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Jain Hagiographies and Jain Community

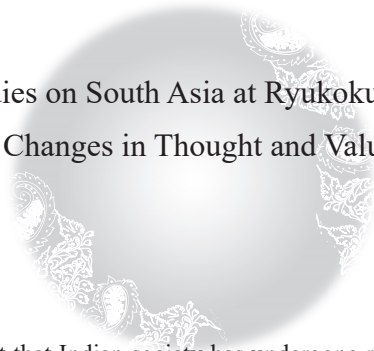
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Integrated Area Studies on South Asia at Ryukoku University (RINDAS): Fundamental Changes in Thought and Values in South Asia



In many studies, it has been pointed out that Indian society has undergone radical changes since the 1990s. This is seen in the political sphere in the spread and the deepening of democracy. In terms of the economy, changes are remarkable in the development of the market economy, improvements in living conditions and widening of economic gaps, which is one of the negative impacts of such economic growth. Societally, this has been expressed through the appearance and rise of various social movements. Culturally and religiously, it has been expressed through a parallel rise in assertion of identities by diverse communities. These changes can be seen as the results of embryonic fundamental changes in thought and values of people in India and South Asia.

The unified theme of this project is “Fundamental Changes in Thought and Values in South Asia.” One perspective being used to approach this theme is genealogical research along the long timeline of philosophy and thought in South Asian societies, using Ryukoku University’s extensive accumulation of research. Another is analysis of fundamental changes in values based on fieldwork research of actual conditions. These perspectives are combined in comprehensive research, with the aim of identifying the sources of changes in the foundations of contemporary Indian and South Asian societies, and the driving power behind them. Special attention is paid to the rise of the Dalits, other lower strata people, and religious minorities, a phenomenon that represents dynamic changes in contemporary Indian and South Asian societies. The project examines the background and theory behind this, with relation to the history of philosophy and thought, and investigates and analyzes changes in peoples’ living conditions, consciousness, and sense of values, based on fieldwork research.

The “South Asian Area Studies” Project (FY 2016 to 2021) is being operated and conducted by expanding upon the National Institutes for the Humanities’ “Contemporary India Area Studies” Project (Phase 1: FY 2010 to 2014, Phase 2: FY 2015). Ryukoku University is one of six institutions working together, conducting joint networked research. It is joined by Kyoto University (the central research hub), the National Museum of Ethnology (the secondary research hub), the University of Tokyo, Hiroshima University, and the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

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1. Jain Hagiographic Literature

In the tradition of Jain narrative literature, hagiographies have been repeatedly compiled concerning the sixty-three Great Men (mahā/śalākāpuruṣa), who are regarded as essential figures in Jain doctrine. Such hagiographies have functioned as the external framework of Jain narratives, in which various narratives were incorporated from both inside and outside the Jain community. Through this process, Jain hagiographic literature has developed particularly in the western region of northern India. Studies of the development process of such hagiographies, however, have revealed that hagiographic works written in and after the 12th and 13th centuries contain various elements that are different from the preceding tradition of hagiographic literature. There are various factors for such changes. This paper first reviews the hagiographies of the sixty-three Great Men, who are regarded as sages in Jain hagiographic literature. Next, it shows how Jain literature represents narratives of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, both having a close relationship with the formation of Jain literature. After discussing the formation of the literature of sacred places, which was added to hagiographic literature, along with changes in the Jain community, this paper suggests common factors attributable to changes in hagiographic literature and those in the Jain community.

Jain hagiographic narratives originated in the form of hagiographies of Tīrthaṃkaras (fordmakers). For example, *Kalpasūtra* is one of such early works. Subsequently, hagiographies of 24 Tīrthaṃkaras were compiled by adding the biographies of other early leaders. More recently, the hagiographies of the sixty-three Great Men were created by adding those of Cakravartins (universal emperors) and other great men. [Cort, 1993; Jaini, 1993] Typical hagiographic narratives that illustrate all these sages include the *Mahāpurāṇa* by Puṣpadanta and the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* (Hagiographies of Sixty-Three Great Men) by Hemacandra. Many such narratives were written in Sanskrit and Maharashtri, one of the Prakrit languages. After the 9th century, however, the Apabhraṃśa language began to be used more and more frequently. In tandem with this change, hagiographies began to adopt more refined styles, particularly the style known as *sandhibandha*. This paper uses the term “*carita* literature” to refer to the hagiographic literature written in such classical languages. *carita* literature was the mainstream of Jain literature written in the Apabhraṃśa language. During the 12th century, Hemacandra compiled books on the grammar and prosody of the Apabhraṃśa language..

The sixty-three Great Men, essential figures in Jain hagiographic literature, comprise 24 Tīrthaṃkaras, 12 Cakravartins, nine Baladevas, nine Vāsudevas, and nine Prativāsudevas. Although many of them are legendary figures, they are listed in the chronological order of Jain history.

To briefly describe respective categories of the sixty-three Great Men, the first category comprises 24 Tīrthaṃkaras. Their hagiographies have a virtually fixed pattern. All of the Tīrthaṃkaras are described in terms of their former incarnations, relatives, physical characteristics, disciples, and enlightenment. Of these 24 figures, details of their lives are provided concerning the first Tīrthaṃkara, Ṛṣabha, the 22nd one, Nemi (Neminātha), the 23rd one, Pārśva, and the last one, Mahāvīra. In narratives about Ṛṣabha, his sons, known as Bharata and Bāhubalin, also appear frequently in addition to himself. Since Nemi is believed to be one of Kṛṣṇa's cousins, his stories are often combined with narratives of Kṛṣṇa. There are many narratives about Pārśva, who is listed immediately before Mahāvīra, and his life is described in detail.

The second category comprises Cakravartins, who are universal rulers of the whole of Bharataḥṣetra. Their hagiographies have a fixed pattern, just as those of Tīrthaṃkaras. They are born as Cakravartins as a result of their behaviors in their former incarnations, defeat their enemies, and conquer the whole of Bharataḥṣetra. After their long reigns, they abdicate from the throne and devote themselves to ascetic training to reach enlightenment. The Cakravartin is characterized by his possession of 14 treasures (*ratna*) and nine jewels (*nidhi*). Although there are 12 Cakravartins, three of them, namely the fifth, the sixth, and the seventh, later become Tīrthaṃkaras. Accordingly, there are only nine figures who remain Cakravartins throughout their lives.

Concerning the Baladeva, Vāsudeva, and Prativāsudeva, there are nine figures in each category. Three figures, each from one of the three categories, form a group. For example, Rāma (the eighth Baladeva) belongs to the same group as Lakṣmaṇa (the eighth Vāsudeva) and Rāvaṇa (the eighth Prativāsudeva). All three were born in the same epoch. The Baladeva has fair skin, wears blue clothing, and possesses four weapons (*āyudha*). His emblem is a palm tree. According to a typical form of Jain narratives, Baladeva and Vāsudeva jointly battle against Prativāsudeva and defeat the latter. Later, upon the death of Vāsudeva, Baladeva renounces the worldly life to undergo religious training and reaches enlightenment.

Vāsudeva is also known as Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu. In narratives describing Baladeva, Vāsudeva, and Prativāsudeva, Vāsudeva plays the most heroic role. It is Vāsudeva who kills Prativāsudeva, who antagonizes the former two. Vāsudeva has dark skin, wears yellow clothing, and has ringlets on his chest. He has seven weapons, and his emblem is a hawk. In typical Jain narratives, after killing Prativāsudeva, Vāsudeva becomes an Ardhacakrin (Half a Cakravartin) and rules his kingdom for a long time. After his death, however, he is incarnated in hell because of committing slaughter in battles.

Despite being heroic, Prativāsudeva is depicted as a tyrant. Although he is an Ardhacakrin (Half a Cakravartin), who rules a half of the whole of Bharataḥṣetra, he fights against Baladeva and Vāsudeva and is killed by Vāsudeva in the end.

As indicated by their names, the sixty-three Great Men comprise various types of figures, including those derived from non-Jain traditions.

Century	Mainly based on the <i>Rāma</i> story	Mainly based on the <i>Kṛṣṇa</i> Story	Hagiographies of Sixty-Three Great Men
1			
2			
3	<i>Paumacariya</i>		
4			
5			
6			
7	<i>Padmacarita</i>		
8		<i>Harivaṃśapurāṇa</i>	<i>Ādipurāṇa</i>
9	<i>Paumacariu</i>	<i>Riṭṭhanemicariu</i>	
10			<i>Mahāpurāṇa</i>
11			
12			<i>Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita</i>
13			

Figure 1. Major Works of *carita* Literature in Northern India (Compiled based on Cort, 1993: 205)

As indicated in Figure 1, early hagiographies were mainly based on stories of the Rāma. In the 9th century, the number of hagiographies of all sixty-three Great Men, known as *Mahāpurāṇa*, began to increase. This indicates that hagiographic narratives began to expand the range of their target heroes. In the 12th century, Jain authors began to write hagiographies of historical figures. Such works include *The Awakening of King Kumārapāla* (*Kumārapālapratibodha*) by Somaprabha.

Instead of the classical hagiographies of all sixty-three Great Men, around the latter half of the 12th century, Jain authors began to create many works that focused on one or more of the sixty-three Great Men and other related figures. Typical heroes and heroines of such works include Bharata and Bāhubalin, both being the sons of the first Tīrthaṃkara, Ṛṣabha, as well as the 22nd Tīrthaṃkara, Nemi (Neminātha), and his wife Rājimatī. Moreover, hagiographic literature in and after this period places emphasis on heroes' relations to sacred places in various parts of India. For example, Mt. Girnār in the present State of Gujarat is linked to Nemi, while Mt. Śatruñjaya has a strong relationship with Ṛṣabha. In some other works, Mt. Ābū in the present State of Rajasthan is depicted as their main subject. These works were written in old Gujarati and a few other languages that have strong regional characteristics, rather than classical languages such as Prakrit languages and Apabhraṃśa. Concerning their styles, whereas works of *carita* literature written in the Apabhraṃśa language use a single, unified style, namely *Sandhibandha*, the works written after the latter half of the 12th century adopt various styles, including *rāso* (*rāsa*, *rāsu*), *carcarī*, *bārahmāsā*, and *phāgu*. In later years, non-Jains began to use these new styles, which led to the further development of a wide variety of literary genres. In this way,

2. Outstanding Characteristics of the Rāma Story in Jain Hagiographies

After the creation of the *Paumacariya* by Vimalasūri (the 1st to the 5th centuries), many Jain narratives were created concerning Rāma as their hero. These works were written in several languages, including Maharashtra, Sanskrit, and Apabhraṃśa. On the other hand, Kṛṣṇa has been primarily treated as a character in the stories of Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara, even though Kṛṣṇa is mentioned in earlier works written in the period of Jain scriptures. As stated in the previous section, the Jain hagiographies have a framework of the biographies of the sixty-three Great Men, and major stories incorporated in this framework are the Rāma Story and the Kṛṣṇa Story. Based on this fact, it is possible to interpret that the hagiographies of the sixty-three Great Men were formed through the process of setting the relationships between the heroes of the two stories and important characters of Jain narratives when Jain writers incorporated the two stories into their own narratives.

This section introduces the details of my previous paper [Yamahata 2018b] by showing passages from related materials.

