.

Dharmaghoṣasūri, *Isimaṇḍala-thotta* (*Ṛṣimaṇḍala-stotra*); various commentaries have been written on this treatise; ed. by Yaśovijaya Mahārāja, Baroda, V.S. 2012.

Dohākośa by Siddhas, Harprasad Shastri, *Bauddhagāna o Dohā*, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, 1917; ed. by P.C. Bagchi, Calcutta, 1935.

Ḍholā-Māru-rā-Dohā, a folk-song of Rajasthan; the composer is unknown; ed. by Narottamdas Svami and others with introduction, Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha Kashi; V.S. 1997.

Durgadeva, *Agghakaṇḍa* : Probably the author has composed this treatise based on earlier works of the same title. The earlier work has been referred to in the *Niśī-Cū*. It deals with the prediction whether the particular commodity purchased will yield profit or loss.

Guṇabhadra, *Uttarapurāṇa*, BJP, Kashi, 1968.

Guṇacandragaṇi (also known as Devabhadrasūri) : (i) *Kahārayaṇakosa* (*Kathāratnakośa*), ed. by Muni Punyavijaya, AGR, 1944; (ii) *Mahāvīracariya*, DLJP, Bombay, 1929; Gujarati trans., V.S. 1994.

Guṇāḍhya, *Baḍḍakahā* (*Bṛhatkathā*) in Paiśācī dialect; declared to have been
  lost.
Guṇaratnasūri, *Tarkarahasya-dīpikā-Vṛtti* on Haribhadra's
  Ṣaḍḍarśanasamuccaya, ed. by Mahendrakumar Jain, BJP, Varanasi,
  1970.
Gupta Dāmodara, *Kuṭṭinimata*, published in KM.X, Bombay, 1888.
Govardhana, *Āryāsaptaśatī*, ed. with Ananta Pandita's Com. in KM.I, 1886.
Hāla (also known as Sālivāhana or Sātavāhana), compiler of *Gāhāsattasaī* or
  Gāhākosa, ed. by A.ʹ Weber, the first 370 *gāthās* under the title *E. Über
  Das Saptaśatakaṃ des Hāla*, Leipzig, 1870; in 1881 he published the
  whole work translated into German. The text with the com. of
  Gaṅgādhara Bhaṭṭa, Published, KM.21, 1889; NP, Bombay, 1933; text
  with introduction and a Marathi trans. by Joglekar, Poona, 1956.
Haribhadrasūri; (i) *Dhuttakkhāṇa* (*Dhūrtākhayāna*), ed. by A.N. Upadhye,
  SJS, Bombay, 1944; (ii) *Samarāiccakahā*, ed. by H. Jacobi with
  introduction, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1926; Pandit
  Bhagavanadas with Sanskrit *chāyā* in 2 parts, Ahmedabad, 1938-1942;
  (iii) *Upadeśapada*, Muktikamala Jain Mohanamālā, Baroda, 1923-25 (in
  2 parts); (iv) *Ṣaḍḍarśanasamuccaya* (See under Guṇaratnasūri).
Hariṣeṇa, *Bṛhatkathākośa*, ed. by A.N. Upadhye, SJS Bombay, 1943.
Hemacandrasūri, (i) *Anya-yoga-vyavacchedikā* (see Malliṣeṇa); (ii)
  Deśīnāmamālā (see under Reference Works); (iii) *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, ed.
  by H. Jacobi, Calcutta, 1932; extracts trans. into German by J. Hertel,
  Leipzig, 1908; (iv) *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, Jain Dharma Prasaraka
  Sabha Bhavnagar, 1906-1913; *I Parvan*, ed. by Muni Caturavijaya,
  Bhavnagar, 1936; *II Parvan*, ed. by Muni Punyavijaya, Bhavnagar, 1950;
  VIII and IX Parvan, Shri Jain Dharma Prakashaka Sabha, Bhavnagar,
  V.S. 1964; English trans. by Helen M. Johnson under the title *"The Lives
  of Sixty-three Illustrious Persons"* in 6 vols., Baroda, 1931-1962; The 7th
  Parvan is called 'Jain-Rāmāyaṇa'; (v) *Yogaśastra*, Jain Dharma
  Prasaraka Sabha, Bhavnagar, 1926; (vi) *Vītarāga-stotra*, DLJP, 1911; (vii)
  Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana, ed. by R. Pischel in 2 parts, the part 2
  contains a German translation, explanation and a comparative study,
  Halle Amzar, 1877-80; ed. by P.L. Vaidya, BORI, Poona, 1936; revised
  ed. 1958.
Hemavijayagaṇi, *Kathāratnākara*, Hiralal Hamsaraj, Jamnagar, 1911, trans.
  into German by J. Hertel, München, 1920; recently a beautiful ed. under
  the title *Das Perlenmeer* (*The Sea of Pearls*), Published in the GDR,
  1979.
Hitopadeśa by Nārāyaṇa, ed. by A.W.V. Schlegel and Ch. Lassen, Bonn,
  1829-1831; P. Peterson, BSS, Bombay, 1887; J. Hertel, *Text and Author*,
  Leipzig, 1897. It has been translated into various European and Asian
  languages of the world.
Holy Bible : The sacred book of Christianity, a collection of ancient writings,
  including the books of both the *Old Testament* and the *New Testament*.

