13

Beiträge zur kulturwissenschaftlichen Süd- und Ostasienforschung

herausgegeben von Eva De Clercq, Bart Dessein, Franziska Ehmcke, Ann Heirman und Andreas Niehaus

Eva De Clercq – Heleen De Jonckheere – Simon Winant
(Eds.)

Literary Transcreation as a Jain Practice

Ergon

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Cover picture:

Top row: Folio from *Jasaharacariu* by Raidhū depicting Yaśodhara
and sacrificial animals in front of the Goddess; Folio of *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* by Hemacandra
with the commentary by Śrīvallabha, the *Nāmasāroddhāra*.

Bottom row: Folio of a manuscript; Folio of *Kalpasūtra* manuscript depicting
King Siddhārta at the court.

Centred: Wooden cover of *Navagrahakundalakṣaṇa* manuscript.

For image sources, see p. 277.

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This volume developed out of a conference, *Literary Transcreation as a Jain Practice*, originally scheduled for May 2020, but due to the global COVID pandemic, it was postponed to September 2022. The idea for the conference arose from the shared research interests of the conference organisers and this volume's editors whose work on Jain narrative literature prompted them to ask what conclusions may be drawn from the many creative engagements by Jains with existing literary objects, and how these may contribute to the field of South Asian Studies. The Jains as a literary community have remained noticeably absent from this field, and the large corpus of Jain texts in manuscript libraries – many of which remain unexamined – suggests that the Jains' influential role should be reckoned with in the literary world of South Asia. The organisers and editors want to thank the conference participants, our colleagues in Jain Studies, for their patience with the pandemic and for pushing forward the field.

We also wish to thank the sponsors of the event and the volume, the donors from the global Jain community, the Flemish Fund for Scientific Research (FWO-Vlaanderen), the Committee for Scientific Research and the Department of Languages and Cultures at Ghent University.

We also extend our gratitude to the anonymous reviewers who diligently went through all the chapters of this book.

Table of Content

Heleen De Jonckheere
Introduction: Jain Transcreations and the Creativity of Similarity ... 9

Mary and John Brockington
All Things to all Men — and Women: Rāma transcreated 25

Eva De Clercq
"Life of Padma" Times Three: Telling the same Story in Prakrit, Sanskrit, and Apabhramsha 51

Gregory M. Clines
Heroism or Detachment: Reading Hastimalla's *Añjanāpavanañjaya* 77

Basile Leclère
Kumārapāla's Wedding with Fair-Compassion: An Allegorical Story retold from Drama to Narratives 95

Simon Winant
The Auspicious Dreams of Kuntī and Mādrī in Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*: Turning the Pāṇḍavas into Quasi-*Mahāpuruṣas*? 119

Neha Tiwari
A City of Two Tales: Structure of Causality in Jain and Hindu Accounts of the Destruction of Dvārakā and the Death of Kṛṣṇa 143

Shubha Shanthamurthy
A Case Study in Jaina Transcreation: *Jalakrīḍā* in the *Nēmi* Narratives 175

Anna Aurelia Esposito
The Story of King Yaśōdhara – Processes of Transformation 209

Anil Mundra
Repudiation, Reinvention, and Reconciliation: Ātmārām and Haribhadrasūri’s other Readers on other Gods 227

John E. Cort
Translation as Commentary and Commentary as Translation in Jain Literary Practice 245

Cover Image References 277

Introduction: Jain Transcreations and the Creativity of Similarity

Heleen De Jonckheere

This volume centres on one of the main topics in the global history of literary thinking, namely literary mimesis and its relation and possible tension with poetic originality. It offers the perspective of the Jains, a religious minority yet historically literary productive community, to discuss their contribution to literary practices of reuse in the subcontinent. Within contemporary Translation Studies, often the Roman literary theorist Cicero is evoked as the first to have expressed the idea of sense-for-sense translation in his musings on imitation in practising oration.[1] The premodern Indian literary critics Ānandavardhana (9th c.) and Rājaśekhara (10th c.) described categories of poetic resemblance in their *Dhvanyāloka* and *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, respectively, on what constitutes poetry.[2] Especially Rājaśekhara problematised the unoriginal poet at length, refuting forms of literal (*śabda*) or topical (*artha*) mimesis in texts on the basis that they are cases of plagiarism (*haraṇa*).[3] Unlike Cicero, these Sanskrit theorists did not address interlingual translation as an independent practice,[4] a consideration that may have been less pertinent to their multilingual approach to poetry.[5] Their criticism also did not rely on fidelity as in the Western tradition,[6] nor did it apply to all cases of repetition in literary texts. Indeed, an outright rejection of all forms of repetition seems unlikely to have been accepted in a context where retellings and adaptations of famous works, such as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, were abundant and widely acknowledged across the subcontinent. The recognition of these many retellings has led modern Indian critics, such as A.K. Ramanujan or G.A. Devy, to suggest that Indian traditions are organised through a reflexivity "which constantly generate[s] new forms out of the old ones" (Ramanujan 1989: 189), or that "Indian literary communities ... possess [a] translating consciousness" because of the normality of being multilingual (Devy 1999: 187). What these postcolonial literary critics point to is the fact that the relation and perceived tension between originality and mimesis has been understood within the particular frame of a Western interpretation of literature, and that repetition can be productive to literary creation.

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[1] Later Western theorists distinguish the sense-for-sense translation from the word-for-word translation. Cicero does not explicitly define sense-for-sense translation but mentions how in his translations of the Greek orators he freely rendered what he had read in Greek into Latin, using a mixture of elegant Latin expressions and words imitating Greek (*De Oratore* 1.155, Cicero 1998).

[2] Ānandavardhana distinguishes three types of resemblance (*saṃvāda*): (1) "like one's mirror image" (*pratibimbavat*), (2) "like one's portrait" (*ālekhyākāravat*), (3) "like the body [of a person] which resembles one's own" (*tulyadehivat*; 4.12 in Ānandavardhana 1990). He refutes the first two (4.13). Rājaśekhara restructures the first two under the borrowed "topic" (*artha*) of a poem (*anyayoni*, in contrast to a topic indefinite in terms of borrowing, *nihnutayoni*, and not borrowed, *ayoni*). The third resemblance, that in terms of one's body, together with an additional fourth subtype, "like entering into a foreign city" (*parapurapraveśasadṛśa*), is structured under the *nihnutayoni* topic. (Chapter 12 in Rājaśekhara 1934).

[3] Rājaśekhara discusses plagiarism of words as well as of meaning (*śabdaharaṇa* and *arthaharaṇa*) in separate chapters (Chapters 11, 12 and 13).
Besides the categorisations by Ānandavardhana and Rājaśekhara, repetition of words has also been addressed by, for example, Kṣemendra, who, similarly to Rājaśekhara and to Cicero, discusses imitation as a process of exercising poetic writing (see Salomon 2019: 331). In the Jain context, Hemacandra draws from Rājaśekhara and Kṣemendra in discussing poetic resemblance (see Upadhyay 1987: 49–52, 456–57).

The present volume adopts this perspective in presenting discussions of works from the Jain literary tradition that are all examples of creative engagements with existing literary themes, motifs, or entire texts. The volume calls these engagements “transcreations”, a term borrowed from P. Lal, in order to emphasise the productivity of bringing across earlier literature into a new context and language. Recent years have seen several other publications discuss literary reuse in South Asian Studies, including Freschi and Maas (2017) and Williams et al. (2018), but this is the first to focus on Jain authors and their literary works. Their contribution to the literary history of India, in general, has not been appreciated sufficiently and is especially relevant to the topic of transcreation.

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[4] This does not mean that they were not conscious of literary transpositions between languages (see also the final chapter in this volume). Rājaśekhara describes one subtype of the *pratibimbakalpa*-type of the borrowed topic (see fn. 2 and 12) as “changing a composition in a certain language into another language” and calls it “costume of an actor” (*naṭanepathya*; in Chapter 12). However, his discussion is limited to the verse level, and the same denomination is also used for an alteration in the mode of expression (*ukti*) (Chapter 13).

[5] I refer here to the accepted *bhāṣātraya* (“threefold of languages”) for classical *kāvya,* Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsha.

[6] With fidelity I mean the acknowledgement of literary property so that an author should acknowledge the textual source he drew from. Note that while the idea of literary property is important in Roman literary culture, Roman theorists never developed clear measures to distinguish between the allowed and encouraged practice of imitation and plagiarism (McGill 2012: 22). Fidelity can further refer to a sufficient amount of closeness to a source text when translating, which also does not seem to have been a concern in the Indian tradition. Debates about this form of fidelity arose primarily in discussion on Biblical translation in the Christian tradition.

The Contribution of the Jains?

The Jains have contributed particularly in three significant ways that could all be interpreted as signalling a concern for preservation and transmission: the first is the production and preservation of manuscripts, the second is the creation of adaptations and translations, and the third is the privileging of multilingualism. An important stimulus for these must have been the fact that Jains throughout history quite famously have held positions in the wealthier echelons of society as administrators at various courts, or as merchants and moneylenders. This continuity of Jain communities as part of the social elite has led to a cultivation of intellectualism and cultural production.[7] This resulted, on the one hand, in the establishment of the largest collections of manuscripts of texts by Jain as well as Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic authors. These were kept in *bhaṇḍāras* ("libraries") which Jains had already early on installed at their temples and monasteries to support the self-study (*svādhyāya*) of Jain mendicants.[8] The importance of this accumulation of written texts by Jains to a discussion of transcreations by Jain authors is intuitively easily understood. However, such recognition becomes even more relevant in consideration of Pollock's influential theory according to which Indian literary expression was transformed internally by being written down and, in fact, only *became literature* (as *kāvya* opposed to the purely oral) with the introduction of writing (2006: 4). Regardless of the many possible criticisms one may have against such a limited understanding of literature, it is hard to disregard the advantage of written texts in terms of pace and geographical extent of literary transmission, and for that reason also in terms of poetic influence and innovation. Another result of the intellectualism Jains cultivated for themselves was the translation and transcreation of many works of poetry, philosophy, grammar, astrology, and political and other sciences, besides religious and didactic texts. While the influence of the Jain belief system is visible in many of these texts, it is important to point out that Jains as a community organised by means of their religious affiliation contributed to all genres of Indian literature. This is to counter arguments against discerning religious affiliation as an effective category in studying cultural production. Moreover, the refusal of any theory that excluded multiple languages for the writing of ritual or religious texts, as the Brahmins had with *mīmāṃsā* theories, suggests an ideological advantage to stimulate multilingual literary writing including transcreations across languages.[9] Indeed, Jain authors wrote extensively in various Middle Indic languages (including Prakrit and Apabhramsha), besides Sanskrit, and were the first to start writing in vernacular languages, the extent of which one author in this volume has called “a major chapter in the global history of translation”.

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[7] I write this without resorting to an explanation as that of Weber (1958 [1916-17]) who studied the Jains as part of his project to correlate religious beliefs with the rise of capitalism. His brief discussion of Jainism, which he compares to ascetic Protestantism, has been proven to be flawed for decades, yet is still influential in directing research themes in Jaina Studies (Cort 2011: 5; see also Babb 2020).
Laidlaw also pointed out that "the extent to which Shvetambar Jainism especially has remained a religion of the commercial élite is by any standards remarkable" (Laidlaw 1995: 87).
Cort's (2019) article "Bhakti as Elite Cultural Practice" is insightful into how religious praxis can be read as a cultural performance defined by a complex of social locations.

[8] We do not know when the earliest libraries were established. Wujastyk discusses this in the wider Indian context (2014: 167), while Cort (1995) focuses on the case of the Pāṭaṇ Jain temple libraries to argue for the importance of the Jain manuscript tradition.

“Transcreation” and its Indian Origins

The term “transcreation” originated and has been often used in post-colonial contexts, although today it is very popular in the world of marketing. Secondary literature in Translation Studies refers to the Calcutta-based post-Independence writer and literary critic Purushottama Lal and to the Brazilian poet and critic Haroldo de Campos as the first authors to coin this term. Both litterateurs wanted to make explicit that a good translation requires creativity by the translator so as to make a poem comprehensible to the targeted audience. In a number of essays, de Campos stressed the transmission of “phonosemantic” (*verbivocovisual*) elements, by which he meant that a translation should integrate the sound, image, and meaning of an original text – he also referred to this as ‘aesthetic information’ (Cisneros 2012: 24). This requirement poses significant difficulty which is exactly where the attraction to translate lies, according to de Campos, because the more intricate a poem is the more creativity the translator must muster (Cisneros 2012: 25). The attraction in poetic complication may remind the Sanskrit scholar of the (albeit contested) popularity of Śrīharṣa’s *Naiṣadhīyacarita* to vernacular translators from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries (see Patel 2014: 175–201), but Jain literary reuse shows little evidence for such an approach to translation.[10] Lal focuses on the transmission of the meaning and value, both narratively and ethically, of an original literary work. In his English translations of Sanskrit epics and poems (including *Mahābhārata* and *Abhijñānaśakuntala*) he aims to appeal to a Western as well as an Indian audience. To bridge the two cultural audiences, the translator should “edit, reconcile and transmute” (1957: 5). Most discussants of his work have focused on the target orientation of Lal’s approach to translation (see Sales Salvador 2005: 194–95). Gopinathan (2006) even sees the audience-oriented logic of how he interprets “transcreation” as applying also to the premodern vernacular renderings of Sanskrit compositions (he mentions Tulsīdās’s *Rāmcaritmānas* or the works by the Cākyars of Kerala). In the context of this book, there is another side of Lal’s thinking about translation that is worthy of elaboration. In *Transcreation: Two Essays* Lal explains that he came to his understanding of “transcreation” through his love for English. Writing in that language, however, soon stirred a conflict in him between “the milieu and tradition of English” and the values he found around him as “an experiencing Indian” (1972: 1). As an author in post-Independence India, Lal together with other English-writing Indian authors sought to cultivate a new English idiom that reflected the emergence of an independent nation and culture, while also fighting against politically powerful voices who criticised that “‘Indo-Anglian’ poetry is a blind alley” (Bose in Lal 1969: 5). For Lal English was a pan-Indian language crossing regional borders and able to express the symbols, values and concepts of the Indian tradition (1969: xvi). To address his inner conflict, he started translating Indian texts, as he argues:

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[9] Balbir discusses intratextual multilingualism particularly in the hymns by Jinaprabhasūri as a product of a highly learned culture among Jain monastics (Balbir 2007; see also Vose forthcoming). The same author exemplifies translation practices of the Śvetāmbara canonical texts on word-, sentence-, and paragraph-level with source and target language presented in the same text (Balbir 2022). Examples of translation practices on different textual levels are given with regards to narrative texts also in De Jonckheere (2020: Chapter 3). These do not involve source and target language present in the same text, but clearly illustrate the use of a source text to create a translation.

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[10] While the meaning of a source text was usually transmitted into the transcreation, the form and sound of the new text were guided by the metrical conventions of the genre in which the Jain authors wrote. The *Paümacariu* by Svayambhū illustrates quite beautifully the “phonoaesthetic” innovations authors could include (see De Clercq’s translation in Svayambhūdeva 2018 and 2023).

> in the hope that the intimacy that only translation can give would enable me to know better what the Indian “myth" was, how it invigorated Indian literature, and what values one could pick up from it that would be of use to me as an “Indian” human being…(1972: 1)

He goes on to argue that the strength of Indian literature lies in its myth content, because myth “impregnates literature not only with literary value but moral and religious value as well” (1972: 2). To him, the denomination “classical literature” can only be applied to literature that carries myth in it. In the essay, Lal steers away from a validation of translation or transcreation based on its target, to find an internal worth in transcreation that is consequently also valuable to himself. Returning to the contents of this book, it is an easy exercise to think of parallels between the value he finds in “editing” and “reconciling” Indian myth for a modern foreign-language audience and the motivations Jain authors had to transmit moral, religious, and literary expressions to an audience of another time, place or with another language. The presence of myth is immediately apparent in the transcreations of Jain versions of the famous Indian epics, which are the topic of five out of the ten chapters of this book. But also the other chapters discuss texts that bring across a complex of poetry and ethicising discourse that is imbued with a mythical understanding of the world, as also Lal understands the “Indian myth”. The parallel between Lal’s rediscovery of his Indianness through the act of transcreation and the apparent motivations of the authors discussed in the following chapters highlights the critical message rendered in this volume, namely that beyond displaying erudition in literary creativity, transcreations give the opportunity to work creatively with one’s tradition and thus to bring across the aesthetic moral complex thereof.[11] Of course, Lal’s reflections bear the stamp of his postcolonial context and its hierarchised cultural difference, which was not a factor influencing the premodern Jain authors. As such, the methodologies he applied to bring across specific Indian literary works are quite different from the methodologies applied by the authors discussed in this volume. The next section will therefore elaborate on what exactly is meant by “transcreation” in this book.

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[11] This parallel could also be read as a confirmation of the thesis by Ganesh Devy that there is indeed an Indian “translating consciousness” which continues in contemporary literary practices by Indian authors, although we should not disregard that indeed “most literary traditions originate in translation and gain substance through repeated acts of translation” (1999: 184). On the other hand, Devy’s claim (1999: 187) that literary significance, by which he means something like a soul or essence, is ahistorical in the Indian context should be nuanced, as premodern Indian authors did seek innovation and opposed certain forms of plagiarism.

"Transcreation" in this Book

The authors and editors of this volume take a broader approach to the phenomenon of transcreation than the above-discussed twentieth-century critics. Besides explicit translations from a single source text, they include adaptations of famous narratives – often with traces of an authoritative version, the reuse of motifs, plot elements, and verses from a variety of textual sources, as well as uncredited translations. Transcreation in our sense, therefore, implies an approach to textual resemblance in continuation with the theoretical discussions by the pre-modern Sanskrit literary critics, notably by Rājaśekhara. He discusses in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* a wide array of resemblances of the literal (*śabda*) and the topical (*artha*) type, including different categories of paraphrase, metre-transposition (*chandovinimaya*), or adaptation into another language or style (*naṭanepathya*) for the latter type, and the borrowing of words, stanzas, or sentences for the former.[12] The premodern theoreticians did not all agree on the acceptable types of poetic resemblance, but their main criterion seems to have been poetic creativity (*pratibha*). In this volume, we do not disregard a priori any forms of transcreative practices as being unpoetic or unliterary. Instead, the authors of this volume look closely at instances of textual resemblance and ask what innovations Jain transcreators applied in the larger setting of the text. They do so in order to understand how these innovations inform us of the meaning of the transcreations for the poets and their audiences. In this way, the volume works with the material that must have underpinned the criticism of elite scholars of the Sanskrit tradition against certain transcreative literary practices and scrutinises how transcreation continued alongside and after the establishment of a scholarly discourse on literary reuse (or plagiarism: *haraṇa*). We, thus, take a bottom-up approach to the question of originality within mimesis that has been asked in literary traditions around the world (see above).

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[12] This is not an exhaustive list of all the subcategories mentioned and illustrated in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara. The five types of *śabdaharaṇa* are discussed in Chapter 11, while the thirty-two types of *arthaharaṇa* structured into eight types for each of the four subdivisions of appropriation (belonging to either *anyayoni* or *nihnutayoni*, see fn. 2) are listed with examples in Chapters 12 and 13. Notice that the type *naṭanepathya* is used to designate both a transposition in terms of language, which is "like a mirror" and therefore problematic, as well as in terms of style, which is "like one's portrait" and not as problematic. Rājaśekhara's types are only illustrated by means of verse and so their significance to entire works is unclear, but we could assume that different types could be present in one work.

The chapters ask primarily two questions concerning transcreation: (1) What methods did Jain authors use in writing their transcreations? Or what did they do with the source material? (2) Why did Jain authors transcreate? Or what are the motivations for their alterations? These two sets of questions are related to each other in the sense that most methods are an immediate result of the motivation behind the transcreation. Perhaps the clearest example is that of the translations which are often, though not exclusively, made to render a text clear to an audience illiterate in the original language (see Chapter Ten). Another rather clear example is the addition of poetic ornaments or metrical transposition in order to fit the genre in which a poet wanted to render a known story. Genre conventions could also require changes in the emotional arcs so that plot elements would be restructured. The same method of plot restructuring, however, could also be applied for different purposes: in order to clarify the story or text, to strengthen the argument of a text, or to reorient the ethical message of a text for community purposes or just to ethicise the audience more clearly. Elements could also be added to or removed from the plot for similar purposes. Religious affiliation seems to have motivated many of the transcreative processes illustrated in this volume. Often, innovations to earlier texts served to emphasise certain values or beliefs specific to the Jain system: thus, we find that Jain authors humanised epic characters because they believed only humans can be rational agents (see Chapter One and Two), that some ascetic authors highlighted a correct understanding of dharma (see Chapter Four), or that they purified and de-eroticised poetic texts to comply with the ascetic image of Jains (see Chapter Seven). However, not all Jain authors shunned away from the full poetic range of aesthetic emotions, so that certain later transcreations that did so seem to reinterpret one's own religious positionality. Such reinterpretation remains relevant in contemporary times where Jain authors transcreated well-known verses to align with a universal form of religion (see Chapter Nine), or where non-Jain authors transcreated Jain narratives for their universal value to contemporary society (Chapter Eight). A consideration for being literary and creative is also visible as a motivation for the transcreations discussed here. The authors' choice to transcreate into a different poetic genre, as I mentioned above, could be a choice for creativity by itself. Some authors expressed their poetic erudition in a new language so that their transcreation would become a classic in that literary language (Chapter Two and Eight), others transcreated narrative motifs to explore character development (Chapter Five and Six), or they exploited the potential of emotional arcs in drama (Chapter Three). In this regard, the explicit mentioning of the author's textual sources may also be seen as an expression of their own creativity, besides being an honouring of their literary predecessors.

To close this introduction, I present an overview of the volume summarising the main arguments of each chapter within the context of our understanding of transcreation.

Contents of this Volume

The first chapter by Mary and John Brockington offers the broadest lens to the practice of transcreation. They draw from their career-long research on the Rāma story to assess the narrative structure of different versions of the famous story, here in particular of Vimalasūri's *Paümacariyaṃ*. Not unlike Lal's motivation, the premodern transcreators modified certain events and characterisations of heroes to adapt the Rāma story to audiences of a different religious, local and historical background, while maintaining the overarching plot of the battle between good and evil. Vimalasūri's telling serves as a good example as it undoes any godly associations of Rāma and other characters, making it thus suitable to the ethicising purposes of Jain congregations. The Jain text even makes a parody out of some elements of the authoritative Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*. In this way, unlike Lal (1957: i), Jain transcreative practices were manifestly non-neutral and drew meaning upon this non-neutrality.

Eva De Clercq (Chapter Two) also discusses Vimalasūri's Prakrit *Paümacariyaṃ*, alongside the *Padmapurāṇa* by Raviṣeṇa in Sanskrit and the *Paümacariu* by Svayambhū in Apabhramsha. Prominent in her analysis of the passage occurring after Sītā's abduction by Rāvaṇa is the poetic genius of each of the authors. While the three versions are clearly adaptations of their respective predecessor – Raviṣeṇa's of Vimalasūri's text and Svayambhū's of Raviṣeṇa's work – the distinctive poetic tastes of their authors are expressed in differences in the emotional range or ethical involvement of the story's characters. Especially Svayambhū seems to take liberty in his approach to transcreation. His lengthening of the emotional arcs captures more efficiently the audience's aesthetic sentiment. Conversely, Raviṣeṇa follows his example at points quite literally, but he amplifies and elaborates on the emotional and ethical contemplations of the story's characters.

The exploration of Jain Rāma stories is continued in Chapter Three, where Gregory Clines analyses the seven-act play the *Añjanāpavanañ-*

jaya by Hastimalla. This play stages the love story of Añjanā and Pavanañjaya, the parents of Hanumān. Clines reads the theatrical adaptation in comparison to the "classical" *purāṇa* version by Raviṣeṇa and focuses on the emotional aesthetic (*rasa*) structuring of the Sanskrit drama. Hastimalla's transcreation is bound both by the emotional aesthetic expectations of the *rūpaka* form in which he writes and, simultaneously, by his own Jain theological commitments. While the former boundary suggests the predominant *rasa* to be the heroic one, the latter proposes the sentiment of *vairāgya*, or weariness of this-worldly life, as the concluding emotion. The analysis by Clines contributes to recognising emotions as significant constituents of the transcreative process, adding specifically the complex way in which emotions are closely related to both genre and religious morality in the Jain context.

In Chapter Four, Basile Leclère reevaluates textual repetition as a defining characteristic of the *prabandha* genre in his study of Jinamaṇḍanagaṇi's *Kumārapālaprabandha* in comparison to Yaśaḥpāla's *Moharājaparājaya* (12th c.) and Jayasiṃha's *Kumārapālabhūpālacaritra* (1365). Jinamaṇḍana's methodology bears similarities to how historical discourse is predominantly understood, as he adds clarifying details to the "historical events" of Kumārapāla's life told in the sources from which he draws. At the same time, he seems inspired by Jayasiṃha to retell the allegorical episode of King Kumārapāla's wedding to Fair-Compassion with an orientation in support of Jain ideals. With this inclusion of moralising elements, the *Kumārapālaprabandha* portrays a vision on the *prabandhas* as a historicising genre in which the accounts of recent persons are narrated because they can have cross-temporal relevance, which in this case involves serving as a model of morality.

The multi-layering of transcreative processes appears clearly in Chapter Five by Simon Winant. He discusses the *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* by Devaprabhasūri for how it foregrounds the Pāṇḍavas who are usually minor characters in the Jain *Mahābhārata* versions, the main hero being Nemi, the Jina-to-be. The transcreation raises the five brothers to the level of the *śalākāpuruṣas*, the mythological men whose lives structure the idealised Jain history. Devaprabha employs for this purpose the trope of auspicious dreams before the birth of each of the Pāṇḍavas by their mothers Kuntī and Madrī, which he reuses from the life stories of the conventionally accepted *śalākāpuruṣas*. His depiction of the dreams is attentive to the symbolism of similar dreams in the Jain *purāṇas*, but also incorporates imagery related to the births of the Pāṇḍavas in Vyāsa's epic. His transcreation draws the popular Pāṇḍavas more closely into the logic of Jain mythology, while remaining within the boundaries of its set structure, namely that they do not fully become *śalākāpuruṣas*.

The Jain *Mahābhārata* is also the topic of Chapter Six by Neha Tiwari. She studies the destruction of the city of Dvārakā and the subsequent death of its king Kṛṣṇa in the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* by Jinasena and the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritamahākāvya*, and compares their accounts with the Vyāsa version. Tiwari focuses on the structural level of the text to question how the tragic event is differently rationalised in the two religious traditions. The difference in causal explanations between the Hindu and Jain versions, but also between the texts by Jinasena and Hemacandra, supports the fact that there were varying *Mahābhārata* traditions on the subcontinent. The material further suggests a particular Jain logic in the occurrence of the events, as intoxication becomes instrumental in the fall of Dvārakā, Kṛṣṇa's agency is downplayed for that of Nemi, and the karmic consequences of past lives are stressed over those of the characters' current life.

Shubha Shanthamurthy (Chapter Seven) studies transcreations of Nemi within the *jalakrīḍā* episode of the Jain *Mahābhārata* between the eighth and sixteenth centuries. The trope of the *jalakrīḍā* or "play in the water" is underlain by erotic sentiment and is therefore contentious in the context of Jain ideals, while also having the potential to illustrate Nemi's unwavering character in front of female seductions. Shanthamurthy illustrates how this potential is explored in post-twelfth-century Kannada Digambara versions, in contrast to the earlier Digambara accounts by Jinasena, Guṇabhadra, Puṣpadanta and Cāvuṇḍarāya. The later texts portray Nemi as steadfast in front of Kṛṣṇa's women and describe the women themselves as devoted to the hero who they already recognise as the future Jina. Shanthamurthy suggests that this alteration in Nemi's behaviour is grounded in a stricter sectarian alignment in the context of upcoming Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva groups. Another stimulus was the greater influence of Śvetāmbara literary traditions in the Deccan, which does not allow any human flaw to soil Nemi's steadfastness of the mind.

In Chapter Eight, Anna Aurelia Esposito analyses the classic Kannada retelling of the story of King Yaśodhara by Janna (13th c.) together with its modern transcreation by the playwright Girish Karnad. Janna's version of Yaśodhara's spiritual journey deepens the story's characters in comparison to his Sanskrit predecessor Vādirāja, as his writing oscillates between Jain moral discourse and a poetic discourse that expresses the complex range of human emotions. With this, his transcreations differ from the seemingly sectarian-focused orientation of the Kannada texts studied in Chapter Seven by Shanthamurty. While the story that focuses on non-violence was retold exclusively by Jains from at least the eighth century and used in a ritual context, Girish Karnad sought to highlight the ethical relevance of the Jain narrative in modern times. His single-act theatrical adaptation translates the primacy of non-violence into questions of social and religious freedom. His bridging of two historically distinct cultures reminds of Lal's quest to transpose Indian myth.

Anil Mundra (Chapter Nine) too investigates what modernity does to transcreativity in his analysis of the twentieth-century transcreation within present-day Śvetāmbara communities of the most famous verses within the *Lokatattvanirṇaya* attributed to Haribhadrasūri (8th c.). This is itself a transcreation that adds comparisons between the Jina and other religious deities to its source, in order to highlight the excellence of the Jina. Modern Jain leaders, particularly Ātmarām, reused the text to argue for a religious universalism claiming that the differences between religious philosophies are merely nominal. Mundra notes that such reading of Haribhadra conforms with a wider modern rhetoric of Hindu humanism. Especially Ātmarām's *Chicago Praśnottara*, prepared for Virchand Gandhi's presentation at the Chicago World's Parliament of Religions and his subsequent U.S. tour, and its English translation, frames the teachings of Jainism in the context of modern science and the modern religious landscape. On the other hand, his *Tattvanirṇayaprāsāda* refers to classical Indic terminology. This illustrates the balance the ascetic scholar upheld between classical Indian epistemologies and modern global understandings.

In the final chapter, John Cort takes a critical approach to an issue that is implicitly present in several chapters of this volume, namely translation from one language into another. He particularly asks what we may learn from the extensive translations into the early-modern North Indian literary language (Bhasha) by Śvetāmbara and Digambara authors. Cort focuses on the genre of *bālāvabodhas* in his attempt to complicate the boundaries of the term translation, here in comparison to commentary. He illustrates how *bālāvabodhas* include both word-for-word trots in Bhasha of the Sanskrit or Prakrit (or Apabhramsha) verses they are transposing as well as explanations of these verses which resemble traditional Sanskrit commentarial discourse. The translatory methods of this genre are in continuation with a tradition of interlingual practices and Cort discusses some of these (e.g. *chāyā*) to contextualise his discussion. Cort concludes that translatory practices could vary along a continuum including commentarial and poetic transcreations, as some of the other chapters in this volume illustrate. Alongside these chapters, Cort's discussion suggests that language was one of the constitutive markers of difference in transcreating earlier material that co-existed with other methods of transcreation. While Jain authors were cognisant of their interlingual endeavour and the literary effects that had, translations were not seen as a practice independent from other transcreations.

Bringing these ten chapters together, the volume presents a detailed exploration of the methods, strategies and motivations Jain authors employed in their transcreations. It serves as an illustration of the originality with which Indian authors reused older literary material, and thus challenges the binary between mimesis and creativity. Additionally, the volume highlights the contribution by Jains in shaping and establishing transcreativity as part of the literary "consciousness" – in the words of G.N. Devy – of the Indian author. While the Jains' status among India's elites, for most of their history, undoubtedly facilitated their prominent role in the history of Indian literature, it is equally important to consider the influence of their commitment to transmitting the aesthetic moral complex particular to their religious community. In this way, the editors of this work hope to underscore the significance of religion as a vital factor in literary development.

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All Things to all Men — and Women: Rāma transcreated

Mary and John Brockington

The Tale of Rāma the Human

In origin, the Rāma story is a simple tale of the triumph of 'good' over 'evil': to preserve his father's integrity, a virtuous warrior prince agrees to the demand of a stepmother to live in the wilderness with only one brother and his wife, Sītā, to accompany him;[1] while there, his wife is abducted by a fearsome monster, Rāvaṇa, to be liberated by Rāma with the aid of a vast army of monkeys and bears. To transcreate the story, verbally or visually, has been the aim of tellers ever since it was first composed, probably in about the fifth century BCE. Each new telling bears testimony to the popularity and vitality of the earliest form of the story — a form which still cannot be determined with absolute certainty.[2]

Each new telling has been different: different in purpose, in means of transmission, in language, in cultural and religious context. To have succeeded, each telling has also had to be distinctive, a transcreation even if only to a limited extent: there would have been simply no point in producing an exact repetition of the work of all previous tellers — even if it was known. Yet throughout these transcreations, the basic form of the story as first composed in the Sanskrit *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa* (*VRm*) cannot be altogether lost: in whatever way the details are realised, it cannot be 'The story of Rāma' if Sītā is not abducted, and Rāvaṇa punished.

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[1] We offer this article in tribute to Paul Dundas, outstanding Jain scholar, and our long-standing friend and colleague, who died as it was about to be completed.

[2] See Brockington and Brockington 2006. Our names in references will henceforth be abbreviated to 'JLB' and 'MB'. Abbreviations for other texts used are listed in the Bibliography. We are grateful to Eva De Clercq and her colleagues for inviting John (a Sanskritist), and me (Mary, a narrativist), to contribute to this long-awaited conference, not as Jainologists (which we certainly are not) but in the hope that some of our long experience tracing the Rāma story as a whole from its secular origins in India through a bewildering series of transcreations, in many differing cultural contexts, may be helpful.

The chief characteristic of the Rāma story from its very conception has been its obvious popularity; how else could it have survived? Why should generations of audiences crave repeated performances of a story they had already heard? Identifying as many as possible of the huge number of these transcreated versions and then listing those building blocks that make each narrative distinctive is the first task of a vast project we have been engaged on for many years; our results so far can be consulted online on the Oxford Research Archive (ORA).[3]

Tellers who sought to enhance their own prestige and income by introducing what they considered 'improvements' to the old tale used a variety of means: stylistic elaboration of the existing narrative, especially at points of highest tension; introduction of new characters and new episodes (often duplicating existing ones); or inventive explanations of what seemed to be anomalies in the received text. The earlier tale had been built on a succession of surprises (MB 2012), but centuries of repetition meant that audiences now knew what the outcome was to be, and tellers preferred to concentrate on selected episodes of what had now become a long-drawn-out narrative (MB 2007). Eventually, the 5-*kāṇḍa* ('5-book') text was supplemented by material now grouped in a preliminary Book 1, the *Bālakāṇḍa*, and in a final Book 7, the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. The dating of these later parts of the *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa* is difficult to determine with any precision; what is clear is that many of the episodes found only in the two additional Books were inserted over a considerable span of time. The questions raised by this process of continual renewal are full of interest and challenging to answer: where did each change come from? why was it made? and what effect did they have on the understanding of the narrative underlying future versions?

Transcreations

Tellers of course worked within the changing pattern of society, and were influenced by the developing religious culture. Gradually, the heroic romance took on the narrative form of an epic, featuring Rāma as an avatara of Vishnu, and later still as God himself. As this transformation was still in process, composers working in different genres took note of the story's popularity, and began to harness it to their own purposes. Not surprisingly, it was reproduced in the Vaishnava Puranas, but there it was already so well known to the faithful that it usually needed to be repeated in outline only, with few details and few innovations. Composers of the Shaiva Puranas found their task much less simple. Evidently the Rāma story was too popular to be ignored, so inventive means (not always convincing) were found to accommodate it without diminishing Shiva's supremacy (MB 2018). Other faith groups, Buddhists and Jains, also felt unable to ignore it, and the results of some of their attempts to accommodate it to their own purposes will be explored in some detail below.

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[3] Development and spread of the Rāma narrative (pre-modern), freely available at http://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:8df9647a-8002-45ff-b37e-7effb669768b, or search Oxford Research Archive > Brockington, Rāmāyaṇa; henceforth cited as ORA. The 'Narrative Elements' folder contains detailed text references to works alluded to in this article, too many to be cited here in detail.

Dramatists too, such as Bhavabhūti, Murāri and Rājaśekhara, worked within the culture of their time, and respected the bare plot outline they had inherited, rearranging it where necessary (sometimes in startling ways) to meet the demands of their genre. But in an attempt to increase the tension of the now well-known narrative, they chose to portray their once mighty characters as the frequent butt of illusions and deceptions that no doubt amused their sophisticated court audiences but tended to recast the respected characters in an unflattering light; few of such innovations joined the tradition (MB 2020).

Many of the most valuable texts for tracing narrative development are visual; that is to say they are not presented verbally — in written or spoken words (JLB 2020; 2021). Carved sculptural friezes are fixed and relatively durable, so may convey information about dating and location that is more reliable, and often earlier, than manuscripts that have been much used and stored in conditions that make them an easy prey to climate and insect attack, and so have been repeatedly recopied (JLB 2018b). Exceptions are provided by manuscript paintings illustrating written texts, often (but not exclusively) of the so-called Vālmīki version of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* in a local recension (MB and JLB 2013; JLB 2018a; JLB 2019; JLB 2022); as costly and ostentatious works of art they have usually remained safe in the possession of the family of their patron until relatively recently.

The popularity of the old story was by no means confined to continental India; many of the earliest transcreations into a local vernacular, both Brahmanic and Buddhist in form, have been found in Central Asia, Tibet, and Southeast Asia. The existence of a thriving and creative Rāma tradition in Java is revealed by the *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin* (OJ *Kakawin*; 2nd half of 9th or early 10th century), an Old Javanese rendering partly based on Bhaṭṭi's Sanskrit *Rāvaṇavadha* (6th–7th century), but also incorporating many unfamiliar elements; at much the same time, the spectacular sculptural friezes at Prambanan depict a different Rāma story-line, largely Vālmīki-type,[4] whose source in Java has not yet been traced. The much more divergent *Hikayat Seri Rama* (written in Malay, a language widely current in medieval Java) seems to represent a flourishing independent local tradition.[5] Some effects of this change of locus will be mentioned later.[6]

Within India itself, transcreations of the traditional narrative continued to be produced, but were often overshadowed by substantial tellings in the vernacular languages; this development meant that in the popular mind "the *Rāmāyaṇa*" came to mean "the story as told by Kampaṉ, or by Tulsīdās, or by Kṛttibās" or whoever wrote in the local vernacular; and these versions all show their own distinct characteristics; some are virtually rewritings of an extant Sanskrit text,[7] others are more independent or more creative. When similar innovations occur at much the same date both in local vernacular and in mainstream Sanskrit texts, it can be an intriguing but almost insoluble problem to determine the direction, if any, of transmission; too often the possibility of individual creativity is dismissed in favour of undefined and ill-understood "folk tradition". Nonetheless, within or outside India, whether recognising their Indian roots or ignorant of them, all narrators retained at least a recognisable, indispensable, minimum of the original plotline.

So much material still awaits detailed analysis that this article can touch on only a few sample topics: firstly, the effect of various transcreations on our understanding of the character of Rāma himself and of the role of Sītā, and then on the transference of episodes between different faith groups.

Rāma

The composer of this tale founded his original narrative on the warrior hero's fierce loyalty to his family (father and brothers), interwoven with his passion for Sītā — twin concepts that have remained constant throughout the long life of the story; it is society that has changed, and necessitated revision of the way those concepts are realised.

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[4] For relatively accessible reproductions of these much-discussed reliefs, see Saran and Khanna 2004: 38-78.

[5] A valuable detailed summary of the *HSR* is provided by Alexander Zieseniss (1928); see also Barrett 1963.

[6] See pp. 30-31 and 41-42.

[7] For instance, Eẓuttaccan's *Attiyātuma Rāmāyaṇa* follows the Sanskrit *AdhyRm* closely. On the other hand, the *ĀnRm* can more realistically be thought of as a vernacular *Rāmāyaṇa* composed in Sanskrit.

The human Rāma was portrayed as a good warrior; he did what he had to do to achieve his aims. Soon, though, the good fighter came to be seen also as a good (*i.e.* moral) man, and some of his deeds raised uncomfortable ethical questions: for instance, should he, or should he not, have killed Vālin, or the female monster, Tāṭakā? Rāma's pragmatic behaviour in respect to Vālin in the earlier narrative is tacitly excused in the later First Book, the *Bālakāṇḍa*, when he is instructed to kill Tāṭakā by his sage-tutor Viśvāmitra (1,23.24—25.15).

A much more fundamental narrative element is Rāma's passion for Sītā, a passion repeatedly demonstrated by the *Vālmīkirāmāyana* poets in overtly sexual imagery (*e.g. inter alia* 4,1 and 4,27). He loved and missed the comfort of his wife ('his dark darling'), and he was overjoyed at regaining her. In the Last Book, the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, this passion comes to the fore. How could the now Ideal King be expected to take Sītā back into his household — and into his bed — after she had lived with Rāvaṇa for so many months? Rāma has no qualms about fulfilling his long-thwarted desire with Sītā as soon after their return to Ayodhyā as his new duties permit, but when Sītā quickly becomes pregnant, he immediately realises with horror the consequences that will ensue: consequences for the dynasty when the legitimacy of any sons conceived would be questioned, and consequences for the good governance of society as a whole. He must renounce Sītā, but remain celibate himself. Such are the concerns of the first and seventh books of the *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa*.

Eventually, perhaps as much as seven or eight centuries after the original hero's first appearance, a major change was introduced into the tradition, although there is hardly any trace of it in the *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa* itself. The good man, the human Rāma, came to be presented as divine, first as an avatara of Vishnu, eventually as the god himself, as he remains to this day to many Indians. This change in nature was accompanied by a change in the purpose of his birth. Earthly concerns, such as the preservation of his father's integrity, and the rescue of Sītā, were no longer paramount. His real purpose was nothing less than to rid the three worlds of the devastating threat now posed by Rāvaṇa, a threat much aggravated by the *Uttarakāṇḍa* account of the *rākṣasa* rampage against the *devas* (*VRm* 7,1–29). When the hero of the tale about a villain who could only be defeated by a human was transcreated into a god, and the original heroic romance became transcreated into a cosmic epic, the transcreators faced formidable narrative problems.

Vālmīki's human Rāma, touched by the fate of the heroic bird Jaṭāyus, treated his corpse with all the honour due to a human warrior; his prayer that his martyred friend should reach the highest heaven clearly indicates his own subservience to some greater authority (*VRm* 3,64.29–35). Defeated enemies he simply dispatches to Yama's abode, although he does insist that Rāvaṇa's corpse should receive due respect from the *rākṣasa's* resentful brother Vibhīṣaṇa (*VRm* 6,99.42).

When the Rāma of medieval India had become not only divine, but benign, contact with him automatically conferred equal benefit on anyone, whether his worshippers or his opponents; even those he killed were no longer sent to Yama's abode, but to heaven. During the final battle, Rāvaṇa, of course, must continue to be killed, even in Jain versions: is this not a crucial part of the story?[8] Other defeated Jain *rākṣasa*s however benefit indirectly from Rāma's benevolence by being allowed to take initiation as Jains.[9] Even so, the exigencies of the radical Jain transcreation demand that the killing be carried out by Lakṣmaṇa, and that both victor and villain should go to hell as a result, where their enmity continues.[10] In the Khotanese Buddhist version, cast in the form of a Jātaka perhaps as early as the ninth century, retribution for Rāvaṇa's crimes is less savage, and more in tune with the purposes of its genre: Rāvaṇa is spared when he surrenders to the Bodhisattva, begs for his life, and promises tribute, learning to live according to *dharma* (Bailey 1940–42: 570–71).[11]

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[8] In some of the more highly developed (not to say aberrant) versions less dependent on Indian norms, this necessity was not felt so strongly. Some Malay and Javanese tellings interpret Rāvaṇa's defeat in terms of an inverted form of the international motif of the departed culture hero still living beneath a mountain (Th 1955–58: A571.1), posing an ever-present threat to contemporary society (Malay *HSR* 1928: 57,59/1963: 92-93,95 and *HMR* 1933: 128-29; Javanese *Serat Kanda*: Stutterheim 1925: 79, Saran and Khanna 2004: 139). In the Sinhalese *Rāvaṇa Katāva* of perhaps the seventeenth century Rāvaṇa is not killed but lives on in the ruins of his old citadel (Henry 2023: 61-67 and 207-47).

[9] *Inter alii* Indrajit and Kumbhakarṇa (V*PC* 1990: 75; Raviṣeṇa 2008: 78.14-34,81-82; 80.126-30,136-38); Rāma, Sītā and other members of the winning side also eventually take initiation.

[10] Puṣpadanta, *Mahāpurāna*: Kulkarni 1990: 154-68; Hemacandra 1954: 10.245-61; Pampa 1882: 16.70. Gregory Clines points to the difficulty Jain adapters experienced in accommodating the personality attributed in the *VRm* to the kshatriya Lakṣmaṇa — impetuous, violent and quick to anger — to his Jain *vāsudeva* counterpart (Clines 2022: 98-100). The pull of the established narrative is too strong; Lakṣmaṇa's role can only be reworked to a limited extent, and he, like Rāvaṇa, must go to hell.

[11] This Mahāyāna telling stands in stark contrast to the reworkings attached (often rather loosely) to Jātaka frameworks in Theravāda-influenced Southeast Asia, with their increased violence and harsh Rāma. For instance, in one Lao telling Rāvaṇa

But when the human Rāma was accorded divine status, tellers were faced with a great narrative problem: it had been known for centuries that Rāvaṇa could not be killed by a god, but only by a human. At first this difficulty was countered unsatisfactorily by claiming that Rāma the man did not know of his identity with Vishnu, but by the time of the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* (perhaps the fifteenth century) this pretence had been dropped altogether; not only Rāma, but all other characters, recognise him to be Vishnu in person. Rāvaṇa's motivation is in consequence completely changed: now he abducts Sītā solely in order to be killed by Rāma/Vishnu and reach the god's heaven (*AdhyRm* 1985: 6,10.56–61; 11.79–89); he actively seeks death by engaging Rāma in battle, provoking him with every semblance of hostility. The universe is safe, but Rāvaṇa is rewarded by union with Vishnu and the vengeful Rāma is now benevolent. Logic has never been paramount in the Rāma narrative, but it has no place at all in the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*.

This benevolent view of Rāma was not, however, universal: the view of Rāma transmitted and indigenised in Southeast Asian tellings long before the growth of his bhakti-influenced portrayal within India, is that of an authoritarian monarch, in no way benign, but quick-tempered and harsh, even towards Sītā and his greatest friends. Shocking though his behaviour may seem to us, we must recognise it as merely a different expression of his overmastering passion for his beloved Sītā (JLB and MB 2016b).

Sītā

As for the Indian Sītā, the deification of Rāma entails profound and contradictory changes in her portrayal. As long as Rāma remains human in the *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa* she remains either similarly human, Janaka's natural-born daughter, or his earth-born foundling, finally achieving her apotheosis when she is vindicated as pure and received back into the earth by her divine mother, Earth (*VRm* 7,88).[12]

In later adaptations she also becomes an epic goddess, Śrī or Lakṣmī, wife of Vishnu, with the paradox that her role now rarely achieves the prominence it enjoyed in the traditional heroic tale. The abduction episode is redundant. It cannot be discarded, but arguably the most

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is not only killed, but carried to hell, where he suffers for a long time (Sahai 1996: II,303).

[12] In the few episodes where Rāma is identified with Vishnu, only at *VRm* 6,105.25 does Sītā appear as 'Lakṣmī'.

emotionally affecting component of the earlier tradition has been downgraded to become a mere pretext for the extermination of Rāvaṇa and other *rākṣasa*s. Early audiences heard her resistance to Rāvaṇa's threats and blandishments with a mixture of trepidation, admiration and relief, the more cynical amongst them wondering why her captor allowed her to escape his lust for so long; when later audiences now knew the outcome, and tension could no longer be maintained, they realised that Sītā's life and chastity could be preserved, not by her own efforts, but by the curses on Rāvaṇa of Nalakūbara and Vedavatī (*VRm* 7,17.1–28; 7,26.41–45). Vālmīki's stalwart Sītā now suffers without cause, for she is never in any real danger; indeed, her greatest danger is yet to come — from her beloved and devoted husband.

Sometimes Sītā does not even suffer at all: it is not she who is abducted, but a specially created substitute. The episode where she enters fire after her rejection by Rāma, to be returned by Agni as a testimony to her purity (an episode arguably incorporated late into the narrative, but now firmly established in the tradition), provided a rare opportunity for tellers to consolidate the new narrative, by extending the fire-motif forwards to just before the abduction.[13] Apparently, the earliest occurrence of this innovation is in a *Kūrma Purāṇa* passage praising the power of chaste women such as Sītā: seeing the disguised Rāvaṇa and realising what he intends, she turns to the household fire and prays to many gods for protection. In order to bring about the destruction of Rāvaṇa (rather than out of pity for the imperilled woman), Agni then creates an illusory Sītā for Rāvaṇa to abduct, and takes the real Sītā to safety within the fire, to be returned to Rāma after his victory, when the illusory Sītā enters the fire and is consumed by it.[14]

By about the fifteenth century this motif had been particularised, with Sītā specifically entrusted to or safeguarded by Agni in the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa*, and the Malayāḷam version by Eẓuttaccan (*BVP* 1984–85: 2,14; *ĀnRm* 2006: 1,12.10; Eẓuttaccan vol. 1, p. 18). In several texts it is Rāma himself who instructs Sītā to avoid the danger from Rāvaṇa, warning that the predatory *rākṣasa* will approach her as a mendicant; she should avert the danger by creating a counterfeit of herself and hiding within fire in the hermitage for a year (*AdhyRm*

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[13] As so often, it is not always possible to distinguish between material fire '*agni*' and the anthropomorphised deity Agni in the references, if indeed any distinction exists.

[14] *KūP* 1981-82: 2,34.111-27 (7th-9th century), supported by allusions at *MBhāgP* 1983: 42.30 and the Orīya poet Baḷarāmadāsa's *Jagamohana Rāmāyaṇa* 3.15.1 (both from the 15th to 16th centuries). The *BVP* (1984-85: 2,14) and the *DBhāgP* (1988?: 9,16.31-48) follow the *KūP* in having Agni create the substitute. All datings of Purāṇic material should be treated as uncertain.

1985: 1,1.38; 2,1.39; 3,7.1–4; *ĀnRm* 2006: 1,7.104–15; Eẓuttaccan, *Aranya Kandam*). Whatever the details of the substitution, it is this *chāyā* Sītā who suffers the emotional and physical torments of the traditional abduction; more importantly, it is the substitute who incurs the pollution of Rāvaṇa's touch and the suspicion engendered by her lengthy imprisonment in the grounds of Rāvaṇa's palace.

Once Rāvaṇa is dead and the "real" Sītā is safe, the substitute is redundant; so, one would expect, is the so-called "fire ordeal" episode where Sītā's chastity had been vindicated to her suspicious husband, for now he has always known the truth. Skilful tellers are able to retain this high point in the narrative by linking the two features, with the substitute entering the fire, while it is the "real" Sītā who is restored by Agni (*BVP* 1984–85: 2,14; *DBhāgP* 1988?: 9,16.31–48). In the *Kūrma Purāṇa* the unfortunate substitute is burned, but a more merciful teller in the *Devībhāgavata Purāṇa* has her instructed by Rāma and Agni to practise asceticism in order to be reborn as Draupadī (*KūP* 1981–82: 2,34.129–37; *DBhāgP* 1988?: 9,16.49–53).

Several other ways are devised to prevent Rāvaṇa's touch polluting Sītā (in reality, to preserve Rāma from pollution by contact with a polluted wife). Kampaṉ, and the author of the Sanskrit *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, simply make the abductor lift the hut with Sītā in it, complete with a huge mound of earth.[15] In other cases, the disguised Rāvaṇa deceives Sītā into entering his chariot voluntarily. This motif is used by tellers both of the Hindu and the Jain (Vimalasūri-based) narrative structure, and dramatised hilariously by Śaktibhadra (*NarSP* 49.81–86; *BṛDhP* 19.49; Guṇabhadra 1990: 117–28; Puṣpadanta 1990: 154–68; Śaktibhadra 1984: III, 32–33).

The *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* has an even more creative deception that strips Rāma as well as Sītā of all emotional reaction to their separation, endured after both the abduction and her later banishment. In the first case, Rāma instructs her to transform herself into the three *guṇas*. As *rajoguṇī* she enters fire for protection. As *tamoguṇī* she remains in Pañcavatī to ask for the deer, and to delude Rāvaṇa into abducting her (*ĀnRm* 2006: 1,7.67–68+89–90; 4,3.52–54). Astonishingly, as *sattvaguṇī* she resides in Rāma's left limbs, so that he is never deprived of her presence; during the monsoon delay, the *sattvaguṇī* is once discovered by Lakṣmaṇa in company with Rāma, disappearing hurriedly back into her husband's left side in a way that it is hard not to characterise as farcical

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[15] Kampaṉ 1988: *paṭala* 8, 74/3490, 75/3491, 81/3497, 91/3507 [pp. 231-35]; Kampaṉ 1996: p. 247, recollected by Sītā to Hanumān at pp. 389 and 432; *AdhyRm* 1985: 3,7.51-52.

(*ĀnRm* 2006: 1,8.74–75). After vindication by Agni, the now redundant three forms reunite, preserving the narratively unnecessary fire-episode more-or-less intact, both to reassure the fictive audience of Sītā's virtue, and not to deprive the real audience of an element they consider indispensable to the tradition (*ĀnRm* 2006: 1,12.11). Even more shockingly, before the pregnant Sītā is subsequently banished from Ayodhyā, she is again instructed by Rāma to transform herself into two *guṇas*, so that one may remain in his left side; Rāma, uxorious but monogamous, confesses that he lacks sufficient self-control to remain celibate during the five-years-long absence prescribed for her pregnancy and nursing period (*ĀnRm* 2006: 5,2.33—3.7–50). In this respect, the moral fibre of the god seems more human and less awe-inspiring than that of the former man. Yet the incongruous luxury with which he arranges that Sītā shall spend her stay in Vālmīki's hermitage can surely be scant compensation for the exposure of his beloved wife to the gossip of a washerman and the lies of the still-malicious Kaikeyī, to which he allows her to be publicly subjected; but these calumnies have become elements of the tradition, not lightly to be discarded.

Rāma had attracted much sympathy through previous centuries for his devastating grief, and exuberant poets had exercised their talents on portraying his sorrow and despair. Is all this to be wasted now that he *knows* his beloved is safe — crucially now both safe and chaste? Rāma the god still needs a plausible excuse to pursue Rāvaṇa and exterminate the *rākṣasas*, so he continues to lament the fictitious abduction; in the changed religious climate, it is now even more important for him to be protected from the possibility of the contamination that he will incur if he accepts back a wife whose purity is open to suspicion. So he is made to continue to lament, and to continue to persecute his poor wife.

This attitude also affects his relationship to his brothers. When the human Rāma was transcreated into the Hindu God Vishnu, the family structure of the inherited narrative — four Dāśarathis, two almost equal in status, each with a supporter equal in prowess but subordinate in status — was maintained, but could be accommodated to the new circumstances in theory only. Vishnu is repeatedly said to assume a fourfold incarnation as Daśaratha's son, but parity of esteem between the four quarters is absent: Lakṣmaṇa is not taken into Rāma's confidence about the substitute Sītā or about the three-*guṇa* Sītā. But what can readers and audiences think of a man who leads an army of voluntary supporters, including his trusting younger brother, through the rigours and terrors of a war, on a false pretext? The integrity on which his whole life as a man had been based has in these cases been replaced by cold-hearted deception now that Rāma is God and has a cosmic mission to fulfil.[16]

Other faith groups, not bound by the constraints of the Hindu setting, feel able to present a different view of the brothers' relationship. In the ninth-century Buddhist Khotanese Jātaka, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa act as a joint incarnation of the Buddha, even to sharing a polyandrous relationship with Sītā (Bailey 1940–42: 564, 571; Emmerick 2000). Most Jain tellers, following the tradition set by Vimalasūri, attempt to reverse the brothers' status, making Lakṣmaṇa take the lead, but rightly baulk at the idea of transcreating him into the husband of Sītā.

Outside the domestic context of the bedtime story, we know by name of only two women transmitters of the narrative, Mollā and Candrāvatī.[17] Yet the female perspective is not missing, and Rāma's martial image suffers badly in a few shakta-influenced works, where the conqueror of Rāvaṇa is powerless before a new, even more fearsome ally; the situation poses no problem: Sītā fights and kills this new enemy (*ĀnRm* 2006: 7,4—6; *Adbhuta Rm* 2001: 23; *JaiBh* 2017: II, 44—47). On the more personal level, in the Kashmiri version by Prakāśa Rāma, it is Sītā the wronged wife who assumes considerably greater moral stature and greater power than her husband when she refuses to return to court at Ayodhyā after he has banished her; the Lord of All the Earth is reduced to banging at the locked door of her forest hermitage, pleading with her to let him in (Prakāśa Rāma 2001: 131–37).[18] Light-hearted dramatists, secure in their court patronage, had evidently had no compunction about attributing a gullible nature to Rāma as he is repeatedly deluded by ludicrous counterfeits conjured up by his enemies. But the Rāma, humbled and humanised by the wife he still passionately desires in such an unexpected, yet realistic, reversal of fortunes, presented in a narrative largely based on devotional hymns, reflects a much more serious development.

Transference of Episodes

Dividing the material relating to the still developing Rāma story according to genre, language, or especially religion, is a helpful way of starting to handle its complexity, but is a process continually impeded by a great deal of overlap between the categories. On the other hand, elements of the narrative shared and developed by different faith groups can reveal much about the fluid boundaries between these groups; it may be that we should think more in terms of geography.[19] Again, we can focus on only two sample occurrences, one found in Buddhist transcreations, the other in Jain.[20]

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[16] Problems associated with this change of genre are discussed more fully in MB 2023.

[17] Mollā in Telugu and Candrāvatī in Bengali (Dev Sen 1997; Candrāvatī 2013).

[18] Adrian Plau demonstrates the development of Sītā's independent nature in Jain narratives (Plau 2020). The theme of her post-banishment independence is widely and vigorously developed in many of the SE Asian tellings.

Buddhists clearly welcomed the Rāma story; within India and Sri Lanka narrators such as Aśvaghoṣa and the creator of the *Lalitavastara* drew freely on it to elaborate Siddhārtha's early life (Aśvaghoṣa, *Buddhacarita* 2008; *Lalitavistara* 1884–92); individual episodes are used in much-modified form as exempla in the Jātakas.[21] A particularly striking case is the story of the ascetic boy shot by Daśaratha in the *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa*, which develops its own identity in Buddhist sources as the *Sāma* or *Śyāma Jātaka*. Closely related textually, these tales yet diverge fundamentally in purport and outcome, and were developed independently in inverted form.[22] Nonetheless, one detail (absent, significantly, in the context of transcreation, from the original form in both traditions) indicates the strength of the relationship, in Buddhist, Hindu, and secular practice up to the present day. That detail is the idea that the boy carried his parents in baskets suspended from a shoulder pole, on a pilgrimage. Just how or when this episode entered the narrative is not absolutely clear, but it seems likely that it is the visual realisation of a remark in a Buddhist verbal narrative that when the family were on the move the boy helped his frail, blind parents through difficult terrain, seen painted in its Buddhist form at Ajaṇṭā.[23] This *Sāmajātaka* innovation was soon adopted back into the Rāma story, where it became firmly embedded as an example of filial piety, found in verbal texts from the *Gautamīmāhātmya* (*BrP* 123.44) onwards, in narrative friezes, and in paintings (fully explained at MB 2010). In some areas the boy now has a moral status equivalent to that of Rāma himself, if not surpassing it, as at the Swaminarayan Temple at Neasden, in London.

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[19] For information on Jain treatments of the Rāma story in Karnataka, see Kumari 1992.

[20] The many further examples of episodes developed both in Brahmanic and in Jain traditions that would repay investigation include:
Rāma contributing to the abduction by welcoming the disguised Rāvaṇa to their hermitage before leaving Sītā in his charge.
Sītā being deceived by her abductor into entering his chariot unpolluted by his touch.
Jaṭāyus being sent to heaven by Rāma.
Sītā being tricked into portraying a likeness of Rāvaṇa, inciting Rāma to banish her.
Mandodarī's startlingly complex career, comprising, in different narratives, transformation from a frog or toad; her featuring in the familiar international motif of the husband tricked into unintentionally giving his wife away as a reward for her suitor's music; her many husbands (Shiva, Daśaratha, and Vālin, besides Rāvaṇa), and consequential fantastic mothering of Sītā, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Śatrughna and Aṅgada in addition to her *rākṣasa* sons.

[21] *Jātakas* 1895-1907: e.g. *DasarathaJ* 461; *JayadissaJ* 513; *SambulāJ* 519; *VessantaraJ* 547.

[22] Occurrences listed and examined in detail at MB 2010.

[23] Verbal text: Haribhaṭṭa 1976. Ajaṇṭā wall painting, Cave 17 (last quarter 5th century AD): line drawing in Schlingloff 2011: 1,146 and 3, fig. XVII.28.5.

Reverence for the pious boy carrying his parents is not limited to adherents of either faith. A man born in Mumbai confessed to me that as a child he had disliked this tale, assuming that his parents expected him to imitate the boy's example; he is a Parsee. Similarly, a roadside poster photographed in 2010 in Gujarat exhorting all people to care for their parents reinforces the point with an illustration of the boy with the shoulder pole (JLB and MB 2010: 52, fig.6).

No full-scale Buddhist *Rāmāyaṇa* is known from within South Asia, but versions of the Rāma story have been carried to Central Asia and to Tibet, and received with great enthusiasm throughout most of SE Asia, often in Buddhist form. Clearly, little difficulty was found in accommodating the avatara concept to that of the Bodhisattva. As it became indigenised and the link with India was largely lost, narrators were no longer subject to audience understanding and expectation as operating within India; the storyline diverged in all but the bare essentials more widely (and more wildly) the further it was carried from India (JLB and MB 2016b).

The Role of Jain Transcreations

The most startling of the pre-modern transcreations, and the most relevant to this volume, is the series set in train by the Jain Vimalasūri. Within India, by contrast to the Buddhists, Jains had felt forced to adopt a much more radical policy to combat the growing popularity of the Brahmanic versions; they produced completely rewritten versions that mostly bear only minimal resemblance to the Vālmīki plotline. Yet developments within the Hindu narrative tradition indicate a considerable degree of interplay between the two faith groups at the popular level.

The most prominent example is the portrayal of Śambūka, the shudra ascetic beheaded by Vālmīki's Rāma for disregarding the restrictions of his varna. It first appeared in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, the final section of the Rāma narrative then current, where the duties and problems of a human sovereign intent on serving the interests of his people are explored.[24] By the time the group of versions we now regard as 'the *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa*' was completed, Rāma was considered divine, but the transcreation of king into god can be detected in only a few widely-separated passages dispersed throughout the text.[25] The narrative of the majority of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, in common with the rest of the text, retained its kshatriya ethos, but the popular conviction identifying Rāma with Vishnu that now overlay the whole story led to several of Rāma's actions as king being misinterpreted and judged unduly harsh. The execution of Śambūka became unpopular, and where it was retained it was modified in accordance with the later idea of death at Rāma's hands granting the victim immediate access to heaven (e.g. Bhavabhūti 2007: II, 70–93; Kālidāsa 1928/2016: 15.53; *ĀnRm* 2006: 7,10.50–122). The episode is omitted in this form from the Jain transcreations, to be replaced by an ascetic of the same name, similarly beheaded while performing penance.[26]

Superficially, little seems to link the two victims. The Jain Śambūka is a *rākṣasa,* son of Śūrpaṇakhā, the power he seeks is temporal, not spiritual, and his death is not a judicial execution but an accident; his careless assailant is not Rāma, but Lakṣmaṇa (unsurprisingly, since it is he who fulfils the lead role in many of the Jain adaptations). The very incongruities and divergences of the two narratives, coupled with the obvious contradictions of theological attitude displayed, raise the suspicion that the Jain version is indeed intended to mimic the Vaishnava. The episode has been moved from close to the climax of the Brahmanic story to a prominent position in the centre of the Jain, in a clear attempt to replace the mutilation of Śūrpaṇakhā as the motivation for revenge and pivot for the abduction and its consequences. In its full form the distasteful mutilation episode does not feature in the Jain transcreations based on Vimalasūri's *Paümacariya*,[27] although hints do remain; nevertheless, her role as ultimate instigator of the abduction is not completely abandoned.[28] The unfortunate ascetic is now made to be her son; to motivate the intermediate episode of Khara's vengeful attack on the culprit, he is frequently son also of Khara, traditionally her brother, but now her husband (*VPC* 44; Raviṣeṇa 44.1–24; Hemacandra 1954: 5.411–60), so the whole family relationship is regularly modified, and the opportunity to compose a romantic back story of the marriage exploited by Jains from Vimalasūri onwards. Where some hints of the mutilation remain in the narrative,[29] the lust for Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa that traditionally precipitates it is not only narratively redundant but an incongruous immediate sequel to her grief for her son.

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[24] *VRm* 7,64-67. Śambūka's development is rigorously studied by Aaron Sherraden (2019); We are grateful to the author for a copy of his work. See also De Clercq 2016a.

[25] Notably *VRm* 1,14—16; 6,47.104-15; 6,105; 7,27.16-19; 7,94-100. The identity may perhaps (but not necessarily) also lie behind the narrative at 1,73—75, where Rāma defeats Vishnu's previous avatara, Rāma Jāmadagnya (later better known as 'Paraśurāma'), thereby taking over his opponent's status.

[26] Nevertheless, all memory of the original episode was not lost; Svayambhūdeva presents a much modified analogue of its starting point, with none of the objectionable consequences of varna status or miraculous resurrection, when a faithful servant of Rāma takes to asceticism on the death of his son (2002: 85.4-6; the relevant point in the narrative has not yet been reached by De Clercq in her ongoing translation, 2018—23).

[27] There are also instances in Saṅghadāsa's *Vasudevahiṇḍi* 1990: 1,14 (mutilated by Rāma), dated by Esposito (2012: 20n.1) and by Dundas (personal communication,

What is particularly striking about this episode is the frequency with which it has been incorporated from the Jain transcreations into texts of the Hindu narrative tradition, verbal and visual, mostly vernacular, composed in Karnataka, Maharashtra, Andhra, Orissa, and Gujarat — areas of strong Jain influence,[30] and also in several Southeast Asian versions.[31] Ironically, so firmly established had the Jain-type Śambūka episode become in these non-Jain sources that the idiosyncratic Sanskrit *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* includes both the Hindu and the Jain forms of the episodes.[32] It seems that theological differences can easily be ignored in the interests of a good story.

2nd August, 2012) to about the 5th century. The motif also appears in Hariṣeṇa's *Bṛhatkathākośa* 1990 (mid 10th century); both texts follow the *VRm* more closely than does Vimalasūri, and are recognised as having established divergent traditions (JLB and MB 2016a: 165).

[28] She is given a new, but still important, role at this point in the creative remodellings by Guṇabhadra and Puṣpadanta (Kulkarni 1990: 117-28 and 154-68 respectively).

[29] At V*PC* (44), followed by Raviṣeṇa (44.18-21), she is made to claim — untruthfully — that she has been molested by Lakṣmaṇa; Svayambhūdeva presents the lie more credibly by making her scratch her own breasts (2023: 37.3-7).

[30] Vernacular versions that basically retain the Jain narrative structure derived from Vimalasūri include those by Abhinava Pampa (1882, Kannaḍa) and Bālak (Plau 2018, Brajbhāṣā). Versions based on the *VRm* yet incorporating the Jain Śambūka episode include the *ĀnRm* (2006, Sanskrit); the *Raṅganātha Rm* and the *Bhāskara Rm* (2001 and 1988 respectively, Telugu); Narahari's *Torave Rm* and Battaleśvara's *Kauśika Rm* (2004 and 1980 respectively, Kannaḍa); Eknāth's *Bhāvārtha Rm* (2019, Marāṭhī); and the *Mahābhārata* by Śaraḷa Dāsa (Sherraden 2019: 150, Orīya).

[31] *Serat Kanda* (Javanese), *HMR* and *HSR* (Malay), and *Rāmakien* (Thai); significantly for the transmission of these Southeast Asian derivatives, none of them utilises a Jain narrative structure.

[32] *ĀnRm* 2006: 1,7 and 7,10 respectively. The Marāṭhī poet Eknāth included the Jain-type Śambūka episode in his uncompleted *Bhāvārtha Rm*; after his death his grandson Mukteśvar added an *Uttarakāṇḍa* containing a traditional *VRm*-type episode (Sherraden 2019: 135-38).

Mention has already been made of the value of sculptural friezes for information about the reception of the underlying verbal text at particular dates. A listing by JLB of Hindu temple friezes 40 pages long contains not one example of the sensitive issue of Rāma's execution of the shudra.[33] What is found, on at least nine Hindu temples and on one well, in friezes generally presenting the traditional Rāma narrative, is panels depicting the Jain-type Śambūka.[34] The one at the Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa temple, Hosahoḷalu, shows Śūrpaṇakhā reacting in horror at discovering his headless corpse before she is disfigured by Lakṣmaṇa, and one found at the Amṛteśvara temple, Amṛtapura, incorporates into the mutilation scene the tiny figure of an ascetic. Another, at the Rāmacandra temple, Vijayanagara, is more puzzling: it shows Lakṣmaṇa decapitating two ascetics in a hut (a location robbing the episode of all suggestion that the killing could have been an unfortunate accident) followed by Śūrpaṇakhā's wild grief (Dallapiccola and others 1992: 88, block 27, figs 83–84). The panel may possibly point to some relationship with the only written accounts we have met where Śambūka has a brother (Raviṣeṇa's, Hemacandra's and Pampa's); this brother, Sunda, however takes no part in Śambūka's ascetic practices. Late in the nineteenth century, the Gujarātī writer Girdhar also places the victim — with no mention of a brother — in a 'bamboo hut' (Girdhar 2003: 143–49).

Vimalasūri and the Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa*: Cross-Fertilisation and Dating*

The amount of interplay between the later Brahmanic and Jain traditions revealed by these and other examples raises pertinent questions about the extent — and indeed the direction — of the original transcreative process. When did Vimalasūri undertake to reveal the 'correct' form of the *VRm*, now 'corrupt' according to Jain belief (*VPC cantos* 2—3)? And what was the nature and content of his Brahmanic exemplar at that date?

The date of Vimalasūri has long been a matter for debate among Jain scholars, with suggestions put forward of first, second, third and fifth century A.D. The dating of the *VRm* is similarly unclear:[35] while we can contribute no evidence that can be considered 'hard' for dating its later parts, in our opinion it is fair to suggest that the *Uttarakāṇḍa* had reached its current form no earlier than about the third century.

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[33] See in our ORA material: 'Ancillary material' > 'Further notes (visual)' > 'Sculptural representations – listing'. See also Dallapiccola 2016a: 97-101 on wall-paintings and hangings in South India.

[34] Hoysaḷa temples at Bēlūr, Haḷebīd, Basarāḷu, Hosahoḷalu, Jāvagallu, Somnāthpur and Amṛtapura; Vijayanagara-style temples at Puṣpagiri and the Rāmacandra temple at Vijayanagara; well no. 1, Sirivāḷ.

As a contribution to both debates, we propose that episodes shared by these traditions demonstrate incontrovertibly that Vimalasūri's work drew — not merely on the *VRm,* rather than *vice versa* — but on arguably its very latest parts, including the long passage now inserted at the beginning of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* narrative, where Agastya fills out many details of Rāvaṇa's and Hanumān's early exploits (*VRm* 7,1—34). This passage may be as late as the fourth century, and, unlike almost all other parts of the *VRm*, it is permeated by the assumption that Rāma is an avatara of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa;[36] this may be the factor that finally prompted the Jain religious tradition to produce their own counter-blast to a narrative that had already been in circulation for at least nine hundred years.

To allow for a reasonable period of transition, the *VPC* can therefore hardly be earlier than the fourth century, or even as late as the fifth. Such a date would also reduce the puzzling gap between Vimalasūri and his own seventh-century adapter, Raviṣeṇa.

A few examples of the many episodes transcreated from the *Uttarakāṇḍa* should demonstrate the process. Vimalasūri is careful not to present Rāvaṇa as a moral or as a physical failure: when he meets Arjuna Sahasrabāhu the humiliating outcome is reversed and Rāvaṇa is the victor, although the narrative outline is similar (*VRm* 7,32—33; *VPC* 100). The episode where Agastya's arrogant *rākṣasa* king is defeated by Shiva when he tries to move Kailāsa is recomposed to remove the god's participation; his part is played by Vālin, who no longer persecutes Sugrīva but is given a positive role as a devout Jain (*VRm* 7,16; *VPC* 9). The Indra/Ahalyā/Gautama encounter has to be completely remodelled to demote both the deva and the sage: the episode is not based on the *Bālakāṇḍa* version, but is a remodelling of Agastya's *Uttara* reconstruction, where Ahalyā has been created as a paragon of beauty by Brahma, and the offence of the thwarted suitor is a humiliating physical attack on the lawful husband (*VRm* 1,47.14–32; *VRm* 7,30.21–27; *VPC* 13).

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[35] Discussion of the issues involved is planned for ORA 'New Beginnings, Old Material', ch. 4.

[36] Ironically, Vimalasūri's efforts to eliminate as far as possible all references to Brahmanic ascetics such as Agastya led him to excise the whole framework of these episodes. The episodes themselves are dispersed throughout his text; for locations see ORA 'Narrative Elements' *sv* 'Rāvaṇa: early exploits' or 'Hanumān'.

Hanumān, also magnified in Agastya's narrative, is another *Rāmāyaṇa* hero to attract Vimalasūri's attention. He is evidently already too high in popular esteem to be demoted, so his role receives a romantic new, and moral, birth-story. His sexuality is mentioned, although it is not stressed in either base text; only later does his celibacy become an issue in the Brahmanic *Rāmāyaṇa* (*VRm* 7,35—36; *VPC* 16—17, 50; *VPC* 19, *VPC* 52).[37] Such transformations are an integral part of Vimalasūri's purpose.

Other modifications are utilised to serve different purposes. When a twin brother for Sītā, with a highly complex back story, is inserted, Vimalasūri seizes the opportunity to include a *svayaṃvara* determined when Rāma, unnecessarily, wins a bow-test: Janaka had already promised Sītā to him as a reward for his aid in battle, replacing the *Bālakāṇḍa* version. Evidently the bow motif, with no Brahmanic connotations, was now too popular to be lost (*VRm* 1,65—66; *VPC* 27—28).