As far as we can verify, the earliest piece of Jain literature that refers to Kṛṣṇa is *Antagaḍadasāo*¹. Meanwhile, it is believed that the earliest works referring to the *Rāmāyaṇa* include *Nandīsutta*² and *Anuyogaddārā*³, both of which were written around the 5th century. These works describe the (*Maha*) *Bharata* (*Mahābhāratam*) and the *Rāmāyaṇa* as containing “incorrect teachings” in contrast to “correct teachings” of the Jain scriptures. These remarks indicate that the narrative of Rāma and the narrative of Kṛṣṇa, both being non-Jain, were already well known in the 5th century.

around the 12th century, various new literary genres emerged and replaced the role that had been played until that period by *carita* literature, the works of which were written in various Prakrit languages and Apabhraṃśa.

2.2 *Paumacariya* by Vimalasūri: the 1st to the 5th centuries

The *Paumacariya*, featuring Rāma as its hero, was written by Vimalasūri in the 5th century at the latest. It is clear that the writer had the intention to specify problems with the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which was popular at this time, and to encourage Jains to read the “correct” version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* written by Jains. This view of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is common in some other works, including the *Nandīsutta*, whose author considers that the *Rāmāyaṇa* contains “incorrect teachings.”

¹ See Section 3.2.

² micchasutaṃ jaṃ imaṃ aṇṇāṇiehiṃ micchaddhiṭṭhihiṃ sacchaṃdabuddhi-mativiyappiyaṃ, taṃ **jahā bhārahaṃ rāmāyaṇaṃ** haṃbhīmāsuraṃkkaṃ koḍallayaṃ sagabhadhiyāo khoḍamuhaṃ kappāsiyaṃ nāmasuhaṃ kaṇagasattarī vaisesiyaṃ buddhavayaṇaṃ vesitaṃ kavilaṃ logāyataṃ saṭṭhitantaṃ mādharmaṃ purāṇaṃ vāgaraṇaṃ nādagādī, ahavā bāvattarikālāo cattārī ya vedā saṃgovamgā / Nandīsutta 70. 1

³ loiyaṃ bhāvasuyaṃ jaṃ imaṃ aṇṇāṇiehiṃ micchaddhiṭṭhihiṃ sacchaṃdabuddhi maivigappiyaṃ / taṃ **jahā bhārahaṃ rāmāyaṇaṃ** haṃbhīmāsuraṃkkaṃ koḍillayaṃ ghoḍamuhaṃ sagabhadhiyāo .../ Anuyogaddārā 49.

Paumacariya 2.105

*paumacariyammi etto, maṇo maham kuṇai paramasaṁdeham /
kaha vāṇarehi nihayā, rakkhasavasahā aibalā vi //*

“I have a great suspicion about the story of Padma (Rāma). If Rākṣasas were very powerful, why were they defeated by apes?”

Paumacariya 2.116

*sīho maṇa nihao saṇeṇa ya kuṇjaro jahā bhaggo /
taha vivarīyapayattham, kaīhi Rāmāyaṇam raiyam //*

“The poets of the *Rāmāyaṇa* describe events that could not have possibly happened. For example, they say that a lion was defeated by a deer and an elephant ran away, driven by a dog.”

Paumacariya 3.8-16

*paumacariyam mahāyāsa, ahayam icchāmi pariphuḍam soum /
uppāiyā pasiddhī, kusatthavādīhi vivarīyā //8
jai rāvaṇo mahāyasa, nisāyaro suravaro vva aivirio /
kaha so parihūo cciya, vāṇaratirīehi raṇamajjhe //9
rāmeṇa kaṇayadeho, sareṇa bhinnō mao araṇṇammi /
suggīvasutārattam, chiddeṇa vivāio vālī //10
gantūṇa devanilayam, suravai jiniū ṇa samaramajjhammi /
dadhakadhiṇaniyalabaddho, pavesio cāragehammi //11
savvatthasatthakusalo, chammāsam suyai kumbhakaṇṇo vi /
kaha vāṇarehi baddho, seu cciya sāyaraḷalammi //12
[...].*

*na ya rakkhaso tti bhaṇṇai, dasāṇaṇo ṇeṇa āmisāhāro /
aliyam ti savvameyam, bhaṇanti jam kukaiṇo mūḍhā //15
na ya pīḍhabandharahiyam, kahijjamāṇam pi dei bhāvattham //
patthiva hīṇam ca puṇo, vayanam iṇam chinnamūlam va //16*

“Dear sirs, I want to hear the correct story of Padma. The story we hear is not true because it was written by people who preached incorrect teachings. Dear sirs, if Rāvaṇa was as strong as Indra, why was he defeated by apes and other animals? Why did Rāma kill a golden deer in the forest? Did Rāma deceive and kill Vālin for the sake of Sugrīva and Sūtara? (Is it true that Rāvaṇa) ascended to heaven, where he defeated Indra in a battle and confined the god, tying him with strong chains? Why did Kumbhakarṇa continue to sleep for six months even though all sorts of weapons and wisdom were used to wake him up? Why were apes able to build a bridge across the sea? ... Rāvaṇa was neither a Rākṣasa nor a non-vegetarian. All the words of the silly poets are incorrect. It is unclear

what they mean if they tell the story without giving explanations in advance.”

There are many differences between the *Paumacariya* and the original version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* written by Valmiki. Among them, the most important difference from Jain’s viewpoint is that the author of the former does not let Rāma engage in slaughter. A typical example is that in the Jain version, instead of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa kills Rāvaṇa. Rāma, belonging to the category of Baladeva, rather than that of Vāsudeva, is freed from the guilt of slaughter so that he will be able to reach enlightenment swiftly. Underlying this change from the original story is the intention to make Rāma a target of worship within the Jain community. On the other hand, Lakṣmaṇa, who is classified as Vāsudeva, is destined to be reborn in hell. Quotes shown below (2.2-2.6) are applicable sections of the Jain version of the Rāma story, based on [Kulkarni 1990].

Paumacariya 73.1-28

uppannacakkarayaṇaṃ, daṭṭhūṇaṃ lakṣhaṇaṃ pavayajohā /
ahiṇandiyā samatthā, bhaṇanti ekkekamekkaṇaṃ //1
eyaṃ taṃ phudaviyaḍaṃ, aṇantaviriṇa jaṃ purā bhaṇiyaṃ /
jāyaṃ saṃpai savvaṃ, kajjaṃ bala-kesavāṇaṃ tu //2
jo esa cakkapāṇī, so vi ya nārāyaṇo samuppanno /
sīharahammi vilaggo eso puṇa hoi baladevo //3
ee mahāṇubhāvā, bhārahavāsammi rāma-somittī /
baladeva-vāsudevā, uppannā aṭṭhamā niyamā //4
daṭṭhūṇa cakkapāṇiṃ, somittī rāmaṇo vicintei /
taṃ saṃpai saṃpannaṃ, aṇantaviriṇa jaṃ bhaṇiyaṃ //5
[...].

daṭṭhūṇa cakkahatthaṃ, somittiṃ rāvaṇo savaḍahuttaṃ /
mahuravayaṇehi etto, bihīsaṇo bhaṇai dahavayaṇaṃ //13
ajja vi ya majjha vayaṇaṃ, kuṇasu pahū jāṇiūṇa appahiyaṃ /
tuḥu paumapasāṇaṃ, jīvasu sīyaṃ samappento //14
[...].

so evabhaṇiyaṃ etto, cakkaṃ nārāyaṇo bhamāḍeum /
pesei paḍivaheṇaṃ, laṅkāhivaissa āruṭṭho //24
āloiūṇa entaṃ, cakkaṃ ghaṇagosabhīsaṇaṃ dittaṃ /
sara-jhasara-moggarehiṃ, ujjutto taṃ nivāreum //25
rubbhantaṃ pi ahimuhaṃ, taha vi samalliyai cakkarayaṇaṃ taṃ /
puṇṇāvasāṇasamae, seṇiya maraṇe uvagayammi //26
aimāṇiṇassa etto, laṅkāhivaissa ahimuhassa raṇe /
cakkeṇa teṇa sigghaṃ, chinnaṃ vacchatthalaṃ viulaṃ //27
caṇḍāṇileṇa bhaggo, tamālaghaṇakasiṇaaliulāvayavo /
ajjanagiri vva paḍio, dahavayaṇo raṇamahīvāṭṭhe //28

“Watching the appearance of a chakra close to Lakṣmaṇa, all members (of the force) became pleased and began to talk to each other. As clearly stated by Anantavīrya, all incidents that happened then led to collaboration between the Baladeva (Rāma) and Keśavaḥ (Vāsudeva, Lakṣmaṇa). Lakṣmaṇa, who was holding the chakra, had been born as Nārāyaṇa, while Rāma was seated on the lion chariot as a Baladeva. This powerful pair of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were the eighth Baladeva and the eighth Vāsudeva, respectively, in the Bharata region. Looking at Lakṣmaṇa holding the chakra in his hand, Rāvaṇa pondered about Lakṣmaṇa as follows: ‘He has infinite power now.’ ... Looking at Lakṣmaṇa holding the chakra, which he was ready to throw toward Rāvaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa speaks to Rāvaṇa in a gentle voice: ‘Your Majesty, please listen to me, believing that I am telling you what is important for your sake. Since you have abducted Princess Sītā, your life is at the mercy of Lord Rāma.’ ... Nārāyaṇa (Lakṣmaṇa), who was furious, threw the spinning chakra to kill the king of Lanka (Rāvaṇa). Looking at the brilliant chakra approaching with thunderous sounds, the king desperately tried to stop the chakra with his arrows, *jhasara* (a weapon), and a club. ‘King Śreṇika (the listener of the story), regardless of what anyone does to stop the chakra, it will reach him when he lose virtue and when death is approaching.’ The chakra immediately cut off the large chest of the arrogant king of Lanka, who was standing on the front line of the battlefield. The king of Lanka looked like a stout *tarajo* tree covered by Kṛṣṇa’s swarm of bees. And then, he fell down on the battlefield, just like Mt. Añjana being blown off by a gale.”

Paumacariya 9.37-46

soūṇa vālivayaṇaṃ, sannaddho dahamuho saha balenaṃ /
aha niggao turanto, tassuvarim ambarataleṇaṃ //37
rakkhasatūrassa ravaṃ vālī soūṇa abhimuho calio /
kaisuhaḍasamāiṇṇo, raṇarasataṇhāluo vīro //38
kovaggisaṃpalitto, vālī mantīhi uvasamaṃ nīo /
bahubhaḍajīyantakaraṃ, mā kuṇaha akāraṇe jujjhaṃ //39
aha bhaṇai vāṇarindo, saṃgāme rāvaṇaṃ balasamaggaṃ /
karayalaghāyābhihayaṃ, karemi sayalaṃ kulaṃ cuṇṇaṃ //40
kāūṇa pāvakammaṃ, erisayaṃ bhogakāraṇaṭṭhāe /
naraya-turiesu dukkhaṃ, bhottavvaṃ dīhakālammi //41
puvvaṃ mae painnā, ārūdhā sāhusanniyāsamma /
mottūṇa jīṇavarindaṃ, annassa thuī na kāyavvā //42
na karemi samayabhaṇṇaṃ na ya jīvavirāhaṇaṃ mahājujjhaṃ /
giṇhāmi jīṇuddiṭṭhaṃ, pavajjaṃ saṅgaparihīṇaṃ //43
varanārithaṇayaḍovari, je hatthālīṇaṇujjayā majjhaṃ /
te na ya karenti ettiya, annassa siraṇjalipaṇāmaṃ //44
saddāveūṇa tao, suggīvaṃ bhaṇai vaccha nisūṇehi /
tassa karehi paṇāmaṃ, mā vā rajje mae ṭhavo //45
ṭhaviūṇa kulādhāraṃ, suggīvaṃ ujjiūṇa gihavāsaṃ /
nikkhanto cciya vālī, pāse muṇigayaṇacandassa //46

“Having heard Vālin’s words, Rāvaṇa led his forces and prepared (for a battle). To approach him (Vālin), Rāvaṇa hastily descended from the sky. While listening to the music played by Rākṣasas, Vālin was inspired to fight and to enjoy a battle. Together with warriors of the Vānara clan, Vālin boldly approached (Rāvaṇa). Then the minister approached Vālin, who was furious, and said to Vālin, ‘You should not start a battle without any reason since many warriors will have to die.’ The king of the Vānara (Vālin) replied: ‘On the battlefield, with a single attack I can shatter Rāvaṇa into pieces together with his forces. To receive good fortune, however, I must not engage in such a sinful act. If I do, I shall be reborn in hell or shall be an animal in my next life and suffer for a long time. In the past, I made a pledge in front of a certain sage. I pledged that I shall never worship anyone but Jina. I shall not break my oath. I shall not engage in a battle that will lead to the loss of human lives. I shall obey Jina’s words and become a monk by abandoning worldly desires. I was about to embrace a wonderful woman, holding her breasts, but I shall stop doing so. Instead, I will join my hands in prayer.’ After saying so, Vālin called Sugrīva and said: ‘Listen, my younger brother. I will abdicate the throne (in favor of you). You should pay reverence to that man (Rāvaṇa).’ After making Sugrīva the head of his clan, Vālin disposed of his property and left for the place where Sage Gaganacandra was.”