Īśvara : Utpala or Bhaṭṭotpala, commentator of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, has cited in his commentary from his Prakrit work, the *Gandhayukti* (work on Perfumery).

Jhā Gonu : *Ekṭā Chalā Gonu Jhā* (in Maithil) Bhavani Prakashan, Patna, 1985.

Jain Balchandra, *Pratimāvijñāna* (in Hindi) Jabalpur, 1974.

Jain Hiralal, *Bhāratīya Saṃskriti Men Jain Dharma Kā Yogadāna* (in Hindi), Madhya Pradesh Shasan Sahitya Parishad, Bhopal,1962.

Jain Jagdishchandra, (i) *Prāchīna Bhārat Kī Śreṣṭha Kahāniyān* (in Hindi) BJP, Delhi, 1970; (ii) *Prakrit Sāhitya Kā Itihās* (in Hindi), Chowkhamba Vidya Bhavan, Varanasi, 1985 (second ed.); (iii) *Prakrit Narrative Literature – Origin and Growth*, Munshiram Manohar lal, Delhi, 1981; (iv) *The Vasudevahiṇḍi – An Authentic Jain Version of the Bṛhatkathā*, Ahmedabad, 1977; (v) *History and Development of Prakrit Literature* (soon to be published), (vi) *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in Jaina Canon and Commentaries*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1984 (revised ed.); (vii) *Syādvadamañjarī*, trans. into Hindi with notes, introduction and appendices, Shri Paramashruta, Prabhavaka Mandal, Bombay – has undergone several editions (first edition in 1935); (viii) *Women in Ancient Indian Tales*, Delhi, 1987; (ix) *Jain Kathā Sāhitya – Vividh Roopon Men* (in Hindi) (soon to be published).

Jain Jyotiprasad, *Jainism, the Oldest Religion*, Jain Cultural Research Society (now called the Parśvanatha Vidyasharma), Varanasi, 1951.

Jain Pandit Kailashchandra Siddhanta Shahstri, *Bharatiya Dharma evam Ahimsa* (in Hindi) Rajkrishna Jain Charitable Trust, New Delhi, 1983.

Jayasena, *Dharmaratnākara*, Digambar Jain Mandir Panchayati, Delhi.

Jāyasī, Malik Muhammad, *Padmāvata*, ed. by Ramchandra Shukla, Jayasi Granthavali.

Jayasiṃhasūri, *Dharmopdeśamālā-vivaraṇa*, ed. by Pandit Lalchand Bhagavan Das Gandhi, SJS, 1949.

Jayavallabha, *Vajjālagga*, complied by the author, ed. by Professor Julious Labor, Calcutta, 1914, 1923 and 1944; M.V. Patvardhan, PTS, Ahmedabad, 1969.

Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, *Viśeṣaṇavatī*, RKŚS, Ratlam, 1927.

Jinaharṣagaṇi, *Rayaṇaseharikahā*, AGR, V.S., 1974.

Jinakīrti, (i) *Pāla-Gopāla-Kathānaka*, Atmanandajain Granthamala, Dabhoi, V.S. 1976; J. Hertel, German trans. Leipzig; 1917, (ii) *Campakaśreṣṭhi-kathānaka*, Vidyavijaya Yantralaya, 1915; J. Hertel, trans. in English and German, Leipzig, 1922, are included in *Der Prinz als Papagei* (*The Prince as a Parrot*), published in the GDR, with an introduction of Roland Beer, Berlin, 1975.

Jinapālagaṇi, *Sumiṇaviyāra*, (unpublished).

Jinaprabhasūri, *Vidhimārgaprapā*,ed. by Muni Jinavijaya, Bombay, 1941.

Jinasena I (of Punnāṭa *saṅgha*), *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, Sanskrit text with Hindi trans. by Pannalal Jain, BJP, 1962.

Jinasena II, *Ādipurāṇa*, in 2 parts, Sanskrit text with Hindi trans. by Pannalal

Jain, BJP. Varanasi, 1963-1965; *Jinasahasranāma-stotra*   with Com. of Śrutasāgara, BJP, 1954.

Jineśvarasūri, *Kathākośaprakaraṇa* (also known as *Kahāṇayakosa*), ed. by Muni Jinavijaya, SJS, 1949.

Jñānasāgara, *Ratnacūḍa-kathā*, ed. in YJG, Bhavnagar, 1917; trans. into German by J. Hertel, Leipzig, 1922.