Not all modifications are so easy to explain. In the *Uttarakāṇḍa* account of the rejection and exoneration of Sītā, the crucial factor is the legitimacy or otherwise of her sons; only if she is demonstrably pure can they inherit their father's kingdom. At this point in the development of the narrative, we are encouraged to think only of the appealing innocence of the sweet little boys, learned from their pious foster-father Vālmīki, whose word alone can confirm the truth to Rāma; their recognition presents a romantic, even saccharine emphasis, followed by Kālidāsa in the fourth or fifth century (*VRm* 7,84—86, reworked slightly at *VRm* 1,4; *Raghuvaṃśa* 15.33). By the early eighth century a more realistic approach is taken by Bhavabhūti in his *Uttararāmacarita*, clearly sensing that the *VRm's* dear little twins would have little chance of matching Rāma's example of sovereignty without some martial training. Throughout the subsequent Rāma tradition the motif of recognition by valour — that only Rāma's sons could be capable of defeating Rāma himself in battle — assumes increasing precedence, with the recognition by singing motif retained only sporadically.

Several centuries before Bhavabhūti, Vimalasūri had introduced a similar innovation into the Jain tradition: Rāma's sons, brought up to a kshatriya lifestyle in a Jain king's palace, are aggressive and eventually resentful. To some extent this new characterisation was inevitable, as he made every effort to reduce the role of Brahmanic sages in his anti-*VRm* reconstruction; Vālmīki and the hardships of the ascetic life were eliminated, and Sītā was given comfortable refuge by king Vajrajaṅgha to bring up her sons in his capital, in a context where recognition and acceptance through the singing of the *VRm* was inconceivable. The grown boys had married and conquered many lands before being incited by the ever-mischievous Nārada to make war on Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, which they do in spectacular fashion, proving their identity by their ability to slaughter (*VPC* 9799).

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[37] In the late 18th-century Thai Ramakien, by contrast, Hanumān is famed for his promiscuity.

Whether this one motif could be an example of very early back-formation, with Vimalasūri's 'corrected' Jain transcreation then being 're-corrected' and incorporated into the still-existent post-Vālmīki tradition, is far too easy a supposition to be in any way plausible in the absence of credible evidence. We can only suggest that, in this one case, Vimalasūri has created a kshatriya narrative more in line with the original concept of the *VRm* than did its *Uttarakāṇḍa* continuator.

The Jain transcreation may however throw some light on a much more involved episode (or set of episodes) too complex to be fully unravelled here, concerning the ending of the *VRm* at several different points in its structural development.[38] Hints can be detected, though not completely confirmed, that the earliest form preserved in the *VRm* for the vindication of Sītā's conduct in captivity was some oral proclamation by the gods,[39] recalled by Rāma at 7,44.6–8. This form of vindication would still have contributed to a satisfying emotionally and dramatic conclusion to the whole *VRm* as it then existed. Once the core text detailing Sītā's banishment and vindication by Vālmīki was added in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* and before the much later creation of Rāma's final triumphant return to heaven as an avatara of Vishnu (*VRm* 7,97—100), his unquestioning acceptance of his sons' legitimacy, and his grief at Sītā's unyielding disappearance into the care of her mother Earth, would have formed an equally dramatic and emotionally appropriate further reversal of expectations to complete this new transcreation (*VRm* 7,87—89). At a later point still, Sītā's *Yuddhakāṇḍa* vindication was then overlaid by her fire-suicide and return by Agni, unblemished in character and body (6,104; 106), followed even later by the divinisation of both Rāma and Sītā at *VRm* 6,105.

Vimalasūri's treatment bears striking analogies to this putative reconstruction. After the defeat of Rāvaṇa, Sītā's purity receives divine attestation, and the loving couple are joyfully reunited; but after they return to Ayodhyā, Rāma becomes suspicious and banishes her, eventually agreeing to accept her back on condition of a public fire-demonstration of her chastity. Sītā reproaches Rāma but submits to the condition, although he cannot bring himself to meet her face to face; Sītā enters the fire, her innocence confirmed when the fire is transformed into its opposite state, water, but she remains naturally resentful, refuses the now-repentant Rāma's offer of reconciliation, and takes Jain initiation (*VPC* 76, 94, 101—2).

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[38] See ORA 'New Beginnings, Old Material', ch.4 (in preparation).

[39] See ORA 'New Beginnings ...', ch.2 'Evidence from the *Rāmopākhyāna*', p.17.

The direction of supposed borrowing can still not be specified incontrovertibly; arguably, Vālmīki's purification by fire could have been transcreated from Vimalasūri's, or *vice versa*. In opposition to the proposal that this is a case of the former process, we can only offer the suggestion that the Jain attempted vindication by water is a rather clumsy rebuttal of the smear on Sītā's virtue — indeed a parody — of the impressive declaration appropriately pronounced by the God of Fire, in answer to Sītā's prayer as she enters the flames at 6,104.24; but this is a value judgement, and research into the details of transmission are unlikely ever to be able to prove how much Vimalasūri or Saṅghadāsa actually did know of the *VRm* text now presented in the Critical Edition when they committed themselves to minimising any such divine participation in the action.

The Transcreation Process: Value and Values

The value of studying the transcreation process has been to reveal scanty but significant evidence enabling us to give clearer definition to the relationship between the seminal Jain authors, Saṅghadāsa and Vimalasūri (see n. 27), and the latest episodes incorporated into the *VRm*. By doing so, it has defined the parameters of dating both narrative traditions more clearly.

Throughout the two and a half thousand years since the outline of the Rāma story was laid out so carefully, new elements have continued to be freely incorporated. Generations of tellers have accommodated their narratives to newly prevalent mores, to new genres, and to the demands of new media of presentation, however clumsily implemented and incompatible with the received narrative they might be. Yet these transcreators have always been faced with one unavoidable constraint: the basic form of the story, however much it may have been submerged by later accretions, could not be altogether lost. 'Good' must triumph over 'evil'; Sītā must still be abducted; Rāvaṇa must be defeated. So why should so many new tellers continue to bother with creating their own versions? This simple tale of the triumph of 'good' over 'evil' must have been considered a very good story, to continue to exert such an irresistible pull on narrators and audiences alike.

But that very simplicity of structure and purpose is a trap: the concept of transcreation is not a licence to distort. Rāma's nature can be changed; Rāvaṇa's moral status may be raised; to develop Sītā's submissive role out of all recognition is allowable; but the traditional, universal definition of 'good' and 'evil' must not be perverted; if it is reduced to nothing more than 'our side' versus 'your side', the hero will no longer be Rāma. Whether or not this danger applies also to transcreations of other ancient texts is beyond the competence of the authors of this article to determine.

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(*VPC*) Vimalasūri, *Paümacariya*: *see* Kulkarni 1990: 15–50.

"Life of Padma" Times Three: Telling the same Story in Prakrit, Sanskrit, and Apabhramsha

Eva De Clercq

No Jain narrative tradition has received more scholarly attention in recent decades as that of Padma or Rāma, whose story in India is better known as the Sanskrit epic *Rāmāyaṇa*. Most recently, two studies have explored reworkings in Classical Hindi: Adrian Plau's 2018 dissertation focuses on a Classical Hindi version of Rāmcand Bālak around the character of Sītā as a Jain *satī*, and in 2022 Gregory Clines's book focuses on an adaptation in Classical Hindi (or *bhāṣā*) by Brahma Jinadāsa of the seventh century Sanskrit version of Raviṣeṇa, the *Padmapurāṇa* or *Padmacarita* (Plau 2018; Clines 2018 & 2022). I have been working on the Apabhramsha version *Paümacariu* by Svayambhūdeva since 1999, defending my doctoral thesis in 2003, and with volumes of an English translation appearing since 2018 (De Clercq 2003, 2018 & 2023).

The most notable studies of Jain *Rāmāyaṇas* from the previous century, those of K.R. Chandra (1970) and V.M. Kulkarni (1990), took Vimalasūri's *Paümacariyaṃ* as their focal point, the first extant Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*. About Vimalasūri very little is known: even his sectarian affiliation remains vague as some elements in his text seem to connect it to Śvetāmbara specifics whereas in others he connects to the Digambaras. He probably composed his work in the fourth or fifth century in Maharashtri Prakrit, which is very much a literary language of *kāvya*.[1] The work is a Jain *carita* or *purāṇa*, with *(mahā)kāvya* characteristics. It is often called an epic poem: epic in its thematics — dealing with heroes, warriors, and great battles — and poem in its form — distinguished from "plain" text in that it is versified (*padya*) and features poetic embellishments (*alaṃkāras*). Scholars like Kulkarni and Chandra favoured the early versions, especially that of Vimalasūri, over the later texts. Infamous is, for instance, the assertion of Kulkarni that the later Jain Rāmāyaṇas he found in Velankar's (1944) seminal manuscript catalogue *Jinaratnakośa* "probably do not contain any new remarkable features but repeat in their own language what the older Jain writers have already said” (Kulkarni 1990: 14). Discussing Raviṣeṇa’s Sanskrit *Padmacarita*, he stresses that he “closely follows Vimalasūri and reproduces his Rāma story without effecting any remarkable changes” (Kulkarni 1990: 103). K.R. Chandra too believes that the text of Raviṣeṇa is a “mere translation of the other [= Vimalasūri’s *Paümacariyaṃ*]” (Chandra 1970: 280). However, when later authors of Jain Rāmāyaṇas, including Svayambhūdeva, Rāmcand Bālak and Brahma Jinadāsa, refer to a source or predecessor, they name Raviṣeṇa — not Vimalasūri, suggesting that Raviṣeṇa’s Sanskrit poem surpassed that of Vimalasūri in reputation and authority, at least among Digambaras. Nevertheless, modern scholars have internalised such statements resulting in none taking up Raviṣeṇa’s *Padmacarita* as a primary study subject, until Clines recently gave a much more positive evaluation of its qualities (Clines 2018 & 2022). The Apabhramsha *Paümacariu* by Svayambhūdeva was not included in Kulkarni’s study. Chandra is more favourable about it than Raviṣeṇa’s version, describing it as “more poetic and attractive in style” (Chandra 1990: 285). Svayambhūdeva’s renown as one of the three great poets of Apabhramsha may have guided this attitude (Bhayani 1953: Introduction, 29–30).

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[1] See Brockington and Brockington in this volume on the date of Vimalasūri. Ollett briefly discusses Vimala's work (2017: 50, 74-75) and stresses its importance as a literary rather than a religious text.

As part of my doctoral research which focused on the *Paümacariu*, I compared its narrative with that of its two precursors, the *Padmacarita* and *Paümacariyaṃ*, resulting in a comparative table that highlights wherever Svayambhū’s text is markedly different in terms of narrative content and structure. Overall, my observations concurred with those of Kulkarni and Chandra in that the narrative of Vimalasūri’s and Raviṣeṇa’s texts, at least in structure and content, are indeed very close. Svayambhū on a few occasions deviates from the other two in a noteworthy way: there are omissions, most notably the story of Munisuvrata and the proximate ancestors of Daśaratha and Janaka in chapters 21 and 22 of Vimalasūri and Raviṣeṇa is dropped completely by Svayambhū. On the other hand, Svayambhū sometimes adds parts, such as his lengthy sermon of Hanumān to Rāvaṇa on the twelve *anuprekṣā*s, subjects of meditation, which is absent from Vimalasūri and Raviṣeṇa. But despite these and some other digressions, one can say that the narrative is the same overall (De Clercq 2003: 1730–2048). In this paper I take a more detailed look at what I have previously identified as a typical example of similar content in these three texts, to explore in more detail what it means for the latter two to be transcreations or translations: Raviṣeṇa’s of Vimalasūri’s text, and Svayambhū’s of Raviṣeṇa’s. Through close reading, I analyse a — due to the constraints of space — short selected passage that is exemplary of this similarity and set the Prakrit, Sanskrit, and Apabhramsha words and verses conveying this parallel content side by side, revealing the exact words the authors used to transpose the verses of their predecessor, and what changes, additions, omissions, abridgements, etc. the individual poets chose to make. This comparison will show that each of these three texts recounts the episode, however similarly, in their own way with their own aesthetic effect. In addition to the narrative content and meaning, the differences in language and corresponding prosody also have a significant bearing on the aesthetic experience. Prakrit is generally described as phonologically more musical, and "smooth", "soft", and "easy" compared to Sanskrit (Ollet 2017: 85–92). This corresponds to a somewhat "heavier" and "slower" (longer, 18,000 *granthāgras*) Sanskrit version of Raviṣeṇa, mostly composed in *śloka* or other recitative syllabic verses, compared to the "smoother" (shorter, 10,000 *granthāgras*) Prakrit one of Vimalasūri in moraic meters such as the *gāthā*, which are more rhythmic and inherently more musical.[2] The characteristics ascribed to Prakrit phonology and meter hold for Apabhramsha as well, which is phonologically close to Prakrit and for the most part employs moraic meters, and its musicality is further enhanced by the consistent use of end rhyme. With 12,000 *granthāgras* the *Paümacariu* is in length also closer to Vimalasūri's text. Apart from this, the comparison will show that there does not appear to be a distinct way in which the same content is told in either Prakrit, Sanskrit, or Apabhramsha, at least for this case. Of central importance seems to be the poetic genius of the individual poet that stimulates them to make the choices they make in how they present a narrative: the same story told by two different poets in Sanskrit may also be very similar or very different. Different audiences, moreover, have different preferences. It is important to keep in mind that all three poems have their merit, as they have survived and continued to circulate for many centuries.[3]

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[2] See Gerow 1989: 536; also Jacobi's assessment of the *āryā* in Jacobi 1886: 595-602.

[3] The *Jinaratnakośa* refers to over twenty attestations of manuscripts for both Vimala's and Raviṣeṇa's texts. Svayambhū's text only has three surviving manuscripts. Out of the three, Raviṣeṇa's text is referred to most often as a source and authority, at least for Digambara authors. The reason for this is most likely the greater accessibility of Sanskrit compared to Prakrit and Apabhramsha, and the clear Digambara stamp of his work.

Analysis of the Selected Passage

The selected text recounts events shortly after Rāvaṇa's abduction of Sītā and corresponds to roughly the first half of chapter 46 in Vimalasūri's and Raviṣeṇa's texts, both of which are divided in an identical way, and for the most part to chapter 41 in Svayambhū's text. In Vimalasūri's chapter, the passage is 29 verses, in Raviṣeṇa's 53 verses and in Svayambhū's it is roughly 10 *kaḍavakas* or 80 verses of varying length. The table below presents a slightly enlarged conversion in English of the comparative table of this chapter from my dissertation with Vimalasūri represented in the first column, Raviṣeṇa and Svayambhū as the second and third, respectively. It makes it quite clear that Vimalasūri and Raviṣeṇa are closer than the *Paümacariu* is to either.[4]

Vimalasūri 46	**Raviṣeṇa 46**	**Svayambhūdeva 38 & 41**
Rāvaṇa standing in his chariot, beholds Sītā (46.1).	Rāvaṇa standing in his chariot, beholds Sītā (46.1–3).	{Rāvaṇa standing in his chariot, beholds Sītā 38.18.3–4}
He addresses her and tries to seduce her (46.2–5)	He addresses her and tries to seduce her (46.4–10)	{He addresses her and tries to seduce her 38.18.5–7}
Sītā rejects him (46.6–8)	Sītā rejects him (46.11–16)	{Sītā rejects him 38.18.8–9}
Rāvaṇa's persists (46.9–10)	Rāvaṇa's persists (46.17, 20–22)	{Rāvaṇa's persists 38.19.1–4}
As Rāvaṇa enters Laṅkā, the soldiers return from the war in the Daṇḍaka forest (46.11–12)	As Rāvaṇa enters Laṅkā, the soldiers return from the war in the Daṇḍaka forest (46.18–19, 23–24)	{Rāvaṇa enters Laṅkā 38.19.5}
Sītā goes on a hunger strike (46.13–14)	Sītā goes on a hunger strike (46.25–26)	{Sītā goes on a hunger strike 38.19.7}
Rāvaṇa abandons her in a park and goes home (46.15–16).	Rāvaṇa abandons her in a park and goes home (46.27–28).	{Rāvaṇa abandons her in a park and goes home 39.19.6, 8–9}
The queens and Candranakhā mourn the death of Kharadūṣaṇa (46.17–18)	The queens and Candranakhā mourn the death of Kharadūṣaṇa (46.29–31)	Candraṇakhī seeks revenge and goes to Rāvaṇa (introductory *ghattā*) Summary of previous two chapters (1.1–7)

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[4] See De Clercq 2003: 1886-1888 for the original comparative table. For convenience's sake, I use the Sanskrit cognates of names as they appear in the Prakrit and Apabhramsha versions, e.g. Candranakhā for Vimalasūri's Candaṇahā and Candranakhī for Svayambhūdeva's Candaṇahī. The numbers between round brackets refer to chapter and verses. The use of curly brackets in Svayambhū's column indicates that this content is found in another position compared to the earlier texts.

		As Rāvaṇa enters Laṅkā with Sītā, Candraṇakhī brings the news that Khara and Dūṣaṇa are also dead (1.8–9).
Rāvaṇa responds and promises to kill the slayer of Kharadūṣaṇa (46.19–20).	Rāvaṇa responds and promises to kill the slayer of Kharadūṣaṇa (46.32–36).	Rāvaṇa responds and promises to kill the slayer of Kharadūṣaṇa (2.1–9).
Rāvaṇa goes to his chambers (46.21).	Rāvaṇa goes to his chambers (46.37).	Rāvaṇa goes to his chambers (3.1).
		Description of Rāvaṇa (3.2–9).
Mandodarī sees him (46.22)	Mandodarī sees him (46.38–39)	Mandodarī approaches (4.1–9).
...and addresses him about his sorrow for the death of Kharadūṣaṇa (46.22–23).	…and addresses him about his sorrow for the death of Kharadūṣaṇa (46.40–43).	…and addresses him about his sorrow for the death of Khara and Dūṣaṇa (5.1–7).
Rāvaṇa confesses that his sadness is due to Sītā not wanting him (46.24–26).	Rāvaṇa confesses that his sadness is due to Sītā not wanting him (46.44–49).	Rāvaṇa confesses that his sadness is due to Sītā not wanting him (5.8–9).
Mandodarī asks why he does not take her by force (46.27–29)	Mandodarī asks why he does not take her by force (46.50–53)	Mandodarī asks why he does not take her by force (6.1–7.9)

In what follows, each of the corresponding scenes are analysed more closely. The chapter starts with Rāvaṇa in his celestial chariot flying Sītā to Laṅkā, their arrival in Laṅkā, and then focuses on exchanges at the court of Laṅkā following the defeat of the Rākṣasas by Lakṣmaṇa. Words in italics indicate correspondence — in content and sometimes *verbatim* — with at least one of the other texts; words in bold indicate innovations.

1. *Rāvaṇa standing in his chariot, beholds Sītā.*

Vimalasūri 46	**Raviṣeṇa 46**	**Svayambhūdeva 38**
so tattha vimāṇattho vaccanto rāvaṇo jaṇayadhūyaṃ daṭṭhuṃ milāṇavayaṇaṃ jaṃpaï mahurāṇi vayaṇāṇi ..1..	*tatrāsāv* **uttame tuṅge** *vimāna***śikhare** *sthitaḥ* **svairaṃ svairaṃ** *vrajan* ***reje*** *rāvaṇo* ***divi bhānuvat***..1.. *sītāyāḥ* śokataptāyā *mlānaṃ vīkṣyāsya***paṅkajaṃ ratirāgavimūḍhātmā dadhyau kim api** rāvaṇaḥ..2.. **aśrudurdinavaktrāyāḥ** sītāyāḥ kṛpaṇaṃ paraṃ *nānāpriyaśatāny ūce* **pṛṣṭhataḥ pārśvato' grataḥ**..3..	*puṇu dasasiru saṃcallu sasīyaü*; *ṇahayalĕ ṇāī divāyaru vīyaü*..18.3.. **majjhĕ samuddahŏ jayasirimāṇaṇu**; puṇu *vollevaĕ laggu dasāṇaṇu*.. 18.4..

What Vimala conveys in one verse, Raviṣeṇa does in three. All of the words from Vimalasūri's text are also present in Raviṣeṇa's, either in cognates or in words with the same meaning. Raviṣeṇa's innovations (in bold) describe the characters in more detail. In verse 1, he specifies where precisely Rāvaṇa is standing in his chariot ("in the top"), and he marks it as very lofty. He further indicates how Rāvaṇa is advancing ("at his own pace") and adds a simile. In verse 2 Raviṣeṇa adds information on Rāvaṇa's state of mind, namely his bewilderment due to his feelings of lust. He is more elaborate on the sad state of Sītā, tormented by grief, her face covered in tears, and he uses the metaphor of a withered lotus for her face. Finally, Rāvaṇa addresses Sītā with loving words, as does Vimala's Rāvaṇa, but Raviṣeṇa is suggestive of the way in which he does so: "from the back, from the side, and from the front", on the one hand implying that he is overwhelming Sītā, but also with comedic effect, popping up on all sides of her. Svayambhū has chosen to defer this passage, up to Candranakhī's approaching Rāvaṇa, to the earlier chapter 38, immediately following Rāvaṇa's abduction of Sītā.[5] Nevertheless, there is agreement in the description of the events. In these verses, Svayambhū's focus is on Rāvaṇa and his behaviour. He is described as flying in the sky like the sun, an image taken from Raviṣeṇa, and in addition, he specifies they are in the middle of the ocean, and names Rāvaṇa "the lover of Lady Victory", alluding to the direct sexual advances he will make in subsequent verses.

2. He addresses her and tries to seduce her.

hohi pasannā sundari *maṃ* *diṭṭhi dehi* somasasivayaṇe **jeṇa mayaṇāṇalo** **me pasamaï tuha** *cakkhusalileṇaṃ* ..2.. *jaï diṭṭhipasāyaṃ me* *na kuṇasi vara*kamalapattadalanayane to *pahaṇasuttimaṅgaṃ* *imeṇa calaṇāravindeṇaṃ*..3.. avaloiūṇa *pecchasu sasela-* vaṇa-kāṇaṇaṃ *imaṃ* *puhaïṃ* **bhamaï jaso paṇavo** **iva majjha aṇakkhaliya-** **gaïpasaro..4..**	**mārasyātyātyantamṛdubhir** **hato'haṃ kusumeṣubhiḥ** **mriye yadi tataḥ sādhvi** **narahatyā bhavet tava..4..** **vaktrāravindam etat te** **sakopam iva sundari** **rājate cārubhāvānāṃ sarvathaiva hi cārutā..5..** *prasīda* devi **bhṛty**āsye *sakṛc* *cakṣur vidhīyatām* *tvaccakṣu*kānti*toyena* snātasyāpaitu me śramaḥ..6.. *yadi dṛṣṭiprasādaṃ me na* *karoṣi var*ānane *etena pādapadmena* sakṛt *tāḍaya mastake*..7.. **bhavatyā ramaṇodyāne kiṃ** **na jāto 'smy aśokakaḥ**	**kāĩ gahilliĕ maĩ ṇa samicchahi**; **kiṃ** *mahaevipaṭṭu* **ṇa samicchahi**..18.5.. **kiṃ ṇikkaṇṭaü rajju ṇa** **bhuñjahi;** **kiṃ ṇa vi surayasokkhu** **aṇuhujjahi.** ..18.6.. **kiṃ mahu keṇa vi bhaggu** **maḍappharu;** **kiṃ dūhaü kiṃ kahi mi** **asundaru.**..18.7..

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[5] Svayambhū's choice of changing the sequence of events is addressed below.

icchasu mae kisoyari **māṇahi jahicchiyaṃ** **mahābhoyaṃ** **ābharaṇabhūsiyaṅgī devi** **vva samaṃ surindeṇaṃ**..5..	**sulabhā yasya te ślāghyā** **pādapadmatalāhatiḥ..8..** kṛśodari **gavākṣeṇa** **vimānaśikharasthitā** *diśaḥ paśya* **prayāto 'smi** **viyad ūrdhvaṃ raver api**..9.. *kulaparvatasaṃyuktāṃ* sameruṃ sahasāgarām *paśya kṣoṇīm imāṃ* devi **śilpineva vinirmitāt**..10..	

Vimala’s Rāvaṇa here attempts to initiate a play of seduction, expressing his desire for Sītā by requesting her to look at him and by suggesting that her glance would meet his desire. He recognises that she may be angry — though undoubtedly considering it more an expression of a coquettish, perhaps feigned, anger — and he tries to cater to her anger by implying that he accepts it suggesting she should express her anger by kicking him in the head with her lotus-like feet, likely on the understanding that after expressing her anger, Sītā would eventually subject herself to his play of seduction. If his impressive stature and character alone were not enough, he then boasts of the wide territories he has conquered and offers her the wealth and enjoyment of a goddess. In Raviṣeṇa’s text, Rāvaṇa’s attempts at seduction are amplified, portraying him as a man subject to his passion. Whereas Vimala’s Rāvaṇa admits his feelings for Sītā, he remains confident and cool. Raviṣeṇa’s Rāvaṇa, on the other hand, is erratic and out of control. He begins his attempt at seduction with a Sanskrit equivalent of a suitor’s “opening line” (“I am struck by the most delicate arrows of Kāma; if I die, then you are guilty of murder.”) to express his feelings for Sītā. This Rāvaṇa too recognises her anger, but dismisses it as unimportant: something beautiful is always beautiful, no matter what, nevertheless later on suggesting she should kick him. Then he requests her to look at him, describing himself as her subordinate (*bhṛtya*). Whereas Vimala’s Rāvaṇa proclaims that her eyes would calm the fire of his passion like water, Raviṣeṇa adjusts the metaphor: bathing in the water of the beauty of her eyes would take away his weariness, again emphasising Rāvaṇa’s suffering under his emotions. If she does not want to look at him, he suggests she kicks him in the head with her lotus-like feet, adding the desire that he be born as an *aśoka* tree in Sītā’s garden, hinting at the topos of a young woman kicking an *aśoka* tree to make it blossom. He again asks her to look, this time at their surroundings, detailing that she should look through an airhole of the celestial chariot, and just as he is starting to boast about his territory, he is cut off by Sītā’s harsh response. Raviṣeṇa’s Rāvaṇa is far from cool and confident, but a man overcome by passion.

Both Rāvaṇas, the one of Vimala and the one of Raviṣeṇa, are true to his traditional Jain portrayal: as a *prativāsudeva*, Rāvaṇa is first and foremost a mighty warrior, the *ardhacakravartin*, “half-universal emperor”, who conquers half of Bharatavarṣa, and seduces a great many women, hence cool and confident. On the other hand, he has no control over his passion for Sītā, which as we read at the end of the story is karmically determined and will lead to his downfall, corresponding to Raviṣeṇa’s portrayal. Although Svayambhū did not mention Sītā’s demeanour in the previous line, her reaction is implied from how Rāvaṇa addresses her. Svayambhū’s Rāvaṇa’s is far from subtle, but crude and even denigrating, calling her a “silly girl” (*gahilli*), and straight out asking her why she does not desire him, whether she thinks he is ugly or repulsive. Without further ado, he offers her the position of chief queen and rule over the kingdom, and is very forward in asking her whether she “enjoys the pleasure of lovemaking”.

3. *Sītā rejects Rāvaṇa.*

jaṃ rāvaṇeṇa *bhaṇiyā vivarīyamuhī ṭhiya* ya taṃ *sīyā* jaṃ **paraloya*viruddhaṃ*** *kaha jaṃpasi erisaṃ vayaṇaṃ*..6.. **avasara diṭṭhipahāo** *mā me aṅgāiṃ chivasu hattheṇaṃ* paramahiliy**āṇalasihāpaḍiyo salaho vva nāsihisi**...7.. *paranāriṃ pecchanto pāvaṃ ajjesi ayasasaṃjuttaṃ narayaṃ pi vañjasi mao dukkhasahassāulaṃ ghoraṃ*..8..	evam *uktā* satī *sītā parācīnavyavasthitā* **antare tṛṇam ādhāya** jagād**ārucitākṣaram**..11.. *avasarpa mamāṅgāni mā spṛśaḥ* **puruṣādhama** nindyākṣarām *imāṃ vāṇīm īdṛśīṃ bhāṣase katham*..12.. **pāpātmakam āyuṣyam asvargyam ayaśaskaram asadīhitam etat te *viruddhaṃ* bhayakāri va**..13.. *paradārān samākāṅkṣan mahāduḥkham avāpsyasi* **paścāt tāpaparītāṅgo bhasmacchannānalopamam..14..** **mahatā mohapaṅkena tavopacitacetasaḥ mudhā dharmopadeśo ‘yam andhe nṛtyavilāsavat..15..** **icchāmātrād api** kṣudra *baddhvā pāpam* anuttamam *narake vāsam āsādya kaṣṭaṃ varttanam āpsyasi*..16..	*ema bhaṇĕvi* **āliṅgaï** jāvĕhĩ; *jaṇayasuyaĕ ṇibbhacchiu* tāvĕhĩ..18.8.. **divasĕhĩ thovaĕhĩ tuhũ rāvaṇa samarĕ jiṇevaü; amhahũ vāriyaĕ rāmasarĕhĩ āliṅgevaü..18.9..**

Vimala’s Sītā’s response is brief and direct. With her back turned towards him, she asks him why he says such things that will ultimately work against him in his next life. After ordering him not to come within her sight nor to touch her, she continues that he will perish because of his desire for other men's wives, like a moth attracted by a flame, and repeats that desiring another man's wife leads to bad karma, disgrace and ultimately to a stay in hell. Raviṣeṇa's Sītā, also with her back towards him, "placed grass between them", i.e. objected, and first and foremost tells Rāvaṇa, whom she calls the "vilest of men" (*puruṣādhama*), not to touch her. Similar to Vimala, she asks him why he says such awful things, before explaining what a life devoted to sin will lead to. Of note here is the use of the word *viruddha*, as did Vimala, albeit in a slightly different context. Only then does she explain that desiring the wife of another — even just desiring, i.e. without acting on it, as reiterated two verses down — causes bad karma and will lead to all kinds of great sorrow in hell. Between these two verses describing Rāvaṇa's certain future in hell, she interjects that her devout words are in vain because Rāvaṇa's mind is too muddled by desire. Compared to Vimala, Raviṣeṇa's Sītā comes across as more fierce. Both texts emphasise her morality. Raviṣeṇa's elaborations concern Sītā's words on committing sin. Svayambhū's account is completely different from that of Vimala and Raviṣeṇa. He adds that Rāvaṇa, after his attempt at seduction, tries to embrace her, and Sītā rejects him, albeit poetically, saying that her husband will kill him: "In a few days, Rāvaṇa, you will be vanquished in battle. In due course, you will be embraced by Rāma's arrows because of me." The emphasis is here not on morally righteous Sītā, concerned with the karmic consequences of Rāvaṇa's action. In Svayambhū's version, in all its brevity the exchange between Rāvaṇa and Sītā is down to earth, resembling a more mundane situation of a chauvinistic male approaching a married woman and being rebuked by her. At the same time, Svayambhū's Sītā is more reminiscent of Sītā's fierce address of Rāvaṇa at this point in the narrative in the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa (*Araṇyakāṇḍa*, 51 esp.), than of the Sītā of Vimala or Raviṣeṇa.

4. Rāvaṇa persists.

pharusavayaṇehi evaṃ *ahiyaṃ* nibbhacchio ya sīyāe *mayaṇaparitāviya*ṃgo taha vi *ṇa chaḍḍei pemmaṃ so*..9.. *tāhe laṅkāhivaī niyayasire viraïūṇa karakamalaṃ* *pāesu tīe paḍio taṇam iva* *gaṇio videhāe*..10..	*rūkṣākṣarābhidhānābhiḥ* *paraṃ vāṇībhir* ity api *madanāhata*cittasya *premāsya na nivarttate* *(nyavarttata)*..17.. **[…]** **pradānair divyavastūnāṃ** **saṃmānaiś cāṭubhiḥ paraiḥ** **tābhiś ca bhṛtyasaṃpadbhir** **agrāhyā janakātmajā..20..**	*ṇiṭṭhuravayaṇĕhī docchiu* jāvĕhī; *dahamuhu huaü* **vilakkhaü** tāvĕhī..19.1.. **jaï mārami to eha ṇa pecchami;** **vollaü savvu haseppiṇu acchami..19.2..** **avaseṃ kaṃ divasu i icchesaï;** **sarahasu kaṇṭhaggahaṇu karesaï..19.3..**

	śaknoti sukhadhīḥ pātuṃ kaḥ śikhām āśuśukṣaṇeḥ ko vā nāgavadhūmūrdhni spṛśed ratnaśalakākikām..21.. *kṛtvā karapuṭaṃ mūrdhni* daśāṅgulisamāhitam *nanāma rāvaṇaḥ sītāṃ nindito ‘pi tṛṇāgravat*..22..	**aṇṇu vi maĩ ṇiyavaü pālevvaü;** **maṇḍaĕ parakalattu ṇa laevvaü..19.4..**

In Vimala's text, after Sītā's harsh words, Rāvaṇa is in no way deterred and even throws himself at Sītā's feet, though Sītā is not interested. This is contrary to Vimala's previous depiction of Rāvaṇa being cool and confident. Raviṣeṇa stretches the paradox in his portrayal of Rāvaṇa as the great warrior on the one hand, yet completely subjected to his passion for Sītā: in verse 17 and 22, he repeats Vimala's description of Rāvaṇa's love not waning despite Sītā's harsh words and him bowing to her feet. This part is however broken up with two interrupting verses (18–19) announcing the other Rākṣasa soldiers' return, emphasising the high esteem and devotion these warriors have for Rāvaṇa. Then Raviṣeṇa reiterates that he is unable to seduce Sītā with anything he has to offer (20), and concludes with two *subhāṣita*s on the unapproachability of angry women: "Who, desiring happiness, is able to master the flame of a fire? Or who may touch even a splinter of the gem in the head of a female snake?", before Raviṣeṇa's Rāvaṇa bows before Sītā, who nevertheless considers him like grass. Svayambhū, again, is very different in Rāvaṇa's reaction. There is no explicit mention of his love persisting. His first impulse is to kill Sītā, because of her insult, but he refrains because then he would never see her again. The hint at killing Sītā again echoes Vālmīki's Rāvaṇa, threatening to cook and eat Sītā if she does not accept him (*Araṇyakāṇḍa*, 54.22–23). He decides to laugh it off, convinced that one day she will change her mind and fall for him. He moreover reminds himself of the vow he once took to not take any woman by force.

5. *The soldiers have returned from the war in the Daṇḍaka forest, just as Rāvaṇa enters Laṅkā.*

kharadūsaṇasaṃgāme nivvatte tāva āgayā suhaḍā *suya***sāraṇa***māīyā jayasaddaṃ ceva kuṇamāṇā*..11.. **paḍupaḍahagīyavāiyaraveṇa** ahiṇandio saha baleṇa	tatra *dūṣaṇasaṃgrāme nivṛtte* paramapriyāḥ *śuka***hastaprahast***ādyāḥ* **sodvegāḥ svāmyadarśanāt**..18.. **calatketumahākhaṇḍaṃ kumārārkasamaprabham**	ema bhaṇevi *caliu* **suraḍāmaru**; *laṅka parāiu* **laddhamahāvaru**..19.5..

pavisaï laṅkānayariṃ dasāṇaṇo indasamavibhavo..12..	**vimānaṃ vīkṣya dāśāsyaṃ muditās taṃ ḍuḍhaukire**..19.. […] **mahendrasadṛśais tāvadvibhavaiḥ sacivair bhṛśam nānādigbhyaḥ samāyātair āvṛtto rākṣasāṃ patiḥ..23..** *jaya vardhasva nandeti śabdaiḥ* śravaṇahāribhiḥ upagītaḥ *pariprāpto laṅkām ākhaṇḍalopamaḥ*..24..	

Vimala here reverts to describing Rāvaṇa as the great *vidyādhara* king, greeted with his devoted army by the people of Laṅkā, entering Laṅkā with all the pomp and glory of Indra, the king of the gods. In Raviṣeṇa’s text, the paradox of the depiction of Rāvaṇa is amplified by interweaving this scene with descriptions of his being completely subjected to Sītā and his passion for her. Verse 18 resembles Vimala’s verse 11, but changes the names of some of the Rākṣasas (Hasta and Prahasta for Sāraṇa), and stresses the devotion of Rāvaṇa’s warriors to their king (“anxious from not seeing their lord”). This is followed by an image of the soldiers approaching the majestic celestial chariot, which looked like the sun. It is then contrasted by repeating all of Rāvaṇa’s vain attempts to seduce Sītā as analysed above, before Raviṣeṇa again repeats Rāvaṇa’s glorious kingship as he enters Laṅkā, surrounded and lauded by his followers, likening him to Indra not once, but twice. Svayambhū leaves out any mention of the return of the warriors and only describes Rāvaṇa entering Laṅkā, adding as descriptors, “the scourge of the Gods”, and “he who had received great rewards”, reminiscent of his great successes.

6. Sītā goes on a hunger strike.

cintei jaṇayataṇayā havaï ‘ha vijjāharāhivo eso āyaraï amajjāyaṃ kaṃ saraṇaṃ to pavajjāmi..13.. *jāva ya na ei vattā kusalā daïyassa* **bandhusahiyassa** *tāva na bhuñjāmi ahaṃ āhāraṃ* bhaṇaï jaṇayasuyā..14..	*acintayac ca rāmastrī so ‘yaṃ vidyādharādhipaḥ yatrācaraty amaryādāṃ tatra kiṃ śaraṇaṃ bhavet*..25.. *yāvat prāpnomi no vārtāṃ bhartuḥ kuśalavartinaḥ tāvad āhārakāryasya pratyākhyānam idaṃ mama*..26..	*jāva ṇa suṇami vatta bhattārahŏ; tāva ṇivitti majjhu āhārahŏ*..19.7..

Sītā now sees that her abductor is an important man, a *vidyādhara* king, and estimates that there is no hope for her to find anyone sympathetic to her cause among his subjects. Thinking all is lost, she therefore decides to abstain from food, unless and until she hears from Rāma. Raviṣeṇa's verses are nearly identical to those of Vimala. In Svayambhū's text, Sītā makes a very similar statement after she has been installed in the park, switching the sequence of events slightly.

7. Rāvaṇa abandons her in a park and goes home.

devaramaṇaṃ ti nāmaṃ *ujjāṇaṃ* **puravarīe** **puvveṇaṃ**_ṭhaviūṇa tattha_ *sīyā niyayagharaṃ patthio* tāhe..15.. **sīhāsaṇe ṇiviṭṭho nāṇāvihamaṇimaūhapajjalie** **sīyāvammahaṇaḍio na lahaï** **nimisaṃ pi nivvāṇaṃ**..16..	**udīcīnaṃ pratīcīnaṃ** tatrāsti paramojjvalam *gīrvāṇaramaṇaṃ khyātam* *udyānam* **svargasaṃnibham**..27.. *tatra* **kalpatarucchāyamahāpādapasaṃkule** *sthāpayitvā* **rahaḥ** *sītāṃ viveśa* *svaniketanam*..28..	**sīyaě vuttu ṇa païsami paṭṭaṇě;** **acchami etthu viulě ṇandaṇavaṇě..19.6..** […] **taṃ ṇisuṇěvi uvavaṇě païsāriya;** **sīsavarukkhamūlě vaïsāriya..19.8..** *mellěvi sīya vaṇě* *gaü rāvaṇu gharahŏ turantaü;* **dhavalěhĩ maṅgalěhĩ thiu rajju saïṃ bhuñjantaü..19.9..**

Rāvaṇa leaves Sītā in a park called "Gladdening the gods" (*devaramaṇa,* Raviṣeṇa: *gīrvāṇaramaṇa*). Raviṣeṇa exploits the implied divine nature of the park, by likening it to heaven, and specifying that the trees he leaves her near resemble wishing trees. Curiously, Raviṣeṇa situates the park in a different area compared to Vimala: according to Vimala, the park is to the east of the city, whereas in Raviṣeṇa's text it is in the north-west. Hereafter Vimala adds a concluding verse to summarise Rāvaṇa's condition: outwardly sitting on his majestic, magnificent throne, yet inwardly completely restless and subjected to his love for Sītā. Raviṣeṇa skips this verse and immediately goes to the next scene, probably feeling he has made the paradox of Rāvaṇa's condition more than clear already in the previous passage. In Svayambhū's text, Sītā herself requests to be left in the pleasure grove, as she does not want to enter the city. Rāvaṇa brings her to the unnamed park without details about its location and installs her under an *aśoka* tree (*sīsava*). He then enters his abode. Svayambhū concludes chapter 38 describing Rāvaṇa as follows: "He continued to rule over his kingdom, to the praises of heroic and benedictory songs", with *saïṃ bhuñjantaü* (*Svayam bhujanta-*) as the author's *nāmamudrā*, "name stamp", standard at the end of each chapter. Chapters 39 and 40 revert to the Daṇḍaka forest, where Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa discover Sītā has been abducted and team up with Virādhita.

8. *Lamentations for Kharadūṣaṇa from the wives and Candranakhā*

khara*dūsaṇammi vahie tāva palāvaṃ kuṇanti juvaīo* **mandoyaripamuhāo** laṅkāhivaïssa ghariṇīo..17.. *ekkoyarassa calaṇe candaṇahā geṇhiūṇa rovantī bhaṇaï hayāsā* **pāvā** *ahayaṃ* **païputtaparimukkā**..18..	*tāvad dūṣaṇapañcatvād* agrato ʻsya **mahāśucā aṣṭādaśa sahasrāṇi** vipralepur mahāsvaram..29.. *bhrātuś candranakhā pādau saṃsṛty*onmuktakaṇṭhakam **abhāgyā** *hā hatāsmīti vilalāpā*stadurdinam..30..	*kharadūsaṇa* **gilĕvi** *candaṇahihĕ* **titti ṇa jāiya** *ṇaṃ khayakālachuha rāvaṇahŏ paḍīvī dhāiya* (introductory *ghattā* of 41) **[samvukumāravīrĕ atthantaĕ;** *kharadūsaṇasaṃgāmĕ samattaĕ*..1.1.. **dūrosāriĕ sundamahavvalĕ; tamalaṅkāraṇayaru gaĕ harivalĕ..1.2..** **ettha ĕ asuramallĕ suraḍāmarĕ; laṅkāhivĕ vahuladdhamahāvarĕ ..1.3..** **paravalavalapavaṇāhindolaṇĕ; vaïrisamuddaraüddavirolaṇĕ ..1.4..** **mukkaṅkusamayagalagalathallaṇĕ; dāṇaraṇaṅgaṇĕ hatthutthallaṇĕ..1.5..** **vihaḍiyabhaḍathaḍakiyakaḍamaddaṇĕ; kāmiṇijaṇamaṇaṇayaṇāṇandaṇĕ..1.6..** **sīyaĕ sahu suravarasaṃtāvaṇĕ; chuḍu chuḍu laṅka païṭṭhaĕ rāvaṇĕ] ..1.7..** *tahĩ avasarĕ candaṇahi* parāiya; *ṇivaḍiya kamakamalĕhĩ* duhaghāiya ..1.8.. *samvukumāru muu; kharadūsaṇa jamapahĕ lāiya* **paĩ jīvantaĕṇa; ehī avattha haũ pāiya..1.9..**

Rāvaṇa's wives mourn the death of Kharadūṣaṇa. Vimala specifies that they are headed by Mandodarī. Raviṣeṇa does not mention the wives but calls them "the 18,000", indicating their number. Thereupon, his sister Candranakhā falls at his feet, lamenting her fate. Vimala and Raviṣeṇa only differ in small details: Vimala's Candranakhā seems to recognise her karmic responsibility in the loss of her husband and son, saying: "I am a wretched sinner, having lost my husband and son." Raviṣeṇa's Candranakhā, her voice unrestrained, bewails his sad day of death, saying: "Unfortunate, ha, and wretched am I." Svayambhū's chapter 41 begins at this stage, with an introductory verse parallelling Candranakhī's going to Rāvaṇa: "Having devoured Khara and Dūṣaṇa, Candranakhī did not feel satisfied. Like the hunger of the time of destruction, she rushed back to Rāvaṇa.” In addition to her approaching Rāvaṇa, the verse implies that Candranakhī was ultimately the cause of Khara and Dūṣaṇa’s death, as she will be the cause of Rāvaṇa’s death, instigating them to fight Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.[6] As chapters 39 and 40 described events in the Daṇḍaka forest, and the author now brings us back to Laṅkā, the first *kaḍavaka* of this chapter summarises the events from the previous chapters, from the death of prince Śambūka up to Rāvaṇa’s return with Sītā to Laṅkā, describing Rāvaṇa as the mighty warrior and ladies’ man. Like in Vimala’s and Raviṣeṇa’s texts, Candranakhī falls at Rāvaṇa’s feet and laments the death of her son and Khara and Dūṣaṇa. Different here is that Candraṇakhī suggests Rāvaṇa is at least in part responsible for her situation, and should rectify it: “Though you still are alive, I have been brought to this state.”

9. Rāvaṇa responds.

vilavantī bhaṇaï tao **laṅkāpuraparamesaro** *alaṃ vacche* *ruṇṇeṇa kiṃ va kīraï* *puvvakayaṃ āgayaṃ kammaṃ*..19.. *vacche jeṇa raṇamuhe* *nihao kharadūsaṇo* **tuha suo** ya taṃ peccha *vahijjantaṃ sahāyasahiyaṃ* tu acireṇaṃ..20..	**ramaṇātmajaprapañcatvavahninirdagdhamānasām** *vilapantīm imāṃ* bhūri *jagādaivaṃ* **sahodaraḥ**..31.. *alaṃ vatse ruditvā te* prasiddhaṃ *kiṃ* na vidyate *jagat prāgvihitaṃ* sarvaṃ *prāpnoty* atra na saṃśayaḥ..32.. **anyathā kva mahīcārā janāḥ kṣudrakaśaktayaḥ** **kvāyam evaṃvidho bhartā bhavatyā vyomagocaraḥ**..33.. **mayedam arjitaṃ pūrvaṃ vyaktaṃ nyāyāgataṃ phalam** **iti jñātvā śucam kartuṃ kasya marttyasya yujyate..**34.. **nākāle mriyate kaścid vajreṇāpi samāhataḥ** **mṛtyukāle ‘mṛtaṃ jantor viṣatāṃ pratipadyate..**35.. *yena vyāpādito vatse samare kharadūṣaṇaḥ* *anyeṣāṃ vāhitecchānāṃ mṛtyur eṣā bhavāmy aham*..36..	*taṃ candaṇahihĕ vayaṇu dayāvaṇu*; ṇisuṇĕvi **thiu heṭṭhāmuhu rāvaṇu**..2.1.. **ṇaṃ mayalañchaṇu ṇippahu jāyaü;** **giri va davaggidaḍḍhu vicchāyaü..2.2..** **ṇaṃ muṇivaru cārittavibhaṭṭhaü;** **bhaviu va bhavasaṃsārahŏ taṭṭhaü..2.3..** **vāhabharantaṇayaṇu muhakāyaru;** **gahĕṇa gahiu ṇaṃ hūu divāyaru..2.4..** **dukkhu dukkhu dukkheṇāmelliu;** **sayaṇasaṇehu sarantu** *pavolliu*..2.5.. *ghāiu jeṇa samvu kharu dūsaṇu;* *taṃ paṭṭhavami ajju jamasāsaṇu*..2.6.. **ahavaï eṇa kāĩ māhappeṃ;** **ko vi ṇa maraï apūreṃ mappeṃ..2.7..**

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[6] In the *Paümacariu* Kharadūṣaṇa are two individuals Khara and Dūṣaṇa, as in the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*.

		dhīrī hohi pamāyahi soo; **kāsu ṇa jammaṇamaraṇavioo..2.8..** **ko vi ṇa vajjamaü jāeṃ jīveṃ marievaü;** **amhěhĩ tumhěhĩ mi kharadūsaṇapahě jāevaü..2.9..**

Rāvaṇa tells Candranakhā to stop crying. Raviṣeṇa here adds a description of Candranakhā as "one whose mind was scorched by the fire of the death of her son and husband." Vimala's Rāvaṇa reminds Candranakhā of the fact that this must be the result of some karma, being the typical Jain answer to sorrow and which Candranakhā already alluded to some verses up. Raviṣeṇa's Candranakhā does not display this awareness, as Rāvaṇa points out: "Do you not know the famous [truth]? All of mankind obtains what has been done before. There is no doubt there." In Raviṣeṇa's text Rāvaṇa then gives her some general instruction on the workings of karma and the inevitability of death: "In another way: how do the people possessing little power and walking the earth correspond with that husband of yours, of such quality, who travelled the sky? 'I clearly rightfully obtained this fruit in the past', if one knows this, for what mortal would it be suitable to grieve? No one dies at the wrong time, even when struck by lightning. At the time of death, even ambrosia becomes poison for a living being." In both texts, Rāvaṇa then promises Candranakhā that he will kill the one who killed her husband, and, according to Vimala, her son. Svayambhū again takes more liberty, by inserting the effect of Candranakhī's words on Rāvaṇa, suggestive of his own grief at the loss of his brothers-in-law and nephew: "Hearing those lamentable words of Candraṇakhī, Rāvaṇa stood there, his face turned towards the ground, like the moon that had lost its lustre, like a gloomy mountain burned by forest fires, like a great sage strayed from good behaviour like a man capable of salvation yet frightened of the cycle of rebirth. His eyes filled with tears and his face perplexed, he was like the sun seized by Rahu the eclipser. With great difficulty, sorrow let go of him." He then collects himself and makes the same vow to Candranakhī as Vimala's and Raviṣeṇa's Rāvaṇa did, to kill the one who killed Śambūka, Khara, and Dūṣaṇa, adding thoughts on the inevitability of death, similar to Raviṣeṇa's Rāvaṇa, though using different phrasings.

10. *Rāvaṇa goes to his chambers*

saṃthāviūṇa bahiṇī āesaṃ jiṇaharaccaṇe dāuṃ *pavisaraï* niyaya*bhavaṇaṃ dasāṇaṇo mayaṇajaragahio*..21..	*svasāram evam āśvāsya dattādeśo jinārcane* *dahyamānamanā vāsabhavanaṃ rāvaṇo ‘viśat*..37..	*dhīrĕvi ṇiyaya vahiṇi* siyamāṇaṇu; **rayaṇihī gaü sovaṇaĕ** dasāṇaṇu..3.1..

In almost identical verses, Vimala and Raviṣeṇa describe that Rāvaṇa gives an order for a homage to the Jina, after which he retreats to his chambers. Svayambhū does not mention the homage and specifies that he goes to bed at night.

11. *Mandodarī sees him.*

mandoyarī paviṭṭhā daïyaṃ daṭṭhūṇa *dīhanīsāsaṃ* *bhaṇaï*[…]..22..	**tatrādaranirākāṃkṣaṃ talpavikṣiptavigraham** s**onmāda**keśaricchāyaṃ *niḥśvasantam ivoragam*..38.. *bhartāraṃ* duḥkhayukteva bhūṣaṇādaravarjitā mahādaram *uvā*caivam *upasṛtya mayātmajā*..39..	**varapallaṅkĕ caḍiu laṅkesaru;** **ṇaṃ girisiharĕ** *maïndu* sakesaru..3.2.. *ṇaṃ visaharu ṇīsāsu muantaü*; **ṇaṃ sajjaṇu khalakheijjantaü..3.3..** **sīyāmoheṃ mohiu rāvaṇu;** **gāyaï vāyaï paḍhaï suhāvaṇu..3.4..** **ṇaccaï hasaï viyārĕhī bhajjaï;** **ṇiyabhūahũ ji paḍīvaü lajjaï..3.5..** **daṃsaṇaṇāṇacarittavirohaü;** **ihaloyahŏ paraloyahŏ dohaü..3.6..** **mayaṇaparavvasu eu ṇa jāṇaï;** **jiha saṃghāru karesaï jāṇaï..3.7..** **acchaï mayaṇasarĕhī jajjariyaü;** **kharadūsaṇaṇāu mi vīsariyaü..3.8..** **cintaï dahavayaṇu** **dhaṇu dhaṇṇu suvaṇṇu samatthaü;** **rajju vi jīviu vi** **viṇu sīyaĕ savvu ṇiratthaü..3.9..** tahī avasarĕ *āiya mandovari*; **sīhahŏ pāsu va sīhakisoyari..4.1..** **varagaṇiyāri va līlāgāmiṇi;**

		piyamāhaviya va mahurālāviṇi..4.2.. **sāraṅgi va vipphāriyaṇayaṇī;** **sattāvīsaṃjoyaṇavayaṇī..4.3 ..** **kalahaṃsi va thiramantharagamaṇī;** **lacchi va tiyarūveṃ jūravaṇī..4.4..** **aha pomāṇihĕ aṇuharamāṇī;** **jiha sā tiha eha vi paürāṇī..4.5..** **jiha sā tiha eha vi vahujāṇī;** **jiha sā tiha eha vi vahumāṇī..4.6..** **jiha sā tiha eha vi sumaṇohara;** **jiha sā tiha eha vi piyasundara..4.7..** **jiha sā tiha eha vi jiṇasāsaṇĕ;** **jiha sā tiha eha vi ṇa kusāsaṇĕ..4.8..** **kiṃ vahujampiĕṇa uvamijjaï kāhĕ kisoyari;** **ṇiyapaḍichandaĕṇa thiya saĩ jĕ ṇāĩ mandoyari..4.9..** **tahĩ pallaṅkĕ caḍĕvi rajjesari;** *pabhaṇiya laṅkāpuraparamesari*..5.1..

Mandodarī sees her husband sighing and addresses him. Raviṣeṇa expands with descriptions and similes indicating both Rāvaṇa’s emotional state and stature and its effect on Mandodarī: he is indifferent to her care and dismisses her attempts at playful quarrelling, looking like a frantic lion and hissing like a snake. This renders Mandodarī sad, as if robbed of her jewels and respect. Svayambhū uses this opportunity to develop more fully his portrayal of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī and their exchange in the bedroom over several *kaḍavakas*. He starts with an elaborate one-*kaḍavaka* description of Rāvaṇa, echoing Raviṣeṇa’s similes of the hissing snake and a lion, with the added detail that, having climbed upon his bed, he looks like a lion on a mountain. He further elaborates on Rāvaṇa’s complete infatuation with Sītā, and his paradoxical feelings and actions, typical of one struck by love (*kāma*): he is afflicted and ashamed yet sings, plays music, dances, laughs, etc. Nothing matters to him but Sītā. He even forgets about the fate of Khara and Dūṣaṇa. The poet briefly reflects on love's destructive power for one's spiritual well-being and that Rāvaṇa is unaware that his infatuation will cause his ultimate downfall. The next *kaḍavaka* gives a poetic description of Mandodarī entering the bedroom, comparing her stereotypical attributes to animals, and likening her to Indra's wife Paulomī. She climbs onto the bed and then addresses Rāvaṇa.

12. Mandodarī addresses Rāvaṇa about his sorrow.

…*visāyaṃ sāmiya* mā vaccasu *dūsaṇavahammi*..22.. *anne vi tujjha bandhū ettheva mayā na soiyā tumhe* *kiṃ* puṇa *dūsaṇasogaṃ sāmi* apuvvaṃ *samuvvahasi*..23..	kiṃ *nāth*ākulatāṃ dhatse *kharadūṣaṇamṛtyunā* na *viṣādo* 'sti śūrāṇām āpatsu mahatīṣv api..40.. *purānekatra saṃgrāme* *suhṛdas te kṣayaṃ gatāḥ* *na ca śocitā jātu dūṣaṇaṃ* *kintu śocasi*..41.. *āsan mahendrasaṃgrāme* *śrīmālipramukhāḥ nṛpāḥ* *bāndhavās te kṣayaṃ yātāḥ* *śocitās te na jātucit*..42.. abhūtasarvaśokas tv amāsīd api mahāpadi *śokaṃ kiṃ vahas*īdānīṃ jijñāsāmi *vibho* vada..43..	**ahŏ dahamuha dahavayaṇa dasāṇaṇa; ahŏ dasasira dasāsa siyamāṇaṇa..5.2..** **ahŏ taïlokkacakkacūḍāmaṇi; vaïrimahīharakharavajjāsaṇi..5.3..** **vīsapāṇi ṇisiyaraṇarakesari; suramigavāraṇadāraṇaarikari..5.4..** **paraṇaravarapāyārapaloṭṭaṇa; duddamadāṇavavaladalavaṭṭaṇa..5.5..** *jaïyahũ bhiḍiu raṇaṅgaṇĕ indahŏ; jāu kulakkhaü sajjaṇavindahŏ*..5.6.. *tahĩ vi kālĕ paĩ dukkhu ṇa ṇāyaü*; jiha *kharadūsaṇamaraṇeṃ* jāyaü..5.7..

Vimalasūri's and Raviṣeṇa's Mandodarī urges Rāvaṇa to abandon his sadness, which she assumes is caused by the death of Kharadūṣaṇa. She observes that many of Rāvaṇa's relatives have died in the past, but this never upset him that much, and she questions what makes the death of Kharadūṣaṇa different. Raviṣeṇa's Mandodarī elaborates that it is not proper for warriors to be sad, even in great misfortune, and repeats that they have lost many relatives in the past, giving the example of Śrīmālin; Rāvaṇa displayed no sadness then, so she questions what is different now. Svayambhū begins this scene with Mandodarī addressing Rāvaṇa with many of his standard epithets and praises his warrior skills. Contrasting with these qualities she observes that he lost many relatives in the fight with Indra, but never displayed such sadness as he does now at the death of Khara and Dūṣaṇa.

13. Rāvaṇa confesses that his sadness is due to Sītā not wanting him.

lajjanto bhaṇaï tao suṇa sundari ettha sāra*sabbhāvaṃ* *jaï no rūsesi tumaṃ to haṃ* *sāhemi* **sasivayaṇe**..24.. **sambukko jeṇa hao vivāio** **dūsaṇo ya saṃgāme** *sīyā* **tassa mahiliyā hariūṇa** **mae ihā’’ṇīyā..25..** *jaï* nāma sā surūvā *na mae* *icchaï païṃ* mayaṇatattaṃ *to natthi jīviyaṃ me* tujjha pie sāhiyaṃ eyaṃ..26..	*tato* **mahodaraḥ svairaṃ** **niśvasy***ovāca rāvaṇaḥ* **talpaṃ kiṃcit parityajya** **dhārito dīritākṣaram**..44.. *śṛṇu sundari sadbhāvam* *ekaṃ te kathayāmy aham* *svāminy* **asi mamāsūnāṃ** **sarvadā kṛtavāñchitā**..45.. *yadi* **vāñchasi jīvantaṃ** **māṃ tato** *devi nārhasi* *kopaṃ kartuṃ nanu* *prāṇā mūlaṃ sarvasya vastunaḥ*..46.. **tatas tayaivam ityukte** **śapathair viniyamya tām** *vilakṣa* iva *kiṃcit sa rāvaṇaḥ* *samabhāṣata*..47.. *yadi* sā **vedhasaḥ sṛṣṭir** **apūrvā duḥkhavarṇanā** *sītā patiṃ na māṃ vaṣṭi tato* *me nāsti jīvitam*..48.. **lāvaṇyaṃ yauvanaṃ rūpaṃ** **mādhuryaṃ cāruceṣṭitaṃ** **prāpya tāṃ sundarīṃ ekāṃ** **kṛtārthatvam upāgatam**..49..	*bhaṇaï* paḍīvaü *ṇisiyaraṇāho*; *sundari jaï ṇa* *karaï avarāho*..5.8.. *to haũ kahami taü*; **ṇaü** **kharadūsaṇadukkhu ‘cchaï** **ettiu ḍāhu para**; *jaṃ maĩ* *vaïdehi ṇa icchaï*..5.9..

Vimalasūri’s Rāvaṇa is embarrassed by his condition and explains to Mandodarī, hoping to not make her angry, that he abducted the wife of the man who killed Śambūka and Dūṣaṇa. He is not exactly telling the truth here: it was Lakṣmaṇa who killed Śambūka and Kharadūṣaṇa, not Rāma. Either he deliberately lies because he wants to make Sītā’s abduction a retaliation for the death of his relatives, or he takes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa as a collective. He is very straightforward and dramatic that if Sītā does not want him for a husband, he has no life. Raviṣeṇa as usual adds some more detail to the conversation, especially in specifying Rāvaṇa’s condition: Rāvaṇa sighs, gets up from the bed and then addresses Mandodarī, carefully selecting his words. In his address he first praises Mandodarī as the mistress of his life’s breath and rather dramatically asks her not to be angry, otherwise, he would not survive. Only after she agrees, embarrassed Rāvaṇa tells her that he sees no point to life and everything it encompasses, because Sītā, whom he calls an unparallelled creation of the creator, does not desire him. Svayambhū opts for brevity and directness here: Rāvaṇa tells Mandodarī that his sorrow is not for the death of Khara and Dūṣaṇa, but because Sītā rejected him.

14. Mandodarī responds, asking why he does not take her by force.

daïyaṃ *eyāvatthaṃ daṭṭhuṃ* *mandoyarī samullavaï;* *mahilā sā akayatthā jā deva* *tumaṃ na icchei*..27.. *ahavā sayalatihuyaṇe sā ekkā* *rūvajovvaṇaguṇaḍḍhā..* *aïmāṇagavvieṇaṃ joijjaï jā* *tume sāmi*..28.. *keūrabhūsiyāsū imāsu* *bāhāsu karikarasamāsu* *kiha na ʻvagūhasi* *sāmiya taṃ vilayaṃ sabalakāreṇaṃ*..29..	tato *mandodarī kaṣṭāṃ* *jñātvā tasya daśām imāṃ* *vihasantī jagādaivaṃ* **visphuraddantacandrikā**..50.. **idaṃ nātha mahāścaryaṃ** **varo yat kurute ʻrthanam** *apuṇyā sābalā nūnaṃ yā* *tvāṃ nārthayate svayam*...51.. *athavā nikhile loke saivaikā* *paramodayā* *yā tvayā mānakūṭena yācyate* *paramāpadā*..52.. *keyūraratnajaṭilair imaiḥ* *karikaropamaiḥ* *āliṅgya bāhubhiḥ kasmād* *balāt kāmayase na tām*..53..	6 *taṃ ṇisuṇevi vayaṇu* **sasivayaṇaĕ***;* *puṇu vi hasevi vuttu* **migaṇayaṇaĕ**..1.. **ahŏ dahagīva** **jīvasaṃtāvaṇa;** **eu ajuttu vuttu paĩ** **rāvaṇa..2..** **kiṃ jagĕ ayasapaḍahu** **apphālahi;** **ubhaya visuddha vaṃsa kiṃ** **maïlahi..3..** **kiṃ ṇāraïyahŏ ṇaraĕ ṇa** **vīhahi;** **paradhaṇu parakalattu jaṃ** **īhahi..4..** **jiṇavarasāsaṇĕ pañca viruddhaĩ;** **duggaï jāi ṇinti avisuddhaĩ..5..** **pahilaü vahu chajjīvaṇikāyahũ;** **vīyaü gammaï** **micchāvāyahũ..6..** **taïyaü jaṃ paradavvu** **laïjjaï;** **caüthaü parakalattu sevijjaï..7..** **pañcamu ṇaü pamāṇu gharavārahŏ;** **āyahĩ gammaï** **bhavasaṃsārahŏ..8..** **paraloĕ vi ṇa suhu** **ihaloĕ vi ayasapaḍāiya;** **sundara hoi ṇa tiya** **ĕyaveseṃ jamaüri āiya..9..** 7 *puṇu puṇu* **pihulaṇiyamva** **kisoyari***;* *bhaṇaï* **hiyattaṇeṇa** *mandoyari*..1.. **jaṃ suhu kālakūḍu visu** **khantahũ;** **jaṃ suhu palayāṇalu** **païsantahũ..2..** **jaṃ suhu bhavasaṃsārĕ** **bhamantahũ;** **jaṃ suhu ṇāraïyahũ ṇivasantahũ..3..**

		jaṃ suhu jamasāsaṇu pecchantahũ; jaṃ suhu asipañjarĕ acchantahũ..4.. jaṃ suhu palayāṇalamuhakandarĕ; jaṃ suhu pañcāṇaṇadāḍhantarĕ..5.. jaṃ suhu phaṇimāṇikku khuḍantahũ; taṃ suhu eha ṇāri bhuñjantahũ..6.. jāṇanto vi to vi jaï vañchahi; to kajjeṇa keṇa maĩ pucchahi..7.. taü pāsiu kiṃ koi vi valiyaü; jeṇa purandaro vi paḍikhaliyaü..8.. jaṃ jasu āvaḍaï tahŏ taṃ aṇurāu ṇa bhajjaï; jaï vi asundaraü jaṃ pahu karei taṃ chajjaï..9..

Vimala's Mandodarī answers Rāvaṇa that a woman who does not long for him is "unsuccessful", i.e. a loser and that a woman's qualities depend on her being seen by Rāvaṇa. She then asks why he does not force himself upon her. Raviṣeṇa describes Mandodarī here as laughing with shiny white teeth while she speaks. He further elaborates her speech, calling it a great wonder that the groom (also "eminent one", *vara*) is the one supplicating, and repeating that the woman who does not want him, is wicked and that a woman is only successful if Rāvaṇa desires her, and asking why he does not take her by force. Svayambhū, in a much lengthier passage, depicts a completely different Mandodarī: though she laughs, she sums up the things that a person should avoid according to the teachings of the Jina, corresponding to the lay vows. By emphasising the possible consequences of betraying the vow of brahmacarya in pursuing another man's wife, she tries to get Rāvaṇa to distance himself from Sītā. Eventually accepting Rāvaṇa's desire for Sītā, despite all this, she asks how Sītā could stop a powerful man like Rāvaṇa, if he wanted her, suggesting he could take her by force.

Discussion: Transcreating Rāma

from Vimala to Raviṣeṇa…

It is evident that Vimalasūri's version to a large degree was the blueprint for Raviṣeṇa. Very often all of Vimala's words have been incorporated in Raviṣeṇa's verses. To be clear, Vimalasūri's text is fine in and of itself and is a pleasure to read. It does not give the impression of lacking anything, properly balancing action and dialogue, tension and pace. Raviṣeṇa's amplifications tend to make the scenes more intense, often making explicit what in Vimalasūri's text the audience members would fill for themselves. By adding detail and expanding, the pace of the narrative is naturally slower and more time is taken to evoke audience responses and to allow these to settle. In this passage, Raviṣeṇa's additions result in a different, more thorough, development of the characters and their state of mind. For instance, where Vimalasūri's Rāvaṇa is at first cool and in control and only reveals his weakness after Sītā rejects him, Raviṣeṇa's version amplifies the incongruity of his stature, character and behaviour: on the one hand he is one of the most powerful and respected men in the world, on the other he is completely powerless and subjected to a woman who rejects him, rendering him a comical fool, who in slapstick-fashion pops up on all sides of her.[7] So too in his exchange with Candranakhā, who according to Vimala herself seems to suggest that her misfortune is the result of past bad karma. Raviṣeṇa's Candranakhā lacks such awareness, and it is Rāvaṇa, the sinner who just abducted another man's wife after seeing her for the first time, who ironically and tragically suggests his sister's past deeds are to blame and lectures her on the workings of karma, clearly not taking heed of his own advice. Similarly, in the dialogue with Mandodarī, Raviṣeṇa gives detail to both her and Rāvaṇa's state of mind and behaviour, allowing the audience to dwell at length on their condition. We see a similar treatment of the character of Sītā in this passage. Whereas Vimala's Sītā, her back turned towards him implying disrespect and possibly anger, rejects Rāvaṇa and warns him that his behaviour will have bad karmic consequences, Raviṣeṇa's Sītā is portrayed as explicitly angry, not just having her back toward him, but insulting him and claiming her words of wisdom are fruitless for men like him.

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[7] On Raviṣeṇa's use of humor in his portrayal of Rāvaṇa, see Clines 2019. On the use of *hāsya* in Jain texts, cf. Monius 2015.

…to Svayambhūdeva

Though he explicitly names Raviṣeṇa as his source and there are many clear elements that show correspondence, Svayambhū, at least in this selected passage, does not follow Raviṣeṇa's text as closely as Raviṣeṇa follows Vimala. One significant change concerns the order of the scenes. The interactions between Rāvaṇa and Sītā in the chariot, depicted by Vimala and Raviṣeṇa in chapter 46, are presented by Svayambhū at an earlier point in the narrative. Though Svayambhū overall follows the order of events in Raviṣeṇa's text faithfully, an alteration such as this one, albeit not very common, is also not unique. Being a deliberate choice, it deserves discussion. The episodes surrounding this scene depict Sītā's abduction, one of the major turning points in the narrative. The abduction occurs simultaneously with other events involving Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and others. Vimalasūri (PCV) and Raviṣeṇa (PCR) increase the tension of this episode by switching scenes at a higher pace: after Rāvaṇa grabs Sītā and kills Jaṭāyu (PCV 44.39–46; PCR 44.83–100), we switch to Rāma arriving on the battlefield, and immediately being sent back by Lakṣmaṇa (PCV 44.47–51; PCR 44.101–104). The scene then shifts with Rāma's return to the hut where he finds Sītā missing and Jaṭāyu dead. He faints and loses his mind, and the chapter ends with Rāma pitiably addressing the trees and mountains in the forest for her whereabouts (PCV 44.52–67; PCR 44.105–151). At the beginning of the next chapter, we switch back to the battlefield where Virādhita, an enemy of the Rākṣasas, arrives and joins Lakṣmaṇa in fighting the Rākṣasas (PCV 45.1–16; PCR 45.1–31). When the fight is over, they head back to Rāma's hut and find him there without Sītā. Virādhita sends his troops to find news of Sītā (PCV 45.17–27; PCR 45.32–57). At this point we switch to Rāvaṇa,who on his return to Laṅkā with Sītā is unsuccessfully confronted by an ally of Sītā's twin brother Bhāmaṇḍala (PCV 45.28–32; PCR 45.58–71), then reverting to the Daṇḍaka forest where Virādhita's armies return without any news of Sītā and Rāma falls to mourning (PCV 45.31–35; PCR 45.72–78). Virādhita, Lakṣmaṇa, and Rāma then head to Pātālalaṅkā, defeat the Rākṣasa Sunda there, who flees with his mother Candranakhā to Laṅkā. The chapter ends with Rāma visiting the Jina temple (PCV 45.36–46; PCR 45.79–105). It is at this point that chapter 46 starts with the exchange between Rāvaṇa and Sītā analysed above. Svayambhū, on the other hand, chooses to keep the focus on Rāvaṇa and Sītā from the moment of the abduction, immediately followed by the death of Jaṭāyin, Rāvaṇa's fight with Bhāmaṇḍala's ally, Rāvaṇa's and Sītā's exchange up to their arrival in Laṅka, covering the second half of chapter 38. It is only after this, in chapter 39, that Rāma finds Sītā abducted and Jaṭāyin dead. Chapter 40 switches to the battlefield where Virādhita arrives, and he and Lakṣmaṇa kill Khara and Dūṣaṇa. After the battle, Lakṣmaṇa and Virādhita find that Sītā has been abducted and Rāma is in despair. All head to Tamalaṅkāra where they chase away Sunda, who flees to Rāvaṇa. At this point, chapter 41 commences with the return of Candranakhī and her grief. By choosing to switch less frequently between the scenes, Svayambhū is able to focus more on the characters and to allow sentiments evoked to work deeper and linger for longer. By narrating Rāvaṇa's abduction of Sītā, his killing of Jaṭāyin, and defeat of Bhāmaṇḍala's ally in one sequence of half a chapter, his crude and violent nature is very prominent in the audience's mind and may explain the poet's choice of portraying Rāvaṇa as rather a violent, overconfident brute in his verbal exchange with Sītā, devoid of any kind of karmically determined submissiveness to passion as we find in Vimala's and Raviṣeṇa's depiction. The violence and fierceness of the scene is also present in Sītā's response, which is devoid of any concern for Rāvaṇa's karmic condition. The subsequent chapter 39 balances this lack of reference to Jain ideology, when compared to Vimala's and Raviṣeṇa's texts, by allowing an entire chapter for Rāma's despair at the abduction of Sītā and the death of Jaṭāyin. Most of chapter 39 is taken up by a visit of *cāraṇa* seers who provide Rāma with some temporary relief of Jain instruction in the impermanence of human existence, an episode which is absent in Vimala's and Raviṣeṇa's texts and hence a deliberate innovation by Svayambhū. In chapter 40, the battle of Lakṣmaṇa and Virādhita with Khara and Dūṣaṇa is narrated, followed by the retrieval of Virādhita's ancestral city Tamalaṅkāra from the Rākṣasas. In the end, Rāma finds some relief in the Jina temple in the city. An additional effect of the absence of Rāvaṇa and Sītā from chapters 39 and 40, and the many events that take place after Sītā's abduction is the experience of distance, both in space and time, between Sītā and Rāvaṇa on the one hand and Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa on the other. The longer the sole focus is on Rāma and his situation in the Daṇḍaka forest, the more tangible Sītā's absence becomes. Rāma has no clue what happened to his beloved, and the longer the audience is without an update on her whereabouts, the more it can empathise with Rāma's despair. In the next scene, Svayambhū's choice of portraying Rāvaṇa, in his exchange with Sītā in the celestial chariot, as a violent, lascivious brute, followed by Sītā's fierce response threatening his life, after which Rāvaṇa's first instinct is to kill her, strikingly echoes Vālmīki's parallel episodes.[8] This may very well be a deliberate attempt to approximate Vālmīki's account, perhaps to accommodate audience expectations or preferences, but Svayambhū's reordering of the scenes may also be a factor here: as it is, the harsh tone of this scene is more in line with the string of violent scenes immediately preceding it, starting with the abduction and slaying of Jaṭāyin. However, Svayambhū counters this representation of a crude and violent Rāvaṇa, by describing his sadness when Candranakhī brings him the news of the death of Khara and Dūṣaṇa. Next, in his description of Rāvaṇa's and Mandodarī's encounter, Svayambhū for the first time, and at much greater length than his predecessors, dwells on Rāvaṇa's state of mind in his blinding, all-consuming passion for Sītā, and the dangers it represents for his karmic condition. Also much longer and more detailed is Svayambhū's description of Mandodarī as she enters the bedroom and addresses Rāvaṇa, and a complete change is her attempt to dissuade Rāvaṇa from pursuing Sītā, portraying her as a devout Jain woman, in a way parallel to Sītā's words in her exchange with Rāvaṇa in Vimalasūri's and Raviṣeṇa's accounts, albeit much longer. Svayambhū's Mandodarī is here a very different Mandodarī from that of Vimala and Raviṣeṇa who suggests her husband should take Sītā by force.[9] This portrayal corresponds to several Jain and non-Jain accounts of a benign Mandodarī, mediating the release of Sītā, and may be inspired by the prominent motif found in the other Jain narrative tradition, of Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*, where Sītā is the daughter of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī, and Mandodarī is portrayed as equally benign.[10]

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[8] Svayambhūdeva's choice of separating Kharadūṣaṇa into two individuals corresponds to Vālmīki.