2.3 Vasudevahiṇḍī by Saṅghadāsa: Before the 7th century

In the *Paumacariya*, instead of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa plays the role of killing Rāvaṇa. While this setting is common with other Jain versions of *the Rāmāyaṇa*, slaughters of other characters are described differently from one version to another.

In the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, which belongs to a category different from that of the *Paumacariya*, Rāma kills Vālin, although he does not kill Rāvaṇa. Moreover, while the episode of a golden deer (in which Rāma kills Mārīca, who takes the form of the deer) is omitted in the *Paumacariya*, it is included in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, even though Rāma does not kill the deer.

Vasudevahiṇḍī, Rāmāyaṇa

*haṇumayā bhaṇiyā amhe vijjāharā amahaṃ sāmī suggīvo so bhāūṇā balavayā vāliṇā
pāraddho amhehiṃ samaṃ jīṇyatanasamsio acchati jogo mittayāe / tato rāmeṇa
paḍivaṇṇaṃ evaṃ hou tti kao ya nehiṃ aggisakkhiko mittasaṃbhaṃdho / paricchiyabalo ya
rāmo vāliyahe ṇiutto suggīveṇa / te ya bhāyaro sarisarīvā kaṃcaṇamālāsohiyaviggahā /
tato visesaṃ ajāṇayā rāmeṇa nisaṭṭho sāyako / parāio ya suggīvo ya vāliṇā / tao suggīvassa
visesaṇaṃ kayaṃ vaṇamālāe / ekkasāyakavivāḍie vālimmi rāmeṇa tṭhaviyo rāyā suggīvo /*

“Hanumān said: ‘We are Vidyādhara, and our king is Lord Sugrīva. Being afraid of powerful Vālin, Lord Sugrīva has taken refuge at this Jain temple with us. This gives us a great opportunity to find a friend.’ In reply, Rāma said, “Exactly,” and exchanged vows of friendship by the fire. Rāma, whose power was tested, then commanded the killing of Vālin for the sake of Sugrīva. Both of the beautiful brothers (Vālin and Sugrīva), however, wore gold necklaces that made their bodies shine. Being unable to distinguish Vālin from Sugrīva, Rāma was unable to shoot an arrow. Then Sugrīva, who

was defeated by Vālin, decorated himself with a garland of flowers. At that time, an arrow was shot (by Rāma, who had identified Vālin), which penetrated Vālin's body. Rāma then enthroned Sugrīva.”

2.4 Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariya by Śīlāṅka: the 9th century

The title of this work means the hagiographies of the fifty-four (cauppaṇṇa) Great Men. In actuality, however, it describes the lives of the sixty-three Great Men. Their number in the title is smaller because nine Prativāsudevas are not included in the Great Men. This work, written in the 9th century, is one of the earliest works that clearly suggest the framework of the sixty-three Great Men. In this work, however, Rāma kills Vālin, just as he does in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*. Although this approach is insufficient to define Rāma as one that belongs to the category of Baladeva, the whole of the story is considered to belong to the same category as *Paumacariya*. (See Bruhn, 1954.)

Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariya 44-45

*atthi iheva jambuddīve dīve bhārahe vāse aujjhā nāma ṇayarī salaṇayaraguṇovoveyā /
tīe ya dasaraho nāma mahārāyā privasai / tassa y tiṇṇi bhajjāo, taṃ jahā-kosalā kekaī
sumittā ya / tattha kosalāe rāmahaddo putto, kekaīe bharaho sattuggho ya, sumittāe
lakkhaṇo ya kumāro / dasarahēṇa ya rāmassa rajjāhisee samappie kekaīe keṇai vavaeseṇa
rāmo salakkhaṇo vaṇaṃ pesio, bharaho ya rajje thāvio tti /
rāmeṇa ya vaṇagamaṇāeso rajjāhiseo vva papphulla-vayaṇakamaleṇaṃ sammam
paḍicchio, avi ya putta paḍicchasu lacchiṃ, gacchasu ya vaṇaṃ ti dasarahāese /
ṇisuyammi sarisao cciya muharāo sahai rāmassa //3
piuṇo paḍicchiūṇaṃ āesamaṇāulo pahaṭṭhamaṇo /
saviṇṇayalakkhaṇasahio raṇṇammi gao sabhajjāo//4
aha vasai tattha jaṇavajjiyammi raṇṇammi jāyaparioso /
sīyā-lakkhaṇapariyaṇaparipālaṇaṃ etta saṃtuṭṭho //5
laṃkāe rāvaṇo bhuvanaṭavaṇo rakkhāsīhiṃ vijjāhiṃ /
balavamakajjāyaraṇeṇa dūsio kalusiyacaritto //6
suppanahāe kayaniggahāe vayaṇeṇa rāmahajjāe /
pariṇaivaseṇa rāyaṃ kālakarāyaḍḍhio kuṇai //7
mārīyamaya kayārāvavaṃcaṇā vaṃciūṇa te do vi /
ṇiyabala-kittī-rakkhāsakhayaṃkarī avahiyā sīyā //8
rakkhāsamāyaṃ ṇāūṇa dukkhiyā rāma-lakkhaṇā dhaṇiyaṃ /
sīyāharaṇavisāṇṇā hāhārava miliya tavaṣiyaṇā //9
ṇihayakharadūsaṇabalā jaḍāuvuttamtapīḍiyā ṇiyayaṃ /
kiṃkāyavvavimuhiyā miliyā suggīvavarivaiṇo //10
haṃtūṇa vāṇaravaiṃ vālim aṇāuhamamimeyabalakaliyaṃ /
sīyāvattanimittaṃ rāmo pesei haṇuyantaṃ //11
[...].
to lakkhaṇeṇa cakkeṇa teṇa khaladasasirassa kūrassa /
chiṇṇaṃ tālaphalaṃ piva sīsaṃ dharaṇīe palhatthaṃ //24*

*ṇihayammi rakkhasiṇḍammi laddhasīehiṃ pattavijaehiṃ /
to rāma-lakkhaṇehiṃ rajjammi bihīsaṇo ṭhavio //25*

“In the Bharata region in Jambudvīpa, there was a city called Ayodhyā, which had all virtues. In the city, there was a palace of King Daśaratha. The king had the following three wives: Kauśalyā, Kaikeyī, and Sumitrā. Kauśalyā gave birth to Rāma, Kaikeyī gave birth to Bharata and Śatrughna, and Sumitrā gave birth to Lakṣmaṇa. When King Daśaratha tried to enthrone Rāma, Kaikeyī used a certain plot to exile Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in a forest so that the king would enthrone her son, Bharata. When the king ordered Rāma to go into the forest, he accepted it joyfully, just as he had done so when he was told to be enthroned. He had a lovely countenance that looked like a blooming lotus flower. King Daśaratha said: ‘My son, may you have good fortune. Go to the forest.’ The king’s words sounded to Rāma as pleasant as birdsong. When he left for the forest, he was accompanied by his wife, Sītā, and his half-brother, Lakṣmaṇa, who faithfully observed the dharma. Rāma was happy to live in the remote and wild place. He was also happy to be accompanied by Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa. (Meanwhile,) in Lanka, Rāvaṇa governed his country, tormenting his people with his magical power of the Rākṣasa. Relying on his superpowers, he committed various evil acts. (His sister, Śūrpaṇakhā, went into the forest where Rāma was, but she was forced to leave the forest.) When Śūrpaṇakhā told Rāvaṇa about Rāma’s wife, her words aroused Rāvaṇa’s desire for Sītā. This was because he was manipulated by the king of death. Since both brothers (Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa) were deceived by Mārīca, who took the form of a deer, Sītā was kidnapped (by Rāvaṇa, while the brothers were pursuing the deer). This, however, would eventually lead to loss of his (Rāvaṇa’s) forces, comprising Rākṣasas. When the brothers realized that the deer had appeared by the magical power of the Rākṣasa, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa felt extremely sorrowful, and their grieving voices for having lost Sītā were heard by an ascetic monk. Rāma killed Khara and Dūṣaṇa and their army. Then he heard about Sītā’s abduction directly from Jaṭāyu (vulture). Having considered what to do, they (Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa) met Sugrīva, the king of apes. (To help the king,) Rāma killed Vālin, a powerful king of the Vānara clan and sent Hanumān to rescue Sītā... (In a battle,) Rāvaṇa had his horrible stout head chopped off by the chakra thrown by Lakṣmaṇa. After the king of the Rākṣasas (Rāvaṇa) died with his head thrown to the ground like a coconut, Rāma recaptured Sītā, who had been kidnapped. Finally, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa made Vibhīṣaṇa the king of Lanka.”

2.5 *Uttarapurāṇa* by Guṇabhadra: the 9th century

This work was compiled in line with the *Ādipurāṇa* by Jinasena (the 8th century), who intended to compile the hagiographies of all sixty-three Great Men. In the *Uttarapurāṇa*, it is Lakṣmaṇa who kills Vālin. Although a golden deer appears in the work, it is not slaughtered because it escapes into the sky.

Uttarapurāṇa. 68. 201

hastagrāhyam ivātmānam kṛtvoḍḍīyātidrūgaḥ /
vṛthā karṣati māṃ māyāmṛgo vaiṣo 'tidurgrahaḥ //

“The deer flew into the sky after approaching me so close that I thought I could catch it. That illusory deer drove me (Rāma) to chase it without any reason.”

Uttarapurāṇa. 68.464

ākarnākṛṣṭanirumuktaniśātasitapatriṇā /
lakṣmaṇena śīro 'grāhi tālam vā bālinaḥ phalam //

“Finally, Lakṣmaṇa shot a sharp, white arrow that would tear a head from ear to ear. The arrow cut off Vālin’s head, as if it were cutting off a *tala* fruit.”