Joindu (Yogīndra), *Paramātma-Prakāśa*, with Brhmadeva's Sanskrit Com., A.N. Upadhye's English introduction, Raychandra Shastramala, Agas, 1960.

Jyotirīśvara, *Varṇaratnākara*, S.K. Chatterji, RASB, Calcutta, 1940.

Kanakāmara, *Karakaṇḍucariu*, ed. by Hiralal Jain, Karanja Series, 1932.

Kapadia, H.R. (i) *History of the Canonical Literature of the Jains*, Bombay, 1947; (ii) *Pāiya Bhāsāo ane Sāhitya* (in Gujarati), Surat, 1950.

Kathakośa trans. into English with introduction by C.H. Tawney, London, 1895; reprint, New Delhi, 1975; text and translation in German by. I. Hoffmann, München, 1974.

Koūhala, *Līlāvai* (*Līlāvatī*), ed. by A.N. Upadhye, SJS, Bombay, 1949.

Kṣemendra, *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, ed. by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Shivadatta and Kashinath Pandurang Parab, Bombay, 1901.

Kundakunda; (i) *Pañcāstikāya*, with Amṛtacandra's and Jayasena's Sanskrit commentaries and Hemarāja Pande's *Bālāvabodha-bhāṣā-ṭīkā* and Hindi trans. by Manoharlal, RJS, Bombay, 1904; trans. into English by A. Chakravarty with introduction in SBJ, Arrah, 1920; (ii) *Pravacanasāra*, with Amṛtacandra's and Jayasena's Sanskrit commentaries and Hemarāja Pande's *Bālāvabodha-bhāṣā-ṭīkā*, ed. and trans. into English with introduction by A.N. Upadhye, RJS, Bombay, 1935; reprint, Agas, 1964; (iii) *Dasabhatti*, included in the *Kundakunda-Prābhṛta-saṃgraha* ed. by Pandit Kailashchandra Jain Siddhantashastri, JJG, Solapur, 1960.

Mahendrasūri, *Nammayāsundarīkahā*, SJS, 1960.

Malliṣeṇa, *Syādvādamañjari* (commentary on Hemacandra's *Anya-yoga-vyavacchedikā*), edited in Chowkhamba Series, Banaras, 1900; YJG, Vira S. 2438 (1911 A.D.); Ārhatmata-prabhākara, Vira S. 2452(1925). The chapter containing criticism of the proofs of the existence of God, trans. into German by H. Jacobi, *Die Entwicklung der Gottesidee bei den Indern*, Bonn, 1923; A.B. Dhruva, with introduction and English trans. BSS, 1933; Jagdishchandra Jain, with introduction, trans. and appendices (in Hindi), RJS, Bombay, 1935; 1970 3rd edition, F.W. Thomas, English translation under 'The Flowr-Spray of the Quodammodo Doctrine', Berlin Academy, Berlin, 1960; reprint by Motilal Banarsi Dass, Delhi, 1968.

Mānatuṅga, *Bhaktāmara*, ed, and trans. into German by H. Jocobi in *Indische Studien*, 14, p.359ff; text in KM. pt. VII, together with the commentaries of Guṇākara, Meghavijaya and Kanakakuśala, DLJP, Bombay, 1932.

Mayūra, *Sūryaśataka*, ed. and trans. into English by S.P. Quackenbos in the JAOS, No. 31, 1911, 343ff.

Meghavijaya, *Varṣaprobodha*, Ahmedabad, 1939.

Merutuṅga, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, SJS, 1933.

Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya, Sanskrit text and studies, Gilgit Mss, Vol.III, pt. 1-4, Śrinagar, 1947-50, ed. by N. Dutt.

Padmanandi, *Pañcaviṃśatikā*, JRJ, Solapur, 1932.

Pañcākhyāna or *Pañcākhyānaka* of Pūrṇabhadrasūri, an old recension of *Pañcatantra*.

Pañcatantra : Theodore Benfy (Leipzig, 1859) and Johannes Hertel(Leipzig, 1904; Leipzig and Berlin, 1909; the same is published in Berlin in 1910; *Das Pañcatantra*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1914) have done lot of work in its travel beyond India into different regions of world literature as well as in bringing out critical editions of the text. Franklin Edgerton has published *Pañcatantra Reconstructed* – Texts, Critical Apparatus, Introduction and Translation, New Haven, 1924.

Pāśakavidyā (or *Ramalavidyā*) or the Science of foretelling events by casting dice, by Muni Bhojasāgara of the 18th century A.D. The work is unpublished.

Pradyumnasūri, *Samarāditya-saṃkṣepa*, ed. by H. Jacobi, part I, Ahmedabad, 1905.