[9] Note that later on in the narrative, Raviṣeṇa's (ch. 73) and Vimalasūri's (ch. 70) Mandodarī does try to persuade Rāvaṇa to give back Sītā after evil portents appeared.

[10] See *Uttarapurāṇa* 68.340-362. See also John and Mary Brockington's database: Brockington and Brockington 2022: cumulative L-2, 74-76.

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Heroism or Detachment: Reading Hastimalla’s *Añjanāpavanañjaya*

Gregory M. Clines

Recent years have witnessed a true renaissance in scholarship focused on Jain narrative literature.[1] Much of this work, my own included, directly addresses the theme of the current volume: literary transcreation. The corpus of Jain narrative literature is vast, and one of the common threads that runs through the history of Jain narrative composition is the fact that authors have continually rewritten inherited narratives and, in doing so, have intentionally and creatively manipulated the work of their predecessors in terms of genre, style, aesthetics, language, and moral messaging.

In this chapter I want to look at a specific instance of literary transcreation: the thirteenth-century Jain author Hastimalla’s seven-act drama entitled *Añjanāpavanañjaya* (‘The Drama of Añjanā and Pavanañjaya’). As the title informs us, the play focuses on the marriage and subsequent trials of the *vidyādhara* couple Añjanā and Pavanañjaya. These are the hero Hanumān’s parents in the Jain *purāṇic* literary tradition, and the play’s basic plot structure is largely inherited from earlier Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives. This chapter examines the transcreative moment of moving from *purāṇa* to drama (*nāṭaka*), and, specifically, I set forth two goals. First, I want to highlight Hastimalla’s literary creativity by explicating some of the major changes he makes to his source material. Second, using these changes as a starting point, I want to provide two different readings of the *Añjanāpavanañjaya* as a whole. The first will examine the play as a classical Sanskrit drama that aims to engender in its reader (or viewer) *vīra rasa*, the heroic sentiment in Sanskrit dramatic theory.[2] The second reading, though, is inflected by Jain theology. While I would not go so far as to say that the *Añjanāpavanañjaya* aims to engender *śānta rasa*—the quiescent sentiment—in its reader, I do argue that there are clues throughout the drama that aim to orient the reader towards a feeling of *vairāgya*, fundamental world-weariness. That is, there is a mode of reading the *Añjanāpavanañjaya* that leaves the reader feeling distrustful of, and unattracted to, the ephemeral world and its fleeting pleasures. My hope is that this investigation of an understudied Jain drama will not only contribute to ongoing discussions about Jain literary creativity and diversity in premodernity, but also help to document Jain contributions to the history of Sanskrit drama.

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[1] Previous versions of this chapter were presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion in 2018 and 2019. I am grateful to the questions and feedback received at those presentations. I also extend my gratitude to the two anonymous reviewers of this chapter, whose generous engagement with my materials and arguments invariably benefitted the final product.

[2] Space precludes an extensive discussion of Sanskrit *rasa* theory, its evolution, or the mechanics of *rasa* in pre-modern South Asian drama and poetry. For more on these topics, see Pollock 2016.

Hastimalla and his Works

Hastimalla, literally "he who possesses the strength of an elephant," was a Digambara Jain householder who lived in the latter half of the thirteenth century, most likely in modern-day Karnataka.[3] He is credited with composing a Kannada-language version of the *Ādipurāṇa* and four extant Sanskrit dramas:[4] *Vikrāntakaurava* ('The Drama of the Heroic Kauraveśvara'),[5] *Maithilīkalyāṇa* ('The Drama of the Illustrious Maithilī'),[6] *Subhadrānāṭikā* ('The Short Drama of Subhadrā'),[7] and

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[3] Hastimalla is almost certainly a *nom de plume*, and we do not know our author's real name. As summarised by Patwardhan (1950: 7-8), Hastimalla earned this nickname by subduing a raging elephant that had been unleashed upon him by a king interested in testing his spiritual fortitude (*samyaktva*). After calming the elephant, the story goes, the king "honoured and glorified [Hastimalla] in the royal assembly...with a hundred stanzas in recognition of his great achievement" (Patwardhan 1950: 7). The 14th-century author Ayyapārya, in his *Jinendrakalyāṇacampū*, builds on this base story, explaining that not only did Hastimalla tame a wild elephant by means of a well-crafted poetic stanza, but that he also revealed a seeming Jain monk at court to be an imposter (*jinamudrādhārin*) (Patwardhan 1950: 8). Further, in the *Pratiṣṭhātilaka*, Nemicandra describes Hastimalla as "a lion [that kills] the enemies that are his opponents" (*paravādihastināṃ siṃhaḥ*) (Patwardhan 1950: 8, f.2). Hastimalla is also referred to, though infrequently, as Madebhamalla, "he who possesses the strength of an elephant in rut."

[4] At least three additional dramas have been attributed to Hastimalla, though manuscripts of those works are unavailable. Warder (2004: 859) argues that with the exception of the *Udayanarājakāvya*, the other plays listed in manuscript catalogs are likely alternative names for the four dramas mentioned above.

[5] Kaureśvara here is another name for Jaya, the grandson of Bāhubali. See Warder 2004: 830.

[6] Maithilī is a common name for Sītā.

[7] The Subadhrā of this short drama is the wife of Bharata, the older son of Ādinātha and the first *cakravartin* of the current *avasarpiṇī*.

Añjanāpavanañjaya.[8] A cursory evaluation of these four titles reveals that all of Hastimalla's dramas draw for their plots from the long history of Jain *purāṇic* literature, datable at least back to Vimalasūri and his fifth century CE Prakrit *Paümacariya* ('The Deeds of Padma').[9] The *Maithilīkalyāṇa* and *Añjanāpavanañjaya* specifically draw from earlier Jain Rāma narratives.[10]

There is little concrete historical information about Hastimalla's life. He lived in South India during the reign of an unnamed Pāṇḍya king,[11] and we know that he was the fifth of six sons of one Govindabhaṭṭa, a convert to Jainism who was born a Vatsa *gotrī* Brahmin. According to the *Vikrāntakaurava* (Act I), all of Hastimalla's brothers were also accomplished poets (*kavīśvarāḥ*), and the *Maithilīkalyāṇa* (Act I) describes the brothers as "ornamented with the jewels of good speech" (*subhāṣitaratnabhūṣaṇa*) (Patwardhan 1950: 6). Later sources agree that Hastimalla had at least one son, known as Pārśva Paṇḍita. Some sources claim that Pārśva was simply the oldest and most accomplished of several sons (Patwardhan 1950: 8).

Hastimalla in Jain Literary Studies

Hastimalla and his works have received little attention in scholarship on Sanskrit drama or Jain literature. In Hindi-language scholarship, Kanchedīlāla Jaina published a monograph on Hastimalla's life and works in 1980 and, more recently, Snehalatā Śuklā published an examination specifically of the *Vikrāntakaurava* in 2010. In English-language scholarship, John Brockington (2016: 9) discusses the *Maithilīkalyāṇa* in passing when discussing later Rāma-based narratives that foreground Sītā, and Mary Brockington (2016: 33) references the *Añjanāpavanañjaya* in her discussion of Añjanā, which is part of a larger analysis of secondary female characters in Jain versions of the Rāma story.

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[8] All of Hastimalla's extant dramas have been edited and published. *Vikrāntakaurava* was published in 1915 as part of the Māṇikacanda Digambara Jain Granthamālā, and then again in 1969 by the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office in Varanasi as part of the Haridas Sanskrit Series. *Maithilīkalyāṇa* was published in 1916 in the Māṇikacanda Digambara Jain Granthamālā. Both *Subhadrānāṭikā* and *Añjanāpavanañjaya* were edited and published by M.V. Patwardhan in 1950.

[9] Padma is a common name for Rāma in Jain literature.

[10] For more on Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*s, see Clines 2022.

[11] It is possible that this king is Māravarman Kulaśekhara I (r. 1268-1308 CE), though as Sastri (2019 [1955]: 197) points out, "the rule of the Pāndya kingdom was shared among several princes of the royal family, one of them enjoying primacy over the rest." So, while Kulaśekhara might have held primacy over lesser Pāṇḍya princes, it is unclear exactly to whom Hastimalla refers in his works.

For our purposes, two sources offer the most sustained treatment of Hastimalla and his dramas. The first is M.V. Patwardhan's 1950 edition of the *Añjanāpavanañjaya* and the *Subhadrānāṭikā,* in which he also provides an English-language introduction to Hastimalla and his four works. The second is A.K. Warder's lengthy discussion of Hastimalla in volume seven, part two, of his important *Indian Kāvya Literature* series. Warder provides not only introductory biographical information for Hastimalla, but also detailed accounts of all four of his dramas. About *Añjanāpavanañjaya*, he writes that Hastimalla "saw the possibilities of this story for the theatre":

> In interpreting the *purāṇa* for the stage he has made Pavanaṃjaya's friend Prahasita the fool, Miśrakeśī a female tutor and introduced several new characters and many new scenes. He has also modified certain details for aesthetic effect; for example the arranged marriage of Añjanāsundarī becomes self-choice. But most of all Hastimalla has used the resources of *nāṭyaśāstra* to enrich his plot (2004: 860).

It is clear from this quotation that Warder recognises Hastimalla as an innovative author who creatively drew on earlier Jain narrative traditions for the general plots of his dramas.[12] Patwardhan, in his analysis, is complimentary of Hastimalla as a playwright. In discussing the diverse set of Sanskrit and Prakrit meters that Hastimalla employs,[13] for instance, Patwardhan comments that his "ability to handle all these metres in a natural, easy and graceful manner is enough to do credit to any Sanskrit poet. He is quite at home writing metrical passages and his ease and grace are at time reminiscent of similar qualities in Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and others" (1950: 39). Patwardhan also recognises that the *Añjanāpavanañjaya* is substantively different than its source material. He provides an extensive list—spanning two full pages—of the changes that Hastimalla makes but ends the discussion with a curious note:

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[12] Warder is of the opinion that Hastimalla was most familiar with the literary oeuvres of Jinasena II, author of the Sanskrit *Ādipurāṇa*, and his student Guṇabhadra, author of the *Uttarapurāṇa* (2004: 829-830). In regard specifically to the *Añjanāpavanañjaya*, though, Guṇabhadra does not actually provide a detailed account of the story of Hanumān's parents. Both Vimalasūri, in his *Paümacariya*, and the seventh-century author Raviṣeṇa, in his *Padmapurāṇa,* do provide the story, and it is likely that Hastimalla was aware of these older versions of the Rāma narrative and perhaps had even read Raviṣeṇa's work. Patwardhan is also confident that Vimala and Raviṣeṇa are the sources for Hastimalla's *Añjanāpavanañjaya* (1950: 30-32).

[13] As Patwardhan explains, and largely in keeping with the expectations of premodern South Asian drama, all of the "low" characters in Hastimalla's plays—*vidūṣaka*s, servants, and women—speak Śaurasenī Prakrit (1950: 40). On this see also Vaidya 1952.

"Except for the points of divergence mentioned above, Hastimalla has closely and faithfully followed the story as given in the Paümacariya and has cast it into the conventional mould of a Nāṭaka" (1950: 30–32).

What both Warder and Patwardhan allude to is that Hastimalla was motivated to change the story of Añjanā and Pavanañjaya to fit the structural requirements and expectations of Sanskrit drama. Neither scholar, though, spells out exactly what this means, or, rather, what the end goal of the drama is when read through the lens of the classical Sanskrit dramatic theory. In the following pages I offer such an analysis.

The Story of Añjanā and Pavanañjaya in Jain Caritas

To highlight the extent to which Hastimalla creatively changes the story of Hanumān's parents, I will provide in brief what we might call the "classical" account of Añjanā and Pavanañjaya as provided in cantos fifteen through eighteen of Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa*. The story begins with Añjanā's father, Mahendra, worrying about finding a suitable husband for his daughter. Different ministers provide different possible grooms for the young woman, but eventually two possible suitors rise to the fore: Vidyutprabha and Pavanañjaya. After a sage informs Mahendra that Vidyutprabha will soon become a renunciate—and thereby leave Añjanā without a husband—Mahendra decides that Pavanañjaya is the best choice. Mahendra meets Pavanañjaya's father, Prahlāda, on Mount Kailāśa, and the two kings agree that the wedding should occur at once. Preparations are made, but before the ceremony can take place Pavanañjaya is overcome by the desire to see his bride. Over the three days between his being informed of the wedding arrangements and the actual performance of the ceremony, Pavanañjaya actually goes mad from his uncontrolled passion to see Añjanā. As Raviṣeṇa explains:

> Overpowered with desire, Pavanañjaya became anxious to meet Añjanā immediately. He was overwhelmed by the stress of passion so completely; it resembled a warrior being struck by multiple enemy arrows. In the first stage, he was desirous to see Añjanā. In the second, he desired to gaze upon her figure. In the third, his breathing became labored, and in the fourth, he developed a fever like burning sandalwood. In the fifth stage, he intermittently laid his body over a bed of thorny rose bushes. In the sixth, delicious foods seemed to him like poison. In the seventh stage, desirous to speak with her, he babbled uselessly, all the while singing and dancing. In the eighth stage he became intoxicated, sometimes singing and other times dancing. In the ninth stage he began fainting, as if succumbing to a snake bite. In the tenth stage, he reached such a state of total depression that only he could understand it (XV.95–100).

And so, accompanied by his friend Prahasita, Pavanañjaya sneaks into Añjanā's compound. He scales the palace walls to the seventh story, where Añjanā resides with two attendants. Pavanañjaya overhears one of the handmaidens, Miśrakeśī, lament about the upcoming marriage, arguing that it would have been better for Añjanā to marry Vidyutprabha, even if he would have eventually left her for monkhood. Upon hearing this, Pavanañjaya becomes enraged and threatens to kill both Añjanā and the handmaiden:

> Pavanañjaya, incensed by the fire of anger, immediately began to shake, and a shadow fell over him. Biting his lower lip, he unsheathed his sword, his entire face red and trembling from the sight. He said, "O Prahasita, certainly [Añjanā] desired this, that the woman would say something so abhorrent! Look! I will cut off both their heads!" (XV.163–166).

Prahasita ultimately talks Pavanañjaya down from the rash thought of murdering his bride-to-be, but the prince's pride is hurt, and he becomes intent on calling off the wedding. He gives the order for his army to prepare to leave, and the following morning Pavanañjaya abandons his betrothed and the two *vidyādhara* families.

When Mahendra and Prahlāda hear that Pavanañjaya has left, they begin their pursuit. Eventually they catch up with the prince and convince him to go through with the marriage. Añjanā and Pavanañjaya indeed wed, but while Añjanā and the two families rejoice, Pavanañjaya continues to hold a grudge. He leaves Añjanā immediately following the ceremony, uttering not even a single word to her. Soon after the wedding, Prahlāda receives word from Rāvaṇa—at this point in the narrative, the two are allies—that his service is needed in battle against an enemy *vidyādhara* named Varuṇa. Pavanañjaya convinces his father to let him go to battle in his place and soon sets off with a vast army to meet Rāvaṇa. One night during the campaign, though, Pavanañjaya spots a lonely female *cakra* bird pining for her mate. Upon seeing the pitiable sight, Pavanañjaya's animosity towards Añjanā disappears and he desires nothing more than to go and consummate his marriage with his wife. He does just that, returning to Añjanā under cover of darkness. He spends the night with her before returning to his army in the early morning. Añjanā worries that she might become pregnant from her union with her husband and that because no other family members had seen Pavanañjaya return for the night, her in-laws might think that she had been unfaithful. Pavanañjaya gives her a bracelet to prove that he had indeed returned and then departs.

Añjanā, of course, does conceive a child, and when her pregnancy begins to show, her mother-in-law, Ketumatī, accuses her of infidelity.

Añjanā shows her the bracelet, but to no avail. Ketumatī exiles Añjanā from the kingdom and, to make matters worse, she is refused entrance back to her natal home. Añjanā and her *sakhī* ('companion') Vasantamālā find themselves wandering through a terrible forest teeming with wild, fearsome beasts. Raviṣeṇa makes numerous references to the fact that Añjanā must walk through the forest, as pregnancy has made it impossible for her to fly through the air. Unaccustomed to walking, Añjanā's feet soon become bruised and bloody, "as if decorated with red paste" (XVII.104). In a particularly poignant verse (XVII.96), the reader learns that Vasantamālā —though still capable of flying—chooses to walk alongside Añjanā "like a shadow" (*chāyāvṛttim*) supporting her pregnant mistress.

Eventually the two happen upon a Jain ascetic, Amitagati, who has taken up residence in a cave in which Añjanā and Vasantamālā hope to take refuge. There, Amitagati narrates Añjanā's past lives and, finally Añjanā gives birth to her son. Soon thereafter, Añjanā's maternal uncle Pratisūrya comes across the two women in the forest, though he does not immediately recognise Añjanā. Upon learning her identity, he takes Añjanā, her son, and Vasantamālā back to his city Hanurūha, after which Hanumān is named.

In the meantime, Pavanañjaya returns from his military campaign with Rāvaṇa and discovers that his mother has wrongly accused Añjanā of infidelity and cast her out. Pavanañjaya sets off to find his wife but is unsuccessful. Mirroring the previous circumstance of Añjanā, Pavanañjaya eventually ends up in a forest, where he vows to end his life if he cannot find his wife. Pratisūrya, though, again comes to the rescue. Prahlāda had previously sent him a message explaining that Pavanañjaya had gone off in search of Añjanā but had never returned. Accompanied by other *vidyādhara*s, Pratisūrya searches for Pavanañjaya, finds him in the forest, and brings him to Hanurūha to be happily reunited with his wife.

Añjanā and Pavanañjaya in Hastimalla's Añjanāpavanañjaya

The bones of Hastimalla's interpretation of the story of Añjanā and Pavanañjaya align with those of earlier Jain *purāṇa*s. The couple is separated because of Rāvaṇa's war. Pavanañjaya returns from said war for a single night to see Añjanā, and she becomes pregnant. Ketumatī believes Añjanā to have been unfaithful and exiles her to the forest, where Añjanā gives birth to Hanumān. Añjanā is eventually rescued;

Pavanañjaya wanders through the forest looking for his wife; and finally, the couple is reunited.

With that said, Hastimalla also injects substantive aesthetic and plot changes that set his story apart from those of his predecessors. Many of these changes occur towards the beginning of the narrative and in the first two acts of the drama. The first concerns the actual marriage between Añjanā and Pavanañjaya. Whereas in Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* the marriage is arranged, in the drama Añjanā chooses her own husband in a *svayaṃvara* ceremony. The fact that Añjanā will choose Pavanañjaya is never in doubt.[14] This certainty is possible because in the *Añjanāpavanañjaya*, Añjanā and Pavanañjaya are not total strangers before the ceremony. While they had not actually spoken before, they had briefly seen each other. On a previous occasion, Añjanā had gone off with a few of her *sakhī*s to the Vijayārdha mountain to collect flowers. Pavanañjaya happened upon the mountain at the same time and saw Añjanā as she was entering a shelter of trees. From her shelter, Añjanā too spied Pavanañjaya and, at the sight of him, the flowers she carried inadvertently fell from her hands. In recounting this story the day before the *svayaṃvara*, Pavanañjaya explains the lasting effect this episode had on him: "Those very flowers that fell softly from the foremost blossoms that are my beloved's hands have become unerring arrows that the God of Love now casts towards me!" (Act I, Hastimalla and Patwardhan 1950: 7). Even before the *svayaṃvara* begins, then, it is clear that Añjanā and Pavanañjaya are infatuated with each other; indeed, they are in love.

Because of this change, the Pavanañjaya of Hastimalla's drama never succumbs to jealousy and never becomes enraged with Añjanā. Pavanañjaya never attempts to call off his wedding and, thus, Hastimalla removes what is essentially *the* precipitating factor for the prolonged tragedy that marks Raviṣeṇa's version of the narrative.[15] Pavanañjaya does eventually leave Añjanā to join Rāvaṇa in battle, but not because he holds a grudge against his wife. Rather he acts out of a sense of filial duty to his father: at the end of the second act, Pavanañjaya has to convince his father, Prahlāda, to allow him to go and join Rāvaṇa in the king's stead.

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[14] In Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa* (XV.30), one of Mahendra's attendants presents the option of Añjanā choosing her own husband in a *svayaṃvara* ceremony, but the suggestion does not gain much traction.

[15] This also relates to Añjanā's identity as a Jain *satī*. As M. Whitney Kelting points out: "The Añjanā story produces a number of…marital problems… (1) rejection by husband; (2) childlessness and miraculous fertility; (3) accusations of shamelessness; and (4) conflicts with one's mother-in-law" (2009: 63-64). Kelting argues that Añjanā's potent wifely virtue, cultivated through fasting, helps her to fix her bad marriage and strained relationship with her in-laws. Some of the issues at hand—Añjanā's assumed shamelessness and conflict with her mother-in-law, for example—are still present in Hastimalla's version of the narrative, but strikingly absent is, of course, her being rejected by Pavanañjaya.

In fact, not only does Hastimalla remove Pavanañjaya's motivation for abandoning his wife (as Raviṣeṇa would have it), but he replaces it with what can only be described as palpable, over-the-top humour. Indeed, most of the play's first two acts are explicitly funny. Hastimalla creates humour in a number of ways, many of which centre on the sex-obsessed Prahasita, the drama's *vidūṣaka*. The *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Bharata's seminal work on dramaturgy, explains that *hāsya rasa*, the comedic sentiment, arises out of the mimicry (*anukṛti*) of *śṛṅgāra rasa*, the erotic sentiment (*śṛṅgārāt hi bhavet hāsyaḥ*) (VI.40). We encounter this mimicry of eroticism throughout the first two acts of the *Añjanāpavanañjaya*. Take, for example, Prahasita's description of the pleasure forest, where the first two acts of the drama are set. It is replete with sexually suggestive imagery:

> O friend, indeed look at all of this! There is the female cuckoo bird, the edge of whose wing is coloured reddish-yellow, as if a multitude of lotus-flower filaments had settled one on top of the other. It is like she is dressed in costume, and having descended from the top of a fragrant mango tree, she sings sweetly! And more, a parrot, along with his mistress, wanders in a row of *bakula* trees, his flight burdened from drinking the sweet nectar of hundreds of opened buds, filled with liqueur-like honey! And the double-jasmine flower, decorated with buzzing bees all about, desirous of the liquor from the young flower buds. And the heavy vines replete with dark leaves that cause the *cakravāka* birds, distrustful of the night, to neglect their union even during the day. [That day] with its showers of sweet water being drunk by beautiful young *cātaka* birds, greedy for the arising of new clouds. And these *bāla* and *tamāla* saplings, to which circles of peacocks are offering a dance, their mouths open, trumpeting.

Flowers oozing with ambrosial nectar, with desirous bees buzzing about. Parrots engorged and drunk—unable to fly—because they have consumed too much intoxicating honey. Birds of different species pining after their lovers or confused about the time of day because of the lushness of the garden. The comedic aspects of this passage lie in its being so overwrought, particularly with its focus on drunkenness, liquor, sap, and water. The passage makes one feel almost literally engorged and sticky; there is simply too much going on to adequately convey the delicateness of eroticism. Indeed, this sense of over-the-top (and ultimately failed) eroticism is driven home when the reader finds out that many of the "erotic" pleasures described in the pleasure forest do not even occur naturally, but are, instead, man-made. In the second act, two garden superintendents are tasked with ornamenting the pleasure forest, creating, among other things, fake streams and beaches made from the pollen of *ketakī* flowers.

Prahasita also injects the opening acts of the drama with humour by twisting Pavanañjaya's words to be explicitly sexual. For example, when Pavanañjaya exclaims the beauty of a double-jasmine flower twisting around the trunk of a *tamāla* tree, Prahasita responds: "Why do you not speak clearly? Obviously, what you mean to say is that Añjanā *herself* should surround Pavanañjaya!" What's more, the *vidūṣaka* spends most of his time in the second act attempting to lure one of Añjanā's maidservants, Vasantamālā, into sleeping with him. First, he rolls around on a bed, impersonating an aroused monkey; then he claims that he is afraid to sleep alone, and therefore requires Vasantamālā's company. The maidservant rebuffs Prahasita's advances, taking her own humorous shots at him—as when she compares his rotund stomach to a drum. This exaggerated sexuality and the overall humorous mood to which it contributes establishes the first two acts of the drama as farcical—a far cry from the pitiable mood that dominates Raviṣeṇa's earlier version of the narrative.

This is not to say that all of the humour in the first two acts of the drama revolves around sex. Take, for example, the following conversation between Pavanañjaya and Amātya, a royal messenger who has come to Añjanā's and Pavanañjaya's pleasure-forest. The messenger intends to inform Pavanañjaya that Rāvaṇa has summoned King Prahlāda to serve as an intermediary in his ongoing war with the *vidyādhara* Varuṇa, and that Pavanañjaya must therefore take charge of the kingdom.

> Amātya: The prince has heard that on the Trikūṭa Mountain, located in the southern sea, the lord of the Rakṣasas, known by the name Daśagrīva, inhabits the city of Laṅkā.
> Pavanañjaya: It is true, I have heard.
> Amātya: And between him and Varuṇa, who resides in the city of Pātāla, itself situated in western sea, there is great animosity.
> Pavanañjaya: Yes, yes.
> Amātya: And then, Daśagrīva released the Daṇḍacakra weapon towards the great king Varuṇa, who was being besieged by Kharadūṣaṇa, among others…
> Pavanañjaya: And…
> Amātya: And in the ensuing battle, Kharadūṣaṇa and the rest of them were captured by Varuṇa…
> Pavanañjaya: And…
> Amātya: And thus, Daśāsya is bearing a loss of honor and is thus requesting the Mahārāja to serve as an ambassador to free Kharadūṣaṇa…

> Pavanañjaya: And…
> Amātya: And, thus, the Mahārāja who has been summoned, having called the prince to protect the city, and having made himself ready for departure, will thus commence with his own mission!
> (Act II, Hastimalla and Patwardhan 1950: 33–34)

Pavanañjaya is toying with the messenger here, perturbed that his time with Añjanā has been interrupted and will come to an untimely end because of his father's request. But Pavanañjaya's frequent interruptions of Amātya, which only *encourage* Amātya to continue, are pointedly comedic. Pavanañjaya's exasperation is transferred to Amātya, who himself becomes exasperated with being interrupted from delivering his message.

Hastimalla further proves himself a capable playwright throughout the rest of the drama, deftly incorporating a number of *rasa*s into the story. Act III is dominated by *śṛṅgāra rasa* (the erotic sentiment) of both classical types: love-in-separation (*vipralambha*) and love-in-union (*sambhoga*). The act opens—in a reflection of Raviṣeṇa's account—with Pavanañjaya four months into a slow-going war. Taking temporary respite on the bank of lotus pond, he witnesses a female *cakravāka* bird mourning being separated from her mate and, in turn, longs for Añjanā. *Karuṇa* (the pathos-evoking sentiment) dominates much of Act V, set another four months later, where Pavanañjaya learns that his mother ordered the pregnant Añjanā be sent back to her natal home, but that Añjanā refused and chose instead to enter the terrifying Mātaṅgamālinī forest. Pavanañjaya faints upon hearing this news but, after regaining his composure, vows to rescue his wife and enters the forest himself. *Karuṇa* continues in the beginning of Act VI, as Pavanañjaya, at this point seemingly mad, roams the forest asking different plants and animals if they have information on the whereabouts of his beloved.[16] The act ends, though, with *adbhuta* (the wondrous sentiment), as Pavanañjaya is miraculously found in the forest by Pratisūrya, in whose home Añjanā happens to be currently staying. Añjanā and Pavanañjaya are reunited, much to their delight.

Act VII features a veritable panoply of *rasa*s. *Adbhuta* continues in the preliminary scene, where preparations are being made for Pavanañjaya's royal consecration. In the main scene, Pavanañjaya, Añjanā, Vasantamālā, and Prahasita all comment on their lucky fate in being reunited. Then the emotional tenor of the act shifts, as Pratisūrya enters and begins to recount Añjanā's and Vasantamālā's time in the Mātaṅgamālinī forest. In Pratisūrya's account, Amitagati, a Jain ascetic living in the forest, assuages their fear and suffering for a moment, assuring them that their tribulations will soon come to an end. (We recall that Amitagati plays a similar role in Raviṣeṇa's telling, though, as I will explain later, it is important that Hastimalla introduces Amitagati only at the end of the play.) A sudden attack by a fearsome lion injects Pratisūrya's story with a flash of *bhayānaka rasa* (the terrifying sentiment). Then, as he tells it, the women's frightened cries attract the attention of a Gandharva king named Maṇicūḍa, who valiantly slays the lion—there's our *vīra rasa* (heroic sentiment)—and rescues the women, bringing them back to the safety of his palace. *Adbhuta* again returns to the fore at the conclusion of Pratisūrya's narration, where he again recounts finding Pavanañjaya in the forest and facilitating his reunion with Añjanā.[17] The drama ends with the Gandharva king Maṇicūḍa crowning Pavanañjaya as sovereign of the Vijayārdha mountain.

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[16] Patwardhan points out that this passage is based on act IV of Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya* (1950: 18).

Analyzing and Understanding Añjanāpavanañjaya

We now turn our attention to thinking about how the reader or viewer of the *Añjanāpavanañjaya* is meant to experience the play as a whole. As we saw earlier, Patwardhan (1950) and Warder (2004) approach Hastimalla's work through the lens of classical Sanskrit drama. As A. Berriedale Keith points out in his *The Sanskrit Drama in its Origin, Development, Theory and Practice,* every play should have a dominant (or *aṅgī*) *rasa*, a single sentiment that the viewer ultimately relishes. Additional *rasa*s should be engendered throughout the play, but those should function in service of the eventual dominant sentiment. Further, Keith points out that for the *nāṭaka*,[18] which is the dramatic genre (*rūpaka*) of the *Añjanāpavanañjaya*, only two sentiments are appropriate to function as dominant: *śṛṅgāra* and *vīra*, the erotic and the heroic (2015 [1998]: 325). With respect first to *śṛṅgāra,* it is readily apparent that there is nothing particularly erotic about the ending of the *Añjanāpavanañjaya*. Though Añjanā and Pavanañjaya are both present and together in the final act, they are surrounded by friends, family, and the general excitement and freneticism inherent to a coronation. Bharata (*Nāṭyaśāstra* VI.45) says of *sambhoga śṛṅgāra* (the erotic-in-union):

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[17] This aligns with Bharata's maxim in *Nāṭyaśāstra* XX.46: "At the conclusion of all the plays which contain various States and Sentiments, experts should always introduce the Marvellous Sentiment" (Tr. Ghosh 1950: 362).

[18] In *Nāṭyaśāstra* XX.10-12 Bharata provides a definition of *nāṭaka* by explaining what it should contain. The subject matter should be a well-known story, and the hero a "celebrated person of exalted nature." The *nāṭaka* may also focus on "a person descending from a royal seer, divine protection [for him], his many super-human powers, and [his] various exploits," both heroic and amorous. Finally, the *nāṭaka* should have an "appropriate" number of acts (*aṅka*) and introductory scenes (*praveśaka*) (Tr. Ghosh: 356).

> Of these two, the Erotic Sentiment in union arises from Determinants like the pleasures of the season, the enjoyment of garlands unguents, ornaments, (the company of) beloved persons, objects [of the senses], splendid mansions, going to a garden, and enjoying [oneself] there, seeing the [beloved one], hearing [his or her words], playing and dallying [with him or her]. It should be represented on stage by…[the] clever movement of eyes, eyebrows, glances, soft and delicate movement of limbs, and sweet words and similar other things (Tr. Ghosh 1950: 108–109).

None of this seems to apply to the ending of the *Añjanāpavanañjaya*. Indeed, there is very little eroticism in the play after act III.

What about *vīra*? *Nāṭyaśāstra* VI.67–68 explains that *vīra* "arises from energy, perseverance, optimism, absence of surprises, and presence of mind and [such other] conditions [of the spirit]. [It] is to be properly represented on the stage by firmness, patience, heroism, pride, energy, aggressiveness, influence, and censuring words" (Tr. Ghosh 1950: 114). This description better aligns with the conclusion of the *Añjanāpavanañjaya*, where the audience witnesses Pavanañjaya crowned sovereign. And, importantly, he is now *ready* to step into his rightful role as king. Gone is the carefree prince of the first two acts of the play; in fact, the reader comes to understand the humour of the first two acts as a signpost of Pavanañjaya's immaturity. By the conclusion of the drama, though, Pavanañjaya has matured. He is hardened both in battle and in life. He has persevered through the trials that fate has thrown at him and emerged—wife, son, and extended family by his side—ready to undertake the necessities of sovereign rule. Pavanañjaya faces what is no doubt an uncertain future with a firm resolve and resolute mind. He is the steady hero, *vīra* personified.

We could leave our analysis here: Hastimalla has, in the end, crafted a fine drama, the plot of which draws on the rich history of Jain *purāṇic* literature and which ends on a depiction of stalwart, placid heroism. However, I argue that the attentive reader—particularly the kind of reader who is knowledgeable of and oriented towards a Jain vision of the ephemeral world of samsara, dictated by the impenetrable workings of karma—may be left unsatisfied with this analysis. The drama's conclusion is too neat, too perfectly wrapped up in a tidy bow. The characters' flippant discussion of their own ultimate good fortune rings as immature to such a reader, who might well ask: is the next shoe about to drop for Añjanā and Pavanañjaya? Instead of being imbued with pure *vīra rasa*, then, this reader is left with a sense of *vairāgya*, a knowledge of the futility of continued worldly existence and the endless suffering it entails.

In this light, the reader of the play may question the depiction of Pavanañjaya's heroism. True, Pavanañjaya plays a crucial role in Rāvaṇa's war with Varuṇa, but he is not really the hero of his own story. He valiantly searches the forest for Añjanā and ultimately achieves his goal of being reunited with her—this is the *phalāgama*, a necessary aspect of all classical Sanskrit dramas[19]—but he is not truly responsible for her rescue, and in fact he requires rescuing himself!

Through this lens the reader comes to a different understanding of how humour really operates in the first two acts of the play. Now the humour not only highlights Pavanañjaya's immaturity, but it also works to draw in the reader and set them at ease. When Pavanañjaya must go off to war so soon after his and Añjanā's wedding, the rug is pulled out from the blissful couple—and the audience as well. There is a brief respite in witnessing the couple's fleeting overnight reunion, but this of course sets in motion further, even worse, suffering for both Añjanā and Pavanañjaya. The constant vacillation between the highs of loving (sometimes erotic) bliss and the lows of frightening and dangerous solitariness are exhausting, and the reader reaches the end of the play wondering if Añjanā and Pavanañjaya are, to put it cheekily, really out of the woods. Yes, the couple has persevered through trials and tribulation, but can their current happiness be a lasting one, or is their next precipitous drop in fortune—dictated by inscrutable karma and fate—just around the proverbial corner? For the reader the next logical step in this line of questioning is: is this also true of my own life?

Importantly, the humour of the play's first two acts also adjusts the object of readerly sympathy. In Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa*, the reader feels sympathy only for Añjanā: she alone is the unjust recipient of first Pavanañjaya's and then her mother-in-law's anger and mistrust. In Hastimalla's play, though, Pavanañjaya becomes part of the unit of readerly sympathy. He is no longer a cold and distant husband whose marriage is arranged. Rather, he is a love-struck newlywed, torn from his new wife by the demands of filial responsibility and kingly *dharma*. He is also a victim of Ketumatī's rash decision to banish Añjanā from the kingdom, and he suffers just as much pain in being separated from his wife as Añjanā does being separated from him. No doubt contributing to the reader's experience of *vairāgya*, this adjustment brings into bold relief the truth of suffering in samsara. Even in our most joyous times, existence in samsara is marked by the lurking possibility of indiscriminate and unpredictable suffering.

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[19] For more on this, particularly with respect to Jain-authored dramas, see Restifo 2017.

Finally, there are two aspects of *Añjanāpavanañjaya*'s final act, in particular, that I think lend credence to this reading of the play as a whole as pushing the reader to experience *vairāgya*. The first is Hanumān's very presence in the drama's finale. While the play ends during Hanumān's early childhood, anyone familiar with the history of Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* narratives knows that the *vidyādhara*, after helping Rāma defeat Rāvaṇa and save Sītā, eventually takes renunciation as a Jain monk:

> Hanumān cast aside his crown, earrings, garlands, ornaments, clothes, and mental distractions. He had broken the fetter of sexual attraction to women, had destroyed the dark masses born from attachment, had cut away the snare of love, and had rejected physical comfort, which he viewed as poison. Holding the lamp of unattachment (*vairāgya*), he cast out the darkness of delusion, seeing the delicate body as nothing more than dust. He plucked the hair from his head with his delicate, lotus-like fingers and, in this way, he was free from all passions, attracted only to the good fortune that is liberation [from samsara]. Embracing great vows and filled with auspicious detachment, Hanumān shone resplendently (*Padmapurāṇa* CXIII.31–35).

While the *Añjanāpavanañjaya* does not cover that part of Hanumān's later life, the text is still inextricably embedded within the larger web of Jain narratives about the life of Rāma's sidekick—the play forms part of the larger "common pool" of Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*s.[20] Seeing Hanumān in the final act of the drama, then, triggers the reader (or viewer) to consider Hanumān's eventual fate. The play ends depicting a loving family, but of course the reader knows that that family does not—cannot—last forever, and that Hanumān eventually finds lasting solace only in renunciation.

Second is the fact that Hastimalla chooses to introduce Añjanā's meeting with the ascetic Amitagati only at the very end the play. In Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa*, the reader follows Añjanā's trials chronologically as she experiences them: we learn about her fearsome experience in the forest and her meeting with Amitagati *before* she is rescued. Hastimalla changes this timeline; the reader hears about her experience with the ascetic *after* her rescue. This allows Hastimalla to introduce the character of the serene Jain ascetic at the end of the drama, and, in doing so, he juxtaposes the precarious happiness of Añjanā and Pavanañjaya —still enmeshed in the transitory world, vacillating between pleasure and pain—with the more consistent and persistent happiness of the ascetic committed to escaping the suffering of the world of samsara. The ultimate alleviation of Añjanā's suffering was right in front of her, but she failed to recognise it, and, consequently, both she and Pavanañjaya have instead fallen back and recommitted themselves to worldly pursuits. For the attentive and knowledgeable reader, then, Hastimalla skillfully sandwiches Añjanā's and Pavanañjaya's temporary happiness between examples of the more ultimate satisfaction of renunciation: Amitagati's in the present and Hanumān's in the future.

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[20] See Ramanujan 1991:46.

Anne E. Monius has written that all Jain poetic narrative—including, I think it is safe to say, Jain drama—ends in the evocation of *śānta rasa*, the quiescent sentiment epitomised by "the renunciation and liberation of the hero from worldly life, his escape from the eternal miseries of embodied rebirth and redeath" (2015: 162). Monius is certainly correct here in pointing out that Jain narrative has historically focused on pushing its readers towards the path of liberation from samsara and providing those readers with motivation for doing so. Renunciation and *mokṣa* seem to be consistently at the forefront of Jain authors' thinking. Building on Monius's claim, I would conclude that while *śānta rasa* itself is not explicitly engendered at the end of the *Añjanāpavanañjaya*, there are clues in the play that point the knowledgeable reader towards the experience *vairāgya* and the ideal of renunciation.

Conclusion

Hastimalla's act of literary transcreation in composing the *Añjanāpavanañjaya* reveals a creative orientation towards both the lineage of Jain *purāṇic* literature from which he drew and the tradition of Sanskrit dramatic theory of which he was clearly knowledgeable. Hastimalla was willing to make substantive changes to the "classical" story of Añjanā and Pavanañjaya in order for it to better align with what an audience would expect from a Sanskrit drama during this period. At the same time, by composing a drama that could be read as engendering either *vīra rasa* or *vairāgya*, Hastimalla demonstrates a willingness to playfully bend the theoretical "rules" of *nāṭaka*. What's more, Hastimalla does not seem to be the only Jain playwright to be interested in this project. Aleksandra Restifo, for example, has discussed similar "complex interactions between the regulations of Sanskrit poetics and Jain religious imperatives" in her treatment of Śīlaṅkasūri's ninth-century *Vibudhānanda* (2017: 2). In thinking about the larger project of Jain literary transcreation, Jain-authored drama remains an understudied area, and avenues of future research remain abundant.

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Kumārapāla's Wedding with Fair-Compassion: An Allegorical Story retold from Drama to Narratives

Basile Leclère

As regards Jain practices of literary transcreation, the historical texts known as *prabandhas* that were written between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries are particularly worth studying. Not only did their authors gather information about recent times from a wide range of oral and written sources in various languages – Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsha –,[1] but they also looked for the most appropriate style to retell the anecdotes, waving between the efficient simplicity of *kathā* tradition and the seductive sophistication of prose or versified *kāvya* genres,[2] and as a reflection of the multilingualism of their sources, they devised a new variety of Sanskrit interspersed with colloquial Middle Indic words and expressions (Sandesara 1953: 145–147; Sandesara and Thaker 1962). Besides, the earlier *prabandha* collections soon became themselves sources of information for later compilers: as demonstrated by Jozef Deleu (1981: 61, 63) in his often quoted "Note on Jain Prabandhas," there exist many parallels between Rājaśekhara's *Prabandhakośa* (1348) and his predecessors' works, such as Prabhacandra's *Prabhāvakacarita* (1278), Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (1305), Jinaprabha's *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (1333), and the so-called *Puratānaprabandhasaṃgraha*, a later compilation which includes the oldest known specimen of the genre, Jinabhadra's *Prabandhāvalī* (1234).[3] The writing methods of the *prabandha* authors are still to be studied, though.

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[1] That the *prabandha* authors took the pain of diversifying and checking their sources of information is proven not only by explicit statements some of them made at the outset or at the end of their works (as Merutuṅga did, see Ali 2013: 240, 248), but also by the direct quotations they all interspersed their works with.

[2] On the influence of the various types of *kathā* on the *prabandha* genre, see Deleu 1981: 62; Ali 2013: 247–256.

[3] In a similar way, Jayant P. Thaker analysed the relations of a small collection of anecdotes, the *Laghuprabandhasaṃgraha*, with other *prabandha* works (LPS introduction p. 37–81). I keep up Deleu's system of abbreviations for these works, respectively PCa, PCi, VTK, PK, PPS and PPS-P. As for the two other works dealt with in this article, which retrace the life of Kumārapāla like many other works written between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries (on these, see Velankar 1944: 92–93), I have

In this chapter, I would like to turn to a later text, Jinamaṇḍanagaṇi's *Kumārapālaprabandha*, which dates back to the first half of the fifteenth century (1435). The heterogeneous nature of this work filled with quotations from earlier sources, some preserved, some others lost, has been underlined as early as the end of the nineteenth century by Georg Bühler in his biography of Hemacandra (published in 1889 in the original German, translated into English in 1936). He presented the work as "a loose compilation" from the *Prabhāvakacarita*, the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, the *Prabandhakośa* and several other similar works, either placing side-by-side contradictory accounts found in its sources or attempting "to bring them into accord by alterations" (Bühler 1936: 2–3).[4] In Bühler's opinion, these repetitions have no great worth, except when they develop what has been reported too succinctly in earlier sources, or when they indirectly give an insight into hardly accessible works. As a significant example, Bühler mentioned the *Moharājaparājaya* or *Defeat of King Delusion* by the playwright Yaśaḥpāla (c. 1173–1175), which was not yet published when he wrote his book. The *editio princeps* prepared by Muni Chaturvijayaji was released thirty years later, in 1918, and among the appendices added by Chimanlal Dalal significantly figured two excerpts from the *Kumārapālaprabandha* under the rather misleading title "Summary of the plot of the play *The Defeat of Delusion*" (*moha-parājaya-rūpaka-vastu-saṃkṣepa*). Admittedly, Jinamaṇḍana did include in his account of Kumārapāla's life the king's marriage with Fair-Compassion (*kṛpāsundarī*) and victory over King Delusion which form the allegorical plot of the play. But the chronicler had also another version of the story at hand, composed seventy years earlier by the Jain poet Jayasiṃhasūri from the Kṛṣṇarṣi Gaccha as part of a *mahākāvya* retracing Kumārapāla's life, the *Kumārapālabhūpālacaritra* (1365), which fact Bühler could not be aware of since the text was not yet edited either.[5]

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adopted my own system of abbreviations associating KC for *Kumārapālacarita* (even though some variations may appear in the actual titles) with the first letters of the name of the authors: thus KC-Jay for Jayasiṃha's *Kumārabhūpalacaritramahākāvya* and KC-Jin for Jinamaṇḍana's *Kumārapālaprabandha*. All the dates are given in the common era, unless specified otherwise.

[4] Among the main sources of Jinamaṇḍana can also be mentioned the *Kumārapālaprabodhaprabandha*, a *prabandha* collection compiled by an anonymous author between 1365 and 1407 that was not edited in Bühler's time (on this point, see Leclère forthcoming).

[5] The text was published firstly in 1915 in Jamnagar, then in 1926 in Bombay (cf. Velankar 1944: 92). There also exists a story of the marriage of Kumārapāla with Non-Violence (*ahiṃsā*) which figures as an appendix in Jinavijaya Muni's edition of the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*. It has a lot in common with Jinamaṇḍana's version of the allegorical love story, but as it does not appear in the fourth section of the work

What I intend to do is to determine to which extent, and for what reasons, Jinamaṇḍana relied on either version; then I will consider which amount of creativity he displayed to create his own original rendering. My contention is that Jinamaṇḍana is not a mere compiler, but a genuine author who selects, rearranges and improves the materials he finds in his sources.

Two Major Sources of Inspiration

Literal quotations

As Bühler rightly guessed, Jinamaṇḍana had a good knowledge of the *Moharājaparājaya*: no less than sixteen verses from the play can be traced in his retelling of the allegorical story,[6] and fragments of the prose passages alternating in Yaśaḥpāla's text as in any classical Sanskrit drama have also found their way into the *prabandha* account, either literally quoted or slightly reformulated.[7] For instance, Jinamaṇḍana inserted at the end of his narrative not only the two last verses from the play, but also, between them, the sentence *tathāpīdam astu* that conventionally introduces the *bharatavākya* or final benediction (KC-Jin 142. 2). That Jinamaṇḍana probably had a copy of the play at hand or knew the text by heart is further proven by the fact that the verses, as well as the quotations or rewordings of prose passages, appear almost systematically in the same order in both texts.[8]

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devoted to the reign of Kumārapāla, it is impossible to attribute it firmly to Merutuṅga and to determine whether it was composed before or after the *Kumārapālaprabandha*.

[6] Interestingly enough, Jinamaṇḍana privileged verses following syllabic patterns, with a marked predilection for the *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre (nine of the sixteen verses quoted), while the dominating metre in Yaśaḥpāla's play is a moraic one, the *āryā* (cf. Leclère 2013: 565).

[7] Jinamaṇḍana also quoted thirteen verses among the sixty contained in the third act of the *Moharājaparājaya*, but as they are connected with the embedded story of the merchant Kubera and other non-allegorical characters, he inserted them in a further part of his own work, dealing with Kumārapāla's decision to abolish the right of appropriating childless men's wealth (cf. Leclère 2013: 205–209).

[8] The same can be said about the quotations from the third act, except for the verses MRP III. 50, 53 and 55 which precede Kubera's story in Jinamaṇḍana's version (KC-Jin 163. 9–10, 12 and 164. 2–3) instead of splitting it into two halves (the story of his disappearance on one hand, and his miraculous return on the other hand).

Table 1. Quotations from the MRP in KC-Jin’s retelling of the whole allegorical story

Verse	Metre	KC-Jin	MRP
sā vāci sā ca hṛdi	*vasantatilaka*	133. 2–3	III. 8
iha bharaha-nivāo	*mālinī*	134. 1–2	II. 43 / III. 6
yas tvāṃ prāk saparigrahaṃ	*śārdūlavikrīḍita*	137. 8–9	V. 26
puṃskīṭaḥ kila ko’pi	*śārdūlavikrīḍita*	139. 4–5	V. 47
avātarad dharā-pīṭhe	*anuṣṭubh*	139. 7	V. 48
vajrāgnineva kṣapitā	*anuṣṭubh*	139. 8	V. 49
garjad-gajendra-bhramataḥ	*upajāti*	139. 11	V. 58
dantāgra-ghātair	*upajāti*	139. 13	V. 59
kṣudra-kṣmāpati-koṭi	*śārdūlavikrīḍita*	140. 1–2	V. 62
eṣo’haṃ bhuvanopakāra	*śārdūlavikrīḍita*	140. 7–8	V. 64
rāga-dveṣa-manobhava	*śārdūlavikrīḍita*	140. 12–13	V. 68
astraṃ śīghram are	*śārdūlavikrīḍita*	140. 14–141. 1	V. 69
dṛṣṭaḥ pūrvam ahaṃ	*śārdūlavikrīḍita*	141. 2–3	V. 70
tais taiḥ śastrair amoghaiḥ	*sragdharā*	141. 8–9	V. 75
nirvīra-dhanam ujjhitaṃ	*śārdūlavikrīḍita*	141. 14–142. 1	V. 76
śrī-śvetāmbara-hemacandra	*śārdūlavikrīḍita*	142. 3–4	V. 77

However, it must be noted that most of them come from the fifth and last act of the *Moharājaparājaya* and deal with the war between Kumārapāla and Delusion. As regards the love story between Kumārapāla and Fair-Compassion strictly speaking, Jinamaṇḍana quoted only two verses from the play. Admittedly, these are important verses, as one expresses Kumārapāla’s growing love for Fair-Compassion (MRP III. 8 = KC-Jin 133. 2–3), and the other one the conditions which Fair-Compassion expects her suitor to fulfil before marrying her (MRP II. 42 / III. 6 = KC-Jin 134. 1–2). But they relate to the preliminary stages of the love story and not to the wedding itself, which, as a matter of fact, has not been dramatically treated by the playwright: it takes place offstage and is merely alluded to by Vivekacandra in the introductory scene to the fifth and last act.[9] As a consequence, Jinamaṇḍana had to turn to Jayasiṃhasūri’s work to find a full-fledged account of the event, and he quoted four verses from the eighth *sarga* of this *mahākāvya* in his retelling of the love story:

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[9] *vivekacandra (sānandaṃ parikramya): aho niścinto’smi caulukya-kula-nabhas-talālaṃkāra-maṇinā sakala-bhūpāla-mauli-maṇḍalāvataṃsāyamāna-caraṇa-tāmarasena tribhuvana-śrī-kuca-kalaśa-muktā-latāyamāna-yaśaḥ-prasareṇa mahārajādhirājena śrī-kumārapāla-devena saha mama sutāyāḥ kṛpāsundaryāḥ pāṇi-grahaṇa-mahotsavena* | (MRP V. 1- [111. 3–6]).

Table 2. Quotations from the KC-Jay in KC-Jin's retelling of the allegorical love story

Verse	Metre	KC-Jin	KC-Jay
kiṃcābhakṣyam ayaṃ tyaktvā	*anuṣṭubh*	134. 4	VIII. 46
jāmātre dedivān dharmaḥ *evaṃ mahena saṃpūrṇo* *yā prāpe na purā*	*anuṣṭubh* *anuṣṭubh* *śārdūlavikrīḍita*	135. 4–7	VIII. 63–65

Besides, his retelling of Kumārapāla's war against Delusion also includes half a dozen verses quoted from Jayasiṃhasūri's text, though having Yaśaḥpāla's play as first source (KC-Jin 137. 11–14 = KC-Jay VIII. 96–99; KC-Jin 141. 5–6 = KC-Jay VIII. 135–136).

The narrative frame

Besides inserting in the account of the allegorical love story and wedding more verses from the *Kumārabhūpālacaritramāhākāvya* than from the *Moharājaparājaya*, Jinamaṇḍana also copied the narrative frame that he had found in Jayasiṃha's work. Occurring relatively late in both texts, after the extensive teachings of Hemacandra on Jain doctrine and ethics,[10] the love story between Kumārapāla and Fair-Compassion also begins in almost identical terms: one day, Kumārapāla sees a beautiful young girl at the door of Hemacandra's hermitage and asks his spiritual teacher about her. Hemacandra then starts to tell him about her lineage, her morality, and so on (KC-Jay VIII. 1–7; KC-Jin 130. 12 to 131. 2).

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[10] There are ten cantos in the KC-Jay, and the allegorical story is narrated at the intersection of the seventh and eighth ones. In the first third of his work, Jayasiṃhasūri narrates the birth of Hemacandra and Kumārapāla, then Kumārapāla's accession to the throne and conquest of the directions (cantos I–IV, 2408 verses). Then come cantos focussed on didactic topics, law of karma, compassion, dharma of Jain laymen, which lead to Kumārapāla becoming a Jain layman (cantos V–VII, 2064 verses). The last third of the work opens with the allegorical story (last verses of canto VII and beginning of canto VIII) and further teachings of Hemacandra (most of canto VIII); Kumārapāla's pilgrimage to the holy mountains of Saurāṣṭra is then retold in canto IX, and the work concludes with canto X and the successive deaths of the monk and the king. In KC-Jin, the story is inserted in the second half of the biography, before the description of the great pilgrimage organised by Kumārapāla, a few anecdotes also known from the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, and the story of the end of the reign.

Table 3. Beginning of the allegorical love story in KC-Jay and KC-Jin

KC-Jay VIII. 1	KC-Jin 130. 12–13
caulukya-bhū-dhavo'nyedur hemasūri-maṭhāgrataḥ | *kilantīṃ kāñcanotkṛṣṭāṃ kanīṃ dṛṣṭvā vimṛṣṭavān ||*	*athānyadā kṛta-prābhātika-kṛtyaḥ paṭṭa-gajādhi-rūḍhaḥ śrī-rājarṣiḥ śrī-guru-vandanārtham āyātaḥ śālā-dvāre kāñcana kanīṃ deva-kanyām iva līlā-vilāsinīṃ dṛṣṭavān cintitavāṃś ceti*
On another day, as he had seen a girl outstanding as if made out of gold playing in front of Hemasūri's monastery, the possessor of the earth thought:	Then, on another day, the royal sage who had come mounted on his royal elephant to worship his spiritual teacher after performing the morning rituals saw some girl gracefully playing like a celestial maiden at the door of the preaching hall, and he thought:

The frame story remains perceptible throughout the subnarrative: in Jayasiṃhasūri's version, Hemacandra comes back to the present situation and Kumārapāla's vision of Fair-Compassion at the end of his speech (KC-Jay VIII. 24–25). In Jinamaṇḍana's amplified text, Kumārapāla even interrupts Hemacandra's speech to ask him for more details about the respective armies of Discrimination and Delusion (KC-Jin 132. 3–5), and once their presentation is over, he returns to his own place and becomes infatuated with Fair-Compassion. His minister Udayana and other courtiers report the fact to Hemacandra, who has them all come again to his preaching room and resumes the story (KC-Jin 132. 14 to 133. 5). Admittedly, the narrative nature of these two texts may explain their affinities, but Jinamaṇḍana could also have derived inspiration from the first act of Yaśaḥpāla's play, wherein the spy Mirror-of-Knowledge reports at length to Kumārapāla how King Discrimination has been expelled with his wife and daughter from his city Human-Volition by the armies of Delusion. At the mere mention of Fair-Compassion, the king is confused and expresses aside his desire for her (MRP I. 26), and later on, as another spy tells the king's minister in the introductory scene to the second act, he meets her as well as her parents in the ascetic grove of Hemacandra[11] – and not at the door of his hermitage as in the later biographies.

In a similar way, Jinamaṇḍana privileged Jayasiṃha's explanation of Delusion's hostility towards Kumārapāla. In the first act of the *Mo-*

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[11] "I have brought him [Discrimination] with the queen [Peace, his wife] and their daughter [Fair-Compassion] to the capital city of the Caulukya king. He has settled in the ascetic grove of the illustrious Hemacandra, and I have managed to make him have an audience with the royal sage in the presence of his spiritual teacher" (*āṇīdo so samaṃ devīe taṇayāe ya cālukka-rāyahāṇiṃ | ṭhido bhagavado siri-hemacaṃdassa tavo-vaṇe | rāesiṇā saha kārido guru-samīve daṃsaṇaṃ |* (MRP II. 6+ [20. 17–19]).

harājaparājaya, Mirror-of-Knowledge is not done once he has told the king about Discrimination’s piteous flight; he also informs him that while he was staying in the city of Human-Volition recently conquered by Delusion, he met a group of three people led by an extremely seductive woman (MRP I. 27). She turned out to be nobody else than Kumārapāla’s own wife Garland-of-Glory (*kīrti-mañjarī*), accompanied by her wet-nurse Series-of-Qualities (*guṇāvalī*) and her brother Splendour (*pratāpa*). As she explained to Mirror-of-Knowledge, she got tired of being neglected and even disgraced by her husband, and she decided to arouse Delusion’s furore towards him.[12] At the end of the seventh *sarga* of his *mahākāvya*, just before turning to the allegorical story at the opening of the eighth *sarga*, Jayasiṃhasūri tells a similar yet different story. There again, a woman goes to Delusion’s court to complain about Kumārapāla, but it is now Delusion’s own daughter, Violence (*hiṃsā* or *māri*), who has got angry “as if she had been a co-wife” at seeing Kumārapāla totally given up to the emotion of compassion because of Hemacandra’s sermons.[13] Delusion first does not recognise her, then promises to defeat their enemies and to restore his supremacy over the whole world (KC-Jay VIII. 723–730). Jinamaṇḍana follows this version, quoting and paraphrasing the end of the seventh *sarga* of Jayasiṃha’s *mahākāvya* (KC-Jin 130. 3–10). Compare for instance the passage where Violence decides to go to Delusion’s court as she does not find any longer a place to stay in the vicinity of Kumārapāla:[14]

Table 4. Preamble to the allegorical story in KC-Jay and KC-Jin

KC-Jay VII. 722	KC-Jin 130. 3–4
nṛpasya hṛdaye gehe pure *janapade bhuvi* | *kvāpy* ***anāpnuvatī*** *vāsaṃ tāta*-***mohāntikaṃ yāyau*** ||	*evaṃ* ***nṛpasya hṛdaye*** *vadane* ***gehe pure*** *deśeṣu ca sthānam* ***anāpnuvatī*** *karuṇāṃ sapatnīm ivāsahantī sva-pitṛ*-***mohāntikaṃ yayau*** *māriḥ* ||
Being unable to find a residence in the heart, house, city, empire of the king, nor on the earth or anywhere else, she went to her daddy Delusion.	Being thus unable to find a place in the heart, mouth, house, city or countries of the king, and being unable to stand Compassion as if she were her co-wife, Slaughter went to her own father Delusion.

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[12] *prāptā viśva-jayino moha-nṛpater nikaṭam | tais taiś ca vacana-prapañcair dūraṃ grāhitas tad-upari saṃrambhaṃ moha-mahīpatiḥ* | (MRP I. 31+ [17. 27–28]).

[13] *tataś caulukyam ālokya karuṇā-rasa-lālasam | asūyām āsuṣī hiṃsā sapatnīva sva-cetasi* || (KC-Jay VII. 721).

[14] In my comparative reading of these texts, I write in bold the words that they share, and I highlight in grey the words or expressions that are reformulated by Jinamaṇḍana.

The allegorical system

The way Jinamaṇḍana organised the allegorical system also clearly betrays Jayasiṃha's influence. When looking at the table, we can see immediately how the two narrative versions depart from the play. The most blatant example is the substitution of Moon-of-Discrimination (*viveka-candra*) in Yaśaḥpāla's play by Religion-of-the-Venerables (*arhad-dharma*), also abbreviated as Religion (*dharma*), in Jayasiṃha's and Jinamaṇḍana's works as the father of Fair-Compassion and opponent of King Delusion. As they were both Jain religious leaders, appointed to the positions of *sūri* and *gaṇin* respectively,[15] Jayasiṃha and Jinamaṇḍana might have adopted a more orthodox standpoint than the layman Yaśaḥpāla. Indeed, the concept of *viveka* marked the affiliation of the *Moharājaparājaya* with the *vedāntic* model of Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodhacandrodaya*,[16] while Religion, presented as the son of the Omniscient Jina, emphasises the Jain appropriation of the tale.

We can also see that in the narratives the respective cities, families, courts and armies of Religion and Delusion are organised in a much more symmetrical way.[17] Let's consider for instance their wives: Peace (*śānti*) faces Ignorance (*avidyā*) in the *Moharājaparājaya*, while Abstention (*virati*) is more obviously opposed to Non-Abstention (*avirati*) in Jayasiṃha's and Jinamaṇḍana's texts.[18]

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[15] In the Śvetāmbara monastic lineages (*gaccha*), the teachers or *ācārya* could be given titles with honorific value or hierarchical significance. Initially equivalent with the title *gaṇadhara* ("leader of a troop") borne by the main disciples of a Jina, *gaṇin* came to designate one of the intermediate ranks in the hierarchy, while *sūri* was conferred on leaders or "pontiffs" of lineages. See Dundas 2002: 181; Dundas 2007: xi.

[16] See my analysis of the first stanza of each play in Leclère 2013: 409.

[17] This may be related to an important change in the enunciative situation from the play to the narratives. In the *Moharājaparājaya*, the allegorical tale is very fragmented, since the information about the war between Discrimination and Delusion in the first act and the presentation of Delusion's military camp and forces in the fifth act are given little by little by the spy Mirror-of-Knowledge to Kumārapāla. In both the narratives, it is Hemacandra himself who presents in a more didactic way the allegorical characters to Kumārapāla, and except for a few interruptions, this exposition consists in long coherent passages.

[18] Here again, the prominent position given to Peace in the *Moharājaparājaya* may be explained by the fact that in the *Prabodhacandrodaya* she is instrumental together with her mother Faith (*śraddhā*) in making King Discrimination and Queen Upaniṣad reunite and procreate Knowledge (*vidyā*) and Moon-of-Wisdom (*prabodhacandra*) and thus in provoking King Delusion's ultimate defeat (cf. Pédraglio 1974: 32–33).

Table 5. The good allegories in the three versions

	MRP	KC-Jay	KC-Jin
The good king	Vivekacandra	Arhaddharma/ Dharma	Arhaddharma/ Dharma
His city	Janamanovṛtti	Vimalacitta	Vimalacitta
His wife	Śānti	Virati	Virati
His sons		Śama etc.	Śama, Dama etc.
His daughter	Kṛpāsundarī	Karuṇā/Kṛpā	Kṛpāsundarī
His minister(s)	Vimarśa and others	Siddhānta	Sadāgama
His general		Śubhadhyāna	Vivekacandra
His attendant			Śubhādhyavasāya
His champions	Kṣamā	Samyaktva etc.	Samyaktva, Yama, Niyama etc.

In a similar way, the first champions of their armies, Correct-Belief (*samyaktva*) on one side and False-Belief (*mithyātva*) on the other side, are perfectly symmetrical in the narratives, while in the play there is a disequilibrium between the four passions (*kaṣāya*) taking the lead of Delusion's soldiers – Fire-of-Wrath (*kopānala*), Mountain-of-Pride (*garva-parvata*), Concealed-by-Deceit (*dambha-gupta*), Ocean-of-Greed (*lobha-sāgara*) – and one virtue on Discrimination's side, Patience (*kṣamā*), who is sent against Fire-of-Wrath (MRP V. 30 and surrounding prose). Wrath and the other passions are presented as Delusion's sons in the narratives, and in the opposite camp Appeasement (*śama*) together with other qualities of self-control – Jinamaṇḍana explicitly mentions Self-Restraint (*dama*) as another member of the group – appear as Discrimination's sons.[19]

Table 6. The bad allegories in the three versions

	MRP	KC-Jay	KC-Jin
The evil king	Moha	Moha	Moha
His city	Janamanovṛtti	Samalacitta	Rājasacitta
His wife	Avidyā	Avirati	Avirati
His female servant	Hiṃsā		
His sons	Rāgakeśarin, Dveṣagajendra	Kopa etc.	Kopa etc.

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[19] Patience appears in Jayasiṃha's version as Kumārapāla's sister (*bhaginī*), cf. below table 8.

His daughter	Asatyakandalī	Hiṃsā/Māri	Hiṃsā/Māri
His son-in-law	Dyūtakumāra		
His minister	Pāpaketu	Mithyāśruta	Kadāgama
His general		Durdhyāna	Ajñānarāśi
His spy	Kadāgama		
His friends	Kalikandala, Kāma		
His champions	Kopānala, Garvaparvata, Dambhagupta, Lobhasāgara	Mithyātva etc.	Mithyātva, Duradhyavasāya

However, we can notice that Jinamaṇḍana did not follow Jayasiṃha's version in all its details, but also preserved concepts highlighted in Yaśaḥpāla's play. For instance, Moon-of-Discrimination reappears in his account as Religion's general, with Heap-of-Ignorance (*ajñāna-rāśi*) as evil counterpart, instead of Auspicious-Meditation (*śubha-dhyāna*) and Bad-Meditation (*dur-dhyāna*) in his narrative model.[20] Jinamaṇḍana also recasts as the ministers of Discrimination and Delusion respectively[21] the allegories of Good-Sacred-Text (*sad-āgama*) and Wrong-Sacred-Text (*kad-āgama*) which already figure in Yaśaḥpāla's drama: Good-Sacred-Texts is the name of some hidden, carefully protected wells that learned and respectable men opened during the siege of Human-Volition, to counteract the blockage of the river Thought-of-Religion (*dharma-cintā*) by Delusion's army, as Mirror-of-Knowledge tells Kumārapāla in the first act;[22] Wrong-Sacred-Text is one of Delusion's spies, who enters the stage in the fifth act and reports to the king and the minister Banner-of-Sins what has changed in the Caulukya kingdom.[23]

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[20] It is worth noting that Jinamaṇḍana did not totally get rid of the concepts of auspicious and bad meditations but assigned them to the positions of attendant (*paricāraka*) of Religion's general and champion (*bhaṭa*) of Delusion's army respectively, with the slightly modified names of Auspicious-Mental-Effort (*śubhādhyavasāya*) and Bad-Mental-Effort (*dur-adhyavasāya*) (KC-Jin 132. 8–9).

[21] In Yaśaḥpāla's play, Delusion's minister Banner-of-Sins (*pāpa-ketu*) has a symmetrical counterpart in the character of Banner-of-Merits (*puṇya-ketu*), but the latter is Kumārapāla's minister and not Discrimination's. Examination (*vimarśa*) and the other, anonymous counsellors of Discrimination are merely evoked once in the first act, when Mirror-of-Knowledge reports to Kumārapāla the siege of Human-Volition (*balavad-avarodha-dausthyāc ca viveka-candreṇa rājñā vimarśa-pramukhair āmatyaiḥ saha sthāpitaḥ siddhantaḥ* | MRP I. 23+ [15. 2–3]). In Jayasiṃhasūri's narrative as well, there is a lack of symmetry between the names of the ministers, Jain-Canon (*siddhānta*) on one hand, False-Scripture (*mithyā-śruta*) on the other hand (KC-Jay VII. 10, 22).

[22] *jñānadarpaṇaḥ – atha bahu-śrutair gurubhiḥ puruṣair udaghāṭyanta sad-āgama-nāmānaḥ prayatna-paripālitā gupta-kūpāḥ* | (MRP I. 23+ [14. 14]).

If Jinamaṇḍana could easily transform Wrong-Sacred-Text from a spy into a minister, both being animate characters giving advices to Delusion, the gap between the minor role of Good-Sacred-Text in the play as an inanimate element of the setting and the function of minister the allegory is given in the narrative suggests that the chronicler also derived some inspiration from another allegorical work of the Jain tradition where Good-Sacred-Text was already allotted a prominent role: in Siddharṣi's *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā* (906), which was a model for Yaśaḥpāla himself on a par with Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodhacandrodaya*,[24] Good-Sacred-Text appears as early as the second book, at the beginning of the frame story,[25] as a wise man able to save people trusting him from the cruel caprices of the king Result-of-Act (*karma-pariṇāma*) and to make them escape to the town of Emancipation (*nirvṛti*), and he even becomes the tutor of Result-of-Act's own son, the prince Perfectible-Man (*bhavya-puruṣa*) (UBPK Contents: xl). Siddharṣi's influence can also be seen in the way Jinamaṇḍana slightly modified the name of the city of Delusion, from Stained-Consciousness (*samala-citta*) to Impassioned-Consciousness (*rājasa-citta*). Indeed, the only reason that could have led him to give up the perfect symmetry with Religion's city Stainless-Consciousness (*vimala-citta*) he had found in Jayasiṃha's account is the reference to the *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā* where Impassioned-Consciousness is the capital of Great-Delusion's son Lion-of-Passion (*rāga-keśarin*), as Darkened-Consciousness (*tāmasa-citta*) is the capital of Great-Delusion's other son Elephant-of-Hatred (*dveṣa-gajendra*) (UBPK Contents: lxi, lii).

Even though he is indebted in many regards to both his sources on the allegorical story of Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism, Jinamaṇḍana is thus not a mere compiler, he actually takes into account at least one other allegorical model and with all these narrative materials at hand, he tries to produce an enriched, improved and even original version of the episode.

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[23] *pratīhārī – jayadu jayadu devo | deva ko vi cara-puriso daṃsaṇam abhilasadi | moharājaḥ – mantrin katamenāmunā bhavitavyam | pāpaketuḥ – dhṛtas tāvat saṃsārakaḥ | kad-āgamenāmunā bhavitavyam* (MRP V. 49+ [127. 2–5]).

[24] For a few elements proving this influence, see Leclère 2013: 177–179. The story imagined by Siddharṣi was very well-known in the first half of the second millennium thanks to the diffusion of many copies of the *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā* itself as well as the existence of several epitomes composed between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries (Leclère 2013: 178 n. 905; Chojnacki 2018: 1195–1198).

[25] The first book of the *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā* contains a presentation of the poetical project and the story of the beggar Meritless (*niḥpuṇyaka*) which is actually an autobiography of Siddharṣi himself, including the context of composition and publication of the work (UBPK Preface: iii–iv, vi; Contents: xxxvi–xl).

An original synthesis

In search of a more coherent and readable narrative

Considering how heavily Jinamaṇḍana relied on Jayasiṃhasūri's poem to elaborate his own version of the story, one could wonder why he did not quote it literally more often but took instead the pain of reformulating it most of the time. It looks like the prose medium allowed him to get rid of some inconsistencies or complexities of expression Jayasiṃha had indulged in because of the constraining metric patterns. For instance, while Yaśaḥpāla systematically refers to the heroine Fair-Compassion with the same Sanskrit word, *kṛpā* (alone or in association with *sundarī*), it alternates in Jayasiṃha's poem with *karuṇā* in a quite erratic way.[26] Jinamaṇḍana consecrates *kṛpāsundarī* as the only name of the heroine, and as a matter of fact, after quoting in a row the three verses from Jayasiṃha's poem describing the end of the wedding ceremony, he suddenly shifts to prose paraphrase as the heroine is designated by the name *karuṇā* in the next verse.[27]

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[26] *karuṇā*: KC-Jay VIII. 12, 29, 38, 47, 57, 66 (and also, as a concept, VII. 721 cf. above n. 13); *kṛpā*: KC-Jay VIII. 18, 25, 49, 58. For the MRP, see Leclère 2013: 212–221 and n. 1069, 1089.

[27] As regards Delusion's daughter, Jinamaṇḍana also tries to improve Jayasiṃha's version, but he does not suppress all the ambiguity: in the first occurrence of the character, ahead of Kumārapāla's encounter with Compassion, Jayasiṃha refers to her with two names, Violence (*hiṃsā*: KC-Jay VII. 721, 729) and Slaughter (*māri*: KC-Jay VII. 724), whereas Jinamaṇḍana privileges the latter one by quoting the only verse where it appears and rewriting the rest of the passage (KC-Jin 130. 4, 9, cf. above table 4). Later on, however, Jinamaṇḍana follows Jayasiṃha in having Hemacandra tell Kumārapāla that Delusion and Non-Abstention's daughter is named Violence (KC-Jay VIII. 21; KC-Jin 131. 14). Even Yaśaḥpāla's account lacks clarity: in the fourth act of the play, Slaughter is presented by Kumārapāla as one of the four Vices (*vyasana*) he wants to banish from his realm, and then Prince Game (*dyūta-kumāra*) makes a passing reference to the mother of Venison (*jāṅgala*), Violence, as Delusion's female slave (*dāsī*) (and possible concubine). But when Slaughter enters the stage with her friend Butcher's-Shop (*śūnā*) and meets with the other Vices, including Venison, the terms of address they respectively make use of (*ambā* "mother" on one hand, *puttakā* "sons" on the other hand) may refer to actual familial relationships and conflate the two allegories (MRP IV. 2+ [83. 10], 13 + [89. 12–13], cf. Leclère 2013: 491 n. 185).

Table 7. End of the allegorical love story in KC-Jay and KC-Jin

KC-Jay VIII. 66	KC-Jin 135. 4–8
tataḥ sva-sadanaṃ prāpya *tadaiva dharaṇī-dhavaḥ* | ***vidhinā*** *karuṇā*-***devyāḥ paṭṭa-bhanda***-*vidhiṃ* ***vyadhāt*** ||	***tataḥ*** *śrī-kumāra-bhūpaḥ* ***sva-sadanaṃ prāpya vidhinā*** *kṛpāsundarī*-***devyāḥ paṭṭa-bandhaṃ vyadhāt*** |
Then, once he had reached his own residence, the possessor of the earth duly performed at that very moment the crowning ceremony of the queen Compassion.	Then, once he had reached his own residence, the illustrious king Kumāra duly performed the crowning ceremony of the queen Fair-Compassion.

Jinamaṇḍana also shifts the agent of the verbal forms at the beginning of the sentence, substitutes the unusual compound *dharanī-dhava* with the more explicit *śrī-kumāra-bhūpaḥ* and gets rid of the superfluous words *tadaiva* and *vidhiṃ* Jayasiṃha probably uses to fill the *anuṣṭubh* metre (and also, in the case of *vidhiṃ*, to echo the sonorities of the other words of the second *pada*), thus making the whole much easier to read.