2.6 *Mahāpurāṇa* by Puṣpadanta: the 10th century

This work also describes the lives of all sixty-three Great Men. It basically follows the description of the *Ādipurāṇa* and the *Uttarapurāṇa*. Just like Vimalasūri, the author of this work lists specific questions about the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Mahāpurāṇa 69.3

jiṇacaraṇajuyalasamṇihiyamai / āucchadda pahu magahāhivai //1
ṇiru saṃsayasallium majjhu maṇu / gottamagaṇahara muṇiṇāha bhaṇu //2
kiṃ dhamuḥ sahuṃ dhamuhahiṃ huu / kira jammem garuyau tāsu suu //3
jo summai bhīsaṇu atulabalu / kiṃ rakkhasu kiṃ so maṇuya khalu //4
kiṃ amciu teṇa sireṇa haru / kiṃ vīsaṇayanu kiṃ vīsakaru //5
kiṃ tahu maraṇāvaha rāmasara / kiṃ dīhara thira siriramaṇakara //6
suggīvapamuha ṇisiyāsīdhara / kiṃ vāṇara kiṃ te ṇarapavara //7
kiṃ ajju vi deva viḥsaṇahu / jīviu ṇa jāi jamasāsaṇahu //8
chammāsaiṃ ṇidda ṇeya muyai / kiṃ kuṃbhayaṇṇu ghorai suyai //9
kiṃ mahisasahāsahiṃ dhau lahai / lai lou asaccu savvu kahai //10
vammīyavāsavayaṇiḥiṃ ṇaḍḍi / aṇṇāṇu kummaggakūvi paḍḍi //11
gottama pomacarittu bhuvāṇi pavittu payāsahi /
jiḥa siddhatthasueṇa diṭṭhaum tiha mahum bhāsahi //ghattā

“The king of Magadha, directing his heart toward Jina’s beautiful feet, asked: ‘My heart is laden with doubts. Please tell me the truth, Gautama, the head of the *gaṇa* and *muni*. Did Rāvaṇa have 10 heads when he was born? When his son was born, was the baby bigger than his father (Rāvaṇa)? I

heard that Rāvaṇa had unparalleled power. Was he a Rākṣasa or was he a human? Did Rāvaṇa worship Shiva with his (10) heads? Did he have 20 eyes and 20 arms? Was he killed by the arrow shot by Rāma? Were Sugrīva and his followers, who held swords, apes or excellent humans? Is Vibhīṣaṇa's soul not under the rule of King Yama even now? Did Kumbhakarna sleep so deeply that he did not wake up for six months? Was he (Kumbhakarna) so hungry that even 1,000 buffalos did not satisfy his appetite? People tell incorrect stories, don't they? Misguided by Valmiki and Vyāsa, people are trapped in the "well" of incorrect teachings, aren't they? Gautama, please tell me the true stories of Padma. Please tell me exactly what Jina indicated.”

Mahāpurāṇa 75.8

tā hasiū pavaleṇa balirāyaputteṇa / saṃgāmapārambhapabbhārajutteṇa //1
bhūyaraṇarinṇassa kiṃ tassa phira thāmu / tuhuṃ gaṇiū jagi keṇa aṇṇekku so rāmu //2
jaiṃ atthi sāmattu tā merugirittuṃgu / maiṃ jīṇiva raṇaramgi avaharahi māyaṃgu //3
akkhivasi kiṃ mukkha pakkhiṇḍavarapakka
kiṃ kuṇasi maiṃ kuii suggīvi parirakkha //4
rattovalisehiṃ darisiyapahārehiṃ / guṇadhammamukkehiṃ vammāvahārehiṃ //5
māraṇakaicchehiṃ dujjaṇasamāṇehiṃ / tā be vi utthariya vipphuriyabāḥehiṃ //6
koḍḍisaratteṇaṃ nīvvūḍhagāvāiṃ / chiṇṇāiṃ jamabhauhabhāvāiṃ //7
aṇṇāiṃ gahiyāiṃ aṇṇāiṃ mukkāiṃ / ciṃghāiṃ ruddaddhayaṇdehiṃ lukkaiṃ //8
dhāvaṃta vevaṃta sarabhiṇṇa hilihiliya / aṃtāvalīkhaliya mahivīḍhi rulughuliya//9
gayaghāyakaḍayaḍiya raha paḍiyajottāra / bhaḍa bhīma thiya be vi saṃgāmakattāra //10
abbhiṭṭa te bāli lakkhaṇa mahāvīra / thirahattha susamattha suragirivarādhīra //11
taḍidaṇḍasaralehiṃ taralehiṃ khaggehiṃ / saṃcaraṇapaisaraṇaṇīsaraṇamaggehiṃ //12
khaṇakhaṇakhaṇamtehiṃ uggayaphuliṃgehiṃ / jigijigiyadhārāparajjiyapayaṃgehiṃ //13
raṇasaravari hayamuhapheṇajali soṇiyadhārāṇālacalu /
asicaṃcui lakkhaṇalakkhaṇiṇa toḍiū vālihiṃ sirakamalu //ghattā

“Vālin, a powerful prince who was about to start a battle, laughed. (Then he said to Lakṣmaṇa:) ‘What power does that human king have? How do you estimate the power of the man called Rāma? If you are strong enough, defeat me in a battle and take the elephant that is as tall as Mt. Meru. Foolish fellow, why do you attack the side of Vidyādhara? Why do you try to protect Sugrīva, at whom I am so furious?’ Vālin and Lakṣmaṇa began a bloody combat, trying to defeat each other. Both, who looked like villains, had neither virtue nor dharma. They tore each other's armor, desperately wishing for the death (of the other). They were caught in a shower of thundering arrows. With ease, Lakṣmaṇa cleared away tens of millions of arrows as though he had Yama's shield. When one side shot arrows, the other side caught them. The emblems on the flags of both sides became nearly covered with terrible arrowheads that had the shape of a half-moon. Both sides kept on running, shivering, moving in all directions to shoot, roaring, and gasping with their bowels falling on the field. Under the sound of hitting clubs, riders fell from chariots. The two fearful warriors continued to fight on the battlefield. Vālin and Lakṣmaṇa, both having strong arms and being as brave as Mt. Meru, bravely confronted each other. Their swords moved straight, just like thunderbolts,

approaching and departing from each other, while making ringing sounds. The clanging swords began sparkling and shining more brightly than the sun. The battlefield was like a pond, and horses were like bubbles floating on the surface of the pond. Finally, Vālin's head was cut off by Lakṣmaṇa, just like a lotus flower plucked by a bird with its beak.

2.7 Placement of Rāma and Kin Jain Narratives

In a relatively early period, authors of Jain narratives set a relationship between Kṛṣṇa and Neminātha, placing the former below the latter. Among the three categories of Baladeva, Vāsudeva, and Prativāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa is categorized as Vāsudeva, who is destined to be reborn in hell. By defining Vāsudeva, to which Kṛṣṇa belongs, as a group of characters who engage in the sinful act of slaughter and who are reborn in hell, authors of Jain narratives contrasted Vāsudeva with Baladeva, probably because they intended to emphasize the contrast between Kṛṣṇa and Tīrthaṃkara Neminātha. As shown in Figure 2, a relation between Baladeva and Vāsudeva corresponds to that of Tīrthaṃkara and Cakravartin. [Cort 1993:201]

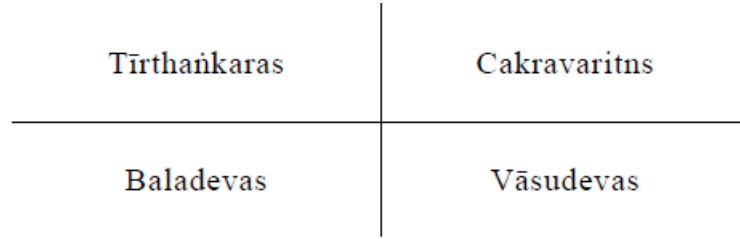


Figure 2w. Relationship of Respective Categories of the Sixty-Three Great Men
(Source: Cort 1993: 201)

In contrast to Kṛṣṇa, who is incorporated in the hierarchy of the Jain Great Men in consideration of his relations with the Tīrthaṃkara, Rāma has weak and subtle relations with Tīrthaṃkaras. It is believed that the epoch described in the Jain Rāma stories coincides with the lifetime of Tīrthaṃkara Suvrata, but Suvrata and Rāma do not have a relationship comparable to that of Neminātha and Kṛṣṇa. As discussed by Jaini [1993: 211], Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are treated much differently in Jain narratives. While Rāma is freed from his role of killing Rāvaṇa since that role is played by Lakṣmaṇa, Kṛṣṇa engages in the slaughter of Jarāsandha and is destined to be reborn in hell.

Since the creation of the *Paumacariya*, the Rāma story has played an important role in the tradition of Jain narratives. In comparison with the Kṛṣṇa story, however, Rāma is relatively independent from the framework of the hagiographies of the sixty-three Great Men. The categories of the sixty-three Great Men were formed in the process of rearranging various important figures in Jain narratives. In this process, a comparison was made between those who renounce the worldly life, such as Tīrthaṃkaras, and those who remain in the secular world, such as Cakravartins. Although the classification of Baladeva, Vāsudeva, and Prativāsudeva originated in the Kṛṣṇa story, Jain authors interpreted it in line with the distinction between those who belong to the sacred world and those who belong to the secular world. To make a contrast between Kṛṣṇa and Neminātha, who belongs to the sacred world, Jain authors

categorized Vāsudeva, to which Kṛṣṇa belongs to, into the group of characters in the secular world. In the Rāmā story, on the other hand, there are no important characters who renounce the worldly life, as Neminātha does. This explains why Jain authors categorized Rāma in the group of Baladeva, who renounce the worldly life, when they classified major characters of the Jain Rāmā story into Baladeva, Vāsudeva, and Prativāsudeva. To distinguish the sacred world from the secular world, it was necessary for Jain authors to make Rāma belong to the sacred world. This assumption helps us understand the reasons why Jain authors changed episodes involving slaughters by Rāma while they did not change similar episodes of Kṛṣṇa. On the other hand, if we assume that the Jain authors simply intended to make the stories comply with Jain doctrines, it would be difficult to explain why they did not change the episodes of the slaughter by Kṛṣṇa in the Kṛṣṇa story.

Since a character who engages in slaughter cannot be classified as Baladeva, which comprises people who belong to the sacred world, Vimalasūri changed most of the episodes of slaughter by Rāma. In works other than the *Paumacariya*, however, some original plots remained unchanged probably because the Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* was already very popular and influential by the time these works were created. In some such works, the episode of Rāma's killing Vālin remains unchanged, and in other works, although Rāma does not kill Vālin, the episode of deer hunting remains unchanged. These facts show that Jain versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* were not thoroughly revised to comply with the principle of making a clear distinction between Baladeva, Vāsudeva, and Prativāsudeva. At the same time, these facts indicate that because of the great popularity of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the story remained relatively independent from the tradition of Jain narratives.

3. Tīrthaṃkara Neminātha and Kṛṣṇa

As already discussed in the previous section, characters in the Rāmā story have relatively weak relations with other members of the sixty-three Great Men. To contrast, in the Kṛṣṇa story, the hero is deeply related to the 22nd Tīrthaṃkara Neminātha. Since the early period, Jain literature has described Neminātha as its main theme especially in the form of hagiographies. The number of such literary works particularly increased in the 13th century onward.

Originally, the main purpose of the stories of Neminātha was to praise Nemi's resolution to devote himself to ascetic training despite the pleading of his fiancé, Rājimatī. In works written in old Gujarati and other languages, however, focus is on the sentiment of Rājimatī, rather than Nemi's resolution. In particular, in the works written in the poetic styles known as *bārahmāsā* and *phāgu*, which feature descriptions of seasons, representation of her sorrow for Nemi's disappearance is combined with the portrait of changing seasons.

This section discusses changes in the *Neminātha Story* based onS [Yamahata 2017], introducing the following passages: the 22nd section of the *Uttarajjhāyā*; the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* by Jinasena as a typical hagiography of Jain sages; and *Nemināthacatuṣpadikā* by Vinayacandra (12th to 13th centuries) as a typical work of *bārahmāsā*.