Pravarasena, *Setubandha* (also known as *Rāvanavaho* or *Dasamuhavaho*), Prakrit and German published by S. Goldschmidt. With a word Index by Pual Goldschmidt under *Specimen des Setubandha*, Götingen, 1873; S. Goldschmidt published the Geman trans. of the whole work, Strassburg, 1880-84; with the Commentary of Rāmadāsa in NSP, KM. 47, 1895.

Premi, Nathuram, *Jain Sahitya aur Itihas* (Hindi) Bombay, 1956.

Pūjyapāda (Devanandi) : (i) *Daśabhakti*, Nityapāṭha-saṃgraha, Karanja, 1956; (ii) *Siddhipriya*, NSP, KM VII, p.30, Bombay, 1926.

Puṣpadanta : (i) *Mahāpurāṇa* in 3 parts; Apabhraṃśa text, ed. by P.L. Vaidya, MDJG, Bombay, 1937-47; L. Alsdorf, *Harivaṃsapurāṇa: "Ein Abschnitt aus der Apabhraṃśa – Welthistorie Mahāpurāṇa Tistaṭṭhi-mahāpurisa-guṇālaṅkāru" von Puṣpadanta*, Hamburg, 1936; (ii) *Jasaharacariu*, ed. by P.L. Vaidya, Karanja Jain Series, 1931.

Rājamalla, *Lāṭisaṃhitā*, MDJG, Bombay, V.S. 1984.

Rajaśekhara Maladhāri, *Vinodakathā-saṃgraha* (also known as *Antarakathā-saṃgraha* or *Kathākośa*), Bombay, 1918; with Gujarati trans. V.S. 1978.

Rajaśekhara, *Karpūramañjari*, ed. by Monomohan Ghosh, University of Calcutta, 1939.

Rāmacandra Mumukṣu, *Puṇyāsrava-kathākośa*, JJG, 1964.

Ramalavidyā (See *Pāśakavidyā*).

Rāmasiṃha, *Pāhuḍadohā*, ed. and trans. with introduction in Hindi by Hiralal Jain, Karanja Jain Series, 1933.

Ratnaśekharasūri, *Sirivālakahā*, published by Vadilal Jivabhai Chowksi, Ahmedabad, 1932.

Raviṣeṇa, *Padmacarita*, text in 3 parts, MDJG, V.S. 1985; with Hindi trans. in 3 parts, BJP, Kashi, 1958-59.

Samantabhadra, (i) *Āptamīmāṃsā* (also known as *Devāgama-stotra*), ed. in Jain Grantha Ratnakara and in SJG, Vol. I. Bombay, 1905; in SJG, 10, Banaras, 1914., and in DJGK I (ed. by Pannalal Chaudhari, Banaras, 1924-25); (ii) *Bṛhatsvayambū-stotra* (also known as *Caturviṃśati-Jina-stavana*), publihsed in DJGK I; with Hindi trans. and introduction by Jugalkishora Mukhtar, Vīraseva Mandir, Sarsāvā, 1951; (iii) *Jinaśataka* (or *Jinaśatālaṃkāra*), Vīraseva Mandir, Delhi, 1950-51.

Sanghadāsagaṇi Vācaka, *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, ed. by Munis Caturvijaya and Punyavijaya, Shri Jain Atmanand Sabha, Bhavnagar, 1930-31, Gujarati trans. by Bhogilal Sandesara, Bhavnagar, V.S. 2003; Norwegian trans. by Sten Konow under the title *"En Bunt Indiske, Eventyr"*, Oslo., 1946, Jagdishchandra Jain, *The Vasudevahiṇḍi — An Authabic Jain version of the Bṛhatkathā*; L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1977; Jamkhedkar, A.P., *Vasudevahiṇḍi, a Cultural Study*, Delhi, 1984; *Vasudevahiṇḍi Prathama-Khaṇḍa*, Gujarat Sahitya Academy, Gandhinagar, 1989.

Siddhasena Divākara : (i) *Dvātriṃśikā*, ed. by A.N. Upadhye, ˙ncluded in the *Nyāyāvatāra* and other works, Jain Sahitya Vikas Mandal, 1971. (ii) *Kalyāṇa-mandira-stotra*, edited and translated into German by Jacobi in *Indische Studien* (ed. by A. Weber), 14, pp.376ff; text published in KM., part VII. *The Paramajoti-stotra*, an old metrical translation in the old Braj dialect of the *Kalyāṇamandira*, published by L.P. Tessitori in Ind. Ant. 42, 1913, pp. 42ff.

Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśikā (The Thirty-two Throne Storeis, also known as *Siṃhāsana-dvātriṃśikā-puttalikā-vārtā* or *Putrikā-vārtā* or *Vikramacarita* (not available in its original form). Kṣemaṅkaragaṇi, a Jain author, has enlarged it and this is said to be the best preserved edition of the work. For different Jain versions of this work, see F. Edgerton's *Vikrama's adventures*, Harward Oriental Series, 26.