Even when he inserts literal quotations, Jinamaṇḍana makes some efforts to make them fit into his own narrative. For instance, the two quotations from the *Moharājapārajaya* appear in the *Kumārapālaprabandha* in the reverse order. In the play, Kumārapāla proclaims his love for Compassion when entering the stage in the third act (MRP III. 8), after their second encounter that has happened onstage in the previous act in the garden of Religion, a romantic setting completed by the presence of two traditional auxiliaries in love matters, the king's buffoon and the heroine's maid, Gentleness (*saumyatā*).[28] In the narrative, Kumārapāla has fallen in love by simply looking at the girl and hearing from Hemacandra who she is: when leaving his teacher, he already wonders when he will marry her (*kadā mayevaṃ pariṇetavyā*) – as he wonders, in Yaśaḥpāla's play, why his mind is melting like a moon-stone after having heard about that "moon in the sky of King Discrimination's lineage, Fair-Compassion" (*na jāne kuto'pi viveka-nṛpati-kula-nabhas-tala-śaśi-kalāṃ kṛpasundarīm upaśrutyāpi kim api dravatīva me cetaś-candrakāntaḥ* | MRP I. 25+ [15. 25–26]) –, and back to his own palace, he recites the stanza again and again, totally possessed by the pain of being separated from Compassion (*iti paṭhan kṛpāsundarī-viraha-paravaśo'yaṃ bhūpa*, KC-Jin 133. 1, 4). Having thus condensed the phases of Kumārapāla's love that succeed each other in the first three acts of the play, Jinamaṇḍana inserts the Prakrit stanza expressing Compassion's conditions to her marriage. In the play, it is first reported by the heroine's maid to the king's domestic parrot Stoppage-of-the-Influx-of-Karmic-Matter (*saṃvara*) in the second act (MRP II. 43), then, in the introductory scene to the third act, Fierceness (*raudratā*), the maid of Queen Royal-Fortune (*rājyaśrī*) tells the buffoon that her mistress has heard these conditions from King Discrimination (MRP III. 6); in the narrative, the enunciative situation is simplified, King Religion transmitting in their original Prakrit wording his daughter's conditions to Kumārapāla's envoy Superiority-of-Mind (KC-Jin 134. 1–2). Then Superiority-of-Mind replies that Kumārapāla has already behaved to Compassion's satisfaction by uttering a verse the female messenger Good-Mind told Compassion in Jayasiṃha's poem (KC-Jin 134. 4 = KC-Jay VIII. 43).

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[28] The first encounter told about in the introductory scene to the second act was not that favourable to the expression of sentiments as it happened in the presence of the king's spiritual teacher and the girl's parents (cf. above n. 11).

Jinamaṇḍana's clear efforts to clarify and reorganise the information he got from Jayasiṃha's poem and his other sources do not mean that he resigned himself to producing an impoverished version of the allegorical love story deprived of any literary ambition. On the contrary, he displayed his own poetical abilities in many of his prose rewordings.

Jinamaṇḍana's innovations

The very beginning of the love story between Kumārapāla and Compassion shows Jinamaṇḍana's intention to develop in his own creative way what he has read in Jayasiṃha's poem: Fair-Compassion playing at the threshold of Hemacandra's place quoted above. Not only is Kumārapāla now styled a "royal sage" (*rājarṣi*) - as he frequently is in Yaśaḥpāla's play (cf. Leclère 2013: 106) – but we also learn that the king "had come" to the preaching hall in much more solemn way, "mounted on his royal elephant to worship his spiritual teacher after performing the morning rituals"; in parallel, Compassion is presented as "some girl gracefully playing like a celestial maiden" (*kāñcana kanīṃ deva-kanyām iva līlā-vilāsinīṃ*), with a remarkable play on the sonorities.[29]

Jinamaṇḍana also modified to a great extent the episode where Kumārapāla sends an emissary to win Fair-Compassion's hand. In Jayasiṃhasūri's version, this emissary is a female messenger (*dutī*) named

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[29] Cf. above table 3. I assume that Jayasimḥa's expression *kāñcanotkṛṣṭām* is a compound word (*kāñcana-utkṛṣṭām* "outstanding as if made out of gold") and not the combination by rule of sandhi of the indefinite adjective *kāñcana* and the past participle *utkṛṣṭām* as Jinamaṇḍana guessed or decided they were.

Good-Mind (*sumati*) who directly goes to Fair-Compassion to tell her about Kumārapāla's qualities, in keeping with the conventions of erotic literature. Though already attracted to Kumārapāla, as revealed by her physical reactions, Fair-Compassion nonetheless says that she would rather remain a virgin or embrace an ascetic life than be married to a king, because she should endure the pain of sharing him with other wives, and that she expects her future husband to give up various vices. She then learns that Kumārapāla is already endowed with all the required qualities and tacitly agrees to their wedding (KC-Jay VIII. 29–48). Possibly embarrassed by the gallantry of the episode, Jinamaṇḍana changed the female messenger into an eminent and trustworthy man (*pradhānāpta-puruṣa*) named Superiority-of-Mind (*mati-prakarṣa*) who is sent not to Fair-Compassion herself but, in a more official way, to her father Dharma. The king accedes to Kumārapāla's demand, and then has his wife and daughter informed of his decision (KC-Jin 133. 5–134. 7).

Even more conclusive is the depiction of the allegorical wedding: a comparison between the two versions reveals immediately how Jinamaṇḍana transformed the versified model into a refined specimen of prose *kāvya*, by recasting literal quotations into new, larger compound words, replacing some expressions with (sometimes clearer) synonyms and adding new information such as the date of the event (the second day of the bright fortnight of the month of Mārga, in the year 1216 of the Vikrama Era, which corresponds to Saturday 14 November 1159). Jayasiṃha's style is already lengthy, with two sentences extending over a pair (*yugmam*) of *śloka*s (KC-Jay VIII. 55–56, 61–62) and a third one over four *śloka*s (*caturbhiḥ kalāpakam*, KC-Jay VIII. 50–53), but Jinamaṇḍana goes even further by transforming ten of the thirteen verses of the *mahākāvya* – including these three groups – into three long prose sentences.[30] He retains many picturesque details from his model in their original wording, like the facts that the bridegroom's hand is adorned with a ribbon (*kaṅkana-rociṣṇu*) or that his sister performs the ceremony of waving salt (*lavaṇottāraṇa*) over his head (cf. Sandesara and Thaker 1962: 33, 193). But he is also prone to make explicit the basic relation of possession expressed by the *bahuvrīhi* compounds in his source: he makes it clear that the ribbon is attached to Kumārapāla's right hand, and while the king is simply said to have the sandal paste of Good-Fame in Jayasiṃha's version, he has his body anointed with the sandal paste of Good-Fame in Jinamaṇḍana's text.[31] With respect to the didactic aspect of the story, Jinamaṇḍana also specificies whether the notions are divided into different types: he thus indicates that there is more than one resolution (*naikābhigraha*), and makes clear that there are several states of the soul (*bhāva*, cf. Glasenapp 1991: 40–43) by changing the singular *vāriṇā* of his model into the plural *vāribhis*; for some other notions, he even gives the appropriate number of subdivisions: thirteen breakings of vows (*trayodaśa…vrata-bhaṅga*), twelve vows (*dvādaśa-vrata*) for Jain laymen, and nine realities (*nava-tattva*) (cf. Chojnacki 2008: 293, 300, 309).

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[30] Jinamaṇḍana skips three verses wherein Kumārapāla congratulates his hand for being touched by the hand of Compassion (KC-Jay VIII. 58–60). I insert in Jinamaṇḍana's text a *daṇḍa* after *prasarpati*, which I understand as a present of narration, corresponding to the imperfect *aviśat* in Jayasiṃha's text.

In a similar way, it is probably out of concern for religious exactitude that Jinamaṇḍana reorganises to some extent the allegorical discourse, substituting Patience with Faith as Kumārapāla's sister, having Partial-Absention and the Devotions singing the marriage songs (*dhavala-maṅgala*, cf. UBPK Alphabetical list of words: xxxi) instead of the Soteriological-Thoughts, which in turn replace the Realities as the ghee poured in the fire of Awakening, while the nine Realities become the nine constitutive parts of the altar set up for celebrating the wedding. Being also the author of the *Śrāddhaguṇaśreṇisaṃgraha* or *Compendium of the Series of Qualities of the Faithful* (1441), Jinamaṇḍana adds a subtle detail to the description of the altar: the series of water-pots does not consist any longer in the Qualities-of-the-Faithful, but in the Twelve-Vows set right (*praguṇita*) by these Qualities (on these *śrāvaka-guṇa* in Jinamaṇḍana's exposition, see Williams 1963: 256–274).

Table 8. The depiction of the allegorical wedding in KC-Jay and KC-Jin

KC-Jay VIII. 50–57, 61–62	KC-Jin 134. 9 to 135. 3
atha lagne śubhe bhāva-vāri**ṇā vihitāplavaḥ* | ***abhigraha**-kṛtānalpākalpaḥ **sat-kīrti-candanaḥ || ***sad-ācāra**-maya-**cchatro** hṛdi samyaktva-ratna-bhṛt* | ***dāna-kaṅkana-rociṣṇu**ḥ **saṃvega-gaja**m āśritaḥ* || ***vrata-bhaṅga**-bhūyiṣṭha-**janya-loka**-puraḥkṛtaḥ* |	***atha** samprāpte **śubha-lagne** nirmala-**bhāva-vāri**bhiḥ kṛta-maṅgala-majjanaḥ **sat-kīrti-candanā**valipta-deho naik**ābhigraho**llasad-bhūṣaṇālaṅkṛto **dāna-kaṅkana-rociṣṇu**-dakṣiṇa-pāṇiḥ **saṃvega**-raṅgad-**gajā**dhirūḍhaḥ **sad-ācāra-chatro**paśobhitaḥ śraddhā-sahodarayā kriyamāṇa-**lavaṇottāraṇa-vidhiḥ** trayo-daśa-śata-koṭī-**vrata-bhaṅga-***

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[31] Jinamaṇḍana also retains most of the allegorical description of the bride, with morality as her dress, the two auspicious meditations as her earrings, the nine dignities as her necklace, and the varieties of austerities as her seals, but he does not mention truth as her bodice, and adds that her dress is white. On the "nine dignities" (*navapadī*), an alternative name of the "circle of perfections" (*siddha-cakra*), a magical diagram subsuming the five supreme beings and the four essentials of Jainism, see Pal 1995: 242–243.

*bhāvanādbhuta-nārībhiḥ kṛtoru-**dhavala**-dhvaniḥ* || *kṣamā-bhaginyā prārabdha-**lavaṇottāraṇa-vidhiḥ*** | *nirgatya bhūpatir gehāt **pauṣadhāgāra**m āgamat* ||	*subhaga-**janya-loka**-parivṛtaḥ śrī-deva-guru-bhakti-deśa-virati-jānanībhir gīyamāna-**dhavala**-maṅgalaḥ kramena prāptaḥ **pauṣadhāgāra**-dvāra-toraṇe pañca-vidhi-svādhyāya-vādyamānātodya-dhvani-pūre prasarpati* |
Then, at an auspicious moment, the king performed ablutions with the water of the States-of-Soul, and with many ornaments made out of Resolutions, with the sandal paste of Good-Fame, having a parasol made of Good-Behaviour, bearing on his heart the jewel of True-Belief, resplendent with the ribbon of Gift, installed on the elephant Inner-Turmoil, preceded as any bridegroom by most numerous companions, the Breakings-of-Vows, with the wide sounds of nuptial songs made by these wonderful women, the Soteriological-Thoughts, with the ritual of waving salt over his head undertaken by his sister Patience, he left his house and came to the hall of vows.	Then, as an auspicious moment had arrived, he took a solemn bath with the pure waters of the States-of-Soul, and having anointed his body with the sandal paste of Good-Fame, being adorned with the shining decorations of the multiple Resolutions, his right hand resplendent with the ribbon of Gift, mounted on the frolicking elephant Inner-Turmoil, ornamented with the parasol Good-Behaviour, with the ritual of waving salt over his head being done by his sister Faith, surrounded as any bridegroom by handsome companions, the thirteen thousand million Breakings-of-Vows, with the auspicious nuptial songs being sung by his illustrious mothers Devotion-for-Gods, Devotion-for-Teachers and Partial-Abstention, he progressively arrived at the entrance of the hall of vows marked by an archway filled with the sound of instruments played by the five kinds of Studies, and once there, he proceeds into it.
*āgatya **virati-śvaśrvā kṛta**-māṅgalika-sthitiḥ* | ***śamā**dyaiḥ **śālaka**iḥ prokta-**saraṇir** madhyam aviśat* || *snātāṃ mārdava-nīreṇa **śīla**-śrī-vara-**cīvarā**m* | *satya-kūrpāsaka-dharāṃ **dhyāna**dvitaya-**kuṇḍalā**m* || *sphuran-**navapadī-hārā**ṃ **tapo-bhedo**ru-**mudrikā**m* | *ānāyayat sva-tanayāṃ tatra śrī-dharma-bhūpatiḥ* || *tato'**rhad-devatā**dhyakṣaṃ karuṇā-**pāṇi**-paṅkajam* | *lalau caulukya-bhūpālo nirmaryāda-mud-ambudhiḥ* ||	***virati-śvaśrvā kṛta-proṅkhaṇācāraḥ śama**-damādi-**śālaka**-darśita-**saraṇir** mātṛ-gṛha-madhya-sthitāyāḥ **śīla**-dhavala-**cīvara-dhyāna**-dvaya-**kuṇḍala-navapadī-hāra-tapo-bheda-mudrikā**dy-alaṅkṛtāyāḥ kṛpāsundaryāḥ saṃvat 1216 mārga-śudi-dvitīyā-dine **pāṇi**ṃ jagrāha śrī-kumārapāla-mahīpālaḥ śrīmad-**arhad-devatā**-samakṣam* |
His mother-in-law Abstention approached and performed for him the auspicious custom, and as Appeasement and his other brothers-in-law had shown him the way, he came in. The illustrious King Religion had his daughter led there, once she had bathed with the water of Affability, and put on the priceless dress of Morality, the bodice of Truth, the two earrings of Meditations, the shaking necklace of	His mother-in-law Abstention having done in his honour the ceremony of welcoming the bridegroom, and his brothers-in-law Appeasement, Restraint and the other ones having shown him the way, the illustrious king Kumārapāla came to Fair-Compassion who was staying in the house of her mother and had many ornaments such as the white dress of Morality, the two earrings of Med-

the Nine-Dignities, the large seals Varieties-of-Austerity. Then the Caulukya king seized the lotus hand of Compassion in the presence of the Arhat deities and became an unlimited ocean of joy.	itations, the necklace of the Nine-Dignities, the seals Varieties-of-Austerity, and on the presence of the glorious Arhat deities, he took her hand on the second day of the bright fortnight of the month of Mārga, in the year 1216 of the Vikrama Era.
*śrutodita-**śrāddha-guṇa**-praśasya-**kalaśāvalim*** | *kṛtvā śraddhā-mayīṃ **vedīṃ vicāro**cchrita-**toraṇām*** || ***uddīpya*** *ca* ***prabodhāgniṃ tarpitaṃ*** *tattva-**sarpiṣ**ā* | *taṃ **pradakṣinayām āsa savadhūkaṃ nṛpaṃ** guruḥ* ||	*tataḥ śrī-āgamokta-**śrāddha-guṇa**-praguṇita-dvādaśa-vrata-**kalaśāvaliṃ** **vicāra**-cāru-**toraṇāṃ** nava-tattva-navāṅga-**vedīṃ** kṛtvā **prabodhāgnim uddīpya** bhāvanā-**sarpis-tarpitaṃ** śrī-hemācāryo bhū-devaḥ **savadhūkaṃ nṛpaṃ pradakṣiṇayām āsa** catvāri maṅgalaṃ iti vedoccāra-pūrvam* ||
The spiritual teacher set up an altar made of Faith, with a series of praiseworthy water pots, the Qualities-of-the-Faithful told by the Scriptures, and a lofty archway, Deliberation; he kindled the fire of Awakening satiated with the ghee of Realities; then he went round the king and his wife from left to right.	Then the illustrious teacher Hemacandra who was like a god on earth set up an altar endowed with nine parts: the nine Realities, a series of water pots: the twelve Vows set right by the Qualities-of-the-Faithful told by the Sacred-Texts, and a charming archway: Deliberation; he kindled the fire of Awakening satiated with the ghee of Soteriological-Thoughts; then he went round the king and his wife from left to right after uttering the sacred formulae called the Fourfold-Auspiciousness.

Jinamaṇḍana also enriches the depiction with original details, like the ritual performed by the bride's mother to welcome the bridegroom (*proṅkhana*) or the utterance of auspicious formulae (*catvāri maṅgalaṃ iti vedoccāra*) at the end of the ceremony.[32] He even presents the hall of vows (*pauṣadhāgāra*)[33] where the marriage takes place as having at its entrance "an archway filled with the sound of instruments played by the five kinds of Studies" (*pauṣadhāgāra-dvāra-toraṇe pañca-vidhi-svādhyāya-vādyamānātodya-dhvani-pūre*), thus introducing one more technical notion with the right number of subdivisions (Chojnacki 2008: 317).

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[32] In the allegorical story of Kumārapāla's wedding with Non-Violence presented as an appendix to Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, the ritual is called *proṅkṣaṇa* (PCi 128. 10) and may derive its name for the act of sprinkling water (*prokṣ-* in Sanskrit). The form *proṅkhana* suggests that Jinamaṇḍana borrowed this detail from some oral or written source in Middle Indic. As regards the other expression, Sandesara and Thaker took *cattarīmaṇgala*, which also figures in the same appendix (PCi 128.15) as referring to the custom of "going four times round the fire in the marriage-ceremony" (Sandesara and Thaker 1962: 16, 27), but in the PCi as well as in the KC-Jin, the expression is followed by *iti* and apparently corresponds to either the name or the contents of an auspicious or sacred saying Hemacandra confers or utters. Jinamaṇḍana's additions can be at the same time ornamental and meaningful, as when he says that the elephant Inner-Turmoil is frolicking (*saṃvega-raṅgad-gaja*): the insertion of the present participle *raṅgad* develops the repetition of the syllable *ga* already audible in the original compound *saṃvega-gaja*, but it also expresses the agitation caused by this emotion.

[33] Literally the "house of *pauṣadha*", a religious vow that Jains perform on certain days of the lunar fortnight and which requires abstinences of different kinds (cf. Sandesara

Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to stress several characteristics of Jinamaṇḍana's method as a writer. The first and most noteworthy one is the fact that it is based on a wide and impressive erudition. Not only did Jinamaṇḍana possess complete mastery of his two main sources on Kumārapāla's allegorical love story, Yaśaḥpāla's *Moharājaparājaya* and Jayasiṃha's *Kumārabhūpalacaritra*, but he was also acquainted with other important works of the Jain tradition such as Siddharṣi's *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā* as well as other oral or written sources now lost to us, such as the one where he must have found the exact date of Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism. With all the information or inspiration he gathered from these various sources, Jinamaṇḍana produced a new version of the story with a double, somewhat paradoxical aim: being faithful to both the previous versions to the point of literally quoting them or at least paraphrasing them in a very close way, on the one hand, and figuring out their inconsistencies on the other hand. A concern for Jain orthodoxy seems also to have guided him in the process of selecting one or the other version: if he followed Jayasiṃha in leaving aside the *vedāntin* aspects of the play, he also got rid of the erotic overtones the poem of his predecessor was replete with in conformity with the rules of the genre.[34] This leads us to the apparently heterogeneous nature of Jinamaṇḍana's text, with its prose interspersed with stanzas of various patterns and languages coming from different sources: what

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and Thaker 1962: 26, 76–77, 166; Williams 1963: 142–149). The place is then rather a hall where the community gathers for attending sermons or taking vows than a Jain monastery, as Sandesara and Thaker translate it. Interestingly enough, the building in front of which Kumārapāla sees Compassion for the first time is called a *maṭha* in Jayasiṃha's version and a *śālā* in Jinamaṇḍana's. If the former word can refer to a monastery in Jain and Hindu contexts, the latter clearly designates a preaching hall in Jain narratives.

[34] Among *makākāvya*'s set pieces enumerated by Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa* or *Mirror for Poetry* (seventh century) figure several erotic themes such as amorous encounters in gardens or by lakes, drinking parties and passionate lovemaking (*Kāvyādarśa*, I. 18). For a convenient and updated presentation of the genre, see Paul Dundas's introduction to the *Śiśupālavadha* or *Killing of Shishupala* of Māgha, pp. xi–xxii).

could appear at first sight as a mere activity of a compiler may be in fact a deliberate literary stance of a historian. Beyond a patchwork-like aesthetic reminding to some extent of the *campū* genre, that mixed form actually enabled Jinamaṇḍana to produce an exhaustive and harmonised version of the story as he could either quote directly key passages from his sources or reformulate them in a consistent way when they did not agree. Besides, Jinamaṇḍana had the possibility to clarify the data of the earlier versions by making use of simpler words, assembled in a more natural way, but he could also express them within a poetical fashion of his own, either in a metrical form, as some of the stanzas cannot be traced in extant sources and may be from his own hand, or with greater certitude, in a poetical prose influenced by the great tradition inaugurated by Bāṇa. It is not a coincidence, then, that Jinamaṇḍana's work was published earlier than its two models: the convenient synthesis it gave of the available traditions about Kumārapāla, the many quotations it was replete with as well as its readability and own literary qualities made it a reference book that overshadowed the earlier works, in the same way as Nīlakaṇṭha's relatively late commentary did in the tradition of *Mahābhārata* exegesis.[35]

Quite interestingly, what we can understand about Jinamaṇḍana's creative process may also shed light on the method of former, more celebrated chroniclers such as Prabhācandra or Merutuṅga. As Jinamaṇḍana did with the *Moharājaparājaya*, the former heavily relied on another dramatic work from the twelfth century, Yaśaścandra's *Mudritakumudacandra*, when he retold in the penultimate section of the *Prabhāvakacarita* how the Śvetāmbara debater Devasūri defeated the Digambara teacher Kumudacandra at the Caulukya court, quoting and reformulating many verses or prose passages;[36] however, the parallel with the *Kumārapālaprabandha* suggests that Prabhācandra may have also taken into account at least one other, now lost source to compose his own version, and calls for a closer investigation of its style (metrical patterns) and internal organisation (order of the quotations or reformulated passages, contents of the intervening passages in the play and the chronicle, etc.).[37] As regards the *Prabandhancintāmaṇi*, its stylistic proximity with the *Kumārapālaprabandha* may also help to identify with greater certainty retellings of earlier works, by examining for instance its prose *kāvya* passages in the light of Jinamaṇḍana's rewordings of Jayasiṃha's poem. More generally, the *Kumārapālaprabandha* could help us better understand the importance of quotations and the growing interest for prose interspersed with verses in the technique of writing history in medieval Gujarat.[38]

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[35] Minkovski 2005. The transmission of these texts shows that Jinamaṇḍana's version was particularly appreciated: H. D. Velankar traced in lists, reports and catalogues available to him no less than twenty-seven manuscripts of his biography of Kumārapāla, vis-à-vis nineteen manuscripts of Jayasiṃha's poem and twelve of Yaśaḥpāla's play (Velankar 1944: 92–93, 316).

[36] I dealt with the influence of the *Mudritakumudacandra* on the *Prabhāvakacarita* in a paper entitled "A Controversy under Debate. On the Historicity of Kumudacandra's Defeat at the Caulukya Court" that I presented in 2018 at the World Sanskrit Conference in Vancouver, Canada. Nine literal quotations from the first, third and fifth (and last) acts of the play can be traced in Prabhācandra's version, and many others have been reformulated by him. I intend to publish soon a reworked version of my paper, but in the meantime, information about this play can be found in a paper presented by Paul Dundas at the same conference and published in 2022 (especially note 25, for a synthetic overview of the quotations of the play in the *prabandha* collections).

Abbreviations

KC-Jay = *Kumārapālabhūpālacaritramahākāvya* of Jayasiṃhasūri
KC-Jin = *Kumārapālaprabandha* of Jinamaṇḍana
LPS = *Laghuprabandhasaṃgraha*.
MRP = *Mohārājaparājaya* of Yaśaḥpāla.
PCi = *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga.
UBPK = *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā* of Siddharṣi.

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[37] The variations of metrical patterns in KC-Jay may also be a clue to the insertion of quotations from previous works, since, as a rule, each canto of a *mahākāvya* should follow but one metrical pattern except for the concluding verses (*Kāvyādarśa*, I. 19). Several Jain Sanskrit *mahākāvya*s from the thirteenth centuries follow that rule (Gupta 1993: 61, 64, 79).

[38] In reaction to what he presents as a prejudice spread by Western thinkers from the nineteenth-twentieth centuries, the opinion that the prose novel is the only literary medium fit for writing history, Sanjay Subrahmanyam has argued that a variety of genres have been used for such purpose all over the world, and in India in particular (Subrahmanyam 2004: 9–10). Even though I have myself shown that theatre has been one of these genres in ancient and medieval India (Leclère 2013: 152–166), I cannot help thinking when I see the concomitant composition of *mahākāvya*s and *prabandha*s on the same historical subjects that there was a debate among Jain writers on the choice of literary medium.

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The Auspicious Dreams of Kuntī and Mādrī in Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*: Turning the Pāṇḍavas into Quasi-*Mahāpuruṣas*?

Simon Winant

Introduction

In their canonical texts and narrative literature, Jains have portrayed dreams as auspicious omens heralding the future birth of a tīrthaṅkara.[1] When the *jīva* ('soul') of a jina-to-be descends into the womb, the mother-to-be dreams about several objects, each of which represents a particular virtue her son will possess. These auspicious dreams that precede a jina's conception are one of the five life events that define the spiritual career of a tīrthaṅkara.[2] These auspicious dreams have become a beloved part of Jain culture: Jain manuscripts feature ornate illustrations of these dreams, and Jain temples, old and new, depict these dreams in paintings and sculptures (Jaini 1979: 6–7, 196–197).

Oneiric omens like these, however, are not exclusive to the mothers of jinas: these auspicious dreams also came to herald the birth of men other than the jinas, i.e. the twelve *cakravartin*s, and the nine triads of *baladeva*, *vāsudeva*, and *prativāsudeva*. The *cakravartin*, or universal emperor as it is often translated into English, is not exclusive to Jainism as concept. A *baladeva* is born as the elder half-brother of a *vāsudeva*, and both are locked in a mortal struggle with the *prativāsudeva*, literally the anti-*vāsudeva*. Each *vāsudeva* is destined to kill the *prativāsudeva*, earning himself a rebirth in hell for this violent act, whereas the more gentle *baladeva* is rewarded with *mokṣa* or a rebirth in heaven for his restraint (Wiley 2004: 49, 171, 228). Together with the twenty-four jinas, the twelve *cakravartins* and nine triads of *baladeva*, *vāsudeva*, and

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[1] The research in this chapter was supported by an FWO (Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek – Vlaanderen) PhD fellowship. The fellowship (1145922N) enabled me to write this chapter.

[2] The four other life events or *kalyāṇaka*s are the birth (*janma*), renunciation (*vairāgya*), attainment of omniscience (*kevalajñāna*), and liberation (*nirvāṇa*) (Wiley 2024: 115-116).

prativāsudeva all belong to the set of great or illustrious beings Jains call the *śalākāpuruṣa*s/*mahāpuruṣa*s.[3]

Jain narrative literature reimagined characters from the Sanskrit epics, such as Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Rāvaṇa from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, and Jarāsaṃdha from the *Mahābhārata*, as *baladeva*s, *vāsudeva*s, and *prativāsudeva*s respectively.[4] In this way, the Jains incorporated the narratives of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in their cosmological account of history (Cort 1995: 474–478). To indicate their status as *śalākāpuruṣa*s, Jain adaptations of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* regularly depict the auspicious dreams announcing the births of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, and Bālarāma (De Clercq 2009a: 50–51).

By contrast, since Jain narrative literature did not include the Pāṇḍavas among the *śalākāpuruṣas/mahāpuruṣa*s, Jain authors generally did not include any auspicious dreams announcing the births of the Pāṇḍavas. That is, until Devaprabhasūri's Jain adaptation of the *Mahābhārata,* the *Pāṇḍavacarita* (1214 CE). In this chapter, I explore how the Śvetāmbara monk Devaprabhasūri is the first Jain author to extensively depict the auspicious dreams the mothers of the Pāṇḍavas, Kuntī and Mādrī, have before they conceive the Pāṇḍavas in the *Pāṇḍavacarita* (1214 CE). I will argue that Devaprabhasūri included these dreams to elevate the Pāṇḍavas to the level of the *śalākāpuruṣa*s in an attempt to create a true 'Jain' *Mahābhārata*.

First, I will discuss the general trope of auspicious dreams as it initially appeared in Jain narrative texts and how the trope soon after came to be associated with the "epic characters" of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Rāvaṇa in the earliest Jain adaptation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Moving on to the so-called Jain universal histories, the first Jain texts to include entire *Mahābhārata* narratives, I will demonstrate how these texts only depict the auspicious dreams of the *śalākāpuruṣa*s' mothers; Kuntī and Mādrī do not have dreams in these texts.

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[3] Initially, Jain authors did not always include the *prativāsudeva*s, literally the anti-*vāsudeva*s, among among the *śalākāpuruṣa*s. The Digambaras were earlier to include the *prativāsudeva*s, settling on the number of sixty-three by the eighth century. The Śvetāmbaras, by contrast, seem to have included the *prativāsudeva*s sometime after the ninth century (Geen 2009: 87-91). Indeed, the very title of the Śvetāmbara poets Śīlāṅka's Jain Universal History suggests this: *Caüppannamahāpurisacariya* (CE 867), literally 'the Deeds of the fifty-four Great Men'.

[4] To avoid confusion between a particular type of *śalākāpuruṣa* and the elder half-brother of Kṛṣṇa, I will use the term *baladeva* to refer to the former and the name Balarāma to refer to the latter. However, in many Jain narrative texts, *baladeva*, *balarāma*, and *balabhadra* are often used interchangeably for the type of *śalākāpuruṣa* as well for the individual character.

Secondly, I will discuss Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* in its historical context, the birth of the Pāṇḍavas as depicted in the *Mahābhārata*, and then Devaprabhasūri's inclusion of the auspicious dreams in the *Pāṇḍavacarita* and transformation of the Pāṇḍavas into quasi-*śalākāpuruṣa*s/*mahāpuruṣa*s.

Auspicious Dreams in Jain Narratives

In all likelihood, the *Kalpasūtra*, famous for its richly illustrated manuscripts, is the earliest Jain text to describe the fourteen auspicious dreams in detail. Already a few lines into the text do we find a description of the auspicious dreams as Mahāvīra's *jīva* descends into the womb of the Brahmin lady Devānandā. The mother-to-be dreams about fourteen distinct objects before waking: an elephant, an ox, a lion, ointment, a garland, the moon, the sun, a flag, a jar, a lotus lake, an ocean, a celestial *vimāna* ('chariot'), a heap of jewels, and a burning flame.[5] When Indra, king among the gods, learns that the soul of the jina has descended into the womb of a Brahmin woman rather than into the womb of a kshatriya woman, orders the deity Harinegameṣī to transfer Mahāvīra's embryo into the womb of the kshatriya queen Triśalā, who then dreams about the exact same fourteen objects (1.33–46).[6]

After waking up, queen Triśalā goes to her husband Siddhārtha and tells him all about her dreams. Hopeful that his child will become a great kshatriya following in his footsteps, the king interprets the fourteen objects very much in this light. When he has astrologers summoned for a more accurate prognostication, they slightly correct the king's interpretation:

> Oh beloved of the gods! When the embryo of an *arhat* or a *cakravartin* enters into the womb, the mothers of the *arhat*s and *cakravartin*s wakes up on seeing fourteen out of these thirty great dreams. They are: an elephant, etc. When the embryo of a

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[5] *Devānandā […] maṃgalle sassirīe codda mahāsumiṇe pāsittā ṇaṃ paḍibuddhā ||*
taṃ jahā: gaya vasaha sīha abhiseya dāma, sasi diṇayaraṃ jhayaṃ kumbhaṃ |
paümasara sāgara vimāṇabhavaṇa rayaṇuccaya sihiṃ ca || KS. 1.4

[6] The *Kalpasūtra* describes how Indra explicitly states that *jinas*, *cakravartins*, *baladevas*, and *vāsudevas* can only be born in the wombs of "high families" (*uggakulesu*), "noble families" (*bhogakulesu*), "royal families" (*rāïṇṇakulesu*), "Ikṣvāku families" (*ikkhāvagukulesu*), "kshatriya families" (*khattiyakulesu*), and 'families of Hari's lineage' (*harivaṃsakulesu*) (KS 1.17-18). The god speculates that some karmic happenstance is reponsible for this descent into a Brahmin woman's womb. (KS 1.19). See KS 1.32. The idea of Mahāvīra's embryo transfer is exclusive to Śvetāmbara Jainism; Digambara Jains believe that Mahāvīra's *jīva* immediately descended into Triśālā's womb and remained there until birth (De Clercq 2009: 47-51).

> *vāsudeva* enters into the womb, they wake up seeing any seven out of these fourteen great dreams. When the embryo of a *baladeva* enters into the womb, the mothers of wake up seeing any four out of these fourteen great dreams. When the embryo of a *māṇḍalika* enters into the womb, the mothers of the *māṇḍalika*s wake up on seeing any one of these fourteen great dreams (KS 1.72–77, trans. Lalwani).[7]

Triśalā just had the fourteen dreams that predict the birth of future jina or of a future *cakravartin* (universal emperor)![8] Nine months later, Mahāvīra is born under the name of Vardhamāna and all is well in the world.

The *Kalpasūtra*, traditionally attributed to Bhadrabāhu and composed somewhere between the second century BCE and the third century CE, provided this narrative pattern found throughout later Jain texts: the mother-to-be sees a number of objects in her dreams and tells her husband about them.[9] The husband then interprets the meaning of these dreams. Sometimes, he is mistaken about the dreams' true meaning. In that case, either astrologers clarify what the dreams actually augur, or deities come down to explain the dreams to the expectant couple.

This narrative pattern evidently proved popular and proliferated throughout Jain narrative literature. It appears several times in the earliest Jain adaptation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*: Vimalasūri's *Paümacariya*. In this Maharashtri Prakrit text, likely composed between the third century CE and fifth century CE, the auspicious dreams announcing conception of jinas, *cakravartins*, *baladeva*s, *vāsudeva*s, and *prativāsudeva*s are described (Kulkarni 1990: 51–59; 80–82).

Here, Marudevī, the mother of the first jina Ṛṣabha, dreams about fourteen objects: a bull, an elephant, a lion, Lakṣmī, a garland, the moon, the sun, a flag, a jar, a lotus pond, the ocean, a *vimāna,* a heap of jewels, fire. After she has told her husband about these fourteen dreams, he correctly predicts that they will have a *tīrthaṅkara* as a son.[10]

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[7] Interestingly enough, the dream interpreters here in the *Kalpasūtra* do not explain the meaning of each individual object seen in the dreams; instead, they interpret the dreams as collectively heralding the birth of a *jina* or a *cakravartin*.

[8] While the Śvetāmbara tradition claims that the mother of a jina has fourteen auspicious dreams, later Digambara texts generally mention sixteen auspicious dreams for the mother of a jina. De Clercq noted a similar difference concerning *vāsudevas* and *baladevas*: unlike the Śvetāmbara tradition, the Digambara tradition gives no fixed number of dreams for the *vāsudeva* and *baladeva* (De Clercq 2009a: 50-52).

[9] There seem to have been three distinct individuals called Bhadrabāhu in Jain tradition, but they as well as their achievements have often been conflated. Jain tradition generally identifies the earliest Bhadrabāhu, the last *ācārya* before the Jaina tradition split between the Digambara and Śvetāmbara branches, as the author of the *Kalpasūtra*. However, there have been scholars who argue that a later Bhadrabāhu was the author of the *Kalpasūtra*. See Wiley (2004: 50-52).

Similarly, since Vimalasūri also considers Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Rāvaṇa to be *śalākāpuruṣa*s, as a *baladeva*, a *vāsudeva*, and a *prativāsudeva* respectively, he portrays the auspicious dreams of their mothers. Rāma's mother, called Aparājita in the *Paümacariya*, dreams of a lion, the sun and the moon, while Lakṣmaṇa's mother Sumitrā dreams about Lakṣmī holding a lotus in her hand, the moon, the sun and Sumitrā herself gazing upon the ocean from the vantage point of a mountain.[11] Rāvaṇa's mother is also visited by dreams before she conceives the future *prativāsudeva:* she dreams of a lion entering her womb and having the sun and moon in her lap.[12]

Later Jain adaptations of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, such as Raviṣeṇa's Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa* (7th c.) and Svayaṃbhūdeva's Apabhramsha *Paümacariu* (9th c.), both of which draw on Vimalasūri's work, also regularly depict the auspicious dreams of these expectant mothers (De Clercq 2009b: 317–318).

Likewise, the Jain-specific genre often called Jain universal history by Western scholars, is structured around the biographies of the sixty-three *śalākāpuruṣas* or *mahāpuruṣas.*[13] As such, texts belonging to this genre regularly depict auspicious dreams. It is in these Jain Universal Histories that we find the Jain adaptations of the *Mahābhārata*. However, unlike

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[10] *aha annayā kayāi sayaṇijje maharihe suhapasuttā |*
pecchaï pasatthasumiṇe marudevī pacchime jāme ||
vasaha, gaya, sīha, varasiri, dāmaṃ, sasi, ravi, jhayaṃ ca kalasaṃ ca |
sara, sāyaraṃ, vimāṇaṃvarabhavaṇaṃ, rayaṇakūḍa'aggī || [...]
kayokouyapariyammā nābhisayāsaṃ gayā harisiyacchī |
rayaṇāsaṇovaviṭṭhā, kahaï ya païṇo vare sumiṇe ||
nāūṇa ya suviṇatthaṃ nābhi to bhaṇaï sundari tujjhaṃ |
gabbhami ya saṃbhūo hohī titthaṃkaro putto || VPC 3.61-62;65

[11] *aha annayā kayāi devī avarāiyā suhapasuttā |*
pecchaï ya pavarasumiṇe rayaṇīe picchame jāme ||
varakusumakundavaṇṇam sīhaṃ, sūraṃ taheva rayaṇiyaraṃ |
daṭṭhuṇa aha vibuddhā paiṇo sumiṇe parikahei ||
soūṇa pavarasumiṇe satthatthavisārao naravindo |
bhaṇaï ime varapurasiṃ sundari! puttaṃ niveenti ||
tayantaraṃ sumittā pecchaï sumiṇe nivāsasāṇammi |
lacchī kamalavihatthā sasisūre kiraṇapajjalie ||
attāṇaṃ aïtuṅge girivarasihare avaṭṭhiyā santī |
sāyaravaraperantaṃ pecchaï puhaïṃ ciya pasatthaṃ || VPC 22.1-5

[12] *sā annayā kayāi sayaṇijje maharihe suhapasuttā |*
pecchaï pasatthasumiṇe paḍibuddhā maṅgalaraveṇa ||
īsuggayammi sūre savvālaṅkārabhūsiyasarīrā |
gantūṇa samabbhāsaṃ païṇo sumiṇe parikahei ||
uyarammi samallīṇo sīho daḍhakaḍhiṇakesarāruṇio |
anne vi candasūra ucchaṅge dhāriya navaraṃ || VPC 7.76-78

[13] For an in-depth discussion of the genre and the origin of the term "Jain universal history", see Cort (1995: 473-478)

Jain *Rāmāyaṇa* adaptations, which mainly focus on the story of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa, these Jain *Mahābhārata* narratives in Jain Universal Histories are generally subnarratives within subnarratives. One of the major subnarratives within these Jain universal histories is the Nemi-biography which follows four *śalākāpuruṣa*s: the twenty-second jina Nemi, his cousins Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, and their mutual enemy Jarāsaṃdha.

Since the Jains hold that the Pāṇḍavas are cousins of Nemi, Balarāma, and Kṛṣṇa, a *Mahābhārata* narrative is included as a subnarrative within the biography of Nemi, albeit rather concise and spread out in bits and pieces. The war between the Pāṇḍavas and their Kaurava-cousins, the main conflict in the *Mahābhārata*, is only a part of the larger conflict between Nemi, Balarāma, and Kṛṣṇa's war against Jarāsaṃdha (Bai & Zydenbos 1991: 254–259). Besides Jain universal histories, there are also some Jain literary works such as the *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu* that mainly focus on the Nemi-biography; these also include a *Mahābhārata* subnarrative.

The most well-known Jain narrative works that include a *Mahābhārata*-narrative are, in chronological order: the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (783 CE) by Jinasena Punnāṭa; the *Uttarapurāṇa* (9th c. CE) by Guṇabhadra; the *Caüpannamahāpurisacariya* (867 CE) by Śīlāṅka; the *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu* (9th –10th c.) by Svayambhūdeva; the *Mahāpurāṇu* (965 CE) by Puṣpadanta; the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* (1160–1172 CE) by Hemacandra (De Clercq 2008: 400–412).[14]

The works listed above often depict the auspicious dreams announcing the births of the *śalākāpuruṣas* Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa, and Nemi. However, they do not include any dreams on the part of Kuntī and Mādrī, the mothers of the Pāṇḍavas. I will give a brief rundown below.

In Jinasena Punnāṭa's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, the first Jain universal history with an entire *Mahābhārata* narrative, the mothers of the *salākāpuruṣas* coeval with the Pāṇḍavas are visited by auspicious dreams: Rohiṇī, mother of Balarāma, has four dreams. Devakī, mother of Kṛṣṇa has seven dreams. Śivā, mother of Nemi, has sixteen dreams.[15] However, Kuntī and Mādrī give birth to the five Pāṇḍavas without any mention of dreams whatsoever.[16]

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[14] Guṇabhadra composed his *Uttarapurāṇa* as a "sequel" to the *Ādipurāṇa* composed by his preceptor Jinasena, — not to be confused with Jinasena Punnāṭa of the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*. With the *Ādipurāṇa*, Jinasena composed a biography of the first jina Ṛṣabha and his son Bharata, but due to his demise, his pupil Guṇabhadra took it up on himself to write the biographies of the other *śalākāpuruṣas* (De Clercq 2008: 405).
Svayambhūdeva's *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu*, a work composed in Apabhramsha is, as its title suggests, a biography of Nemi, but is unusual due to its extensive treatment of the Mahābhārata narrative. The Nemi biography is still the frame narrative though (De Clercq 2008: 408-409).
Just like Svayaṃbhūdeva's aforementioned work, Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇu* is another Apabhramsha work.

In Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*, out of the mothers of the *śalākāpuruṣas*, only Śivā is described as having an unspecified number auspicious dreams before conceiving the jina Nemi.[17] The *Uttarapurāṇa* does not mention any dreams on the part of Kuntī and Mādrī before they become pregnant.[18]

Similarly, Śīlāṅka's *Caüpannamahāpurisacariya* (867 CE) does not mention any dreams on the part of Kuntī and Mādrī; the narrative just states that Kuntī gives birth to Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, and Arjuna, and that Mādrī gives birth to Nakula and Sahadeva.[19]

While Svayambhūdeva's *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu* features a much more extensive *Mahābhārata* narrative than any of the aforementioned texts, Svayambhūdeva's text also does not attribute any auspicious dreams to Kuntī and Mādrī.[20] Simarily, there is no mention of Kuntī or Mādrī having any dreams in Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇu* (965 CE).[21]

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[15] *atha sā Rohiṇī bhartrā vicitre śayane'nyadā | prasuptā caturaḥ svapnān dadarśa śubhasūcinaḥ* || JVHP 32.1
athaikadā candrasite niśānte niśāntakānte śayane śayānā | dadarśa saptodayaśaṃsinaḥ sā padārthakān svapna imān niśānte || JVHP 35.11
sametya patyātiśapradarśanādatīva saṃhṛṣṭamatiḥ Śivānyadā |dadarśa sā suptamimān niśāntare praśaṃsitān svapnavarān hi ṣoḍaśa || JVHP 37.5.
Jinasena describes each dream of Nemi's mother in lurid detail. (37.6-23)

[16] *pāṇḍoḥ kuntyāṃ samutpannaḥ karṇa kanyāprasaṃgataḥ | yudhiṣṭhiro'rjuno bhīma ūḍhāyām abhavaṃs trayaḥ* ||
nakulaḥ sahadevaś ca kulasya sutau | madryām adristhitau jātau pañca te pāṇḍunandanāḥ ||
JHVP 45.37-38

[17] *rājñaḥ kāśyapagotrasya harivaṃśaśikhāmaṇeḥ | samudravijayākhyasya Śivadevī manoramā || devatopāsyamānāṅghrir vasudhārābhinanditā | ṣaṇmāsāvasitau māse kārtike śuklapakṣage || ṣaṣṭhyām athottarāṣāḍhe niśānte svapnamālikām | ālokatānuvaktrābjaṃ praviṣṭañ ca gajādhipam* || UP 71.30-32

[18] *prājāpatyena saṃbandho vivāhenābhavat punaḥ | kuntyām ajani dharmiṣṭho dharmaputro dharādhipaḥ | bhīmaseno 'nupārthaś ca trayo vargatrayopamāḥ | mādryāṃ ca nakulo jyeṣṭho sahadevas tato 'nvabhūt* || UP 70.115-116

[19] *Tao duve vi kuruvaṃsasaṃbhavassa paṃdussa diṇṇāo| Tāṇa ya Juhuṭṭhila-Bhīmaseṇa-Ajjuṇāhihāṇā tiṇṇi puttā samupaṇṇā, Maddie Ṇaülo Sahadevo ya* || Prose CMP, page 182.

[20] *paṃḍuhe rajju karaṃtāho dhammu muevinu aṇṇu ṇa ruccaï* |
dhammadivase uppaṇṇu kira tavasuu dhammaputtu teṃ vuccaī || RC 14.9.10
jāu Juhiṭṭhilu jayajayasaddeṃ vahaladhavalamaṃgalakalaṇaḍḍeṃ | RC 14.10.1
moṭṭiyāru ṇaṃ ghaḍiyaü vajje vuccaï pavaṇaputtu teṃ kajjeṃ |
ettahe dūsāsaṇu uppaṇṇaü kuruvahaṃ kalahu nāiṃ avaïṇṇaü |
iṃdamahocchaü jāu valattaṇu iṃdaputtu teṃ vuccaï ajjuṇu |
kuṃtihe ṇandaṇa tiṇṇi jaṇa maddihe viṇṇī ṇarāhivanārihe |
suya saü dujjohaṇa dūsala eka dhīya gaṇdhārihe || RC 14.12.5-8

Hemacandra’s *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* (1160–1172 CE), one of the direct inspirations for Devaprabhasūri’s *Pāṇḍavacarita* as I will discuss later, describes the auspicious dreams of Rohiṇī, Devakī, and Śivā in detail. Before conceiving Balarāma, Rohinī dreams of an elephant, the ocean, a lion, and the moon; before conceiving Kṛṣṇa, Devakī dreams of a lion, the sun, fire, an elephant, a banner, a *vimāna*, and a lotus pool.[22] Nemi’s mother Śivā has the fourteen great dreams announcing the birth of a jina*;* she dreams of an elephant, a bull, a lion, the goddess Śrī, a garland, the moon, the sun, a banner, a lotus pool, the ocean, a *vimāna*, a heap of jewels, and fire.[23]

Thus far the extant edited Jain texts with a *Mahābhārata* narrative composed in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhramsha. None of them depict any dreams on the part of Kuntī and Mādrī.

However, there is arguably one exception in Pampa’s *Vikramārjunavijaya* (10th century), the first Kannada adaptation of the *Mahābhārata.* Besides his literary accomplishment of adapting the *Mahābhārata* into Kannada, Pampa as a Jain author is also known for adaptating Jinasena’s *Ādipurāṇa,* a biography of the first jina Ṛṣabha, into Kannada. In his *Vikramārjunavijaya*, Pampa depicts Kuntī’s dreams before she conceives Arjuna.[24] None of the other Pāṇḍavas are connected with dreams though; only Arjuna is singled out. Moreover, the *Vikramārjunavijaya* can hardly be considered a true ‘Jain *Mahābhārata*’, since the text is not

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[21] *so koṃti maddi beṇṇi vi jaṇiu pariṇāviu paṃḍu pīṇathaṇiu |*
daīyahu āliṅgaṇu deṃtiyai koṃtīi tīi kīlaṃtiyaï |
suu jaṇiu juhuṭṭhilu bhīmu ṇaru ṇaggoharohapārohakaru |
maddīi ṇaülu sayaṇuddharaṇu aṇṇu vi sahaevu dīṇasaraṇu | MP 82.5.

[22] *tataś ca lalitajīvo mahāśukāt paricyutaḥ | vasudevasya bhāryāyā rohiṇyā udare’bhavat ||*
gajabindusiṃhaśāśino viśato rohiṇīmukhe | svapne’paśynn niśāśeṣe halabhṛjjanmasūcakān || TSCP 8.5.25-26
atha devakyṛtusnātā siṃhārkāgnigajadhvajān | vimānapadmasarasī niśānte svapnam aikṣata|| TSCP 8.5.98

[23] *itaś ca sriśauryapure samudravijayapriyā | śivāpaśyan niśāśeṣe mahāsvapnāṃś caturdaśa śriyam ||*
gajokṣasiṃhaśrīdāmacandrārkadhvajavārghaṭaiḥ | padmasarobdhivimānaratnapuñjāgnyas tu te || TSCP 8.5.180-181

[24] The lines in question, verse as well as prose, are:
kuḍivuadanēḻmaṃbuyumaṃ kulaśailakuḷaṃgaḷaṃ taguḷdaḍarvudanoṃdu bāḷa ravi tannaya sōgila mēge rāgadiṃ | poḍarvudanaṃte dikkarigaḷaṃbujapatra puṭāṃbuviṃ beḍaṃ gaḍasire majjanaṃbugipuraṃ sati kaṃḍosedaḷ niśāṃtadoḷ ||
Aṃtu kaṃḍu munikumārarōduva vēdaninādadiṃ vigata nidreyāgi pāṇḍurājaṃgamalliya munijanaṃgaḷga maḻipiḍavarā kanasugaḷge saṃtōṣaṃbaṭṭu VV 1.19.140. I thank Hampa Nagarajaiah for pointing out Kuntī’s auspicious dreams in Pampa’s work.

embedded within Jain cosmology and hence does not include Nemi as a character (Bai & Zydenbos 1991: 264–265).

Rather than being motivated by a desire to "Jainify" his Kannada adaptation, Pampa's inclusion of Kuntī's dreams announcing Arjuna's birth, I would argue, is instead motivated by Pampa's identification of Arjuna with his patron, the Vemulavāḍa Cāḷukya king Arikesari II. One of Pampa's goals in composing the *Vikramārjunavijaya* is praising king Arikesari II by elevating Arjuna.[25] I see Pampa's inclusion of Kuntī's dream in this text as a way to elevate Arjuna above the other Paṇḍavas by borrowing a trope from Jain narrative literature.

By contrast, Devaprabhasūri depicts both Kuntī and Mādrī having auspicious dreams *Pāṇḍavacarita* (1214 CE) with a distinct goal: to suggest a strong similarity between the Pāṇḍavas and the *śalākāpuruṣas*.

Devaprabhasūri and the Pāṇḍavacarita

The *Pāṇḍavacarita* represents something of a watershed moment when it comes to Jain adaptations of the *Mahābhārata*. While Jain authors were early to compose full-length adaptations of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, they usually only adapted the *Mahābhārata* narrative as an embedded sub-narrative in the biography of Nemi. Even Svayambhūdeva's *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu* with its heavy focus on *Mahābhārata* narrative still has the biography of Nemi as the frame narrative. Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita*, by contrast, inverts the relationship: the story of the Pāṇḍavas is the frame narrative and the Nemi-narrative is an embedded narrative.

Devaprabhasūri was a Śvetāmbara monk belonging to the *Harṣapurīya Gaccha* and was affiliated with the Caulukya and Vāghelā court, who were based in what is now Gujarat.[26] Relatively little is known about Devaprabhasūri's life as an individual compared to the famous Hemacandra who graced the Caulukya court under king

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[25] Pampa's *Vikramārjunavijaya* was very much composed as part of a larger project of literarisation of Kannada rather than as a Jain work with a Jain message. Interestingly, not long after Pampa's *Mahābhārata* adaption, one of the other great luminaries of Kannada literature, Ranna, also a Jain, composed the *Sāhasabhīmavijaya*, alternatively titled *Gadāyuddha*, in which he focused on the Pāṇḍava Bhīma, explicitly comparing the hero with his patron Satyāśraya of the Kalyāṇa Cāḷukyas. For a detailed discussion of Pampa and Ranna's engagement with the literarisation of Kannada and their *Mahābhārata*-narratives, see Pollock (2006: 356-362).

[26] The *Vastupālacarita* (1442) by Jinaharṣa and the *Prabandhakośa* (1348 CE) by Rājaśekhara both recount an anecdote in which Devaprabhasūri gives a sermon to Vīradhavala, a Vāghelā vassal to the Caulukyas (Sandesara 1953: 73).

Kumārapāla (r. 1142–1172 CE), or compared to his own contemporaries Tejaḥpāla and Vastupāla, the famous Jain ministers. What is certain though is that Devaprabhasūri was one among several Jain authors affiliated with the Caulukyas and Vāghelās of thirteenth-century Gujarat who showed considerable interest in adaptating material from the *Mahābhārata*. Besides Devaprabhasūri, the Jain monk Amaracandrasūri as well as the famous Vastupāla both composed works that were inspired by the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bālabhārata* and the *Naranārāyaṇānanda* (Chojnacki 2018: 168–169).

Whereas previous Jain *Mahābhārata* adaptations, broad-strokes adaptations spread in bits and pieces throughout the biographies of Kṛṣṇa and Nemi, were adaptations of the causal plot more or less recognisable as a *Mahābhārata* narrative, Devaprabhasūri's *Pāṇḍavacarita* is something different altogether. The *Pāṇḍavacarita* is an adaptation of *specific* texts: it is a deliberate attempt to fuse the Vyāsa *Mahābhārata* with Hemacandra's biographies of Kṛṣṇa and Nemi from the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*.[27]

Rather drawing than on the general familiarity an inhabitant of thirteenth-century Northwest India probably would have had with the epic's narrative, Devaprabhasūri must have either perused manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata*, or used oral performances of the epic. Over the course of more than 9,000 verses divided over eighteen *sarga*s — the number is an obvious nod to the *Mahābhārata's* eighteen *parvans*, Devaprabhasūri regularly reimagines well-known as well as lesser known episodes from the *Mahābhārata* with a remarkable eye for detail.

This is not to say Devaprabhasūri is only slavishly reproducing the text of Vyāsa's epic. He regularly incorporates narrative material from Jain texts. The *Pāṇḍavacarita* is noticeably invested in reimagining important characters as exemplars of Jain virtue and adding common tropes from Jain narrative literature. Devaprabhasūri depicting the auspicious dreams of Kuntī and Mādrī before they conceive the Pāṇḍavas is one such an instance. Before moving on to Devaprabhasūri's inclusion of Kuntī and Mādrī's dreams in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*, I will discuss how the births of the Pāṇḍavas are depicted in the *Mahābhārata* with reference to one of the epic's major themes, that is, succession crisis.

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[27] Devaprabhasūri himself even explicitly mentions how he drew on Hemacandra's text (*triṣaṣṭicaritra*) and the sixth aṅga of the Śvetāmbara canonical texts (*ṣaṣṭhāṅgopaniṣat*) in one of the concluding verses of the *Pāṇḍavacarita*:
ṣaṣṭhāṅgopaniṣattriṣaṣṭicaritā*dyālokya kautūhalād*
etat kandalayāṃ cakāra caritaṃ pāṇḍoḥ sutānām aham |
aham tatrājñānatamastiraskṛtivaśād utsūtram utsūtrayaṃ
yat kiṃcit kila mayy anugrahadhiyā śodhyaṃ tad etad budhaiḥ || PC 18.280

The Births of the Pāṇḍavas in the *Mahābhārata*

Questions of primogeniture and succession claims lie at the heart of the central conflict in the *Mahābhārata*, the war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas over the throne of Hastināpura, the capital of the Kuru kingdom. The epic problematises the issue of generational succession crises over and over, which usually are peacefully resolved until Pāṇḍava-Kaurava war. Two generations before the Pāṇḍavas, Hastināpura is beset by troubles when King Vicitravīrya died before he could beget heirs upon his widows Ambikā and Ambālikā. Satyavatī, mother of Vicitravīrya and queen mother of Hastināpura, gets Vyāsa, eldest son born out of wedlock, to impregnate Vicitravīrya's widows.[28] (MBh. I.99–100).

Unfortunately, the matter of succession was not wholly solved: Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the elder nominal son of king Vicitravīrya, was born blind and therefore not fit to rule.[29] Hence, the throne was given to the younger nominal son Pāṇḍu. This decision, however, sowed the seeds of the future conflict. Pāṇḍu's first son Yudhiṣṭhira was born before Dhṛtarāṣṭra's first son Duryodhana. As the eldest son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who first in the line of succession but passed over on account of his disability, Duryodhana felt that he should be next in line for succession rather than his elder cousin Yudhiṣṭhira.

The order of birth arguably being the most important reason for the main conflict in the epic, the births of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas are discussed several times in the *Ādiparvan*, the first book of *Mahābhārata*. The first time is in a catalogue of the Pāṇḍavas' ancestors as told by Vaiśampāyana, the main narrator of the epic, to Janamejaya, great-grandson of Arjuna (MBh I.90.60–75). Several *adhyāyanas* further, the same events are retold, this time in more detail. Note that the epic does not relate the births of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas in chronological order here: although Yudhiṣṭhira is born before Duryodhana and the Kauravas, the narrative first describes the births of Duryodhana and the other Kauravas (MBh I.107–108) and then, in an instance of analepsis, goes back to the birth of the Pāṇḍavas (MBh I.109–115). Below I will give a chronological overview concerning the Pāṇḍavas' births:

Dhṛtarāṣṭra married Gāndhārī; Pāṇḍu married Kuntī and Mādrī. Not long after his marriage, Pāṇḍu was cursed by a sage: if Pāṇḍu were to sexually approach either of his wives, he would instantly die. In order to secure offspring, Pāṇḍu urged his senior wife Kuntī to beget children with another man. Fortunately, Kuntī had received a boon from a sage that allowed her to call down any god to sire children upon her; she had already tried out the boon by calling down the god Sūrya, who sired Kuntī's illegitimate firstborn son Karṇa upon her.[30] Pāṇḍu asked her to call down and lay with the god Dharma, so the firstborn son would be righteous:

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[28] This Vyāsa is the very same person to whom, according to tradition, the authorship of the epic is attributed (MBh. I.99-100).

[29] The epic occasionally refers to Dhṛtarāṣṭra with the patronym 'Vaicitravīrya'. For example, MBh I.191.18, II.57.20, II.66.6

> She mated with Dharma, who had taken form with a yogic body. The fine lady got a son, who was to be the best among all living beings. On the eighth *muhūrta Abhijita*, on the eighth day in the second half of *Mārgaśīrṣa*, when the sun had risen to noon, on an auspicious and honoured moment, Kuntī gave birth to a son rich in fame. Her son was scarcely born when an incorporeal voice spoke, "He will be the best among those who support Dharma; no doubt about it! Pāṇḍu has a firstborn son called Yudhiṣṭhira.[31]

Soon after Yudhiṣṭhira's birth, Pāṇḍu again asked Kuntī to use the spell, this time to beget a strong son:

> Thus addressed by her husband, she summoned Vāyu, the god of the Wind. From him, strong-armed, boisterous Bhīma was born. O Bhārata, about this strong and solid child the voice said, "He is born to be strongest among all the strong"[32]

Bhīma was born on the same day as Duryodhana, the firstborn son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī. The child indeed proved strong, for when baby Bhīma fell from Kuntī's lap, he shattered the very rock he landed on (MBh I.114.10–14). Soon, Pāṇḍu desired yet another son and had Indra in mind as the begetter, upon which Kuntī called down Indra:

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[30] Kuntī soon abandoned Karṇa on account of his being born out of wedlock. After being found and raised by his adoptive father Adhiratha, Karṇa developed an intense friendship with Duryodhana and, as a result, later fought with the Kauravas against his Pāṇḍava half-brothers. The story of Kuntī giving birth to and abandoning Karṇa is told several times in the *Mahābhārata*, most notably in *Ādiparvan* (I.104) *Āraṇyakaparvan (*II.284-294*),* and *Uydogaparvan* (V.138-144)

[31] *saṃgamya sā tu dharmeṇa yogamūrtidhareṇa vai |*
lebhe putraṃ varārohā sarvaprāṇabhṛtāṃ varam ||
aindre candrasamāyukte muhūrte 'bhijite 'ṣṭame |
divā madhyagate sūrye tithau puṇye 'bhipūjite ||
samṛddhayaśasaṃ kuntī suṣāva samaye sutam |
jātamātre sute tasmin vāg uvācāśarīriṇī ||
eṣa dharmabhṛtāṃ śreṣṭho bhaviṣyati na saṃśayaḥ |
Yudhiṣṭhira iti khyātaḥ pāṇḍoḥ prathamajaḥ sutaḥ ||
From this point onward, all translations from Sanskrit are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

[32] *tatas tathoktā patyā tu vāyum evājuhāva sā |*
tasmāj jajñe mahābāhur bhimo bhīmaparākramaḥ ||
tam apy atibalaṃ jātaṃ vāg abhyavadad acyutam |
sarveṣāṃ balināṃ śreṣṭho jāto'yam iti bhārata || MBh I.114.9-10.

> Thus instructed, that illustrious lady summoned Śakra, upon which the king of gods came and begot Arjuna. As soon as the prince was born, an incorporeal voice, sonorous and deep, resounded throughout the sky.[33]

Still not sated in his desire for offspring, Pāṇḍu again suggested 'divine impregnation' to Kuntī. This time, however, she refused, arguing that her having any more sons with anyone other than her husband would be indecent. Pāṇḍu then turned to his other wife Mādrī, who used Kuntī's boon to call down the Aśvins:

> Mādrī turned her mind to the two Aśvins. They both came and begot two sons on her, Nakula and Sahadeva, who were in beauty on earth. Just as before, an incorporeal voice spoke forth about the twins.[34]

So far the births of the Pāṇḍavas in the *Mahābhārata*. Note how after each birth, a disembodied voice announces the child's future greatness.

The auspicious dreams in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*

Now we return to Devaprabhasūri's thirteenth-century Jain adaptation, the *Pāṇḍavacarita*. I will mainly focus on Devaprabhasūri's innovative inclusion of the auspicious dreams, occasionally showing how the Jain author deliberately includes details from the *Mahābhārata*. Devaprabhasūri spreads out the births of Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas over two chapters: the beginning of the second *sarga* portrays Yudhiṣṭhira's birth and conception, after which an embedded narrative of more than 400 verses about the Yādava clan, that is takes up the rest of the *sarga*; the third *sarga* then depicts the birth of Bhīma, Duryodhana, Arjuna, Nakula, Sahadeva, and the hundred other Kauravas, in that chronological order.

Before I discuss the individual births accompanied by the auspicious dreams in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*, I want to briefly address a common adaptational choice throughout Jain adaptations of the *Mahābhārata:*

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[33] *evam uktā tataḥ śakram ājuhāva yaśasvinī |*
athājagāma devendro janayām āsa cārjunam ||
jātamātre kumāre tu vāg uvācāśarīriṇī |
mahāgambhīranirghoṣā nabho nādayatī tadā || MBh 114.27.28.

[34] *tato mādrī vicāryaiva jagāma manasāśvinau |*
tāv āgamya sutau tasyāṃ janayām āsatur yamau ||
nakulaṃ sahadevaṃ ca rūpeṇāpratimau bhuvi |
tathaiva tāv api yamau vāg uvācāśarīriṇī | MBh I. 115.16-18a

replacing the instances of divine conception and questionable parentage from *Mahābhārata* with more socially acceptable as well as less supernatural instances of conception.[35] Devaprabhasūri, too, does away with the less-than-ideal parentages of some of the *Mahābhārata*'s characters: Vicitravīrya lives long enough to sire the blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra and the pale Pāṇḍu on Ambikā and Ambālikā; there is no Vyāsa, born out of wedlock as the son of Satyavatī, who "gets the job done". Even Vidura, the "bastard son" sired by Vyāsa on the unwilling servant girl, is Vicitravīrya's son sired upon Ambā.

In a similar way, Devaprabhasūri removes the reproductive challenges faced by Pāṇḍu. Pāṇḍu is the biological father of Karṇa, who is the result of a premarital romance[36] with Kuntī, and the Pāṇḍavas in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*. Similar to her portrayal in the *Mahābhārata*, Devaprabhasūri portrays Kuntī as born in the Yādava family, albeit as the biological daughter of Yādava king Andhakavṛṣṇi rather than the biological daughter of Śūrasena. As such, she is sister to Samudravijaya, the future father of the jina Nemi, and sister to Vasudeva, the future father of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa. Where the first *sarga* of the *Pāṇḍavacarita* ends with the marriage of Pāṇḍu to Kuntī and Mādrī, and the marriage of Dhṛtarāṣṭra to Gāndhārī, the second *sarga* begins with Gāndhārī becoming pregnant with Duryodhana. Soon, Gāndhārī starts to behave badly due to her improper *dohadas* or pregnancy cravings. Contrary to the mother-to-be of the Kauravas, Kuntī remains steadfast and devoted to Jain virtues. Soon, Kuntī is visited by auspicious dreams:

> One day, after she had had five dreams about the ocean, Mount Meru, the Sun, the Moon and the Goddess Śrī, she informed the king. He replied: my queen, you will

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[35] Some later Jain authors such as Śubhacandra and Vādicandra composed Jain *Mahābhārata* adaptations that explicity criticised the dominant Hindu view of the *Mahābhārata* for scandalous acts such as the practice of *niyoga*, sexual intercourse with the gods, and polyandry. The two authors went even a step further and alleged that some Hindu retellings of these episodes contained bestiality and incest, presenting their Jain adaptations as a corrective to such indecency. For an in-depth discussion of Śubhacandra and Vādicandra's changes to these episodes, see Jaini (1984: 108-114).

[36] At first, Pāṇḍu's request for Kuntī's hand in marriage is refused by her parents on account of Pāṇḍu's paleness in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*. Upon obtaining a magical ring that grants the power of invisibility among other powers, Pāṇḍu visits Kuntī in secret and gets her pregnant. She is forced to abandon the baby as soon as it is born. When her parents find out what happened, they allow her to marry Pāṇḍu (PC 1.461-565). A similar story of this premarital romance between Pāṇḍu and Kuntī is also depicted in Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa* (70), Svayambhūdeva's *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu* (14.8-7), and Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇu* (82.3-5).

> have a son who will possess the tree worlds together and who will have profundity along with great deal of other virtues.[37]

Here we clearly recognise the familiar Jain narrative pattern of the auspicious dreams: the expectant mother dreams about several objects, informs her husband, who then interprets the dreams. Three out the four of the objects Kuntī dreams about, i.e. the ocean, sun, and moon, are mentioned regularly in the fourteen dreams.

There are only two unusual aspects about Kuntī's dreams in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*, namely the inclusion of Meru and the number of dreams. Meru is rarely included into the standard list of auspicious dreams, but in the very rare instance the mountain does appear in the auspicious dreams, the mountain seems to suggest cakravartinhood (De Clercq 2009a). In Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa*, Meru is mentioned among the six items Yaśasvatī dreams of before the *jīva* of the first *cakravartin* Bharata enters her womb. When her husband Ṛṣabha explains the meaning of the dreams to Yaśasvatī, he tells his wife that seeing Meru means that she will have a *cakravartin* as son.[38]

As for the number of dreams, Kuntī dreams about five objects, which contrasts with other Śvetāmbara depictions of dreams, which are usually rather rigid when it comes to the number of objects: fourteen for a tīrthaṅkara or cakravartin; seven for a Vāsudeva, and four for a Baladeva. In Digambara texts, the mother-to-be of a cakravartin usually dreams of six objects (De Clercq 2009a: 51–52). Hence, the *Pāṇḍavacarita* being a Śvetāmbara text, Kuntī's dreams are nine short of a *cakravartin* compared to most Śvetāmbara texts, and one short of the usual six in Digambara texts. Yet the inclusion of Meru in Kuntī's dreams, Yudhiṣṭhira's birth, and Yudhiṣṭhira's later *digvijaya* in the narrative (PC 6.1–70) all seem to suggest cakravartinhood. The *Pāṇḍavacarita*'s depiction of Yudhiṣṭhira narrative in particular makes the the association explicit:

> Then, when the moon was in the sixth mansion on the day with the name *Maṅgala*, and the grahas at their apex were in the auspicious sign of Scorpio, that very moment, a son was born in that place where indomitably clever *world sovereigns* [*cakriṇaḥ*] are born.[39]

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[37] *anyedyuḥ sāgaraṃ meruṃ sūryaṃ candramasaṃ śriyam* |
dṛṣṭvā svapnān imān pañca sātha rājñe vyajijñapat ||
gāmbhīryādiguṇastomasaṃdānitajagattrayaḥ |
sutas te bhavitā devi tasmai so 'py evam abhyadhāt || PC 2.17-18.

[38] *athānyadā mahādevī saudhe suptā yaśasvati* |
svapne'paśyan mahīṃ grastāṃ meruṃ sūryaṃ ca soḍupam || ĀP 15.100.
tvaṃ devi putram āptāsi girīndrāc cakravarttinam |
tasya pratāpitāmarkaḥ śāstīnduḥ kāntisaṃpadam || ĀP 15.123.

[39] *atha jyeṣṭhāyute candre vāre maṅgalanāmani* |

The whole palace is overjoyed at the birth of Yudhiṣṭhira, and, just like in the *Mahābhārata*, disembodied voice speaks forth:

> As soon as this son, equal in radiance to the newly risen sun, was born, an incorporeal voice in the sky loudly proclaimed, "[…] He will be a king who delights in the bounds of dharma and who will r*ule the whole earth*. After reaching old age, he will attain *nirvāṇa*."[40]

Pāṇḍu's first born is soon named Yudhiṣṭhira and receives the epithets Tapaḥsūnu and Dharmasūnu — these epithets also appear in the *Mahābhārata* — by virtue of Kuntī's aptitude for *tapas* and *dharma*. A grand festival is held to celebrate Yudhiṣṭhira's birth.

Koraka, an emissary of the Yādavas, who appeared as character in the first *sarga*, also arrives to join the festivities. Eager to hear about the fortunes of her relatives after she had moved in with her in-laws, Kuntī asks Koraka to tell her how her family has been doing. In an embedded narrative that occupies almost the entirety of the *Pāṇḍavacarita's* second *sarga* (2.46–479), Koraka tells Kuntī about her family's fortunes. It is here, in Koraka's narration, that Devaprabhasūri embeds the Jain account of the enmity between the Yādavas and their foes Jarāsaṃdha and Kaṃsa, the births of Kṛṣṇa and Nemi, the Yādavas fleeing Mathurā, and the founding of Dvāravatī. Devaprabhasūri obviously draws on Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* for most of these episodes. Using Koraka as an embedded narrator, Devaprabhasūri depicts the auspicious dreams announcing the births of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva and Nemi of Balarāma. For instance, this is how the *Pāṇḍavacarita* depicts the auspicious dreams of Devakī, mother of Kṛṣṇa:

> One day queen Devakī had the seven great dreams that predict a noble and unusual child. The next morning the lotus-faced lady told her husband about the dreams. He said to her, "our son will become an *ardhacakravartin*."[41]

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vṛścikākhye śubhe rāśāv uccastheṣu graheṣv api ||
ajāyata sutas tasya muhūrte tatra kutracit |
ākrāntacaturāśāntā jāyante yatra cakriṇaḥ || PC 2.26-27

[40] *jātamātre sute tasmin bālārkasamatejasi* |
uccacāra viyaty uccair aśarīrā sarasvatī || […]
dharmabaddharatir bhūpaḥ sārvabhaumo bhaviṣyati |
vārddhake vratam ādāya nirvāṇaṃ ca gamiṣyati || PC.2.31;33.
Note that the first three words describing the birth of Yudhiṣṭhira, i.e. *jātamātre sute tasmin* also appear verbatim in the *śloka*s that describe Yudhiṣṭhira's birth in the *Mahābhārata* (MBh. I.114.5). Small correspondences like these between verses from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Pāṇḍavacarita* appear again and again.

[41] *dadhau saptamahāsvapnasūcitaṃ niścitodayam* |
udāram anyadā devī devakī garbham adbhutam ||
patyuḥ śaśaṃsa sā svapnān prātas tāmarasānanā |
bharatārdhapatiḥ putro bhāvīty ākhyat sa tatphalam || PC 2.178-179.

Regarding the auspicious dreams of Nemi's mother Śivā, the *Pāṇḍavacarita* mentions the exact astrological moment, but not the content of her dreams:

> At that time, blessed Queen Śivā was staying in the town of Śauryapura, when one night of the twelfth day of the Kṛṣṇapakṣa in the month Kārttika, she saw **fourteen** great dreams which predicted the descent into the womb. Upon the moon reaching the twelfth lunar mansion, she woke from her slumber.[42]

What follows is a scene taken from Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (8.5.274–282), in which a sage called Kroṣṭuki and an unnamed flying ascetic (*cāraṇaśramaṇa*) explain to Samudravijaya and Śivā that the dreams announce the birth of a future *tīrthaṅkara* (PC 2.237–240). The *Pāṇḍavacarita* then goes to describe Nemi's birth in great details.

After Koraka finishes his account of the Yādava fortunes with the founding of Dvāravatī, the second *sarga* ends with Kuntī thanking Koraka for his story. The third *sarga* begins with Kuntī becoming pregnant again. Again, Devaprabhasūri describes the dream that accompanies Kuntī pregnancy:

> In her dream, a tree-flattening storm ripped the wishing tree from the Nandana grove and threw it in her lap.[43]

Pāṇḍu explains the meaning of the dreams as following:

> You will have a wonderful son, who will resemble the god of the wind! He will be a powerful, unique crest jewel, given as a consolation to the world.[44]

Here, the dream and its explanation serve a different purpose than the dreams hitherto discussed. Whereas the dreams announcing Yudhiṣṭhira's birth are clearly like the ones presaging the birth of a *śalākāpuruṣa*, Kuntī's dream in this case serves to sanitise and rationalise the various epithets of Bhīma. In the *Mahābhārata*, these epithets stem from the fact Bhīma was fathered by Vāyu, the god of the wind. However, since Pāṇḍu is Bhīma's biological father in Jain adaptations of the *Mahābhārata,* epithets such as *marutsuta*, *vāyuputra*, and patronymics that refer to the god of the Wind feel somewhat out of place. Yet, rather than jettisoning the panoply of patronymics, Devaprabhasūri, in all likelihood motivated by metrical purposes and elegant variation, prefers to keep a large array of sobriquets at his disposal, and thus uses the motif of a dream to rationalise the epithets.