3.1 The Neminātha Story in Jain Scriptures

The basic plot of the Neminātha Story is contained in the *Uttarajjhāyā*. More recent works on Neminātha basically follow the same plot. Here is a quote from the scene when Neminātha determines to renounce the worldly life from the *Uttarajjhāyā* 22. 14-22. Below passages of *Uttarajjhāyā* are translated by Jacobi (1895)

Uttarajjhāyā 22.14-22

“On his way (to his wedding ceremony) Nemi saw animals, kept in cages and enclosures, overcome by fear and looking miserable. Seeing them on the point of being killed for the sake of their flesh, and to be eaten afterwards, the great sage spoke to his charioteer thus: ‘Why are all these animals, which desire to be happy, kept in cages and enclosures?’ Then the charioteer answered: ‘Lucky are these animals because at thy wedding they will furnish food for many people.’ Having heard these words, which announced the slaughter of many animals, the great sage, full of compassion and kindness for living beings, meditated thus: ‘If for my sake many living beings are killed, I shall not obtain happiness in the next world.’ Then the famous man presented the charioteer with his pair of earrings, his neck chain, and all his ornaments. When he had formed his resolution, the gods descended (from heaven), according to the established custom, to celebrate, with great pomp together with their retinue, the event of his renunciation. Surrounded by gods and men, and sitting on an excellent palanquin, the Venerable One (Nemi) left Dvārakā and ascended mount Revantagiri.”

This passage shows the process of Nemi's decision to renounce worldliness. The Neminata story describes the reactions of the people around Nemi due to his decision. Therefore, this paper classifies the Neminatha stories into three categories, depending on which person's actions are described: [1] works describing episodes related to Rathanēmi (Nemi's younger brother) and Rājimatī; [2] works that focus on stories of Kṛṣṇa, who is regarded as Nemi's cousin; and [3] works describing Rājimatī's sorrow for being separated from Nemi. These works belong to different genres of Jain literature. The first category primarily belongs to Jain scriptures, the second to *carita* literature written from the 6th century to the 12th century, and the third to the *bārahmāsā* and other literary categories, written from the 12th century onward.

Rājimatī, who was to be Nemi's wife, eventually becomes a nun, guided by Nemi. In the *Uttarajjhāyā*, there is an episode that after Nemi's departure from her, Rathanemi, his younger brother, makes advances to Rājimatī, but she refuses him.

Uttarajjhāyā 22.28-46

“When the daughter of the king (Rājimatī) heard of the ordination of the Jina (Nemi), laughter and gaiety forsook her, and she was overwhelmed with affliction. Rājimatī thought: ‘Shame upon my life that I have been forsaken by him! It is better I become a nun.’”

“Firmly and decisively, she cut off her tresses, which were black like bees and dressed with a brush and comb. After she had cut off her hair and subdued her senses, Vāsudeva said, ‘Lady, cross the dreadful ocean of the *Samśāra* (reincarnation) without difficulty!’ When she had entered the order, the virtuous and very learned lady induced there many people, her relations and servants, to enter the

order too. ”

“On her way to Mount Revantagiri, it began to rain; her clothes being wet, she entered a cave and waited there in the darkness while it was raining. She took off her clothes and was naked as the day she was born; thus she was seen by Rathanêmi, whose (peace of) mind became (thereby) disturbed. Afterwards, Rājimatī noticed him. She was frightened when she discovered herself alone with the monk. Folding her arms over her breast, she sank down trembling. When the prince, Samudravigaya's son, saw her frightened and trembling, he spoke the following words: ‘I am Rathanemi, oh dear, beautiful, sweetly speaking lady! Do accept me for your lover, oh slender one, and you shall have no cause to complain. Come, let us enjoy pleasures, for it is a rare chance to be born a human being. After we have enjoyed pleasures, we shall enter the path of the Jinas.’”

“When Rājimatī perceived that Rathanemi’s strength of will was broken and temptation had got the better of him, she did not lose her presence of mind and defended herself on that occasion. The daughter of the best king, true to self-control and her vows, maintained the honor of her clan and family, and her virtue, and spoke to him: ‘If you owned the beauty of Vaiśramaṇa, the pleasing manners of Nalakūbara, if you were like Indra himself, I should have no desire for you. Fie upon you, famous knight, who want to quaff the vomited drink for the sake of this life. It would be better for you to die. I am the daughter of the Bhoga-king, and you are an Andhakavṛṣṇi. Being born in a noble family, let us not become like Gandhana-snakes. Let us firmly practice self-control! If you fall in love with every woman you see, you will be without hold, like a watercress driven before the wind. As a herdsman or a keeper of goods does not own the things (he has the care of), so you will not truly own priesthood.’ Having heard these well-spoken words of the virtuous lady, he returned to the dharma, like an elephant driven by the hook.”

3.2 Integration of the Neminātha Story and the Kṛṣṇa Story

Kṛṣṇa (Kāṇhe Vāsudeva) appears in a Jain Scripture titled “*Antagaḍadasāo*.” There Neminātha (Ariṭṭhanemi) appears in Kṛṣṇa’s palace and guides queens to withdraw from this world. Kṛṣṇa also enters the order. Shown below is a translation by Barnett (1997).

Antagaḍadasāo 5.1.9

“Then Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva praised and worshipped the Saint Ariṭṭhanemi and said, ‘For what cause, sir, will destruction come upon this city of Bāravaī (Dvāravatī), which is nine yojanas ... a very heaven manifest?’”

Antagaḍadasāo 5.1.25

“Then Kṛṣṇa (Kāṇhe) Vasudeva sets Queen Paumāvaī upon a throne and performed a great anointment ceremony for her withdrawal with 108 pitchers of gold ... decked her with all her ornaments, made her mount upon a litter of a thousand men's burden, and went forth into the midst of the city of Bāravaī. He took his way toward Mt. Revantagiri, toward the park Sahassambavaṇe.”

Here are descriptions of Neminātha, Kṛṣṇa, and Mt. Revantagiri (Mt. Gīrnār), which is closely associated with Neminātha.

When non-Jain elements, such as those of the story of Rāma, were incorporated in Jain narratives during the period from the 6th century to the 12th century, Kṛṣṇa was placed as Nemi's cousin and included in the category of Vāsudeva among the sixty-three Great Men. Although Kṛṣṇa is placed below Nemi, Kṛṣṇa's episodes, including those of killing Kansa and Jarāsandha, became dominant in the *Neminātha Story*. Among major works written in this period, there are *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* by Jinasena, *Mahāpurāṇa*, and *Riṭṭhanemicariu* by Svayambhū (the 9th-10th centuries), all of which have similar descriptions. As an example that shows the Kṛṣṇa's relationship with Neminātha and Neminātha's superiority, there is a passage about an episode of arm wrestling between the two in *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*.

Harivaṃśapurāṇa 55.9-12

*iti niśamya vaco 'tha niśāmya taṃ smitamukho harir īśam uvāca saḥ /
kim iti yuṣmadudāravapurbalaṃ bhujaraṇe bhagavan na parīkṣyate //9
saha mamābhinayoroddhvamukho jinaḥ kim iha mallayudheti taṃ abravīt /
bhujabalaṃ bhavato 'praja budhyate calaya me caraṇaṃ sahasāsanāt //10
parikaraṃ parivadhya tadotthito bhujabalena jinasya jigīṣayā /
calayitum na śasāka padāṅgulipramukhaṃ asya nakhendudharaṃ hariḥ //11
śramajavārilavāñcitavigrahaḥ prabalaniśvasitocchvasitānanaḥ /
balaṃ aho tava deva janātigam sphuṭam iti smayam uktam uvāca saḥ //12*

“When Kṛṣṇa heard his words, he smiled at Nemi and said, ‘I believe that you can prove your wonderful physical strength by arm wrestling me.’ Moving his body and looking up, Jina (Nemi) said: ‘How can you arm wrestle me? If you want to test my arm strength, please stand up from the chair at once and come to my seat.’ Kṛṣṇa fastened his hip band and stood up to defeat Jina (Nemi) with his arm strength, but he could not step forward. He was unable to move even a single toe of his, which had moon-shape nails. Surprised and sweating heavily, Kṛṣṇa said under heavy breath, ‘I understand how strong you are.’”

3. 3. Rājimatī and Bārahmāsā

The *Nemināthacatuṣpadikā* (the 13th century) is a work belonging to the category of *bārahmāsā*, which features the chronological development of stories over several months, accompanied by descriptions of respective seasons. The *Nemināthacatuṣpadikā* is one of the earliest works of *bārahmāsā* written in the western region of northern India. Moreover, it is probably the first piece on the theme of separation of lovers.

In this work, Rājal (Rājimatī, Rājul) continues to miss her fiancé, Nemi, for the 10 months from the month of Śrāvaṇa to that of Vaishakha. In the month of Jetha, she realizes the emptiness of her worldly desire for her life with Nemi. In the month of Āṣāḍha, she makes up her mind to renounce the worldly life. The English version shown below is translated by Vaudeville (1986).

Nemināthacatuṣpadikā 32-37

*jiṭṭha virahu jima tappai sūru ghaṇaviogi susiyaṃ naipūru /
pikkhiu phulliu caṃpaivilli rājala mūchī nehagahilli //32
mūchī rāṇī hā sakhi ghāuṃ paḍiyau khaṃḍai jevaḍu ghāu /
hariya mūcha caṃdaṇapavaṇehiṃ sakhi āsāsai priyavayaṇehiṃ //33
bhaṇai devi viratī saṃsāra paḍikhi paḍikhi mai jādavasāra /
niya paḍivannaṃ prabhu saṃbhāri mai lai sarisī gaḍhi girināri //34*

“In the month of Jeṭh, Separation burns like another sun, the river-streams are dried up under that unbearable torment— Seeing the Champak-buds in bloom, Rājā has fainted, in an agony of love 'Come quick, O my friends! The princess has fainted, she has fallen down, stiff as a sword! The sweet scent of sandal has revived her and her friends comfort her with loving words. Says the noble lady: 'I have grown disgusted with this world, waiting for you so long, O you the noblest of the Yādavas! Now, I my Lord, be true to your word and take me to Girnar!'”

*āsāḍhaha diḍhu hiyaṃ karevi gajju vijju savi avagannevi /
bhaṇai vayaṇu ugraseṇaha jāya karisu dhammu sevisu priyapāya //35
miliu sakhi rājala pabhaṇaṃti ciṇaya jema na mirīya khajjaṃti /
augī acchi sakhi jhakhi tapu dohillau taṃ sukumāla mana āla //36
aṭha bhava vilasiu priyaha pasāi kimai jīvu sakhi sukhaha na dhrāi /
hiva priya sarisaṃ jīviyamaraṇu iṇa bhavi parabhavi nimi ju saraṇu //37*

“In the month of Āsāḍh, Rājā has taken heart, to the roar of thunder and lightning she pays no heed— She, Ugrasen's daughter, utters these words: 'Let me practice Dharama, let me serve at my Husband's feet.' Rājā meets her friend, who reproaches her, saying: 'Can one chew black pepper as if it were chickpea? Hold your tongue, my dear, and don't talk such nonsense: Hard indeed is the way of asceticism— and you are so delicate!' "For eight lives I enjoyed my husband's company, O, my friend, now my soul no longer craves pleasure: Now I want to live and die by the side of my spouse— in this life as in the others, in him alone I seek refuge.”