Singh Namvar, *Hindi Ke Vikās Men Apabhraṃśa kā Yoga* (in Hindi), Allahabad, 3rd revised edition, 1961.

Śivārya or Śivakoṭi : *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā*, also known as *Mūlārādhanā*; with Pandit Sadāsukha's *Bhāṣā-Vacanikā*, pub. by Muni Anantakirti Digambara Jain Granthamala, V.S. 1989; with commentaries of Aparājita and Āśādhara, Solapur, 1935; with Aparājita's Com. *Vijayodayā*, Karanja, 1935; K. Oetjens, *Śivārya's Mūlārādhanā*, Hamburg, 1976; with Hindi translation and introduction by Pandit Kailashchandra Jain Siddhanta Shastri, JJG, Solapur, 1977.

Śubhaśīlagaṇi, *Pañcaśati-prabandha*, Suvāsita Sahitya, Surat, 1968.

Śukasaptati (Seventy-two Stories of a Parrot), ed. and trans. by Richard Schmidt, Kiel, 1890; Leipzig, 1894; trans. into German, Kiel, 1894.

Śūdraka, *Mṛcchakaṭika*, ed. by Narayan Balkrishna Godbole, Govt. Central Book Depot, 1896.

Somadeva, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, ed. by Pandit Durgaprasad and Kashinath Pandurang Parab, Bombay, 1889; ed. by N.M. Penzer and trans. by C.H. Tawney, Indian edition, Delhi, 1968 (*The Ocean of Story*, 1-10 vols);

Speyer, *Studies about Kathāsaritsāgara*, Amsterdam, 1908; Kedarnath Sharma, Hindi trans. Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, Patna. in 2 vols., 1960-61.

Somadevasūri, *Yaśastilaka-campū*, in 2 parts with Śrutasāgara's Ṭīkā (till Middle of the 5th *āśvāsa*), Bombay, 1916; K.K. Handiqui, *Yaśastilkacampū and Indian Culture*, Solapur, 1949; Gokulchandra Jain, *Yaśastilakacampū kā Sāṃskṛtika Adhyayana* (in Hindi), Pāśsvanātha Vidyaśrama, Varanasi, 1967.

Somaprabhasūri, *Kumāravālapaḍiboha* (*Kumārapāla-pratibodha*), ed. by Muni Jinavijaya with English introduction, Sanskrit preface and appendices, GOS, Baroda, 1920; Gujarati trans. in Atmanand Jain Sabha, V.S. 1983.

Svāmī Kārtikeya or Kumāra, *Kattigeyāṇuvekkhā* (*Kārtikeyānuprekṣā*) Pandit Jayachand, *Bhāṣā-Ṭīkā*, Gandhi Natharang, Bombay, 1904; Pandit Mahendrakumar Jain Patni, Khandwa, 1974; with Śubhacandra's Sanskrit Com., Hindi trans. by Pandit Kailashchandra Jain Siddhanta Shastri and A.N. Upadhye's Introduction, Raychand Shastramālā, Agas, 1960.

Tājika-śāstra by Haribhaṭṭa et al (not published).

Tantrākhyāyikā, the oldest form of the *Pañcatantra* (See *Pañcatantra*), ed. by Hertel, J., Leipzig, 1904.

Ṭhakkura Pheru, *Jyotiṣasāra*, included in *Ratnaparikṣādi Sāmānya Saṃgraha*, Rajasthan Prachya Vidya Pratisthan, Jodhpur, 1961; Nahata Brothers, Calcutta, 1963.

Tulasīdāsa, *Rāmacaritamānasa*, ed,. by Vishvanatha Prasad Mishra, Varanasi, 1962.

Tūtīnāmā, Persian translation of *Śukasaptati*.

Udyotanasūri, *Kuvalayamālā*, ed. by A.N. Upadhye in 2 parts, SJS, 1959, with Vasudevasharan Agrawala's *Cultrual Notes*, in 1970; Premsuman Jain, *Kuvalayamālā kā Sāṃskṛtik Adhyayana* (in Hindi) Vaishali, 1975.

Uttama (Kumāra) Caritakathānaka (The story of the Life of (Prince) Most excellent), ed. and trans. into German by A. Weber, 1884; trans. into German by J. Hertel, 1920 in *Der Prinz als Papagei* (*The Prince as a Parrot*), GDR, 1979; the metrical recension in 686 *ślokas* by Cārucandra, the pupil of Bhaktilābha, ed. by Hiralal Hansraj, Jamnagar, 1922; Vardhamana Satyanīti Harṣasūri Jain Granthamālā, 15.

Vādirāja, *Ekibhāva-stotra*, with Candrakīrti's Sanskrit Com. and Parmanand Shastri's Hindi trans. Vīraseva Mandir, Sarsava, 1940.