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[42] *itaś ca śrī śivādevī sthitā śauryapure pure* |
ekadā kārtike kṛṣṇadvādaśyāṃ kṣaṇadātyaye ||
garbhāvatārapiśunān mahāsvapnāṃś caturdaśa |
dṛṣṭvā citrāgate candre nidrāmudrāṃ vyamuñcata || PC. 2.235-236.

[43] *tasyāḥ svapne kṣipadvṛkṣabhañjano ʻtha prabhañjanaḥ* |
ānīya nandanodyānādaṅke kalpamahīruham || PC 3.5.

[44] *pavamānopamānas te baliṣṭhaikaśiromaṇiḥ* |
pradattajagadāśvāso bhavitā tanayo ʻdbhutaḥ || PC 3.7

Once again, a disembodied voice speaks at the child's birth, announcing the child's future strength (PC 3.42). The narrative then goes on to explicitly mention that Bhīma receives the nickname "son of the wind" because of Kuntī's dream.[45] When Kuntī becomes pregnant with Arjuna, she is also visited by a similar dream:

> One night, the very charming Pṛthā saw great Indra mounted on the elephant mate of Abhramū in a dream during the last part of the night. The next morning, she excitedly told her husband about the dream. He then explained to her that she would have a son like Śakra.[46]

When Arjuna is born, an incorporeal voice again sings the praises of the child (PC 3.106–107), and Pāṇḍu gives the child the name 'Arjuna' for his brilliant qualities. Just like Bhīma before him, Arjuna also receives the nickname 'Indra's son' because of the dream (PC 3.111). In the *Mahābhārata* (I.114.27–64), Arjuna's birth receives the most fanfare: the incorporeal voice announces his future feats, and the celestial inhabitants in Indra's heaven are described in a catalogue as they celebrate Arjuna's birth. Devaprabhasūri seems to briefly reference a small part of that catalogue by mentioning how the *apsaras*es, the celestial nymphs, dance upon Arjuna's birth in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*. Compare the extensive description in the *Mahābhārata,*

> Likewise did the blessed *apsaras*es, wide-eyed and adorned with all their regalia, dance and sing. Anūnā, Anavadya, Priyamukhā, Guṇāvarā, Adrikā, Sācī, Miśrakeśī, Alambuṣā, [all names of *apsaras*es] [...].[47]

With the *Pāṇḍavacarita*,

> Immediately after [Arjuna's birth], a song broke forth in heaven and Rambhā, Urvaśī and the other *apsaras*es began to dance.[48]

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[45] *bhīmasyāto 'bhavan nāma maruttanaya ity api* |
svapne kalpadrumavyājādyato 'sau mārutātmajaḥ || PC 3.46.

[46] *abhramūvallabhārūḍhaṃ niśāśeṣe kadācana* |
svapne mahendram adrākṣīt pṛthā pṛthumanorathā ||
sā svapnaṃ kathayāmāsa patyuḥ prātaḥ pramodinī |
tasyai so 'pi samācakhyau śakrābhaṃ bhāvinaṃ sutam || PC 3.99-100.

[47] *tathaivāpsaraso hṛṣṭāḥ sarvālaṃkārabhūṣitāḥ* |
nanṛtur vai mahābhāgā jaguś cāyatalocanāḥ ||
anūnā cānavadyā ca priyamukhyā guṇāvarā |
adrikā ca tathā sācī miśrakeśī alambusā || MBh I.114.49-50

[48] *tad anantaram ākāśe saṃgītam udajṛmbhata* |
rambhorvaśīprabhṛtayo nṛtyam apsaraso vyadhuḥ || PC 3.99-100.

Last, and, unfortunately, in this case actually least, are Nakula and Sahadeva. Devaprabhasūri wants to be brief here and does not even bother with the dreams' contents or explaining away an epithet like *āśvineya*:

> Then the daughter of the Madra king gave birth to twins, who were full of majesty and announced by a most praiseworthy dream. A celestial voice announced that they, too, would be possessed of pure heroism, attain final liberation and be devoted to their elders. Their parents gave those two prudent, handsome sons the names Nakula and Sahadeva, by which they attained renown.[49]

Conclusions

Over the course of this chapter, I have illustrated how Devaprabhasūri directly draws from the Vyāsa *Mahābhārata*. His repeated inclusions of the incorporeal voice prophesying the greatness of each individual Pāṇḍava is a clear and deliberate example of directly referencing the *Mahābhārata*. To invoke Ramanujan's aphorism about the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*[50], which, admittedly, has become somewhat of a cliché: we do not know when Devaprabhasūri heard the story of the *Mahābhārata* for the first time, but when he wrote the *Pāṇḍavacarita*, he consciously worked from the Vyāsa *Mahābhārata*.[51]

At the same time, the Jain author draws from Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*. By depicting the auspicious dreams of Kuntī and Mādrī, Devaprabhasūri seems to suggest some similarity between the Pāṇḍavas and the sixty-three *śalākāpuruṣa*s. At the very least, Devaprabhasūri wants to associate Yudhiṣṭhira with *cakravartin*-hood through Kuntī's auspicious dreams, which are similar enough to those of a *cakravartin*'s mother, as well as through references to *cakravartin*s.

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[49] *atha ślāghyatamasvapnasūcitau nicitau śriyā* |
yamalau janayāṃcakre madrarājasutā sutau ||
tāv apy ākāśabhāratyā kathitau yad bhaviṣyataḥ |
sattvaśauryayutau siddhigāminau guruvatsalau ||
pradattayā pitṛbhyāṃ tau vinītau nayaśālinau |
Nakulaḥ Sahadevaś cety ākhyayā khyātim īyatuḥ || PC 3.112-114.

[50] "In India and in Southeast Asia, no one ever reads the *Ramayana* or the *Mahabharata* for the first time. The stories are there, "always already."" (Ramanujan 1991: 46)

[51] While a close reading of the births of the Pāṇḍavas suggests some level of familiarity with the actual text of the *Mahābhārata* on Devaprabhasūri's part, some episodes in the *Pāṇḍavacarita* even lift verbatim phrases and excerpt from the *Mahābhārata*. A good example is the catalogue of the Kauravas' names in the *Pāṇḍavacarita* (3.117-130), which consists of verbatim phrases found in the C.E. as well as verbatim phrases mainly found in northern manuscripts.

Yet at some level, there remains this fundamental impossibility of turning all five Pāṇḍavas into *śalākāpuruṣa*s, which are very much a closed set. To be a *śalākāpuruṣa* is to either be a jina, a *cakravartin*, or part of the triad of *baladeva*, *vāsudeva*, and *prativāsudeva*. In the Jain *Mahābhārata* adaptations, most of these roles are already occupied: Nemi is the jina, Balarāma is the *baladeva*, Kṛṣṇa is the *vāsudeva*, Jarāsaṃdha is the *prativāsudeva*.

What I find interesting is how some of the most central characters from the *Mahābhārata* arguably could have lent themselves even better to the Jain triad of *baladeva*, *vāsudeva*, and *prativāsudeva* than one of the most famous triads in Jain narrative literature. i.e. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Rāvaṇa. To illustrate my point, strictly narratively speaking in terms of character and the role they play in the plot, the two eldest Pāṇḍavas and the eldest Kaurava Duryodhana can be slotted into the triad with relative ease: Yudhiṣṭhira is the gentle elder brother of greater spiritual merit, an ideal character for a *baladeva*, whereas Bhīma is the more violent younger brother of lesser spiritual merit, and is the one who kills Duryodhana. This is in stark contrast to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa: Jain authors from Vimalasūri onwards have to depict Lakṣmaṇa as the one killing the *prativāsudeva* in order to fit the pattern, since the *baladeva* attains liberation or goes to heaven, whereas the *vāsudeva* goes to hell for their violent actions.

Of course, the hypothetical example I have given above runs counter to how the very concept of this triad must have historically developed. The very names *baladeva* and *vāsudeva* at some level presuppose the characters of Baladeva/Balarāma/Balabhadra and Kṛṣṇa, son of Vasudeva. To cite Jonathan Geen:

> The Jainas […] incorporated Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva (and their rival, Jarāsandha) into their mythology, […] and expanded them into recurring character types to be numbered among the other *śalākāpuruṣas* […]. These new categories of *baladevas*, *vāsudevas*, and *prativāsudevas* also allowed the Jainas to neatly incorporate the Rāmāyaṇa's heroes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and their rival Rāvaṇa, into their Universal History (2011: 70).

The point I want to make above is one about the choices or restraints Jain authors faced in their endeavours of literary transcreation. Devaprabhasūri clearly wanted to create something new with his *Pāṇḍavacarita*, new in the sense that there were no prior Jain adaptations of the *Mahābhārata* in Sanskrit that truly focused on the Pāṇḍavas. It had to be Jain, capital J. To imbue the Paṇḍavas with some of the trappings and sheen of the *śalākāpuruṣa*s by means of auspicious dreams makes perfect sense in that context.

Yet fully incorporating the Pāṇḍavas into the set of *śalākāpurusa*s is not an option; Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma and Duryodhana cannot become a *baladeva*, *vāsudeva*, and *prativāsudeva*. Devaprabhasūri feels beholden to Jain cosmology and to the Jain authors who came before him. While Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, and Jarāsaṃdha are not the main focus in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*, they are still present as the *baladeva*, the *vāsudeva*, and the *prativāsudeva*. It is not Bhīma who kills Jarāsaṃdha with his bare hands as in the *Mahābhārata*[52], but Kṛṣṇa who slays Jarāsaṃdha in the *Pāṇḍavacarita*:

> Realising that, according to the secrets of the scriptures, *prativiṣṇus* [synonym for *prativāsudeva*] should only be killed with one's cakra and not in any other way, Keśava [Kṛṣṇa] quickly sliced off his head as he threw the cakra, that shining ring, with ease.[53]

Abbreviations

AP= *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena. See Jinasena and Pannalal Jain 2003.
CMP = *Caüppannamahāpurisacariya* of Śīlāṅka See Śīlāṅka and Amr̥talal Mohanalal Bhojak 1961.
HVP = *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* of Jinasena. See Jinasena and Pannalal Jain 2003.
KS = *Kalpa Sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu. See Bhadrabāhu and Lalwani 1999.
MBh = *Mahābhārata* of Vyāsa. See Vyāsa and Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar & Franklin Edgerton & Sushil Kumar De 1940, 1942 and 1944.
MP = *Mahāpurāṇu* of Puṣpadanta. See Puṣpadanta and P.L. Vaidya 2003.
PC = *The Pāṇḍavacarita* of Devaprabhasūri. See Devaprabhasūri and Kedāranātha Śāstrī & Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Paṇaśīkara 1911.
RC = *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu* of Svayaṃbhūdeva. See Svayaṃbhūdeva and Ram Tomar 1993.
TSCP = *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra. See Hemacandra and Ramaṇīkavijaya Gaṇi & Puṇyavijaya & Vijayaśīlacandrasūri 2006.
UP = *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra. See Guṇabhadra and Pannalal Jain 2007.
VPC = *Paümacariyam o*f Vimalasūri. See Vimalasūri and Ācārya Puṇyavijaya & Hermann Jacobi 1962.
VV = *Vikramārjunavijaya* of Pampa. See Pampa and Venkatanaranappa 1990.

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[52] *evam uktas tadā bhīmo jarāsaṃdham ariṃdamaḥ* |
utkṣipya bhrāmayad rājan balavantaṃ mahābalaḥ ||
bhrāmayitvā śataguṇaṃ bhujābhyāṃ bharatarṣabha |
babhañja pṛṣṭhe saṃkṣipya niṣpiṣya vinanāda ca || MBh II.22.5-6

[53] *svacakreṇaiva netavyāḥ prāṇāntaṃ prativiṣṇavaḥ* |
ity āgamarahasyāni nānyatheti vicintayan ||
śirṣacchedyasya tasyāśu śiraś ciccheda keśavaḥ |
prasṛtvaraprabhācakraṃ cakraṃ cikṣepa līlayā || PC 14.216-217

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A City of Two Tales: Structure of Causality in Jain and Hindu Accounts of the Destruction of Dvārakā and the Death of Kṛṣṇa

Neha Tiwari[*]

Introduction

Jain accounts of the story of Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas differ considerably from Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata* (henceforth also MBhV). The aim of this paper is to highlight and discuss the differences between the two narrative traditions in their accounts of the destruction of the Yādava city, Dvārakā, and the death of its king and hero, Kṛṣṇa.[1] My focus will be on understanding how the Jain and Hindu traditions rationalise these events. In order to do this, I analyse how these two events are recounted in the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* by Jinasena Punnāṭa (8th c. CE, henceforth also HPJ) and the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritamahākāvya* by Hemacandra (12th c. CE, henceforth also TŚC) and compare that to the MBhV.[2] As we will see, all three texts provide a layered causal account of these events by distinguishing between intermediate causes, which are instrumental behind their occurrence but do not ultimately explain the reason why they had to occur, and primary causes that illuminate the latter point. However, the texts show interesting similarities and differences in what these intermediate and primary causes are, and a close study of them reveals how the plasticity of the mythical material of the *Mahābhārata* allowed for the articulation of different philosophical positions to explain the same or similar outcomes.

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[1] See Jaini 1993: 227–229 for a summary of one of the Jain versions of this episode. Also, Dvārakā is referred to as Dvārikā(purī) or Dvāravatī in Sanskrit texts, as Bāravati or Bāravaï in Prakrit texts, and as Dārāvaï in Puṣpadanta’s *Mahāpurāṇu* (see the appendix for the Prakrit and Apabhramsha versions). Kṛṣṇa is also known by several different names and epithets throughout these texts; all these names have been translated here as “Kṛṣṇa” for readers’ convenience.

[2] In the Jain narrative tradition, texts that are based on Kṛṣṇa and the story of the *Mahābhārata* are known by different names, the most common among these being the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*. Also see footnote 15 below.

In the Jain tradition, perhaps the earliest reference to the fall of Dvārakā occurs in the eighth *aṅga* of the Śvetāmbara canon—the *Antagaḍadasāo*—which likely took its final form at the Śvetāmbara council held at Vallabhi in the fifth century CE (Cort 1993: 191). In the fifth chapter of the *Antagaḍadasāo*, we are told that the twenty-second *tīrthaṅkara* Nemi foretold the following when Kṛṣṇa questioned him on what would happen during the month he, Kṛṣṇa, would die:

> Verily, Kaṇhe, thou shalt be sent forth by thy mother and father's behest from the city of Bāravaī when it shall be consumed by reason of strong waters, fire, and the wrath of Dīvāyaṇe; together with Rāme and Baladeve thou shalt set forth toward the southern ocean unto Paṇḍu-mahurā, unto the five Paṇḍaves, sons of King Paṇḍu, whose chief is Juhiṭṭhile; and in the Kosamba forest, underneath a goodly nyagrodha-tree, upon a daïs of earthen blocks, thy body covered with a yellow robe, thou shalt be wounded in the left foot by a sharp arrow shot by Jarākumāre from his bow. So shalt thou come to death in thy death-month and be reborn as a hell-dweller in a flaming hell in the third earth, Vāluyappabhā.[3]

When Kṛṣṇa became downcast on hearing this, Nemi consoled him by telling him about his future rebirth as "the twelfth Saint, Amame" (Barnett 1907: 82).[4] This conversation is followed by several Dvārakā residents seeking initiation into the Jain monastic order.[5] It is to be noted that while Nemi foretells the doom of Dvārakā and the death of Kṛṣṇa in the *Antagaḍadasāo*, how these events actually manifest is not recounted in this text.

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[3] Translation by Barnett (1907: 81). The original is in Ardhamagadhi. "Juhiṭṭhile" is Prakrit for Yudhiṣṭhira. I am uncertain about some aspects of this translation. Barnett translates *suraggidīvāyaṇakovanidaḍḍhāe* as "when it [Dvārakā] shall be consumed by reason of strong waters, fire, and the wrath of Dīvāyaṇe", however, it can also be rendered as "when Dvārakā shall be consumed by the wrath of *sura agnikumāra* Dīvāyaṇe." The word *sura* is a synonym for *deva*, and so *suraggi* could be a reference to *deva agnikumāra*, also see footnotes 20 and 22 below. Also, in Barnett's translation Rāma and Baladeva appear to be two different people while the original reads *Rāmeṇaṃ Baladeveṇaṃ saddhiṃ* which can be translated as "with Rāma Baladeva," that is, just Balarāma.

[4] In Jainism, it is said that Kṛṣṇa will be one of the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkara*s in the next *utsarpiṇī* that will follow the current *avasarpiṇī*.

[5] An account of the destruction of the Yādava city also occurs in Devendra's commentary on the *Uttarajjhayanasutta*, probably written during the eleventh century CE. This is a complete account starting from the predictions made by Nemi and ending with the penances of Balarāma. In essence, it is close to the other two Śvetāmbara accounts I discuss in this paper. It was translated from Prakrit into German by Jacobi (see Jacobi 1888). According to Winternitz, this Devendra was probably the same as the one who wrote a *Mahāvīracariyam* in Prakrit (Winternitz 2018 [1908]: 490).

Padmanabh S. Jaini (1993)'s comparative analysis of the Hindu and Jain accounts of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* is a landmark essay on the difference between the Jain and Hindu versions of the two texts and is the starting point for this comparative analysis. Furthermore, John E. Cort (1993) and Eva De Clercq (2008)'s studies provide useful detailed introductions to Jain *purāṇas* and *Harivaṃśa* texts. De Clercq in particular summarises the accounts given in the various Jain *Harivaṃśa* texts and discusses the possible causes behind the variations we find in them. However, as this chapter focuses on a particular episode, the differences unearthed here are more detailed.

Furthermore, these differences are analysed at the level of the two distinct types of causalities mentioned earlier. To anticipate the main conclusions of the paper, at the level of instrumentality, we find that curses play an important part in the MBhV, but they do not appear in the two Jain texts. The latter instead foreground the ill effects of drinking wine.[6] Coming to primary causes, all three texts use similar philosophical concepts, such as karma, *bhavitavyatā*, or *kālavāda* to different degrees to articulate the ultimate cause behind these events. Karma or the law of karma is the oft-quoted worldview that “one reaps the results of one’s actions.” As is well known, this view is the central pillar of Jain philosophical thought that is invoked at several places in the two Jain texts, and it is also found in the MBhV.[7] *Bhavitavyatā* means something akin to "destiny" or "fate": that which necessarily must come true or happen, and it is interesting to see the differences across these three texts in terms of how they invoke this idea. The final concept or law that occurs in these texts is *kālavāda*—the idea that "time cooks all creatures, and time crushes them" (Shulman 2001: 26). As many scholars have argued, the role of time is a major theme of the MBhV.[8] In addition to these three concepts, the MBhV also seems to suggest that these events were a part of Kṛṣṇa's plan; so, divine orchestration is another possible primary cause.

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[6] As we will see later, wine is mentioned in the MBhV too, but comparatively less attention is given to it.

[7] See Schreiner 2017 for instances of the occurrence of the concept of karma in the MBhV; Schreiner also presents an interesting methodology for studying this topic more systematically throughout the text. Also, a distinction must be made between karma as the doctrine of action (propounded most famously in the *Bhagavadgītā*) and the law of karma meant here.

[8] See Hudson 2013: 156–157 where she also cites Luis González-Reimann and Alf Hiltebeitel's views on this doctrine.

These concepts do overlap to some degree; for instance, one could argue that whatever the law of karma dictates must come to pass, and, thus, there is destiny built into this form of reasoning. Similarly, the distinction between time and fate can be a slippery one, and often *kāla* is used in both senses. But each of these concepts can also be used independently to account for the events under discussion.

It is often the case that different characters articulate different positions at different points in these texts. This could be somewhat unsettling if we come with the expectation that these texts should only put forth a single position. For example, at some places in the MBhV, Kṛṣṇa is conceived of as an all-powerful God-like being (or beings) who can direct the course of worldly events. However, if there is a divine "in-charge" of this kind, then what is the domain of operation of the law of karma or that of destiny? Does he/she set these laws into motion?[9] How we understand this contradiction in the case of MBhV depends partly on whether or not we regard it as a unitary text, and if we do so, whether we consider, as Emily Hudson (2013: 22) has argued, that leaving such "riddles" unresolved is part of the design of the text. This is also supported by the fact that the MBhV itself presents several points of view on karma ranging from fatalism to the glory of action and following one's own dharma. These points will be discussed in more detail in section five.

Throughout the paper my approach is primarily comparative—my aim is not to determine whether the Jain accounts of Kṛṣṇa predate their Hindu counterparts or vice-versa[10] or to perform an in-depth analysis of the concept of karma. Rather I attempt to do a close reading of the two events that are the focus of this study to understand how they are structured differently (or similarly) across the three texts.[11] I start my analysis in the second section with a summary of the account of the destruction of Dvārakā and the death of Kṛṣṇa as given in the HPJ. In the following section, I examine how the version in the TŚC differs from the HPJ. The fourth section is a summary of the salient differences between the Jain versions and the MBhV. As we will see, these are quite striking both in the chronology of various sub-events and in their details.

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[9] There have been innumerable studies on karma over the years, and of these, Reichenbach's in particular presents important arguments on the contradictions that result from believing in both karma and in the existence of a theistic administrator. See Reichenbach 1989.

[10] For a summary of different views, see Vemsani 2022: 181–182. Also see Geen 2009: 92–97, for a discussion on how the Hindu and Jain *Mahābhārata* traditions may have influenced each other.

[11] All translations in the paper are my own unless indicated otherwise.

In section five, I look at how the Jain versions and the MBhV justify or explain the destruction of Dvārakā and the death of Kṛṣṇa. Here, I first give reasons to support my position that we should understand the causal structure as consisting of two kinds of causes. Subsequently, I look at the differences between the Jain accounts and the MBhV in terms of causality. I conclude with my main findings in section six.[12]

Jinasena's Harivaṃśapurāṇa

Chronologically, Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (HPJ), comprising nearly 10,000 verses, is the oldest available Jain text that recounts the "complete" story of Kṛṣṇa and the other characters of the *Mahābhārata* (De Clercq 2008: 400).[13] Written in Sanskrit, Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* was completed in 783 CE. Jinasena belonged to a Digambara sect known as Punnāṭa which was originally from Karnataka but later moved to Saurāṣṭra (Jain 2003: 11–12).

Since Jinasena's version is much shorter than the MBhV whose critical edition has about 75,000 verses, this in itself gives us an idea of the relative importance of the *Mahābhārata* story in the Jain and Hindu traditions. In the former, it is subsumed under Jain universal history that comprises the life stories of sixty-three great men of Jainism told against the backdrop of Jain cosmology.[14] In contrast to this, the MBhV is encyclopedic in nature and is itself often regarded as the fifth Veda (Shulman 2001: 26; Hudson 2013: 21).

While Kṛṣṇa is regarded as a *śalākāpuruṣa* in the Jain canon, it is Nemi, the twenty-second *tīrthaṅkara* and a cousin to Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, who attains omniscience and surpasses both in spiritual attainment.[15] In all the Jain texts I surveyed,[16] Nemi foretells the destruction of Dvārakā and the death of Kṛṣṇa. In the HPJ, Balarāma asks the omniscient Nemi for three very specific predictions:

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[12] Since there are other Jain texts that narrate these events, I also looked at two other Jain versions as recounted in the *Caüpaṇṇamahāpurisacariya* by Śīlāṅka and the *Mahāpurāṇu* by Puṣpadanta just to see how they differ overall from the HPJ and the TŚC. My findings on these are in the appendix.

[13] Also see Cort 1993: 191. While it is believed that Vimalasūri also wrote a Jain version of the Kṛṣṇa story in parallel to his Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*, no manuscripts of this text have come to light so far. Also, I have used the term *Harivaṃśa* as a shorthand for "Kṛṣṇa and the other characters of the *Mahābhārata*" at some places in this paper; although this is not an entirely accurate usage as there are characters mentioned who do not belong to *Harivaṃśa*, I think it preserves the original focus of the earlier layer of Jain narrative texts that pivoted around the story of Kṛṣṇa and were less concerned with the *Mahābhārata* war.

[14] Also see Cort 1995 for an introduction to Jain universal history.

1. When will Dvārakā—a creation of Kubera—get destroyed; would it sink into the ocean of its own accord or will something or someone else be the cause?
2. When will Kṛṣṇa, like all other living beings, meet his end?
3. When will I—one who loves Kṛṣṇa dearly—find relief from the grief of losing him?[17]

Nemi foretells that:

> Rāma! This city will be burnt by the sage Dvaipāyanakumāra out of anger in twelve years, with alcohol being the cause. And in the end, Jaratkumāra would also attain to cause-hood (would be the cause) in the death of long-lived Kṛṣṇa when the latter would be sleeping in the Kauśāmba forest.[18]

He then answers Balarāma's question about the period of his mourning as follows:

> Then that would be the cause for your attainment to austerity, you who would be (or "are") afraid of the ways of the world and would attain to Brahmaloka.[19]

Hearing this ominous prediction, Jaratkumāra, who was Balarāma's and Kṛṣṇa's half-brother, and Dvaipāyanakumāra, who was Balarāma's maternal uncle, both left Dvārakā to avoid becoming the causes or *hetu*s of such destructive events. While Jaratkumāra started wandering in the forest, Dvaipāyanakumāra decided to practice austerities for a period of twelve years. Both, however, were unsuccessful in their attempts.

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[15] Because of the pre-eminence of the story of Nemi in Jain *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*s, they are often also known as *Nemicarita*.

[16] See Table 1 in the appendix for the list of Jain texts mentioned in this paper. In addition to these, I also consulted the *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* by Śubhacandra (16th c. CE) and the *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* by Vādicandra (end of 16th or early 17th c. CE).

[17] Points (a), (b), and (c) above have been paraphrased from HPJ 61.18–21. Also, see Sumitra Bai and Zydenbos 1991: 261. According to Sumitra Bai, these questions seem "too artificial to be original", and Balarāma's foreknowledge of events such as the sinking of the city of Dvārakā and the killing of Kṛṣṇa points to the existence of a prior version of the story. But as we have seen above, this prior version need not necessarily be a Hindu one as the fall of Dvārakā is also mentioned in the *Antagaḍadasāo*.

[18] *purīyaṃ dvādaśe varṣe Rāma madyena hetunā*
Dvaipāyanakumāreṇa muninā dhakṣyate ruṣā.
Kauśāmbavanasuptasya Kṛṣṇasya paramāyuṣaḥ
prānte Jaratkumāro'pi saṃhāre hetutām vrajet. (HPJ 61.23–24)

[19] *bhavato'pi tapaḥprāptis tannimittāt tadā bhavet*
bhavapaddhatibhītasya brahmalokopapādinaḥ. (HPJ 61.27)

Dvaipāyanakumāra miscalculated the duration of his *tapas* and arrived in the vicinity of Dvārakā before the completion of the predicted twelve years. There he was harassed and beaten by a group of Yādava princes who were drunk on old wine—the same wine that the people of Dvārakā had discarded at Kṛṣṇa's and Balarāma's behest after hearing Nemi's cataclysmic predictions.

Interestingly, the Yādava princes had recognised Dvaipāyanakumāra as the one who would be responsible for Dvārakā's doom, but drunk as they were, they decided to pre-empt the impending disaster by giving him a thrashing. Dvaipāyanakumāra, enraged by this treatment, resolved to burn down the city of Dvārakā. He was so furious that even Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa could not dissuade him from annihilating Dvārakā and its residents; in the end, he only made an exception for the two brothers (HPJ 61.28–66).

As the doom of Dvārakā approached, Dvaipāyanakumāra turned into a spirit that eventually burnt down the city.[20] The fire he ignited was so relentless that all efforts of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa to douse it were foiled, and in the end, they were not even able to save their own parents. Ultimately, just the two of them survived, and they started journeying towards Mathurā, the city of the Pāṇḍavas (HPJ 61.67–89; 62.4). They encountered some travails along their way, including a confrontation with the army of a kingdom called Hastavapra (referred to as Hastakalpa in the TŚC). When they reached Kauśāmbī (or Kauśāmba) forest, it was time for Nemi's second prediction to come true: Kṛṣṇa was not able to walk any further in the scorching heat and asked Balarāma to fetch him some water while he himself lay down under the shade of a tree. Balarāma promptly departed to find some water to drink, and in the meanwhile Jaratkumāra, who was now a hunter, came to that part of the forest where Kṛṣṇa was resting. Kṛṣṇa's body was covered by forest foliage, and Jaratkumāra mistook a piece of his clothing fluttering in the wind for a deer's ear. Thus mistaken, he shot an arrow at the sleeping Kṛṣṇa, who instantly woke up in pain and commanded his assailant to identify himself. Then, as Jaratkumāra realised what he had done, he grieved deeply, but it was too late. Kṛṣṇa's end had come, and he instructed Jaratkumāra to take his jewel, the *kaustubhamaṇi*, to the Pāṇḍavas and give them the news about the burning of Dvārakā and his own demise. On Jaratkumāra's departure, Kṛṣṇa embraced his fate peacefully while reflecting on the qualities of Neminātha (HPJ 62.1–68).

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[20] The word used is *deva* and is probably a reference to Agnikumāras (a class of *bhavanavāsin*s, the lowest species of *deva*s, in the Jain cosmology) that are mentioned in this context in the TŚC. Also see footnote 22 below.

This, in a nutshell, is the account of Dvārakā's destruction and Kṛṣṇa's death as recounted in the HPJ.

Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritamahākāvya

Hemacandra was a Śvetāmbara monk who was born in Gujarat in the twelfth century CE. A highly erudite scholar, Hemacandra not only composed the TŚC, which recounts the biographies of all sixty-three Jain *śalākāpuruṣa*s ("divine or great men"), but also texts on grammar and philosophy among other subjects. His account of the *Harivaṃśa* comprises the eighth *parvan* of the TŚC that has around 4,000 verses (De Clercq 2008: 411).

Hemacandra's account in the TŚC of the events that unfolded in Dvārakā leading up to Kṛṣṇa's death is also quite detailed and occupies 164 verses. While largely agreeing with Jinasena's narrative, it adds its own twists. In terms of the plot, the two most interesting differences are that, firstly, in the TŚC, Kṛṣṇa, and not Balarāma, asks Nemi about his end and that of Dvārakā. This is similar to the account in the *Antagaḍadasāo* mentioned in the introduction; secondly, unlike the HPJ, in the TŚC the Yādava princes found the abandoned wine not after eleven years but within a few days after the prediction, and then Dvaipāyana, who was meditating nearby, was harassed by them. On coming to know of this, Kṛṣṇa attempted to pacify Dvaipāyana, but failing to do so, he ultimately sought guidance from Nemi, who informed him that "In the twelfth year Dvaipāyana will burn this Dvārakā" (Johnson 1962: 297).[21] On hearing this, many Dvārakā folk took refuge with Nemi, while the rest were exhorted by Kṛṣṇa to be steadfast in dharma to avoid their impending doom. Then, Hemacandra relates:

> Dvaipāyana was born amongst the Agnikumāras after his death; [in his new birth] he remembered his past acrimony and came to Dvārakā. There Dvaipāyana as an *asura* saw that all the people were engaged in the fourth, sixth and eighth (Jain

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[21] Also, Dvaipāyanakumāra who burns down Dvārakā is not identified as Balarāma's uncle in the TŚC; rather, he is Vyāsa himself who is also known as Dvaipāyana and is the son of sage Parāśara, conceived on an island in the river Yamunā with a woman from a "low family"—most likely a reference to Satyāvatī. See TŚC 11.3–6. The Blessed one said, "In a hermitage outside Śauryapura there was a well-known leading ascetic, named Parāśara. He went to an island in the Yamunā and enjoyed a girl of low family; and a son was born to them named Dvaipāyana." Translation taken from Johnson 1962: 294.

> observances or fasts?) and were attached to the worship of *deva*s.[22] Unable to destroy them because of the effect of dharma (their religious observances), the evil-minded Dvaipāyana stayed there for eleven years looking for flaws. When the twelfth year came, the people thought that because of the austerities, the wretched Dvaipāyana has been destroyed and conquered, and they became delighted. They drank wine and ate meat at will and were bent on rejoicing. Dvaipāyana, who knew [their] omission, now seized the opportunity.[23]

Also, while the events leading up to Kṛṣṇa's death are broadly similar in both the Jain texts, the portrayal of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa differs (Vemsani 2022: 182).[24] In Jinasena's version, both seem better acquainted with Jain philosophy and are far more devout. For instance, as Balarāma was leaving a thirsty Kṛṣṇa behind to fetch water for him, his parting words in the HPJ were as follows:

> Dear one! I will bring cool water and give that to you to drink; till then you endure the thirst with the water of the remembrance of the Jina. This water drives away thirst only for a short while, [but] the water of the remembrance of the Jina destroys it (the thirst) from the root when drunk. You sit here in the cool shade of this tree; I will get you cool water from the abode of coolness (=a lake).[25]

In contrast to these words steeped in devotion, Hemacandra portrays a more circumspect Balarāma who even prays to forest nymphs to protect Kṛṣṇa:

> Balabhadra (Balarāma) said, "Brother! I will go for water, you sit here resting, vigilant under the tree." Putting his feet on his knees (sitting cross-legged), and

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[22] Johnson (1962: 297) translates this as: "Asura Dvaipāyana saw all the people there observing fasts of one, two, three, et cetera days." The term *deva* most likely refers to the enlightened beings venerated in Jainism. It would be interesting to see if the term changed its significance between the centuries that passed between Jinasena (see footnote 20 for his usage of *deva*) and Hemacandra.

[23] *mṛtvā Dvaipāyano'py agnikumāreṣūdapadyata*
sasmāra pūrvavairaṃ ca dvārakām ājagāma ca.
caturthaṣaṣṭhāṣṭamādirataṃ tatrākhilaṃ janam
devapūjāprasaktaṃ cāpaśyad Dvaipāyanāsuraḥ.
dharmaprabhāvatas tatropasargaṃ kartum akṣamaḥ
chidrāṇy anveṣayan so'sthād varṣāṇy ekādaśogradhīḥ.
prāpte'bde dvādaśe loko dadhyau yat tapasāmunā
bhraṣṭo Dvaipāyano naṣṭo jitaś ceti ramāmahe.
rantuṃ pravṛttās te svairaṃ madyapā māṃsakhādinaḥ
lebhe'vakāśaṃ chidrajñas tadā Dvaipāyano'pi hi. (TŚC 11.57–61)

[24] In the context of Balarāma's portrayal, Vemsani is of the opinion that the TŚC account is more influenced by Hindu stories compared to the HPJ.

[25] *tāta śītalam ānīya pānīyaṃ pāyayāmy ahaṃ*
tvaṃ jinasmaraṇāmbhobhis tāvat tṛṣṇāṃ vimardaya.
nirasyati payas tṛṣṇāṃ stokāṃ velām idaṃ punaḥ
jinasmaraṇapānīyaṃ pītaṃ tāṃ mūlato'syati.
chāyāyām asya vṛkṣasya śītalāyām ihāsyatām
ānayāmi jalaṃ te'haṃ śītalaṃ śītalāśayāt. (HPJ 62.23–25)

> covering himself with a yellow cloth, the fatigued Hari slept at the base of a tree on the path. Then again Rāma said, "O brother, dear to me as my life! I will be back in a moment, till then you should be vigilant." And then looking up he said, "O forest nymphs! My younger brother is in your care, this beloved of the world should be protected."[26]

Similarly, the dying Kṛṣṇa in the TŚC only says, "Fate (what is to be) cannot be overcome either by you or me," to console his remorseful brother Jaratkumāra;[27] however, at this juncture in the HPJ, Kṛṣṇa cites the law of karma. These different articulations of causality will be discussed in more detail in section five.

Part of the differences between these two texts could be attributed to the fact that the HPJ is a Digambara version of the *Mahābhārata*, while the TŚC is a Śvetāmbara one, but as De Clercq (2008: 417) points out, there are differences between *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*s belonging to the same sect as well. One must also note that these two texts not only belong to two different sects within Jainism but also to slightly different genres—the HPJ is a *purāṇa* while the TŚC is a *carita* and a *mahākāvya* (epic poem). According to Cort, Digambaras preferred the term *purāṇa*, while the Śvetāmbaras gave preference to *caritra* for naming texts that contain biographies of the great men of Jainism.[28] The term *caritra*, like *carita*, means "history, biography, accounts, adventures, etc." Cort (1995: 478, 488) further remarks that *carita*s as a genre "tended to blend" with *mahākāvyas* or epic poems—the latter were also used to recount the exploits of one's gurus and/or patrons. Being a *purāṇa,* the HPJ delves into concepts of Jain cosmology and soteriology in some detail, while the TŚC's focus is on recounting the past and current lives (*carita*s) of the great men of Jainism. This narrative focus of the latter can also explain some of the differences between the two accounts. However, more detailed studies are needed of both texts of other Jain *purāṇa*s and *carita*s to understand how the difference between these two genres impacts their narratives.

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[26] *babhāṣe Balabhadro'pi yāsyāmi bhrātar ambhase*
viśrāmyann atra tiṣṭha tvam apramattas taros tale.
pādaṃ jānūpari nyasya svaṃ ca pītena vāsasā
prachādyādhvataror mūle supto nidrāṃ yayau Hariḥ.
punar apy avadad Rāmo he bhrātaḥ prāṇavallabha
yāvad āyāmy ahaṃ tāvad apramatto bhaveḥ kṣaṇam.
unmukhībhūya cāvocad vanadevyo mamānujaḥ
yuṣmākaṃ śaraṇe'sty eṣa trātavyo viśvavallabhaḥ. (TŚC 11.125–128)
Johnson (1962: 302) translates *viśvavallabhaḥ* as "dearer than the whole world."

[27] *na tvayā na mayā vāpi laṅghyate bhavitavyatā* (TŚC 11.148). Interestingly, in the TŚC, Kṛṣṇa was not equally forgiving towards Dvaipāyanakumāra; he meditated thus as he was dying, "From birth I was never defeated by any one, man or god. I was reduced to such a state first by Dvaipāyana. Even with so much time elapsed, if I should see him, I would get up and kill him, myself. What does he amount to? Who would be able to protect him?" (Johnson 1962: 304–305). This shows that the characters within a narrative may not fully appreciate the difference between instrumental and primary causes—this lack of sound understanding leads to the further generation of karma.

[28] However, both traditions used both these terms.

Despite these dissimilarities, the two texts follow the main plot outline that is also common across other Jain accounts of these events: the prediction of Dvārakā's and Kṛṣṇa's ends by Nemi, the wasted efforts of the major parties involved to avert their collective and individual fates, and finally, the predicted events coming to pass. Both the texts also inform us about Kṛṣṇa's whereabouts after his death: he went to the third *adholoka* (lower world), Vālukāprabhā, due to the force of his karma, and was predicted to be born as a Jain *tīrthaṅkara* in the next cosmic time cycle.

Salient Differences between the Jain Versions and Mbhv

While in both the Jain and Hindu accounts, the story of the destruction of Dvārakā and the death of Kṛṣṇa comes towards the end of the respective narratives, the two accounts differ considerably in some significant respects.[29] I list the main differences in the following paragraphs.

Firstly, the chronology of events in the Jain and Hindu versions is significantly different.[30] In Vyāsa's narrative, when Kṛṣṇa realised through several ill omens that the end of the Yādava clan was near, he took some of them, mainly the warriors, to Prabhāsa for pilgrimage. In Prabhāsa, an argument ensued within the group that had gotten drunk on wine, and they ended up killing each other; only Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa survived this mutual slaughter. While Kṛṣṇa was part of this conflict, Balarāma appears to have left the scene when it started. After this incident, Kṛṣṇa visited his father Vasudeva at Dvārakā and informed him that his time had come, and that the city too would be drowned in the sea. However, this did not imply a complete annihilation of all residents of Dvārakā as according to the foretelling of Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna would come before that to take the remaining residents with him. With these final words to

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[29] In both narrative traditions, these two events are followed by the renunciation of the Pāṇḍavas. While in the HPJ the Pāṇḍavas renounce the world under the tutelage of Nemi, in the TŚC, they fast unto death upon hearing of the passing of Nemi. In the MBhV on the other hand, the Pāṇḍavas undertake what Christopher R. Austin (2008: 286) describes as a "self-imposed death by walking."

[30] Also refer to Figures 1 and 2 below.

Vasudeva, Kṛṣṇa departed looking for Balarāma. As he had foretold, the people who were left behind in Dvārakā were ultimately rescued by Arjuna who took them to safety with him, after which the city was engulfed by the sea.[31] It is interesting to note here that in the MBhV, Dvārakā is not burnt by fire, it just drowns in the sea. Also, while in the MBhV, the death of the Yādavas warriors in Prabhāsa and the drowning of Dvārakā appear to be distinct events that are only temporally related, the Jain versions link the two together—the Yādavas left in Dvārakā (except Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma and those who took renunciation) were killed in the fire that also consumed the whole city. We also find no reference to Yādava princes fighting amongst themselves in the Jain texts, while that is the main event that leads to their demise in the MBhV.

Secondly, while in the HPJ, Kṛṣṇa died first leaving a mourning Balarāma behind, in Vyāsa's version, Balarāma left his body first and re-emerged as Ananta Śeṣanāga in front of Kṛṣṇa before the latter died and appeared in his divine form (MBhV 16.5.12–13, 19–25).[32]

Thirdly, in the Jain versions, Jaratkumāra, who killed Kṛṣṇa, was Balarāma's and Kṛṣṇa's half-brother. In Vyāsa's account, however, Kṛṣṇa's killer was a fierce hunter called Jarā, and he was not related to Kṛṣṇa.[33] Jarā, on realising that he had killed Kṛṣṇa, was struck by guilt and fear, but Kṛṣṇa consoled him with a few words, and made his transition with equanimity, emerging as his divine cosmic form with the gods hailing him. Also, unlike the Jain texts where Jaratkumāra was the envoy who carried the news of the Yādava doom to the Pāṇḍavas, Jarā was given no such commission by Kṛṣṇa—the latter had already entrusted his charioteer Dārukā to deliver the news to the Pāṇḍavas.

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[31] But Arjuna's rescue attempt was not without incident. Arjuna and the remaining inhabitants and soldiers of Dvārakā were attacked on the way by a band of robbers. In the battle that ensued, the otherwise invincible Arjuna suffered a bout of amnesia and was unable to recall his divine weapons (which was later seen as a sign of the Pāṇḍava era approaching its end), and as a result, a few Yādava women were abducted. See MBhV 16.8.45–65.

[32] It is interesting to note that some Jain texts include another post-death encounter between Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, perhaps to explain how people started worshipping the duo. After Kṛṣṇa's death, Balarāma entered a phase of denial and carried the dead body of Kṛṣṇa everywhere with him till he was brought to his senses by his brother-cum-charioteer-turned-God Siddhārtha. He then performed the last rites for Kṛṣṇa, became an ascetic, and after many years of penance ascended to Brahmaloka. Once there, he tried to rescue Kṛṣṇa from *adholoka*, but failing at that, was asked by Kṛṣṇa to go back to Bharatakṣetra and show his (Kṛṣṇa's) form to the people "carrying disc, bow, conch, and club, wearing yellow clothes, with a Tārkṣya banner" (TŚC, translation by Johnson 1962: 311). Kṛṣṇa also asked Balarāma to show himself to the people carrying his usual symbols such as the plough. This inspired the people of *Bharatakṣetra* to build temples to honour the two heroes. Also see De Clercq 2008: 412, who makes the same point.

[33] Vyāsa does not go into the details of who Jarā was, but it seems that later a new story appeared to fill this gap according to which Jarā was a reincarnation of Vālin, the *vānara* king who was slain by Rāma, not in direct combat, but from behind a tree like a hunter. I could not trace the source of this story. Elsewhere, Jarā is often also symbolically explained as "old age."

Fourthly, while a number of Yādava family members survived these disastrous events according to both the Hindu and Jain accounts, the details differ widely between them. As mentioned above, in the MBhV, Arjuna took the Yādavas that were left behind in Dvārakā with him; in contrast to this, in the Jain versions only those Yādavas who took *dīkṣā* in the Jain ascetic order, either before Nemi's catastrophic predictions for the Yādavas or afterwards, survived, while the remaining died in the fire that consumed Dvārakā.

Finally, in the MBhV, Kṛṣṇa's and Balarāma's father, Vasudeva, who had stayed back at Dvārakā, resolved to renounce eating and to end his life in this manner after the deaths of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. However, he passed away by some yogic technique soon after this vow, and his four grieving wives committed sati (MBhV 16.8.15–25). In the Jain versions, on the other hand, Kṛṣṇa's and Balarāma's parents died in the great fire that engulfed the whole of Dvārakā.[34]

As we can see, the account in the MBhV differs considerably from the Jain version in the HPJ. Most of this contrast could reflect the fact that the Jain poets probably had access to another set of stories pertaining to Kṛṣṇa.[35] At some places, the differences between the Hindu and Jain versions are significant in terms of what happens, for example, in the MBhV, Balarāma dies right after the fight in Prabhāsa whereas in the Jain versions he outlives Kṛṣṇa. But as we saw with the Dvārakā and Kṛṣṇa episodes above, it is often also the case that the events that unfold are similar, however, they come to pass differently. I explore this in greater detail in the following section.

Structure of Causality

In the first part of this section, I show that in both the Jain versions and the MBhV, the structure of causality behind the end of Dvārakā and

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[34] In the HPJ 61.91, Jinasena mentions that when the fire engulfed Dvārakā, many Yādavas, including Vasudeva, fasted till death (*prāyopagamanaṃ prāptāḥ*) and attained heaven. In the TŚC 11.84–87, Balarāma's and Kṛṣṇa's parents seek refuge in the teachings of the Arhats before their death.

[35] See De Clercq 2008: 418–419 for a survey of scholarly opinion on this.

Kṛṣṇa is layered; that is, there are intermediate causes or triggers (the "how") that link the primary cause (the "why") and the actualisation of the events themselves. After this, I discuss the differences between the Jain versions and the MBhV in terms of the intermediate and primary causes.

As we saw above, in both the Jain versions, wine is portrayed as the means that led to the destruction of the Yādavas and their city, while for Kṛṣṇa's death, the instrumentality is localised in Jaratkumāra. However, both these means are the answer to the "how" question in these texts. Kṛṣṇa in the TŚC asked *dvārakāyā yadūnāṃ ca mama syāt kṣayaḥ kathaṃ*, "How will the destruction of Dvārakā, the Yadus, and me happen?" (TŚC 11.2). We know that this *kathaṃ* is not meant in the meaning of *why* because Nemi described *how* these events would unfold, and at two separate places in the text, destiny or fate is resorted to in order to rationalise these events: firstly, by Balarāma when he says to Kṛṣṇa, after the latter was unsuccessful in his attempt to dissuade Dvaipāyana, *bhrātar na nāśo bhāvivastunaḥ*, "Brother, there is no elimination of that which is to happen;"[36] secondly, as we saw earlier, by Kṛṣṇa when he consoles Jaratkumāra.

In the HPJ, when Balarāma queried Nemi in a similar fashion, he stated his understanding of the primary cause in his questions as follows, "Things that are created/made are perishable," in the context of Dvārakā, and, "The death of all living things that are born is certain," regarding Kṛṣṇa's death (HPJ 61.23–24).[37] This parallels the doctrine of time or *kālavāda*, however, here time is not described as actively devouring created things or beings.

Later, while consoling Jaratkumāra, Kṛṣṇa becomes a mouthpiece for the law of karma:

> The good-hearted Kṛṣṇa says to him (Jaratkumāra) who was lamenting in this way,[38] "O Supreme King! Quit this grieving, all beings suffer the (results of) their own deeds. Whether it is happiness or sorrow, who gives (these) to whom in the course of the world? In truth our deeds are our karma, whether it is a friend, or not a friend."[39]

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[36] Johnson (1962: 296) renders this as: "There is no escape from the future event, brother."

[37] Also, interestingly, in these verses, the instrumentality of both wine and Jaratkumāra is glossed by the term *hetu*, which means both "cause" and "source/origin." In the TŚC, Kṛṣṇa uses the term *mūla* for wine's role in their destruction *madyamūlo hy anarthaḥ syād iti*, "this calamity will originate from wine" (See TŚC 11.11 and Johnson 1962: 294).

[38] The preceding lines quote Jaratkumāra's words full of grief and confusion.

[39] *ityādi pralapann uktaḥ Kṛṣṇenāsau sucetasā*
pralāpaṃ tyaja Rājendra kṛtsnaṃ svakṛtabhug jagat.

Thus, we can see that in both the Jain texts there is a clear distinction made between *how* and *why* these two events unfold. The differences between the primary causes pointed out by Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa indicate that, as in real life, the characters within a narrative may not always rationalise events in the same way.[40] Narrative texts can accommodate differing philosophical positions, and if the narrator wishes to, he/she can step outside the narrative frame and outline his/her own philosophy. The narrator of the HPJ resorts to this device at the end of chapter 61 that describes the burning of Dvārakā. After pontificating at some length on how a person who wishes harm for someone else harms himself/herself, the narrator concludes with the thought that Dvaipāyana being blinded by anger[41] and being under the influence of *vidhi*[42] destroyed Dvārakā in six months. The term *vidhi* means both "law" and "fate," and it is unclear what is meant in this case. Nevertheless, the emphasis on the law of karma is clear in the narrator's exegesis.

This distinction between intermediate and primary causes in the MBhV is comparatively less clear, but a case can be made for it. First off, we are told in *Mausalaparva* (the book that recounts the death of the Yādavas and the drowning of Dvārakā) by Kṛṣṇa himself that Gāndhārī, in the grief of losing her sons, had cursed the Yādava clan to be destroyed. Kṛṣṇa says:

> That has now come to pass which Gāndhārī, who was greatly distressed by the grief of (the loss of) her sons and whose kinsmen had been killed, had said out of pain.[43]

Here Kṛṣṇa was referring to his long conversation with Gāndhārī in the *Strīparva* where she lamented the death of her sons and other heroes during the great battle at Kurukṣetra and spoke movingly about the grief of the women who had lost their husbands and sons. Holding Kṛṣṇa responsible for not playing his part adequately, she cursed him that after thirty-six years, his clan would be destroyed through infighting and that Kṛṣṇa himself would die alone in a forest. On hearing this curse, Kṛṣṇa responded that this was how the Yādavas of the Vṛṣni clan were meant to meet their end,[44] and that he himself was the destroyer of the Yādavas,

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sukhaṃ vā yadi vā duḥkhaṃ datte kaḥ kasya saṃsṛtau
mitraṃ vā yadi vāmitraḥ svakṛtaṃ karma tattvataḥ. (HPJ 62.50–51)

[40] It is perhaps possible to explain both *kālavāda* and *bhavitavyatā* as results of the law of karma, but I have not attempted to do so here because the accounts in these texts do not seem to dwell on this inconsistency.

[41] *krodhāndhena.* See HPJ 61.108.

[42] *vidhivaśena. Ibid.*

[43] *putraśokābhisaṃtaptā Gāndhārī hatabāndhavā*
yad anuvyājahārārtā tad idaṃ samupāgatam. (MBhV 16.3.19)

[44] Vṛṣni was a sub-clan of the Yādavas to which Kṛṣṇa belonged.

who were otherwise invincible and would be killed only upon fighting with each other (MBhV 11.25.37–45).

Gāndhārī's curse was only one trigger for the chain of destructive events that unfolded in Dvārakā; the other more immediate trigger was the prophecy (or curse?) of the sages Viśvāmitra, Kaṇva, and Nārada who were angered by a prank of the impish Yādava princes. The latter dressed Sāmba, one of Kṛṣṇa's sons with his wife Jāmbavatī, as a pregnant woman and asked the sages if Sāmba would have a son or not. The sages, who could see through their mischief, prophesied that a big club (*musala*) will be "born" out of Sāmba, and this club would be the end of the Yādavas.[45] When Kṛṣṇa came to know of this, he remarked that whatever the sages had said would come to pass. Sāmba, as predicted, gave birth to a club, and the people of Dvārakā, realising that their end was near, gave up the production and drinking of wine much like in the HPJ and the TŚC.

Thus, in Vyāsa's account the most immediate cause for the destruction of the Yādavas is the sages' prophecy made in anger which can be seen as a kind of a curse, which itself came after the curse of Gāndhārī. However, we can say that these two curses should be regarded as intermediate causes or triggers and not the primary cause because elsewhere in the text we find that two primary causes articulated: Kṛṣṇa's design and fate.[46] These are discussed below.

As mentioned above, on hearing Gāndhārī's curse Kṛṣṇa proclaimed that he himself was the destroyer of the Vṛṣṇis; his exact words in the epic were, "No one other than me is the destroyer of the Vṛṣṇicakra."[47] However, does this mean he was a wilful party in the destruction of his clan, or did he say it out of guilt, knowing that his actions would ultimately lead to this disastrous outcome? The epic at this point does not give any further clarification, but we are told that Kṛṣṇa smiled when he heard Gāndhārī's curse, which makes the former interpretation more likely. Also, in another part of the epic, the *Āśramavāsikaparva*, Vyāsa tells Gāndhārī the "divine histories and purposes of all characters of the story" (Woods 2001: 36). So, what befell the Yādavas could be seen as being part of a divine plan.

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[45] An account of the destruction of the Yādava clan occurs in the Buddhist *Jātaka*s as well. In the Ghata-Jātaka, we are told that the Yādava princes test the divine vision of an ascetic called Kaṇhadīpāyana by asking him what a young man dressed as a pregnant woman would bear (that is, whether (s)he would bear a boy or a girl). On being questioned thus, the ascetic foresaw how the Yādavas would be killed because of the acacia wood that would be borne by this young man, and how he himself would die that very day. Then, whatever he foresaw came to pass: he was killed by the princes and later the Yādavas also slaughtered each other. Thus, the *Jātaka* account has similarities to both the MBhV and the Jain version; however, there is no mention of Kaṇhadīpāyana getting angry or cursing the princes. See Rouse 1901: 56.

[46] Apart from these, there is also an emphasis on the role of time, most clearly in the frame narrative. For instance, when Vaiśampāyana is questioned by Janamejaya about the destruction of the Yādavas, the former remarks as follows: *anyonyaṃ musalais te tu nijaghnuḥ kālacoditāḥ*, "they, impelled by time, killed each other with clubs." Later Vaiśampāyana describes how *kāla*, "time" or "death," embodied in a fierce form, roamed the streets of the city. Also, when Kṛṣṇa, on reading the portents, understood that it was time for Gāndhārī's curse to take effect, Vaiśampāyana tells us that he wanted to make her words come true and so asked everyone to gather and leave for pilgrimage. However, it is unclear whether time is imagined as acting independently here or set into motion due to the curses.

However, in the *Mausalaparva* when Arjuna, despondent after the death of Kṛṣṇa, approaches Vyāsa for some solace, the latter tells him that he should not grieve for the Yādavas, because what happened to them was *meant to be—bhavitavyatā* (MBhV 16.9.26).[48] But he also adds that if Kṛṣṇa had wished, he could have overturned the curse, but he chose not to (MBhV 16.9.27).[49] Vyāsa then makes some remarks on the ineluctability of *kāla*, a word that can mean both "time" and "fate."[50]

Thus, the text seems to offer divergent points of view. It is not entirely clear if Kṛṣṇa was above fate and was able to direct the course of events if he so wished to, or if he himself was governed by it.

There can be three ways in which one can explain this inconsistency depending on how we view the MBhV as a text and what philosophical conclusions we try to draw from it. Firstly, if we think of it as a work that came together over a period of time in layers at the hands of different composers, then it is possible that Vyāsa's varied explanations in the *Āśramavāsikaparva* and the *Mausalaparva* could have resulted due to this process. However, in contrast to this, if we view the text as a unitary whole, as Shulman and Hudson encourage us to do, then this inconsistency can be seen as part of the overall design of the text as it likes to leave such questions unresolved (Hudson 2013).

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[47] *saṃhartā Vṛṣṇicakrasya nānyo mad vidyate* (MBhV 11.25.44.1).

[48] Also, one can't help but notice the similarities between Vyāsa and Nemi's role as a counsellor for the Yādavas and the Kurus.

[49] The word *upekṣita* (overlooked, neglected, disregarded) is used in this context to describe Kṛṣṇa's stance towards the fate of the Vṛṣṇis. Gāndhārī uses the same word to describe Kṛṣṇa's treatment of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas in MBhV 11.25.36.

[50] In the Gita Press edition, two additional verses have been included from the southern recension. In these verses, Vyāsa mentions that the Yādavas were incarnations of different gods and some of their women were incarnations of celestial nymphs or *apsaras*, and this explains why they all died along with Kṛṣṇa. However, these verses do not appear in the critical edition.

Finally, we can also try and resolve the inconsistency by arguing that believing in the ineluctability of fate does not preclude the possibility of it being orchestrated by Kṛṣṇa because, as Woods (2001: 6) argues, Kṛṣṇa is portrayed as embodying fate and directing the course of the world in the MBhV.[51] But even if we do not equate *bhavitavyatā* with Kṛṣṇa, the fact that even in the *Mausalaparva*, Vyāsa points out that Kṛṣṇa could have turned things around suggests that even in this part of the MBhV, Kṛṣṇa appears to have the ability to meddle with fate. Thus, while the two curses set a sequence of disastrous events into motion for the Yādavas, it appears that ultimately the text views Kṛṣṇa as their divine orchestrator.[52]

Coming to the differences between the Jain texts and the MBhV, first of all, in contrast to Kṛṣṇa's agency in the MBhV, Nemi's predictions regarding the future are only that—his foreknowledge of what would come to pass because of his omniscience. He did not himself orchestrate this doom. The future, though known to him due to his faculty of *avadhijñāna*, is not controlled by him in Jain cosmology. He is only a witness of all the events he foresees.[53]

Also, in contrast to Vyāsa's narrative, curses do not play a pivotal role in the Jain versions. There is no mention of Gāndhārī's curse in the context of the Yādavas' destruction, and Dvaipāyanakumāra actually turns into a spirit and destroys the city rather than just cursing it as the sages did in Vyāsa's account.[54] Thus, in the Jain versions, there is no evident causal link, in the form of Gāndhārī's curse, between the carnage that took place during the *Mahābhārata* war and the Yādava doom that followed it several years later.

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[51] Woods makes a distinction between *daiva*—"unconscious motivations" that thwart "cherished hopes and plans" and *Daiva*—something "that governs the course of things as a whole, including human society and the microcosmos of embodied existence," but generally translates both terms as "destiny, fate." He also talks about how there is constant tension in the epic between individual initiative or *puruṣakāra* and destiny or "higher purpose" or *Daiva*, which is both a major driver and a source of frustration in the lives of the different characters of the MBhV. See Woods 2001: 6, 143, 149, 201.

[52] Especially if we take into account the omitted verses mentioned in footnote 50. Also, this conclusion is made based on an analysis of two specific episodes, and thus, cannot be generalised across the whole text. However, hopefully, this close reading illustrates that considerations of causality are quite involved even at such a granular level, and so, any attempt to make generalisable conclusions for the text as a whole is bound be a much more difficult endeavour.

[53] See Glasenapp 1999: 241, who remarks, "In contrast to most other religions, the Jainas deny most definitely the existence of an imperishable, all-mighty highest 'Lord' (Īśvara) who creates the universe, rules it, and when he likes destroys it." Thus, there is no room or need for an all-powerful and omniscient God or *īśvara*-like figure in Jain cosmology. Also see Jain 2017 (2007): 12–13 on *jina*s: *jo ātmā mokṣa prāpta karke lok ke śikhar par virājmān hokar anant sukh bhog rahī hai, ve hī jain dharma ke anusār īśvar, bhagvān, siddha ādi nāmo se jāne jāte haĩ. ye kisī bhī kārya ke kartā yā hartā nahī̃ haĩ apitu mātra gyātā va dṛṣṭā haĩ.* (Translation: According to Jainism, the souls which have obtained release and are (now) partaking in endless bliss having become established at the summit of the world, these are known as *īśvar, bhagvān, siddha* and so on. They are not the doer or the destroyer of any deed, but rather, they are only a knower and a witness.)

In place of curses, often past lives are used to explain current life experiences in Jain narrative texts. For instance, in the TŚC, when Kṛṣṇa regrets not taking initiation with Nemi, the latter tells him that his fate was sealed by a *nidāna*: a word with many different meanings, but in this context, most likely referring to "a cause that leads to rebirths," often a desire or an attachment.[55] Nemi says, "Viṣṇus, having created impediment(s) through *nidāna*, do not renounce the world."[56] "Viṣṇus" in the plural is a reference to the fact that Kṛṣṇa has lived other lives. As opposed to this, mention of past lives in Hindu narratives is comparatively limited. It is usually the deeds in one's current life itself that could lead to a situation where one could get cursed.[57] These curses generally play a pivotal role in the structuring of Hindu narratives, and they usually take effect without the direct involvement of the person pronouncing the curse.

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[54] There is an interesting parallel here between the TŚC and the MBhV: The TŚC describes how Dvaipāyana turned into a spirit roamed the city accompanied by "witches, ghouls, vampires, etc." (Johnson 1962: 298). While in the MBhV, it was *kāla*, or "time" itself (or even "death"), that took on an embodied form and wandered in the streets.

[55] See Fujinaga 2017. Barnett (1907: 80) describes *nidāna* as "vindictive motives" or "hopes of future sensual enjoyments" that inspire some to perform austerities. According to Barnett, Dīvāyaṇa "performed severe penances, ending with his death, in order thereby to obtain the power to avenge himself in a future birth." In the TŚC, Dvaipāyana says to Kṛṣṇa, "Beaten by your sons, I have made a nidāna—to burn Dvārakā with its people" (Johnson 1962: 296).

[56] *na śārṅgiṇaḥ pravajanti nidānena kṛtārgalāḥ* (TŚC 11.49).

[57] How curses (and boons) fit into the workings of karma is a matter of some debate (cf. Goldman 1985 and Arya 1972). While Goldman is of the opinion that "the convention of the curse is nothing but a dramatic personalisation of the idea of karma", Arya argues that the two are mutually inconsistent. Also see Reichenbach 1989: 146–147. While generally in Hindu narratives, we see curses playing a more predominant role in orchestrating misfortune in an erring individual's life, the doctrine of karma, in the sense of partaking fruits of one's past-life deeds—and not just of the current life—is also mentioned in several places. For instance, in the *Bhagavadgītā*, we find Kṛṣṇa telling Arjuna in the context of a "failed" yogi that, "When one has reached the worlds of virtuous action, and has dwelt for endless years, one who is lost to *yoga* is then born again in the home of the pure and illustrious. Or one exists in a family of intelligent practitioners of *yoga* – a birth like this is surely very hard to reach in this world. [...] One is carried by the practice of an earlier life, even against one's will," from Book 6 of the *Bhagavadgītā*, translation by Patton 2008: 140–141.

Another interesting point of departure in the Jain texts is the distinction between collective and individual fate and the possibility of avoiding the former. For instance, in the TŚC, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa's parents lament as follows on being stuck inside the burning Dvārakā, "We, bereft of good fortune, did not take initiation at Śrī Nemi's feet. Now we shall experience the fruit of our actions" (Johnson 1962: 299). They seem to be comparing their lot with that of those Yādavas who had taken renunciation under the guidance of Nemi. Thus, while collectively the Yādavas were doomed, there was scope for individual salvation in the Jain versions. In the MBhV, on the other hand, there is no discussion on why the Yādavas who were rescued (partly unsuccessfully) by Arjuna deserved to survive as opposed to others who had perished. In fact, in a way, their death was part of the divine plan.[58]

Conclusion

As we have seen, the dissimilarities between the Jain accounts of the destruction of Dvārakā and the death of Kṛṣṇa and that of the MBhV are quite significant. In this paper, by looking closely at how these events are recounted in two Jain versions and the MBhV, I have argued that the differences lie not just in what happened according to these texts, but also in how it happened and how it is explained or justified.

Structurally, the Jain accounts of the fall of Dvārakā and the death of Kṛṣṇa agree with the MBhV at two levels: the lowermost narrative level that basically consists of the destruction of the city and the Yādava clan, and at the overarching level of causality where we see a distinction being made between the primary cause or reason behind these events and the immediate causes or triggers. However, in between these two levels, we see these texts introducing their own twists and details, some of which help to further the philosophical and religious ideas behind them. For the MBhV, this to an extent is the elevation of Kṛṣṇa to an all-powerful God-like figure whose divine scheme consisted of incarnating on the earth along with various other gods to uphold dharma. On the other hand, in the Jain texts, the inexorable laws of the universe are disembodied, and future events are only known to the omniscient Jina and not controlled by him. This, therefore, is another example of how the Jains and Hindus incorporated mythological (and perhaps semi-historical?) events of great significance within their narrative traditions and recounted them through their respective ideological lenses.[59]

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[58] Only Uddhava's case can be regarded as the exception to this. Furthermore, it is interesting that in the MBhV, no actual reason is spelled out for the drowning of Dvārakā. The curses only extended to Yādavas' doom, but what exactly was the reason for the city itself to sink below the waves is not clear from this part of the MBhV. It was perhaps self-evident that the city was created by Kṛṣṇa's *māyā*, and so, it had to go back to where it came from, that is, the sea after Kṛṣṇa's death. This is more clearly stated in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* where Kṛṣṇa instructs his charioteer Dāruka to inform the Yādavas left at Dvārakā that "no one should remain in Dwarka…for when I leave this world the city of the Yadus will sink beneath the waves" (Menon 2012: 1382).

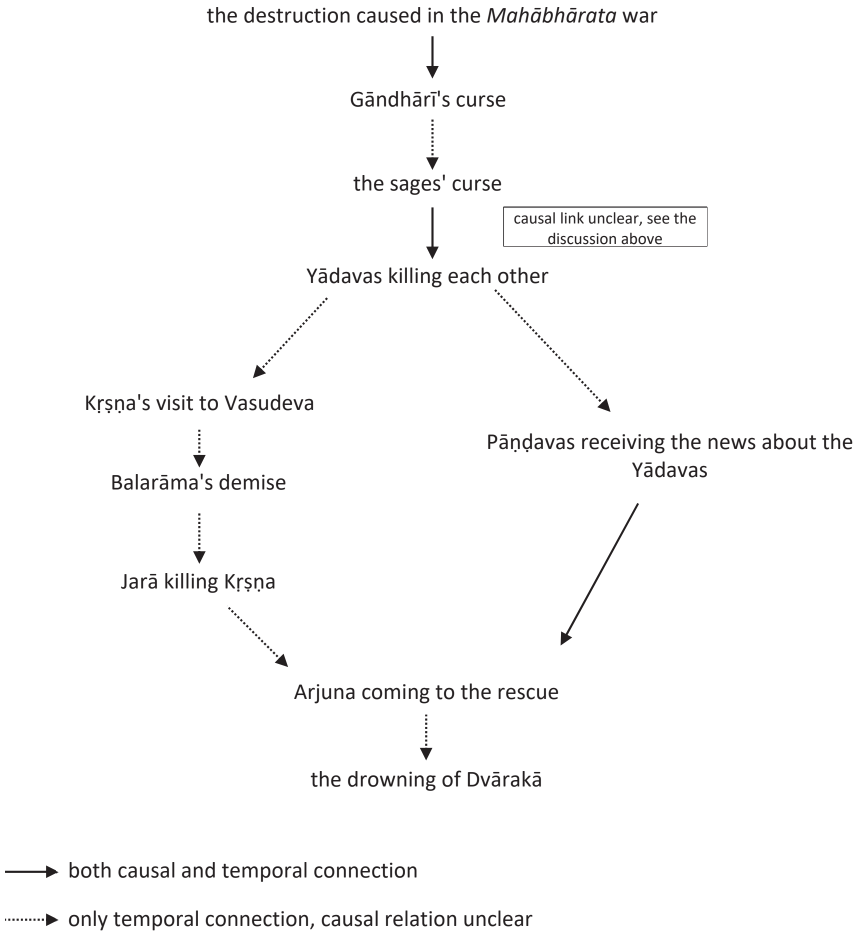
the destruction caused in the *Mahābhārata* war
Gāndhārī's curse
the sages' curse
causal link unclear, see the discussion above
Yādavas killing each other
Kṛṣṇa's visit to Vasudeva
Pāṇḍavas receiving the news about the Yādavas
Balarāma's demise
Jarā killing Kṛṣṇa
Arjuna coming to the rescue
the drowning of Dvārakā
both causal and temporal connection
only temporal connection, causal relation unclear

Figure 1: The sequence of main events leading up to the drowning of Dvārakā in the MBhV

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[59] Some historians now believe that some of the events described in the *Mahābhārata* may have a historical basis. See Kulke and Rothermund 2016: 45–47.

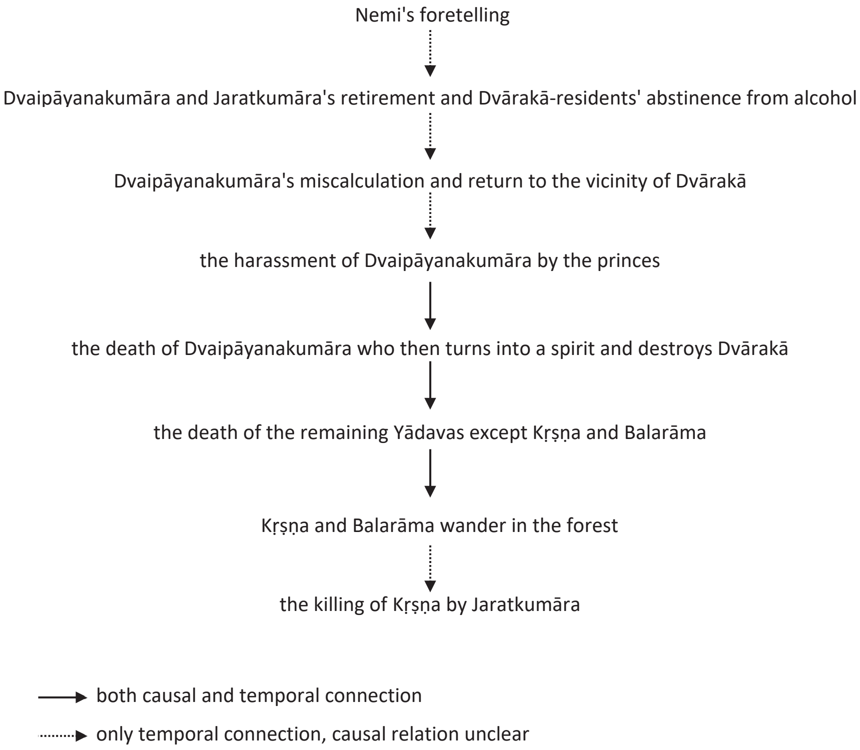
Nemi's foretelling
Dvaipāyanakumāra and Jaratkumāra's retirement and Dvārakā-residents' abstinence from alcohol
Dvaipāyanakumāra's miscalculation and return to the vicinity of Dvārakā
the harassment of Dvaipāyanakumāra by the princes
the death of Dvaipāyanakumāra who then turns into a spirit and destroys Dvārakā
the death of the remaining Yādavas except Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma
Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma wander in the forest
the killing of Kṛṣṇa by Jaratkumāra
both causal and temporal connection
only temporal connection, causal relation unclear

Figure 2: The sequence of main events leading up to the destruction of Dvārakā and the death of Kṛṣṇa in the HPJ

Abbreviations

b. = before
MBhV = The *Mahābhārata* of Vyāsa
HPJ = *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* of Jinasena Punnāṭa
CMC = *Caüpaṇṇamahāpurisacariya* of Śīlāṅka
MPP = *Mahāpurāṇu* of Puṣpadanta
TŚC = *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritamahākāvya* of Hemacandra

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Appendix

In this appendix, I present my findings on a comparative analysis of four Jain versions of the two events studied in this paper: the fall of Dvārakā and the death of Kṛṣṇa. The texts included are the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* by Jinasena Punnāṭa (8th c. CE, HPJ), the *Caüpaṇṇamahāpurisacariya* by Śīlāṅka (9th c. CE, CMC), the *Mahāpurāṇu* by Puṣpadanta (10th c. CE, MPP), and the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritamahākāvya* by Hemacandra (12th c. CE, TŚC). I have already talked about the HPJ and the TŚC above. In the following paragraphs, I introduce the other two texts. After this I compare the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara versions to each other and collate the main findings at the end of the appendix.

Among the Śvetāmbaras, the first account of the *Harivaṃśa* is found in Śīlāṅka's *Caüpaṇṇamahāpurisacariya* (CMC). Although the CMC predates the TŚC, the latter is the best-known of all the Śvetāmbara versions of the lives of the Jain great men, and hence, I decided to include that in the main body of the paper.

Śīlāṅka was a Śvetāmbara mendicant from Gujarat.[60] The stories pertaining to the *Harivaṃśa* are told in chapters 49, 50, and 51 of the CMC, and this whole account is much more detailed than his account of the *Rāmāyaṇa*: the former extends over thirty pages in the edition I consulted while the latter is summed up in just two pages. According to De Clercq (2008: 410), this Prakrit text is a "kāvya in prose interspersed with verse." Thus, in terms of form, the most noticeable peculiarity of the CMC is that it is in versified prose while the other Jain texts that I looked at in detail are in verse. However, within Prakrit literature itself, its prose form is not anomalous as Prakrit abounds in stories composed in prose.[61]

The final text included in this comparative analysis is Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇu* (MPP), written in Apabhramsha and completed in 965 CE. Puṣpadanta was a Digambara ascetic and composed his literary works under the patronage of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa minister named Bharata (De Clercq 2008: 410). Being a *mahāpurāṇa*, it contains the accounts of all the sixty-three Jain great men. The stories of the *Harivaṃśa* are told from *sandhi*s 81 to 92. In terms of form, it is an Apabhramsha *sandhibandha kāvya*—a style used for "larger poems of epic and Purāṇic proportions" (Bhayani 1989: 16).

The main criteria behind the choice of these texts were: (i) having more than one text each from the Digambara and Śvetāmbara traditions for the sake of drawing comparisons within the same sect; (ii) including texts that are best-known or best-established within the tradition; and (iii) having texts in languages other than Sanskrit to see how these events are portrayed there.