3.4 Changes in the Neminātha Story

Studies of changes in the Neminātha story reveal that greater changes took place concerning the placement of Rājimatī, rather than that of Neminātha. As Kelting (2009) points out, the Rājimatī's renunciation of the world after her fiancé is similar to the suicide of *satī* in Hinduism after the death of their husbands, in that the husband is withdrawing from social life. Therefore, Rājimatī is often associated with the image of a chaste woman. Not all descriptions of the various works on Neminātha, however, emphasize her virtue. For example, in the *Uttarajjhāyā*, there are no passages in which she directly expresses her affection to Neminātha, and she even compares herself to vomit. In works that include episodes of the Kṛṣṇa story, Rājimatī is described as a woman who tends to be influenced by others easily. For example, there is an episode that she is recommended by Kṛṣṇa's wives to be Neminātha's future spouse. Among works of *carita* literature, however, more recent works, such as

Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita written by Hemacandra during the 12th century, depict Rājimatī's conversations with her female friends, in which she suggests her motivation to chase Nemi. On the other hand, works of *bārahmāsā* solely focus on changes of Rājimatī's sentiments after her separation from Nemi. It seems that her image as a virtuous woman had already been established by the time of the creation of the works of *bārahmāsā*.

It is still difficult, however, to clarify the process by which seasonal descriptions of 12 months were connected with the Neminātha story. In this relation, it is suggestive that *rāso* works on the theme of pilgrimage destinations began to be created around the time of the emergence of such works of *bārahmāsā*. It is possible to consider that *rāso* works, such as *Revantagirirāsu*, influenced the creation of *bārahmāsā* of the Neminātha story since the growing popularity of pilgrimage resulted in an increase of "separation" of people and because descriptions of sacred places were accompanied by portraits of changing seasons.

4. The Emergence of the Literature of Sacred Places

Concurrently with the shift of the focus of the Neminātha story from Neminātha to Rājimatī, multiple works were written to praise Jain sacred places. Among early works, there are those written in the 13th century in the *rāso* style. Their main themes are Mt. Girnār (Revantagiri), which Neminātha climbed after his ordination, and Mt. Ābū, where Ṛṣabha renounced the worldly life. The first work is *Revantagirirāsu* by Vijayasena and the second work is *Ābūrāsu*. The English version of 1.2-5 and 2.9 shown below is translated by Bhupendra B. Trivedi [Paniker 1986].

Revantagirirāsu 1.2-5

gāmāgarapuravaṇagahaṇasarisaravari supesu /
devabhūmi disi pacchimaha maṇaharu soraṭhadesu //2
jīṇu tahiṇ maṇḍalamāṇḍaṇau maragayamaudamahamtu
nimmalasāmalasiharabhare rehai giri revamtu //3
tasu siri sāmīu sāmālu sohagasumḍarasāru /
jāivanimmalakulatīlau nivasai nemikumāru //4
tasu muhadamaṇu dasadisi vi desadesamtaru saṃgha /
āvai bhāvarasālamaṇau hali raṃgataramta //5

"In western India, there is the pleasant territory of Sorath (Saurashtra), which is highly attractive on account of its villages, country houses, cities, woods, open fields and plains, rivers and lakes. It merits comparison with the land of Gods.

"Revantagiri is an outstanding attraction of Sorath on account of its grandeur and charm. Its various clear and dark-blue peaks make the mountain look elegant, like one wearing a crown studded with emeralds.

"On the summit of this mountain, is built the sacred temple of the dark-complexioned saint Neminātha, the essence of all good fortune and beauty. His was a gem-like personality belonging to the pure and illustrious Yadava dynasty.

“Coming from all the ten quarters, from places far and near, crowds of devoted pilgrims— with their hearts full of religious fervor and bubbling with enthusiasm—visit this temple to have a close look at the idol of the saint and pay homage to him.”

Revantagirirāsu 1.6-10

*poruyāḍakulamamaṇḍaṇau maṇḍaṇu āsārāya /
vastupāla varamaṇti tahiṇ tejaṇpālu dui bhāya //6
gurajaradharadhuri dhavalaki vīradhavadevarāji /
biḥu baṇdhavi avayāriyau sūmū dūsamamāji //7
nāyalagacchaha maṇḍaṇau vijayaseṇasūrirāu /
uvaesiḥi biḥu narapavare dhammi dhariu diḍḍhu bhāu //8
tejaṇpāli giranāratale tejalaparu niyanāmi /
kāriḥu gaḍhamaḍhapavapavaru maṇaharu ghari ārāmi //9
tahi puri soḥiḥu pāsajīṇu āsārāyaviḥāru /
nimmiḥu nāmiḥi nijajaṇaṇi kumarasarovaru phāru //10*

“Vastupāla and Tejaṇpāla, both being sons of Aśvarāja of the Poravāḍa clan, were excellent ministers at the court of King Vīradhavalā, the ruler of Gurjara, whose residence was in Dholkā. The two beautiful brothers descended to the country during the period of Duḥṣama. Vijayaseṇasūri of Nāyara Gaccha documented that the two brothers learned Jain doctrine and became (the most) steadfast to it even among the people of the highest hierarchy. Tejaṇpāla constructed a charming town on the top of Mt. Gīrnār and named it Tejaṇpāla after his own name. The town had a wonderful fort, a temple, and a water reservoir. It was built as a resort for pilgrims. In the town, there were a gorgeous temple for Tīrthaṇkara Pārśva, built by Āsārāja, and a large water reservoir named Kumārā after his own mother.”

Revantagirirāsu 2.9

*ahiṇahu nemijīṇiṇḍa tiṇi bhavaṇu karāviḥu / nimmalu caṇḍaru biṇbe niyanāuṇ liḥāviḥu
/ thoravikkhaṇbhavāyaṇbharamāulam / maṇḍapu daṇḍaghaṇu tuṇḡataratoraṇaṇ /
dhavaliya vajjhīrūṇajhaṇirikiṇkaṇighaṇaṇ / ikkārasayasahīu paṇcāsīya vacchari /
nemibhuyaṇu uddhariḥu sājaṇi narasehari // 2.9*

“He (Sajan), the noblest of men, renovated, in the Samvat year 1185 (A.D. 1128/1129), the old temple of Neminātha, which looked impressive with its beams, pillars and ceilings. It contained attractive figures of women and a large number of pitchers, all carved in stone. In addition, it contained an arbor, a platform, a bow-shaped flagpole, and very high arches. The temple was white-washed and beautified with streaks of jingling anklets.”

Revantagirirāsu 4.20

*raṇḡiḥi e ramai jo rāsu sirivijayaseṇisūri nimmaviḥu e /
nemijīṇu tūsai tāsū aṇbika pūrai maṇi ralī e //*

“If you dance the *Rāsu*, written by *Vijayasenasūri*, in front of spectators, you will satisfy Nemi and rejoice Ambikā’s heart.

Ābūrāsu 7-8

vimaliḥiṃ ṭhaviyau pāvanikaṃdo tahichai sāmīu risahajīṇiṃdo /

sānidhu saṃghaha karai saṃkhevī tahi chai sāmīṇī kahau vicārī // 7

puruva pacchima dhammiya tahiṃ āvahiṃ uttara dākhiṇa saṃghu jīṇavaru nhāvahi /

pekhaḥi maṃdiru risaha ravannā / nācahi dhammiya vahugūṇavannā // 8

“There Vimala built a temple of Tīrthaṃkara Ṛṣabha, who perishes sinful acts, and a temple of Ambā was also built swiftly with assistance of *saṃgha*. Followers of Jina living in east and west, come here. People in *saṃgha* living in south and north, purify Jina (Jina’s statue). Followers of Jina, who have many virtues, look at the temple of Ṛṣabha and dance while singing.”

These works are written in the old Gujarati language, the oldest use of which dates back to the 12th century. As compared to the works of *carita* literature, these works are more closely related to the Gujarat region since their themes concern specific sacred places in the region. This fact indicates that these works of Jain literature were written to target residents of specific regions and members of specific communities. It seems that these works were created by considering regional characteristics more than universal aspects of the religion, such as its history and doctrines. We consider that underlying this fact are changes in the Jain community, particularly the formation of *gaccha*, which took place in the same period.

5. Changes in the Jain Community

Historically, the names of Jain organizations changed from *gaṇa* and *kula* to *gaccha*. In tandem with the changes in their names, the characteristics of the organization also changed. The period of this change roughly coincided with the transition in Jain hagiographic literature from *carita* literature to other literal forms, including *rāso*. This section reviews organizational changes in the Jain community, which are deemed to have some relations with changes in the hagiographic literature.

5.1 Organizations of the Jain Community in Ancient Times and in and after the Medieval Period

Concerning units of the Jain community, it is believed that during ancient times, there were units called *gaṇa*, *kula*, and *sambhoga*. In *Kalpasūtra* and other documents, there are descriptions of the *gaṇa*.

Kalpasūtra, *Sthavirāvalī*, 1-2 translation by Jacobi (1884)

“In that period, the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra had nine Gaṇas and eleven Gaṇadharas”...

“All these eleven Gaṇadharas of the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra, who knew the twelve Aṅgas, the fourteen Pūrvas, and the whole Siddhānta of the Gaṇins, died, freed from all pains in Rājagrha after fasting a month without drinking water. The Sthaviras Indrabhūti and Ārya Sudharman both

died after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. The Nirgrantha Śramaṇas of the present time are all (spiritual) descendants of the monk Ārya Sudharman; the rest of the Gaṇadharas left no descendants.”

It is in the 11th century when Jains began to regard *gaccha* as a concrete unit of the Jain community. In an earlier period, however, the term “*gaccha*” appears in Jain scriptures and exegetical literature. The “*gaccha*,” used there, however, referred to a smaller unit in the community in contrast to contemporary *gaccha*, which has a large scale. In the *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*, written in the period between the 7th and the 8th centuries, “*gaccha*” is used to mean a unit of a group. [Dundas 2007:20]

Vyavahāra Bhāṣya 1731a

paṇago va sattago vā, kāladuve khalu jahaṇṇato gaccho /

“There are two cases, one with five people and the other with seven people. Both cases refer to the smallest *gaccha*. ”

5.2 Tapā Gaccha

Tapā Gaccha is recorded as having been established by Jagaccandra in 1229. The title “*Tapā*” (which means ascetic) was granted by King Jaitrasinha (r. 1214-1253) of the Mewar Kingdom. Here is a quote from the *Gurvāvalī*, hagiographies of the leaders of the *Tapā Gaccha*, written by Munisundarasūri in the 15th century. Below shown is translated by Dundas (2007).

Gurvāvalī 90-92

“So it happend that (*kila*) Jagaccandra, the leader of the order, whose qualities were as delightful as Rāma’s, having received homage because of his auspicious marks (lakṣmaṇa) as Rāma did from his brother Lakṣmaṇa, having crossed the great ocean of delusion and journeying over the island of Laṅkā, conquered his enemy and brought back to the abode of his own order his beloved wife, correct behaviour, who due to a certain moral laxity had been carried off by the foe which had taken the form of the developing Kali Age. Thus he lifted up (uddadhāra) the Jain religion from the accumulation of delusion of those trapped in the mud of laxity when the Kali Age, comparable to the very end of the time cycle, had arrived, in the same manner as Varāha, the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, lifted up the earth. The teacher (Jagaccandrasūri) never had any sense of ‘mine’ with regard to village, family, city or region. He wandered the earth, putting laxity far away with regard to body, place of rest and possessions.”...