Varāhamihira, *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* with Bhaṭṭotpala's Sanskrit Com. with English trans. and introduction in 2 parts by M.R. Bhatt, Delhi, 1981 and 1987; ed. by Sudhakar Dvivedi, Banaras, V.S., 1987.

Vararuci, *Prākṛtaprakāśa* with Prākṛtamañjari, Com. of Kātyāyana and Manoramā of Bhāmaha with Bengali trans. ed. by Vasantakumar Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1914; Dineshchandra Sarkar, revised ed. Banaras, 1970.

Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, Sanskrit text by P. Pradhan, Patna, 1967.

Vaṭṭakera, *Mūlācāra*, MDJG, in 2 parts, V.S. 1977 and 1980; K. Okud, *Eine Digambara Dogmatik, Wiesbaden*, 1975; Dr. Phoolchand Jain 'Premi', *Mūlācāra kā Samīkṣātmaka Adhyayan* (in Hindi), with introduction of Jagdishchandra Jain, Parsvantha Vidyashrama, Varanasi, 1987; Jain, R.P., *Piṇḍaviśuddhi: Das sechste Kapitel von Vaṭṭakeras Mūlācāra und der Āhākamma-Abschnitt der Piṇḍanijjutti*, New Delhi, 1983.

Vidyāpati, *Kīrtilatā*, Vasudevasharan Agrawala, Chirgaon, Jhansi, 1963.

Vikramāditya, *Pañcadaṇḍacchatra-kathā* (unpublished).

Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā, Varanasi, 1968.

Vimalasūri, *Paumacariya*, ed. by H. Jacobi, Bhavnagar, 1914; ed. by Muni Punyavijaya, with Hindi trans. by S.M. Vora, *PTS*, 1962 and 1968.

Vivāhapaḍala (Vivāhapaṭala), referred to in the *Nisī-Cū*; Bhaṭṭotpala, the commentator of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, refers to two versions of the treatise and is to have commented on it. This treatise has been also mentioned in the Bṛhajjātaka. It is unpublished.

Yavaneśvara, his *Akṣarakośa* (referred to by Bhaṭṭotpala in his Com. on Bṛhatsaṃhitā).

GENERAL WORKS IN ENGLISH

Alsdorf, Ludwig, (i) *Kleine Schriften*, ed. by Albrecht Wezler, Wiesbaden, 1974; (ii) *The Ārya Stanzas of the Uttarajjhāyā*, Mainz, 1966

(The) Arabian Nights, Entertainments (The Thousand and One Nights) in 3 vols, ed. by Edward William Lane, London, 1859.

Aśoka Inscriptions, New edition, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, 1, Oxford, 1925.

Bader, Clarisse, *Women in Ancient India*, London, 1925.

Bagchi, P.C., *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, Calcutta, 1929.

Basham., A.L., *The Wonder that was India*, New York, 1954.

Bloomfield, M., *Pārśvanātha-caritaṃ, The Life and Stories of the Jain Saviour Pārśvanatha*, Baltimore, 1919.

Bompas, C.H., *Folklore of Santal Parganas*, London, 1909.

Brecht, Bertolt, *Der Kaukaschises Kreider-kreis* (in German), Surcamp Verlag, 1964.

Bühler, G., *Über die indische Sekte der Jainas, 1887* (on the Indian Sect of the Jainas, London, 1903).

Chanda, R.C., Presidential Address, *Śramanism*, ISC, 1934.

Chatterji, S.K., *Indo-Aryan Hindi*, 1942.

Chattopadhyaya, Debiprasad, *What is Living and What is Dead in Indian Philosphy*, New Delhi, 1976.

Crooke, William, *The Religion of Folklore of Northern India*, London, 1926.

Dange, S.A., *Legends in Mahābhārata*, Delhi, 1969.

Das Gupta, Surendranath, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, *I*, Cambridge University, 1922.

Davis and Vera Mace, *Marriage: East and West*, London 1960.

De Jong, J.W., *Three Notes* on the *Vasudevahiṇḍi.II Saudāsa, the Man-eater* in Saṃjñāvyākraṇaṃ: Studia Indologica Internationalia, I, 1954.

Dubiois, J.A., *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, Oxford, 1906.

Dundes, Alan, *The Study of Folklore*, 1965.

Elwin, Verrier, (i) *Folktales of Mahakoshal*, Bombay, 1944; (ii) *Religion of an Indian Tribe*, Bombay, 1955.

German Scholars on·India, 2 vols., vol. 1, 1973; Vol. II, 1976, Varanasi.

Grimm, *Household Tales*.

Hertel, Johannes, (i) *on the Literature of Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat*, Leipzig, 1922; (ii) *Jinakīrti's Bāla-Gopāla-kathānaka*, trans. into German Leipzig, 1917; (iii) *Campaka-śreṣṭhi-kathānaka* by the same author, trans. into German, Leipzig, 1922; (iv) *Jñānasāgara's Ratnacūḍa-kathānaka*, trans. into German, Leipzig, 1922; (v) *Pañcatantra: Das Pañcatantra, seine Geschitchte und seine Verbreitung*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1914.