Table 1: Jain texts mentioned or analysed in this study

Text	**Composer**	**Sect**	**Period**	**Language**
Antagaḍadasāo	-	Śvetāmbara	b. 5th c. CE	Prakrit
Harivaṃśapurāṇa	Jinasena Punnāṭa	Digambara	8th c. CE	Sanskrit
Uttarapurāṇa[62]	Guṇabhadra	Digambara	9th c. CE	Sanskrit
Caü-paṇṇamahāpurisacariya	Śīlāṅka	Śvetāmbara	9th c. CE	Prakrit

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[60] ibid.

[61] See Jain 1971 for a survey of narrative literature in Prakrit.

[62] This text is cited in this appendix.

Riṭṭhaṇemicariu[63]	Svayambhūdeva[64]	Yāpanīya-saṅgha	9th – 10th c. CE	Apabhramsha
Mahāpurāṇu	Puṣpadanta	Digambara	10th c. CE	Apabhramsha
Devendra's commentary on the *Uttarajjhayanasutta*[65]	Devendra	Śvetāmbara	11th c. CE	Prakrit
Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita-mahākāvya	Hemacandra	Śvetāmbara	12th c. CE	Sanskrit

The Digambara versions

Although the HPJ and the MPP are both Digambara versions, they differ quite remarkably from each other.[66]

1. The first main difference is the length of the narrative itself. For instance, the account of the burning of Dvārakā is condensed into half a *sandhi* in the MPP, and thus, it omits several details like Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma's attempts to pacify Dīvāyaṇa and the account of the death of their parents. Balarāma's anguish at the death of Kṛṣṇa is more elaborate—occupying about a *sandhi* and a half—but again the description of his overcoming this grief is condensed into half a *sandhi*.
2. The framing of this episode is also starkly different in the two versions. In the HPJ, the predictions about Dvārakā and Kṛṣṇa are preceded by the account of the death of Devakī's eighth son Gajakumāra. After this, HPJ's account progresses uninterrupted till the initiation of Balarāma into the Jain ascetic order. In the MPP on the other hand, a condensed background of the Pāṇḍavas is interspersed between the predictions and the actual burning of Dvārakā. Puṣpadanta evidently follows Guṇabhadra in this choice of framing, but while the latter had included the account of the Pāṇḍavas at this point for the ease of young readers,[67] Puṣpadanta makes Balarāma ask Nemi about the

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[63] This text is mentioned later in footnote 78.

[64] Svayambhūdeva's son, Tribhuvana, composed *sandhi*s 100 to 104 after his father's death; *sandhi*s 105 to 112 were added by Yaśaḥkīrti in the fifteenth century. See De Clercq 2008: 408.

[65] See footnote 5.

[66] The *Mahāpurāṇu* is close to Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*, and the latter is "evidently not based on the HPJ" (see De Clercq 2008: 405, 410).

[67] *granthavistarabhīrūṇām āyurmedhānurodhataḥ* (*Uttarapurāṇa* 72.197, Jain 2000: 420).

Pāṇḍavas, thus weaving the Pāṇḍava account a little more fully into the narrative.[68]

3. We are told in the MPP that after the prophecy, Kṛṣṇa obtained Nemi's *darśana* and performed some *vejjavaccu*—the practice of serving the ascetics by providing them with some medicines and treatments.[69] This detail is not mentioned in the HPJ.
4. As Puṣpadanta's account is quite condensed, it is difficult to make specific comments about the portrayal of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa around the time of Kṛṣṇa's death.

The Śvetāmbara versions

Even though the TŚC and the CMC are both Śvetāmbara texts, there are again considerable differences between them.[70] The following points are noteworthy:

1. While in the TŚC it is Kṛṣṇa who asked Nemi for the predictions regarding himself and Dvārakā, as in the *Antagaḍadasāo*, the CMC aligns with the HPJ in that these questions were asked by Balarāma and not Kṛṣṇa. This small difference is another example of the observation made by Bruhn that the CMC in several places "departs from the Śvetāmbara-tradition and follows one (or several) of the Digambara-versions" (Bhojak 1961: 12). However, he cautions us against taking this to mean that some Śvetāmbara versions are based on Digambara ones. According to him both Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras follow a common tradition which itself was not monolithic but consisted of several sources (Bhojak 1961: 10, 12). Also, while Balarāma did ask Nemi questions about the end of Dvārakā and Kṛṣṇa in the CMC, his questions were much simpler and did not contain the philosophical understanding that he demonstrates in the HPJ.
   In the HPJ, Balarāma asks:

   > In how many days will this Dvārikāpurī which was created by Vaiśravaṇa be destroyed, (as) all things created are transitory[71]...

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[68] However, there seems to be a jump in Puṣpadanta's narrative at this point as Balarāma supposedly asks Nemi about the Pāṇḍavas while they are in the Pallava country and not in Dvārakā. One will have to read the whole *Mahāpurāṇu* to understand how the narrative is structured and in which places Balarāma speaks to Nemi.

[69] *Mahumahaṇeṃ puṇu saṃsāraharu jiṇavaradaṃsaṇu laddhaüṃ; vejjavaccu kayaüṃ Govindeṃ* (Vaidya and Jain 1999: 237).

[70] For a more elaborate list of differences, see Klaus Bruhn's introduction to the CMC in Bhojak 1961: 11.

[71] *nātha Vaiśravaṇeneyaṃ nirmitā Dvārikāpurī*

> in Kṛṣṇa's time of death who will attain to causehood (who will be the cause), [as] the death of all living beings that are born is fixed/predetermined?[72]

While in the CMC, Balrāma only says:

> Oh Lord! In how much time will this city be destroyed? And by whom will be (the end of) Kṛṣṇa?[73]

2. In the CMC, the name of the sage who burns down Dvārakā is given as Dīvāyaṇa—Prakrit for the Sanskrit Dvaipāyana—and his identity is not fully established.[74] In the TŚC, this sage is identified as Vyāsa. However, as in the TŚC, in the CMC as well the abandoned wine was found by the princes shortly after the prediction made by Nemi, and the sage Dīvāyaṇa was assaulted by them when they were intoxicated on this wine. Dīvāyaṇa died soon after this attack, remerged as *aggikumāra* (*agnikumāra* in Sanskrit), and stayed hidden in Dvārakā for eleven years waiting for an opportunity to strike.
3. The CMC does not report any conversation between Kṛṣṇa and Nemi after Dīvāyaṇa's vow to burn down Dvārakā becomes known.
4. The portrayal of Balarāma in the CMC, though close to TŚC, appears to have greater emotional depth.[75] In the CMC, Balarāma, while leaving to fetch water for Kṛṣṇa, gave the following advice to the latter:

   > ...you should not grieve in your heart even a bit, you should not think of the family members, you should not despair, you should take recourse to patience, you should defy disaster, you should make this heart as hard as a thunderbolt...[76]

   Right after this, as in the TŚC, Balarāma also asked the forest goddesses to protect Kṛṣṇa in his absence.

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kiyatānehasānto'syāḥ kṛtakā hi vinaśvarāḥ. (HPJ 61.18)
[72] *svāntakāle nimittatvaṃ ko vā Kṛṣṇasya yāsyati.*
jātānāṃ hi samastānāṃ jīvānāṃ niyatā mṛtiḥ. (HPJ 61.20)

[73] *Bhagavaṃ! keccirāu kālāo imīe ṇayẏarīe avasāṇaṃ bhavissaï? kuo vā sayāsāo Vāsudevassa ya?* (Bhojak 1961: 198)

[74] This observation is based on my reading of only this episode and not of the whole text. However, in the index of proper names in Bhojak (1961: 341), Dīvāyaṇa is only identified as a *ṛṣi* and according to this index, he is mentioned only in this particular episode and not elsewhere in the text.

[75] Bruhn also drew attention to the "psychological interest of the author" by remarking that "Śīlāṅka's *psychological* approach makes itself felt as a tendency to describe in very detailed manner the reaction of the individual to his experiences and to preface the decisions of the heroes with lengthy deliberations and exhortations." See Bhojak 1961: 18.

[76] *...ṇa ya tumae maṇayaṃ pi cittakheo kāyavvo, ṇa sumariyavvaṃ bandhavāṇaṃ, ṇa kāyavvo visāo, avalambiyavvaṃ dhīrattaṇaṃ, avamaṇṇiyavvā āvaẏā, kāyavvaṃ kulisakaḍhiṇaṃ va hiyayayaṃ...* (Bhojak 1961: 200)

Kṛṣṇa's words to Jaratkumāra are also somewhat different, perhaps an indication of the fact that while the broad contours of the episode were the same in the two texts, the composers had some leeway to portray the characters in the light they wanted to. While in the TŚC, Kṛṣṇa's only real consolation to Jaratkumāra was that "fate (what is to be) cannot be overcome either by you or me," in the CMC, Kṛṣṇa observed:

> Disasters are easily encountered, (but) wealth with difficulty; (there is) a lot of sorrow, (but) only a little happiness, separations fall to one's lot, but union(s) with dear ones lie afar.[77]

The conversation between the two is also longer in the CMC in which Kṛṣṇa describes to Jaratkumāra how Dvārakā was destroyed.

Summary of main differences:

Table 2: Main differences between the Jain texts

	HPJ	**CMC**	**MPP**	**TŚC**
1. Who asks for the prophecy?	Balarāma	Balarāma	Balarāma	Kṛṣṇa
2. Who was Dvaipāyanakumāra?	Balarāma's maternal uncle.	A sage, but his exact identity is unclear from the episode.	A sage, but his exact identity is unclear from the episode.	Vyāsa
3. When was the abandoned wine found by the princes?	Close to the end of 12 years.	Soon after the prophecy.	Close to the end of 12 years.	Soon after the prophecy.
4. Did Kṛṣṇa have a conversation with Nemi after failing to placate Dvaipāyana?	No	No	No	Yes
5. How are Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa portrayed?	Quite devout.	Less devout; more melodramatic, especially Balarāma.	Difficult to say as the account is quite short.	Less devout.

The five points of difference listed above likely do not stem from the same cause. For instance, point five above regarding the difference in the portrayal of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa is probably just a reflection of the different artistic, scholarly, psychological, and/or devotional leanings of the composers. However, the first point about the prophecy raises an important question: did Hemacandra deliberately make the decision to have Kṛṣṇa ask Nemi for the prophecy to align his account with that of the *Antagaḍadasāo*? In other words, was he self-consciously going back to the partial mention of this episode in the Śvetāmbara canon? The same question can be asked for point four as well. However, it is difficult to answer it definitively without looking at all the other *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*s that preceded Hemacandra's TŚC[78] and studying other episodes. Similarly, the exact significance of the differences noted under points two and three above needs further research. A detailed study could be done just on the portrayal of Dvaipāyanakumāra in Jain narrative texts.

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[77] *sulahāo āvayāo, dullahāo saṃpayāo, vahūyaṃ dukkhaṃ, thevayaṃ sukkhaṃ, ṇivaḍantiṇo vioyā, dūravattiṇo piyajaṇasamāgamā* (Bhojak 1961: 201). It is probably an adage as Bhojak places it within quotes.

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[78] In the *Uttarapurāṇa* and *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu* as well, it was Balarāma who asked Nemi for the prophecy. So, it does seem that on this particular point, Hemacandra was departing from the narrative that had become established in the *Harivaṃśa* tradition across different sects.

A Case Study in Jaina Transcreation: *Jalakrīḍā* in the *Nēmi* Narratives

Shubha Shanthamurthy

Introduction: Tellings and Retellings of the Nēmi Story, Eighth to Sixteenth Century

This essay is visualised as a longitudinal case study based on a number of textual sources in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsha and Kannada languages over a period of eight or nine centuries. It considers a short episode tangential to the narrative arc, which it uses as a prism to examine the evolution of two broad themes over a long period of time. The study is, by design, more selective than comprehensive, and raises more questions for further research than arrives at definitive answers. However, much of the material discussed in this essay has not been discussed before, or at least not in such diachronic collocation. Readers, even if somewhat dissatisfied with the open-ended and inconclusive nature of this essay, may yet find points of interest in this experiment.

The tale of Nēmi, the twenty-second *tīrthaṅkara*, appears in a number of Jaina texts in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsha and Kannada, belonging to both Śvetāmbara and Digambara traditions – as a chapter in a *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa* anthology, intertwined with the Baladēva-Vāsudēva narratives in *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*s or *Mahābhārata*s, or even a Nēmi-centric *Nēmināthapurāṇa*. The earliest of these narratives available to us is in the eighth-century Sanskrit *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* of Jinasēna. The tale of Nēmi continues to resonate within the Jaina religious consciousness through the centuries and is regularly retold up to the sixteenth century. Śāstri (1973: Chapter 2), whose book is a comparative survey of Kannada Nēmi narratives, discusses these sources at great length.

This essay does not attempt an exhaustive survey of all Nēmi narratives. I have drawn upon the literature survey in Śāstri (1973) and De Clercq (2009) to select a sample of twelve texts (summarised in *Table 1* below). The objective has been to include a robust sample of texts containing an account of the *jalakrīḍā* and associated events from all periods and languages, and from both Digambara and Śvetāmbara traditions in order to enable a reasonable reconstruction of the evolution of the incident in transcreation.

Table 1: Sources of Nēmi tales[1]

	7th–10th c. CE	**11th–12th c. CE**	**13th–14th c. CE**	**15th–16th c. CE**
Digambara				
Sanskrit	Jinasēna, 783CE, *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*, (*sarga* 55) Guṇabhadra, 838–898CE, *Uttarapurāṇa* (*parva* 71)			
Apabhramsha	Puṣpadanta, 959–965CE, *Mahāpurāṇu* (88.17–88.23) Svayambhū, 9th–10th c. CE, *Riṭṭhanēmicariu* (53.14–54.10)			
Kannada	Cāvuṇḍarāya, 10th c. CE, *Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇam,* (Chapter 39, *Nēmināthapurāṇam*)	Karṇapārya, 1160–1170 CE, *Nēmināthapurāṇa* (*āśvāsa* 13)	Bandhuvarma, 1235 CE, *Harivaṁśābhyudayam* (Chapter 13)	Maṅgarasa, 1409–1508 CE, *Nēmijinēśasaṅgati* (Chapter 32) Sāḷva, 1560 CE, *Nēmināthacarite, Cakra parva* (Chapters 58–59)
Śvetāmbara				
	Śīlāṅka, 867–869 CE, Prakrit, *Caüppannamahāpurisacariyaṁ* (Chapter 37)	Hemacandra, 1156–1172 CE, Sanskrit, *Triśaṣṭiśalākapuruṣacaritra* (Chapter 9)		Kīrtiratna, 1438 CE, Sanskrit, *Nēmināthamahākāvyam* (Chapters 8–10)

In the following pages I begin with a brief discussion of *jalakrīḍā* as a trope of epic poetry, followed by an outline of the incident as in the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*. I then examine, in chronological order, the variant descriptions in Digambara sources, which form the bulk of my sample. In doing so, I focus mainly on the evolution of two themes: the changing position of Nēmi on the human-divine continuum and the changing portrayal of relationships between the main characters involved in the *jalakrīḍā* incident, namely Kṛṣṇa, his wives and Nēmi. I then provide a relatively short discussion of Śvetāmbara Nēmi narratives, mainly to highlight the separation between the two traditions, which appear to have developed independently, though with significant and under-explored interactions.

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[1] I have used a combination of Śāstri (1973) and De Clercq (2009) to fix the relative chronology of texts in this table.

I conclude with some thoughts on these shifting portrayals, which I call 'refractions', because though the authors in my sample are mostly agreed on the broad narrative arc of the *jalakrīḍā* episode, they nevertheless repeatedly change, restructure, omit and add to the details, providing a much richer and more colourful picture when read diachronically – much as a beam of white light passing made to pass through a prism is refracted into a rainbow of colours, producing a richer illustration of its interiority.

Jalakrīḍā *as a* Kāvya *Trope, and a Prism*

The *jalakrīḍā* is a spring, summertime or autumnal communal activity wherein a group of men and women go to a forest pond, tank or other waterbody to play in the water and cool off. At times it is preceded by playing in the forest (*vanakrīḍā*), making wildflower garlands and ornaments, playing on swings, and indulging in erotic encounters among vine bowers.[2] The erotic is a major subtext of both these pastimes. According to Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, a seventh-century treatise on literary composition in Sanskrit, *jalakrīḍā* is prescribed as one of the 'descriptive themes concerning the social order' of the Sanskrit literary genre of *kāvya* or 'courtly epic' and of the *kāvya* genre in other languages such as Prakrit, Apabhramsha and Kannada.[3] It is a frequent feature of *kāvya* and subject to inflection and modulation by the poet, his project and his times, as it is in these Nēmi narratives.

A particularly interesting feature of *jalakrīḍā* in most Nēmi narratives is Kṛṣṇa's deliberate attempt, with the connivance of his women, to tempt Nēmi into worldly entanglements, from a variety of motives, and with varying degrees of success. In this it departs from Daṇḍin's prescription as a 'descriptive' as opposed to a 'narrative' trope and becomes a means (though unavailing) within the narrative of the text to turn the arc of Nēmi's career in a certain direction. Therefore a study of this trope in its specific formulations by the various narrators of the Nēmi tale over the centuries sheds interesting light on two broader issues that modulate the transcreation of this incident – the first is the changing portrayal of Nēmi as a human male and as a *tīrthaṅkara*, reflected in his own emotions and behaviour as well as in his interactions with those around him; the second is the relationship at a human level between Kṛṣṇa, his wives, and his paternal cousin Nēmi, as evidenced by their interactions before, during and after the *jalakrīḍā*. The participants are Kṛṣṇa, his wives,[4] Nēmi, Baladēva, and others such as Kṛṣṇa and Baladēva's unnamed women. Kṛṣṇa's wives specifically named in the *jalakrīḍā* incident are Jāmbavatī, Satyabhāmā and Rukmiṇī.

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[2] Vāgbhaṭa's undated *Nēminirvāṇakāvya* (Chapters 7–10) in Sanskrit gives us an extensive description of *vanakrīḍā* followed by *jalakrīḍā*. It has been omitted from this study since it does not contain an account of the exchange between Nēmi and one of Kṛṣṇa's wives, which is an important part of this study.

[3] Along with festive gatherings and lovemaking, descriptive themes concerning the natural order include sunrise, sunset and the seasons, whereas narrative themes concern the political order and include councils of state, embassies and military expeditions (see Pollock 2003: 43).

Jalakrīḍā *in the Earliest Version: An Outline*

The earliest account of the *jalakrīḍā* available to us is in the eighth-century Sanskrit *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* of Jinasēna, a Digambara ascetic of the Punnāṭasaṅgha.[5] He tells us Nēmi is born to the Yādava kinsman Samudravijaya and to Śivādēvi, and is a junior paternal cousin of Kṛṣṇa. His birth is heralded by the conventional auspicious signs attending the birth of a *tīrthaṅkara*, and he grows up averse to worldly pleasures and to the life of a householder. He participates (actively per Jinasēna, but passively or not at all in other sources) in a victorious battle between the Yādavas and Jarāsandha.

Once in an assembly of the Yādavas in Dvārāvatī he defeats Kṛṣṇa in a public test of strength by arm-wrestling. As a consequence, Kṛṣṇa becomes concerned about Nēmi's potential to usurp his throne and attempts to lead him into worldly paths with the connivance of his wives. This is Kṛṣṇa's motivation to set up the *jalakrīḍā* and engineer an erotically charged interaction between his women and Nēmi. He organises a pleasure trip for the extended clan to the forest in the course of which both men and women indulge in bathing. As they play in the pond water, Nēmi is involved in an argument with one of Kṛṣṇa's wives who compares his masculine prowess (and, by implication, the social status derived therefrom) unfavourably to that of Kṛṣṇa. Nēmi is upset at this repudiation and in retaliation replicates Kṛṣṇa's three feats of strength, namely bending the horn-bow, blowing the Pāñcajanya conch and occupying the serpent-couch.[6]

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[4] Kṛṣṇa wives, also characterised as his chief queens, are eight in number and include Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, Jāmbavatī, Bhadrā/Kaikeyī, Kālindī/Mitravinda/Śaibyā, Lakṣmaṇā/Mādrī, and Nagnajitī (*Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 10.71.041–42, 10.58.056–57). This also appears to be the accepted number of Kṛṣṇa chief queens in Jaina narratives; however, this list is clearly not standard, since Jaina authors give this list as Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, Jāmbavatī, Susīmā, Lakṣmaṇā, Gāndhārī, Gaurī and Padmāvatī (*Uttarapurāṇa*, 71.126–127).

[5] Possibly based in modern day Karnataka (Jain 1962, Introduction; De Clercq 2009); not much else is known about him.

Eventually, Kṛṣṇa arranges Nēmi's marriage to Rājīmatī, daughter of his kinsman Ugrasēna. Nēmi is unwilling but compliant. On the way to the wedding Nēmi sees penned wild beasts in distress and finds out that they have been captured for his wedding feast. This is the trigger for him to renounce the world. His renunciation, extended physical mortification and eventual attainment of enlightenment is the main doctrinal theme of the text. His enlightenment is commemorated in terms conventional to Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* narratives, after which he wanders the land preaching Jaina doctrine. He finally attains liberation on Mount Ūrjayanta in Saurāṣṭra.

There is considerable variation in many elements of the tale of Nēmi between Digambara and Śvetāmbara narratives, as well as within each sectarian tradition. In particular, there is little erotic overtone to the *jalakrīḍā* in Śvetāmbara narratives which appear to de-emphasise Nēmi's human emotions. Rājīmatī is also more prominent in Śvetāmbara narratives.

Refractions in Digambara Transcreations

Harivaṁśapurāṇa of Jinasēna

To recap Jinasēna's account of the events leading up to the *jalakrīḍā*: once young Nēmi, splendidly adorned in garments, ornaments, and unguents furnished by Kubēra goes to the Yādava assembly hall in Dvārāvatī called Kusumacitra, walking like an elephant in rut, accompanied by other princes. He is welcomed with due honours by Kṛṣṇa, Baladēva, and many other Yādavas gathered there. He is seated on a throne alongside Kṛṣṇa, like two male lions seated together, and engages in cultivated discussion, which in due course turns to a comparison of relative physical strength. People variously praise Arjuna, Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, the Pāṇḍava twins, Baladēva, and Kṛṣṇa who lifted the great mountain, who picked up a weapon and shook other kings eager for display of strength from their position. Baladēva, having listened to all this, looks playfully at Nēmi, and says: "There is none in the triple world equal to the Lord Nēmi, the Jina. He can lift up the earth with his palm, he can spill the sea, he can move mountains with ease. Who could be greater than the Jina?"

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[6] Several other miraculous feats of Kṛṣṇa are referenced in the Nēmi narratives but do not appear on this standard list of three which, it is implied, are the basis of his claim to be *ardhacakravartin*.

Listening to this and looking at Nēmi, Kṛṣṇa says with a smile: "If your body is so powerful, should we not test it in a feat of strength?" Nēmi demurs: "Why wrestle with me here? If you wish to understand my strength, elder brother, move my feet from this seat by force." Tightening his belt, Kṛṣṇa stands up and tries to pick up Nēmi's feet but is unable even to move his toe. Drops of sweat drench his body, he pants, loses his smile and says: "Your strength is clearly beyond this world." The matter ends there, but Kṛṣṇa is shaken and wonders about Nēmi's intentions, "for the narrow-minded man is suspicious even of the Jina," the poet tells us. From then on Kṛṣṇa outwardly honours Nēmi with many marks of respect and display of love. We are struck by the juxtaposition of Baladēva's (and perforce the readers') constant awareness of Nēmi's supra-human attributes as arising from his foreordained Jina-hood, and of Kṛṣṇa's very human attitude of insecure suspicion towards a paternal cousin (with presumably a good claim to the throne) whose actual and reputed physical strength was far superior to his own.

Next in the narrative sequence the Yādavas go to rescue Aniruddha, and upon their return, in spring Kṛṣṇa organises a *vanakrīḍā*. The poet gives us much detail about who forms the party, how they proceed to the forest and what they do there. Kṛṣṇa's intention in taking them all to the forest becomes clear to us now – made insecure by Nēmi's great strength and suspicious of his motives, Kṛṣṇa has formed a cunning plan to entrap Nēmi in worldly snares in order to preempt a power struggle. Kṛṣṇa's women, obedient to his command, attempt to seduce Nēmi in the forest.

> Kṛṣṇa's women, capable of seducing men, obedient to his command, took Nēmi with them into the beautiful forest. One beauty, her mind and eye lazy with the intoxication of liquor, embraced her husband's younger brother, frightened when swarmed by bees attracted to the fragrance of her breath as she plucked flower clusters from forest vines. One hard-breasted one kissed him on the chest, another sniffed him; one seized his hand with her soft hands, another turned his moon-face towards herself. Some fanned him with twigs of Sāla and Tamāla; others made ear-ornaments for him with fresh Aśōka leaves. Some, intending to embrace him, placed

> garlands of various flowers upon his head and around his neck, and scattered Kuravaka flowers on his head (55.44–48).

The poet tells us Nēmi permits the attentions of Kṛṣṇa's women and enjoys the unending spring until summer arrives.

What are we to make of this? Was Nēmi tempted by the worldly paths being shown him, and Kṛṣṇa perhaps successful in his stratagem? Or was he merely trying to lull Kṛṣṇa's suspicions? In any case, Kṛṣṇa himself was not complacent. With the arrival of summer, he continues to spend time on Raivataka. Nēmi too, though instinctively averse to mundane pleasures, is importuned by Kṛṣṇa's women and plays with them in the ponds. The poet indulges us with a description of the women's seductive activities in the water. We must note here that the women who, obedient to Kṛṣṇa's command, attempt to seduce Nēmi are not named wives. Though they are called Kṛṣṇa's women, we cannot be certain of their social status. It is clear, however, that when called upon by Kṛṣṇa, his 'women' were obliged to provide erotic services to other men, whereas his 'wives' could freely refuse to perform even non-sexual services for other men, as we see below. It is worth also noting that this distinction between the two groups of women is maintained by all narrators who describe the *jalakrīḍā*.

Eventually all emerge from the water and some women help Nēmi dress. But when he gives his cast-off wet garments to Jāmbavatī to wring dry, she repudiates him in no uncertain terms:

> With an arch glance he prompted the incomparable Jāmbavatī, much honoured by Madhuripu, to wring the wet clothes cast off just then. She, who was clever of speech, quickly replied with trembling lips and a frowning glance of pretended anger. "Hari – the lustre of whose body and crown jewels is twice as bright as the hood-jewels of a crore of serpents, who is resplendent with the Kaustubha gem, who occupies his great serpent-couch, who is dark as cloud, who fills the world with the [sound of] his conch loud as thunder, who strings the powerful horn-bow, master of all kings, who has beautiful women – is my husband. Even he never issues me a command such as this. Who are you, that you dare command me to wring [your] wet clothes?" (55.58–62).

How are we to understand this? It is Nēmi who initiates this ambiguous exchange with Kṛṣṇa's wife, though in Jinasena's telling Nēmi's behaviour is not overtly erotic. And yet, if we rule out the erotic, how are we to interpret it? Was Nēmi deliberately provoking a quarrel and, if so, why? We can't be certain. It is however clear that Jāmbavatī understands this as a demand for an intimate service by Nēmi, and though not entirely displeased by it, repudiates him at a sexual level (though less explicitly than in some later Nēmi narratives as we will see) – because Nēmi has none of the public feats of valour to his credit that Kṛṣṇa has, and which entitle Kṛṣṇa to mastery of kings and possession of beautiful women.

Many of Kṛṣṇa's women remonstrate with Jāmbavatī for having insulted the lord of the triple-world, though it is puzzling why Jāmbavatī's refusal to render an intimate, or at least a menial service, for a man who is not her husband be considered shameless. Jinasēna does not linger to make this clear, though later poets have much more to say on this aspect of the matter.

Nēmi is stung by Jāmbavatī's harsh words, and returning to the palace in Dvārāvatī quickly replicates Kṛṣṇa's three feats of strength – mounting the serpent-couch, stringing the horn bow and blowing the conch. The noise of the conch causes chaos in the city frightening men and animals. Kṛṣṇa pulls out his sword, rushes to the armoury, and sees Nēmi standing contemptuously on the serpent-couch. He realises Nēmi has acted out of anger at Jāmbavatī's taunting words and rejoices at it, for Nēmi has been provoked to passion by his women. Kṛṣṇa proceeds to arrange Nēmi's marriage with Rājīmatī.

In this denouement to the *jalakrīḍā* episode Kṛṣṇa clearly feels he has succeeded in entrapping Nēmi and neutralising a threat to his throne. The reader too, is perhaps meant to think that the cunning Vāsudēva has succeeded in debasing the Jina.[7] And indeed, the Nēmi who begins this episode inherently averse to mundane pleasures, is enticed to flirt with Jāmbavatī, and when scorned by her, roused to great anger, under the influence of which he then demonstrates to her (and to the world) his immeasurable superiority to Kṛṣṇa in physical strength. This is not the conduct of a one averse to human passions and attachments. On the contrary, this is the conduct of a human man who fails the tests of both sexual temptation and anger – a fallible human being who, though generally uninterested in worldliness, is yet to reach the point of aversion to the world. On the continuum of human to divine, Nēmi is still recognisably human and Jinasēna's narrative is interested in tracing the arc of his journey from human to divine.

Uttarapurāṇa of Guṇabhadra

Writing about a century later, the Digambara ascetic Guṇabhadra gives us yet another account of Nēmi's *jalakrīḍā* with Kṛṣṇa's wives in his

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[7] We are told ten times in the first fifteen verses of the chapter that Nēmi is Jina.

Sanskrit *Uttarapurāṇa*.[8] This is how he tells it: Having accomplished the conquest of his tripartite land Kṛṣṇa returns to Dvārāvatī and enjoys worldly pleasures with his many women. One autumn day water sports (*jalakēlī*) are held in a pond called Manōhara in which Kṛṣṇa's womenfolk participate. While splashing around in the water, Nēmi and Satyabhāmā (one of Kṛṣṇa's wives) have this pleasant and flirtatious exchange:

> Satyabhāmā: "Why do you play with me as if I were your beloved?"
> Nēmi: "Are you not dear to me?"
> Satyabhāmā: "If I am your beloved, then whom would your brother go to?"
> Nēmi: "To one who would satisfy his sexual needs"
> Satyabhāmā: "Who is that?"
> Nēmi: "Do you not know? You will soon find out."
> Satyabhāmā: "Everyone says you are straightforward, but you are cunning nevertheless."
> And when they finished bathing, Nēmi says to Satyabhāmā: "Beautiful one, take this bathing garment of mine."
> Satyabhāmā: "What will I do with it?"
> Nēmi: "Wash it."
> Satyabhāmā: "[Why,] are you Hari [then]? He who occupies the serpent-couch, who strings the celestial horn-bow with ease, who blows the conch that fills space? Can you perform such feats?"
> Nēmi: "I will indeed do what must be done" (71.132–137ab).

Returning to the city, Nēmi replicates Kṛṣṇa's three feats of strength, impelled by pride, "and [Nēmi] thought he had revealed his glory [for]," the poet muses, "even a particle of passion or pride inevitably leads to a change [for the worse]" (71.140).

Kṛṣṇa learns of this interlude and its consequence with disquiet. He ponders it, wondering at this state of impassion unusual in Nēmi. He thinks Nēmi, ridden by the passions of youth (for all beings subject to *karma* must invariably be afflicted by sexual passion), must be made to marry, and arranges his marriage to Rājīmatī, leading to the familiar sequence of subsequent events.

The differences from the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* are interesting – first, the location of the *jalakēlī* is a nearby pond (or tank) and it is not preceded by *vanakrīḍā*. Second, we do not know if Kṛṣṇa is even present at the *jalakēlī* when this interchange between Nēmi and Satyabhāmā takes place; nor do we know if Kṛṣṇa was complicit in Satyabhāmā's behaviour, but probably not, given his subsequent reactions. Third, the interchange between Nēmi and Satyabhāmā is an entirely human one with explicit erotic overtones. There is no indication that Nēmi is aware of his impending Jina-hood, nor does he appear averse to human entanglements. When taunted by Satyabhāmā with Kṛṣṇa's feats of valour compared to his own insignificance, he appears intent on doing whatever must be done to win her over. In fact, the poet tells us he is impelled by manly pride in doing so, and moralises on this entirely human shortcoming.

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[8] This is the concluding part of the *Mahāpurāṇa* begun by his guru Jinasēna, the preceptor of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nṛpatuṅga Amōghavarṣa.

We must keep in mind that Guṇabhadra is completing his guru's *magnum opus*, and must get through the lives of sixty-two of the sixty-three great men of Jaina lore, leaving him little opportunity to elaborate. The arm-wrestling test of strength between Kṛṣṇa and Nēmi is missing from the narrative and Kṛṣṇa's character lacks the insecurity portrayed by Jinasēna; his conduct towards Nēmi appears driven by concern (tinged by Jaina moralising) for a younger cousin, and he acts in good faith in arranging Nēmi's marriage. As we will see in following sections, Guṇabhadra is not alone in restructuring Jinasēna's narrative in this way. All the poets writing in the heyday of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas have done the same; I discuss this curious sleight of hand at the end of this chapter. Also, Satyabhāmā instead of Jāmbavatī appears to be the participant in the quarrel during the *jalakrīḍā* here; though Svayambhū names Jāmbavatī instead of Satyabhāmā, the switch in later narratives to Satyabhāmā as the one who quarrels with Nēmi is itself an interesting, and may have come about with the progressive development of the characters of Kṛṣṇa's wives in narrative literature, both Jaina and Vaiṣṇava.

In summary, Guṇabhadra does not significantly alter the figure of Nēmi that comes to him from the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*. Nēmi, destined as he is for redemption by renunciation, is still a human figure subject to human temptations and passions.

Mahāpurāṇu of Puṣpadanta

The Apabhramsha *Mahāpurāṇu* was composed by Puṣpadanta in the tenth century during the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, under the patronage of one of his ministers (Puṣpadanta and Vaidya 1979: 21–24). Puṣpadanta tells us that having killed Jarāsandha, Kṛṣṇa established his rule and enjoyed worldly pleasures in Dvārāvatī. Nēmi too lives with them, enjoying divine pleasures of the flesh. At the end of monsoon, Kṛṣṇa goes with Nēmi and his womenfolk to bathe in the lotus pond Sīradhara.

The poet sees an opportunity to moralise in describing the pond and bathers. Speaking of the lotuses in the pond he says: “though endowed with pericarps like many virtues, though endowed with leaves like friends, nevertheless, lotuses are attacked by frogs, [for] whom does the company of water/fools (*jaḍa*) not harm?” (88.18.03–04). Puṣpadanta never lets us forget that Nēmi is the Jina, and yet he tells us Nēmi enjoyed the pleasures of the flesh. Is the lotus-attacked-by-frog metaphor the poet’s criticism of Nēmi’s (i.e., the lotus) participation in the erotic *jalakrīḍā*? Or is it instead a criticism of the women (frog) who, in treating Nēmi like a human male and making him the object of their erotic attentions, are in fact debasing the Jina? Is this a fault in the lotus or in the frog?

In a rapid change of mood in the next line Puṣpadanta moves on to the erotic antics of the bathers, describing the disarray of the women explicitly and with gusto, but as if to complete the whiplash effect upon his audience, he turns around with “another [woman] clung to prince Nēmi, as if non-violence [to] the spread of righteousness” (88.18.14) and we are back to Nēmi-as-Jina again. Then the poet comes to the exchange between Nēmi and Satyabhāmā:

> Then Satyabhāmā splashed the excited Nēmi with water, like the Rēvā river splashes the Vindhya mountains. Even he, who is worshipped by Indra, Candra and Nāga, who is called Lord of the triple-world, was drenched by the women. With dancing eyes, the Lord who wore beautiful garments, playfully flung his garment upon [Satyabhāmā] [and said] laughing, “Wring out my loincloth”.
> The beauty [was stunned] as if pierced with a lance, [for] women do not understand a man’s mind. [Indeed,] he was himself the lord of gods, the Jina, whose foot-dust is also worthy of worship – why should [she] not wring out his undergarment?
> Then the Lord said, “You do not comply. I gave you an order. Why do you ignore it? Speak, speak the truth Satyabhāmā. Why have you made your face dark like a withered lotus?”
> Then the moon-faced one whose eyes closed in shame replied to him: “Though your merits are abundant, replete with great success and wisdom, even so this is not worthy [of you], o great lord. My body is discomfited because of this [command of yours]. Have you blown the conch? Have you bent the horn-bow and strung it? Have you lain upon the serpent-couch? By what [right] have you have thrown your loincloth at me? You may be the brother of my husband, but are you Dāmōdara, God of Gods?” (88.18 *ghattā*–88.19).

Why were the Lord’s eyes dancing and why did he fling his garment upon Satyabhāmā? Indeed, she cannot be blamed for being stunned, or for being unable to keep up with the poet. But is she in on the secret known to the poet – that Nēmi is the lord of gods, the Jina? Apparently not, for she is embarrassed as if humiliated by a human male who, though noble and related to her, is not her husband. She tells him his actions are unworthy, even of a man of great merit such as himself. For he has not done that which Kṛṣṇa has already accomplished and which entitle him to be god of gods.

The poet tells us: “when thus struck by [her] harsh cruel words, he felt [the blow] in his pride, and the supreme lord went quickly to Kṛṣṇa’s armoury” (88.19 *ghattā*) to repudiate Satyabhāmā by replicating Kṛṣṇa’s three feats of strength. Nēmi strikes the serpent couch with his palms, bends the bow with his left foot, and deafens the world by blowing the conch (88.20 *duvaī*). Though Puṣpadanta calls Nēmi “Lord” and “Jina”, Nēmi is nevertheless still human, acting under the goad of human passions and emotions and is, demonstrably, yet to claim his Jina-hood.

Nēmi’s actions create chaos in the city; a shaken Kṛṣṇa reaches for his dagger (88.20.01–09). A servant comes to inform him of goings on: “Seizing your servant by force, Nēminātha entered the building, strung the bow, blew the conch and stamped the serpent on the couch. The deeds performed by you in succession to injure the Jaina faith,[9] the powerful one has done all three of them at once” (88.21 *ghattā*). The poet is quite clear who is to blame: it is Satyabhāmā who has refused to wring out Nēmi’s garment, and instead in rudely repudiating him has precipitated a (political) crisis – for, the poet tells us, women are impolitic and make explicit that is better left hidden (88.21.03). She has polluted Nēmi’s mind and led him to act thus (88.21.06). Hearing this, Kṛṣṇa’s face darkens with jealous anger (for, naturally, “no one is pleased at praise of another”). Baladēva pacifies him, and betraying his awareness of Nēmi’s foreordained sanctity (just as in Jinasēna’s *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*), tells Kṛṣṇa he must not be jealous of the Jina’s powers. His pride humbled, Kṛṣṇa considers ways to neutralise a potential political rival (for “the strong kinsman who cannot be defeated must quickly be established in the forest”), though Baladēva continues to speak out for the peaceful nature of the Jina, who is destined to become an wandering ascetic (88.22.08). Kṛṣṇa cunningly decides to force the matter by marrying off Nēmi to Rājīmatī, and so, on to the expected conclusion.

Like Guṇabhadra, Puṣpadanta too has omitted Kṛṣṇa’s humiliating loss in the arm-wrestling contest as the impetus for the *jalakrīḍā*, nor does he tell us that Kṛṣṇa connived with his wives during it; instead, he blames Satyabhāmā as the causal agent of the fiasco. Puṣpadanta’s Nēmi too is quite similar to Guṇabhadra's, and not far removed from that of Jinasēna.

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[9] The significance of *haya-jaṇa-savaṇa-dhammaïṁ* is unclear – is Kṛṣṇa destroying the Jaina faith of the people by establishing himself as an alternate focus of veneration to the Jina? I thank the reviewer for the suggestion: “[the deeds] that have attacked/violated the *śramaṇa-dharma* for the people”.

Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇamahāpurāṇam of Cāvuṇḍarāya

We have a brief account of the *jalakrīḍā* in the chapter on Nēmi in the tenth-century Kannada prose *Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇamahāpurāṇam* of Cāvuṇḍarāya (more commonly known as *Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇam*), a prominent minister and commander in the court of the Gaṅga kings Mārasiṁha II and Rācamalla IV, feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. In Cāvuṇḍsarāya's telling Kṛṣṇa establishes his rule in Dvārāvatī and enjoys worldly pleasures. One day, as all enjoy bathing in a pond called Manōhara with the womenfolk,

> Nēmi gives his divine bathing costume to Satyabhāmā, who says flirtatiously, "why would I touch your cast-off garment? That is only possible if you have the prowess to occupy the serpent-couch, string the horn-bow and blow the conch with five openings (Cāvuṇḍarāya and Hampana 2006: 413).

Nēmi instantly does these things causing chaos in the city; the author does not tell us why Nēmi does this. Kṛṣṇa is unmanned by this feat of Nēmi, which he himself could only accomplish by several distinct penances. Fearing Nēmi's prowess, and realising that Nēmi is tainted by passion and ready for marriage, he seeks an alliance for him with Rājīmatī. Nevertheless, he is still afraid that Nēmi will seize his kingdom, and plots further to make Nēmi averse to worldly pleasures. He deliberately causes trapped and distressed wild beasts to be penned on Nēmi's route to the wedding, with expected results.

Cāvuṇḍarāya's account, though suffering from brevity, nevertheless gives us the main points of the narrative and is consistent with the previous ones; our understanding of the figure of Nēmi is confirmed but not enhanced. Cāvuṇḍarāya, like others writing within the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ambit, completely omits the arm-wrestling incident.

Riṭṭhanēmicariu of Svayambhūdeva

Svayambhū probably lived and wrote in the tenth century in the Kannada speaking regions of the Deccan; his particular sectarian affiliation is open to question, but on balance his texts appear to be closer to subsequent Digambara narratives.[10] The sequence of events in his Apabhramsha *Riṭṭhanēmicariu* is as follows: upon his return from rescuing Aniruddha, Kṛṣṇa organises a pleasure trip to the forest for his kinsfolk where all indulge in pleasurable pursuits of an erotic nature. Subsequently, exhausted, everyone enters a pond to bathe (53.14–15). In the pond Kṛṣṇa's women try to awaken Nēmi's sensuality by displaying their charms, attacking him with water and flowers (53.16–18). It is only towards the end of this description that we learn that they do this at Kṛṣṇa's signal, but we are not told why Kṛṣṇa does this. In any case, they are unsuccessful, for bashful Nēmi rejects them. This is a rather different Nēmi from Guṇabhadra's bold flirt.

Then, emerging from the water, Nēmi attempts to give his wet garment to wring out to someone among Kṛṣṇa's wives, Kṛṣṇa having explicitly signalled him to do so. Again, we are not told why Kṛṣṇa does this – is it his intention to provoke a quarrel between Nēmi and his wives, leading him to act in a fit of pique? Or is this merely the squeamish poet attempting to remove any hint of sexual impropriety from the behaviour of the future Jina, by making husbandly sanction prerequisite to Nēmi's actions? In any case, none of Kṛṣṇa's wives appear willing to perform that service for Nēmi, pushing aside his garment with their feet, unwilling even to touch it with their fingertips (53.19.01–03). Jāmbavatī then speaks up to repudiate Nēmi thus:

> Jāmbavatī said to him, "Throw it to someone else to wring". The lady was secretly angry in her heart [and] instantly repudiated [Nēmi]. "He, at whose feet the tripartite land lies, he in whose hands the horn[-bow] twangs, he who sleeps on the serpent-couch, whose mouth blows the Pāñcajanya [conch] – even that Hari does not look to me [to perform menial service]. Who are you to throw your garment at me?" (53.19.01–08).

But Rukmiṇī (though apparently unwilling herself to perform the service demanded by Nēmi) is appalled at Jāmbavatī's harsh words and cautions her:

> "Do not insult him, friend, [for] what are the thirteen *cakravartin*s compared to the Jina? Who can fight the angry supreme Jina, the crest of the triple world? The ocean is but a drop of water to him, the great celestial mountain is but a ball. The sky is merely twelve fingers wide, the earth is but a cow's hoof-print. The summit of this world is his seat, he will enter the world of the Siddhas. The difference between the *tīrthaṅkara* and the *rathāṅgin* (a reference to Kṛṣṇa as *ardhacakravartin*, or as

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[10] Śāstri (1973: 34) dates Svayambhū between 678–783CE, but De Clercq (2018: *x*) dates him to the latter half of the ninth century based on internal textual references to the Sēvuṇa dynasty in *Paümacariu* 63.6.3. Svayambhū's Digambara vs. Śvetāmbara affiliation remains to be conclusively resolved, and scholars believe him to be affiliated with the Yāpanīya saṅgha (see De Clercq and Winant 2021: 227).

> bearer of the discus) is as much as that between a mountain and a mosquito. Have you not seen the strength of your beloved? He is deceitful as he pleases in battle. [But] when the Jina extended his arm then [Kṛṣṇa] could not move even his finger" (53.19 *ghattā*, 53.20.01–07).

We now learn that Kṛṣṇa has previously lost the arm-wrestling contest with Nēmi, which may hint at his motives. But the real surprise Svayambhū springs on us is the manner in which Rukmiṇī praises Nēmi. For her at least, Nēmi is the Jina, and therefore immeasurably superior to any earthly king. In fact, she is quite clearsighted about Kṛṣṇa's human wickedness and Nēmi's divine claims. Svayambhū does not represent Rukmiṇī as the disloyal wife; instead, for the first time in the Nēmi narratives, here is a partial articulation of Jina-bhakti.[11] The nature of the deity is described in awe-inspiring terms; but we must await the transcreations of later poets for articulations of Rukmiṇī as the bhakta who should have no reservations in serving the object of her veneration.

Nēmi overhears this exchange between the women and returns to Dvārāvatī with it in mind (*maṇe dharevi*); once there, he replicates Kṛṣṇa's three feats of strength (53.20 *ghattā*). Svayambhū calls Nēmi "Jina" at this point, but does not make it clear whether Nēmi is upset at Jāmbavatī's repudiation or is intent upon demonstrating the truth of Rukmiṇī's claims about his Jina-hood. If we understand *maṇe dharevi* 'as 'brooding upon it' we may be tempted to read this as a human reaction to Jāmbavatī's scorn. But if we read it with no emotional overtones, and keep in mind Rukmiṇī's ringing endorsement of his divinity, we may understand Nēmi's subsequent actions as the Jina manifesting his divinity to the world. Svayambhū describes Nēmi's replication of Kṛṣṇa's feats of strength in the next chapter (54.01–04). He lies on the serpent couch, bends the bow and blows the conch, all three at once.

In the course of this description Svayambhū never lets us forget that it is Nēmi-Jina who performs these deeds, and gives us no hint of his inner emotional state. Nēmi's actions predictably cause chaos in the city, and though Kṛṣṇa picks up his sword, he is brought to acknowledge Nēmi's status as the Jina. He is nevertheless deceitful, and seriously concerned for his throne. He resolves to marry Nēmi off (54.05.04–08), while outwardly praising him. He arranges an alliance with Rājīmatī, and gathers wild beasts for the wedding feast with the ulterior motive of triggering Nēmi's renunciation of the world, with predictable results.

In summary Svayambhū's narrative hints at an interesting development in the nature of Jina worship. Nēmi's actions are portrayed as increasingly dissociated from human impulses and motives and he may have stepped into his divine persona before even passing through the various gateways to enlightenment.

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[11] I use the terms *bhakti* and *bhakta* as included in the Oxford English Dictionary to refer to religious devotion and religious devotee.

Nēmināthapurāṇa of Karṇapārya

Anacker (2002: Introduction) considers the twelfth-century *Nēmināthapurāṇa* (or *Harivaṁśa*) of Karṇapārya composed in the *campū* style as the first complete Nēmi narrative in Kannada. Karṇapārya appears to follow Jinasēna's narrative sequence for the most part. Thus, once in an assembly in Dvārāvatī, where Pāṇḍavas are also present, there is a comparison of peers on their valour and manly qualities. Some uphold Bhīma, others Baladēva, but Baladēva and Bhīma themselves uphold Nēmi. To this, Kṛṣṇa, hurt in his pride, suggests a bout of wrestling to test their relative strength. But he is unable even to bend a finger of Nēmi's and is humiliated, though later consoled by Baladēva's reflection that Nēmi is after all his brother (13.04–10).

In spring, Kṛṣṇa organises a *vanakrīḍā* with no apparent evil intention (unlike in the account of Jinasēna). In fact, when Kṛṣṇa invites Nēmi, he addresses him in terms used to address a divinity (*dēva, surēndrāvanatāṅghripadma*, 13.20). All enjoy themselves at length in the forest and in the pond, though Nēmi as well as Kṛṣṇa and Baladēva appear to be spectators rather than participants. The women are disarranged and embarrassed by the vigour of the water sports. Perceiving this, Baladēva and Nēmi leave the pond; Kṛṣṇa too emerges surrounded by his women. Then the poet tells us:

> When they were removing their wet clothes, at Kṛṣṇa's signal Nēmi, the benefactor of the world, gave his wet garment to Satyabhāmā, who said, "I am not so lowly as to wring your undergarment. Am I not the foremost among the wives of proud Kṛṣṇa?"
> Rukmiṇī instantly scolded her angrily: "What is so great about us humans? Do not the celestials themselves sprinkle the Jina's bathwater upon their heads?"
> Satyabhāmā replied: "Tell me, is the unsurpassed Cakri – who fought celestials in his childhood, in his youth lifted the mountain with ease, mounted the fearsome serpent-couch, and [strung and blew] such wonders as the divine horn-bow and the conch – not my husband? It is utterly inappropriate that I, the wife of such a great one, should perform menial tasks" (13.35–38).

Rukmiṇī continues to remonstrate with Satyabhāmā, emphasising Nēmi's entitlement to worship as Jina, and the good fortune of those who have the opportunity to serve him, eventually silencing her (13.39–40). Here we see that the Nēmi narrative has moved further into the bhakti-mode by the twelfth century, and Karṇapārya expands upon Svayambhū's tenth-century portrayal of Nēmi as deserving of worship because his Jina-hood is foreordained. Satyabhāmā objects to rendering menial service to Nēmi, but only because Kṛṣṇa too is divine and is worshiped by celestials, and as his wife it is not right that she performs menial service. But Rukmiṇī tells her Indra's women themselves performed menial service to Nēmi's mother before his birth; his birth shook Indra's throne; Satyabhāmā is foolish to humiliate such a personage. So, not only is Nēmi a powerful divinity deserving of bhakti as his right, but also possesses a certain menacing divinity, which it would be foolish to provoke. We also see an articulation of the bhakta as one who must rejoice in performing acts of service for the deity. However, Rukmiṇī stops with telling Satyabhāmā what she is doing wrong and what she ought to do instead. We must wait for a fuller articulation of the obligations of bhakti to understand how it can transcend even marital taboos.

But what is Kṛṣṇa doing here? So far, he has not acted out of insecurity for his throne. In fact, having previously addressed Nēmi as a divine being, he appears to have offered Nēmi explicit permission to demand menial service from his wife. Is he aware of danger from Nēmi, not as a political rival, but as a divinity? Apparently so and with justification, for the poet tells us next that when they return to the city, Nēmi continues to brood on Satyabhāmā's words and he, who receives the homage of the gods, becomes angry (13.41). In his anger he mounts an elephant, and going to Kṛṣṇa's armoury attended by celestials, replicates his three feats of strength with ease, creating chaos in the city (13.42–43).

Baladēva and Kṛṣṇa hear it while seated in the Kusumacitra assembly hall and brandish their weapons in fear; Satyabhāmā, the dark shadow upon the clan, clings to Kṛṣṇa. When Kṛṣṇa is informed of Nēmi's deeds he is worried for his throne. Nēmi, who is already qualified by celestial acclaim, has an even better right to the throne after his feats, and should he claim it who could gainsay him? (13.46). He consults Baladēva urgently, who reassures him – *tīrthaṅkara*s are dispassionate and reject the entanglement of earthly rule. But Kṛṣṇa is not convinced, for "among *tīrthaṅkara*s there are those who lived first as *cakravartin*s and then sought liberation". Conceding this Baladēva undertakes to make Nēmi averse to the world (13.47), and consequently a marriage between Nēmi and Rājīmatī is arranged. Here onwards the tale proceeds along the same lines as in Jinasēna's version.

In Kṛṣṇa's persistent anxiety that even a *tīrthaṅkara* may claim a kingdom, perhaps Karṇapārya echoes the twelfth-century zeitgeist, wherein sectarian holy men of all types acclaimed as ‘preceptors to kings’ in the Deccan were de facto temporal rulers of large temple estates.[12] Therefore lesser kings (such as the *ardhacakravartin* Kṛṣṇa), although duly anointed, might find their perch insecure with good reason. In Nēmi’s angry response to Satyabhāmā’s rejection, we see the offended dignity of a deity rather than the humiliation of man. Though Nēmi is yet to renounce the world and attain enlightenment, he has already assumed the divine majesty that is his birthright.

Harivaṁśābhyudayam of Bandhuvarma

Bandhuvarma retells the Nēmi tale in the thirteenth century as part of another Kannada *campū* text, the *Harivaṁśābhyudayam*. In describing the *jalakrīḍā* he follows the narrative sequence of Karṇapārya with some changes. The forest setting of the previous narratives is now firmly suburban. When the Yādavas are established in peace and plenty in Dvārāvatī, one spring Kṛṣṇa goes to the pleasure garden to bathe in the stepwell accompanied by his queens, courtesans, and princes including Nēmi. The poet deals briskly with the erotic trope, telling us the women splash Nēmi with water, but he is as indifferent to their indiscriminate splashing as to their charms (13.08 *vacana*). He escapes them and emerges from the water along with Kṛṣṇa. Then,

> Comprehending his brother’s signal and complying with it, the prince [Nēmi] said to Satyabhāmā: “Wring out my undergarment.”
> She looked at him in rage: “Why should I wring out your undergarment? It is improper. It must not be [done]. Are you my lord? Does the great Goddess work for a living? I may be your sister[-in-law], but should you speak without regard for our relative status?” (13.09–10).

In scolding Nēmi why does Satyabhāmā compare herself to the great Goddess (*ādidevi*)? We know too little about Bandhuvarma’s milieu to postulate anything with confidence; however, the thirteenth century marked the rise of Vaiṣṇavas in the lower Deccan in the Hoysaḷa ambit. In such a milieu, we may understand the pairing of Satyabhāmā and Kṛṣṇa as that of Śrī and Viṣṇu, and read sectarian overtones into Bandhuvarma’s verse. When Satyabhāmā scolds Nēmi, Rukmiṇī intervenes to describe his divine origins (13.10–12), along the same lines as in Karṇapārya earlier. But Satyabhāmā repudiates Rukmiṇī vigorously:

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[12] For example, see Lorenzen 1991; Settar 1989: Chapter 2; Shanthamurthy forthcoming a and b.

> “Is my lord’s prowess ordinary? The world knows his might in defeating the eight celestials that his enemy who heard [the news of his birth] sent as soon as Hari was born. Further – and do you not know this to be true? –
> He lifted up the mountain to protect the cowherds, he clearly killed the horrible Kāḷiya snake, occupied the serpent-couch, strung the horn-bow, and easily blew the Pāñcajanya [conch]. Have you not heard how awesome Viṣṇu’s valour is? –
> How he vanquished famous wrestlers? How he destroyed Kaṁsa? What he did to Śiśupāla? Can there be greater [feats] than this?
> Do you not know of his valour when [he] seized [his bride] Jāmbavatī? Have you forgotten how he killed Jarāsandha in battle and obtained the insignia of sovereignty, [and] the glory of ruling the tripartite land?
> I, who am the queen of such a *cakravartin* – how dare anyone give me a [menial] task [to perform]?” (13.13–16).

We have here a more expansive recital of Kṛṣṇa’s miraculous feats than ever before, and he is explicitly identified as Viṣṇu (lending some support to the Vaiṣṇava sectarian perspective above). Moreover, Kṛṣṇa’s feats are all already accomplished, and his own, whereas the acclaim of Nēmi by celestials merely foreshadows his future career. Rukmiṇī continues to remonstrate with her, hinting at calamity if Satyabhāmā continues to cross the all-powerful Nēmi, but Satyabhāmā remains angry.

They return to the city where Nēmi, disgusted with the words of his sister-in-law thought, “What do women know of the prowess of great men? I will give her a little demonstration of what I can accomplish” (13.17 *vacana*). By the thirteenth century even a future Jina, aware of his own destiny, acknowledged by celestials, and even possessing devoted bhaktas, must still supply proof of his miraculous powers to convince doubting human followers, who after all have many more options to choose from in terms of sectarian affiliation. Therefore, Nēmi briskly replicates Kṛṣṇa’s three feats of strength and causes chaos. When he learns of Nēmi’s doings, Kṛṣṇa is stunned. He realises Nēmi is more worthy of the kingdom than himself and cannot be suppressed if he presses a claim; he becomes fearful (13.18).

In a departure from other sources, the poet next describes the arm-wrestling incident, though the main elements of the incident are the same as in other sources. Kṛṣṇa challenges Nēmi to a test of strength, perhaps to test a rival claimant to the throne, though the poet does not make his motives clear. He fails miserably, and humiliated and more afraid for his throne than ever, he takes counsel with Baladēva. Baladēva reassures him – Nēmi is destined for liberation, and they need merely hasten it. He arranges Nēmi’s marriage with Rājīmatī leading eventually to Nēmi’s renunciation of the world.

It is clear that the thirteenth-century Nēmi is a foreordained deity, and he is merely navigating the set pattern of his career as a human before his elevation as Jina. His deification is a foregone conclusion even to characters within his life-story, and the human aspects of his experience that lead him to enlightenment are almost caricatured. Yet, unlike the impassive, tranquil Jina, he is permitted anger towards the less-than-devoted and though he does not go as far as to menace them (as some of them fear), he nevertheless makes his divinity plain to the world by performing miracles – indeed, we may even suspect that he is forced to do so.

Nēmijinēśasaṅgati of Maṅgarasa

Maṅgarasa gives us another version of the Nēmi story in the *sāṅgatya* meter in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. He combines elements from both Karṇapārya and Bandhuvarma in his account, beginning with the arm-wrestling contest between Kṛṣṇa and Nēmi. But it comes about in an unusual way in Maṅgarasa's telling: When some in the assembly request Nēmi to display his physical prowess, he extends his arm playfully. But Kṛṣṇa is unable to bend even a finger of Nēmi's hand, and though he bears down with all his might, he merely appears ridiculous like a like wooden doll on a stick (32.06–08). The celestials acclaim this feat of Nēmi with a timely shower of flowers. Next, when spring arrives, Kṛṣṇa "humbly begs Nēmi to perform a pleasure trip to the grove and the pond" (32.15). Jinasēna would hardly recognise this characterisation of Nēmi and of his relationship with Kṛṣṇa. Here Nēmi is fully the deity, going through the motions of his earthly life as if in divine sport (*līlā*), adored by people who already know that he is a deity, acceding to their requests to 'perform divinity'. In a way this captures the sectarian zeitgeist of the fifteenth century, for this is the period when Śiva too is performing *līlā* on earth, manifesting himself as Allama, Basava and a host of other human saint-figures, as is Viṣṇu.[13]

They set out for the pleasure grove with Kṛṣṇa's women. Having wandered around a little, they enter the lotus pond and play in the water for a while. Then, when Nēmi emerges to change his garments, in keeping with his role as a deity performing divinity, he hands his undergarment to Satyabhāmā in *līlā*.

> At Kṛṣṇa's signal, the benefactor of the world, Nēmi, playfully gave the undergarment he wore to Satyabhāmā, who said with great arrogance, "[I, who am] the chief

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[13] See Shanthamurthy 2020.

> queen of the sovereign of the tripartite land of Bharata – would I touch cast off garments as if I were a utterly lowly person?" (32.19–20).

Satyabhāmā, who clearly does not comprehend Nēmi's divinity, repulses him in anger. Rukmiṇī hears this and angrily upbraids Satyabhāmā, for even celestials sprinkle themselves with Nēmi's bathwater and do homage to him (32.21), but Satyabhāmā will have none of it:

> "Who on earth is the equal of the one who, when he was a child, fearlessly killed the demonesses who came [to attack him] in anger, who lifted up the Gōvardhana mountain with ease, occupied the serpent-couch, strung the horn-bow, easily blew the Pāñcajanya [conch] and killed the powerful Māgadha [Jarāsandha]? Should they tell me [to perform] menial tasks?" (32.22–24ab).

Rukmiṇī counters with an account of Nēmi's claim to divinity – the celestial rites attending his birth, but Satyabhāmā flounces off unconvinced. Then, attesting to the salvific power of ritualised bhakti, the poet tells us that Rukmiṇī herself takes Nēmi's garment with pure-minded servitude and desiring liberation (32.30). Rukmiṇī finally transcends marital and other taboos, and in performing menial service so dear to the deity and productive of liberation, manifests bhakti in its ultimate form: servitude. Kṛṣṇa and Baladēva too worship Nēmi with great devotion, offering him garments and ornaments and all return to the city.

As in Bandhuvarma's account, on his way back Nēmi is roused to anger by Satyabhāmā's arrogant words "as if water catching fire" (32.32). But, given his demeanour thus far, we can be in no doubt that Maṅgarasa's Nēmi is offended by Satyabhāmā the sectarian 'other' and not Satyabhāmā the impudent woman. He quickly replicates Kṛṣṇa's three feats of strength, causing chaos in the city and frightening both Kṛṣṇa and Baladēva. Kṛṣṇa is concerned for his throne and thinks: "This one has obtained the submission of the celestials, he is powerful. Should he seize my kingdom who can stop him?". He consults Baladēva, who reassures him that the holy one will not let himself be entangled in mundane rule for it does not lead to liberation. Kṛṣṇa disagrees, for previous *tīrthaṅkara*s have first ruled as *cakravartin*s and then sought liberation (32.41–46). Baladēva suggests they should find a way to make Nēmi averse to the world, and accordingly Kṛṣṇa arranges the marriage of Nēmi to Rājīmatī and five hundred other princesses, and the narrative proceeds along familiar lines.

Nēmināthacaritre of Sāḷva

Sāḷva (or Sāḷava Mallēśa), writing in the Jaina enclaves of coastal Karnataka in mid to late sixteenth century, gives us yet another Kannada version of Nēmi, the *Nēmināthacaritre* (or *Sāḷvabhārata*) in the *ṣatpadi* meter. He begins with the arm-wrestling contest between Kṛṣṇa and Nēmi in the assembly in Dvārāvatī, but interestingly, the assembly is called *Jinasabhe* and it is Nēmi who is enthroned there, attended by Kṛṣṇa, Baladēva, the Pāṇḍavas and celestials (50.02). Various people praise Bhīma, Baladēva, and Kṛṣṇa, but others uphold Nēmi as the Jina, and therefore unanswerably omnipotent (50.04). His pride wounded, Kṛṣṇa challenges Nēmi to a wrestling bout, but Nēmi tells him they need not go that far – Kṛṣṇa may merely try and move his foot from its footstool if he can; and he plants his left toe firmly (50.06). Kṛṣṇa exhausts himself trying to move the Jina's foot and is humiliated. Baladēva consoles him: Kṛṣṇa should take pride in the fact that he is the elder brother of Nēmi.

In spring Kṛṣṇa invites Nēmi on a pleasure trip to the forest. The women charmingly adorn Kṛṣṇa, Baladēva and Nēmi with forest flowers, and all proceed to the pond, when they bathe and play in the water. Unlike previous poets, Sāḷva transforms the conventional scenes of eroticism in the pond into scenes of worship, idealising them as bhakti: young celestial men play *ōkuḷi*[14] in the guise of women with Nēmi (58.53); Baladēva places him on an artificial thousand-petalled lotus and pours sandal water (performing the *abhiṣēka* ritual) upon him, until he resembles the Jina Candraprabha; The women gaze upon him with worshipful devotion (58.53–54). Then:

> As Nēmi exits the pond, the women stare at the Jina's [physical] beauty. He gives his wet garments to Satyabhāmā at Kṛṣṇa's signal. When he extends his hand, she recoils saying "What is this? Am I a serving woman? Am I not Kṛṣṇa's chief queen? Would I touch your soiled garment?"
> The wise Rukmiṇī takes the garment and rebukes Satyabhāmā: "You should not utter abuse. At his birth, Indra and other [celestials] received the Jina's bathwater and sprinkled it on their heads. We are but lowly servants. Celestial women were house servants of his mother, and Indra serves the Jina."
> Satyabhāmā, enraged at Rukmiṇī's words, says "Listen, daughter of Bhīṣmaka, who else is capable of performing [feats of strength] such as Hari, who killed Pūtinī and other demonesses in childhood, lifted up the mountain, occupied the serpent-couch, strung the horn[-bow] and blew the conch?" (58.57–60).

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[14] The traditional game of spraying each other with coloured water.

Rukmiṇī responds by describing Nēmi's divine birth compared to Kṛṣṇa's merely human prowess. She also places the claims of the guru above the claims of the husband (58.64), silencing Satyabhāmā. In apparent acknowledgement of this truism, Kṛṣṇa and Baladēva are described as adorning Nēmi with divine garments and ornaments, before all return home.

But Nēmi is angered by Satyabhāmā's arrogant words, for "can the thorn that pierces the mind be relieved unless one retaliates?" (58.66). As soon as they return from the pleasure grove Nēmi replicates Kṛṣṇa's three feats of strength. Kṛṣṇa is concerned for his throne and consults Baladēva, for "who can prevent our younger brother, who is worshiped by Indra, if he decides to seize the kingdom?" Baladēva reassures him, for "why should one, who rules the kingdom of liberation, hanker for the filth of mundanity?" But Kṛṣṇa counters that previous *tīrthaṅkara*s have indeed sought mundane rule. Finally, they conspire to make Nēmi averse to the world (58.70–73), arrange his marriage to Rājīmatī and five hundred other princesses, and the narrative continues as we know from previous discussions.

Refractions in Śvetāmbara Transcreations

Śvetāmbara authors appear to have decided early on that Nēmi as a future Jina cannot be permitted mortal motives, emotions or conduct even early in his life. Hence, they remove Nēmi from the erotic context or at the least distance him from it. Nēmi, who is aware of his Jina-hood, is consistently averse to sexual desire even as a youth. His family expose him to sensuality out of affectionate impulses in an attempt to settle him down as householder. When he is no longer able to avoid their importunities, he merely goes through the motions of mundane existence.

Of the three Śvetāmbara authors considered here, both Śīlāṅka and Hemacandra incorporate the *jalakrīḍā* in their narratives. Hemacandra introduces the erotic as a *kāvya* trope with a robust description of the activities in the forest and pond, but places Nēmi on the scene merely as a passive patient and indifferent observer. Instead, Kṛṣṇa is the main participant in the *jalakrīḍā*. Śīlāṅka goes farther than Hemacandra in cleansing Nēmi of the taint of the erotic: Nēmi is not even mentioned among the participants in the *jalakrīḍā*, although he is clearly on the scene as the subsequent passages confirm. Kīrtiratna dispenses with the *jalakrīḍā* altogether, proceeding directly to the family pressuring Nēmi to marry.

The arm-wrestling incident and Kṛṣṇa's humiliating loss – which in most Digambara retellings is his motive for polluting Nēmi with the erotic – is absent in Śīlāṅka. It is present in both Hemacandra and Kīrtiratna as a way for Kṛṣṇa to assess his opponent, but since Kṛṣṇa's subsequent actions are impelled by affectionate brotherly motives towards Nēmi, it does not have the same causal force as it does in the Digambara versions.

Caüppannamahāpurisacariyam of Śīlāṅka[15]

Caüppannamahāpurisacariyam is a ninth-century Prakrit text of the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākapuruṣa* genre attributed to Śīlāṅka (or Vimalamati), in which the tale of Nēmi is intertwined with those of Kṛṣṇa and Baladēva. The *jalakrīḍā* occurs in the setting already familiar to us from the texts above. Kṛṣṇa returns to Dvārāvatī having vanquished Jarāsandha and is welcomed. One spring day when Baladēva and Kṛṣṇa are seated discussing household matters, they also discuss Nēmi's aversion to worldly passion: even though he surpasses others in matters of prowess, physical attractiveness and good fortune, he has no sensual desire; therefore, if anyone at all is able to lead him into the net of sensual pleasure by some trick, that would be a good thing (37.138–139). Someone then praises spring in a couple of well-turned verses and Kṛṣṇa decides: "A good opportunity has presented itself. The womenfolk led by Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā with their beautiful retinue, singing the spring *caccarī* song will captivate Nēmi under the pretext of bathing." Accordingly, he announces a pleasure trip. The next day, all proceed, dressed according to their status, and enjoy the *caccarī* dance.

The Yādavas then proceed to bathe. The poet tells us exactly what that was like: the splashing around turning the water red with body paint, the women shrieking, the men aroused by it. Having thus enjoyed themselves fully with various playful pastimes, the Yādavas come out of the water.

> Then Kṛṣṇa sends his eight chief queens including Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, and Jāmbavatī to entrap Nēmi. He puts them off with pleasantry. Then, Jāmbavatī speaks to him in anger: what is the point of his youth if he remains unmarried and chaste? The point of youth is to engage in sensual pleasures; furthermore, it is inappropriate for any respectable person to shirk this obligation – how much more so for one belonging to the Manu clan [like himself]? How can he hope to attain other *puruṣārtha*s if he repudiates *kāma*? The youth of a good man without

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[15] I am grateful to Andrew Ollett for helping me read this passage.

> a beloved is incomplete. Further, it is inappropriate for him to do otherwise [since] propagating one's lineage has been done by his parents too, and it is not wise for the great, like himself, to transgress the command of one's parents. So, in due course, he should make his youth successful by taking the hand of a woman (37.151–154).[16]

Nēmi, though unpersuaded, gives in, for (he knows, being the omniscient Jina that) doing so will lead to him to renunciation. A marriage is arranged with Rājīmatī, sister of Satyabhāmā, and thereafter the narrative proceeds along the lines common to all Nēmi narratives.

Triṣaṣṭiśalākapuruṣacaritra of Hemacandra

The Sanskrit *Triṣaṣṭiśalākapuruṣapurāṇam* of Hemacandra, the preceptor of the twelfth-century Gurjara king Kumārapāla, also provides us a version of the Nēmi tale. Hemacandra's version of the *jalakrīḍā* follows the Digambara version more closely than that of Śīlāṅka, in that it is preceded by the arm-wrestling contest; however, there are significant departures from the Digambara narrative sequence. Once Nēmi, wandering around with princes, enters Kṛṣṇa's armoury and blows the Pāñcajanya conch, creating chaos in the city. Kṛṣṇa is made anxious that there is an emergent threat to his sovereignty. When he finds out that Nēmi is the author of the incident, he challenges Nēmi to an arm-wrestling contest wishing to test his strength. Nēmi defeats Kṛṣṇa with ease. Kṛṣṇa discusses his disquiet with Baladēva, who reassures him. A timely disembodied voice also prophecies Nēmi's renunciation of the world. Kṛṣṇa then summons Nēmi and makes him free of his women's quarters, though the poet does not tell us why. Then, one spring day the Yādavas go to the Raivataka garden to enjoy themselves. As Kṛṣṇa and his wives, Satyabhāmā and others, wander around with Nēmi:

> It occurs to Kṛṣṇa that were Nēmi to turn his mind to sensual pleasures, beauty would find its purpose; moreover, it would be a brotherly thing to do on his part. Were receptive Nēmi to be often surrounded with temptation and excitement and their pleasurable consequences by him, his objective would be accomplished (8.9.58–59).

Kṛṣṇa sets to it:

> His wives led by the clever Satyabhāmā understood his intention. They approached Nēmi with colourful flower ornaments. One brushing against him with her large high breasts from behind entwined his hair-knot with strings of flowers. Another wife of Hari placed a chaplet on his head standing in front, her upraised arm

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[16] The language in this passage is obscure in places and I have omitted translation of the similes in the original.

> revealing her armpit. Another seized Nēmi's ear with her hand and placed an ear ornament in it as if [arranging] Kāma's banner. Another playfully placed fresh flower armbands again and again on his arms. Thus, they offered Nēmi seasonable civilities, but Nēmi treated them with indifference (8.9.61–66).

Spring passes, summer comes and all suffer from the heat. Kṛṣṇa, his women, and Nēmi go to bathe in a pond in the Raivataka garden. Here, the poet treats the erotic trope according to convention but with Kṛṣṇa instead of Nēmi as the main participant in the *jalakrīḍā*. Nēmi participates at the insistence of Kṛṣṇa but remains unmoved. Kṛṣṇa's women repeatedly attempt to incite Nēmi to passion, as the poet tells us in some detail, but Nēmi continues impassive. (8.9.86–94). When they eventually emerge from the pond Rukmiṇī honours Nēmi, as if worshiping a deity, by offering him a seat herself and drying his body with her own upper garment (8.9.97). However, Satyabhāmā challenges Nēmi's aversion to sensual pleasures under the guise of pleasantry. He is the brother of Kṛṣṇa who has sixteen thousand women, while he has not even one. He is well-favoured, but celibate. She pressures him to accede to the wishes of his kin and marry. He wastes time as a bachelor – is he ignorant? dried up? impotent? Celibacy is not fitting for a young man; even the *tīrthaṅkara* Vṛṣabha was a householder first (8.9.98–105). Jāmbavatī too offers a similar example of Muni Suvrata of his own lineage. The family besieges Nēmi with similar pleas, and he gives in to their importunities though deprecating their ignorance. Kṛṣṇa arranges his marriage with Rājīmatī, sister of Satyabhāmā, and thereafter the narrative proceeds along the lines common to all Nēmi narratives.

Nēmināthamahākāvyam of Kīrtiratna

The Sanskrit *Nēmināthamahākāvyam* of Kīrtiratna (or Kīrtirāja), a Jaina ascetic belonging to the Kharataragacchā, is a fifteenth-century retelling of the Nēmi tale belonging to the *mahākāvya* genre. Though the seasons are in full in swing, they do not move Nēmi to any stirrings of sensuality, "for the lion does not eat fruit though it lives in the forest" (8.54); clearly the *jalakrīḍā* as a narrative device has no significance for the poet, and he omits it entirely.

Once, as Nēmi wanders about passing time, he happens to go into Kṛṣṇa's armoury. There, he playfully picks up the conch and blows it, causing chaos. Kṛṣṇa, desirous to test his strength, challenges him to a contest of arm-wrestling. Nēmi bends Kṛṣṇa's arm as if bending a lotus stalk, while Kṛṣṇa clings to Nēmi's arm like a monkey dangling from a tree. However, Nēmi explicitly disclaims any interest in Kṛṣṇa's kingdom (8.64).