In this account, Jagaccandra is likened to Rāma with Lakṣmaṇa in tow, and the ordained who do not observe the precepts are compared to the inhabitants of Lanka; Rāma as Baladeva in the carita literature is identified with the leader of Gaccha. By doing so, they utilize the hagiographical structure of Baladeva, Vāsudeva, and Prativāsudeva as a justification for the their real *gaccha*.

5.3 Kharatara Gaccha

Kharatara Gaccha was founded by Jineśvara in Aṇahilapāṭaka (now Patan, Gujarat) during the 10th century. The origin of Kharatara *gaccha* is described in the *Vṛddhācāryaprabandhāvalī*, written by

Jinaprabhasūri in the 14th century. The translation is by Granoff [1990: pp. 180-181].

Vṛddhācāryaprabandhāvali 2

(Jineśvara, formerly a Brahmin, succeeded the Jain Vardhamāna to lead the community of monks...)

“Then Jineśvarasūri, the leader of the community of monks, travelling from place to place, arrived in the city Anahillapura (Aṇahilapāṭaka). There he saw many rich monks, members of the group called the Culasīgaccha, who were monks in appearance only and who lived in richly appointed temples and controlled wealthy monastic establishments. And when he saw them behaving like that, in order to further the true Jain Faith, he had a debate with them at the court of the Glorious King Durlabharāja. In the year 1024 (A.D. 967/968), he defeated those arrogant teachers. The king, who was pleased with him, gave him the honorific title ‘Kharatara,’ ‘Fierce One.’ From that time on, the group became known as the Kharatara Gaccha.”

The Kharatara Gaccha, like the Tapā Gaccha, was founded on the same basic line of criticism of the rich monks who reside in the temples.

Jinadatta (c. 1075-1154) lived in the 12th century concurrently with Hemacandra and Śālibhadra. Jinadatta, who was the leader of Kharatara gaccha, wrote a work using the *rāso* style, which was becoming popular around the time.

Upadeśarasāyanarāsa 36-37

uciya thutti thuyapāḍha paḍhijjahim / je siddhamtihiṃ sahu /
tālārāsu vi diṃti na rayañahim / divasi vi lauḍārasu sahuṃ parisihiṃ //36
dhammiya nāḍaya para naccijjahim / bharahasagaranikkhamaṇa kahijjahim
cakkavaṭṭibalarāyaha cariyaiṃ / naccivi aṃti huṃti pavvaiyaiṃ //37

“You can sing the *stuti* and *stotra* that are mentioned above if you also sing songs of Jain scriptures. However, you must not sing *Tālā rāsa* at night. Women should not sing *Lauḍā rāsa* with men even in daytime. You can dance as long as you choose the sorts of pieces that comply with Jain teachings, but you must not dance to the pieces related to Bharata’s and Sagara’s departure for the battlefield and those related to the lives of Cakravartins and Baladeva because if you do, monks will be too excited to observe their monastic rules.

The detailed regulations on song and dance music by the Jinadatta can also be interpreted as aimed at countering the activities of the temple-residing monks, who were loose in their discipline.

Jinaprabha (c. 1261-1333) was a Jain monk belonging to Kharatara Gaccha who wrote Vividhatīrthakalpa, a guidebook to the holy places. He also included in his Vividhatīrthakalpa a description dealing with his own personal history. The English translation is based on the French translation of *Vividhatīrthakalpa* 51 [Chojnacki, 1995].

Vividhatīrthakalpa 51

io a sirijoginīpure sirimahammadasāhisagāhahirāo kahiṃci avasare patthuāe paṃḍiaguṭṭhie satthaviyārasaṃsayamāvanṇo sumarei gurūṇaṃ guṇe bhaṇai a jai te bhaṭṭārayā saṃpayama hama sahālaṃkaraṇaṃ huṃtā tā majjha maṇogayasamattha-saṃsayasalluddharaṇe helāe khamamā / nūṇaṃ vihappaī tabbuddhiparājio ceva bhūmimujjha sunnaṃ gayaṇadesa-mallīṇo / itthaṃ gurūṇaṃ bhūvaikijjamaṇagavaṇṇaṇāvaiaṇe, avasarannū takkālaṃ dauatāvādādāgao tājalamalikko bhūmialamilia-bhālavaṭṭo vinnavei / "mahārāya! saṃti te tattha mahappāṇo / paraṃ tannayaranīrama-sahamāṇā kisiamaṅgā gāḍhaṃ vaṭṭamti / tao saṃbhariaguruṇapabbhāreṇa bhūmināheṇa so ceva mīro āiṭṭho""bho mallika! sigghaṃ gaṃtūṇa duvīrakhāne lihāvesu phuraṃaṇaṃ / pesesu tattha / jahā tārisasāmaggīe ceva bhaṭṭārayā puṇa itthaṃ imti / [...].

“One day, a great king named Muhammad Shāh in Joginīpura summoned many sages to his court. They began discussing religious issues as they usually did. Muhammad Shāh, who wished to clarify a few problems, remembered the exceptional ability of Jinaprabhasūri. The king said: ‘If Jinaprabhasūri, the head of monks, were here in my court, he would easily clear all the doubts I have in my mind. I understand that his brilliance even overwhelmed that of Bṛhaspati, who is the teacher of gods, making Bṛhaspati escape from the earth to heaven, where there is no one like him.’ Hearing the exceptional quality of the sage whom the king had just praised, Tājalamalikka, a director who came from Daulatabad, immediately prostrated himself in front of the king and said: ‘Your Majesty, that great sage is in Daulatabad. But he has lost his flesh because the local water does not suit him.’ Since these words further reminded the king of the greatness of Jinaprabhasūri, the king ordered the nobleman (director): ‘You must go back to your hometown immediately, taking my written order, inscribed by my secretary. Send the order soon (to related parties) so that the head of the sages will be given all means necessary for a long trip and that he will be able to come here as soon as possible’...”

io cirovacibhattirāeṇa abhimuhamāgaehiṃ daṃsaṇatimittao vi amayakuṇḍaṇhāehiṃ va dhannappāṇaṃ mannamāṇehiṃ āyariyajaisaṃghasāvayaviṃdehiṃ pariariā bhadda-vayasābīāe jāyā rāyasabhāmaṇḍaṇaṃ jugappahāṇā / takkhaṇaṃ āṇaṃdabhara-nibbharehiṃ nayaṇehiṃ abbhutthāṇamivāyaraṃteṇa sirimahammadapātasāhiṇā pucchiā komalagirāe kusalapauttiṃ / cumbio a sasiṇehaṃ gurūṇaṃ karo dharaṇirāeṇa; dhario a hiae accamā-darapareṇa [...].

“Eventually, on the second day of the first half of the month of Bhādrapada, Jinaprabhasūri came to the palace to ‘embellish’ it. He was surrounded and worshipped by ascetics and monk scholars since he was the ruler and leader of all monks. Moreover, all people who saw him felt that they had never been happier. In fact, they all felt as though they were bathing in a pond filled with *amṛta* (immortal drink). The moment Jinaprabhasūri entered the palace, the glorious Muhammad Shāh, the lord of the world, lifted his eyes, which were full of the joy of seeing Jinaprabhasūri. The king behaved as if he would step forward to salute Jinaprabhasūri. In his soft, gentle voice, the king asked the sage how he had traveled to the palace. The lord of the earth then kissed the sage’s hand affectionately and embraced it gently in his arms...”

evaṃ ṇiccaṃ rāyasabhāgamaṇapaṇḍiavāiaviṇḍavijayapuvvaṃ pabhāvaṇāe payaṭṭamāṇāe / [...].

“At discussions held at the king’s court, Jinaprabhasūri defeated many debaters. He was constantly working to reinforce the position of Jainism...”

tahā annayā narimdeṇa dūrao niccaṃ samāgamaṇe gurūṇaṃ kaṭṭhaṃ ti ciṃtiūṇa padinnā sayam eva niapāsāyapāse sohaṃtabhavaṇarāi; āiṭṭhā ya vasiṃ tattha sāvayasamghā / bhaṭṭārāyasarāi tti kayam se sayam narimdeṇa nāmaṃ / kārio tattheve vīravihāro posahasālā ya pātasāhiṇā / tao terasayavanāsiavarise āsāḍhakiṇhasattamīe lumahate mahīvaisamāiṭṭha-gīyanaṭṭabāiasaṃpadāe payaḍijjamāṇaamāṇamahūsaba-sāraṃ, sayam narimdeṇa dāvijja-māṇamaṅgalaṃ, pavaiṭṭhā posahasālāṃ bhaṭṭārāyā / saṃtosīā pīdāṇeṇaṃ viusā / uddhariā dāṇeṇaṃ dīṇāṇhāiloā / [...].

“One day, when Jinaprabhasūri was looking for (a facility of) his community, the lord of the earth (king) considered that it would be difficult for the sage to come to the palace from a remote place. Accordingly, the king provided the sage with a group of many new beautiful buildings standing adjacent to his own palace. The king ordered Jains to live there and named that area *Bhaṭṭāraka Sarāi*, which means “the area belonging to the head of monks.” The great Muslim king built Mahāvīra Temple there together with a magnificent hall for holding services and festivals. At the auspicious time on the 7th day in the second half of the Āṣāḍha in 1382 (A.D. 1325), the king ordered the holding of a grand festival featuring songs, dances, and music. When the king was delivering a congratulatory speech, the head of monks (Jinaprabhasūri) entered the hall. To show respect to sages, the king offered appropriate gifts to them. Moreover, poor and miserable people were given gorgeous gifts, which relieved them from sufferings.”

caliā puṇa ’annayā maggasiramāse puvvadisajayajattāpatthiṇa appaṇā saha narimdeṇa / kāriā ṭhāṇe ṭhāṇe baṇḍimoaṇāiṇā jīṇadhammappabhāvaṇā / uddariyaṃ sirimahurātittamaṃ / saṃtosīā dāṇāiṭhiṃ diavarāiṇo / [...].

“In the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, Jinaprabhasūri accompanied the sultan again, who departed to conquer the eastern region. Jinaprabhasūri worked to propagate Jainism everywhere through his good behaviors, such as releasing prisoners. He restored the sacred places in Mathurā and was given presents from excellent Brahmins...”

*visesao disijattāo samāgae mahārāe pavaṭṭamti ūsavā ceiyasahīsu / sammāṇei guruṇo
uttarottaramānadāṇeṇa sirisavvabhomo / vajjamti paidisaṃ sūrisavvabhūmāṇaṃ
pabhāvaṇāsārā jasapaḍahā / viharamti niruvassaggaṃ savvadesesu seṃbarā diṃbarā
ya rāyāhirāyadinnaphuramāṇahattā / kharataragacchālaṃkāruruppasāyāo saga-
sinnaparibhūe vi disicakke kayāiṃ gurūhiṃ phuramāṇagahaṇeṇa akudobhayāiṃ
sirisittujja-girināra-phalavaddhippamuhattitthāiṃ / ujjoīā iccāikiccehiṃ siripālittaya-
mallavāi-siddhasenādivāyara-haribhadda-hemacandasūripppamuhā puvvapurisā / kiṃ
bahuṇā sūricakkavaṭṭiṇaṃ guṇehiṃ āvajjiassa nariṃdassa payaḍā eva payaṭṭamti
sayaladhammakajjārambhā /*

“When the Muslim ruler returned from conquests, celebrations were held at many Jain temples. The glorious lord of the whole of the world gave Jinaprabhasūri even more valuable presents one after another. Every day, the glorious lord of the whole of the world upheld the glorious flags of Jainism. It seemed as though the king were helping reinforce Jain faith. Since the Muslim king issued certificates that guaranteed safe passage to both branches of Jainism, namely the Śvētāmbara and the Digambara, Jains of both branches were able to travel to every corner of the kingdom without any danger or threat. Moreover, the Muslim king, who favored Jinaprabhasūri, the hero of the Kharatara Gaccha, issued an imperial ordinance that guaranteed the safety of Jain sacred places throughout the territory conquered by his forces. To name a few, such places included glorious Mt. Śatruñjaya, Mt. Gīrnār, and Phalavardhi. In recognition of such great achievements, people began to regard Jinaprabhasūri as equivalent to great sages preceding him, including glorious Pādalipta, Mallavādin, Siddhasena Divākara, Haribhadrāsūri, and Hemacandrasūri. Since the king was delighted with the character of Jinaprabhasūri, who had qualifications matching those of a Cakravartin, the king made various achievements in compliance with the dharma, and his achievements are well known.”