Jacobi, Hermann, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Maharashtri, Zur Einführung in das studium des Prakrit (Selected Stories in Maharashtri)*, Leipzig, 1886; English trans. by J.J. Meyer, London, 1909.

Jaini, Padmanabha S., *The Jaina Path of Purification*, Berkeley, 1977.

Keith, A.B. *The Sanskrit Drama*, London, 1964.

Lannoy, Richard, *The Speaking Tree*, London, 1971.

Lüders, H., *Kleine Schriften*.

Macculloch, J.A., *The Childhood of Fiction*, London, 1905.

Mahavira and His Teachings (2500th Nirvāṇa Mahotsava Samiti), Bombay, 1977.

Majumdar, D.N., *Races and Cultures of India*, Bombay, 1958.

Maxmüller, Friedrich, *India, what it can Teach us*, London, 1882.

O'Flaherty, W.D., *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva*, London, 1973.

Pandey, R.B., *Hindu Saṃskāras*, Banaras, 1949.

Pischel, Richard, *Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen (Grammar of Prakrit Languages)*, 1874.

Pusalkar, A.D., *Bhāsa-A Study*, Lahore, 1940.

Radharkrishnan, S., *Indian Philosophy*, *I*, 1927.

Raghavan, V., *Tantras or Mechanical Contrivances in Ancient India*, Bangalore, 1956.

Risely, H.H., *The People of India*, Calcutta, 1908.

Roy, S.C. (i) *The Mundas and their Country*, Bombay, 1970; (ii) *The Orāons of Chota Nagpur*, Ranchi, 1915; (ii) *The Hill of Bhuiyas of Orissa*, Ranchi, 1935.

Russell, R.V. and Hiralal, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, London, 1916.

Sastri, Hiranand, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India – Nalanda and its Epigraphical Material*, Government of India Press, Calcutta, 1942.

Schlingloff, D., *Studies in the Ajanta Paintings*, Ajanta Publications, Delhi-1988.

Schoff, W.H., *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a merchant of the first century A.D.*, trans. from the Greek and annotated, New York, 1912; reprinted, New Delhi, 1974.

Schubring, Walther, *The Doctrine of the Jainas* (translated from the revised German edition by Wolfgang Beurlen), Delhi, 1972.

Scott, George Rylay, *History of Prostitution from Antiquity to the present Day*, London, 1940.

Sen, Amit, *Note on the Bengal Reminiscences*.

Skeat, W., *Fables and Folk-tales*, Cambridge, 1901.

Sogani, K.C., *Ethical Doctrine in Jainism*, Solapur, 1967.

The Vedic Age, Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti, 1951.

Thurston, E. and Rangachari, K., *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras, 1909.

Winternitz, Maurice, (i) *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1933, reprint, New Delhi, 1972; (ii) *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. III, Part I, Delhi, 1963; (iii) *Some Problems of Indian Literature*, Delhi, 1978; (iv) *Ascetic Literature in Ancient India*, 1923.

JOURNALS

ABORI *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*

AIOC *All India Oriental Conference Proceedings, 1927*

Bharatī : *Bulletin of the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi*

BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*

Buddhsm and Jainism, *(ed. by Das, H.C. et al.), Cuttack, 1976*

District Gazeteers *of Bengal: Manbhum, Birbhum, Bankura*

Glory of India

IA *Indian Antiquary*

IHQ *Indian Historical Quarterly*

IIJ *Indo-Iranian Journal*

JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

JOIB *Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda*

JUB Journal of University of Bombay

Journal of the Asiatic Society, *Bombay Branch*

Journal of the Greater India Society

Jñānāñjali : *Muni Punyavijaya Commemoration Volume* (in Hindi & Gujarati), Baroda, 1969

Kashyapa Commemoration Volume, Nalanda, 1986

Memories of the Archaeological Survey of India – Nalanda and its Epigraphical Material

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society
RASB Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay
Sambodhi, *L.D. Institute of Indology (Ahmedabad)*
Saṃjñāvyākaraṇaṃ : *Studia Indologica Internationalia*
Schubring Zum 70 Geburtstag *(in German), Hamburg, 1951*
Studien Zum Jainismus Und Buddhismus : Gedenkschrift für Ludwing
      Alsdorf, 1981
The Quarterly Review of Historical Society
WZKS *Wiener Zeitschrift Für die Kunde Südasiens*
ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS (I)