Nēmi's kin wish him to marry, and Kṛṣṇa asks the advice of his wives, "for they were skilled in such matters". One day, Satyabhāmā and other women of Kṛṣṇa address Nēmi: "Nēmi, charming youth falls away quickly; why do you waste it?" (9.04–06),[17] and they urge him to marry and enjoy sensual pleasures natural to man. Nēmi repudiates the sensuality foolishly lauded by the wives of his brother, for it impedes the attainment of enlightenment. He forbids them from mentioning it again, "for only rustics discuss such matters" (9.27). But Kṛṣṇa's wives persist, addressing him as the Jina – it is his filial duty to marry. When his mother Śivādēvi also adds her voice, Nēmi reluctantly gives in, though he is indifferent. Kṛṣṇa arranges the marriage of Nēmi to Rājīmatī, and thereafter the narrative proceeds along the lines common to all Nēmi narratives.

Conclusion

The early Digambara sources appear to adopt a much more human formulation of Nēmi. He is described as a human male with impulses of playfulness, flirtation, hurt pride and anger which direct his responses to the main events of the narrative. He is playful in his arm-wrestling contretemps with Kṛṣṇa in the Yādava assembly, he flirts with Kṛṣṇa's wives in the pond (more explicitly in some versions than in others), and it is the anger of a man slighted by a woman which moves him to replicate Kṛṣṇa's three feats of strength. Finally, though I have not systematically examined the trigger that leads him to renounce the world, he seems to come upon the penned wild animals as a genuine happenstance on the way to his wedding, and his human response to their distress leads him to a moment of *éclaircissement* and consequent aversion to the world and its ways. In the later Digambara and Śvetāmbara narratives on the other hand, Nēmi (as well as everyone else) never escapes the awareness of his omniscient Jina-hood, and the insistent appearance of merely going through the motions of mundane existence saps Nēmi of humanity.

In addition, there are two noticeable developments in the treatment of Nēmi in Digambara narratives over time: first, the narrative elements are more clearly articulated as a causal chain of human motivations; second, the figure of Nēmi becomes more obviously divine. The treatment of the arm-wrestling incident is illustrative of the former development, which Jinasēna frames as the key to Kṛṣṇa's subsequent plotting to entrap Nēmi in sensual pleasures with the connivance of his women during *jalakrīḍā*. This results in further humiliation and anxiety for Kṛṣṇa when Nēmi replicates his feats of strength causing him to urgently arrange the marriage of Nēmi to Rājīmatī.

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[17] I do not translate the similes in the original.

It is interesting that Guṇabhadra, Puṣpadanta, and Cāvuṇḍarāya omit the arm-wrestling incident and attribute no underhand motives to Kṛṣṇa before the *jalakrīḍā*. Svayambhū too merely mentions it indirectly and in passing – though they must all have had Jinasēna's version as a model. However, Karṇapārya and later authors reintroduce the arm-wrestling incident. One possible explanation is that Guṇabhadra, Puṣpadanta and Cāvuṇḍarāya were writing in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa royal ambit,[18] where the connection of the king with Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa/Gōvinda was quite explicit, and from the ninth century onwards the dynasty claimed descent from the Yadu clan of Kṛṣṇa (Altekar 1934: 15–16). Any attribution of skullduggery to Kṛṣṇa, or explicit and gratuitous humiliation of him by a Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* may have been a perilous textual device for the author, though it is interesting that the threat to Kṛṣṇa's throne from Nēmi does not appear to be a forbidden theme. This is not to suggest that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were devout Vaiṣṇavas and the tableau of Nēmi defeating Kṛṣṇa with sectarian overtones of Jaina–Vaiṣṇava conflict could possibly have been offensive to them; instead, it is suggested merely that the tableau of a figure who bears the reign name of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king being subject to defeat and humiliation by Nēmi may have been something that poets in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa royal ambit wished to avoid. Nevertheless, this is only an unprovable speculation, and therefore readers may choose to take this with some scepticism.

The second development is the premature deification of Nēmi by participants in the text, seen first in Svayambhū but becoming insistent thereafter, as revealed in Rukmiṇī's attitude. Another signification of the same phenomenon is Baladēva's reassurance to Kṛṣṇa after Nēmi replicates his feats of strength. Baladēva describes Nēmi as the Jina, and therefore indifferent to mundane rule. This is first seen in Puṣpadanta, though Baladēva does not explicitly call Nēmi the Jina:

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[18] Guṇabhadra was guru of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II, a politically weak king (Altekar 1934: 99). Svayambhū too was writing in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period but we do not know how close he was to royal circles. Svayambhū's sectarian affiliation which appears to fall between Digambara and Śvetāmbara may have influenced his narrative choices in ways that are unclear to us.

> Baladēva said, "This is appropriate, brother you should not be jealous. He who causes the sun to tremble, at whose feet Indra falls, [who causes] the earth with mountains and oceans to move, who can cross the seven oceans, who is worthy of worship before any in the world – for him, the serpent couch is a couch of flowers. If he blows the conch and strings the bow, why do you make your mind hostile?" (*Mahāpurāṇu*, 88.21.08–12).

As in the case of Rukmiṇī, Baladēva's description of Nēmi as the Jina becomes more explicit and more laudatory with each subsequent retelling.

One possible factor is the influence of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava bhakti movements in which deification of saint figures is common. They become prominent in the Deccan after the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and last upto the Vijayanagara period and beyond. Based on epigraphical evidence at Shravanabelagola, Settar (1989: 31–70) notes that during the twelfth century, Digambara Jainas shift their emphasis from spiritual attainments to institution building under the control of a certain Mūlasaṅgha. The building and endowment of temples by Jaina laity specifically with Hoysaḷa royal connections is notable. Further research that combines epigraphical evidence with Kannada textual sources, and which is not restricted only to Jaina material would shed much light on this pan-sectarian 'bhakti' development as a broader social phenomenon.

A second possible factor in this development is the Śvetāmbara influence on Digambara narratives in the Deccan. Digambara Jainas experience a gradual loss of royal patronage after the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and are eventually marginalised in the Deccan. Settar (1989: 3–90) traces the rise and eventual decline of Digambara Jainas between 600 and 1900 CE, based on epigraphical and material evidence in Shravanabelagola, their preeminent religious stronghold in Southern Karnataka. This loss of political and social status is echoed in Jaina polemical texts such as the *Dharmāmṛtam* of Nayasēna (early twelfth century), the *Samayaparīkṣe* of Brahmaśiva (end twelfth century) and the *Dharmaparīkṣe* of Vṛttavilāsa (mid fourteenth century). It is also evident in Śaiva narratives of sectarian triumph such as the thirteenth-century *Sōmanāthacāritre* of Rāghavāṅka in Kannada, which tells us of the violent conversion of the Jaina Surahonne *basadi* of Puligeṟe in northern Karnataka into a temple for Śiva-Sōmanātha, as well as many other tales of destruction and displacement of Jainas by Śaivas.[19] This is not to say that Digambara Jainas disappear completely from the Deccan. Though politically and socially weakened, they continue to inhabit southern Karnataka and even flourish in coastal Karnataka under the protection of the Sāntara and Āḷupa dynasties.[20] However, the social circumstances of Digambara Jainas and their interactions with the more prosperous Śvetāmbaras of the North and West (who continue to visit Shravanabelagola and leave epigraphical records of their ventures) are understudied and an interesting area for further research.

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[19] For discussion and examples, see Ben-Herut 2016, and 2018: 199–229.

A consideration of narrative details also raises interesting questions about what it meant to be a woman bounded by the norms of marriage or other types of marital relationships in the changing social milieu of the Deccan from the ninth to the sixteenth century. Three such elements in and around the *jalakrīḍā* incident are of interest – Kṛṣṇa's express consent to Nēmi handing his wet garment to one of his wives, the actual point of conflict in the quarrel between Jāmbavatī/Satyabhāmā and Nēmi, and the changing role of Rukmiṇī as the Jina-devotee extraordinaire. One must be cautious about making broad claims derived from the heuristics of a small sample such as those examined in this essay; any robust conclusions about gender relations in the Jaina or the broader social milieu of premodern Deccan must await a generalised study of the role of women in Digambara Jaina narratives and should be informed by the role of women in contemporaneous narratives of other sects. With this *proviso*, one may still note certain points of interest in the circumstances of the incidents discussed here.

In the sample of texts considered here, Svayambhū, Karṇapārya, Bandhuvarma, Maṅgarasa, and Sāḷva make it clear that Kṛṣṇa explicitly consents to (in fact, initiates) Nēmi's handing the cast-off garment to one of his wives, whereas Jinasēna, Guṇabhadra, Puṣpadanta, and Cāvuṇḍarāya omit any reference to Kṛṣṇa in Nēmi's handing over the garment. This appears to be a chronological evolution. This could be interpreted as follows: sometime after the tenth century the conduct of men towards the 'wife' of another began to be more closely regulated with due regard to the 'husband'. At the same time, a man was considered the 'master' of other women, for whom (and with whom) considerably greater license in interactions was permitted. This is evident from the descriptions of Kṛṣṇa's (unnamed) women enticing Nēmi in the forest and the pond. This cannot be said to be *prima facie* a Jaina social restriction. A study of narrative texts from the Deccan from different sectarian traditions would enable us to draw more robust insights in this regard.

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[20] For a history of the Sāntaras and their religious affiliations, see Venkatesha 2000: 39-68. For a history of the Āḷupas and their religious affiliations, see Ramesh 1970.

The nature of the quarrel between one of Kṛṣṇa's chief queens – Jāmbavatī according to Svayambhū and Jinasēna, and Satyabhāmā according to the others – is also interesting because of the light it sheds on the social status of the woman. Jāmbavatī/Satyabhāmā rejects Nēmi's request for a personal service, not as socially transgressive in itself, but as beneath the status of the wife of a great personage such as Kṛṣṇa, even when this request is made at Kṛṣṇa's prompting in some cases. At the same time, some of these women do not reject Kṛṣṇa's demand that they sexually entice Nēmi in the forest and the pond – either because that was not considered a 'menial' service, or because they were not 'wives'. This again cannot be called a Jaina social phenomenon, and a broader study of contemporaneous texts should shed interesting light on the status of women that could determine (and be influenced in turn by) activities permitted to them.

Finally, Rukmiṇī's strong advocacy of Nēmi as Jina is interesting on two dimensions: the permission for 'chaste' women to perform menial and/or socially transgressive service demanded by a 'divine' man who is not the husband, and advocacy of such service by a woman of higher marital/household status such as Rukmiṇī and not by Kṛṣṇa himself (the husband concerned). This may be an aspect with social implications specific to Jaina communities, given the ubiquity of socially significant groups of male Jaina mendicant and sedentary ascetics in this period who depended upon women of lay households to provide them with sustenance, as well as the epigraphically attested prominence of lay women in religious undertakings in Shravanabelagola.[21] At the same time, such ascetics were also a part of the Śaiva (and to a lesser extent Vaiṣṇava) social milieu, and once again, a broader study of narrative texts across these sects should shed interesting light on the matter.

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[21] See Settar 1989: 31–70.

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The Story of King Yaśōdhara – Processes of Transformation

Anna Aurelia Esposito

"The Story of King Yaśōdhara" is one of the narratives exclusively told by Jains,[1] and it is told in numerous versions (and different languages), the earliest dating from the eighth century, the most recent from 1980. It is not at all surprising that the story is taken up again and again – King Yaśōdhara, who as a result of a symbolic act of violence has to suffer the most terrible rebirths and cruel ways of death, is an ideal example for the propagation of the concept of ahimsa, non-violence in deeds, words and thoughts, which is central to Jainism.

As the material is very extensive, I will focus in this article especially on two versions written in Kannada and their direct sources. Central for my investigation is the first version in Kannada, composed by Janna (or Janārdanadēva), court poet, minister and army commander under the Hoysaḷa kings Ballāḷa II (r. 1173-1220) and Narasiṃha II (r. 1220-1235). Janna chose exactly this tale in 1209 as the subject of his first major poem,[2] and certainly for a good reason, as he created it during a time of transition in Karnāṭaka. While until the end of the first millennium the members of the ruling dynasties were predominantly close to Jainism,[3] towards the middle of the twelfth century the Vīraśaivas gained more and more power.[4] The strengthening of the Vīraśaivas demanded

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[1] The only exception being the drama *Hiṭṭina huṃja* by Girish Karnad, written in 1980, see below.
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[2] As far as we know, besides the *Yaśōdharacarite* Janna composed the *Anantanātha-purāṇaṃ*, "The Legend of Tīrthaṅkara Anantanātha", the *Anubhavamukura*, a treatise on sexology that is no longer extant, and most probably two inscriptions.

[3] Thus, until the middle of the twelfth century, almost all literary works that have survived to the present day were written by Jains (see Rice 1921: 17f.).

[4] In contrast to the earlier largely peaceful coexistence of the various religious movements, polemics and sometimes violent confrontations – similar to those in Tamil Nadu from the sixth/seventh century onwards – now occurred, culminating in the takeover or destruction of numerous Jain shrines, cf. Geen 2020, esp. chapter "Jains and Śaivas in Karnataka". As Dibbad (2011: 67) was able to show on the basis of epigraphic evidence, about half of all Jain shrines in Karnataka were destroyed or

a counter-reaction from the Jains, a confrontation with and clear dissociation from the values and rituals of their rivals. To show the importance of "The Story of King Yaśōdhara" in this context, I will first of all give a brief summary of the plot, following Janna's *Yaśōdharacarite*.[5] I will then address issues of transformation and transcreation and demonstrate how "The Story of King Yaśōdhara" is still relevant today.

Summary of Janna's version of "The Story of King Yaśōdhara"

Māridatta, king of Rājapura, celebrated the spring festival for the bloodthirsty goddess Caṇḍamāri. He sent his men to fetch a human pair for the main sacrifice. They caught a boy and his sister, who had come with a group of ascetics to the city and were seeking for alms. They were brought into the temple, a hell full of blood, skulls and crying animals, where the king awaited them, his sword drawn. To the king's amazement the children showed no fear at all. Admiring their courage, he asked about their family. The boy realised that the king was ready to embrace the true faith and agreed to tell him the story of their lives:

Yaśōdhara, king of Ujjaini, was happily married with beautiful Amṛtamati. One night the queen was awakened by a voice, singing sweet and alluring in the dark silence of the small hours. She lost her heart to the possessor of that divine voice, whoever it might be. It turned out that the singer was the mahout, a bald, ugly, crippled, mean, bad-smelling fellow, in every inch the opposite of Amṛtamati's royal husband. What follows now is an old story, which we already find in the commentaries to the *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*s.[6] Spurning her brave and handsome husband, the queen got involved with this unworthy guy, who also treated her badly. Yaśōdhara, aware of the diminishing passion of his wife, followed her one night and found out the truth. His first impulse was to kill them both, but the baseness of his wife's paramour kept him from doing so. Disgusted, he left the scene.

The next day he visited his mother Candramati in her chambers. Of course, she noticed that something was bothering her son. Yaśōdhara told her about a bad dream in which he symbolically hid the adultery of

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converted into Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples. On the violence of the Vīraśaivas against the Jains, see also Leslie 1998, Ben-Herut 2012 and Hegewald 2014.

[5] The spelling of the names of the protagonists in this essay has been taken from Janna's Kannada version for consistency.

[6] See, for example, the story of the elephant-driver, *Āvaśyakacūrṇī* I 461,13-465,6, translated by Nalini Balbir in Granoff 1990: 21-24.

his wife. Terrified, she asked him to sacrifice an animal to the goddess to avert the evil effects of the dream, but he refused, pointing to the compassion for living beings, the very essence of Jainism. Finally, Candramati was able to convince her son to offer a cock made of dough instead of a "real" animal. With a heavy heart, Yaśōdhara agreed.

Through this symbolic act of violence alone, Yaśōdhara and Candramati had to suffer the worst rebirths imaginable: After they had been poisoned by Yaśōdhara's unfaithful wife, they had to endure various cruel rebirths as animals, killing and devouring each other, being sacrificed and being tortured to death. Finally, they were born as a pair of chickens, listened by chance to the sermon of a saint named Sudatta and gained insight into their former lives. After their violent death — they were pierced by an arrow — they were reborn as children of Yaśōdhara's son Yaśōmati by the name of Abhayaruci and Abhayamati. Even as children, they remembered their past lives. When their father was converted to the true faith by the saint Sudatta and renounced the world, they also joined the ascetic and his group of monks, wandering with them from place to place, until they were caught in Rājapura by King Māridatta's men.

Abhayaruci concluded his narrative with the admonition: "I have seen and experienced the suffering of births through one symbolical act of violence; you kill without hesitation this much living beings – you will undergo attoning in hell!" (JY 4.70).[7] After these words, the goddess Caṇḍamāri appeared in bodily form and asked her devotees not to kill any animals for her now or in the future. King Māridatta, horrified by this tale, renounced the world.

Janna and his predecessors

As mentioned before, this narrative of King Yaśōdhara is by no means new in Jain literature. The oldest known source is the now-lost work of the poet Prabhañjana, which may have been written before the eighth century CE in northwestern India in Jaina Maharashtri.[8] In the mid-eighth century, Haribhadra, also in Jaina Maharashtri, takes up the story in the fourth *bhava* of his *Samarāiccakahā* (p. 237.17-285.16, ed. Jacobi). Subsequently, the narrative material was rendered into Sanskrit by several poets; the oldest known version is that from Hariṣeṇa's *Bṛhatkathākośa* (931 CE, tale no. 73, ed. Upadhye), followed by Somadeva's *Yaśastilakacampu* (959) and Vādirāja's *Yaśodharacarita* (11th century). These three works were composed in the Kannada-speaking area, as was the only version extant from this period in Apabhramsha, Puṣpadanta's *Jasaharacariu* (975).[9] By comparing Janna's *Yaśōdharacarite* (JY) with these chronologically preceding versions written in a supra-regional language (Sanskrit, Jaina Maharashtri and Apabhramsha), I hope to get interesting insights into the processes of vernacularisation, regionalisation and transcreation of pan-Indian narratives.[10] This, however, would exceed the scope of this article, which is why I will limit myself here to a brief comparison with Janna's main source, Vādirāja's *Yaśodharacarita* (VY).

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[7] *saṃkalpa-hiṃsey-oṃdaṟoḷ āṃ kaṃdeṃ bhavada duḥkham uṃḍeṃ nīṃ niḥśaṃkateyin initu dēhigaḷaṃ koṃdape narakadoḷ nivāraṇe-vaḍevai* (JY 4.70).

[8] A *Jasaharacaria* (Skr. *Yaśodharacarita*) of Prabhañjana is mentioned in Uddyotanasūri's *Kuvalayamālā* (778 CE) 3.31 (ed. Upadhye), cf. Handiqui 1968: 42. Since Uddyotanasūri is from Jāvālipura (present-day Jalore in Rajasthan), it is likely that Prabhañjana can also be located in northwestern India.

Vādirāja, the author of the *Yaśodharacarita*

Since there are several poets with the name Vādirāja, one must be careful to distinguish between them. A confusion of two authors of this name first appears in the introduction by Gopinatha Rao to Vādirāja's *Yaśodharacarita* (Tanjore 1912, p. 5), who attributed the work to Kanakasena Vādirāja, who lived in the tenth century. This was for a long time uncritically adopted in the scholarly literature, e.g. by Hertel (1917: 6), Keith (1928: 142) and Vaidya (1972: 25, cf. Krishnamoorthy 1963: 5-8), although it has already been proven by Hultzsch (1914: 696, 698) on the basis of inscriptions that there were two Vādirājas, one Kanakasena Vādirāja, who lived in the tenth century, and another Vādirāja, who lived in the eleventh century (cf. also Venkatasubbiah 1929).[11] The *Yaśodharacarita* was written after 27 October 1025[12] and before the death of the Western Cālukya king Jayasiṃha II (1042), which is almost certainly referred to in verses 3.83 and 4.73.[13] Therefore, the author of this work cannot be Kanakasena Vādirāja, but his namesake who lived in the eleventh century.[14]

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[9] Two more texts predate most probably Janna's time, the anonymous *Yacōtarakāviyam* in Tamil, according to Zvelebil (1974: 140) 975-1050 CE, and Māṇikyasūri's *Yaśodharacaritra* in Sanskrit, originating from Gujarat, that Hertel (1917: 146) dates before the eleventh century (which is considered too early by Granoff 1989: 126 f., fn. 19).

[10] This will be part of my aforementioned project "The Story of King Yaśōdhara in the Religious and Cultural Environment of Karnāṭaka".

[11] The confusion is all the more understandable since both Vādirājas not only bear the same name but were also both pontiffs of the Aruṅgaḷa-*anvaya*, a subdivision of the Nandi-*saṅgha* belonging to the Draviḷa-*saṅgha* (cf. Hultzsch 1914).

[12] At this date Vādirāja completed his *Pārśvanāthacarita*, as is stated in the *praśasti* at the end of this work. The *Yaśodharacarita* was written afterwards, as can be seen in

Vādirāja's Yaśodharacarita and Janna's *Yaśōdharacarite*

Like his predecessor Vādirāja, Janna divided the narrative into four cantos with approximately the same number of verses; in total, Janna has 310 verses, Vādirāja 295. Quite often single verses (or a group of verses) correspond to each other. But the *Yaśōdharacarite* is by no means a mere Kannada version of Vādirāja's Sanskrit-poem, it is an ingenious transformation that takes up images and comparisons and creatively and skillfully transfigures them into entirely new metaphors, which I will show in a few concise examples:[15]

The introductory verses

Although both authors dedicate the first verse of their *opus* to Suvrata, the twentieth *tīrthaṅkara*, the content is totally different. While Vādirāja associates Suvrata with the image of rumbling clouds, pregnant with rain, Janna plays on Suvrata as "he who was indifferent to the women of others" (*para-vanitā-nirapēkṣakan*), though he had "seduced the lady Liberation" (*parama-śrī-vadhuvan olisiy-uṃ*), as had done before him the other Jinas, starting with Ṛṣabha. By alluding to the (dis)interest in women, Janna is already anticipating the main trigger of all subsequent events. The second verse is dedicated to the teachers in general. While

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VY 1.6, where the *Pārśvanāthacarita* is mentioned as former work of the author (cf. also Venkatasubbiah 1929: 180).

[13] *vyātanvan jayasiṃhatāṃ raṇa-mukhe dīrghaṃ dadhau dhāriṇīṃ* (VY 3.83, 3rd *pāda*) / *raṇa-mukha-jayasiṃho rājya-lakṣmīṃ babhāra* (VY 4.73, 4th *pāda*). Vādirāja, who wrote the *Yaśodharacarita*, was a guru of King Jayasiṃha II alias Jagadekamalla I (1018-1042) – although Jayasiṃha II was by no means a Jain, as many gifts of land made over to Śaivas and Brahmins show, cf. Krishnamoorthy 1963: 38.

[14] Besides the *Yaśodharacarita*, two works are attributed to Vādirāja with certainty: The *Pārśvanāthacarita*, completed in 1025, a *mahākāvya* in twelve cantos describing the life of the twenty-third jina Pārśvanātha, and the *Nyāyaviniścayavivaraṇa* (according to Krishnamoorthy 1963: 41 the *magnum opus* of Vādirāja), a very comprehensive commentary on Akalaṅka's *Nyāyaviniścaya*, in which Vādirāja successfully refutes many rival doctrines and defends the *syādvāda* against Śaṅkarācārya's criticisms in his *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*.

[15] A detailed study with a comparison of the individual verses is part of the project mentioned above.

the list – jinas, siddhas, *sūris*, preceptors (VY *upādhyāya* / JY *dēśika*) and monks (VY sadhu / JY muni) – is the same in both works, the rest of the verse differs significantly. Vādirāja quite simply prays for their help in attaining *nirvāṇa*; Janna, however, prays that the mind, compared with a bumblebee (*tuṃbi*), may be attracted by the fresh fragrance, viz. devotion (*bhakti*), to the grove of lotuses, portrayed by the feet of the teachers.[16] Here Janna creates a fascinating image of the mind, unsteady and buzzing around like a bumblebee, but finally led by fragrance / devotion to the flowers / words of the teachers.[17]

Interestingly enough, while Vādirāja gives some details about his person in one mere verse (VY 1.6) and does not mention his patron at all, Janna dedicates twelve verses to his patron Ballāḷa II and his lineage (JY 1.6-1.17) and six verses (JY 1.18-1.23) with exuberant praise to himself — possibly an indication of more difficult times for poets, when patronage had to be fought for more strongly?

The description of Rājapura

After the introductory verses, Vādirāja and Janna both portray the place, where the tale starts — the city of Rājapura in Yaudheya. Its tremendous wealth is illustrated in both works by many metaphors of light and splendour. In verse 1.8, Vādirāja claims that the fortress wall, made of gold, appears like the halo of the midday sun; the next verse “Wherein the light of the mid-day sun, mingled with the glow of rubies set in the turrets of the mansions, appears like the light of dawn” (VY 1.9, transl. Krishnamoorthy) reminds of Kālidāsa’s wonderful metaphor of *akāla-saṃdhyā* in *Kumārasaṃbhava* 1.4.[18] Janna responds to these verses in two similes, playing first with the midday sun: “In that [city], at the eaves of the palaces inlaid with glittering gems, the lustre of the mass of wonderful pearls that were strung gave the mark of sandalwood ointment to the sun that was moving about on midday" (JY 1.29).[19] The image is multi-layered and, as so often with Janna, evokes various associations: sandalwood paste is said to have a cooling effect; the strong rays of the midday sun are softened, as it were, by the lustre of the pearls. As the fragrant sandalwood paste is also associated with auspiciousness, a welcome is expressed by applying a line or dot on the forehead of the guest. In this way, the city welcomes the midday sun with the lustre of its pearls. In addition, a sandalwood mark is often part of religious acts or ceremonies, e.g. by applying a thin line of sandalwood paste to the forehead of people to be honoured or images of gods. The interaction between the city and the sun thus takes on an almost religious character. In the second verse, Janna puts his emphasis on the "untimely light": "The palaces with their filigree work of pure gold, coloured by flowers made of gems, flood with their own lustre the street with a mild sunshine even in the black night" (JY 1.30).[20]

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[16] A similar metaphor can be found in the colophon of Vādirāja’s *Pārśvanāthacarita*, where Vādirāja is described as a bumblebee at the lotos-feet of his teacher Matisāgara: *tat*-[= Matisāgara]*pāda-padma-bhramarena… śrī-vādirājena kathā nibaddhā…* (verse 4, cf. ed. Śāstrī 1915: 8).

[17] *jina-siddha-sūri-dēśika-munigaḷa caraṇaṃgaḷ eṃba sarasi-ja-vanam ī manam eṃba tuṃbiy-eṟakaman anukarisuge bhaktiy-eṃba nava-parimaḷadiṃ* (JY 1.2).

[18] Compare *prāsāda-śikhara-prota-padma-rāga-marīcibhiḥ | madhyāhnārkā-tapo yatra miśro bālātapāyate ||* (VY 1.9) and *yaś cāpsaro-vibhrama-maṇḍanānāṃ saṃpādayitrīṃ śikharair bibharti | balāhaka-ccheda-vibhakta-rāgām akāla-saṃdhyām iva dhātumattāṃ* (Kālidāsa, *Kumārasaṃbhava* 1.4, ed. Kale).

Particularly imaginative is Janna's response to Vādirāja's verse 1.10, where the connecting link is the word *ketu*.[21] Skt. *ketu* has, among others, the meaning "sign, mark, ensign, flag, banner" as well as "bright appearance, clearness, brightness (often pl., 'rays of light')" (see MW). Vādirāja builds his verse on the first meaning of the word: "Which, with its banners (*ketubhir*) fluttering in the wind on the mansions of the wealthy, seems to invite, from above, the needy from every direction" (VY 1.10, transl. Krishnamoorthy). Janna adopts the word, but not the meaning of his predecessor: "The domes with red gems of the Jain temples, in which the night exceeds the day with its own lustre, unite the rays [of the sun] (*kētugaḷaṃ*) with their [own] rays (*kētugaḷiṃ*) [of the gems], and thus mock the globe of the sun that seems to stand still" (JY 1.32).[22]

Of course, a description of the beautiful ladies of the city should not be missing: "Wherein, fawn-eyed women, though with limbs of unequal (or: unequalled) charm, appear to the gallants sweet in ever limb" (VY 1.11, transl. Krishnamoorthy). Vādirāja's beautiful, but not particularly original verse is countered by Janna with the ingenious comparison “Not being able to become equal to the round faces of the coquettish women, moving like idle swans on the terraces, the moon makes thus constantly the *cāndrāyaṇa*-fast” (JY 1.31).[23] Central to this verse is the pun on the moon and the *cāndrāyaṇa-vrata* named after him[24], a fasting vow in which food is reduced by one morsel a day during the waning moon and increased again in the same way during the waxing moon (see also MW). Janna depicts the constant waning and waxing of the moon as the regular keeping of this vow by the moon himself. Since the goal of a *vrata* is often the fulfilment of a wish, the question arises as to what this wish might be? Janna gives the answer by pointing out the faces of the women of Ujjaini, which surpass the beauty and splendor of the moon — a situation he obviously hopes to reverse through the vow!

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[19] *adaṟoḷage meṟeva maṇi-māḍada lōvegaḷalli kōda posa muttina mottada beḷagu caṃdan-ālēpada padanaṃ kuḍuvud-aleva ravig-eḍe-vagaloḷ* (JY 1.29).

[20] *kār-iruḷoḷ-am-eḷe-visilaṃ pūraṃ-bariyipuvu bīdiyoḷ nija-ruciyiṃ hīreya pūvina baṇṇada nērāṇiya kusuri-vesada nele-māḍaṃgaḷ* (JY 1.30).

[21] Literal correspondences, as it is the case here, are rare, which is certainly due to the difference between the two languages – even though classical Kannada, especially in poetry, has adopted many Sanskrit words.

[22] *yann itthaṃ dhanadāvāsa-ketubhir vāta-kampitaiḥ | dūrād āhvayatīvoccair arthinaḥ sarva-diṅ-mukhaiḥ* (VY 1.10); *pagalan iruḷ nija-ruciyiṃ migisuva jina-bhavanad-aruṇa-maṇi-kalaśaṃgaḷ naguvuvu kētugaḷiṃ kētugaḷaṃ keḷe-goṃḍu niṃdu ravi-maṃḍalamaṃ* (JY 1.32).

Yaśōdhara’s feigned dream

Janna’s brilliant way of creatively transforming the text of his predecessor is particularly evident in the scene of Yaśōdhara’s alleged dream: Yaśōdhara’s mother notices that something is wrong with her son and worries about him. Yaśōdhara is not ready to confess the truth to his mother. In both texts, he first assures her that he does not lack anything (VY 3.8 / JY 3.9). Then he tries to symbolically hide his wife’s adultery. While in Vādirāja’s version Yaśōdhara does not explicitly say that it is a dream (*adya tu mayā niśi dṛṣṭā* – I saw today in the night…), but his mother understands it as such (cf. VY 3.11), in Janna’s text he directly refers to his symbolic narration as a dream (*pōd-iruḷoḷ... kanasam kaṃḍem* – last night I saw a dream). Vādirāja conceals Amṛtamati’s infidelity as follows: “But today in the night, o mother, I saw distinctly the moonlight that liberated herself from the moon bearing the excellent splendour of the blue water lilies, and making union with the darkness” (VY 3.9).[25] Janna transforms Vādirāja’s metaphor in the following way:

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[23] *yasminn asama-lāvaṇya-nirmitāvayavā api | sarvāṅga-madhur āyante bhoginām mṛga-locanāḥ* (VY 1.11); *nele-māḍadoḷ eḍey-āḍuva kalahaṃsālasa-viḷāsavatiyara mukha-maṃḍalake sariy-āgal-āṟade sale māḻpaṃ caṃdran iṃtu cāṃdrāyaṇamaṃ* (JY 1.31).

[24] Since the moon is grammatically masculine in both Sanskrit and Kannada, I will use the masculine pronoun here.

[25] *kiṃ tu kāntir avamucya mṛgāṅkaṃ bibhrataṃ kuvalayorjita-lakṣmīm | vyaktam adya tu mayā niśi dṛṣṭā devi saṅgama-karī timireṇa* || (VY 3.9). The moonlight (*kānti*) is grammatically feminine in Sanskrit and symbolises Amṛtamati, while the moon (*mṛgāṅka*), grammatically masculine in Sanskrit, represents Yaśōdhara.

"Last night I saw a dream, in which a female swan from a pond of golden lotuses is enjoying itself in a miserable pond with red water lilies" (JY 3.9).[26] At first glance, Janna's version of the dream seems to have not much in common with that of Vādirāja; but again, he presents an artful transformation of his predecessor's text: The bright moonlight is replaced by a spotless (female) swan, both despising their former consort that is connected with light and brilliance: the moon, characterised by the splendour of blue water lilies, and the pond, characterised by shining golden lotuses. In clear contrast to this image of purity and splendour is the new target of desire: the darkness, or rather a miserable, dirty pond with red water lilies[27]. Even the allusion to a sexual background, indicated by Vādirāja through the word *saṅgama*, was taken up by Janna through the red colour of the water lilies, being connected in Indian culture, among others, with love, passion and danger.[28] Yaśōdhara's ensuing affirmation that he had never seen such a thing in his life, not even in a dream, and that it caused him unbearable agony (VY 3.10), is transformed into vivid comparisons by Janna: "By the sight of this bad omen my mind became like a peacock that has seen a lizard, like a goose that has seen rain, like someone separated from his beloved that has seen a blossoming creeper" (JY 3.10).[29]

Janna's portrayal of the main characters – the example of Amṛtamati

These few examples (which could be continued at will) show the way in which Janna enters into a creative dialogue with Vādirāja, taking up central motifs from his predecessor's verses but incorporating them into more imaginative and ingenious images, thus transforming his Sanskrit source into a Kannada poem in its own right. But not enough with that, Janna's transformation goes even deeper: He gives his characters more human depth, he draws them more lifelike and alludes to possible motivations of their actions. This is especially clear in the way he portrays Amṛtamati, Yaśōdhara's adulterous wife. One of the most significant

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Saṅgama, "union", can also have the more specific (and here very appropriate) meaning "sexual union", see MW.

[26] *pōd-iruḷoḷ poṃ-dāvare-goḷad-aṃce kaḻald-āval-goḷad-oḷage naliva kanasaṃ kaṃḍeṃ* (JY 3.9).

[27] The red water lily (*āval*) can be clearly considered inferior to the golden lotus.

[28] See e.g. Hanchett 1988, esp. chapter 6 "Red offerings to Death's blackness: myths and rituals for some restless spirits".

[29] *gōdāme-gaṃḍa navil-aṃt-ādudu kār-gaṃḍa haṃsana-vol-ādud-alarvōda late-gaṃḍa virahi-vol-ādudu durnayada kāṇkeg-ennaya cittam* (JY 3.10).

differences between the two texts is the fateful scene in which Amṛtamati listens to the song of the mahout. According to Vādirāja, Yaśōdhara, "fatigued by amorous delights"[30], fell asleep, still embracing Amṛtamati (VY 2.33). Meanwhile, the elephant-keeper, having tied the royal elephant to its post close by the royal bed-chamber, started to sing in a melodious and sweet way (VY 2.34). Vādirāja describes the song of the mahout in very general terms (VY 2.35) and states that the queen, lying on her bed with half-closed eyes, "at once took a fancy for the gifted singer" (VY 2.36).[31] No deeper reasons are given for the queen's sudden interest in the singer; Vādirāja's very terse portrayal underlines the usual topos of the unfaithful and fickle woman. This is quite different from Janna, who shows throughout his work a deep interest to understand and — in a certain way — explain Amṛtamati's sudden affection for the unknown singer. His emphasis on the strong bond between Yaśōdhara and Amṛtamati is already evident in the verse that introduces this scene: Unlike in Vādirāja's work, Amṛtamati is not still awake while Yaśōdhara has fallen asleep — the two lovers are connected and, tired from their intensive lovemaking, they delve *together* into the realm of dreams, tightly embraced (JY 2.25-27). In a beautiful comparison, Janna describes how the soft voice of the elephant keeper "became, so to say, a seed of the clearing nut tree[32] for the sleep"[33] of Amṛtamati, i.e. something that cleared the queen's drowsiness completely away and made her mind lucid at once. She became fully awake and listened attentively; then she "gave at once as a ritual present her whole mind that was [deeply] touched" (JY 2.28).[34] Amṛtamati does not follow here a mere whim, as it seems to be the case in Vādirāja's version; she follows a deeper urge in her heart — or perhaps her fate. Janna repeatedly brings into play the concept of fate, *vidhi*,[35] a concept that cannot exist in Jainism, whose cornerstone is the immutable law of *karman*. Consequently, there is an underlying conflict in Janna's work between two discourses, one religious and one humanistic (cf. Ramachandran & Rai 2015: 255 f.), which is neither addressed nor resolved in the text.

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[30] *ratotsavārambha-pariśrameṇa* (VY 2.33).

[31] *cakāra tṛṣṇaṃ api rakta-kaṇṭhe*, lit. she developed a longing for the one with the sweet voice.

[32] The seeds of the *Strychnos potatorum* Linn. or clearing nut tree (Sanskrit and Kannada *kataka*, Hindi *nirmalī*), often mentioned in āyurvedic texts, are used for purifying water even today. For a detailed study of this fruit and its ability to clarify water, incorporating Sanskrit, Pāli and Prakrit sources as well as results from modern research, see Roșu 2000: 80-89, 98f. et passim.

[33] *nuṇ-dani nidrege kataka-bījam āyt-ene* (JY 2.28).

[34] *muṭṭida manamane toṭṭane pasāya-dānaṃ-goṭṭaḷ* (JY 2.28).

[35] Janna mentiones *bidi* / *vidhi* "fate" in the verses JY 2.34, 2.60, 2.61, 3.27, 3.52, *daiva* "destiny, fate" in JY 2.69.

“The Story of King Yaśōdhara” after Janna

Janna’s *Yaśōdharacarite* is by no means the last work dealing with “The Story of King Yaśōdhara”: There are many versions from the twelfth century onwards, written in Sanskrit, Gujarati and Marathi, also one more Apabhramsha — and one Hindi-version; most of them are only available as manuscripts.[36] Based on Janna’s text, several works were created in Kannada.[37] Out of them I will discuss briefly the most recent “transcreation” from 1980, Girish Karnad’s[38] *Hiṭṭina huṃja*, “The cock of dough” – the English translation by the author from 2004 bears the title “Bali: The sacrifice”.[39]

Janna’s Yaśōdharacarite and Girish Karnad’s *Hiṭṭina huṃja* / “Bali: The sacrifice”

While Janna followed Vādirāja’s text quite closely so that comparisons between single verses are possible, Girish Karnad created a completely new work from the narrative material. He transformed the poem into a stage play in one act and limited the number of characters to four: The Mahout (*māvuta*), the Queen (*rāṇi*), the King (*rāja*) and The Queen Mother (*rājamāte*). The setting of the plot is an old temple, in the middle of the night. The queen has been irresistibly drawn by a sweet song to the owner of this heavenly voice, an ugly mahout who spends this night in the old temple. The king, who followed her, is devastated to discover that his wife got involved with another man. In order to avert the evil consequences of her infidelity, his mother convinces him to sacrifice a cock to the goddess. As he has taken on the Jain faith from his wife and adheres to the principle of non-violence, she proposes to sacrifice as a substitution a bird made of dough – on condition that his wife, an ardent devotee of Jain faith, joins him in giving the rooster the "death blow".

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[36] See e.g. the different texts listed by Vaidya (1972: 57-60) in his introduction to the edition of *Jasaharacariu*. Not mentioned by him is Raidhū’s version in Apabhramsha from the fifteenth century (see Jaina 1974: 348–361; 608–611).

[37] The *Jīvadayāṣṭami-nōmpi* of Padmanābha (15th / 16th cent.), the *Yaśōdharacarite* of Piriya Nemaṇṇa (16th / 17th cent.), the *Yaśōdharacarite* of Candravarṇī (17th cent.), the *Jīvadayāṣṭami-nōmpi* of Candrasāgaravarṇi (date uncertain), the anonymous *Jīvadayāṣṭamiya nōmpiya kathe* (date uncertain) and *Hiṭṭina huṃja* of Girish Karnad (Girīśa Kārnāḍa, 1980).

[38] Girish Karnad (in Kannada: Girīśa Kārnāḍa, 1938-2019), was an Indian actor, film director and Kannada writer. He is best known as a playwright who drew his material from Indian epic and narrative literature.

[39] As with all translations of his own works, whether into Hindi or English, Girish Karnad handles his text very freely, so that the result could be called a transcreation rather than a translation. Thus, “Bali: The sacrifice” differs in quite a few elements from his Kannada-version *Hiṭṭina huṃja*. Since the English text is accessible to a wider audience, it will be taken as the basis here; a more detailed comparison of the Kannada text with the English version will be published elsewhere.

Girish Karnad took the central motif of Janna's poem — ahimsa — and created a work around it that raises timeless questions. Besides the fact, already addressed in the earliest Jain writings, that non-violence must be performed not only on a physical but also on a spiritual level, he touches on problems of faith, of freedom, of acceptance. Yaśōdhara, who according to Karnad's imagination comes from a Hindu family but converted to the Jain faith for the sake of his wife, is in a constant state of tension between accepting his mother's belief in bloody sacrifice and the Jains' central precept of non-violence. Questions of tolerance and the free practice of religion, but also tensions between the individual characters, gradual alienation and injuries accumulated over the years are dealt with in *Hiṭṭina huṃja* – aspects which are alien to Janna's work.

Jīvadayāṣṭami

It was not only for literary reasons that Janna's *Yaśōdharacarite* exerted and continues to exert a great influence on the Jain community of Karnāṭaka; this work still plays a central role in a kind of counter-ritual to one of the most important Hindu festivals in this region (if not in all of India) — Navarātri,[40] which lasts nine days or nine nights and culminates in the celebrations of the tenth day, Vijayadaśamī (cf. Verghese 2004: 428f.). This festival is dedicated to the goddess Durgā or one of her local forms. Its origins can be clearly traced back to the first millennium AD, as is evident from the descriptions in the various versions of "The Story of King Yaśōdhara". This festival played later a major role especially in the empire of Vijayanagara (1336/1346-1565),[41] where it was performed with great pomp, as we can understand from the accounts of various travellers and merchants who attended the festivities as eyewitnesses.[42] On the eighth day of Navarātri, animal sacrifices took place in honour of the goddess in many temples – predominantly of chickens and goats, but also of buffaloes and other animals.[43] These sacrifices, which violate the fundamental rule of non-violence, ahimsa, met with little approval from the Jain population. Therefore, on this eighth day of the Navarātri cycle, a kind of counter-ritual to the animal sacrifices that were customary among Hindus was (and is) celebrated by the Jains in Karnāṭaka. This festival called *Jīvadayāṣṭami* or "the eighth [day] of compassion with [all] living beings"[44] existed already before Janna's time (as we can understand from JY 1.24, where Janna states he had written his *Yaśōdharacarite* explicitly for this day),[45] but it became closely connected with "The Story of King Yaśōdhara". On the day of *Jīvadayāṣṭami*, special care is taken to avoid harming any living being. Shrines are decorated with flowers, fruits are sacrificed instead of animals, and fasting takes place. Verses from Janna's *Yaśōdharacarite* are recited in the temples and at public celebrations, as well as stories based on Janna's version.[46] Thus, Janna's intention to transcreate this pan-Indian narrative into a Kannada poem for the Jain lay devotees fasting on "the eighth day of compassion with all living beings" has borne fruit for over 800 years.

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[40] Also called Navarātra, Mahānavamī, Durgā Pūjā, Dasarā or Dassain. This festival is celebrated during the time of the waxing moon of the month of Aśvin (September-October), but there are also traditions that deviate from this, cf. Simmons & Sen 2018: 1.

[41] On the foundation of Vijayanagara (today's Hampi) and the transition from the Hoysaḷa to the Saṅgama dynasty, cf. Kulke 1985, Stein 1989 and Filliozat 1999: 5-42.

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[42] Cf. the account of the Persian ʿAbd-ar-Razzāq as-Samarqandī (Major [1857] 2010: 35-38) or those of the Portuguese Domingo Paes (Sewell [1900] 1995: 263-275) and Fernao Nuniz (Sewell [1900] 1995: 376-378) who were in Vijayanagara in 1443, around 1520 and 1535-1537.

[43] See e.g. the accounts of Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz, Sewell [1900] 1995: 266f., 274f.; 377. The description of the festival in honour of the goddess Caṇḍamāri in JY 1.54-57 is also likely to have originated not exclusively in Janna's poetic imagination.

[44] The *Jīvadayāṣṭamī-nōmpu* or "vow of the eighth [day] concerning compassion for [all] living beings" is extremely rarely mentioned in academic literature – the most extensive representation I have found is six lines in Joseph 1997: 137. A more detailed examination of this festival – especially with regard to its Hindu "counterpart" – has not yet taken place, either in relation to historical sources or in relation to contemporary practices. More detailed insights into the performance of the rites, the texts used, the significance of the text as well as the relationship between text and performance will emerge during a stay in India as part of the project.

[45] *śrāvaka-janad-upavāsaṃ jīva-dayāṣṭamiyoḷ āge pāraṇe kivigaḷg-ī vastu-kathanadiṃd-udbhāvise kavi-bhāḷalōcanaṃ viracisidaṃ*, "When there was the fast of the lay people at "the eighth day of compassion with all living beings (*jīvadayāṣṭami*)", the poet Bhāḷalōcana (= Janna) composed a tale of this object, in order to show with it the breaking of the fast for the ears" (JY 1.24).

[46] There exist several short prose renderings of Janna's text that are recited at the celebrations, called *Jīvadayāṣṭami-nōmpi* or *Jīvadayāṣṭamiya nōmpiya kathe*. For these versions see fn. 39.

Conclusion

“The Story of King Yaśōdhara” can be considered a paradigmatical and stimulating case for diachronic as well as synchronic research in the field of transcreation: Since numerous versions of “The Story of King Yaśōdhara” are attested from the eighth until the twentieth century, it is possible to compare texts that originate from the same time and also works that were composed in different periods, works that are written in the same or in different languages, versions that originate from the same area or from distant regions. In this article, only a few representative examples could be given: Janna’s version of “The Story of King Yaśōdhara” shows that the adoption of a text from a supra-regional to a local language need by no means lead to slavish adherence to the original text. In his *Yaśōdharacarite*, Janna takes up Vādirāja’s central motifs and transforms them into more imaginative and sophisticated images; he enters into a creative dialogue with his predecessor at many points and is not afraid to shape the protagonists according to his own imagination, giving the characters more human depth and alluding to possible motivations of their actions.

Despite these changes, Janna follows his source — at least formally — very closely. The situation is quite different, however, with the most recent adoption of “The Story of King Yaśōdhara” by Girish Karnad: He transformed the poem of four cantos in a one-act play, giving the central motif of ahimsa a prominent, but not exclusive place. In addition, Girish Karnad addresses issues that are more (but not exclusively) central to modern society. General topics such as the questions of tolerance and the free practice of religion are discussed alongside interpersonal problems that, despite all individuality, touch the roots of human relationships.

The continuous recourse to this narrative by various authors from different times, the many transformations it has undergone over the centuries up to the present day, and the central position this story has occupied in the ritual context of *Jīvadayāṣṭami*, “the eighth day of compassion with all living beings” for more than 800 years, make it clear that “The Story of King Yaśōdhara” deals at its core with a timeless theme that has not lost its relevance to this day.

Abbrevations

JY = Janna, *Yaśōdharacarite*
MW = Monier-Williams' *A Sanskrit – English Dictionary*
VY = Vādirāja, *Yaśodharacarita*

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Repudiation, Reinvention, and Reconciliation: Ātmārām and Haribhadrasūri's other Readers on other Gods

Anil Mundra

In modern languages, one of the most frequently quoted texts of all Sanskrit Jain literature is the *Lokatattvanirṇaya* (LTN) attributed to Haribhadrasūri, the great Śvetāmbara polymath who probably flourished in the eighth century CE. The long and complex life of this text, though, cannot be understood merely in terms of transmission by quotation. Indeed, it has lived many lives through various classical and modern transcreations—reuses, recastings, rewritings, and translations in various contexts for different purposes. In fact, its most popular passage, on which I will focus in this paper, is itself a transcreation that may have been composed first as a Buddhist hymn: almost twenty of the LTN's most famous verses occur almost identically in the *Devatāvimarśastuti* or *Devātiśayastotra* attributed to a certain Śaṅkarasvāmin.[1] But whereas the short Buddhist version is focused more narrowly on praise of the lord (*deva-stuti*), as its title announces—in this case, of course, the Buddha, whose name appears instead of the Jain "Vīra"—the LTN expands roughly eightfold not only to praise the Jina but to compare his excellences with the characteristics of the various gods described in non-Jain texts. Haribhadra's essay, in brief, is concerned to critically evaluate and draw some conclusions (*nirṇaya* or *nigama*) about various "popular principles" (*loka-tattva*)[2] about divinity in comparison with the nature of the Jinas. Just what those conclusions are is at the crux of the transcreative variations that I will discuss below, but all agree that it is an endeavour of religious comparison.

This comparative aspect of the LTN is the pivot of the various ways it has been interpreted and transcreated. Although it is uncertain whether

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[1] Edited and translated in Hahn 2000 and Schneider 2014. Although there has been wild dissensus on the dating of the *Devatāvimarśastuti*, ranging from the first to the tenth century CE (see Krishan 1991), the existence of a commentary on it from the second half of the eighth century (Schneider 1997: 47-48), likely during Haribhadra's own lifetime, suggests that it precedes him.

[2] The opening verse (LTN 1.1) announces the text as a *nṛ-tattva-nigama*, which phrase is sometimes taken as an alternative title.

Haribhadrasūri is the original author of all of its verses—and there are indeed larger unresolved questions about his identity and authorship (cf. Dundas 2019)—the text has been attributed to Haribhadra's comparative project at least as far back as Guṇaratnasūri's fifteenth-century *Tarkarahasyadīpikā,* the major commentary on Haribhadra's famous *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*. Guṇaratna reads the LTN as showing how the respective essences of various doctrines are to be determined,[3] and how to apportion philosophical truth and untruth between them—in short, as an exercise in the differentiation and adjudication of doctrines. In contrast, the popular understanding of the LTN among post-independence Indian Jains tends to cast it in distinctively modern terms as emblematic of a sort of liberal irenic ecumenism, universalism, or even perennialism that reconciles the apparent differences between doctrines by asserting their essential identity. We will encounter two of the most prominent representatives of this modern reinvention, Muni Jina Vijaya and Sagarmal Jain, in the first section below.

The rest of this essay will closely examine a seminal moment in this text's transcreation to modernity. One of the central vectors for the LTN's modern reception has been the oeuvre of the major revivalist of the Tapā Gaccha Samvegī Mārga, Ātmārām (also known as Ācārya Muni Ānanda Vijaya, Vijayānanda Sūri, or Ātmānanda), who was arguably the most important Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka reformist of any sort at the end of the nineteenth century. Ātmārām was born into a Hindu Kshatriya family in which he was given essentially no grade-school education (Muni Navīnacandra Vijaya 1993: 3). Although initiated as a Sthānakvāsi mendicant in his adolescence, he eventually became disillusioned with their *sola scriptura* anti-intellectualism and began to read beyond the confines of his sect's sanctioned canon (ibid.: 7ff.). He would become a prolific commentator and essayist, often blending these two genres in unique ways. We will examine his Hindi translation and commentary on the LTN in one such work, the monumental *Tattvanirṇayaprāsāda* (TNP). In this text—his swan song and arguably his *magnum opus*, written in 1894 and published in 1902, six years after his death—Ātmārām's scholasticism, which hews closely to traditional Jain learning, is on full display.

But it is in one of Ātmārām's other writings for other purposes that we will find the most pregnant moment for the transcreation of the LTN. Owing to his stature, Ātmārām had been invited to represent Jainism at the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago, an epochal event for the globalisation of Asian religions. Not willing to violate his monastic vows to travel, though—and due also to his advanced age and "some other private reasons" (CP 1918: 4)—he sent as his proxy a London layman named Virchand Gandhi and prepared a Hindi catechism for his training entitled the *Chicago Praśnottara* (Cort 2020: 262 n37). Published posthumously in 1905, the *Chicago Praśnottara* (CP) is a transitional text in which much of Ātmārām's traditional scholasticism is on display, while at the same time pushing and broadening the application of premodern Jain thought to some of the exigencies of the modern cosmopolis at the end of the nineteenth century. As we will see beginning in the second section below and continuing in the final section, the CP transcreates the LTN in several ways, from utilising LTN verses in its epigraphs to redeploying its ideas and arguments for a modern, global, multi-religious audience. In between, the section entitled "Repudiation" will calibrate Ātmārām's interpretation of the LTN with reference to his definitive *Tattvanirṇayaprāsāda* commentary on it. This gives us a baseline against which to evaluate the transcreations of the CP as well as, in the penultimate and final sections ("Reinvention" and "Reconciliation"), its 1918 English translation by Babu Kannoo Mal, M.A. (about whom I have been able to find no definitive biographical information). I will argue that while Ātmārām's writings are firmly rooted in traditional scholastic apologetics for the superiority of Jainism, the CP and especially its English translation effect small but significant transformations of the LTN's message from a repudiation of non-Jain theologies toward the exercise in irenic reconciliation that it is standardly taken for today.

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[3] TRD §35 ad ṢDS v. 1 (1970: 32): *aneke vādino vidyante. eṣāṃ svarūpaṃ loka-tattva-nirṇayāt hāribhadrād avasātavyam.*

The Clarion Call

We begin with one of the LTN's most famous couplets:

> I have no partiality for Mahāvīra, nor hate for Kapila, et al. He whose words are rational is the one who should be accepted.
> (*pakṣa-pāto na me vīre na dveṣaḥ kapilādiṣu* | *yuktimad vacanaṃ yasya tasya kāryaḥ parigrahaḥ* || 1.38 ||)

The passage from which these lines come is often cited as a "clarion call of Jaina philosophy," in the words of one J. P. Jain (1977: 163). The popular understanding these days tends to cast it as a sort of indifferent religious universalism, as if its proclaimed stance of impartiality (*niṣpakṣapāta*) means that all the figureheads and deities of the various religions are identical or at least equally venerable. This idea was given typical expression by one of the most important modern transmitters of Haribhadrasūri, Muni Jina Vijaya, writing in Hindi in 1963:

> "All philosophical teachers like Kapila, etc., are similarly to be reverenced, because all of them have attained the state of dispassion in the same way" (*kapila ādi sabhī dārśanika pravartakoṃ kā samāna rūpa se ādara karaṇīya hai, kyoṃki ve sabhī samāna bhāva se vītarāga-pada ko prāpta the*) (1963: 2).

Jina Vijaya's pronouncement is not presented as a translation of LTN verse 1.38, but it arguably counts as a transcreative version of the latter: it is clearly inspired by the LTN, recurring to the text in some of its ideas and even proper-name references. It comes in Jina Vijaya's foreword to Pandit Sukhlalji Sanghavi's monograph *Samadarśī Ācārya Haribhadra*, and apparently intends to explain why Haribhadra qualifies for the title of "one who views things equably" (s*amadarśī*). Indeed, Sanghavi himself (1963: 53) will proceed to treat this titular "equity" (*samatva*) as equivalent to "non-partisanship" (*niṣpakṣatā*), something very close to the operative concept in LTN 1.38 above. Just what this equitable non-partisanship entails, however, is contestable. Note that, unlike Jina Vijaya, the *Lokatattvanirṇaya* does not anywhere claim that all the various teachers have indeed attained dispassion and that they therefore equally *do* deserve reverence. it only says that if they *had*, they *would*. And as we will see shortly, the basic thesis of Haribhadra's essay is that the Jina is uniquely dispassionate.

In a late-twentieth century eponymous transcreation of Sanghavi's text, Sagarmal Jain pushes the universalistic reading of Haribhadra further into a contemporary idiom. Jain finds in Haribhadra a call to avoid disagreements between religious philosophies by transcending their merely nominal differences in favor of their fundamental commonalities (1998: 100–101). He summarises this approach as a certain magnanimity or liberality of mind (*udāratā* or *udāra-cetā*) and a conciliatory or harmonising habit (*samanvaya-śīla*) (ibid.: 95). Neither of these terms occur in Haribhadra's own texts or (to my knowledge) in premodern Sanskrit commentaries upon them, but they do resonate strongly in the social-political milieux of twentieth- and twenty-first century South Asian communalism and global cosmopolitanism. This irenic reading of Haribhadra as promoting a reconciliation of religions participates in a wider discourse that Brian Hatcher (1994) has characterised as a rhetoric of Hindu humanism, instantiated most conspicuously in what he nicely calls the "*bījamantra* for most modern interpretations of Hinduism as a universalistic and tolerant religious philosophy" (ibid.: 149)—namely, *ekam sad viprā bahudhā vadanti* (*Ṛg Veda* 1.164.46), commonly translated "Truth is one; the wise speak of it by many names"—as well as in the notion that "the cosmos is one family" (*vasudhaiva kuṭumbakam*). In its original context, in fact, the idea of the world as one family is what is supposed to be held by an *udāra-carita*, 'a person of magnanimous conduct'. These are the values that modern commentators from Sukhlalji Sanghvi to Sagarmal Jain have latterly found in Haribhadrasūri.

Chicago Calling

To understand the LTN's transcreation into the modern "clarion call of Jain philosophy" participating in an irenic discourse of "Hindu humanism," it is natural to look back at a pivotal moment for Jainism's entrance onto the global stage as well as for Hindu humanism and modern discourse about religious diversity generally: the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago. This setting is a tremendously novel context for Jainism, and this novelty is reflected in Ātmārām's *Chicago Praśnottara*. The text's novelty is not in its catechistic form, but in the content that it cloaks within traditional garb. Comparing Ātmārām's with premodern *praśnottara* texts such as the *Praśnottararatnamālikā* attributed to the ninth-century Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa—a text itself transcreated throughout the Indian subcontinent by Shaivas as well as Jains and even in the Tibetan Tengyur—Sarah Pierce Taylor (2022) has observed that this is a genre of translation repeatedly revisited in far-flung times and places to make complicated Jain tenets accessible in specific worlds and communities. In the rest of this essay, I will show how the CP translates the thought of the LTN for its modern audience through its various acts of quotation, variation, juxtaposition, unattributed paraphrase, and original extrapolation—transcreative acts that will be compounded by the English translation of its Hindi text.

The epigraph of the CP is an untranslated Sanskrit verse from the same "clarion call" of the LTN:

> This Lord is not our kinsman, nor are the others our enemies. We have not directly seen any one of them any more than the others. But hearing of his various distinguished words and good conduct, we betake ourselves to Mahāvīra out of enthusiasm for the eminence of his moral virtues.
> *bandhur na naḥ sa bhagavān arayo 'pi nânye sākṣān na dṛṣṭatara ekatamo 'pi câiṣām | śrutvā vacaḥ sucaritaṃ ca pṛthag-viśeṣam vīraṃ guṇâtiśaya-lolatayā śritāḥ sma* || 1.32||

This verse well expresses the thesis of the LTN and just what its impartiality (*niṣpakṣapāta*) means: that it is not on the basis of prior prejudices or tribal loyalties but rather a critical evaluation of the various deities that determines the Jina as being uniquely worthy of worship.

The body of the handbook then begins with another pithy verse that nicely encapsulates the two (1.32 and 1.38) that we have already seen. This one, though given untranslated from Sanskrit in Ātmāram's original publication, is translated in the English edition:

> "Salutation be to Him who is devoid of all blemishes and full of all virtues, whether He be Brahmā, Vishnu, Shiva or a Jina" (1918: 16).
> *yasya nikhilāś ca doṣā na santi sarve guṇāś ca vidyante | brahmā vā viṣṇur vā haro jino vā namas tasmai* || (1905: 1; cf. LTN 1.40)

This verse might seem to go a good way toward Jina Vijaya's assertion of the equality of the various religious figureheads, and indeed toward the popular current reading of the LTN as propounding a sort of indifferentism that sees only nominal differences between religions, quibbles about mere names given to fundamentally identical deities. And this reading is encouraged by Ātmārām's juxtaposition of it with another famous verse that is not associated with Haribhadra:

> "He whom the Shaivaites adore as Shiva, the Vedântins as Brahma, the Buddhists as Buddha, the rationalistic Naiyayikas as creator, the learned Jainas as Arhat, and the Mimaṃsikas as Eternal Action: may such a one, the Crest-jewel (Supreme one) of the three worlds, realise our hearts' desire" (1918: 16).
> *yaṃ śaivās samupāsate śiva iti brahmeti vedāntino | bauddhā buddha iti pramāṇa-paṭavaḥ karteti naiyāyikāḥ || arhann ity atha jaina-śāstra-niratāḥ karmeti mīmāṃsakāḥ | so 'yam no vidadhātu bāṃchita-phalaṃ trailokya cūḍāmaṇiḥ ||* (1905: 1).

This verse is not traceable to a single origin, and has circulated widely in many variants—Elaine Fisher, for example, found one in a fourteenth-century inscription on the wall of a Vaishnava temple in Karnataka (2017: 32). Clearly, it can be read with various meanings in its various historical contexts, like the verses of the LTN. Many will hear it as offering, in Fisher's words (ibid.), an "irenic tolerance or universalist pantheism," promoting the "essential unity of all Hindu traditions" (and Buddhism and Jainism as well). In Sudipta Kaviraj's understanding, "It not merely tolerates other religious paths" and "does not merely recognise the value of all religious paths, but turns all forms of the divine into various names of one single God, who is worshipped by all" (2014: 243), an approach to god that Kaviraj notes has been "carried on in modern times most obviously by figures like Ramakrishna Paramhansa and Gandhi" (ibid.: 264n23). But Fisher sees in this unifying move an argument for "the supremacy of Vaishnavism and of the god Vishnu as the telos of all religious practice" (2017: 32). This would quite resemble the LTN's advocacy for the supremacy of the Jina, but it is subtly different: the LTN never says that the Jina in fact *is* the telos of all religious practice, only that the Jina *should* be. It often marks that thesis with optatives, like *namasyet* (1.28, which I will discuss later). And even when the mood is indicative, the purport is clearly prescriptive, stating how Jains do worship the Jinas and how others therefore ought to as well. But Ātmārām's juxtaposition of this verse, which more explicitly than those of the LTN says that all of these various names and conceptions of the deity are in fact ultimately aiming at the same object, suggests a significant shift in how to read the LTN's own statements of indifference about divine names. This, we could say, is an act of transcreation by juxtaposition. Whereas the LTN only professes indifference about names without claiming that they all denote the same deity or seeking to obviate dispute about the qualities of true divinity, its juxtaposition with this verse pushes toward the sort of stance that we saw in Jina Vijaya and Sagarmal Jain according to which the various deity names produce false disputes obscuring an essential agreement between religions and philosophies.

One might find comfort for such an irenic view in some of Ātmārām's other writings as well. For example, in the opening pages of the 1884 *Jainatattvādarśa*, Ātmārām cites Mānatuṅgasūri's *Bhaktāmara Stotra* verse twenty-four, which applies the names and descriptions of various deities like Brahmā and Īśvara to the Jina (Cort 1995: 599). However, the thesis of the *Bhaktāmara Stotra* is not that they're all the same—it is that the Jina too qualifies as a deity as well as the others, thus acquitting Jains of the common charge of atheism. That is, the focus of this discussion is to delineate the qualities qualifying a being as divine, and to show that the Jina does pass muster. This project is entirely compatible with the LTN's claim of the Jina's divine supremacy.

Indeed, as Torkel Brekke observes: "Ātmārāmjī was clearly not interested in the ecumenical questions that occupied a number of Jain leaders at the end of the nineteenth century" (Brekke 2002: 141). Unlike other influential figures such as Muni Vijaya Dharma (not to mention non-Jains such as Vivekānanda) who insisted on "the unity of all religions of the world and the superficiality of their differences" (ibid.: 137), his primary "concern was to define Jainism" over against religions like Hinduism and Christianity (ibid.: 141). Although it is tempting for contemporary sensibilities to read his re-casting of the LTN as advocating for an irenic religious universalism, this would be out of step with the overall tendencies of his oeuvre.

Repudiation

Ātmārām's work is generally preoccupied with the exegesis of Jain theological texts and especially with defending Jainism against the charge of atheism (cf. Cort 2020: 240). As part of this exegetical project, he not only enlists the LTN for epigraphs to frame the catechism of the CP but also composes a complete Hindi translation and commentary upon it in his swan song, the *Tattvanirṇayaprāsāda* (TNP). This tome—the last he would write, two years before his passing—displays how he understands the LTN and reveals some subtle but significant differences with how he (and his translator Mal) had presented it for a foreign audience in the CP the year before.

To begin with, his translation of LTN 1.32 (the epigraph of the CP) is quite literal, except that to the phrase "hearing of [Mahāvīra's] various distinguished words and good conduct" he adds the clarification "according to the Jain scriptures" (*jaināgamānusāra*)" (1902: 138). This little phrase intimates how firmly entrenched in Jain textual tradition Ātmārām is. His commentary and writing reads very much like premodern scholastic Sanskrit. He is steeped in that tradition and its terms, concerns, and the structure of its dialectics.

The next thing to notice is that the TNP opts for a variant of verse forty that omits the Jina from the list of deities that might merit salutation (*brahmā vā viṣṇur vā maheśvaro vā*). This is, in fact, the standard reading. The CP variant mentioning the Jina (*brahmā vā viṣṇur vā haro jino vā*) is, according to Lynna Dhanani (2019), the final hemistich of a forty-four-verse version of the *Mahādevastotra* attributed to the twelfth-century Hemacandra,[4] and appears also in Merutuṅga's fourteenth-century *Ṣaḍdarśananirṇaya*.[5] The CP, then, interpolates into the LTN a phrase that positions the Jina as one among several candidates for worship, allowing for an insinuation of his essential identity with the other gods (whether or not that is the intent of Hemacandra, Merutuṅga, or even Ātmārām). The standard reading given in the TNP, on the contrary, sets the Jina apart, suggesting his *sui generis* uniqueness with respect to the various other gods as well as the justification of the Jina's supremacy that the argument of the LTN demands. The TNP substantiates this supremacy by listing the virtues (*guṇa*s) that a venerable deity should possess—“unsurpassable qualities of knowledge, vision, conduct, energy” (*anaṃtajñāna, anaṃtadarśana, anaṃtacāritra, anaṃtavīryādi anaṃta guṇa*) and the faults that such a one would lack, namely, “lust, hate, delusion, ignorance, and the rest of the eighteen faults” (*rāga, dveṣa, moha, ajñānādi aṣṭādaśa dūṣaṇa* [1902: 146]). We know who fits this description: these qualities happen to exactly track canonical Jainology. That is no coincidence, of course, because it is just the point of this essay that the Jina’s qualities are uniquely laudable.

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[4] Dhanani mentions that this 44-verse hymn is most likely an expanded version containing interpolated verses set in an older 33-verse *Mahādevadvātriṁśikā* that Hemacandra actually wrote (see also Dhanani 2022).

[5] *bhava-bījāṅkura-jananā-rāgādyāḥ kṣayam upāgatā yasya | brahmā vā viṣṇur vā haro jino vā namas tasmai* || (Shah 1973: 9).

The LTN emphasises the Jina’s supremacy with repeated rhetorical questions contemplating who is worthy of worship (*kaṃ pūjayāma* [1.23]…. *samyag-vandyatvam arhati tu ko vicārayadhvam* [1.26]). In light of the myriad faults of the various non-Jain gods as described in the *purāṇas*, the LTN asks, “What thinking person would worship them?” (*kas tān namasyed budhaḥ* [1.28]). Ātmārām, in good scholastic commentarial style, glosses and answers this question, in case there should be any doubt: “What thinking, judicious person would worship them? None would” (*kaun budha prekṣāvān namaskāra kare? apitu koi bhī na kare* [TNP 129]). Ātmārām’s reading of the LTN leaves no room to think that all of the various gods under consideration are equal to the Jina. That is not, at least, what any “judicious person” would think. This Hindi term, *prekṣāvān,* comes from an important Sanskrit figure that Haribhadra himself valorises in various places. In Sara McClintock’s explanation, the *prekṣāvān* is a person who is “anti-dogmatic, in that he or she will necessarily accept *any* position that is established through reasoning” (McClintock 2010: 60). This very well expresses the stance of impartiality (*niṣpakṣapāta*) proclaimed in the LTN, which consists in rational discrimination among various positions rather than indiscriminate conflation of them. Ātmārām’s TNP clearly reads the LTN as advocating for the superiority of the Jina and the inferiority of competitors, as determined by a process of undogmatic critical reasoning.

Reinvention

This brings us back to the *Chicago Praśnottara* which, while not explicitly referencing the LTN outside of its epigraphs, does clearly transcreate the LTN’s call for critical interrogation of the various divinities without partiality or prejudice (*pakṣapāta*):

> “My dear Sir, leaving aside prejudice, read the lives of Arhats and other *avatārs* etc. and see their images noticing their conduct, thoughts, and appearance; from this, you would learn which of them was faulty and which faultless” (1918: 171).

> *pakṣapāta choḍke arihaṃtādi māne hue sarva avatāroṃkī sarva ziṃdagī ke karma, jo jo unhoṃne kiye haiṃ unko paḍho, aur unkī mūrtiyeṃ dekho, ki unkā ācāra vicāra aur ākāra kaisā thā usse tumko āp hī mālum ho jāvegā ki dūṣaṇoṃvālā kaun thā aur dūṣaṇoṃ rahita kaun thā* (1905: 98).

It is clear in the CP's call to leave aside *pakṣapāta* that the recommendation is not indifference between the various exalted or divine personages like *arhat*s and *avatāra*s, but is rather discrimination of the truly worthy ones from the rest. Evaluating the various candidates for worship is one of the central projects of the CP, mirroring the agenda of the LTN. Like the LTN, the CP contains extensive polemics against certain theistic views, particularly those of a creationist and interventionist god, and it transcreatively rewrites many of the very same arguments.

One of Ātmārām's various complaints against the coherence of this sort of theism (*īśvara-vāda*), though, is an argument that is not explicitly visible in the LTN but does appear to undercut any insinuation of the unity of religions: the argument from dissensus, that there is no apparent agreement between the various religions.[6] He says:

> "O Believer in God, if, according to you, everything has been created by God, then the scriptures of all faiths have been created by Him and these scriptures are contradictory to one another. Most of them are true and others untrue. God would, therefore, be considered as the preacher of both right and wrong. He is, therefore, Himself setting one against the other in religion" (1918: 75).
> *he īśvara-vādin! tere kehene se jab īśvara ne hī sarva kuch racā hai, tab to sarva mata ke sarva śāstra bhī īśvara hī ne race haiṃ aur sarva śāstra āpas meṃ viruddha haiṃ | aur avaśya kitneka śāstra satya aur kitneka asatya haiṃ, tab jhūṭh aur satya donoṃ kā upadeśaka īśvara hī ṭhaharā, tab to īśvara āp hī sarva matāṃtarīyoṃ ko āpas meṃ laḍātā hai* (1905: 40).

Here again, Ātmārām is clearly not expressing an equivalence or indifference between the claims of various religions. However, note a small but significant change that has crept into Mal's 1918 English translation. Ātmārām's Hindi does not say that "most of them are true"—rather, it says that "many are true, and many untrue" (*kitneka śāstra satya aur kitneka asatya haiṃ*), which would entail what he sees as the very unreasonable portrayal of God as teaching both truths and falsehoods. The English phrase "most of them are true" is a small but unmistakable irenic step, a transcreative translation that moves in the direction of a universalism of religions not in Ātmārām's original text.

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[6] The LTN phrase "*teṣām evānirjñātam asadrśam*" (2.1) may conceivably name this argument; more likely, however, it simply asserts that they are ignorant and unseemly.

Reconciliation

Thus far, we have seen that Ātmārām tends to remain quite firmly within the bounds of traditional Jain apologetics, maintaining the supremacy of the Jina that is the thesis of the LTN. Intimations of any sort of irenic universalism have mostly been the result of his English translator's subtle transcreation of his Hindi text. However, Ātmārām's original composition itself does attempt significant strides in expanding Jain arguments against other gods beyond the parameters of traditional Sanskrit apologetics into the global context of modernity. For example, he has his interlocutor ask about contemporary views of the existence of God (*vartamāna-kāla meṃ īśvara ke hone ke viṣaya meṃ lokoṃ kā kyā khyāl hai?* [1905: 66]). Nevertheless, despite the framing of the question, the answer does not track contemporary views, at least not ones that would have been familiar to his Chicago audience: it is an entirely classical description of *Īśvaravādin*s ('theists') and *Nāstika*s ('deniers') utilising fully traditional scholastic categories. But he does expand his discursive repertoire when he has his interlocutor ask about the modern scientific view of God in Question Sixty (*vartamāna-kāla kī jo padārthavidyā hai us vidyānukūla īśvara kā varṇana kis prakāra se ho saktā hai?* [1905: 56]). This is one place where Ātmārām overtly says that Jainism is right and the others wrong; and he makes this judgment on the basis of modern scientific theory, a source of authority that was of course not available to Haribhadra. He pronounces that:

> "modern science is not opposed to the Jain scriptures; it is in harmony with them.... If the forces of matter are to be considered God, then the Jains have no objection to it.... According to the modern science the view of God as held by other religionists is found invalid" (1918: 102–104).
> *vartamānakāla kī jo padārtha-vidyā hai so jaina-mata ke śāstroṃ se pratikūla nahīṃ hai, kintu jaina-mata ke śāstrānukūla hī hai* (1905: 56).

This line of thought partly coheres with the agenda of the World's Parliament of Religions in which, according to Brekke, "the key issue was the conciliation of religion with the discoveries and the attitudes of science"; and yet, it does not quite yield to prevailing expectations "that comparative studies of all religions would reveal a common core on which to base the religion of the future" (2002: 108).

Another way in which Ātmārām broadens beyond classical categories is by taking into account religions that were generally not acknowledged in premodern Sanskrit literature. But—to return to the central issue of this paper—this widened scope does not come with an irenic increment, and he still discusses these in terms of what classical Jain intellectuals like Hemacandra have articulated as the marks of right faith (*samyaktva*) such as *deva, guru*, and *dharma* (Williams 1991 [1963]: 41 and Folkert 1993: 122). So in Question Eighty-Nine he asks:

> "What have Judaism, Christianity and other religions done for mankind?" (1918: 162).
> *manuṣya jāti ke liye yāhudī, īsāī, aur śeṣa dharmoṃ ne kyā kiyā hai?* (1905: 93).