The description of his own accomplishments by Jinaprabha quoted above shows that the significance of the Gaccha's existence is emphasized more as a guardian of the Jain faith, beginning with the holy places, than as a role of enforcing the observance of the precepts. Despite this gradual shift in the significance of the Gaccha, the tradition of likening Jinaprabha himself to famous monks and Cakravartins of the past is firmly maintained.

6. Changes in Jain Hagiographies and Social Situations

Based on the discussions in the previous sections, this section reviews how the transition of Jain literature is related to changes in the Jain community and social situations in the western region of

northern India. Epochal events in the history of Jain literature include the formation of the hagiographies of the sixty-three Great Men and *carita* literature and the transition from *carita* literature to a wide variety of literary genres, including *rāso*-style literature.

Studies of the works of *carita* literature, written from the 6th to the 12th centuries, show that their writers were obliged to adopt influential narratives from the Rāma story and the Kṛṣṇa story. We can consider that this is because when the center of Jainism moved from the eastern region to the western region of north India, it became necessary for Jain leaders to explain the roles of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa within the Jain framework since people in the western region of north India held strong faith in both heroes. Whereas, in the early period of Jainism, Jain scriptures were basically comprised hagiographies of 24 Tīrthaṃkaras, particularly four of them, namely Ṛṣabha, Neminātha, Pārśva, and Mahāvīra; after the center of the Jain community moved to the west, it became necessary to include stories of the Cakravartins, such as Bharata, and narratives of the group of the Vāsudevas, particularly Kṛṣṇa. To meet growing demand for new narratives, it is reasonably assumed that such new narratives were added to the existing hagiographies of Tīrthaṃkaras. This assumption is supported by historical changes in the languages used by Jains. Irrespective of their branches, Jains used the Mahārāṣṭrī and the Apabhraṃśa languages, which were used in the western region of northern India, in their literary works and exegetical literature, rather than languages close to (Ardha-) Māgadhī, which had been used in their scriptures. At the same time, Jain authors wrote similar narratives in Sanskrit to address the group of people who upheld Sanskrit traditions. This fact indicates that the target audience of Jain narratives were people living in the western region of northern India. The spread of Jainism in the region led to enhanced political influence of Jains during the 12th century, as is evidenced in the strong relationship between a Jain monk called Hemacandra and King Kumārapāla (r. 1145-1171) of the Caulukya dynasty. Although it cannot be verified if the king's conversion to Jainism really took place as it is written in the work "*The Awakening of King Kumārapāla (Kumārapālāpratibodha)*" by Somaprabha, we can reasonably consider that Jains had relatively strong political influence in the Gujarat and Rajasthan regions from the 11th to the 12th centuries.

Meanwhile, as a result of incorporating many narratives of non-Jain origins into Jain hagiographies, episodes from the Rāma story and the Kṛṣṇa story became the major parts of Jain hagiographies, even though Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are positioned below Tīrthaṃkaras in the Jain hierarchy. This tendency is recognized even in the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, which describes all sixty-three Great Men. The number of such works, however, began to decrease in the 12th century, when Hemacandra was active. In place of these works, shorter works that spotlight individual sages began to increase. They were written in new styles, including *rāso* and *bārahmāsā*. Although it is believed that Jain writers knew the *rāso* style before the 12th century since it is mentioned in *Svayambhūchandās* by Svayambhū and other works of the 8th to the 10th centuries, the earliest work in *rāso* styles as we know was written in the latter half of the 12th century. We can reasonably assume that the adoption of the *rāso* style was associated with a certain change in Jain society.

Review of organizational changes in Jain community, on the other hand, reveals that *gaccha* became well organized in the 14th century onward, even though its formation dated back to the 11th century at the earliest. In the 14th century, the genealogy of its heads (*sūri*), which has been passed down to the present day, was established by linking figures who are described in the Jain scriptures and historical

founders of respective *gacchas* [Dundas 2007:13-14]. It is reasonable to consider that in creating the genealogy of founders of *gacchas*, Jain leaders adopted the method used by writers of *carita* literature, i.e., the method of adding various figures who were worshipped by followers of various other religions to Jain hagiographies. In description of *sūri*, for example, Jain writers in this period compared them to Rāma and Cakravartins, a fact indicating the strong influence of *carita* literature. The period when the greatest number of works of *carita* literature were created coincides with the period when the Caulukya dynasty governed a territory, covering the area from Gujarat to southern Rajasthan, with its capital city located in Aṇahilapāṭaka. In particular, King Jayasimha conquered the Saurashtra Peninsula, subjugating its residents, who used to be governed by another ruler, under the Caulukya dynasty. On the Saurashtra (Kathiawar) Peninsula, there are important sacred places for Jains, including Mt. Girnār and Mt. Śatruñjaya. In addition, Somnāth, which developed as a thriving port city and a sacred place, is also located on the peninsula. (See Figure 3.)

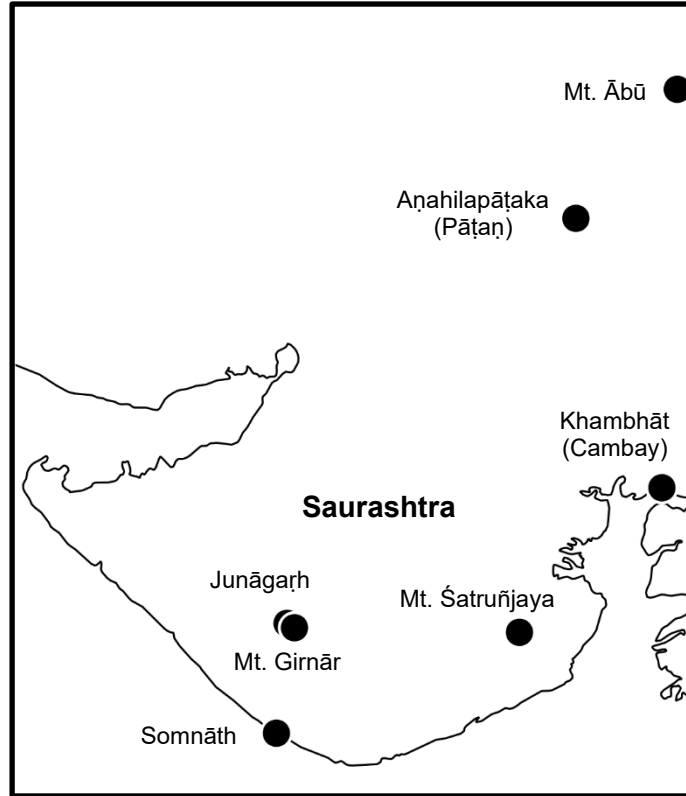


Figure 3. Location of Major Sites in Gujarat

Yamahata (2018a) suggests that a result of the expansion of the Caulukya dynasty's territory to cover the coast of Gujarat, Jain literature probably became influenced by a literary tradition that was different from that of the original Jain literature. In fact, works in the *rāso* style began to be created during the latter half of the 12th century, when King Kumārapāla, who succeeded to the throne from King Jayasimha, and Hemacandra were active. For example, the *rāso* style was adopted in works such as *Upadeśarasāyanarāsa* and *Bharateśvarabāhubalirāsa*, the latter of which was written in old Gujarati.

Even though the main themes of these works are Jain doctrine and hagiographies of Jain sages, these works use the *rāso* style, which had rarely been used in literary works. Whereas the term “*rāso*” was mentioned in books of prosody⁴, its actual usage in literary work suddenly began at this time. Moreover, works in this epoch were written in old Gujarati, a local dialect, instead of classical languages such as Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa. It is difficult to explain this sudden change solely from the viewpoint of the tradition of literature in the Caulukya dynasty, whose mainstream was *carita* literature. In consideration of the social changes taking place at the time, it is reasonable to interpret that the changes in literature took place, driven by various factors associated with the growing number of new audience members, namely residents of the Saurashtra Peninsula. For example, although old Gujarati had been spoken in the Gujarat region, it had not been used in literary works before, and so were literary styles, such as *rāso* and *bārahmāsā*.

After the reign of King Kumārapāla, Aṇahilapāṭaka, the capital city of the Caulukya dynasty, was invaded by Qutub al-dīn Aybak in the late 12th and early 13th centuries. After the turmoil that followed the invasions, the royal families changed from the Solaṅkī to the Vāghelā family. Around this time, the number of works of *carita* literature began to decline. On the other hand, the number of works of *rāso* literature began increasing during the reign of the Vāghelā family. In particular, many works in the *rāso* style were created concerning sacred places and Tīrthaṃkaras. At sacred places, such as Mt. Girnār and Mt. Ābū, temples were built, funded by donations of the brothers called Vastupāla and Tejapāla. Comparative studies of changes in literature and those in political situations reveal that the literary style shifted from hagiographical literature to *rāso* literature around the time when the Caulukya dynasty lost its extensive political influence.

In the history of Jain literature, its mainstream characterized by hagiographies underwent two radical changes before around the 14th century. In the first change, Jain scriptures, which basically took the form of hagiographies, changed to *carita* literature. This change took place when the center of Jainism was relocated from the eastern to the western region of northern India. In addition to using the languages of the western region, such as Maharashtra and Apabhraṃśa, the latter of which was employed in a later period, Jain writers incorporated the Rāmā story and the Kṛṣṇa story, which were already popular in the region, into the Jain hierarchy of the Great Men. Through this process, the framework of the sixty-three Great Men was created.

Meanwhile, changes in the major target audience of Jain literature were underlying the second change, which took place between the 12th and 13th centuries. Specifically, people living on the Saurashtra Peninsula became the mainstream of the target audience. It is likely that they preferred literature reflecting the regional characteristics in all terms of the used language, style, and content. Specifically, the new audience preferred use of old Gujarati, rather than the Prakrit and the Apabhraṃśa languages, along with *rāso* and *bārahmāsā* styles instead of *carita* literature. They also preferred stories of separation of couples and descriptions of attractive features of sacred places. This change was accelerated by the decline of the Caulukya dynasty. As seen in the case of Hemacandra, the tradition of *carita* literature, which was basically written in the Apabhraṃśa language, was supported by the royal family of the dynasty. Accordingly, the turmoil of the Caulukya dynasty in the first half of the 13th

⁴ *Svayambhūchanda* 8.24-25

century led to the stagnation of *carita* literature. In this situation, new patrons of Jain literature emerged, including the Vāghelā family along with Vastupāla and other leading figures from the merchant class. This explains why the works of Jain literature written in this period adopted the relatively short form of the *rāso* style, which was more suitable for creating songs and dances as compared to the long hagiographies of traditional *carita* literature. This shift progressed slowly from the 11th century to the 12th century. During the reign of the Vāghelā family in the latter half of the 13th century, however, the shift to the new style began to progress rapidly. Accordingly, this epoch is important in the history of Jain literature, as well as in the history of Gujarati literature.

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