ADJG	*Anantakirti Digambara Jain Granthamala*
AGS	*Agamodaya samiti*
BBRAS	Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society
BJP	Bharatiya Jñānapeetha
BSS	Bombay Sanskrit Series
CJMS	Catalogue of the Jaina Manuscript at Strasbourg
DJGK	Digambara Jain Granthamala Kashi
DLJP	Devachanda Lalbhai Jain Pustakoddhara
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics
GOS	Gaekwad Oriental Series
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series
Indi Stud	Indischen Studien
JJG	Jivaraj Jain Granthamala
KM	Kāvyamālā
MDJG	Manikchanda Digambara Jain Granthamala
NSP	Nirnayasagar Press
PTS	Prakrit Text Society/Pali Text Society
RJS	Shrimad Rajchandra Jain Shastramala
RKŚS	Ṛṣabhadevji Kesharimal Śvetambara Saṃsthā
SBE	Sacred Book of the East
SJG	Sanatana Jain Granthamala
SJS	Singhi Jain Series
YJG	Yashovijaya Jain Granthamala

ABBREVIATIONS (II)

Ācā	Ācārāṅga
AMK	Ākhyānamaṇikośa
Aṇuoga	Anuyogadvāra
Āva	Āvaśyaka
Bhā	Bhāṣya
Bhag-Ārā	Bhagavatī-Ārādhṇā
BHBH	Bhavabhāvanā
BK	Bṛhatkathā
BKK	Bṛhatkathākośa
BKM	Bṛhatkathāmañjarī
BKŚS	Bṛhakathāślokasaṃgraha
Bṛh	Bṛhatkalpa
Bṛhat Saṃ	Bṛhatsaṃhitā
Com.	Commentary
Cū	Cūrṇi
Daś	Daśavaikālika
HCLJ	History of Canonical Literature of the Jainas
JSBI	Jain Sahitya kā Bṛhad Itihas
JSI	Jain Sahitya aur Itihasa
JHP	Harivaṃśapurāṇa of Jinasena
Jambu	Jambudvīpaprajñapti
Kalpa	Kalpasūtra
KKC	Karakaṇḍucariu
KSS	Kathāsaritsāgara
KVLM	Kuvalayamālā
LAI	Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jaina Canon and Commentaries
MBH	Mahābhārata
Mahā Nī	Mahānisītha
MKH	Majjhimakhaṇḍa
MP	Mahāpurāṇa
MW	Monier Williams's Sanskrit-English Dictionary
n	note
Nāyā	Nāyādhammakahāo
Nir	Niryukti
Niśi	Nisītha
Ovā	Ovāiya

Paṇṇa	Paṇṇavaṇā
PJVS	Purātan vākya sūci
Pī	Pīṭhikā
PKK	Puṇyāsravakathākośa
PNL	Prakrit Narrative Literature
PSI	Prakrit Sahitya Ka Itihasa
Sama	Samavāyāṅga
Sū	Sūtra
Sūr	Sūriya paṇṇatti
Sūyagaḍa	Sūtrakṛtāṅga
Ṭhā	Ṭhāṇāṅga
The Vasudeva	The Vasudevahiṇḍi- An Authentic Jain Version of the Bṛhatkathā
Ṭī	Ṭīkā
Tśp	Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita
Uttarā	Uttarādhyayana
UP	Uttara-Purāṇa
Vya Bhā	Vyavahāra Bhāṣya
VH	Vasudevahiṇḍi
Vṛ	Vṛtti
V.S.	Vikrama Saṃvat

About the Author

Dr. Jagdishchandra Jain (b.1909), a veteran and internationally reputed author, is an eminent scholar of Prakrit and Jainism. He has been a Research Professor in the Department of Indology, University of Kiel (Federal Republic of Germany) and a Professor of Hindi in Peking, Republic of China. He was a Professor and Research Guide in Prakrit and Jainism in the Vaishali Institute of Prakrit, Jainism and Ahimsa (Government of Bihar), and Head of the Department of Hindi and Professor of Sanskrit and Prakrit in the Ramnarain Ruia College, University of Bombay. He was invited to deliver lectures on Ancient Indian Culture in the U.S.A., Canada and Latin America. He is widely travelled and has delivered lectures in the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad; Department of Jainology, University of Dharwad, Karnataka University; Department of Buddhist Studies, University of Delhi. Besides being an author of over 70 books on a variety of subjects, he has contributed numerous research papers in Indian and foreign reputed Oriental Journals.

Some of his outstanding works include: *The Vasudevahiṇḍi* - An Authentic Jain Version of the Bṛhatkathā; *Prakrit Narrative Literature : Origin and Growth* (sponsored by Indian Council of Social Science Research); *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in Jaina Canon and Commentaries* (enlarged revised edition); *Seven Pearls of Wisdom*; *Prakrit Sahitya Ka Itihas* (Hindi, received Uttar Pradesh Govt. Award; revised second edition); *Bhagwan Mahavir* (Hindi, Kannada and Oriya editions); *Soviet Roos Pita ke Patron me* (Soviet Land Nehru Award-winner); *History and Development of Prakrit Literature* (soon to be published).