And the answer is:

> "These religions have done *limited* good to mankind by preaching through their religious books to mankind the worship of God, mercy, charity, [etc.]. But the religions referred to above have done great harm to mankind in as much as they have not told mankind the true attributes of *Deva* (God), *guru* (teacher), and *dharma* and have teachings to the contrary. The Jaina religion shows for mankind *ekant hit* (wholesome good) and the true path of *mokṣa* and nothing perverted. Hence it has done all good without harm" (1918: 162–163).
> *manuṣya jāti ke liye ek jaina-dharma ke vinā śeṣa dharmoṃ ne ekāṃśī sudhārā, arthāt apne apne dharma pustakoṃ ke upadeśa se manuṣya ko īśvara bhakti, dayā, dāna.... parameśvara, guru aur dharma kā satya svarūpa nahīṃ batalāyā kiṃtu viparyaya bodh karāyā hai, so baḍā bhārī manuṣya jāti kā nuksān kiyā hai. aur jaina-dharma ne manuṣya jāti ke vāste ekāṃta hita aur satya mokṣa mārga hī batalāyā hai, paraṃ viparyaya nahīṃ batalāyā hai, isliye ekāṃta upakāra hī kiyā hai, paraṃtu nuksān nahīṃ* (1905: 93).

Mal would better have translated *ekāṃta* as 'wholly' instead of 'wholesome', as correctly reflected in his phrase "all good without harm." The contrast that Ātmārām is drawing is between better and worse religions—and not only as a matter of degree, but as a comparison between the one that is *absolutely* good (*ekāṃta hita*) and the others that are all harmful to some degree or other. It is quite clear here that Ātmārām does not think the differences between Jainism and other religions are only verbal or nominal. He is staking a strong claim that others are faulty. And their faults are intrinsic to their views of divinity (*deva* and *guru*), just as the LTN insists. Ātmārām presses that point in his answer to Question Ninety-Five:

> "No one in the world (except Jainas) believes in such god as *arhat* who has been free from 18 defects and who possessed such qualities as infinite knowledge etc., real happiness, etc. Consequently the *arhat* himself is Parmeshwar and none else" (1918: 170).
> *jaise aṣṭādaśa dūṣaṇa rahita, anaṃta jñānādi guṇoṃkī sahajānaṃda svarūpa ṛddhi ke īśvara arihaṃta hue haiṃ aisā jagatkā mānā koī bhī īśvara nahīṃ huā hai, isvāste arihaṃta hī parameśvara hai, anya nahīṃ* (1905: 98).

It would have been preferable for Mal to end his translation of this passage with the word "is," since it reads as possibly making only the claim that the Jina (*arhat*) is in fact none other than the supreme deity

("Parmeshwar")—allowing that other deities may also be supreme as well—while the passage as a whole is clearly asserting that no other deities qualify. The Hindi delimitor "*hī*" is applied to the *arhat* "himself," which Mal might as well as have translated as "the *arhat* only," since "none else" is "Parmeshwar". In case there were any uncertainty in that claim of uniqueness, Mal has clarified that no one "except Jainas" believes in such a perfect deity.

To be sure, it is not that Ātmārām ignores any theological convergence between various religions. For example, Question Sixty-One asks:

> "In what respects do statements about God found in different religious books agree and in what do they differ?" (1918: 104).
> *hareka dharma ke pustakoṃ meṃ jo jo īśvara viṣayaka kathana hai so kis kis viṣayameṃ miltā hai, aur kis kis viṣayameṃ bhinna hai?* (1905: 65).

Incidentally, notice the use of the term *dharma* as a ruling doxographical category, translated here as "religion". Despite this terminological choice, however, Ātmārām approaches this question not in terms of what come to be generally conceived in his period as religions or *dharma*s (cf. Brekke 2002: 28–32), but according to entities belonging to the somewhat different category of *darśana,* what is now more commonly understood as a school of philosophy (cf. Halbfass 1988; Folkert 1993: 113–123). Ātmārām is following the general doxographical approach of Śvetāmbara scholiasts at least as far back as Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* by comparing and contrasting classical *darśana*s including Jains, Buddhists, Naiyāyikas, Vaiśeṣikas, Pātañjalas, and Vedicists (1918: 104–105). And he comes around to speaking of *mata*s, a category that Mal translates as "religion"—and is indeed often used in writings of this period to compare things like Jainism and Christianity (the *Īsāī-mata*)—but is classically also coextensive with *darśana* (Mundra 2022: 39) and can thus be understood to encompass *dharma*, *darśana*, and religion. Ātmārām concludes that there is indeed substantial agreement between the various *mata*s:

> "In respect to the following attributes of God, all religions hold a common view, subject to differences now and then in the meanings of these words. The attributes are:…" (1918: 105–106).
> *…ityādi svarūpa viśeṣaṇoṃ se to sarva matoṃ meṃ ek sariṣā īśvara mānā hai, paraṃtu arthāṃś se kisī kisī sthān meṃ bheda paḍ jātā hai* (1905: 66).

Ātmārām lists twenty-eight descriptors that he finds all religions to attribute to their deity (*īśvara*). The list includes, interestingly, *parameśvara* ("Parmeshwar"), the label that we have seen him bestow exclusively upon the Jina in his answer to Question Ninety-Five. There are also a number of terms such as *brahma, yogīśvara,* and *parameṣṭhī*, concepts which are really only shared among classical Indian belief systems, and not even among all of those. Ātmārām's assessment of agreement between the *dharma*s/*mata*s, then, sits a bit uneasily with the expansion of his comparative endeavour to include non-Indian religions and modern science in its purview.

Still, we have here a rare moment in which Ātmārām is indeed displaying something close to what Sagarmal Jain calls a harmonising or conciliatory habit (*samanvaya-śīla*). He appears even to be ascribing differences to semantics. This leaves open the possibility of the differences between deities being purely nominal, discrepancies in manners of speaking that do not correspond to differences in their referents. But it is also consistent with the contrary thought that the coinciding attributions are purely nominal and conceal substantial differences in theological opinions. Which theology is correct depends at least partly on Ātmārām's theory of linguistic reference; but even if he has worked out such a philosophy somewhere, it would take us too far afield to excavate it here.

In any case, it is clear that Ātmārām's general tendency, quite like Haribhadra's, is to take avowed differences seriously and to interrogate them critically. He does not shy away from repudiating what he takes to be wrong views. And yet, there are glimmers of the twentieth-century tendency toward reconciliation in his transcreation of Haribhadra's polemics and especially in the work of his translator, Babu Kannoo Mal. Ātmārām accomplishes this balancing act of repudiation and reconciliation at what can be read in his oeuvre as a complex moment of transition from classical to modern, moving back and forth between various discourses and approaches and audiences, still strongly rooted in classical Sanskrit philosophy but making overtures toward modern science and religions without Sanskritic intellectual histories. It will require the twentieth century and its movements of nationalism and globalisation to fully reinvent Haribhadra's repudiation of other gods into an approach of irenic universalistic reconciliation. But Ātmārām's transcreations exhibit some of the small but crucial acts of reuse, recasting, rewriting, and translation that help to make possible the more radical transcreation of Haribhadra in circulation today.

Abbreviations

CP = *Chicago Praśnottara* of Ātmārām (Ācārya Vijayānandsūri). See Ātmārām 1905 and 1918.

LTN = *Lokatattvanirṇaya* of Haribhadrasūri. See Suali and Haribhadrasūri 1905.

ṢDS = *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* of Haribhadrasūri. See Haribhadrasūri and Guṇaratnasūri 1970.

TNP = *Tattvanirṇayaprāsāda* of Ātmārām (Ācārya Vijayānandsūri). See Ātmārām 1902.

TRD = *Tarkarahasyadīpikā* of Guṇaratnasūri. See Haribhadrasūri and Guṇaratnasūri 1970.

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Translation as Commentary and Commentary as Translation in Jain Literary Practice

John E. Cort[*]

The early modern period saw the Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaka and Digambara Jains of north and western India engage in the extensive translation into Bhasha[1] of classical texts from Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsha.[2] The Śvetāmbaras started earlier, as the earliest extant texts we can identify as translations into Bhasha in the genre known as *bālāvabodh*, which I discuss below, appeared in the fourteenth century. Translation activity among the Digambaras seems to have begun in the sixteenth century. By the middle of the nineteenth century[3] a large number of Jain doctrinal, devotional and narrative texts had been translated. Over the past century most of these Bhasha translations have been supplanted by translations into modern Gujarati and Hindi, and as a result they have received scant scholarly attention.[4] But the magnitude of this enterprise is truly noteworthy, and marks a major chapter in the global history of translation.

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[*] This chapter should be read in tandem with "Jain Multiple Language Use and Cosmopolitanism" (Cort forthcoming), as the two together combine to make a larger argument about Jain language use in medieval and early modern western and northern India. It should also be read in tandem with Nalini Balbir's excellent "Translating Sacred Scriptures: The Śvetāmbara Jain Tradition" (Balbir 2023), which came to my attention too late to be incorporated adequately into my chapter. Except where otherwise noted all translations are mine.
I thank Akshara Ravishankar and Tyler Williams for helpful comments on an earlier draft, and the two anonymous reviewers for their incisive feedback and suggestions.

[1] Commonly spelled *bhākhā* in early modern manuscripts; I use the modernised form Bhasha in conformity with current academic practice. In this chapter I avoid using "vernacular" as much as possible (and yet found that completely avoiding it was impossible). In recent scholarship on medieval and early modern South Asia "vernacular" has become over-used and under-theorised, to the point where I do not find it very useful except in its most general sense.

[2] In this chapter I do not address Sthānakavāsī or Śvetāmbara Terāpanthī literary practices. These communities do not appear to have been involved in translation before the twentieth century to anywhere near the extent of the Digambaras and Mūrtipūjakas; but the Sthānakavāsīs do appear to have relied extensively on the *bālāvabodh*s composed by the Mūrtipūjaka author Pārśvacandrasūri in the sixteenth century (Balbir 2023: 401–2); and see the important example of the Rajasthani translation of the canonical *Bhagavatī Sūtra* by Jayācārya (1804–1882), the fourth *ācārya* of the Terāpantha, as the *Bhagavatī Joṛ* (Balbir 2023: 408–9 and Dundas 2020: 753). Nor do I address literary practices of Digambara Jains in the Deccan and South India. For the remainder of the chapter, unless specified otherwise, when I refer to Śvetāmbaras I specifically refer to Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjakas. In the interests of space I also omit detailed discussion of early modern north Indian Digambara genre of *bhāṣā vacanikā*s, which by the very title of the genre indicate the extent to which they are simultaneously vernacular renderings and commentaries on older Prakrit, Apabhramsha and Sanskrit texts, and in some cases even of Bhasha texts.

A Note on Language: Bhasha, Old Gujarati, Old Rajasthani, Maru-Gurjar

In this chapter I use Bhasha as a cover-all term for the literary vernacular language continuum used in late medieval and early modern western India, a period roughly encompassing the thirteenth into the nineteenth centuries, and a region that in contemporary terms stretched from south Gujarat to Haryana and east into the Hindi belt. Bhasha was not identical with the spoken language of any specific time or region. It was a literary language written and understood over a large region. While historians of language and literature say that Bhasha was not a grammatically singular language, nonetheless it constituted a single literary language continuum until the sixteenth century, and until the nineteenth century texts composed anywhere in the region were to a significant extent understandable by audiences and readers throughout the region.[5] Michael S. Allen (2022: 13) has aptly called this early modern literary language a "malleable, transregional language." The geographical reach of this language continuum can be seen in the vocabulary of the three major scholarly sources in which we find lists and discussions of *bālāvabodh*s and other Jain Bhasha texts from this medieval and early modern western India. Many individual *bālāvabodh*s are discussed in all three sources, but characterised by each source as being in a different language. Thus one and the same text is labelled as Old Gujarati (or more broadly Gujarati or Gurjar) by Deśāī and Koṭhārī in *Jain Gūrjar Kavio* (1986–1997; first edition 1926–31), as Maru-Gurjar by Miśra in *Hindī Jain Sāhitya kā Bṛhad Itihās* (1989–99; he uses Hindi in the title instead of Maru-Gurjar, further signaling the overlaps), and as Rajasthani by Vinayasāgar in *Khartargacch Sāhitya Koś* (2006). The use of these terms says more about the geographic location of the scholars within contemporary India, in which states and languages have become increasingly locked in a mutually defining embrace, than it does about the language of the source texts. The analysis of language differences and language shift is of great importance for scholars of historical linguistics,[6] who tend to identify multiple languages, dialects or registers within the Bhasha continuum. The authors of the texts themselves, however, almost universally simply used the term "Bhasha" to refer to the language in which they composed, and to distinguish it from Sanskrit and Prakrit. As a result, scholars are increasingly adopting this term as a way of signalling both the linguistic and literary continuities over a wide temporal and spatial range, and the ways that Bhasha was much more a pan-regional and even trans-regional literary language than a place-specific spoken vernacular dialect.

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[3] The cut-off period for my discussion is when Jains started transitioning from handwritten manuscripts to mechanically printed books, and also started transitioning from Bhasha and other older linguistic registers to modern standard Gujarati and Hindi. These changes overlapped temporally to a significant extent, but it is not clear that they were mutually causative. This is an important matter to explore on another occasion. We also find that the use of the term *bālāvabodh* largely ends with the transition from manuscript to print culture.

[4] For example, none of the eighteen articles on Rajasthani and Hindi literature, totaling over 200 pages, in *Rājasthān kā Jain Sāhitya* (Nāhṭā et al. 2003) contains any discussion of translations as a genre, and in fact few make any mention of translations even in lists of the compositions by specific authors.

[5] See, among others, Bhāyāṇī (1973: 39; 1975: 1), Miśra (1989–99: 1, 1–15), Nāhṭā (1967: 19; 1974: 4–5), Orsini and Sheikh (2014: 7n10) and Sāṇḍesarā (1953a: 5–6, 1953b: 4).

"Translation" in South Asia: Anuvād, Bhāṣā Kar-, Bhāṣā √Kṛ, Bhāṣāntar, Chāyā, Tarjumā

Scholars have noted that there is no pre-modern noun that can be used to translate "translation" in languages that originated in South Asia.[7] The noun used in contemporary north Indian languages for translation, *anuvād*, is clearly a nineteenth-century repurposing of an older technical Sanskrit commentarial term.[8] Another term for translation, *bhāṣāntar* (literally "between languages") is also a nineteenth-century coinage.

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[6] For some of the many studies, see Bangha (2018, forthcoming), Bhayani (1973, 1988, 1999), Smith (1975).

[7] Cort (2015), Gopinathan (2000, 2006), Hatcher (2017), Mukherjee (1997), Trivedi (2006), Williams (2018, 2022), among others.
The Arabic noun *tarjumah*, which came into north Indian languages as, for example, *tarjumā* in Hindi and *tarjumo* in Gujarati, complicates the assertion about the lack of a noun to translate "translation." Its usage, however, was somewhat restricted, and I have not come across the noun in any Jain context.

[8] Andrew Ollett (email, 30 September 2012) calls attention to an eleventh-century Sanskrit commentary by Harṣapāla on Pravarasena's Prakrit *Setubandha* in which the author stated that he translated the original into Sanskrit, using the verbal construction *saṃskṛtagirā tasyānuvādaḥ kṛtaḥ*. See Acharya (2006). While this further

I have come to think that the observation about the lack of a technical term for "translation" for the act of rendering a source text into a target language is a bit of a red herring.[9] As G. Gopinathan and other scholars note, anxiety about translation that led to great theorisation of the practice appears to be largely a phenomenon of the European literary and religious traditions, and arose out of the doubts raised about the translation of the Bible first from Hebrew into Greek, and then from Latin into medieval and modern European languages. This anxiety is not one shared with most literary traditions around the world. It is true that we do not find in the South Asian intellectual traditions a science or theory of translation, an *anuvāda-śāstra*. The lack of a single pre-modern noun to translate "translation," as well as the absence of a systematic theorisation of translation, does not, however, mean that South Asians have not been translating among languages for millennia. Nor does it mean that South Asian authors and intellectuals haven't thought about all that is involved in the act of transporting a text into a second language. While investigating the factors that led to the need to repurpose the older Sanskrit *anuvāda* to cover "translation" is surely a topic of interest in the study of South Asian modernity,[10] more helpful for our purposes is to look at the nouns and verbal phrases Jains have used over the past millennium for the practice of translation.

Early modern poets from many religious and literary traditions used variants of the phrase *bhāṣā kar-*, "to make [it] Bhasha," or *bhāṣā kah-*, "to say [in it] Bhasha," to describe their activity of translating a text from a classical language into Bhasha (Williams 2018: 103). For example, the seventeenth-century Digambara Banārsīdās concluded his Bhasha translation of the Sanskrit *Kalyāṇamandira Stotra*:

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complicates any unqualified assertion about the presence or absence of the concept of "translation" in medieval South Asia, it seems to be an idiosyncratic instance that does not invalidate the general observation about "translation" and *anuvād*.

Another example that complicates a simple statement that there was no concept of "translation" in medieval South Asia is the use of the term *anuvād* by Jñānadeva to describe what he was doing in his *Jñāneśvarī* as a vernacular commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* (Ketkar 2019). Christian Novetzke (2016: 222–23) has said, "One can speak of the *Jñāneśvarī* as a 'translation' only in the loosest sense of this term. The word *transfer* would be more appropriate than *translation* to convey the purported intentions of the author."

[9] I am here using "translation" in the primary sense given to the noun by the Oxford English Dictionary: "The act or process of translating a word, a work, etc., from one language into another." As I argue in this chapter, however, upon closer investigation we quickly find that we need to complicate our understanding of the process.

[10] Hatcher (2017) is an essential beginning to such an inquiry.

> The wise Kumudacandra made this *Kalyāṇamandira*.
> Banārsī said it in Bhasha, for the sake of pure right faith.[11]

Banārsīdās and Kuṅvarpāl concluded their Bhasha translation of the *Sūktimuktāvali* in similar fashion:

> It is called the *Sūktimuktāvalī*, and it has twenty-two chapters.
> In total extent the text has one-hundred verses.
> The pair of friends Kuṅvarpāl and Banārsī are like-minded.
> They did the text in Bhasha, in verses of various meters.[12]

A third example comes from the Digambara Hemrāj Pāṇḍe, also in the seventeenth century, who concluded his Bhasha translation of the Sanskrit *Bhaktāmara Stotra* in a similar manner:

> Hemrāj made the *Bhaktāmara* in Bhasha for the sake of well-being.
> Whoever recites it in the right spirit will attain the land of liberation.[13]

Finally, the eighteenth-century Digambara Daulatrām Kāslīvāl announced in the very first verse of his Bhasha translation of Raviṣeṇa's Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa* that he was translating it—literally speaking it—into Bhasha: "I speak the Bhasha *Padmapurāṇ* according to what I have heard."[14] He repeated this in the conclusion to his translation:

> The *Padmapurāṇa* is a highly auspicious text . . .
> this is it in Bhasha . . .
> the original done by Ācārya Raviṣeṇa
> was made into Bhasha according to what I heard.[15]

Daulatrām was very explicit that he translated the Sanskrit text composed by Raviṣeṇa. His composition was not simply another telling of the Rāma story within the vast multilingual current of Rāma texts, such as the Bhasha *Rām Rās* of the fifteenth century Brahm Jindās (Clines 2022) or the Bhasha *Sītācarit* written in the mid-seventeenth century by Rāmcand Bālak (Plau 2018). We can also see Daulatrām's express intention that he was translating Raviṣeṇa's original text (what he called the *sār*) when we compare his translation to the *Pārśva Purāṇ* of his contemporary, the Digambara Bhūdhardās. The latter author also called his text a Bhasha, but in the introduction made no mention of any earlier author or text that he was translating:

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[11] *yaha kalyāṇamandira kiyau kumudacandra kī buddhi /*
bhāṣā kahata banārasī kārana samakita suddhi //
Kalyāṇamandira Stotra (Cort 2015: 84).

[12] *nāma sūktimuktāvalī dvāviṃśati adhikāra /*
śataśloka paramāna saba iti granthi vistāra //
kuṅvarapāla banārasī mitra jugala ikacitta /
tinahiṃ granthi bhāṣā kiyo bahuvidha chanda kavitta //
Sūktimuktāvali (Cort 2015: 85).

[13] *bhāṣā bhaktāmara kaiyau hemarāja hita heta /*
je nara paḍhaiṃ subhāvasauṃ te pāvaiṃ śivakheta //
Bhaktāmara Stotra (Cort 2015: 88)

[14] *bhāṣā padmapurāṇakī bhāṣūṃ śruti anusāra.*
Padmapurāṇ Bhāṣā maṅgalācaraṇ 1b; p. 1.

[15] *padmapurāṇa mahāśubha grantha . . .*
bhāṣārūpa hoya jo yeha . . .
bhāṣā kīnī śruti anusāra
raviṣeṇācāraja kṛtasāra.
Padmapurāṇ Bhāṣā colophon 6–7; p. 606.

> Having worshipped all the worship-worthy beings, according to my limited understanding
> I made the Bhasha *Pārśvapurāṇa*, for the welfare of myself and others.[16]

He confirmed this in the conclusion, when he simply said that he had consulted prior versions of the narrative, but did not specify that he was translating any one of them:

> Bhūdhar inspected earlier narratives and made himself familiar with them.
> This compilation is bound in Bhasha. It was done in Agra city.[17]

The verbal formula was not restricted to renditions of texts from classical languages into Bhasha, but was also used in Prakrit and Sanskrit to describe the act of translating from Prakrit into Sanskrit, as seen in the several versions of the story of the fourth- or fifth-century Śvetāmbara Siddhasena (Cort 2015: 64–5; Dundas 2020: 745; Granoff 1989–90, 1991). Siddhasena was a Brahmin who became a Jain monk, and who wanted to render the Prakrit texts into Sanskrit. The other monks thought that this was a moral offence to the integrity of the teachings of Mahāvīra, and sentenced Siddhasena to wander incognito for many years. The story of Siddhasena and his desire to translate the scriptures is told in at least five medieval Prakrit and Sanskrit texts. The authors do not use any technical term for "translation," but simply have Siddhasena say that he wanted to "make the texts Sanskrit" or "make the texts into Sanskrit." The texts use forms of the Prakrit verb √*kara* and the Sanskrit verb √*kṛ*, meaning "to do, to make," and then use the noun "Sanskrit" (or "Sanskrit *bhāṣā*") in either the accusative or locative case.

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[16] *sakalapūjya pada pūjakaiṃ alpabuddhi anusāra /*
bhāṣā pārśvapurāṇa kī karauṃ svapara hitakāra //
Pārśva Purāṇ 1.14; p. 2.

[17] *pūraba carita vilokikai bhūdhara buddhi samāna /*
bhāṣā baddha prabandha yaha kiyo āgare thāna //
Pārśva Purāṇ 9.325; p. 91.
Bhūdhar's phrase for his translation, "bound in Bhasha" (*bhāṣā baddha*), is quite striking; I have not seen it used by other Jain authors (although that is probably indicative more of the relatively small number of translations I have been able to see than anything else). A century before Bhūdhar, Tulsīdās used the same phrase to describe his translation of the story of Rāma into Bhasha as the *Rāmcaritmānas*: "That same tale I will set in common speech" (*Rāmcaritmānas* 1.31.1c, translation by Philip Lutgendorf [2016: 73]). The original reads: *bhāṣābaddha karabi maiṃ soī*. This usage signals the need for more research into the uses of *bhāṣā kar* and its variants in different contexts of time, place, genre and literary tradition.

In the 1134[18] Prakrit *Ākhyānamaṇikośavṛtti* by Āmradevasūri, Siddhasena says, "I make all the scripture into the Sanskrit language."[19] The twelfth-century Prakrit *Kahāvalī* by Bhadreśvarasūri has Siddhasena say something very similar: "I make [all] the scripture Sanskrit."[20] In the 1277 Sanskrit *Prabhāvakacarita* by Prabhācandra, we read that Siddhasena "wants to make the scripture Sanskrit."[21] In both the Sanskrit *Kuḍuṅgeśvaranābheyadevakalpa* in the 1333 *Vividhatīrthakalpa* by Jinaprabhasūri and the 1349 Sanskrit *Prabandhakośa* by Rājaśekharasūri, Siddhasena says, "I make all the scriptures Sanskrit."[22] We thus see a clear acknowledgement of the act of translating, even though the texts do not use any specific technical noun for "translation."

There is one other way that we find an explicit reference to the practice of translation in medieval and early modern manuscripts. Many Prakrit texts (and Prakrit portions of multiple language dramas) were accompanied by a Sanskrit word-for-word trot, known as a *chāyā* (literally "shadow"), so that a reader or audience inadequately familiar with the one or more Prakrits involved could follow the text.[23] The earliest known *chāyā*, in Rājaśekhara's *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, dates from the early tenth century, and *chāyā*s are found in many manuscripts copied over the past millennium (Leclère 2022: 109). In Brahminical circles they were largely restricted to dramas, since these were the only texts that incorporated a significant amount of Prakrit. In many instances a *chāyā* was a simple word-for-word trot, and so the simplest form of translation, but this was not always the case. Leclère (2022: 115) observes, "translating and commenting were similar processes." Authors of *chāyā*s added short additional comments explaining the implications in the text of a word or phrase. The placement of a *chāyā* in a manuscript also echoed the techniques copyists used to distinguish the root text from commentary (Leclère 2022: 117–18).

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[18] Unless noted otherwise, all dates are CE, not VS.

[19] *siddhaṃtaṃ savvaṃ pi hu karemi bhāsāe sakkayāe ahaṃ*. *Ākhyānamaṇikośavṛtti* 57.32; p. 172.

[20] *karemi sakkayaṃ [savvaṃ] pi siddhaṃtaṃ*. *Kahāvalī*, Vol. 2, p. 341.

[21] *siddhāntaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ kartum icchan*. *Prabhāvakacarita* 8.109; p. 58.

[22] *sakalān apy āgamān ahaṃ saṃskṛtān karomi*. *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p. 88; *Prabandhakośa*, p. 18.

[23] As Sheldon Pollock (2006: 105n69) notes, there has been almost no scholarship on the genre of the *chāyā*; the one exception is Basile Leclère's 2022 study. This is another lacuna in the history of translation in South Asia.

*Chāyā*s were attached to Jain texts in a wide range of genres, since Prakrit remained a valued language of composition for Jains into the early modern period, especially among Śvetāmbara authors. In many Śvetāmbara cases, an author composed a short text in Prakrit verse (*gāthā*) in recognition of the prestige of the language for Jains as highly appropriate for religious subjects. The Prakrit text then served as the foundation for an extensive commentary in Sanskrit, sometimes by the original author himself, and sometimes by a disciple. The Sanskrit commentary in some cases began after each Prakrit verse and its *chāyā*. Here is one example of a *chāyā*, on the opening verse of the *Śrāddhavidhi* written in 1450 CE by the Tapā Gaccha Ācārya Ratnaśekharasūri:[24]

> *sirivīrajiṇaṃ paṇamia suāo sāhemi kimavi saḍḍhavihiṃ /*
> *rāyagihe jagaguruṇā jaha bhaṇiyaṃ abhayapuṭṭheṇaṃ //*
>
> *śrīvīrajinaṃ praṇamya śrutāt kathayāmi kimapi śrāddhavidhim /*
> *rājagṛhe jagadguruṇā yathā bhaṇitaṃ abhayapṛṣṭena //*

A problem, however, is that we have no idea who wrote this *chāyā*. The same *chāyā* appears in several printed editions of the text, but is missing from others. Nor is it found in a manuscript of the text copied in 1896 CE and now in Ahmedabad and available online.[25] Was it written by a medieval or early modern commentator or copyist, or was it written by a twentieth century editor? Was it written by Ratnaśekharasūri himself, but not included in all manuscripts? We do not know. Leclère writes that this is a common problem with *chāyā*s. There is little if any direct evidence that the authors themselves wrote them, and they seem to have been added to manuscripts by commentators and copyists in an accretive process. The undated medieval manuscript of Devabodha's twelfth-century drama *Satyavratarukmāṅgada* on which Leclère bases his study gives evidence of multiple people being involved in the *chāyā* process. Some *chāyā* passages are incorporated into the body of the manuscript, while others are found as marginal notes, and in some places one *chāyā* passage corrects an earlier one. Despite the problem of authorship, however, we can identify the *chāyā* as a medieval genre of translation, in which the target text closely follows the source text.[26]

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[24] *Śrāddhavidhi* 1.1; p. 2 (2005 ed.).

[25] L.D. Institute of Indology, ms. 423. http://www.ldindology.org/manuscripts/listing-page-of-manuscripts/22478

Translation and Commentary

In my 2015 tentative exploration of early modern Digambara Jain translation practice, "Making it Vernacular in Agra: The Practice of Translation by Seventeenth-century Digambar Jains," I noted almost in passing, "'translation' in many ways is simply a mode of 'interpretation' in another language, and hence blends into the genre of 'commentary'" (Cort 2015: 94). A noteworthy feature of the *bālāvabodh* as a Jain genre of translation, as we will see, is that a significant majority of them are simultaneously commentaries of one form or another.[27] This observation may seem obvious to anyone who has read any of these texts, but is of sufficient importance in the study of translation history in South Asia that it warrants a special discussion.

Almost all commentaries in classical Brahminical literary traditions were *intra*lingual, from Sanskrit to Sanskrit, in contrast to the many *inter*lingual commentaries we find in Jain literature. This is not surprising, given the extent to which Brahminical language practices highly prioritised Sanskrit monolingualism, whereas for nearly two thousand years the Jains have privileged multilingual practice, and viewed monolingualism as an intellectual and literary shortcoming (Cort forthcoming). Brahmin intellectuals were shaped by Mīmāṃsā theories of language, according to which Sanskrit is the only language appropriate for religious and ritual texts.[28] While one might argue that even monolingual commentary is a form of translation, as it involves a transposition of content from a source to a target text, in this chapter I want to restrict "translation" to multilingual literary activity, in which the source and target texts are in different languages. I do not want to elide all differences between "translation" and "commentary," and I think that most Jain authors also saw these as separate if overlapping literary processes.

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[26] The ways that *chāyā*s bear evidence of decisions by copyists that are arguably editorial corroborates the comments made by Tyler Williams in a roundtable discussion on book history at the conference "Opening the Archive: Scholars and Monks in a Moment of Change," held at the Neubauer Collegium for Culture and Society, University of Chicago, on 23 March 2023. Williams observed that the scribe of a hand-copied manuscript often employed similar intellectual processes as the editor of a printed edition of a text. He asked provocatively, "Can we therefore call a hand-copied manuscript an 'edition'?"

[27] I start by using "commentary" also in a basic sense found in the Oxford English Dictionary: "a systematic series of comments or annotations on the text of a literary work." This term, too, we find to be much more complex upon closer investigation. In contrast to "translation," where we are faced with an absence of an indigenous South Asian term, in the case of "commentary" we are faced with a surplus. In Sanskrit, for example, the following terms all can be applied to one form of commentary or another: *ṭīkā*, *ṭippaṇa*, *bhāṣya*, *vṛtti*, *vivṛtti*, *vivaraṇa*, *vārttika*, *vyākhyā*, as well as others. While some terms have very specific definitions in one or another school of hermeneutics, they do not retain any one meaning in all contexts, and many commentarial texts are titled and even self-titled by more than one term.

The monopolistic hold of Sanskrit on Brahmin intellectual and literary culture began to fracture in the early centuries of the second millennium CE, the beginning of what Sheldon Pollock (2006) has called "the vernacular millennium." But it wasn't until the middle of the millennium that we start to see a significant number of translations from Sanskrit into vernacular languages.[29] Very few of these translations were strict word-for-word or even sentence-for-sentence or verse-for-verse translations. In some instances the translator omitted portions of the source text from his vernacular translation. A good example of this is the *Gītā Bhāṣā* of Theghnāth discussed by Akshara Ravishankar (forthcoming).[30] This otherwise little-known author composed his text in Gwalior around 1500 CE. While much of *Gītā Bhāṣā* is a verse-for-verse translation of the *Bhagavad Gītā* from Sanskrit into Bhasha, at key points he omitted and reshaped the text in order to bring into focus his own agenda on the need to develop an ascetic understanding of the problematic nature of human embodiment.

More often than contraction, in early modern translations of Sanskrit texts into Bhasha we find authors expanding upon the original. A good example of this is the *Vairāgya Vṛnd*, a translation of Bhartṛhari's Sanskrit *Vairāgya Śataka* by the Niranjani author Bhagvāndās, written in 1673 in what is now Rajasthan (Williams 2018). Like Theghnāth, except by expansion rather than compression, Bhagvāndās's translation "does much more than simply explicate or elaborate upon its source text—it transforms it into a different kind of composition" (Williams 2018: 104). Bhagvāndās translated the one hundred verses of Bhartṛhari's century, and included another twenty verses from the other two centuries, the *Nīti Śataka* and the *Śṛṅgāra Śataka*. Manuscripts of Bhartṛhari's poems vary widely in content and order. Bhagvāndās chose to divide them into five chapters (*prakāś*), and framed some of them in the genre of dialogue (*saṃvād*) between guru and disciple, a literary device not found in the Sanskrit source. Instead of a text of seemingly unordered verses on the joys and frustrations of renunciation, Bhagvāndās wrote a text that laid out a spiritual path to detachment and wisdom. In some verses his translation subtly altered the meaning to fit his own thesis. He also expanded Bhartṛhari's text, using 293 Bhasha verses to translate and explicate the 120 Sanskrit verses. Williams locates Bhagvāndās's *Vairāgya Vṛnd* within a growing number of early modern Bhasha texts that in similar fashion straddled the line between translation and commentary. Williams titled his article "Commentary as Translation." It could just as easily have been "Translation as Commentary."

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[28] On this point see Dundas (1996, 1998, 2020) and Granoff (1991).

[29] That this was also the period that saw an increasing number of translations from Sanskrit into Persian is probably not a coincidence.

[30] See also her dissertation (Ravishankar 2024).

If we want better to understand translation practice in early modern South Asia, as materials from the classical cosmopolitan languages of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsha were translated into the emerging Bhasha of north and western India, we need to pay attention to the many ways that commentary and translation were interdependent. The Jain texts I discuss in this chapter were part of a much larger trans-sectarian (and also secular) literary development. But as is so often the case in scholarship on South Asia, the Jain evidence brings something different to our attention. Theghnāth, Bhagvāndās and other Hindu authors were doing something new by transforming commentary from an intralingual genre (Sanskrit commentary on Sanskrit root text) to an interlingual one (Bhasha commentary on Sanskrit root text). For the Jains, however, the simultaneous practice of commentary and translation was nothing new. For a thousand years they had been writing Sanskrit commentaries on Prakrit and Apabhramsha texts (and before that Prakrit commentaries on Prakrit texts); now they added Bhasha to the languages involved in the process, as they wrote Bhasha commentaries on Prakrit, Sanskrit and Apabhramsha texts.[31]

Genres of Medieval and Early Modern Jain Translation

In a study of the translation of Sanskrit texts into Old Javanese, Thomas M. Hunter distinguishes between two modes of translation. One of these he calls the "poetic mode." Literary stylists developed this mode as they "strove to develop the Old Javanese language into a sophisticated literary dialect comparable to the Sanskrit used for the 'court epics' (*kāvya*) of India" (Hunter 2011: 9). Hunter (2011: 14) notes that this mode of translation can aptly be called “transcreation,” adopting the term first coined by P. Lal (1996) and which the editors of this volume have also adopted. The other mode of translation he calls the “commentarial mode.” He explains this mode of translation as follows (2011: 13):

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[31] See also M. Jain (2002: 163–68) for a good discussion of the intertwining of commentary and translation in early modern Digambara Jain Bhasha literature.

> From at least the mid-first millenium CE it became customary for Indian teachers and commentators to compose extensive commentaries on pre-existing literary, philosophical or theological works that in the simplest form presented glosses on the often-difficult phrasing or lexemes of the original . . . An analysis of early pedagogical texts of the Old Javanese tradition . . . shows that the “glossing” type of Indian commentary was taken as a model for these texts, but that the Sanskrit glosses of the Indian tradition were replaced with glosses in Old Javanese.

These two modes of translation do not form a binary. Rather, they form “two poles in a continuum of the art of translation in the context of multiple language use that register two different sociocultural orientations” (2011: 14). One pole prioritises a linguistic and literary project that makes connections with the prestigious transnational literary tradition that Pollock terms the Sanskrit cosmopolis, and the other pole emphasises a project that reformulates those transnational influences in terms of local characteristics.

We can fruitfully apply this distinction to the study of Jain translations. Some translations of Sanskrit and Prakrit poetical works were in Bhasha verse, such as the *Bhāṣā Bhaktāmara Stotra* by the seventeenth-century Digambara layman Hemrāj Pāṇḍe quoted above. These were translations in the poetic mode. Most translations, however, were in Bhasha prose, and in fact the Jains played a significant but generally overlooked role in the development of Bhasha prose that laid some of the foundation for later Gujarati and Hindi prose.[32] These were translations in the commentarial mode.

Digambara prose translations were known by the overlapping terms *bhāṣā vacanikā*, *bhāṣā ṭīkā*, *vacanikā* and *bhāṣā*, although there was no real significant difference among them, and some authors used all of them for the same text.[33] A *bhāṣā vacanikā* often (but not always) included the Sanskrit original, or else a Sanskrit translation if the original was in Prakrit or Apabhramsha. The author of the *vacanikā* provided the meaning (*arth*) of the original in Bhasha, sometimes as a translation at the sentence level, other times as a word-for-word gloss (*śabdārth*). In some cases he followed this with an extended meaning (*bhāvārth*) in Bhasha, into which he might insert additional Sanskrit *śloka*s.

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[32] For discussions of Gujarati prose in the context of the history of the development of the Gujarati language, see Bhāyāṇī 1976 and Sāṇḍesarā 2001. For a discussion of a single Digambara prose author, Daulatrām Kāslīvāl, and his contribution to the development of Hindi prose, see M. Jain 2002.

[33] A very few Digambara authors also called their prose translations *bālāvabodh* and *bālbodh*. Hardly anything has been written on this Digambara genre of commentarial translation. Aleksandra Restifo (2023) has also discussed the genre.

Harivallabh Bhāyāṇī (1976: 667) has written that there were actually three genres of early modern Śvetāmbara prose translations, although we need to understand "prose" in a flexible manner. Prose (*gadya*) encompassed writing that was not in metrical verse (*padya*). That does not mean that it involved grammatically complete sentences (*vākya*), which were regularly found in only one of the three genres, the *bālāvabodh* (which also involved verse, especially in opening benedictions [*maṅgal*] and concluding colophons [*prastāvnā*]).

An *auktik* presented a Sanskrit grammar in a Bhasha setting, in a manner not unlike a contemporary presentation of Sanskrit grammar in a book intended for English- or German-speaking students.[34] The oldest extant example is Saṅgrāmasiṃha's *Bālaśikṣā*, which is a Bhasha presentation of the Kātantra school of Sanskrit grammar (Jinvijay 1968). It was composed in Patan in 1280.

A *ṭabo* (Gujarati) or *ṭabā* (Hindi) was a word-for-word Bhasha gloss on the original. Nalini Balbir (2019: 14) has given a concise definition of the genre:

> the root-text is often written in large script and in the original Sanskrit or Prakrit. The Gujarati [Bhasha] is a word to word translation, which is laid out in the form of compartments and is often emphasized through dividers. It results into a bilingual document. This is useful both for understanding the original, and it also functions as a tool for learning the language.

Ṭabo comes from the Sanskrit *stabaka*, "bud," based on its visual appearance in a manuscript. The source text was written in larger letters, and the *ṭabo* in smaller letters in a line above the source text, with each explanatory word above the Sanskrit or Prakrit original, looking like a row of small flower buds (Sāṇḍesarā 2001: 275; Mālvaṇiyā 1980: 5; Desāī 1990: 6). As Keśavrām K. Śāstrī (1993: 60) has observed, this style of writing results in a text "which cannot be said to be pure prose."

Balbir (2020: 775) notes further that *ṭabo*s "range from word-to-word paraphrases, often equivalent to translations, to extensive and in-depth discussions bringing in innovative material that still needs to be explored." It thus overlapped with the third and most prominent genre of Śvetāmbara prose translation, the *bālāvabodh*. This overlap is further emphasised by Sāṇḍesarā (1953b: 7), but in terms of elements of a *ṭabo* being included in a *bālāvabodh*. He writes,

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[34] See also Sāṇḍesarā (2001: 283–84) on the genre of *auktik*.

> the person who taught a *bālāvabodh*, but whose knowledge of the text was limited, would write a *stabak* to help him remember the material in his teaching. On each page three or four lines of the root text would be written in large letters, and below each line in smaller letters the meaning would be written, so that the teacher could easily explain the deeper significance (*bhāv*) of each word.

Bālāvabodh

Bālāvabodh literally means "instruction for a child," but in usage means something more like "introductory Bhasha textbook."[35] While *bāl* literally means "child," Bhogīlāl Sāṇḍesarā (1953b: 7-8; 2001: 276–77) explains that it refers not to physical age, but to level of education and understanding.[36] For this reason, Sitamshu Yashaschandra (2003: 577n18) labels the genre "handbook for students" and "handbook for beginners," and Paul Dundas (2020: 752) calls a *bālāvabodh* "informing the inexperienced."[37] Harivallabh Bhāyāṇī (1980: 5) amplifies on this, saying that *bālāvabodh*s served as textbooks to teach basic information on the principles of Jainism to both newly initiated mendicants and to laity. When one remembers that the majority of mendicants were initiated at a very young age, often between the ages of five and ten, then one sees that the term *bāl* is quite appropriate here. A *bālāvabodh* would have been very suitable for such a young mendicant to read, at the same time that he was taking his first steps in Sanskrit and possibly Prakrit, but had not yet developed the skills to read independently in either of those languages. We get a sense of the use of *bālāvabodh*s for study by laity in the colophons to two *Upadeśamālā Bālāvabodh*s. The source text was the Prakrit *Upadeśamālā*, a famous didactic text composed by Dharmadāsagaṇi in the fourth or fifth century. It was the subject of half a dozen commentaries in Prakrit and Sanskrit, and then at least four Bhasha *bālāvabodh*s. One of these was written by the Tapā Gaccha Ācārya Somasundarasūri in 1429, "to be useful to all people."[38] Fourteen years later, in 1443, the laywoman Rūpāī arranged to have a manuscript (now in Ahmedabad) of it copied so that she could study it.[39] Another *bālāvabodh* on the *Upadeśamālā* was written by the Koraṇṭa Gaccha Ācārya Nannasūri in Cambay in 1487. That same year his disciple Guṇavardhana made a copy of the *bālāvabodh* (now in London) for study by the laywoman Maṇakā (Dave 1935: 1).[40]

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[35] There is a deep need for further research into this genre, which is important for understanding medieval and early modern Śvetāmbara Jain literary culture, as well as the development of Bhasha prose, translation and commentary in western and north India.

[36] Kumārpāḷ Desāī (1990: 5–6) makes the same point, probably based on Sāṇḍesarā.

[37] I find Yashaschandra's and Dundas's English translations of *bālāvabodh* preferable to that of Balbir (2020: 775): her "instruction for the ignorant" seems overly judgmental to my ear, and misses the extensive role these texts played as textbooks.

[38] *sarvajanopayogī*. *Upadeśamālā Bālāvabodh* Vol. 2, p. 151.

The earliest Jain *bālāvabodh*s preceded Hindu Bhasha prose commentaries by several centuries, and the term is generally understood to apply only to Jain texts (Sāṇḍesarā 1953b: 7). The Śvetāmbara usage of the term, and writing of Bhasha prose commentaries, seem to predate Digambara Bhasha prose also by several centuries. The earliest extant Bhasha *bālāvabodh* is the *Ṣaḍāvaśyaka Bālāvabodh* by the Kharatara Gaccha Ācārya Taruṇaprabhasūri, which he finished in 1355 (Sāṇḍesarā 2001: 278; Śāstrī 1993: 61; Bhāyāṇī 1980: 12; Pandit 1976). It was composed in the Tughluq provincial capital of Anahilla Pattana for a Jain layman named Balirāja. It quickly became a popular text; the oldest extant manuscript (now in Bikaner) was copied by Paṇḍita Mahipāka, also in Anahilla Pattana, in 1356, just a year after Taruṇaprabha's composition (Pandit 1976: 4–5). Another manuscript (now in Limbdi) was copied less than a decade later, in 1363, again in Anahilla Pattana (Pandit 1976: 5). There are two other extant manuscripts: one (now in Patan) copied in Anahilla Pattana in 1452, and a second (now in Pune) copied at an unknown but fairly early date (Pandit 1976: 4–6). Paul Dundas (2020: 752) describes it as "a running explanation of the *Ṣaḍāvaśyaka Sūtra*, a commonly used version of the older *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* that describes the ritual involved in the performance of the six 'obligatory actions' essential to daily monastic practice and also supposedly incumbent on the lay community." His further description of the text shows how already we can see that a *bālāvabodh* was a multilingual text addressed simultaneously to mendicant and lay audiences, and which served a pedagogical function: "While it is not clear whether this work, which contains passages in Sanskrit, was intended for use by the monastic community or perusal by the laity, the presence in this commentary of 31 narratives in lively Gujarati [Bhasha] gives some sense of how public exposition in the vernacular by monks must have animated lay understanding of basic Jain values."

Many hundreds of *bālāvabodh*s were written during the half-millennium when Bhasha was a dominant literary language in western India. Mohanlal Dalīcand Deśāī and Jayant Koṭhārī present information on 133 *bālāvabodh*s in the revised edition of *Jain Gūrjar Kavio* (1986–1997).[41] Śitikaṇṭh Miśra includes over 300 *bālāvabodh*s in his *Hindī Jain Sāhitya kā Bṛhad Itihās* (1989–99). Mahopādhyāya Vinayasāgar lists 137 *bālāvabodh*s in his *Khartargacch Sāhitya Koś* (2006). Muni Praśamarativijay provides a list of 474 *bālāvabodh*s and *ṭabā*s in an appendix (pp. 311-27) to his edition of Somasundarasūri's *bālāvabodh* on Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra*. There is extensive overlap among these four compilations, but even accounting for this overlap, the number of *bālāvabodh*s is substantial. No doubt additional examples could be included were one to scour more recently published manuscript catalogues such as the thirty-seven volumes so far published (as of 2023) by the Mahavir Jain Aradhana Kendra in Koba and available on the Jain eLibrary site.

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[39] *śrāvikā rūpāī osavāla vaṃśotpannā ātmapaṭhanārthe pustikā lekhāpitaṃ. Upadeśamālā Bālāvabodh* Vol. 2, p. 151.

[40] *ṣrī koraṇṭagacche śrī nannasūriśiṣya gṛṇi guṇavarddhanena likhitaṃ sāha rūpacanda bhāryā suśrāvikā maṇakāī paṭhanāya* (Dave 1935: 112).

*Bālāvabodh*s were composed on source texts in Prakrit, Sanskrit, Apabhramsha and Bhasha. The source texts encompassed the full range of Śvetāmbara textual production: scriptural *Āgama*s, devotional and ritual *stotra*s (hymns), narratives, cosmological texts, texts on Jain doctrine and metaphysics, ritual manuals, grammars and textbooks on aesthetics. *Bālāvabodh*s were not restricted to Jain texts, but were written on some of the non-Jain Sanskrit texts that are often found in Jain libraries, and which were widely read by Jains. For example, in 1734 in Sojat the Kharatara Gaccha Rāmavijayopādhyāya wrote a *bālāvabodh* on the *Amaruśataka*, a classic of Sanskrit erotic poetry (Vinayasāgar 2006: 10; Deśāī and Koṭhārī 1986–97: Vol. 5, 340; Miśra 1989–99: Vol. 3, 411). Two Kharatara authors wrote *bālāvabodh*s on the *Śatakatraya* of Bhartṛhari, his three centuries of verse on practical ethics (*nīti*), erotics (*śṛṅgāra*) and renunciation (*vairāgya*): Abhayakuśalagaṇi in 1698 in Sinali, and Rāmavijayopādhyāya in 1731, again in Sojat (Vinayasāgara 2006: 193; Deśāī and Koṭhārī 1986–97: Vol. 5, 339). In many cases multiple *bālāvabodh*s were composed on the same source text. Six *bālāvabodh*s were written on the thirteenth century Prakrit *Ṣaṣṭiśataka*, a text on correct mendicant praxis by the Kharatara Gaccha layman Nemicandra Bhaṇḍārī. These were by Somasundarasūri in 1439, Jinasāgarasūri in 1444, Dharmadevagaṇi in c. 1458, Merusundaropādhyāya in 1470, Dharmanandanagaṇi in the sixteenth century, and Vimalakīrttigaṇi sometime between 1595 and 1633 (Cort forthcoming). The existence of so many versions, many of them in multiple manuscript copies, indicates the practical functions of *bālāvabodh*s: they were texts composed for use in preaching, for conducting seminars for mendicants and laity during the rainy-season retreat, and as textbooks for young mendicants.

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[41] I thank Steve Vose for providing me with this number.

The range of possible content in *bālāvabodh*s was vast. In their briefest form, as word-for-word paraphrases, the genre overlapped with that of the *ṭabo*, and a number of texts are titled by both terms in different manuscripts.[42] In more expanded form, they included doctrinal details and exemplary stories. This was in direct continuity with the Jain Prakrit and Sanskrit commentarial tradition, as Jain Prakrit and Sanskrit commentaries often included both discussions of doctrinal and ritual details and edifying stories, often explicitly labelled *dṛṣṭānta*, "illustrative story." In most cases the source text was in Sanskrit or Prakrit, but *bālāvabodh*s were also composed on Bhasha and a few Apabhramsha texts. Most of the source texts were in verse, either poetic verse or workmanlike verse. The function of Prakrit and Sanskrit commentaries on such source texts was to expand on the original in order to give the full meaning of the text; in the words of Mari Jyväsjärvi (2010: 133), "the task of the commentator" in a Jain context was "to retrieve and explain a text's true, hidden meaning." *Bālāvabodh*s served a very similar function, and some of the earliest usages of the term *bālāvabodh* for a commentary were applied to Sanskrit commentaries. As Upādhyāya Bhuvancandra (2007: unnumbered page 9) explains, "The author of a *bālāvabodh* strives to fully explain the meaning of the author of the text. In many places he makes the meaning clear by adding words that are not expressed in the verse. This results in an expansion. He takes note of places where the text is cryptic and gives an explanation."

The genre of *bālāvabodh* complicates any clearcut division between commentary and translation, which is why Hunter's discussion of the commentarial mode of translation is applicable to the genre. A *bālāvabodh* provides the Prakrit, Sanskrit, Apabhramsha or Bhasha source text, which is usually followed by a close parsing of the words into Bhasha. Thus we can call it a translation, as Balbir does. Then follows a lengthier Bhasha prose text, in which the author expands upon the original with quotations, discussions of doctrine and practice, and/or illustrative stories. Thus we can call it a commentary as well. Balbir (2020: 775) points out that the Bhasha commentarial tradition existed side-by-side with the Sanskrit commentarial tradition, and many authors such as Somasundarasūri wrote both Sanskrit commentaries[43] and Bhasha *bālāvabodh*s.

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[42] The *Stabak* by Ācārya Jñānavimalasūri (1638–1726) on Ānandaghana's Bhasha *Covīsī* is a good example of a text called a *stabak* or *ṭabo* that in its form is quite similar to a *bālāvabodh*.

One more continuity between Sanskrit commentaries on Prakrit texts and Śvetāmbara Bhasha *bālāvabodh*s on Prakrit and Sanskrit texts is the lack of any direct reference to the fact that the author has engaged in a transposition from one language to another.[44] While the colophons of some *bālāvabodh*s were in Bhasha, often they were in Sanskrit (even if the source text was not). As in Sanskrit commentaries, the colophon simply marked that the text was complete or concluded. The author did not call attention to the fact that he had just engaged in writing a two or three-language text in which the activity that we can call translation had been an integral element. For the authors, translation was simply part and parcel of what it meant to write a Jain commentary in Bhasha. For example, Pārśvacandrasūri concluded the ninth chapter (and therefore the entire first part of the text) of his *Bālāvabodh* on the canonical *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, which he finished in 1525, with this Sanskrit prose:

> Thus is concluded the ninth chapter in the blessed *Ācārāṅga Sukhāvabodh*, done by Upādhyāya Pāśacanda, the disciple of blessed Sādhuratna, the crest-jewel of the learned, who strives in correct conduct, in the blessed Bṛhattapāgaccha. Thus is completed the first *Śrutaskandha* in the blessed *Ācārāṅga*.[45]

He made no mention of the fact that he wrote his text in Bhasha, nor that in addition to being a commentary (*avabodh*) it also involved the act of translation. In a similar manner, Ratnaśekharasūri concluded his 1450 *Śrāddhavidhi Kaumudī*, his Sanskrit commentary on the Prakrit *Śrāddhavidhi*, with similar words:

> By the grace of these good gurus [whom he had enumerated in the preceding verses], in the year 1506 [VS], Ratnaśekharasūri composed the commentary on the *Śrāddhavidhisūtra*. (12)
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> . . .
>
> Counting every letter, there are 6,761 verses in the commentary called the *Vidhikaumudī*. (15)

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[43] See, for example, Somasundarasūri's Sanskrit *avacūri* on Devendrasūri's Prakrit *Bhāṣyatraya*.

[44] This comment needs to be tempered by the fact that I have been able to see only a small fraction of the several hundred *bālāvabodh*s written between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries.

[45] *iti śrīmad bṛhattapāgacche vihitasadācārayatnānāṃ paṇḍitaśiroratnānāṃ śrīsādhuratnānāṃ śiṣyeṇopādhyāyapāśacandreṇa kṛte śrī ācārāṅgasukhāvabodhe navamam adhyayanaṃ samāptam // iti śrīmati śrī Ācārāṅge prathamaśrutaskandhaḥ sampūrṇaḥ //* Pārśvacandrasūri, *Ācārāṅga Sūtra Bālāvabodh*, p. 48.

> May this commentary, along with the verses of the *Śrāddhavidhi* textbook, [which was] composed for the well-being of the faithful [laymen], give success for a long time. (16)[46]

As in Pārśvacandrasūri's colophon to his Bhasha text on a Prakrit source, we see that Ratnaśekharasūri gave no indication that his Sanskrit commentary also involved the act of translating the root Prakrit verses into Sanskrit. These texts involved both commentary and translation, but within the South Asian intellectual and literary world only "commentary" was a distinct, theorised genre that was worth mentioning. "Translation" as a literary genre or epistemic concept was absent. But the texts clearly involved the act of translation.

Jain Practice of "Translation" and "Commentary"

1. Prakrit to Bhasha (and Sanskrit)

In this section I give, in Roman script and partial English translation, examples of a Bhasha (with some Sanskrit mixed in) *bālāvabodh* on a Prakrit text, and a Sanskrit commentary (*vṛtti*, *ṭīkā*) on a Prakrit text, to show how similar the two genres are despite the language differences. The two examples were written within a half-century of each other, by mendicant authors who were heads of the Tapā Gaccha. They undoubtedly knew each other, and participated in the same multilingual literary circle; but the structural similarities between a Sanskrit commentary on a Prakrit text and a Bhasha *bālāvabodh* on a Sanskrit or Prakrit text extend far beyond this literary circle and inform the practice of the two genres throughout the medieval and early modern periods.

Somasundarasūri lived from 1374 to 1443, and was head of the Tapā Gaccha from 1401 until his death (Śāh 2001: 16–18; Parmār 1993). He helped oversee the extensive copying of older palm-leaf manuscripts onto paper, which were then deposited in a library (*bhaṇḍār*) in Patan. He wrote many texts in Sanskrit and Bhasha. He particularly favoured *bālāvabodh*s, and wrote at least eight of them. He was an important member of the several generations of leaders of the Tapā Gaccha who in the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries brought the lineage into a position of prominence among Jains in western India through their extensive composition and patronage of Bhasha literature. He wrote the *Upadeśamālā Bālāvabodh* in 1429. Among Somasundarasūri's five chief disciples was Munisundarasūri, who lived from 1380 until 1447, and succeeded Somasundarasūri as head of the Tapā Gaccha. Most of his many compositions were in Sanskrit and Prakrit, but he might have written a *bālāvabodh* on the fourth chapter of Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra*.[47] Munisundarasūri was succeeded as head of the Tapā Gaccha by Ratnaśekharasūri, who lived from 1401 until 1461, and was initiated as *sūri* in 1446, one year before Munisundarasūri's death.[48] Ratnaśekharasūri was also a prolific author of Prakrit and Sanskrit texts who evidently did not compose in Bhasha.

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[46] *eṣāṃ śrīgurūṇāṃ prasādataḥ ṣaṭkhatithimite varṣe /*
śrāddhavidhisūtravṛttiṃ vyadhatta śrīratnaśekharaḥ sūri // 12 //
. . .
vidhikaumudīti nāmnyāṃ vṛttāv asyāṃ vilokitair varṇaiḥ /
ślokāḥ sahasraṣaṭkaṃ saptaśati caikaṣaṣṭyadhikāḥ //15 //
śrāddhahitārthaṃ vihitā śrāddhavidhiprakaraṇasya sūtrayutā /
vṛttir iyaṃ cirasamayaṃ jayatāj jayadāyinī kṛtinām //16//
Śrāddhavidhi praśasti 12, 15, 16, 2005 edition, p. 496.

By looking at the beginning of Somasundarasūri's *bālāvabodh* on Dharmadāsagaṇi's Prakrit *Upadeśamālā*, we can see how a *bālāvabodh* is a Bhasha text, with some Sanskrit mixed in, that simultaneously translates and comments on the Prakrit original.[49]

Somasundarasūri started with a benediction (*maṅgalācaraṇa*) in Jain Sanskrit.

> *ūṃ namaḥ śrī sarvvajñāya*
>
> [Translation: oṃ praise to blessed omniscience]

Next came a single Sanskrit verse in which he stated the intention of the text.

> *śrī varddhamāna jinavaram ānamya tanomi bālabodhāya*
> *prākṛta-vārtārūpaṃ vivaraṇam upadeśamālāyāḥ*

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[47] Reference to this *bālāvabodh* is found only in Miśra (1989–99: Vol. 1, 596), who says that a copy of the manuscript is in Patan. The Patan catalogue (Jambūvijaya 1991) makes no mention of such a text, nor is any reference to it found in Deśāī and Koṭhārī (1986–97). It may be that Miśra mistakenly referred to the *bālāvabodh* on the first four chapters of Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra* by Munisundarasūri's guru Somasundarasūri.

[48] Ratnaśekharasūri was not the direct disciple of Munisundarasūri; he was initiated by Sādhuratnasūri (a different Sādhuratna than Pārśvacandra's guru), and studied under Bhuvanasundarasūri, both of whom were also disciples of Somasundarasūri. Anon. 1927: 2.

[49] Somasundarasūri, *Upadeśamālā Bālāvabodh*, Vol. 1, p. 1.
Sanskrit is indicated by green, Prakrit by blue, Bhasha by red, and Bhasha nouns that are *tatsams* from Sanskrit by orange. For simplicity's sake I have avoided italicising Sanskrit, Prakrit and Bhasha terms in my translations.

> [Translation: Having bowed to the blessed excellent Jina Vardhamāna, in order to educate the young I compose a commentary on the Upadeśamālā, consisting of explanation of the Prakrit.]

Somasundrasūri then gave the initial verse of the Prakrit source text, followed by a translation into Bhasha prose. In his Bhasha prose Somasundarasūri went beyond a word-for-word trot to provide an expanded explanation (*vārtā*) of the Prakrit words. The resultant Bhasha prose was not in proper grammatical form; it definitely was not what Hunter would call a translation in the artistic mode. This was very much a translation in the commentarial mode. I translate the Bhasha portions of this passage, and leave the Prakrit in their original form. To further underscore the multilingual nature of this text, many of the Bhasha terms are *tatsams*, i.e., direct transpositions from Sanskrit into Bhasha.

> *namiūṇa jiṇavariṃde īṃdanariṃdaccie tiloaguru*
> *uvaesamālamiṇamo vucchāmi guruvaesaṇaṃ //1//*
>
> *jinavarendra śrī tīrthaṅkaradeva namiūṇa kahīi namaskarī iṇamo e upadeśamālā śreṇi vucchāmi bolisu gurūvaesaṇaṃ guru śrī tīrthaṅkara gaṇadharādika tehanaïṃ upadesiiṃ na tu āpaṇī buddhiiṃ śrī jinavarendra kisyā chaïṃ īṃdanariṃdaccie 64 narendra cakravarti vāsudeva pramukha nareśvara tehe arcita pūjita varttaïṃ valī kisyā tiloagurū svarga-martya-pātāla rūpa je trinni loka tehanā guru samyak mokṣamārga taṇā upadesaṇhāra chaïṃ /*
>
> jinavarendra is the blessed lord tīrthaṅkara. namiūṇa is to say obeisance. iṇamo in this line of upadeśamālās vucchāmi I speak gurūvaesaṇaṃ the teachings of the gurus, i.e. the blessed tīrthaṅkaras, gaṇadharas, etc., not according to my own thought but as explained by the blessed tīrthaṅkara. īṃdanariṃdaccie the indras are the 64 narendra emperors the vāsudevas and the chief lords of men, who honour and worship the one who is tiloaguru the guru of the three worlds, that is heaven, hell and earth, and who teaches the true path to liberation.

Finally, Somasundarasūri concluded his exposition on the first verse with a short passage in Bhasha prose in which he summarised the import of the opening Prakrit verse.

> *e pahilī gāthā pāchilāṃ ācāryanī kīdhī saṃbandha jāṇivā bhaṇī / atha śrī dharmmadāsagaṇi śāstranaï dhuri maṅgalika bhaṇī pahilā anaï caüvīsamā tīrthaṅkaradevanaü namaskāra kahaï chaïṃ //*
>
> [Translation: This first verse says that this [text] is in line with the knowledge told by previous *ācāryas*. Blessed Dharmmadāsagaṇi first speaks the benediction firmly rooted in the *śāstras*, saying the obeisance to the 24 lord *tīrthaṅkaras*.]

2. Prakrit to Sanskrit Commentary and Translation

We can see how a Sanskrit commentary on a Prakrit text also involved elements of both exegesis and translation in the following example from Ratnaśekharasūri's Sanskrit autocommentary on his Prakrit *Śrāddhavidhi*. We also see just how similar a Bhasha *bālāvabodh* was to a Sanskrit commentary.

Ratnaśekharasūri began the commentary with three benedictory verses in Sanskrit (which I skip here), and introduced the first Prakrit verse. He then glossed the Prakrit in Sanskrit, with a suitable expansion to convey a fuller meaning of the contents of the verse.[50] The form of Ratnaśekharasūri's Sanskrit commentary on the Prakrit verse was no different from a Sanskrit commentary on a Sanskrit verse. His gloss was in fact already a translation: with one exception, in his prose exegesis he did not repeat the Prakrit term, but gave it in a Sanskrit form. Thus the Prakrit verse read *siri-vīrajiṇaṃ*, but rather than repeat this in his prose commentary, Ratnaśekharasūri gave it in Sanskrit translation as *śrī-vīrajinaṃ*. The one exception is the Prakrit verb *sāhemi* ("I will speak"); in his commentary he gave the exact Prakrit verb from the source text which he then glossed (translated) by the Sanskrit *kathayāmi*. The Sanskrit translations for the Prakrit originals that Ratnaśekhara gave in his commentary are the same as the Sanskrit *chāyā*, and so we see how a *chāyā* can be implicit in a commentary.[51]

After three benedictory Sanskrit verses, he presented the first verse of the Prakrit source text.[52]

sirivīrajiṇaṃ paṇamia suāo sāhemi kimavi saḍḍhavihiṃ /
rāyagihe jagaguruṇā jahabhaṇiyaṃ abhayapuṭṭheṇaṃ // 1 //

śrīvīrajinaṃ praṇamya śrutāt kathayāmi kimapi śrādhavidhim /
rājagṛhe jagadgurūṇā yathā bhaṇitaṃ abhayapṛṣṭenaṇ // 1 //

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[50] As I discuss above, some modern editions of the text also include a Sanskrit *chāyā*.

[51] Given the extent to which the Sanskrit commentarial translation of the Prakrit *gāthā*s closely matches the Sanskrit *chāyā* found in modern editions, I am led to speculate that perhaps the *chāyā* might have been the first element in the text and commentary written by Ratnaśekharasūri, who then back-translated the Prakrit verses from the Sanskrit.

[52] I follow the 2005 edition of Muni Vairāgyarativijay and Muni Praśamarativijay, which was a re-editing of the 1952 edition by Muni Vikramvijay and Muni Bhāskarvijay, which in turn was based on the 1918 edition by Ācārya Vijay Dānsūri. The 2005 edition lacks the Sanskrit *chāyā*, which I therefore follow according to the 1995 edition by Paṅnyās Vajrasenvijaygaṇi and the anonymous 1980 edition.

Ratnaśekharasūri then glossed the Prakrit verse in the distinctive style of Sanskrit commentarial prose.[53]

> *śriyā kevalālokāśokādiprātihāryapañcatriṃśadvacanaguṇādyatiśāyilakṣmyā yuktaṃ vīrajinaṃ caramatīrthaṅkaraṃ karmavidāraṇādyanvarthācca vīraḥ / uktaṃ ca [. . .] // evaṃ ca śrīvīrajinam ity etāvataivāpāyāpagamajñānapūjāvacanātiśayāś catvāropy asūcyanta praṇamya prakarṣeṇa bhāvapūrvakaṃ manovākkāryair natvā śruyāt siddhāntāt punar āvṛttivyākhyānena śrutād gurusampradāyāder ākarṇitāc ca śrāddhasya śrāvakasya vakṣyamāṇānvarthasya vidhiṃ sāmācārīṃ kenopadiṣṭāṃ rājagṛhe nagare samavasṛtena jagadguruṇā arthād vīrajinenābhayakumārapṛṣṭenā yathā yena prakāreṇa bhaṇitam upadiṣṭaṃ tathābhūtaṃ kimapi saṃkṣepeṇa sāhemi kathayāmīti yoga iti prathamagāthāḥ //1//*
> **śriyā** marked by omniscience, the aśoka tree and other [eight] prātihāryas {miraculous attending features}, the thirty-five virtues of speech, and other atiśayas {eminent features} **vīrajinaṃ** the supreme tīrthaṅkara who has overcome karma is the **vīra.** It is said: [here Ratnaśekharasūri gave two Sanskrit verses describing the Jinas]. thus **śrīvīrajinam** is known by four eminent features: all obstacles are removed, his [omniscient] knowledge, he is worshipped [by the indras], and his [divine] speech. **praṇamya** he is bowed to in a manner full of faith, with mind, speech and body. **śrutād** {heard} by the sermon on the doctrine and its commentary, **śruyāt** {heard} according to the succession of gurus. **śrāddhasya** {of the faithful} of the laymen **vidhiṃ** the correct conduct. by whom was it taught? **rājagṛhe** in the city **jagadguruṇā** i.e. by mahāvīra jina **abhayakumārapṛṣṭena yathā** in the manner that the teaching was spoken **kimapi** concisely **sāhemi** I will speak it. this is the first verse.

Ratnaśekharasūri's commentary continued in this vein. He gave extended discussions of doctrinal matters. These discussions included frequent quotation of Prakrit and Sanskrit texts; Vajrasenvijaygaṇi in the table of contents to his edition lists fifty-seven texts, and Ratnaśekharasūri quoted other texts that Vajrasenvijaygaṇi and other editors have not been able to trace. Ratnaśekharasūri also regularly interwove elucidating stories (*dṛṣṭānta*) of varying length; Vajrasenvijaygaṇi lists eighty of them. In other words, Ratnaśekharasūri's expansive Sanskrit commentary (*vṛtti*, *ṭīkā*) on a short Prakrit text[54] was strikingly similar in its basic outlines to Somasundarasūri's expansive Bhasha translation-commentary (*bālāvabodh*) on another Prakrit text.

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[53] The words of the source Prakrit verse, in all but one case translated into Sanskrit, are indicated by **bold**. Words in square brackets are my editorial additions; words in braces are English translations or explanations of the preceding Sanskrit word(s).

[54] There are only seventeen *gāthā*s in the Prakrit root text, which R. Williams (1963: 16) describes as "manifestly only a peg on which to hang a vast Sanskrit prose treatise."

Concluding Observations: Translation in South Asian Literary History

In an oft-cited article "In Our Own Time, On Our Own Terms: 'Translation' in India," in the 2006 volume *Translating Others*, Harish Trivedi engages in a strongly-argued postcolonial critique of the applicability of the concept of translation—or, as he phrases it, "'translation' in the Western sense" (Trivedi 2006: 102)—to India in the three thousand years before the advent of British colonialism and the hegemony of English. In part his essay involves a postcolonial stance that the field of translation studies is so permeated by Western presuppositions that it cannot do justice to "other/Other languages and cultures which [have] so far remained disregarded by Western discourse" (2006: 102). He says there is a "non-history" of translation in India. The evidence I have presented in this chapter—and I have presented just a few examples from the hundreds of Jain texts that we can call translations—shows just how wrong is his assessment. Much of his discussion deals with translations between India and other cultures (Greek, Latin, Chinese, Persian, Arabic—not all named in his essay, and he overlooks the evidence of extensive translation from Arabic and especially Persian into Indian languages), and downplays the extensive evidence of translation among South Asian languages. According to Trivedi, pre-colonial South Asia had no need for translation, because of the widespread bilingualism or multilingualism found throughout South Asian history. "Translation," he argues, "is the need of the monolingual speaker" (2006: 103), whereas South Asian multilingualism "is not in general conducive to translation" (2006: 104). Scholars in recent years have explored the relationships between translation and multilingualism in increasing depth, and shown that the two are not binary opposites, but rather intertwined practices.[55] In the words of Reine Meylaerts (2016: 519; quoted in Israel 2021: 125; emphasis in original), "At the heart of multilingualism, we find translation. Translation is not taking place *in between monolingual* realities but rather *within multilingual* realities." The Jain evidence clearly supports this conclusion.

Trivedi admits (2006: 117) that his essay is "no more than a preliminary and haphazard ramble over some of the vast ground," but he is misled in this ramble by the extant scholarship on Hindi and South Asian literature. Translation practice is barely if at all discussed in most of the standard histories and overviews of literature; for example, the massive 2003 *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, edited by Sheldon Pollock (and in which Trivedi has a chapter on Hindi), does not even include "translation," or any of its South Asian equivalents, in the index. A similar omission marks the standard histories of Hindi. The problem is exacerbated by the ideological omission of Jain literature from histories of Hindi[56]; including Jain literature would have made it more difficult for Hindi scholars to avoid discussing translation.

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[55] For one example, see the recent volume edited by Rita Kothari (2018).

I am not the only person to take Trivedi to task for his argument that there is no history of translation in South Asia. Peter Gerard Friedlander in his 2011 article "Before Translation?" explores Hindi/Bhasha medical literature (much of it Jain) from the late-sixteenth century to 1800—i.e., before the advent of British colonial practices of translation and the eventual coining of terms such as *anuvād*. He gives examples of Hindi/Bhasha texts that are explicitly retellings of medical texts from both Sanskrit and Persian. He concludes (2011: 53), "taken together this sample of works provides evidence for a tradition of retelling medical texts in contemporary forms of speech, a tradition active from at least as early as the sixteenth century in what was to become the Hindi speaking region. Furthermore, it included not only retellings of works from earlier Sanskrit traditions, but also retellings of works in Persian."

Examples of scholarship that discusses and analyzes early modern translations into South Asian languages could be multiplied. In this chapter I have shown that Jains have been translating for a thousand years.[57] The extensive Jain practice of translation from Prakrit, Sanskrit and Apabhramsha into Bhasha significantly enhances our understanding of the extent of early modern South Asian translation practice. The

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[56] Kastūrcand Kāslīvāl (1965: 112) makes this point forcefully:

> It has not been possible as of yet to research fully the old literature of the Hindi language. It remains to research fully the Jain and non-Jain manuscript collections and the private collections in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi. There are unknown and important texts in these collections that after they were composed were deposited in these collections, and then never again came to the attention of the general people. In these manuscript collections there are hundreds of old texts gathered into *guṭkā*s, and found as independent texts. It has not been possible to publish them. This author has found many important Hindi texts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. . . . Therefore it is not possible to write the proper history of the *ādikāl* [foundational period] and the *madhyakāl* [middle period] of Hindi literature as long as the texts gathered in these collections have not been properly researched.

[57] If one includes as a mode of translation the Maharashtri Prakrit commentaries on the Ardhamagadhi Prakrit *Āgama*s (Balbir 2020: 774)—an intellectual move I find completely reasonable, and even necessary—then the history of Jain translation practice extends even earlier, to the early centuries of the first millennium CE.

Jain evidence also allows us to see that translations into Bhasha were in direct continuity with, and even contemporary with, much older patterns of translation in Jain literary traditions, in which commentaries in Sanskrit on Prakrit source texts involved a practice that we can identify as translation. Finally, this chapter has shown that our understanding of translation history is enhanced when we expand our definition of what constitutes a translation to include the many ways that translation and commentary are inextricably interwoven.

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Cover Image References

Top row:

Folio from *Jasaharacariu* by Raidhū depicting Yaśodhara and sacrificial animals in front of the Goddess, Wellcome MS Indic beta 1471, Wellcome Collection, https://wellcomecollection.org/works/kdt2kuvt/items?canvas=9

Folio of *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* by Hemacandra with the commentary by Śrīvallabha, the *Nāmasāroddhāra*, Or 13806, British Library, https://jainpedia.org/manuscript/homage-to-sarasvati/

Bottom row:

Folio of a manuscript, Edward L. Whittemore Fund 1933.504.1.b, The Cleveland Museum of Art, https://cdn2.picryl.com/photo/1599/12/31/india-15th-16th-century-page-from-a-jaina-manuscript-19335041b-cleveland-museum-aec90f-1024.jpg

Folio of *Kalpasūtra* manuscript depicting King Siddhārta at the court, W.910, The Walters Art Museum, https://art.thewalters.org/detail/33494/two-illustrated-pages-from-a-kalpasutra-manuscript-2/

Centred:

Wooden cover of *Navagrahakundalakṣaṇa* manuscript, BL Mackensie XII.14, British Library, https://i0.wp.com/www.jainheritagecentres.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/British-Library-Jain-Manuscript-02.png?resize=580%2C227